

Fray Bernardo de Lugo: Two Sonnets in Muisca*

Nicholas OSTLER

Linguacubun Ltd / London, UK

I. Overview of the Muisca Language

Muisca, also known as Chibcha, was spoken in the central altiplane of Colombia until the mid-eighteenth century. It is known from three missionary grammars (viz LUGO, 1619; QUIJANO OTERO, 1883 and LUCENA SALMORAL, 1967, 1970; GONZÁLEZ, 1987) which also contain bilingual texts for pastoral use, and (in the case of the last) a Spanish-Muisca glossary. There is also at least one other (currently unpublished) Spanish-Muisca glossary (*Vocabulario Mosco* 1612).

Ostler 1992a exhibits the main features of Muisca syntax, which is a strictly SOV. Ostler 1992b explores Muisca vocabulary, and Ostler 1993 discusses the closely interrelated set of case-particles, postpositions and subordinating conjunctions.

In what follows, I give sources for all Muisca phrases quoted. These are in the form of initials (L - Lugo, GP - González de Pérez, LS - Lucena Salmoral, V - *Vocabulario Mosco*) and a page-number. These page numbers refer to the pages of the published editions, and not to the original pages of the manuscripts. In the case of Lugo and the *Vocabulario Mosco*, the editions are facsimiles of the originals, so I there give the original page numbers followed by r - recto and v - verso, since leaves, rather than sides, are numbered there.

II. Historical Context of Lugo's Grammar and the Spanish Sonnet

The city of Santa Fé de Bogotá was founded in 1538, and a number of churchmen, starting with Gonzalo Bermúdez, took up the analysis and teaching of Muisca from the very earliest days of Spanish settlement. González (1980:76-80) lists twelve works which appear to pre-date Lugo's grammar, but none is extant.

Bernardo de Lugo was born in the New Kingdom of Granada late in the sixteenth century. He became a Dominican friar, and in 1615 he was appointed *magister linguae indorum*, after which he began preaching in Muisca. He was appointed to the chair of Muisca in Colegio del Rosario, the oldest college in Bogotá. On 1 August 1617 he received a

* I wish to thank the President of Colegio del Rosario, Santafé de Bogotá, for his kind gift in 1989 of a facsimile of Lugo's grammar, without which this work would have been impossible. Also Stella González de Pérez for her discussion of an earlier version of these translations. The audience at the Colloquium, especially Gerald Taylor and André Cauty, enriched my understanding of the wider context, and provided many of the points made in section V. All errors remain my responsibility.

commission from Friar Gabriel Giménez (given in full in ORTEGA, 1978: 64) to write an *Arte* (i.e. Grammar) and *Confessional in Muisca*. He worked fast, and received official approval of his work from the three official examiners on 19 and 20 February 1618. It was then sent to Madrid for printing, and was issued by the house of Bernardino de Guzman in 1619. It appears that Lugo was unable to correct the proofs, and the work came with such a strict royal privilege -- no reprints for 10 years, under pain of a fine of 50,000 maravedis -- that no correction of the many misprints was possible. There was to have been an accompanying dictionary and catechism, but this seems never to have been printed (ORTEGA, 1978: 65).

A touching feature of the work is that it begins with three sonnets, one in Spanish, and then two in Muisca. The authorship is unclear, but they are so fulsome in their praises of Lugo that one can only hope that Ortega is right in attributing them to his "compañeros", and not the author himself. The Spanish sonnet (spelling modernized) runs as follows, with an English translation:

SONETO.

*Quién eres tu que tan ligera vuelas?
La lengua Chibcha soy. Ado caminas?

Del nuevo Reyno, a tierras peregrinas,
Que tendrán mis verdades por novelas.

Dices muy bien que a todos nos desuelas
Con tu profundidad, dí qué imaginas?
Que estudiando sabrás lo que adivinas,
Que el docto Lugo preside en mis
escuelas.

Pusome en Arte siendo yo intrincada.
Y de chontal me hizo tan ladina,
Que causo admiración al mundo todo.

Por él pienso quedar eternizada,
Y su opinión de hoy mas será divina,
Que él sólo alcanza mi substancia y
modo.*

SONNET

Who are you who fly so light?
I am the Chibcha tongue. Where are you
bound?
From the new Kingdom, to exotic lands,
Which will take my truths for new ones.

You well say that you distress us all
With your depth; say, what do you imagine?
That by studying you will know what you intuit,
That the learned Lugo is foremost in my
schools.

He put me in a Grammar, since I am intricate.
And from a rude thing he made me so urbane
That I cause admiration throughout the world.

Thanks to him I expect to remain immortalized,
And his repute from today on will be godlike,
In that he alone attains my substance and mode.

