THE ORIGIN OF -ngua (FUTURE) IN IKA

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ABSTRACT

The morpheme -ngua (future) in Ika, a Chibchan language of Colombia, developed from an independent verb to a modal suffix. It may be related historically to the verb 'to think' in neighboring Kogi and Damana. For older speakers, it shows both verbal and suffixial characteristics. It takes object prefixes, as do the ergative impersonal verbs, and fits into the verb phrase in a position and following a pattern that one would expect for a verb that takes a purpose complement. For younger speakers it has been reinterpreted simply as a future suffix and fits paradigmatically into the class of modal suffixes.

RESUMEN

El morfema -ngua (futuro) en el ika, una lengua Chibcha de Colombia, desarrolló de un verbo independiente a un sufijo verbal modal. Se relacionará históricamente con un verbo 'pensar' en las lenguas vecinas kogui y damana. Para los hablantes mayores, muestra características tanto de verbo como de sufijo. Lleva prefijos de complemento, como los verbos ergativos impersonales, y se presenta en la posición y siguiendo el patrón en el sintagma verbal de los verbos que toman complementos de propósito. Los hablantes jóvenes lo han reinterpretado solamente como un sufijo de futuro y -ngua forma parte de una clase paradigmática de sufijos modales.

0. INTRODUCTION

The morpheme -ngua (future) in Ika fits paradigmatically in a class of modal suffixes within the verb phrase yet it takes object prefixes in the same way as a class of impersonal verbs. In my descriptive grammar of Ika (Frank 1990) I simply noted these facts without comment on the likely origin of this modal element. In this paper I provide an overview of the relevant aspects of
Ika grammar (section 1) and propose a specific path for the development of -ngua from an independent, complement taking verb (section 2). The younger generation of speakers has now fully reinterpreted -ngua as simply a modal suffix (section 2.3). In the remainder of this introductory section I summarize the synchronic characteristics of -ngua.

0.1 -ngua is one of a set of modal suffixes

The lexical verb is the first element within the Ika verb phrase, optionally followed by suffixes from one of the four groups indicated in (1).

(1) verb (negative) (aspect) (modal) (deictic, mood/connectors)

As a general rule, the four groups are mutually exclusive; suffixes from more than one group do not appear together on the same verb. -ngua is one of the set of modal suffixes, which includes the following:

(2) -ikua obligation
    -ikuei ability
    -wi?na prohibition
    -iwa intention
    -ngua future
    -nguasi purpose
    -iza result

0.2 -ngua shows both verbal and suffixial characteristics

-ngua occurs in the same position in the verb phrase as the other modal suffixes and alternates paradigmatically with them. All of the modal suffixes are irrealis in their semantics and -ngua serves as a general future tense (as opposed to -iwa (intention) which is more of an immediate future). -ngua is different from these other suffixes, however, in that it takes object prefixes to reference the subject of the lexical verb. (3) and (4) contrast the modal suffix -iwa (intention) and the verb-like -ngua.3

(3) pinna dżuna was-iwa ni all kind chase-INT CERT I intend to chase all kinds.
(4) pinna dżuna was-Àn nÀ-ngua all kind chase-IMPF 1O-FUT I will chase all kinds.

This pattern of agreement parallels that of the impersonal verbs (see section 1.4). The combinations of object-person prefixes and -ngua are given in (5).

(5)    singular       plural
       1  nÀ-ngua      niwi-ngua
       2  mi-ngua      miwi-ngua
       3  Ø-gua        wi-ngua

Finally, -ngua requires that the preceding verb (usually the lexical verb)
take the imperfective suffix -an, as does the auxiliary verb nuk, indicating that -ngua has some of the same characteristics as auxiliary verbs.

1. SOME BASICS OF IKA GRAMMAR

Several characteristics of Ika grammar are relevant to considering the place of -ngua within the overall grammatical system. Ika is an SOV language which makes use of auxiliary verbs following the main verb, embeds clauses as sentential complements, and has a class of impersonal verbs that mark the single participant by object person prefixes.

1.1 Ika is SOV in its basic word order

The basic word order in main, declarative clauses is SOV:

(6) S O V
   José guiadyina wasa-na
   José puma chase-DIST
   José went after a puma.

(7) S O V
   i?man? Juansitu keina-k? guiadyina once
   Juancito place-LOC puma
   tfiwa g-an nu?-na
   goat eat-IMPF AUX-DIST
   One time a puma killed a goat near Juancito's place.

Although SOV is the neutral word order, extensive zero anaphora results in a high textual frequency of clauses which lack a subject and/or an object noun phrase (Frank 1990:121-24).

