Copyright

by

Wikaliler Daniel Smith

2014

The Dissertation Committee for Wikaliler Daniel Smith certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

A Grammar of Guna: A Community-Centered Approach

Committee:

_____
Nora England, Supervisor

_____
Patience Epps

_____
Daniel Law

_____
Joel Sherzer

_____
Anthony Woodbury

A GRAMMAR OF GUNA: A COMMUNITY-CENTERED APPROACH

by

Wikaliler Daniel Smith, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2014

For the Dule,

Because I am one of your sons,

and

For Ava,

May one day you embrace all that you are

Acknowledgements

A project with so many layers would not have been possible without the support, friendship, love and prayer from a diverse collection of people at every stage. These include members of the Guna community, professors, colleagues, friends and family.

First of all, I would like to express my immense gratitude to the many speakers of Guna and community members who opened their homes, shared with me their time, and allowed me to record their voices. Thank you to Igwawikdiginya Gómez, Angerí Gonzalez, Leny Smith, Ricardo Chiari, Hortenciano Martínez, Beatriz Smith, Ediltrudis López, Isolina Fernández, Meraldo Robles, Nilda García, Gabino Torres, Chief Leodomiro Paredes, Chief Dicky Brown, Francisco Quijano, Aloyd Boyd, Rosamelia Tejada, Pedro Green, Nivia Alba Filós, Belinda Calvo, Nereida Barrantes, Mercedes Barrantes, Kempes Archibold, Gilberto Casís, Ricardo Arias, Elías Pérez, Olopankipiler Pérez, Benito Morales, Faustino Alba, Diana Lopez and Alcides Esquivel. There are three people who deserve special mention: Yageri Pérez, Pailiber Rodriguez and my father, Lino Smith. They were instrumental in the completion of the dissertation, assisting me with transcription, translation, and in withstanding countless questions that I had about the language.

I am also grateful to the many people at the *Congreso General Guna* and the *Congreso General de la Cultura Guna* who opened doors for me to share and interact

with the community at large. A personal thank you goes to Migdalia Herrera, Simion Brown, Anelio Merry, and Breido López, who were my main contacts at both *congresos*.

At the University of Texas at Austin I am indebted to a wonderful faculty, especially those that agreed to serve as mentors and advisors for this project. They offered continuous support, encouragement, and counsel since the day I arrived. Each one of them contributed to my research in ways I cannot do justice here, but I will try. Many thanks to Tony Woodbury for allowing me to learn from him through his incredible insights into linguistic theory and inquiry, Danny Law (once a *compañero* as well) for contributing with important and helpful comments as the project neared its end, Pattie Epps for sharing with me her wealth of knowledge and for always offering words of support. Joel Sherzer was the main reason I came to Texas, and he was always encouraging all the way to the end. To him, thank you. Finally, I want to express my deepest appreciation to Nora England, who was my principal advisor. Without her unwavering support, none of this would have been possible. Her contributions to this project, academically and personally, are immeasurable and certainly felt.

During my time as a graduate student, I made several friends and met knowledgeable *compañeros* who have encouraged me, offered me inspiration, and shared with me their knowledge. Thank you to Juan Jesus Vazquez, Felix Julca, Ajb'ee Jiménez, Gabriela García, B'alam Mateo Toledo, María García, I-Wen Lai, Hilaria Cruz, Stephanie Villard, Cynthia Hansen, Emiliana Cruz, Lev Michael, Simeon Floyd, Eric Campbell, Ryan Sullivant, Telma Can, Ana Paola Brandao, Daniel Valle, Jaime Pérez,

among many others. A group of people deserve special attention because their fingerprints are all over this grammar: Kayla Price, Lindsey Newbold, Natalia Bermudez and Tony Wright. Thank you all for sharing books, documents and articles, as well as your incredible and helpful insights, commenting, and participating in this process.

I need to mention and express my appreciation to the individuals and institutions that made it possible for me to come to the University of Texas and remain for as long as I did through financial support. Thank you to the US State Department for sponsoring me the first two years through the Fulbright program, Heidi Johnson and now Susan Smythe Kung who have allowed me to work and learn about archiving at the Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA), the Department of Linguistics (especially Nora England, Richard Meier, Pattie Epps, Joel Sherzer, Tony Woodbury, Leslie Crooks and Ben Rapstein), the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Texas at Austin for a Graduate Research Fellowship. This research was possible through funding from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP grant IGS0085) of SOAS and the Documenting Endangered Languages of NSF. Thank you.

Without my family outside of Panama, this wouldn't have been possible: Aunt Lorie and Uncle Bill have been my second set of parents, always supportive and always loving. Also, I want to thank all the families that have offered unrelenting support during this time: the Prices, the Grahams, the Heydenburks (Joel and Courtney), the Vernons, and the Rekedals. Special thanks to Keith and Wilma Forster for being more than my Kuna-linguistics mentors throughout this whole process; you are my family.

Finally, my family is my source of inspiration, strength and love. My parents, Lino and Amilda Smith, and my sister, Elizabeth encouraged me to come to graduate school and have always offered words of support. To my wife I owe everything during the difficult but rewarding process of finalizing the project. Without her steadfast support, patience, help, encouragement, and more importantly, love, this dissertation would not be where it is today. I am a better man because of you.

Wikaliler Daniel Smith
Austin, July 2014

A GRAMMAR OF GUNA: A COMMUNITY-CENTERED APPROACH

Wikaliler Daniel Smith, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Supervisor: Nora England

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of Guna, a Chibchan language of Panama with an approximate 40,000 speakers. The aim of the dissertation is to provide a description of the language that is linguistically relevant and at the same time straightforward and readable for a wider audience that may include the community of Guna speakers.

This work fills a gap that exists in the literature for Guna. Great work has been done about Guna in diverse areas and disciplines. However, as the Guna population seeks to become more involved in their own representation (Howe 2010), there exists a great need for a document that bridges the understanding of Guna linguistics with the community's efforts of language maintenance and revitalization. In order to accomplish this, chapters are written in such a way that topics can be easily located, linguistic

concepts are fully explained, and the language used to describe specific linguistic phenomena is straightforward.

The dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the academic and cultural context in which the dissertation was written and the methodology used in data collection and writing; Chapter 2 describes the phonology of the language and explains different orthographies that have surfaced for Guna; Chapter 3 presents the roots/bases and the formatives that attach to them; Chapter 4 builds on the previous chapter to describe phrases that have nouns and modifiers as heads; Chapter 5 discusses verbal morphology; Chapter 6 gives a description of sentence formation, which includes different syntactic phenomena such as type of predicates, word order, and pragmatically determined word orders; Chapter 7 serves as a bridge between Chapters 6 and 8 as it describes serial verb constructions, structures with two verbs that function as one predicate; and Chapter 8 is an account of clause combinations in the language.

Although Guna is still spoken and learned by children, its dwindling percentage of native speakers makes it an endangered language. Therefore, this grammar is a contribution to the field of linguistics and to the efforts of revitalization and maintenance within the community.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Maps

List of Figures

List of Abbrevations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADJZ	adjectivizer
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
AUX	auxiliary verb
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CLT	clitic
COLL	collective
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer, subordinator
COND	conditional
CTRFAC	counter-factual
DAT	dative
DM	discourse marker
DO	direct object
DEM	demonstrative
DESID	desiderative
DST	distal
EMPH	emphatic, emphasis
EVID	evidential
FOC	focus
FUT	future
IMPFV	imperfective aspect
INCEP	inceptive
INCH	inchoative
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
OBJ	object
PAST	past tense
PER	perfect
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive/possession
PRN	pronoun
PROG	progressive

PROS	prospective aspect
PRT	particle
PRX	proximal
Q	interrogative pronoun
QUOT	quotative
RC	relative clause
RCP	reciprocal
REL	relativizer, relative pronoun
REP	repetitive
RFL	reflexive
RHET	rhetorical
SG	singular
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
TVF	truth value focus
XXX	unidentified morpheme or word
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
**	ungrammatical, unattested form
??	questionable grammaticality

Chapter 1

Introduction

Content

This dissertation fills a gap that exists in the literature for Guna. Great work has been done about Guna in diverse areas and disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, political science and education. However, as the Guna population seeks to become more involved in their own representation (Howe 2010), and language policy development becomes paramount, there exists a great need for a document that bridges the understanding of Guna linguistics with the efforts of language maintenance and revitalization.

This introductory chapter presents an overview of the context in which this work was written, culturally and academically. It also provides a summary of the methodology used throughout the document to collect data and to present the information. It is organized as follows, §1.1 introduces the objectives of the grammar §1.2 presents the language background, §1.3 discusses previous work that has been published about Guna, §1.4 explores the relationship it has with other language groups, and §1.5 describes the methodology as it relates to data collection and presentation.

1.1 Objectives of the grammar

This dissertation had its genesis as I became aware of the community's interest in preserving, documenting and teaching the language. The roots of this academic interest by the community can be traced back to educated Gunas who were concerned with the loss of language and cultural practices due to consistent migration to the urban areas of Panama City and Colon even at the early stages of this loss (Iglesias 1973; Smith 1975).

Today, many view **language maintenance** and **revitalization** as pathways to re-introducing Guna language in city-life, raising awareness of culture practices (such as chanting and dancing), and forging a strong sense of an indigenous self-identity among newer generations. These concerns are being materialized in projects and programs with direct aims to teach Guna alongside Spanish as part of a bilingual education program, collect and document verbal art, and create physical and digital repositories of those collections.

As a linguist, I believe that the contributions that can be made through linguistic analysis are several and I will detail those later. But, what exactly is **linguistics**? Most people know that linguistics is the study of language; however, many believe that one of its goals is to stipulate how a language has to be spoken or written. This is not necessarily true. The main goal of linguistics is to investigate human language, defining the processes and mechanisms by which a speaker acquires, perceives and uses language.

Of great importance to linguists is the mental capacity that each speaker has to understand and interpret his or her language. We call this a speaker's **linguistic knowledge** and also his or her **linguistic competence.** This contrasts with our **linguistic performance** which is how this knowledge is put to use in actual speech. Given this, the overarching objective of this grammar is to provide a description of the linguistic knowledge of a speaker, which includes the rules for combining sounds, words, phrases and sentences.

Within the linguistic community, there has been a recent development toward documenting and describing endangered languages for the benefit of the communities who speak these languages. Ameka (2006) points to a growing awareness in linguistics with regard to providing information about understudied languages. Additionally, Noonan (2007) suggests that the main role of field linguists is to describe a language accurately for the benefit of both the community of speakers and the scholarly community. It is in this context that I entered the field of linguistics.

With this in mind, here are two main goals that I hope to achieve with the completion of a grammar of Guna. A grammar of Guna can provide the 'raw material' from which education specialists can create teaching materials, providing a structured and detailed description of the language that they can understand, with examples and explicit accounts of each relevant grammatical and structural form. Also, a grammar of Guna can have an impact on revitalization projects by raising awareness of the beauty and complexity of the Guna language. Although its impact is not as apparent as in the creation of teaching materials, the sociolinguistic implications of this knowledge are far-reaching. Because a comprehensive grammar of Guna provides a detailed description of its structural complexity, the language is shown to be as intricate in structure and function as the more prestigious dominant group's language, Spanish. The existence of a good grammar and a collection of texts, therefore, gives the language a certain status of importance that wasn't available before the existence of such a document (Payne 2005).

A second goal is to provide useful information to linguists or scholars of related areas with an interest in comparative studies in linguistics, historical linguistics of Chibchan languages, linguistic anthropology, and cultural anthropology, among others. A descriptive grammar of Guna is needed to broaden the understanding of Chibchan languages, which have been historically understudied (Quesada 2007). However, in order for this project to appeal to the linguistic community, the end result must be a comprehensive grammar of the language; it must present a good analysis of all aspects of **grammar** (the underlying knowledge of rules and that speakers have about the language that they speak): **phonology** (the sounds of Guna, and how these sounds interact to form

utterances), **morphology** (the study of words and their internal structure), **syntax** (the study of phrase, clause and sentence formation), **morpho-syntax** (how morphology interacts with the syntax), and **semantics** (meaning distinctions within the lexicon and at the sentence level).

At its core, this document is a grammar of Guna; it presents a description of the grammatical structures, categories, and sounds of Guna, all of which are organized following general grammar-writing traditions. Given the nature of this work, however, there is a greater need for clarity and readability due to the diversity of the intended audience. This is what this dissertation attempts to accomplish.

1.2 The language and its speakers

Guna is a Chibchan language spoken mostly in Panama[1]. The Guna people migrated from the northern part of Colombia and settled in several villages across eastern Panama. By the later part of the 16th century, the presence of "Indian" populations was reported in the area (Howe 1998).

Census data from 2010 (Contraloría General) indicates that most of the Guna population is now concentrated in two major areas within the country of Panama. A population of 30,458 still remains in communities in what is known today as Guna Yala[2], a territory that extends for 232 miles along the northeastern coast of Panama, including a string of 360 islands. Forty-four of these islands are inhabited, making up small

[1] Around 1,300 Gunas live in Colombia
[2] The territory is marked red in Map 1.1.

communities that range from 100 to 3,000 individuals. There are an additional 13 communities in the Guna Yala mainland, making up a total of 57 communities.

Map 1.1: Panama and Guna Yala

Census data also shows that the largest segment of the population (42,392) now lives in the urban areas of Panama City, the country's capital, and Colon, the second largest city in the country. For the first time since census information has been gathered, the Guna diasporas in Panama City and Colon outnumber the population in Guna Yala. This shift in population had been steady for the three decades previous to the 2000 census (where data showed a slight majority of the Guna population was still in Guna Yala), but

migration has appeared to have accelerated since. Interestingly, Guna Yala is the only *comarca*[3] where population decreased since the last census.

In addition to Guna Yala, Panama City and Colon, other communities are located around Lake Bayano[4], just south of Guna Yala, and in the Darien jungle on the Panama-Colombia border. In these areas, there are approximately 5,000 Gunas organized in various communities, which tend to be smaller than coastal villages.

All of these different populations of Guna speakers result in sometimes subtle and other times noticeable differences in the way people speak. An in-depth dialectal study of Guna is needed to systematically establish the different dialects of the language; this is beyond the scope of this work. An impressionistic observation[5] of the current situation, however, provides a general idea of some easily identifiable macro dialects based on region.

First of all, the Guna spoken in coastal villages differs noticeably from the Guna spoken in the Panama-Colombia border. This has led some to suggest a separate language known as "Border Guna" (Forster 1977). Generally, I have found that intelligibility is asymmetrical; people from the border seem to understand the variety spoken by Guna Yala/Bayano people better than the latter understand the former.

[3] Semi-autonomous indigenous territories
[4] The second largest lake in the country, Lake Bayano can easily be seen in Maps 1.1 and 1.2.
[5] The observation is not limited to my understanding of Guna dialectal differences but I've also drawn from previous work and from conversations with Guna speakers.

Secondly, speakers recognize general differences (mostly lexical, although some phonological) between the Guna varieties spoken in eastern, central and western Guna Yala (see Map 1.2). Here are just two examples (the variations in (1) are idiosyncratic, that is, they are not systematic).

(1)	a.	parakeet	[*gwiri*]	(Ailigandi, a central village)
			[*gwili*]	(everywhere else)
	But not			
		stick	*[*suari*]	
			[*suali*]	(all dialects)
	b.	girl	[*bunolo*]	(central and eastern villages)
			[*buna*]	(Carti, a group of western villages)

In terms of pronunciation, speakers of western and central villages reported that speakers of eastern villages "spoke strongly". What this means, most likely, is that the eastern dialects tend[6] to use voiceless stops [p], [t], [k] in place of voiced stops [b], [d], [g] in non-contrastive environments (i.e. word initially).

(2)	a.	Muladupu (eastern)	[*ti:*]	'water'
			[*kagan*]	'grass'
	b.	Usdupu and Agligandi (central), and Carti Sugdupu (western)	[*di:*]	'water'
			[*gagan*]	'grass'

[6] Increased contact with other villages through schooling and marriage may be affecting this pronunciation. One of my main consultants, Pailiber Rodriguez, uses voiced stops where other speakers from Muladupu might use voiceless stops. His family also tends to travel more to other villages and constantly host visitors from other villages.

Map 1.2[7]: Guna Yala villages

Thirdly, to the extent that there are dialectal differences, outside speakers were not able to point out identifiable traits of speakers from different Bayano area villages. Part of this may be due to the fact that there is a convergence of different regional dialects in these villages. Especially since the 70s, several families have migrated from Guna Yala to settle in already existing villages in Bayano.

Contact between speakers of coastal dialects is constant. Village ties with regard to their organization, culture, and tradition are strong because of this ever-present interaction. As an example, representatives from all 53 communities come together four

[7] Map 1.2 allows me to show the reader the division (largely arbitrary) of Guna Yala by region. Western villages extend from Porvenir to Playón Chico, central villages from Agligandi to Ogobsuggun (Ogobsucum in the map), and eastern villages from Nabagandi to Anachucuna.

times a year to discuss different cultural, commercial and political matters in *comarca*-wide meetings known as *congresos*. In addition to these, regional meetings, athletic and academic competitions, and Christian evangelization campaigns occur many times throughout the year.

Urban centers are also a point of dialect convergence; a large number of Gunas travel to and from Panama City and Colón by airplane, sea or car. Panama City and Colon, like Bayano, bring together speakers from numerous villages, where they constantly interact with each other. As a result, marriage between speakers of different dialects has become commonplace; in the past, Gunas were restricted by distance from marrying someone outside their region (one's own village or neighboring villages).

Due to extensive migration, bilingualism has now become an important aspect of Guna life. Panamanian government census data[8] claimed that about 29% of the Guna population is monolingual in Spanish. The Ethnologue claims that 60% of the population is monolingual in Guna and the remaining 40% is at some level bilingual in Guna and Spanish, which leaves no room for the government estimate of 29% of monolingualism in Spanish. Both figures, based on my own experience, appear to be outdated. Monolingualism in Guna at 60%, especially, seems high. Monolinguals in Guna are those children and adults that have never left their villages and have very little, if any, schooling. Although Guna is mostly used in the community by adults and children, most speakers have had some type of contact with Spanish in the school system.

[8] From 2000. There is no such data available from the last census in 2010

Bilingual figures are interesting because the bilingual population is not homogenous. Ideally, census data would reflect the shift in the population towards an increased use of Spanish and how it is affecting the levels of competence in Guna. In general terms, the different types of bilinguals that I have noticed are: a) those whose first language is Guna and who have learned Spanish as a second language because of migration into urban areas, b) those who have remained in the village but who have learned some Spanish in community government schools (where the instruction language is Spanish), c) the children of families that have migrated to urban areas who can speak both Spanish and Guna natively, and d) the children of families that have migrated to urban areas who speak Spanish natively and learn Guna as a second language.

What is clear is that a trend toward Spanish monolingualism continues to grow. Based on my own experience, younger generations fall into this category. Even many of my peers developed at least some level of competence in Guna; those that did not speak it extensively with their nuclear family used it with their extended family. With Guna diasporas in urban areas (Panama City especially) growing, many find that travel to Guna Yala is not necessary; thus, many small children don't learn Guna.

Despite this trend, today the language remains fairly strong. Although exact figures for different types of speakers are sketchy, the majority of the population still speaks the language, with a large percentage of children learning the language natively both in villages and in urban centers. Yet, the question of language loss looms large within the community. This is evidenced by the concerns constantly raised in *congresos*,

schools, academic circles, and everyday conversations. How this dissertation attempts to address this question was explored in §1.1 where I state the objectives of the current work.

This dissertation focuses on describing the Guna spoken and understood to originate from the coastal communities of Guna Yala. I have chosen to examine this population for two reasons: a) the varieties of the coast, which I will simply call "Guna", are spoken by the vast majority of speakers, so more data is readily available; and b) it is this variety with which I am most familiar because my parents are originally from coastal villages.

1.3 Previous work on Guna

The breadth of published material about the Guna people, language and culture is considerable when compared to other indigenous languages in Central America. This section summarizes relevant work done on Guna.

Better known work in anthropology about the Guna people is available. Several books that discuss Guna verbal art, oral tradition and language have been published by Sherzer (1980, 1983, 1990, 2001, 2003), which offer an important source of discourse forms that include folktales, chanting, and public speaking. Chapin (1983, 1989) also published important work on curing and traditional stories as well as Guna concerns for ecological and conservation issues (1990, 2004). Another prominent anthropologist, James Howe (1986, 2004, 2009) has also written extensively on Guna culture, with a

focus on political aspects within and outside the community. The publications above do not include their extensive lists of scholarly papers, articles and book chapters. Other non-Guna academics who have written about Guna from an anthropological and linguistic-anthropological perspective include, but are certainly not restricted to, Torres de Arauz (1957, 1958), Kayla Price (2005, 2011).

Several Guna scholars and academics have also contributed to the literature available on Guna. Among the most prominent, I can mention Aiban Wagwa (1976, 1994, 2000), Juan Perez Archibold (2004), Igwaniginape Kungiler (1994, 1997), Simion Brown (1996, 2005, 2006), Abadio Green (2004) and Lino Smith[9] (1975, 2003). Many of these are compilations of stories, myths and other oral forms of Guna speech that the authors transcribed, translated and provided commentary about. Smith also worked alongside the SIL on the translation of the New Testament into Guna, which was published in 1996.

Furthermore, the *Congreso General Guna* has secured funds for publications about Guna oral tradition, as well as literature to be used for bilingual education. Many of the recordings of these published texts are available for download in digital format in the web-based Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA), which a researcher can have easy access to. Other recordings are available physically at the *Congreso General Guna* offices in Panama City. In addition, bilingual education material is available on the *Congreso* website (www.gunayala.org.pa). Among these publications,

[9] Lino Smith is my father.

there are documents such as a dictionary developed to be used in the classroom, a book that describes the alphabet used in classrooms, and several collections of stories and myths geared toward teaching children.

Despite the good breadth of work on Guna in other areas, literature on linguistic phenomena of the language is limited; Prince (1912), Holmer (1947), Erice (1980), Sherzer (1975, 1983. 2003), Llerena (1987), and Giannelli et al (2002) are the principal studies.

The first attempt at a comprehensive description of Guna was done by J. Dyneley Prince (1912). In his study, Prince describes aspects of phonology and morphology that laid the foundation for future studies, including this one. Although some of the data was misinterpreted, this seminal work was important because it was the first linguistic survey of different grammatical phenomena in Guna.

Neils Holmer (1947) offers a grammatical sketch of Guna. In this study, he describes various aspects of Guna grammar including a good phonological description and an adequate treatment of morphology. However, because this work was published almost 65 years ago, a more contemporary treatment of morphology was not available. Overall, this study offers good linguistic analyses, but a more modern approach to grammar writing and linguistic description is needed. This study neglects important parts of syntax that I describe here. Also important was the creation of a dictionary (1952) from the data collected for this grammar.

Jesus Erice published two works in 1980: a grammar and a dictionary. The first document is less a descriptive work and more a pedagogical document. Although the author mentions in the introductory section that he attempts to provide a description of the language, the book is geared toward learning Guna as a second language. Also, he added very little to what was known about the language at the time. The dictionary, although not as well developed as the dictionary published by the *Congreso* in 2009, was an important building block for future dictionaries.

Joel Sherzer also explores matters of linguistic inquiry in many of his works. In many cases, he delves into aspects of the grammar as they relate to Guna verbal art. For example, Sherzer (2001) describes the phonology and the morphology of Guna. Essential to his account of different ways of speaking in Guna culture is the interplay between these grammatical features and the social contexts in which these are used by the speaker. Sherzer has also written about purely formal features of the language. A systematic description of the numeral classifier system (1978) was one of the first of its kind for a Central American indigenous language. He also published a grammatical sketch (2003) that touches on important issues in phonology and morphology, namely consonant gemination and verbal formatives.

Llerena (1987) is a descriptive work that, like Holmer focuses mainly on aspects of morphology as they relate to the predicate. Llerena discusses the verbal affixes of tense, aspect, mood and positionals, and discusses briefly the nominal morphology. However, absent from this description is an important characteristic of Guna grammar:

the presence of clitics which plays a role in the ordering of formatives on the verb. Additionally, the book doesn't offer much in terms of syntax.

Although Guna phonology has been understood to be fairly straightforward, Giannelli, Marotta and Pacini (2002) provide the best deliberation of issues in Guna phonology as well as a description of its prosody. Giannelli, especially, assesses the current situation with regard to different analyses of gemination, vowel length and morpheme elision of final vowels.

More recently, Lindsey Newbold, a linguistics doctoral student at University of California Berkley, has written a grammatical sketch (2005) and an important article that analizes affix ordering on the Guna verb (2013).

1.4 Guna as Chibchan

The classification of languages under the Chibchan **language family** (a group of languages that come from a common ancestor language) is first attributed to Max Uhle in 1890 (Quesada 2007). Subsequent studies have attempted to systematically account for this grouping, most famously Constenla (1981, 1995) using **lexicostatistics** and the **comparative method**, which allow for a feature-by-feature comparison of lexical cognates in two or more languages, and more recently Quesada (2007) using mostly morphosyntactic data. These studies classify Guna in a family of 24 languages found in a geographic area covering the countries of Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia**.**

In contrast to languages that are related, some languages may share a set of features due to contact between speakers of two or more languages. In Constenla (1995), the author applies the methodology of a study by Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark (1986), which clearly establishes a **linguistic area** (an area that includes different languages from different language families) in Mesoamerica, to his own study of an area known as the Intermediate Area[10], which encompasses most of Central America and parts of South America. Constenla includes the following language families in the Intermediate Area: Misumalpa (4 languages), Chibchan (24 languages), Chocó (3 languages), some Arawakan languages (4), Caribe (2 languages), and Jirajara (3 languages). Constenla's work is important because he surveys grammatical features from a number of understudied languages from different language families and for the first time attempts to define **isoglosses** (a set of features that is widespread over a linguistic area) that delineate an Intermediate Area distinct from the Mesoamerica linguistic area. Just as a way of comparison, Campbell et al point to five traits that they suggest make up Mesoamerica as a linguistic area:

(3)

a) Nominal possession with the form 'his noun1, the noun2'
b) Relational nouns composed of a noun root and possessive pronominal affixes to indicate locative and related notions,
c) A vigesimal numeral system
d) The basic word order is non-verb final

[10] This was first proposed by Gordon Willey (1971) as an archeological-cultural area.

e) Similar semantic calques and loan translations.

Of the languages surveyed by Constenla, none can be identified as belonging to the Mesoamerican area[11]. That much is clear from the linguistic evidence. Although he set out to find linguistic correlates that encompassed the whole Intermediate Area, area-wide grammatical features could not be established. Instead, he concludes that important typological tendencies suggest three linguistic areas: Central American-Colombian Area (CCA), Ecuadorian-Colombian (EC), and Venezuelan-Antillean (VA).

Why is this relevant? Constenla's survey has consequences for the study of Central American languages more generally, and Chibchan linguistics more specifically. First of all, his studies brought to light the paucity of linguistic work in the area (Constenla 1991:31). Perhaps due to the influence of his work, there appears to be a growing interest in the study of Central American languages. This brings us to the second effect of Constenla's work. With more data readily available, subsequent comparative work has been possible. More recent studies aim at more rigorous linguistic comparisons, which Quesada (2007) does in his book "The Chibchan Languages." He observes that there is a clear set of features that Central American Chibchan languages share. Those are listed in (4) below (Quesada 2007:31)[12].

(4)

a) Most languages exhibit sonority oppositions in the stop and fricative series

[11] Of the five features, only a vigesimal numeral system appears in Guna (Chapter 4).
[12] All of the features exist in Guna. I have included the chapters under which each topic can be found in the grammar.

(Chapter 2)

b) Exclusive SOV order in the main clause (Chapter 6)

c) Exclusive use of postpositions (Chapters 4 and 6)

d) Most languages have a possessor-possessum order (Chapter 4)

e) Extensive presence of noun-adjective order (Chapter 4)

f) Strong tendency for noun-numeral order (Chapter 4)

g) Question words do not tend to appear sentence-initially (Chapter 6)

h) Extensive suffixation or postposition of negative particles in declarative clauses (Chapters 5 and 6)

i) Total absence of gender oppositions in pronouns and nominal inflection (Chapter 3)

j) Most languages have no accusative marking (Chapters 3 and 6)

k) Absence of alienable possession in nouns (Chapter 4)

As more material is slowly becoming available, data from neighboring languages that have been identified as Chibchan has informed my analyses of Guna. This is especially true of discussions on aspectual distinctions, verb serialization and argument structure, grammatical phenomena that seem to pattern similarly to Guna. I must point out that although each language is different, I have certainly benefited from the available literature on comparative work and related Chibchan languages.

1.5 Methodology

In the development of a grammar, the breadth and diversity of the data can deepen the analysis of the grammatical phenomena that occur in a language (Weber 2005; Mithun 2005; Mosel 2006). My aim is to describe the phonology, morphology, syntax, morphosyntax and semantics found in Guna from a rich **corpus** that reflects the naturally occurring speech of its native speakers. Thus, I considered multiple sources to provide a wide array of data from which the analysis was done.

My data collection was divided in three stages: 1) a collection of texts, published and unpublished, that had been recorded and transcribed previously, 2) a collection of naturally occurring speech that I recorded and transcribed, and 3) direct elicitation sessions with native Guna speakers.

The initial stage of my data collection focused on gathering data from published and unpublished texts already available. All of these texts were collected, translated and transcribed previously by researchers or members of the community.

The second stage in data gathering involved the three-step process of recording, transcribing and translating Guna naturally occurring speech. Although there already was a good amount of Guna texts, there were two reasons why I carried out more documentation. First of all, there were genres that were not yet well represented in the collection. The recordings in AILLA had numerous recordings of chants and more formal forms of narration (like myths), instruction and oratory. Other discourse forms that helped me to provide a more diverse sample were procedural texts, personal narratives,

genealogies, and dialogue/conversations. This not only directly impacts my research, but it can contribute to the documentation and preservation of Guna by enriching the collection at AILLA and at the *Congreso General Guna*. Secondly, I wanted to be active in the whole process of collection, transcription and translation. The benefit of being involved in the documentation process is that I became very familiar with the data that I used in this dissertation.

In this stage of data collection, approximately 30 hours of new recordings were created. The sample was diverse in speaker selection to account for differences in age, sex, social group and minor dialectal variation. These recordings were done in two settings: in Guna villages where there is a higher percentage of monolingualism and in Panama City where there is a large concentration of bilingual Guna. Of those 30 hours, I transcribed 10 hours, which I use extensively as the data for my analysis. My sample attempted to include an equal number of speakers from both village and urban areas, but I draw heavily from speakers of two villages: Ogobsuggun/Usdupu (central villages) and Muladupu (a western village).

Figure 1.1: Village leader from Ogobsuggun (Elías Perez)

Figure 1.2: Wikaliler D. Smith talking about the project to *Congreso* authorities

Elicitation was a necessary component of data collection. Elicitation allows for a focused examination of forms that cannot be explained simply by the recorded texts. This was especially useful to test certain hypotheses or to complement the existing sample of specific grammatical features. My main sources of data through elicitation were two speakers from Muladupu: Igwa Gomez and Pailiber Rodriguez. My parents, Amilda Morris (Ogobsuggun) and Lino Smith (Muladupu), also assisted me in this process.

A word on the organization of this dissertation is necessary. As stated in a previous section, the main objective of this work is to present a straightforward and clear description of linguistic phenomena of Guna. With this in mind, chapters are organized to make the description and discussions as clear as possible. I draw heavily from two sources, England (1996) and Watahomigie et al. (2001), because their work is also geared towards members of the community of speakers. Each chapter in this grammar begins with a table of contents for easy access to the topics. Also, the chapters have an initial section called "Main Concepts" which defines and exemplifies the relevant concepts that are going to be used throughout that chapter. The rest of the chapter focuses on detailed descriptions of those concepts as they relate to Guna.

Following the tradition in the linguistic literature, the examples are presented in three lines, illustrated below. The first lines, always in italics, (i) gives a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown. As subsequent chapters will detail, the symbol used to separate morphemes depends on the type of dependent morpheme (whether it is an affix or a clitic). The second line (ii) corresponds to the **glosses**. A gloss is a description of the

grammatical function or the definition for each morpheme. The abbreviated labels that I use for the grammatical categories will be detailed in the appendices. Notice that the glosses follow the syntax of Guna and that each description or definition is placed under the word it defines. The third line (iii) is simply a free translation of the example into English.

(5) *(i) An=nan be dak-sa*
(ii) 1S=mother 2S see-PFV
(iii) 'My mother saw you'

Notational symbols for **grammaticality judgments** are used in examples to represent whether a speaker (or speakers) rejects a sentence based on an ill-formed structure or an odd use of certain elements within a sentence or phrase. In such cases, an asterisk (*) is placed in front of the example to represent an unacceptable (**ungrammatical**) construction. To represent an inconclusive grammaticality judgment, a question mark is used (?), also in front of the example. This symbol can be used when an example is odd but acceptable under certain limiting conditions, when there are varying judgments from different speakers, or when a speaker simply is unsure of its grammaticality.

(6) a. **nan=an be daksa*
'My mother saw you'

b. ?*an=nan daksa be*
'My mother saw you'

As we build the grammar of Guna, the notations will become more familiar and the abbreviations used will be explained in detail in the relevant chapters.

Chapter 2

The Sounds of Guna

Content

This study of the Guna language begins with an outline of the sounds that occur in the language and the details of how those sounds are organized. It is through sound combinations that most languages of the world communicate ideas, tell stories and jokes, ask questions, give commands, etc. Therefore, sounds are a fundamental part of the language.

Although communication can occur through other means (e.g. writing), most humans communicate through very intricate sound patterns. These sound patterns are learned from a very young age, as most readers have attested. The goal of this chapter is to put forth a description of how speakers of Guna organize the sounds that the language uses to communicate through speech.

2.1 Main Concepts

The sounds of a language are a fundamental part of how people communicate with each other. Before we look at any aspect of the grammar of Guna, it must be noted that the rest of the grammar is built on the combination of sounds into syllables, words, phrases, clauses, and so on. Therefore, it is important to have an understanding of what particular sounds are present in Guna.

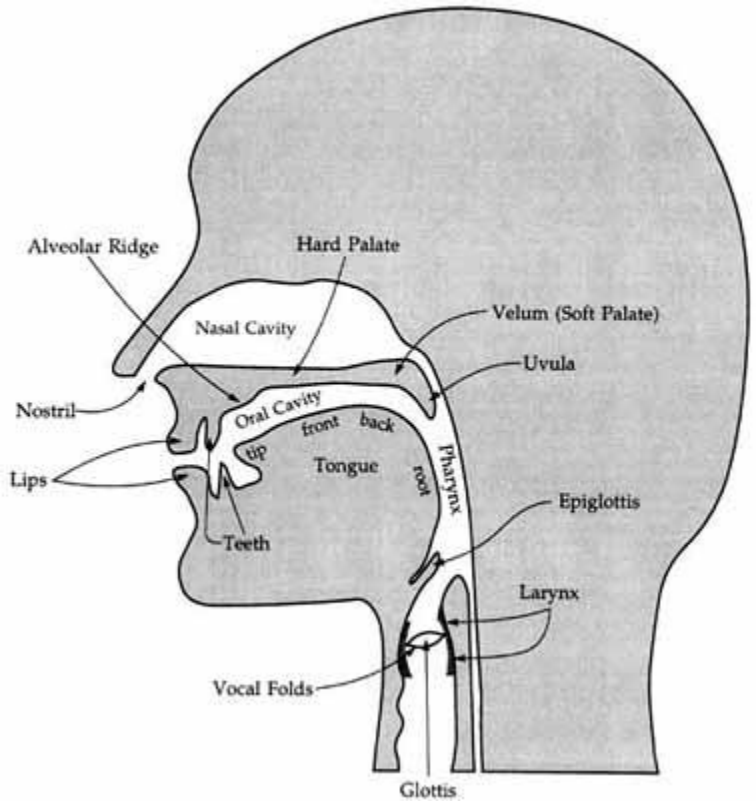
Phonetics is a tool that allows us to describe speech. In a general sense, phonetics is the study of sounds in speech. However, there are different ways in which phonetics is understood in linguistics. **Articulatory phonetics** examines the ways sounds are

produced by the vocal organs**,** describing the properties of sounds as different parts of the vocal tract interact. **Acoustic phonetics** investigates the measurable, physical properties of sounds as they are being transmitted from the speaker to the listener. Finally, **auditory phonetics** explores how speech sounds are perceived by the human ear.

In this grammar, I apply the tools and methods available to us through articulatory phonetics. This is sufficient to create a very good description of the sounds of Guna. It is the most widespread approach in explaining human speech as it provides the details needed to distinguish between the different sounds that a human produces. In many studies, specific measurements using special equipment to actually "see" the physical properties of a sound may be needed to complement the description of a language. This is not the case for the current study.

The sounds for speech originate from our respiratory system as the air out of our lungs moves through the vocal tract and out of our mouths. As figure 2.1 illustrates, there are several organs in this passage way. Although these organs participate in other biological functions not exclusive to speech, they play an important role by creating different sound effects as they are manipulated and moved as air passes through.

