

# THE COMPLEX CLAUSE IN BORUCA \*

## LA ORACIÓN COMPLEJA EN LA LENGUA BORUCA

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\* This analysis was carried out at the Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica, within the framework of research on the indigenous languages of Costa Rica and Central America. It contributes information to the linguistic community on Boruca, a dead language, an original member of the Chibchan Family. The article depicts a descriptive characterization of the complex clause in this language.

The English version of the glosses and English translations throughout the article are provided by the author of this article. Given the state of the language, the author has relied primarily on these secondary sources, complemented by examples of sentences produced by Nemesio González, one of the last semi-speakers of the language. Only when the examples are taken from secondary sources is their respective citation given; examples with no reference citation correspond to Nemesio's production and were collected personally by the author of this article.

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### Abstract

This paper describes the complex clause in Boruca, a Chibchan language once spoken in the southern territories on the Pacific coast of Costa Rica. The present study concentrates on the behavior of complex clauses, following a major distinction between paratactic and hypotactic constructions. Paratactic constructions are divided into asyndetic and syndetic constructions. The latter are quite frequent and it is common to find the syndetons: *mang*, *ní*, *ihchí* and *iné* in the combination of sentences in regular speech. Hypotactic constructions also have asyndetic and syndetic constructions usually functioning as object complements. There is also evidence for reported speech, indirect questions and adverbial clauses (classified at least into seven different types).

**Key words:** *asyndesis*, *complex clause*, *hypotaxis*, *parataxis*, *syndesis*.

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### Resumen

El artículo describe la oración compleja del boruca, una lengua chibcha que se habló en los territorios del Pacífico Sur en Costa Rica. El estudio se centra en el comportamiento de las proposiciones complejas, a partir de la distinción principal entre construcciones paratáticas e hipotáticas. Las construcciones paratáticas se dividen en sindéticas y asindéticas. Estas últimas son bastante frecuentes, y el uso de los conectores *mang*, *ní*, *ihchí* e *iné* es también bastante utilizado en la combinación de frases del lenguaje común. Las construcciones hipotáticas también presentan asindesis y sindesis, las cuales suelen funcionar como complementos de objeto. Hay también evidencia de discurso directo e indirecto, preguntas indirectas y construcciones adverbiales (clasificadas en siete tipos diferentes).

**Palabras clave:** *asyndesis*, *hipotaxis*, *oración compleja*, *parataxis*, *sindesis*.



This is the first in-depth study on the complex clause in Boruca. There are several other very general descriptions of the language: Constenla & Maroto (1986) and Quesada Pacheco (1995, 1996). These serve as secondary sources supporting this analysis of the Boruca complex clause. Only Quesada Pacheco (1995) discusses complex sentences, albeit to a rather simple extent. The present study addresses clause linkage in Boruca, in relation to complex clauses, following the traditional distinction between parataxis and hypotaxis. These phenomena will be dealt with along the lines of Lehmann (1998, p. 181), who points to desententialization of the second clause as a phenomenon closely linked to parataxis, and argues in favor of the hierarchical downgrading of the dependent clauses, a matter closely related to hypotaxis. Thus, complex sentence formation will be conceived as “varying between the poles of elaboration and compression.” Elaboration will be represented here through various types of syndetic constructions while compression will be associated with asyndetic constructions. Following this organization, the information presented below will be divided into two major sections: paratactic and hypotactic constructions. Paratactic constructions refer to the coordination of elements of a sentential nature while hypotaxis has to do with a dependency relation of one clause or sentence on another clause or predicate, thus understood as subordination. Paratactic constructions are in turn divided into asyndetic (juxtaposed) and syndetic constructions, the latter usually linked by the connectives *mang*, *iné*, *ihchi* and *ní*. The section on hypotactic constructions will be further divided into complement and adverbial clauses. The first are not too common and they represent arguments of the predicate. The latter, although exhibiting more variety, do not usually represent arguments of predicates. Both syndetic and asyndetic hypotactic constructions are described on the basis of their functions, as arguments in the case of complement clauses or as adjuncts in the case of adverbial clauses. Relative clauses are considered nominal modifiers; thus, given that they are not adverbial or complement clauses, they are not included as part of this section.

## **I. Paratactic Constructions**

### **1.1. Asyndesis**

Asyndetically coordinated sentences in Boruca may or may not have elements in common. An example of the latter is illustrated in (1); note that the clauses do not have arguments or verbs in common. In the remaining examples below, there

are shared elements; these can be arguments as in (2) *i'*, or (3) *yubú*. Arguments can be overtly expressed as in (2), or they can be expressed anaphorically, via  $\emptyset$  anaphora as in (3) and (4). The shared element can also be a verb or verb phrase, where the verb can be overtly expressed as in (5).

