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## Chipaya case markers *-kiś* and *-kin*: Subject and speaker reference

**Resumen:** En esta contribución presentamos un primer análisis de dos marcadores de locativo/dirección de la lengua amerindia chipaya que es hablada por ca. 1.800 personas en la comunidad de Santa Ana de Chipaya, situada en el altiplano de Bolivia (Dept. de Oruro). Un elemento especial del sistema de casos del chipaya son los sufijos *-kiś* y *-kin* que marcan dirección, complemento indirecto y locativo. De ambos cada uno cumple las tres funciones. Mientras que una marcación parecida también se encuentra en otras lenguas, el chipaya muestra una característica adicional. El sufijo *-kiś* siempre marca cercanía y siempre se refiere a la relación entre el complemento y el sujeto; el marcador de distancia, en cambio, se comporta de manera diferente. Con un complemento indirecto indica que el lugar marcado por él está lejos del sujeto; con un complemento locativo marca que no es el sujeto que determina su uso sino el punto de referencia del hablante.

**Summary:** In this paper we present a first analysis of two location/direction markers of the Amerindian Chipaya language, which is spoken by ca 1,800 persons in the Bolivian Altiplano village of Santa Ana de Chipaya (Dept. Oruro). Distinctive features of the Chipaya case marking system are the directional, indirect complement and locative marking suffixes *-kiś* and *-kin*. Each covers all three functions. Whilst similar case marking is also found in other languages, Chipaya shows a further peculiarity. The suffix *-kiś* always marks closeness and always refers to the relationship between subject and complement, but the distance marker *-kin* behaves differently. With an indirect complement it indicates that the location marked by it is distant from the subject; with a locative com-

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plement it is the speaker's standpoint and not the subject that determines its usage.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 *Direction and location*

Different languages use a variety of lexico-semantic and grammatical resources in order to express location and direction. The wide range of these is well illustrated as, for example, the contributions in Shay/Seibert (2003) and Haviland/Levinson (1994) show. In this paper we present a first analysis of two location/direction markers of the Amerindian Chipaya language, which is still spoken by ca 1,800 persons in the Bolivian Altiplano village of Santa Ana de Chipaya (Dept. Oruro).

### 1.2 *Sources and method*

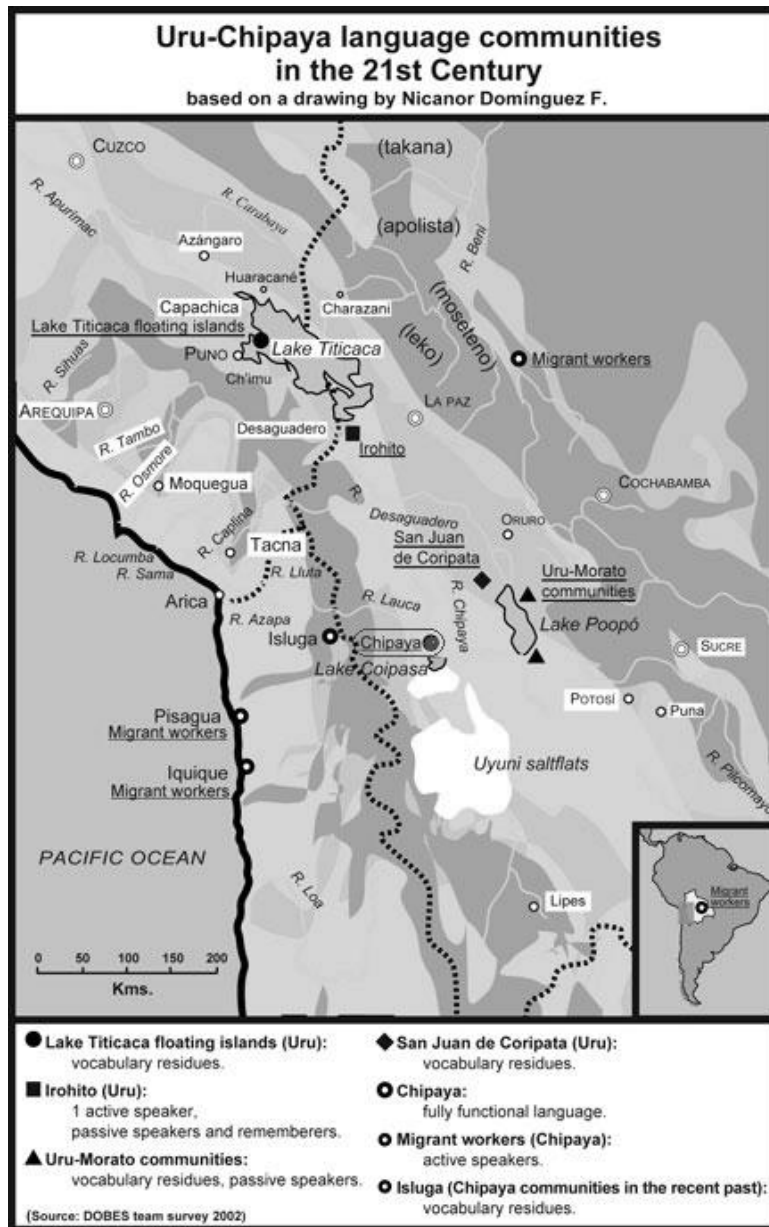
The data presented and analysed in this paper were collected during several fieldwork campaigns carried out in Bolivia (Chipaya, Oruro, La Paz) by members of the DoBeS<sup>1</sup> team for the documentation and description of the Chipaya language, from September to November 2005, in January 2006, and from June to October 2006. The linguistic corpus consists of different kinds of texts most of which were produced in communication between team members and consultants, some of them in natural speech situations among Chipaya speakers themselves. The texts include stories and conversation as well as some other genres, such as song and prayer. Moreover we elicited a large number of sentences in order to study the nominal system in particular. In this process the sentences were discussed with our main consultant on grammatical structure.<sup>2</sup> As there is a fundamental difference between a coherent text and an elicited sentence, we mark our examples as textual (T) or elicited (E).

