

The Cabecar relative clause

Christian Lehmann

- E1 Pedro te kalwá t̥uw-á
Peter ERG bench deal-PFV
'Peter bought a bench' (RMF)
- E2 Chimo tsó ñala kjá jami skí-blá.
banana EXIST path edge AD five-CLARBUST
'There are five banana plants at the edge of the road.'
- E3 I dawá dul kal jula na ...
3 brother.in.law POS.stand tree hand/arm IN
'His brother-in-law was standing on the branch' (yer_29)
- E4 jé rö kégé kégölö
D.MED ASP major guardian.spirit
'he was a major guardian spirit' (yer_15)
- Figure 1 Declarative verbal clause*
- | |
|---|
| [(W) X _{NP} Y _V (Z)] _s |
| absolutive predicate |
- E5 konó yéria
paca hunter
'hunter of pacas' (yer_00)
- E6 a. jayí yakáa d-é=ju=të
male robust emerge-PFV=AM=VEN
'the robust man came'
- E7 yís shtrí-wá tai jí táchí te
1.SG tire-CAUS:PFVmuch D.PROX grandfather ERG
'this grandfather has taxed my patience'
- E8 béna wa Rogelio sé-r dā Duchí júñé-r
all MET[Rogelio live-D.MID(IPFV)] ASP Chirripó] know-D.MID(IPFV)
'everybody knows that Rogelio lives in Chirripó'
- E9 S' wábatsá ijé te nima kuk-é wa.
1.SG pleased-IPFV [3.SG ERG fish catch-IPFV] INSTR
'I like for him to fish.'
- E10 Míkō bälé-n-á=wa biyó sh-é ijé te.
[grandmother hide-D.MID-PFV=TOT] news say-IPFV 3.PS ERG
'He tells the news that grandmother died.'
- E11 Shk-á i su-a yí=bá tú-r=ké sūt_sūt=sí rä.
walk-IPFV 3 see-INF [who=EXCL run-D.MID(IPFV)=IPFV2 jumping=AUTH ASP]
'Let's go and see who jumps more often!'

- E12 jilé tju-á-wá jé=né wá i júñé-r dä
 [something buy-NR-PL] D.MED=EMPH MET3 know-D.MID(IPFV) ASP
 ‘the buyers are those who know’

Figure 2 Circumnominal relative clause construction

[(X) [[... Y _{Nom} ...] _{S1}] _{Nom.i} (D.MED) _i (Z)] _{S2}
head

- E13 Duláglë të kálbatiöglö ts-á=u=mì busí ìa.
 boy ERG hat transport-PFV=AM=AND girl DAT
 ‘The boy took the hat away from the girl.’
- E14 Kálbatiöglö ts-á=u=mì duláglë të busí ìa
 [hat transport-PFV=AM=AND boy ERG girl DAT]
 (jé) yul-é-gé sá të.
 D.MED search-IPFV-IPFV2 1.PL ERG
 ‘We look for the hat that the boy took away from the girl.’
- E15 ¿Bá te jíjí tk-á=ju yikí jé s-á?
 2.SG ERG [earthquake cross-PFV=AM yesterday] D.MED feel-PFV
 ‘Did you feel the earthquake that happened yesterday?’
- E16 Yaba te martillo wa kal wákuchíi kp-á paláwa
 [child ERG hammer INSTR tree stump beat-PFV at.one.stroke]
 tk-á=wá=ju i jár ka.
 cross-PFV=TOT=AM 3 cavity LOC2
 ‘The stump that the boy beat with the hammer with one blow penetrated inside.’
 (González & Obando 2017 s.v. *paláa*)
- E17 Duláglë të kálbatiöglö ts-á=u=mì busí ìa
 [boy ERG hat transport-PFV=AM=AND girl DAT]
 (jé) yul-é-gé sá të.
 D.MED search-IPFV-IPFV2 1.PL ERG
 ‘We look for the boy who took away the hat from the girl.’
- E18 Busí ìa kálbatiöglö ts-á=u=mì duláglë të
 [girl DAT hat transport-PFV=AM=AND boy ERG]
 (jé) yul-é-gé sá të.
 D.MED search-IPFV-IPFV2 1.PL ERG
 ‘We look for the girl from whom the boy took away the hat.’
- E19 a. Chíchi te wíshka su-á (jé) mìné=ju.
 [dog ERG cat see-PFV] D.MED go:PFV=AM
 b. Wíshka su-á chíchi te (jé) mìné=ju.
 [cat see-PFV dog ERG] D.MED go:PFV=AM
 Both: ‘The cat that the dog saw went away.’

