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* 'Cofán 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. The term Cofán is used below as an ethnonym, following Cepek (2012).

No complete grammar of A'ingae has been produced so far. Major publications include Borman (1962, 1976, 1977, 1981, 2015), Fischer (2002, 2007), Fischer & van Lier (2011), Hengeveld & Fischer (2018), and Repetti-Ludlow (forthc.) for the Ecuadorian variety, and Tobar Gutiérrez (1995) for the Colombian variety. A full grammar is in preparation (Hengeveld & Fischer in prep.). An open access text collection is available at http://pclpsrescit.services.brown.edu/kofan/#/index/.

2. Phonology

2.1. Phonological inventory

A'ingae has a moderately large consonant inventory consisting of 27 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	/p^h/		/t^h/			/k^h/	
Plosive – prenasalized	/^{m}b/		/^{n}d/			/^{ŋ}g/	
Fricative		/f/	/s/	/ʃ/			/h/
Affricate – voiceless			/ts/	/ʧ/			
Affricate – aspirated			/ts^h/	/$ʧ^h$/			
Affricate – prenasalized			/^{n}ʣ/	/^{n}ʤ/			
Nasal	/m/		/n/		/ɲ/		
Flap			/ɾ/				
Approximant		/ʋ/			/j/	/ɯ̨/	

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 /ɡ̶/. We do, however, follow Repetti-Ludlow et al. (forthc.) in identifying it as a velar approximant. Its phonemic status is evident from minimal pairs such as the one in (1).

(1) a / ʧi.ga/ 'God'
b / ʧi.t^{h}a/ 'tear'

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 (2)[1]. Similar examples are provided in Repetti-Ludlow et al (forthc.).

[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 /a.ʔi/ ‘person’
b /a.pi/ ‘pan’

A’ingae has five oral and five nasal vowels, given in Table 2. A formant analysis in Repetti-Ludlow et al. (forthc.) confirms this distribution.

Table 2. *Vowels*

Oral	Front	Central	Back		*Nasal*	Front	Central	Back
Close	/i/	/ɨ/			Close	/ĩ/	/ɨ̃/	
Mid	/e/		/o/		Mid	/ẽ/		/õ/
Open		/a/			Open		/ã/	

The /o/ and /õ/ have broad ranges of manifestations, ranging from [o] to [ʊ] and from [õ] to [ʊ̃].

2.2. Phonological processes

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

2.2.1. Diphtongization and glide insertion

Diphthongization occurs when certain combinations of vowels are clustered within a syllable. Repetti-Ludlow et al. (forthc.) detect the following diphthongs in their data: [ai], [oe], [oa], [oi], [ɨi], and [ao] as well as their nasalized counterparts [ãĩ], [õẽ], [õã], [õĩ], [ɨ̃ĩ], and [ãõ]. They furthermore note that the sequence /ae/ is consistently realized as [ai], which we assume also holds for the pair /ãẽ/ [ãĩ]. Some examples are given in (3).

(3)				
	[ai̯.pa]	‘savage’	[ãĩ̯]	‘dog
	[a.sɨ.kʰo̯e]	‘upriver’	[a.tʰɨ.fõ̯ẽ]	‘distribute’
	[kʰo̯a]	‘pumpkin’	[kʰõ̯ã.ᵑgi]	‘two’
	[moi̯.te]	‘never’	[sõĩ̯]	‘tamal’
	[a.kʰɨ̯i]	‘paddle’	[kɨ̃ĩ̯.tsɨ]	‘so that’
	[kao̯.fa]	‘cane’	[ãõ̯.na]	‘skimmer’

A diphthong is thus 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 observed in Repetti-Ludlow et al. (forthc.), other vowel combinations are realized with an intervening glide, as illustrated in (4a) below.

2.2.2. Glottal stop insertion

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 applied if otherwise a sequence of three vowels 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 latter case a glottal stop is inserted.

(4)	a	/ɲo.ts^{h}i.a/	[ɲõ.ts^{h}i.ja]	good=QUAL=ADJR
	b	/^{m}bia.a/	[bi̯a.ʔa]	long=ADJR

2.2.3. Nasalization

Nasality is a 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 [^{m}b] and [^{n}d] when following a nasal vowel; the realization of the approximants /ʊ/ 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.

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 demonstrated with two pairs of morphologically complex words in (5) and (6). In (5) both words contain the nominalizer /pa/, which in (5a) is preceded by an oral vowel and in (5b) by a nasal vowel. In (6) both words contain the new topic clitic /ta/, which is (6a) is preceded by an oral vowel and in (6b) by a nasal one.

(5)	a	/seʔ.he.pa/	[seʔ.he.pa]	heal-NR	'medicine'
	b	/ɨ̃.hĩ.pa/	[ɨ̃.hĩ.^{m}ba]	rain-NR	'rain'
(6)	a	/ʊa.ta/	[ʊa.ta]	PROX=NEW	'this'
	b	/haʔ.ɲõ.ta/	[haʔ.ɲõ.^{n}da]	now=NEW	'now'

The approximants /ʊ/ 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 (7)-(8).

