A grammar of A'ingae

Kees Hengeveld & Rafael Fischer

Table of contents

4. Morphology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the morphology of A'ingae and consists of three major parts. In Section 4.2. we introduce the morphological units relevant for the analysis of the language, i.e. its parts of speech. Section 4.3 focuses on the morphological processes attested in the language. The final Section 4.4. presents the morphological templates used in the construction of different types of morphosyntactic words.

It is important to keep in mind that in this part of the grammar we are concerned with forms rather than with the meanings, functions, and uses of those forms. The latter will be dealt with in Part III of this grammar. In the present chapter we present the inventory of morphemes of A'ingae in terms of the classes to which they belong, the processes in which they engage, and the templates in which the latter result.

4.2. Morphological units

4.2.1. Introduction

In this section we pesent the inventory of morphological units relevant to the grammar of A'ingae. In the following subsections we discuss verbs (Section 4.2.2), adjectives (Section 4.2.3), nouns (Section 4.2.4), noun/verbs (Section 4.2.5), adverbs (Section 4.2.6), numerals (Section 4.2.7) and quantifiers (Section 4.2.8), free pro-forms (Section 4.2.9), cliticizing pro-forms (Section 4.2.10), ideophones (Section 4.2.11), interjections (Section 4.2.12), free particles (Section 4.2.13), cliticizing particles (Section 4.2.14), and suffixes (Section 4.2.15).

4.2.2. Verbs

4.2.2.1. Introduction

Verbs can be characterized as lexical units that can be used predicatively only (Hengeveld 1992). By this criterion, A'ingae has a class of verbs. This is illustrated for the verb *se'je* 'cure' in the following examples. In (1) and (2) it is used as the predicate of a main clause, in (3) as the predicate of a subordinate clause, and in (4) as the predicate of a co-subordinate clause:

(1)   Yajema utaemba se'je.
        yaje=ma   uta-en=pa   **se'je**
        ayahuasca=ACC.REAL   boil-CAUS=SS   cure
        'After boiling the ayahuasca they cured.' [BC15.058]

(2)   Tsete tise jisi tisema sejeya.
        tse=te tise ji=si tise=ma   **se'je**='ya
        ANA.LOC=RPRT 3.SG come=DS   3.SG=ACC cure=ASS
        'And they cured him.' [Kuankuan kundasepa 6:14]

(3)   Tai'ngapa tse'i se'jeye ashaen'fa kuragandekhû.
        tai-'nga=pa   tse'i **se'je**=ye ashan-en='fa   kuraga=ndekhû
        gather-TRANS=SS   then cure=INF   begin-CAUS=PLS   shaman=APL
        'Having gathered, the shamans began to heal him.' [BC15.057]

(4)   Tsunsi tsû tsa'kaen sejepa jasi khûi.
        tsun=si=tsû tsa-'kan-e   **se'je**=pa   ja=si   khûi~:
        do=DS=3   ANA=SIMIL 1=ADVR heal =SS   go=DS   lie.down~DUR
        'So after they healed me in this way, I was lying down.'
        [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0200.524]

Example (1) additionally shows that a verb need not be inflected in order to occur as a main predicate.

When a verb is used non-predicatively, it has to undergo a lexical or a syntactic derivational process. In (5), for instance, the verb *se'je* 'heal' is nominalized by means of the derivational suffrix −'*pa* 'NR', while in (6) it is turned into the the predicate of a headless relative clause by means of the general subordinator =*'chu*.

(5)   Tseite a'indekhûja tsampi'sû seje'pa'khû se'jepa kanse'fa.
        tse'i=te   a'i=ndekhû=ja   tsampi'sû   **se'je**-'pa=i'khû
        then=RPRT   Cofán.person=APL=CONTR   forest=ATTR   heal=NR=INSTR
        se'je=pa kanse='fa
        heal =SS live =PLS

'They say the Cofán used to heal with medicine from the forest.' [RBI01.072]

(6)　"Ñanda tsangaeyi gi se'je," se'je'chu afa.

ña=ta　　tsa=ngae=yi=ngi　　se'je **se'je**='chu afa
1.SG=NEW ANA=MANN=EXCL=1　heal heal=SUB　say

'The doctor (lit. "the one who heals") said, "That's just how I do it."' [BC20.094]

Morphologically, verbs like *se'je* 'heal' can be distinguished from other parts of speech by the fact that they are the only free lexical items that can be inflected for aspect and direction. In (7) *se'je* 'heal' combines with the imperfective suffix.

(7)　Da vani sejejechu majantsû kanjen.

da　va=ni　　**se'je**-'je='chu　majan=tsû　kan'jen
HES PRX=LOC cure-IMPF=SUB IGN.AN=3　　stay

'Who is the one healing here?' [Yaje 2]

We will illustrate the properties of verbs given above with another verb here. The following examples all involve the verb *nani* 'be complete'. In (8) and (9) this verb is used as the predicate of a main clause, in (10) as the predicate of a subordinate temporal clause, and in (11) as the predicate of a co-subordinate clause:

(8)　Kû'ipa pa'khu kû'i nani kamba tse'i setaen.

Kûi=pa　　pa='khu　　kû'i **nani**　　　　kan=pa tse'i setha-en
drink=SS　all=CL:quant　drink be.complete　see=SS　then chant-CAUS

'Having drunk it, when they were finished with all of it they looked and then began to heal.' [BC15.091]

(9)　Atu'tu　　naniña'mbiti?

atûi~tûi　　**nani**=ya=mbi=ti
chop~ITER　be.complete=IRR=NEG=INT

'Would it be that I can finish clearing it?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0542.939]

(10)　Da tsenisûkhe afa naninda khase tueveyi afakhakauña.

da　tse=ni='sû='khe　　　afa　**nani**=ta　　　　khase　tue=ve=yi
HES ANA.LOC=LOC=ATTR=ADD speak be.complete=NEW again　same=ACC.IRR=EXCL

afa=khia'kan='u='ya
speak=SIMIL2=AUG=ASS

'Eh, because those over there, when they finish talking, say the same thing again.' [Autobiografía de MM 1]

(11)　An nanimba kan'jen bu'tshe.

an **nani**=pa　　　kan'jen bu'tshe
eat be.complete=SS　live　　long.time

'Having eaten he stayed there a long time.' [BC07.061]

The verb *nani* 'be complete' can only be used non-predicatively after the application of some derivational operation. A derived nominal use is obtained by turning it into the predicate of a headless relative clause, as in (12), while an adverbial use is obtained adding both the ADJR and adverbializing clitics, as in (13).

(12)   me'thia'ye kamba **nani**'chu
       me'thia'ye   kan=pa **nani**='chu
       in.the.beginning   see=SS   be.complete=SUB
       'conclusions at a glance.' [RBI01.001]

(13)   Pa'khu nanitshetsû atesû tisûnejan
       pa='khu   **nani**=tshe=tsû   atesû   tisû=ne=ja
       all=CLF:quant end-ADVR=3   know   REFL=SO=CONTR
       'At the end he knew everything for himself.' [Aya'fa tuya'kaen atesûjechune 1:30]

The verb *nani* 'be complete' differs from *se'je* 'cure' in that it does not allow inflection for aspect or direction.

The two verbs used to illustrate verbal properties here belong to two different classes of verbs, which we will call regular verbs and property verbs. The term 'regular verb' is chosen for the verb class illustrated by means of the verb *se'je* 'heal' in (1)-(7), as this is by far the largest class of verbs. The class of property verbs illustrated by *nani* 'be complete, finish' in (8)-(13) is, on the other hand, a smaller class, the members of which can be listed exhaustively. The next two sections will discuss these two classes of verbs one by one.

4.2.2.2. Regular verbs

Regular verbs may be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive, but transitivity is not marked in any way. An example of an intransitive verb is given in (14), basic and derived transitive examples are given in (15)-(16), and basic and derived ditransitive ones in (17)-(18).

(14)   Dû'shû ina'jen.
       dû'shû   **i'na**-'je
       baby   cry-IMPF
       'A baby was crying.' [BC07.022]

(15)   Tse'i pa'khuma undikhû.
       tse'i   pa='khu=ma   **undikhû**
       then   all=CLF:quant=ACC.REAL   dress
       'Then he put on all of them.' [BC20.051]

(16)   Tsunsi tsû bombujema tsau'ñamba afefaya.
       tsun=si=tsû   bu'mbu=je=ma   **tsa'u-en**=pa   afe='fa='ya
       make=DS=3   chonta.palm=CLF:flt=ACC.REAL house-CAUS=SS   give=PLS=ASS
       'So they gave it to him building a house out of leaves of the chonta palm.'
       [20040218-EC-Interview-081]

(17)   Ñanga afeja ke ainma
       Ña=nga   **afe**=ja   ke   ain=ma
       1.SG=DAT give=IMP   2.SG dog=ACC.REAL
       "Give me your dog."

(18)   Tsa'kamba tayupija chavae'ña V. kitsanga ña anae'mama.
       tsa='kan=pa   tayupi=ja   **chava-en**=ya V. kitsanga ña   anae'ma=ma
       ANA=SIMIL1=SS   formerly=CONTR   buy-CAUS=IRR   V. father=DAT 1.SG
       hammock=ACC.REAL
       'That's why in the past I sold my hammock to V.'s dad.' [20040218-EC-Interview-183]

The possibilities of affixation of regular verbs are wider than those of property verbs. The full range of possibilities is given in the following series of examples, with different verbs from the regular class. Note that the meanings and functions of these affixes will be discussed in the relevant places in Chapter X. Here we just aim at showing the combinatory properties of regular verbs.

The suffixes combining with regular verbs are partly derivational and partly inflectional in nature. The derivational suffixes are the habitual nominalizers -*fasi*, 'HAB.NR' -*khe'sû* 'HAB.NR', -*pari* 'HAB.NR', and -*ri* 'HAB.NR' in (19)-(22), the negative habitual nominalizer -*masia* 'NEG.HAB.NR in (23), the general nominalizer –'*pa* 'NR' in (24), the causativizer -*en* in (25), and the privative -*mbi* in (26).

(19) Ñua'me tsû dyujufasi.
      ñua'me=tsû dyuju-**fasi**
      really=3   get.scared-HAB.NR
      'They are really cowards.' [20060118-LM-2-0180.135]

(20) Me'in ankhe'sû tsû.
      me'i   an-**khe'sû**=tsû
      NEG.PRED   eat-HAB.SBSTR=3
      'No, it's edible.' [20040218-EC-Interview-071]

(21) amphipari
      amphi-**pari**
      fall-HAB.NR
      'person that always falls' (elic.)

(22) ku'feri
      ku'fe-**ri**
      play-HAB.NR
      'playful person, joker' (elic.)

(23) Je'nda kûti'chu kukutati tsa'kaen fi'thimasia.
      Je'nda kûti'chu kuku=ta=ti   tsa='kan=e   fi'thi-**masia**
      then   yachapo demon=NEW.TOP=INT   ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR   kill-NEG.HAB.SBSTR
      'Then the yachapo demon is not killed like that?'
      [20040218-BM-Interview-0429.314]

(24) Ya, da tayupisû kundasepata tsû khen.
      ya da   tayupi='sû   kundase-**'pa**=ta=tsû   khen
      OK uh   formerly=ATTR tell-NR=NEW=3   thus
      'Ok, well the old story goes like this.' [20060118-MM-1-0013.266]

(25) Tayupi'sû a'ija da khitshapa tsû mûtsinuen'faya tavafamaja.
      tayupi='sû   a'i=ja   da khitsha=pa=tsû   mûtsinun-**en**'fa=ya
      long.ago=ATTR   Cofán.person=CONTR uh pull/draw=SS=3   rotate-CAUS=PLS=IRR
      tavafamaja
      ta'va=fa=ma=ja
      cotton=CLF:LAT=ACC.REAL=CONTR
      'The people from the past made cotton pulling and rotating it.'
      [A20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-041]

(26) Jañunda ushambi ña khashepa.
      ja'ñu=ta   usha-**mbi**   ña   khashe=pa

now=NEW be.able-PRIV 1.SG old=SS
'Nowadays I can't because I am weak and old.' [Autobiografía de CLC 3:10]

The inflectional suffixes combining with regular verbs are the diathesis markers *-khu* 'RECIP' and *-ye* 'PASS' in (27) and (28), the aspectual markers *-'je* 'IMPF', *-ji* 'PRECUL', *-kha* 'DIM', *-'ñakha* 'REP', and *-yi* 'PROSP' in (29)-(33), the manner converb markers *-in* 'MANN.CV' and *-mbe* 'NEG.CV' in (34)-(35), and the directional markers *–'ngi* 'CIS' and *–'nga* 'TRANS' in (36)-(37).

(27) da fi'thi-**khu**='fa='ya =tsû
   HES kill-RECIP=PLS=ASS=3
   'They killed each other.' [20050726-CL-1-0054.355]

(28) Phiñambate tse'i chambangaja indiye'ya.
   phi-en=pa=te   tse'i chan=pa=nga=ja   indi-**ye**='ya
   sit.in.something-CAUS=SS=RPRT next mother=ASSOC=DAT=CONTR hold-PASS=ASS
   'After he took them he was grabbed by a woman.'
   [A20060104-AQ-Matachi-0070.477]

(29) Tsama undikhûjefa tsunda ña'me faesûvetatsû tisû chandekhû chavayachu.
   tsa='ma undikhû-**'je**='fa tsun=ta ña'me faesû=ve=ta=tsû   tisû
   ANA=FRT dress-IMPF=PLS do=NEW truly other=ACC.IRR=NEW=3 REFL
   chan=nde'khû chava=ya='chu
   mother=A.PL buy=IRR=SUB
   'They're wearing those, but their mothers need to buy another one.' [Escuela 1:12 S2]

(30) Tseti ki khûshajipa ji?
   tse=ti=ki   khûsha-**ji**=pa ji
   ANA.LOC=INT=2 recover-PRECUL=SS
   'You came in the process of recovering.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0280.346]

(31) Jinge rundakhaye.
   jinge ru'nda-**kha**=ye
   HORT wait-DIM=INF
   'Let's wat a little.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-067]

(32) Tise pûshe thatha'ñakha jayi.
   tise pûshe thatha-**'ñakha** ja-yi
   3.SG wife search-REP   go-PROSP
   'His wife came searching.' [BC19.079]

(33) Avû vachu'sû jayi.
   avû vachu='sû ja-**yi**
   fish net=ATTR go-PROSP
   'I am going fishing with my net.' [BC11.005]

(34) Kunshumbive dapa bûthuin ja tsampini.
   kunshumbi=ve   da=pa bûthu-**in** ja tsampi=ni
   coati.mundi=ACC.IRR become=SS run-SIM go jungle=LOC
   'Then becoming a coati mundi he went off running into the jungle.' [BC01.046]

(35) Upi'tshe sema'sû fû'ndumbe'yi sema'fa.
   upi'tshe sema='sû fundu-**mbe**='yi   sema='fa
   quietly work=ATTR shout-NEG.CV=EXCL work=PLS
   'Quietly and without shouting they worked.' [BC21.052]

(36) Faesû a'i ka'ngapa athe'fa.

fae ='sû   a'i   kan-**'nga**=pa   athe='fa
other=ATTR   Cofán.person look-TRANS=SS see=PLS
'The other people went to look and saw it.' [BC10.029]

(37)   Jipa tsû na'esû avionga ande'ngiya.
        ji=pa=tsû   na'en='sû avion=nga ande-**'ngi**=ya
        come=SS=3   river=ATTR plane=DAT land-CIS=IRR
        'He came and landed here in an aquaplane.' [20040218-EC-Interview-054]

From a semantic perspective, regular verbs express actions and states, as shown in (38), in which *khûtsu* 'stand' is stative and *kata* 'cast' is dynamic.

(38)   Biani khûtsûpa kata.
        bia=ni   **khûtsû**=pa **kata**
        far=LOC   stand=SS   cast
        'Standing at a distance he speared them.' [BC17.053]

The only area not covered by regular verbs is that of stative intransitive properties, which is the semantic grouping covered by the smaller class of property verbs, to which we turn next.

4.2.2.3. Property verbs

4.2.2.3.1. Introduction

The class of property verbs has two subclasses: free property verbs and bound property verbs. Free property verbs may occur by themselves, without any suffixes or clitics, while bound property verbs never occur on their own. Free property verbs are illustrated in (39)-(41), bound property verbs in (42)-(43).

(39)   Dyumbe vasitshe angaja.
        dyu-mbe   vasi=tshe   anga=ja
        be.afraid-NEG.CV   slowly=ADVR   carry=IMP
        'Carefully carry me without fear.' [BC19.045]

(40)   Dyupa jaja'fa.
        dyu=pa   ja~ja='fa
        be.afraid=SS   go~ITER=PLS
        'They were afraid and left.' [BC19.155]

(41)   Ay ma'kaen dyu.
        ay ma='kan=e   **dyu**
        oh IGN.SEL=SIMIL=ADVR   be.afraid
        'Oh, how afraid I was.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-015]

(42)   Khitshapa   pa'fakhoma tsû piura'kanfakhue tutufa'khue tsû biaña'faya.
        khitsha=pa pa='fa='khu=ma=tsû   piura='kan='fa=khu=e
        pull=SS   all=CLF:lat=AUG=ACC.REAL=3   string=SIMIL=CLF:lat=AUG=ADVR
        tutu=fa='khu=e=tsû   **bia**-ña='fa='ya
        white=CLF:lat=SUB=ADVR=3 long-CAUS=PLS=ASS
        'Pulling it, they enlarged the cotton into a white string.'

[20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-042]

(43)   Shavungae tsû bia'u.
       shavu=ngae=tsû   **bia**='u
       canoe=MANN=3   long=AUG
       'It is far by canoe.' [HF 8:39]

As shown in (39)-(41), *dyu* 'be afraid' may be used with a suffix (39), a clitic (40), or without any of these (41). The latter possibility does not exist for *bia* 'long', which may be used in combination with a suffix (42) or a clitic (43) only.

4.2.2.3.2. General characteristics

All members of the class of property verbs are intransitive in nature, though by adding the causative suffix they may be turned into transitive ones. This is illustrated for the free property verb *dyu* in (44)-(45), where the transitive verb *dyu-ña* 'be.afraid-CAUS' in (45) is derived from the property verb *dyu* 'be afraid' illustrated in (44). In (46)-(47) we illustrate the same facts for the bound property verb *chape* 'be soft', with the intransitive use in (46) and the derived transitive use in (47).