The themes which run through the Muisca sonnets are all present here: the intrinsic difficulty of Muisca, Lugo's unique understanding of it, and the resulting mead of praise that he can expect.

III. The Muisca Sonnets: Textual Emendation, Analysis and Translation

The sonnets in Muisca occur immediately after the Spanish sonnet, after the title page but before all the other front-matter including errata. The errata do not mention any passages in the sonnets.

Each line is given first as it appears printed in the codex (line-breaks are replaced by []), then with any emendations which I propose. Next, I transcribe the text according to the

spelling conventions established later in the seventeenth century and used in all other Muisca texts. (Discussion of most of the points at issue here can be found in Constenla 1984 - but note comments on line 1.9.) I then give a morphological analysis of the text, with glosses for each morph, and finally my translation into English. After this there is discussion of any points arising.

Sonnet 1:

1.1

MVγ̄sca micâta cubun choq̄ vca- [s̄ûca,

MVγ̄sca micâta cubun choq̄ vca s̄ûca,

muisca micata cubun choc ucasuca

muisca micata cubun cho-c uca-suca

Muisca beautiful language good-Adv. know-Imperf. Participle

One who learns well the beautiful Muisca language,

In the sonnets, **Muisca** and **chibcha** are used apparently without distinction to refer to the language. (1.1, 2.2; 2.1, 2.9) *Muisca* is also used to refer to people generally (1.13), and once perhaps (2.12) more specifically to refer to indigenous people. **micata** is glossed "*bella cosa, id est mala*" ("fine, i.e. bad") at V 9r.

The sense requires that the verb forms ending in **-suca** in 1.1, 1.5, 2.1, 2.13 be analyzed as participles. GP 85, L 51v, LS 63 all state that **-suca** can have this function. Nowhere else, however, have I found the root **uca** without the stative suffix **-n-** when followed by **-suca**. I have inferred that it can have non-stative meaning "come to know", "learn": the future participle is seen in 1.3.

1.2

Hiaq̄nhân chichiran̄nga, hocâbga- [nân,

Hiaq̄ nhân chichiran̄nga, hoc âbganân,

iahac mahan chichigan̄nga, hoc abganân,

ia-hac maha-n chichigan-nga, ho-c a-b-ga-nân,

now-how 2sg-Locat. strange/rare-Future 3rd-Dative 3rd-Trans.-teach-if
if he should teach how it is strange to you

The common adverb **iahac** Lugo writes as **hiaq̄**: e.g. L 142v = 125r: **Hia quaguèn umqyzhân (iahac aguen umquyzan)** = "*Porque no lo has hecho?*" ("why have you not done it?"). But the rest of **Hiaq̄nhân** is obscure. All the other examples of post-consonantal **h** (outside the ligatures **zh** and **ch**) seem to represent a VhV vocalism in the established spelling (e.g. **nhocân** 1.12, **xhicâ** 1.13, **abhâq̄ynzhînga** 1.14). Stella González de Pérez suggests that the **û** may be a mistake for **γ̄**. If we suppose the **m** of **nhân** to have been corrupted, we get the text suggested here. I have replaced the **r** of **chichiran̄nga** with a **g**, though most of Lugo's **r**'s correspond to standard **ch** (cf. **γ̄erq̄** 2.3 below), since **r** could be close phonetically to an intervocalic [g], and makes good sense.

V 36v: "*Rara cosa, id est, qual y qual entre muchas*" = **chichygansa** [o] **chichegansuca**.

The 3rd person pronoun **hoc** governed by **bgasqua** "teach" (cf. GP 256, LS 55) appears gratuitous, but may be necessary to fix the sense of the **bgasqua** which can also mean "make, render" with a different construction (GP 269). It is natural to assume that this pronoun **hoc**

marks the human recipient, in this case an indefinite 3rd person. But this clashes with the 2nd-person pronoun we have reconstructed within **Hiaqûnhân**.

1.3

Libros, cubun yn vcanynga, ab chihi-qynân,

Libros, cubun yn vcanynga, abchihiqynân,

libros, cubun yn ucanynga, abchihiquynan,

<i>libros,</i>	<i>cubun</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>uca-nynga,</i>	<i>a-b-chihi-quy-nan,</i>
books	language	Loc-Prefix	know-Future	3rd-Trans.-write-Past-if

if he should write books, to explain the language,

The **yn** prefix, seen also at 1.9, is documented in L 106r-107v and V 2v. This proclitic, found only in relative clauses, marks the antecedent (**libros**) as in a locative relation to the clause: i.e. books, in which (the indefinite subject) will come to know the language. Cf. OSTLER, 1993:IIIC on this construction.

