Coordination, coherence and A'ingae clause linkage

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1 Introduction

- Presumably all languages allow for repetitions of different sorts
- However, languages like A'ingae in (1) show a specific form of repetition that recent typological work by Guérin & Aiton (2019) (henceforth, G&A) has dubbed 'bridging':

(1) *Kinikhuma chathûje. Kinikhuma chathûpatsû gafama utsian.*

[kinikhu=ma chathû-je**]$_{\mathbf{R}}$**. **[[**Kinihku=ma chathû-pa**]$_{\mathbf{B}}$**=tsû gafa=ma
tree=ACC cut-IPFV tree=ACC cut-SS=3 goggle-ACC
utsian**]$_{\mathbf{C}}$**
put.on

'He cuts trees. Having cut trees, he puts on goggles.'

- **Note:** for clarity's sake, we use English overly literal translations. Translations with *and*, *then*, *after*, or *next* are arguably better than having the (repetitive) bridging clause.
- In terms of meaning, G&A characterize bridging as:
  - "adding structure and cohesion"
  - backgrounding **R**'s content and foregrounding **C**'s
  - highlighting "important turning points, or new events on the main event line"
  - and expressing "a semantic relation between discourse segments, typically, expressing sequentiality"

- While giving some sense of the meaning, these descriptions are incomplete in two ways:
  1. Lack precision – e.g. they do not clearly differentiate between sequences of finite clauses, coordination, etc.
  2. Lack compositionality – they assign a meaning to the whole construction, rather specific parts.

This paper case study of bridging in A'ingae (ISO: `con`), an isolate with ≈1,500 speakers in Amazonian Ecuador and Colombia.

- We propose a formal characterization of A'ingae bridging (to our knowledge the first formal account of bridging)
- Crucial role of the coherence relations of NARRATION and $\Longrightarrow$BACKGROUND (Asher & Lascarides, 2003)
- Supported with textual data and—unlike most prior work on bridging—elicited data from context-relative felicity judgments (Matthewson 2004)

Road Map:
§2 presents background on A'ingae, its speakers, and grammar;
§3 introduces bridging including summary and recapitulative subtypes;
§4 develops a coherence-based account of bridging in A'ingae;
§5 briefly explores coherence in related constructions and concludes.

2 Background on A'ingae, its speakers and grammar

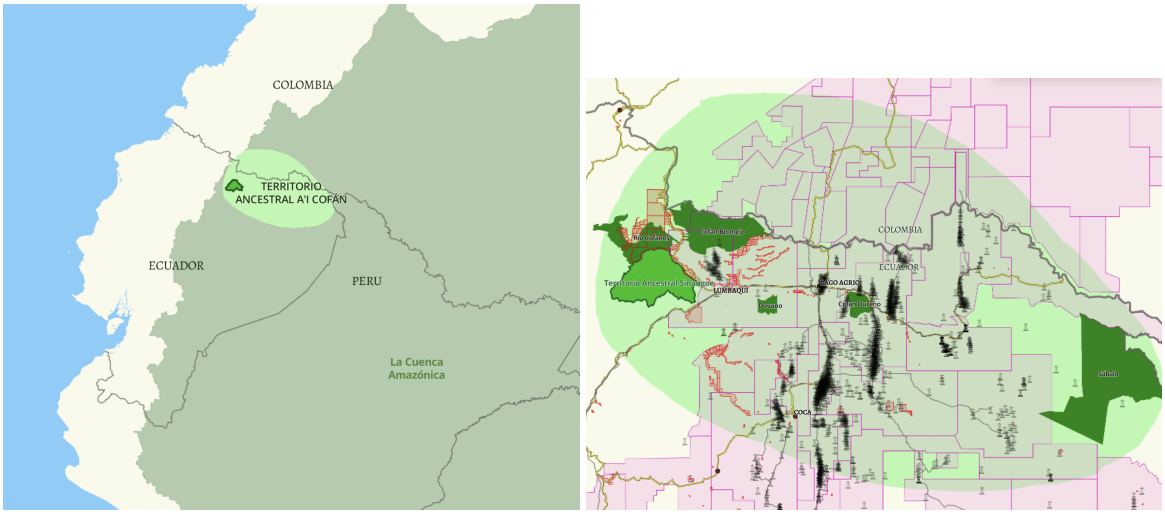
- A'ingae (Cofán, Kofán, ISO: `con`): isolate spoken by ≈1,500 speakers
- Andes-Amazon interface in Northern Ecuador and Southern Colombia
- Heavily endangered in Colombia, less so in Ecuador where still robustly learned by children in all communities.