(44)   Khen   dyu.
       khen   **dyu**
       thus   be.afraid
       'I got scared that way.' [Caza y pesca 2:10]
(45)   Dyuñaja.
       dyu-en=ja
       be.afraid-CAUS =IMP
       'Make her afraid.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-102]
(46)   Kipa uma'ndu chapia.
       kipa uma'ndu **chape**=a
       yellow macaw soft=SBSTR
       'The yellow macaw's is soft.' [BC03.026]
(47)   Tsama chapiamba kû'i ansunde'faya vanijan.
       tsa=ma   **chape-an**=pa   kû'i   ansunde='fa=ya va=ni=ja
       ANA=ACC.REAL BE.soft-CAUS=SS   drink   go.up=PLS=IRR   PROX=LOC=CONTR
       'They softened it and went up there to drink it.' [20040218-EC-Interview-230]

In terms of their collocational possibilities with suffixes, property verbs are more restrictive than regular verbs. Due to their stative semantics and intransitivity, they are not found with the passive and reciprocal suffixes. This is true for both free and bound property verbs. Examples (48)-(52) show free property verbs with nominalizing (48), causativizing (49), aspectual (50), directional (51), and manner (52) suffixes.

(48)   Ñua'me tsû dyujufasi.
       ñua'me=tsû dyuju-**fasi**
       truly=3   get.scared-HAB.NR
       'They are really fearful people.' [20060118-LM-2-0180.135]
(49)   Tsamanda tsefanga nanianchu.

tsa=ma=ta   tse='fa=nga   nani-**ña**='chu
ANA=ACC=NEW   ANA.LOC=CLF.lat=DAT end-CAUS=SUB
'He finished it over there.' [Aya'fa tuya'kaen atesûjechune]

(50)   Vafama dyujuje.
       va=fa=ma   dyuju-**'je**
       PROX=CLF:LAT=ACC.REAL get.scared-IMPF
       'I am afraid to go to that side.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-072]

(51)   Phurungayatiki?
       phuru=**'nga**=ya=ti=ki
       be.near=TRANS=IRR=INT=2
       'Can you get there?' [Yaje 2: 0:58]

(52)   Keja si'ngima ukepa dyumbe aná khûija.
       ke=ja   si'ngi=ma   uke=pa dyu-**mbe**   ana~:   khûi =ja
       2.SG=CONTR fire=ACC.REAL burn=SS fear-NEG.CV sleep~DUR lie =IMP
       'You keep the fire going and lay down and sleep without fear.' [BC11.006]

Examples (53)-(55) show bound property verbs combining with the nominalizer -*'pa* in (53), the causativizer -*en* in (54), and the imperfective aspect marker -*'je* in (55).

(53)   Aiyepa tsû.
       aiye-**'pa**=tsû
       difficult-NR=3
       'It's a difficult thing.' [20040218-EC-Interview-045]

(54)   Chapiamba kû'i ansunde'faya vanijan.
       chape-**en**=pa   kû'i   ansunde='fa=ya   va=ni=ja
       soft-CAUS=SS   drink go.up=PLS=IRR   PROX=LOC=CONTR
       'They softened it and went up drinking there.' [A20040218-EC-Interview-230]

(55)   Aiyeje.
       aiye-**'je**.
       difficult-IMPF
       'It is difficult.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-053]

      Property verbs differ most prominently from regular verbs in that they can occur with the adjectivalizer suffix -*tshi*, which is never used with regular verbs. This is illustrated in (56)-(57) for free property verbs, and in (58)-(59) for bound property verbs.

(56)   Avûjatshi kansefaya.
       avûja-**tshi**   kanse='fa='ya.
       be.happy-ADJR live=PLS=ASS
       'We lived happy.' [20040218-EC-Interview-019]

(57)   Dyu'tshia sejepaya'tsû tsaja.
       dyuju-**tshi**=a   se'je-'pa='ya=tsû   tsa=ja
       get.scared-ADJR=SBSTR cure-NR=ASS=3   ANA=CONTR
       'It is a potent medicine.' [El jardín y las plantas medicinales 1:07 S2]

(58) Ñua'me ñutshia chanditshia na'ema.
      ñua'me   ñu-**tshi**=a   chandi-**tshi**=a na'en=ma
      truly   good-ADJR=SBSTR be.cold-ADJR=SBSTR river=ACC.REAL
      'The river was really clean.' [20040218-EC-Interview-016]
(59) Ka'nimba já, bathi'nga chharatshi.
      ka'ni=pa   ja~:   bathi-'nga   chhara-**tshi**
      enter=SS go~DUR emerge-TRANS light-ADJR
      'Having entered, he went on and came out where it was light.' [BC07.027]

In terms of their semantics, too, free and bound property verbs are alike. As the name suggests, property verbs and property roots express stative properties (and so do adjectives, see Section 4.2.3).

4.2.2.3.3. Free property verbs

As mentioned above, the difference between free and bound property verbs is that former may occur on their own, whereas the latter may not. Free property verbs form a very small closed class. We list the members in Table 4.1, and provide examples of each, showing that indeed these lexical items can occur as free forms.

avûja	'be happy'
dyu	'be afraid'
fava	'be easy'
me'i	'be non-existent'
nani	'be finished'
phuru	'be near'
upa	'be carefree'
ûta	'be quick'

Table 4.1. Free property verbs

avûja 'be happy'
(60) Tse'i chan'khe avûja.
      tse'i   chan=khe   **avûja**
      then   mother=ADD be.happy
      'Then the mother also was happy.' [BC08.071]
(61) Tse gi avûja'ya.
      tse=ngi   **avûja**='ya
      ANA.LOC=1   be.happy=ASS
      'This made me happy.' [20040218-EC-Interview-195]

dyu 'be afraid'
(62) Khen dyu.
      khen   **dyu**
      thus   be.afraid
      'I got scared that way.' [Caza y pesca 2:10]
(63) Tsa'kamba sefangae ande'ngisi dyu'faya.

tsa='kan=pa se'fa=ngae ande-'ngi=si **dyu**='fa='ya
ANA=SIMIL1=SS up=MANN land-CIS=DS be.afraid=PLS=ASS
'That's why we got scared when they came down.' [20040218-EC-Interview-063]

fava 'be easy'
(64) Tsama fithi'pa tsethe kusekhe titshefava jakañe
tsa=ma fi'thi=pa tse='thi=e kuse khen titshe **fava** jakan=ye
ANA=ACC kill=SS ANA.LOC=CL:loc=ADVR night thus more be.easy walk=INF
'After hunting it, it made it easier for me to want to hunt more at night.' [Panzaye 1:07]
(65) Sûyaya favatshe ñambe khakejema chathûngaja.
sû='ya~'ya **fava**='tshi=e ña=mbe khakeje=ma chathû-'nga=ja
say=ASS~ITER be.easy-ADJR=ADVR 1.SG=BEN leaf=ACC.REAL cut-TRANS=IMP
'She said, quickly cut leaves for me.' [MW 2:46 S1]

me'i 'be non-existent'
(66) Me'in añambi tshûjûtshi tsû.
me'i an=ya=mbi tshun'jun-tshi=tsû
be.non.existent eat=IRR=NEG stink-ADJR=3
'I am not going to eat, it stinks.' [20040218-EC-Interview-073]
(67) Tayupi nuja'khuve mechuja jungaesûi'khû tsû anchun'fa?
tayupi nuja'khu=ve **me'i**='chu=ja jungue'sû=i'khû=tsû anchun='fa?
formerly needle=ACC.IRR be.non.existent=SUB=CONTR IGN.SBS=ATTR=INST=3 sew=PLS
'If in early times there weren't any needles, with what did they sew?'
[20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0028.249]

nani 'be finished'
(68) Kû'ipa pa'khu kû'i nani kamba tse'i setaen.
Kûi=pa pa='khu kû'i **nani** kan=pa tse'i setha-en
drink=SS all=CL:quant drink be.complete see=SS then chant-CAUS
'Having drunk it, when they were finished with all of it they looked and then began to heal.' [BC15.091]
(69) Atu'tu naniña'mbiti?
atûi~tûi **nani**=ya=mbi=ti
chop~ITER be.complete=IRR=NEG=INT
'Would it be that I can finish clearing it?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0542.939]

phuru 'be near'
(70) Tsuveninga amphi usûi phuru duin japa ñunkha shavuve da.
tsuve=ni=nga amphi usûi **phuru** du-in ja=pa ñunkha
head=LOC=DAT fall fall be.near split-SIM go=SS good.thing
shavu=ve da
canoe=ACC.IRR become
'It hit God on the head falling near, split open and became a very fine canoe.'
[BC01.056]
(71) Isûpate ñua'me juva sefakhunga na'enjan pikhupa phurujisi …

      isû=pa=te   ñua'me juva sefakhu=nga na'en=ja   pikhu-'pa
      take=SS=RPRT truly   DIST   sky=DAT   river=CONTR   cover-NR
      phuru-ji=si
      be.near-PRECUL=DS
      'They took it and as they were approaching that river in the sky that was covering up.'
      [20060118-MM-2-0370.695]

upa 'be carefree'

(72)   Upa kun'sin.
        upa   kun'sin
        be.carefree   woolly_monkey
        'They were woolly monkeys that were unafraid.' [BC19.005]

(73)   Tise upaeka'nda pajá!
        tise **upa**=e='kan=ta   pa=ja~:
        3.sg be.carefree=ADVR=SIMIL1=NEW   die=IMP~DUR
        'Die for being naive.' [BC17.105]

ûta 'be quick'

(74)   Tsunsi japa ûta imbi Ûtetsû imbi.
        tsun=si   ja=pa   **ûta**   i=mbi   Ûtetsû   i=mbi
        do=DS   go=SS   be.quick   bring=NEG   Currasow   bring =NEG
        'So he went, but he didn't come back right away.' [BC04.007]

(75)   Ûtatsheyi ja'ngapa i'ngapa ji.
        ûta=tshe=yi   ja-'nga=pa   i-'nga=pa   ji
        be.quick=ADVR=EXCL go-TRANS=SS   bring-TRANS=SS   come
        'You went and came back quickly.' [BC04.014]

4.2.2.3.4. Bound property verbs

Bound property verbs cannot appear independently. They need the attachment of at least one suffix or clitic in order to be used in syntax. We have identified 41 members of this class, which are listed in Table 4.2.

aiye	'be difficult'
amunde	'be dirty'
athaja	'be wide'
bia	'be long'
chana	'be beautiful'
chandi	'be cold'
cha'ndi	'be clear'
chape	'be soft'
chhara	'be light'
chû	'be naked, be clean'
giya	'be smooth'
in'jan	'be.much'
iseve	'be facing'

kashe	'be old'
kin	'be strong'
kinse	'be healthy'
kû	'be red'
mende	'be beautiful'
ñu	'be good'
ñuki	'be calm, be sad'
ñu'me	'be perfumed'
pa	'be many'
phinphin	'be calm'
phû'chu	'be fat'
re'ri	'be small'
san	'be dry'
sape	'be flat'
sin	'be black'
ta'e	'be hard'
tansin	'be straight'
thephû	'be satisfied'
tsai'mbi	'be many'
tsapa	'be all that'
tshai	'be heavy'
tshun'jun	'be smelly'
tû'a	'be sticky'
tuenga	'be the same'
tûmbi	'be cool, be fresh'
tutu	'be white'
vûvû	'be fine'
zenze	'be painted'

Table 4.2. Bound property verbs

Below we present one example for each of the property roots encountered.

aiye 'be difficult'
(76)   Tsa'kamba tsû aiyepa.
        tsa='kan=pa=tsû   **aiye**-'pa
        ANA=SIMIL1=SS=3   be.difficult-NR
        'That is why it is a difficult thing.' [20060118-LM-2-0280.443]

amunde 'be dirty'
(77)   Amundetshiama khen kû'iña tsun'jen kindyama ki.
        amunde-tshi=ma   khen kû'i-ña   tsun-'je kindya=ma=ki
        be.dirty-ADJR=ACC.REAL thus drink-CAUS do-IMPF older_brother=ACC.REAL=2
        'You were going to serve dirty beer to big brother.' [BC15.036]

athaja 'be wide'

(78)   Atajatshia tsai'ki, chûtshi, khafaiseyi'khu tsaiki umbue jaja'fa.
     athaja-tshi=a   tsaiki chû-tshi   khafaiseyi'khu tsaiki umbu=e   ja~ja='fa
     be.wide-ADJR=SBSTRtrail   clean-ADJR six   trail after=ADVR go~ITER=PLS
     'They found six clear, clean, wide trails, and followed them.' [BC17.086]

bia 'be long'

(79)   Pikhupa biani paña'chu paña dyaipa atesû usha'chu.
     pikhu=pa **bia**=ni   paña='chu paña dyai=pa atesû   usha'chu
     close=SS BE.long=LOC   listen=SUB listen sit=SS know   various
     'The ones caged up at a distance heard and learned everything.' [BC05.010]

chana 'be beautiful'

(80)   chanatshia pûshesû
     chana-tshi=a   pûshesû
     be.beautiful-ADJR=SBSTR   woman
     'a beautiful woman' [MW 1:01 S1]

chandi 'be clear'

(81)   Ñua'me ñutshia chanditshia na'ema.
     ñua'me   ñutshi=a   **chandi**-tshi=a   na'en=ma
     truly   good=SBSTR be.clear-ADJR=SBSTR river=ACC.REAL
     'The river was really clear' [20040218-EC-Interview-016]

cha'ndi 'be cold'

(82)   Cha'ndi'sûpa dyai ûtungaye.
     chandi='sû=pa   dyai ûtûnga=ye
     be.cold=ATTR=SS   sit   end=ELAT
     'Being cold he sat part way up.' [BC03.028]

chape 'be soft'

(83)   Ai'vu chapepa pa.
     ai'vu **chape**=pa   pa
     body be.soft=SS   die
     'Her body becoming limp she died.' [BC19.152]

chhara 'be luminous'

(84)   Kanimba dyue jensi dyupa piyikani vani'ma chharau.
     ka'ni=pa dyu=e   jen=si   dyu=pa   piyikan=ni
     enter=SS be.afraid=ADVR   sound=DS be.afraid=SS look.back=LOC
     va=ni=ma   **chhara**='u
     PROX=LOC=ACC.REAL be.luminous=AUG
     'As he entered he heard scary sounds and was afraid but when he looked over here it
     was brightly lit.' [Dyandyakhû 5:12 S2]

chû 'be naked, be clean'

(85)   Tsunsi kukama cha'mbaja chûchuu shakariveyite ejianchu'fa'ya.

tsun=sikukama   chan=pa=ja   **chû**='chu='u
do=DS mix.blood mother=ASSOC=CONTR   be.naked=SUB=AUG
shakari=ve=yi=te   ejian='chu='fa='ya
underpants=ACC.IRR=EXCL=RPRT dress=SUB=PLS=ASS
'Then the white women were nude, just dressed in underwear.'
[20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0126.916]

giya 'be smooth'
(86)   Ma'kaengi giyaeña?
        ma='kan=e=ngi   **giya**-en=ya
        IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=1 be.smooth-CAUS=IRR
        'How are we going to clean it?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-02-0316.749]

in'jan 'be much'
(87)   Vakini injan'tshi Sararu kanjen.
        va=ki=ni   **in'jan**-tshi   sararu   kan'jen
        prox=CLF:LNR=LOC be.much-ADJR   otter   stay
        'There were a lot of Nutrias in that stream.' [HF 2:04 S1]

iseve 'be facing'
(88)   Setsaningaekhe tsû nane juva Sabarue bathi'pa iseve'tshe vau'faja.
        setsa=ni=ngae=khe=tsû nane   juva Zabalo bathi-'pa **iseve**=tsh=e
        low=LOC=MANN=ADD=3 surely   DIST Zabalo finish-NR   be.facing-ADJR=ADVR
        va='u-'fa=ja
        PROX=AUG=CLF:lat=CONTR
        'Further down too there is a delimitation, across from the Zabalo river mouth.'
        [20060118-LM-2-0449.407]

kashe 'be old'
(89)   Ñutshe tûisi bu'tshe tûisi kashi katijesi tsû ñua'me ñutshiya
        ñutshe tûi=si   bu=tsh=e   tûi=si   **kashe**=ma
        good   sprinkle=DS gather-ADJR=ADVR sprinkle=DS be.old=ACC.REAL
        kati-'je=si=tsû   ñua'me ñutshi=ya
        throw.away-IMPF=DS=3 truly   good=IRR
        'If it rains a long time, when you throw away the first part, what falls next is good.'
        [20040218-EC-Interview-046b]

kin 'be strong'
(90)   Ñu'e fithithi'je kimbi.
        ñu=e   fithi~thi-'je   **kin**-mbi
        be_good=ADVR kill~ITER-IMPF   be.strong-PRIV
        'He killed well until he was tired.' [BC12.119]

kinse 'be healthy'
(91)   Ñua'me kinsetshiya ki, pajiyambi ki.
        ñua'me   **kinse**-tshi=ya=ki   paji=ya=mbi=ki

truly   be.healthy-ADJR=IRR=2 sick=IRR=NEG=2
'So you will be healthy, you will not fall ill.' [20040218-EC-Interview-041]

kû 'be red'
(92)   Jenda kû'akhetiki sû kû'chu?
      jenda   **kû**=a='khe=ti=ki   sû   kû'='chu
      then   be.red=SBSTR=ADD=INT=2   say   red=SUB
      'You said that it's red, a red one? [Pesca 1:37 S1]

mende 'beautiful'
(93)   Va tsû ñua'me mende'chu indiye.
      va=tsû   ñua'me **mende**='chu   indi=ye
      PROX=3   truly   be.beautiful=CLF:rnd hold=INF
      'This one is a nice catch.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-049]

ñu 'be good'
(94)   Keve in'jamba isû'fanijan ñu'tshe keja kuirapa vani kanseja khen.
      ke=ve   in'jan=pa   isû='fa=ni=ja   **ñu**=tshe   ke=ja
      2.SG=ACC.IRR think=SS   take=PLS=LOC=CONTR be.good=ADVR 2.SG=CONTR
      kuira=pa   va=ni   kanse=ja   khen
      look.after=SS   prox=LOC   live=IMP   so
      'If he wants you, you take good care of him and live here.'
      [A20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0381.601]