(7)	/kõ.sĩ.ʊe/	[kõ.sĩ.mẽ]	woolly.monkey=ACC2	'woolly monkey'
(8)	/tsõ.je/	[tsõ.ɲẽ]	make-POST	'to make'

Oral vowels undergo a process of nasalization when preceding a prenasalized consonant, as shown in (9) and (10):

(9)	/dɨ.ʃo.^{n}de.k^{h}ɨ/	[dɨ.ʃõ.^{n}de.k^{h}ɨ]	child = H.PL	'children'
(10)	/tisɨ.^{m}be/	[tisɨ̃.^{m}be]	REFL = BEN	'his'

Oral vowels also nasalize when preceding or following a nasal vowel. The following examples show both possibilities, forward nasalization in (11) and backward in (12). These examples also show that diphthongs are always either completely oral or completely nasal.

(11)	/ho.ʊaʔ.kã.o/	[ho.ʊaʔ.kãõ]	DIST = CMP = AUGM	‘exactly like that’
(12)	/k^{h}ɨ.ʃa.ẽ/	[k^{h}ɨ.ʃãĩ]	recover-CAUS	‘heal’

Nasalisation crosses a consonant boundary when a nasal vowel and non-nasal vowel or glide are separated by the glottal fricative /h/ or the glottal stop /ʔ/. This can be seen in the examples in (13) and (14).

(13)	a	/tsõ.he/	[tsõ.hẽ]	do-IPFV
	b	/ãĩ.ha/	[ãĩ.hã]	dog = CONTR
(14)	a	/rɨbẽʔ.je/	[rɨbẽʔ.ɲẽ]	Ruben = NPST
	b	/hĩʔ.ja/	[hĩʔ.ɲã]	exist = ASS

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

(15)	a	/hai.me.pa/	[hai.mẽ.^{m}ba]	Jaime = ASSC
	b	/ɲoɲa.pa/	[ɲõɲã.^{m}ba]	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/.

2.2.4. Denasalization

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 frequent clitics in the language that are systematically realized with a prenasalized onset. For instance, the dative clitic /^{ŋ}ga/, the beneficiary clitic /^{m}be/, and the plural clitic /^{n}dek^{h}ɨ/ never occur in non-prenasalized form. Acoustic measurements reported on in Repetti-Ludlow et al. (forthc.) confirm the prenasalized nature of the voiced stops and affricates, as these turn out to be prenasalized even in word-initial position, though with a lower intensity

and a shorter duration than in word-medial position. In order to understand the distribution of prenasalized and non-prenasalized voiced plosives and affricates, it therefore seems more useful to assume a rule of denasalization for prenasalized plosives and affricates occurring in word-initial onset position. The nasality of the vowel preceding the prenasalized consonant is then accounted for by the nasalization rule discussed in the previous paragraph and illustrated in (9)-(10).

We thus find that the rule of denasalization of prenasalized voiced plosives and affricates leads to the realizations of these phonemes listed in (16), which are in complementary distribution.

(16) /ᵐb/ [ᵐb, b] /ⁿd/ [ⁿd, d] /ᵑg/ [ᵑg, g] /ⁿʤ/ [ⁿʤ, ʤ] /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 (17) and (18) with the verbal form /ʃaˈka/ 'fail, lack'.

(17)	/ʃaˈka.pa/	[ʃaˈka.pa]	fail-NR	'fault'
(18)	/ʃaˈka.ᵐbi/	[ʃaˈkã.ᵐbi]	fail = NEG	'did not fail'

In (17) the verb is followed by the action nominalizer suffix /pa/, which has a voiceless onset consonant, hence there is no spreading of nasality. In (18) 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 [ʃaˈkã.ᵐbi]. These examples clearly show that the prenasalized segment instigates the nasal spreading and therefore must be prenasalized phonemes.

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 diphthongizing vowels and either one is nasal, both are realized nasally. The possible sylable structures can therefore be listed and illustrated as in (19):

(19) V [**a**.ʔi] 'person', [**ɪ̃**.hĩ] 'rain'
VV [**ai**.je.he] 'push', [**ãĩ**] 'dog'
CV [a.**ʔi**] 'person', [**ʧã**] 'mother'
CVV [kʰoa] 'pumpkin', [**kãõ**] 'CMPR.ADVR'
Vʔ [i**ʔ.**fa] 'bring = PL', [**ãʔ.**fa] 'eat = PL'
VVʔ [**aiʔ.**ʊo] 'body', [**ãĩʔ.**fa] 'dog = SH.LAT'
CVʔ [**paʔ.**ʧo] 'dead', [mã.**ñãʔ.**fa] 'send = PL'
CVVʔ [**ʤaiʔ.**ʧo] 'sit = NR', [ã.**nãĩʔ.**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 (20) and (21).

(20)	/tsa/ + /ʔkã/	[tsaʔ.kã]	ANA = CMPR	'like that'
(21)	/mẽⁿde/ + /ʔʧo/	[mẽ.ⁿdeʔ.ʧo]	beautiful-NR.RND	'a beautiful one'

2.4. Prosody

Borman (1976: 3) notes that word stress is generally located on the penultimate syllable of a word, or on the penultimate syllable before a glottal stop within the word; if there is only one syllable preceding the glottal stop, then that syllable will be stressed. Some words not containing a glottal stop are listed in (22), and some containing a glottal stop in (23).

