A'ingae (Cofán/Kofán)

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1. Classification, demographics, and sociolinguistic background

A'ingae is a language spoken in the provinces of Putumayo and Nariño in Colombia, along the San Miguel, Guamués, and Putumayo rivers, and in the province of Sucumbios in Ecuador, along the Aguarico River. UNESCO reports 379 speakers in Colombia and 600 speakers in Ecuador in 2008. The language is considered to be 'severely endangered' in Colombia and 'definitely endangered' in Ecuador. There is, however, a positive language attitude and due to intermarriage the number of speakers might actually be increasing. The current description is based on data from the Ecuadorian variety of A'ingae, with most data having been gathered in the village of Dureno (located at 0°3'0.00"N, 76°41'60.00"W).

A'ingae (ISO 639-3 identifier *con*, Glottolog code *cofa1242*) is a language with no known genetic affiliations. It was classified as a Chibchan language in Rivet (1924), as an Andean B language in Greenberg (1960), and as an Equatorial language in Greenberg (1987). Loukotka (1968), Tovar & Tovar (1984), and Kaufman (1990), however, list A'ingae as a separate linguistic group, and this is what is also found in more recent classifications such as Lewis et al. (2016). A'ingae is also treated as an isolate in Adelaar & Muysken (2004: 454).

Though the language is better known as Cofán or Kofán, the speakers themselves refer to their language as *A'ingae*, a name consisting of the stem *a'i* 'person' and the manner clitic =*ngae*, and thus meaning 'in the manner of the people'. The Spanish denomination *Cofán* may be related to the name of the Cofanes river, which was called *Cofa-na'en* 'Cofa-river' at the time of the Spanish occupation.

No complete grammar of A'ingae has been produced so far. Major publications include Borman (1962, 1976, 1977, 1981), Fischer (2002, 2007) and Fischer & van Lier (2011) for the Ecuadorian variety, and Tobar Gutiérrez (1995) for the Colombian variety. A full grammar is in preparation (Hengeveld & Fischer in prep.).

2. Phonology

2.1. Phonological inventory

A'ingae has a moderately large consonant inventory consisting of 26 consonants, which are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Consonants*

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive – voiceless	/p/		/t/			/k/	/ʔ/
Plosive – aspirated	/pʰ/		/tʰ/			/kʰ/	
Plosive – prenasalized	/ᵐb/		/ⁿd/			/ᵑg/	
Fricative		/f/	/s/	/ʃ/			/h/
Affricate – voiceless			/ts/	/tʃ/			
Affricate – aspirated			/tsʰ/	/tʃʰ/			
Affricate – prenasalized			/ⁿʣ/	/ⁿʤ/			
Nasal	/m/		/n/		/ɲ/		
Flap			/ɾ/				
Approximant		/ʋ/			/j/		

As shown in Table 1, a characteristic feature of A'ingae is the three-way distinction within the classes of plosives and affricates, where voiceless, aspirated and prenasalized (and therefore voiced) phonemes are found.

Borman (1962) distinguishes the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/, which he represents as /g/. We do not include this consonant in our inventory, as we have not encountered it in our data. Tobar Gutiérrez (1995) does not include the glottal stop /ʔ/. In our data we do, however, find minimal pairs like the following, in which the glottal stop contrasts with a bilabial voiceless plosive, as in (1)[1]. The examples in (2) contrast minimally in the absence or presence of a glottal stop.

(1) a /aʔi/ 'person'
     b /api/ 'pan'

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[1] Most examples in this chapter are taken from the data collected by Rafael Fischer between 2001 and 2006 in the villages of Dureno, Sábalo and Sinangoe in Ecuador. These data are coded in the following way: Date of recording – Abbreviations of names of speakers involved – Topic – Time code/line number. Additional examples are taken from legends told by Enrique Criollo and presented in M.B. Borman (1990). These data are coded by the abbreviation 'BC' followed by the legend number and the line number within the legend. Some further examples are taken from the earlier publications on A'ingae by M.B. Borman mentioned above and are then referenced in the regular way. When an example was obtained in elicitation this is indicated by means of the abbreviation 'elic.'.

(2)   a. / ʧiga/   'God'
       b. / ʧiʔga/   'not want'

A'ingae has five oral and five nasal vowels, given in Table 2.

Table 2. *Vowels*

Oral	Front	Central	Back	Nasal	Front	Central	Back
Close	/i/	/ɨ/		Close	/ĩ/	/ɨ̃/	
Close-mid			/ʊ/	Close-mid			/ʊ̃/
Open-mid	/ɛ/			Open-mid	/ɛ̃/		
Open		/a/		Open		/ã/	

This vowel inventory is typologically rare, as the mid vowels are not of the same height. The /ʊ/ has a broad range of manifestations, ranging from [o] to [u].

2.2. Phonological processes

Important phonological processes in A'ingae include diphthongization, glottal stop insertion, denasalization, and nasalization, the latter occurring in various contexts.

Diphthongization involves glide formation and occurs whenever two vowels are clustered within a syllable. It produces both rising and falling diphthongs. Some examples are given in (3).

(3)   Rising: [i̯ɛ]   [ʊʔ.ti̯ɛ]   'first'
                  [ʊ̯̃ã]   [kʰʊ̯̃ã.ⁿgi]   'two'
       Falling: [ɛʊ̯]   [ti.tsʰɛʊ̯]   'more (pejorative)'
                  [ãʊ̯̃]   [tsaʔ.kãʊ̯̃]   'like that one'

A diphthong is always either completely oral or completely nasal. When an oral and a nasal vowel are clustered the entire diphthong becomes nasal, as will be shown below.

As shown in Table 1, the glottal stop forms part of the phoneme inventory of A'ingae. However, it is not always phonemic, as a glottal stop may also be inserted by phonological rule. This rule is always applied if otherwise a sequence of three vowels, a triphthong, would arise. Both examples in (4) end with the clitic =*a*, which in (4a) follows a syllable with a single vowel and in (4b) with two vowels. Only in the last

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case a glottal stop is inserted.

(4) a /ɲʊ.tsʰi.a/   [ɲũ.tsʰi̯a]   good = STAT = ADJR
     b /ᵐbia.a/   [bi̯a.ʔa]   long = ADJR

Nasality is a very prominent feature of A'ingae. In the phoneme inventory there are nasal consonants, prenasalized plosives and affricates, and nasal vowels. A number of nasalization processes add further to the observed nasality. The relevant processes include the nasalization of the voiceless unaspirated plosives /p/ or /t/ into [ᵐb] and [ⁿd] when following a nasal vowel; the realization of the approximants /ʋ/ and /j/ as [m] and [ɲ] when following a nasal vowel; the nasalization of oral vowels when preceding or following a nasal vowel; the nasalization of oral vowels following nasal consonants; and the nasalization of oral vowels when preceding a prenasalized plosive or affricate. We additionally need a rule of denasalization of word-initial prenasalized plosives and affricates.

We will start discussing the latter two processes in relation to the status of prenasalized plosives and affricates in general. Borman (1962) and Tobar Gutiérrez (1995) assume the presence of voiced plosives and affricates in the consonant inventory of A'ingae, which would then be prenasalized in word internal onset position when following a nasal vowel. This analysis is problematic, however, especially since there are several highly requent clitics in the language that are systematically realized with a prenasalized onset. For instance, the dative clitic /ⁿga/, the beneficiary clitic /ᵐbɛ/, and the plural clitic /ⁿdɛkʰû/ never occur in non-prenasalized form. In order to understand the distribution of prenasalized and non-prenasalized voiced plosives and affricates, it therefore seems more useful to assume (i) a rule of denasalization for prenasalized plosives and affricates occurring in word-initial onset position, and (ii) a rule of nasalization of vowels preceding prenasalized voiced plosives and affricates. These two rules are sufficient to regulate the alternation between nasalized and prenasalized consonants.

We thus find that the rule of denasalization of prenasalized voiced plosives and affricates leads to the realizations of these phonemes listed in (5).

(5)   /ᵐb/ [ᵐb, b]   /ⁿd/ [ⁿd, d]   /ⁿg/ [ⁿg, g]   /ⁿʣ/ [ⁿʣ, ʣ]   /ⁿʤ/ [ⁿʤ, ʤ]

To demonstrate that this is the correct analysis we need examples of contrasting morphologically complex forms in which in one case nasality spreads backwards to an underlying oral vowel and in another does not display such nasal spreading. Such examples are shown in (6) and (7) with the verbal form /ʃa.ˈka/ 'fail, lack'. In (6) the verb

is followed by the action nominalizer suffix /pa/ which has a voiceless onset consonant, hence there is no spreading of nasality. In (7) the same verb form is followed by the negation clitic /ᵐbi/, and in this case the nasal feature of /ᵐbi/ spreads backwards to the previous vowel as can be observed in the surface form [ʃa.ˈkã.ᵐbi].

(6)   /ʃa.ˈka.pa/   [ʃa.ˈka.pa]   fail-NR   'fault'
(7)   /ʃa.ˈka.ᵐbi/   [ʃa.ˈkã.ᵐbi]   fail = NEG   'did not fail'

These examples clearly show that nasalization in this case works backwards.

     The nasalization process works forwards in cases in which a nasal vowel precedes one of the voiceless unaspirated plosives /p/ or /t/. In these circumstances these plosives are prenasalized and thereby voiced. This is again demonstrated with two pairs of morphologically complex words. In (8) both words contain the nominalizer /pa/, which in (8a) is preceded by an oral vowel and in (8b) by a nasal vowel. In (9) both words contain the new topic clitic /ta/, which is (9a) is preceded by an oral vowel and in (9b) by a nasal one.

(8)   a   /sɛʔ.hɛ.pa/   [sɛʔ.hɛ.pa]   heal-NR   'medicine'
         b   /ɨ.hĩ.pa/   [ɨ.hĩ.ᵐba]   rain-NR   'rain'
(9)   a   /ʋa.ta/   [ʋa.ta]   PROX = NEW   'this'
         b   /haʔ.ɲõ.ta/   [haʔ.ɲõ.ⁿda]   now = NEW   'now'

     The approximants /ʋ/ and /j/ are also affected by the presence of a preceding nasal vowel, and are in such circumstances realized as [m] and [ɲ], respectively, as shown in (10)-(11).

(10)   /kũ.sĩ.ʋɛ/   [kũ.sĩ.mɛ̃]   woolly.monkey = ACC2
(11)   /tsũ.jɛ/   [tsũ.ɲɛ̃]   make-INF

     Oral vowels undergo a process of nasalization when preceding a prenasalized consonant, as shown above, but also when preceding or following a nasal vowel. The following examples show both possibilities, forward nasalization in (12) and backward in (13). These examples also show that diphthongs are always either completely oral or completely nasal.

(12)   /hʋ.vaʔ.kã.ʋ/   [hʋ.vaʔ.kã̯ʋ̃]   DIST = CMP   'exactly like that'
(13)   /kʰɨ.ʃa.ɛ̃/   [kʰɨ.ʃã̯ɛ̃]   recover-CAUS   'heal'

Nasalisation crosses a consonant boundary when a nasal and non-nasal vowel are separated by the glottal fricative [h] or a glottal stop. This can be seen in the examples in (14).

(14) a /tsũ.hɛ/   [tsũ.hɛ̃]   do-IPFV
      b /ãĩ.ha/   [ãĩ.hã]   dog = CONTR
      c /rɨbɛ̃ʔ.jɛ/   [rɨbɛ̃ʔ.jɛ̃]   Ruben = NPST
      d /hĩʔ.ja/   [hĩʔ.jã]   exist = ASS

Finally, oral vowels also nasalize when they follow a nasal consonant. This is shown in (15).

(15) a /hai.mɛ.pa/   [ha̯i.mɛ̃.ᵐba]   Jaime = ASSC
      b /ɲuɲa.pa/   [ɲũɲã.ᵐba]   make = SS

These examples furthermore show the percolating effect of nasalization: the vowels following the nasal consonants /m/ and /ɲ/ are nasalized, and in turn trigger prenasalization of the following /p/.

2.3. Phonotactics

A syllable consists minimally of a simple vocalic nucleus and maximally of a single consonant as the onset, two diphthongizing vowels as the nucleus and a glottal stop as the coda, the glottal stop being the only coda allowed, and only if followed by a consonantal onset. If the nucleus consists of two vowels these always diphthongize, and, when either one is nasal, both are realized nasally. The possible syllable structures can therefore be listed and illustrated as in (16):

(16) V   [a.ʔi] 'person', [ɨ̃.hĩ] 'rain'
      VV   [ai.jɛ.hɛ] 'push', [ãĩ] 'dog'
      CV   [a.ʔi] 'person', [tʃã] 'mother'
      CVV   [ti.tsʰɛʊ̯] 'more (pejorative)', [kãʊ̯̃] 'CMPR.ADVR'
      Vʔ   [iʔ.fa] 'bring = PL', [ãʔ.fa] 'eat = PL'
      VVʔ   [aiʔ.ʋʊ] 'body', [ãĩʔ.fa] 'dog = SHAPE.LATERAL'
      CVʔ   [paʔ.tʃʊ] 'dead', [mã.ɲãʔ.fa] 'send = PL'
      CVVʔ   [dʒaiʔ.tʃʊ] 'sit = NR', [ã.nãɛ̃ʔ.ma] 'hammock'

Several clitics start, morphologically speaking, with a glottal stop followed by another consonant. This initial glottal stop is, however, always realized as the coda of the syllable to which the clitic is attached. This is shown in (17).