Figure 3 Hierarchy of constraints determining nucleus assignment

grammatical features of the superordinate predicate
selection restrictions of the superordinate predicate

hierarchy of syntactic functions

- E20 Jäyí te kóchi-wá tju-á busí ia miné=julu.
[man ERG pig-PL buy-PFV girl DAT] go:PFV=AM:PL
'The pigs that the man bought for the girl went away.'
- E21 Jäyí-wá te kóchi tju-á busí ia miné=julu.
[man-PL ERG pig buy-PFV girl DAT] go:PFV=AM:PL
'The men that bought the pig for the girl went away.'
- E22 Jäyí te kóchi tju-á busí-wá ia miné=julu.
[man ERG pig buy-PFV girl-PL DAT] go:PFV=AM:PL
'The girls for whom the man bought the pig went away.'
- E23 Jäyí te kuá tk-á yikí miné=jü.
[man ERG corn sow-PFV yesterday] go:PFV=AM
'The man that planted corn yesterday went away.'

Figure 4 Hierarchy of syntactic functions

absolutive actant
ergative actant
indirect object
other syntactic function

- E24 Bá amí te chíchi m-á=sa Fernando ia su-á yís te.
[2.SG mother ERG dog give-PFV=SEP Fernando DAT] see-PFV 1.SG ERG
'I saw the dog that your mother gave to Fernando.'
- E25 Jäyí-wá te kóchi tju-á busí-wá ia miné=julu.
[man-PL ERG pig buy-PFV girl-PL DAT] go:PFV=AM:PL
'The men who bought the pig for the girls went away.'
- E26 Bá te aláklä jé jäyí duá=wä rä su-á ?
2.SG ERG [woman D.MED man die:PFV=TOT ASP] see-PFV
'Did you see the woman whose husband died?' (González & Obando 2017 s.v. *jäyí*)
- E27 I sh-é mīīle sá báklé-wá
3 say-IPFV [formerly 1.PL EXIST.PFV-PL]
mī=ké ká jár yul-ä.
go:IPFV=IPFV2 space/time cavity visit-INF
'It is said that our forefathers went to hunt.' (lit.: 'They say that the ones of us having formerly existed went to visit the pit.')
- E28 jéra jé siwá sh-é=gé rö kóá
then D.MED [knowledge say-IPFV=IPFV2] ASP different
'then the knowledge [song] to be recited is different.' (chicha_7.4)
- E29 i jék k-á=ká te i duá-wá ia i sh-á ñékái
[3 RFL lift-PFV=ASC] ERG 3 cousin-PL DAT 3 say-PFV thus
'having gotten up, he spoke thus to his cousins' (Yebule 61)