2.1 A'i speaker communities

- The A'i are traditionally hunter-gatherers, living across the territory (Left), but traveling much further.
- Many A'i still are hunter-gatherers, though this way of life (along with their territory) is increasingly threatened[1].

[1] Maps created by Amazon Frontlines (`https://sinangoe.amazonfrontlines.org/`). as part of a community mapping project. Black icons are oil platforms, darker green patches are present-day

- Despite interactions with the Spanish since the 16th cent., A'i way of life and territory not severely affected prior to oil exploration in the 1950s.
- Huge direct environmental impact and decades-long legal battle
- Highways and other roads built to support oil extraction also facilitated colonization by people from other parts of the country, mining, etc.



2.2 A'ingae grammar background

- Generally, a typical SOV language: consistently head-final, dependent marking with case clitics on nominals
- Morphologically, A'ingae is agglutinative with lots of suffixes and enclitics, especially on verbs.
- Arguments indexed through ① case clitics on nominals (Nominative-Accusative alignment), ② number agreement on predicates, and ③ second position clitics in matrix clauses indexing the person of the subject

(2) *Junguesûmatsû tsunjen'fa turistandekhûja?*

Junguesû=ma=tsû^{3} tsun-jen-'fa^{2} turista-ndekhû=∅^{1}=ja
what=ACC=3 do-IPFV-PL.SBJ tourist-HUM.PL=NOM=CT

'What do the tourists do?'

A'i communities, pink and red boxes are oil and mining concessions.

- Subordinate clauses—including B clauses in bridging—are formally distinct from matrix clauses:

	Subordinate	**Matrix**
Word order	Rigidly V-final	Flexible
2nd position subject clitics?	No	Yes
Assertive/Veridical suffix *-'ya*?	No	Yes

3 Formal properties of A'ingae bridging

- Bridging linkage constructions per G&A have the following components:

(3) BRIDGING LINKAGE STRUCTURE: A sequence of three clauses in the following order:
Reference clause (R): a fully finite main clause, typically declarative;
Bridging clause (B): a subordinate clause which repeats **R** in part or in whole and/or summarizes it;
Continuation clause (C): a main clause which forms a complex unit **X** (e.g. a sentence) with **B** to the exclusion of **R**.

(4) *Kinikhuma chathûje. Kinikhuma chathûpatsû gafama utsian.*

[kinikhu=ma chathû-je**]$_{\mathbf{R}}$**. **[[**Kinihku=ma chathû-pa**]$_{\mathbf{B}}$**=tsû gafa=ma utsian**]$_{\mathbf{C}}$**
tree=ACC cut-IPFV tree=ACC cut-SS=3 goggle-ACC put.on

'He cuts trees. Having cut trees, he puts on goggles.'

- Previous terms: tail-head linkage, head-tail linkage, recapitulation clauses, backgrounding repetition, echo clauses, summary-head linkage, ...

3.1 Formal properties of A'ingae bridging

- Two other notable formal properties of A'ingae bridging:

1. B clauses are introduced by the switch reference suffixes *-pa*/*-mba* SS and *-si* DS.
   - These morphemes are also found in clause-chaining and certain causal/temporal adverbial clauses (see §5 for examples, AnderBois et al. (in prep)).

   (5) a. *Bûthuin japa shagatunga ka'ni. Ka'nimba ja tsûtupani.*

[bûthu-in ja-pa shagatu-nga ka'ni**]$_{R}$ [[**Ka'ni-**mba**]$_{B}$** ja
run-MVM go-SS cedar=DAT enter enter-SS go
tsûtupa=ni**]$_{C}$**
end=LOC

'He ran and entered a cedar tree. Entering it, he went to the tip-top.' (Borman, 1977, p.295)

b. *... a'i khûtsû'ya khûtsûsite jipa kukefa'u sû'ya: ...*

[a'i khûtsû-'ya**]$_{R}$ [[**khûtsû-**si**]$_{B}$**=te ji-pa kuke-fa'u
person stand-VER stand-DS=REP come-SS hare-PEJ.ACC
sû-'ya**]$_{C}$**.
say-VER

'... a person stood there, as they stood, the hare came and said:'
20170804_Kuke_Chiste_FACQ: 20-22

2. In contrast to other uses of switch reference, B clauses in bridging are prosodically distinct, which we take as a reflex of asyndetic coordination
   - Deaccenting (cf. Krifka & Levina 2019 on bridging in Daakie) and tighter prosodic integration (cf. G&A and references therein) between R and C
   - Speakers report the intuition that R and C comprise two separate sentences, yet should be separated by a comma rather than a period.