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1 Documentation of Endangered Languages programme, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. See <<http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES>> (03.09.2008).

2 We wish to thank all our Chipaya consultants for their patient and informed cooperation, and in particular our main consultant who not only helped with the transcription and translation, but also discussed grammatical, textual and cultural topics with us. Due to the extremely difficult and tense situation within the village they expressed the wish to remain anonymous. During the course of our analytical work we also consulted the following studies (and our glosses are partly informed by them): Olson (1966); Olson/Olson (1963a; 1963b; 1966); Porterie-Gutiérrez (1990); Adelaar/Muysken (2004) (which partly draws on Cerrón-Palomino). Parallel to our fieldwork Cerrón-Palomino worked on the Chipaya language but no data or preliminary analyses were exchanged with the authors of this paper. Therefore, when we refer to Cerrón-Palomino's book (2006) which was published as our last fieldtrip drew to an end, his observations have to be seen as independent from ours.

Table 1



The Chipaya language is of the SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) type with a relatively free word order. It is an agglutinating language with suffixes (and previously it also had some prefixes). However, it has a number of grammatical elements which are morphologically unmarked (e.g. nominative, accusative, simple directional, as well as several conjugated verbforms – see below). Adjectives precede the noun. The negation is formed by a particle. Chipaya person marking structure shows the following features: a six-person pronominal and verbal system with an inclusive and exclusive first person plural; it distinguishes masculine and feminine third person, but in the pronominal system there is a tendency to use only the masculine form in the plural. With the progressive aspects of the present and past tense as well as with the future tense the subject can be marked by a clitic (suffix) which is not normally attached to the verb; the 1<sup>st</sup> person is marked by a suffix, all other persons are unmarked. The other tenses are marked by suffixes attached to the conjugated verb form, but most of these suffixes are not unequivocal (i.e. some are identical for different persons). Therefore in most tenses and persons the pronoun and/or the person clitic has to be used as a person marker whenever the context is not completely clear.<sup>3</sup> With respect to sentence structure Chipaya has a declarative suffix as (obligatory) sentence marker, and most sentences also contain a topic marker.

### 1.3 Chipaya case marking: overview

In this paper we understand case as follows: case marks the relation between the conjugated verb and its arguments (i.e. subject and all types of complements).

Chipaya marks case through suffixes; subject and direct complement are unmarked, as is the simple directional complement.

- (1T) *thsi pacha      źel-at-ź<sup>4</sup>                      thowa              kuchi*  
 one time      be-PST2.PRO-DEC      young [man]      pig  
*ich-ñi                                      qot-kiś*  
 shepherd-NMLS.AG      lake-LOC.C  
 ‘Once there was a young man herding pig(s) by the lake.’

- (2T) *śkiti-naka      ćhhul      qhay-i                      oq-inta-ćha*  
 clothing-PL      what      buy-NMLS.INT      go-PST2.HAB.1<sup>st</sup>-DEC  
 ‘We used to go to buy clothes and things.’