Figure 2.1: The vocal organs[13]



I will now describe the different effects the vocal organs can have as air passes through them. Individual sounds in a language can be described specifying what the vocal folds do for certain sounds, what organs interact to create different effects on the air, and what kind of effects can be produced by this interaction. These tools are used to describe **segmental** aspects of phonology, or individual sounds.

[13] Pat Kamalani Hurley, *The vocal organs for speech production,* 2014. Accessed April 12, 2014 http://emedia.leeward.hawaii.edu/hurley/Ling102web/mod3_speaking/3mod3.2_vocalorgans.htm

2.1.1 Voicing

As the air comes out of the lungs, it passes through the larynx. In the larynx, a pair of muscles called the **vocal folds** can be manipulated so that the space between them is opened (apart) or narrowed. When they are apart, the airflow is uninterrupted. However, the vocal folds can be adjusted to narrow the space between them, in which case the airstream causes the folds to vibrate. This vibration is called **voicing**. **Voiceless** sounds are sounds produced when the vocal folds are apart, and there is no vibration. **Voiced** sounds are sounds produced when the passage-way is narrowed, so there is vibration from the tensing of the vocal folds. Voicing is an important element in many languages because it distinguishes sounds like ***g*** in the Spanish word *gato* versus a sound ***k*** as in *carro*.

2.1.2 Place of articulation

As the air now moves beyond the folds, certain organs can be moved so that the air passes through either the mouth (also known as the **oral cavity/tract**) or the nose (the **nasal cavity/tract**). A **consonant** sound is a sound where the air is impeded by the manipulation of these organs as it exits the mouth. In the description of consonants, linguists differentiate between two types of vocal organs in the production of speech. **Articulators** are parts of the vocal tract that can move to create certain effects for speech production. It is often the case that the lower parts of the oral tract move toward the upper surface, which tend to be more stationary. The **places of articulation** are those stationary

parts. Both articulators and places of articulation combine to form a second component (the first was voicing) to describe sounds.

By looking at Figure 2.1 (it may also be helpful to identify these organs in your mouth) we can see the movable organs: the articulators are the lower lip, the lower teeth, the tongue (and its different sections) and part of the throat. The places of articulation are the upper lip and teeth, the **alveolar ridge** (the bump on the roof of the mouth right behind the upper teeth), the hard and soft palates (the smooth parts of the roof of the mouth, one is hard and the other one is soft; the soft palate is also known as the **velum**), and the uvula (the hanging organ at the back of the mouth). It is the soft palate that can be raised against the back part of the mouth to block the passage of air to the nasal cavity. The pharynx and the glottis are also places of articulation.

The general term used to describe the place where two vocal organs converge to produce a sound is place of articulation. In Guna, the consonants can be grouped into four places of articulation.

A **bilabial** consonant is produced when the lower lip rises to touch the upper lip. The ***p*** and ***m*** are bilabial sounds in Guna.

(1) [***p****oe*][14] ‘to cry’
[***m****oe*] ‘squash’

[14] The brackets indicate that this is a phonetic transcription using symbols from the **International Phonetic Alphabet**. Because a symbol in the particular orthography of a language can be pronounced differently in another language, the IPA was devised to represent sounds consistently across all languages.

An **alveolar** consonant is produced when the tip of the tongue (or the **blade**, which is the part of the tongue right behind the tip) touches the alveolar ridge. Five consonants are alveolar consonants in Guna: ***t***, ***n***, ***s***, ***l***, and ***r***.

(2) [***t****oe*] ‘to swallow’
[***n****oe*] ‘to exit’
[***s****oe*] ‘to fish’
[*a****l****i*] ‘tight’
[*a****r****i*] ‘iguana’

A **palatal** consonant is produced when the front of the tongue touches the hard palate. The ***j***[15] sound is a palatal sound.

(3) [***j****aa*] ‘door’
[*e****j****e*] ‘yes’

Finally, a **velar** sound is produced when the back of the tongue rises to the soft palate. The consonant ***k*** is a velar sound. The ***w*** consonant is both a velar and a bilabial sound.

(4) [***k****oe*] ‘baby’, ‘deer’
[***w****isi*] ‘to know’

2.1.3 Manner of articulation

The final component used in the description of consonant sounds in a language is **manner of articulation**. As the phrase suggests, this describes the way in which the sound is produced. More specifically, it describes the effect created by the interaction between the articulator and place of articulation. For example, an alveolar sound may be

[15] [j] is the IPA symbol for the y

produced with a complete closure at the alveolar ridge by the articulator. Another type of alveolar sound may be produced with a partial closure at the alveolar ridge, which creates friction as the air passes through the oral cavity.

The first manner of articulation that was described above is called a **stop.** There is complete closure in the mouth, which creates an obstruction of the airstream. The air is then released for the next sound to occur. In Guna, stops can be bilabial ***p***, alveolar ***t***, and velar ***k***.

(5) [***p****ule*] intensifying adverb
[***t****ule*] 'person'
[***k****ole*] 'to call'

A **nasal** sound is also a type of stop. In a nasal sound, the velum lowers, which allows the air to go through the nasal cavity. Nasals are also stops because there is closure in the oral cavity. There are two nasal sounds in Guna, a bilabial ***m*** and an alveolar ***n***.

(6) [***m****ai*] 'lying down'
[***n****ai*] 'hanging'

A **fricative** sound is created by a partial closure between the articulator and the place of articulation. As was mentioned above, this creates a turbulent airflow (or friction) at the place of articulation. There is one fricative sound in Guna, the alveolar ***s***.

(7) [***s****ipu*] 'white'
[*a****s****u*] 'nose'
[*in****s****e*] 'first'

A **lateral** sound is produced by an approximation of the articulator to the place of articulation; friction is not produced by this approximation. Instead, air flows through the sides of the tongue as it exits the mouth. The ***l*** is the only lateral in the language.

(8) [*pe**l**a*] ‘finished’
[*mo**l**i*] ‘horse’

An ***r*** is a sound produced when the tongue makes a single, short tap against the alveolar ridge. This is called a **flap**. The ***l*** and the ***r*** together are considered **liquid** consonants. It has often been observed that these two consonants behave similarly in many languages, and that is the case in Guna as we will see later.

(9) [*a**r**i*] ‘iguana’
[*a**r**bae*] ‘to work’

Finally, **glides** (also known as **semivowels**) are sounds that closely resemble a vowel sound (vowels will be discussed below). There are two such sounds in Guna: ***j*** and ***w***.

(10) [***j**er*] ‘good’
[***w**alar*] ‘long’

2.1.4 Vowel sounds

The production of **vowel** sounds is different from what I have been describing for consonant sounds. The airflow has an almost uninterrupted passage through the oral cavity because the articulators are far enough apart to avoid creating the effects on air and sound described above. However, the tongue does move to create different vowel sounds.

Vowels can be described using three different factors: the **height** of the tongue, the position of the tongue horizontally (**front** or **back**) and **lip rounding**. In terms of height, vowels can be **high** (the tongue is raised closer to the roof of the mouth, as in the ***i*** in ***i****nso* 'truly'), **mid** (the tongue is in a relatively middle position in the mouth, as the ***e*** in *b****e*** 'you') and **low** (the tongue is in its lowest position in the mouth, as the ***a*** in ***a****n***)**. In terms of the horizontal position of the tongue, vowels can be **front** (the tip of the tongue is closer to the front teeth like the vowel ***i***), **central** (***a*** is a central vowel), and **back** (the tongue is closer to the back part of the mouth like ***u*** in ***u****e* 'to smell' and ***o*** in ***o****me* 'woman'). Vowels can also be produced by the rounding or not rounding of the lips. The back vowels in Guna are **rounded** vowels; all the other vowels are **unrounded**.

2.1.5 Phonology

The previous sections described sounds in terms of their physical properties. However, the physical realization of sounds derives from a mental representation of what the sounds are. In other words, speakers of a language have a psychological notion about what the 'sounds' of the language are, and these may be different from the actual sounds that are produced. A **phoneme** is that mental representation of a sound.

A phoneme is a **distinctive** (also **contrastive**) sound in a language. This means that a distinction can be made between sounds, and this distinction has repercussions in the meaning of words. For instance, in Guna ***t*** and ***p*** are contrastive. We can test this by looking at **minimal pairs**, which are pairs of words that only differ in one sound in the same **environment** or place within the word.

(11) [***t****oe*] ‘to swallow’
[*p**oe***] ‘to cry’

(11) shows that ***t*** and ***p*** are distinctive in Guna because the change in sound causes a change in meaning with everything else being equal. On the other hand, the ***k*** and ***g*** are not distinct sounds in the language.

(12) [***k****oe*] ‘baby’
[*g**oe***] ‘baby’

Instead, the pronunciation of a voiced ***g*** and a voiceless ***k*** (both velar stops) in Guna are the result of dialectal variation in initial position. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, a speaker of Muladup will most likely say [*koe*] whereas other villages (Usdup, for example) may pronounce a velar stop that is closer to a voiced sound [*goe*]. As a result, ***k*** and ***g*** are not different phonemes.

2.2 Phonemes of Guna

The segmental phonology of Guna has been discussed in detail by several authors (Prince 2012, Holmer 1947, Sherzer 1975, Giannelli 2001, Newbold 2005). Although some unresolved questions remain about the theoretical implications of **geminates**[16] in Guna, there is no controversy as to the existence of these types of sounds in the language. These will be described in the consonant sections. This section details all the segmental sounds of the language as the speaker conceives them.

[16] Geminates are long consonants that can be analyzed as double consonants (Ladefoged 2001)

2.2.1 Consonants

It has been already demonstrated by Holmer (1947) and Sherzer (1975) that there are 10 basic consonant phonemes in Guna. These sounds are represented in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.1: Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p	t		k
Nasal	m	n		
Fricative		s		
Liquid		l		
		r		
Glide			j	w

All the stops (including nasals) and the fricative ***s*** can occur in initial, middle and final[17] positions.

(13) ***p*** /*pane*/[18] 'tomorrow'
/*ape*/ 'blood'
/*pap*/ 'father' (elided form)

(14) ***t*** /*tae*/ 'be'
/*sate*/ '(he/she) began'
/*pat*/ 'already' (elided form)

[17] Nouns and verbs in Guna always end in vowels. However, vowel (or syllable, in some cases) elision is a widespread process in everyday speech. As a consequence, many words will end in consonants. This will be explained in §2.3 when I discuss syllables.
[18] Remember that the brackets ([ ]) represent a phonetic representation. That is, it presents the actual produced sound by a speaker. However, a phonemic representation only presents the phoneme of the language. The actual pronunciation may be different from this phoneme.

(15)	***m***	/*mae*/	‘to lick’
		/*tampe*/	‘to be cold’
		/*mam*/	‘yuca’ (elided form)
(16)	***s***	/*sae*/	‘yesterday’
		/*asu*/	‘nose’
		/*kas*/	‘hammock’ (elided form)

The liquids in Guna don’t occur word initially. In most dialects, only the ***r*** is possible at the end of a syllable.

(17)	***l***	/*tu**l**e*/	‘person’
		/*su**l**i*/	‘no’
(18)	***r***	/*a**r**i*/	‘iguana’
		/*pu**r**wi*/	‘small’
		/*anmar*/	‘us’ (elided form of *anmala*)

The glides can occur word initially and word medially, but never word finally.

(19)	***j***	/*jakwa*/	‘young girl’
		/*maja*/	‘good’
(20)	***w***	/*waa*/	‘smoke’
		/*tiwar*/	‘river’

Because the consonant inventory of Guna is relatively small and the facts about their distribution are straightforward, I have been able to provide a simple description of the segmental phonology so far. However, this doesn’t mean that the language has been free of controversy when it comes to the discussion of its phonology. A very important question that arises in the language is what to do in cases where there are obvious minimal pairs like the ones illustrated in (21).

(21) a. [*take*] ‘to see’
[*tage*] [19] ‘to come’

b. [*make*] ‘to shoot/spear’
[*mage*] ‘to paint’

c.. [*sate*] ‘to lack’
[*sade*] ‘he/she just began’

b. [*tuku*] ‘tip’
[*tugu*] a type of fish

Prince (1912) and Holmer (1947) had already established that the distinction between the sounds above is not one of voicing, but one of length. That is, the sounds that in the surface appear as voiceless stops are in fact **geminates**, or double consonant sounds. The sounds that in the surface appear as voiced stops are in fact **singletons** or single consonant sounds. These singletons have been **sonorized** (become voiced) in specific contexts that will be described in the next section. The representation of those sounds in the language (and their pronunciation) is summarized in Table 2.3.

Table 2.2: Geminates (Gianelli 2002)

pp [p]	tt [t]	kk [k]
mm	nn	
	ll	
	ss [tʃ] [20]	

[19] Following the IPA, I am using ***b***, ***d***, *and* ***g*** as symbols that represent sounds that are voiced stops in the surface.

[20] An **affricate** sound is a combination of a stop and a fricative. The symbol tʃ ˙ here represents an affricate palatal that is written in Spanish as *ch*. Just as the geminates are not included in the phonemic inventory of Guna in Table 2.2, the *ch* is instead considered to be a phonetic representation of a geminated *s* (*ss*). This can be seen in the pair *machi* ‘young man’, and its plural *masmala* ‘young men’.

In fact, all the consonants, except for the glides, can be geminated only intervocalically. Here are some minimal pairs with other geminates.

(22)	a.	[*samor*][21]	'handkerchief'
		[*sammor*]	'estinguish lamp'
	b.	[*kwalu*]	'a type of root'
		[*kwallu*]	'lamp'
	c..	[*inna*]	'corn drink'
		[*ina*]	'medicine'

There are two pieces of evidence for an analysis of a geminate-singleton distinction instead of a voiceless-voiced distinction. First of all, Sherzer (1970) showed, rather ingeniously through a very interesting language game called *sorsik sunmake* (talking backwards), how speakers of Guna conceive certain syllable divisions. In this language game, speakers place the last syllable in word initial position.

(23)	Guna Word	*sorsik sunmake*	gloss
	[*ina*]	[*nai*]	'medicine'
	[*tage*]	[*keda*]	'to come'
	[*argan*]	[*kanar*]	'hand'

This game is able to show how syllables are divided (i.na, ta.ge, ar.gan), and it also shows how sounds change in different contexts. The words in Guna are represented here phonetically to show the kind of processes we will talk about here.

[21] All of these examples are from Giannelli (2001).

In words where there is a distinction illustrated by the pairs in (21), *sorsik sunmake* clearly shows that there is an underlying geminate, where one stop is associated with the first syllable (in the actual Guna word) as a syllable **coda** (the final sound in a syllable or a word) and the other identical sound is associated as the **onset** (the first sound in a syllable or a word) of the second syllable (or first syllable in *sorsik sunmake*)

(24)	Guna Word	*sorsik sunmake*		gloss
	[*sate*]	[*tesat*]	**tesa*	'to lack'
	[*take*]	[*kedak*]	**keda*	'to see'
	[*tage*]	[*keda*]		'to come'
	[*tuku*]	[*kuduk*]	**kudu*	'a type of fish'

A second piece of evidence is a widespread process in the language that happens at the **morpheme boundaries**. When two morphemes combine and the resulting combination results in a geminate, this geminate surfaces as a voiceless stop. In the words below, I am representing the sounds phonetically (using *g* instead of *k* for example).

(25) [*nega*] 'house' + [*kine*] locative postposition
nekkine [nekine] 'in the house'

(26) [*naga*] 'foot' + [*kine*] locative postposition
nakki [naki] 'in the foot'

(27) [*tuba*] 'string' + [*pi*] restrictive
tuppi [tupi] 'only the string'

(28) [*wisi*] 'to know' + [*suli*] negative
wissuli [witʃuli] 'don't know

What about the apparent voiced stops in words such as *mage*, *tage*, and *sade* in (21) if there are no such consonants? This is explained by a **sonority** rule that exists in

Guna which affects stops. A singleton stop becomes 'voiced' when it occurs in between two **sonorants** (between voiced sounds). Some examples are shown below.

(29) a. *take* becomes *tage* 'to come'
b. *unke* becomes *unge* 'to take off'
c. *tope* becomes *tobe* 'to fear'

Sorsik sunmake also provides evidence for an existence of a sonority rule. Look again at the data presented where an initial stop can be voiceless, as in *take* and *tuku*. (24) is repeated here. When that initial *t* ends up in between two vowels, it is represented as a voiced consonant.

(24) Guna Word *sorsik sunmake*

[*sate*] [*te.sat*]
[*take*] [*ke.dak*]
[*tuku*] [*ku.duk*]

In conclusion, Table 2.2 summarizes the consonant inventory of the language. The contrast that exists intervocalically (between two vowels) is one of a geminate vs. singleton consonants. The singleton is then voiced in the context of two voiced sounds.

2.2.2 Vowels

The vowel inventory is a system that distinguishes five vowels.

Table 2.3: Vowel inventory

	front	central	back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The high front vowel *i* can be found in the following words.

(30)

/*tii*/	‘water’
/*ise*/	‘prohibited’
/*Ikwa*/	Proper name
/*emi*/	‘today’
/*kilor*/	‘uncle’
/*sapi*/	‘tree

The mid front vowel *e* can be found in the following words.

(31)

/*we*/	the proximate demonstrative
/*sae*/	‘to make’, ‘yesterday’
/*esa*/	‘machete’
/e*noe*/	‘to fill up’
/*ispe*/	‘mirror’
/*kwake*/	‘heart’

The low central vowel *a* can be found in the following words.

(32)

/*saka*/	‘father/mother in-law'
/*sae*/	‘to make’, ‘yesterday’
/*pane*/	‘tomorrow’
/*akli*/	‘mangrove swamp’
/*opa*/	‘corn’
/*purwa*/	‘wind’

The high back vowel *u* can be found in the following words.

(33)

/*tulup*/	‘lobster’
/*ua*/	‘fish’
/*usu*/	‘agouti’
/*assu*/	‘dog’
/*unni*/	‘enough’
/*urko*/	‘plank’

Finally, the mid back vowel *o* can be found in the following words.

(34) /*pokwa*/ ‘two’
/*onoke/* ‘to take (something) out’
/*koe*/ ‘baby’, ‘deer’
/*nono*/ ‘head’
/*soo*/ ‘fire’
/*sola*/ ‘buttocks’

The language has phonetic long vowels in monosyllabic words that have an underlying single vowel (*tii*, *soo*). These long vowels are not contrastive with short vowels. Instead, a long vowel results from a word requirement in the language to have at least two morae**.** A **mora** is a unit of metrical time or weight. In many languages, it is used to explain certain stress phenomena that distinguish between **heavy** syllables (a syllable with two **morae**) and **light** syllables (a syllable with one **mora**). In most situations, the analysis of a mora is applied to the syllable nuclei (normally a vowel) and another segment that may follow the nucleus.

In Guna, the only situation where an analysis of a mora appears to be applicable is in monosyllabic words. In words that have a final consonant, the vowel is not lengthened. In our analysis of morae, the final consonant in monosyllabic words counts as a mora.

(35) [*sor*] ‘buttocks’
[*bab*] ‘father’
[*an*] ‘I’

However, a vowel is lengthened when there is no final consonant.

(36) [*soo*] ‘fire’

[*tii*] ‘water’
[*saa*] ‘excrement’
[*muu*] ‘old lady’
[*pee*] ‘you’

When the words attach to suffixes, the lengthening is lost.

(37) *ti-war* ‘river’
mu-kan ‘old ladies’
pe=ome ‘your wife’

2.3 Practical orthography

Due to the important differences between different writing systems (**orthographies**) that have been proposed and used for Guna, I will briefly summarize them here. First, let us look at Table 2.4 for a comparative look.

Table 2.4: A comparison of different writing systems

IPA	Holmer (1947)	Smith (1975)	Congreso General Guna (2010)
p	p	b	b
t	t	d	d
k	k	g	g
pp	pp	p	bb
tt	tt	t	dd
kk	kk	k	gg
s	s	s	s
ss	ss	ch	ss
m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n
l	l	l	l
r	r	r	r
w	u	w	w
j	y	y	y

The lower half of the table is uncontroversial. The nasals, glides and liquids are all represented exactly the same in all three known systems. The palatal glide ***j*** is written as *y* in the orthography.

Because voiced and voiceless stops are non-contrastive, both sets have been used to represent the singleton stops *p, t,* and *k*. Holmer and Sherzer both used the voiceless set to represent the singletons. Smith and now the *Congreso* use the voiced set instead. The representation of geminate sounds has been the source of controversy. Where Holmer and the *Congreso* decided to maintain the phonological reality of gemination in the writing system (although using different graphemes to do so), Smith (influenced by SIL) represents the geminate sounds with the voiceless stops set as well as the *ch* for the double *ss*. Smith argues that by using *p, t, k,* and *ch* for geminates, the phonetic distinction between sets of minimal pairs, like *make-mage* and *achu-asu*, can be represented in writing, especially in instances when the conjugation of verbs causes ambiguity in discovering the root word is (without any context).

(38) *Congreso*

magge	*mag-sa*	'to shoot/spear'
mage	*mag-sa*	'to draw'

(39) Smith

make	*mak-sa*	'to shoot/spear'
mage	*mag-sa*	'to draw'

In this grammar[22], I am using the Smith system. In clear instances where gemination results from the combination of two morphemes (such as *neggine* 'in the house'), I will write the double voiced consonants. I will only use the voiceless set of symbols, as well as the *ch*, to represent root[23] geminates. Table 2.5 summarizes this.

Table 2.5: Orthography

	IPA	Smith Grammar	Meaning
singletons	kunne	*gunne*	to eat
	koe	*goe*	deer
	pane	*bane*	tomorrow
	toke	*doge*	to enter
	tuku	*dugu*	type of fish
	saku	*sagu*	sack
geminate roots	makke	*make*	to shoot
	namakke	*namake*	to sing
	satte	*sate*	to lack
	patte	*bate*	plate
	assu	*achu*	dog
	massi	*machi*	young man
	sappi	*sapi*	tree
gemination	nek + kine	*neggine*	in the house
	soke + kusa	*soggusa*	had said
	wisi + suli	*wissuli*	not know

[22] I am doing this simply for practical purposes. I want to be able to distinguish between root geminates and singletons, as Lino Smith argues. However, I have started using the *Congreso* system in other contexts.

[23] I might be unaware of the origin of certain words. In these cases, I will keep the voiceless set of consonants.

2.4 Syllable structure

In the description of sounds, a reference to syllable structure is always made because, as we saw above in *sorsik sunmake*, it has an actual realization for speakers of the language. Also, certain phonological processes are easily explainable if we look at how syllables are organized.

In Guna, the syllable can take various shapes. The vowel sounds are represented by V and the consonant sounds by C. The syllables can be V, CV, VC, and CVC. Here are several examples[24].

(40)	*a.be*	V.CV	'blood
	ar.ba.e	VC.CV.V	'to work'
	na.na	CV.CV	'mother'
	bak.ke	CVC.CV	'to purchase'

A great number of Guna morphemes go through an **elision** process that drops the final vowel (in most cases) or a final syllable (very rarely, although formatives do this more often). This has an effect on syllable structure as I show below.

(41) CVCV becomes CVC

nana becomes *nan*	'mother'
baba becomes *bab*	'father'
nuga becomes *nug*	'name'
nono becomes *non*	'head'
sagu becomes *sag*	'sack'

Some notable exceptions are *samu* 'termite', *nusa* 'mouse', *dule* 'person'.

[24] I use periods to show the syllable boundaries.

Certain **monosyllabic** (one syllable) suffixes and clitics can also be elided. The result of the elision is a single consonant or vowel sound that attaches to the root or the stem.

(42) -CV/-VV becomes -C/-V respectively

-*sa* becomes -*s*	perfective aspect
-*di* becomes -*d*	nominalizer
-*oe* becomes –*o*	prospective aspect

Some sounds are **sensitive** to syllable boundaries. What this means is that the sound is affected only when it appears in either onset or coda position. The liquid ***l*** is one of those sounds. It can never occur in coda position in a syllable. Instead, (C)V ***l*** V when elided becomes CV***r*.** This is true for both affixes and roots.

(43)

-*ale* becomes –*ar*	gerund marker
-*mala* becomes –*mar*	plural marker
ulu becomes *ur*	‘boat’
mola becomes *mor*	‘clothing’

2.5 Stress

Stress in Guna is very straightforward process. In roots, the stress always falls on the penultimate (second to last) syllable.

(44)

a.	*má.du*	‘bread’
b.	*sá.pi*	‘tree’
c.	*bá.ne*	‘tomorrow’
d.	*dú.le*	‘person’
e.	*bu.nó.lo*	‘girl’
f.	*na.má.ke*	‘to sing’
g.	*ar.bá.e*	‘to work’

When a morpheme is added, the stress can shift if needed, either due to the addition of a morpheme that creates a three syllable word (41a), or due to elision (41c), which results in a two syllable word.

(45)	a.	*o.mé-gwa*	'woman-diminutive'
	b.	*us.dúp.pu*	'agouti island'
	c.	*ús.dup*	'agouti island (with elision)'

Clitics[25], for the most part, don't seem to affect main stress. The root (or stem in these cases) carries main stress even if the resulting word is trisyllabic.

(46)	a.	*ób-de=mar*	'Pl. started bathing'
	b.	*bé=mar=ba*	'with you'
	c.	*án=mar=ga*	'for us'

In longer words, this is also the case. The root always carries main stress, and secondary stress can be assigned if a word is longer than four syllables. Secondary stress is then assigned in the penultimate syllable.

(47)	a.	*ná=mar=bal=ò.e*	'they will go again'
	b.	*wís=gu.no.nì.ki*	'(he) came to find out'

2.6 Palatalization

A velar stop becomes a palatal glide before any non-velar consonant in a process called **palatalization**. This rule occurs word internally as well as when a word combines with a suffix or a clitic (**morphophonemically**).

[25] See §3.1.2

(48)

IPA	Orthography	Meaning
[kujle]	*gugle*	‘seven’
[namajsa]	*namak-sa*	‘sang’
[obajnai]	*obak-nai*	‘is crossing’

Chapter 3

An Overview: Guna Words

Content

The spotlight during the next chapters will shift from the description of sound patterns to the description of the elements that make up a sentence in Guna. This requires the establishment of some basic parameters to delineate distinct categories for the types of words that we find in the language. Although some controversy remains in linguistics around the concept of **universality,** the occurrence of some grammatical feature or category across most (if not all) languages, linguists such as Schachter (1985) and Croft (2000) have demonstrated the presence and usefulness of discrete classes of words in the languages of the world. In the traditional literature, these **word classes** have been called **parts of speech.** As I will show for Guna, although some overlap may be possible as it relates to shared morphology, the evidence bears out distinct types of words.

Chapter 3 is an overview of these word classes in Guna. In order for us to establish that these words indeed form discrete groups, we will look at three pieces of evidence to establish differences between the classes of the words that we define here: their **semantics**, or the meaning that these words convey; their **morphology,** or the internal structure of these words; and their **distribution**, or the environment and position in which they occur in a sentence (this will be mentioned briefly in this chapter, but will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6);

3.1 Main Concepts

The **lexicon** of a language is not simply a list of all of the words that a speaker knows. Instead, there is evidence that the brain stores words in a systematic and structured way. Part of this evidence is how certain words can be used in specific ways in

a sentence or an utterance, but other words cannot be used in the same manner. Another important piece of evidence is how certain words share similar morphology. Morphology allows us to study the parts that make up words (beyond phonology) and identify the patterns that emerge from this internal structure across the language. Let us look at this first.

A **morpheme** is the smallest element in a language that has meaning: a morpheme cannot be divided further. To study morphology is to examine the morphemes of the language and identify how they connect (if the language allows it) with other morphemes, when they occur, and what their meaning(s) and function(s) are. Take for example the morpheme *o-*[26]. Although it is a single sound, it has meaning if it is placed before verbs. It is something known as a causative[27].

(1) *o-gunne* 'to make (someone) eat'

To look at Guna morphology, it is important to first establish the type of internal structuring that it has (if the language has any). Comrie (1989), based on Sapir (1921) offers an account for the treatment of **morphological typology,** a systematic study of grammatical features and processes that allows us to classify morphology across many different languages. He distinguishes two parameters to classify morphology: an index of **synthesis**, which classifies a language depending on the number of morphemes a word

[26] The hyphen indicates two things: that it is a bound morpheme (see below) and where the morpheme boundary is.
[27] See §5.

may take, and an index of **fusion**, which classifies a language depending on the number of meanings a bound morpheme may take.

On the one hand, languages may be classified at the level of synthesis. On one end of the spectrum, we have **isolating** languages. These are languages in which every word is a single morpheme and there is no internal morphological structure of words. At the other end of the spectrum, there are highly **polysynthetic** languages in which words are made up of many morphemes.

On the other hand, languages can be classified in terms of an index of fusion. The distinction here is between **fusional** languages, where one form can take several meanings, and **agglutinative** language, where each form has its own meaning and where the boundaries between morphemes are clearcut.

We will classify Guna morphology under the umbrella of Comrie's two suggested parameters. As is the case with a great number of the world's languages, Guna morphology is complex. It is polysynthetic and agglutinative, that is, the language has words that can contain several morphemes and each morpheme only has one meaning. The agglutinative nature of the language allows for an easy **segmentation** (the morphemes can be easily identified).

3.1.1 Roots and formatives

An important aspect in the study of many languages (those that are not isolating) is the internal organization of certain classes of words. As I will show, there is a

structured combination of elements at the morpheme level. To explore this further, the status of **grammatical words** must be defined; that is, what kinds of morpheme combinations result in what the speaker conceives as a word.

First of all, a **root** (or **base**) is a morpheme that carries the semantic weight of the word and that other morphemes may be attached to it. In Guna, morphemes like nouns, verbs, and adjectives are roots. There is a second major type of morpheme called a **formative,** a grammatical element that enters into the construction of a larger linguistic unit, in this case a root. Formatives in Guna can be affixes and clitics. An **affix** may be **inflectional,** bound morphemes that add some grammatical information (number, time, place, etc.) that allows the word to interact with other words in the sentence, or **derivational**, bound morphemes that when attached to a root, derive a new word class. Depending on the position of the affix with respect to the root, an affix can be a **prefix**, attached before the root, or a **suffix**, attached after the root.

Clitics are an important type of formative in Guna because of their ubiquitous presence in word formation. The distinction between affixes and clitics may not always be clear-cut, but this distinction is important for several grammatical effects. In general terms, if we think of free and bound morphemes not as discrete categories but as possible ends in a continuum, then a clitic is a middle stage between a free morpheme (or a word) and an affix. Like an affix, a clitic is phonologically bound to a root (or **host** if it is a clitic) but it may sometimes exhibit characteristics of words. A clitic (see Chapter 2) will

have different effects on stress assignment than affixes. As we saw in §2.5, a clitic will never carry main stress, but a suffix may.

All this terminology is important as we delve into the internal structure of words because we can now establish clear morphological distinctions between word classes in Guna. As I mentioned previously, some semantic distinctions between word classes can be made as well, but these will be straightforward. Syntactic features will be discussed in detail in later chapters. In the current chapter, I want to highlight word internal features in our description of Guna.

Schachter (1985) describes and exemplifies the part of speech systems that may be grammatically present in languages. He points out that there are certain characteristics relevant for the classification of parts of speech (from here on, we will refer to these categories as word classes):

a. The word's distribution
b. Its range of syntactic functions,
c. The morphological or syntactic categories for which it is specifiable.

We need to make a formal distinction between major word classes and other word classes. In Guna, this distinction is important because, as we will see, we can establish a clear set of principles that applies to certain words that does not apply to other classes of words.

First of all, the major word classes contain a relatively large inventory of **lexical items** (words). Minor word classes, on the other hand, have a very limited number of lexical items. Secondly, major word classes allow the expansion of their inventory by way of compounding, derivation, and borrowing. Minor word classes tend to be closed classes in which the addition of new items is rare. Thirdly, major word classes allow a morphological complexity that minor word classes do not posses; that is, besides processes such as compounding and derivational affixing, words in a major word class may serve as roots or hosts of inflectional affixes and clitics respectively. The terms that we introduced in the introductory section of this chapter will be used to describe their internal structure.

Given the above specifications, Guna has three major word classes: nouns and verbs. This section looks at these three word classes in detail. Other word classes will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

3.2 Nouns

There is a set of words that has been traditionally called nouns. For the noun class, a prototype can be established semantically. The traditional notion of noun specifies types of words that denote person, places or things. As Payne (1997:33) points out, these words characteristically express time-stable concepts that do not vary much over time. Therefore, words such as *achu* ‘dog’, *nega* ‘house’, *dii* ‘water’, and *sapi* ‘tree’ fall under this category.

One of the main difficulties that surfaces in the characterization of nouns (indeed, any category) is the possibility of certain bound morphemes to attach to different classes of words. For example, a plural *–mala* appears to be able to attach to pronouns, demonstratives and verbs. However, there are clear formatives that form a set that only attach to nouns. These are described below.

a. A **plural** suffix that indicates two or more elements of the entity the noun refers to

b. **Case** enclitics that indicate the grammatical function of the noun with respect to the verb in a clause or a sentence.

c. A **restrictive** suffix that works at the clause level that restricts the action carried out by the verb to the subject noun it is attached to

The addition of a plural suffix *–mala* (or its elided form *–mar*) indicates that the noun that it is attached to refers to two or more elements of that entity. Many languages restrict the types of nouns that can occur with a plural suffix. That is not the case for Guna (except for mass nouns, see below).

(2) a. *nusa-mar*
mouse-PL
'mice'

b. *bunor-mar*
girl-PL
'girls'

c. *akwa-mar*
stone-PL
'stones'

d. *neg-mar*
house-PL
'houses'

There is a second suffix *–gana* (*-gan*) that indicates a **collective**. Instead of specifically marking several instances of one entitiy, the collective marker indicates that several entities are taken as one whole.

(3) a. *bab-gan*
father-COLL
'fathers'

b. *nan-gan*
mother-COLL
'mothers'

c. *gwenad-gan*
relative-COLL
'relatives'

d. *dummad-gan*
leader-COLL
'leaders'

There is a group of nouns, **mass nouns**, in which the addition of a plural morpheme would render them ungrammatical. These are nouns that cannot be counted due to the inherent perception of these elements as a unit rather than discrete elements.

(4)

ugo 'juice'
di 'water'
nis 'liquid'
inna 'corn drink'

Oblique case postpositions may only attach to nouns. Oblique case enclitics refer to a group of morphemes that specifies a grammatical function of the noun with respect to the rest of the clause. These will be also discussed in Chapter 6.

=gine, =gi Indicates the means by which action is done

(5) *suar=gi o-burg-isa*
stick=INST CAUS-die-PFV
'He/she killed him/her with a stick

Also indicates the location of the noun

(6) *Uan neg=gi gwichi*
Juan house=LOC standing
'Juan is standing in the house'

(7) *=sega, =se* Indicates motion to a location

Uan neg=se na-de
Juan house=ALL go-INCEP
'Juan just went to the house'

(8) *=gala, =ga* Indicates the entity to whom action is performed

Bab=ga gingi sedage
father=DAT gun bring
'Bring the gun to father'

(9) *=bali, =ba* Indicates motion to a location

Dad bab=ba na-de
Grandfather father=ALL go-INCEP
'Grandfather just went with father.'

Chapter 6 describes these clitics in more detail. We will look at their specific functions and distribution. For the purposes of our current discussion, it suffices to say

that these are attached to nouns. These morphemes are clitics because we see evidence in sentences like (10) that case markers may appear independent of a noun; therefore, they sometimes exhibit some feature of independent words. However, we find that in most situations, like the ones exemplified in (6) – (9), these morphemes are attached phonologically to a host noun.

(10) *Aku an itoed* ***ga*** *an sog-gu.*
Not 1.SG understand **ga** 1.SG say-PER
"I don't understand," I said to (him/her). [Martinez C008-I004]

Finally, a *–bi* suffix may also attach to a noun. It expresses **restriction**, so it functions at the clause level.

(11) *Machi-bi nade*
man-rest went
'Only the man went'

Below is a summary of the noun morphemes that we find in Guna.

Table 3.1:. Noun morphemes

Nominal affixes		
-mala (-mar)	plural marker	
-gana (-gan)	colective	
-bi	restrictive	
Case enclitics		
=ba	allative	
=ga	dative, genitive	
=gi	instrumental, ablative, locative	
=se	allative	

3.2.1 Compounding and Nominalization

Derivational suffixes are also instantiated in the language. As we saw in the introductory section, a derivational morpheme is a suffix or clitic which attaches to a word and derives a new word. There are two processes in Guna by which new words can come about through derivation: the suffixation of a *–di (-d)* to a verbal root which results in a noun word, a process known as **nominalization**; and the combination of two noun roots to create a new word, a process known as **compounding**.

(12) *gobe-di*
drink-NOM
'he/she who drinks'

(13) *dodoge-di*
play-NOM
'he/she who plays'

Compounding in Guna is a productive process of combining two nouns.

(14) *ur-mola*
boat-cloth
'sail'

(15) *Mula-dupu*
vulture-island
'vulture island'

(16) *gannir-akwa*
chicken-rock
'egg'

3.2.2 Other nominals

Other words may take the place of a noun. These word classes are similar in their distribution and function. First of all, these words are all **deictic**; the references of these

words are dependent on the situational context in which they were uttered. That is, the entity that these words refer to can only be identified by making inferences about the speaker, hearer, participants, etc. Also, these words are all some type of **pronominal categories**; they may serve as substitutes of noun phrases (pronouns, demonstratives, some question words), adjectives (question words), and adverbs (question words).