- (1) *Káhwik Kwasráng ki ká o-krá yo brú' ki.*  
 Far Kwasráng SPEC from finish-PNT rain big DEF.  
*Kak ki ro'-krá.*  
 Sun DEF shine-PNT.  
 'Far from Kwasráng, the big rain finished. The sun shined.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 94)
- (2) *Drik kráng ki i' wíkra di' ka,*  
 Money AUG DEF 3SG take-PNT river to,  
*i ki de-krá ihméng.*  
 3SG SUBJ leave-PNT nothing.  
 'He took a lot of money to the river. He left with nothing.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 64)
- (3) *I' ramróhk é'dé yubú' yáng-íra, yubú' ki oh-íra.*  
 POSS woman with chicha<sup>1</sup> drink-DUR, chicha DEF drip-DUR.  
 'With his wife (he) drank chicha, (he) dripped (prepared) chicha.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 71)
- (4) *E'tsi ramróhk ki kawí'ra wé'é. Chubú kam kí*  
 One woman SPEC live-ACTL here. Cotton thread DEF  
*bing-íra breát breát.*  
 warp-DUR a.lot a.lot.  
 'One woman lived here. (She) warped a lot of cotton thread.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 70)
- (5) *Wé'é i' ramát ki koht-krá, wé'é i' ki kohd-ra.*  
 Here POSS wife SUBJ die-PNT, here 3SG SUBJ die-ACTL.  
 'His wife died here, he (will) die here.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 58)

1 *Chicha* is an alcoholic drink made of fermented corn.

## 1.2. Syndesis

Syndetic constructions behave similarly to asyndetic constructions, the only difference being the presence of a syndeton. The most common syndetons in Boruca are: *mang*, *ní*, *ihchí* and *iné*. Boruca exhibits a conspicuous tendency to use syndetic constructions. Clauses which have no elements in common can be linked as in (6) and (7). There are also cases where there can be elements in common. If the shared element is an argument, it can be expressed as an anaphora: either as a personal affix (*i*, 3SG) as in (8), a pronoun as in (9), or a zero anaphora as in (10). It is also possible to share a verb or verb phrase as in (11), where the verb may be left unexpressed (12) without rendering the sentence ungrammatical.

- (6) *Bak róhk ki de-krá yaba' i', mang i-ng,*  
 Owner PL DEF go-PNT hill to, and 3SG-FOC,  
*i' abt-krá i' reshí.*  
 3SG stay-PNT 3SG alone.  
 'The owners went to the hill, and he, he stayed alone.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 60)
- (7) *Dabag-ír-i-ng róhk, iné káng k si'an-irá.*  
 Arrive-DUR-3PL-AGR PL, and stone DEF disappear-DUR.  
 'They arrived and the stone had disappeared.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 122)
- (8) *Mang abí bóhk ki i kún tsít ki krub-krá,*  
 Then person young.man DEF POSS sling DIM SPEC take-PNT,  
*mang i káng Tsít ki tsáng-kr-i ká,*  
 and POSS stone DIM SPEC put-PNT-3SG in,  
*mang i shúng-kr-i ká.*  
 and 3SG throw-PNT-3SG to.  
 'Then the young man took his sling, and he put his little stone in and he threw it at her.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 48)
- (9) *Ramróhk ki trú'ír-i-ng i é'dé,*  
 Woman DEF join-DUR-3SG-AGR 3SG with,  
*mang ing coh-d-íra i' é'dé.*  
 and 3SG-AGR die-DUR 3SG with.  
 'The woman, she joined him and she died with him.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 71)

- (10) *I ki ang daba-krá dí kák tá ihchí ɛ'tse wá*  
 3SG SUBJ FOC arrive-PNT POSS place in and one child  
*ki ba-krá.*  
 SPEC have-PNT.  
 'He arrived in our town and (he) had one child.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 96)
- (11) *A'd beyáng-r-i-ng, ní át ki i' beyáng-ra i dǒsh.*  
 ISG want-ACTL-3SG-AGR, and ISG SUBJ 3SG want-ACTL 3SG too.  
 'He loves me and I love him too.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 77)
- (12) *Entonces, i' wá bush ki shit-krá ní wá bóhk ki i' dǒsh.*  
 Then, POSS child girl SUBJ laugh-PNT and child boy DEF 3SG too.  
 'Then her girl laughed and the boy did too.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 73)

As illustrated in (11) and (12) above, *ní* coordinates clauses; however, this morpheme also serves to subordinate a clause, as illustrated in (13). Whether it is a coordinator or subordinator is expressed by the meaning of the conjuncts or the subordinated sentences in their corresponding functions in the given context.

- (13) *Ramróhk búsh ki kraé'kra ní i' wá ki baw'íra.*  
 Woman young DEF observe-PNT that POSS child SPEC be.born-DUR.  
 'The woman observed that her own child was being born.' (Quesada Pacheco 1995, p. 111)

Moreover, *iné* aside from expressing coordination as in (7) above, may also express opposition; in such cases, the context determines the semantics and functions of this morpheme. See (14) below for an example of contrastive information.

