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Two grammars of A'ingae glottalization

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abstract

language: A'ingae, or Cofán, an Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: **con**

inner domain: glottal stops are a prosodic feature

(i) trigger stress assignment

(ii) deleted along with stress

outer domain: glottal stops are regular consonants

(i) no effect on stress

(ii) unaffected by stress deletion

stress deletion: triggered by idiosyncratic morphemes

implications: need to combine phonological effects specific to

(i) domains, as in Stratal OT (e. g. Bermúdez-Otero, 1999)

(ii) morphemes, as in Cophonology Theory (e. g. Orgun, 1996)

A’ingae (or Cofán): geography

Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: **con**

spoken by ca. 1,500 Cofán people in

- Sucumbíos, northeast Ecuador
- Putumayo, southern Colombia

A’ingae (or Cofán): geography

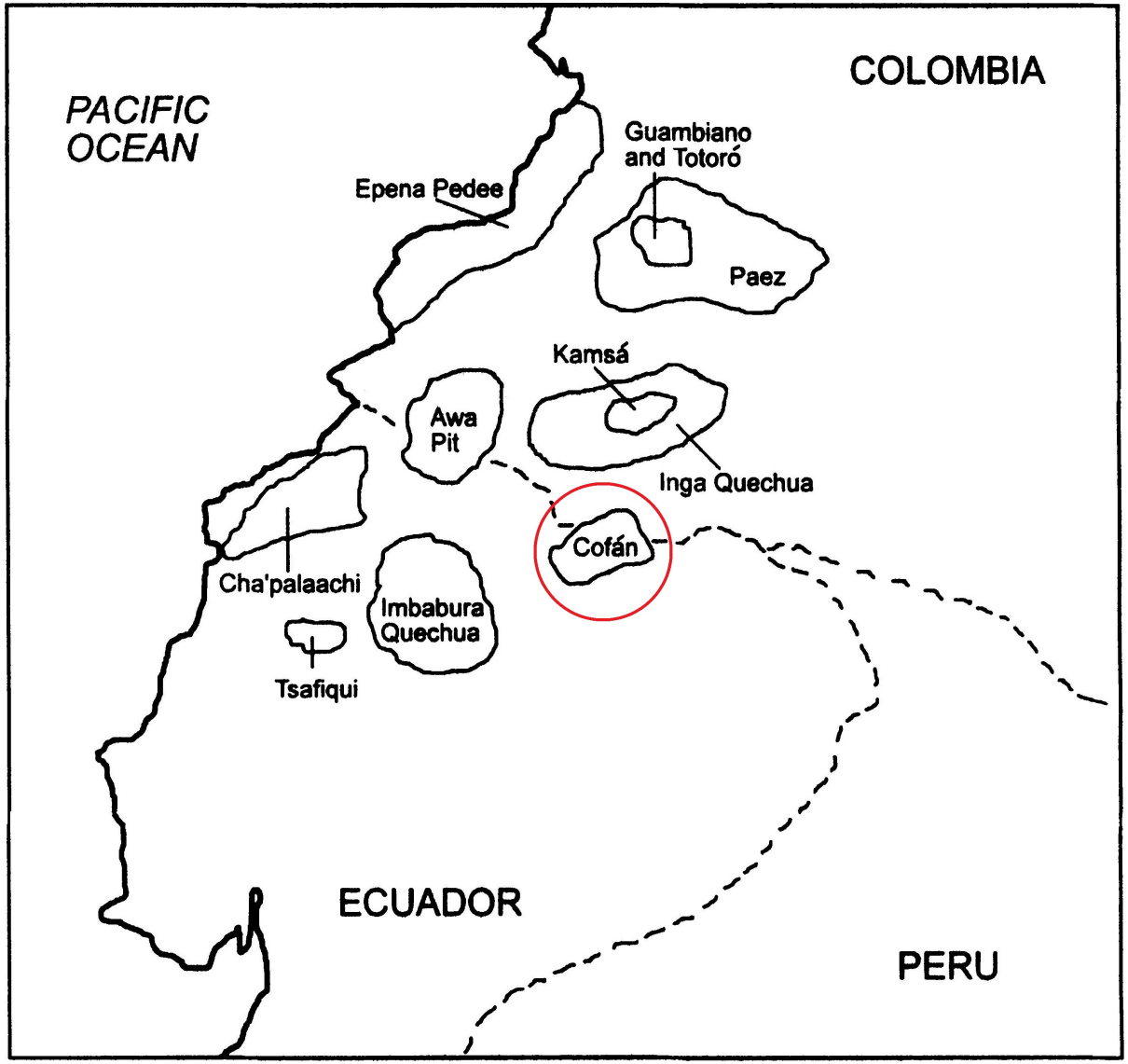

figure 1: indigenous languages of southern Colombia and northern Ecuador (Curnow and Liddicoat, 1998)

A’ingae (or Cofán): sociocultural status

endangered and highly underdocumented

under economic, ecological, and political pressures

uniformly positive language attitudes (Dąbkowski, 2021)

data

- collected by author
- in 2021–2022
- with two consultants from Dureno, Sucumbíos, Ecuador

consultants

Jorge Mendúa

Shinjen Aguinda

glottal stop: the basics

(1) ʔ AS CONTRASTIVE IN ROOTS

a. *ɬ́kʰa*
break.INTR

b. *ɬ́ʔkʰa*
break.TR

(2) ʔ AS CONTRASTIVE IN FUNCTIONAL MORPHEMES

a. *tsá =ma*
ANA =ACC

b. *tsá -ʔma*
ANA -FRST

morphological structure of the A'ingae verb

heavily agglutinating, suffixing language

two morphophonological domains, or strata

- *inner* domain: root, voice, aspect, associated motion
- *outer* domain: number, reality, polarity, subject person, etc.