3.2.2.1 Pronouns and Demonstratives

Pronouns, as stated above, are words that may be substituted for nouns in a sentence. In opposition to the noun word class, pronouns comprise a closed word class that does not allow new additions to the inventory by way of derivation, compounding, etc. There is also a restriction on the type of affixes or clitics a pronoun may take, normally restricted to case markers or adpositions. Their syntactic distribution mirrors that of nouns.

Guna presents an interesting case. Guna pronominal forms function as subjects (of transitive and intransitive clauses), objects, and obliques (with the respective case enclitic) just like nouns in other languages. What is interesting is that the Guna pronoun seems to have a plural marker =*mar* (or its long form =*mala*) that we see in nouns. That is very rare in the world's languages (Cysouw 2003:70).

Table 3.2: The Guna pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1 person	an	1 person	anmala (anmar)
2 person	be	2 person	bemala (bemar)
3 person	we	3 person	emala (wemar)

(17) *a.* *gannir-mar*
chicken-PL
'chickens'

b. *achu-mar*
dog-PL
'dogs'

c. *mas-mala*
boy-PL
'boys'

d. *goe-mar*
baby-PL
'babies'

e. *sapi-mar*
plant-PL
'plants'

f. *akwa-mar*
rock-PL
'rocks'

Sentences like the ones in (18) show that pronouns, in the absence of a plural marker, can still be interpreted as plural. The marker on the verb is enough to signal plurality.

(18) *An* *be* *edarbe=mal=oe*
1S 2S wait=PL=FT
'I will wait for you (PL)' (Newbold 2005)

As a result of this, I propose that the pronouns in Guna form a simple three pronoun system that may express plurality by means of an enclitic; this enclitic may or may not be attached to the pronoun.

Table 3.3: Guna pronoun paradigm

1 person	an
2 person	be
3 person	we

There are two demonstratives in Guna that indicate distance from the speaker: *we* for proximate objects or persons and *a* for non-proximate ones.

They may substitute nouns like in (19)

(19) a. *we be dake*
DEM 2.SG see
'Look at this'

b. *a be dak-nae*
DEM 2.SG see-go
'Go look at that'

They may also function like a determiner like in (20):

(20) a. *We noggobe an-ga uke*
DEM cup 1.SG-DAT give
'Pass me this cup'

b. *A noggobe an-ga uke*
'Pass me that cup'

Demonstratives and pronouns may also be marked with case enclitics. Table 3.4 summarizes the possible case enclitics that may attach to the demonstrative.

Table 3.4: Demonstratives with case enclitics

we	=gi(ne) =ba(li) =sik(i)	'here' 'there (visible)' 'there (not-visible)'
a	=gi(ne) =ba(li)	'here' (used in the past) 'there' (used in the past)

(21) a. *an a=gi mai-na*
1.SG DEM=LOC located-IMPERF
'I was there'

b. *an a=ba mai-na*
1.SG DEM=ALL located-IMPERF
'I was there'

3.2.2.2 Question Words

Question-word interrogatives in Guna can also take the place of a noun.

(22)

biali	'where'
bitiki, bitik	'which one'
doa	'who'
ibua (ibu)	'what'
ibiga	'why'
igi	'how'
sana	'when (future)'
ingua, ingu	'when (past)

As we can see from the inventory of question words shown above, Guna makes the distinction between human question words (*doa*) and non-human question words (*igi*, *bia*, etc.)

The question word in Guna normally appears clause-initially.

(23) *Ibu be sa-nai?*
what 2S do-PROG
'What are you doing?'

(24) *Bia be nae*?
Where 2.SG go
'Where are you going?'

Guna also allows the question word to remain **in-situ**, to remain in place, when topicalizing another word in the clause.

(25) *Be ibu sa-nai?*
2.SG what do-POS:hanging
What are you doing?

3.3 Verbs

Where a semantic proposition was established that defined nouns as time-stable concepts, verbs are words that express the least time-stable concepts; they denote actions and events. This description, however, must also be accompanied with morphological evidence that clearly delineates word-internal features different from the noun word class.

In Guna, verb morphology exhibits a more complex structure than that of nouns due to a higher number of possible morphemes that may be attached. However, as Sherzer points out "one might imagine that there are many verbs that contain seven or even more suffixes… in actual practice, fewer suffixes are used with each verb than would seem theoretically possible." (p. 265) The verbal information that can be contained in the base verb are: **causative** morphology (an operation that adds a "causer"

of the action expressed by the verb), **passive** morphology (an operation that removes the doer of the action to highlight some other participant)**, aspect** (the internal shape of the event)**, mood** auxiliary clitics (the speaker's attitude toward a situation)**, evidentiality** morphemes (specifies how the information came to be known), **positional** affixes (specifies the position in which the event is done), and other **adverbial** affixes (a negative affix that expresses the negation of the event, an iterative affix that expresses the repetition of the event, etc.)

In Guna, those morphemes instantiated here are exclusive to the word class verbs. While I have given a brief description of the broad categories of these morphemes, the full discussion of their function, systematic distribution, the interaction of these affixes with the rest of the clause, etc. will be treated in detail in subsequent chapters starting with Chapter 5. For the purposes of the current chapter, I simply want to establish a clear line of demarcation between nouns and verbs making reference to their different internal structure. Examples (26) and (27) show verbs some possible morphemes.

(26) *namak-leg-o=sulir=gebe*
sing-passive voice-future tense-negative=auxiliary verb (obligation)
'must not be sung' (future reading)

(27) *noni=mar=bal-o=sun=dibe*
come-plural-again-future-surely=-auxiliary verb (condition)
'we/you/they may surely come again'[28]

[28] Examples 15 and 16 are taken from Lindsey Newbold's grammatical description of Guna (2005)

The chart below is a summary of possible verbal affixes and clitics. These morphemes are not present in the internal structure of nouns.

Table 3.5: Verbal bound morphemes

Verbal affixes		
Aspect		
-sa (-s)	Perfective	
-de / -ali	Inceptive	
-oe (-o)	Prospective	
-di	Progressive	
Mood and Modality		
-bie (-bi)	Desiderative	
-gebe (-geb)	Necessity	
-dibe (-diba)	Possibility	
-na	Counterfactual mood	
Valence Changing		
-lege (-le)	Passive / Middle voice	
o-	Causative	

3.3 Modifiers

A third word class in Guna that allows a relatively complex morphology is the modifier. These are not as widespread as nouns and verbs. I will briefly mention some features that distinguish them from the previous two word classes. The discussion of adjectives will be more detailed in Chapter 4.

3.3.1 Adjectives

An adjective specifies some property of the noun. Generally, adjectives can be identified using syntactic distribution. As opposed to nouns, which are syntactically independent, the distribution of adjectives is dependent on the noun they modify. We can see this in sentence (28).

(28) *goe dummad bo-sa*
baby big cry-PFV
'The big baby cried'

* *dummad goe bosa*

Adjectives in Guna always follow the noun. If the order is switched, this results in an ungrammatical construction. An adjective can also be compounded with a noun to form a new noun.

(29) *isgana 'bad'*

gagan isgana
grass bad
'weed'

One final thing to point out is the morphology. The word class that I have identified as adjectives in Guna may take a negative morpheme. The adjective doesn't take either case, or plural for nouns, or any morpheme that can be attached to the verb.

(30) *iskana=suli*
bad=NEG
'not bad'

3.3.2 Adverbs

We also find another class of words that do not take derivational or inflectional morphemes. They are all considered lexical items which can only appear within a VP. The four types of adverbs are: locative, temporal, determination and negation.

Locative:
(31) *Jose urpa nade*
Jose down go
'Jose goes down'

Temporal:
(32) *Jose amba yo nae*
Jose not.yet go
'Jose does not go yet'

Manner:
(33) *Jose nue ob=sa*
Jose well bathe=PERF
'Jose bathed well'

Negation:
(34) *Jose aku obe*
Jose not bathe
'Jose does not bathe' (regularly)

These words do not take any other kind of affixation in their stems and, unlike adjectives, cannot take a negation morpheme.

Other temporal adverbs in Guna are:

(35) *emiskwa – now*
degine – then
iduar – before
sorbali – after

Chapter 4

Beyond Words: Phrases

Content

The words that exist in Guna generate many possible combinations that allow us to communicate ideas beyond single words. However, these combinations are not by any

means arbitrary. As we will see in the next few chapters there is a structured way in which words combine into larger units, and these units into larger utterances.

The main objective of the current chapter is to describe different types of word combinations that involve nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Verb phrases involve an intricate combination of morphological and syntactic elements beyond what other word classes have; therefore, the verb phrase will be treated separately. Also, elements of verb phrases have consequences at the clause level when combined with arguments and adjuncts. These topics will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.1 Main Concepts

One of the main areas of linguistic study, **syntax** is generally seen as the set of rules that a language has for the formation of clauses and sentences. In speech, words rarely occur in isolation. Instead we find that words combine to form larger units. This combination presupposes that languages have systematic ways to assemble sentences (or clauses) from smaller grammatical structures starting at the word. This fact allows for an analysis that alludes to a **hierarchy** of structures, or the classification of linguistic units[29] into a series of subordinate levels. A **hierarchical structure**, then, is shown to be a systematic composition of linguistic elements made up of smaller linguistic units. The

[29] This has a wider application linguistically. For example, a sound can combine with another sound to form a syllable, syllables create a word, words make up a phrase or a clause, clauses make up a sentence, and so on.

goal of the current chapter is to explore and describe linguistic units in this hierarchy that are smaller than a clause[30] but higher than a single word, what linguists call a constituent.

4.1.1 Constituency

In linguistics, the concept of constituency is central to our understanding of language, and syntax more specifically. A **constituent** is any syntactic unit that is a component of a larger construction and that has a grammatical function. It normally involves the combination of any number of words. However, how do we know that such a notion has an actual realization in speech? And if this exists, how do we go about determining what combination of words forms an actual constituent?

The first question can be answered by constructing a sentence using parts that are themselves viable word combinations. That is, a speaker of Guna can readily recognize and produce words and/or word combinations which are grammatical sub-elements of other grammatical structures; this is the hierarchical nature of language mentioned above. We can see this illustrated in (1) below. Without concerning ourselves with the labels yet, words can be added at each level to form larger structures.

(1) a. *bunolo*
girl

b. [*bunolo*] *bipi*
'small girl'

[30] See Chapter 6 for a discussion on clauses

c. [*bunolo bipi*] *an daksad*[31]
‘(the) small girl that I saw’

d. [*bunolo bipi an daksad] ibmal sedani*
‘(the) small girl that I saw is bringing something

At every level in (1), the resulting structure from word combinations forms a constituent of the next level. These structures are grammatical in the sense that a speaker judges them to be acceptable word combinations that can stand on their own in certain contexts. One of the most obvious contexts in which this may occur is as an answer to a question. For instance, (1b) is an acceptable answer to the question posited in (2a).

(2) a. *doa be daksa?*
‘Who did you see?’

b. *bunolo bipi*
‘the small girl’

Also, the structure in (1c) is proven to be an acceptable constituent; this structure can stand alone when it answers the question in (3a).

(3) a. *doa ibmar sedaniki?*
‘Who is bringing something?

b. *bunolo bipi an daksad*
‘the small girl that I saw’

Conversely, any word combination does not necessarily result in a constituent. This takes us to the second question that I posited above. As has been previously stated, no combination of words that forms a constituent is arbitrary. If we try to determine

[31] This example shows constituency. Subsequent chapters will discuss relevant information on clause and sentence formation, which is what (3) also illustrates.

constituency in sentence (4a), the fragment in (4b) is clearly ungrammatical. It even seems impossible to formulate a question[32] that would yield (4b) as a stand-alone answer. As a result, (4b) is not a constituent.

(4) a. *ai anga sogbarsunde*
'a friend then said to me'

b. * *ai anga*
'a friend to me'

As we can see, the notion of constituency is critical in the formation of syntactic structures. The constructions that result from the combination of different words from different word classes are organized in structured units capable of combining with other constituents. The rest of the chapter focuses on describing a type of constituent that involves nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

4.1.2 Phrases

As previously mentioned, speakers can build constituents upon constituents to form sentences, as we saw in (1). Some of those constituents are called phrases. A **phrase** is any combination of words that forms a unit but lacks a predicate[33]. As a result, phrases can be made up of two words, three words, and so on[34].

[32] Two speakers were asked to do this, neither of whom could formulate a question that would make sense to them.
[33] The notion of predicate is vital in describing certain structural phenomena. The presence of a predicate signals the occurrence of a clause, the focus of Chapter 6.
[34] In some theories of syntax, a phrase can be made up of a single word. This is to account for the fact that a word and a phrase of the same syntactic class can occupy the same syntactic slot in a sentence.

Phrases have a **distribution** (the syntactic contexts in which it occurs) and an internal structure. We must ascertain what the central element in the phrase is to determine both. This central element, the word which a phrase is built around, is called a **head**. A phrase, then, will have the same syntactic distribution as its head. Any of the major word classes described in Chapter 3 can be heads of phrases: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. For instance, a **noun phrase** is a phrase that has a noun as its head; single nouns can also be NPs which is why they occur where they do.

(5) a. [*esdin*] *wegi an mesisa*
'I placed the machete here'

b. [*an=esdin*] *wegi an mesisa*
'I placed my machete here'

(6) a. [*yagwa*] *nade*
'the young girl just left'

b. [*yagwa suid gwaba*] *nade*
'three tall girls just left'

Internally, the word or words in the phrase that complement the head are its **dependents**. These words can modify the head (such as an adjective or an adverb) or they can facilitate the identifiability of the head (i.e., an article in Spanish like *el perro*). The structural relationship between a head and its dependents is determined by the phrase type for the specific language under consideration. Two examples can help explain this.

(7) a. *achu*
dog

b. *achu serred*
dog old
'old dog'

(8) a. *ua*
fish

b. *an=bab ua*
1S=father fish
'my father's fish'

The nouns *achu* in (7) and *ua* in (8) combine with different words to form different types of noun phrases**,** the (b) examples. The noun is placed first followed by its adjective[35] in (7b), and it comes after another noun which possesses it[36], as in (8b). Phrases with an adjective in first position (9a) and with a possessor in second position (9b) are ungrammatical.

(9) a. **serred achu*

b. **ua an=bab*

Clearly, the position of a noun with respect to other words that combine with them is important. Using a kind of "template" illustrated by the examples in (7b) and (8b), where a set position exists for each word in the phrase, Guna speakers can generate a multitude of similar phrases. This will be evident in subsequent sections when the discussion will shift to specific phrases.

[35] See §4.2.3
[36] See §4.2.1

4.1.3 Summary

In conclusion, the notion of constituency is an important syntactic notion because it accounts for the **hierarchical** nature of sentence formation; that is, structures are built from other smaller structures that interact with each other. A **constituent** is a syntactic unit within this hierarchy. More specifically, a **phrase** is any constituent that lacks a predicate. This chapter focuses on phrases.

Structurally, a phrase can have a head and one or more dependent(s). The **head** is the main element in a phrase and it determines the syntactic class of the phrase as a whole. On the other hand, the **dependents** are in a modifier relationship with the head. Just as formal and distributional characteristics distinguish between different word classes, the characteristics of the head determine the syntactic class of phrases. The current chapter will not focus on the distribution[37] of phrases but on the internal structure of phrases.

4.2 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase (NP) has a noun as the head of the constituent. The internal structure of the noun phrase depends on the type of dependent-head relationship it describes. This section details the structure of these different types of noun phrases.

[37] Specifically, the distribution of nouns, adjectives and adverbs at the sentence level are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

4.2.1 Demonstratives

Recall from the previous chapter that certain linguistic elements are **deictic**. This means that certain morphemes, words and expressions are assigned a meaning relative to the context in which these are uttered. Pronouns, for example, are deictic expressions as the meanings shift depending on the speaker, hearer and person or thing talked about.

It was noted that demonstratives, like pronouns, are also deictic. **Demonstratives** are a small class of words that function to point to an entity in the situation or elsewhere in speech. They can indicate spatial distance from the speaker or the listener, or refer to something in the discourse that was previously talked about. In Guna, there are two demonstratives.

Table 4.1: Demonstratives

Form	Meaning
we	**proximal**: the entity is at a relatively close distance, whether temporally or spatially.
a	**distal:** the entity is further away from the speaker

Demonstratives, as we saw in Chapter 3, can be used anaphorically, taking the place of a noun phrase[38]. Here are two examples of demonstratives used as pronouns.

(10) a. *we uke*
DEM give
'give (me) this'

b. *a be dak-nae*
DEM 2.SG see-go
'Go look at that'

[38] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of demonstratives as nominals.

As stand-ins for nouns, they can take all the inflectional morphology that nouns can, for example, the plural and case enclitics.

(11) *akwan ukub we=mar nonik-o-do*
rocks sand DEM=PL come-PROS-RHET
'rocks, sand, they will come' [L. Smith, 2003]

(12) *be we=gi bin-sa-si-d*
2.SG DEM=LOC think-PFV-POS:sitting-TVF
'You are thinking about this' [unknown, C004-I001]

Demonstratives can also be used in a phrase to modify nouns in a noun phrase. In such cases, the demonstrative is placed before the noun.

(13)

demonstrative + noun

(14) *Raton-di an=ga soge-d* [*we gwartel*] *dak-o-ye*
Raton-FOC 1.SG=DAT say-TVF DEM police.station see-PROS-QUOT
'Raton said to me: watch this police station' [Smith, C004-I003]

Like many other languages of the world, demonstratives are used to draw attention to a specific entity in the perceptual space of the speaker and hearer (Dryer 2007). This entity can be present in the immediate context when the sentence is uttered. In these cases, the demonstrative may be used along with other cues such as a pointing gesture (lip or finger pointing.)

(15) [*we neg-gwebur-bi*] *suli-d*
DEM house-village-REST NEG-TVF
'Not only this village' [unknown, C004-I001]

(16) *geb Ami=ga an soggu Amilda an be=se daniki-ye*
then Ami=DAT 1.SG say-TEMP Amilda 1.SG 2.SG=ALL go-QUOT
'Then I said to Amilda: Amilda, I am coming to you'

Emisgwa [*a parte=gi*] *an gu-nai-ye*
Right.now DEM part=LOC 1.SG be-PROG-QUOT
'Right now, I am at that spot' [Barrantes, C008-I001]

Demonstratives can also be used to point to something in the discourse. In such cases, the demonstrative points to a previous entity mentioned earlier in speech instead of providing a physical reference.

(17) *be=mal* [*a gomision*] *itog-o-sunna*
2=PL DEM:DIST commission listen-PROS=truly
'You will meet with that commission' [unkown, C004-I001]

(18) [*we nail-mar-di*] *bar an=se warmak-o=suli*
DEM shark-PL-FOC anymore 1.SG=ALL come-PROS=NEG
'This shark did not come to me anymore' [Smith, C004-I003]

(19) *an=mar* [*we neg gwa-bo*] *yog imak-ar saed*
1=PL DEM house CL:round-two yet make-GER make
'We haven't yet built these two houses' [unkown, C004-I001]

4.2.2 Adjectives

The small set of adjectives discussed in §3.4 can also modify a noun. In these noun phrases, the adjective always follows the noun.

(20)

noun + adjective

(21) [*istoria bipi*] *be=ga meg-o*
story small 2.SG=DAT put-PROS
'Let me tell you a small story'

(22) *we=gi* [*sapin dummad*] *na-na-s=mo=do*
DEM=LOC young.man big go-go-PFV=also=RHET
'The big young man also walked by here'

(23) *gwen* [*saban sipu-gwa*] *nika*
one stomach white-ADJ have
'One had a white stomach'

As we saw in §4.1.2, example (9) illustrated that an adjective in first position in a noun phrase results in an ungrammatical phrase. To further test this point, previous examples, (21) and (22), were elicited with the noun-adjective order reversed. Here they are presented as (24) and (25) respectively.

(24) *[*bipi istoria*] *bega mego*
'Let me tell you a small story'

(25) **wegi* [*dummad sapin*] *nanasmodo*
'The big young man also walked by here'

4.2.3 Numerals and numeral classifiers

A numeral is a quantifier that specifies the number of units that a noun refers to; in other words, a numeral is used for counting (or **quantifying)** entities, more commonly nouns. As part of the noun phrase, numerals have a fixed structure with respect to the noun. First, let us look specifically at the numerals in Guna.

In the languages of the world, there are different types of number systems used. The numerals in Guna combine a **decimal** and a **vigesimal** system. This means that Guna

uses a base ten system in counting as well as a base twenty system. Let us look at this in detail[39]. Here are the numbers one through ten.

(26)

-gwensag	one
-bogwa	two
-ba	three
-bake	four
-atar	five
-nergwa	six
-gugle	seven
-babak	eight
-bakebak	nine
-ambe	ten

The numerals in (26) rarely appear as free morphemes. The only context in which a numeral appears unmarked is as a list, such as (26). A numeral classifier, which will be discussed later, normally attaches to the numerals in this set[40].

The next set of numerals, those from eleven to nineteen, adds any number from (26) to the numeral ten. The word *gaka* means 'plus'.

(27)

ambe gaka gwensag	eleven
ambe gaka bo	twelve
ambe gaka ba	thirteen
ambe gaka bakebak	nineteen

The numeral twenty is **etymologically transparent**. This means that we can easily recognize the source of the word that is used. In Guna, twenty and subsequent

[39] All the numerals were elicited. The speaker was Isolina Fernández.
[40] Numerals higher than ten tend to be free morphemes for most speakers. After ten, different speakers may have different cut off points for the use of numeral classifiers. What is certain is that by the numeral twenty, speakers don't use a numeral classifier.

multiples of twenty derive from the word meaning 'alive' *dula*[41] compounded with any number from the first set.

(28)

dulagwen	twenty
dulabo	forty
dulaba	sixty
dulabake	eighty

Other numbers are created by adding the numbers from (28) with the strategy used in (27).

(29)

dulagwen gaka ambe gaka bo	twenty plus ten plus two, or thirty two
dulabo gaka babak	forty plus eight, or forty eight
dulaba gaka ambe gaka gugle	sixty plus ten plus seven, or seventy seven

How do the numbers combine with nouns in noun phrases? First of all, let us return to a discussion about numeral classifiers. Although some numerals may appear by themselves (as we saw above), the most commonly used numerals normally attach to what is known as a **numeral classifier**, a prefix that only occurs in the context of quantification and that categorizes what is being counted into discrete semantic classes. A numeral classifier in Guna usually appears in the type of construction shown below:

(30)

Noun[42] + numeral.classifier-numeral

[41] It was explained to me that this comes from counting all the fingers and toes that a person has; thus, it refers to a person as a whole.

[42] Nouns in this construction do not have a plural marker for older speakers. However, younger bilingual speakers sometimes pluralize the noun in the numeral construction. This may result from interference from the Spanish strategy for quantification which pluralizes the noun.

As can be seen in (30), the noun always appears in first position in the noun phrase. Here are some examples.

(31) a. *ome war-bake*
woman CL:long-four
'four women'

b. *garson go-nergwa*
pants CL:cloth-six
'six pants'

c. *nugar ga-bo*
tooth CL:long.small-two
'two teeth'

Grammatical strategies for classification are used in many languages. Several authors coincide that there are different types of **noun classification** systems: noun classes (such as gender in Spanish), noun classifiers[43], and numeral classifiers (Dixon 1986, Aikhenvald 2000, Grinevald 2000).

Languages with grammatical mechanisms to categorize nouns do so according to different semantic properties. How this works and where it occurs grammatically is different for every language. In other words, languages differ on the conditions used to classify nouns and the grammatical strategies used to represent this classification. Like many grammatical categories, patterns of different semantic types used in classification systems emerge cross-linguistically. Aikhenvald (2000:271) provides a general

[43] The distinction between a noun class and nominal classifiers is important typologically. Because Guna grammar does not use either strategy, I will only focus on numeral classifiers.

typological description of the semantics of classifiers. The basic parameters that she proposes are animacy, physical property and function.

Guna grammar exhibits this categorization in the numeral classifier system. The basis for classifying nouns in this construction is the inherent physical property of the noun being counted. The basic classifiers, along with some representative examples, are listed in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Numeral classifiers and some nouns they classify

Round	**long**	**flexible**	**flat**	**general**	**long and small**
gwa-	*wala- (war-)*	*go-*	*mata- (mat-)*	*sog-*	*ga-*
fruits table cup hat shoe house computer bird	people animals boat fingers legs car name path, road river rope snake	clothing, cloth	paper book board	idea language type event	cigarrette tooth pencil spoon machete leaf

A seminal work in the numeral classifier systems of Chibchan languages was published for Guna (Sherzer 1978). Since then, more fine-grained distinctions have been proposed for numeral classifiers as the languages surveyed and the typological literature has expanded. Important for Guna (as is with many other languages) is the distinction between **sortal** and **mensural** classifiers. Sortal classifiers individuate in terms of the kind of entity that it is (Lyons 1977:463) while mensural classifiers are used as units of

measurement or quantity. This distinction is important because each type of classifier has subtle and interesting grammatical effects in the language.

The "true" classifiers are those of the sortal kind because they classify based on the inherent properties of nouns. Those were illustrated and exemplified in Table 4.2 for Guna. Other classifiers also rely on some inherent characteristic, and those are exemplified below. Interestingly, these only classify very specific types of nouns.

(32) *uka-* used for fish

abu *uka-bo*
parrot.fish CL:FISH-two
'two parrot fish'

(33) *sagl-* (*sar-)* used for trees

sapi *sar-ambe*
tree CL:TREES-ten
'ten trees'

Mensural classifiers, on the other hand, do not reference any inherent properties but instead are used to quantify or measure nouns. Those that I have found for Guna are summarized in the table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Mensural classifiers

Type[44]	**Form**	**What they quantify**
Function	*ukur-*	baskets tied to a stick
	olo- (or-)	piece
	billi-	house divisions (comparable to rooms)
Of measurement	*acha-*	hand

[44] Taken from Aikhenvald 2007

Table 4.3 continued

Of measurement	*nibir-*	weight (normally by pound)
	barga-	size of an embrace
	suar-	stick
	nag-	step
Of arrangement	*ile-*	in rows
	gug-	long objects tied together
Quanta	*sur-*	bunch
	dag-	cluster (mainly of bananas)
	dug-	several banana clusters
	dana-	group (in general)

(34) *neg billi-ba*
house CL:ROOM-three
'three rooms'

(35) *ur acha-ambe*
boat CL:HAND-ten
'a boat ten hands long'

(36) *mas sur-bake*
plantain CL:CLUSTER-four
'four plantain clusters'

As can be seen above, mensurals occupy the same morphosyntactic slot in the noun phrase structure as do the "true" classifiers. Here are other examples used in speech.

(37) a. *an=goe nibir-ambe agdig-gue*
1.SG=baby CL:WEIGHT-ten weigh-STA
'my baby weighs ten pounds' [Barrantes, C008-I001]

b. *an oros bate ir-bo gun-sa*
1.SG rice plate CL:times-two eat-PFV
'I ate two plates of rice' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

c. *oros sagu war-bo an bak-sa*
rice sack CL:LONG-two 1.SG buy-PFV
'I bought two sacks of rice' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

The distinction between the two numeral classifier types is important because they display different syntactic behaviors. Where Guna allows the topicalization[45] of a mensural classifier plus the numeral, a sortal classifier cannot be extracted out of the noun phrase. This is evidence for a firm constituency relationship between a noun and its modifier.

(38) a. *sur-bo mas sedaniki*
CL:CLUSTER-two plantain is.bringing
'(he/she) is bringing two plantain clusters'

b. *?war-bo mas sedaniki* [46]
CL:LONG-two plantain is.bringing
'(he/she) is bringing two plantains' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

In (38a), the numeral (with the prefixed mensural) can be placed sentence initially for topicalization. This is not the case for the classifier in (38b).

Finally, a true numeral classifier can be prefixed to the question word that asks for quantification as an answer (39a). A mensural classifier cannot be used in this way (39b).

(39) a. *war-bigwa achu be dak-sa*
CL:LONG-how.many dog 2.SG see-PFV
'How many dogs did you see?'

b. **dana-bigwa achu be dak-sa*
CL:GROUP-how.many dog 2.SG see-PFV
'¿How many packs of dogs did you see?

[45] See §6.1.3 for an in-depth look at topic and focus. In sum, there are ways for languages to highlight certain elements in a structure. Topic is one of those ways. Topicalization is a process by which an element can be placed first to highlight it.
[46] At best, the sentence was judged as strange by two speakers. An older speaker judged this sentence as ungrammatical.

4.2.4 Possession

In languages, there exists a way to express the relationship between an entity that owns something, a **possessor,** and the entity that is owned, the **possessed** element. In Guna, the possessed element is always a noun, and it occurs in second position.

(40)

possessor + possessed noun

Thus, noun phrases such as (41) can be found in Guna. In fact, this construction closely resembles noun compounds discussed in §3.2.3. The difference between the two not only resides in the semantic relationship between the two nouns, but also in the stress pattern of the noun phrase. Where there is a single stress peak for compounds, in (41) the two nouns carry their own lexical stress.

(41) a. *sagla ome*
chief woman
'the chief's wife'

b. *Jose gingi*
José rifle
'Jose's rifle'

More commonly, however, possession is marked by the set of personal pronouns that we have seen previously; they are repeated here in Table 4.4. In these instances, the pronoun is cliticized to the noun.

(42)

pronoun=possessed noun

Table 4.4: Guna pronouns

an	1 person
be	2 person
e	3 person

(43) a. *an=susu*
1.SG=younger.brother
'my (younger) brother'

b. *be=gingi*
2.SG= rifle
'your rifle'

As we saw in (41), possession is not necessarily marked in the third person. In these cases, possession can optionally occur with a cliticized possessive pronoun or without one with very little change in meaning. In the corpus, however, I found more instances of marked third person possession.

(44) a. *sagla ome yapa neg=se na-bie*
chief woman NEG.DES house=ALL go-DES
'The chief's wife does not want to go home'

b. *sagla e=ome yapa negse nabie*
'The chief's wife does not want to go home'

4.3 Modifier phrases

In Guna, adjectives and adverbs can also function as heads of phrases. Because of the small number of adjectives and adverbs in the language, these types of phrases are rare. Two adverbs, *bule (bur),* which is used to either intensify or attenuate the effect of

an adjective or an adverb (depending on the context), and *dokus*, similar to 'too' in English, are used to modify adjectives and adverbs. Here is the structure.

(45)

Bule(bur)/dokus + adjective/adverb

In (46) – (48), the sentences illustrate adjective phrases with *bule/dokus,* while sentence (49) illustrates an adverb phrase with *bule*.

(46) *Ailigandi a* [*bur* *sunsoge-d*]
Ailigandi DEM degree true-TVF
'Ailigandi is the best' literally (more true)

(47) *a* *gwento* [*bur* *maya=suli*]
DEM story degree nice=NEG
'That story is worse' literally (less nice)

(48) *we* *ui-sa-r* [*dokus nued-ye*]
DEM give-PFV-COND too good-QUOT
'If (someone) gives (us) that, it would be too good'

Chapter 5

The Verb

Content

A good number of possible morphemes may be attached to the verb stem. This fact allows me to divide the description of verbal morphology into two chapters as we explore the complex structure of verbs. Chapter 5 deals with the categories of tense and aspect. Chapter 7 will deal specifically with serial verb constructions.

5.1 Main Concepts

A number of formatives in the world's languages can indicate information on the verb such as the time of an action or event with respect to speech-time (known as **tense)**, and the internal structure of an event (**aspect**), We delve into these different categories and ascertain their presence in the Guna language by way of their grammatical realization.

The relationship and distinction between tense and aspect are commonly explored topics in the morphosyntax of the world's languages. These categories have been attested in many languages and have been treated in their grammars. As we will see, however, the idiosyncrasies of morphology in Guna deserve unique attention. Thanks to the development of linguistic research and description, we are now able to make finer distinctions between these different verb-marking categories; the growing literature in these areas allows us to understand these differences and apply the concepts in our analyses. In the next few paragraphs I will detail how linguists understand these concepts and how they are applied in the current grammar.

Tense is the term most likely familiar to the readers. The category of tense exists in many of the European languages that we may know or may have read about. In Chapter 3, I introduced some deictic words, those words that depend on the situational context in which they are uttered. Pronouns, demonstratives and temporal adverbs are some of the deictic words I discussed for Guna. The category of tense, like pronouns, also depends on context for meaning.

As Comrie (1976) explains "**tense** relates the time of the situation referred to to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking." The category of tense allows the speaker to anchor an event[47] in time, whether it is earlier to the moment of speech (**past tense**), a time at or around the moment of speech (**present tense)**, or a time after the moment of speech (**future tense**). Tense is deictic because it locates the situation relative to when the sentence is uttered. In a sentence, tense may be expressed by way of time adverbs such as *bane* 'tomorrow', *sae* 'yesterday', *emisgwa* 'right now'. However, some languages may express tense by way of verbal markers such as affixes, clitics or periphrastic verbs (a main verb and an auxiliary verb).

Spanish clearly has tense markers, as we will see. Let's take the verb *comer* 'to eat', as an example. The past or preterite[48] for the first person verb is *Yo comí* 'I ate'. The action of eating took place sometime before the sentence was uttered, thus making it a past event. The present tense of the verb is *Yo como* 'I eat'. The verb in the present describes an action that is taking place at the moment of speech. Of course, it isn't necessary for the moment of speech and the act of eating to occur simultaneously, so the time that the present refers to may be extended to a reasonable time around the moment of the utterance. Finally, using our example verb in the first person, *Yo comeré* 'I will eat' refers to an action that will take place at a later time; thus, it illustrates an example in the future.

[47] An event, situation or state is expressed in the grammar by predicates. As I described in Chapter 3, verbs are in most cases the heads of the predicate in a sentence.
[48] Preterite is in reality the more appropriate term. It denotes a past tense with a perfective aspect. More on the perfective aspect further down.

In Guna, there is no grammatical category that expresses tense exclusively. By a grammatical category I mean that there is no marker on the verb for the past, present or the future. Let's look at the definition of aspect to make sense of the fact that Guna does not possess tense morphology, as many have probably assumed, justifiably.

Aspect, although related to the notion of temporality, conveys more specifically information about different viewpoints placed on an event or state such as the beginning, end, change of state and duration of a situation. Referring once again to Comrie (1976), "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation."

As a quick illustration, we can again use Spanish since many of the readers will be familiar with its grammar. I will take as an example the sentence *Juan comía cuando yo entré* 'John was eating when I entered'[49]. Notice that the verb *comía* is not in the past (*comió*), present (*come)*, nor future (*comerá*) tense. Instead, this verb presents a situation which makes reference to its "internal temporal constituency." More explicitly, the verb presents an internal portion of John's eating, which coincides with the moment of the speaker's entry. This marker on the verb offers a partial and internal view of the event or situation; linguists call this **imperfective** aspect. *Entré* on the other hand, presents a situation in its entirety, that is, it presents a situation with a beginning, middle and end. The speaker is not concerned with a specific moment internal to the event, rather with the situation as a whole. When an event is presented as a complete event, with no reference to an event's beginning or end, it is called the **perfective**.

[49] This example was adapted from Comrie (1976:5).

Aspect assumes that events and states have an inherent internal structure.[50] Linguists have devoted countless hours and book pages to describing and understanding events, situations and states from a semantic standpoint. Although our limited space will not do this discussion justice, it still is important to have a general grasp of these concepts to understand how aspect looks in a language[51]. States are predicates that remain unchanged throughout their duration and that don't require an outside force to continue. Predicates like *conoce el camino* 'know the way' and *ama a su esposa* 'love his wife' are states. These types of predicates are difficult to measure with duration phrases and to reference their internal structure. For example, a sentence with a state and a duration phrase, like *Juan conoció el camino por cinco años* 'Juan knew the way for 5 years,' sounds awkward.

Processes or activities, on the contrary, may change over shorter periods of time and must continually be affected by an outside force for the activity to endure. Verbs like *speak, work, eat* illustrate activities. Processes and activities are more naturally viewed as continual events than states.

Finally, Timberlake's liminal predicates, which are different from states and processes given that this type of predicate does not report continuous events, places boundaries on those events. As such, the processes and states that liminal predicates

[50] States, process (or activities) and liminal predicates that are referred to here come from Timberlake's (2007) characterization of aspect.
[51] §6.2 presents a different angle of discussion about verbal categories based on semantic grounds and their consequences in the grammar. Concepts such as transitive versus intransitive verbs, as well as stative verbs were described and exemplified.

describe have an inherent limit. As the author describes it, the boundaries that may be placed are an initial phase when event begins, an intermediate phase during which change occurs, or a final phase which marks the end of the event and after no change is possible.

Aspect comes into play in describing these types of situations, and in the case of Guna, verbs may be marked by aspectual morphemes to convey one or more of these.