3.2 Three subtypes of bridging

- G&A distinguish three subtypes of bridging constructions defined by the form of the B clause:

  Recapitulative: B repeats part or all of R, often just the main verb, (6)

  Summary: B consists of an anaphoric pro-verb like *tsun* 'do so', (7)

  Mixed: B repeats the main verb of R along with an anaphoric adverbial, (8)

A'ingae has examples fitting each of these descriptions:

(6) ... **[**kueje'fa khutsiañaña**]$_{R}$**, **[[**kueje'nga khûtsiansi**]$_{B}$** tsaja aceite yaya'pave daya'ya**]$_{C}$**.

kueje'fa khûtsi-a-ña-ña kueje='nga khûtsi-an=si tsa=ja aceite
sun stand-CAUS-IRR-VER sun=DAT stand-CAUS=DS ANA=CNTR oil
yaya'pa=ve da-ya-'ya
oil=ACC2 become-IRR-VER

'He set it in the sun, after he set it in the sun, it became a natural oil'
20170806_Charapa _proyecto_BRCA:12-14

(7) **[**Ingi ka'ni-fa=ni dyai-'fa**]$_{R}$ [[**tsun-si**]$_{B}$** ña='khe dyai**]$_{C}$**
PRO.1PL enter-PL.SBJ=LOC sit-PL.SBJ do-DS PRO.1SG=ADD sit
'When we entered, they sat down, then I sat down too.'

(8) **[**Jose tsû fi'thi thesi=ma**]$_{R}$. [[**Tsa-'ka-en fi'thi-pa**]$_{B}$**=tsû Jose tise
Jose 3 kill jaguar=ACC ANA-CMP-ADV kill-SS=3 Jose PRO.3SG
tsa'u=ni anga**]$_{C}$**
house=LOC carry
'José killed the jaguar and having killed it, José carried it to his house.'

- **Claim:** rather than three distinct constructions, these are interpreted compositionally from independently attested anaphoric and lexical resources.
- We give detailed arguments for this in the Appendix establishing the flexibility and compositionality of B clauses.
  - No independent formal constraints on the B clause, only semantic ones and constraints on subordinate clauses more broadly.

Conclusion: bridging constructions in A'ingae are compositionally constructed from ordinary lexical/anaphoric elements found elsewhere, rather than a construction-specific 'bridging' mechanism.

4 Bridging requires NARRATION

- Before turning to the meaning of bridging, we first provide about our assumptions regarding coherence relations, drawing on work in Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (SDRT), Asher & Lascarides 2003.

4.1 Background on coherence relations

- Specific connectives, particles, etc. can be thought of as signalling what we may call a COHERENCE RELATION between discourse units:

(9) a. Max fell because John pushed him.
   - **Explanation** (Effect)

   b. Max fell. So John helped him up.
   - **Result** (Cause)

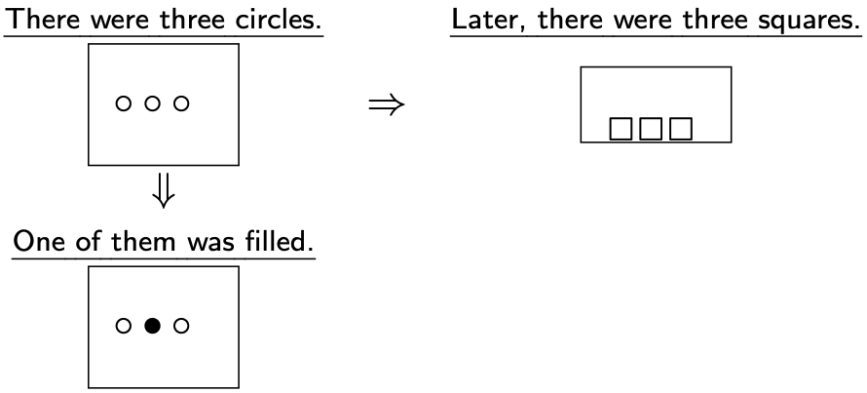
   c. Max fell. Then John pushed him.
   - **Narration** (Contiguity)

d. Max fell. John did too.
   - **Parallel** (Resemblance)