1.4

Apuyqy chiê zhagueny qyq angufûca

Apuyqy chiê zhagueny qyq angufûca

apuyquychie z aguene yc angusuca

<i>a-puyquy-chie-z</i>	<i>a-gue-ne</i>	<i>y-c</i>	<i>a-n-gu-suca</i>
3rd-heart-light-Epenth.	3rd-be-Stat.	3rd-Allative	3rd-Pass.-say-Imperf.

he will be told that he has ability

puyquy-chie is a common word for "ability". **chie**, "the moon", also means "light" in general, (V 28r); it also has the metaphorical sense of "honour" in 1.10, 2.10 and 2.15 (GP 271, V 25v). For the sense, a future would be expected here: perhaps Lugo takes the licence of using the present for the rhyme.

This is the first of four problematic **-suca** terminations (cf. 2.1, (2.10) and 2.13). They are problematic because they are formed from verbs of the **-squa** conjugation, viz **gusqua** "say" and **bquysqua** "do". Adelaar (this volume) draws attention to GP 332 where a contrast is made between **-husqua** "venir" (come) and **-husuca** "venir a menudo" ("come often"). This is evidence that some verbs at least could take both **-squa** and **-suca** terminations.

1.5

ÿngâ xis chicubun qyq vmzhanfûca

ÿngâ xis chicubun qyq vmzhanfûca

nga sis chicubun yc umzansuca

<i>nga</i>	<i>sis</i>	<i>chi-cubun</i>	<i>y-c</i>	<i>um-za-n-suca</i>
and	this	1pl-language	3rd-Allative	2sg-place-Stat-Imperf. Participle

and as one who is set on this our language

The meaning, and the morphology, of **um-za-n-suca** are not clear. It is here analyzed as a derived form related to **bzasqua** "put, place" exactly as **quynsuca** "happen, meet, fix" (V 1v, 20v, 4r) is related to **bquysqua** "do". GP 125-6 give a list of "*verbos finitivos*" which are passive statives with the **-n-** suffix, but this **za-n-** is not among them. The grammars give no general rule for deriving **-suca** forms from statives in **-n-** but **a-quyn-suca** is widely attested (e.g. LS 212: **ipquabie-z ys aquynsuca** something happens to them).

1.6

Vmpuyqy chiezhγ hγsqûi γnzhasân

Vmpuyqy chiezhγ hγsqûi γnzhasân

umpuyquychie z hysqui nzasasan

<i>um-puyquy-chie-z</i>	<i>hysqui</i>	<i>nza-sasan</i>
2sg-heart-light-Epenthetic	so	Neg. Copula-if

if your ability is not as great

A peculiarity of Lugo's account of Muisca grammar is that the conditional suffix with the negative copula is **-sasân** not **-san**. (L 29r cf. GP 80, LS 37).

1.7

Muyyas agazhînga, γnga γsqhichan

Muyyas agazhînga, γnga γsqhichan

muyias agazînga, nga ysquihichan

<i>muyia-s</i>	<i>a-ga-zi-nga,</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>y-s-quihicha-n</i>
clear-Perlat.	3rd-become-Neg.-Fut.	and	3rd-Perlat.-because (lit. foot-Loc.)

it will not become clear, and so

The perlative **-s** is superficially odd governed by **gasqua** "become": it usually requires allative **-c**. However, **muyias** is a general adverbial form of **muyia** "clear" (e.g. V 1v, 17v, 12v, 16v).

1.8

zgaqγ suâfâ mabiê γqγ vm̄sunfûcâ.

zhaqγ suâfâ mabiê γqγ vm̄sunfûcâ.

zac suasa mabie yc umsunsuca

<i>za-c</i>	<i>sua-sa</i>	<i>mabie</i>	<i>y-c</i>	<i>um-sun-suca</i>
night-Allat.	day-Perlat.	much	3rd-Allat.	2sg.-think-Imperf.

you ponder about it long by night and day.

zg is an impossible ligature, since **z** is always followed by **h**.

mabiêis quoted in L 5v as meaning "much, many". It is clearly derived from **fi**, the normal word in GP (esp. 146): **b** and **f** do not contrast in Muisca (cf. CONSTENLA, 1984 § 3.1.2). The first two words seem to be a fixed phrase with different cases for **za** and **sua** : V 17r "*De noche y de dia*" = **Zaque suasa. mabie** cannot qualify them, since if it did it would bear the case-marking: e.g. GP 323: **muyisca cuhuma-s** "as a powerful man".