(22)	['a.fa]	[ĩ.'ha.ma]	[a.pe.ˈʧo.khɨ]	[kʰa.fai.se.'kʰõã.ⁿgi]
	'speak'	'heart'	'trousers'	'seven'
(23)	['a.feʔ.põẽ]	['a.siʔ.tʰãẽ]	['aʔ.hɨ]	['ja.jaʔ.pa]
	'pay'	'think'	'vomit'	'grease'

Borman (1976), however, takes the phonological word as his point of departure, and therefore includes words containing clitics in his analysis. Given that many clitics start with a glottal stop, this explains in part why he has to make a distinction between words that do and do not contain a glottal stop. It therefore seems better to define the domain of stress-assignment in morphosyntactic terms. Using this type of domain, the stress position within words can then in most cases be defined with respect to the (basic or derived) stem it contains. The examples in (24)-(27) show that in general the addition of inflectional suffixes and/or clitics does not affect the stress position within a word, while the addition of derivational suffixes does.

(24)	[ˈseʔ.he]	[ˈseʔ.he.je]	[ˈseʔ.heʔ.fa.ja]	[seʔ.ˈhe.pa]
	heal	heal-POST	heal = PLS = IRR	heal-NR
				'medicine'
(25)	[ˈkan.se]	[ˈkan.se.je]	[ˈkan.se.pa]	[kan.ˈse.pa]
	live	live-POST	live = SS	live-NR
				'life'
(26)	[o'ʊakʰo]		[o'ʊakʰo = ʔʧo]	[oʊa'kʰo-pa]
	chop		chop = SUB	chop-NR
			'ax'	'adze'

In some cases, there are minimal pairs only distinguished by stress. Repetti-Ludlow et al (forthc.)

provide the following example:

(27) a. [ˈnẽpi] ‘to disappear’
b. [nẽˈpi] ‘to arrive’

Within these cases, sometimes stress distinguishes between nouns and verbs, as shown in the verbal and nominal uses of [ãⁿde] ‘land’ and [pɨ.ʃe] ‘wife, marry a woman’ in (28)-(29).

(28)	[ãˈⁿde]	[ˈãⁿde]
	‘land (V)’	‘land (N)’
(29)	[pɨ.ˈʃe]	[ˈpɨ.ʃe]
	‘marry.a.woman’	‘wife’

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 clause-chaining 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 distinction 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 [e] 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 [e] 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/. Prenasalized consonants are written as a combination of a homorganic nasal and the relevant consonant, thus <mb> for [ᵐb], etc. 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 preceded or followed by a nasal consonant or followed by a prenasalized consonant, in which case the <n> is dropped. For instance, <adan> is used for [adã] 'Adam', but <aiña> rather then <aiñan> for [aiɲã] 'tame'. In nasal diphthongs the <n> is written only once, following the diphthong as a whole, and only if the diphthong is not preceded or followed by a nasal consonant or followed by a prenasalized consonant. For instance, <ashaen> is the ortographic representation of [aʃãẽ] 'start'.

Words borrowed from Spanish and still recognized as being Spanish generally maintain their original orthography.

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>	/ⁿʣ/	<nz, z>
/pʰ/	<ph>	/f/	<f>	/ⁿʤ/	<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>	/ɯ̨/	<g>

Table 4. *Vowels – orthography*

/i/	<i, in>	/ĩ/	<in, i>
/ɨ/	<û, ûn>	/ɨ̃/	<ûn, û>
/o/	<u, un>	/õ/	<un, u>
/e/	<e, en>	/ẽ/	<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 (30) illustrates the occurrence

of free stems as words.

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

In (30) both the stem *kukuya* 'devil' and the stem *an* 'eat' are used in syntax without additional morphology. *Ña* '1.SG' is another stem that could have been used by itself, but isn't here. 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 are undetermined as regards their part-of-speech membership (see 3.3) and therefore can be considered to constitute a class of flexible stems by themselves. For instance, in (31a) the bound stem *bia* 'long' combines with the attributive clitic *=a* in a nominal word, in (31b) it combines with the causative suffix *-ña* in a verbal word.

(31) 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-SH.LAT = AUG = ACC2 = 3 long-CAUS = PL = ASS
'They lengthened (the cotton) into white rope.' (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-042)

Similarly, in (32a) the bound stem *amûnde* 'dirty' combines with the causative suffix *-en* creating a verbal word, in (32b) with the quality marker *=tshi*, creating an property word, in (32c) with the quality marker and the adverbializer *=e*, creating an adverbial word, and in (32d) with the contrastive topic marker *=ja*, creating a nominal word. Without any marker the use of this stem would be ungrammatical.

(32) 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, only enclitics. There are sentence-level second position enclitics and constituent-level enclitics, as illustrated in (33).

(33) 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 sentence-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. As will be shown below, sentence-level clitics have scope over the clause as a whole, while constituent-level clitics have scope over the relevant constituent.

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 (34), of the second group in (35).

(34) 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.)

(35) 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 (34a) and to a clause in (34b). The clitic *='fa* combines with a non-verbal predicate in (35a) and a verbal one in (35b).

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*.

(36) 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-POST 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 (36a), to a head noun in (36b), to an attributive adjective in (36c), and to an inflected verb in (36d). 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. Six aspectual and two directional suffixes are the exception, and attach to verbs only. Example (37) illustrates the use of the imperfective suffix, example (38) of the causative and cislocative suffixes.

(37) 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)

(38) 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 (39).

(39) 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 (40)-(41) and express iterative and durative aspect.

(40) 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)

(41) Ja = pa thatha~: akhûi-'khu-'chu = i'khû.
go = SS search~DUR paddle-SH.ANG-SH.RND = 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 (42).

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

Example (42) 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 *=ngi* '1' that attaches to the first constituent of the clause, which here happens to be the P 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 (33) above.