ñuki 'be calm'
(95)   Ñua'me ñukimbiu tsû ja'ñujan.
      ñua'me   **ñuki**=mbi='u=tsû   ja'ñu=ja
      truly   be.calm=NEG=AUG=3   now =CONTR
      'It's really sad now.' [20040218-EC-Interview-026]

ñu'me 'be perfumed'
(96)   Ñu'me'u'ña tsû tumba'khû.
      ñu'me='u='ya=tsû   tumba'khû
      be.perfumed=AUG=ASS=3   starch
      'This is starch with an aroma.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0374.906]

pa 'be many'
(97)   Tayu tsa pa'tshi horave dyaichuya isha.
      tayu   tsa   **pa**-tshi   hora=ve   dyai='chu='ya isha
      already   ANA   be.many-ADJR hour=ACC.IRR sit=SUB=ASS   really
      'I've really been sitting for many hours.' [Juego de Mastermind 4 0:22]

phinphin 'be calm'
(98)   phinphin'kikhua
      phinphin=ki='khu=a
      be.calm=CLF:lnr=AUG-ADJR
      'quiet part of the river, dam' [20050701-MA-Letter-3-023]

phû'chu 'be fat'

(99)   Phû'chupa kan'jen'ninda, khase ansunde Aitsuve.
       phû'chu=pa   kan'jen=ni=ta   khase   ansunde   Aitsuve
       be.fat=SS   live=DS=NEW   again   come_up   Manhead
       'When she was living there and fat, Manhead came again.' [BC19.128]

re'ri 'be small'

(100)   Dû'shû re'richu'khu iñajan tise kindyaveyi, "Ñanga afeja".
       dû'shû   **re'ri**='chu='khu   iñajan   tise   kindya=ve=yi   ña =nga
       child   be.small=CLF:RND=AUG   ask   3.SG   older_brother=ACC.IRR=EXCL   1.SG=DAT
       afe=ja
       give=IMP
       'Then the little brother said to his big brother, "Give it to me".' [BC08.051]

san 'be dry'

(101)   Santshiave me'i'un.
       san-tshi=a=ve   me'i='u
       be.dry-ADJR=SBSTR=ACC.IRR   NEGP=AUG
       'It wasn't dry.' [BC01.012]

sape 'be flat'

(102)   Sape'je'u, vatuva atse'fa'ka'un.
       sape=je='u   vatuva   atse'fa='kan'u
       be.flat=CLF:flt=AUG   alligator tail=SIMIL1=AUG
       'It was flat like an alligator's tail.' [BC10.022]

sin 'be black'

(103)   Sin'khûama in'janse.
       sin=khû=a=ma   in'jan='se
       be.black=CLF:DEL=SBSTR=ACC.REAL   think=MIT.IMP
       'Imagine, it's black.' [20040218-EC-Interview-046a]

ta'e 'be hard'

(104)   Tsenima tayave ke indija.
       tse=ni=ma   **ta'e**=ve   ke   indi=ja
       ANA.LOC=LOC=ACC.REAL be.hard=ACC.IRR   2.SG   hold=IMP
       'Catch it firmly over there.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-037]

tansin 'be straight'

(105)   Ñua'me tansi'fambi.
       ñua'me   **tansin**=fa=mbi
       truly   be.straight=CLF:lat=NEG
       'It isn't really fixed.' [20060118-LM-2-0542.989]

thephû 'be satisfied (after eating)'

(106)   Anjampama thephûpa sumbuin ja tsuteni.

        anjampa=ma   **thephû**=pa   sumbu=in   ja   tsute=ni

        blood=ACC.REAL   be.satisfied=SS   emerge=SIM go   outside=LOC

        'Full of blood it left the house and went outside. [BC11.018]

tsai'mbi 'be many'

(107)   Tsai'mbitshi avû'u sheke.

        tsai'mbi-tshi avû='u   sheke

        be.many-ADJR   fish=AUG   scatter

        'There are many fish there.' [BC02.070]

tsapa 'be all that'[1]

(108)   Tsapatshe da in'ja'ma.

        tsapa=tsh=e   da   in'jan='ma.

        be.all.that-ADJR=ADVR   become   think=FRT

        'They thought wrongly that they would become all of that.'

        [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-029]

tshai 'be heavy'

(109)   Tshai'e da patiaka'en.

        tshai=e   da   patû='kan=e

        be.heavy=ADVR become stone=SIMIL1=ADVR

        'He had become heavy like a stone.' [BC18.027]

tshun'jun 'be smelly'

(110)   Me'in tshunjuntshi tsû.

        me'i   **tshun'jun**-tshi=tsû

        NEG.PRED   be.smelly-ADJR=3

        'It doesn't smell bad.' [20040218-EC-Interview-072]

tû'a 'be sticky'

(111)   Tsanga aya'fai'khû ankan, tû'atshi aya'fa.

        tsa=nga aya'fa=i'khû ankan **tû'a**-tshi   aya'fa

        ANA=DAT mouth=INS   fasten be.sticky-ADJR   mouth

        'He stuck on with his mouth, it being a sticky mouth.' [BC19.083]

tuenga 'be the same'

(112)   Me'in tuengakhuusi sû'ya.

        me'i   **tuenga**='khu='u=si   sû='ya

        NEG.PRED   be.the.same=CLF:ANG=AUG=DS say=ASS

        'No, they are the same size.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0373.009]

tûmbi 'be cool, be fresh'

(113)   Tsanetsû thiaû tsia tsiatsû ke aivunga tûmbitshe fingiajeña tsa'kaentsû khûsianña

        nane.

---

[1] Perhaps etymologically a combination of *tsa* 'ANA' and *pa* 'ALL'.

Tsa=ne=tsû thiaû tsia tsia=tsû ke ai'vu=nga **tûmbi**='tsh=e fingian-'je='ya

ANA=ABL=3 IDEO IDEO IDEO=3 2.SG body=DAT be.cool-ADJR=ADVR wind-IMPF=ASS

tsa='kan=e=tsû khûsi-ña='ya nane

ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR=3 get.drunk-CAUS=ASS surely

'They know how to get drunk and that wind makes you well.' [Yaje 1 3:42 S2]

tutu 'be white'

(114) Khitshapa pa'fakhuma tsû piura'kanfakhue tutufa'khue tsû biaña'faya.
khitsha=pa pa=fa='khu=ma=tsû piura='kan=fa='khu=e
pull/draw=SS all=CLF:lat=CLF:quant=ACC.REAL=3 string=SIMIL1=CLF:LAT=AUG=ADVR
tutu=fa='khu=e=tsû bia'a-ña='fa=ya
be.white=CLF:lat=SUB=ADVR=3 long-CAUS=PLS=IRR
'Pulling it, they lengthened the cotton like a white string.'
[20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-042]

vûvû 'be.fine'

(115) Buve vûvûpa sûvûve da.
buve **vûvû**-'pa sûvû=ve da
more be.fine-NR minnow=ACC.IRR become
'The smaller ones became the minnows.' [BC03.056]

zenze 'be.painted'

(116) Kharapachamande tevaen'fa zenze'khu'e.
kharapacha=ma=te tevaen='fa **zenze**='khu=ve
tree.bark=ACC.REAL=RPRT draw=PLS be.painted=CLF:ang=ACC.IRR
'Reportedly they drew paintings on the treebark.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0124.501]

4.2.3. Adjectives

Adjectives are lexical items that can be used as modifiers within noun phrases without requiring derivational measures, as shown for *rande* 'big' in (117).

(117) Kiya randetsû.
kiya **rande**=tsû
aguti big=3
'It is a big aguti.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-016]

A'ingae has a small closed class of elements that comply with this definition. These are *chipiri* 'small', *ega* 'bad, *inzû* 'blue, green', *kipa* 'yellow', *kuenza* 'old', *kuna* 'raw, fresh, new', and *rande* 'big', all of which can be used in their base form as a modifier within a noun phrase. In this sense adjectives differ from property verbs and property roots, which require the attachment of the adjectivalizing suffix *-tshi* in order to be used as a modifier within a noun phrase. They differ from regular verbs too, as these require to be turned into the predicate of a relative clause in order to be used as a modifier within a noun phrase, as shown in Section

4.2.2.1 . Similarly, they differ from nouns, as these have to be turned into the head of an attributive phrase in order to be used as a modifier within a noun phrase, as we will show in Section 4.2.4. The A'ingae adjectives are listed in Table 4.3.

chipiri	'small'
ega	'bad'
inzû	'green, blue'
kipa	'yellow'
kuenza	'old'
kuna	'raw, fresh, new'
rande	'large'

Table 4.3. Adjectives

The following examples show that each of the lexical elements belonging to the adjective class can indeed be used directly as a modifier within a noun phrase.

chipiri 'small'
(118)   Ñua'me chipiri dû'shûte sû'ya "Ñanga afe'faja ña kataye".
ñua'me   **chipiri**   dû'shû=te   sû='ya   ña=nga   afe'fa=ja   ña   kata=ye
truly   small   child=RPRT   say=ASS   1.SG=DAT give=PLS=IMP   1.SG   throw.spear=INF
'The smallest child said: give the spear to me to throw it.'
[20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-047]

ega 'bad'
(119)   Ñanda ega kanjansi.
ña=ta   **ega**   kanjansi
1.sg=new   bad   boa
'I'm a bad boa.' [BC20.088]

inzû 'green, blue'
(120)   Tsundaki utaembayi kheshuye ushaya kuye indzû.
tsun=ta=ki   utaen=pa=yi   kheshu=ye   usha=ya   kuye   **inzû**
do=NEW=2   cook=SS=EXCL   peel=INF   be.able=IRR   plantain   green/blue
'So you can peel green plantains only when you cook them.' [Kûikhû, chicha 3:59 S2]

kipa 'yellow'
(121)   Kipa uma'ndu chapia.
kipa   uma'ndu   chape=a
yellow   macaw   soft=SBSTR
'The yellow macaw's is soft.' [BC03.026]

kuenza 'old'
(122)   Tisû tayupi'sû kuenza khashe'ye.
tisû   tayupi='sû   **kuenza**   khashe ='ye
REFL   already =ATTR   old   old.man=NPST
'He was one of my long ago ancestors.' [BC24.002]

kuna 'raw, fresh, new'
(123) Keta domingo a'ta kuna kuntu, apechukhû, sapatu.
      ke=ta   domingo   a'ta   **kuna** kuntun apechukhû   sapatu
      2.SG=NEW sunday   day   raw   shirt   pants   shoe
      'On Sunday you put on a new shirt, pants and shoes.' [BC25.021]

rande 'large'
(124) Patû randeve daya.
      patû   **rande**=ve   da=ya
      rock   large=ACC.IRR become=IRR
      'I'm going to become a large rock.' [BC07.137]

Adjectives may assume functions other than that of modifier within a noun phrase. They may become a verbal predicate through causativization, and then be inflected like any verb, as shown in (125).

(125) Tsa'ma ja'ñu khase faesû andeve randianjen.
      tsa='ma ja'ñu khase   faesû   ande=ve   **rande-an**-'je
      ANA=FRT now   again other   land=ACC.IRR big-CAUS-IMPF
      'But now again they are enlarging another land.' [20060118-LM-2-0429.777]

But they may also be used as a non-verbal predicate, in which case they cannot be inflected for aspect and direction. Examples are (126)-(127).

(126) Ja'faya tsa'ma enthingeta tuya kûnaña.
      ja='fa='ya   tsa='ma enthinge=ta   tuya   **kuna**='ya
      go=PLS=ASS   ANA=FRT half=NEW   still   raw=ASS
      'They left but half were still raw.' [Kunsiana kundasepa 1:30 S1]
(127) Tayupi tsa'kambata tseni jakamba injanga sethapueñe'nda ega, khen tsû kundase umbakhuni.
      tayupi   tsa='kan=pa=ta   tse=ni   jakan=pa injan=nga
      formerly ANA=SIMIL1=SS=NEW   ANA.LOC=LOC   travel=SS   think=DAT
      sethapa-en=ye=ta   **ega** khen=tsû   kundase   umba=khû=ni
      sing-CAUS=INF=NEW bad   thus=3   converse upriver=CLF:del=LOC
      'Long ago when they traveled there to the headwaters it was bad to just carelessly sing.' [BC24.054]

Adjectives may also be used as the sole lexical element of a noun phrase, in those cases in which the identity of the nominal head can be retrieved from the context (128) or is specified through a classifier (129).

(128) Chipiriveti ki in'jan?
      chipiri=ve=ti=ki   in'jan
      small=ACC.IRR=INT=2 want
      'Do you want a small one?' [A20040218-EC-Interview-190]

(129)   Inzûkhu sumbu, kuankuan shundûsû'chu.
      inzû='khu   sumbu kuankuan shundu'sû'chu
      green=CLF:ang emerge trickster   penis
      'A green thing that came out was the trickster's penis.' [BC08.012]

        Semantically, adjectives denote properties, just like property verbs. As noted above they are different from these in that only adjectives can be used directly as a modifier within a noun phrase.

4.2.4. Nouns

4.2.4.1. Introduction

Nouns are lexical elements that can be used as the head of a noun phrase. By this criterion, A'ingae has a class of nouns. In (130), for example, the noun *patû* 'rock' is the head of the noun phrase *patû randeve*, in which the noun is modified by the adjective *rande* 'big' and the noun phrase as a whole carries the case clitic *=ve* 'ACC.IRR'. In (131) the noun *tsute* is the head of a noun phrase, which carries the case marker *=ni* 'LOC'.

(130)   Patû randeve daya.
      patû   rande=ve   da=ya
      rock   large=ACC.IRR become =IRR
      'I will become a large rock.' [BC07.137]
(131)   Tsuteni kini'jin indipa khûtsû.
      tsute=ni   kini=jin   indi=pa khûtsû
      outside=LOC tree=CLF:lrg   hold=SS stand
      'Outside he stood holding on to a tree.' [BC07.110]

There are two subclasses of nouns in A'ingae: a large class of regular nouns, illustrated by means of *patû* 'rock' in (130); and a small class of bound nouns of a locative nature, illustrated in (131). We will discuss these two subclasses in turn in the next two subsections.

4.2.4.2. Regular nouns

Some further regular nouns are illustrated in (132), in which the noun *a'i* 'Cofán person' is the head of a noun phrase in which it is modified by the relative clause *munda=ma i'je'chu* 'who brought the peccary'. The sentence contains three further nouns, each of which carries a case or focus marker.

(132)   Tsumba mundama i'je'chu a'i pasi mundata ja tsampini.
      tsun=pa **munda**=ma   i-'je='chu   **a'i**   pa=si   **munda**=ta
      do=SS   peccary=ACC.REAL bring-IMPF=SUB Cofán.person die=DS   peccary=NEW
      ja **tsampi**=ni
      go jungle=LOC
      'Then when the man who brought the peccary died, the peccary went out into the jungle.' [BC07.160]

But regular nouns may also, and frequently do, occur as the sole element of their noun phrase.

This is for instance the case of *chan* 'mother' in (133) and *a'i* 'Cofán person' and *tsa'u* 'house' in (134).

(133) Chan kûikhuma se'pi.
      chan   kûi'khû=ma   se'pi
      mother   drink=ACC.REAL   withhold
      'Mother won't give us banana drink.' [BC08.033]

(134) Sisipave da'ni'khe a'i pa'fûya tsa'u khûtsiañe.
      sisipa=ve   da'ni=khe   **a'i**   pa'fû=ya   **tsa'u**   khûtsû-an=ye
      sand=ACC.IRR become=DS=ADD Cofán.person dig=IRR   house   stand-CAUS=INF
      'If we become sand, people will dig in us to set up their houses.' [BC08.037]

The latter example also contains a further instance of a case-marked noun phrase.

What all the preceding examples have in common is that a non-derived lexical item is used as the head of a noun phrase. Members of other lexical classes need to undergo some derivational process to act as such. This is shown for the regular verb *kundase* 'tell' in (135), the property verb *dyuju* 'get scared' in (136), and the adjective *inzû* 'green' in (137).

(135) Ya, da tayupisû kundasepata tsû khen.
      ya   da   tayupi='sû   **kundase-'pa**=ta=tsû   khen
      OK uh   formerly=ATTR tell-NR=NEW=3   thus
      'Ok, well the old story goes like this.' [20060118-MM-1-0013.266]

(136) Ñua'me tsû dyujufasi.
      ñua'me=tsû   **dyuju-fasi**
      truly=3   get.scared-HAB.NR
      'They are really fearful people.' [20060118-LM-2-0180.135]

(137) Inzûkhu sumbu, kuankuan shundûsû'chu.
      inzû='khu   sumbu kuankuan shundu='sû='chu
      green=CLF:ang emerge trickster   penis=ATTR=SUB
      A green thing came out, the trickster's penis. [BC08.012]

The other way around, nouns can be verbalized in order to be used predicatively, as illustrated in (138):

(138) Fae a'tayi ti fiestaen'jenfa.
      fae a'ta=yi=ti   **fiesta-en**-'je='fa
      one day=EXCL=INT party-CAUS-IMPF=PLS
      'Did they celebrate for just one day?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0292.918]

In this example the noun *fiesta* 'party' is verbalized through the causative suffix, and the resulting verb is inflected for imperfective aspect and carries the plural subject clitic.

Of course, nouns may be part of a non-verbal predicate, but in those cases it is the noun phrase rather than the noun that is used predicatively, as shown in (139):

(139)   Fatshi tise sundarundekhû.
        fatshi   **tise   sundaru=ndekhû**
        squirrel_monkey   3.SG   soldier=APL
        'The squirrel monkeys were his soldiers.' [BC06.003]

In this example the entire noun phrase *tise sundarundekhû* 'his soldiers' acts as the non-verbal predicate, not the noun *sundaru* 'soldier', which is the head noun of that noun phrase. In cases like these, the predicate cannot be inflected for aspect and/or direction. We will discuss non-verbal predicates in Section XXX.

Similarly, noun phrases, not nouns themselves, can be used as modifiers, when the attributive clitic *='sû* turns them into attributive noun phrases, as shown in (140).

(140)   Tsandie tsûtu'sû khuangi'khu, setsa'sû kuragata jiña.
        tsandie   **tsûtu='sû**   khuangi='khu   setsa='sû   kuraga=ta   ji-ña
        man   bow=ATTR   two=CLF:quant   below=ATTR   shaman=NEW   come-CAUS
        'There were two men in the bow (polers), and the shaman in the stern.' [BC15.077]

Regular nouns may be used attributively in their bare form in compounds, which will be discussed in Section 4.3.5. Anticipating that discussion we give one example here:

(141)   va kuchhi nan kû'ama
        va   **kuchhi**   nan   kû'=a=ma
        PROX   pig   meat red=SBSTR=ACC.REAL
        'this red pig meat' (elic.)