1.9

Arte γnchichichua nynga yê vmqγ nân,

Arte γnchichichuanγnga yê vmqγnân,

arte yn chichichuanγnga ie umquynan,

<i>arte</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>chi-chichua-nynga</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>um-quy-nan,</i>
grammar	Loc. Prefix	1pl-learn-Future Participle	road	2sg-make-if

If you should make a way for us to learn the Arte

Lugo's **y** before a vowel corresponds to what was later written with **i**. (cf. **anyanua?** **Anyanga**. 2.11.) He could use **y** for this allomorph, since he had **γ** for the distinct vowel later written **y**.

Note that Lugo's orthography distinguishes the **ch** of **chi-** "we", **chie** "light, glory" from the barred **ch̄** of **cho** "good", **chichua** "learn" and **chibcha**. This distinction was lost in the later

orthography. Although Constenla 1984 § 3.1.5.1 remarks that Lugo "tended to write the **ch** in Muisca with a bar on the **h**", he does not note this apparently systematic distinction in Lugo's phonology.

The verb **bchichua-suca** means "to learn" (V 6v, 8v). It lacks its **-b-** here as it is participial (GP 86).

1.10

Ipqua bhoza noabê vmchiê chibqyngâ

Ipqua bhozha noabê vmchiê chibqyngâ

ipqua bohoza nua be umchie chibquynga

<i>ipqua</i>	<i>bohoza</i>	<i>n -ua-be</i>	<i>um-chie</i>	<i>chi-b-quy-nga</i>
what	with	Fut.-Interrog.-Deliberat.	2sg-glory	1pl-Trans.-make-Future

with what shall we sing your praises?

I have conjectured **nua**, the future interrogative of the copula, which makes good sense. But Lugo himself (L 30r) gives the form as **nuâ** not **noa**.

Ostler 1992a: §6 describes the fronting of question-word and Interrogative Copula (**ua**). Usually the main-verb is participialized in this construction: but not (as here) when the questioned element is a postpositional phrase. The particle **be** is seen in many questions (e.g. GP 306-309 passim), but usually attached to the main verb, not as here to the copula.

The sense seems to be: "what materials can we find to construct your glory?", suggesting that everything here is too lowly.

1.11

Con Muysca atabê vmqy yê amizhin- [ga.

Con Muysca atabê vmqy yê amizhinga.

con muysca atabe umquy ie amizinga

<i>con</i>	<i>muysca</i>	<i>atabe</i>	<i>umquy</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>a-mi-zi-nga</i>
cry	Muisca	any	2sg-make Past	road	3rd-pass-Neg.-Fut.

You have made a way that no Muisca cry will pass

This is a difficult line. **con** is the usual word for "weeping", common as a verb-stem but also attested as a noun: V 28r: "*Llanto* " = **cone**. (with the obligatory *e* or *y* added to every final **n**). Adelaar (p.c.) notes that in Quechua **waqay** can mean "sing" as well as "weep", but such a sense for **con-** is not noted in any of the Muisca vocabularies. Lugo seems to have allowed himself some latitude in word-order, placing the main verb in the middle of the line, and spreading the relative clause qualifying **ie** all round. (This spreading of relative clause constituents is quite common: cf. OSTLER, 1992a : §2.8.) **amizinga** needs then to be taken as a participial: none of the grammars explicitly give forms for negative participials, and the prefix **a-** is problematic (cf. 2.1 and 2.13); there is another negative participial (formed differently) at 2.7.

The result of this licence is that the line is quite a precise phonic echo of line 1.10 which precedes.

1.12

ꞥnga xis qycacâ vmguy nhocân;

ꞥnga xis qycacâ vmguy nhocân;

nga sis quycaca umguy nohocan

<i>nga</i>	<i>sis</i>	<i>quyca-ca</i>	<i>um-guy</i>	<i>nohocan</i>
and	this	land-Inessive	2sg-be	although

and even though you are in this land

Constenla 1984 : 86 - § 3.1.7 -notes correctly that **x** and **s** are in free variation before **i**, and probably pronounced [ʃ]. Cf. **xhicâ** in the next line.

1.13

Mvʏʃcà vmguʏ ʏpqvanâ xhicâ gungâ,

Mvʏʃcà vmguʏ ʏpqvanâ xhicâ gungâ,

muyasca umguy ypquana sihic agunga

<i>muyasca</i>	<i>um-guy</i>	<i>ypqua-na</i>	<i>sihic</i>	<i>a-gu-nga</i>
person	2sg-be	after-Loc.	thus	3rd-say-Future

people after you have been will speak thus:

I have transferred the **a** from the end of **xhicâ** onto the beginning of **gungâ**, for verbal concord. The **a** at the end of **xhicâ** would have been optional anyway.

1.14

Vmhʏca Bernardo vqûqʏ abhâqʏnzhînga.