3 The distribution rules of these elements have not been studied yet (other than some preliminary results from the DOBES fieldwork). For the closely related Uru language see Hannß (2008) on person marking in Uchumataqu.

4 Here -ź is a variant of declarative -ćha. For Chipaya morpho-phonemic processes see Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 77-96). Note that several homonymous (related?) suffixes -ź exist (person marking clitic 3rd person, case marking genitive and relational; see Glosses and footnote 11).

- (3T) *neqh́stan na tur-ki simana-kiśtan ni*  
 so, then the.F young woman-TOP week-ABL the.M  
*thow-ż qhuya thxax-i thon-chiñ-écha*  
 young [man]-GEN house sleep-NMLS.INT come-PST1.3<sup>rd</sup>.F-DEC  
 ‘So the young woman, after a week, came to the young man’s house to sleep.’

In the field of spatial and to a certain extent temporal markers Chipaya has a large number of case suffixes, unlike Aymara and Quechua.<sup>5</sup>

Whilst the usage of most of the basic case markers (such as subject, direct and indirect complement, instrumental, benefactive) is clearly determined and obligatory, speakers’ usage allows for more leeway with the mentioned spatial markers.

- (4E) *puju-kama-l oq-u-écha*  
 river-TER-CLI.1<sup>st</sup> go-PRS.PRO.1<sup>st</sup>-DEC  
 ‘I am going to [as far as] the river.’
- (5E) *puju iranta-l<sup>6</sup> oq-u-écha*  
 river arrive-CLI.1<sup>st</sup> go-PRS.PRO.1<sup>st</sup>-DEC  
 ‘I am going to the river.’ (Literally: ‘I am going until I arrive at the river’).

As shown in 5E and 3T, when combined with certain motion verbs (such as *thon-* ‘to come’, *oq-* ‘to go’, *irant-* ‘to arrive there’), the directional does not have to be case-marked, i.e. it can be zero-marked. There is also a number of other directionals which indicate a more specific direction and/or which are limited to the usage with the cardinal points.

Spatial case suffixes may be replaced by a Spanish loanword, which becomes a Chipaya postposition or suffix (their ‘fluid’ character is marked by [ - ] in the examples; cf. footnote 6). This is evident when comparing the utterances of a speaker who lives in Chipaya (6E, 8E) with one who has been living in the provincial capital for a number of years (7E, 9E). The postposition used in 7E and 9E is probably a loan from Spanish *dirección*, ‘direction’, and *recto*, ‘straight ahead’, respectively.

- (6E) *puj-qhutñi-l oq-u-écha*  
 river-DIR.CONCR-CLI.1<sup>st</sup> go-PRS.PRO.1<sup>st</sup>-DEC  
 ‘I am going towards the river.’

5 Aymara, in particular, expresses spatial location and direction with a series of verb derivational or modal suffixes.

6 It will have to be studied if *iranta-* has become or is in the process of becoming a directional postposition in cases like this (there are numerous location postpositions in Chipaya).

- (7E) *puju[-]tirichu-l*                      *oq-u-cha*  
 river[-]direction-CLI.1<sup>st</sup>              go-PRS.PRO.1<sup>st</sup>-DEC  
 ‘I am going towards the river.’
- (8E) *Wachaqall-ghutñi-l*                      *oq-u-cha*  
 Huachacalla-DIR.CONCR-CLI.1<sup>st</sup>      go-PRS.PRO.1<sup>st</sup>-DEC  
 ‘I am going towards Huachacalla.’
- (9E) *Wachaqalla rektu-l*                      *wer-kh*      *oq-u-cha*  
 Huachacalla    straight ahead-CLI.1<sup>st</sup>    I-TOP      go-PRS.PRO.1<sup>st</sup>-DEC  
 ‘I am going towards Huachacalla.’

## 2. Indirect complement, direction, and locative marking with *-kiś* and *-kin*: closeness and distance

Distinctive features of the Chipaya case marking system are the directional, indirect complement and locative marking suffixes *-kiś* and *-kin*.<sup>7</sup> Each covers all three functions.

This is similar in Tzeltal and Tzotzil Maya where one preposition covers directional and locative marking in space and time (as well as a number of further functions in Tzeltal, such as instrumental, purpose and manner) (Brown 1994: 748; Haviland 1981: 23). In Quechua the usage of one and the same suffix shows that the direct and indirect complements are semantically conceived of as a direction towards which the action is aimed.<sup>8</sup> These examples show that location and direction as marked in Chipaya is a common phenomenon. However, in Chipaya *-kiś* and *-kin* additionally indicate whether the indirect/directional complement/location case marked noun is conceived of as being close to or distant from the subject – or from the speaker.<sup>9</sup> This latter distinction is crucial in order to understand these markers and their usage in Chipaya.