The confusion between tense and aspect may be understandable given the close correlation between these categories and their function as temporal anchors of an event (in the case of aspect, these may be secondary semantic interpretations). In Guna, this confusion surfaces in the interpretation of the perfective suffix *–sa* as a past suffix and the prospective *–oe* as a future suffix. In many languages, the perfective has a secondary interpretation of expressing past events because a perfective marks a complete event, and complete events in general may be viewed as having already occurred. Likewise, the prospective describes events that are relevant subsequent to another event. This may lead people to interpret a prospective aspect as a future tense.

The final piece of the verbal puzzle, in terms of related verbal markers, is the category of modality (mood is the grammaticalized expression of modality). Guna does not possess a rich modal morphology, but it has moods some that are important to discuss.

Modality expresses the speaker's attitude toward a situation or the speaker's evaluation of the likelihood/unlikelihood of a situation. Timberlake (2007:315) describes it as follows:

> "Modality is about alternatives – how we come to know and speak about the world, how the world came to be as it is, whether it might be other than it is, what needs to be done to the world to make it what we want. The alternatives are sorted out and evaluated by some sort of authority, often the speaker, or, if not the speaker, some other participant or even another situation."

In simpler terms, modality allows speaker and listener(s) to evaluate things such as how certain one can be of the situation being expressed, what conditions are placed on what is being uttered, whether what is being uttered expresses the wish or hopes of the speaker, etc. In Guna there are four moods which we will discuss. Modals shape and give clarity to the event being discussed, which falls in line with the functional importance of the other verbal markers. However, the differences between modality and the previous two large-scale categories which we discussed (tense and aspect) are easier to spot in Guna.

5.2 Aspect

Guna has 5 aspectual distinctions that will be detailed in the current section.

5.2.1 Perfective *–(i)sa*

Before exploring the function of *–sa* in clauses, it is beneficial to familiarize the reader with the different allomorphs of the affix in discussion. The perfective has several allomorphs that (mostly) depend on the phonetic context in which they appear within the

verb. The most common allomorph of the perfective is the suffix *–s(a)*. This is the most widespread and straightforward form of the suffix. The suffix is always added immediately after the verb stem.

(1)	*bake*	'to buy'	*bak-sa*
	uke	'to give'	*uk-sa*
	dage	'to come'	*dag-sa*
	dake	'to see'	*dak-sa*
	ogwae	'to change'	*ogwa-sa*
	akwie	'to dig'	*akwi-sa*
	gobe	'to drink'	*gob-sa*
	mage	'to draw'	*mag-sa*

Certain verbs take a different form of the suffix: the allomorph *-is(a).* In most cases where *–isa* appears, it does so in order to avoid a three consonant cluster.

(2)	*alle*	'to laugh'	*all-isa*
	bisge	'to break'	*bich-isa*
	burgwe	'to die'	*burgw-isa*
	edarbe	'to wait'	*edarb-isa*
	unge	'to (something) take off'	*ung-isa*
	urbe	'to place'	*urb-isa*

If we follow the process by which the verbs in (1) take the perfective aspect, the verbs in (2) would result in a three consonant cluster. For example, *urbe* 'to place' would result in **urbsa*. Instead, a vowel is epenthesized after the root, followed by the perfective suffix, resulting in *–isa*. The same is true of the rest of verbs in (2).

However, there are irregular forms for some verbs do take the *–isa* allomorph even in the absence of a resulting consonant cluster.

(3)	*gabe*	'to sleep'	*gab-isa*
	mege	'to lie down'	*meg-isa*

	itire	'to rip'	*itir-isa*

Another form for certain verbs involves the use of a *–usa* allomorph in verbs where the vowel in the previous syllable is *u*.

(4)	*urwe*	'to fight'	*ur-usa*
	ute	'to tear'	*ut-usa*

However, a number of verbs do not follow this pattern. For example, the perfective of 'to sleep' is *gabisa*, but similar phonetic environments, as the words 'to drink' *gobsa* and 'to draw' *magsa* exemplify, do not render a surface *–isa.* Similarly, *ute* 'to tear' in the perfective aspect results in a surface *utusa* but *uke + sa* 'to give' becomes *uksa*, and *mete* 'to throw away' becomes *met-sa.*[52]

A final allomorph *–cha* results from the root verb ending in a nasal *n*. Therefore, *gunne* 'to eat' becomes *gucha* (*gun-sa*).

(5)	*gunne*	'to eat'	*gu-cha*
	edinne	'to tie'	*edi-cha*

Having looked at the allomorphs for the perfective, we can now focus on delineating the exact meaning of this suffix. The perfective marks the viewpoint of a single, bounded event; it includes the starting and ending points without making specific reference to either one. A broader look at certain examples with the suffix *–sa* clearly indicate that it marks, not a past tense, but a perfective aspect. Other readings of the perfective aspect may also include past tense readings.

[52] Actually pronounced /tʃ/ as there is no /ts/ in Guna.

In the first example, the situational context presented by the verb *sodi nonikile* ‘when you return from fishing’ establishes an event that has yet to occur.

(6) *be ua so-di noniki-le, bato gab-is be an*
1S fish catch-PROG come-COND already sleep-PRF 2.SG 1.SG

dak-dap-oe
see-arrive-PROS

‘When you return from fishing, I will have slept’ (lit. you will see that I had already slept)

The return from fishing is interpreted as a future event, even without the prospective suffix. The verb *dakdapoe* ‘will see as you arrive’ in the main clause indicates future as well. The second verb, *gabe* is marked with the perfective *–is(a)*. It cannot be a past tense marker because it is not presenting an event that took place before the utterance, but it describes an event that will be complete after the fishing takes place.

The sentence exemplified in (7) is taken from the New Testament in Guna. In this passage, the writer presents a scenario which may be true or hypothetical.

(7) *Degi soggu, be daed gine na be oyomar, bemar nue gwagsamalad*

Degi sog-gu, be dae-d gine na be oyo=mar be=mar
Therefore say-be, 2.SG be-NOM as PRN 2.SG show=PL 2.SG=PL

nue gwag-sa=mala-d
well change-PRF=PL-PRG

‘It is therefore said, in your actions you show, (if) you have truly changed’

The situation of ‘change’ refers to a spiritual change once the hearer comes to the knowledge of the Gospel. The nature of this change will be evident only through his/her actions. This ‘change’ may hold to be true or not; yet the verb *gwagsa* is marked with the *–sa* suffix. Instead of marking a past event, *-sa* refers to the totality of the event.

In (6) and (7) I have put forth examples of events that do not correspond with deictic situations; therefore, the verbs with *–sa* are not expressing past tense. The possibility of their usage in the context of future events, as in (6), or in hypothetical situations, as in (7) is an indicator of this fact.

The perfective suffix always attaches after the verb root, unless the verb is in passive voice. Examples (8) and (9) show this. The example in (8) comes from a humorous story where the narrator explains what happened after he was captured by the community police for not having his ID with him. This took place while he and his friend awaited word from the community leaders about their punishment.

(8) *las dos=gi an=mar=se gor-le-sa*
two=LOC 1S=PL=DAT call-PAS-PFV
‘At two, (they) were calling to us’

(9) *sucha, ga-le-s=bar=do, yog*
damn, catch-PAS-PRF=again=RHET immediately

odo-le-ar=ba
insert-PAS-PROS=again

‘Damn, (if) (I) am catched again, (I) will be imprisoned again immediately’

5.2.2 Inceptive *–de* and *-ali*

The example in (10) is the start of an interview with one of the informants. The sentence is uttered to prompt the informant to begin telling his story. The focus of the event with the inceptive is on the start of the situation, and it has an imperative reading.

(10) *eye dummad, sa-de-na*
yes big do-INCEP-IMPFV
'Yes chief, begin'

The second sentence comes from a story from one of my friends about his canoe capsizing. He and his friend have to swim to shore and attempt to make the trip back to the village.

(11) *Achutupu diwar mo-s-gu, adi ukub-bid,*
Achutupu river arrive-PFV-when then sand-full.of

na-de na-de na-de aeropuerto=se
go-INCEP go-INCEP go-INCEP airport=LOC

'When (we) arrived at Achutupu's river, full of sand, (we) went, went, went to the landing strip'

The inceptive suffix in *nae* 'to go' marks the beginning of the trek by foot after the arrival to the river by swimming. Other languages like Chol (Vazquez 2010), may use the prospective in certain situations to refer to **inceptive aspect**, the beginning of a new action. Guna has a second grammaticalized marker for the inceptive and a separate prospective marker. I will repeat sentence (9) below.

(12) *sucha, ga-le-s=bar-do, yog*
damn, catch-PAS-PFV=again-EMPH immediately

odo-le-ar=ba
insert-PAS-INCEP=again

'Damn, (if) (I) am caught again, (I) will be imprisoned again immediately'

The suffix *–ali (-ar)* is a grammaticalized suffix from the movement verb *ali* 'to leave and come back.' In this context, **grammaticalized** refers to a clear path of functional change from a verb to a suffix.

5.2.3 Prospective aspect *–oe*

The prospective aspect has been attested in other Chibchan languages[53]. The **prospective aspect** marks the beginning of an event and anticipates its continued relevance. Other terms that express similar meanings in other languages should not be confused with the prospective: **inchoative aspect** (normally to mark the beginning of states). In keeping with the Chibchan tradition, I will use prospective to describe these types of situations.

The prospective in Guna has been confused with a future tense; the form of the clitic is *=o(e)*[54]. In most cases, the prospective attaches immediately after the root verb. Example (13) is a representative list of verbs with the prospective suffix. Notice that the final vowel *–e* in the uninflected verb is dropped before the prospective suffix is added.

[53] Quesada 2000 describes a *-(y)dë* suffix for the prospective in Teribe
[54] As a reminder, suffixes in Guna have a long and short form, and both may be used in everyday speech. However, the short form of the suffix is most commonly used.

(13)

Verb		***Verb in the future***	***Meaning***
sunmake	-	*sunmak=o(e)*	*'will speak'*
namake	-	*namak=o(e)*	*'will sing'*
a-take	-	*atak=o(e)*	*'will be awaken'*
gae	-	*ga=o(e)*	*'will grab'*

(14) a. *a be sog=bal=oe*
DEM 2.SG say=also=PROS
'You will talk about that'

b. *Panama=se an=mar na=oe=d*
Panama=ALL 1=PL go=PROS=TVF
'We are going to Panama'

The actual form of the prospective is regular, but its position within the word may behave irregularly in the presence of certain adverbial enclitics. While in the majority of cases the prospective can be found attached immediately after the root verb, the following enclitics trigger a different order (Newbold 2005).

(15)

=mala (=mar)	plural enclitic [55]
=bali (=bar)	'again'
=mo(ga)	'also'

A plural enclitic may be marked on the verb (see §3.5 and Chapter 7) when it agrees with a plural subject, or in the event of a **pro-drop** in which the subject is implied. When this is the case, the prospective *=oe* attaches to the plural enclitic, not to the verb root.

(16) *a.* *immar dak=mal=oe*
thing see=PL=PROS
'(they) will see the thing'

[55] Newbold (2005) and (2013) describes this in detail.

**da=-o=mala*
'(they) will see'

b. *nue ito=mal=oe*
well listen/feel=PL=PROS
'They will listen/feel well'

As Newbold points out, the same situation arises when the adverbial enclitics *=bal(i)* 'again' and *=mo(ga)* attach to the verb host. The prospective must appear after the enclitic, rendering the opposite order ungrammatical.

(17) a. *namak=bal=oe*
sing=again=PROS
'(he) will sing again'

**namak-o=bali*

b. *gob=bal=oe*
drink=again=PROS
'will drink again'

**gob-oe=bali*

(18) a. *dak=mog=oe*
come=also=PROS
'will come again'

b. **dak=o(e)=moga*

Under certain conditions, as in (20), namely in the presence of the adverbial enclitic *=sun(na)* 'truly', the prospective can appear attached to the root verb or to the

enclitic. In (8a) the enclitic appears after the root-prospective; in (20b), the opposite order is also possible.

(19) a. *dak=o=sunna*
see=PROS=truly
'will truly see'

b. *dak=sunn=oe*
see=truly=PROS
'will truly see'

The negative adverbial enclitic *=suli* differs from previous adverbials in that it does not allow the future to come after it. The only possible order is the root, followed by the prospective, followed by the negative enclitic.

(20) a. *gab-o=suli*
sleep-FT=NEG
'will not sleep'

b. **gab=suli-oe*

(21) a. *itog-o=suli*
listen-FT=NEG
'will not listen'

b. **itog=suli-oe*

In (23), =suli (=sur) must be attached after *=oe*, following the pattern described in (18) and (19). The plural *=mala* may then attach to the negative enclitic.

(22) *dak=o=sur=mala*
see=FT=NEG=PL
'will not see'

A second possibility is the phrase in (24). Notice again that the negative enclitic attaches to the prospective (as described in the previous paragraph) while the prospective attaches to the plural.

(23) *dak=mal=o =suli*
see=PL=PROS=NEG
'will not see'

Finally, *=suli* may also attach directly to the verb host. In this case, the future may not attach to the negative enclitic (thus rendering it ungrammatical) but to the plural enclitic. In this context, the plural enclitic may appear immediately after the negative enclitic.

(24) *dak=sur=mal=oe*
see=NEG=PL=PROS
'will not see'

As Newbold demonstrates, an analysis of verb formatives that relies on a specific template for verb formation is difficult. Given the highly cliticizing nature of the language, it seems that these forms are in flux in terms of grammaticalization. Epps (2008) also reports that for Hup the formatives at the boundaries between affixes and clitics tend to behave with less regularity for formative ordering.

5.2.4 Habitual *–dae*

Both habitual and progressive aspects are considered subcategories of imperfectivity. If we refer to our previous discussion of perfective and imperfective, remember that a perfective presents an event in its entirety. On the other hand, an

imperfective presents an internal view of the event, an event which has not yet been completed.

A habitual event describes a situation which encompasses an extended period of time. As Comrie (1976:28) describes it: "(the habitual event) is not viewed as an incidental property of the moment, but, precisely, a characteristic feature of the whole period." This situation can be described in Guna by the adverb *gadi* and an uninflected verb.

(25) *Mani gadi wagdarad=ba mas gunne*
Mani always morning=LOC food eat
'Mani always eats in the morning'

Habituality can also be expressed by way of a grammaticalized form *–dae*. The habitual suffix, just as the prospective *–ali* detailed above, can be traced to a verbal root. For ease of description given what I have presented to this point, we can refer to it as a suffix.

(26) *sagla Onmaked Neg=gi unni Mu Igar namak-dae*
chief Meeting House=LOC only Grandma Way sing-HAB
'The chief only sings "The Way of the Grandmother" in the gathering hall

In (28), the act of 'only singing Mu Igar' is understood to take place over an extended period of time. As a matter of fact, it still has relevance at the moment of utterance.

5.2.5 Progressive *–di* and positionals

The progressive in Guna may be expressed grammatically by one of two ways (or six if you count each individual positional): one is by way of a *–di* suffix that is exclusively a progressive aspect suffix.

(27) *gannir* *namak-di*
Hen/chicken cackle-PROG
'The hen is cackling'

Nue *wile-di=mar=do*
well suffer-PROG=PL=EMPH
'(they) are truly suffering!'

A second way to express progressive aspect is through the reanalysis of the class of verbs known as positionals (§3.6 and Chapter 6). This is not exclusive to Guna; a number of languages that have positionals have a progressive reading in the presence of a positional in the verb complex. As a reminder, in (28) I list the positionals that Guna has.

(28) *gwichi:* *standing*
mai: lying down
nai: hanging
sii: sitting (singular)
bukwa: sitting (plural)

For ease of description, I will focus on describing one verb, *namake* 'to sing', with each possible positional.

(29) *namak-gwichi* 'singing standing'
namak-mai 'singing lying down'
namak-nai 'singing hanging' (as in a hammock)
namak-sii 'singing sitting'
namak-bukwa 'singing sitting'

The progressive describes an ongoing activity or event which has relevance at the moment of context. It is assumed that the event will continue in the immediate future. The examples above show this. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6

Simple Sentences

Content

As we try to puzzle different words and phrases together to form cohesive linguistic units, we must be aware that these words and phrases do not always fall neatly into a set space in a template. However, as this chapter will show, there are overarching

patterns that are evident for Guna speakers; a speaker of the language will readily recognize a sentence as truly "Guna," and deviations from that structure may yield different judgments depending on the speaker and/or situation. The objective of Chapter 6 is to describe these overarching patterns we see in simple sentences.

6.1 Main Concepts

When discussing sentences, various terms both from syntax and semantics are used, and different avenues can be taken to analyze how sentences look and behave. The objective of this chapter is to explore these different ways of clausal and sentence analysis to present a comprehensive examination of sentence formation in Guna.

Dryer (2007) writes that there are four possible ways in which we can classify and view sentences:

A. A distinction based on different kinds of predicates (or clause type)

B. Sentence types (different from clause type) that distinguishes between declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences

C. Different perspectives by which a situation or event can be talked about, which includes things like voice, topic and focus.

D. A distinction between main clause and subordinate clause and the subtypes of subordinate clauses, (subordination will be discussed in Chapter 8)

This chapter explores 3 of the 4 types of classifications listed above and explores their effect in the shape a sentence may take. However, before I tackle these, I offer an overview of the important terminology used subsequently.

6.1.1 Clause and sentence

Two words that the reader will come across numerous times as we move forward are **clause** and **sentence.** The line that separates them in syntax may seem to be blurry in certain contexts, so this section addresses their conceptual differences.

In linguistics, we think of a clause as a unit of grammar that is larger than a phrase but smaller than a sentence. A clause is a structure which will have as its main elements a **subject** and a **predicate** (§6.1.2.1 treats these further). A subject is one of several grammatical functions that make up a clause; it traditionally refers to the 'doer' of the action or the thing that the rest of the clause talks about. The term predicate is also a main element of the clause in the analysis of grammatical functions. In this context, a predicate simply is the nucleus of a proposition which describes a relation, an activity or property concerning the subject (Payne 2003).

A sentence is traditionally recognized as the largest structural unit of grammar in a language that has a complete thought. A single clause will in many occasions form a sentence, but that may not be the case in other contexts. Allow me to illustrate this point.

(1) *sibil-mar bukwa an idu*
civilian.police-PL POS.PL 1.SG front
'The civilian policemen were in front of me' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

(2) ***sibil-mar*** ***an idu*** ***bukwa-gu*** *an=se* *an=ai*
civilian.police-PL 1.SG front POS.PL-TEMP 1.SG=DAT 1.SG=friend

ibmar egis-sa
thing ask-PFV

'While the civilian policemen were in front of me, my friend asked me something' [Smith C004-I003]

The first example is both a clause and a sentence. It is a clause because it contains a subject '*sibilmar'* and a predicate '*(an idu) bukwa',* and it is a sentence because it forms a complete unit. The second example shows a sentence which contains two clauses: the first almost mirrors the clause in (1), which is in bold, and a second clause '*anse anai inmar egisa.'* The first clause in (2) by itself does not form a complete thought. I restate this clause in (3) below.

(3) ? *civilmar an idu bukwagu*

Example (3), just as the expression in (1), comprises a subject and a predicate. This fact makes (3) a clause. However, the presence of the clause marker *–gu*[56] indicates that, as a whole, the clause modifies a larger structure. In the case of (2) it specifies the time when '*egisa'* happens. Because (3) is dependent on a **main clause** to complete its meaning, the clause *sibilmar an idu bukwagu* is not a sentence.

Why is the conceptual distinction important? While there is an apparent overlap in the usage of these concepts, Chapter 8 will illustrate the usefulness of the distinction

[56] Clause markers signal the combination of multiple clauses in a sentence. The focus of Chapter 8 will be on these types of structures.

between two structures larger than a phrase, one of which may stand alone and the other of which requires accompanying information to be grammatical and to have meaning. In instances where a clause is independent, linguists may use sentence and clause interchangeably.

6.1.2 Elements of a clause

Let us shift our focus to defining the **constituents** of a clause. In linguistics, constituency refers to a unit of grammar with a specific function that is a component of a larger structure. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, I have been constructing a grammar of Guna using constituency as one of its main organizing principles. We have seen that words, which on their own form constituents themselves, can be part of a larger structure (a noun phrase, for example), and in turn, these structures can become part of an even larger structure.

In the analysis of syntactic structures beyond the phrase, linguists look at how the different constituents in a clause relate to each other through different grammatical connections and what kinds of functions these constituents serve in the structure. There are two different levels of analysis that allow us to understand what those connections between the constituents are. Next, I will give a general overview of these.

6.1.2.1 Grammatical relations

At one level, **grammatical relations** allow us to explore the relationship between a **predicate** and its **arguments.** In this context, a predicate is an expression that provides

information about the noun(s) or pronoun(s)[57] that it connects with in the grammar. Those noun phrases (NPs) that are in a direct relationship with the predicate are the arguments of that predicate. Let me illustrate with a simple example.

(4) *an dog-sa*
1.SG enter-PFV
'I entered' [Rodriguez, Elicitation]

The predicate in this clause is clearly the verb *dogsa*. It has one argument: the pronoun *an*, and the argument in this expression has the function of subject. Echoing an early definition, the subject is the thing or person that the sentence is about. This specific example presents an event 'to enter' that, at the very minimum, requires one argument: the one that does the 'entering', illustrated by the pronoun *an* in this example. Verbs that only have one argument are called **intransitive** verbs.

Now let us look at a slightly more complex example.

(5) *an=mar belikula dak-si*
1=PL movie watch-POS:sitting
'We are watching (seated) a movie' [Smith C004-I003]

The predicate in this sentence is the verb *daksi*. Just like the verb in (4), *daksi* requires a minimum of one argument. The pronoun *anmar* is the subject of the sentence, which fulfills this requirement. Unlike (4), however, there is a second NP: the noun *belikula*. When we think of the verb *daksi*, there is an entity that does the 'watching' and

[57] More generally, the predicate offers information about a noun phrase (NP) as a constituent, which may include a noun and its modifiers, or a single pronoun (see Chapter 4).

someone or something that is 'being watched'; in the sentence above this second entity is fulfilled by the second NP, *belikula*. This second argument functions as an **object**, the entity which the subject acts upon. Verbs with two arguments, a subject and an object, are known as **transitive** verbs. In table 6.1, a summary of verb type is presented.

Table 6.1: Type of verb according to the number of arguments

Type of Verb	Number of Arguments	Arguments
intransitive verbs	one argument	subject
transitive verbs	two arguments	subject and object

Thirdly, there are verbs that require more than two arguments. A limited set of verbs (such as buy, sell, tell, and give) have a subject, object and a third argument which is the recipient of the action.

(6) *S R O*
an goe=ga bola bak-sa
1.SG baby=DAT ball buy-PFV
'I bought the baby a ball' [L.Smith elicitation]

In Guna, that third argument is always marked with a postposition/enclitic. This postposition will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

So, how does a language determine which argument is a subject and which argument is an object? In some languages, the specific function of an argument is evident by markings on the nouns which tell us how the NP fits in this argument-predicate

relationship. The morphemes that mark these relationships are called **case markers**[58]. Quechua, for example, has been analyzed as having a 0 marker (we think of an invisible morpheme that is there underlyingly) that marks the subject of a transitive or an intransitive verb (known as nominative case), and a *–ta* marker that occurs on noun phrases that function as objects (known as accusative case) of a transitive verb.

(7) *Juan-0* *Pedro-ta* *maqan* (Payne 2003)
Juan-NOM Pedro-ACC hits
'Juan hits Pedro'

Notice that Guna does not have this type of case marking on its arguments. First, here is an example of the intransitive verb *namake* in perfective aspect.

(8) *an=bab* *bat* *namak-sa*
1.SG=father already sing-PFV
'my father already sang' [Rodriguez elicitation]

Notice that the NP *an=bab* has no case marking morphology attached to it. Now, let us look at transitive verbs.

(9) *Bab Dummad* *we* *diwar* *mes-isa*
Father Great DEM river place-PFV
'The Great Father put this river (here)'

(10) *an=ior* *Manuel* *se-noniki*
1.SG=older.sister Manuel carry-come

[58] There are two well known systems in the languages of the world. One system is known as nominative – accusative which marks both the subject of a transitive and the subject of an intransitive similarly, and the object of a transitive separately (like Quechua). An ergative – absolutive system marks the subject of a transitive one way and groups the object of a transitive with the subject of an intransitive (some Mayan languages are well known examples).

'My older sister brought Manuel'

Again, no morphological markers indicate whether the NPs in (9) or (10) are subject or object. So, how do we know what kind of argument an NP fills? Sentence (9) is unambiguous. *Bab Dummad* is the subject, and *we diwar* is the object. Common sense tells us that *Bab Dummad* is more likely to carry out the action of 'placing'; therefore, it is the subject of the sentence.

Sentence (10) might be a more ambiguous example. Whereas in sentence (9) one of the arguments was a more logical option for the subject (the noun *Bab Dummad*), in (10) *an-ior* and *Manuel* are viable candidates for subject. Nonetheless, speakers of Guna will readily recognize *an-ior* as the subject and *Manuel* as the object[59]. Guna uses **word order** to determine the grammatical relation of the arguments: the first element is the subject (S) and the second element is the object (O). Thus, we say that Guna is an SOV language (V for verb).

Another type of morphological relationship that is often seen in the languages of the world is **agreement**. These languages mark the verb indicating agreement with either a subject and/or object. The conjugation of Spanish verbs exemplifies this.

(11)	*yo corr-o*	'I run'
	tu corr-es	'you run'
	el corr-e	'he runs'

[59] This is true without any additional context. We will see further that it is possible in certain contexts for the second element to be the subject of the sentence.

The conjugation of the verb ‘to run’ in the present tense using first, second and third person singular pronouns shows that the form of the verb changes to correspond with the subject. We refer to this relationship as agreement. Using the same verb as in (8), the sentences in (12) show that no morphological relationship (agreement) exists between verbs and their arguments[60].

(12) a. *bato an namak-sa*
already 1.SG sing-PFV
‘I already sang’

b. *bato be namak-sa*
already 2.SG sing-PFV
‘you already sang’

c. *bato an=mar namak-sa*
already 2=PL sing-PFV
‘we already sang’

The verb remains unchanged in all three instances despite different subjects, which I illustrate here with distinctions of person (1st and 2nd) and of number (singular and plural). Also notice in (9) and (10) and there are no morphemes on the verb that agree with the object.

Without case marking and agreement, no morphological distinctions of subject versus object on the verb indicate its grammatical relations. The ordering of the arguments determines the function of constituents in the sentence as we saw previously.

[60] The enclitic *=mala* has been discussed previously as a possible verbal marker. As I will discuss later, there are possible implications of this for an analysis of agreement in Guna, especially in cases with an absence of an explicit plural subject in a sentence.

There is another observation to be made about case marking. It was defined as a morphological signal that marks the predicate-argument relationship; we saw that Guna does not have case markings on the core arguments of a clause. Nevertheless, certain relationships can be marked on nouns; these noun phrases may have an array of different functions that are neither subject nor object. In the linguistic literature these are called **oblique cases**, inflected nouns with an indirect relationship (non-core and generally non-obligatory) with the predicate.

In Guna, oblique cases are marked with postpositions that are normally cliticized to nouns. These oblique cases for the most part have similar functions to adverbs such as providing location, time, motion to or away from, etc. However, there are certain obliques that mark semantic relationships with the predicate such as instruments and **indirect objects** (a recipient of the direct object). All of these will be discussed here.

As we saw above, there are certain verbs that require more than two arguments. The third argument in Guna is marked with a postposition/enclitic that indicates that the noun is the recipient of the action. **Dative case** is marked by the postposition *gala*, which normally elides to *=ga* and is cliticized to the noun.

(13) ***Bab=ga*** *gingi sedage*
father=DAT gun bring
'Bring the gun **to father**'

(14) *bermiso sate=bar* *an* ***e=ga*** *sog-gu*
Permit not.have=also 1.SG 3.SG=DAT tell-TEMP
'I told him, we don't have a permit'

(15) ***goe=ga*** *ugetes bak-sa*
baby=DAT toys buy-PFV
'(I) bought toys for the baby' [Gomez, unrecorded conversation]

Instrumental case is marked by the postposition *gine* (=*gine*), and it indicates that the noun is used as a tool or an instrument.

(16) *an* ***alu=gi*** *mari-s*
1 penis=INST break-PFV
'I broke (it) **with the penis**' [CUK012R006I001]

(17) *Ibeler-di* ***e=es=gi*** *mugwa e=goo-mar sik-sa=d*
Ibeler-FOC 3.SG =knife=INST old.lady 3.SG=finger-PL cut-PFV=TVF
'Ibeler cut the old lady's fingers **with his knife**' [L.Smith 2003:114]

The agent of the verb in a passive sentence is marked by *sega* (=*se*). This is called the **agentive**, which shows that the noun is the agent of the verb. This will be explored further in the section about passives.

The other postpositions in Guna that are also considered obliques show more of an adverbial function. For example, the postposition *gine* also indicates a **locative.** The locative indicates location, in time or space.

(18) *Juan* ***neg=gi*** *mai*
Juan house=LOC be
'Juan is **in the house**' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

(19) *nan baid* ***ni=gi*** *danik=oe*
mother another moon=LOC come=PROS
'Mother will come **next month**' literally 'in the next moon'
[Rodriguez, elicitation]

Allative case indicates motion to a location. Both =*se* and =*ba* are used to indicate this.

(20) *Juan* ***diwar=se*** *na-de*
Juan river=ALL go-INCEP
'Juan just went **to the river**'

(21) *Juan* ***diwar=ba*** *na-de*
Juan river=ALL go-INCEP
'Juan just went **to the river'**

6.1.2.2 Semantic roles

A second level of analysis for understanding the relationship between elements in the sentence requires us to look at the **semantic roles** (also called thematic roles) of the **participants** (they are realized by noun phrases). Semantic role describes what the underlying role of the noun phrase plays in the event or action described by the predicate. Semantic roles allow us to explore a relationship of MEANING between the participants of the event, state or action described by the predicate. This type of analysis may be applied separately from the grammatical function of the NPs. Table 6.2 summarizes some common semantic roles that linguists have identified in the description of the languages of the world.

Table 6.2: Semantic roles

agent	the doer of the action
patient / theme	entity affected by the action
experiencer	entity psychologically affected by the state expressed by the verb. Others have described it as one receiving sensory input. (Fromkin, et al. 2011)
instrument	something used as a tool or instrument
goal	a place or entity to which something moves

As the reader may be able to surmise by looking at Table 6.2, there are conceptual overlaps between the grammatical functions of NPs in the clause and the semantic roles fulfilled by the NPs. The agent role may seem conceptually like a subject (although an agent is not always a subject, as we will see), and the patient role is like the object (although again, a patient is not always an object).

Why have two different levels of analysis? Grammatical functions and grammatical relations allow us to make structural and morphological generalizations with regards to the predicate-argument(s) relationships in sentences, especially in languages where this is important. Semantic roles, on the other hand, rely on an underlying correlation between the meaning of the verb and the type of participants it would normally need to complete that meaning. Let us see some examples.

(22) *Igwa ua gun-sa*
Igwa fish eat-PFV
'Igwa ate fish' [L.Smith, elicitation]

With regards to semantic roles, *Igwa* is the agent of the verb *gunsa*. The underlying meaning of this verb requires an entity to carry it out. *Ua* is the patient/theme of the verb since 'eating' requires something to be eaten. The analysis of this sentence is straightforward both grammatically and semantically: the agent is the subject and the patient the object of the predicate. However, a subject is not always the agent of the verb.

(23) a. *Igwa yaa ega-sa*
Igwa door open-PFV
'Igwa opened the door'

b. *Igwa ue-lege*
Igwa heat-PASS/MID
'Igwa is sick' literally 'Igwa is heated'

c. *Igwa o-uru-sa*
Igwa CAUS-anger-PFV
'(Someone) angered Igwa'

d. speaker A: *ibu be gun-sa?*
what 2.SG eat-PFV
'What did you eat?'

speaker B: *gannir gun-sa*
chicken eat-PFV
'(I) ate chicken' [Rodriguez elicitation]

What the examples in (22) illustrate is that some difficulties come to light when using grammatical relations as the sole framework of analysis for sentences. In the case of Guna, structure alone may not always tell us who did what to whom. In (22a), we have *Igwa* who had control over the action of *egae*, thus it is the agent. *Yaa* is the patient or theme of the sentence. In (22b), the subject still is *Igwa*, but he is not really a doer of an action. *Uelege* as a verb describes the state that *Igwa* is in, so *Igwa* is the experiencer in the sentence. In (22c), *Igwa* is the patient even though a structural analysis would regard it as a subject. If we think about the underlying structure of the verb *ourue*, the actual agent is the person who made *Igwa* angry; *Igwa* is affected by the action of this agent. The answer in (22d) presents a similar situation. Without context, *gannir gun-sa* could very well mean that a chicken ate; it could function as the agent of the verb *gunsa*. However, given the context in (22d), it is obvious that *gannir* is not an agent but a patient; *gannir* is the answer to the question 'what did you eat?' The underlying agent is speaker B.

A semantic role analysis of NP elements in a clause is a helpful tool in Guna for those instances where structure alone limits our interpretation of the function of the participants in the sentence.

6.1.2.3 Adjuncts

In traditional grammars, the notions of subject and predicate were defined more generally to divide a clause in two parts: a subject, which includes a noun and all its modifiers, and a predicate, the constituent that includes a verb and its **complement.** A complement refers to the information that completes the meaning of the verb. In this context, the object is part of the predicate as a complement of the verb[61].

(24) Subject Predicate
Olo / mas gun-sokali
Olo food eat-INCEP
'Olo is about to eat'

Other constituents that provide auxiliary information, hence they are not necessary to complete the meaning of the predicate, are called **adjuncts**. Adjuncts may appear as adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, and oblique nouns. Some examples will be presented.

(25) ***guartel*** ***yaba*** *neg* ***bule*** *gachar=bali*
police.station inside place degree ugly=again
'**inside the police station**, the place was **so** ugly also' [Smith C004-I003]

[61] In this chapter, I am using 'subject' and 'predicate' mostly as defined earlier in the chapter. The constituent that includes a verb with its complements and modifiers will be referred to as a verb phrase to avoid any confusion.

The previous sentence occurred in the context of a humorous personal narrative about the speaker getting arrested. As he is describing his current predicament, he mentions that his shorts and shirt are in bad shape. He then utters sentence (24). In our analysis, the clear principal elements of the clause are the predicate, *gacharbali*, and its one argument, *neg*. The phrase *guartel yaba* is a postpositional phrase that provides additional information about the location where this occurs. The adverb *bule,* on the other hand, tells the listener the degree to which it occurs.

(26) *Mor* ***birgi*** *urbe-urbe*
clothes on.top put-put
'(someone) put clothes **on top** (repeatedly)' [Smith C004-I003]

(27) ***emi*** *inna* *gob-le-si-moga-d*
now corn.drink drink-PASS-PROG-also-DEF
'Corn beverage is also being drunk **now**' [Smith C004I003]

In (25), we have an adverb of location, and in (26), we have an adverb of time. In our analysis of sentence formation, these adjuncts are outside of the main predicate-argument relationship that the sentence expresses. Because they are not central to the clause, this allows them to have a more flexible position in the sentence with respect to the predicate than core arguments do.

6.1.3 Context-determined structures

A description about sentence formation in Guna would not be complete without addressing an important fact about languages: most of the sentences we utter do not occur in isolation but as part of an ongoing verbal interaction (Foley 2007). Speakers and

addressees share information about events and participants throughout their interactions. How this information is organized in sentences depends on the choices speakers make about how to adapt their utterances to the context (Payne 2003:261). The study of the context in which the sentences occur is known as **pragmatics**.

As a result of the above facts about language, context plays a crucial role in the way certain sentences are structured as a speaker ascertains which information needs highlighting, what an addressee already knows, and which direction to take communicatively. All of these can be expressed grammatically and/or structurally in different ways by different languages. In this chapter, we will also explore how pragmatics shape sentence formation in Guna, accounting for the attested structures we find in speech.

Topic and focus, widespread strategies in languages for highlighting certain elements in the sentence, can help us explain deviations from the unmarked[62] SOV orders in Guna. For the purposes of this grammar, I will define them in very broad terms.[63] This section only focuses on their definition; their effects on word order will be explored in §6.3 Word Order.

[62] Marked/unmarked refers to a relationship between related linguistic units where one is more common and regular (unmarked) while others seem more remarkable, unusual and less common (marked). This often means that the more marked element has some explicit morphological marker, while the unmarked does not.

[63] Topic and focus have been well-researched terms in the linguistic literature. Their complexity, in both understanding and application in languages, may appear to be understated in the current grammar. This is done intentionally due to the narrower scope of this dissertation.

As Aissen (1992) states, **topic** "is used to turn the attention of the hearer to some identifiable participant in the discourse and then to mention something about that participant." This participant can then become the topic in a stretch of discourse. Topic can also work at the clausal level, highlighting an element of which the sentence is about. On the other hand, **focus** is used for emphasis, asserting that an entity is that one which the speaker refers to instead of other possible entities (Payne 2003). In this regard, there is a presupposition that an event did in fact occur, focus serving as an identifier of the entity which played a role in that event. To clarify these points further, I will give a general overview of both concepts.

First, new topics can be established in two different ways: most commonly, by placing an element in initial position, and the use of a topic suffix *–dega* (short form *–de*). On the other hand, already established topics in running speech can be omitted, a phenomenon known as **zero anaphora**.