Vmhʏca Bernardo vbûqʏ abhâqʏnzhînga.

umhyca Bernardo ubuc abahaquynzinga

<i>um-hyca</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>ubuc</i>	<i>a-bahaquy-n-zi-nga</i>
2sg-name	Bernardo	ever	3rd-abase-Stat.-Neg-Future

Your name, Bernardo, shall never be brought low.

There is no known word **vqûqʏ** (**ucuc**): hence my emendation. Cf. GP 284: "*Nunca jamás.*" : **Hataca** [o] **ubuca** ...

The last word is unattested elsewhere. However, V 9r has: "*Baxa cosa, vil* " = **vahaque** **muyasca** [o] **bahaque guacha guasgua**. **bahaque** clearly means "low, vile".

Sonnet 2:

2.1

Xiêgua chibcha cubun mabie agusû- [ca? [Bernardo guʏ.

Xiêgua chibcha cubun mabie agusûca? Bernardo guʏ.

xie gua chibcha cubun mabie agusuca? Bernardo gue.

<i>xie-gua</i>	<i>chibcha</i>	<i>cubun</i>	<i>mabie</i>	<i>a-gu-suca?</i>	<i>Bernardo-gue.</i>
who -	Chibcha	language	many	3rd-say-	Bernardo -
Interrogative				?Imperf.	Affirmative
Copula				Participle	Copula

Who is it who describes at length the Chibcha language? Bernardo.

The problem here is the apparent present participle of **gusqua**, "say", whose 3rd person present participle is by rights **guisca** (cf. GP 230 with inflexion paradigm on GP 82). Yet the sense seems clear, and a participle is required in a question beginning **xiegua** (cf OSTLER, 1992: §6).

As a **-suca** verb, **agusuca**'s participial ending is standard: the prefix **a-**, though is obscure.

2.2

Muʏʃca hʏʃqui vcasûca aguenuâ? [Aguêzhâ.

Muysca hysqui vcasûca aguenuâ? Aguêzhâ.

muysca hysqui ucasuca aguenua? agueza.

<i>muysca</i>	<i>hysqui</i>	<i>uca-suca</i>	<i>a-gue-n-ua?</i>	<i>agueza.</i>
Muisca	so	know-Imperf. Participle	3rd-be-Stative- Interrog. Copula	3rd-be- Negative

Is there anyone who knows Muisca as well? There is not.

2.3

γngà γerqγ atabe amuys apqua zhâ- [guâ? [Apquâzhâ.

γngà γerqγ atabe amuys apqua zhâguâ? Apquâzhâ.

nga yechica atabe amuys apquazagua? apquaza.

<i>nga</i>	<i>yechica</i>	<i>atabe</i>	<i>a-muys</i>	<i>a-pqua-za-gua?</i>	<i>a-pqua-za</i>
and	other	anyone	3rd-toward	3rd-reach-Neg.- Interrog. Copula	3rd-reach- Neg.

And does no-one else attain it? None does.

For the **ch** corresponding to Lugo's **r** before [k], cf. L 89r, where **huirqγ**, **huircâ** are quoted among the "*preposiciones*", corresponding I presume to V 43r (**ze-)****huichquy** : "*ad sensum vel notitiam meam*" (in my sight). González de Pérez (p.c.) also points out the variants for "old" **tybara**, [o] **tybacha** (GP 333).

yechica is quoted directly at GP 157: ("*es lo mismo que alius ...*").

The verb sense, if strained in English, parallels the Spanish sonnet's "*Que el solo alcança mi substancia y modo.*"

2.4

Ocanxînga hysqγ quî amucanγ? Anguaguêguy.

Ocanxînga hysqγ quî amucanγ? Anguaguêguy.

ocanxînga hysquy amucane? anguague.

<i>ocanxînga</i>	<i>hysquy</i>	<i>a-m-uca-ne?</i>	<i>anguague-gue.</i>
truly	so	3rd-Trans.-know-Stat.	awe-Affirmative Copula

Does he truly know it so well? It is awesome.

I know of no word **quî** outside these sonnets. I conjecture it has slipped in after the **-qγ** of **hysqγ**.

ocanxînga, which occurs again in 2.9, is an idiom, meaning "certainly, truly" (GP 160, V 15r). **anguague** is attested in V as a translation for various terms of disgust and fear: "terrible", "espantable", "abominable". However, V 40r says that it can be a synonym for much: "*y asi suelen decir: guasga z anguague, id est, ynapuyquyne*" which would mean "there are a lot of children". Here it expresses exaggerated admiration for Lugo's knowledge.

2.5

Anguaqγ aguen qhichan zhγb xiefγ.