Within noun phrases the pronominal possessor is unmarked when preposed and marked when postposed, while the possessive relationship is never marked on the head noun. This is shown in (43).

(43) 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 illustrated in (44).

(44) 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 (45).

(45) 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 (32) above.

As mentioned in 2.4, nouns and verbs can sometimes be distinguished on prosodic grounds. They can, however, also be distinguished on morphological grounds, as only verbs can take aspectual suffixes. Example (46) shows that the verbal predicate *fi'thi* 'kill' carries the imperfective suffix, which nouns such as *a'i* 'person' could never be combined with.

(46) 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 (47), and nouns have to be verbalized in order to be used as verbs, as in (48).

(47)	ku'fe	ku'fe-pa	ku'fe-fasi
	'play'	play-ACT.NR	play-HAB.NR
		'game'	'playful person'
(48)	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 (49). Stems like these may be used as heads of both noun phrases (49a) and verb phrases (49b).

(49) 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)

Other stems behaving in this way 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 (Borman 1976) 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*).

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.

(50) 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. 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.

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*)

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 or clusivity 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*

The personal pronouns and second position subject clitics may cooccur in the same sentence, as shown in (51) and (52).

(51) Ña=ngi tse'i=nga khutsû-ye tsun-jen.
1.SG=1 then=DAT stop-POST do-IMPF
'I was going to stop over there.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-001)

(52) Ke=ta=ki fûenga=sû kompañeru=ma kukama=ngae.
2.SG=NEW=2 together=ATTR companion=ACC1 mixed.blood=MANN
'You will speak Spanish with your friends.' (20060118-LM-2-0173.214)

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 (53) and (54):

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

(54) 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 (55) illustrates the use of this demonstrative.

(55) 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 (56) and events (57), while *tse* is used for locations (58) and time intervals (59). *Tsa* can be used both independently and adnominally.

(56) A'i = ma indi. Kukuya tsa = ma an.
person = ACC1 seize demon ANA = ACC1 eat
'He (the demon) seized the man. The demon ate him.' (BC09.011-012)

(57) tise pûshe tayu athe tsa = ma.
3.SG wife already see ANA = ACC1
'His wife had already seen that (the being red of the eyes of the devil).' (BC09.032)

(58) 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)

(59) 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 (60)-(61).

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

b. Tayupi='kan jungue'sû=ma chava-je='fa=mbi=si.
already=CMP IGN.INAN=ACC buy-IMPF=PLS=NEG=DS
'For a long time they have not been buying anything.' (20050701-MA-Letter-2-004)

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

b. Majan=jan kurifi'ndi.
QUEX.AN=CONTR money
'Some even (received) money.' (20040218-EC-Interview-182)

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 (62) a noun is used directly as the head of a noun phrase.

(62) biani='sûande
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 (63)-(64).

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

(64) tsa charapa dûsû-'chu
ANA charapa.turtle conceive-SH.RND
'that charapa turtle egg' (elic.)

In (63) *kuchhi nan* 'pig meat' is a compound, modified as a whole by *kû'ama* 'red'. In (64) *charapa dûsû'chu* is a compound, where the second element is itself a nominalization derived with a shape suffix. 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*), and a versatile nominalizer *-pa/-mba* that produces action nominals but also nouns denoting

entities involved in some way in the action denoted by the verb, as illustrated in (55)-(56).

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

(66) 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 (67a), basic nouns (67b), derived nouns (67c), and proforms (67d)

(67) a. dû'sû-'chu
conceive-SH.RND
'egg' (20040218-EC-Interview-227)
b. bu'mbu-je
chonta.palm-SH.FLT
'leaf of a chonta palm' (20060119-AnC-Cunsiana-02-0060.734)
c. khupa-'thi-khû
defecate-LOC.NR-SH.DEL
'buttocks' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-058)
d. va-ki
PROX-SH.LNR
'this road/river' (elic.)

The full set of suffixes producing nouns is given in Table 9.[2]

[2] The shape nominalizer X-*fu'chu* is taken from Dąbkowski (2017) and Pride (2017).

Table 9. *Noun-producing suffixes*

Nominalization		
V-*pa/-mba*	NR	nominalizer
V-*fasi*	HAB.NR	habitual nominalizer
X-*'chu*	SH.RND	nominalizer round or small shape
X-*'fa*	SH.LAT	nominalizer lateral shape
X-*fin'di*	SH.SPL	nominalizer splinter-like shape
X-*fu'chu*	SH.SCT	nominalizer scattered shape
X-*je(n)*	SH.FLT	nominalizer flat shape
X-*jin*	SH.LRG	nominalizer large shape
X-*ki*	SH.LNR	nominalizer linear shape
X-*'khu*	SH.ANG	nominalizer angular shape
X-*khû*	SH.DEL	nominalizer delimited space
X-*si*	SH.SPN	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. Compare (68) and (69).

(68) a dû'shû = ndekhû
child = HUM.PL
'children' (BC02.008)

b san'jan = 'sû = ndekhû
season = ATTR = HUM.PL
'those who seasoned the food' (20060104-AQ-Matachi-0040.546)

(69) a sin = 'u = an kanjansi
black = AUG = ADJR boa
'a black boa' (BC14.022)

b ñu = tshi = a
good-QUAL = ADJR
'a good one' (20050701-MA-Letter-2-039)

In (68b) the human plural clitic attached to an attributive phrase with the clitic *='sû*, just as it attaches to a regular noun in (68a). In (69a) an attributive phrase ending in *=a(n)* modifies a head noun, while in (69b) it is used referentially without a nominal head.