In terms of their collocational possibilities as regards suffixation, nouns occur with the causative suffix (142) and the place suffix (143) only.

(142)   Ñambe tsau'ñafaja.
        ña=mbe   **tsa'u-en**='fa=ja
        1.SG=BEN   house-CAUS=PLS=IMP
        'Make a house for me.' [20040218-EC-Interview-080]
(143)   Singû'khû, ungûe'thi ti'tshe umba'thi. Tumbafindie'thi.
        singû=khû   **ungû-e**='thi   ti=tsh=e   umba='thi
        lake=CLF:del   capuchin.monkey-PLACE=NR.LOC   far-ADJR=ADVR   upwards=CLF:loc
        tumbafindi-e='thi
        chip-PLACE=CLF:loc
        'The lake is above Capuchin Monkey place at Chip place.' [BC10.032]

A major semantic division among regular nouns is that between nouns designating animate beings and those designating other entities, but this division manifests itself at the syntactic level, and will therefore be discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.4.3. Bound nouns

The second subclass of nouns differs from regular nouns in that they cannot occur on their own. All of these nouns designate locations. They are different from bound property verbs in

that they do not co-occur with the adjectivalizer -*tshi*. They rather cooccur with case markers =*ni* 'LOC' (144), =*nga* 'DAT' in its locative use (145), and =*ngae* 'MANN' (146), with the adverbializer clitic =*e* (147), or with a classifier of a locative nature (148).

(144) Piyipa sepakhnui ka'nda feña.
       piyi=pa   **setsa=ni**   kan=ta   feña
       turn_around=SS   back=LOC   look=NEW   laugh
       'She turned around and looking behind, laughed.' [BC14.016]

(145) Umbanga utsian kûintsû setsaye, kûintsû anchandaye.
       umba=nga utsian   kûintsû setsa=ye   kûintsû anchanda=ye
       up=DAT   put_on SWR.CNJ prow=INF   SWR.CNJ flare_up=INF
       'They piled it on top so it would ignite and would burn high.' [BC13.013]

(146) Tsa'kamba sefangae ande'ngisi dyu'faya.
       tsa='kan=pa **se'fa=ngae** ande-'ngi=si   dyuju='fa=ya
       ANA=SIMIL=SS up=MANN   land-CIS=DS   get.scared=PLS=IRR
       'That's why we got frightened when we came down from up there.'
       [20040218-EC-Interview-063]

(147) Tse'i ande tsu'sie sumbu.
       tse'i   ande   **tsu'si=e**   sumbu
       then   earth   beneath=ADVR   emerge
       'Then it came out from beneath the earth.' [BC08.011]

(148) Tsumba tse'i sumbu tsutefanga.
       tsu=pa tse'i sumbu **tsute=fa**=nga.
       do=SS then emerge outside=CLF:lat=DAT
       'Then he went outside.' [BC12.090]

Bound nouns are similar to regular nouns with a locative meaning, such as *tsampi* 'forest', which occurs with the locative clitic in (149) and the dative clitic in (150).

(149) Fae'khu a'i tsampini ja ûfa'sû.
       fae='khu   a'i   **tsampi=ni**   ja   ûfa='sû
       one=CLF:quant Cofán.person jungle=LOC   go   blow=ATTR
       'One man went to the jungle to shoot (hunt game with blowgun).' [BC01.037]

(150) Tsampinga ja.
       tsampi=nga ja
       jungle=DAT   go
       'He flew off into the jungle.' [BC04.017]

There is an important difference, however, apart from the fact that bound nouns do not occur on their own, while regular (locative) nouns do. Bound locative nouns do not occur with non-locative case markers, whereas regular locative nouns do, as shown in (151):

(151) Tsampima pikhu pa'khu.
       tsampi=ma   pikhu   pa'khu
       jungle=ACC.REAL cover   all
       'It covered all the jungle.' [BC16.034]

Potential exceptions to this concern cases in which a classifier is involved, such as (152), but this probably contains a lexicalized expression *se'fa'khu* 'sky'.

(152)   Tsumba changa kundase'fa sefakhune.
      tsun=pa   chan=nga   kundase='fa   **se'fa='khu**=ne
      do=ss   mother=DAT   tell=PLS   up=CLF:ANG=SO
      'Then they told their mother about the sky land.' [BC08.070]

Table 4.4 lists the bound nouns encountered. We give an example of each of these below.

asûkhu	'upriver'
atsuve	'upside down'
khaje	'downriver'
se'fa	'up'
sembatha	'transverse'
setsa	'below'
tsu'si	'under'
tsute	'outside'
umba	'upper'
umbu	'after'

Table 4.4. Locative roots

asûkhu 'upriver'
(153)   Khen asûkhuekhe jakhakaun ka'ninda.
      khen   **asûkhu**=e='khe   ja=khia'kan='u   ka'ni=ta
      thus   upriver=ADVR=ADD   go=SIMIL2=AUG   enter=NEW
      'Well upriver also they went.' [Autobiografía de MM 1 6:28]

atsuve 'upside down'
(154)   Tandamba atsuveningae tandan dûsian.
      tandan=pa   **atsuve**=ni=ngae   tandan   dûse-an
      tie=SS   upside.down=LOC=MANN   tie   hang-CAUS
      'He tied her up and hung her upside-down. [BC09.039]

khaje 'downriver'
(155)   Tayupija charapa dûsûchuve kajeni ja'jefaya.
      tayupi=ja   charapa   dû'sû='chu=ve   **khaje**=ni   ja-'je='fa=ya
      formerly=CONTR charapa.turtle conceive=CLF:rnd=ACC.IRR   downriver   go-IMPF=PLS=IRR
      'In the past they used to go looking for eggs of the charapa turtle.
      [20040218-EC-Interview-227]

se'fa 'up'

(156)   Anaeñakaen jaya sefaningae ansûndeya.
　　　ana=en=ya='kan=e　　　　ja='ya　**sefa**=ni=ngae ansûnde='ya
　　　sleep=CAUS=IRR=SIMIL1=ADVR go=ASS　up=LOC=MANN go.up=ASS
　　　'For sleeping, they climbed up to the top.' [Tshararukuku kundasepa 1:54]

sembatha 'transversely'

(157)   Jañunda gi sembathae khûiña
　　　ja'ñu=ta=ngi **sembatha**=e　　　khûi-en
　　　now=NEW=1 transversely=ADVR　lie.down-CAUS
　　　'Now I am putting it transversely.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-045]

setsa 'low'

(158)   Setsaningaekhe tsû nane juva Sabarue bathi'pa iseve'tshe vau'faja tsa daruekini
　　　bathi'pa.
　　　setsa=ni=ngae=khe=tsû nane　　juva Zabalo bathipa　　　　iseve=tsh=e
　　　low=LOC=MANN=ADD=3　surely　DIST　Zabalo river.mouth　across-ADJR=ADVR
　　　va='u='fa=ja　　　　　　tsa　Daroe=ki=ni　　　bathipa
　　　PROX=AUG=CLF:LAT=CONTR ANA　Daroe=CLF:lnr=LOC　river.mouth
　　　'Further down too there is a delimitation, across from the Zabalo river mouth, on this
　　　side, the Daroe river mouth.' [20060118-LM-2-0449.407]

tsu'si 'underneath'

(159)   Tse'i ande tsu'sie sumbu.
　　　tse'i　ande **tsu'si**=e　　　　sumbu
　　　then　earth underneath=ADVR　emerge
　　　'Then it came out from beneath the earth.' [BC08.011]

tsute 'outside'

(160)   Tsuteni kini'jin indipa khûtsû.
　　　tsute=ni　kini'jin　indi=pa　khûtsû
　　　outside=LOC tree　　hold=SS stand
　　　'Outside he stood holding on to a tree.' [BC07.110]

umba 'up(per)'

(161)   Thûthû'chu umbakhuni dyai.
　　　thûthû='chu **umba**=khû=ni　　dyai
　　　fell=SUB　　upwards=CLF:del=LOC　sit
　　　'The stump of the tree is up in the headwaters.' [BC03.061]

umbu 'after'

(162)   Bûthuin japa tisû sundarundekhû umbue ja'fa.
　　　bûthu-in ja=pa　tisû　sundaru=ndekhû **umbu**=e　ja='fa
　　　run-SIM　go=SS　REFL　soldier=APL　　after=ADVR go=PLS
　　　'As he ran off his soldiers, the squirrel monkeys followed after him.' [BC06.024]

4.2.5. Noun/Verbs

There are a few lexemes that comply with the definitions of both verbs and nouns given above. We will call these noun/verbs. Their flexibility is shown in the following examples:

(163)   Khua'ngi a'tanga tayu gi se'faen'fa
     khuangi   **a'ta**=nga   tayu=ngi   se'faen='fa
     two   day=DAT   already=1   finish=PLS
     'In two days we'd already be finished.' [A20060118-LM-2-0345.682]

(164)   Tayu tsû a'taji.
     tayu=tsû   **a'ta**-ji
     already=3   day-PRECUL
     'It is already dawning.'

In (163) the lexeme *a'ta* 'day, dawn' occurs as the head of a noun phrase, which can be identified as such as it carries a case marker and contains a numeral modifier. In (164), on the other hand, it occurs in predicative position, as shown by the fact that it is inflected with the preculminative aspect marker. As the translations show, the interpretation of the lexeme is also different in the two contexts, with a stative reading in the nominal case, and a process reading in the verbal case.

     The members of this class have in common that they are all non-valent meteorological lexemes. The lexemes involved are listed in Table 4.5.

a'ta	'day, become day'
fingian	'wind, blow'
kue'je	'sun, be hot'
kuse	'night, become night'
unjin	'rain'

Table 4.5. Noun/verbs

In the following we provide examples of each of these in pairs, with the first member of the pair illustrating the nominal use and the second one the verbal use.

a'ta 'day, become day
(165)   Doscientos   ochenta dolar=ma   gana-je='fa=ma
     two.hundred   eighty   dollar=ACC.REAL   earn-IPFV=SBJ.PL=ACC.REAL
     veintidos   **a'ta**=nga
     twenty.two   day=DAT
     'They earn 280 dollars in 22 days.'
     [20050701-BandT-Spontaneous-0733.481]

(166)   Jipa ana a'ta.
     ji=pa   ana   **a'ta**
     come=SS   sleep   day
     'After coming he slept and got up at dawn.' [20040215-01-LC-Tetetene]

fingian 'wind, blow'

(167) Pa'khu tsa fingia jichu pu'ta anthe nane.

pa'khu	tsa	**fingian**	ji='chu	pu'ta	anthe	nane
all	ANA	wind	come=SUB	pass.through	leave	surely

'The wind that came pierced all.' [Yaje 2 11:36 S2]

(168) Tsanetsû thiaû tsia tsiatsû ke aivunga tûmbitshe fingiajeña tsa'kaentsû khûsianña nane.

tsa=ne=tsû	thiaû	tsia	tsia=tsû	ke	ai'vu=nga	tûmbi'tsh=e	**fingian**-'je='ya
ANA=ABL=3	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO=3	2.SG	body=DAT	cool-ADJR=ADVR	wind-IMPF=ASS

tsa='kan=e=tsû	khûsi-ña='ya	nane
ANA=SIMIL1=ADV=3	get.drunk-CAUS=ASS	surely

'They know how to get drunk and that wind makes you well.' [Yaje 1 3:42 S2]

kue'je 'sun, be hot'

(169) Kuejen'ga khûtsiansi tsaja aceite yaya'pave daya'ya.

kue'je=nga	khûtsû-ña=si	tsa=ja	aceite	yaya'pa=ve	da=ya='ya
hot=DAT	stand-CAUS=DS	ANA=CONTR	oil	oil=ACC.REAL	become=IRR=ASS

'When it sat in the sun, it became a natural oil.' [Charapa proyecto 1:07 S1]

(170) Shavunga tsû'tsû tsanjan'fa shavukhûnga tsûtsû tsajamba kuejen'fa khûtshiañaña.

shavu=nga	tsû'tsû	tsanjan='fa	shavu=khû=nga	tsû'tsû	tsanjan=pa
canoe=DAT	IDEO	mash=PLS	canoe=CLF.del=DAT	IDEO	mash=SS be

kue'je='fa	khûtsû-ña='ya~'ya
hot=PLS	stand-CAUS=ASS~ITER

'They were able to mash the eggs on the canoe and let it set on the sun.'
[Charapa proyecto 0:59 S1]

kuse 'night, become night'

(171) Khaki **kuse** intindima fi'thi.

kha=ki	kuse	intindi=ma	fi'thi
other=CLF:drn	night	intindi.bird=ACC.REAL	kill

'The next night he killed an intindi bird.' [BC22.001]

(172) Amba **kuse**.

an=pa	kuse
eat=SS	night

'Having eaten, the night fell.' [BC21.028]

unjin 'rain'

(173) Unjinga tûiye a'i

unjin=nga	tûi-ye	a'i
rain=DAT	be_wet-PASS	Cofán.person

'The man was wet by the rain.' [BC10.003]

(174) Tsa unjinsi dañungekhia'kaen.

tsa	**unjin**=si	dañunge=khia'kan=e
ANA	rain=DS	damage=SIMIL2=ADVR

'It was as if raining, it got damaged.'[20040218-EC-Interview-043a]

4.2.6. Adverbs

Adverbs are lexical elements that modify a head other than a noun, and are thus complementary to adjectives, which modify a nominal head. The actual head modified by the adverb may range from a single lexical item to a full sentence. Thus, in (175) the degree adverb *panshen* 'very' modifies the adjective *rande* 'big', while in (176) the modal adverb *ñua'me* 'truly' modifies the sentence as a whole.

(175) Panshen rande ande tsû.
       panshen rande   ande=tsû
       very   big   land=3
       'It's a rather big piece of land.' [A20060118-LM-2-0345.682]

(176) Ñua'me'khe tsampive agathueñeta ti ki in'jan'fa?
       ñua'me=khe tsampi=ve   agathu-en=ye=ta=ti=ki   in'jan='fa
       truly=ADD   jungle=ACC.IRR create-CAUS=INF=NEW=INT=2   desire=PLS
       'Do you really want me to create jungle for you?' [BC01.030]

       Adverbs never occur with affixes, but, being lexical items, they are heads of their corresponding phrases, and may thus cooccur with clitics that attach at the constituent-level (see Section 4.2.14). In this respect they differ from particles, which are grammatical rather than lexical, therefore are not heads of phrases, and for this reason do not accept constituent-level clitics. Examples of combinations of adverbs with constituent level clitics follow. For instance, in (177) the adverb *kani* 'yesterday' occurs twice, in each case in combination with the additive focus clitic. The adverb *kanite* occurs with the diurnal classifier and the additive focus clitic.

(177) Ña vani ji'akhe anjampaveyi kani'khe kaniteki'khe kani'khe a'jûya.
       ña va=ni   ji=a=khe   anjampa=ve=yi   **kani**=khe
       1.SG PROX=LOC   come=SBSTR=ADD blood=ACC.IRR=EXCL yesterday=ADD
       kanite=ki=khe   **kani**=khe   a'jû='ya
       day.before.y'day=CL.drn=ADD yesterday=ADD   vomit=ASS
       'When I came here I gave up blood, yesterday too, and the day before yesterday, and yesterday as well.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0328.062]

(178) Panshaenda an.
       panshen=ta an
       very=NEW   eat
       'You're eating very much.' [BC20.085]

(179) Tayupija charapa dûsûchuve kajeni ja'jefaya.
       tayupi=ja   charapa   dû'sû='chu=ve   kaje=ni
       long.ago=CONTR charapa.turttle   conceive=CLF:rnd=ACC.IRR down.river=LOC
       ja-'je='fa='ya
       go-IMPF=PLS=ASS
       'In the past they used to go downstream to look for turtle eggs.'
       [20040218-EC-Interview-227]

(180) Tûi'ta ingi kanse'chu andega chiga tansian napifaya.
      tû'i=ta   ingi kanse='chu ande=nga Chiga   tansin-ña   napi='fa=ya
      tomorrow=NEW 1.PL live=SUB   land=DAT Chiga be.straight-CAUS arrive=PLS=IRR
      'Tomorrow we should be arriving to our home by noon.' [Dyandyakhû 3:51 S2]

(181) Dû'shû u'tieyi jaja'fa.
      dû'shû **u'tie**=yi   jaja='fa
      child   first=EXCL go=PLS
      'The children went first.' [BC08.074]

Adverbs may be used as modifiers within noun phrases only when they are first turned into an attributive phrase, as in (182), and in this sense they are like nouns, which require the same strategy when used as modifiers within a noun phrase.

(182) Avûjaye atesû'chu tayupi'sû a'i.
      avû'ja=ye atesû='chu **tayupi='sû**   a'i
      pray=INF know=SUB formerly=ATTR   people
      'The people from the past knew how to pray.' [BC24.051]

Adverbs form a closed class in A'ingae. The 26 attested members are listed and classified in broad semantic classes in Table 4.6.[2] Examples of these adverbs are given in the order in which they appear in the table.

Class	Adverb	Meaning
Time	*ja'ñu*	'now'
	kani	'yesterday'
	kanite	'day before yesterday'
	sime	'in the afternoon/evening'
	sinte	'in the morning'
	tayupi	'formerly'
	tû'i	'tomorrow'
	tûi've	'day after tomorrow'
	vaeyi	'recently'
Aspect	*tayu*	'already'
	tuya	'still'
	tsangae	'forever, always'
	umbue	'later'
	u'tie	'first'
Manner	*junde*	'quickly'
	upi'tshe	'quietly'
	vasûi	'slowly'
Degree	*buve*	'more'
	panshen	'very, much'
	ti'tshe	'more'

---

[2] Note the absence of locative adverbs. Locative notions are expressed through bound nouns (see Section 4.2.6).