Anguaguêqγ aguen qhichan zhγb xiefγ.

anguaguec aguen quihichan zeb-siesy

<i>anguague-c</i>	<i>a-gue-n</i>	<i>quihicha-n</i>	<i>ze-b-siesy</i>
awe-Allative	3rd-be-Stative	because (lit. foot-Loc.)	1sg-Trans.-fear

Because it is awesome, I am afraid

I have inserted an extra **guê** in **Anguaqy** for the sense. I have only found **angua** itself in the phrase **angua bquysqua** "hear a noise" (e.g. GP 318, V 37v).

2.6

γs gues qγ atabe 3hγbny mucan 3ha

γs guesqγ atabe 3hγbny mucanzha

ys guespqua atabe ze[bny] mucanza

<i>y-s</i>	<i>guespqua</i>	<i>atabe</i>	<i>ze-[bny]-m-uca-n-za</i>
3rd-Perlative	like	anyone	1sg-[?]-Trans.-know-Stativ-Neg.

I do not know anyone like him

It is difficult to make any sense of the syllable **bny** which looks like the stem of the verb **mny-squa** "give", "take" or "put". Unfortunately, it seems to be necessary to make the syllable-count in 2.6 equal to its balancing line in the sonnet, 2.7.

2.7

γnga cubun etaqyn 3hγ mvcan 3hâ

γnga cubun etaqyn 3hγ mvcanzhâ

nga cubun etaquynz mucanza

<i>nga</i>	<i>cubun</i>	<i>etaquyn-z</i>	<i>m-uca-n-za</i>
and	language	nothing-Epenthetic	Trans.-know-Stat.-Neg. (-Participle?)

and one who knows nothing of the language

3hγ in this line, and the next, have been interpreted as "*adornos*", i.e. "epenthetic". LS 56 states: "*el adorno de la z se pone despues de la n quando inmediatamente se sigue vocal (maxime a).*" i.e

.ø -> z / n_# V. But one does not have to read far to see that the *adornos* are not so narrowly restricted e.g. LS 210 **Muysca atebie-z muhuc aguahaica-n** "some man's harm to you". And cf. line 2.11 below. By contrast, if these **3hγ** are interpreted as 1sg prefixes, the translation becomes slightly more difficult: "I who know nothing... can I know very well his language?"

V 30v, under "*Ninguno*", has **etaquyn magueza**, literally "at base non-existent".

2.8

γs acubun choin 3hγ mucanbê.

γs acubun choin 3hγ mucanbê.

ys acubun choinz mucanbe?

<i>y-s</i>	<i>a-cubun</i>	<i>cho-in-z</i>	<i>m-uca-n-be?</i>
3rd-Perlative	3rd- language	good-Superlative- Epenthetic	Trans.-know-Stat.- Deliberative

can he know very well his language?

2.9

Arte cubun Chibcha o cas abqy? Ocan xinga.

Arte cubun Chibcha ocas abqy? Ocanxinga.

arte cubun chibcha ocas abquy? ocanxinga.

<i>arte</i>	<i>cubun</i>	<i>chibcha</i>	<i>oca-s</i>	<i>a-b-quy?</i>	<i>ocanxinga.</i>
grammar	language	Chibcha	= <i>a-uca-s</i> : 3rd- know-Gerund	3rd-Trans.- do+Past	truly

Did he know the Chibcha language when he made the *Arte*? Truly.

i.e. "knowing the Chibcha language, did he make the *Arte* ?" L 121v-122v gives an account of the -s which attaches to all but the last of a series of parallel verbs.

2.10

γs q̄hichan achie zhy angufungâ? Angufungâ.

γs q̄hichan achie zhy angufucâ? Angufucâ.

ysquihichan achie z angusuca? angusuca.

<i>y-s-quihicha-n</i>	<i>a-chie-z</i>	<i>a-n-gu-suca ?</i>	<i>angusuca.</i>
3rd-Perlat.-because	(lit. 3rd-glory-	3rd-Pass.-say-Imperf.	ditto
3rd-Perlat.-foot-Loc.)	Epenthetic		

And so will his glory be spoken? It will be.

I have emended both in question and answer. As the poem stands, line 2.13 lacks any rhyme. Moreover, **angusunga**, if accepted, would have contained an extra morph **-su-** which is not readily explainable. **angusuca** is also dubious, since the passive should be **angusqua**. But it is not the only illegitimate **-suca** form: cf. 1.4, 2.1 and 2.13.

2.11

Achicazhy mabie an ya nua? An yanga.

Achicazhy mabie anya nua? Anyanga.

achica z mabie anianua? anianga.

<i>achica z</i>	<i>mabie</i>	<i>a-n-ia-n-ua?</i>	<i>a-n-ia-nga.</i>
3rd-cause (lit. 3rd-	much	3rd-Pass.-open-	3rd-Pass.-
top) - Epenth.		Fut.-Interrog.	gather-Fut.

For this will much be revealed? It will be.