(17)   /tsa/ + /ʔkã/   [tsaʔ.kã]   ANA = CMPR   'like that'

2.4. Prosody

Within phonological words, the stress position can in most cases be defined with respect to the (basic or derived) stem it contains. The examples in (18) show that the addition of inflectional suffixes and/or clitics does not affect the stress position within a word, while the addition of derivational suffixes does.

(18)   a   [ˈsɛʔ.hɛ]   [ˈsɛʔ.hɛ.jɛ]   [ˈsɛʔ.hɛʔ.fa.ja]   [sɛʔ.ˈhɛ.pa]
             heal   heal-INF   heal = PLS = IRR   heal-NR
        b   [ˈkan.sɛ]   [ˈkan.sɛ.jɛ]   [ˈkan.sɛ.pa]   [kan.ˈsɛ.pa]
             live   live-INF   live = SS   live-NR

Stress generally, but not always, falls on the ultimate syllable of verbal stems and on the penultimate syllable of nominal stems, as illustrated in (19) and (20). Note especially the contrast between the verbal and nominal uses of /ãⁿdɛ/ and /pɨ.ʃɛ/.

(19)   a.   /ãˈⁿdɛ/   b.   /pɨ.ˈʃɛ/   c.   /kũ.ⁿda.ˈsɛ/
              'land (V)'   'marry.a.woman'   'talk'
(20)   a.   /ˈãⁿdɛ/   b.   /ˈpɨ.ʃɛ/   c.   /kã.ˈtʃã.na/   d.   /a.pɛ.ˈtʃʊ.kʰɨ/
              'land (N)'   'wife'   'ladder'   'trousers'

These two parts-of-speech (see 3.3) thus have a clear correlate in the prosodic system of the language.

In terms of sentence intonation, A'ingae systematically distinguishes between main and subordinate clauses. Main clauses have a rising pitch on the penultimate syllable, followed by a slight drop in pitch at the end of the intonational phrase. In subordinate clauses high pitch is sustained on the last two syllables of the intonational phrase. This distinction between main and subordinate clauses ties in transparently with the co-subordination strategy that is characteristic of A'ingae, where cosubordinate clauses are linked together and end with a main clause (see Section 7.4). Prosodic means are not used to distinguish illocutionary values of clauses.

Declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses have the same intonation. The disctinction between them is expressed through segmental means.

2.5. Orthography

An orthography for A'ingae was developed in the sixties by Marlytte Bub Borman and Roberta Borman and first used in R. Borman (1962). The first explicit description can be found in M.B. Borman (1976). From a linguistic point of view, the orthography, though it is systematic, has some less transparent properties. Aspiration of plosives and affricates is shown through reduplication of the consonant, thus [tʰ] is represented as <tt> and [tsʰ] as <tss>. Furthermore, there are some clear Spanish traits in the orthography, such that a [k] in front of an [ɛ] or an [i] is written <qu>, while it is written <c> in front of other vowels. Combining these two properties, an aspirated [kʰ] then becomes <qqu> in front of an [ɛ] or an [i] and <cc> in front of other vowels.

A new orthography generally adopted by the A'ingae community solves these problems by using <k> for /k/ and an <h> following a consonant or affricate to show aspiration, thus <kh> for /kʰ/. A further change is that the new orthography uses the vowel symbols <a, e, i, u, û> and rather than the series <a, e, i, o, u> used in the Borman orthography.

In both the Borman and the new orthography nasal and nasalized vowels are represented by adding an <n> to the vowel, except when this vowel is followed by a nasal or prenasalized consonant, in which case the <n> is dropped. Due to this convention, it is not possible to see from the orthography whether a vowel is intrinsically nasal or nasalized in context.

Words borrowed from Spanish and still recognized as being Spanish generally maintain their original orthography, the word *Kofán* itself being the exception to this rule.

An overview of the ortographic manifestation(s) of individual phonemes is given in Table 3 for consonants and Table 4 for vowels.

Table 3. *Consonants – orthography*

/p/	< p, mb >	/ŋg/	< ng, g >	/ⁿʤ/	< nz, z >
/pʰ/	< ph >	/f/	< f >	/ⁿʥ/	< ndy, dy >
/t/	< t, nd >	/s/	< s >	/m/	< m >
/tʰ/	< th >	/ʃ/	< sh >	/n/	< n >
/k/	< k >	/h/	< j >	/ɲ/	< ñ >
/kʰ/	< kh >	/ts/	< ts >	/ɾ/	< r >
/ʔ/	< ' >	/tʃ/	< ch >	/ʋ/	< v, m >
/ᵐb/	< mb, b >	/tsʰ/	< tsh >	/j/	< y, ñ >
/ⁿd/	< nd, d >	/tʃʰ/	< chh >		

Table 4. *Vowels – orthography*

/i/	< i, in >	/ĩ/	< in, i >
/ɨ/	< û, ûn >	/ɨ̃/	< ûn, û >
/ʊ/	< u, un >	/ʊ̃/	< un, u >
/ɛ/	< e, en >	/ɛ̃/	< en, e >
/a/	< a, an >	/ã/	< an, a >

3. Word classes and morphological structure

3.1. Basic morphological profile and formative types

The relevant units in the morphology of A'ingae are stems, clitics, and suffixes. Apart from suffixation, reduplication and vowel lengthening occur as morphological processes.

Stems may be free or bound, in the sense that some do not require additional morphology to be used as a morphosyntactic word, while others do. Example (21) illustrates the occurrence of free stems as words.

(21) Ña = ma = tsû   kukuya   an.
      1.SG = ACC1 = 3   devil   eat
      'The devil ate me.' (20060118-BM-Interview-0102.873)

In (21) both the stem *kukuya* 'devil' and the stem *an* 'eat' are used in syntax without additional morphology. Free stems may be subdivided into nouns, verbs, and meteorological words (see 3.3).

There are at least 35 bound stems. These all express properties or states and

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are undetermined as regards their part-of-speech membership (see 3.3). For instance, in (22a) the bound stem *bia* 'long' combines with the attributive clitic =*a* in a nominal word, in (22b) it combines with the causative suffix -*ña* in a verbal word.

(22) a. bia'=a   dû'shû   (*bia dû'shû)
         long=ATTR   child
         'tall child' (elic.)
     b. tutu-fa='khu=ve=tsû   bia-ña='fa='ya
         white-SHAPE.LATERAL=AUG=ACC2=3   long-CAUS=PL=ASS
         'They lengthened (the cotton) into white rope.' (20040215-03-LC-
         Unfendyu'ndyu-042)

Similarly, in (23a) the bound stem *amûnde* 'dirty' combines with the causative suffix -*en* creating a verbal word, in (23b) with the quality marker -*tshi*, creating an property word, in (23c) with the quality marker and the adverbializer =*e*, creating an adverbial word, and in (23d) with the contrastive topic marker =*ja*, creating a nominal word. Without any marker the use of this stem would be ungrammatical.

(23) a. amûnde-an
         dirty-CAUS
         'make dirty' (20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0099.193)
     b. amûnde-tshi
         dirty-QUAL
         'dirty' (20050710-Letter-2-003)
     b. amûnde-tsh=e
         dirty-QUAL=ADVR
         'in a dirty manner' (20040202- FASC-Panzaye-2-011)
     d. amûnde=ja
         dirty=CONTR
         'dirty one' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-087)

A'ingae is very rich in clitics. There are no proclitics nor prefixes, only enclitics and suffixes. There are clause-level second position enclitics and constituent-level enclitics, as illustrated in (24).

(24) Atesû=ti=ki   ke=ja   Secoya   a'i=ma.
      know=INT=2   2.SG=CONTR   Secoya   person=ACC1
      'Do you know Secoya people?' (20060118-MM-2-0503.367)

The first constituent in the clause, in this case the predicate, is followed by two clause-level clitics: the interrogative clitic =*ti* and the subject clitic =*ki*. The second singular subject pronoun *ke* is followed by the constituent level clitic =*ja*, which marks contrastive topics. The object *Secoya a'i* is followed by the constituent level clitic =*ma*, which marks accusative case.

There are two groups of constituent level clitics. The first group attaches to referentially used noun phrases and subordinate clauses, the second group to predicate phrases. Examples of the first group are given in (25), of the second group in (26).

(25) a juva ña   dû'shû=ndekhû='sû dû'shû
          DIST 1.SG child =HUM.PL=ATTR child
          'those children of my children' (20060118-LM-2-0306.901)
     b ingi=ma   atesian='sû pûshe'sû
          1.PL=ACC1   teach-ATTR   woman
          'the woman that teaches us' (elic.)

(26) a Tuya   ñua'me   Dureno='sû='fa=ngi
          still   really   Dureno=ATTR=PL=1
          'We were still really (people) from Dureno.'
          (20060118-LM-3-0520.177)
     b Fae   a'ta=yi=ti   fiesta-en-je='fa
          one   day=EXCL=INT party-CAUS-IPFV=PL
          'Do they party just for one day?' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0292.918)

The clitic =*sû* 'ATTR' attaches to a noun phrase in (25a) and to a clause in (25b). The clitic =*'fa* combines with a non-verbal predicate in (26a) and a verbal one in (26b).

The clitic status of the elements discussed here shows up most of all in the fact that they display freedom of host selection. This is evident for the clausal clitics, as these attach to the first constituent in the clause irrespective of its category. Constituent level clitics do, however, also display this feature, as shown in the following examples, all involving the locative clitic =*ni*.

(27) a. ju=ni
         DIST=LOC
         'there' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-034)
     b. nasipa=ni
         field=LOC
         'in the field' (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-009)

c. tise   ethi   rande=ni
   3.SG house   big =LOC
   'in his big house' (20060118-BM-Interview-2653.057)
d. Jingesû   ja-ye   tsa   a'i   cerveza=ma chava-en-je=ni.
   HORT   go-INF   ANA person beer=ACC1   buy-CAUS-IPFV=LOC
   'Let's go to where that man is selling beer.' (elic.)

The clitic =*ni* attaches to a demonstrative pronoun in (27a), to a head noun in (27b), to an attributive adjective in (27c), and to an inflected verb in (27d). In all cases it attaches to the rightmost element of a noun phrase, independently of the category of that element.

Suffixes mostly have a derivational function, with the exception of six aspectual and two directional suffixes, all attaching to verbs only. Example (28) illustrates the use of the imperfective suffix, example (29) of the cislocative suffix.

(28) In'jan-je=mbi=tsû Cadena=ja.
      think-IPFV=NEG=3 Cadena=CONTR
      'Cadena is acting silly.' ("Cadena is not thinking.")
      (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-021)

(29) Se'je-an-ngi='fa=ja   pa=ve   da=sane.
      heal-CAUS-CIS=PL=IMP die=ACC2   become=NEGPURP
      'Come here to get cured so you don't die.' (20040218-EC-Interview-039)

Derivational suffixes are found on nouns and verbs and some of these can attach to both classes of words, as shown in (30).

(30) a. changu-en
          hole-CAUS
          'make a hole' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-008)
      b. chava-en
          buy-CAUS
          'sell' (20050701-MA-Letter-2-003)

Finally, reduplication and vowel lengthening occur as morphological processes. These are illustrated in (31)-(32) and express iterative and durative aspect.

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(31) Ingi = ma = tsû   iñe' = en   atu~tu = 'fa = 'ya.
      1.PL = ACC1 = 3   hurt = ADVR   chop~ITER = PLS = ASS
      'They are going to chop us in a painful manner.'
      (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-028)

(32) Ja = pa   thatha~:   akhûi-'khu-'chu = i'khû.
      go = SS   search~DUR   paddle-SHAPE.ANGULAR-SHAPE.SMALL = INS
      'He went off and looked and looked with his paddle.'
      (20060118-MM-2-0007.2)

3.2. Head and dependent marking.

A'ingae is a dependent-marking language: at the clausal level argument roles are expressed through clitics that attach to the relevant NP and are not expressed on the verb. Subjects are expressed through second position clitics at the clausal level, so that they mark neither heads nor dependents. These observations are illustrated in (33).

(33) Rande   kuri-fi'ndi = ma = ngi   ke = nga = ja   afe.
      big   gold-SHAPE.BITS = ACC1 = 1   2.SG = DAT = CONTR give
      'I gave you big money (a large bill).' (20040218-EC-Interview-190)

Example (33) shows the accusative clitic =*ma* attached to the P argument *rande kurifi'ndi* 'big money', and the dative clitic =*nga* attached to the recipient argument *ke* '2.SG'. The first person subject is expressed through the first person clitic =*gi* '1' that attaches to the first constituent of the clause, which here happens to be the undergoer argument. If the verb had been in the first position, then that verb would have been the host for this clitic, as can be seen in (24) above.

