

THE MORPHOPHONOLOGY OF A'INGAE STRESS. A'ingae (Cofán, ISO 639-3: con) is a language isolate with ca. 1 500 speakers in northeast Ecuador and southern Colombia (Repetti-Ludlow et al., 2019). First, I make the following three novel generalization about the language's typologically unusual metrical properties: (i) despite the absence of long monophthongs, diphthongs contribute to syllabic weight, which is relevant to foot construction, (ii) the branching-head trochee, i.e. (˘˘), (˘˘), or (˘˘), is the proper foot, (iii) /ʔ/, which is the only coda, contributes to what I dub "foot-level weight," attracting stress to the foot which

		fet <sup>h</sup> a 'open'	fite 'help'	f <sup>n</sup> d <sup>i</sup> i 'sweep'
-hi	'PRCM'	fe( <sup>h</sup> tá-hi)	fii( <sup>h</sup> té-hi)	f <sup>n</sup> ( <sup>n</sup> d <sup>i</sup> i-hi)
-ʔhe	'IMPV'	( <sup>h</sup> fét <sup>h</sup> a-ʔ)he	( <sup>h</sup> fíite-ʔ)he	f <sup>n</sup> ( <sup>n</sup> d <sup>i</sup> i-ʔhe)

f<sup>n</sup>d<sup>i</sup>i 'sweep') with two suffixes. The default stress is penultimate for any stem shape (as seen with -hi 'PRCM'), but falls on the syllable containing the second mora to the left of /ʔ/ (as seen with -ʔhe 'IMPV'). Stress is marked with the acute accent and a neon color: green if stem-penultimate, orange if stem-final. Parentheses delimit the head foot.

Second, I refine Fischer and Hengeveld (forthcoming)'s description of the verbal inflectional template by providing new evidence on ordering and co-occurrence restrictions among suffixes expressing categories as versatile as voice, aspect, motion, person, number, mood, polarity, and others. Third, I describe for the first time the language's highly complex system of morphology-stress interactions, and account for it in the Cophonology Theory, a restrictive Optimality Theoretic approach which derives variation within the grammar of one language with recourse to morphologically blind subgrammars (Anttila, 1997; Orgun, 1996, others).

Descriptively, two verbal classes and six suffix types are observed. The two verbal classes comprise inherently stressed verbs (1), whose initial stress is lexically listed, and verbs without specified stress (2), whose stress is decided by other mechanisms operative in the language. To the right

		(1) áfase...- <sup>m</sup> bi 'slur...-NEG'	(2) itoje...- <sup>m</sup> bi 'spin...-NEG'
(a)	-ʔtfo	'SBRD' (áfa)se- <u>tfo</u> - <sup>m</sup> bi	i( <u>tóje</u> -ʔ)tfo- <sup>m</sup> bi
(b)	-ʔfa <sub>PRE</sub>	'PL' (áfa)se- <u>fa</u> - <sup>m</sup> bi	ito( <u>jé</u> -ʔfa)- <sup>m</sup> bi
(c)	-hi	'PRCM' (áfa)se- <u>hi</u> - <sup>m</sup> bi	itoje-( <u>hí</u> - <sup>m</sup> bi)
(d)	-ʔhe <sub>DOM</sub>	'IMPV' a( <u>fáse</u> -ʔ)he- <sup>m</sup> bi	i( <u>tóje</u> -ʔ)he- <sup>m</sup> bi
(e)	-ʔk <sup>h</sup> a <sub>DOM</sub> <sup>PRE</sup>	'DMN' afa( <u>sé</u> -ʔk <sup>h</sup> a)- <sup>m</sup> bi	ito( <u>jé</u> -ʔk <sup>h</sup> a)- <sup>m</sup> bi
(f)	-k <sup>h</sup> o <sub>DOM</sub>	'RECP' afase-( <u>k<sup>h</sup>ó</u> - <sup>m</sup> bi)	itoje-( <u>k<sup>h</sup>ó</u> - <sup>m</sup> bi)

above, the six suffix types (a-f) are motivated by a minimal six-tuple of pairs of inflected verbs, where each member of a pair consists of a stem of either class, followed by the suffix in question and another suffix to the right (here, the negative -<sup>m</sup>bi 'NEG'). Within each cell, the suffix in question is underlined. Stress is marked blue if word-initial, and pink if post-stem.

Analytically, the stress patterns are derived by introducing two diacritic properties a suffix can have: dominance and prestressing. Dominant suffixes (DOM) delete the stress of the domain to which they attach, leveling the difference between inherently stressed and stressless verbs, (d-f). Prestressing suffixes (PRE) stress the last syllable of the domain to which they attach unless another stress is present, (b, e). The full range of observed patterns follows from these diacritic properties and the metrical properties introduced before, (i-iii).

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