- Hobbs (1990): "It is tempting to speculate that these coherence relations are instantiations in discourse comprehension of more general principles of coherence that we apply in attempting to make sense out of the world . . . "
- Coherence relations have played an instrumental role in analyzing. . .
  - anaphora and cataphora resolution
  - ellipsis
  - presupposition
  - tense, aspect and temporal adverbs
  - intonation and focus
  - . . . (see Kehler (2022), Altshuler & Truswell (2022) for recent surveys)

SDRT (Segmented Discourse Representation Theory)

- SDRT models discourse structure as a **graph** over semantic representations (SDRSs) of **discourse units** (DUs), which are descriptions of events/states.
- The graph edges connecting DUs are **labeled** with coherence relations.
- The graph used to model discourse structure is **directed**.
  - A vertical edge represents a **subordinating** coherence relation, while a horizontal edge represents a **coordinating** coherence relation.
- Coordinating coherence relations **change the scene**, hence **moving forward** the narrative.
- Subordinating coherence relations **detail the scene**, hence **deepening** the narrative.



- Since coordinating coherence relations **change the scene** while subordinating coherence relations **detail the scene**, only **subordination** keeps the things we talk about around, and hence available for anaphora.
- Put differently: We can't "detail" scenes that have been changed. Hence, **coordinated discourse moves "block" anaphoric potential.**

(10) John had a great evening last night.
He had a great meal.
He ate salmon.
He devoured lots of cheese.
He won a dancing competition.
#It was a beautiful pink. Asher & Lascarides (2003)

Summary: SDRT proposes a hierarchically structured model of discourse in which Elementary and Complex Discourse Units are related by a set of coherence relations of two types:

- **Select coordinating relations**:
  RESULT, NARRATION, PARALLEL, CONTRAST, $\Longrightarrow$BACKGROUND
- **Select subordinating relations**:
  ELABORATION, EXPLANATION, $\Longleftarrow$BACKGROUND

4.2 Bridging is constrained by discourse coherence

- Previous characterizations for other languages (e.g. Guérin & Aiton (2019)) discuss a tendency for temporal sequentiality.
- This is too permissive for A'ingae in at least two respects:

1. Iconic ordering is required, not a mere tendency.

- E.g. speakers judge (11) infelicitous in the more plausible scenario in which the subject put on safety goggles before cutting the tree.

(11) *Kinikhuma chathûje. Kinikhuma chathûpatsû gafama utsian.*

[kinikhu=ma chathû-je**]$_{\mathbf{R}}$**. **[[**Kinihku=ma chathû-pa**]$_{\mathbf{B}}$**=tsû
tree=ACC cut-IPFV tree=ACC cut-SS=3
gafa=ma utsian**]$_{\mathbf{C}}$**
goggle-ACC put.on

'He cuts trees. Having cut trees, he puts on goggles.'

2. In sequences which are iconically ordered: direct causal connections are not possible

   - Speakers judge sequences infelicitous where there is a clear direct causal connection between the events described by R and C, (12).

(12) #[Jose tsû bûthujangi]$_{\mathbf{R}}$. [[Tsa-'ka-en uya-si]$_{\mathbf{B}}$ shavu='khe uya]$_{\mathbf{C}}$
Jose 3 jump ANA-CMP-ADV move-DS canoe=ADD move
'Jose jumped and then the canoe moved too.'
Scenario A: #José jumps and his jumping shakes the canoe.
Scenario B: José jumps and then the canoe shakes (e.g. from a wave).

- We therefore propose the following generalization (making use of Asher & Lascarides (2003)'s definitions):

(13) **Generalization:** A'ingae bridging requires:

a. NARRATION(R,X) – the reference clause and the complex discourse unit comprising B and C[2]
   - NARRATION: enablement – the post-state of the first event is the pre-state of the second event.

b. $\Longrightarrow$BACKGROUND(B,C) – within X, B provides the background for C.
   - $\Longrightarrow$BACKGROUND – temporal overlap between a described event and state.