Within noun phrases the possessor is unmarked when preposed and marked when postposed, while the possessive relationship is never marked on the head noun. This can be seen in (34).

(34) a. ña   tsa'u
          1.SG house
          'my house' (20060118-BM-Interview-0702.642)
      b. tsa'u   ña = mbe
          house   1.SG = BEN
          'my house' (elic.)

Other case-marked noun phrases may also be used as a modifier within a noun phrase, but these require the addition of the attributive marker = *'su* when preceding the head noun, as shown in (35).

(35) Tisû   tsampi = ni = 'sû   tsa'u = nga = ja   napi = 'fa = 'ya.
       SUBJ.ANA   forest = LOC = ATTR   house = DAT = CONTR   arrive = PL = ASS
       'They reached their own forest house.'   (elic.)

The locative phrase *tsampi = ni* 'in the forest' is followed by the attributive clitic = *'sû*, which allows it to be used as a nominal modifier. In this case there are thus two subsequent instances of dependent marking.

   The only exception to the strong dependent-marking tendency of A'ingae is the expression of plurality of the subject through a clitic that attaches to the predicate. This is shown in (36).

(36) Setsa = ne = ta = tsû   ji = 'fa = 'ya
       low = ABL = NEW = 3   come = PL = ASS
       'They came from down river.' (20060118-MM-2-0503.367)

The third person subject clitic = *tsû* is unmarked for number. In combination with the plural clitic = *'fa* that attaches to the predicate, in this case the verb, a plural interpretation of the third person subject is arrived at. Note that the plural clitic is not a pluractional, as interpretations like 'they came several times from down river' are excluded.

3.3. Parts of speech

There are two major open stem classes of nouns and verbs, and a sizeable class of uncategorized stems. Nominal and verbal stems are free stems, while the uncategorized stems are all bound stems: they require additional morphology to arrive at a specific adjectival, adverbial, nominal, or verbal interpretation, as shown in (23) above.

   As mentioned in 2.4, nouns and verbs can be distinguished on prosodic grounds. They can, however, also be distinguished on morphological grounds, as only verbs can take aspectual suffixes. Example (37) shows that the verbal predicate *fi'thi* 'kill' carries the imperfective suffix, which nouns such as *a'i* 'person' could never be combined with.

(37) A'i＝tsû   singe＝ma＝khe   fi'thi-je.
      person＝3   fire＝ACC1＝ADD   kill-IPFV
      'The person would also put out the fire.'
      (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0473.156)

Verbs have to be nominalized to be used as nouns, as in (38), and nouns have to be verbalized in order to be used as verbs, as in (39).

(38) ku'fe   ku'fe-pa   ku'fe-fasi
      'play'   play-ACT.NR   play-HAB.NR
                   'game'   'playful person'
(39) tsa'u   tsa'u-ña   tun'tu-en
      'house'   house-CAUS   uncle-CAUS
                   'build a house' 'make someone an uncle'

There are a number of further smaller classes of free stems in the language. The first of these concerns meteorological stems, such as *a'ta* in (40). Stems like these may be used as heads of both noun phrases (40a) and verb phrases (40b).

(40) a. Duscientus   uchenta   dular＝ma   gana-je＝'fa＝ma   in'jan
          two.hundred eighty   dollar＝ACC1 earn-IPFV＝PL＝ACC1   think
              kan-se   veintidos a'ta＝nga
              look-DUR   22   day＝DAT
          'Imagine, they earn 280 dollars, in 22 days.'
          (20050701-BandT-Spontaneous-0733.481)
      b. Ji＝pa   ana   a'ta
          come＝SS   sleep   day
          'After coming (he) slept and dawned (＝got up at dawn).'
          (20040215-01-LC-Tetetene)

Note that, also in the verbal use, the stem maintains the penultimate stress position that is typical of nominal stems. Other stems behaving in this was are *fingian* 'wind', *ûnjin* 'rain', *kose* 'evening', and *koeje* 'sun'.

Numerals constitute a further class of free stems. A'ingae numerals are gradually disappearing from the language. Most speakers use the A'ingae words *fûe* 'one' and *khuangi* 'two' and sometimes the word *khuanifûe* 'three'. From three onwards counting generally proceeds using Spanish loans. Other originally A'ingae numerals

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are *khathûfayi* 'four', *fûefayi* 'five', *khafaiseyi* 'six', *khafaise(yi)khuangi* 'seven', *khafaise(yi)khuanifûe* 'eight', *khafaise(yi)khathûfayi* 'nine', *tive pa'tshi* 'ten' (or the Quechua loan *chunga*), *tsû'thepi pa'tshi* 'twenty' (or *khuangi chunga*) (Borman 1976).

There is also a small class of adverbial stems, which can be distinguished on morphological and syntactic grounds. Adverbs never take any inflection and occur as adjuncts within the clause. The following is a list of all adverbs identified so far.

(41) Manner: *jûnde* 'quickly', *tuyi* 'involuntarily', *vasûi* 'slowly'
      Degree: *ba've* 'more or less', *buve* 'more', *panshen* 'very'
      Phasal: *khase* 'again', *pan* 'almost', *tayu* 'already', *tuya* 'still, yet'
      Temporal: *ja'ñu* 'now', *kani* 'yesterday', *kanite* 'day before yesterday', *mingûite* 'never', *umbue* 'later', *tayupi* 'formerly' (of Quechua origin), *tsangae* 'forever', *tse'i* 'then', *tû'i* 'tomorrow', *vaeyi* 'recently', *zie* 'hardly'
      Modal: *akhia* 'just', *isha* 'really', *mûite* 'difficultly', *nane* 'surely', *ñua'me* 'truly'

Finally, there is a small number of basic adjectives: *ega* 'bad', *kipa* 'yellow', *kuenza* 'old', *kûna* 'raw', *u'tie* 'first', *chipiri* 'small', *sape* 'flat', and *tsu'si* 'deep'. Some adjectives have been borrowed from Spanish: *barato* 'cheap', *español* 'spanish', *karo* 'expensive', *rande* 'big', and *suave* 'easy'.

4. Noun phrases

4.1. The overall structure of the noun phrase

The A'ingae noun phrase has the overall structure shown in Table 5:

Table 5. *Template of the noun phrase*

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
Determiner	Unmarked possessor	Numeral	Other modifiers	Head	Other modifiers	Enclitics number and Size	Enclitic nominal tense
Demonstrative Quantifier Specificity-marker Sameness-marker			Adjective Noun phrase Relative clause Adverb	Pronoun Noun Derived noun Compound Ø	Adjective Noun phrase Relative clause	Associative (=*pa/=mba*) Augmentative (=*'u(n)*) Collective (=*nakhû*) Human plural (=*ndekhû*)	Nominal past (=*'ye/='ñe*)

Word order in the noun phrase is in certain aspects relatively flexible, as most modifiers may precede or follow the head noun. Determiners, unmarked possessors and numerals always precede the noun and its modifier. There is no agreement within the noun phrase. In what follows we will discuss heads in 4.2, modifiers, numerals and unmarked possessors in 4.3, and grammatical elements in 4.4.

4.2. The heads of noun phrases

4.2.1. Pronominal heads

Personal pronouns, given in Table 6, distinguish three persons (1,2,3) and two numbers (singular, plural), while no gender distinctions are made. The same set is used for the expression of the possessor within noun phrases.

Table 6. *Personal pronouns*

	Singular	Plural
First person	*ña* 'I, my'	*ingi* 'we, our'
Second person	*ke* 'you, your'	*ke'i* 'you all, your'
Third person	*tise* 'he/she/it, his/her/its'	*tisepa* 'they, their'

Pronominal second position subject clitics express person but no number. They are listed in Table 7. These clitics are used when a new topic is introduced.

Table 7. *Second position subject clitics*

First person	=*ngi*
Second person	=*ki*
Third person	=*tsû*

There is a single reflexive pronoun *tisû* that is used in all persons and numbers, and both at the clause level and as a possessor within a noun phrase, as illustrated in (43) and (44):

(43) tisû=ma   afa'cho
      REFL=ACC1 think=SUB
      'the thing he said to himself' (BC03.035)

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(44) Tisû   antia＝me   a'mbia＝ndi＝ki   Colombia＝ni.
     REFL   relative＝ACC2   have＝INT＝2   Colombia＝LOC
     'Have you got your own relatives in Colombia?' (20040218-SC)

There is a five-way distinction in demonstratives, as listed in Table 8.

Table 8. *Demonstratives*

Demonstrative	Gloss	Meaning/Use
va	PROX	proximal
juva	DIST	distal
ya	SENS	sensory deixis
tsa	ANA	anaphoric reference to entity or event
tse	ANA.LOC	anaphoric reference to location or time

The proximal demonstrative is used with referents located near the speaker. The distal demonstrative *juva* 'that, yonder' is used when the referent is located further away from the speaker, including non-visible locations. The proximal and distal demonstratives can be used both independently and adnominally. The sensory demonstrative *ya* is used in the expression of sensory deixis. That is, it is used to refer to entities that can be perceived through one of the senses, such as a sound or a smell. *Ya* always appears on its own, i.e. it is not used as a noun modifier. Example (45) illustrates the use of this demonstrative.

(45) Ya＝ta＝tsû   Amado chanange.
     SENS＝NEW＝3 Amado paca
     'That, Amado, was a paca.' (*ya* refers to a grunting noise just heard)
     (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-043)

There are two anaphoric demonstratives. *Tsa* is used for entities (46) and events (47), while *tse* is used for locations (48) and time intervals (49). *Tsa* and *tse* can be used both independently and adnominally.

(46) Ñuña＝pa＝tsû   tsa＝i'khû ku'fe＝'fa.
     make＝SS＝3   ANA＝INS   play＝PLS
     'After making (it) they played with it.' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0026.044)
(47) Tsa＝ta＝tsû   injenge＝'ya
     ANA＝NEW＝3   important＝ASS
     'That is important.' (20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-1268.223)

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(48) Tse＝ni＝tsû   a'jû＝pa   di'sha＝ve   da.
      ANA.LOC＝LOC＝3 vomit＝SS   blossom＝ACC2   become
      'There they vomit and become apprentices.'
      (20060118-BM-Interview-1556.153)

(49) Tse＝tsû   thesi   na'sû＝ma   da
      ANA.LOC＝3 tiger   chief＝ACC1   become
      'Then the tiger became the chief.' (20040218-SC)

Question words can also be used as indefinites, and are therefore better analyzed, following Evans (2003: 273), as ignorative words. Two have a pronominal use: *junguesû* 'what' and *majan* 'who', as shown in (50)-(51).

(50) Junguesû＝tsû.
      IGNR.INAN＝3
      'What is it?' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-024)

(51) Majan＝tsû   ka'ni-an.
      IGNR.AN＝3   enter-CAUS
      'Who let him in?' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-002)

4.2.2. Nominal heads of noun phrases

As mentioned in Section 3.3, there is a clearly identifiable class of nouns in A'ingae. In (52) a noun is used directly as the head of a noun phrase.

(52) biani＝'sû   ande
      far-ATTR   country
      'a far-away country' (20050701-MA-Letter-3-021)

Compounds may also occupy the head position of a noun phrase, as in (53)-(54).

(53) va   kuchhi nan   kû'＝a＝ma
      PROX pig   meat   red＝ADJR＝ACC1
      'this red pig meat' (elic.)

(54) tsa   charapa   dûsû-'chu
      ANA   charapa.turtle   conceive-SHAPE.ROUND
      'that charapa turtle egg' (elic.)

In (53) *kuchhi nan* 'pig meat' is a compound, modified as a whole by *kû'ama* 'red'. In

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(54) *charapa dûsû'chu* is a compound, where the second element is itself a nominalization derived with a shape suffix. Compounds can be distinguished from nominal appositions, as in the latter case the modifying noun phrase carries the attributive clitic =*'sû*, as will be shown in 4.3. In compounds the modifying element always precedes the head.

Heads of noun phrases may also be derived nouns. There is a habitual agent nominalizer (-*fasi*), a patient nominalizer (=*'cho*), and a versatile nominalizer -*pa/-mba* which produces action nominals but also nouns denoting entities involved in some way in the action denoted by the verb, as illustrated in (55)-(57).

(55) ku'fe-fasi
      play-HAB.NR
      'playful person'

(56) fûndu='chu
      shout(V)=PAT.NR
      'shout (N)'

(57) a   ku'fe-pa
          PLAY-NR
          'game'

      b   se'je-pa
          heal-NR
          'medicine'

      c   khana-mba
          steal-NR
          'thief'

An important set of nominalizing suffixes express various shapes of objects. They are classifier-like in their meanings, but have a derivational status in A'ingae, as they can derive nouns from verbs (58a), basic nouns (58b), derived nouns (58c), and proforms (58d)

(58) a. dû'sû-'chu
          conceive-SHAPE.ROUND
          'egg' (20040218-EC-Interview-227)

      b. bu'mbu-je
          chonta.palm-SHAPE.FLAT
          'leaf of a chonta palm'   (20060119-AnC-Cunsiana-02-0060.734)

c. khupa-'thi-khû

defecate-LOC.NR-SHAPE.DELIM

'buttocks' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-058)

d. va-ki

PROX-shape.line

'this road/river' (elic.)