- E30 Yís nua te yalá ti-á j-á=m̄i
1.SG maternal.uncle ERG oak cut-PFV go-PFV=AND
[yís te bák péit-á] (jé(=né)) wa.
[1.SG ERG axe lend-PFV] D.MED=EMPH INSTR
'My uncle felled the oak with the axe I lent him.'
- E31 jé datsí ji-ö=gé pa rö batsé
D.MED [fabric put.in-IPFV=IPFV2] body/color ASP red
'the color of the clothes he wore was red' (yer_14)
- E32 i dawá dul kal jula n̄a ká jék dalí-n-é
[3 brother.in.law POS.stand tree hand/arm IN] NEG RFL move-D.MID-NEG.PFV
'His brother-in-law, who was standing on the branch, did not move.' (yer_29)
- E33 Tsibárkä ká kia-r jí yé wá
[mountain.cherry NEG want-D.MID(IPFV) what TRL] fruit
kät-é rä béwák te.
eat-IPFV ASP animal ERG
'The fruit of the mountain cherry tree, which is good for nothing, is eaten by animals.'
- E34 Busúbulu jé rö jíröwák kégölö jém̄i tkabé wágé
[Busubulu D.MED ASP animal guardian.spirit and snake boss]
'Busubulu, who is the guardian spirit of the animals and the boss of the snakes,
ká w̄a k̄awó mé-n-á jíröle kt-ö-glö
NEG MET mandate give-D.MID-PFV [something kill-INF-FIN]
is not going to allow [them] to kill anything.' (yer_36)
- E35 Ksäklä rä sá n̄ul tséts-á.
funeral.singer ASP [1.PL corpse sing.for-IPFV]
'The funeral singer is the one who sings for our deceased.' (González & Obando 2017 s.v. *ksä*)
- E36 Bá te i tju-á yís te i sh-á ska ?
2.SG ERG 3 deal-PFV [1.SG ERG 3 say-PFV] LOC
'Did you buy it where I told you to ?'
- E37 Sä yuä te i shá te sá jañé-wá.
[1.PL instructor ERG 3 say:PFV] ERG 1.PL laughter-CAUS:PFV
'What our professor said made us laugh.' (González & Obando 2017 s.v. *jañéwá*)
- E38 Ijé te i shá jé rä chákklé.
[3.SG ERG 3 say:PFV] D.MED ASP right
'What he said is right.' (González & Obando 2017 s.v. *chákklé*)
- E39 jé w̄a tsirú dé jé rä yís j̄ayí
[D.MED MET cocoa emerge:PFV] D.MED ASP 1.SG husband
'he who brought cocoa is my husband'
- E40 Sá tē yiró tē kalbatiöglö ts-á=u=m̄i busi īa
1.PL ERG [who ERG hat transport-PFV=AM=AND girl DAT]
yul-ē-gé.
search-IPFV-IPFV2
'We search the one who took away the hat from the girl.'

- E41 Jiró blá=wa dulaglë tē busí yiga
 [what steal:PFV=TOT boy ERG girl AVERS]
 (jé) ku-á sá tē.
 D.MED find-PFV 1.PL ERG
 ‘We found what the boy took away from the girl.’
- E42 kégara i d-ó=gé=ju máj sá yēbl-ó=gé jéska
 always 3 emerge-IPFV=IPFV2=AM [where 1.PL hunt-IPFV=IPFV2] there
 ‘he always shows up at the place where we hunt’ (yer_20.1)
- E37'. Sā yuā te ji-lé shá te sá jañé-wá.
 [1.PL instructor ERG what-ever say:PFV] ERG 1.PL laughter-CAUS:PFV
 ‘What our professor said made us laugh.’
- E43 Yawa te du ju-á=mj (jé) tk-á=sá=ju díklá éktá ka.
 [child ERG bird throw-PFV=AND] D.MED cross-PFV=SEP=AM river side LOC2
 ‘The bird that the boy threw (released) crossed to the other side of the river.’

Figure 5 Reanalysis of paratactic construction as relative construction

<i>Input</i>	[... X _i ...] _{S1}	[jé _i ...] _{S2}
	introductory clause	resumptive clause
<i>Output</i>	[[[... X _i ...] _{S1}] _{Nom.i}	(jé _i) ...] _{S2}
	relative clause	main clause

Abbreviations in glosses

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	INDF	indefinite
AD	adessive	INF	infinitive
AM	autonomous motion	INSTR	instrumental
AND	andative	INT	interrogative
APPP	appropriate	IPFV	imperfective
ASC	ascensive	LOC	locative
ASP	ascriptive	MET	metexitive
AUTH	authentic	NEG	negative
AVERS	aversive	NR	nominalizer
CAUS	causative	NTR	neutral
CL.ARBUST	shrub class	PER	perlative
CL.ELONG	elongated class	PFV	perfective
D.MED	medial demonstrative	PL	plural
D.MID	dynamic middle voice	POS	positional
D.PROX	proximal demonstrative	PRP	propriative
DAT	dative	PS	person(al pronoun)
EMPH	emphatic	RFL	reflexive
ERG	ergative	S.PRF	stative perfect
EXCL	exclusive	SEP	separative
EXIST	existence verboid	SG	singular
FIN	final (= purposive)	SUPER	superessive
IN	inessive	TEL	telic

TOT	total affectedness	VEN	venitive
TRL	translative		

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