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.

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 (70).

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

In (70) *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*[3], which derives quality stems from verbal stems and bound stems. An example is given in (71).

(71) 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 (72).

(72) 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)

[3] The clitic *=tshi* may also combine with the adverbializer =e to create adverbial expressions, as in ñu='tsh=e (good=QUAL=ADVR) 'well'.

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 (73), a noun phrase marked for its semantic role (74), a temporal adverb (75), and a locative adverb (76).

(73) na’en=’sû kukuya
river=ATTR devil
‘the river devil’ (20060118-BM-Interview-0016.82)

(74) 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.)

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

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

Nominal modifiers with the attributive clitic *=’sû* are different from compounds (see 4.2.2), as compounds are combinations of lexical units, while the modifier with *=’sû* is a phrasal unit.

Function-marked noun phrases may also follow the head noun, and in that case do not take the attributive clitic, as shown in (77)-(79):

(77) shavu chipiri khuangi a’i=mbe
canoe small two person=BEN
‘a small canoe for two persons’ (elic.)

(78) tsa sinjûnkhû rande tsampi sepakhue-fa
ANA valley big forest behind-SH.LAT
‘that big valley behind the forest’ (elic.)

(79) tsa’u ña=mbe
house 1.SG=BEN
‘my house’ (elic.)

Possessor phrases used as modifiers behave differently in several respects. Example (79) 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 (80).

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

When a pronominal possessor precedes the noun it may furthermore occur in its bare form, 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 (81)-(82):

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

Examples (81)-(82) 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 (83) and (84) show, clauses with *= 'chu* may precede or follow the noun they modify. Clauses with *= 'sû* may only precede the noun (85). Another difference is that *= 'chu* only attaches to clauses, while *= 'sû* may be attached to a variety of constituents, as shown above in (73)-(76).

(83) ingi kanse = 'chu ande
we live = SR land
'the country we live in' (20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-1723.342)
(84) 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)
(85) 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. Position -4 hosts free grammatical words, positions +2 and +3 host a number of enclitics.

Position -4 in Table 5 may be occupied by the demonstratives *va* 'PROX', *tsa* 'ANA' 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 (86)-(87).

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

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

Non-specificity is marked optionally by means of the ignorative word *manjan* (89).

(88) Injan=ngi afa-ye manjan tsandie=i'khû
want=1 talk-POST 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 (89) and (90).

(89) 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.)

(90) Chava=ngi fûesû simba'khu=ma
buy=1 OTHER fishing.hook=ACC1
'I bought a different fishing hook.' (elic.)

Clitics in position +2 in the template in Table 5 may be occupied by markers of plurality and size. Only noun phrases refering to humans may (but need not) be marked for plurality. The general human plural marker =*ndekhû* is illustrated in (91). It may attach to all elements that can head an NP.

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

Another clitic, =*nakhû*, shown in (92), is used to create a collective expression and is also

restricted to human referents.

(92) 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 (93).

(93) 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* 'SH.RND' or with the shape suffix –*'khu* 'SH.ANG'. 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 (94) and (95).

(94) Da muñeku-'chu = 'u.
and doll-SH.RND = AUG
'And the little doll?' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-014)

(95) Ta'e-'khu = 'u juva = ja tuya.
hard-SH.ANG = 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.

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

Note that, as shown in (96), this enclitic may follow the human plural clitic =*ndekhû* which occupies position +2.

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 (97), where the NP position may be internally complex as indicated in Table 5. This order is illustrated in (98).

(97) NP = Case = Focus = Givenness

(98) 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 (99) and (100).

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

(100) 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 (101) and (102).

(101) Sumbu-en=jan ain-fa='u=ma
emerge-CAUS=IMP dog-SH.LAT=AUG=ACC1
'Get the dog out.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-007)

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

The accusative 2 is also used to mark depictives, as shown in (103).

(103) 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 already shown in (98). There are two focus markers and two givenness markers, as listed in Table 11. A further example of their ordering is given in (104).

(104) 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*

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">-1</td><td colspan="4">0</td><td rowspan="2">+1</td><td rowspan="2">+2</td><td rowspan="2">+3</td><td rowspan="2">+4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Head</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Adjunct</td><td>0</td><td>+1</td><td>+2</td><td>+3</td><td rowspan="2">Number</td><td rowspan="2">Mood</td><td rowspan="2">Negation</td><td rowspan="2">Illocution</td></tr>
<tr><td>Head</td><td>Aspect</td><td>Aspect, Direction</td><td>Event location, Relative tense</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Manner and Degree adverb(s)</td><td rowspan="2">V</td><td rowspan="2">Durative (lengthening)
Iterative (reduplication)</td><td rowspan="2">Imperfective (-je(n))
Preculminative (-ji(n))
Prospective (-yi/-ñi)
Diminutive (-kha)
Iterative (-ñakha)
Quality (= tshi)
Cislocative (-ngi)
Translocative (-nga)</td><td rowspan="2">Distal (-nga)
Posterior (-ye/-ñe)
Simultaneous (-in)</td><td rowspan="4">Plural subject (= ’fa)</td><td></td><td></td><td>Imperative (=ja(n))
Prohibitive (=jama)
Mitigated imperative (=kha)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Irrealis (=ya/=ña)</td><td rowspan="3">Negation (=mbi)
Counter-expectation (= ’ma)</td><td rowspan="3">Assertive (= ’ya/= ’ña)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Auxiliary constructions, non-verbal predicates</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Prospective (V-ye/-ñe + tson-jen)
Intrinsic ability (V-ye/-ñe + osha)
Acquired ability (V-ye/-ñe + atesû)
Habitual (V-ye/-ñe + atesû)
Habitual (V=pa + kanse)
Non verbal predicates, including:
Habitual (V =khesu)
Negative Habitual (V=masia)
Obligation (V=ya/=ña =cho)</td></tr>
</table>

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 as a whole.