The most observable topic strategy, but also the least common, is by the use of a topic marker *–dega (-de)*. The few examples of the topic marker that I found came from non-personal narratives, such as stories and myths. This example is from a story called *Magiryai.*

(28) a. *nega dikar-gu-s, ome war-gwen Magiryai nuga=d*
place far-be-PFV woman CL:bulky-one Magiryai name=TVF
'a time long ago, one woman named Magiryai'

mukwa Maukana neg=gi akwi-le-di gu-sa=d
old.woman Maukana house=LOC boil-PASS-PROG be-PFV=TVF
'was being cooked in old lady Maukana's house'

b. *we mukwa-**de** wa-gan abala=gi mai=d*
DEM old.woman-TOP grandchild-COLL between=LOC

mai=d
lying.down=TVF

'this old woman lived with (her) grandchildren'
Literally 'this old woman was (permanent locative) in between the grandchildren'

c. *we wa-gan-**de** Magiryai do-sa*
DEM grandchild-COLL-TOP Magiryai devour-PFV

gu-s-mala=d
be-PFV-PL=TVF

'these grandchildren devoured Magiryai' [L.Smith 2003:55]

The sentences (28b) and (28c) show topics in the initial position marked by the topic marker *–de.* The absence of the marker in both instances is also possible, with no change in meaning. The noun phrases are in initial position, a common topic position. For example, a speaker reported that placing the topic marker on the object would be ungrammatical if this remains in its object position.

(28c') * *we wagan Magirya**de** dosa gusmalad*

On the other hand, a strategy known as **zero anaphora** can be used when a topic has been established previously in the discourse. Let us look at a conversation between two speakers.

(29) A. *be eskwela=gi dog-sa Ukubseni=gi*
2 school=LOC enter-PFV Ukubseni=LOC
'Did you enter school, in Ukupseni?'

B. *eye, an dog-sa*
yes, 1 enter-PFV
'Yes, I did'

A. *ibu=se be dog-sa*
what=ALL 2 enter-PFV
'To what (grade) did you enter?'

B. ***sexto=se no-s-moga***
sixth.grade=ALL exit-PFV-also
'(I) left in sixth grade too' [Barrantes C008-I003]

The interesting sentence here is the second sentence uttered by speaker B (in bold) as a response to the second question by A. It is understood that the subject of the intransitive verb *nosmoga* is Speaker B. Were it uttered, the subject would be *an*, the first person pronoun. This subject had been established in the context and serves as the topic of this section of the conversation. Other instances of zero anaphora will be discussed in §6.2.2 Verbal predicates, highlighting its ubiquity in everyday speech in later sections.

Topic, then, has an effect on sentence formation by allowing the fronting of certain elements and by omitting elements that can be rescued from context.

Now let us turn our attention to focus. It can be expressed in two ways: fronting the focused element, and using a focus marker *–dina (-di)* on the focused nominal. Let us look at the morphological marker since it's the most obvious. The passage below was taken from a personal story about the narrator and his friend being caught by the civilian police. It comes after they were taken to the village "jail".

(30) a. *bule neg sunnagwa*
degree place nasty
'the place was so nasty'

b. *gwardia-mar-**di** ise gab-ale, Bab Dummad.*
guard-PL-**FOC** well sleep-GER Father Big
'the GUARDS (were in a) deep sleep, my god'

c. *nabir wis gama mai-d*
well at.least bed POS:lying-DEF
'there was at least (one) bed'

d. *an-mar-**di** gama sate*
1-PL-**FOC** bed neg.possess
'WE didn't have a bed'

In the fragment, the focused element in (30b) asserts that the guards were in a deep sleep, unlike "the prisoners". In (30d), the focused *anmardi* asserts "the prisoners" as those that do not have a bed.

Focus, like topic, may also front elements that the speaker wants to highlight. As a result of these pragmatic processes, an object can many times appear in front of a subject resulting in OSV order. This will be discussed further in §6.3 Word Order.

6.1.4 Summary of main concepts

The distinction between clause and sentence is an important distinction in linguistics. A **clause** is a structure that has two main elements: a subject and a predicate. A clause may be a fully formed sentence, or it may depend on another clause to be grammatical. A **sentence** is a grammatical structure with a complete thought that can

stand alone. It may consist of one clause or several clauses. The current chapter is concerned with sentences that correspond to a single clause.

In the analysis of clauses, we can explore how different elements relate to each other through different grammatical and functional means. On the one hand, **grammatical relation** refers to a relationship that exists between a predicate and its arguments. A **predicate** provides information about the noun phrases (NPs) it connects with in the grammar by describing events, actions or states. The NPs that have a direct relationship with the predicate are its main (or core) **arguments** and are necessary to complete its meaning. The NP that functions as a **subject** is the argument that traditionally refers to the 'doer' of an action. The **object** is the argument which the subject acts upon. A verb that has one argument is an **intransitive verb**; a verb with two arguments is a **transitive verb.**

In Guna, there are no morphological means by which arguments and the verb relate to each other. **Case markers**, used to mark NPs with morphemes that establish core arguments in a clause, do not appear in the language. Morphological **agreement** (e.g. for number or person) is not used to cross-reference the subject or object on the verb. Therefore, a structural mechanism for participant encoding is necessary to establish its grammatical relations in clauses. Guna uses **word order** to determine whether an argument functions as a subject or an object: the first element will most likely be the subject (S) and the second element the object (O). Thus, we say that Guna is an SOV language (V for verb). However, other orders are possible **pragmatically.**

A **semantic role** analysis of clauses explores the underlying role of the NPs. In this regard, we see noun phrases as **participants** of an event, state or action described by the predicate. The common roles that we see in languages are summarized in Table 6.2, repeated as Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3: Semantic roles

agent	the doer of the action
patient	entity affected by the action
experiencer	entity psychologically affected by the state expressed by the verb. Others have described it as one receiving sensory input. (Fromkin, et al. 2011)
instrument	something used as a tool or instrument
goal	a place or entity to which something moves

Elements beyond subject, object, recipient and predicate provide auxiliary information and do not establish the core meaning of a sentence. These are called **adjuncts.** Adjuncts in Guna are adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases and oblique nouns; they provide information such as location, time, and manner of the event.

Finally, it had been mentioned that orders other than SOV are pragmatically determined. This means that context plays a role in the possible reordering of core arguments of the sentence. Highlighting certain elements in the sentence may result in the placing of NPs other than subject in initial position. Also, certain core arguments may be omitted from the sentence in running conversation.

Aissen (1992) establishes that a **topic** "is used to turn the attention of the hearer to some identifiable participant in the discourse and then to mention something about that participant." In Guna, this can be done by placing a noun phrase clause-initially and sometimes by marking the topic NP with a *–dega(-de)* topic suffix. Subjects, if they are explicitly mentioned, are many times topics of a sentence or new topics in discourse. An object may also be fronted to establish a new topic. If a topic is already established, **zero anaphora** may be used in running speech. In such cases, the established topic can be omitted from a sentence because it can be rescued from the general context.

Focus, on the other hand, is used for Emphasis, asserting that an entity is that one which the speaker refers to instead of other possible entities (Payne 2003). In this regard, there is a presupposition that an event occurred, focus serving as an identifier of the entity which played a role in that event.

Now that I have introduced the concepts that are important for the description of sentences in Guna, I will move towards the description of different clauses/sentences we find in the language. I'll start with a division of clause types according to the type of predicates we notice.

6.2 Kinds of predicates

To echo an earlier point, several avenues of clausal and sentential analyses are available to us. At the clausal level, one of the foci is to categorize structures based on the kind of predicate that clauses have. Guna is not alone in allowing predicates to appear

without any verbal nuclei in clauses. Of course, clauses with fully inflected verbs in the predicate position are not only possible, but more widespread. The focus of this section is to illustrate clauses with either a **non-verbal predicate** or a **verbal predicate**.

6.2.1 Non-verbal predicates

When speakers of a language think of a prototypical clause, they think of a clause containing at least a noun/pronoun as the subject and a verb as the predicate. In some languages, even if a sentence simply describes a state or a location (hence, not an action verb) we still find verb-like words such as *be* in English or *ser/estar* in Spanish. These are known in the literature as **copulas,** words with no semantic content that function as a link between the subject and the predicate.

(31) *a.* *mi hermana **es** doctora*
my sister **is** a doctor

b. *Roberto **está** allá*
Roberto **is** there

These stand in contrast with the Guna cases where the majority of sentences of the types exemplified above have a predicate without a copular element

For Guna, I consider non-verbal those clauses where the predicate consists of a noun, an adjective or an adverb phrase without a copula[64]. Previous depictions of word classes were clearly defined in Chapter 3. In sum, verbs are not only conceptually distinct

[64] The earlier Spanish and English examples are non-verbal predicates because the nucleus (the predicative element) is the noun, adjective or adverb, not the copula. In the Guna case, the examples with the copula will be treated with the rest of the verbal predicates.

from nouns, adjectives and adverbs, but the language has morphological evidence that separates verbs from the other three word classes. In Chapter 5, we saw that verbs combine with aspectual morphology to provide information about the time and manner in which an action takes place, and mood morphology to provide information about the speaker's intention or desire. These morphological devices are not available to nouns, adjectives and adverbs save for the imperfective *-na*.

6.2.1.1 Nominal predicates

We find clauses with the following structure.

(32)

noun phrase + noun phrase

Clauses of this structure can form complete sentences. We can see that in examples (33) and (34).

(33) *an=bab sagla*
1.Poss=father chief
a. 'my father is a chief'
b. 'my father is the chief' [Rodriguez elicitation]

(34) *Lino e=bunor nele*
Lino 3.poss=girl doctor
a. 'Lino's daughter is a doctor'
b. 'Lino's daughter is the doctor' [Rodriguez elicitation]

Although there's a subtle difference, two interpretations are possible in Guna: one as a **true nominal predicate** (the a. interpretations) and another as an **equational clause** (the b. interpretations). The 'true nominal' is a clause in which the nominal predicate

describes a property of the subject. In the examples I have presented above, the nominal predicates, illustrated with indefinite articles (a/an) in English, have a generic interpretation. On the other hand, an equational clause is one where the two nominal elements are interchangeable. The interpretations illustrated by the b. sentences in English possess the definite article (the). In these, the subject and the nominal predicate both refer to the same entity. Dryer calls these equational clauses because the subject and the predicate can be reversed. We see this in (35) and (36).

(35) *sagla an=bab*
chief 1.Poss=father
'the chief is my father'

(36) *nele Lino e=bunor*
doctor Lino 1.Poss=girl
'the doctor is Lino's daughter'

In this order, both 'chief' and 'nele' have definite readings only. A way to disambiguate between the two interpretations is to use the focus marker *-di* on the predicate element.

(37) *an=bab sagla-di*
1.Poss=father chief-FOC
'my father is the chief' [L.Smith elicitation]

Equational clauses may also function to identify a known entity between the interlocutors. In (38) and (39), there is shared contextual information that both interlocutors have.

(38) *we Magiryai e=sus*
DEM Magiryai 3.Poss=brother
'This is Magiryai's brother' [L.Smith elicitation]

(39) *we=ome an=ammor*
DEM=woman 1.SG.Poss=aunt
'This woman is my aunt' [L.Smith elicitation]

The nominal in the predicate position may also be marked with an oblique case.

(40) *an=nan Ogob=gine-di*
1.SG.Poss=mother Ogob=ABL-FOC
'My mother is from Ogob' [adapted from Villalobos 1987]

(41) *we=ulu an=ga-di*
DEM=canoe 1.SG=GEN-FOC
'This canoe is mine' [adapted from Villalobos 1987]

Although nominal predicates do not take aspect or mood suffixes (for the most part), they may take adverbial clitics.

(42) *Niko ner=moga*
Niko doctor=also
Niko is also a doctor'

(43) *Eli ner=sunna*
Eli doctor=truly
'Eli truly is a doctor' [L.Smith elicitation]

Only the imperfective *–na* can attach to a nominal predicate to indicate a previous state. Other aspect or mood markers are not allowed.

(44) a. *Niko nele-na*
Niko doctor-IMPERF
'Niko was a doctor' [Rodriguez elicitation]

b. **Niko ner-oe*
Niko doctor-PROS
Intended reading 'Niko will be a doctor' [L.Smith elicitation]

c. **Niko ner-sa*
Niko doctor-PFV
'Niko was a doctor' [Rodriguez elicitation]

6.2.1.2 Adjectival predicates

Clauses with an adjective as the main predicate describe a property or an attribute of a subject NP. These clauses have the following structure.

(45)

noun phrase + adjective

Just as we saw in the previous section, the subject NP may be a pronoun (46) or a full noun (47). The predicative element in both examples, the predicate adjective, has a truth-value focus marker attached to the adjective. This marker is a clause level morpheme and may help disambiguate a non-predicate clause from a N – Adj noun phrase in cases where this might be ambiguous.

(46) *we-di* *bipi-gwa=d*
DEM-FOC little-ADJ=TVF
'THIS ONE is little' [Smith C004-I003]

In (47), this is clearly an adjectival predicate instead of a noun phrase with a modifier. Two clues point to this: an adverbial clitic *=bali* (which works at the clausal level) and a truth-value focus suffix *–d*.

(47) *garson bipi-denne=bali-d*
pants small-DIM=also=TVF
'the pants were tiny' [Smith C004-I003]

During one narrative, a speaker uses two adjectival predicate clauses consecutively. Sentences (48a) and (48b) show that adjuncts are possible in these sorts of structures. In these cases, we can see a postpositional phrase and a degree adverb.

(48) *a.* *kwartel yaba neg bule gachar=bali*
police.station inside place degree ugly=too
'inside the police station the place was ugly'

b. *bule neg sunna-gwa*
degree place true-ADJ
'The place was so nasty' [Smith C004-I003]

Just as with nominal predicates, only the imperfective may be suffixed to an adjective.

(49) a. *bule neg sunna-gwa-na*
degree place true-DIM-IMPERF
'The place was so nasty'

b. * *bule neg sunna-gwa-oe*
degree place true-DIM-PROS
'The place will be so nasty

c. *bule neg sunna-gwa-sa*
degree place true-DIM-PFV

'The place was so nasty' [Rodriguez elicitation]

6.2.1.3 Adverbial predicates

Just as for other non-verbal predicates, the adverbial predicate (a locative) is positioned clause-finally. In (49) we find such a structure.

(50)

noun phrase + locative

This is a rare structure in Guna given that locative adverbs are almost always followed by a positional verb which functions as a copula. This is illustrated by the example in (51). Clause (52), for instance, elicited a non-grammatical response by most speakers and clause (51) was strongly preferred.

(51) *Mulatupu itiki nai*
Mulatupu close POS.hanging
'Mulatupu is close'

(52) *? Mulatupu itiki*
Mulatupu close
'Mulatupu is close'

However, a few clauses of this type were universally accepted as grammatical. Clauses with *dikasuli* as the predicate provided the few examples of a grammatical adverbial predicate, such as the example below.

(53) *Mulatupu dika-suli*
Mulatupu beside-NEG
'Mulatupu is far'

6.2.2 Verbal predicates

A more common occurrence in texts and conversations are clauses with a verbal predicate. As I've discussed throughout this document, verbs can describe an ample array of situations, events and actions. As we've seen in Chapter 5, verbs can also combine with multiple mood and aspect morphemes to provide depth about when and how a situation or an event occurred.

Remember from our discussion of grammatical relations that a verb may have one or two core arguments depending on the meaning of the verb itself or the context established by the discourse. Below, I summarize this assertion by way of a repetition of Table 6.1

Table 6.1: Type of verb according to the number of arguments

Type of Verb	Number of Arguments	Arguments
intransitive verbs	one argument	subject
transitive verbs	two arguments	subject and object

6.2.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Clauses with an intransitive verb as the nucleus of the predicate have the following structure.

(54)

Subject + Verb

Clauses with an intransitive verb can describe an action carried out by a volitional subject (agent role) or by patient subjects. The subject may appear immediately preceding the verb (as in 55 and 56) or it may be separated by an adjunct (57 and 58).

(55) *a=gi an dog-sa=d*
DEM=LOC 1.SG enter-PFV=TVF
'There, I entered' [Barrantes C008-I003]

(56) *obli an sa-d=moga*
must 1.SG do-INCEP=also
'I had to go too' [Smith C004-I003]

(57) *an=mar geb aparmak-de-do*
1=PL then run-INCEP-RHET
'We then began to run!' [Smith C004-I003]

(58) *geb an we=se ali=d*
then 1.SG DEM=ALL arrived=TVF
'Then I arrived here' [Martinez C008-I004]

Intransitive structures can also be used in certain contexts for states, rather than actions. For instance, in cases with nominal or adjectival predicates that refer to a future occurrence, a copular verb *gue* (be) must be added along with the prospective morphology. Notice that the second nominal now carries a dative enclitic since *gue* cannot have two arguments.

(59) *Lino e=bunor nele=ga gu=oe*
Lino 3.poss=girl doctor=DAT be=PROS
'Lino's daughter will be a doctor'

(60) *an=bab sagla=ga gu=oe*
1.Poss=father chief=DAT be=PROS
'my father will be the chief' [Gomez elicitation]

A set of positional verbs have different functions: to simply describe the position of an entity (a state), to locate an entity in space (also a kind of state), and as an existential to indicate the existence of an entity. The list in (61) simply gives the positional verbs that are found in the language. An example of different instances of position, location and existence is given subsequently.

(61) Positional verbs

si	'sitting'
gwichi	'standing'
mai	'lying down'
nai	'hanging'
bukwa	'sitting (plural)

As a positional

(62) *ganna yaba si*
strongly inside POS.sitting
'(I) was sitting inside without moving'

(63) *dii=gi mitad an gwichi=d*
water=LOC half 1.SG POS.standing=TVF
'I (was) standing in chest-deep water' [Smith, C004-I003]

The sentences that follow are ambiguous with regard to their exact meaning. Because Guna does not differentiate between locatives and existentials grammatically, context determines whether a speaker is situating an entity or attesting its existence. I list the examples below according to their usage in the specific narrative.

As a locative

(64) *dii urba morbeb si*
water under conch.shell POS:sitting

'The conch shell is under water' [Smith C004-I003]

As an existential

(65) *igar mai=d*
way POS:lying.down=TVF
'The way is set' or 'There is the way'

(66) *dii-bi nai=d dak-sa*
water-REST POS:hanging=TVF see-PFV
'There is only water, you see' [Unknown, C004-I001]

Finally, with regard to the structure of sentences with intransitive verbs, it has been noted that a topic can be elided from a clause in running discourse. This results in zero anaphora, a surface structure seemingly without a subject NP. We can see that in (66b).

(67) a. *we=dule-mar e=dae-d nue wis=sur-do*
DEM=person-PL 3.Poss=behave-NMZR well know=NEG-RHET
'These people don't know well how He is'

b. ***unni wis=mar-do wilupa***
only know=PL-RHET little
'(they) only know a little bit'

The intransitive verb in (66b) has as its subject *we-dulemar* from the previous sentence: a third person referent which continues to be the topic of the narrative. As a result, in Guna you can have the structure described in (67) with 0 standing in for an elided subject.

(68)

0 + Verb

6.2.2.2 Transitive verbs

Verbs with two arguments in Guna bring forth some interesting syntactic phenomena, namely with regard to the ordering of arguments in active sentences. Alternative word orders that are not of the SOV kind will be discussed in *§6.3 Word order.*

As mentioned previously, transitive clauses tend to include an agentive subject, a theme or patient as an object, and the transitive verb predicate in final position. This is certainly true in sentences with two full, non-pronominal NPs.

(69)

*S*ubject + Object + Verb

(70) *gwenad-gan mani abe-buk=mog=-d*
relative-COLL money want-POS:sit.PL-also=TVF
'(our) friends also want money' [Meeting C004-I001]
Lit. 'relatives are also wanting money'

(71) *Bab Dummad sun dule bendak=bali*
Big Father really person help=too
'God really could help a person' [Meeting C00-4I001]

Pronouns are interesting in different regards. A pronoun can occur in subject position when it is a new topic such as (73), and a pronoun is for the most part always mentioned in the object, non-topic position such as (74).

(72) *ai-ye, an mammi ami-na-dap-ye*
friend-QUOT, 1.SG mammee find-go-DIR:away-QUOT
"my friend, I go looking for mammee' [L.Smith 2003:23]

(73) *sagla-gan be onak-bi=mar*
chief-COLL 2.SG rise-DESID=PL
'the chiefs want to promote you' [Brown C005-I001]

Furthermore, continuing topics can also be elided from transitive clauses just as we saw for intransitive verbs. Below I show two excerpts with transitive clauses "missing" a surface subject. These sentences are shown in bold.

(74) *a.* *inna gobe-gobe an=mar imak-oe*
corn.drink drink-drink 1=PL do-PROS
'we would drink a lot of *inna*'

b. dak-sa
see-PFV
'see'

c. ***serbesa gob-d=d***
beer drink-INCEP=TVF
'(we) started to drink beer' [Smith C004-I003]

(75) *a.* *serbesa an=mar se-dani=bali=d*
beer 1=PL bring-come=too=TVF
'beer, we were bringing too'

b. *bad mummu*
already drunk
'(we were) already drunk'

c. *dak-sa*
see-PFV
'see'

d. ***belikula dak-si=sun-do*** *belikula*
movie see-POS:sitting=truly-RHET movie
'(we) were sitting watching a movie! a movie'

e. *belikula an=mar dak-sii=d*
movie 1=PL see-POS:sitting=TVF
'a movie, we were sitting watching' [Smith C004-I003]

Both (74c) and (75d) are clearly not intransitive verbs. First of all, *serbesa* and *belikula* are not likely candidates for subject; they are not agents carrying out an action but rather themes of the verb. Although themes can certainly occupy a subject position, the subject *anmar* is understood from context to be the agent of the verbs and subject of the clauses. Both interlocutors understand this to be the case. The elision of the surface subject can then result in the structure in (75) where the 0 stands for a zero anaphora.

(76)

0 + Object + Verb

6.3 Word order

We cannot talk about transitive clauses without mentioning deviations from the basic word order in Guna. Because of the absence of core case markings and argument-verb morphological agreement, the order of the constituents in the sentence plays an important role. As we saw in examples (70) – (73) and in earlier sections, the subject (S) occupies the first position, the object (O) the second position, and the verb (V) the right-most position in the sentence. As a result, Guna is described as an SOV language in transitive clauses. This has been uncontroversial in the literature, and most Guna speakers agree that in instances like (76), SOV certainly describes the order of the constituents.

(77) *Igwa Jose sarso-sa*
Igwa Jose hit-PFV
'Igwa hit Jose'

Unsurprisingly, there is no controversy for Guna speakers on who fills the subject and object NP functions: *Igwa*, as the subject, carried out the action, and *Jose*, as the object, is affected by the action.

However, many transitive verbs were found in texts in clauses that did not have an SOV order. We saw in (74) and (75) that a subject argument can be omitted resulting in an OV surface order. On the other hand, a speaker may decide to maintain two surface arguments in transitive clauses for different pragmatic reasons. This section is concerned with alternative orders that are not of the SOV kind with two surface arguments. In the following paragraphs, I will account for the attested deviations of SOV by looking at something known as **agency.**

Payne (2007) notes an interesting fact about languages: S and O in a transitive clause can be inferred in most circumstances if we consider their semantic roles. In clauses, one of the participants will most likely be an agent (thus a subject), unless there are specific cues that indicate otherwise. Here is an example.

(78) *Igwa mas gun-sa*
Igwa food eat-PFV
'Igwa ate food'

In the situation described by the clause above, the argument that is human is most likely the agent. The second argument is most likely the patient. That pragmatic knowledge of the world allows speakers to make inferences about who does what to whom in a clause. Simply put, certain entities are more likely to be agents than others. These entities are said to be more **agentive**: they tend to exert more control over a

situation or event. In fact, this knowledge has allowed linguists to observe that different grammatical devices can be characterized along a hierarchy of agency or **animacy** (more animate entities are more agent-like), as in (79).

(79) 1^{st} > 2^{nd} > 3^{rd}> proper names > kinship terms > humans > non-human animates > inanimates

More agentive entities (those to the left of the hierarchy) tend to be subjects of clauses. The lower we go in the hierarchy (as we move right), the less of an agent we expect them to be. The first person pronoun, *an* in Guna, has been observed to be more agentive than *be*, *be* more than *e* (or a demonstrative used as a third person pronoun, which is more common), *e* more than *Igwa*, and so on.

I should note that the hierarchy above is a generalization that has been observed in the world's languages. How and where it is applied in the grammar depends on individual languages. In Guna, for example, the effects of this hierarchy are noticed in word order, but not all elements in the hierarchy are relevant. Let's look at an example.

(80) *Igwa an sarso-sa*
Igwa 1.SG hit-PFV
'Igwa hit me' or 'I hit Igwa'

Here, the second NP *an* is of higher animacy than *Igwa*. Sentence (80) can be interpreted two ways: 1) the most common interpretation, where *Igwa* is the agent of the clause (SOV order) or 2) where *Igwa* has been fronted for topic or focus and is the patient of the clause (OSV order). However, this difference in interpretation is not available for

a sentence such as the one exemplified in (81), where the first person pronoun appears in the first position.

(81) *an Igwa sarso-sa*
1.SG Igwa hit-PFV
'I hit Igwa' but not 'Igwa hit me' [L.Smith elicitation]

This means that flexibility of word order in Guna is restricted by animacy/agency. The OSV word order seems to be allowed in cases when the second NP in a clause is more agentive than the first NP. Yet, this is not always the case.

(82) *ua machi gun-sa*
fish boy eat-PFV
'the fish ate the boy' [L.Smith elicitation]

From the hierarchy in (79), we would expect this order to allow two interpretations. The NP *machi*, of higher animacy than *ua*, is in the second position. However, this order only results in the interpretation where *ua* is the agent. I attempted to elicit responses along the hierarchy to see which clauses would allow ambiguous interpretations. Sentence (83) seemed to be fine for some speakers, while others reported only one possible interpretation. Even those who reported that the order could be ambiguous had a strong preference for an SOV interpretation.

(83) ? *ua Igwa gun-sa*
'Igwa ate the fish' or 'the fish ate Igwa'

Through elicited responses and the observation of texts, I was able to find that OSV was allowed in instances where a pronoun was immediately before the verb. Other

possibilities along the hierarchy were not allowed in this position functioning as subjects.

(84) succinctly expresses this possibility.

(84) OSV is allowed if the second argument is the most agentive: either 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person pronoun

Below I list some OSV sentences found in different texts from different speakers.

(85) *serbesa an=mar se-dani-bali=d*
beer 1=Pl carry-come-also=TVF
'and, we were bringing beer' [Smith C004-I003]

(86) *immar an saki-na=o-ye*
things 1.SG catch.with.net-go=PROS-QUOT
'I will go steal something' [Smith C004-I003]

(87) *neg wagar bar an dak-o=suli*
place face anymore 1.SG see-PROS=NEG
'I will not see this place again' [Martinez C005-I001]

(88) *geb Yeni an bak-noniki=d*
then Yeni 1.SG acquire-come=TVF
'then I birthed Yeni' [Calvo C008-I001]

(89) *mas bat be gun-sa*
food already 2.SG eat-PFV
'You already ate food' [Rodriguez elicitation]

I also wanted to include a fragment to illustrate an OSV sentence within a discourse context.

(90) *a.* *ai-ye, an mammi ami-na-dap-ye*
friend-QUOT, 1.SG mammee find-go-DIR:away-QUOT
"my friend, I go looking for mammee'

b. *ai achu sog-gu*
friend leopard say-PERF

'friend leopard said'

c. *an* *na=mog=o-ye*
1.SG go=also=PROS-QUOT
'I'm also coming'

d. ***mammi an gun-na=mog-o-ye***
mammee 1.SG eat-go=also-PROS-QUOT
'mammee,I will also go eat' [L.Smith 2003]

Other orders are more uncommon but are certainly possible. We rarely find a core argument to the right of the verb. In these cases, an element is in a topic position by way of **right-dislocation**: the placing of an element to the right of the sentence.

(91) *Achu=gine an=mar gobe inna*
Achu=LOC 1=PL drink corn.drink
'In Achu, we drank *inna*'

(92) *geb dule dak-ali an*
then person see-DIR:here 1.SG
'Then I saw a person'

6.4 Valency

Valence refers to the number of semantic roles or syntactic arguments required for verbs. For example, the verb *gunne* 'to eat' has a valence of two semantically: an agent and a patient. Syntactically, *gunne,* because it can be both an intransitive and a transitive verb, may have a valence of one or two. Languages have different means by which the relationship between the semantic roles and grammatical relations in clauses can be adjusted. The grammatical processes that allow speakers of a language to adjust the valency of the verb are called valence-adjusting processes.

Different syntactic derivations that relate to the number of arguments associated with a particular verb can be found in languages. Although several types can be distinguished for these derivations, different languages use different sets of valence-adjusting processes in their grammar. We will see that Guna only employs two such morphosyntactic devices: a **passive voice** operation that removes an argument from the core of a transitive clause, and a **causative** that adds an argument to the core of an intransitive or transitive clause.

6.4.1 Passive voice

Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997) propose a set of criteria to define a prototypical passive (93). This set of criteria allows us to identify passives from other possible constructions, taking into account some syntactic as well as morphosyntactic clues.

(93)

a. Applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive
b. The underlying object becomes the subject of the passive
c. The underlying subject argument goes into an oblique function, being marked by an oblique case marker
d. There is some explicit formal marking of a passive on the verb

Different authors have observed for Guna that *-lege* (short form *-le*) on the verb indicates the passive. The example below is taken from Llerena (1987).

(94) *we= inmala wis=sur gun-lege*
DEM=thing know=NEG eat-PASS
'this thing cannot be eaten' [Newbold, grammatical sketch]

Sentence (94) is a passive construction because there is an explicit passive marker, the suffix *–lege*. With this verbal suffix, Guna makes a morphological distinction between passive constructions and non-passive types. This assumes that the subject of sentence (94) is the underlying object of the verb (the patient) in the transitive sentence (95).

(95) *dule-mar we=inmala wis=sur gunne*
person-PL this=thing know=NEG eat
'People don't eat this' [Rodriguez elicitation]

It must be noted that there is an absence of the *–le* (*-lege*) morpheme on the verb in (95). The underlying agent is absent in (94), but there are instances when an agent is still present at the surface in the form of an oblique enclitic. An example is found in sentence (95), where the agent explicitly appears with a case enclitic *=se*. In this context, the enclitic is used to mark the agent of the active sentence. I will call this the **agentive** marker.

(96) *Achu e=se sarso-le-sa*
dog 3.SG=AG hit-PASS-PFV
'The dog was hit by him/her'

In an earlier paper (Smith 2008), I argue that passives are used in Guna for different pragmatic purposes. I considered observations made by linguists such as Abraham (2006:1) who argue that languages with lesser freedom of word-order resort to clefts or passives in terms of information structure to achieve the goal of proper contextualization, as opposed to simpler grammatical means such as movement within the sentence. In the previous section, I argued for a restriction on Guna topic and focus

fronting of non-subject arguments based on animacy/agency. It seems that the occurrences of passives in Guna are intricately tied to various pragmatic contexts in the discourse, which include topic and focus. The specific claim here is that there are two main pragmatic explanations for the use of the passive construction in Guna: patient **topicalization** (the process of making an element a topic), most notably in contexts where an object cannot be fronted, and agent **defocusing** (making something less prominent within the clause).

There are situations when an agent is "defocused" because of its generic character. Such a situation in Guna is exemplified in (97) below.

(97) *we inmala wis-sur gul-lege*
this thing know-NEG eat-PASS
'This thing cannot be eaten'

There are other cases in which the agent is conceptualized as sufficiently unimportant that it does not need to be mentioned at all. In these cases, the agent is considered a less central participant in the discourse.

(98) *Baned=se be=mar=ga igar ito-leg=o-ye*
tomorrow=ALL 2=PL=DAT way listen-PASS=PROS-QUOT
'Tomorrow a meeting will be held about you'

Now let us look at topicalization. The fragment in (99) was found in the story '*Muu Mulusad'* or *The Flood.* This story resembles the "Flood" story from the Bible, but

it is a well-known story in Guna tradition. Previous to this fragment, rain floods most of the land.

(99) *a.* *dule-mar=di* *oimak-de=d*
person-PL=FOC make.noise-INCEP=TVF
'People started screaming'

b. *Bab Dummad=se* *gor-na-naid*
Great Father=ALL call-go-PROG
'(They) were calling for the Great Father'

c. *ar* *a-de* *nali=se* *dain=se* *gu-le-na-nai*
because DEM-TOP shark=AG alligator=AG eat-PASS-go-PROG
'because they were being eaten by the shark and alligator'

The functional trigger for the passive in (99c) is topicalization. In this clause, the demonstrative pronoun *ade* moves in front of the two agents, while *nali* and *dain* take the case enclitic to mark the oblique. Notice that the topicalized pronoun is of a higher agency than the underlying subjects, thus simple topic fronting is disallowed based on our generalization in §6.3.

A quick remark on **middle voice** is needed here. Linguists such as Shibatani (1985) and Kemmer (1993) have observed that passives appear to correlate semantically (and in many languages, formally) with middle voice constructions in a great number of the world's languages. Shibatani notes that this correlation arises largely from a shared semantic feature: the affectedness of the surface subjects in these structures. According to Kemmer, middles fall somewhere between a prototypical two-participant event, with an agent and a patient, and a prototypical one-participant event. She identifies a large number of domains as potential middles. These include, amongst others, changes in body

posture (lie down, sit down, etc.), grooming (bathing, dressing, shaving) and related body actions, translational motion, cognition middle (knowing), perception middle or spontaneous events (drowning).

For Guna, the morpheme *–le* that was described above for passives is also used in these middle voice constructions. Sentence (100) presents an example in which the subject undergoes a spontaneous event; sentence (101) shows a sentence with a perception verb.

(100) *Igwa gundi-le-sa*
Igwa drown-MID-PFV
'Igwa drowned'

(101) *bule uka sunna ito-lege*
degree skin bad feel-MID
'the skin feels so bad'

6.4.1 Causative

A causer characterizes someone or something that controls or initiates an activity. This is in most cases the agent of a transitive clause. However, a language may also grammaticalize the process by which a causer is added to a situation. This is known as a **causative**. The criteria to identify a causative are sketched below. This set of criteria to define a causative is also taken from Dixon and Aikhenvald's 1997 paper.

(102)

a. applies to an underlying intransitive clause and forms a derived transitive
b. the argument in underlying subject function goes into object function in the causative
c. a new argument is introduced, in subject function

d. there is some explicit formal marking of the causative construction

In Guna, two strategies are attested that mark the causative constructions. The one that is most salient in texts is the morphological mark for causatives, which is encoded as a prefix on the verb. As a side note, the causative is the only prefix contained in the language. The examples in (102) illustrate some common verbs that can contain a causative prefix *o-*.

(103) a. *o-durdake* CAUS-learn: to teach
b. *o-purkwe* CAUS-die: to kill
c. *o-nue* CAUS-suck: to breast feed
d. *o-gunmake* CAUS-burn: to burn
e. *o-gobe* CAUS-drink: to give to drink
f. *o-gunne* CAUS-eat: to feed
[Newbold 2005]

Because the causative adds a participant to the main clause, we assume that the pre-derived clause is either intransitive that derives a transitive (as in 104) or a transitive that derives a ditransitive (as in 105 and 106).

(104) a. *sikwi burgw-isa*
bird die-PFV
'The bird died'

b. *an sikwi o-burkw-isa*
1S bird CAUS-die-PFV
'I killed the bird'

(105) a. *Olo mergi-gaya durdak-sa*
Olo American-mouth learn-PFV
'Olo learned English'

b. *An Olo mergi-gaya o-durdak-sa*

1.SGOlo American-mouth CAUS-learn-PFV
'I taught Olo English'

(106) a. *Igwa di gob-sa*
Igwa water drink-PFV
'Igwa drank water'

b. *An=nan Igwa di=gi o-gob-sa*
1S.POSS=mother Igwa water=INST CAUS-drink-PFV
'My mother made Igwa drink the water'

6.5 Sentence types

So far, the descriptions and analyses presented include sentences which seem to make a statement or declare something about something or someone. However, language is by no means restricted to making statements; it can also be used to ask questions and express commands and desires.

A survey of languages shows that three major sentence types are typically differentiated grammatically: **declarative**, used to represent acts such as assertions, reports, complaining, etc.; **interrogative**, used to ask questions; and **imperative**, used to express orders, requests, giving advice, warning, instructions, etc. The current section is concerned with the description of these sentence types.

6.5.1 Declarative

As I mentioned before, the descriptions expressed in this chapter have dealt with declarative sentences. Among the three sentence types introduced above, the declarative is the unmarked member (see §6.1 for markedness) of the group for the following reasons (from Konig and Siemund 2007):

(107)

a. The declarative is the most common type
b. The word order exhibited in declaratives is normally the basic word order
c. It allows for the full paradigm of aspect and mood suffixes, in contrast to imperatives
d. In most languages, interrogatives and imperatives can be described as a result of some operation performed on declaratives

Because the declarative sentence has been discussed in detail in earlier sections, there is little need to go into detail here. Nonetheless, there are two topics that will be discussed that work at the clausal level.