Modality	*ka'tsa*	'almost'
	mûite	'difficultly, hardly'
	ñua'me	'truly'
	tuyi	'involuntarily'
	usha'ta	'maybe'
	zie	'hardly'

Table 4.6. Adverbs

ja'ñu 'now'
(183)   Ja'ñunda gi muen'fayambi.
     ja'ñu=ta=ngi mañan='fa=ya=mbi
     now=NEW=1 free=PLS=IRR=NEG
     'Now we won't let it go.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-052]

kani 'yesterday', *kanite* 'day before yesterday
(184)   kani'khe kaniteki'khe kani'khe a'jûya.
     ña   va=ni   ji=a=khe   anjampa=ve=yi   **kani**=khe
     1.SG PROX=LOC   come=SBSTR=ADD blood=ACC.IRR=EXCL   yesterday=ADD
     kanite=ki=khe   **kani**=khe   a'jû='ya
     day.before.y'day=CL.drn=ADD   yesterday=ADD   vomit=ASS
     'When I came here I gave up blood, yesterday too, and the day before yesterday, and
     yesterday as well.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0328.062]

sime 'in the afternoon/evening'
(185)   Sime khase ji tsauni.
     sime   khase   ji   tsa'u=ni
     in.the.evening again   come   house=LOC
     'In the evening he came again to his house.'

sinte 'in the morning'
(186)   Ñuñamba sinteta jaja'fa.
     ñuña=pa **sinte**=ta   ja~ja='fa
     make=SS morning=NEW go~ITER=PLS
     'Having made it they went out early in the rnorning.' [BC08.048]

tayupi 'formerly'
(187)   Tayupi, kindya kasheye'ye kundase kundase'chu.
     tayupi   kindya   kashe'ye='ye kundase   kundase='chu
     formerly older_brother   old =NPST   tell   story=SUB
     'Long ago my late older brother told me this story.' [BC23.1.001]

tû'i 'tomorrow'
(188)   Jinge atu'tuye tû'i jipa atu'tuye.
     jinge   atûi~tu<F>=ye   **tû'i**   ji=pa   atûi~tu<F>=ye
     HORT   chop~ITER<INTS>=INF tomorrow come=SS   chop~ITER<INTS>=INF

'Let's come tomorrow to work.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0559.877]

tûi've 'day after tomorrow'
(189) Ja'ñu a'ta, tû'i a'ta, tûi've, buve tûi've a'ta pa'khu a'ta an'jen kanjansi ñua'me tsai'mbitshi a'ima.

ja'ñu	a'ta	tû'i	a'ta	**tûi've**		buve **tûi've**
now	day	tomorrow	day	day.after.tomorrow		more day.after.tomorrow

a'ta	pa'khu	a'ta	an-'je	kanjansi	ñua'me	tsai'mbi-tshi	a'i=ma	
day	every	day	eat-IMPF	boa	really	many-ADJR	people=ACC.REAL	

'One day, the next day, the next day and the day after that, everyday the boa ate them, truly many people.' [BC20.008]

vaeyi 'recently'
(190) Jungaesûmaki vaeyija panzafa.

jungaesû=ma=ki	**vaeyi**=ja	panza='fa
what=ACC.REAL=2	recently=CONTR	hunt=PLS

'What have you caught recently?' [Desarrollo de tecnología 8:56 S1]

tayu 'already', *tuya* 'still'
(191) Tseiteta ti tayu pa Yuri'ye u tuya pambite?

tse=ite=ta=ti	**tayu**	pa	Yuri'ye	u	**tuya**	pa=mbi=te
ANA.LOC=CLF:prd=NEW=INT	already	die	Yuri'ye	or	still	die=NEG=RPRT

'Had Yuriye already died in those days, or hadn't he died yet?'

tsangae 'always'
(192) Tsangaeta tise yaya kanjansi indiye.

tsangae=ta	tise	yaya	kanjansi	indi=ye
always=NEW	3.SG	father	boa	catch=INF

'His father the boa always caught the fish.' [BC14.043]

umbue 'later, behind, after', *u'tie* 'first'
(193) U'tie simakhu shavu agathuemba umbue kinijima thûthû'je shaga'tu.

u'tie	simakhu	shavu	agathu-en=pa	**umbue**	kini=jin=ma
first	seed_pod	canoe	create-CAUS=SS	later	tree=CLF:lrg=ACC.REAL

thûthû-'je	shaga'tu
fell-IMPF	cedar

'The first one was a canoe made from a simaco seed pod and later he made one from a felled cedar tree.' [BC01.053]

junde 'quickly'
(194) Junde jayatingi?

junde	ja=ya=ti=ngi
soon	go-IRR=INT=1

'Shall I go soon?' [BC24.007]

upi'tshe 'quietly'

(195)   Upi'tshe sema'sû fû'ndumbe'yi sema'fa.

      upi'tshe   sema='sû   fundu-mbe='yi   sema='fa

      quietly   work=ATTR shout-NEG.CV=EXCL   work=PLS

      'Quietly and without shouting they worked.' [BC21.052]

vasûi 'slowly'

(196)   Vasûi jakan.

      vasûi jakan

      slowly walk

      'You walk very slowly.' [BC04.021]

buve 'more'

(197)   Buve vûvûpa sûvûve da.

      buve vûvûpa sûvû=ve   da

      COMP small   minnow=ACC.IRR become

      'The smaller ones became the minnows.'[BC03.056]

panshen 'very, much'

(198)   Tsa'ma ti'tshe panshen kûi'ye tsû se'pikhia'kaenjan se'pichuya.

      tsa='ma   ti'tshe   **panshen**   kû'i='ye=tsû

      ANA=FRT more   very   drink=NPST=3

      se'pi=khia'kan=e=ja   se'pi='chu='ya

      forbid=SIMIL2=ADVR=CONTR   forbid=SUB=ASS

      'But when they drink too much he forbids it.' [20040218-EC-Interview-114]

ti'tshe 'more'

(199)   Tsetsepama ti'tshe atapaen'jen.

      tsetse'pa=ma   **ti'tshe** atapa-en-'je

      beer=ACC.REAL   more   increase-CAUS-IMPF

      'The quantity of beer increased.' [BC15.023]

ka'tsa 'almost'

(200)   Ka'tsayi metshi.

      ka'tsa=yi   me'i-tshi.

      almost=EXCL NEG.PRED-ADJR

      'There is almost none.' [RBI01.030]

mûite 'difficultly, hardly'

(201)   Ña khûtsû'chuekanda mûite tsû jaya.

      ña   khûtsû='chu=e='kan=ta   **mûite**=tsû   ja=ya

      1.SG   stand=SUB=ADVR=SIMIL1=NEW difficultly=3   go=IRR

      'If I would have been standing there, it could hardly escape.'

      [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-003]

ñua'me 'truly'

(202)   Ñua'me tsû kimbifa.
         ñua'me=tsû   kimbi='fa
         truly=3   be.tired=PLS
         'They truly are tired.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-116]

tuyi 'involuntarily'

(203)   Kitsûi tuyi, kitsûi tshaña pûifama
         kitsûi   **tuyi**   kitsûi tsha-ña   pûi=fa=ma
         peck   involuntarily   peck pluck-CAUS each=CLF:lat=ACC.REAL
         'Pecking involuntarily, pecking he plucked out both.' [BC02.036]

usha'ta 'maybe'

(204)   Tsama nanimba, usha'ta sundaru sepimbinija va Gûantanga kaniñe.
         tsa=ma   nani=pa,   **usha'ta** sundaru sepi=mbi=ni=ja
         ANA=ACC.REAL   finish=SS   maybe   soldier forbid=NEG=LOC=CONTR
         va   Gûanta=nga   ka'ni=ye
         PROX   Guanta =DAT   enter=INF
         'When they finish that, maybe, if the army does not prohibit it, they'll enter Guanta.'
         [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0310.9]

zie 'hardly'

(205)   Tsa uma'ndu, pindu randendekhû kanse'chuve tsû zie me'in'un.
         tsa uma'ndu, pindu   rande=ndekhû   kanse='chu=ve=tsû
         ANA macaw   hawk   big=APL   live=SUB=ACC.IRR=3
         zie   me'i='u.
         hardly NEG.PRED=AUG
         'Macaws and large eagles are hardly present.' [RBI01.101]

4.2.7. Numerals

Numerals constitute a further class of free lexical stems. Originally A'ingae numerals are gradually disappearing from the language. Most speakers use the A'ingae words *fae* 'one' and *khuangi* 'two', and sometimes the word *khuanifae* 'three'. From three onwards, counting generally proceeds using Spanish loans, as in the following example, in which *diez y seis*, *treinta*, *quince*, *ochenta y cinco*, *seis*, and *siete* are all Spanish loans.

(206) Ba've keja ñane diez y seis añondiki kuendza ñajan treintaya jañu tsunindatsû tsa'ma quice khendiki sû ba've ochenta y cinco seis sieteyakhen injan.

ba've	ke=ja	ña=ne	**diez y seis**	año=ti=ki	kuenza	ña=ja
APPR	2.SG=CONTR	1.SG=ABL ten and six		year=INT=2 old		1.SG=CONTR

treinta='ya	ja'ñu	tsun=ni=ta=tsû	tsa='ma	**quince**	khen=ti=ki	sû	ba've
thirty=ASS	now	do=LOC=NEW=3	ANA=FRT	fifteen	QUOT=INT=2	say	APPR

ochenta y cinco	**seis**	**siete**='ya	khen	in'jan
eighty and five	six	seven=ASS	QUOT	think

'Then you are 16 years older than me, I am thirty now, and you said fifteen, so I think in '85, '86 or '87.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ]

Originally A'ingae numerals according to Borman (1976) are listed in (207)-(217). The glosses provided should in this case be read as our attempt at an etymological analysis of the morphological make-up of these numerals, by means of which we do not want to suggest that these numerals are synchronically compositional. As can be seen from this analysis, hands and feet play an important role in the system.

(207) fae
       fae
       'one'

(208) khuangi
       khuangi
       'two'

(209) khuanifae
       khuangi_fae
       two_one
       'three'

(210) khathûfayi
       khathûfa=yi
       pull.up=EXCL
       'four'

(211) faefa
       fae=fa
       one=CLF:lat
       'five'

(212) khafaise
       kha=fa_ise
       other=CLF:lat_cross
       'six'

(213) khafaisekhuangi
       kha=fa_ise_khuangi
       other=CLF:lat_cross_two
       'seven'

(214) khafaisekhuanifae
       kha=fa_ise_khuangi_fae
       other=CLF:lat_cross_two_one
       'eight'

(215) khafaisekhathûfa
       kha=fa_ise_khathû_fae
       other=CLF:lat_cross_pull.up_one
       'nine'
(216) tive pa'khu
       tive all
       hand all
       'ten'
(217) tsû'thepi   pa'khu
       tsû'the=pi   pa'khu
       foot=LIM   all
       'twenty'

Examples in context of (211) and (216) occur in (218).

(218) Tsenima gi athe'fa faefayi'khu tsambi'ta tivepa'khu khaninga kini'si jin'chuma.
       tse=ni=ma=ngi   athe='fa **fae=fa**=yi='khu   tsambi'ta
       ANA.LOC=LOC=ACC.REAL=1 find=PLS one=CLF:lat=EXCL=CLF:quant   or
       tive   pa'khu khaninga   kini=si   jin='chu=ma.
       hand   all   different   wood-CL:spine   exist=SUB=ACC.REAL
       'We found 5 tot 10 new different plant species there.' [RBI01.068]

The Quechua borrowing *chunga* 'ten' is in use as well, and forms the basis for a somewhat different mixed system, which seems to have been used for numbers from ten to twenty. Borman (2015) lists the following forms:

(219) chunga
       chunga
       ten
       'ten'
(220) chunga fae'khu pasha
       chunga   fae='khu   pasha
       ten   one=CLF:quant   pass
       'eleven'
(221) chunga khuangi'khu pasha
       chunga   khuangi='khu   pasha
       ten   two=CLF:quant   pass
       'twelve'
(222) chunga faefayi'khu pasha
       chunga   fae=fa=yi='khu   pasha
       ten   one=CLF:lat=EXCL=CLF:quant   pass
       'fifteen'
(223) khuangi chunga
       khuangi   chunga
       two   ten
       'twenty'

The notion of zero is not expressed through an A'ingae numeral but through constructions involving the negative predicate *me'i* 'not exist' (see Section XXX). But the numeral *cero* 'zero' is borrowed from Spanish, as in (224).

(224) Tsa'matsû tevaeñe **cero** purive da'jefa.
    tsa='ma=tsû tevaen=ye cero puri=ve   da-'je='fa.
    ANA=FRT=3   write=INF   zero poor=ACC.IRR   become=IMPF=PLS
    'But they write at zero level.' [Aya'fa tuya'kaen atesûjechune 0:29]

Numerals are very often accompanied by the quantity classifier =*'khu*. This holds for both native A'ingae numerals (225) and for borrowed ones (226).

(225) Pûshesû khuanifae'khu, tsandie tsûtu'sû khuangi'khu, setsa'sû kuragata jiña.
    pûshesû **khuanifae='khu** tsandie tsûtu ='sû **khuangi='khu**   setsa='sû
    woman   three=CLF:quant man   bow=ATTR two=CLF:quant   prow=ATTR
    kuraga=ta   ji-ña
    shaman=NEW   come-CAUS
    'There were three woman, two men in the bow, and the shaman in the stern.'
    [BC15.077]
(226) Trekhufaya.
    tres='khu='fa='ya
    three=CLF.quant=PLS=ASS
    'There are three.' [Autobiografía of RA 1 1:17]

They also regularly cooccur with the exclusive focus clitic =*yi*, to the extent that Borman (1976) lists the clitic as an obligatory or optional part of several numerals in his dictionary, as in *khathûfayi* 'four' and *khafaise(yi)khuangi* 'seven'. An example from the corpus is (227):

(227) Angasi fa'eyi khûtsûya.
    anga=si   **fae=yi**   khûtsû='ya
    lead(.by.arm)=DS one=EXCL   stand=ASS
    'When they led them away, one stayed.' [20040218-EC-Interview-056]

And in some cases numerals occur with both =*yi* 'EXCL' and =*'khu* 'CLF:quant', as in (228):

(228) Tse'i khatûfaeyi'khu atapa dû'shûve.
    tse'i **khatûfa=yi='khu**   atapa   dû'shû=ve
    then   four=EXCL=CLF:quant   increase   child=ACC.IRR
    'By then four children had been born.' [BC01.051]

Numerals are very similar to adjectives: they modify nouns within noun phrases and can be used as non-verbal predicates, as shown in (229)-(230), respectively:

(229) Khuangi'khu kauchu semasundekhû jaja'fa.
     khuangi='khu   kauchu   sema='sû=ndekhû   ja~ja='fa
     two=CLF:quant rubber work=ATTR=APL   go~ITER=PLS
     Two rubber hunters went out. [BC21.002]

(230) Tise kindya'ye khuangi'khu.
     tise kindya='ye   **khuangi**='khu
     3.SG older_brother=NPST two=CLF:quant
     'There were two older brothers.' (lit. "His older brothers were two.") [BC08.005]

Like adjectives, they can also be used without a head noun when the context provides sufficient clues as to its identity. In (231), the numeral *fae* 'one' occurs independently in a context in which the understood head *tetete* 'savage' is directly available in the preceding context.

(231) Khuangi tetete, fae'khu isepa runda'je, faesû tuya isembisi.
     khuangi tetete **fae**='khu   ise=pa runda-'je fae'sû tuya ise=mbi=si
     two   savage one CLF:quant cross=SS wait-IMPF other   still   cross=NEG=DS
     'Of two savages, one had crossed the river and waited, but the other had not yet crossed.' [BC13.050]

Numerals differ from adjectives, however, in two ways. First, they occupy a different position in the noun phrase, as we will show in Section 5.2.2.3. And second, only numerals can be inflected with the recursive suffix *-se*, which can be attached to both native A'ingae and borrowed stems, as shown in (232)-(233):

(232) faese
     fae-**se**
     one-RCUR
     'once'

(233) khuangise
     khuangi-**se**
     two-RCUR
     'twice'

(234) kuanifaese
     khuangi_fae-**se**
     two_one-RCUR
     'three times'

(235) cuatrose
     cuatro-**se**
     four-RCUR
     'four times'

Though several quantifiers are bound property verbs (see Section 4.2.2.3.4), and one forms a word class of its own (see Section 4.3.8), the quantifier *pûi* 'each, every' behaves exactly like numerals. Example (236) shows its use as a free lexical item, (237) shows how it combines with =*yi* 'EXCL' and =*'khu* 'CLF:quant', and (238) shows that it can be used

independently when its head can be retrieved from the context.

(236) Ainteja pûi sinte pûi a'ta yukuma.
      sinte=ja   **pûi**   sinte   **pûi**   a'ta   yuku=ma
      morning=CONTR each morning   each day   yoco=ACC
      'Every morning every day they drank yuku.' [Yaje tsa'u proyecto 0:17]

(237) Tse'i tetete tsauni japa pûiyi'khu pûshesuma pûiyi'khu dû'shuma fi'thi.
      tse'i   tetete   tsa'u=ni   ja=pa   **pûi**=yi='khu   pûshesû=ma
      then   savage house=LOC go=SS   each=EXCL=CLF:quant   woman=ACC.REAL
      pûi=yi='khu   dû'shû=ma   fi'thi
      each=EXCL=CLF:quant child=ACC.REAL kill
      'Then going to the savage's houses he killed every woman and every child.' [BC12.103]

(238) Jungaesû ja'ñunda ti añachu san'jankhe ti pûimbe ethini tsa'kantshi?
      jungue'sû ja'ñu=ta=ti   añа'chu san'jan=khe=ti
      IGN.SBS   now=NEW=INT meat   dry=ADD=INT
      pûi=mbe ethi=ni   tsa'kan-tshi
      each=BEN interior.of.house=LOC   ANA.SIMIL-ADJR
      'Would it be that still today there is dried food in the house of each like there was before?' [20040218-EC-Interview-152]

We therefore treat *pûi* 'each' as belonging to the class of numerals.

4.3.8. Quantifier

As mentioned above, several quantifiers are bound property verbs and one is a numeral. A final classifier, *pa'khu* 'all' forms a class on its own. This quantifier is itself, at least etymologically speaking, a combination of the bound property verb *pa* 'be many' (see Section 4.2.2.3.4) and the quantity classifier *='khu*. We treat is as non-compositional, however, as it occupies a unique syntactic position, different from numerals and other quantifiers, in the constitution of the noun phrase. As we will show in Section 5.2.2.3, *pa'khu* always occupies the first position in the noun phrase, preceding demonstratives, which in turn precede numerals. Some examples of the use of *pa'khu* follow.