(3) STRATAL ORGANIZATION OF THE A'INGAE VERB

[kofé -kʰo -ʔhe -ᵑgi] -ʔfa -ja -ᵐbi =tsɨ
play -RCPR -IPFV -PROX -PL -IRR -NEG =3

"they$_{3,PL}$ will$_{IRR}$ not$_{NEG}$ come$_{PROX}$ to be$_{IPFV}$ playing with each other$_{RCPR}$"

root categories

(4) Stressless roots

a. / *atapa* /
[*atápa*]
breed

b. / *atapa -hi* /
[*atapá -hi*]
breed -PRCL

(5) Stressed roots

a. / *áfase* /
[*áfase*]
offend

b. / *áfase -hi* /
[*áfase -hi*]
offend -PRCL

(6) Glottalized roots

a. / *ák^{h}e?pa* /
[*ák^{h}e?pa*]
be shy

b. / *ák^{h}e?pa -hi* /
[*ák^{h}e?pa -hi*]
be shy -PRCL

stress and glottalization in suffixed verbs

		no lexical stress	lexical stress	lexical stress and ʔ
		atapa breed	*áfase* offend	*ákʰeʔpa* forget
inner regular	*-hi* PRCL	*atapáhi*	*áfasehi*	*ákʰeʔpahi*
inner preglottalized	*-ʔhe* IPFV	*atápaʔhe*	*afáseʔhe*	*akʰépaʔhe*
inner stress-deleting	*-kʰo* RCPR	*atapákʰo*	*afasékʰo*	*akʰepákʰo*
outer regular	*-ja* IRR	*atapája*	*áfaseja*	*ákʰeʔpaja*
outer preglottalized	*-ʔfa* PL	*atapáʔfa*	*áfaseʔfa*	*ákʰeʔpaʔfa*
outer stress-deleting	*-kʰa* IMP	*atapákʰa*	*afasékʰa*	*akʰeʔpákʰa*

blue: stress

red: glottal stop

central generalization

central generalization:

stress and glottal stops either interact or they don't

inner domain: stress and glottal stops do interact

(i) glottal stops trigger stress assignment

(ii) stress deletion deletes glottal stops

outer domain: stress and glottal stops do not interact

(i) glottal stops do not affect stress

(ii) stress deletion ignores glottal stops

main proposal

(7) Inner domain: ʔ is a feature of the foot

. (× . ʔ).
a tá pa he
breed IPFV

(8) Outer domain: ʔ is a regular segment

. . (× .)
a ta pá ʔfa
breed PL

stress assignment in the two domains

(9) INNER DOMAIN: ʔ AT THE RIGHT EDGE OF THE FOOT

.	.	. ʔ.	. (×	. ʔ).
a	*ta*	*pa* *he*	*a*	*tá* *pa* *he*
breed		IPFV ⟶	breed	IPFV

(10) OUTER DOMAIN: ʔ AS A REGULAR CONSONANT

.	.	. .	.	. (× .)
a	*ta*	*pa* *ja*	*a*	*ta* *pá* *ja*
breed		IRR ⟶	breed	IRR

.	.	. .	.	. (× .)
a	*ta*	*pa* *ʔfa*	*a*	*ta* *pá* *ʔfa*
breed		PL ⟶	breed	PL

stress deletion in the two domains

(11) Inner domain: ʔ as a feature of the foot

~~(× . ʔ)~~	.	.		. . (×	.)
á	k^he	pa	k^ho	a k^he	pá k^ho
forget		RCPR	⟶	forget	RCPR

(12) Outer domain: ʔ as a regular consonant

~~(× .)~~	.	.		. . (×	.)
á	k^heʔ	pa	k^ha	a k^heʔ	pá k^ha
forget		IMP	⟶	forget	IMP

conclusion

inner domain: glottal stops are a prosodic feature

outer domain: glottal stops are regular consonants

stress deletion: triggered by idiosyncratic morphemes

(i) *inner* stress deletion targets ?

(ii) *outer* stress deletion retains ?

implications: need to combine phonological effects specific to

(i) domains, as in Stratal OT (e. g. Bermúdez-Otero, 1999)

(ii) morphemes, as in Cophonology Theory (e. g. Orgun, 1996)

full paper: a case for Cophonologies by Phase (Sande et al., 2020)

thank you!

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full paper

https://bit.ly/3RmKSUx

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