1.2 Ika makes extensive use of auxiliary verbs

As a general rule, the groups of suffixes mentioned in (1) above are mutually exclusive and cannot appear on the same verb. Thus, if suffixes from more than one group appear in the same verb phrase, they will be distributed across the lexical verb and one or more auxiliary verbs. One major function of auxiliary verbs is to support additional suffixes when more than one group of suffixes is represented in a given verb phrase. (8) shows a verb phrase in which the lexical verb carries the temporal aspect suffix -aki (perfect) while the auxiliary verb carries the deictic suffix marker -na (distal).

(8) ASPECT AUX-DEICTIC
   guak-aki nu?-na
   kill-PRF AUX-DIST
   It had killed it.

-aki (perfect) and -an (imperfective) (when not followed by -ngua (future)) require that the following auxiliary be nuk. The negative suffix requires that the following auxiliary verb be nan. Most of the modal suffixes require nan as the next auxiliary verb. -ngua, however, serves as its own auxiliary. All other suffixes take u as the following auxiliary verb.
In (9) the lexical verb carries the negative suffix, the first auxiliary verb carries -\textit{An} (imperfective), and the modal -\textit{ngua} (future) serves as its own auxiliary.

(9) NEGATIVE AUX-ASPECT AUX:MODAL
\textit{nik-u? nan-\textit{An} na-\textit{ngua}}
work-NEG AUX-IMPF IO-FUT
I will not work.

1.3 Ika has clauses embedded as sentential complements

Clauses may be embedded within other clauses as sentential complements of certain verbs (Frank 1990:103-11). Some verbs of cognition and speaking take direct quotation complements which could themselves stand as independent sentences. Verbs with a certain suffix may show resultant state, serving as the complement to a copula (e.g., 'he is gone' vs. 'he went'). A number of other verbs (e.g., 'see', 'have to') take complements which lack mood marking. (10) illustrates the use of \textit{kawa} 'seem' which has the particular meaning 'have to X' when it takes a complement unmarked for mood.

(10) \textit{ribru mi-\textit{kA-tak-ikua na-kaw-in}}
bolt 20-PERF-look.for-OBL IO-seem-WIT
I have to hunt for your book.

The verb \textit{a?d3un} 'want' takes a complement which cannot have any suffixes. In (11) note the completely uninflected verb \textit{tfua} 'see' as the complement of \textit{a?d3un} 'want'.

(11) \textit{tfua na-\textit{d3un-\textit{ni}}}
see IO-want-CERT
I want to see it.

Of particular interest in this paper are motion verbs which take a complement indicating the purpose of the motion. The verb in the embedded clause must have the imperfective suffix -\textit{An} (-n when following a vowel). The verb-final embedded clause appears in the normal object position immediately preceding the matrix verb, with the result that clauses with sentential complements have a sequence of embedded verb followed by matrix verb. The time of the embedded verb is in the future relative to the time of the matrix verb.

(12) \textit{monu tfai-n \textit{\textbf{\textls[-20]{m}}n-zog-na}}
monkey shoot-IMPF REF-go-DIST
He went (in order) to shoot monkeys.

1.4 Ika has a class of impersonal verbs

A number of verbs in Ika have only one participant, referenced on the verb by an object person prefix. Note the first-person object prefix \textit{na-} in (13):

(13) \textit{na-kusein-u? gui ni}
1O-recover-NEG also CERT
I still have not recovered.
This class of verbs is relatively small; I have found less than twenty such verbs. All of these verbs involve involuntary, experiencer subjects, with such specific meanings as 'be tired', 'sneeze', 'be drunk', and 'get sick'. I have previously labelled these verbs 'impersonal' (Frank 1990:22) although the phenomenon is the same as what others have called 'split-S marking' (Dixon 1979:84), split intransitive, 'dative subjects' (Givón 1984:143-44), an 'inactive' pattern of marking, neutral, static, stative, and 'unaccusative' verbs (Perlmutter 1978). (See Mithun 1991 for a crosslinguistic review of this phenomenon.)

2. -ngua is in the process of changing from a complement-taking predicate to a suffix

2.1 The morphology of -ngua shows its history as an impersonal verb

The paradigm in (5) of person and number inflection for -ngua parallels the pattern of person agreement on impersonal verbs, since both take object prefixes. -ngua does not appear to be related to any independent verb form in Ika, but it may be the reflex of a verb *hangu 'think' (cf. Kogi hánguw, Damana gwan). Ika lacks a cognate to this verb; the verb 'think' in Ika is a?zan (probably derived from zan 'be'). It is conceivable, then, that -ngua became grammaticized as an indicator of future tense and a?zan took over the role of the lexical verb meaning 'think'.