- (14) *I shang-chá-tr-í-ng, iné i bot ki yikrá dǒ'sh-ira.*  
 3SG shoot-want-DUR-3SG-AGR, but POSS shotgun SUBJ fire give-NEG-DUR  
 'He wanted to shoot him, but his shotgun didn't fire.' (Literally: 'didn't give fire')  
 (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 88)

## 2. Hypotactic Constructions

### 2.1. Asyndetic Complement Clauses

Subject complement clauses are not identifiable in Boruca. Asyndetic complement clauses are usually objects of the complement, with verbs of saying, perception and others. Observe how in (15) below there is no connector to introduce the complement clause (*i' wá' ki baw'íra*); in the second case (16), the complement clause preceding the verb (*beyangí'shíring*) does not have the connector either.

- (15) *Ramróhk búsh ki kraé'kra i' wá' ki baw'íra.*  
 Woman young DEF observe-PNT POSS child SPEC be.born-DUR.  
 'The woman observed (that) her child was being born.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 112)

- (16) *Íni' i-ng yáshi kawi'kra róhk, kóngróhk róhk krabé' a vér si*  
 Since 3PL-AGR like.this 'live-PNT PL, man PL watch to see if  
*i-ng i kruhg-írá róhk yét, ramróhk róhk ang yabáhg-írá yá*  
 3PL-AGR 3PL catch-DUR PL PURP, woman PL CONN pass-DUR DEM  
*Róhk ki beyang-i'sh-ír-i-ng róhk.*  
 PL SPEC want-NEG-DUR-3PL-AGR PL.  
 'Since they lived like this, watching men to see if they could catch them, they didn't want the women (that) passed by there.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 62)

### 2.2. Syndetic Complement Clauses

Syndetic complement clauses are also objects of complement-taking verbs and they are introduced by the connective *ní* (*ni*) (17). Towards the end of the existence of the language there was a rather widespread use of the Spanish connective *ke* ('that') in substitution of the Boruca form *ní*; see (18) below.

- (17) *Ramróhk búsh ki kraé'kra ni i' wá' ki baw'íra.*  
 Woman young def observe-PNT that POSS child SPEC be.born-DUR.  
 'The woman observed that her own child was being born.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 111)



- (18) *At ki te-krá ke do' do' kráng róhk ki og-íra.*  
 ISG subj say-PNT that soon soon tree PL DEF disappear-DUR.  
 'I said that soon the trees (will) disappear.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 111)

### 2.2.1. Reported Speech

There are two rather common ways of expressing reported speech in Boruca. Reported speech clauses can be divided into non-literal reported speech and quoted reported speech. In the first, complement clauses indicating reported speech are, in terms of syntax, objects of the verbs used to express indirect speech. The most common verb used to introduce reported speech is *tek*, *te* ('say') as in (19) and (20). In these constructions the clause expressing reported speech follows the main clause.

- (19) *Te-kr-i-ng róhk: 'tsu'-krá yá ki tebek i' wá.*  
 Say-PNT-3PL-AGR PL: 'scape-PNT DEM SPEC snake POSS son.  
 'They said: The son of that snake escaped.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 58)

- (20) *Antónces bós róhk ki ang te-rá: 'deg-rá di-ng i kwín-í kawik.*  
 Then wizards pl def foc say-actl: 'go-actl 1pl-agr 3pl put-inf far.  
 'Then the wizards said: We will go to drop them far (away).' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 66)

The second type of reported speech mentioned above is quoted or literal reported speech. The first possibility is to have verbs such as *yua*k ('yell') or *tek* ('say') immediately followed by a direct quote; see (21) below. The second type, and by far the most common way of expressing quoted speech is through the use of the postposition *ka* ('to') in a clause where the main verb has been deleted. Most commonly the subject and the object are expressed in the first clause; the verb, however, is omitted in this clause. In these main clauses, full nouns may function as the subject of these clauses and pronouns as objects (21), pronominal subjects and objects are found (22), or the sentence may have only the object of the clause, leaving the subject unexpressed (23). Finally, the order of these clauses may alternate, presenting the reported speech clause following the main clause as in the examples of the non-literal reported speech above; or they may have the reported speech clause in sentence initial position as in (24).

- (21) *I ki kasá-íná: 'jí ugé b-ing at churuká-ra.'*  
 3SG SUBJ yell-DUR: '¿what for 2SG-AGR ISG tickle-ACTL'  
 'She yelled: "Why are you tickling me?."' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 72)
- (22) *Kuréwá ki i ká: 'at ki deg-i'sh-a.'*  
 Kuréwá SUBJ 3PL to: ISG SUBJ go-NEG-ACTL  
 'Kuréwá to them: "I am not going?."' (Literally 'I do not go') (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 54)
- (23) *I róhk ki i ká: 'chí' subróhk tsít abí déng ka díróhk ki*  
 3PL PL SUBJ 3SG to: 'DEM elder DIM EMPH behind to IPLPL SUBJ  
*dó'a-ra.*  
 CONT-ACTL.  
 'They to him: "We come behind (following) that little old man?."' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 81)
- (24) *Mang i be ki ka, 'mí'rang ka, mí'rang ka.'*  
 Then POSS mom SPEC to, 'go to, go to  
 'Then, to his mom: "Go, go?."' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 73)
- (25) *'Moréng-r-i-ng', i ká Loréto ki.*  
 'Good-ACTL-3SG-AGR', 3SG to Loréto SPEC.  
 ' "That's good," he (said) to Loreto.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 114)

### 2.2.2. Indirect Questions

Indirect questions are also present in Boruca. These are usually marked by the Spanish complementizer *ke* ('that') which usually integrates the clause with the main verb as in (*tekrá*), in example (26) below. In the second example (27), the Spanish form *sábe* ('who knows?') is used to express the indirect question; in this case the connector that is used is *ang*.