5.2. The head of the predicate phrase

Verb stems may be simple or derived. The latter include passive (105), reciprocal (106), and causative (107) stems, all created by means of suffixation.

(105) 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)

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

(107) Sumbu-en=ja.
emerge-CAUS=IMP
'Get it out.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-126)

Verbs may be aspectually modified through reduplication of the last syllable of the verb (108) or by lengthening of the last vowel of the verb stem (109).

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

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

The (modified) verb stem may combine with directional and aspectual suffixes, which in turn may be followed by relative tense suffixes and event location suffixes, in that order, as shown in (110).

(110) Tû'i t^{h}û~t^{h}û-ngi-ye.
tomorrow fell~ITER-CIS-POST
'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 (111), in which the verb *atesû* 'know' is used as an auxiliary expressing habitual aspect.

(111) Jungaesû=ma=tsû ñua'me tsetse'pa=ve tsetse'pa-en-ñe atesû='fa.
what=ACC1=3 really chicha=ACC2 chicha-CAUS-POST 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 (112).

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

Non-verbal predicates may be of several types. They are indicated in square brackets in the following examples. Examples (113)-(115) show the predicative use of bare elements: a bound stem in (113), an adjective in (114), and a numeral in (115).

(113) Ñua'me [tansin]='fa=mbi.
truly straight=PLS=NEG
'It is not settled yet.' (20060118-LM-2-0542.989)

(114) [Ega]=tsû tsa ain=ja.
bad=3 ANA dog=CONTR
'That dog is bad.' (Borman 1981: 20)

(115) [Khuangi]='fa=tsû
two=PLS=3
'They are two.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-036)

Noun phrases may be used as predicates in different forms. An example with a simple noun phrase is given in (116), while in (117) the predicative noun phrase is a complex one, containing a *chu*-relative clause.

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

(117) 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 (118)-(119).

(118) Ña [antia=mbe]=tsû
1.SG blood.relative=BEN=3
'It is my brother's/sister's.' (elic.)
(119) [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 (120) and (121).

(120) 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)
(121) 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 (122)-(123).

(122) an=khesû te'ta-'chu
eat=HAB flower-SH.RND
'edible fruit' (elic.)
(123) 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 (124)-(125).

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

(125) 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 (126).

(126) 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 *=tsû* is unmarked for number. The plural interpretation arises exclusively as a result of the presence of the plural subject enclitic *='fa*.

Position 2 hosts the irrealis enclitic. Example (132) shows that it follows the plural subject enclitic.

(127) 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 may be used with non-verbal predicates, though with severe restrictions. Only demonstrative non-verbal predicates occur with this clitic, as illustrated in (128).

(128) 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 using the verb *da* 'become', as shown in (129).

(129) Ñajan fathakhu = ve da = ya.
1.SG = CONTR cliff = ACC2 become = IRR
'I'm going to become a cliff.' (BC07.136)

In position +3 the negative enclitic *= mbi* occurs. Example (130) shows that it follows the plural subject enclitic and the modal enclitic.

(130) 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 counterexpectational clitic *= 'ma*. It follows the irrealis clitic, as shown in (131):

(131) A'vû-ye ji-'ma. Ma'kaen je'nda sa'vû = ya ñua'me
warm.up-POST come = CNTR how well warm.up truly
cha'ndi = 'sû = 'kan.
cold = ATTR = CMP
'He came to warm up! Now how will he warm up being cold like that.'
(20060118-MM-2-0068.196)

Finally, in position +4 several illocutionary markers occur. One is the highly frequent but rather elusive clitic *= 'ya*. 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 (132).

(132) 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)

Other illocutionary markers are the imperative, prohibitive, and mitigated imperative clitics. These may only be used with verbal predicates. As indicated in Table 12, they do not cooccur with the irrealis clitic in position +2 and the negative clitic in positon +3, but they may cooccur with the plural subject marker, as illustrated for imperatives in (133).

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

The fact that these clitics do not cooccur with the irrealis and negative clitics follows from the

fact that irreality is already implied by these forms, and that negation is expressed in the prohibitive form itself.

5.4. Predicate adverbs

Manner and degree adverbs modifying the verbal or non-verbal predicate precede it, as shown in examples (134)-(136).

(134) Jûnde ji=ja
quickly come=IMP
'Come quickly!' 20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-002)

(135) Panshen kûi='ye=tsû.
very drink=ASS=3
'They drink a lot.' (20040218-EC-Interview-114)

(136) 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 in the structural description in various sections, given their various ways of expression and the positions in which they are expressed. 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. A more elaborate description of the A'ingae system can be found in Hengeveld & Fischer (2018).

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 (137) and (138).

(137) 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)

(138) I-**nga**=pa fuesu-'si='o=ma=ta afe='ya.
bring-**TRANS**-SS other-SH.SPN=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*.

The translocative suffix *–nga* is also used to indicate event location. It then expresses that the event occurred at a place removed from the reference location. An example is given in (139).