6.5.1.1 Truth-value focus

A common phenomenon occurs in Guna discourse which can be observed as a marking on the verbs but that has an effect on the truth-value of the sentence. It is realized as a clitic *=d* in the last element of the clause (which is in most cases, a verb).

(108) *serbesa an=mar se-dani-bali=d*
beer 1=Pl carry-come-also=TVF
'and, we were bringing beer' [Smith C00-4I003]

In previous descriptions, this *=d* has been characterized as a 'definite' marker on verbs (Llerena 1987) or has been mistaken with a homophonous nominalizer *-d* (which is the short form of *–di*). Llerena, unfortunately, does not expand on his characterization of definiteness.

I believe that a *=d* attaches to clauses to indicate a higher commitment to the truth of a declarative by the speaker, whether because he/she trusts the source of the information or knows the information to be true firsthand. The example below shows a sentence with both a nominalized verb and the truth-value focus suffix.

(109) *emi-di* *e=akwe-d* *idu* *na-de=d*
today-FOC 3.Poss=take.care-NOM before go-INCEP=TVF
'Now, her host had left before' [Tejada C006-I002]

In the sentence (109), *e akwed* is clearly a nominalized verb that means 'the one who takes care of him/her.' A sentence in which the nominalizer is dropped would result in an ungrammatical clause.

(110) **emi-di* *akwe* *idu* *na-de=d*
today-FOC take.care before go-INCEP=TVF

On the other hand, I asked several speakers to compare a sentence like (108) to a sentence like (110) without the *–d* in *naded.* All of them reported no change in meaning; most weren't really able to pinpoint what effect this morpheme had on the sentence in isolation.

(111) *emi-di* *e=akwe-d* *idu* *na-de*
today-FOC 3.Poss=take.care-NOM before go-INCEP

The effect of the TVF marker can really be seen in the discourse context. It highlights certain clauses with respect to other clauses.

(112) A. *Usdup=se* *be* *barmi-s=suli* *a-di*
Usdub=ALL 2.SG send-PFV=NEG DEM-FOC

'Didn't you send her to Usdup?

B. *doa*
who?

A. *be=bunolo*
2.SG.POSS=girl
'your girl'

B. *arbi-na. año pasado Usdupu=gi dog-sa=d*
went.leave-IMPERF. last.year Usdupu=LOC enter-PFV=TVF
'(she) went and left. Last year she entered (school) in Usdupu'

This truth-value focus suffix seems to derive from the focus marker *–di* that attaches to noun phrases. Its scope consists of the clause as a whole instead of an individual NP, but it shares its effect on the constituent it attaches to. When the scope of focus contains the clause, a speaker asserts the sentence to be true.

A speaker may choose to manipulate this in instances when he/she knows a statement to be false. The third sentence by Speaker B was uttered in jest.

(113) A. *Banama=se na-na-di?*
Panama=ALL go-IMPERF-PROG
'Have you been going to Panama'

B. *a. nanadi gwendina*
go-IMPERF-PROG of.course
'I've been, of course'

b. gwable
all

c. mergi-neg. gwable an dak-di=d
Americans-house all 1.SG see-PROG=TVF
'The US. I have seen it all' [Smith C004I003]

The effect that the speaker intends to have is to signal that he indeed has been to the USA, even though both interlocutors (my friend Leni and I) know this to not be true.

6.5.1.1 Negation

To negate a clause, the most common device is to attach a negative enclitic to different hosts in predicative position. This means that any word that acts as a predicate can be marked for clausal negation.

(114) *neg-wagar bar an dak-o=suli*
place-face anymore 1.SG see-PROS=NEG
'I will not see the place anymore'

(115) a. *an=ga se-dag-o*
1.SG=DAT bring-come-PROS
'Bring (it) to me'

a-di dika=suli=d
DEM:Dis-FOC next.to=NEG=TVF
'THIS is far'

Guna has a very limited set of other negative particles that are related to mood. These express things such as negative volition (*yapa)*, ability (*gege, aku)* and prohibition *(mele).*

(116) *yapa an barmi-mala-na dag-sa*
Neg.VOL 1.SG send-PL-IMPERF see-PFV
'(they) didn't want to send me'

(117) *geg ir-bo ubo-lege=d*
NEG.ABL CL:time-two enter-PASS=TVF
'(they) could not be allowed to enter'

6.5.2 Interrogative

Interrogatives in most languages are used to request information. It has been observed that most languages have two major types of interrogative sentences: **polar interrogatives**, used to elicit from the listener the degree of truth of the question, and **information questions,** used to elicit from the listener a more elaborate response than just a yes/no answer.

6.5.2.1 Polar interrogatives

In Guna the polar interrogatives are structurally identical to declaratives. Polar interrogatives are distinguished from declaratives by their intonation: there is a marked rising intonation at the end of a clause[65].

(118)

A. *geb agine geb Changinola=ba na-de*
then DEM=LOC then Changinola=ALL go-INCEP
'Then, (you) left to Changinola?'

B. *eye agi*
yes DEM=LOC
'Yes, then' [Perez C008-C005]

Speaker A in (118) is the interviewer in this interaction. He simply asked a question where he expected a yes/no response. Notice that without a rising intonation, the sentence could be interpreted as a declarative. The unmarked intonation in speech is a falling intonation for sentences.

[65] Interestingly, the majority of the languages of the world use the same strategy for polar interrogatives.

(119) *geb agine geb Changinola=ba na-de*
then DEM=LOC then Changinola=ALL go-INCEP
'Then, (you) left to Changinola'

As Newbold points out in her grammatical sketch of Guna, an optative *–ye* can be added to a polar interrogative to express a higher degree of doubt, such as (120) below.

(120) *madu ni-ye*
bread have-OPT?
'Do you have bread? (higher degree of doubt)' [Newbold grammar sketch]

6.5.2.2 Information questions

Information questions in Guna use a set of interrogative pronouns to derive questions in which a speaker requests more information about the other interlocutor. The table below summarizes these interrogative words.

Table 6.4: Question pronouns in Guna

doa	who
igi	how
bia	where
ibua	what
bitiki	which one
sana	when (future)
ingua	when (past)
ibigala	why

As we can see from the inventory of question words shown above, Guna makes a distinction between human question words (*doa*) and non-human question words (*igi, bia, etc.*).

(121) *A.* ***doa*** *walik be gu-di-gu-sa*
who close 2.SG be-PROG-be-PFV
'Whom were you close to?' (Who did you stay with?)

B. *an=sus dummad Orlando*
1.SG.Poss=brother big Orlando
'My older brother Orlando'

(122) *A.* ***igi*** *be nuga*
How 2.SG name
'What's your name?' Lit. 'How are you named'

B. *Yageri*

(123) ***bia*** *be=ga an barmi-dag-o*
Where 2.SG=DAT 1.SG bring-come-PROS
'Where will I send (it) to you?'

(124) ***ibu*** *banco ebue*
what bank use?
'What bank does (he) use?

(125) ***ibiga*** *nabir be dule-gaya yai=sur sunmake*
why well 2.SG person-tongue small=NEG speak
'Why do you speak Guna so much?

Although the question word in Guna normally appears clause-initially, as the examples above show, Guna also allows the question word to remain **in-situ**. This means that the question word remains in its normal position in a declarative clause. Sentence (127) shows an example of a question word in-situ, with a topic pronoun in initial position.

(126) *Be ibu sa-nai?*
2.SG what do-POS:hanging
What are you doing?

6.5.3 Imperative

Finally, imperatives are used to mark requests, orders, desires, etc. As we saw for interrogatives Guna does not have an affix or clitic that distinguishes imperatives from declaratives. Instead, there are very specific syntactic and morphological cues. Syntactically, it is common to exclude the addressee from an imperative sentence. We also notice that the verb is in the infinitive.

(127) *an=se dage*
1.SG=ALL come
'Come to me'

(128) *an=ga mor enuke*
1s=DAT clothing wash
'Wash the clothes for me'

A verb in an imperative clause may also be suffixed with prospective aspect.

(129) *eskwela=gi an edarb-o-do*
School=LOC 1.SG wait-PROS-RHET
'Wait for me at school!'

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter dealt with different phenomena related to simple clauses/sentences in Guna. §6.2 dealt with the characterization of Guna clauses with regard to the main predicate. In the section, we explored the distinction between predicates that are non-verbal, such as nominal, adjectival and adverbial predicates, and predicates that were verbal. This distinction is crucial in determining the types of inflectional morphology that can be affixed or cliticized to the roots and hosts. While verbal predicates permit a full

array of aspect, mood and adverbial morphology attached to them, non-verbal predicates were limited as hosts of adverbial enclitics and roots of an imperfective aspect marker –*na* to indicate a past situation.

Verbal predicates, alternatively, provided opportunities for an in-depth look at different syntactic phenomena in language, especially with regard to a process of elision that results in zero anaphora in intransitive and transitive verbs, and the reordering of core arguments in a transitive clause. A pragmatic device of topic continuation allows for a subject in either transitive or intransitive sentences to be extracted from the sentence because it could be recovered from context. This resulted in structures such as [0 V] for intransitive clauses and [0 O V] for transitive clauses.

With regard to word order, §6.3 explained the admissibility of certain OSV orders in contexts where Guna allows fronting of certain elements for topic and focus. In sum, there are restrictions in place on elements that can be fronted depending on the resulting order. In the OSV order, when S is a personal pronoun, topicalization and focus are allowed if O is of a lower agency on the hierarchical plane.

I argued in §6.4 that the valence-reducing process of passive voice is mainly a pragmatic device for topic and agent defocusing, closely correlated with fronting we saw in §6.3. The other valence-adjusting process was mostly a morphosemantic phenomenon that adds another agent to a verb.

Finally, the last section touched upon different sentence types that have been observed in the world's languages. Declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences were illustrated with Guna examples.

Chapter 7

Serial Verb Constructions

Content

In this chapter, we will look closely at certain verbal structures that combine two (or more) verbs. The analysis posited here draws from developments in linguistics about certain verb phenomena to evaluate how the Guna case may parallel these structures in other languages. This chapter can be read in conjunction with some of the sections in Chapter 5 that discuss aspect since serial verbs in Guna have consequences the aspectual system. It also intersects with Chapter 6 because SVCs show characteristics of single clauses despite the presence of two (or more) verbs.

The current chapter will explore this intersection between morphology and syntax through a phenomenon known as Serial Verb Constructions. I decided to dedicate a chapter to this topic because I feel it deserves extra attention given what we now know typologically about certain verbal structures. I also placed this chapter here because it can serve as a bridge between what was discussed for single clauses in the previous chapter and what will be seen in syntactically complex structures.

The current chapter is organized as follows: §7.1 establishes and defines the main concepts under consideration and the framework used to evaluate the presence of SVCs in a language; §7.2 presents the defining properties that serve as evidence for a characterization of verb complexes as SVCs in Guna specifically; §7.3 delves deeper into the SVCs to detail how these structures surface the language; and §7.4 compares SVCs in Guna with what we know about them in other related languages.

7.1 Main Concepts

Structures that combine multiple verbs and/or verb-like words in a sentence are prevalent in languages. These **verb complexes** can express a number of situations and events. The strategies used by languages to combine verbs may range from auxiliaries that mark tense, aspect or mood (see Chapter 5) to more complex syntactic structures like subordinate clauses and coordinated clauses (Chapter 8). Some languages have at their disposal the possibility of combining multiple verbs in a construction known as serial verb constructions (or SVCs as I will mostly refer to them).

What are **serial verb constructions**? Alexandra Aikhenvald wrote about SVCs in an attempt to present a unifying framework to analyze these structures. Aihkhenvald writes (2006:01) that "a serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort." While this definition succinctly summarizes the consensus on the term, how SVCs look and what functions they have may vary from language to language. Here, we see some examples[66] from three different languages from different parts of the world. Although these languages are unrelated to Guna, I include them here to illustrate some interesting differences between SVCs.

Igbo (Lord 1975:27)

(1) *ó* ***tì-wà-rà*** *étéré à*
he hit-split.open-tense plate the
'He shattered the plate'

[66] Examples 1 – 3 are taken from Aikhenvald 2006:2

Sentence (1) is from Igbo, a Niger-Congo language spoken primarily in Nigeria. This example shows an SVC that forms a lexical idiom. **Idioms** are expressions with meanings that are language specific and do not result from the sum of the meanings of each individual word. In sentence (1), for instance, the combination of the verbs that mean ‘hit’ and ‘split open’ produces a serial verb that means ‘shatter’. The meaning ‘shatter’ is not a necessary consequence of the verbs ‘hit’ and ‘split open’, but in this language, it comes from this combination.

An SVC may also show the effect that one verb has over the other, as in sentence (2) from Taba, an Austronesian language of Indonesia.

Taba (Austronesian: Bowden 2001:297)

(2) ***n=babas*** *welik* ***n=mot*** *do*
3.SG=bite pig **3.SG=die** real
‘It bit the pig dead’

In this example, the verb ‘bite’ directly affects the outcome of the second verb ‘die’. Hence, the death of the pig comes as an immediate consequence of the bite, not an indirect result of it. Sentence (2) may be paraphrased using two clauses, but one of the possible resulting interpretations of such a construction would be that the death came about due to other causes (bleeding out, for example). No such interpretation exists for the SVC in (2).

Another difference between (1) and (2) is their morphological structures. The SVC in (1) consists of two verbs forming one word, but the SVC in (2) consists of two separate words, which in this case are separated by the object NP ‘the pig’.

Finally, Dâw, a language spoken in the Brazilian Amazon rainforest, has SVCs that show a sequence of events as we can see in (3).

Dâw (Makú, Northwest Amazonia) (Martins 1994)

(3) *yõ:h* ***bɔ:-hãm-yɔw***
medicine spill-go-happen.straight.away
‘The medicine spilled straight away’

Here we have three verbs meaning ‘spill’, ‘go’ and ‘happen straight away’ combining to express a **single event**. The combination of the verbs gives the event a broader meaning with manner and directionality.

Given the differences exemplified here, a framework that can guide the analysis of SVCs is important to distinguish them from other complex structures. The next section lists a set of criteria that may help us do that.

7.1.1 Establishing the framework

Through the examples in the previous section, Aikhenvald illustrated how SVCs can exhibit a number of characteristics in form and function that can be different for each language. Despite these differences, the unifying feature of SVCs is that these structures

of two or more verb roots are conceptualized and treated by the speakers of the language as one verb/event/predicate within the clause.

How does this look? Of course, this depends on the language. However, several authors (Foley and Olson 1985; Sebba 1987; Aikhenvald 2006) have identified a set of criteria that allows us to discern SVCs from complex predicates. These criteria[67] are summarized in (4).

(4)

a) They contain two verbs (or more) without any overt marker of conjunction or subordination. It is, therefore, a combination of several verb roots.
b) They constitute a single predicate
c) The verbs share (at least) one core argument
d) They share the same tense and aspect markers. Tense and/or aspect may be marked once per SVC or repeated on each verb depending on the language.
e) Negation and adverbials modify the whole construction
f) Intonation patterns can help in distinguishing SVCs from complex clauses

As I will show in this chapter, there is evidence that supports an analysis of SVCs in Guna. The semantic and formal properties of these verb complexes point to this fact, with the criteria described in (4) serving as the framework that will allow us to narrow our scope of description. Nevertheless, an important observation must be made here: a structure in a language may not necessarily fall neatly into the characteristics listed in (4) since there is always variation from one language to the next. Aikhenvald points out (2006:3) that the properties that she has surveyed are expected to be true for most

[67] The list presented here consolidates criteria that have been proposed for SVCs

languages with SVCs, but a language may not necessarily exhibit all of the features. Instead, she suggests a scalar approach to SVCs where a construction under consideration can be closer to a prototype. The goal of the current descriptive work, then, is to evaluate how (and if) the characteristics that we see in certain verb complexes in Guna fall within the generalizations described for SVCs.

In order to do this, I draw heavily from Aikhenvald's (2006) parameters to provide an in-depth characterization of SVCs. The parameters that I use to guide my description of SVCs for Guna (after we have established that we are indeed dealing with SVCs) are summarized here:

A. **Composition**: whether SVCs are **symmetrical**, meaning that two or more verbs are from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class, or **asymmetrical**, where one of the verbs is from a semantically and grammatically restricted class.

B. **Contiguity:** whether the verbs forming the SVC have to be next to each other or whether the verbs allow other elements to come between them.

C. **Wordhood of components:** whether the components of the SVC form one phonological and grammatical word, or whether they are two (or more) separate words.

D. **Marking:** whether verbal categories may be marked once per SVC, or whether the different components have to be marked separately.

As more detailed descriptions of serial verb constructions have been made available from different languages, our understanding of how these constructions look

and behave grows. They have allowed us to discover the extent of their presence in the world's languages; particularly, languages and language families that had not been previously characterized as **serializing languages** (those that have SVCs) have found to have some variation of a SVC. This is the case for Guna.

7.2 Defining properties

Based on the criteria above, we can explore how some of the identifying features of SVCs surface in Guna. The approach that I employ here is through a step-by-step account of the properties that I believe point to an analysis of SVCs. In §7.3, I'll cover more language-specific traits of SVCs in Guna.

7.2.1 A sequence of two or more verbs

Below are two pairs of single-verb sentences.

(5) a. *Sagla gas=gi* ***namak-di***
chief hammock=LOC sing-PROG
'The chief sings in the hammock' [L. Smith, elicitation]

b. *Sagla gas=gi* ***nai***
chief hammock=LOC hang
'The chief is hanging in the hammock [L. Smith, elicitation]

(6) a. *nega=se an=di cuarto yaba* ***gab-oe***
house=LOC 1.SG=FOC room inside sleep-PROS
'I will sleep at the house inside the room' [Smith, C004-I003]

b. *Achutupu diwar mo-s-gu, adi ukub-bi-d* ***na-de***
Achutupu river arrive-PFV-when, then sand-RES-FOC go-INCEP

aeropuerto=se

airport=LOC [Smith, C004-I003]

'When (we) arrived at Achutupu's river, we walked on the sand toward the airport'

Serial verb constructions must contain two or more verbs which can act independently in sentences with no SVCs. The sentences above show that the verbs *namake* 'sing' and *sige* 'sit' in (5), and also *gabe* 'sleep' and *nae* 'go' in (6) are acceptable stand-alone verbs in simple clauses. Compare the above sentences to the sentences in (7) and (8).

(7) *Sagla gas=gi* ***namak-nai***
chief hammock=LOC sing-hang
'The chief is singing hanging in the hammock' [L.Smith, elicitation]

(8) *nega=ba an=di cuarto yaba* ***gab-na-o-ye***
house=DIR 1.SG=FOC room inside sleep-go-PROS-QUO
'I will go sleep in the house, inside the room' [Smith, C004-I003]

The clauses in (7) and (8) show the pair of verbs in (5) and (6), respectively, combining to construct more complex verbal structures. However, as we will see in §7.3.1, the combination of verbs to form SVCs is not random. The likelihood that certain verbs will combine depends on their semantics.

7.2.2 SVC contained within a single clause

An utterance which contains multiple clauses will undoubtedly have multiple verbs/predicates. These constructions must be distinguished from serial verbs, which, instead, have properties similar to single-verb clauses. SVCs in Guna are distinguishable

from structures that are complex at the clausal level in two ways: a) there are no marks of coordination or subordination, and b) they have the prosodic properties of single clauses.

First, let us separate SVCs from coordination and subordination[68]. Coordinated structures will, in most cases, contain words that link two verbs or two clauses of equal syntactic **weight**. A complex verb structure with coordinated verb phrases is possible by the addition of an adverbial enclitic on the second verb.

(9) *bato an obsa, mas gunsamo*[69]
S V_1 O_2 V_2

bato an ob-sa mas gun-sa=mo
already 1 bathe-PFV food eat-PFV=also
'I already bathed and ate food' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

The above utterance contains two verbs. The adverbial enclitic *=mo* meaning 'also' serves as a linker between two separate actions that share a subject; an SVC will have no such clitic. These types of sentences, however, are not common in Guna. More common is to have two or more clauses linked within a sentence.

[68] Complex structures of this sort will be the focus of Chapter 8.
[69] To visually represent the argument structure of the clauses in discussion throughout this section, you will see a top line that simply makes explicit the verb(s) and the argument(s) that go(es) along with that verb.

(10) *(be) eskwelagi arbanai | geb be wakinnoye*
S_1 V_1 S_2 V_2

eskwela=gi arba-nai geb be wakinn-o=ye
school=DIR work-hang then 2.SG escape-PROS=REP
"(You) will be working at the school, then, you shall escape" [Smith, C004-I003]

(11) *loko e-ome onogo e unni | degite (e) dakledsur guardiamarse*
S_1 V_1 O_1 S_2 V_2

loko e=ome o-no-goe e unni, degite dak-le-d-sur
dude 2.SG.Poss=woman CAUS-exit-PROS 2.SG only, and see-PASS-PROG NEG

guardia-mar=se
cop-PL=AG [Smith, C004-I003]

'The dude's wife only let him out, and (he) wasn't seen by the cops'

The complex structures above have two clauses each with the connecting particles *geb(e)* in (10) and *degite* (11). Again, the first line is a visual representation of two separate predicates with their respective argument structures.

In subordinated constructions, there is syntactic dependency between clauses: one clause cannot stand on its own and needs a **matrix clause** to complete its meaning.

(12) *dosientos metrode imaksurdibe | anmar oitoletgodo*
O_1 V_1 S_2 V_2

dosientos metro-de ***imak-sur-dibe*** *an=mar* ***oito-le-go-do***
two.hundred meter-TOP make-NEG-COND 1=PL hurt-PASS-PROS-RHET
'If (we) don't make (it) two hundred meters (long), we are going to be screwed!
(literally, 'we are going to be hurt') [unknown, C004-I001]

The sentence above comes from a meeting with village leaders in Ogobsukun, Gunayala. The sentence contains two verbs: *imaksurdibe* from the subordinate clause and *oitolegodo* from the main clause. As we saw in Chapter 6, a clause is a structure that contains a predicate and its arguments. The two verbs contained in sentence (12) each establishes a clause, complete with its argument structure. The first verb *imaksurdibe* has an implicit subject *anmar* 'we' that had been previously established. The borrowed phrase (here used as an NP) *dosientos metrode* refers to the length of the runway that needs to be constructed, which functions as the object of that clause. The second verb *oitolegodo* is a passive verb with a patient subject *anmar*. Clearly, the structure in (12) has two predicates. The conditional marker *–dibe* serves as a marker of subordination resulting in the syntactic dependency of that first clause to the second clause.[70]

Here is another complex structure with a subordinate clause as a complement[71].

(13) *inna gobe-gobe anmar imakoe*
O_1 V_1 S V_2
O_2

inna gobe-gobe an=mar imak-oe
corn.drink drink-drink 1=PL do-PROS
'We would drink a lot of *inna*'

The difference between this sentence and (12) is that the structure exemplified in (13) contains a clause that is the complement of the main predicate. As a complement, the clause is part of the argument structure of the main predicate. Briefly, the predicate of the

[70] For other markers of subordination, refer to Chapter 8.
[71] See chapter 6 for a discussion of complements.

main clause is the verb *imakoe*. It has a subject *anmar* and an object *inna gobe-gobe*, which itself is a clause. The verb *gobe-gobe* happens to be contained within a subordinate clause; this verb is the predicate of the clause, with a subject *anmar* in the main clause and an object *inna.*

An SVC has no markers of coordination (such as 9 - 11), subordination (the conditional in 12), nor possesses a complement clause (13). Instead, a sentence with an SVC shows characteristics that we see for single-predicate clauses.

(14) *Bab Ibeorgun babganaga sunmaknado*
S V

Bab Ibeorgun bab-gana=ga ***sunmak-na-do***
father Ibeorgun father-COLL=DAT talk-go-RHET
'Father Ibeorgun went to talk to the fathers (ancestors)'

The two verbs in (14) form a serial verb. Syntactically, we can look at two pieces of evidence. We saw for sentences (10) – (13) that two verbs belonged to separate clauses within the same sentence. Absent from this example, however, are markers that indicate a relationship of coordination or subordination. Instead, there is evidence that the two verb roots *sunmake* and *nae* combine here to form one word[72] with a shared subject *Bab Ibeorgun*. This leads us to a second piece of evidence: *Bab Dummad* functions as the subject of the whole verbal construction. Therefore, the predicate *sunmaknado* has an argument structure of a single clause.

Here are some more examples.

[72] **Wordhood** will be discussed in a later section.

(15) *(e) emide birgaba gus anse gornibarsundo*
S V

emide birga-ba gus an=se ***gor-noni=bar=sun-do***
now year-three after 1.SG=ALL call-come=again=truly-RHET
'now, he called me again after three years!' [L.Smith, C004-I001]

(16) *negaba andi guarto yaba gabnaoye*
S V

nega=ba an=di cuarto yaba ***gab-na-o-ye***
house=DIR 1.SG=FOC room inside sleep-go-PROS-QUO
'I will go sleep at the house, inside the room' [Smith, C004-I003]

(17) *ome be abitomai*
S O V

ome be ***abito-mai***
woman 2.SG await-POS:lying
'wife is waiting lying down for you' [Paredes, C004-I004]

(18) *Bab Dummad dule dummagan barminonikoed*
S O V

Bab Dummad dule dumma-gan ***barmi-nonik-oe-d***
Father Big person big-COLL send-come-PROS-TVF
'God will send (towards us) chiefs' [Paredes, C004-I004]

With these examples, I show that SVCs may consist of intransitive serial verbs with one main argument (15) – (16) transitive serial verbs with two arguments (17) – (18).

A second consideration when evaluating whether these verb complexes belong to a single clause or to multiple clauses is by looking at the prosodic properties. More

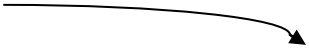
specifically, what we know about sentence-level intonation in Guna can inform our analysis of SVCs.

First of all, let's just look at a single verb clause.

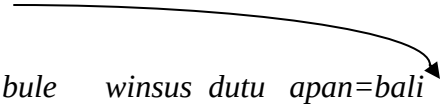
(19) 

bule winsus dutu apan=bali
degree urine strong smell=also
'also, the urine smelled so strong' [Smith, C004-I003]

Generally, a simple declarative sentence such as the one we see above shows a falling intonation at the end of the sentence. The contour with an arrow pointing down illustrates this fact. This intonation may vary according to sentence type (for example, polar interrogatives have a rising intonation). Let us look at a short fragment with several sentences where I have marked the speaker's intonation.

(*20*) 

a. *an=mar-di gama sate,*
1=PL-FOC bed not.have-TVF
'we did not have a bed'

b. 

bule winsus dutu apan=bali
degree urine strong smell=also
'Also, the urine smelled so strong'

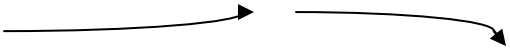
c. 

meg-is=sun-do
lie.down-PFV=truly-RHET
‘(we) lay down!’ [Smith, C004-I003]

The fragment in (20) visually represents how there are different intonation breaks to signal the ends of clauses. On the other hand, complex syntactic structures such as we saw in (12) and (13) (repeated below as 21 and 22) will have two intonation units that indicate two separate clauses.

(21) 

dosientos metro-de imak-sur-dibe an=mar oito-le-go-do
two.hundred meter-TOP make-NEG-COND 1=PL hurt-PASS-PROS-RHET
‘If (we) don’t make (it) two hundred meters (long), we are going to be screwed!
(literally, ‘we are going to be hurt’) [unknown, C004-I001]

(22) 

inna gobe-gobe an=mar imak-oe
corn.drink drink-drink 1=PL do-PROS
‘We would drink a lot of *inna*’ [Smith, C004-I003]

In complex sentences, there will be two main intonation units because there are two clauses. For the most part, we will see a rising intonation for the first clause signaling an incomplete thought, and a falling intonation for the second clause to signal the end of the sentence. On the other hand, we find that sentences with an SVC possess a single intonation unit, which suggests a single clause.

(23)

ome *be* ***abito-mai***
woman 2.SG await-POS:lying
'wife is waiting lying down for you' [Paredes, C004-I004]

(24)

nega=ba *an=di* *cuarto* *yaba* ***gab-na-o-ye***
house=DIR 1.SG=FOC room inside sleep-go-PROS-QUOT
'I will go sleep at the house, inside the room' [Smith, C004-I003]

7.2.3 Negation

Negative clitics or particles can modify single words or larger constituents. When linguists talk about **scope**, it refers to the extent of the semantic effect that a modifier has, or simply put, whether it modifies single words, phrases or larger constituents. We expect that a negator will have scope over the whole SVC complex. This is not the case for a complex sentence, as we can see below.

(25) *an-di* *an no-bie-d* [*dule* *an=gi* *sunmak****=suli***]
1-FOC 1 exit-DES-TVF person 1=ABL talk=NEG
'I want to exit (in a way that) people can't talk about me (negatively)'

[L.Smith, C004-I001]

A determination must be made in (25) about the scope of the negative *=suli*. That is, does the negative element modify the whole structure which includes two verbs? It is clear from the example that the negative only has scope over the clause containing the

verb which it is attached to. In (25a), I have simply extracted the main clause from the sentence in (25).

(25a) *dule angi sunmaksuli*
'people can't talk about me'

The verb *nobied,* which predicates the subordinate clause, is outside the scope of this negation. This can easily be tested if we were to ask the speaker to clarify the first clause, as we see in (26).

(26) A. *be nobie?*
2 want to leave
'Do you want to leave?'

B. *eye, an nobie*
Yes, I want to leave

A negator, on the other hand, does have scope over the whole verbal construction in some instances.

(27) *be ibmar bipi se-dani=suli*
2 thing small carry-come=NEG
'You are not bringing something small' [L.Smith C004-I001]

(28) a. *bule uka sunna ito-lege*
degree skin bad feel-MID
'the skin feels so bad'

b. *gabe?*
sleep
'sleep?

c. *gab-na=suli*
sleep-POS:hang=NEG
'(we) weren't sleeping-hanging' [Smith C004-I003]

Because negation has scope over the whole verbal structure, it is clear that the two verbs form a unit. This structure is a serial verb.

7.3 Properties of Guna SVCs

The main objective of §7.2 was to identify a structure in Guna which has two verb roots but that exhibits syntactic behaviors of single clauses and single predicates, looking at characteristics such as markings of coordination/subordination, argument structure, sentence intonation, and negation. In this section, the focus shifts to the way SVCs are encoded specifically in the language. More explicitly, thanks to Aikhenvald's parameterization described in §7.1, I can provide a detailed description of the semantic make-up and morphological structure of SVCs in Guna.

7.3.1 Composition

First, let us explore the semantic make-up of the verbs involved in SVCs. As I had mentioned previously, the verbs that combine to form these structures and the way they combine are not haphazard. SVCs in Guna consist of a verb from an unrestricted, open class and the second verb from a restricted, closed class. Thus, we find that Guna has SVCs of the asymmetrical type.

(29)

open class verb + closed class verb

The verbs that fall under the open class category are numerous. A great majority of verbs can occur in this position. Among these we find both transitive and intransitive verbs. On the other hand, the verb that occurs in the second position in an SVC is restricted to a closed class of verbs: positional and motion verbs. These verbs are summarized in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: Closed class verbs

Positionals		Motion Verbs	
-gwichi	standing	*-noniki* (*-noni*)	came
-mai	lying down	*-daniki* (*-dani*)	come
-nai	hanging	*-dage* (*-dag*)	to come
-sii	sitting	*-nae* (*-na*)	to go
-bukwa	sitting (PL)		

Here are some examples that illustrate some possible SVCs.

(30) *swada, ur yaba sin dummad o-do-le-nai=yob*
inside boat inside pig big CAUS-enter-PASS-POS:hanging=MNR
'inside, like pigs being placed in a boat' [Smith, C004-I003]

(31) *an dak-si=sundo*
1 see-POS:sitting=truly
'I was watching sitting' [Paredes, C004-I004]

(32) *an be=ga an ibmar saki-na-o-ye*
1 2=DAT 1 thing steal-go-PROS-QUOT
'I will go and steal something for you' [Smith, C004-I003]

(33) *serbesa an=mar se-dani-bali-d*
Beer 1=PL carry-come=also-TVF
'We were also bringing beer' [Smith, C004-I003]

(34) *Bab Dummad dule ode-noni-do*
Big Father person bring.down-came-RHET
'God brought someone down!' [L.Smith 2003]

The clauses in (30) and (31) illustrate SVCs with a positional as the second element in the structure; the SVCs exemplified in (32) – (34) have a verb of motion as the second verb in the structure.

On an interesting note, serial verbs in Guna are restricted to the structure in (29). Certainly, languages allow different types of verbs to combine, including two transitive verbs (such as Igbo in (1), for example) or an unrestricted intransitive verb and a transitive verb (such as Taba in (2)). The Guna case has a very specific structure with a limited number of verbs that can occur in the second position (the ones in Table 7.1). A positional or motion verb in first position is incompatible as an SVC, even if the combination is possible on logical grounds.

(35) **an be=se abion=gi na-sii*
1 2=LOC airplane=INST go-POS:sitting
'I am going sitting to you by airplane'

A distinction must also be made with verbs that appear to be of the serial verb type, but that syntactically are not so.

(36) *Wikaliler gadi sii namake*
Wikaliler a.lot seated sing
'Wikaliler sings in a seated position a lot' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

We can verify that what we have in this instance is not an SVC since the verbal elements can be split apart.

(37) sii *Wikaliler gadi namake*
seated Wikaliler a.lot sing
'In a seated position, Wikaliler sings a lot' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

Instead of an SVC, the positional in the examples above specifies the manner in which an action is taking place. It is, therefore, acting as an adverb. Another distinction must be made from verbal constructions that result from incorporating verbs borrowed from Spanish. The structure that we find for these types of construction is shown here.

(38)

Spanish verb (infinitive) + sae

(39) *dosientos metros an=mar rellenar sae-rgebe*
two.hundred meters 1=PL to.fill do-NECESS
'We must fill up two hundred meters' [unknown, C004-I001]

As more people are becoming more proficient in both Spanish and Guna, I am finding more examples of this sort, even when code switching is minimal. However, these are not SVCs simply because they do not form a unit of the sort we have explored so far. Just as we saw for (36) and (37), the first element may be moved without affecting the clause's grammaticality.

(40) *dosientos metro rellenar anmar saergebe*

In sum, Guna specifies certain kinds of verbs that may go as a second element in the SVC, and there are also restrictions on the type of verb that may not appear as the first element (positionals and motion verbs). We must also differentiate between verbal structures that are not SVCs, but instead are other types of predication.

7.3.2 Contiguity and Wordhood

As we have seen throughout this chapter, the parameters of contiguity and wordhood interact in Guna. The structure that we have defined as serial verbs involves two contiguous verbs acting together as a unit. Here is one example to simply illustrate this fact.

(41) *Sagla gas=gi* ***namak-nai***
chief hammock=LOC sing-hang
'The chief is singing hanging in the hammock' [L.Smith, elicitation]

Implicit in all of this is that the two verbal elements combine to form a single phonological word. We see that in (41), but you may also see that in all of the previous examples in this chapter. Evidence for the wordhood[73] of SVCs in Guna is found when we look at the stress patterns of words. We know from Chapter 2 that Guna roots will always have stress on the penultimate syllable.

(42) *namáke*
óbe
gábe
sarsóge
nái
síi[74]

When two verb roots combine to form an SVC, no pause exists between the elements, and there is a single stress peak for the whole structure.

(43) *namaksíi*
obnáe

[73] For a better discussion of what constitutes a word, you may refer to Chapter 2.
[74] Remember that Guna does not allow a word to have only one mora.

gabmái

Other verbal structures, such as the ones illustrated in §7.3.1, will have a pause in between the elements as well as two stress peaks. This signals the occurrence of separate words in the verbal complex.

(44) a. *Wikaliler gadi síi namáke*
'Wikaliler sings in a seated position a lot'

b. *dosientos metros anmar rellenár*[75] *saergébe*
'we must fill up two hundred meters'

7.3.3 Marking

In Guna, we find markings on the verbs such as aspect, mood, quotatives and adverbials. In SVCs, we may find a very limited set of markers simply because the second element in an SVC already adds time-related secondary meanings of progressive for positionals and past/non-past for noniki/daniki. Because the language lacks person markings on verbs, these are also not possible diagnostics for the parameter under discussion.

Despite this, we do find some aspect markers that can occur with a serial verb. In (45), a habitual marker *–dae* attaches to the SVC, as well as the truth value focus marker. In (46), we can see both a prospective aspect marker and a quotative *–ye* attached to the verb complex.

[75] Since *rellenar* is a borrowed verb, the stress pattern is kept from Spanish.

(45) *we=yob* *an* *dak-si-dae-d*
DEM:prox=manner *1* *see-POS:sitting-HAB-TVF*
'I've pondered about it' [Barrantes, C008-I001]

(46) *an* *be=ga* *an* *ibmar* *saki-na-o-ye*
1 2=DAT 1 thing steal-go-PROS-QUOT
'I will go steal something for you' [Smith, C004-I003]

7.4 Conclusion

The discussion of the current chapter centered on a structure which possesses more than one verb as its elements, yet its behavior is that of a single predicate in a single clause, with no markers of coordination or subordination.