The full set of suffixes producing nouns is given in Table 9.

Table 9. *Noun-producing suffixes*

Nominalization		
V-*pa/-mba*	NR	nominalizer
V-*fasi*	HAB.NR	habitual nominalizer
X-*'chu*	SHAPE.ROUND	nominalizer round or small shape
X-*'fa*	SHAPE.LATERAL	nominalizer lateral shape
X-*fin'di*	SHAPE.SPLINTER	nominalizer splinter-like shape
X-*je(n)*	SHAPE.FLAT	nominalizer flat shape
X-*jin*	SHAPE.LARGE	nominalizer large shape
X-*ki*	SHAPE.LINE	nominalizer linear shape
X-*'khu*	SHAPE.ANGULAR	nominalizer angular shape
X-*khû*	SHAPE.DELIM	nominalizer delimited space
X-*si*	SHAPE.SPINE	nominalizer object with protrusions
X-*ite*	TEMP.NR	temporal nominalizer
N-*e(n)*	PLACE	place name

4.2.3. Headless noun phrases

Finally, noun phrases may be, and frequently are, headless, as illustrated in (59)-(60).

(59) san'jan = 'sû = ndekhû

season = ATTR = HUM.PL

'those who seasoned the food' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0040.546)

(60) ñu-tshi = a

good-QUAL = ADJR

'a good one' (20050701-MA-Letter-2-039)

4.3. Modification

As shown in Table 5, the types of modifiers of nouns to be distinguished in A'ingae are unmarked possessor, numerals, and other modifiers. Within the last class one should distinguish adjectives, noun phrases (unmarked or case-marked), adverbs, and relative clauses. These are discussed in this section.

4.3.1. Adjectival modifiers

There are only few basic adjectives in A'ingae, and these were listed in 3.3. These are supplemented by derived ones. Both are illustrated in (61).

(61) kû'=a   nan   kûna
      Red=ADJR   meat   new
      'raw red meat' (elic.)

In (61) *kûna* is a basic adjective, while *kû'* is a bound stem that has to be accompanied by the adjectivalizer =a in order to be used attributively.

The adjectivalizer often combines with the quality marker *-tshi*, which derives quality stems from verbal stems and bound stems. An example is given in (62).

(62) ñu-tshi=a   a'i
      be.good-QUAL=ADJR   person
      'a good person' (elic.)

The adjective may precede or follow the noun, as shown in in the pair of examples in (63).

(63) a kiya   rande
         aguti   big
         'a big aguti'   (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-016)
      b rande   kiya
         big   aguti
         'a big aguti'   (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-017)

4.3.2. Noun phrases, adverbs, and numerals as modifiers

Adverbs and noun phrases other than possessor phrases provided with the attributive clitic = *'sû* may act as modifiers preceding the noun. The following examples illustrate the modifying use of a bare noun phrase (64), a noun phrase marked for its semantic function (65), a temporal adverb (66), and a locative adverb (67).

(64) na'en = 'sû   kukuya
      river = ATTR   devil
      'the river devil' (20060118-BM-Interview-0016.82)

(65) tsampi = ni = 'sû   tsa'u = nga = ja   napi = 'fa = 'ya.
      forest = LOC = ATTR   house = DAT = CONTR   arrive = PL = ASS
      'They reached their own forest house.' (elic.)

(66) tayupi = 'sû   a'i
      formerly = ATTR   person
      'the people from the past' (20050701-MA-Letter-3-006)

(67) bia = ni = 'sû   ande
      far = LOC = ATTR   land
      'a country far away' (20050701-MA-Letter-3-021)

Function-marked noun phrases may also follow the head noun, and in that case do not take the attributive clitic, as shown in (68)-(70):

(68) shavu chipiri khuangi   a'i = mbe
      canoe small   two   person = BEN
      'a small canoe for two persons' (elic.)

(69) tsa   sinjûnkhû   rande   tsampi sepakhue-fa
      ANA   valley   big   forest   behind-SHAPE.LATERAL
      'that big valley behind the forest' (elic.)

(70) tsa'u   ña = mbe
      house 1.SG = BEN
      'my house' (elic.)

Possessor phrases used as modifiers behave differently in several respects. Example (70) shows that in postnominal position a possessor phrase behaves in the same way as other function-marked noun phrases. But when the possessor phrase precedes the noun in the general modifier position it does not have to be accompanied by the attributive clitic. This is shown in (71).

(71)   pûshesû＝ndekhû＝mbe   thena'ngu
        woman＝HUM.PL＝BEN   leg
        'women's laps' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0178.903)

When the possessor phrase precedes the noun it may furthermore occur as a bare noun phrase, i.e. without a case marker and without the attributive clitic, in a special position preceding the numeral, while other modifiers follow the numeral. This is shown in (72)-(73):

(72)   tsa   ke   khuangi   dû'shû
        ANA   2.SG   two   child
        'those two children of yours' (elic.)
(73)   khuangi   rande   shavu
        Two   big   canoe
        'two big canoes'

Examples (72)-(73) also illustrate the special position that numerals occupy within the template of the noun phrase: following the bare possessor phrase and preceding other modifiers.

4.3.3. Relative clauses

Relative clauses can be formed by attaching the general subordinating clitic ＝'chu 'SUB', or the attributive clitic ＝'sû 'ATTR', which was introduced in the previous section. As (74) and (75) show, clauses with ＝'chu may precede or follow the noun they modify. Clauses with ＝'sû may only precede the noun (76).

(74)   ingi   kanse＝'chu   ande
        we   live＝SR   land
        'the country we live in' (20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-1723.342)
(75)   Yuri＝'ye   ke'i   sû-je＝'chu＝ja
        Yuri-NPST   2.PL   talk-IMPF＝SUB＝CONTR
        'the late Yuri that you are talking about' (20050726-CL-1-0207.132)

(76) ingi＝ma   atesû-an＝'sû   pûshe'sû
     1.PL＝ACC1 know-CAUS＝ATTR woman
     'the woman that teaches us'/'our teacher' (elic.)

4.4. Grammatical elements in the noun phrase

Grammatical elements internal to the noun phrase may be found in slots -4 and +2 and +3 in the template in Table 5. Positions +2 and +3 host a number of enclitics, position -4 hosts free grammatical words. We will start with the clitics in position +2. This position may be occupied by markers of plurality and size.

Only noun phrases referring to humans may (but need not) be marked for plurality. The general human plural marker ＝*ndekhû* is illustrated in (77).

(77) pûshesû＝ndekhû
     woman＝HUM.PL
     'women' (20060118-MM-1-0036.938)

Another clitic, ＝*nakhû*, shown in (78), is used to create a collective expression and is also restricted to human referents.

(78) pûshesû＝nakhû
     woman＝COLL
     'a group of women' (elic.)

Furthermore, there is an associative clitic that indicates that the referents of the noun phrase are associated with the head noun, as in (79).

(79) Mandarena＝pa
     Magdalena＝ASSC
     'the missionaries that are with Magdalena' (20050701-MA-Letter-2-005)

A final clitic with a rather complicated meaning that occurs in this position is ＝*'u*. This augmentative clitic generally cooccurs either with the shape suffix –*'chu* 'SHAPE.ROUND' or with the shape suffix –*'khu* 'SHAPE.ANGULAR'. The former often has an approbative connotation, while the latter often has a pejorative connotation. The addition of the clitic ＝*'u* reinforces these connotations. Examples are (80) and (81).

(80) Da   muñeku-'chu='u.
     and   doll-SHAPE.ROUND=AUG
     'And the little doll?'   (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-014)

(81) Ta'e-'khu='u   juva=ja   tuya.
     hard-SHAPE.ANGULAR=AUG   DIST=CONTR already
     'That one is freaking hard.' (20060119-AnC-Consiana-01-0068.651)

In position +3 only one enclitic occurs. This is the nominal past enclitic =*'ye* (82), which often has a honorific overtone.

(82) khashe'ye=ndekhû='ye
     old.man=HUM.PL=NPST
     'the late elders'   (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0367.446)

Note that, as shown in (82), this enclitic may follow the human plural clitic =*ndekhû* which occupies position +2.

Position -4 in Table 5 may be occupied by the demonstratives *va* 'PROX' and *juva* 'DIST'. Other elements that may occupy this position are quantifiers other than numerals, the specificity marker, and sameness markers. Demonstratives have been discussed in Section 4.2.1, as they may be used as heads of noun phrases as well. The other categories are discussed here.

A'ingae has the regular universal and distributive quantifiers, as illustrated in (83)-(84).

(83) pa'khu ña   chhichhi'khu
     UQ   1.SG knife
     'all my knives' (elic.)

(84) pûi   puzu
     DQ   well
     'each well' (elic.)

Negative quantification is expressed periphrastically, as in (85).

(85) Atte=mbi=ngi   ni   fûe   tive=ve=yi=khe
     see=NEG=1   nor   one   hand=ACC2=EXCL=ADD
     'I didn't see any hands.' ("I saw no hand.") (elic.)

Definiteness and indefiniteness are not encoded grammatically (though they are partly

implied by pragmatic function marking). Specificity is marked optionally by means of the ignorative word *manjan* (86).

(86) Injan = ngi afa-ye   manjan   tsandie = i'khû
     want = 1   talk-INF   IGNR.AN   man = INS
     'I want to talk to any man.' (elic.)

Finally, the words *tue* 'same' and *fûesû* 'other' may be used in this position, as illustrated in (87) and (88).

(87) Chhichhi = tsû na = ma   tue   chhichhi'khu-i'khû-yi
     cut = 3   meat = ACC1 SAME   knife = INS = EXCL
     'He cut the meat with the same knife.' (elic.)
(88) Chava = ngi fûesû   simba'khu = ma
     buy = 1   OTHER   fishing.hook = ACC1
     'I bought a different fishing hook.' (elic.)

4.5. The noun phrase as a clausal constituent

The noun phrase as described in the preceding sections when embedded in the clause may be followed by a series of clitics which signal its role in the clause and in the discourse. The clitics occur in a fixed order, as indicated in (89), where the NP position may be internally complex as indicated in Table 5. This order is illustrated in (90).

(89) NP = Case = Focus = Givenness

(90) kha = nga = yi = ta
     other = DAT = EXCL = NEW
     'to the others only' (20060119-AnC-Consiana-01-02-0430.455)

The case markers of A'ingae are listed in Table 10.

Table 10. *Case markers*

=*ma*	ACC1	accusative 1
=*ve*/=*me*	ACC2	accusative 2
=*mbe*	BEN	beneficiary
=*nga*	DAT	dative
=*ye*/=*ñe*	ELAT	elative
=*i'khû*	INS	instrument
=*'pi*	LIM	limitative
=*ni*	LOC	locative
=*ngae*	MANN	manner, path
=*ne*	SO	ablative

Noteworthy in A'ingae is the existence of two different case markers for P-arguments, here called 'accusative 1' and 'accusative 2'. The latter is used in negative sentences, and when the P-argument depends on a verb expressing desire, causation, or creation; that is, it is used for P-arguments that are not (yet) present or do not (yet) exist. Some examples are given in (91) and (92).

(91)   Matichi=ve=ta=ti=ki   in'jan=fa.
        machete=ACC2=NEW=INT=2   want=PLS
        'Do you want machetes?' (BC01.032)

(92)   Khu'a=ve   me'i'un.
        squash=ACC2   NEGP
        'There were no squash.' (BC07.043)

The accusative 1 is used for other P-arguments, and is illustrated in (93) and (94).

(93)   Sumbu-en=jan   ain-fa='u=ma
        emerge-CAUS=IMP   dog-SHAPE.LATERAL=AUG=ACC
        'Get the dog out.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-007)

(94)   Matachi=ma=gi   kundase-ye   tsun=jen.
        matachi.clown=ACC1 talk-INF   do-IMPF
        'I am going to tell you about the Matachi clown.'

The accusative 2 is also used to mark depictives, as shown in (95).

(95) Amûnde-tshi = ve   tsun = 'fa = ya.
      dirty-QUAL = ACC2   do = PLS = IRR
      'We'll make it dirty.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-120)

The case markers may be followed by up to two markers of information status, as shown in (89). There are two focus markers and two givenness markers, as listed in Table 11. A further example of their combination is given in (96).

(96) Amûndega = tsû   ain = khe = ja
      mad = 3   dog = ADD = CONTR
      'How mad that dog is.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-056)

Table 11. *Clitics marking information status*

Information status		
= *khe*	ADD	additive focus
= *yi/ = ñi*	EXCL	exclusive focus
= *ta/ = nda*	NEW	new topic
= *ja(n)*	CONTR	contrastive topic

5. The predicate phrase

5.1. The overall structure of the predicate phrase

Predicate phrases may be verbal on the one hand and non verbal or auxiliary on the other. Verbal predicates can take suffixes and a wider range of clitics than non-verbal predicates and auxiliary constructions. These ranges are given in Table 12.