- (26) *Di abí te-krá ke kákba nengwáhk ke chah-rá?*  
 Who EMPH say-PNT CONN day first DEF today?  
 'Who said that today was the first day?' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 152)

- (27) *Sábe i ang i' óng-kra?*  
 Know 3SG CONN 3SG do-PNT?  
 'Who knows what he did?' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 116)

### 2.3. Adverbial Clauses

Simultaneous and causative clauses are the only types of clauses that allow the apodosis to appear before the main clause; the rest of the clauses exhibit a protasis-apodosis order. The following represent the main types of adverbial clauses in Boruca.

#### 2.3.1. Conditional Sentences

The original conditional sentences are formed using the word *angká* ('then', 'however', 'on the contrary') at the beginning of the apodosis. As in (28) and (29), the adverbial clause always follows the main clause in these constructions.

- (28) *Yó ki tru'rá, angká ógé róhk ki ya' sé-ra.*  
 Rain SUBJ fall-ACTL, then all PL SUBJ REFL get.wet-ACTL  
 'If it rains, then everybody gets wet.' (Literally: 'It rains then everybody gets wet.')  
 (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 117)

- (29) *Juan ki dabag-rá, angká di-ng i' wí-ra dí' bang ká i.*  
 Juan SUBJ arrive-ACTL, then IPL-SUBJ 3SG take-ACTL river bank to in.  
 'If Juan comes, then we take him to the river bank.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 117)

Nevertheless, these conditional sentences are rarely found in the available Boruca literature. They have been progressively replaced by forms that look increasingly like the Spanish conditional sentences, even adopting the Spanish conditional marker *si* ('if'), at the beginning of the first clause. Observe how in (30) *si* ('if'), is used in the first clause although the second clause still keeps the Boruca marker *angká* at the beginning of the second clause. However, in example (31) the Boruca marker *angká* is eliminated and the conditional is expressed through the use of the Spanish marker '*si*' only. In these examples, we can see the progression of the Boruca language loss and the transition to Spanish.

- (30) *Si ya'sróhk bush ki che'át-irá, angká i bahdí ki*  
 If young girl SUBJ sick-CONT, then 3SG punishment SPEC  
*kwíng kri'éh-irá.*  
 AUG grow-DU  
 'If the young girl was sick, then her punishment was greater.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 124)

- (31) *Si yá ki tebek tsít róhk ki ba'-ra wéé,*  
 If DEM SPEC snake ODIM PL SUBJ be.born-ACTL here,  
*wá ki ahd-rá yabá.*  
 DEM SPEC remain-ACTL lake.  
 'If these snakes are born here, this will become a lake.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 117)

### 2.3.2. Purposive Clauses

There are two types of purposive clauses in Boruca: implicit and explicit clauses. Implicit clauses lack a purposive marker, and according to Quesada Pacheco (1995, p. 120), the second verb lacks TAM markers as well, but it could optionally carry the infinitive marker (*-i*); see (32) and (33).

- (32) *Rahd-rá di-ng ábu' dí' kahk i.*  
 Leave-ACTL IPL-SUBJ swim river bank in.  
 'We left to swim in the river.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 120)
- (33) *Daba-kr-i-ng kab-i dí' kába.*  
 Come-PNT-3SG-AGR sleep-INF IPL house.  
 'He came to sleep in our house.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 120)

Explicit purposive clauses are different from the above clauses in that they have purposive markers. Among these, by far the most common purposive clauses, *chá* ('for', 'in order to') is placed at the beginning of the clause and most commonly (but not always) *yét* ('for') comes at the end, as in (34). The subject of these clauses is always marked by the focus marker *ang*.

- (34) *Iné i-ng i' wí-kra i' ú í,*  
 Then 3sg-subj 3sg take-pnt 3sg house to,

*ch-i-ng i dobóhg-írá yét.*

purp-3sg-subj 3sg raise-dur purp.

‘Then, he took him to his house, for him (the father) to raise him (the child).’

(Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 96)

The regular order of purposive clauses is altered in certain cases. In one type of construction, the purposive clause can appear after the subject of the main clause (35), and the main verb appears after the purpose clause.

(35) *Brúngkahk róhk ki, chá si'kwa róhk ang ya' cóng-írá*

Boruca PL DEF, PURP foreigner PL FOC REFL get.scare-DUR

*róhk ki yét, ing kúshtan-írá róhk sini' róhk dóhkre*

PL SPEC PURP, 3PL-SUBJ roar-DUR PL wild.boar PL like

*kurá róhk dóhkre kwíng tsa'ongká.*

tiger PL like AUG loud.