[2]Technically, this is a slight oversimplification since NARRATION on this definition does not necessarily rule out inferring of RESULT. In the full formal compositional analysis we propose, we in fact derive NARRATION(R,X) from a common topic requirement introduced by asyndetic coordination (following Txurruka (2003)) and the fact that NARRATION supports the construction of common topics, but RESULT does not.

Comparison with non-bridging sequences

- Matrix clauses and clausal coordination with *tuya-'ka-en* still-CMP-ADV 'and', allow for broader range of coherence relations despite iconic tendency:
- (14) is felicitous in contexts where the events occur in any order.
- (15) naturally is interpreted as the anger being caused by getting stuck in the hole.

(14) **Context:** A response to the question in (2) "What do the tourists do when they visit?"
Simbaje'fa, tsui'je'fa tsampinga, isian'jen'fa isian'chuve fi'thije'fa

Simba-je-'fa, tsui-'je-'fa tsampi=nga, isian-'jen-'fa
fish-IPFV-PL.SBJ walk-IPFV-PL.SBJ forest=DAT photo-IPFV-PL.SBJ
isian-'chu=ve fi'thi-je-'fa.
photo--SBRD=ACC2 hunt-IPFV-PL.SBJ

'They fish, walk in the forest, take photos, and hunt.'

(15) **Context:** A traditional story in which the hare dug a hole and the fox fell in, angering the fox. *Tsefa'e indiya tse'thinga. Ti'tshe panduja iyikhayeya tsa kukefan'an*

tse-fa-'e indi-ya tse-'thi=nga ti'tshe pandu=ja iyikhaye-ya
ANA.LOC-??-ADV stuck-VER ANA.LOC-LOC=DAT more fox=CT anger-VER
tsa kuke-fan'an
ANA rabbit-PEJ.ACC

'He got stuck!' The fox got more angry at the hare.
20170804_Kuke_Chiste_FACQ: 152

4.3 Different types of bridging and the Right Frontier

- Beyond providing a precise, predictive account of Bridging generally, more fine-grained observations can be explained as well.
- Most notably, Aiton (2019) observes for Eibela (ISO 693-3: AIL, Papua New Guinea) that summary bridging tends to target 'paragraphs' while recapitulative bridging targets 'episodes'.
- We observe a similar tendency in A'ingae:

(16) **Anaphoric tsun 'do so' refers complex DU**

a. *Me'in ñanda tisûyi ji'chuma ke yayasû iya tisûyi ña kanjensitsû iya vaningae*

me'in ña=nda tisû=yi ji='chu=ma ke yaya=sû
no 1.SG=NEW RFLX=EXCL come=SBRD=ACC 2.SG dad=ATTR
i=ya tisû=yi ña kanjen=si=tsû i=ya va=ni=ngae
bring=VER RFLX=EXCL 1.SG live=DS=3 bring=VER PRX=LOC=MANN

'no, I came alone, your father brought me because I was alone.'
20170801_Autobiography_ARLQ: 182-184

b. *Tsumbangi tse kansepa vanima athe mingae sûya tse vani kanjemba Jhonnykhunga daya*

tsu-mba=ngi tse kanse-pa va=ni=ma athe mingae sû-ya
do=SS=1 ANA.LOC live-SS PRX=LOC=ACC see how say-VER
tse va=ni kanje-mba Jhonny-khu-'u=nga da-ya
ANA.LOC PRX=LOC live-SS Jhonny-AUG-AUG=DAT become-VER

'So I came here and found, how do you say, I met Jhonny.'

(17) **Deaccented lexical verb refers to simple DU in preceding clause**
Tsampini japa yuku'ma chathûnga'ya. Chathûngapa jiya.

tsampi=ni ja-pa yuku=ma chathû-nga-'ya **chathû-nga**-pa ji-ya
forest=LOC go-SS yoco=ACC cut-AM-VER cut-AM-SS come-VER

'I went to the forest and cut him some yoco. Having cut yoco, I came back.'
20170807_autobiography_JWC: 421-422

- We propose to derive this difference from an independent observation: propositional anaphora generally allows for reference to simple and complex discourse units on the 'Right Frontier' of the discourse structure.[3]
- Rather than a separate property of specific bridging constructions, this tendency emerges from the combination of:

[3]For A'ingae specifically, Morvillo & AnderBois (to appear)'s analysis of contrastive clauses with *-'ma* CNTR claims that those with propositional anaphor *tsa* can similarly target a complex discourse unit:

(i) Alejandro tshai'patshi'ma ki'an tsa'ma José tsû favatshi.