Table 12. *Template of the predicate phrase*

-1	0				+1	+2	+3	+4
	Head							
Adjunct	0	+1	+2	+3	Number	Mood/Tense	Negation	Assertive
	Head	Aspect	Direction	Aspect				
Manner and Degree adverb(s)	V	Durative (lengthening) Iterative (reduplication)	Cislocative (-*ngi*) Translocative (-*nga*)	Imperfective (-*je(n)*) Precumulative (-*ji(n)*) Prospective (-*yi/-ñi*) Diminutive (-*kha*) Repetitive (-*ñakha*) Quality (-*tshi*) Infinitive (-*ye/-ñe*)	Plural subject (=’fa)	Imperative (=*ja(n)*) Prohibitive (=*jama*) Mitigated imperative (=*kha*)	--	--
						Irrealis (=*ya/*=*ña*) Simultaneous (=*ni*)	Negation (=*mbi*) Frustrative (=’*ma*)	Assertive (=’*ya/*=’*ña*)
	Auxiliary constructions, non-verbal predicates							
	Prospective (V-*ye/-ñe* +*tson-jen*) Intrinsic ability (V-*ye/-ñe* +*osha*) Acquired ability (V-*ye/-ñe* +*atesu*) Habitual (V-*ye/-ñe* +*atesu*) Habitual (V=*pa*+*kanse*) Non verbal predicates, including: Habitual (V=*khesu*) Negative Habitual (V=*masia*) Obligation (V=*ya/*=*ña* =*cho*)							

Non-verbal predicates and auxiliary constructions do not allow the attachment of aspectual and directional suffixes and do not allow the expression of imperative and prohibitive mood.

In what follows we first discuss the possible fillers of the head position in the predicate phrase, then we will present the various groups of enclitics, the attachment of adjuncts, and finally we will give an overview of the TMA system.

5.2. The head of the predicate phrase

Verb stems may be simple or derived. The latter include passive (97), reciprocal (98), and causative (99) stems, all created by means of suffixation.

(97) Chan＝mba＝nga＝ja   indi-ye＝'ya.
      mother＝ASSC＝DAT＝CONTR   hold-PASS＝ASS
      'He was grabbed by a woman.' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0070.477)

(98) Da   fi'thi-khu＝'fa＝'ya ＝tsû.
      HES   kill-RECP＝PLS＝ASS＝3
      'They killed each other.' (20050726-CL-1-0054.355)

(99) Sumbu-e-ñe＝tsû   injenge.
      emerge-CAUS-INF＝3 important
      'It is important to get the dog out.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-010)

Verbs may be aspectually modified through reduplication of the last syllable of the verb (100) or by lengthening of the last vowel of the verb stem (101).

(100) Ushichha＝pa an-ye＝ja   ja~ja＝'fa＝'ya   tsa   kungumba＝ma
      pull.out＝SS eat-INF＝FOC go~ITER＝PLS＝ASS   ANA   rotten＝ACC1
      'After undressing they went to eat the rotten bodies.'
      (20060119-AnC-Consiana-01-0098.057)

(101) Vana＝mba   sumbu＝pa   mangû~:.
      suffer＝SS   emerge＝SS   drag~DUR
      'He struggled, came out and dragged.'
      (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0081.007)

The verb stem may combine with directional and aspectual suffixes, generally in that order, as shown in (102).

(102) Tû'i   tʰûtʰû-ngi-ye.
      tomorrow   fell-CIS-INF
      'Tomorrow we'll come to fell it.' (BC03.008)

These processes create verbal words out of verbal stems. As shown in Table 11, such a verbal word may then occupy the head position of a verbal predicate phrase.

      The head position may also be occupied by the combination of a lexical verb in a non-finite form together with an auxiliary verb, as illustrated in (103), in which the verb *atesû* 'know' is used as an auxiliary expressing habitual aspect.

(103) Jungaesû＝ma＝tsû ñua'me tsetse'pa＝ve   tsetse'pa＝en＝ñe   atesû＝'fa.
      what＝ACC1＝3   really   chicha＝ACC2   chicha＝CAUS＝INF HAB.AUX＝PL
      'What did they use to make chicha with?'
      (20060118-BM-Interview-1928.155)

Directional and aspectual suffixes cannot be added to auxiliaries, unless in a fixed combination. Thus, the verb *tsun* 'do', when used as an auxiliary expressing imminent future, necessarily combines with the imperfective, as shown in (104).

(104) Khasheye＝ta   pa-ye   tsun-je＝ña.
      old.man＝NEW   die-INF   do-IPFV＝ASS
      'The old man was about to die.'
      (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-023)

      Non-verbal predicates may be of several types. Examples (105)-(107) show the predicative use of bare elements: a bound stem in (105), an adjective in (106), and a numeral in (107).

(105) Ñua'me   tansin＝'fa＝mbi.
      truly   straight＝PLS＝NEG
      'It is not settled yet.' (20060118-LM-2-0542.989)
(106) Ega ＝tsû   tsa   ain＝ja.
      bad＝3   ANA   dog＝CONTR
      'That dog is bad.' (Borman 1981: 20)
(107) Khuangi＝'fa＝tsû
      two＝PLS＝3
      'They are two.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-036)

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Noun phrases may be used as predicates in different forms. An example with a simple noun phrase is given in (108), while in (109) the predicative noun phrase is a complex one, containing a *chu*-relative clause.

(108) Antian = 'fa = 'ya = tsû
      blood.relative = PLS = ASS = 3
      'they are blood relatives' (20050726-CL-1-0161.237)

(109) Aipa   a'i,   tsa = tsû   ñua'me   tsetse'pa = ma   kû'i = pa
      Secoya   person ANA = 3   really   chicha = ACC   drink = SS
         kanse = 'fa = 'chu   a'i = 'fa
         live = PLS = SUB   person = PLS
      'The Secoya's, those are the people that really drink chicha.'
      (20060118-BM-Interview-2152.797)

Function-marked noun phrases used as predicates are shown in (110)-(111).

(110) Ña   antia = mbe = tsû
      1.SG   blood.relative = BEN = 3
      'It is my brother's/sister's.' (elic.)

(111) Va = ni = tsû.
      PROX = LOC = 3
      'Here it is.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-019)

Finally, headless noun phrases may also be used predicatively, as shown in (112) and (113).

(112) Tsa'u-ña = mba   tuya ñua'me ju = ni   Dûrenu = 'sû = 'fa = ngi.
      house-CAUS = SS   still really   DIST = LOC Dureno = ATTR = PL = 1
      'After building a house we were still really from that Dureno there.'
      (20060118-LM-3-0520.177)

(113) Jun,   tsa = 'kan = 'fa = ya = tsû.
      yes   ANA = CMP = PL = ASS = 3
      'Yes, they were like that.' (20060118-MM-2-0158.794)

Apart from bound stems, numerals, and noun phrases, the habitual and negative habitual participles may also be used as non-verbal predicates. The non-verbal nature of these participles can be seen in their attributive use illustrated in (114)-(115).

(114) an＝khesû   te'ta-'chu
       eat＝HAB   flower-SHAPE.ROUND
       'edible fruit' (elic.)

(115) atesû＝masia   a'i
       know＝NEG.HAB   person
       'ignorant people' (20050701-MA-Letter-2-040)

These same attributive participles can also be used predicatively, and then behave like other non-verbal predicates. This is shown in (116)-(117).

(116) An＝khesû＝tsû
       eat＝HAB＝3
       'It is to be eaten.' (20040218-EC-Interview-071)

(117) Je'nda   kûti'chu   kuku＝ta＝ti   tsa＝'ka＝en   fi'thi＝masia.
       then   yachapo   demon＝NEW＝INT ANA＝CMP＝ADVR   kill＝NEG.HAB
       'Then the yachapo demon is not killed like that?'
       (20040218-EC-Interview-0429.314)

5.3. Predicate clitics

The predicate may be followed by a range of clitics, as shown in Table 12.

In position +1 only the plural subject clitic may occur. It indicates that the subject of the clause is plural. It is illustrated in (118).

(118) Setsa＝ne＝nda＝tsû   ji＝'fa＝'ya.
       low＝ABL＝NEW＝3   come＝PL＝ASS
       'They came from down river.' (20060118-MM-2-0503.367)

Note that the second position subject enclitic ＝*tsu* is unmarked for number. The plural interpretation arises exclusively as a result of the presence of the plural subject enclitic ＝*'fa*.

Position 2 hosts three different modal enclitics. These may only be used with verbal predicates. As indicated in Table 12, the imperative, prohibitive, and mitigated imperative clitics do not combine with the negative and assertive ones, but they may cooccur with the plural subject marker, as shown in (119)- (121).

(119) Kanse = 'fa = ja.
     live = PLS = IMP
     'Stay here.' (20060119-AnC-Consiana-01-0316.491)

(120) Ke'i   kha = ni   ja = 'fa = jama
     2.PL   other = LOC   go = PLS = PROH
     'Don't go anywhere!' (20040215-01-LC-Tetetene-040)

(121) Injan = 'fa = kha.
     Think = PL = MIT.IMP
     'Mind you!/Be careful!' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-030)

The irrealis clitic =*ya* follows the plural subject clitic, as shown in (122).

(122) Va   20   de   va   khuvû = ni = ngi   bu = 'fa = ya   khase.
     PROX 20   of   PROX moon = LOC = 1   gather = PLS = IRR   again
     'The 20th of this month we will meet again.'
     (20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0256.233)

The irrealis clitic, as opposed to the imperative and prohibitive clitics, may be used with non-verbal predicates, though with severe restrictions. Only demonstrative non-verbal predicates occur with this clitic, as illustrated in (123).

(123) Tsa = ya = tsû   ingi   kanse = 'chu = ja.
     ANA = IRR = 3   1.PL   live = SUB = CONTR
     'That will be our life.' (002-002-EC-Interview-197)

But this restriction is often circumvented by using a periphrastic verbal construction, as shown in (124).

(124) Khen da = ya
     so   become = IRR
     'It will be like that.' (002-002-EC-INTERVIEW-029)

In position +3 the negative enclitic =*mbi* may occur. Example (125) shows that it follows the plural subject enclitic and the modal enclitic.

(125) Ja'ñu = nda = ngi mañan = 'fa = ya = mbi
     now = NEW = 1   free = PLS = IRR = NEG
     'Now we won't let it go.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-052)

Another clitic occurring in this position is the frustrative clitic = ’ma. It follows the irrealis clitic, as shown in (126):

(126) Jun   tuya＝tsû ku’i-je＝’fa.
        yes   still＝3   drink-IPFV＝PL
          Kû'i＝ya＝'ma＝tsû   da   Magricio＝khe.
          drink＝IRR＝FRT＝3   HES   Mauricio＝ADD
        ‘Yes they still drink (ayahuasca). They'll drink (unlike what you'd expect), ehm, even Mauricio!" (V104-BM-Interview-2572.588)

Finally, in position +4 the highly frequent but rather elusive clitic = ’ya occurs. This clitic is interpreted here as indicating that the clause in which it occurs is an assertion. This analysis is warranted by the fact that this clitic does not cooccur with the interrogative, imperative, and prohibitive clitics, nor with the adhortative particle. This clitic follows the negative clitic from position +3, as shown in (127).

(127) Tsa＝ma＝nda＝tsû   shunchhan＝ya＝mbi＝’ya.
        ANA＝ACC＝NEW＝3   smell＝IRR＝NEG＝ASS
        ‘He will not smell that.’   (20040218-EC-Interview-0419.697)

5.4. Predicate adverbs

Manner and degree adverbs modifying the verbal or non-verbal predicate precede it, as shown in examples (128)-(130).

(128) Jûnde   ji＝ja
        quickly   come＝IMP
        ‘Come quickly!’   20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-002)
(129) Panshen kûi＝’ye＝tsû.
        very   drink＝ASS＝3
        ‘They drink a lot.’ (20040218-EC-Interview-114)
(130) Ba’ve   rande＝tsû.
        somewhat   big＝3
        ‘It is somewhat big.’ (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-027)

5.5. Tense, aspect, mood, and polarity

5.5.1. Introduction

The tense, aspect, mood, and polarity distinctions of A'ingae have surfaced above the structural description in various places, given their various ways and places of expression. Here we focus on the overall system from a semantic point of view. In Section 5.5.2 we discuss localization, in 5.5.3 aspect, in 5.5.4 tense, in 5.5.5 mood, and in 5.5.6 negation.

5.5.2. Localization

A'ingae has two suffixes indicating direction: the cislocative suffix *–ngi* signals movement in the direction of the speaker, the translocative suffix *–nga* movement away from the speaker. These suffixes are illustrated in (131) and (132).