In §7.2, through the exploration of SVCs in Guna we were able to further look at things such as phrasal intonation, syntactic dependency and independency, the scope of negation, and argument structure. In §7.3, the main objective was to specifically characterize the morphological form and semantic make-up of these structures in the language.

One interesting point that must be made that was not mentioned previously is the fact that in many instances the restricted verb in second position appears to be undergoing grammaticalization. Aikhenvald (2006:23) states that asymmetrical serial verbs often express aspectual meanings such as progressive, continuative or habitual meanings. Certain verb forms in the restricted class have undergone **semantic bleaching**, or the loss of their meaning, when these attach to other verbs. In these instances, the attached forms only express a grammatical meaning of progressive aspect (especially for positionals).

(47) *wag-mar* *arba-nai* *carretera gwable*
non.Guna-PL work-POS:hanging highway all
'Non Gunas (Latinos) are working on the highway'

(48) *ei* *sika-sika* *an* *imak-si-d*
hey not.on.target 1 do-POS:sitting-TVF
'Hey, I am doing (it) wrong'

(49) *a* *gwenad-gana* *immar* *egi-s-mai*
DEM:distal family-COLL things ask-PFV-POS:lying.down
'Those people are asking questions'

None of the examples above express a secondary meaning of position. Instead, they all simply convey different meanings of progressive according to the duration of the action, with more extended duration (47) to shorter durations (48) – (49). Given this fact, I made sure that in previous sections I included those examples where the speaker clearly conveys position/movement with the SVC, and where the hearer interpreted them as such. For a further look at how different positionals may express different progressive meanings, the reader is invited to look at Chapter 5 on verbal morphology.

Chapter 8

Clause Combinations

Content

Previous chapters have provided a glance into the subject matter which will be the focus of this chapter. Our attention will now shift from looking at individual clauses to a description of constructions that combine different clauses. Some of the concepts that have been previously discussed for simple sentences and serial verbs will first be revisited. Readers will most likely notice some overlap in the concepts and notions that were necessary to describe Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. Since we are dealing with structures that combine single clauses, this is unavoidable. Also, it is impossible to carry out a description of a language in a vacuum, given that language works through the interaction between different grammatical devices that the language has (and that I have described throughout this grammar).

Conversely, new elements will emerge as I describe different strategies for clause combinations. The main objective of the chapter is to uncover these different strategies

(whether syntactic, morphological or both), and account for the variety in form and function that we find in Guna.

8.1 Main Concepts

A point of emphasis in the previous two chapters was to demonstrate that certain sentences consist of a single clause. In order to do this, I relied on syntactic evidence such as determining the number of predicates, argument structure, and syntactic independency (briefly in Chapter 6); some phonological facts about the language were also explored at the level of the sentence; and finally, supporting morphosyntactic data was presented as it related to things such as the scope of negation and aspectual and mood markers. Although it may seem redundant to look at these facts about Guna again, these same facts will allow me to demonstrate the opposite: certain sentences in Guna consist of a bundle of different clauses.

8.1.1 Multiple clauses

In Chapter 6, a distinction was made between clause and sentence**.** This distinction is important to our understanding of clause combinations**.** This pair of examples illustrates this difference.

(1) *we birga gwae-gwae na-sa*
DEM year fast-fast go-PFV
'This year went by really fast' [Rodriguez elicitation]

(*2*) ***we birga na-s-gua*** *nobiembre gine an=se*
DEM year go-PFV-TEMP November LOC 1.SG=DAT

gor-noni-do
call-come-RHET

'In this year that passed, (he) called me in November' [L.Smith, C004-I001]

In (1), the sentence consists of one clause. It is a clause because there is a predicate '*nasa'* as its nucleus, and the predicate has an argument structure of one, the noun phrase *we birga*, which acts as a subject. It is also a sentence because it forms a complete syntactic unit. Evidence for this is the fact that (1) is a well-formed sentence on its own. Although more information is preferred (and offered) in discourse, a speaker of Guna will judge (1) as a grammatical sentence. This is a **simple sentence**.

Example (2), on the other hand, shows a complex sentence. It is a **complex sentence** because it combines two (or more) clauses. The first clause in the sentence mirrors the clause/sentence in. This first clause is restated here as (3).

(*3*) ?? *we birga nasgua*

We already established on syntactic grounds that (1) is a clause. The only difference between (1) and (3) is the presence of a clause marker *–gua,* which indicates a dependency on another structure to complete its meaning. More specifically, a clause with a verb marked with *–gua* indicates a temporal relationship with the event described by another clause. Because clause (3) cannot stand by itself and be fully grammatical, it is not a sentence. There must be a second clause, *nobiembre gine anse gornonido* in (2), to complete its meaning. The structure with two clauses, as a grammatical whole, is a sentence.

How do we determine that a sentence has two clauses instead of one? As we saw in the last chapter, a combination of what in the surface may appear as two predicates may in fact be a single clause with a serial verb predicate. Notice that (4)[76] and (5) below differ in important ways from those examples of SVCs from the previous chapter.

(*4*) *we birga nasgua* / *(e) nobiembre gine anse gornonido*
S_1 V_1 S_2 V_2

we *birga* *na-s-gua* *nobiembre* *gine* *an=se*
DEM:Prox year go-PFV-TEMP November LOC 1.SG=DAT

gor-noni-do
call-come-RHET

'In this year that passed, (he) called me in November' [L.Smith C004-I001]

(5) *sibilmar an idu bukwagu* / *anse anai inmar egissa*
S_1 V_1 S_2 O_2 V_2

sibil-mar *an* *idu* *bukwa-gu* *an=se* *an=ai*
civilian.police-PL 1.SG front POS.PL-TEMP 1.SG=ALL 1.SG=friend

inmar egis-sa
thing ask-PFV

'While the civilian police were in front of me, my friend asked me something'
[Smith C004-I003]

First of all, each sentence contains two verbs, and the two verbs involve two separate predicates. The first line visually represents the separate argument structure for

[76] This is the same sentence as in (2)

each predicate. Each predicate constitutes the nucleus of a clause. As a result, there are two separate clauses in (4) and two separate clauses in (5)[77].

Another distinguishing factor of complex sentences involves sentence-level intonation. In the previous chapter, I was able to establish that a clause consists of a single phrasal intonation unit. Here is an example.

(6)

neg wagar bar an dak-o=suli
house face again 1.SG see-PROS=NEG
'I will not see this place again' [Smith, C004-I003]

Generally, a simple declarative sentence such as the one we see above shows falling intonation at the end of the sentence, and this signals the end of the structure. On the other hand, rising intonation at the end of a syntactic unit may signal a polar interrogative[78], a phrase or a clause that is part of a larger structure. In (7) and (8) we find different examples of all these syntactic units, and I illustrate the intonation used by the speakers.

(7)

A. *geb a=gine geb Changinola=ba na-de*
then DEM=LOC then Changinola=ALL go-INCEP
'Then, (you) left to Changinola?' [Rodriguez, C008-I004]

[77] Sentences (9) – (13) in §7.2.2 illustrate this as well.
[78] See §6.5.2.1 for intonation in polar interrogatives.

B. *eye* *a=gi*
yes DEM=LOC
'Yes, then' [Perez C008-C005]

(*8*)

a. *an=mar-di* *gama* *sate,* *samakle*
1=PL-FOC bed not.have fuck
'We did not have a bed, fuck'

b. *bule* *winsus* *dutu* *apan=bali*
degree urine strong smell=also
'Also, the urine smelled so strong'

c. *meg-is=sun-do*
lie.down-PFV=truly-RHET
'So, (we) lay down' [Smith, C004-I003]

The different clauses in (7) and (8) carry their own intonation, either rising for a question (speaker A in (7)), or falling for declarative statements (speaker B in (7) and all of the clauses in (8)). Phrasal structures that are not part of the clause per se can also be intonation units, as *geb agine* in (7) and *samakle* in (8).

In complex sentences, two main intonation units are noticeable. A slightly rising intonation[79] for the first clause normally signals continuation and a falling intonation in

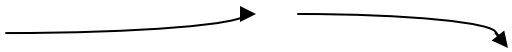
[79] This rising intonation is not as prominent as the intonation that signals a polar interrogative, such as in (7).

the second clause signals the end of the sentence. Chapter 7 established the importance of intonation in signaling whether a sentence comprises one or two (or more) clauses. Here we have two examples.

(9)

dosientos metro-de imak=sur-dibe an=mar oito-le-go-do
two.hundred meter-TOP make=NEG-COND 1=PL hurt-PASS-PROS-RHET
'If (we) don't make (it) two hundred meters (long), we are going to be screwed'
(literally, 'we are going to be hurt') [unknown, C004-I001]

(10)



inna gobe-gobe an=mar imak-oe
corn.drink drink-drink 1=PL do-PROS
'We would drink a lot of *inna*' [Smith, C004-I003]

In examples (9) and (10), the speaker clearly has two intonation units: a rising intonation after the verbs *imaksurdibe* and *gobegobe* in the first clauses, and a falling intonation after *oitolegodo* and *imakoe* in the second clauses. Therefore, each clause constitutes an intonation unit in speech.

Finally, a marker of syntactic dependency can point to the presence of two or more clauses. Although that may not be the case for all complex sentences, certain sentences have in them a verb with morphological markers that indicate that a clause is part of a larger structure. This type of marker has been briefly mentioned when discussing the differences between a clause and a sentence. Sentence (2) is repeated here as (11).

(11) *we birga na-s-gua nobiembre gine an=se*
DEM year go-PFV-TEMP November LOC 1.SG=DAT

gor-noni-do
call-come-RHET

'In this year that passed, (he) called me in November'

The temporal clause marker *-gua* (*-gu*) on the verb indicates that the clause *we birga nasgua* modifies another clause. This relationship between clauses will be the main focus of §8.1.2, but for the purposes of the current discussion, this indicates implicitly a dependency of one clause on a larger structure.

8.1.2 Subordination vs. Coordination

Now, let us look at this dependency relationship between clauses. Recall that Matthew Dryer's (2007) classification of sentences included a classification based on the type of clauses we find[80], namely the distinction between a **main clause** and **subordinate clause**. This distinction is central to our conceptualization and understanding of clausal combinations (in languages in general, and in Guna specifically).

The terminology used here (main-subordinate) suggests a relationship between different clausal units where some ranking of the clauses exists. On the other hand, clauses of equal status can also form part of a larger structure, where no clause 'outranks' another. I will show that both are part of the inventory of complex structures in the language.

[80] See §6.1 Main Concepts

As Payne (2003) describes, an **independent clause**, such as the ones in (1) and (6) – (8), are clauses where the verb is fully inflected (with aspect and mood markers) and capable of standing on its own. A **dependent clause**, on the other hand, relies on some other clause for its inflectional information or to complete its meaning. An independent clause can on its own be a sentence, while a dependent clause has to combine with another clause to form a complete sentence.

In complex sentences, two types of relationships within the syntactic units are possible. In **coordination** two (or more) syntactic units are equal in status, and each clause in the sentence is an independent clause. On the other hand, **subordination** describes a relationship of dependency where a **subordinate clause**[81] relies on a **main clause** (or **matrix clause**) for its grammatical inflectional information and/or meaning or where it forms a part of the main clause, such as modifying another element or standing in for the subject or object.

Coordinated clauses will be the focus of §8.6, so I will simply give a single example here. In (12) below, the clauses are linked by a **conjunction** *geb*. These conjunctions that overtly link two different syntactic units are called **coordinators**.

(12) *eskwela=gi arba-nai geb be wakinn-o=ye*
school=LOC work-PROG then 2.SG escape-PROS=REP
"(You) will be working at the school, then, you shall escape" [Smith, C004-I003]

[81] Although dependent clause and subordinate clause can be used interchangeably, "subordinate" is used more commonly in the linguistic literature (Thompson 1988, Givón 1990, Payne 2003, Longacre 2007, among many).

The coordinator *geb* indicates a sequence of events, such as the one in example (12), where the second clause follows the event described by the first clause. Notice that each clause is an independent clause.

In contrast, the sentences (13) and (14) show a relationship of subordination between clauses. The subordinate clauses are enclosed in bracket.

(13) [*we=g* *gu-di*] *an* *na-de=d*
DEM:Prox=LOC be-PROG 1.SG go-INCEP=TVF
'Being here, I left' [Martinez, C008-I004]

(14) *dob=bali=d* [*dain* *dummad* *nai-le*]
be.afraid=also=TVF crocodile big POS:hanging-COND
'I was afraid in case there was a crocodile' [Smith, C004-I003]

The subordinate clauses in (13) and (14) are *weg gudi* and *dain dummad naile* respectively. Both of these clauses modify the main clauses *an naded* and *dobbalid* by providing adverbial information. We are able to easily identify the subordinate clause in (14) because of the marker *-le* that indicates that the clause expresses a condition. The dependency of the subordinate clause in (13) is more subtle. The clause *weg gudi* depends on the main clause *an naded* because it lacks temporal placement in the discourse (whether it is a past or present event) by itself. Let us look at this briefly.

(15) *an* *we=g* *gu-di*
1.SG DEM=LOC be-PROG
'I am here' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

As an independent clause, (15) describes a situation in the present progressive. If this clause were to combine with a second clause with its temporal meaning retained, the sentence would be ungrammatical as I show in (16).

(16) * *we=g* *gu-di* *an na-de=d*
DEM=LOC be-PROG 1.SG go-INCEP=TVF
'I am here, and I left' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

In order for (16) to be grammatical, an imperfective *-na* must be added to the first verb like we see in (17).

(17) *an we=g* *gu-di-na* *an na-de=d*
1.SG DEM=LOC be-PROG-IMPF 1.SG go-INCEP=TVF
'I was here, and I left' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

As a result, the only way *weg gudi* can be grammatical is if it lacks temporal location in the discourse and if it modifies the main clause.

(18) *we=g* *gu-di* *an* *na-de=d*
DEM=LOC be-PROG 1.SG go-INCEP=TVF
'Being here, I left'

Now I would like to focus on the different types of subordinate clauses in the language. As the examples provided here show, subordinate clauses come in different forms. They may be fully inflected, like *nasgua* in (11), or not, like *gudi* in (18). In addition, some subordinate clauses have clause markers like *–gua* in (11) and *–le* in (14), or they don't, like (18) above. Also, subordinate clauses fulfill different grammatical functions such as modifying clauses/verbs, modifying nouns, or taking the place of nouns. These clause types will be described below.

A **complement clause** is a subordinate clause that takes the place of a noun phrase and fulfills the syntactic role of an argument (or complement) of the main verb. Different languages have different ways of accomplishing this. For example, Spanish uses *que* in many instances to introduce a complement clause. Here we have a complement clause acting as a subject.

(19) [Que a mi hija no le gusten los gatos] no es bueno

As we will see in §8.2, instances of complement clauses in Guna acting as a subject are rare. Most complement clauses in Guna are the object of the main clause.

A **relative clause** is a subordinate clause that functions as a noun modifier; therefore, it acts as an adjective. According to Payne (2003), the main parts of a relative clause are:

E. The **head** is a noun phrase in the main clause that is being modified by the relative clause.

F. The **restricting clause** is the relative clause. It is called restricting because it picks out the referent from the set of possible nouns.

G. The **relativized noun phrase** is the element within the relative clause that is coreferential with the head noun.

H. The **relativizer** is the morphological marker that determines which is the relative clause.

In §8.3, the grammar will explore the relevancy of each of these parts to provide an in-depth description of relative clauses in Guna.

Subordinate clauses in languages can also function as adverbs. **Adverbial clauses** fulfill the same types of functions that other adverbs do, such as specifying time, place, manner, condition, reason, etc. These clauses can modify verb phrases or whole clauses, and most of them indicate their adverbial function through the use of morphological markers on the subordinate verb. We have already seen adverbial clauses with the markers *-gua* and *-le*. Other markers of adverbial clauses are possible in the language, and that will be the focus of §8.4

Finally, **reported speech** is marked with a suffix *-ye* tells the listener that the speaker is indicating that the source of the utterance is not the speaker himself/herself. The verbs in a reported speech clause are fully inflected. This subordinate clause is common in the language.

8.1.3 Summary of main concepts

The distinction between a clause and a sentence is paramount in understanding the structures detailed in this chapter. A **clause** is a syntactic structure that has a predicate, complete with its argument structure. Some clauses are **independent clauses** that can stand on their own in the discourse. These fully formed and grammatical clauses can be a sentence. Other clauses depend on a larger structure to be grammatical or to have meaning. Thus, these **dependent clauses** cannot be a sentence on their own. As they

combine with other clauses that complete the meaning or the grammar of the dependent clause, the combination results in a fully formed, grammatical structure. This structure is a **sentence**, or more specifically, a **complex sentence**.

A complex sentence can be a **coordinated** structure, where two or more independent clauses combine. In a complex sentence where there is a dependency relationship between one clause and another, the dependent clause is also known as a **subordinate clause.** In such cases, the **main clause** provides the subordinate clause with its inflectional information and full meaning. The subordinate clause modifies an element within the main clause or the whole clause, or it is a complement of the main predicate.

According to their possible multiple functions, subordinate clauses can be further divided into **complement clauses**, **relative clauses**, **adverbial clauses**, and **reported speech clauses**.

8.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses act as complements of the main clause. Languages differ in the possible syntactic function that these clauses can fulfill. For example, Quesada (2000) states that complement clauses in Teribe only act as objects of main clauses. Noonan (2007) describes for English complement clauses that can take subject, object and object of the preposition roles. Guna, unlike Teribe[82], can have complement clauses as subjects

[82] Teribe is a Chibchan language

of the main clause; however, these are very limited. The only example that I provide here was elicited.

With regard to their form, Guna does not have overt **complementizers**. This means that there are no specific markers that identify a clause as a complement clause. A language like Spanish introduces a complement clause with the complementizer *que*.

(20) a. [*Que a mi hija no le gusten los gatos*] *no es bueno*
'It's not good that my daughter doesn't like cats'

b. *Prefiero* [*que no vengas*]
'I would prefer that you not come'

In Guna, the differences in form that complement clauses can have are very subtle, but these differences exist nonetheless. I will now explain those differences.

8.2.1 Finite vs Nonfinite clauses

In languages, there exists a distinction between verbs that can be fully inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and person markers, called **finite verbs**, and verbs that are not inflected, known as **nonfinite verbs**[83]**.**

This finite/non-finite distinction is not clear-cut in Guna due to the limited inflectional morphology that a verb takes. In many contexts, the finite/non-finite forms may be identical[84].

[83] See (13) and (14) in §8.1.2. Although these were not complement clauses, they also illustrated the important difference between finite vs. nonfinite interpretations of a verb.

(21) *ome inna gobe-gobe*
Woman corn.drink drink-drink
'The woman is drinking inna repeatedly' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

(22) [*inna gobe-gobe*] *an=mar imak-oe*
Corn.drink drink-drink 1=PL make-PROS
'We'll make (us) drink inna' [Smith C004-I003]

The clause in (21) is a fully formed clause. As such, the verb *gobe-gobe* has a subject *ome* and an object *inna*. The temporal reading that we get from this sentence without any other inflection is dependent on the situational context; it could be either a past or present habitual reading. In the subordinate clause in (22), however, no aspectual meaning is assigned to the verb.

(23) * *inna gobe-gobe anmar imakoe* (interpreted as habitual or present)
[Gomez, judgment]

A forced interpretation as habitual or present of the verb *gobe-gobe* in (23), similar to (21), is only possible if there are two separate juxtaposed independent clauses, in which case the speakers may add an explicit subject in the first clause and an object in the second clause.

(24) *anmar inna gobe-gobe. we anmar imakoe*
We drink inna repeatedly. That's what we will do. [Gomez, elicitation]

---

[84] See Chapter 5 for a closer look at this form. In sum, the citation form of the verb can have a present, past or habitual reading, and it is also used as a nonfinite form.

The interpretation of the verb *gobe-gobe* in (22), then, is as a verb devoid of any temporal information. We will return to complement clauses with the verbs 'make' in the following section.

8.2.2 Nonfinite complement clauses

The difference between finite verbs and nonfinite verbs is important in determining the different types of complement clauses. The first type, exemplified in (22) above, takes a complement with a nonfinite verb.

Nonfinite clauses are limited to the verbs *imake* and *sae* 'make'. This type of construction has a reading where the subject in the main clause exerts a higher degree of control over the verb in the complement clause.

If the subject in the main clause is 1st or 2nd person, the complement clause appears sentence initially. If the subject is anything other than 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the clause normally appears in its object position.

(25) Type 1

nonfinite clause + main clause

Sentence (22) is repeated as (26) here. It was established that the reading for the verb in the complement clause is an aspectless/tenseless reading. It is, therefore, a nonfinite verb.

(26) [*inna gobe-gobe*] *an=mar imak-oe*
Corn.drink drink-drink 1=PL make-PROS
'We will drink inna' [Smith C004-I003]

(27) [*obe-obe*] *an=mar imak-sa-d*
bathe-bathe 1=PL make-PFV=TVF
'We will bathe' [L.Smith C004-I001]

In fact, the structure used by the speaker in (26) is a fairly commonly used structure in Guna, especially when incorporating Spanish verbs. In Chapter 7, this was discussed briefly to differentiate this phenomenon from SVCs[85].

(28)

Spanish verb (infinitive) + sae

The Spanish verb, interestingly, can only appear in its infinitive form as we see in (29) and (30).

(29) [*we broyekto gualkier broyekto formar*] *anmar sa-bie*
DEM project any project to.form 1.SG=PL make-DESID
'We want to start a project, any project' [unknown, C004-I001]

(30) *an* [*abargine an bardisipar*] *sae*
1.SG in.the.middle 1.SG to.participate make
'I participate among (them)' [Martinez, C008-I004]

An interesting process occurring in the language is the use of the gerund *–ale* on verbs as part of this process. While native Guna verbs in complement clauses normally appear with the verb *imake*, as was illustrated in (26) and (27), speakers are starting to

[85] See §7.3.1

use the subordinate verb with an elided form of the gerund *–ar* plus the verb *sae* in the main verb. This is happening to mirror the form used for Spanish borrowed verbs. A verb with *–ar* seems like the infinitive form of Spanish verbs.

(31) [*gwa-bagwa yog imak-ar*] *sae=d*
CL:round-three yet do-GER make=TVF
'We have yet to make three' [L.Smith C004-I001]

8.2.3 Finite complement clauses

Complement clauses with finite verbs are the most common form in the language. Most complement clauses are able to carry at least an aspectual marker on the verb, or they may be interpreted as having some aspectual reading. Also, even though the set of verbs that can take finite complement clauses is larger, most of the examples in the texts are from perception verbs.

(32) [*an=ai sa-de*] *an daked*
1.SG=friend do-INCEP 1.SG see
'I see that my friend left' [Smith, C004-I003]

(33) [*siga bula yer ito*] *an dak-sa*
body.hair a.lot well feel 1.SG see-PFV
'I saw that Hairy Guy was well' [Martinez, C008-I004]

(34) [*e=bo iggwen arba-nai*] *an dak-ar=moga=d*
3.SG=COM thing work-hanging 1.SG see-INCEP=also=TVF
'I also saw (him) working with him' [Barrantes, C005-I004]

(35) [*deyob an=mar gu-nai*] *ito-le=sun=do*
like.that 1=PL be-PROG feel-PASS=truly=thus
'It feels (like) that's how we're doing' [L.Smith C004-I001]

Finally, a subject complement clause is rare in Guna. As I had mentioned previously, Teribe, a related Chibchan language, does not have them at all. In many instances, Guna has headless relative clauses in what the surface appears as a complement clause. This will be the subject of §8.3. For the purposes of the current discussion, I elicited the sentence presented in (36).

(36) [*burwi-gan igar=ba dodoge-d*] *nued suli*
small-COLL path=ALL play-NOM good NEG
'That children play in the street is not good' [L.Smith, elicitation]

The nominalized form of the verb, a common strategy for relative clauses in Guna, appears as the verb in the subordinate clause. In this instance, the whole clause *burwigan igarba dodoged* is the subject of the non-verbal predicate in the main clause.

8.3 Relative clauses

Comrie (1989:143) defines relative clauses as follows:

> A relative clause consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause. The head in itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the overall construction.

This definition narrows the concept to include only what the author terms **restrictive relative clauses**. This type of clause actually helps to identify the referent out of a possible number of referents. Comrie noted in his study that, typologically, these clauses are central to the notion of relative clauses. As a result, this view of relative clauses is one which I have adopted to describe the relative clause in Guna.

Furthermore, as was stated in a previous section, Payne (1997:325) provides us with the tools to identify the different parts of a relative clause.

A. The head is a noun phrase in the main clause that is being modified by the relative clause.

B. The restricting clause is the relative clause. It is called restricting because it picks out the referent from the set of possible nouns.

C. The relativized noun phrase is the element within the relative clause that is coreferential with the head noun.

D. The relativizer is the morphological marker that determines which is the relative clause.

A quick point to make involves identifying a relative clause through its form. In Guna, the relativizer is homophonous with the suffix for nominalization. This means that the affix that marks nominalization *–di* (*-d*) also marks the relative clause.

8.3.1 Head position

Returning to Payne (2003), the author describes an important typological parameter for classifying relative clause strategies; this deals with the position of the head NP in relation to its relative clause. The three types are: **externally-headed** NP, where the head appears in the main clause and outside the relative clause, **internally-headed** NP, where the head is found in the relative clause, and **headless** RC, where the relative clause has no head.

Externally-heading of NPs is the most widespread strategy in the languages of the world. The relative clause in these instances may appear before the head NP, **prenominally,** or more commonly, after the head NP, **postnominally.**

As the examples in (37) and (38) illustrate, determining the type of relative clause in Guna may be difficult because these sentences can have two possible analyses.

(37) a. [*dule ua so-nai-d*] *daniki=d*
person fish fish-POS:hanging-NOM is.coming=TVF
'The person who is fishing is coming' [Smith, C004-I003]

b. *dule* [*Ø ua sonaid*] *danikid*

(38) a. [*ome mor make-d*] *San Miguelito=gi si*
woman clothes sew-NOM San Miguelito=LOC POS:sitting
'The woman who sews is in San Miguelito' [Barrantes, C005-I004]

b. *ome* [*Ø mor maked*] *San Miguelitogi si*

The first possibility, illustrated by examples (a), suggests an internally headed relative, where the heads *dule* and *ome* appear within the relative clauses as their subject. The second possibility, the (b) examples, allow for an external head with a postnominal relative clause. In the second case, a **gap** is created in the place where the subject noun would appear within the relative clause (Ø is used to mark this gap).

Perhaps a relativized noun phrase (see above) in object position can guide the analysis here since it can show whether it appears in its place within the subordinate clause or whether it has moved to the beginning of the whole sentence.

(39) [*An be=ga ibmar uk-bie-di*] *yer gan-gue-te-ye*
1.SG 2.SG=DAT things give-DES-NOM well stand-be-EMPH-QUOT
'What I want to give you is good' Lit. is strong [L.Smith C004-I001]

(40) [*Olo nega sob-sa-di*] *yer dak-lege*
Olo house build-PFV-NOM good look-PASS
'The house that Olo built looks good' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

In the examples above, the head is internal to the relative clause. That is clear from the example in (39), but ambiguous from (40). Sentence (39) was extracted from a conversation between community leaders in the village of *Ogobsuggun*. The speaker was talking about donations that he wanted to give the village, and he was referring to such donations as being good for the community. Therefore, *ibmar* 'the thing' is the head of the construction. Sentence (40), on the other hand, could mean that either *Olo* or *nega* 'the house' is pretty. However, this sentence was the elicited response to the form in (41) from Spanish, which is not ambiguous.

(41) *la casa que Olo construyó se ve bien*
The house [that Olo built] looks good

Without any pragmatic context, the relative clause in (40) follows the regular word order in Guna clauses. Remember that this order is SOV. However, it is possible to front the NP *nega* for topicalization.

(42) [*nega Olo sae sob-sa-di*] *yer dak-lege*
house Olo yesterday build-PFV-NOM good see-PASS
'The house that Olo built yesterday looks good' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

(43) [*sae nega Olo sobsadi*] *yer daklege*

Although speakers prefer to keep the temporal adverb *sae* immediately preceding the verb, (43) is a possible structure. What this suggests is that *nega* is clause internal since *sae* marks the edge of the clause.

Given the two facts that I have discussed, I consider relative clauses in Guna to be internally headed. According to Payne (2007), many OV languages have internally headed relative clauses.

A second possibility in Guna is a headless relative clause. These relative clauses can be confused with complement clauses because they seem to be acting as either subjects or objects of the main predicate. Here are two examples.

(44) [*ospital dak-mala-d*] *sii*
hospital see-PL-NOM sit
'The hospital guards are there' lit. 'The ones who see the hospital are there'
[Smith, C004-I003]

(45) *mergi wis* [*e=ga garda narmake-d*] *abege*
American at.least 3.SG=BEN book write-NOM want
'The American wants (someone) who can write books for him'
[Martinez, C008-I004]

In the sentences above, the relative clauses appear to be the subject of the main clause (43) or the object of the main clause (44). However, the clauses above (Payne 2003:328) are not an actual stand-in for one of the complements of the main verb (such as the ones we saw in §8.2). Instead, (43) and (44) are relative clauses because they are surface modifiers of an underlying noun (*dule* 'person') that is not mentioned in sentences.

8.3.2 Information structure in relative clauses

As we saw in §6.3 and §6.4.1, topicalization plays an important role in Guna word order. In clauses, a noun phrase can be topicalized by simple fronting. In sentence (46), two possibilities arise.

(46) [*achu an gun-sa-di*] *sae burgwi-sa*
dog 1.SG eat-PFV-NOM yesterday die-PFV

The sentence can describe a couple of situations that I enumerate below.

a. The dog that bit me is now dead. (SOV in the relative clause)

b. The dog that I bit is now dead. (OSV in the relative clause)

This ambiguity is not possible in a sentence like (47).

(47) [*An achu gun-sa-di*] *sae burgwi-sa*
1.SG dog eat-PFV-NOM yesterday die-PFV
'The dog that I bit died yesterday' [Smith, elicitation]

The only interpretation available for (47) is where *achu* is the head and the relativized object NP. In a sentence like (48) with no pronoun NP, the order is rigidly SOV in the relative clause, and the head is the subject.

(48) [*Achu machigwa gun-sa-di*] *neg=se na-de*
dog boy see-PFV-NOM house=ALL go-INCEP
'The dog that bit the boy went home' [Smith, elicitation]

Switching the order of the NPs does not allow for an OSV interpretation in the relative clause. Instead, the first element in the clause is interpreted as subject and as the head of the relative clause.

(49) [*machigwa achu gunsadi*] *negse nade*
'The boy that bit the dog went home'

For the object to be the head of the relative clause in these situations, speakers prefer to passivize the verb in the subordinate clause.

(50) *machigwa achu=se gun-le-sa-di neg=se na-de*
boy dog=AG eat-PASS-PFV-NOM house=ALL go-INCEP
'The boy that was bitten by the dog went home' [Rodriguez, elicitation]

Information structure in Guna relative clauses, therefore, works like the ordering of arguments in single clauses, like those we saw in §6.3.

8.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are the most widespread type of subordinate clauses in Guna. As Longacre (2007) points out, adverbial clauses modify other clauses or verbs in another clause. As a result, their functions mirror those of simpler adverbs such as: time, location, manner, purpose, condition, etc. Where complement clauses were a complement of the verb and relative clauses were modifiers of the noun, adverbial clauses are adjuncts of the main clause.

In Guna, adverbial clauses have fully inflected verbs with aspectual and mood morphemes. In addition to these morphemes, adverbial clauses indicate their specific function in a sentence with markers that attach to the verb.

One final observation is their placement in the sentence. Like adverbs, adverbial clauses have fewer restrictions on movement and can appear preverbally or postverbally. Let us now look at each of these adverbial clauses.

8.4.1 Temporal clauses

The first type of adverbial clause provides temporal information. It may indicate whether two events occur simultaneously or in succession. In most cases, a temporal clause marker *-gua* (*-gu*) attaches to the verb.

(51)

Subordinate clause *-gua* (*-gu*)

Temporal clauses with *–gua* can indicate simultaneous events.

(52) [*mukwa neg ollo=gi wala-gwen sii-gua*]
old.lady house empty=LOC CL:flat-one POS:sitting-TEMP

e=sia e=ga madun sipu se-noniki-d
3.SG=niece 3.SG=BEN banana white carry-come=TVF

'When the old person was alone in the empty house, her niece brought her a white banana' [L.Smith, 2003]

(53) [*maliante mo-dap-gua*] *bato mummu-mar*
bad.ass arrive-PFV-TEMP already drunk-PL
'when the bad ass arrived, (they were) already drunk' [Smith C004-I003]

Temporal clauses with *–gu* can also indicate successive events.

(54) [*an birga 20 año nika-d=gi*] *an ali-rgebe=d we=se*
1.SG year 20 year have-NOM=LOC 1.SG leave-must=TVF DEM=ALL
'When I turned 20 years old, I must have left (to come) here'
[Barrantes, C008-I004]

(55) [*we=ba dak-nadap-gu*] *ome di abar=gi*
DEM:dist=ALL see-go.do-TEMP woman water between=LOC

ganare si
straight POS:sitting

'When he went there to go see, there was a woman in the middle of the water sitting up' [Sherzer, 2003]

A clause with *–gua* is not the only strategy used to indicate temporal information. A nominalized verb + a locative case marker can also indicate this.

(56)

Subordinate clause with nominalizer *–d* + locative case marker *=gi*

(57) *an trasladar an ima-s=mala* [*Ukubseni=gi*
1.SG transfer 1.SG make-PFV=PL Ukubseni=LOC

anba sate-d=gine]
yet not.have-NOM=LOC

'(they) transferred me when there was no (school) in Ukubseni'
[Martinez, C008-004]

Finally, a temporal adverb clause may be indicated by a postposition *sorba* 'after' after a nominalized verb in the subordinate clause.

(58) [*nue na e=bo sunmak-sa=mala=d sorba*]
good COREF 3.SG=COM talk-PFV=PL-NOM after

sia na e=negse gannar na-de-d
niece COREF 3.SG=house=ALL again go-INCEP=TVF

'After talking to them, the niece went to her house again' [L.Smith 2003]

8.4.2 Locative clauses

Location clauses can also be formed with a nominalizer + locative case marker. Because this strategy is the same for both locative and temporal meanings, the context determines the specific function in the clause.

(59)

Subordinate clause with nominalizer *–d* + locative case marker *=gi*

(60) [*an=mar bola=gi dodo-sa-d=gine*] *bane a=se na-oe*
1.SG=PL ball=INST play-PFV-NOM=LOC tomorrow DEM=ALL go-PROS
'Tomorrow (we) are going to where we played basketball before'
[Gomez, elicitation]

The interrogative pronoun *bia* 'where' can also be used here as a pronoun that introduces the whole locative construction. There is no difference in meaning between (60) or (62). These two strategies can be used interchangeably.

(61)

bia + subordinate clause

(62) [*bia an=mar bola=gi dodo-sa*] *bane a=se na-oe*
where 1.SG=PL ball=INST play-PFV tomorrow DEM=ALL go-PROS
'Tomorrow (we) are going to where we played basketball before'

8.4.3 Purpose and reason clauses

The same morpheme indicates reason and purpose. These types of clauses are marked with a clause marker *-gala*

(63)

Subordinate clause with *-gala* (*-ga*)

(64) *be-ai gor-nai-oe=d* [*wisi noe-ga*]
2.SG=friend call-POS:hanging-PROS=TVF at.least exit=PURP
'Your friend was crying out to get out (of the water)'

(65) [*we=se estudiar sae-ga*] *an=ermano an se-ali=d*
DEM=ALL to.study make=PURP 1.SG=brother 1.SG carry-INCEP=TVF
'For (me) to study here, my brother brought me'

(66) [*mer be=g suid-di nae-gala*] *birga-mar na-de*
NEG 2.SG=BEN long-FOC go-PURP year-PL go-INCEP
'So that I don't make it long, the years went by'

8.4.4 Conditional clause

Guna distinguishes between two forms of conditionals. The first type, **counterfactuals**, is a type of conditional which describes an 'untrue' event. The clause marker for the counterfactual subordinate clause is the imperfective *–na* marked twice, one on the subordinate verb and another on the main verb. Here is the structure.

(67)

Subordinate clause -na + main clause -na

(68) *Igwa dodo-sa-na an=mar galagu=suli-na*
Igwa play-PFV-CTRFAC 1.SG=PL lose=NEG-IMPF
'Had Igwa played, we would not have lost'

The other more general marker, the conditional marker *-le,* describes hypothetical situations (70) – (72) and predictions (73).

(*69*)

Subordinate clause *-le* + main clause *-oe*

(70) *Be na-de-le wala-gwen an be-oe*
2.SG go-INCEP-COND CLAS:long-one 1.SG stay-PROS
'If you leave, I'll stay'

(71) *Igwa dodo=suli-le an=mar galagu-oe*
Igwa play=NEG-COND 1=PL lose-PROS
'If Igwa doesn't play, we will lose'

(72) *na-sokali-r nue yaa eduo*
go-start.to-COND well door close-PROS
'If (you) leave, close the door well'

(73) *di wi-ali-le wara an gu-oe*
water rain-INCEP-COND wet 1.SG be-PROS
'If it rains, I will get wet'

The mood enclitic *=dibe* can also be used as a conditional in the same way the conditional clause marker *–le* is used. There is a small semantic meaning difference. A clause with *=dibe* expresses a slight degree of hope.