L 34r gives **chica-na/- ca** meaning "*por ocasión*". In GP 114 the passive of **ze-b-ia-squa** is given as **cha-n-na-squa**, not ***cha-n-ia-squa**, which would correspond to what we have here. Perhaps this is an earlier or dialectal form, or perhaps the **-nn-** is used to represent a nasal palatal like **n~**. At any rate, Lugo's spelling **a-nya-** makes it quite clear that the **i** in the stem is not syllabic. And the realization of the transitive prefix as **-b-** confirms this: before a syllabic vowel, it would appear as **-m-**, as it does, e.g. in **ze-m-imy-suca**. "change".

2.12

Hγspqua Muγsca atabê zhymhixtyz- [hinga,

Hγspqua Muγsca atabê zhymhixtyzhinga,

hyspqua muysca atabe zemistyzinga

<i>hyspqua</i>	<i>muysca</i>	<i>atabe</i>	<i>ze-misty-zi-nga</i>
such	person	any-Epenth.	1sg-find-Neg.-Fut.

I shall never find any such person/Indian

GP 157: "*Yspqua significa talis [o] exeogenere, como cha-yspqua-gue, tal soi...*"

2.13

Aquyca hysqui cho γqγ abqysûca

Aquyca hysqui cho γqγ abqysûca

aquyca hysqui cho yc abquysuca

a-quyca hysqui cho yc a-b-quy-suca

3rd-land such good 3rd-Allative 3rd-Trans.-do-Imperf. Particp.

who does such good for his land

abquysuca is another non-standard participle, which should be by the rules **quisca** (L 41v, GP 83) -cf. 2.1 above. Furthermore, by the case-valences set out in LS 53-56 **yc bquysqua** should mean "seize him": "do him good", the apparent sense here, should be **hoc cho bquysqua**. The construction appears very similar to that which gave trouble in 1.11, namely a main verb surrounded by various parts of the long relative clause which is its direct object.

2.14

Achiê, a honra, mabiê γqγ angungâ.

Achiê, a honra, mabiê γqγ angungâ.

achie, ahonra, mabie yc angunga.

a-chie, a-honra, mabie y-c a-n-gu-nga.

3rd-glory 3rd-honour many 3rd-Allat. 3rd-Pass.-say-Future

His glory, his honour, will be told to many.

IV. Metrics and Rhyme-Scheme

The Spanish sonnet's metre is iambic, with five main stresses, and feminine rhymes throughout. It is more difficult to discern any rhythmical pattern in the Muisca sonnets, especially since nothing is known about stress, accent or vowel-length. The lines have from 11 to 14 syllables in the first of them, and from 11 to 17 in the second, but there are doubts about the scansion of diphthongs with **u**, **i** and **h**.

The rhyme-pattern in each of the three sonnets is different. They are:

Spanish:	ABBA	ABBA	CDECDE
Muisca 1:	ABBA	ABBA	BCCBCC
Muisca 2:	ABBA	ABBA'	CDCCDC

Muisca 2 is noticeably the roughest of the three, with a poor rhyme of line 2.8 (*bê*) to line 2.5 (*sy*), and line 2.13 failing to rhyme with anything unless line 2.11 is emended.

V. Conclusion

The sonnets in Muisca are so extravagant in their praise of Lugo that to modern ears they sound insincere, rather like the work of a friendly colleague teasing him about his aspirations. The only evidence about the author(s) is *chicubun* "our language" in 1.5. Could this imply that the writer was a native speaker of Muisca? This might clarify some points where the writer's morphology and syntax does not conform with Lugo's own prescriptions.

But the sonnets may have been intended more to encourage buyers than to flatter the author. Fray Domingo de Santo Thomas's 1560 grammar and dictionary of Quechua begin with Latin elegiac verses praising the author's intellectual feat, but also urging the reader to buy the books. Nevertheless, such verses do seem to have been rare: in the Conde de la

Viñaza's Spanish bibliography on American indigenous languages no other poetic invocations figure among the 244 titles he reviews up to the end of the seventeenth century.

The sonnets may also be seen as the fruit of a teaching tradition which emphasized imitation of traditional authors: thus the ponderous question-and-answer style of the second Muisca sonnet may be a conscious echo of the Catechism: its heaviness certainly contrasts with the much more elegant dialogue of poet and language in the Spanish sonnet.

Whatever their purpose or authorship, it is fortunate that they *were* printed. For these twenty-eight lines are now the full extent of original literature known to have survived in Chibcha.

SONETO.