(131) Se'je-an-**ngi** = 'fa = ja   pa = ve   da = sane.
       heal-CAUS-**CIS** = PL = IMP die = ACC2   become = NEGPURP
       'Come here to get cured so you don't die.' (20040218-EC-Interview-039)

(132) I-**nga** = pa   fuesu-'si = 'o = ma = ta   afe = 'ya.
       bring-**TRANS**-SS   other-SHAPE.SPINE = AUG = ACC = TOP   give = ASS
       'He went and got the other clothes and hand them over.'
       (20060119-AnC-Consiana-01-0356.152)

It is tempting to assume a relationship between the translocative suffix *–nga* and the dative clitic *=nga*, and the cislocative suffix *–ngi* and the first person clitic *=ngi*.

5.5.3. Aspect

Kofán is very rich in aspectual operators. These are discussed here in two groups: qualificational aspect and quantificational aspect.

There are three markers expressing qualificational aspect. First, the imperfective suffix *–je* is used to express progressive aspect, as in (133).

(133) In'jan-je＝mbi＝tsû Cadena＝ja.
　　　 think-IPFV＝NEG＝3 Cadena＝CONTR
　　　 'Cadena is acting silly.' ("Cadena is not thinking.")
　　　 (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-021)

Next, there is a suffix –*ji* expressing precumulative aspect. In combination with a dynamic predicate, this expresses the process leading up to an endpoint, as in (134). In combination with a stative predicate, it expresses the process leading up to the ingression into that state, as in (135).

(134) Ja'ñu＝ja　　　atesû＝mbi＝gi　　akhepa-ji＝gi.
　　　 now＝CONTR　 know＝NEG＝1　　 forget-PRECUM＝1
　　　 'Nowadays I don't know, I'm forgetting.' (and will eventually have forgotten)
　　　 (20060118-BM-Interview-2275.889)

(135) Dû'shû＝ta＝tsû bia-ji.
　　　 child＝NEW＝3　　 long＝PRECUM
　　　 'The child is becoming tall.' (＝will eventually be tall) (elic.)

The prospective aspect marker –*yi* is used exclusively with the verb *ja* 'go' in constructions like the one in (136).

(136) Avû　　vachu＝'sû　　ja-yi .
　　　 fish　　net＝ATTR　　 go-PROSP
　　　 'I am going fishing with my net.' (BC11.005)

In other cases, prospective aspect is expressed through an auxiliary construction consisting of the infinitival form of the main verb followed by the verb *tsun* 'do' in the imperfective, as illustrated in (137).

(137) Matachi＝ma＝gi　　　　kundase＝ye　　tsun-je.
　　　 Matachi.clown＝ACC＝1　 tell＝INF　　　 PROSP.AUX-IMPF
　　　 'I'm going to tell you about the Matachi clown.'
　　　 (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0000.0)

　　　 Turning now to quantificational aspect distinctions, A'ingae turns out to be especially rich in expressions pertaining to this category.
　　　 Durative aspect is expressed in Kofán through vowel lengthening, as illustrated in (138).

(138) Ja = pa   thatha~**:**   akhûi-'khu-'chu = i'khû.
       go = SS   search~DUR   paddle-SHAPE.ANGULAR-SHAPE.SMALL = INS
       'He went off and looked and looked with his paddle.'
       (20060118-MM-2-0007.2)

There are two ways of expressing repetitive aspect. The first is by means of the
suffix *-ñakha*, as illustrated in (139), the second is through reduplication of part of the
stem, as in (140).

(139) Tsun = mba khatikhû-ñakha ka'ni-ji.
       do = SS   crawl-REP   enter-PRECUM
       'Then crawling he started to enter.' (BC18.012)

(140) Chhi~chhi = pa   phiña = mba api = nga   si'nge = nga   utsian
       slice~REP = SS   put = SS   pot = DAT   fire = DAT   put.on
       'Having sliced it she put it in the pot and set it on the fire.' (BC13.021)

The imperfective suffix *-je* illustrated above as expressing progressive aspect, may also
express habitual aspect, as in (141).

(141) Tayupi = ja   charapa   dû'sûchu = ve   kaje = ni
       former = CONTR   charapa.turtle   egg = ACC2   downriver = LOC
           ja-je = 'fa = 'ya.
           go-IPFV = PL = ASS
       'In earlier times they used to go downriver for charapa eggs.'
       (20040218-EC-Interview-227)

The diminutive aspect suffix *–kha* illustrated in (142) indicates that an event took place
for a short duration of time.

(142) Asi'thaen-kha.
       think-DIM
       'Think a little bit' (20060118-BM-Interview-1130.564)

There are two periphrastic constructions that express habitual and negative habitual
aspect. The constructions are based on the habitual and negative habitual participles,
used as non-verbal predicates, as discussed in Section 5.2. They express habitual (143)
and negative habitual (144) aspect.

(143) An = khesû = tsû
      eat = HAB = 3
      'It is to be eaten.' (20040218-EC-Interview-071)

(144) Je'nda kûti'chu kuku = ta = ti tsa = 'ka = en fi'thi = masia.
      then yachapo demon = NEW = INT ANA = CMP = ADVR kill = NEG.HAB
      'Then the yachapo demon is not killed liked that?'
      (20040218-EC-Interview-0429.314)

Finally, the combination of an infinitive with the verb *atesû* 'know', which may also be used as an auxiliary expressing acquired ability (see Section 5.5.5, is often used to express *habitual* aspect as well, as shown in (145). The same holds for the combination of a same subject verb form in =*pa* followed by the verb *kanse* 'live' (146).

(145) Jungaesû = ma = tsû ñua'me tsetse'pa = ve tsetse'pa = en = ñe atesû = 'fa.
      what = ACC = 3 really chicha = ACC2 chicha = CAUS = INF HAB.AUX = PL
      'What did they use to make chicha with?'
      (20060118-BM-Interview-1928.155)

(146) Ja'ñu kundase = pa kanse = mbi = 'ya.
      now tell = SS HAB.AUX = NEG = ASS
      'Nowadays I don't tell stories.' (20060118-MM-2-0105.99)

5.5.4. Tense

A'ingae does not make any absolute tense distinctions. In cases of future reference the irrealis mood is used (147), but this form is not exclusively temporal, as we will show in Section 5.5.5. In cases of non-future reference the verb is unmarked (148). The past or present interpretation of unmarked sentences is contextually determined.

(147) Ña = ma = nda = tsû fi'thi = 'fa = ya = 'ya
      1.SG = ACC = NEW = 3 kill = PL = IRR = ASS
      'They will kill me.' (20040218-EC-Interview-0246.473)

(148) Tsa ke'i = ta = ki atesû = 'fa = Ø = mbi = 'ya.
      ANA 2.PL = NEW = 2 know = PLS = REAL = NEG = ASS
      'You don't know these things.' (20040215-01-LC-Tetetene-007)

Relative tense distinctions can be made in subordinate clauses only. Simultaneity is

expressed by the simultaneous clitic =*in* (149), posteriority is expressed by the infinitive suffix -*ye* (150):

(149) Bûthu=in   ja   tsampi=ni
      run=SIM   go   jungle=LOC
      'Running he went off into the jungle.' (BC01.046)

(150) Ñuame-khe tsampi=ve   agathuen=ye=ta=ti   ki   in'jan='fa.
      really-ADD jungle-ACC2 create=INF=NEW=INT   2   WANT=PLS
      'Do you really want me to create jungle for you?' (BC01.030)

5.5.5. Mood

There are relatively few modal elements in Kofán. This may have to do with the fact that many modal distinctions are covered by the irrealis category mentioned above. Examples (151)-(152) show some of its uses.

(151) Tsa=ya=tsû.
      that=IRR=3
      'It could be that one.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-010)

(152) Sumbu-en=ya.
      emerge-CAUS=IRR
      'I think it can be gotten out.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-012)

The examples encountered so far seem to suggest that the irrealis expresses facultative and epistemic modality.

   The frustrative clitic has a modal meaning too. It indicates that an event does noy have the expected outcome or does not develop as expected. An example is (153).

(153) Sa'vû-ye   ji='ma.   Ma'kaen   jen'da   savû=ya   ñua'me
      warm.up-INF   come=FRUS   how   well   warm.up   truly
          cha'ndi='su='kan.
          cold=ATTR=CMP
      'He came to warm up! Now how will he warm up being cold like that?

There are modal constructions that make use of an auxiliary, both expressing facultative modality. The auxiliaries *atesû* 'know' in (154) and *usha* 'be able' in (155) are used in combination with an infinitive to express acquired and intrinsic ability, respectively.

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(154) Ña-khe   khia-'kan   ñuña-ñe   atesû.
       1.SG-ADD SIMIL＝CMP   make-INF   ACQ.ABIL.AUX
       'I also, like you, know how to make things.' (BC26.009)

(155) Tsûthe＝ma   indi＝ye   usha＝mbi.
       foot-ACC   get.hold.of＝INF   INTR.ABIL.AUX＝NEG
       'I can't get hold of its feet.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-030)

In order to express obligation a periphrastic expression is used, illustrated in (156), which is actually a non-verbal predication that makes use of the subordinator ＝'chu, which in this case creates a headless relative clause that itself contains a verb in the irrealis mood. The entire construction can then be paraphrased as 'The men were (ones) to kill by cutting'.

(156) A'i   chatû   kati＝ya＝'chu.
       man   cut   destroy＝IRR＝SUB
       'The men had to kill them with their machetes.' (BC17.108)

5.5.6. Negation

There are two ways to express negation in Kofán. One is through negative predicates based on the root *me'/me'i* 'no', and the other through the clitic ＝*mbi* 'NEG', which attaches to the predicate.

Negative predicates are a combination of the negative particle *me'/me'i* 'no' and one of the markers *-tshi* 'QUAL', ＝*'un* 'AUG' or ＝*'chu* 'SUB', thus turning it into a non-verbal predicate best translated as 'non-existent'. These negative predicates are used in the expression of negative existentials (157) and negative possession (158).

(157) Ni   kukama＝me＝khe   metshi.
       not.even colono＝ACC2＝ADD   NEGP
       'There were not even colonos' (20040218-EC-Interview-031)

(158) Numero＝ve   me'chu＝tsû va＝ja.
       number＝ACC2   NEGP＝3   PROX＝CONTR
       'This one doesn't have a number' (20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0986.235)

Negative existential clauses are pseudo-transitive clauses. The only argument (kokama＝me in (157) occurs in the accusative case. In these clauses the variants *metshi*

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and *me'i'un* are used. Negative possessive clauses are transitive and use the variant *me'chu.*

The clitic =*mbi* is used to express non-existential negation and can be attached to verbal (159) and non-verbal (160) predicates.

(159) Tsa   ke'i=ta=ki   atesû='fa=mbi='ya
       ANA   2.PL=NEW=2   know=PLS=NEG=ASS
       'You don't know these things.' (20040215-01-LC-Tetetene-007)

(160) Santa Rosa=ni=ja   tsa='ka=mbi='ya
       Santa Rosa=LOC=CONTR   ANA=CMPR=NEG=ASS
       'It is not like that in Santa Rosa.' (20060118-BM-Interview-2637.82)

6. Simple clauses

6.1. Alignment

Virtually all clausal constituents in A'ingae may be dropped, provided they are inferrable from context. The clause, however, usually consists of minimally a predicate, as in (161).

(161) Kanjen.
       stay
       'He stayed' (001-04-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-034)

When arguments are expressed, they are aligned in a nominative-accusative pattern, both morphologically and syntactically. Examples (162)-(164) show that the only argument of one-place predicates with an A argument (162) and a P argument (163), and the A argument of two-place predicates (164) all take nominative zero marking which characterizes the subject in A'ingae, while the P argument of two-place predicates takes accusative marking (165) in active sentences.

(162) Fae   kukama=Ø=tsû   ji-je='ya
       one   colono=NOM=3   come-IPFV=ASS
       'One colono used to come.' (20040218-EC-Interview-060)

(163) Ña=Ø=nda=gi   pa-ye   tsun-je.
       1.SG=NOM=NEW=1   die-INF   do-IMPF
       'I'm going to die.' (BC20.143)

(164) A'i = 'chu = khu = Ø = ta = tsû   kurifi'ndi = ve   in'jan = 'fa.
      person = DIM = AUG = NEW = 3   money = ACC2   want = PL
      'The poor people want money.'
      (20050701-BandT-Spontaneous-0523.899)

Furthermore, there is optional agreement in person expressed through second position clitics, which always agree with the subject argument: =*tsû* in (162), =*gi* in (163), and =*tsû* in (164). Finally, there is optional agreement in number through the predicate clitic =*'fa* illustrated in (164), which again agrees with the subject argument.

In passive constructions, the P argument becomes the subject of the clause, takes nominative marking, and triggers agreement, while the A argument is expressed in the dative case, as shown in (165).

(165) Ingi = ta = ngi   tsai-ye   iyu = nga.
      we = NEW = 1   bite-PASS   snake = DAT
      'We were bitten by a snake.' (elic.)

From a syntactic perspective, the subject controls co-reference (166) and switch-reference in dependent clauses. Switch reference will be discussed in Section 7.

(166) Ja-yi = ngi   Qûitu = ni   [Øsarûpa = ma   chava-ye]
      go-INCH = 1   Quito = LOC   [GAP clothes = ACC buy-INF]
      'I am going to Quito to buy clothes.' (elic.)