The hypothesis we wish to examine in order to understand this element of case marking is the following. Whilst *-kiś* always marks closeness and always refers to the

7 *-kin* has an allomorph, *-kina*.

8 For Quechua see Hogarth (2004: 94-95, 101-102); cf. Aymara where this applies to the indirect complement (Briggs 1988: 212-213, 222; Porterie-Gutiérrez 1988: 167-170). As in other languages, in Chipaya location and direction can apply to both, space and time, although temporal location is most often expressed by adverbs or by nouns without case marking.

9 In their analysis of Chipaya morphology in 1963 the Olsons already struggled with the exact usage and function of *-kiś* and *-kin*: “There must be a difference in the usages, but what?” (Olson/Olson 1963a: 23). Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 125-126, 128) describes this same pattern, connecting the usage of the closeness of distance marker to the relationship between speaker and complement, i.e. whether the speaker and the complement are close to or distant from each other. Beyond the apparently conclusive examples he presents, the analysis of our own data shows a more complex pattern of the actual usage and distribution of *-kiś* and *-kin*.

relationship between subject and complement, distance marker *-kin* behaves differently. With an indirect complement it indicates that the location marked by it is distant from the subject; with a locative complement it is the speaker’s standpoint and not the subject that determines its usage.<sup>10</sup> The distribution is therefore as follows (Table 2):

**Table 2**

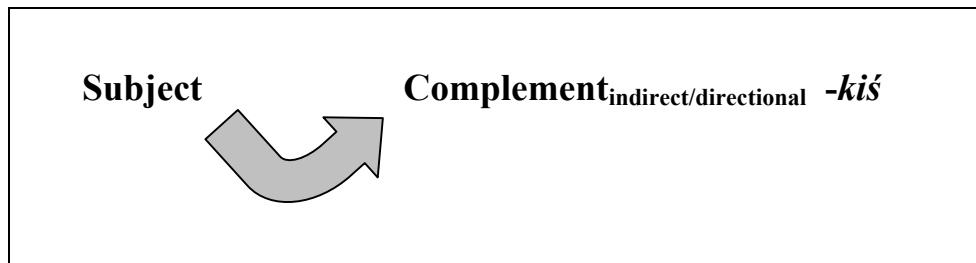
		<b>Indirect / directional complement</b>	<b>Locative complement</b>
Closeness	<i>-kiś</i> ~ subject	+	+
	<i>-kiś</i> ~ speaker	–	–
Distance	<i>-kin</i> ~ subject	+	–
	<i>-kin</i> ~ speaker	–	+

*2.1 Indirect and directional complement*

2.1.1 Closeness marked by *-kiś*

The closeness marker *-kiś* relates the indirect or directional complement to which it is attached to the subject of the clause, i.e. a relationship of closeness is expressed between the subject of the clause and the complement, as is common in many other languages (Table 3).

**Table 3**



The following examples show this usage of closeness marking *-kiś* for the indirect complement and the directional complement respectively.

<sup>10</sup> Rood (2003) observes that in Lakota two postpositions are used for indicating motion, each showing “the speaker’s placement of himself” (ibid.: 257), thus revealing “different presuppositions on the part of the speaker” (ibid.: 258).

- (10T) ... *khi-chi-ž*                      *ni*                      *thami-ki*                      *thuñ-ž<sup>11</sup>-kiš*  
 ... say-PST1.3<sup>rd</sup>-DEC                      the.M                      wind-TOP                      sun-REL-INDIR.COMP.C  
 ‘... said the wind to the sun.’
- (11T) *xalla*                      *nužkiš<sup>12</sup>*                      *niž*                      *qar-kiš*                      *niž*  
 then                      afterwards                      his                      cave-DIR.C                      his  
*qhuy-kiš*                      *kula-naka*                      *lok-ki*                      *ni-k*  
 house-DIR.C                      *quinua*-PL                      much-TOP                      that.M-TOP  
*chhiph-chi-ča*  
 fill-PST1.3<sup>rd</sup>-DEC  
 ‘So then he [the mouse] filled his cave, his house with a lot of *quinua*.’  
 (Literally: “... filled a lot of *quinua* into his cave, into his house”).