[Alejandro tshai'pa-tshi-**'ma** ki'an] **tsa-'ma** José tsû fava-tshi
Alejandro slow-ADJR-CNTR strong ANA-CNTR José 3 fast-ADJR

'Alejandro is slow but strong but José is fast.' Morvillo & AnderBois (to appear)

(i) independently observable properties of anaphoric expressions[4]

(ii) general principles of discourse coherence that make certain complex discourse units available for anaphoric reference.

5 Conclusions

- In this talk, we have presented an analysis of A'ingae bridging as requiring the coherence relation of NARRATION and $\Longrightarrow$BACKGROUND.
- We have argued that such a characterization provides a precise account distinguishing bridging from other sequences of clauses.
- Two ongoing further directions:
  1. Compositionally deriving the NARRATION restriction based on the meaning of its components, e.g. asyndetic coordination, an adjoined switch reference clause, anaphoric/given content – Upcoming presentation at SALT 32
  2. Examining related SR constructions in terms of coherence relations.
- A'ingae SR morphemes also appear in clause chaining, (18), and causal/ temporal adjuncts, (19)

(18) **Clause chaining**
Yumboye'ja motor'ga jayisi fingian khathûfaensi khathûfasi amigo ñambe angapa chavaen'jan'khen

Yumbo-ye='ja [motor='nga jayi]**-si** [fingian khathûfa-en]**-si**
Yumbo-HON=CNTR motorboat=DAT go.PRSP-DS wind touch.land-CAUS-DS
[khathûfa]**-si** [amigo ña=mbe anga-pa chava-en-'jan=khen]
touch.land-DS friend 1.SG=BEN carry-SS buy-CAUS-IMP=QUOT

'As for Yumbo, I was about to go up river, the wind pushed me ashore, I went ashore, and he was like carry these and sell them.'
20170803_cofan_territory_lc: 40

(19) **Causal adverbial**
Ñajan ja'ñu si'tsive kañe tsunjen, tû'i jayisi.

[4] See also Zheng (2022) for detailed description of the anaphoric 'ts-' series in A'ingae: *tsa* for individuals and propositions, *tsun* for events, *tse* for times and places, *tse'sû* for states, as well as numerous morphologically complex forms built on these.

Ña=jan ja'ñu si'tsi=ve ka-ñe tsun-jen [tû'i
PRO.1SG=CNTR now firewood=ABS look-INF do-IMPV tomorrow
jayi=si]
go.PROSP=DS

'I am now going to look for firewood, [because tomorrow you're going to leave].' 20170731_attembi_ai: 64

- In ongoing work, we argue that:
  - clause chaining in A'ingae also requires a NARRATION relation to hold
  - SR adjuncts require ⟹BACKGROUND, NARRATION, or RESULT relation
- These relations form a natural class in SDRT: they are the non-structuring coordinating discourse coherence relations
- While we argue there is no syntactic generalization for where SR occurs (contra Fischer (2007)), a coherence-based generalization thus far seems promising.

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Appendix: arguments for compositional account of bridging

- In this appendix, we present 4 pieces of evidence that A'ingae bridging is fully compositional, rather than the result of a specific bridging 'construction':

Argument 1: repeated clause can be complex

- While the verb in the B clause is often in bare form, the full range of verbal morphology found in other subordinate clauses is possible, e.g. (20).
- Arguments and modifiers may be repeated or not, e.g. (21-22)

(20) **Repetition of morphologically complex verbs**
Khen fûndujenijan tsa tsan'dûja khakejema athembiya athembipa rundajejakhen fûnduje

khen fûndu-je=ni=jan tsa tsan'dû=ja khakeje=ma
QUOT shout-IMPV=LOC=CNTR ANA husband=CNTR leaf=ACC
athe=mbi=ya athe-mbi=pa runda-je-ja=khen fûndu-je
see-NEG-VER see-NEG=SS wait-IPFV-IMP=QUOT shout-IPFV

'When she was shouting like that, her husband didn't see the leaves. Having not seen them, he cried out like this: 'Wait!'.'
20170806_Apicha_pûshesû_kundasepa_brca:52–53

(21) **Repetition of arguments:**
Te shavunga tsû'tsû tsanjan'fa shavukhûnga **tsûtsû** tsanjamba kuejen'fa khûtshiañaña

te shavu=nga tsû'tsû tsanjan-'fa shavu=khû=nga tsûtsû
REP canoe=DAT IDEO:MASH mash=PLS canoe=SH.DLM=DAT ONOM
tsanja-mba kueje'fa khûtshi-a-ña-ña
mash=SS sun stand-CAUS-IRR-VER

'they were able to mash the eggs on the canoe and let it set on the sun'
20170806_Charapa _proyecto_BRCA:12–14

(22) **Repetition of modifiers:**
Injantshe atapa'faya. Injantshe atapapa ankhesûma sefaembate, . . .