QUIEN eres tu que tan lixera buelas?
 La lengua Chibcha soy. Ado caminas?
 Del mucuo Reyno, a tierras peregrinas,
 Que tendrá mis verdades por nouelas.
 Dizes muy bien que a todos nos defuelas
 Con tu profundidad, di que imaginas?
 Que estudiando sabras lo que adiuinas,
 Que el docto Lugo preside en mie escuelas.
 Pusome en Arte siendo yo intricada,
 Y de Chontal me hizo tan ladina,
 Que causo admiraciõ al mundo todo.
 Por el pienso quedar eternizada,
 Y su opinion de oy mas será diuina,
 Que el solo alcanca mi substancia y modo.

SONETO.

MUYSCA micata cubun choqy vca-
 sica,
 Hiaquinhân chichiranynga, hocâbganân,
 Libros, cubun yn veanynga, ab chihiqynân,
 Apuzqy chie zhagueny yqy angusica
 yngâ xis chicubun yqy vmzhansica
 Vmpuyqy chie zhy hysqui yn zhasân
 Muycas agashinga, ynga ysqhichân
 zgaqy suâfâ mabié yqy vmsunfucâ.
 Arte ynchichichua nynga yé vmqy nân,
 Ipqua bho za noabé vmchié chibqyngâ
 Con Muisca arabé vmqy yé amizhinga.
 yngâ xis qycacâ vmguy nhocân;
 Muisca vmguy yppuanâ xhicâ gungâ,
 Vmbisca Bernardo vquqy abhaqyn-
 zginga.

SONETO.

XIéguâ chibchâ cubun mabié agusica?
 Bernardo guy.
 Muisca hysqui vcasica aguenû?
 Aguézhâ.
 yngâ yerqy atabé amuys apqua zhâ-
 guâ?
 Apquâzhâ.
 Ocanxinga hysqy qui amucany?
 Anguaguéguy.
 Anguaqy aguen qhichân zhyb xiesy.
 ysgues qy arabe zhybn y mucan zha
 ynga cubun eraqyn zhy mucan zhâ
 y acubun choin zhy mucanbê.
 Arte cubun Chibchâ o cas abqy?
 Ocan xinga.
 ysqhichân achic zhy angufungâ?
 Angufungâ.
 Achicazhy mabié an ya nuâ?
 An yangâ.
 Hys-

Hyspqua Muisca atabé zhy mhiixyz-
 hinga,
 Aquyca hysqui cf. o yqy abqysica
 Achic, a honra, mabié yqy angumgâ.

FIN

REFERENCES

ADELAAR, Willem

- 1993 "Les catégories verbales "conjugaison" et "genre" dans les grammaires de la langue chibcha". This vol.

CONSTENLA UMAÑA, Adolfo

- 1984 "Los fonemas de muisca". *Estudios de lingüística chibcha*, ed. Enrique Margery P. & Adolfo Constenla U. Depto de Lingüística, Universidad de Costa Rica .

GONZÁLEZ de PÉREZ, María Stella

- 1980 *Trayectoria de los estudios sobre la lengua chibcha o muisca*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
1987 '*Diccionario y Gramática Chibcha*' - MS anónimo de la Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo. [GP]

LUCENA SALMORAL, Manuel

- 1967 "Gramática Chibcha del siglo XVII". *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* XIII. 31-90. Continued *ibid.* XIV. 201-220. [LS]

LUGO, Fray Bernardo de

- 1619 *Gramática en la lengua general del Nuevo Reyno, llamado mosca*. Madrid: Bernardino de Guzmán. (Facsimiles: (1) "Resurrección de una lengua" pref. M. Alvar, Ediciones Cultura Hisp.del Centro Iberoamer. de cooperación, Madrid, 1978; (2) Colegio del Rosario, Bogotá, 1981.) [L]

ORTEGA RICAURTE, Carmen

- 1978 *Los estudios sobre lenguas indígenas de Colombia*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

OSTLER, Nicholas

- 1992a "Syntactic Typology of Muisca - a Sketch". *Language in the Andes*. Univ. Delaware Press, Cole, Hermon & Martin ed.
1992b "Estudios Lingüísticos sobre los Textos Litúrgicos en Idioma Muisca". presented at 6th Congress of Anthropology in Colombia, Bogotá.
1993 "Case-Marking and Complementation in Chibcha". 13th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Mexico City, 2 August.

QUIJANO OTERO, José María

- 1883 "Gramática, frases, oraciones, catezismo, confessorario y vocabulario e la lengua chibcha 1620..." *Congreso internacional de americanistas 4.*, Madrid 1881: 226-295. Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet.

VIÑAZA, El Conde de la

- 1892 *Bibliografía Española de Lenguas Indígenas de América*. Madrid (facsimile : Madrid: Ediciones Atlas 1977).

Vocabulario Mosco. 1612. MS 2923 en la Biblioteca del Palacio Madrid. [V]