‘The Borucas, for the foreigners to get scared, roared really loud, like wild boars, like tigers.’ (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 76)

Although the following do not represent the most common constructions, it is also possible to find purposive clauses where the arguments of the clause are moved to the right of the purposive clause, probably with the intention of emphasizing the purpose; see (36).

(36) *Di' kahk tá, a-ng ba dená-ra, ch-a-ng ba yét,*

River bank on, ISG-SUBJ 2SG wait-ACTL, PURP-ISG-SUBJ 2SG PURP,

*búk só't sá-ra más.*

two Bluegill catch-ACTL more.

‘On the river bank, I (will) wait for you, so that I, for you, two more bluegills will catch.’ (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 62)

Finally, it is also rather common to have purposive constructions where the second, final purposive marker *yét* is not present (37). One could hypothesize that these constructions resemble the Spanish purposive construction where the purposive marker is placed only at the beginning of the clause and does not require a second marker.

- (37) *Mang curá' róbh ki ká'wing-rá di-ng, ch-i-ng i tú'-ra róbh*  
 Three tiger PL SPEC call-ACTL IPL-SUBJ PURP-3PL-SUBJ 3SG eat-ACTL PL  
 'We will call three tigers, for them to eat her.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 70)

Furthermore, the following sentence shows an even stronger influence of Spanish through the use of the purposive expression *a ver si* ('to see if'). In (38), the speaker marked this sentence with *a ver si* at the beginning and with *yét* at the end of the clause, probably not aware of the double purposive marking.

- (38) *Íni' i-ng yáshi kawi'kra róbh, kóngróbh róbh krabé' a ver si*  
 Since 3PL-AGR like.this live-PNT PL, man PL watch to see if  
*i-ng i kruhg-irá róbh yét, ramróbh róbh ang yabáhg-irá yá*  
 3PL-AGR 3PL catch-DUR PL PURP, woman PL FOC pass-DUR DEM  
*róbh Ki beyang-i'sh-ír-i-ng róbh.*  
 PL SPEC want-NEG-DUR-3PL-AGR PL.  
 'Since they lived like this, watching men to see if they could catch them, they didn't want the women (that) passed by there.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 62)

### 2.3.3. Causal Clauses

The original causal clauses expressing circumstances or reason contain the postposition *úge'*, at the end of the causal sentence. The causal clause may appear preceding (39) or following (40) the protactic clause.

- (39) *I turi róbh ki i dená-'shi-krá úge'*,  
 POSS COW PL SPEC 3SG wait-NEG-PNT because,  
*i ki i dí-'shi-krá áyi'*  
 3SG SUBJ 3PL look.for-NEG-PNT again.  
 'Because the cows were not expecting him, he didn't look for them again.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 86)

- (40) *Móro róbh di-ng i' róbh ki ká'yéng-ra,*  
 Moro PL IPL-subj 3PL PL SPEC call-ACTL,  
*ká' béyang-i'shi-kr-i-ng Róbh úge'.*  
 name want-neg-pnt-3pl-subj PL because  
 'We called them *móros* because they didn't want a name.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 84)

There is a rather common strategy to present reasons whereby the causal clause is introduced by a causal marker *yabúge'*; in these constructions the causal marker *úge'* is indexed to a demonstrative and focus marker to present a reason. These causal clauses can also precede (41) or follow the protactic clause (42).

- (41) *Y-ab-úge' sí'kwa róhk ki nani'-ch-i'shi brúngkabk róhk*  
 DEM.FOC.CAUSE foreigner PL DEF go.down-want-NEG boruca PL  
*deng ka.*  
 behind of.  
 'For that same reason the foreigners didn't want to go behind the Borucas.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 76)

- (42) *Wá ki yuakrá i' abí kóngróhk ang, yabúge' di' róhk ki*  
 DEM SPEC say-PNT 3SG EMPH man FOC, DEM.FOC.CAUSE IPL PL SUBJ  
*ya-i'sh-a nunca yá ke'.*  
 go-NEG-ACTL never DEM in.  
 'That very man said that, for that reason we never go in there.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 94)

Unfortunately, regarding causal constructions there are many examples with the Spanish causal marker *porque* ('because') substituting the original Boruca form (*úge'*) altogether, as in (43) below:

- (43) *I' rúd-ra di-ng porque i bag-r-i-ng*  
 3SG burn-ACTL IPL-AGR because 3PL have-ACTL-3SG-AGR  
*ki tebek tsít róhk-ra.*  
 SUBJ snake DIM PL-ACTL  
 'We will burn her because she will have them, little snakes.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 56)

#### 2.3.4. Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses are expressed in Boruca through the use of the forms *nengwabk* ('first') to express anteriority as in (44) and (45), or *ki dengí* ('later') to express posteriority as in example (46).