6.2. Basic constituent order

Constituent order in main clauses is relatively flexible, where the variation is mainly driven by pragmatic factors. The dominant order is, however, S-O-V, or rather S-O-Predicate, as many clauses do not contain a verb. This order is illustrated in (167).

(167) A'i   mani = ma   isû.
      person   peanut = ACC   take
      'The people took the peanuts.' (BC: 56)

The dominant predicate-final constituent order of the language is reflected in the fact that (co)subordinate clauses, differently from main clauses, are strictly predicate-final,

as in (168), in which the subordinate clause is shown in square brackets.

(168) Texacu   abugadu=tsûiñajan='ña   kûintsû.
       Texaco   lawyer=3   request=ASS   SWR.CNJ
          [ingi=ja   informe=ma   afe-ye].
          we=CONTR   report=ACC   give-INF
       'Texaco's lawyers requested that we give them a report.'
       (20060122-TA-JuiciuTexacune -0099.193)

The predicate-final nature of the dominant word order of the language also correlates (see Dryer 1992) with a number of other ordering features of the language, such as the fact that A'ingae has postpositions and suffixes and the fact that the quality follows the standard in comparative constructions. The latter is shown in (169).

(169) Shavu   chipiri=ta=tsu   rande   shavu=ma   titshe   fava-tshi.
       canoe   small=NEW=3   big   canoe=OBJ   more   light-QUAL
       'A small canoe is faster than a big canoe.' (elic.)

On the other hand, modifiers in the noun phrase may both precede and follow the head noun, as shown in Section 4.3, which is also indicative of a less rigid word order patterning.

The dominant order S-O-Pred may well be an epiphenomenon and correlate with the pragmatic functions that seem to regulate word order in A'ingae. The main factor in the distribution of arguments and adjuncts before and after the predicate seems to be that new or contrastive information precedes the predicate, while given information, when expressed at all, follows it. Examples of this are given in (170)-(171).

(170) (Context: He killed his small pet and gave it to him. Splitting it the owner took half. He gave half to the man.)
       Isû=pa   shu'khue=mba an   na=ma   a'i.
       take=SS   cook=SS   eat   meat=ACC   person
       'The man took it, cooked it, and ate the meat.' (BC07.068)
(171) (Context: But his eyes were reddish like fire. …)
       Tise   pûshe   tayu   atte   tsa=ma.
       3.SG   wife   already   see   ANA=ACC
       'His wife had already seen that.' (BC09.032)

In the main clause in (170) the P argument *na=ma* and the subject *a'i* both follow the predicate *an*. Both arguments have been introduced in the previous context. In (171), the patient argument *tsa=ma* refers back to the state-of-affairs described in the immediately preceding context, while the referent of the subject argument *tise pûshe* is a new topic in the given context.

6.3. Sentential mood and sentence types

A'ingae distinguishes assertive, yes/no-interrogative, content interrogative, imperative, prohibitive, and adhortative sentence types. These are realized using different morphosyntactic strategies. The imperative, prohibitive, and mitigated imperative are expressed through predicate clitics in position +2 (see Section 5.1). The assertive is realized through a predicate clitic as well, but now in position +4. The yes/no-interrogative is expressed through a clause level second position clitic. Content questions can be identified by the fact that the ignorative word is always in initial position, and adhortative sentences have an adhortative particle in initial position. An example of each of these sentence types is given in (172)-(178).

(172) *Assertive*
Na'e=nga   indi='fa='ya   matachi=ma
river=DAT   hold=PL=ASS   matachi.clown=ACC
'They held the matachi clown down in the river.'
(V103-01-AQ-Matachi-0073.408)

(173) *Imperative*
Tsa='ka=en   tsun=ja.
ANA=CMP=ADV   do=IMP
'Do it like that!' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0187.963)

(174) *Prohibitive*
Anthe=jama   chigane.
let.go=PROH   please
'Don't let it go please!' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-025)

(175) *Mitigated Imperative*
Injan ='fa=kha.
Think=PL=DIM
'Mind you!/Be careful!' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-030)

(176) *Yes/no-Interrogative*

Fûesû = tijin.

other = INT   exist

'Is there another one?' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-112)

(177) *Content Interrogative*

Majan = tsû   ka'ni-a.

someone = 3   enter-CAUS

'Who let you in?' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-002)

(178) *Adhortative*

jinge   kû'i-ye

ADHORT   drink-INF

'Let's drink!' (20040218-EC-Interview-2659.033)

Like yes/no interrogatives, reportative clauses are also expressed through a clause-level second position clitic. They do, however, not constitute a different sentence type, as the reportative clitic may co-occur with other markers of sentence type. In (179), for instance, it combines with the assertive marker.

(179) Khashe'ye = ndekhû = ja   ñuña = si = te   matachi = ja

elder = HUM.PL = CONTR   make = DS = RPT matachi.clown = CONTR

tsa = ma   undikhû = pa tsa = 'ka = en = jan   ku'fe = 'ya.

ANA = ACC dress = SS   ANA = CMP = ADVR = CONTR   play = ASS

'It is said that after the elders made (the clothes), the Matachi clown would dress up and play.' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0034.404)

None of the sentence types is characterized by a specific intonation, and in terms of word order only questions have certain restrictions that other sentence types do not have, in the sense that the question word is always in initial position in content-interrogatives, while the focus constituent is always in initial position in yes/no-interrogatives.

7. Clause-linking

7.1. Introduction

The A'ingae system of clause-linking is described in detail in Fischer (2007) and Fischer & van Lier (2011). Here we present the major properties of the system. In

Section 7.2. we discuss coordination, in Section 7.3 cosubordination, in Section 7.4 subordination, and in Section 7.5 reported speech.

Important in the discussion of complex clauses are the formal distinctions that obtain between main and (co)subordinate clauses in A'ingae. As shown in Section 6, (co)subordinate clauses in A'ingae are strictly predicate-final, while word order in main clauses is relatively free. Furthermore, the optional second position subject enclitics used in main clauses are not allowed in (co)subordinate clauses.

Where useful, clause boundaries will be indicated with square brackets in what follows.

7.2. Coordination

Clausal coordination is often expressed through simple juxtaposition, as shown in (180).

(180) [Ña＝da＝ngi an]   [tise＝ta＝tsû   a＝mbi]
      I＝NEW＝1   eat   he＝NEW＝3   eat-NEG
      'I ate, and/but he didn't eat.' (elic.)

This is a clear case of the coordination of main clauses, as each of the two coordinated clauses displays a second position clitic, ＝*ngi* in the first clause, ＝*tsû* in the second clause.

The clauses juxtaposed in (180) may be in a conjunctive or an adversative relation. This must become clear from context. If the two readings have to be disambiguated the complex elements *tuya'kaen* (from *tuya*＝*'kan* 'still＝CMP') (181) and *tsama* (from *tsa*＝*'ma* 'ANA＝FRUS') (182) have to be used.

(181) Ja'ñu＝ja,   panshen   rande   ande＝tsû tuya'kaen tshipakhû＝tsû.
      now＝CONTR   very   big   land＝3   moreover   mud＝3
      Now, it's a rather big piece of land, and it's muddy.'
(182) Khen   ja＝si＝gi   khen putaen Amado tsa'ma   ñutshe   athe＝mbe   putaen.
      thus   go＝DS＝1 thus shoot   Amado but   well   see＝NEG   shoot
      As it went that way, I just shot at it Amado, but without seeing it well.'

There is a dedicated coordinating particle for disjunction, borrowed from Spanish, which is illustrated in (183).

(183)   [Tse-'khu = ve = yi = ti = ngi   afa-ya]   u   [minga = ya = ngi]
        that-CLF = ACC2 = EXCL = INT = 1   speak = IRR   or how = IRR = 1
        'Shall I speak just till here, or what shall I do?' (20050701-MA-Letter-2 -042)

7.3. Subordination

7.3.1. Types of subordinate clauses

A'ingae exhibits both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. The former are created through the attachment of conjunctions or case markers as enclitics at the end of the clause, the latter are created through the attachment of an infinitival marker. The enclitics used can in many cases also be used with noun phrases. As regards the functions of these forms, relative clauses can be both finite and participial in form; the finite ones can precede or follow the head noun, the participial ones can only precede the head; and they can be externally headed, internally headed or headless. Complement as well as adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite too, depending on the type of complement-taking predicate or the adverbial function to be expressed.

In what follows we discuss complement clauses (Section 7.3.2), adverbial clauses (Section 7.3.3), and relative clauses (Section 7.3.4) separately.

7.3.2. Complement clauses

Table 13 lists the markers that can be used with complement clauses.

Table 13. *Markers of complement clauses*

none	----
= *'chu*	subordinator (SUB)
-ye/-ñe	infinitive (INF)
-ye/-ñe + kuintsu	infinive (INF) + switch reference conjunction (SWR.CNJ)

A common strategy in forming complement clauses is to add an accusative case marker to a regular clause without an intervening subordinator. This type of subordination is illustrated in (184)-(185).

(184) [Ingi   paña-je] = ma = tsû dyuju = ’fa.
      1.PL   hear-IMPF = ACC = 3   fear = PL
      ‘They are afraid that we will listen.’ (20060118-LM-2-0188.456)

(185) [duscientus   uchenta   dular = ma   gana-je = ’fa] = ma   in’jan   kanse.
      two.hundred   eighty   dollar = ACC   earn-IPFV-PL = ACC   think   look
      ‘Imagine they earn 280 dollars.’ (20050701-BandT-Spontaneous-0733.481)

A second complementation strategy involves the use of the subordinator = ’chu, which is added to a clause and may then be followed by a case marker, as shown in (186)-(187).

(186) Atesû = mbi [ke   ña = nga   tevaen = ’chu] = ma
      know = NEG you   I = DAT   write = SUB = ACC
      ‘I didn’t know that you had written to me.’ (elic.)

(187) Ña   athe = ’ya   [mamakhashe = ye = pa   ñuña = ’chu] = ma.
      I   see = ASS   grandmother = NPST = ASSC   make = NR = ACC
      ‘I’ve seen my late grandparents do it.’
      (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu -043)

The third strategy involves a non-finite verb form, the infinive. Complements of this type are used when reference is made to unrealized situations, as in (188) and (189).

(188) Fire   [sumbu-en   ka-ñe] = ngi   in'jan.
      Fidel   emerge-CAUS try-INF = 1   want
      ‘Fidel, I want to try to get it out.’ (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-097)

(189) Ña = ja   asithaen = ngi   [kinikhu = ve da-ye].
      I = CONTR   think = 1   tree = ACC2   become-INF
      ‘I think I’ll become a tree.’ (20040215-03-LC-Onfendyo’ndyo-027)

When the infintive is used without a conjunction, as in (188) and (189), there is coreference between the subject of the main and the subordinate clause. When there is no coreference, the switch reference conjunction *kûintsû* has to be used, as in (190).

(190) Texacu abugadu＝tsû iñaja＝’ña kûintsû
      Texaco lawyer＝3 request＝ASS SWR.CNJ
         [ingi＝ja infurme＝ma afe-ye].
         1.PL＝CONTR report＝ACC give-INF
      'Texaco's lawyers request that we give them a report.'
      (20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0099.193)

7.3.3. Adverbial clauses

Table 14 lists the markers that can be used with adverbial clauses.

Table 14. *Markers of adverbial clauses*

none	----
-ye	infinitive (INF)
-ye ＋kuintsu	infinive (INF) + switch reference conjunction (SWR.CNJ)
＝e(n)	adverbializer (ADVR)
＝’kan＝en	comparative (CMP) + adverbializer (ADVR)
＝khia＝e	similative (SIMIL) + adverbializer (ADVR)
＝mbi＝e	negative (NEG) + adverbializer (ADVR)
＝in	simultaneous (SIM)
＝sane	negative purpose (NEGPURP)
＝’thi	locative (LOC.NR)

Adverbial clauses too can be formed by simply adding a case marker to a regular clause. The only case marker that can be used in this way is ＝*ni* 'LOC'. The adverbial clauses thus formed express location (191) or time (192).

(191) [Tsa kû'i-je＝'fa]＝ni ansûnde-pa …
      ANA drink-IPFV＝PL＝LOC climb-SS
      'He climbed to where those (people) were drinking, …' (elic.)

(192) … [Vendi   kitsa=pa=i'khû   kanse]=ni=tsû   cumpaniña=ja
    … Randy   father=ASSC=INS   live=LOC=3   oil.company=CONTR
        va-'ki=ye   ansûnde=ya
        PROX-SHAPE.LINE=ELAT   climb=ASS
    '… it must have been when we lived with Randy's parents that the oil
    companies came up by this road.'
    (20040218-EC-Interview-124)

When combined with the clitic =ta 'NEW', which is used to introduce new topics, the
interpretation is that of a conditional, as shown in (193).