(139) Kathû-je-**nga**=ni=nda tise dûtshi'ye=ndekhû ichuru'chu=ma
clear-IPFV-TRANS=LOC=NEW REFL child=HUMPL gourd.bowl=ACC1
pûvi-a=mba khusha changu jin-'thi.
roll-CAUS=SS drum hole exist-LOCNR
'While she was away clearing the field, her children, having turned a gourd bowl upside down, were drumming on it near the hole.' (BC08.009)

A comparable event-locating of the translocative suffix *-ngi* has not been observed.

5.5.3. Aspect

A'ingae is very rich in aspectual operators. These are discussed here in two groups: qualificational aspect and quantificational aspect. Qualificational aspect specifies 'the internal temporal constituency of a situation' (Comrie 1976), while quantificational aspect quantifies over events of subparts of events.

There are three markers expressing qualificational aspect. First, the imperfective suffix *-je*, which is also used to express habitual aspect, is used in (140) to express progressive aspect.

(140) 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 preculminative aspect. In combination with a dynamic predicate, this expresses the process leading up to an endpoint, as in (141). In combination with a stative predicate, it expresses the process leading up to the ingression into that state, as in (142).

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

(142) Dû'shû = ta = tsû bia-ji.
child = NEW = 3 long = PRECUL
'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 (143).

(143) 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 posterior form of the main verb followed by the verb *tsun* 'do' in the imperfective, as illustrated in (144).

(144) Matachi = ma = gi kundase-ye tsun-je.
Matachi.clown = ACC = 1 tell-POST 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 A'ingae through vowel lengthening, as illustrated in (145).

(145) Ja = pa thatha~: akhûi-'khu-'chu = i'khû.
go = SS search~DUR paddle-SH.ANG-SH.RND = 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 (146), the second is through reduplication of part of the stem, as in (147).

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

(147) Chhi~chhi=pa phiña=mbaapi=ngasi'nge=ngautsian
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, is used in (148) to express habitual aspect.

(148) 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*, also used as a diminutive on nouns, is illustrated in (149) and indicates that an event took place for a short duration of time.

(149) 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 (150) and negative habitual (151) aspect.

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

(151) 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 a posterior verb form 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 (152). The same holds for the combination of a same subject verb form in *=pa* followed by the verb *kanse* 'live' (153).

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

(153) 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 (154), 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 (155). The past or present interpretation of unmarked sentences is contextually determined.

(154) 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)

(155) 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)

In terms of relative tense distinctions, the posterior verb form, which has infinitive-like properties, expresses posteriority. It is mainly used in subordinate clauses (156), but also surfaces in main clauses (157).[4]

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

(157) Chiga=ma iñajan-ye.
god=ACC1 pray-POST
'He'll pray to God.' (BC01.060)

Simultaneity is expressed by the simultaneous clitic *=in*, which occurs in subordinate clauses only (158).

[4] We are grateful to Martine Bruil for drawing our attention to this construction.

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

5.5.5. Mood

There are relatively few modal elements in A'ingae. This may have to do with the fact that many modal distinctions are covered by the irrealis category mentioned above. Examples (159)-(160) show some of its uses.

(159) Tsa=ya=tsû.
that=IRR=3
'It could be that one.' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-010)
(160) 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.

There are modal constructions that make use of an auxiliary, both expressing facultative modality. The auxiliaries *atesû* 'know' in (161) and *usha* 'be able' in (162) are used in combination with a posterior verb form to express acquired and intrinsic ability, respectively.

(161) Ña-khe khia-'kan ñuña-ñe atesû.
1.SG-ADD SIMIL=CMP make-POST ACQ.ABIL.AUX
'I also, like you, know how to make things.' (BC26.009)
(162) Tsûthe=ma indi-ye usha=mbi.
foot-ACC get.hold.of-POST 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 (163), 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'.

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

The counterexpectional clitic has a modal meaning too. It indicates that an event does not

have the expected outcome or does not develop as expected. An example is (164).

(164) Jun tuya=tsû ku'i-je='fa. Kû'i=ya='ma=tsû da Magricio=khe.
yes still=3 drink-IPFV=PL drink=IRR=CNTR=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)

5.5.6. Negation

There are two ways to express negation in A'ingae. 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'. Negative predicates formed with *=tshi* 'QUAL' and *='un* 'AUG' are used in the expression of negative existentials (165), while the form with *='chu* 'SUB' is used to express negative possession (166).

(165) Ni kukama=me=khe me=tshi.
not.even colono=ACC2=ADD NEGP=QUAL
'There were not even colonos' (20040218-EC-Interview-031)
(166) 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 (*kukama=me* in (165) occurs in the accusative case. Negative possessive clauses are transitive.

The clitic *=mbi* is used to express any other type of negation and can be attached to verbal (167) and non-verbal (168) predicates.

(167) 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)
(168) 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 (169).

(169) 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 (170)-(172) show that the only argument of one-place predicates with an A argument (170) and a P argument (171), 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 (172) in active sentences.

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

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

(172) 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 (170), *=gi* in (171), and *=tsû* in (172). Finally, there is optional agreement in number through the predicate clitic *='fa* illustrated in (172), 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 (173).

(173) 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 (174), as well as switch-reference in dependent clauses. Switch reference will be discussed in Section 7.

(174) Ja-yi = ngi Quito = ni [Ø sarûpa = ma chava-ye].
go-INCH = 1 Quito = LOC [GAP clothes = ACC buy-POST]
'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 (175).