- (44) *Wé' durith róhk ki te-krá que néngwahk tebek ki*  
 DEM wizards PL SUBJ say-PNT that first snake SPEC  
*ái'-ishkong-írá, iné i' ramróhk ki néngwáhk*  
 die-have.to-DUR and POSS woman SPEC first  
*k-i-ng wá' bagirá tsú-ishkong-ír-i-ng.*  
 that.3SG-SUBJ child have-DUR burn-DUR-3SG-AGR.  
 'These wizards said that first the snake had to die and that the first child, had to be burned.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 94)
- (45) *Yá ki ishdúa bag-ír-i-ng róhk désde néngwáhk.*  
 DEM SPEC seen have-DUR-3SG-AGR PL since before.  
 'There, they had seen that since before.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 76)
- (46) *Yá ki déngí abí róhk ki múla róhk ki*  
 DEM SPEC later people PL SUBJ mule PL DEF  
*dohk-máng-kra fing-i yá ta bigát.*  
 hear-be.used-PNT scream-INF dem in at.night.  
 'Later, the people were used to hearing the mules scream there at night.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 76)

In addition to the above ways of expressing temporal clauses in Boruca, the most common way of expressing temporal sequences is through coordination, especially through the use of the morpheme *mang* ('then') as in (47).

- (47) *Bá ki kup ki brub-rá, mang yá ki kup ki é'ra*  
 2SG SUBJ corn DEF grind-ACTL, then DEM SPEC corn SPEC put-ACTL  
*ba-ng é'tsi Kuré ta, mang ba-ng dí' é'ra i ká.*  
 2SG-AGR one Pot in, then 2SG-AGR water put-ACLT 3SG in.  
 'You have to grind the corn, then you put that corn in a pot, then you put in water.' (Quesada Pacheco, 1996, p. 86)

### 2.3.5. Locative Clauses

In Boruca locative clauses are formed using the adverb *yé'* at the beginning of the apodosis and the postposition *ta* at the end of this clause as in (48). Although Quesada Pacheco (1995:127) claims that the subject of this clause should be marked with *ang*, this is not always the case, as can be observed in the second locative clause in sentence (49).



- (48) *Yáshi i-ng dabag-irá róhk, yé' i-ng ya-chá-irá róhk ta.*  
 Like.this 3PL.SUBJ arrive-DUR PL, where 3PL.SUBJ go-want-DUR PL to.  
 ‘Like this they arrived where they wanted to go to.’ (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 100)

- (49) *Ya-rá di-ng bi' kwing-í, yé'-ra kwing abí róhk ang tá,*  
 Go-ACTL IPL-SUBJ 2SG put-INF, where-ACTL many people PL foc in,  
*yé'ra di' kri' ta.*  
 where-ACTL water big in.  
 ‘We are going to place you, where there are many people, where there is a big river.’  
 (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 68)

Moreover, according to Quesada Pacheco (1995, p. 127), the postposition *ta* can at times be substituted by *ki* as in (50).

- (50) *yé' di' tsasúh róhk ang kawí'irá ki*  
 Where POSS ancestors PL FOC live-DUR?  
 ‘where our ancestors lived’ (Quesada Pacheco, 1995, p. 127)

There is also evidence of Spanish influence in this type of clauses. Note that in (51) the Spanish preposition *desde* (‘from’) is used to express location in sentence (51), *tá* still appears at the end of this clause. *Yé'*, however, does not appear in this construction.

- (51) *Mang i-ng rahd-rá, mang ing uhd-rá i ká*  
 Then 3SG-AGR come.out, then 3SG-AGR curl-ACTL 3SG on  
*désde i kuráskwa tá.*  
 from POSS feet on  
 ‘Then, he comes out, then he curls on her, from her feet.’ (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 54)

### 2.3.6. Simultaneous Clauses

Simultaneous clauses are introduced by the form *i'k* (‘when’), at the beginning of the apodosis and *e'* (‘then’) at the end of this clause; see (52). However, a common strategy is found to express simultaneous clauses, perhaps following the Spanish syntactic pattern, thus containing *i'k* at the beginning of the clause

and lacking the second Boruca marker *é'* as in (53) below. There is also evidence of a widespread use of Spanish *cuando* ('when') in many constructions expressing simultaneous actions (54).

- (52) *Ík i ki bohgát-irá é', i tsasíh*  
 When 3SG SUBJ young-DUR then, POSS grandparent  
*róhk ki i' wí'-irá drik suát déng ka.*  
 PL SUBJ 3SG take-DUR metal White behind of.  
 'When he was young, his grandparents took him to look for (behind) the white metal.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 106)

- (53) *Ík i-ng daba-krá yá ta, kú' ki káwing-kr-i-ng róhk.*  
 When 3PL-SUBJ arrive-PNT DEM in, alligator SUBJ call-PNT-3PL-AGR PL.  
 'When they arrived there, they called it alligator.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 72)

- (54) *Cuándo i-ng i ká wa-rá róhk, iné ramróhk ki tamáño-rá.*  
 When 3PL-AGR 3SG about know-ACTL PL, then woman DEF big-ACTL.  
 'When they knew about it, the women were older.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 64)

### 2.3.7. Causative Clauses

These clauses have the causative adverb *iní* ('since') at the beginning of the apodosis, which precedes the main clause (55). These clauses may, at times, include the form *dósh* (like) at the end of the secondary clause. The last example (56) shows how more than one type of adverbial clause can appear in one sentence; here the causative clause serves as protactic clause for a purposive construction.