(193) Tsa'ma   [ña   dû'shû=ndekhû=khe   ma-ki   a'ta
    but   1.SG   child=HUM.PL=ADD   which-SHAPE.LINE   day
        paji]=ni=ja   ma=ni=ngi   ña-ja
        be.sick=LOC=DEF   which=LOC=1 1.SG=CONTR
        se'jian-ye   usha=ya.
        cure-INF   be.able=IRR
    'But, if my children some day also get sick, where will I cure them?'
    (20050701-MA-Letter-2-037)

The infinitival construction, used in complementation, is also used to form purposive
clauses (194). Here too the switch reference conjunction is used to indicate that the
subject of the purposive clause is different from that of the main clause (195).

(194) Rafe=tsû   ja   Qûitu=ni   [sarûpa=ma chava-ye]
    Rafael=3   go   Quito=LOC   clothes=ACC buy-INF
    'Rafael went to Quito to buy clothes.' (elic.)
(195) Afe   kan=ja   [kûintsû   kata-ye]
    give   look=IMP SWR.CNJ   cast-INF
    'Give (the spear to him) so that he can cast (it).' (elic.)

The third strategy to form adverbial subordinate clauses involves the adverbializing
clitic =e, as in (196).

(196) Va=ni=ngae   [butho panshan=e] ji='ya.
    PROX=LOC=MANN   run   pass=ADVR   come=ASS
    'I came running here.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-005)

This clitic can also be attached to clauses ending in the clitics =*khia* 'SIMIL' and =*'kan* 'CMP' or both to create a clause of comparison, as illustrated in (197).

(197) [Gringu=mbi]=khia='ka=en   tsa=khe   shûjû.
      gringo=NEG=SIMIL=CMP=ADVR   that=ADD rub
      'As if he weren't a gringo, he too rubbed (cured).'
      (20040306-AC-01-Pajiisûne-0160.128)

It can furthermore attach to the negative clitic =*mbi*, where together they fuse into the form =*mbe*. This clitic combination is then used to create a clause of negative circumstance, as in (198).

(198) Atesû=mb=e   va='thi   kanse='fa='ya.
      know=NEG=ADVR PROX=LOC.NR live=PL=ASS
      'We lived here without knowing (about them).' (elic.)

Circumstantial clauses are formed by the simultaneous clitic =*in* (199), locative clauses make use of the locative nominalizer =*'thi* (200), and clauses of negative purpose of the clitic =*sane* (201).

(199) Shan'khu [bûtu=in]   sumbu.
      deer   jump=SIM   emerge
      'The deer jumped out.' (BC20.124)

(200) Umba=ni=ngae=ta=tsû   [ingi na'en   tsa   sumbu-ye='thi] ….
      up=LOC=MANN=TOP=3   1.PL river   ANA come.out=LOC.NR
          lindero=ja   ja   enthinge=ni.
          delimitation=CONTR go   middle=LOC
      'Upriver, where our river sprouts, the delimitation goes landwards.'
      (20060118-LM-2-0402.827)

(201) Sumbu-en-ye=tsû   injenge …
      emerge-CAUS-INF=3 important
          [panshan=e amûnde'=tshi=e   tsetse'=sane].
          pass=ADVR   dirty=QUAL=ADVR   chew=NEGPURP
      'It is important to get the dog out so that he doesn't make it dirty chewing it.'
      (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-011)

7.3.4. Relative clauses

Table 15 lists the markers that are used with relative clauses.

Table 15. *Markers of relative clauses*

=*'chu*	subordinator (SUB)
=*'sû*	attributive (ATTR)
=*a(n)*	adjectivalizer (ADJR)

Relative clauses may be formed using the cliticized subordinator =*'chu* that is also used for complement clauses. These clauses may occur in prenominal position (202), in postnominal position (203), they may be headless (204), and internally headed (205). In (205) *kachapa*=*ma* 'parrot=ACC' is case-marked according to its function within the subordinate clause, i.e. patient of *aiña* 'domesticate'. If not, it would have been marked with =*ve* "ACC2", which is instead attached to the subordinate clause as a whole.

(202) [Ke   kanse]=’chu   ande=nga=tsû   napi=ya
        2.SG   live=SUB   land=DAT=3   arrive=IRR
        ‘It will reach the country you live in.’ (elic.)

(203) Yuri=’ye   [ke’i sû-je]=’chu=ja
        Yori=NPST   2.PL   say-IPFV=SR=DEF
        ‘the late Yori you are talking about’ (20050726-CL-1-0207.132)

(204) … ji=’fa=’ya   [tisû=pa   kanchana=me   ñuña]=’chu=ye
        … come=PL=ASS   REFL=ASSC   ladder=ACC2   make=SUB=ELAT
        ‘… they came via that which they themselves had made into a ladder.’
         (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu’ndyu-052)

(206) … tise   mama=ni   ja~ja=’fa=’ya
        … 3.PL   mother=LOC   go~ITER=PL=ASS
             [kachapa=ma   tisepa   aiña]=’cho=ve
             parrot=ACC   they   domesticate=SUB=ACC2
        ‘… they went to their mother for the parrot they had domesticated.’
        (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu’ndyu-053)

Another type of relative clause is formed by using the attributive clitic =*sû* (207). This is an agent relative clause, and is always prenominal. The same is true of relative clauses with the adjectivalizer clitic =*a* (208).

(207) [ingi＝mbe sema]＝'sû＝ndekhû
     1.PL＝BEN   work＝ATTR＝PL
     'people that work for us'   (elic.)

(208) Tsa   [feña-en-kha＝a]   kundase-pa＝ya＝tsû tsa＝ja.
     ANA   laugh-CAUS-DIM＝ADJR   tell-NR＝IRR＝3   ANA＝CONTR
     'It's a funny story that will make you laugh, that one.'
     (20060118-MM-2-0327.788)

7.4. Cosubordination

A'ingae uses cosubordinate clauses in narrative chaining constructions. Cosubordinate clauses are strictly predicate-final and lack subject clitics. Either one of two enclitics is attached to cosubordinate clauses, one (＝*pa*) expressing same subject reference, the other (＝*si*) different subject reference. The first is used to indicate that the subject of the next clause is identical to the subject of the current clause (209), the second to indicate that it is different (210).

(209) Sumbu-en＝mba chathû tuva＝ja   thupa.
     emerge-CAUS＝SS cut   throw＝IMP   intestines
     'Get the intestines out and cut them.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-127)

(210) Chathû   muen＝si＝te   vani＝ngae amphi ji＝'ya
     cut   send＝DS＝RPT here＝MANN fall   come-ASS
        tsa   tise mama-ja.
        ANA   3.SG mum＝CONTR
     'When it (the parrot) sent her off cutting (the rope that was holding a ladder), their mother fell down.' (20040215-03-LC-Onfendyo'ndyo-064)

Example (211) illustrates how both types of cosubordinate clause work together to create a sentential paragraph.

(211) Khashe'ye＝ndekhû＝ja   ñuña＝si＝te   matachi＝ja
     elder＝HUM.PL＝CONTR   make＝DS＝RPT matachi.clown＝CONTR
        tsa＝ma   undikhû＝pa tsa＝'ka＝en＝jan   ku'fe＝'ya.
        ANA＝ACC dress＝SS   ANA＝CMP＝ADVR＝CONTR   play＝ASS
     'After the elders made (the clothes) the Matachi clown would dress up and play.' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0034.404)

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The first clause in (211) has the elders as its subject. The different subject marker in this clause is consistent with the fact that the Matachi clown is the subject of the second clause. The same subject marker of this second clause indicates that the Matachi clown will continue to be the subject in the third clause.

Sentential paragraphs such as the one illustrated in (211) play an important role in Tail-Head linkage, in which sentential paragraphs are linked together by repeating the last predicate of one paragraph as the first predicate of the next one. This is illustrated in (212).

(212) a. Tse'i＝tsû Vendi kitsa＝ja   ji＝pa
          then＝3   Randy father＝CONTR   come＝SS
               kûñajûn'chu＝ma＝khe   afe＝'ya.
               sweets＝ACC＝ADD   give＝ASS
          'Then Randy's father came and also gave us candy.'
    b. Afe＝si   dû'shû＝ja   shunchhankan＝'fa＝'ya.
        give＝DS   child＝CONTR   smell＝PL＝ASS
        'After giving them, the children smelled them.'
        (20040218-EC-Interview-069)

Here the verb *afe* 'give' ends the first sentential paragraph in (212a), and opens the next one in (212b). Note that this repeated verb is itself marked for switch reference.

7.5. Direct speech

A common way of expressing direct speech is by using a construction with the adverb *khen* 'thus', often combined with the reportative clitic ＝*te*. This is illustrated in (213).

(213) "Va＝ngacha'ndi＝'sû＝gi" khen＝de   sû＝'ya
       PROX＝DAT   cold＝ATTR＝1 thus＝RPT   say＝ASS
           matachi＝ja
           matachi.clown＝CONTR
       '"I'm cold in these (clothes)" so the Matachi said.'
       (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0090.782)

The reported clause is not embedded in the following clause. Rather, the reported clause is a main clause, and *khen* refers back anaphorically to this main clause in the subsequent, reporting, main clause. Several properties of the construction corroborate

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this. First of all, in contrast with subordinate and cosubordinate clauses, the reported clause may contain the subject clitic, as illustrated in (213). Furthermore, again unlike subordinate and cosubordinate clauses, the reported clause is not necessarily predicate-final, as shown in (214), in which the subject *aya* 'spirit' is in clause-final position.

(214) Ethi＝ni   kan'jen   aya   khen＝de sû＝si …
       interior.of.house＝LOC stay   spirit   so＝RPT   say＝DS
       '"There is a ghost in the house", thus saying …'
       (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0251.843)

Finally, both the reported clause and the reporting clause have main clause intonation.
        The direct speech construction is used with utterance predicates, as in (213)-(214), but also with predicates of thinking, as in (215).

(215) "Usha＝ya＝mbi＝ngi"   khen＝ngi   asi'thaen
       be.able＝IRR＝NEG＝1   so＝1   think
       '"I will not be able" I think.' (20060104-AQ-Ccarapacha-0023.39)

The construction is also used when reporting non-linguistic sound strings, as in (216).

(216) Pûshesû-ta   "tu tu tu tu tu"   khen＝de uchhi＝'ya.
       woman＝NEW   tu tu tu tu tu   so＝RPT   knock＝ASS
       'The woman knocked "tu tu tu tu".'
       (20040215-03-LC-Onfendyo'ndyo-007)

Reported speech that follows the reporting clause can, however, also be realized without the use of *khen* in asyndethic constructions like (217) and (218). Note that here too each clause has main clause intonation.

(217) Sû＝'ya   "sa'vû＝ja".
       say＝ASS   warm.up＝IMP
       'They told him "warm up!".' (20060104-AQ-Matachi -0090.782)

(218) A'i   afa   "jû ande＝ve   ñuña-ñe＝ngi   ñumbiye＝'fa".
       person   say   well land＝ACC2   make-INF＝1   be.sad＝PL
       'The people said "Yes, we are grieving for you to make some land".'
       (BC01.019)

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations used

1 = first person
2 = second person
3 = third person
ABL = ablative
ACC1 = accusative 1
ACC2 = accusative 2
ADD = additive focus
ADJR = adjectivalizer
ADVR = adverbializer
AN = animate
ANA = anaphoric reference to entity or event
ANA.LOC = anaphoric reference to location or time
ASS = assertive
ASSC = associative
ATTR = attributive
AUG = augmentative
BEN = beneficiary
CAUS = causativizer
CIS = cislocative
CMP = comparative
COLL = collective
CONTR = contrastive topic
DAT = dative

DIM = (verbal) diminutive
DIST = distal
DQ = distributive quantifier
DS = different subject cosubordinator
ELAT = elative
EXCL = exclusive focus
FRUS = frustrative
HAB = habitual
HUM = human
IGNR = ignorative
IMP = imperative
IMPF = imperfective
INAN = inanimate
INF = infinitive
INS = instrument
INT = interrogative
IRR = irrealis
ITER = iterative
LIM = limitative
LOC = locative
LOC = locative
MANN = manner, path
MIT = mitigated
NEG = negation
NEGPURP = negative purpose

NEW = new topic

NPST = nominal past

NR = nominalizer

OTHER = difference marker

PASS = passive

PL = plural

PLACE = place name

PLS = plural subject

PRECUM = precumulative

PROH = prohibitive

PROSP = prospective

PROX = proximal

QUAL = quality

RECP = reciprocal

REFL = reflexive pronoun

RPT = reportative

SAME = sameness marker

SENS = sensory deixis

SG = singular

SHAPE.ANGULAR = nominalizer angular shape

SHAPE.DELIM = nominalizer delimited space

SHAPE.FLAT = nominalizer flat shape

SHAPE.LARGE = nominalizer large shape

SHAPE.LATERAL = nominalizer lateral shape

SHAPE.LINE = nominalizer linear shape

SHAPE.ROUND = nominalizer round or small shape

SHAPE.SPINE = nominalizer object with protrusions

SHAPE.SPLINTER = nominalizer splinter-like shape

SIMIL = similative

SS = same subject cosubordinator

SUB = subordinator

SWR.CNJ = switch reference conjunction

TEMP.NR = temporal nominalizer

TRANS = translocative

UQ = universal quantifier

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