(175) 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 (176), in which the subordinate clause is shown in square brackets.

(176) Texaco abugadu = tsû iñajan = 'ña kûintsû.
Texaco lawyer = 3 request = ASS SWR.CNJ
[ingi = ja informe = ma afe-ye].
we = CONTR report = ACC give-POST
'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 (177).

(177) 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 (178)-(179).

(178) (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)

(179) (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 (178) 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 (179), 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 (180)-(186).

(180) *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)

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

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

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

(184) *Yes/no-Interrogative*
Fûesû = ti jin.
other = INT exist
'Is there another one?' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-112)

(185) *Content Interrogative*
Majan = tsû ka'ni-a.
someone = 3 enter-CAUS
'Who let you in?' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-002)

(186) *Adhortative*
jinge kû'i-ye
ADHORT drink-POST
'Let's drink!' (20040218-EC-Interview-2659.033)

Like yes/no interrogatives, reportative clauses are also expressed through a sentence-level second position clitic. They do, however, not constitute a different sentence type, as the reportative clitic may co-occur with the assertive marker, as in (187).

(187) 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 (188).

(188) [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 (188) 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') (189) and *tsama* (from *tsa='ma* 'ANA=CNTR') (190) have to be used.

(189) 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.'

(190) 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 (191).

(191) [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 the posterior or simultaneity marker. The enclitics used in the former case 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	posterior (POST)
-ye/-ñe +kuintsu	posterior (POST) + 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 (192)-(193).

(192) [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)

(193) [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 (194)-(195).

(194) 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.)

(195) Ña athe = 'ya [mamakhashe = ye = pa ñuña = 'chu] = ma.
I see = ASS grandmother = NPST = ASSOC 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 posterior verb form. Complements of this type are used when reference is made to unrealized situations, as in (196) and (197).

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

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

When the posterior verb form is used without a conjunction, as in (196) and (197), 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 (198).

(198) Texaco abugadu = tsû iñaja = 'ña kûintsû
Texaco lawyer = 3 request = ASS SWR.CNJ
[ingi = ja infurme = ma afe-ye].
1.PL = CONTR report = ACC give-POST
'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	posterior (POST)
-ye +kuintsu	posterior (POST) + 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 (199) or time (200).

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

(200) … [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-SH.LNR=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 one of the clitics *=ta* 'NEW' or *=ja* 'CONTR', which is used to introduce new topics, the interpretation is that of a conditional, as shown in (201).

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

The construction with the posterior verb form, used in complementation, is also used to form purposive clauses (202). 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 (203).

(202) Rafe = tsû ja Qûitu = ni [sarûpa = ma chava-ye]
Rafael = 3 go Quito = LOC clothes = ACC buy-POST
'Rafael went to Quito to buy clothes.' (elic.)

(203) Afe kan = ja [kûintsû kata-ye]
give look = IMP SWR.CNJ cast-POST
'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 (204).

(204) 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 unreal circumstance, as illustrated in (205).

(205) [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 (206).

(206) 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* (207), locative clauses make use of the locative nominalizer *= 'thi* (208), and clauses of negative purpose of the clitic *= sane* (209).

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

(208) 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)

(209) Sumbu-en-ye=tsû injenge
emerge-CAUS-POST=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 (210), in postnominal position (211), they may be headless (212), and internally headed (213). In (213) *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.

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

(211) 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)

(212) … 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)

(213) … 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* (214). This is an agent relative clause, and is always prenominal. Relative clauses with the adjectivalizer clitic *=a* are always pronomial too (215).

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

(215) 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 (216), the second to indicate that it is different (217).

(216) 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)

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

(218) 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)

The first clause in (218) 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 (218) 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 (219).

(219) 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 (219a), and opens the next one in (219b). 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 (220).

(220) "Va=nga cha'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 this. First of all, in contrast with subordinate and cosubordinate clauses, the reported clause may contain the subject clitic, as illustrated in (220). Furthermore, again unlike subordinate and cosubordinate clauses, the reported clause is not necessarily predicate-final, as shown in (221), in which the subject *aya* 'spirit' is in clause-final position.

(221) "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 (220)-(221), but also with predicates of thinking, as in (222).

(222) "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 (223).

(223) 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 (224) and (225). Note that here too each clause has main clause intonation.

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

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

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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
CNTR = counterexpectational
COLL = collective
CONTR = contrastive topic
DAT = dative
DIM = (verbal) diminutive
DIST = distal
DQ = distributive quantifier
DS = different subject cosubordinator
ELAT = elative
EXCL = exclusive focus
HAB = habitual
HUM = human
IGNR = ignorative
IMP = imperative
IMPF = imperfective
INAN = inanimate
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
POST = posterior
PRECUL = preculminative
PROH = prohibitive
PROSP = prospective
PROX = proximal
QUAL = quality
RECP = reciprocal
REFL = reflexive pronoun
RPT = reportative
SAME = sameness marker
SENS = sensory deixis
SG = singular
SH.ANG = nominalizer angular shape
SH.DEL = nominalizer delimited space
SH.FLT = nominalizer flat shape
SH.LAT = nominalizer lateral shape
SH.LNR = nominalizer linear shape
SH.LRG = nominalizer large shape
SH.RND = nominalizer round or small shape
SH.SCT = nominalizer scattered shape
SH.SPL = nominalizer splinter-like shape
SH.SPN = nominalizer object with protrusions
SIM = simultaneous
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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