- (55) *Iní' yá ki sutáng-ra dósh, yá ta ír-i-ng róhk.*  
 Since DEM SPEC savannah-ACTL like, DEM in DUR-3PL-AGR PL.  
 'Since that was like a savannah, they were there.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 86)

- (56) *Iní' i' róhk ki y-ab-é' káng ki sodih-irá róhk dósh,*  
 Since 3PL PL SUBJ DEM-EMPH-in stone DEF make-DUR PL like,  
*y-ab-úge' i-ng i kachí'-kra yé' i-ng i réhg-irá róhk*  
 DEM.FOC.CAUSE 3PL-AGR 3SG cover-PNT where 3PL-AGR 3SG cut-DUR PL

*ki tá y-abí surá tá; yá ki tsihré'kra káng dósh.*

SUBJ in DEM-EMPH mud in; DEM SPEC harden-PNT stone like.

'Since they made the stone like mud, for that reason they covered it where they cut it; that one hardened like a stone.' (Constenla & Maroto, 1986, p. 106)

This closes the account of adverbial clauses and complex clauses in general in the Boruca language. Some of the structures presented above may be observed in the sample text provided in Appendix A.

## Conclusion

Several studies have been conducted on the Chibchan languages of Costa Rica but only recently have they gone into further depth. At this moment a research group of the Universidad Nacional of Costa Rica has taken it upon itself to describe the grammar of each of the indigenous languages in Costa Rica. Quesada (2000) had already written a grammar for Teribe. The remaining grammars are in progress at this time, and particular emphasis is being given to the analysis of the complex sentence in each one of the languages. This paper provides a complete, detailed account of the complex sentence in Boruca. It offers a new perspective using the categories of paratactic and hypotactic constructions; this approach makes possible a type of analysis that had not been applied in previous studies, with a broader view of how the language functions. This research complements a series of other studies that the author has carried out in an aim to complete a description of the Boruca grammar.

## Abbreviations

<b>actl</b>	actual	<b>inf</b>	infinitive
<b>agr</b>	agreement	<b>mod</b>	modality
<b>ant</b>	anterior	<b>modd</b>	mood
<b>art</b>	article	<b>neg</b>	negative
<b>aug</b>	augmentative	<b>pl</b>	plural
<b>caus</b>	causative	<b>pnt</b>	punctual
<b>CONN</b>	connector	<b>poss</b>	possessive
<b>dem</b>	demonstrative	<b>refl</b>	reflexive
<b>dim</b>	diminutive	<b>purp</b>	purposive

<b>actl</b>	actual	<b>inf</b>	infinitive
<b>dur</b>	durative	<b>sg</b>	singular
<b>emph</b>	emphasis	<b>subj</b>	subject
<b>foc</b>	focus	<b>spec</b>	specificity
<b>imp</b>	imperative	<b>top</b>	topic

## Appendix A Sample Text

### Wá' yabá

*E'tsi ramróhk ki kawí'ira we'é, Brúngkabh ta. Abí bush. Yá ki abí bush ki che'átkra, é'tsi kóngróhk ki beyángkra, mang kongróhk ki i' ahtkra kúa é'dé. I' be ki i yebéht ki breát i báhdíra, kráng úngíra i ka róhk, káng úngíra i ka róhk, kúa ta, ching i' a'ira yét. Mang ing dekrá i co'kráng é'dé Rurúgih, cóm déng ka, káu'turinát déng ka. Dekring é'tsi kak yá ki i kúa é'dé Rurugih, kwando ing wari'ira ong yá'óng shihshí, yabih ki yá sentíkra king ché'at wáhdíra, wari' San Joakín ta. Dabakring yá ki dí kahk tá, kwandíng yá túh túh, túhkrá wishkú', wishkú' i' shikring, sino i' wá abíng bau'krá. Yásróhk ki, ramróhk bush ki kraékra ní i' wá ki srek srek srek, yá bawíra. Yabíshé' ramróhk só' ki wá ki kru-hkrá i yé'tsa ta, mang ing shúngkra yá ki dí kahk ta, é'tsi yabá tá. Yá ta yá ki wá ki ahtkrá yiri' ká. Ora abí róhk ki i dóhgra boí. Yá ki yabá só' ki i' úra. I' yebéht ki i' be ki tekrá ki mang, seguramente que yá ki yabá súhkra abíng i' wá tsít ki shékri ká. Abí róhk ki ní i' íshkra i yuré'tsít ki rahtkrá. Diz que kabáng abí beyángira abí tsít ki pero i' be róhk ki tekrá: No, durih ki tekrá ning yá ki dí' súhkra tsít ra. Yá ki aldredo i shékra i' be ki ka.*

Quesada Pacheco (1996, p. 31).