### 2.1.2 Distance marked by *-kin*

In a similar way *-kin*, in its function as indirect or directional complement marker, relates the complement to which it is attached to the subject of the clause, i.e. a relationship of distance is expressed between the subject of the clause and the location marked by *-kin* indirect or directional complement (Table 4).

Table 4



- 11 *-ž*, marking a human masculine possessor, can be seen as a possessive or genitive case marker. However, it occurs frequently – especially before other case suffixes – where it is not possible to analyse it in these terms. Therefore we suggest to see it as ‘relational’ in its basic case marking function (which, of course, would also cover the ‘genitive’).
- 12 *Nužkiš* is a frequently used connective meaning ‘then, afterwards’. It is analysable in terms of its components *nužu*, ‘so, like this’ and *-kiš* and clearly implies a temporal closeness the speaker perceives between actions or events he presents as following each other (note similar phenomena in Quechua, e.g. *chaymanta*, and Aymara, e.g. *ukat(a)*). Like other connectives, such as *neqstan(a)*, it seems to have become completely lexicalised. This is evident when *nužkiš* and distance marking *-kin* appear in the same sentence, as in 13T: whilst *nužkiš* closely connects one action to the following, *-kin* marks the distance the subject has to overcome to reach the object.



- (12E) *ni liwru am mā-kin thā-žka*  
 the.M book you mother-INDIR.COMP.D give-IMP.DIR  
 ‘(Go and) give your mother the book!’

Here – apart from the distance marking *-kin* – the verbal directional imperative suffix *-žka* also shows the distance between the subject and the indirect complement.

- (13T) *nužkiś tshi nōx achik-ž-kin thon-ś-ñi*  
 afterwards one day mouse-REL-DIR.D come-LOC.VB-NMLS.AG  
*oq-chi-ž*  
 go-PST1.3<sup>rd</sup>-DEC  
 ‘Afterwards one day he went to visit the mouse.’

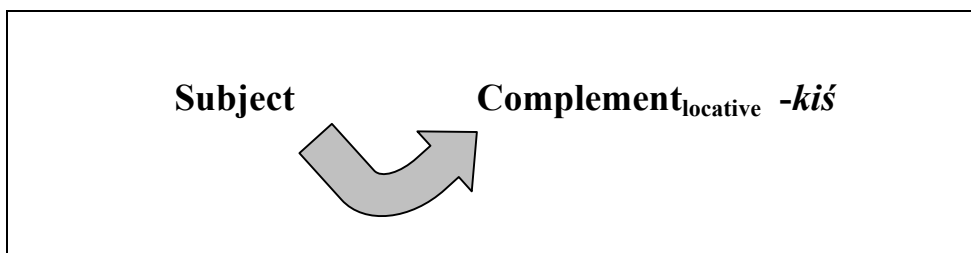
The combination of the two motion verbs, *oq-* ‘to go’ and *thon-* ‘to come’, implies a spatial and temporal distance which the subject has to overcome in order to get to the place indicated by the directional complement.

## 2.2 Locative complement

### 2.2.1 Closeness marked by *-kiś*: subject reference

As in its function as indirect/directional complement morpheme, the closeness marker *-kiś* relates the locative complement to which it is attached to the subject of the clause, i.e. a relationship of closeness is expressed between the subject of the clause and a location marked by *-kiś* locative complement marker (Table 5).

Table 5



- (14T) “*qaxa-lla werh luśh-kaq achik-ž-kina-k*”  
 then-DIM I enter-SELF.ASS mouse-REL-DIR.D-TOP  
*ki-kan pinsi-ž niž ach-kiś*  
 say-SUB.SS.SI think-DEC his head-LOC.C  
 “‘Then I just have to enter in debt with the mouse’, saying [this] he [the bird] probably thought in his head.”

### 2.2.2 Distance marked by *-kin*: speaker reference

When *-kin* marks a locative complement, it is not the subject of the clause this complement refers to, but the speaker of the utterance.<sup>13</sup>

This means that in order to express a case marked locative, the selection of *-kiś* or *-kin* depends on whether the speaker relates him/herself to the complement, i.e. when s/he uses the distance marker *-kin*, s/he relates him/herself to the complement in his/her characteristic as speaker. When s/he uses the closeness marker *-kiś*, s/he relates the complement to the subject of the clause.

The following example shows a relationship of distance between the speaker and the location marked by the complement suffix.