2.2 The syntax of -ngua shows its history as a verb with a purpose complement

-ngua is the only one of the modal suffixes which requires that the preceding verb have the imperfective suffix -an. Since motion verbs with complements have a similar requirement, it is possible that -ngua was at one time the matrix verb of a clause with a sentential complement; this complement would have expressed purpose, with a meaning along the lines of 'I think (that) I will X'. Over time, this was reanalyzed as main verb plus auxiliary, albeit an unusual auxiliary. The two primary indicators of this history are the presence of -an on what is now the lexical verb and the marking of person on the auxiliary verb (which would have formerly been the matrix verb). In addition, the semantics of the proposed origin is consistent with that of current sentential complements which indicate purpose of motion. In these complements, the embedded verb refers to an action which is later in time than that of the matrix verb. Similarly, when -ngua was a matrix verb 'think', the
"thinking" was prior to the action being contemplated, and the reinterpretation of -ngua as 'future' was a natural one.

2.3 The usage of younger speakers shows that -ngua is being fully reinterpreted as a modal suffix

The vast majority of the examples of -ngua in my corpus show the pattern of person marking described in section 0.2. A very small number, however, show the use of regular subject marking morphology and clearly employ -ngua simply as a suffix, as in the following example.

(14)a-zuei-n-gua  
12plS-go-IMPF-FUT  
We will go.

Younger speakers now reportedly use the subject marking morphology exclusively (Paul Lundquist, personal communication). This change indicates that the most recent generation of speakers has fully reinterpreted -ngua simply as a modal suffix.

3. CONCLUSION

-ngua (future) in Ika takes object person-marking prefixes, which parallels the behavior of some lexical verbs, but it fits paradigmatically in the class of modal suffixes. When viewed against a background of the syntax of complement-taking predicates, the system of auxiliary verbs, and the person-marking morphology of the class of impersonal verbs, -ngua can be better understood as an independent complement-taking predicate of the impersonal class of verbs, probably from a verb meaning 'think', which has been grammaticized as a future modal auxiliary/suffix. While for older speakers -ngua has both verbal and suffixial characteristics, younger speakers show its complete reanalysis as a future suffix -gua.

One other modal suffix in Ika shows a person-marked form and may have a history similar to -ngua. -iza (result) has a special first person form ninza while sentences with -iza in second and third person have regular subject marking morphology. One can speculate that this first person form is the residue of yet another impersonal verb with the object prefix nĄ -. The closely related language Kogi also has several verb suffixes which may share a history similar to -ngua. The Kogi causative suffix -guw may be cognate to the Ika complement-taking predicate gua?sa 'make, cause' which is used in the analytic causative construction, and, if so, would represent a reanalysis as a causative suffix with the (previously) embedded verb now serving as the matrix verb (translating into English as 'make, cause').
verb. The suffixes -pan (begin) and -tok (process) under some circumstances are immediately preceded by a subject agreement affix, which may be the residue of their prior status as the matrix verb of the clause. Closer investigation may reveal still other suffixes whose differing history in the related languages may enable their reconstruction as verbs-become-suffixes.

4. NOTES

1. The idea for this paper came as a result of a course on Diachronic Syntax taught by Alice Harris at the 1991 LSA Linguistic Institute at the UCSC. I would like to thank Stephen Levinsohn, Grace Hensarling, and Larry and Cindy Williams for reviewing earlier drafts of this article. Any remaining defects are my own responsibility.

2. Ika is a Chibchan language spoken by some 7000 people in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in northeastern Colombia (Frank 1990:1-2).

3. The abbreviations used in the examples are the following: 12plS (first or second person plural subject), 1O (first person singular object), 2O (second person singular object), 2S (second person singular subject), AUX (auxiliary verb), CERT (certainty), CNTR (contrary to expectation), DIST (distal decitic aspect), FUT (future), IMPF (imperfective aspect), INT (intention), LOC (locative), NEG (negative), OBL (obligation), PERI (peripheral participant), PRF (perfect), PROX (proximate), REF (point of reference), TOP (topic), WIT (witness).

4. The other major function of optional auxiliary verbs is a pragmatic one of highlighting the lexical verb. See Frank 1990:132-34 for more on this phenomenon.

5. Ika lost Proto-Arhuacan *h in word-initial position while Kogi retained it.

6. The reanalysis is probably as -n-gua (imperfective?future). This ability to immediately follow -n on the same verb is similar to -pan (inceptive) and -bina (motion) (Frank 1990:57).

7. -iza expresses the irrealis concept of 'what would happen under the right circumstances' (Frank 1990:62-3).

8. These data from Grace Hensarling (personal communication).

5. REFERENCES

FRANK, Paul. 1990. *Ika syntax*. (Studies in the languages of Colombia 1; Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics 93) Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