### Wá' yabá Child pond

*E'tsi ramróhk ki kawí'ira we'é, Brúngkabh ta. Abí bush.*  
 One woman SPEC live-DUR here, Boruca in. Person young.woman.  
*Yá ki Abí bush ki che'át-kra, é'tsi kóngróhk ki beyángkra,*  
 That SPEC Person young.woman SPEC get.sick-PNT, one man SPEC want-PNT,

*mang kongróhk ki i' ahtkra kúa é'dé. I' be ki*  
 and man DEF 3SG leave-PNT stomach with. POSS mother SPEC  
*i yebéht ki breát i báhd-íra, kráng úng-íra i ka róhk,*  
 POSS father SPEC a.lot 3SG hit-DUR, stick hit-DUR 3SG to PL,

*káng úng-íra i ka róhk, kúa ta, ch-ing i' ai'ra yét.*  
 stone hit-DUR 3SG to PL, stomach in, PURP-3PL 3SG kill-ACTL for.  
*Mang i-ng de-krá i có'kráng é'dé Rurúgih, cóm, déng.*  
 Then 3SG-AGR go-PNT POSS basket with Rurúk, fruit, behind,

*ka káu' turinát déng ka. De-kr-i-ng é'tsi kak yá ki i kúa*  
 cacao dark behind to. Go-PNT-3SG-AGR one day that SPEC POSS stomach  
*é'dé Rurug-ih, kwando i-ng wari'-íra ong yá'óng shihshí, y-abih*  
 with Rurúk-to, when 3SG-AGR go.down-DUR thing heavy.thing carried, that-EMPH

*ki yá' senti-kra k-i-ng ché'át wáhdí-rá, wari' San Joakín ta.*  
 SPEC REFL feel-PNT that-3SG-AGR sick towards-here, go.down San Joakín in.  
*Daba-kr-i-ng yá ki dí kahk tá, kwand-i-ng yá' túh*  
 Arrive-PNT-3SG-AGR there SPEC river shore on, when-3SG-AGR REFL kneel.down

*túh, túh-kra wishkú'-i'shi-kr-i-ng, sino i' wá' ab-i-ng*  
 kneel.down, kneel.down-PNT pee-NEG-PNT-3SG-AGR, but POSS child EMPH-3SG-AGR  
*bau'-krá. Yásróhk ki ramróhk, bush ki kraé-kra ní i' wá' ki*  
 be.born-PNT. Young DEF woman, young DEF see-PNT that POSS child DEF

*srek srek srek, yá' bau'-íra. Y-abish-é' ramróhk só' ki wá' ki*  
 cry cry cry, REFL be.born-DUR. That-EMPH-in woman AUG SPEC child DEF  
*krub-krá i yé'tsa ta, mang i-ng shúng-kra yá ki dí kahk ta,*  
 grab-PNT POSS arm in, and 3SG-AGR throw-PNT that SPEC river shore in,

*é'tsi yabá tá. Yá ta yá ki wá' ki aht-krá yiri' ká. Ora abí*  
 one pond in. There in that spec child def remain-pnt alive in. Now people  
*róhk ki i dóhg-ra bo-í. Yá ki yabá só' ki i' ú-ra.*  
 PL DEF 3SG hear-ACTL cry-INF. That SPEC pond AUG DEF POSS house-ACTL.

*I' yebéht ki i' be ki tekrá Ki mang, seguramente ke yá ki*  
 POSS father DEF POSS mother DEF story DEF WITH, surely that that SPEC  
*yabá súhkra ab-i-ng i' wá tsít ki shé-kr-i ká.*  
 pond spirit EMPH-3SG-AGR POSS child DIM DEF remove-PNT-3SG in.

*Abí róhk ki ní i' ísh-t-kra i yuré' tsít ki*  
 People PL DEF that 3SG see-PNT POSS hand DIM SPEC  
*rah-t-krá. Diz ke kabáng abí beyáng-ira abí tsít ki pero i'*  
 come.out-PNT. Say that priest people want-DUR person DIM DEF but POSS

*be róhk ki te-krá: No, durih ki te-krá n-i-ng yá ki dí'*  
 mother PL DEF say-PNT: No, wizard DEF say-PNT that-3SG-AGR that SPEC river  
*subkra tsít ra. Yá ki aldredo i shé-kra i' be kí ka.*  
 spirit DIM ACTL. That SPEC on.purpose 3SG remove-PNT POSS mother SPEC to.

### Free Translation

One woman lived here in Boruca. She was a young woman. She was sick, she wanted a man and he left her pregnant. Her mother and father beat her a lot, with a stick with stones on her stomach, they wanted to kill her. Then, she went with her basket to Rurúk to get *zapote* and cacao. One day she left to Rurúk, with her big stomach. She went down the hill carrying the heavy basket, she felt sick when she was getting to San Joaquín. When she got to the river bank, she fell on her knees and started to pee, but she was not peeing, she was giving birth to her own child. The young woman saw that her child was crying and crying, then he was born. Then the woman grabbed the child in her hands and threw him in the pond. That is where the child remained alive. Now, people hear him cry. That pond is his house, his father and his mother know the story and for sure they want to remove their child's spirit from the pond. People have seen his little hand come out of the water. People say that what the child wants is a priest, but the elder women say that the wizards say that it is the little spirit of the water. That is why he was taken away from his mother.

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