- (15T) ... *nuźkiś*      *ni*      *kur-kin*      *khi-ñi-naka-šte*  
 ... afterwards    the.M    mountain-LOC.D    be-NMLS.AG-PL-CON  
*uj-si-ki<sup>14</sup>-čha*  
 burn-PST1.3<sup>rd</sup>-REP-DEC  
 ‘Afterwards the ones who were on the mountain were burned, they say.’

It is clear that in this case it can only be the speaker who establishes a distance between himself and the location, because the subject – being on the mountain – is closely linked to the place.

The following example is from a telephone conversation in which the speaker who is in Oruro asks someone who is in Chipaya about the whereabouts of her mother:

- (16T) *mā-šti*      *ä*      *mā*      *xoch-kin-qay*  
 mother-CON    INJ    mother    field-LOC.D-QM  
 ‘And mother, eh, is mother in the field?’

As the mother as sentence subject is conceived of as being close to the field, also in this case *-kin* clearly refers to the speaker and not to the subject.

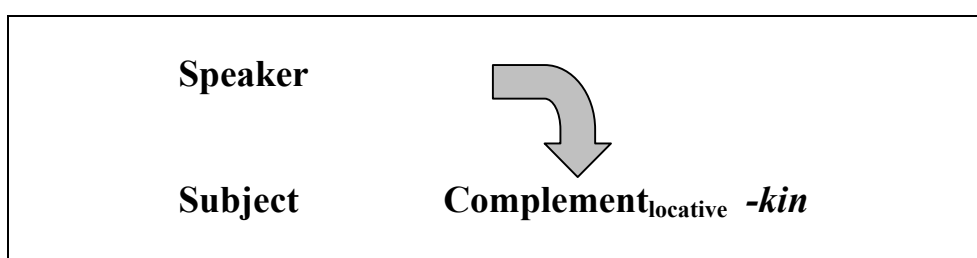
This means that the selection of locative *-kiś* (closeness marker) or *-kin* (distance marker) is a grammatical as well as a discourse choice. When *-kiś* is used, the speaker does not ‘interfere’ with the action: closeness between subject and complement location is expressed. When *-kin* in its locative function is used, the speaker does interfere: distance between speaker and complement location is expressed. It is not possible to conceive of the distance marker *-kin* in any other way because as a matter of fact sub-

13 We are not using any examples in which the subject is the first person because in those cases speaker and subject coincide.

14 The verbal suffix *-ki* with its non-eyewitness, reportative character is used whenever the text is a ‘cuento’, a story that is considered to be true, but situated in a remote past. Omitting it gives a story a particular flavour as it reflects the narrator’s wish to make the story part of our own time (pers. comm. consultant), but it may also mean that some younger speakers tend to not use the suffix (for examples of the usage without *-ki* see 17T and 18T).

ject and location (marked by the complement) of the clause are close to each other; the distance can therefore only be conceived of as being between the speaker and the location. This shows that locative case marking in Chipaya is not a strictly grammatical but also a pragmatic category: *-kin* in its locative function is not only a distance marker in a grammatically determined sense, but it is almost ‘evidential’ as the speaker conceives of himself as removed from the action and has therefore no visual experience and direct perception of it (Table 6).<sup>15</sup>

Table 6



Thus locative *-kin* has two components: locative distance and speaker reference, whereas locative *-kiś* has only the case component, with the implicit subject reference.

### 2.2.3 Locative marking: choosing subject or speaker reference

The question which has now to be answered is when *-kin* pragmatic locative marker as opposed to *-kiś* purely grammatical locative case marker is used.

The exact usage of these suffixes as locative markers has still to be explored through the analysis of a variety of texts from different genres, but some examples point towards a possible answer to this question.

- (17T) *nužkiś*      *ni*      *kur*      *aqh-kiś*      *qam-ñi*  
 afterwards    the.M    mountain    cave-LOC.C    live-NMLS.AG  
*thxa-ñi-naka-šte*      *ni*      *xwala*      *khiś-śi-čha*  
 rob-NMLS.AG-PL-CON    the.M      lama      steal-PST1.3<sup>rd</sup>-DEC  
 ‘Afterwards the thieves who lived in the mountain cave stole the lama.’

In 17T the subject is close to the place which is expressed by the complement; therefore *-kiś* is used. In 18T, in the same story, *-kin* is used, now to mark distance, but not between the subject and the location marked by the complement, which are as close together as in 17T, but between the narrator and the location: the narrator is far away

<sup>15</sup> For approaches and definitions of evidentiality which we have found particularly useful in our context see Anderson (1986), Plungian (2001) and Lazard (2001).

from the cave of his story and emphasises this by using the remote locative adverb: *nawkhta*, ‘there’, in addition to *-kin*:

- (18T) *nawkhta kur aqh-kin-a-ki zelh-cha*  
 there mountain cave-LOC.D-TOP exist-DEC  
*thxa-ñi-naka*  
 rob-NMLS.AG-PL  
 ‘There in the mountain cave are thieves.’