Injan-tshe atapa-'fa-ya. **Injan-tshe** atapa-pa
much-ADJ.ADV reproduce-PLS-VER much-ADJ.ADV reproduce-SS
an-khesû=ma sefa-em-ba=te. . .
eat-HABIT=ACC use.up-CAUS-SS=RPRT

'They had grown in number a lot. Having grown in number a lot, they used up the food, . . . ' 20170731_vahu_story_mmemq:5

Argument 2: non-identical verb forms possible

- The verb in the B clause may differ in its morphological details, (23).
- It may even be a synonym or hypernym[5] of the verb in the R clause, (24):

(23) a. **Difference in verb morphology:**
Ñakhe tuya ña chite jichu vani,
ña=khe tuya ña chi ji=chu va=ni
1.SG=ADD still 1.SG youth come=SBRD PRX=LOC
'I had arrived here when I was a child,'

b. *Jisitsû charapa dûsûchujechuma asipa añe atesûfa.*
ji-si=tsû charapa dûsûchu-je-chu=ma asi-pa a-ñe
come-DS=3 turtle lay.eggs-IMPV-SBRD=ACC take.out-SS eat-INF
atesû-fa
know-PLS
'after we arrived, we would eat turtle eggs.'
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(24) **Difference in verb root:**
Jose tsû bûthujangi tsa'kaen uyasi shavu'khe uya.
Jose=tsû bûthujangi tsa-'ka-en **uya**-si shavu='khe uya
Jose=3 jump ANA-CMP-ADV move-DS canoe=ADD move
'Jose jumped. Having moved like that, the canoe moved too.'

Argument 3: interpolation possible

- An additional class of mismatches between R and B clauses may involve 'interpolating' events which are natural extensions of R, (25)
- One notable class of cases: R encodes the beginning of an event (or some other non-culminating form) and B encodes its culmination, (26):

(25) *Sinte jangipangi kashi apishu'thuma, apishu'thuma san'jambangi anañe ja*

[5]More specific hyponyms are possible as well, but seemingly only when their content may be taken for granted in some way.

Sinte jangi-pa=ngi kashi apishu'thu=ma apishu'thu=ma
morning arise-SS=1 dish.wash dish=ACC dish=ACC
san'ja-mba=ngi ana-ñe ja.
dry-SS=1 sleep-INF go

'I got up in the morning and washed dishes. Having dried the dishes, I went to sleep.'

(26) *Sinte sumbupangi thûthûye ashaen, thûthûpangi tueki tsa'uningae ji.*

Sinte sumbu-pa=ngi thûthû-ye asha-en, thûthû-pa=ngi tue-ki
morning leave-SS=1 chop-INF begin-CAUS chop-SS=1 same-DAY
tsa'u=ni=ngae ji
house=LOC=MANN come

'I left in the morning and started to cut trees. Having cut trees, I returned home.'

Argument 4: doubly anaphoric forms

- In addition to recapitulative, summary, and mixed forms, A'ingae also allows other anaphoric combinations:

(27) **[**Tsa-'ka-en je-ña-mba zûña-mba=tsû panza-sû-ndekhû=ningae
ANA-CMP-ADV sound-CAUS-SS twist-SS=3 hunt-PL.HUM=MANN
anga-ya-'chu**]$_{R}$**. **[[**Tsa-'ka-en tsun-si**]$_{B}$** makaku'va=ja tse=ningae
carry-IRR-SBRD ANA-CMP-ADV do.SO-DS tinamou=CT ANA.ADV=MANN
ja-ya**]$_{C}$**.
go-IRR

'One should wave and make noise in the hunters' direction and then the tinamous will go that way.' (Ortiz Quenamá & Criollo Mendúa, 2013, p. 16)