(239) Tsa'kañi tsû pa'khu va tsampi.
      tsa'kan=yi=tsû   **pa'khu** va   tsampi
      ANA.SIMIL=EXCL=3   all   PROX forest
      'This whole jungle was like that.' [20040218-EC-Interview-009]

(240) Pa'khu tsa tutua sarûpata'te sai'a.
      pa'khu tsa   tutu=a   sarûpa=ta=te   sai=a
      all   ANA white=SBSTR clothes=TOP=RPRT   fine=SBSTR
      'All that white cloth was very fine.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0471.471]

(241) Pa'khu bupa faesû, faesû, faesû te an'fa.
      pa'khu bu=pa   faesû   faesû   faesû=te   an='fa
      all   gather=SS other   other   other=RPRT eat=PLS
      'They all gathered and each of them ate.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0504.3]

(242) Tsa'kaen tsû atesia'ña pa'khuma
      tsa'kan=e=tsû   atesian='ya   **pa'khu**=ma
      ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=3   teach=ASS   all=ACC.REAL
      'He taught us everything in this way.' [20040218-EC-Interview-089]

Examples (239)-(240) show that *pa'khu* precedes demonstratives, (241) shows that it can be used independently with its head understood from the context, and (242) shows that in the headless use it can carry a case marker.

4.2.9. Free pro-forms

4.2.9.1. Introduction

Members of several of the non-bound lexical classes discussed so far, or rather, the phrases that they are the head of, can be replaced by a proform, that substitutes for members of the class in reference to an item already introduced or available in the context. We will organize this section accordingly, paying attention to proforms replacing verb phrases (Section 4.2.9.2), noun phrases (Section 4.2.9.3), adjective phrases (Section 4.2.9.4), adverb phrases (Section 4.2.9.5), and numeral phrases (Section 4.2.9.6). Note that for the sake of terminological simplicity we will refer to e.g. pro-forms replacing a noun phrase as a 'pro-noun' rather than as a 'pro-noun phrase', despite the fact that the latter would be more correct. The same holds, mutatis mutandis, for the other types of pro-forms.

4.2.9.2. Pro-verbs

There is one pro-verb in A'ingae, the verb *tsun* 'do'. Apart from its lexical and auxiliary use, this verb plays an important role as a pro-verb in Tail-Head linkage constructions. An example of a Tail-Head construction is shown in (243). In the two subsequent clauses, the verb in which the first clause ends, is repeated as the first element of the second clause (see Section XXX for further explanation). In (243) the repeated element is the lexical verb *amphi* 'fall'.

(243) a. Na'enga amphi.
        na'e=nga **amphi**
        river=DAT fall
        'He fell into the river.
     b. Amphipa ûtatshe mangû sumbu.
        amphi=pa   ûtatshe mangû sumbu
        fall=SS   soon   crawl   emerge
        'Having fallen he soon emerged crawling out.' (Borman 1981: 23)

The Tail-Head construction is grammaticalized to a certain extent. This means that instead of repeating a lexical verb, the repeating verb may be replaced by the general verb *tsun* 'do', which in that case can be considered an anaphoric pro-verb. This is illustrated in (244):

(244) a. A'i dyujupa bûthupa jiña.

          a'i   dyuju=pa   bûthu=pa   **ji**-ña

          man   get.scared=SS   run=SS   come-CAUS

          'The man was afraid and came running.' [BC09.009]

      b. Tsunsi kukuya ji umbue, sepakhue.

          tsun=si   kukuya ji   umbue sepakhu=e

          do=DS   demon come   follow back=ADVR

          'Then the demon came behind him.' [BC09.010]

As shown in this example, the lexical verb *ji* 'come' in (239a) is replaced in (239b) by the pro-verb *tsun* 'do'.

4.2.9.3. Pro-nouns

4.2.9.3.1. Introduction

Pro-nouns replace a phrase with a nominal head. There are several types of elements with this function. We discuss here personal pro-nouns (4.2.9.3.2), the reflexive pro-noun (4.2.9.3.3), demonstrative pro-nouns (4.2.9.3.4), ignorative pro-nouns (4.2.9.3.5), and pro-nouns of difference and similarity (4.2.9.3.6).

4.2.9.3.2. Personal pro-nouns

Personal pro-nouns are listed in Table 4.7. Apart from their independent use, they are used as possessive, i.e. modifying, pro-adjectives, as well. The latter use is discussed in Section 4.2.9.4. Examples of the pro-nominal use are given in (245)-(250).

	singular	gloss	plural	gloss
first person	*ña*	1.SG	*ingi*	1.PL
second person	*ke*	2.SG	*ke'i*	2.PL
third person	*tise*	3.SG	*tisepa*	3.PL

Table 4.7. Personal pro-nouns

ña '1.SG'

(245) Nane chigane afeja ñanga.

       nane chiga=ne   afe=ja   **ña**=nga

       surely god=SO   give=IMP   1.SG=DAT

       'Please give it to me.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0342.324]

ke '2.SG'

(246) Tsenima tayave ke indija.

       tse=ni=ma   ta'e=ve   **ke**   indi=ja

       ANA.LOC=LOC=ACC.REAL hard=ACC.IRR   2.SG hold=IMP

       'Take it strongly over there.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-037]

tise '3.SG'
(247)   Athete tiseja.
      athe=te   **tise**=ja
      see=RPRT   3.SG=CONTR
      'It is said that he saw it.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0333.914]

ingi '1.PL'
(248)   Ingima fi'thiye tsun'jen.
      ingi=ma   fi'thi=ye tsun-'je
      1.PL=ACC.REAL kill=INF   do-IMPF
      'They are going to kill us.' [BC13.059]

ke'i '2.PL'
(249)   Ke'ini pasia'sû ji.
      ke'i=ni   pasia='sû   ji
      2.PL=LOC   visit=ATTR   come
      'I've come to visit you.' [BC07.125]

tisepa '3.PL'
(250)   Tisepa ñuña'chu kambajû tsû du'ya.
      tisepa ñuña='chu kambajû=tsû   du='ya
      3.PL   make=SUB face=3   break=ASS
      'The face they made broke.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0218.967]

The third person plural is, etymologically speaking, a combination of the third singular pro-noun *tise* with the associative clitic =*pa*.
    The meanings, functions and uses of personal pro-nouns are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.9.3.3. Reflexive pro-noun

There is just one reflexive pro-noun, *tisû* 'REFL' without distinctions in person and number. Examples (251)-(253) show its use with first, second, and third person reference respectively.

(251)   Tisûyi gi jakan'fambi.
      tisû=yi=ngi   jakan='fa=mbi
      self=EXCL=1   walk =PLS =NEG
      'We weren't walking just by ourselves.' [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0316.394]
(252)   Keta tisû andeni japa kansejá!
      ke=ta   **tisû** ande=ni   ja=pa   kanse=ja
      2.SG=NEW REFL land=LOC   go=SS   live=IMP
      'You go to your land and live there!' [BC26.115]
(253)   Tsaja tisia've tsû kanse'faya tseni.
      tsa=ja   **tisû**=a=ve=tsû   kanse='fa=ya tse=ni
      ANA=CONTR   REFL=SBSTR=ACC.IRR=3 live=PLS=IRR   ANA=LOC
      'They live there by themselves.' [20040218-EC-Interview-160]

As in the case of personal pro-nouns, the reflexive pro-noun can be used both independently and as a possessive modfier. The latter, pro-adjectival, use will be discussed in Section 4.2.9.4.

The meanings, functions and uses of the reflexive pro-noun are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.9.3.4. Demonstrative pro-nouns

Table 4.8 lists the demonstrative pro-nouns.

meaning	form	gloss
anaphoric (entity or event)	*tsa*	ANA
anaphoric (location or time)	*tse*	ANA.LOC
anaphoric (animate plural)	*tsendekhû*	ANA.APL
proximal	*va*	PROX
distal (entity or event)	*juva*	DIST
distal (location or time)	*ju*	DIST.LOC
sensory	*ya*	SENS

Table 4.8. Demonstrative pro-nouns

The uses of these pro-nouns are illustrated in (254)-(260).

tsa 'ANA'
(254)   Tsai'khû tsû ku'fe'fa.
        tsa=i'khû=tsû   kufe\<F>='fa
        ANA=INS=3   play\<EXCT>=PLS
        'They played with that.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0007.92]

tse 'ANA.LOC'
(255)   Tse'fanga ingi andekhe.
        tse=fa=nga   ingi   ande=khe
        ANA.LOC=CLF:lat=DAT   1.PL   land=ADD
        'That side (of the river) is also ours.' [20060118-LM-2-0360.755]

tsendekhû 'ANA.APL'
(256)   Tsendekhûve atesumbe va'thi kansefaya.
        tsendekhû=ve atesû-mbe   va='thi   kanse='fa=ya
        ANA.APL=ACC.IRR know-NEG.CV   PROX=CLF:LOC   live=PLS=IRR
        'We lived here without knowing them.' [20040218-EC-Interview-048]

va 'PROX'
(257)   Vata kukuya u'mama.
        va=ta   kukuya   u'ma='ma
        PROX=NEW demon   palm_fruit=FRT
        'This is devil's chanta fruit.' [BC17.021]

juva 'DIST'
(258)   Amundega aindi juvaja.
        amundega   ain=ti   **juva**=ja
        mad   dog=INT DIST=CONTR
        'Isn't that a bad dog?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-018]

ju 'DIST.LOC'
(259)   Juni umbakhuni.
        ju=ni   umba=khû=ni
        DIST.LOC =LOC upwards=CLF:del=LOC
        'It was up there in the headwaters.' [BC19.157]

ya 'SENS'
(260)   Khen tsû kundase'fa'ya yama.
        khen=tsû kundase='fa='ya **ya**=ma
        thus=3   tell=PLS=ASS   SENS=ACC.REAL
        'Thus they told that.' [20060118-MM-2-0439.257]

        We follow Zheng (2022) in not analyzing *tsendekhû* as a combination of *tse* 'ANA.LOC' and =*ndekhû* 'APL', as *tse* in its independent form can only refer to locations and times, while *tsendekhû* refers to animate entities only.

        The demonstrative pronouns *ju* 'DIST.loc', *va* 'PROX', and *tsa* 'ANA' show some verbal properties, in the sense that they can combine with a suffix or clitic that is otherwise restricted to verbs or verb phrases. Thus, the demonstratives *ju* 'DIST.LOC' and *va* 'PROX' can combine with the verbal diminutive suffix -*kha*, as shown in (261). This suffix is otherwise restricted to verbs.

(261)   Kachipa munda jukha'thinga ana, a'i vakha'thinga bia'akatshe.
        kachi=pa munda **ju**-kha='thi=nga   ana   a'i
        meet=SS   peccary DIST.LOC-DIM=CLF:loc=DAT   sleep man
        va-kha='thi=nga   bia=a='kan=tshe
        PROX-DIM=CLF:loc=DAT long=SBSTR=SIMIL-ADJR =ADVR
        'When he found them, the peccary slept on the far side and the man slept close by on the near side.' [BC07.017]

Similarly, the anaphoric demonstrative *tsa* can be followed by the irrealis clitic =*ya* and the frustrative clitic =*'ma* as shown in (262)-(263). These clitics are otherwise restricted to verbal predicate phrases.

(262)   Tsaya tsû.
        tsa=ya=tsû
        ANA=IRR=3
        'It could be that one.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-010]
(263)   tsa'ma
        tsa='ma
        ANA=FRT
        'but'

The meanings, functions, and uses of demonstrative pronouns are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.9.3.5. Ignorative pro-nouns

Ignorative pro-nouns are pro-nouns that can be used either as interrogative or as indefinite pro-nouns. The pro-nouns involved are listed in Table 4.9.

meaning	form	gloss
ignorative – substance	*jungaesû*	IGN.SBS
ignorative – selection	*ma-*	IGN.SEL
ignorative – animate	*majan*	IGN.AN

Table 4.9. Ignorative pro-nouns

The ignorative *ma-* is an ignorative root, which requires to be accompanied by a suffix or clitic. The other two are free forms.

The examples below illustrate the interrogative and indefinite uses of these pro-nouns, respectively.

jungaesû 'IGN.SBS'
(264)   Jungaesû jipa ja khen zûmba?
        jungue'sû   ji=pa   ja   khen   zû=pa
        IGN.SBS   come=SS   go   thus   hide=SS
        'What is it that came and went back into hiding?' [BC24.039]
(265)   Jungaesûkhe shakambitshi.
        jungue'sû=khe shaka=mbi-tshi
        IGN.SBS=ADD   lack=NEG-ADJR
        'Nothing was lacking.' (lit. "Something was not lacking.") [20040218-EC-Interview-020]

ma 'IGN.SEL'
(266)   Mane tsû shendyaje?
        ma=ne=tsû   shendya-'je
        IGN.SEL=SO=3 bark-IMPF
        'From which place are they barking?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-030]
(267)   Da eskûelasû dûshundekhû ta ti ma'kija eskûelanija undikûpa ja'ya.
        da eskûela='sû   dû'shû=ndekhû=ta=ti **ma**=ki=ja   eskûela=ni=ja
        HES school=ATTR   child=APL=NEW=INT   IGN.SEL=CLF:drn=CONTR school=LOC=CONTR
        undikhû=pa ja='ya
        dress=SS   go=ASS
        'Err, do school children some days go to school in traditional clothes?'
        [20060118-LM-2-0016.346]

majan 'IGN.AN'

(268)   Majan tsû khen i'na?
       majan=tsû   khen i'na
       IGN.AN=3 thus cry
       'Who's crying?' [BC09.007]

(269)   Tsumba kan khûtsûfa a'tûpa fûunduya majan dyumbitshiaja fundupa tsû.
       tsun=pa   kan   khûtsû='fa a'tû=pa fundu='ya   **majan**
       do=SS   look stand=PLS hide=SS scream=ASS   IGN.AN
       dyuju=mbi-tshi=a=ja   fundu=pa=tsû
       get.scared=NEG-ADJR=SBSTR=CONTR scream=SS=3
       'So we were looking while hiding and someone who wasn't afraid shouted.'
       [20040218-EC-Interview-064]

      The meanings, functions, and uses of ignorative pro-nouns are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.9.3.6. Pro-nouns of difference and sameness

We include under the header of pro-nouns a number of elements that indicate whether the current referent is the same or a different referent from a referent previously introduced. There are three such elements in A'ingae, and they are listed in Table 4.10.

meaning	form	gloss
difference	*fuesû*	OTHER
difference	*kha'i*	OTHER
sameness	*tue*	SAME

Table 4.10. Pro-nouns of difference and sameness

The use of these pro-nouns is shown in the following examples.

faesû 'OTHER'

(270)   Faesû ti jin
       faesû=ti   jin
       OTHER=INT exist
       'Is there another one?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-112]

kha'i 'OTHER'

(271)   Kha'indekhû'ta fi'thiye atesû'fa'chundekhû.
       kha'i=ndekhû=ta   fi'thi=ye atesû='fa='chu=ndekhû
       OTHER=APL=NEW   kill=INF   know=PLS=SUB=APL
       'Others knew how to kill.' [BC07.003]

tue 'SAME'
(272)   Tue'ye jayakhen injan.
   tue=ye   ja=ya   khen in'jan
   SAME=ELAT go=IRR   QUOT think
   'I believe she will continue with the same.'

   These pronouns have an attributive use as well, as will be shown in Section 4.2.9.4. The meanings, functions, and uses of pro-nouns of difference and sameness are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.9.4. Pro-adjectives

4.2.9.4.1. Introduction

In this section we present the pro-adjectives of A'ingae. Many of these have been shown to have a pronominal use as well in Section 4.2.9.3.

4.2.9.4.2. Personal pro-adjectives

The personal pronouns discussed in Section 4.2.9.3.2 and listed in Table 4.7. have an attributive, i.e. pro-adjectival use as well. This is shown in (273)-(278).

ña '1.SG'
(273)   Sarûpama'khe afeja chigane.
   ña sarûpa=ma=khe   afe=ja chigane
   1.SG clothes=ACC.REAL=ADD give=IMP please
   'Please give me my clothes too.'
   [A20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0356.152]

ke '2.SG'
(274)   Ñanga afeja ke ainma.
   ña=nga afe=ja   **ke** ain=ma
   1.SG=DAT give=IMP 2.SG dog=ACC.REAL
   'Give me your dog.' [BC07.098]

tise '3.SG'
(275)   Tise undikhû'jeja jungaesû undikhû'je tsû.
   tise undikhû=je=ja   jungue'sû undikhû=je=tsû
   3.SG dress=CLF:flt=CONTR IGN.SBS   dress=CLF:FLT=3
   'His dress, what kind of dress was it?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0121.751]

ingi '1.PL'
(276)   Tsa tsû ingi tayupi kansechu.
   tsa=tsû **ingi** tayupi   kanse='chu
   ANA=3 1.PL long.ago live=SUB
   'That's how our former life was.' [20040218-EC-Interview-020]

ke'i '2.PL'

(277)   Vati kei jajechu tsaiki tse jañuja ke anga'jakhe
      va='thi   **ke'i**   ja-'je'chu   tsaiki tse   ja'ñu=ja   ke   anga ja='khe
      PROX=CLF.LOC 2.PL   go-IMPF=SUB   path ANA.LOC now=CONT 2.SG carry go=ADD
      'This is your peoples trail, now you take the lead.' [Dyandyakhû 11:28 S2]

tisepa '3.PL'

(278)   Tsa tsû tisepa chigama panshaenki fiesta'ya.
      tsa=tsû   **tisepa**   chiga=ma   panshan-en=ki   fiesta='ya
      ANA=3   3.PL   god=ACC.REAL pass-CAUS=CLF:drn party=ASS
      'That was the party on their holiday.' [20060118-MM-2-0142.356964072]

4.2.9.4.3. Reflexive pro-adjective

Just like personal pronouns, the reflexive pronoun, discussed in Section 4.2.9.3.3, has a pro-adjectival use too. This is shown in the following example.