So far it can be said that in some cases – as above – a distance marking adverb makes it clear that the speaker relates himself to the situation and ‘overrides’ the clause internal relationship of closeness. This is also the case in the following example – the locative adverb *až*, ‘far away’, clearly establishes the distance between speaker and location, not between the subject and the location:

- (19E) *weth qhuy zoñi-naka-ki añcha až-kin-ž*  
 my house person-PL-TOP much far-LOC.D-CLI.3rd  
*gam-cha*  
 live-DEC  
 ‘My family lives very far away.’

This rule also applies to temporal expressions:

- (20E) *tuki qhaluqhalu wat-kin royti qhuya-naka*  
 once hundred year-LOC.D round house-PL  
*qhuy-ñita-cha*  
 build\_house-PST2.HAB.3<sup>rd</sup>-DEC  
 ‘Once, a hundred years ago, they used to build round houses.’

Whilst the builders themselves lived in the indicated time and would certainly be related to it by the closeness marker, both lexical temporal expressions used by the speaker, *tuki* and *qhaluqhalu wata*, establish his own temporal distance from the action he narrates. With respect to examples 15T and 16T, no such lexical deictic markers are present, but 16T, from a phone call, clearly removes the speaker from the action so that it is easily conceivable why the speaker would use ‘evidential’ *-kin* and not grammatical *-kiš*. The only possible explanation for the same usage in 15T seems to be that the temporal adverb ‘afterwards’ connects the speaker to the content of the sentence in a way that he, as event enumerating and connecting narrator, imposes himself on the story and therefore uses *-kin*.<sup>16</sup>

Thus it seems that speaker related distance does not necessarily have to be marked by spatial (or temporal) adverbs; it can also be clear from the context. In an elicitation

16 In English, an equivalent usage is ‘away’, ‘over there’ (spatially) and ‘ago’ (temporally), which put the speaker in relationship with the event or action.

session the speaker was in La Paz, not in Oruro, when he produced the following sentence:

- (21E) *weth jila Urur-kin qam-cha*  
 my brother Oruro-LOC.D live-DEC  
 ‘My brother lives in Oruro.’ (Speaker is in La Paz).

The same sentence spoken by a person who was in Oruro took on *-kiś*:

- (22E) *weth jila-ki Urur-kiś qam-cha*  
 my brother-TOP Oruro-LOC.C live-DEC  
 ‘My brother lives in Oruro.’ (Speaker is in Oruro).

This usage shows that in a way *-kiś* can be considered as the unmarked form, whilst *-kin* is marked as to the speaker’s standpoint.

When referring to a celestial constellation the speaker situated himself far from it without having to specify the distance by a spatial adverb:

- (23E) *kurisiru-ki pach-kin*  
 Southern Cross\_TOP sky-LOC.D  
*waru-kë-kin-pan-cha*  
 south-APPR-LOC.D-CERT.REG-DEC  
 ‘The Southern Cross is certainly in the sky towards the south.’

And our consultant translated the following sentence from Spanish into Chipaya:

- (24E) *(nawkhu) ni alemani-kin ana-ž xwala-naka želh-cha*  
 (there) the.M Germany-LOC.D NEG-CLI.3<sup>rd</sup> lama-PL exist-DEC  
 ‘(There) in Germany, there are no lamas.’

and commented on it as follows: “*nawkhu*, ‘there’, is not needed because *-kin* makes it clear that it is far away”.

These examples show that the usage of *-kin* as locative marker is highly dependent on the context and is a pragmatic as well as case marker.

### 3. Summary

Table 7

Suffix complement	Speaker	Subject
<i>-kiś</i> closeness locative	–	+
<i>-kin</i> distance locative	+	–
<i>-kiś</i> closeness directional / indirect complement	–	+
<i>-kin</i> distance directional / indirect complement	–	+

The usage of *-kiś* and *-kin* as directional and indirect complement markers (both of which are semantically similar) establishes a relationship between the subject of the

sentence and the location expressed by the *-kiś/-kin* complement, i.e. when the subject is close to the location, this is marked with *-kiś*; when there is a distance between them, *-kin* is used (Table 7). It becomes evident from a number of examples that there is a close semantic similarity between indirect and directional complement.