(*74*) *an jubilar gu-s=dibe gannar Ustupu=se an meg-na=o-ye*
1.SG retire be-PFV=maybe again Ustupu=ALL 1.SG settle-go=PROS-VOC
'If I retire, I will go back to Ustupu'

Table 8.1 summarizes all the adverbial clauses that were described in §8.4.

Table 8.1: Adverbial clause sub-types.

Adverbial Clause	Strategy
Temporal clauses	clauses with *-gu*
	clauses with –NOM *=gi*
	clauses with postposition *sorba*
locative clauses	clauses with –NOM *=gi*
	clauses with a question pronoun *bia*
Purpose and reason clauses	clauses with *-ga*
conditional clauses	counterfactual *-na*
	clauses with conditional *-le +oe*
	clauses with mood enclitic *=dibe*

8.5 Reported speech

The final type of subordinate clause that we can find in the language is reported speech. These structures combine two fully inflected clauses, one of which has a verb of utterance (such as *soge* 'say'), and a second with the last element of the clause marked with the quotative *-ye*. Because Guna is a verb-final language, most verbs will be marked with the quotative.

(75) *geb an=mar=ga sog=gu bane-d=se be=mar=ga*
then 1=PL=BEN say=then tomorrow-NOM=ALL 2=PL=BEN

igar ito-le=go-ye
path hear-PASS=PROS-QUOT

'Then (they) told us: tomorrow a meeting will be held about you'

In reported speech, there is a sense of dependency between the clauses. In (76a), the verb *soggu* lacks an object complement since the verb is transitive. The quotative *–ye* serves as a marker of subordination in (76b).

(*76*) a. ? *geb anmarga soggu*
Then to us was said

b. *? banedse bemarga igar itolegoye*
tomorrow a meeting will be held for you

(77) *an=se gor-noni-do an dag-sokar-ye*
1.SG=ALL call-come-RHET 1.SG come-ready.to-QUOT
'He called me: I am getting ready to come'

It is possible to quote speech without the use of *=ye.* Although it is more common to find examples with this marker, a sentence like (78) was foundd in one of the texts.

(78) *bermiso sate=bar an e=ga sog-gu*
Permit lack=also 1.SG 3.SG=BEN say-PERF
'I don't have a permit, I said to him' [Smith, C004-I003]

8.6 Coordinated clauses

The previous sections detailed the various subordinate clauses that are possible, not only in Guna, but in the languages of the world. Another important type of complex sentence involves the combination of two independent clauses.

As the word suggests, the clauses that combine are of equal status syntactically. This means that each sentence in the construction is capable of appearing on its own. So this begs the question, how do we know that we are dealing with two related clauses that combine to form a sentence? Certainly, it is possible that any two clauses form separate sentences. One important cue was discussed previously in §8.1.1. We can see this if we look at sentence (79) below.

(79)

Ailigandi a	*sunsoged*	*bur*	*breso*	*meg-le-sa-di=d*
Ailigandi DEM	real	degree	incarcerated	lie.down-PASS-PFV-PROG=TVF

'Ailigandi is the real deal, (I) was incarcerated' [Smith, C004-I003]

Instead of a falling intonation at the end of the first clause, the speaker maintains a slightly rising intonation that signals that the sentence has not ended. This means that the two clauses, instead, are closely related pragmatically. Syntactically, however, there are no cues that suggest coordination. The type of coordinated clause that lacks any overt **coordinator** instead relies on **parataxis**, where two clauses are juxtaposed, or placed side by side. There are plenty of examples in the texts.

(80)

bule	*gachar*	*apan=bali*	*uka*	*suchi*	*ito-lege=d*
degree	ugly	stink=also	skin	damn	feel-PASS=TVF

'(I) stunk so bad, skin felt terrible' [Smith, C004-I003]

Guna also has coordinated clauses that use connectors in sentences. There are a number of these connectors used throughout the text. By far, the two most common connectors are *geb* and *degi*(*te)*. These conjunctions also help advance a story.

(81) *esgwela=gi arba-nai geb be wakinn-o=ye*
school=DIR work-hang then 2.SG escape-PROS=REP
"(You) will be working at the school, then, you shall escape" [Smith, C004-I003]

(82) *loko e=ome o-no-goe e unni, degite dak-le=sur*
dude 2.SG=woman CAUS-exit-PROS 2.SG only, and see-PASS=NEG

guardia-mar=se
cop-PL=AG [Smith, C004-I003]

'The dude's wife only let him out, and (he) wasn't seen by the cops'

Other conjunctions that coordinate clauses are *degsoggu* and *al* 'that's why', *emisgin* 'and now', *auginne* 'then', etc.

(83) *e=se an nae-rgebe e=nele=d*
2.SG=ALL 1.SG go-must 3.SG=doctor=TVF

degsoggu an=di amba boni sate
that.is.why 1.SG=FOC yet illness have.not

'I must go to his doctor; that is why I am not sick' [unknown, C004-I001]

(84) *we mai=d emisgin an be=ga sog-nai=d*
DEM POS:lying.down=TVF and.now 1.SG 2.SG=BEN tell POS:hanging=TVF
'This is here, and now I am telling you' [unknown, C004-I001]

8.7 Conclusion

Clauses combine in different ways and for different purposes. In this chapter, the focus was to characterize the different types of clause combinations that we find in Guna both in terms of what they do and how they are constructed.

Subordinate clauses are dependent clauses that are embedded in a main clause. Guna has three different types of these subordinate clauses complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses. Interestingly, it has been reported by Quesada (2010) that most Isthmian Chibchan languages lack a relative clause (which Guna has) and possess a very limited set of complement clauses (which Guna has more of). This is an avenue for future research that is beyond the scope of this work.

We were also able to look into two other types of clauses in which there is less integration of clauses, coordinated clauses and reported speech clauses. An intermediate point between a subordinate clause and a coordinated clause is a reported speech clause.

Glossary

accoustic phonetics: investigates the measurable, physical properties of sounds as they are being transmitted from the speaker to the listener

adjuncts: provide auxiliary information and are not necessary to complete the meaning of the predicate

agent: exerts control over a situation or event.

agentive: marks the noun that is the agent of the verb

agglutinative languages: where each form has its own meaning and where the boundaries between morphemes is clearcut

agreement: a morphological relationship between two elements in a syntactic structure. Normally, a morphological form will be present in two elements that are in relation with each other.

alveolar ridge: the protrusion right behind the upper teeth

alveolar: consonant sound produced when the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge

animacy: describes situations where entities are either more animate (human or animal) or less animate (plants, objects).

argument: the noun phrases that are in a direct relationship with the predicate are the arguments of that predicate

articulators: parts of the vocal tract that can move to create certain effects for speech production

articulatory phonetics: examines the ways sounds are produced by the vocal organs**,** describing the properties of sounds as different parts of the vocal tract interact

aspect: the internal shape of the event

auditory phonetics: explores how speech sounds are perceived by the human ear

bilabial: a consonant sound produced when the lower lip rises to touch the upper lip

case: indicates the grammatical function of a noun with respect to the verb in a clause or sentence

causative: an operation that adds a "causer" of the action expressed by a verb

clause: a syntactic unit that has a predicate, but it does not necessarily stand on its own

clitic: a middle stage between a free morpheme (or a word) and an affix. Like an affix, a clitic is phonologically bound to a root (or **host** if it is a clitic) but it may sometimes exhibit characteristics of words

coda: the final sound in a syllable or a word

collective: indicates several entities taken as one whole

complement clause: a subordinate clause that takes the place of a noun phrase and fulfills the syntactic role of an argument (or complement) of the main verb

complex sentence: a sentence with more than one clause

compounding: combination of two roots to create a new root

consonants: sounds where the air is impeded by the manipulation of organs in the oral cavity

constituent: any syntactic unit that is a component of a larger construction and that has a grammatical function

copulas: words with no semantic content that function as a link between the subject and the predicate

corpus: is a body of texts in a language. It is uses to do linguistic analysis

dative case: see indirect object

deictic: describes items whose references are dependent on the situational context in which they were uttered

dependents: these words can modify the head (such as an adjective or an adverb) or they can facilitate the identifiability of the head

derivational affixes: bound morphemes that when attached to a root, derive a new word class

direct object: the noun phrase that is affected by the action of the verb

distribution: the environment and position in which a certain linguistic phenomenon may occur in a sentence

elision: a process that drops a vowel or a syllable

environment: place where a certain sound occurs

equational clause: describes a situation in which a subject and a predicate nominal are the same entity

finite verbs: verbs that can be fully inflected for tense, aspect mood, and person markers. **Non-finite verbs** cannot be inflected

flap: sound produced when the tongue makes a single, short tap against the alveolar ridge

focus: used for emphasis, asserting that an entity is that one which the speaker refers to instead of other possible entities (Payne 1997)

formative: a grammatical element that enters into the construction of a larger linguistic unit. In this grammar, it is used to refer to clitics and suffixes

fricative: a sound created by a partial closure between the articulator and the point of articulation. This creates a turbulent airflow (or friction) at the point of articulation

fusion: classifies a language depending on the number of meanings a bound morpheme may take

fusional languages: languages in which a morpheme can take several meaning

geminates: double consonant sounds that occur continuously

glides: are sounds that closely resemble a vowel sound

gloss: the explanation of the morphological forms in the language. It is normally placed below the language and it offers a definition or the grammatical function of a form

grammar: the underlying knowledge of rules and that speakers have about the language that they speak

grammatical words: kinds of morpheme combinations result in what the speaker conceives as a word

grammaticality judgments: used in examples to represent whether a speaker (or speakers) rejects a sentence based on an ill-formed structure or an odd use of certain elements within a sentence or phrase

head: the central element or the word which a phrase is built around

heavy: a syllable with two morae

hierarchy: the classification of linguistic units into a series of subordinate levels. A **hierarchical structure**, then, is shown to be a systematic composition of linguistic elements made up of smaller linguistic units

idiom: language specific expressions that do not result from the sum of the meanings of individual words

indirect object: it normally refers to the noun phrase that is the recipient of the direct object. **Dative case** normally marks the indirect object

inflectional affixes: bound morphemes that add some grammatical information (number, time, place, etc.) that allows the word to interact with other words in the sentence

in-situ: items that remain in place syntactically

instrumental case: indicates that the noun is used as a tool or an instrument

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA): symbols used to represent sounds consistently across all languages

intransitive verb: a verb with one argument, a subject.

isolating: every word is a morpheme and there is no internal structure of words

language maintenance: to maintain the use of language in contexts where it is in danger of disappearing

lateral: a sound produced by an approximation of the articulator to the point of articulation; friction is not produced by this approximation. Instead, air flows through the sides of the tongue as it exits the mouth

lexical items: specific items in the lexicon, or more succinctly, words

lexicon: the words that a speaker knows

light: a syllable with one mora

linguistic area: an area where a group of languages converge due to geographical proximity. They may be related or unrelated languages

linguistic competence: also known as linguistic knowledge

linguistic knowledge: the mental capacity of a speaker to understand and interpret his or her language

linguistic performance: is how a speaker's knowledge is put to use in actual speech

linguistics: the study of human language, defining processes and mechanisms by which a speaker acquires, perceives and uses language

manner of articulation: describes the way in which the sound is produced

mass nouns: nouns that cannot be counted due the inherent perception of these elements as a unit rather than discrete elements

matrix clause (also **main clause**): in constructions where more than two clauses combine, and one depends on the other, the main clause carries the syntactic weight of the whole sentence

mensural classifiers: are used as units of measurement or quantity

middle voice: a middle ground between more prototypical two-participant events and prototypical one-participant events

minimal pairs: pairs of words that only differ in one sound in the same environment

monosyllabic: describes one syllable morphemes

Mood: expresses the speaker's attitude toward a situation

mora: a unit of metrical time or weight in the study of metrical phonology

morpheme: the smallest element in a language that has meaning

morphological typology: a systematic study of grammatical features and processes that allows us to classify morphology across many different languages

morphology: the study of words, including their internal structure

morphophonemics: phonological processes that occur at word boundaries

morphosyntax: studies the interaction between morphology and syntax

nasal cavity: the nose

nasal: a sound that is a type of stop. In a nasal sound, the velum lowers, which allows the air to go through the nasal cavity

nominal predicate: a noun that acts as a predicate in a clause

nominalization: a morphological process that results in the creation of a new noun

Non-finite verbs: see **finite verbs**

oblique case: a group of morphemes that specifies a grammatical function of the noun with respect to the rest of the clause

onset: the first sound in a syllable or a word

oral cavity: the mouth

orthography: a system adopted for writing

palatal: consonant sound produced when the front of the tongue touches the hard palate

palatalization: a sound moves toward the hard palate, creating a secondary point of articulation

participants: the participant of an action or event. Normally these are nouns

parts of speech: similar to word classes. See **word classes**

passive: an operation that removes the doer of the action to highlight some other participant

phoneme: is a mental representation of a sound

phonetics: a tool that allows us to describe speech. In a general sense, phonetics is the study of sounds in speech. However, there are different and specific ways in which phonetics is understood in linguistics

phonology: the sounds of a language, and how these sounds interact to form utterances

phrase: any combination of words that forms a unit but lacks a predicate

plural: indicates two or more elements by a marking, normally on a noun

points of articulation: the stationary organs where articulators move to create certain effects for speech production

polar interrogatives: questions where the expected response is either a yes or no

polysynthetic: describes a situation where words are made up of many morphemes

positional: specifies the physical position in which an event is done

possessed element: an entity that is owned by another one

possessor: an entity that owns another entity

pragmatics: the study of the context in which the sentences occur

predicate: an expression that provides information about the noun(s) or pronoun(s) that it connects with in the grammar

prefix: an affix that attaches before the root

pro-drop: the deletion of a pronominal element

relative clause: a subordinate clause that functions as a noun modifier; therefore, it acts as an adjective

reported speech: tells the listener that the speaker is indicating that the source of the utterance is not the speaker himself/herself

revitalization: to bring back a language into use in contexts where it is not being used

root: a morpheme that carries the semantic weight of the word and which other morphemes may be attached to

scope: the extent of the semantic effect that a modifier has, or simply put, whether it modifies single words, phrases or larger constituents.

segmental phonology: the phonological description/analysis of individual sounds

semantic role: describes what the underlying role of the noun phrase plays in the event or action described by the predicate

semantics: the study of meaning distinctions within the lexicon and at the sentence level

sensitivity: describes specific environments in which a linguistic process occurs

sentence: a syntactic element that has complete thought

serial verb constructions: is a series of two or more verbs that act as a single verb syntactically and semantically.

singleton: there is a single consonant sound, which is the opposite of a geminate

sonorization: the process by which a sound becomes voiced.

sortal classifiers: individuate in terms of the kind of entity that it is

stop: a sound produced by a complete closure in the mouth, which creates an obstruction of the airstream. The air is then released for the next sound to occur

subordinate clause: a clause that depends on a main clause to be grammatical

suffix: an affix that attaches after the root

synthesis: classifies a language depending on the number of morphemes a word may take

tense: the time of the event with relation to a reference point in time

topic: used to turn the attention of the hearer to some identifiable participant in the discourse and then to mention something about that participant (Aissen 1992).

transitive verb: a verb that has two arguments, a subject and an object

ungrammatical: deemed by a speaker as an ill-formed construction

universality: a widespread occurrence of some grammatical feature or category across most (if not all) languages

valence: refers to the number of semantic roles or syntactic arguments required for verbs

velar: consonant sound produced when the back of the tongue rises to the soft palate

velum: the soft palate, which lies after the hard palate on the roof of the mouth

verb complex: a construction with more than one verb

vocal folds: a pair of muscles that can be manipulated so that the space between them is opened (apart) or narrowed

voiced sounds: sounds produced when the passage-way is narrowed, so there is vibration from the tensing of the vocal folds

voiceless sounds: sounds produced when the vocal folds are apart, and there is no vibration

voicing: the vibration of the airstream caused by the adjustment of the vocal folds to narrow the space between them

vowels: sounds where the airflow has an almost uninterrupted passage through the oral cavity because the articulators are far enough apart to avoid creating any obstruction

word classes: a classification of words in a language according to several factors including function, synctactic behavior and placement.

word order: the order of the main elements in a phrase, clause or (more commonly) a sentence

References

Abraham, Werner. 2006. Introduction. In *Passivization and typology. Form vs. function*. Typological Studies in Language 68: 1.

Aguirre Licht, Daniel. 1995. Fonología del ebera-Chami de Cristianía (Departamento de Antioquia). *Llerena Villalobos* 1995: 9-86.

Aguirre Licht, Daniel. 1998. *Fundamentos Morfosintácticos para una Gramática Emberá*. Primera Edición. Imprenta de la Universidad de los Andes – CCELA.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices: A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices*. Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2003. *A grammar of Tariana, from northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2006. Serial verbs constructions in a typological perspective. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*: 1-68. Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. Typological distinctions in word-formation. *Language typology and syntactic description* 3: 1-65.

Aissen, Judith L. 1992. Topic and focus in Mayan. *Language*: 43-80.

Aissen, Judith. 2003. Differential object marking: Iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21.3: 435-483.

Ameka, Felix K., Alan Charles Dench, and Nicholas Evans (eds). 2006. *Catching language: The standing challenge of grammar writing*. Vol. 167. Walter de Gruyter.

Andrews, Avery. 2007a. The major functions of the NP. *Language typology and syntactic description* 1: 62-154.

Andrews, Avery D. 2007b. Relative clauses. *Language typology and syntactic description* 2: 206-236.

Baptista, Priscilla and Ruth Wallin. 1974. La jerarquía fonológica del bayano cuna. Priscilla Baptista (ed.) *Sistemas fonológicos*: 5-16, LenguasdePanamá1, INAC/ILV, Panamá.

Bowden, John. 2001. *Taba: description of a South Halmahera language*. No. 521. Pacific Linguistics.

Bray, Warwick. 1984. Across the Darien gap: a Colombian view of isthmian archaeology. *The Archaeology of Lower Central America* 305: 338.

Brown, Simión. 1996. Igargan: cantos curativos kunas. *Onmaked* 2:57-58

Brown, Simión. 2005. *Origen del pueblo kuna desde la memoria histórica*. Congreso General de la Cultura Kuna.

Brown, Simión and Atilio Martínez. 2006. *Dodomalad igala: dodoged igar y la memoria colectiva de mis abuelos y abuelas.* Kuna Yala, Panamá: Congreso General de la Cultura Kuna.

Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form*. Vol. 9. John Benjamins Publishing.

Campbell, Lyle, Terrence Kaufman, and Thomas C. Smith-Stark. 1986. Meso-America as a linguistic area. *Language*: 530-570.

Chapin, Mac. 1983. *Curing among the San Blas Kuna of Panama*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Arizona.

Chapin, Mac. 1989. *Pab igala: historias de la tradición kuna.* Quito: Abya Yala.

Chapin, Mac. 1990. The Silent Jungle: Ecotourism among the Kuna Indians of Panama. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 14: 42-45.

Chapin, Mac. 2004. A challenge to conservationists. *World Watch* 17(6): 17-31.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1978. *Ergativity*.

Comrie, Bernard, ed. 1985. *Tense*. Vol. 17. Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1989. *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. University of Chicago Press.

Congreso General Kuna. 1994. *Leyes del Pueblo Kuna: reglamento del Congreso y la ley fundamental de la Comarca Kuna Yala*. Panamá.

Congreso General Kuna. 2001. *Anmar Igar: Normas Kunas.* Kuna Yala, Panamá.

Congresos Generales Gunas. 2009. *Gayamar sabga: diccionario escolar, gunagaya – español*. Fondo mixto hispano-panameño de cooperación.

Constenla, Adolfo. 1981. *Comparative Chibchan Phonology.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Constenla Umaña, Adolfo. 1989. La subagrupación de las lenguas chibchas: algunos nuevos indicios comparativos y lexicoestadísticos. *Estudios de lingüística chibcha* 8: 17-97.

Constenla Umaña, Alfonso. 1991. *Las lenguas del area intermedia: Introducción a su estudio aereal.* Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica.

Constenla, Adolfo. 1995. Sobre el estudio diacrónico de las lenguas chibchenses y su contribución al conocimiento del pasado de sus hablantes. *Boletín del Museo del Oro* 38: 13-56.

Craig, Colette Grinevald. 1977. *The structure of Jacaltec*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Cristofaro, Sonia. 2006. The organization of reference grammars: a typologist user's point of view. *Catching language: The standing challenge of grammar writing.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Croft, William. 2000. *Explaining language change: An evolutionary approach*. Pearson Education.

Croft, William. 2003. *Typology and universals*. Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, David. *Dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Vol. 30. John Wiley & Sons, 2011.

Cysouw, Michael. 2009. *The paradigmatic structure of person marking*. Oxford University Press.

de Jong Boudreault, Lynda J. 2010. *A Grammar of Sierra Popoluca (Soteapanec, a Mixe-Zoquean Language)*. Ph.D dissertation. The University of Texas at Austin.

Dirección de Estadística y Censo. 2000. Censo de Población y Vivienda, Panamá. http://www.contraloria.gob.pa/dec/

Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 69, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, Robert MW. 2003. A typology of causatives: form, syntax and meaning. In *Changing valency*: 30-83.

Dixon, Robert MW, and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. 1997. A typology of argument-determined constructions. *Essays on language function and language type*: 71-113.

Dixon, Robert MW, and Aikhenvald, Alexandra, eds. 2000. *Changing valency: Case studies in transitivity*. Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, Robert MW, and Aikhenvald, Alexandra, eds. 2002. *Word: A cross-linguistic typology*. Cambridge University Press.

Dryer, Matthew. 1989. Plural words. *Linguistics* 27(5): 865-896.

Dryer, Matthew S. 1991. SVO languages and the OV: VO typology. *Journal of Linguistics* 27(2): 443-482.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2001. Passive and inversion in Kannada. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Vol. 8.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2007a. Word order. *Language typology and syntactic description* 1:61-131.

Dryer, Matthew. 2007b. Clause types. *Language typology and syntactic description* 1: 224-275.

England, Nora C. 1983. *A grammar of Mam, a Mayan language*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

England, Nora C. 1996. *Introducción a la lingüística: idiomas mayas*, segunda edición. Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín. Editorial CHOLSAMAJ.

Epps, Patience. 2005. Areal diffusion and the development of evidentiality: Evidence from Hup. *Studies in language* 29(3): 617-650.

Epps, Patience. 2006. Growing a numeral system: The historical development of numerals in an Amazonian language family. *Diachronica* 23(2).

Epps, Patience. 2008. *A grammar of Hup*. Vol. 43. Walter de Gruyter.

Erice, Jesús. 1980. *Gramática de la lengua kuna*. Panamá: Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

Erice, Jesús. 1980. *Diccionario de la lengua kuna*. Panamá: Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

Foley, William A., and Mike Olson. 1985. Clausehood and verb serialization. *Grammar inside and outside the clause*:17-60.

Foley, William A.2007. Information packaging in the clause. *Language typology and syntactic description* 1: 282-364.

Forster, Keith, Wilma Forster and 1977. The narrative folklore discourse in border Cuna. *SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields* 52.

Forster, Keith and Wilma J. Forster. Doris Pike. 1986. Fortis versus lenis consonants in the Paya dialect of Kuna. *Elson (comp.)*: 451-464.

Garcia, Gabriela. 2008. *A cross-linguistic study of serial verb constructions in Southeastern Tepehua.* Unpublished manuscript.

Giannelli, Luciano, Giovanna Marotta and Beatrice Pacini. 2002. *Fonologia della lingua cuna (dule gaya)*. Lincom Studies in North American Linguistics Vol. 42. Lincom Europa.

Gippert, Jost, Nikolaus Himmelmann, and Ulrike Mosel, eds. 2006. *Essentials of language documentation*. Vol. 178. Walter de Gruyter.

Givón, Talmy. 1983. *Topic continuity in discourse*. Benjamins.

Givón, Talmy. 1995. *Functionalism and grammar*. John Benjamins Publishing.

Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: an introduction*. Vol. 1. John Benjamins Publishing.

Green, Abadio. 2002. Pensamiento político de la comunidad Tule (Colombia), A. Restrepo Arcila (comp.) *Sabiduría, poder y comprensión: América se repiensa desde sus orígenes*, UNESCO, Quito; Siglo del Hombre Editores, Bogotá.

Green, Abadio. 2004. La lengua como legado de los dioses. In *Voces Indígenas Universitarias*, ed. Zayda Sierra, 323-340. Medellín: Universidad de Antioquía.

Grinevald, Colette. 2000. A morphosyntactic typology of classifiers. *Systems of nominal classification* 4: 50-92.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Haspelmath, Martin, and Andrea D. Sims. 2002. *Understanding morphology*. London: Arnold.

Hayes, Bruce. 1995. *Metrical stress theory: Principles and case studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language*: 251-299.

Howe, James. 1982. Kindling self-determination among the Kuna. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 6(3): 15-17.

Howe, James. 1998. *A people who would not kneel: Panama, the United States, and the San Blas Kuna*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Howe, James. 2002. *The Kuna gathering: Contemporary village politics in Panama*. Wheatmark, Inc.

Howe, James. 2010. *Chiefs, scribes, and ethnographers: Kuna culture from inside and out*. University of Texas Press.

Howe, James, and Joel Sherzer. 1986. Friend Hairyfish and Friend Rattlesnake, or, Keeping Anthropologists in Their Place. *Man*: 680-696.

Holmer, Nils Magnus, and Karl Gustav Izikowitz. 1947. *Critical and comparative grammar of the Cuna language*. Vol. 14. Etnografiska Museet.

Iglesias, Claudio. 1973. La educación bilingüe hoy día y el experimento proyectado en el Alto Bayano. *Actas del IV Simposium Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología, y Etnohistoria de Panamá*: 163-174. INAC/Universidad de Panamá.

Kadanya, James Lokuuda. 2006. Writing grammars for the community. *Studies in language:* 30(2): 253-257. Amsterdam: J.Benjamins

Keenan, Edward L. 2007. Passive in the world's languages. *Language typology and syntactic description* 1: 243-281.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice*. Vol. 23. John Benjamins Publishing.

König, Ekkehard, and Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. *Language typology and syntactic description* 1: 276-324.

Kungiler, Iguaniginape. 1994. *Ologindipilele: caminante y guerrero de 1925*. Colectivo de Editores Kunas. Panamá: Instituto Cooperativo Interamericano.

Kungiler, Iguaniginape. 1997. *Yar burba, anmar burba= espíritu de tierra, nuestro espíritu: Dulegaya-Castellano*. Congreso General de la Cultura Kuna.

Ladefoged, Peter. 2001. *A course in phonetics*, 4th edn. Heinle & Heinle.

Lehmann, W. 1973. *A structural principle of language and its implications.* Language 49:42-66

Llerena Villalobos, Rito. 1987. *Relación y determinación en el predicado de la lengua Kuna.* CCELA, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá.

Longacre, Robert E. 2007. Sentences as combinations of clauses. *Language typology and syntactic description* 2: 235-286.

Lord, Carol. 1975. Igbo verb compounds and the lexicon. *Studies in African Linguistics* 6(1).

Lyons, John. 1977. Semantics. 2 vols.

Mateo Toledo, Eladio. 2008. *The Family of Complex Predicates in Q'anjob'al (Maya); Their Syntax and Meaning*. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.

Mithun, Marianne. 1984. The evolution of noun incorporation. *Language* 60: 847-894.

Mithun, Marianne. 1992. Is basic word order universal? In Doris L. Payne, (ed.), *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*: 15-61. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Mithun, Marianne. 1997. Lexical affixes and morphological typology. In Joan Bybee, John Haiman, and Sandra A. Thompson, (eds.), *Essays on language function and language type* (pp. 357-371). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Mithun, Marianne. 2006. Grammars and the community. *Studies in language:* 30(2): 81-306. Amsterdam: J.Benjamin

Montalván, Ana. 1973. Interpretación fonológica de las consonants oclusivas geminadas en la lengua kuna, y la definición del alfabeto kuna. In Luciano Giannelli (ed.), *Studi americani*. Siena: Universitá degli Studi di Siena, CISAI, 31-53.

Mosel, Ulrike. 2006. Fieldwork and community language work. *Essentials of language documentation* 178:67.

Newbold, Lindsay. 2013. Variable Affix Ordering in Kuna. In *Structure and Contact in Languages of the Americas*, eds. John Sylak-Glassman and Justin Spence.

Newbold, Lindsay. 2006. *Gramática Kuna*. Unpublished manuscript.

Newman, John (ed.). 2002. *The linguistics of sitting, standing and lying*. Vol. 51. John Benjamins Publishing.

Nichols, Johanna. 1986. Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar. *Language, 62 (1)*, 56-119.

Nichols, Johanna. 1988. On alienable and inalienable possession. In William Shipley (ed.), *In honor of Mary Haas: From the Haas Festival Conference on Native American Linguistics* (pp. 557-609). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Noonan, Michael. 2006. Grammar writing for a grammar-reading audience. *Studies in language* 30(2): 351-365. Amsterdam: J.Benjamins

Noonan, Michael. 2007. Complementation. *Language typology and syntactic description* 2: 42-140.

Palmer, Frank Robert. 2001. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge University Press.

Payne, Thomas Edward. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge University Press.

Payne, Thomas. 2006. Introduction. *Studies in language* 30(2): 385-415. Amsterdam: J.Benjamins

Perez Archibold, Juan. 2004. Memoria histórica, estructura social y teología de la nación kuna. http://www.geocities.com/TheTropics/Shores/4852/teolo.html

Price, Kayla. 2005. *Kuna or Guna?: The Linguistic, Social and Political Implications of Developing a Standard Orthography*. Masters thesis, The University of Texas at Austin.

Price, Kayla Marie. 2011. *In school but not of it: the making of Kuna-language education.* Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.

Prince, J. Dyneley. 1912. Prolegomena to the study of the San Blas language of Panama. *American Anthropologist* 14(1): 109-126.

Pullum, Geoffrey K., and Arnold M. Zwicky. 1983. "Cliticization vs. inflection: English n't." *Language* 59(3): 502-513.

Quesada, Juan Diego. 2000. *A grammar of Teribe*. Vol. 36. Lincom Europa.

Quesada, Juan Diego. 2000. *Word Order, Participant Encoding, and Alleged Ergativity in Teribe.* International Journal of Linguistics.

Quesada, Juan Diego. 2007. *The Chibchan Languages*. Editorial Tecnológica de Costa Rica.

Rice, Keren. 2006. A typology of good grammars. *Studies in language* 30(2): 385-415. Amsterdam: J.Benjamins

Sapir, Edward. *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*. Courier Dover Publications, 2004.

Schachter, Paul. 2007. Parts-of-speech systems. In *Language typology and syntactic description* 1: 1–60.

Sebba, Mark. 1987. *The syntax of serial verbs: An investigation into serialisation in Sranan and other languages*. Vol. 2. John Benjamins Publishing.

Sherzer, Joel. 1970. *Talking backwards in Cuna: the sociological reality of phonological descriptions*. Vol. 110. University of Texas, Institute of Latin American Studies.

Sherzer, Joel. 1973. Verbal and nonverbal deixis: The pointed lip gesture among the San Blas Cuna. *Language in Society* 2(1): 117-131.

Sherzer, Joel. 1974. *Namakke, sunmakke, kormakke: Three types of Cuna speech event*. No. 174. University of Texas at Austin, Institute of Latin American Studies.

Sherzer, Joel. 1975 A problem in Cuna phonology. *Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest* 1(2):45-53.

Sherzer, Joel. 1978. Cuna Numeral Classifiers. In Mohammed Ali Jazayery et al. (eds.), *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibold A. Hill* 2:331-337. Mouton, The Hague.

Sherzer, Joel. 1982a. Poetic structuring of Kuna discourse: the line. *Language in society* 11(3): 371-390.

Sherzer, Joel. 1982b. The Interplay of Structure and Function in Kuna Narrative, or How to Grab a Snake in San Blas. *Institute of Latin American Studies Offprint Series*, 233:306-322. University of Texas at Austin.

Sherzer, Joel. 1983a. Cuna Numeral Classifiers. *Semiótica* 47. *Institute of Latin American Studies Offprint Series* 256: 331-337. University of Texas at Austin.

Sherzer, Joel. 1983b. *Kuna ways of speaking: An ethnographic perspective*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sherzer, Joel. 1987a. Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture. *American Anthropologist* 89(2): 295-309.

Sherzer, Joel. 1987b. Poetic Structuring of Kuna Discourse: The Line. In *Native American Discourse: Poetics and Rhetoric*, eds. Joel Sherzer and Anthony Woodbury, 103-139, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Sherzer, Joel. 1990. *Verbal art in San Blas: Kuna culture through its discourse*. Vol. 21. Cambridge University Press.

Sherzer, Joel. 1993. *Formas del habla kuna: una perspectiva etnográfica*. Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito.

Sherzer, Joel. 2001. *Kuna ways of speaking: An ethnographic perspective*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sherzer, Joel. 2002. *Speech play and verbal art*. University of Texas Press.

Sherzer, Joel. 2003a. *Stories, myths, chants, and songs of the Kuna Indians*. University of Texas Press.

Sherzer, Joel. 2003b. *A sketch of the Kuna language*. Unpublished manuscript.

Shibatani, Masayoshi (ed.). 1976. *The grammar of causative constructions*. Academic Press.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and related constructions: A prototype analysis. *Language*: 821-848.

Smith, Carlota S. 1964 Determiners and relative clauses in a Generative Grammer of English. *Languag*e: 37-52.

Smith, Carlota S. 1997. *The parameter of aspect*. Vol. 43. Springer.

Smith, Lino. 1973. Dos cuentos kunas. *Hombre y Cultura* 2: 83-87.

Smith, Lino. 1974. Significado de los nombres de las islas de San Blas . *Actas del V Simposio Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología y Etnohistoria de Panamá*: 75-83. Universidad de Panamá.

Smith, Lino. 1975. La enseñanza de la lengua Cuna en la universidad. *Hombre y Cultura* 3:179-181.

Smith, Lino and Keith Forster. 1995. *Bab Dummad Jesucristoba igar mesisad garda: el Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo*. International Bible Society / Convención Bautista de Panamá.

Smith, Lino and Concepción Veléz Robinson. 2003. *Literatura Indígena Kuna.* Ministerio de Educación.

Smith, Wikaliler Daniel. 2008. *Passives in Kuna--Form and Function*, Qualifying Paper, Linguistics, U Texas, Austin.

Smith, Wikaliler Daniel. 2009. Plural Marking in the Kuna Pronominal System. *Proceedings of the Conference on Indigenous Languages of Latin America (CILLA) IV*.

Smythe Kung, Susan. 2007. *A descriptive grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua*. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.

Talmy, Leonard. 2007. Lexical typologies. *Language typology and syntactic description* 3: 66-168.

Thompson, Sandra and John Haiman. 1988. Introduction. In *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*. Vol. 18. John Benjamins Publishing, 1988.

Thompson, Sandra A., Robert E. Longacre, and Shin Ja Hwang. 2007. Adverbial clauses. *Language typology and syntactic description* 2: 171-234.

Torres de Arauz, Reina. 1957. *La mujer cuna de Panamá*. Ediciones Especiales del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México.

Torres de Arauz, Reina. 1958. Aspectos culturales de los indios cunas. *Lotería* 15: 515-547.

Torres de Araúz, Reina. 1972. Los indios cuna. *América indígena: Órgano oficial del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* 32.

Torres De Arauz, Reina. 1974. Etnohistoria cuna. *Panamá, Instituto Nacional de Cultura*.

Vázquez Álvarez, Juan Jesús. 2011. A grammar of Chol, a Mayan language. Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Texas at Austin.

Wagwa, Aiban. 1976. A la manera kuna (poemas). Panama: unpublished.

Wagwa, Aiban. 1994. *¡Noticias de sangre de nuestro pueblo! Nuestros padres nos lo relatan así.* Kuna Yala, Panamá. Congreso General de la Cultura Kuna.

Wagwa, Aiban. 2000. *En defense de la vida y su armonía*. Kuna Yala, Panamá. Congreso General de la Cultura Kuna.

Watahomigie, Lucille J. 1982. *Hualapai Reference Grammar*.

Watahomigie, Lucille J., Jorigine Bender, Philbert Watahomigie, Sr. and Akira Y. Yamamoto with Elnor Mapatis, Malinda Powskey, and Josie Steele. 2001. *Hualapai reference grammar*. ELPR Publications Series.

Weber, David J. 2006. Thoughts on growing a grammar. *Studies in language* 30(2): 417-444. Amsterdam: J.Benjamins

Wechsler, Stephen. 2010. What 'you' and 'I' mean to each other: Person indexicals, self-ascription, and theory of mind. *Language* 86(2): 332-365.

Willey, Gordon Randolph. 1966. An introduction to American archaeology. *North and Middle America*. Vol. 1. Prentice-Hall.

Winford, Donald. 2003. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics.* Blackwell Publishing. Oxford, England.

Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985. Clitics and particles. *Language*: 283-305.