(279)   Kitsandekhûkhe ti tisû tsa'uni kukamangae afajeya'chu.
      kitsa=ndekhû=khe=ti **tisû** tsa'u=ni   kukama=ngae   afa-'je=ya='chu
      father=APL=ADD=INT   REFL house=LOC spaniard=MANN say-IMPF=IRR=SUB
      'Should the parents speak Spanish at their own place?' [20060118-LM-2-0246.062]

4.2.9.4.4. Demonstrative pro-adjectives

Three of the demonstrative pronouns discussed in Section 4.2.9.3.4 can be used adnominally, as shown in (280)-(282).

va 'PROX'

(280)   Tayupi'sû añachu ña'me tsai'mbitshi tsû sheke va na'eni.
      tayupi='sû   aña'chu ñua'me tsai'mbi-tshi=tsû sheke   **va** na'en=ni
      long.ago=ATTR food   truly   plenty-ADJR=3   scattered PROX river=LOC
      'In the past there were a lot of animals in this river.' [20040218-EC-Interview-004]

juva 'DIST'

(281)   Juva fensundakhuni kanjansi kankhe.
      juva   fensunda=khû=ni   kanjansi kankhe
      DIST   whirl=CLF:del=LOC   boa   village
      'At that whirlpool was a boa village.' [BC20.079]

tsa 'ANA'

(282) Sumbupate shukendi: tsa chamba sheke'chuye ja'je'ya.
       sumbu=pa=te   shukendi~:   **tsa**   chan=pa
       emerge=SS=RPRT   turn.around~DUR   ANA   mother=ASSOC
       sheke='chu=ye   ja-'je='ya
       scattered=SUB=ELAT   go-IMPF=ASS
       'They say he would come out and twirl by those women that were scattered around.'
       [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0148.706]

There are also two dedicated demonstrative pro-adjectives. The first of these is the similative anaphoric pro-adjective *tsa'kan* 'ANA.SIMIL'. It is illustrated in (283)-(284).

tsa'kan 'ANA.SIMIL'

(283) Tsa'kañi tsû pa'khu va tsampi.
       tsa'kan=yi=tsû   pa'khu   va   tsampi
       ANA.SIMIL=EXCL=3   all   PROX   forest
       'All this forest was like that.' [20040218-EC-Interview-009]

(284) Tsa'kaen kan'jen.
       tsa'kan=e   kan'jen
       ANA.SIMIL=ADVR   live
       'We lived like that.' [BC15.024]

Etymologically, *tsa'kan* 'ANA.SIMIL' consists of the anaphoric pronoun *tsa* and the similative clitic *='kan*. Synchronically, however, it is non-compositional. This is reflected in the fact that it can take clitics that *='kan* otherwise cannot co-occur with. This is for instance the case of the negative clitic *=mbi* in (285):

(285) Tsunda tsû tayupija tsa'kambi nane ñua'me kinsetshifa gi nane.
       tsun=ta=tsû   tayupi=ja   **tsa'kan**=mbi   nane   ñua'me
       make=NEW=3   formerly=CONTR   ANA.SIMIL=NEG   surely   truly
       kinse-tshi='fa=ngi   nane
       strength-ADJR=PLS=1   surely
       'In the past it wasn't like that, we were healthy.' [20040218-EC-Interview-037]

Like *tsa* 'ANA', *tsa'kan* also shows some verbal properties. It can combine with the suffix *-tshi* 'ADJR' which is otherwise restricted to property verbs. This is shown in (286)-(287).

(286) Ingitangi ña'me tsa'kantshi kurifindima mechufaya.
       ingi=ta=ngi ña'me   **tsa'kan**-tshi   kuri=fi'ndi=ma   me'i='chu='fa='ya
       1.PL=NEW=1 truly   ANA.SIMIL-ADJR   gold=CLF:spl=ACC.REAL   NEG.PRED=SUB=PLS=ASS
       'We don't have money like that.' [Planes para el futuro 68]

(287) Jayambi gi tsa'kantshiangaja.
       ja=ya=mbi=ngi **tsa'kan**-tshi=a=nga=ja
       go=IRR=NEG=1   ANA.SIMIL-ADJR=SBSTR=DAT=CONTR
       'I will not go to (a place) that is like that.' [B&T]

The second dedicated demonstrative pro-adjective is the attributive anaphoric pro-adjective *tse'sû* 'ANA.ATTR', which is illustrated in (288).

tse'sû 'ANA.ATTR'
(288)   Tsunsi gi ashaen'fa'ya ja'ñuja va ingi semañe ashaen'fa'ya pûi'khu kûintsû tsesû
        pruebasve tsuñe.
        tsun=si=ngi   ashaen='fa='ya   ja'ñu=ja   va   ingi   seman=ye   ashaen='fa='ya
        do=DS=1   begin=PLS=ASS   now=CONTR   PROX   1.PL   work=INF   begin=PLS=ASS
        pûi='khu   kûintsû   **tse'sû**   pruebas=ve   tsun=ye
        each=CLF:quant   SWR.CNJ   ANA.ATTR   evidence =ACC.IRR   do=INF
        'So we started, we all started now to work to come up with such evidence.'
        [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0122.789]

We follow Zheng (2022) in not analyzing *tse'sû* as a combination of *tse* 'ANA.LOC' and *='sû* 'ATTR', as *tse* in its independent form can only refer to locations and times, while *tse'sû* refers to properties.

4.2.9.4.5. Ignorative pro-adjectives

The three ignorative pro-nouns discussed in Section 4.2.10.3.5 have an attributive use too, in which case they function as pro-adjectives. This is shown in (289)-(291).

(289)   Tise undikhû'jeja jungaesû undikhû'je tsû.
        tise undikhû=je=ja   **jungue'sû**   undikhû=je=tsû
        3.SG dress=CLF:FLT=CONTR   IGN.SBS   dress=CLF:FLT=3
        'His dress, what dress was it?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0121.751]
(290)   Ma'kan kundase'chu tsû tsa.
        ma='kan   kundase'chu=tsû   tsa
        IGN.SEL=SIMIL1   story=3   ANA
        'What kind of story is that?' [20060118-MM-2-0309.8]
(291)   Majan a'i tsaja ja'ninda jakambe?
        majan a'i   tsa=ja   ja =ni =ta   jakan=mbi=e
        IGN.AN   Cofán.person   ANA=CONTR   go=LOC=NEW   travel=NEG=ADVR
        'What kind of person is that who walks invisibly?' [BC14.068]

4.2.9.4.6. Pro-adjectives of difference and sameness

Finally, the three pronouns of difference and sameness can be used as pro-adjectives too, as shown in (292)-(294).

faesû 'OTHER'
(292)   In'jañaña ki faesû ainkhûu jisa'ne.
        in'jan=ya~ya=ki   **faesû**   ain=khû='u   ji=sa'ne
        think=IRR~ITER=2   OTHER   dog=CLF:del=AUG   come=APPR
        'Be careful as other dogs might come.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-068]

kha'i 'OTHER'
(293) Kha'i kuragatatsû faesû athepa tsa'khe jiña tsa'khe ti'tshe jukhaningae jaya.
kha'i kuraga=ta=tsû faesû   athe=pa tsa='khe ji='ya   tsa='khe   titshe
OTHER shaman=NEW=3 other   see=SS ANA=ADD   come=ASS   ANA=ADD   more
ju-kha=ni=ngae   ja='ya
DIST-DIM=LOC=MANN go=ASS
'Other shamans see another way, it is another life.' [Yaje 2 1:22]

tue 'SAME'
(294) Tise khase kanjanñendatsû jiya khase kanjanñe vani tue Cuyabenonga.
tise   khase   kanjan=ye=ta=tsû ji='ya   khase   kanjan=ye va=ni
3.SG   again   read=INF=NEW=3   come=ASS   again   read=INF   PROX=LOC
tue   Cuyabeno=nga
SAME   Cuyabeno=DAT
'To study again she will be going back to study in this same Cuyabeno.'
[Autobiografía de OCQ 11:56]

The meanings, functions, and uses of pro-adjectives are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.9.5. Pro-adverbs

There are four pro-adverbs in the language: the demonstrative manner pro-adverb *khen* 'DEM.MANN', the demonstrative temporal pro-adverb *tse'i* 'DEM.TEMP', the ignorative pro-adverb of degree, manner and reason *mingae* 'IGN.DEG', and the ignorative pro-adverb of reason *mikumba* 'IGN.REAS'. They are listed in Table 4.11.

meaning	form	gloss
manner demonstrative	*khen*	DEM.MANN
temporal demonstrative	*tse'i*	DEM.TEMP
degree ignorative	*mingae*	IGN.DEG
reason ignorative	*mikumba*	IGN.REAS

Table 4.11. Pro-adverbs

The manner pro-adverb *khen* 'DEM.MANN' is illustrated in (295)-(296). This same form has a related use as a quotative particle that will be discussed in Section 4.2.13.

khen 'DEM.MANN'
(295) Khen tsû kundase'chu kuenzandekhû kundase'chu jin'ña tse'thingayi.
khen=tsû   kundase='chu kuenza=ndekhû kundase='chu
DEM.MANN=3   tell=SUB   old=APL   tell=SUB
jin=ya   tsa='thi=nga=yi
exist=IRR   ANA=CLF:LOC=DAT=EXCL
'Thus is the story that the elders have.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-068]

(296)   Ña mamanda tsû khen tsû setha'puen.
        ña   mama=ta=tsû   **khen**=tsû   setha'puen
        1.SG mother=NEW=3   DEM.MANN=3   sing
        'My dear mother knew how to sing like that.' [20050701-MA-Letter-3-034]

The temporal pro-adverb *tse'i* 'then' is illustrated in (297)-(298). It has a related use as a connective particle that will be discussed in Section 4.2.13.

tse'i 'DEM.TEMP'
(297)   Tse'i khatûfaeyi'khu atapa dû'shûve.
        tse'i   khatûfa=yi='khu   atapa   dû'shû=ve
        DEM.TEMP four=EXCL=CLF:quant   increase child=ACC.IRR
        'By then four children had been born.' [BC01.051]
(298)   Uma'khu sefuensi tse'i jangi.
        uma'khu   sefa-en=si   **tse'i**   jangi
        spear   run.out-CAUS=DS DEM.TEMP   get_up
        'When he ran out of spears, then he got up.' [BC12.113]

The ignorative pro-adverb *mingae* 'IGN.DEG' is illustrated in (299)-(301), which show its use in expressing degree, manner, and reason, respectively.

mingae 'IGN.DEG'
(299)   Mi'ngae kuenzapa paya.
        mingae   kuenza=pa pa=ya
        IGN.DEG   old=SS   die=IRR
        How much older will I have to be for me to die.'
        [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0362.781]
(300)   Mingae ki ke in'janchuma afakanjan.
        mingae=ki   ke   in'jan='chu=ma   afa   kan=ja
        IGN.DEG=2   2.SG think=SUB=ACC.REAL speak   try=IMP
        'Try to tell them how you think.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-015]
(301)   Ke'khe, mingasiki ambi.
        ke=khe   **mingae**=si=ki an=mbi
        2.SG=ADD IGN.DEG=DS=2 eat=NEG
        'And you, why don't you eat.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-02-0182.687]

These examples illustrate the interrogative use of *mingae*. Its indefinite use is shown in (302):

(302)   Tisepa nakhûkhete mingaekhe ni iyikhu'fambiya.
        tisepa=nakhû=khe=te   **mingae**=khe ni   iyikhu'fa=mbi='ya
        3.PL=COLL=ADD=RPRT   IGN.DEG =ADD nor   fight/argue=PLS=NEG=ASS
        'They don't fight to any degree.' [20040218-EC-Interview-110]

One could argue that *mingae* is a combination of an ignorative root *mi* and the manner clitic =*ngae*. However, the range of functions of =*ngae* is quite different from that of *mingae*, including the derivation of language names, which is a function not found for *mingae*.

The ignorative pro-adverb *mikumba* is illustrated in (303)-(304). For this adverb only the interrogative use has been attested.

(303)   Mikumbaki paji.
        mikumba=ki paji
        IGN.REAS=2   ill
        'Why are you ill?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-02-0087.281]
(304)   Mikumba tsû tsun'jen? kitsa asi'thaen.
        mikumba=tsû   tsun -'je   kitsa   asi'thaen
        IGN.REAS=3   do-IMPF   father   think
        'His father thought, "Why is he acting like that?"' [BC18.017]

The meanings, functions, and uses of pro-adverbs are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.9.6. Pro-numerals

There are two pro-forms that replace a numeral or quantifier. The first is the ignorative pro-numeral *mañi* 'IGN.QUANT'. Its use is illustrated in (305)-(306), which show the interrogative and indefinite use of the pro-numeral, respectively. The examples also show that the pro-numeral combines with the quantity classifier =*'khu*, just like regular numerals frequently do.

mañi 'IGN.QUANT'
(305)   Ba've mañikhu a'ifau tsû tsa'kaen tayupija.
        ba've   **mañi**='khu   a'i='fa='u=tsû   tsa='kan=e
        APPROX IGN.QUANT=CLF:quant   Cofán.person=PLS=AUG=3   ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR
        tayupi=ja.
        long.ago=CONTR
        'More or less how many Cofán were there?' [20040218-EC-Interview-241]
(306)   Mangû jangi mañi'khu cha'mba ipa sarûpama dûsian'fachumaja.
        mangû   jangi   **mañi**='khu   chan=pa   i=pa   sarûpa=ma
        drag   get.up   IGN.QUANT=CLF:quant   mother=ASSOC   bring=SS clothes=ACC.REAL
        dûse-en='fa='chu=ma=ja
        hang-CAUS=PLS=SUB=ACC.REAL=CONTR
        'He crawled (to grab) the clothes that some of the women had brought and hung.'
        [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0131.439]

One could potentially analyze *mañi* as a combination of the selective ignorative root *ma* with the exclusive focus clitic =*yi*, a combination that due to the nasalization rule described in Section 3.3.4.3 would yield the form *mañi*. However, though the exclusive focus clitic often combines with numerals (see Section 4.2.7), it is not an obligatory part of them, while in the case of *mañi* it is an unseparable part of the word. For this reason, we consider it a non-compositional item.

A second pro-numeral is the demonstrative *vayi'khu* 'DEM.QUANT', which is at least etymologically compositional, consisting of the proxal demonstrative *va*, which combines with the exclusive focus clitic =*yi* and the classifier for quantities =*'khu*, just like numerals regularly do (see Section 4.2.7). However, since in this form the exclusive focus marker and the classifier for quantities are obligatory rather than optional, we consider this to be a fixed

form. It is illustrated in (307).

(307)   Tsunsi athepa pûshesundekhû vayi'khu sefa'ye ande'fa'ya.
        tsun=si   athe=pa pûshesû=ndekhû **vayi'khu**   se'fa=ye ande ='fa ='ya
        do=DS   see=SS   woman=APL   DEM.QUANT   sky=ELAT descend=PLS=ASS
        'Then having looked, this many women come down from the sky.'
        [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0014.015]

4.2.10. Cliticizing pro-forms

A'ingae has a set of second position clitics that are pro-nominal in nature. These are listed in Table 4.12.

meaning	form	gloss
first person	=*ngi*	1
second person	=*ki*	2
third person	=*tsû*	3

Table 4.12. Cliticizing proforms

The fact that these forms are clitics rather than suffixes is clear from the fact that they attach to the first constituent in the clause whatever its category.[3] This is shown for the third person clitic *tsû* in (308)-(312). In (308) the clitic attaches to a noun phrase, in (309) to a verb phrase, in (310) to an adverb phrase, in (311) to a same subject cosubordinate clause, and in (312) to an infinitival subordinate clause.

(308)   Kiya randetsû.
        kiya   rande=**tsû**
        aguti   big=3
        'It's a big aguti.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-016]
(309)   Me'in, khûiya tsû.
        me'i   khûi='ya=**tsû**
        NEGP   lie.down=ASS=3
        ' No, it is there.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-033]
(310)   Mûite tsû jaya.
        Mûite=**tsû**   ja=ya.
        improbable=3   go=IRR
        'It is improbable that it would escape.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-003]
(311)   Dyupa tsû ja'fakhe.
        dyuju=pa=**tsû**   ja='fa=khe
        get.scared=SS=3 go=PLS=ADD
        'They went because they were afraid.' [20040218-EC-Interview-021]

---

[3] With some exceptions, to be discussed in Section 5.2.3.

(312) Sumbueñe tsû injenge.
       sumbu-en=ye=**tsû**   injenge
       emerge-CAUS=INF=3   important
       'It is important to get it out.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-010]

       No number distinctions are made in cliticizing pronouns. They are illustrated in (313)-(318) in pairs, which in each case show singular and plural reference, respectively. The examples have been chosen in such as way that singular or plural reference becomes clear from other elements in the sentence: the simultaneous presence of a free pronoun in (313), (315), (317), plural subject marking on the verb in (314) and (318), or both in (316).

=ngi '1'
(313) Ñañi gi ûfambi.
       ña=yi=ngi   ûfa=mbi
       1.SG=EXCL=1 blow=NEG
       'I just don't know how to shoot.' [BC07.009]
(314) Ja'ñunda gi muen'fayambi.
       ja'ñu=ta=**ngi**   mañan='fa=ya=mbi
       now=NEW=1   free=PLS=IRR=NEG
       'Now we are going to free it.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-052]

=ki '2'
(315) Ke ke jakan'ma tsunda tiki akhia dyu'e pañan'jembi tiki.
       ke ke   jakan='ma tsun=ta=ti=**ki**   akhia dyu=e   paña-'je=mbi=ti=ki
       2.SG 2.SG walk=FRT   do=NEW=INT=2   only get.scared=ADVR hear-IMPF=NEG=INT=2
       'Don't you ever hear anything scary when you walk through the forest?' [HF 6:22 S3]
(316) Junguesie ki jañuja ji'fa vanija ke'ija?
       jungaesû=ve=**ki**   ja'ñu=ja   ji'fa   va=ni=ja   ke'i=ja
       IGN.SBS=ACC.IRR=2 now=CONTR   come=PLS PROX=LOC=CONTR 2.PL=CONTR
       'Why did you come here now?' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-054]

tsû '3'
(317) Kanjansite khen tsû sû tise.
       kanjansi=te khen=tsû sû   tise.
       boa=RPRT   thus=3   say   3.SG.
       'Grandfather said it was a boa.' [HF 7:47]
(318) Tse'thi kansefani tsû tsaja ji'ya.
       tse='thi   kanse='fa=ni=**tsû**   tsa=ja   ji'ya
       ANA.LOC=CLF:LOC live=PLS=LOC=3   ANA=CONTR come=ASS
       'When we were living there, they would come over.'