With respect to the locative usage, *-kiś* occurs when the relationship between the subject and the location marked by the complement is expressed. The usage of locative *-kin*, on the other hand, always reflects that in the utterance the speaker's standpoint (distant) overrides the subject's standpoint (close). This gives *-kin* as locative marker an additional pragmatic, evidential quality. So far, it seems that the distance indicating locative marker in this latter function is only used when a clear lexical (adverbial) distance marker is present or when the distance is evident from the context – this is an understandable combination of evidential and deictic marking insofar as both go beyond purely textual points of reference.

The present study is only a preliminary contribution to the complex field of spatial and temporal orientation in Chipaya and needs further corroboration, in terms of a detailed analysis of the verb classes used with the two markers (although in our examples 17T and 18T both verbs are semantically very close) as well as the examination of *-kiś* and *-kin* in the framework of deixis (cf. for example Klein 1983; Hanks 1992). In order to confirm or negate our hypothesis, further possible selection rules will have to be studied, for example whether topic and focus marking or the sentence type (affirmative/negative/interrogative) could play a role in the selection (see for example our sentences 16T and 17T). As mentioned in the introduction (1.3), the Chipaya locative and directional case markers as a whole are relatively complex and it would be useful to include the analysis of *-kiś* and *-kin* in this overall system.<sup>17</sup>

We would like to close with a hypothetical, or rather, speculative suggestion as to the origin of the complex case marker *-kin*. In Chipaya there are several suffixes which contain *-ki*. First, there are the future tense marker *-aki* and the verbal reportative *-ki*, which both express the notion of a non-experienced action, similar to the locative distance marker *-kin*, where the speaker is removed from the place of action. Second, there is the verbal cislocative *-źki* and the case marker of closeness *-kiś*, which both in their *-ki* element overlap with the locative function of *-kin*. It is therefore conceivable that the locative distance marker *-kin* had its origin in *\*-ki-kin*, combining the non-experienced action (speaker reference, not subject centred) with the locative itself (which is also present in other locative markers).

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17 We have looked into the following possibilities: does the addressee of the sentence affect the selection criteria of *-kiś* and *-kin*; does the fact that the speaker can see the object or not relate to closeness and distance? Both do not seem to apply in Chipaya.

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**Glosses**

Gloss	Function	Morpheme
ABL	Ablative	<i>-kiśtan(a)</i>
APPR	Approximative	<i>-kě</i>
CERT.REG	Certainty, regularity	<i>-pani</i>
CLI	Clitic element: person marker	<i>-l, -m, -ž</i>
CON	Connective	<i>-šti / -šte</i>
DEC	Declarative	<i>-čha / -ž</i>
DIM	Diminutive	<i>-lla</i>
DIR.C	Directional – closeness (see Indirect complement – closeness)	<i>-kiś</i>
DIR.CONCR	Directional – concrete	<i>-ghutñi</i>
DIR.D	Directional – distance (see Indirect complement – distance)	<i>-kin(a)</i>
F	Feminine	
GEN	Genitive	<i>-ž</i>
IMP.DIR	Imperative directional	<i>-žka</i>
INDIR.COMP.C	Indirect complement – closeness (see Directional – closeness)	<i>-kiś</i>
INDIR.COMP.D	Indirect complement – distance (see Directional – distance)	<i>-kin(a)</i>
INJ	Interjection	<i>ā</i>
LOC.C	Locative – closeness	<i>-kiś</i>
LOC.D	Locative – distance	<i>-kin(a)</i>
LOC.VB	Localisation in verbs	<i>-ś</i>
M	Masculine	
NEG	Negation	<i>ana</i>
NMLS.AG	Agentiviser	<i>-ñi</i>
NMLS.INT	Intentional	<i>-i</i>
PL	Plural	<i>-naka</i>
PRS.PRO	Present progressive	<i>-u, -Ø</i>
PST1	Past tense 1	<i>-chin, -chi / -ši</i>
PST2.HAB	Past tense 2 habitual	<i>-inta, -ñita</i>
PST2.PRO	Past tense 2 progressive	<i>-(a)t</i>
QM	Question marker	<i>-gay(a)</i>
REL	Relational (see Genitive)	<i>-ž</i>
REP	Reportative	<i>-ki</i>
SELF.ASS	Self assurance	<i>-kaq</i>
SUB.SS.SI	Subordination – same subject and simultaneous	<i>-kan</i>
TER	Terminative	<i>-kama</i>
TOP	Topic marker	<i>-ki</i>