The meanings, functions, and uses of cliticizing pro-forms are discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.11. Ideophones

Ideophones can be described as 'marked words that depict sensory imagery' (Dingemanse 2019). Ideophones can be relatively independent of their morphosyntactic surroundings, or

they may become integrated into one or more existing parts of speech. In many languages, for instance, ideophones may come to behave like manner adverbs in terms of their morphosyntactic behaviour. This is not the case in A'ingae. In this language ideophones are rather loosely attached to their morphosyntactic surroundings, much like an illustration may accompany a text (Dingemanse forthc.). This is illustrated in (319) and (320):

(319)   Tsai'mbia shavepa jangian fuu, fuu.
       tsaimbi-a   shavepa   jangi-an   **fuu** **fuu**
       many=SBSTR wave   arise-CAUS IDEO IDEO
       'Many big waves rose, fooo, fooo.' [BC20.120]

(320)   Tsû'the'khû'khe tshietse ankaña.
       tsû'the=i'khû='khe   **tshie** tse   ankan='ya
       foot=INST=ADD   IDEO ANA.LOC hold.on=ASS
       'And his foot got stuck, too.' [Kuke chiste 1:41]

In both of these examples the ideophone could be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence, nor its objective semantic content. The ideophone adds a sensory experience to this content. It occurs at the sentence margins (319) or sentence-internally (320), but is generally set off intonationally from its surroundings. Ideophones often occur more than once, as in (319).

Ideophones may be accompanied by the quotative particle, which is used not only with quoted speech but also accompanies other sound strings, including ideophones, as shown in (321)-(322).

(321)   "**Trun**" khen amphi ji.
       trun   khen amphi   ji
       IDEO   QUOT fall   come
       '"Beng" he came falling.' [BC26.117]

(322)   Jasi kuse, a'ta, "**'un, 'un, 'un, 'un, 'un**" khen ina'jen.
       ja=si kuse   a'ta ~ː   'un 'un 'un 'un 'un khen ina-'je
       go=DS night   dawn~DUR IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO QUOT cry-IMPF
       'When it dawned the man cried "boohoo".' [BC15.049]

Given the creative formation of ideophones, it is hard to establish which ones can be considered conventionalized and part of the language system. We therefore only list a few ideophones here that have been attested more than once in the corpus.

dan 'bam'
(323)   Dan, dan amphipa a'i dû'shûa'kaen da di'sha.
       dan   **dan** amphi=pa a'i   dû'shû='kan=e da   disha
       IDEO   IDEO fall=SS   Cofán.person child=SIMIL=ADVR become change
       'Thud!, thud!, they fell and became like human babies.' [BC17.107]

puuu 'falling into the river'
(324) Ichhui'sû ja'ta khen buntsan ichhuiye buntsa'nda amphi ja na'enga, puuu.
　　　 ichhui='sû　　 ja=ta　　 khen buntsan　 ichhui =ye buntsan=ta　　 amphi ja
　　　 fetch=ATTR　　 go=NEW thus bend_over fetch =INF　bend_over=NEW fall　　 go
　　　 na'e=nga **puuu**
　　　 river=DAT IDEO
　　　 'As the water fetcher went and bent down to dip, he fell into the river, splash!'
　　　 [BC20.018]

tau 'bang (gun)'
(325) Khûtsûsi tau sakirama fithi.
　　　 khûtsû=si **tau**　　 sakira=ma　　　　　　 fi'thi
　　　 stand=DS IDEO　　 musk.hog=ACC.REAL　 kill
　　　 'I stood still, bang!, and killed a musk hog.

tin 'cutting with a machete'
(326) Matichikhûki japa tseikian tin tin khen jaya nane.
　　　 matichi=khû=ki　　　　　 ja=pa　　 tsûi=ki=a　　　　　 **tin**　　 **tin**　　 khen
　　　 ja='ya
　　　 machete=CLF:del=CLF.lin go=SS　　 walk=CLF.lin=SBSTR IDEO　　 IDEO　　 QUOT
　　　 go=ASS
　　　 nane
　　　 surely
　　　 'With a machete you made a path, slash! slash!.' [El trabajo de la petrolera 2:41]

tru 'paddle stroke'
(327) Bu'tshe, setsane "Jaeeee" khen true tru, true, tru, true, tru" khenga chhuiyu'jeni
　　　 jiñafa chhui'ñakha.
　　　 bu=tshe　　　 setsa=ne　　 "jaeeee"　 khen **tru**　**tru**　**tru**　**tru**　**tru**　**tru**
　　　 grow=ADVR　prow=SO　　 hey　　　　　　 QUOT IDEO　 IDEO　IDEO　IDEO　IDEO　IDEO
　　　 khen=nga　　 chhui-'je=ni　　　 ji-ña='fa　　　　　 chhui-''ñakha
　　　 QUOT=DAT　　 paddle-IMPF=LOC come-CAUS=PLS　 paddle-REP
　　　 'After a long time, from down river they heard a cry, "hey!" and splash!, splash!, the
　　　 repeated strokes of the paddles.' [BC15.073]

trun 'object hitting ground'
(328) Tse'i, trun, amphi khûtsû kanchanama.
　　　 tse'i　 **trun** amphi　 khûtsû　 kanchana=ma
　　　 then　 IDEO　fall　　　 stand　　 ladder=ACC.REAL
　　　 'Then, crash!, down came a ladder.' [BC08.060]

tshie 'pow'
(329) Tse te tshaiya, tshie.
　　　 tse=te　　　　　　 tshaiya **tshie**.
　　　 ANA.LOC=RPRT　 hit=ASS　IDEO
　　　 'So he hit him, pow!' [Kuke chiste 1:20]

tûngûra 'sound of drumming'

(330)   "Tûngûra, tûngûra, tûngûra, tûngûra, tûngûra" khen kushapa avûja'e kan'jen'fa
        bu'ta'e.
        tûngûra   tûngûra tûngûra tûngûra tûngûra khen kusha=pa   avûja=e
        IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   QUOT drum=SS   happy=ADVR
        kan'jen='fa   bu=ta=e
        live=PLS   dawn=NEW=ACC.IRR
        '"Thump!, thump!, thump!, thump!," they drummed happily until dawn.' [BC15.020]

4.2.12. Interjections

Interjections are lexical elements that constitute an utterance by themselves. In this sense
they are different from the ideophones we discussed in the previous section, as these
accompany another utterance. We list the A'ingae interjections encountered in Table 4.13.

aaa	'hey'
ay(ayai)	'oh'
chigane	'please'
da/ta	'uh'
dasû'	'okay'
isha	'really'
je'nda	'well then'
jun	'yes'
jungaesû	'well'
junjun	'don't know'
jû	'all right'
jûnjûn	'uh-huh'
me'i	'no'
mingae	'well'
ni	'no way'
ûn	'hm'
ya	'yeah'

Table 4.13. Interjections

In the following examples the interjections are presented in combination with another
utterance to provide some context.

aaa 'hey'
(331)   Jipa fundu fae'khu, "**Aaa**".
        ji=pa   fundu   fae='khu   aaa
        come=SS shout   one=CLF:quant   hey
        'One man came and shouted, "Hey".' [BC21.005]

ay(ayai) 'oh'

(332)　Ay, ma'kaen dyu gi Fire
　　　　ay　ma='kan=e　　　　dyuju=ngi　　fire
　　　　oh　IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR　get.scared=1　　Fidel
　　　　'Oh, what a shock Fidel.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-015]

chigane 'please'[4]

(333)　Anthejama,　chigane
　　　　anthe=jama　　　　**chigane**
　　　　stop/leave=PROH　　please
　　　　'Don't let it go, please.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-025]

da/ta 'uh'

(334)　Da, vaeyiki panelmakhe isûfaya.
　　　　da　vaeyi=ki　　panel=ma='khe　　　isû='fa='ya
　　　　uh　recently=2　panel=acc.real=add　take=pls=ass
　　　　'Uh, Recently you got solar panels.' [Desarrollo de tecnología 6:48 S1]

(335)　Tsunsi tsetsepama kû'ipa khûsipa sumbú ja, ta, i'ngaye.
　　　　tsun=si　　tsetse'pa=ma　kû'i=pa　khûsi=pa　　sumbu~:　　　ja　**ta**　i-'nga=ye
　　　　do=ds　　beer=acc.real　drink=ss　drink=ss　　emerge~dur　go　uh　bring-trans=inf
　　　　'Then he got drunk on manioc beer and went out to, uh, fetch it.' [BC15.015]

dasû' 'okay'

(336)　Dasû', ki jija.
　　　　dasû'=ki　ji=ja
　　　　okay=2　　come=IMP
　　　　'Okay, come along.' [BC08.073]

isha 'really'

(337)　Isha! Khuan'giakaen tsû afa.
　　　　isha　khuangi ='kan=e=tsû　　afa
　　　　really　two=SIMIL1=ADVR=3　　say
　　　　'Really! It sound as if there are two.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-040]

je'nda 'well then'

(338)　Je'nda, mingûite gi shukindi'faya.
　　　　je'nda　　mingû=ite=ngi　　shukendi='fa=ya
　　　　well.then　never=CLF:prd=1　turn.around=PLS=IRR
　　　　'Well, we will never encircle (our land).' [20060118-LM-2-0357.73]

jun 'yes'

(339)　Jun, pa tsû.
　　　　jun pa=tsû
　　　　yes　die=3
　　　　'Yes, he died.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-125]

---

[4] Etymologically this is a combination of *chiga* 'god' and the clitic *=ne* SO.

jungaesû 'well'[5]
(340) **Jungaesû**, tsifu tse'thinga gi samba'ya.
       jungue'sû   tsifu   tse='thi=nga=ngi   samba='ya
       well   throat/neck   ANA.LOC=CLF:loc=DAT=1 dry=ASS
       'Well, Rafael, up to here my throat has become dry.' [20050701-MA-Letter-3-051]

junjun 'don't know'
(341) Junjun, tise'pa nuja'khupane tsû anchumba.
       junjun,   tisepa   nuja'khu=pa=ne=tsû   anchun=pa
       don't.know   3.PL   needle=ASSOC=SO=3   sew=SS
       'I don't know, they sew it with the needles they have.'
       [20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0032.518]

jû 'all right'
(342) Jû, vaja kembe'ya tsû.
       jû   va=ja   ke=mbe='ya=tsû
       all.right   PROX=CONTR   2.SG=BEN=ASS=3
       'All right, this one is yours' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0316.491]

jûnjûn 'uh-huh'
(343) Doceyakhe injan, jûnjûn.
       doce='ya=khe   in'jan   **jûnjûn**
       twelve=ASS=ADD think   uh-huh
       'Uh-huh, I think I was twelve.' [Autobiografía de MM 1 10:32]

me'i 'no'[6]
(344) Me'i, ña pûsheya'mbi gi.
       me'i   ña   pûshe=ya=mbi=ngi.
       no   1.SG   marry=IRR=NEG=1
       'No, I cannot marry.' [BC15.009]

mingae[7] 'well'
(345) Da, mingaete, ya'kaen sû'fa
       da, **mingae**=te ya='kan=e sû='fa
       da IGN.DEG =RPRT PRO =SIMIL 1=ADVR say =PLS matachi.clown
       'Eh, well, they called him that.'

---

[5] This form is identical to the ignorative pronoun of substance *jungûesû,* see Section 4.2.10.3.5. In its use as an interjection it often co-occurs with *da* 'uh'.
[6] Note that there is also a negative existential predicate of the same form, see Section XXX.
[7] This form is identical to the ignorative pronoun of degree *mingae,* see Section 4.2.10.3.5.

ni 'no way'
(346) Niii, Fire muen gi
    ni   fire   mañan=ngi
    no.way   Fidel   let.go=1
    'No way, Fidel I let it escape. ' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-111]

ûn 'hm'
(347) Ûn mingae dapaki ji vaningae ke?
    ûn mingae da=pa=ki   ji   va=ni=ngae   ke
    hm   how   become=SS=2 come   PROX=LOC=MANN 2.SG
    'Mmm, why did you come here?' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 8:16]

ya 'yeah'
(348) Ya,   tayupi, tayupitatsû ña yayakhasheyepa Durenoni kansefa.
    ya   tayupi   tayupi=ta=tsû ña   yayakhashe'ye=pa Dureno=ni
    yeah   formerly   formerly=NEW=3 1.SG grandfather=ASSOC Dureno=LOC
    kanse='fa
    live=PLS
    'Yeah, my grandparents used to live in Dureno.' [Autobiografía de OCQ 0:13]

    The functions of interjections will be discussed in Section XXX.

4.2.13. Free particles

So far, we have presented classes of lexical elements in A'ingae. We now turn to grammatical elements, both free and bound, starting with free particles in this section. Grammatical elements are different from lexical elements in that they are not the head of a phrase, and therefore cannot occur with constituent-level clitics, which mark phrases. To show the effects of this, compare the behaviour of the lexical adverb *ñua'me* 'certainly' with that of the grammatical particle *nane* 'CERT'. These elements express roughly the same meaning, but play a different role in the grammar, as shown in the following examples.

(349) Ñua'me'khe tsampive agathueñeta ti ki in'jan'fa?
    ñua'me=khe tsampi=ve   agathu-en=ye=ta=ti=ki   in'jan='fa
    truly=ADD   jungle=ACC.IRR create-CAUS=INF=NEW=INT=2   desire=PLS
    'Do you really want me to create jungle for you?' [BC01.030]
(350) Nane atesû gi.
    nane   atesû=ngi
    CERT   know=1
    'I surely know.' [20040218-EC-Interview-206]
(351) Tsani te unjun sheke'fa tsai'mbitshia a'i, nane te kukuya majan in'jan'chu.
    tsa=ni=te   unjun   sheke='fa tsaimbi-tshi=a   a'i
    ANA=LOC=RPRT   bathe   scatter=PLS many-ADJR=SBSTR people
    nane=te   kukuya majan in'jan='chu
    really=RPRT demon IGN.AN desire=SUB
    'They say there were many people bathing in it – really whatever the demons wanted.'
    [BC23.2.017]

In (349) *ñua'me* 'certainly' combines with the constituent-level clitic =*khe* 'ADD'. Such a combination never occurs when *nane* is involved, which as a particle cannot be the host of clitics that attach at the constituent level. It therefore appears either in its bare form (350), or with at most a second position clitic, which is insensitive to the class of the item it attaches to, just to its sentence-initial position, as in (351). The same holds for all the free particles discussed in this section. These are listed in Table 4.14 in four broad classes, in terms of the syntactic unit within which they apply: the phrase, the subordinate clause, the coordinate clause, or the main clause.

Class	Particle	Meaning/function	Gloss
Phrase	*akhia*	restrictive	RESTR
	ba've	approximate	APPROX
	khase	repetitive	REP
	pan	imminent	IMM
Subordinate clause	*khen*	quotative conjunction	QUOT
	kûintsû	switch reference conjunction	SWR.CNJ
Coordinate clause	*o*	disjunctive coordinator	DISJ
	tsa'ma	adversative coordinator	ADVRS
	tuya'kaen	conjunctive coordinator	CONJ
Main clause	*jinge(sû)*	hortative	HORT
	nane	certainty	CERT
	tse'i	temporal succession	TMPS
	tsumba	temporal succession	TMPS
	tsunsi	temporal succession	TMPS

Table 4.14. Free particles

Several of these particles are compositional in nature. The particle *tsa'ma* consists of the anaphoric pronoun *tsa* and the frustrative clitic =*'ma* and has been shown by Morvillo and AnderBois (forthc.) to be synchronically compositional. *Tuya'kaen* combines the adverb *tuya* 'still' with the similative clitic =*'kan* and the adverbial clitic =*e*. *Tsumba* is a combination of the verb *tsun* 'do' with the same subject clitic =*pa*, and *tsunsi* is likewise a combination of the verb *tsun* 'do' with the different subject clitic =*si*. Both are used as dummy heads in Tail-Head constructions. Despite the compositional nature of these four elements, we list them here as particles as well, as in some cases they behave in the same way as bonafide particles such as *nane* 'CERT' in clausal word order (see Section 5.2.3). It thus seems that at least on occasion they are perceived as single units, and we list them here as such, being aware that they are compositional on other occasions. For *tsumba* and *tsunsi* a further argument is that in many cases their subject reference has become non-transparent, in the sense that *tsumba* may be used in contexts of different subject reference and *tsunsi* where same subject reference would be expected.

Examples of these particles are given below, in the order in which they appear in Table 4.14.

akhia 'RESTR'

(352) Tsampive me'i'un, akhia sisipaye.

tsampi=ve　　　me'i=un　　**akhia**　　sisipa=ve

jungle=ACC.IRR　NEGP=ADVR　RESTR　　sand=ACC.IRR

'There was no jungle, just sand.' [BC01.010]

ba've 'APPROX'

(353) Ba've mañikhu a'ifau tsû tsa'kaen tayupija.

ba've　mañikhu　　a'i='fa='u=tsû　　　　　tsa='kan=e　　　tayupi=ja

APPROX IGN.QUANT　Cofán.person=PLS=AUG=3　ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR　long.ago=CONTR

'How many Cofán were there more or less?' [A20040218-EC-Interview-241]

khase 'REP'

(354) Khase ashaen.

khase　ashan-en

REP　　begin-CAUS

'They started again.' [BC03.010]

pan 'IMM'

(355) Pan napijsi kachapa se'yu.

pan　napi-ji=si　　kachapa　se'yu

IMM　arrive-PREC=DS parrot　crow

'When she nearly arrived, the parrot crowed.' [BC08.078]

khen 'QUOT'

(356) Vanga cha'ndi'sûgi khen=de sû='ya matachi=ja.

va=nga　　cha'ndi='sû=ngi　**khen**=te　sû='ya　　　matachi=ja

PROX=DAT　cold=ATTR=1　　　QUOT=RPRT　say=ASS　　matachi.clown=CNTR

'"I'm cold in these (clothes)" so the Matachi said.'

(20060104-AQ-Matachi-0090.782)

kûintsû 'SWR.CNJ'

(357) Afekanjan kûintsû kataye.

afe='kan=ja　　**kûintsû**　kata=ye

give=SIMIL1=IMP SWR.CNJ　throw.spear=INF

'Give him the spear so that he can throw it.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-048]

o 'DISJ'[8]

(358) Profesorndekhûyi ti kukamangae afayeja atesiaña'chu o kitsandekhûkhe ti tisû tsa'uni kukamangae afajeya'chu.

profesor=ndekhû=yi=ti   kukama=ngae   afa=ye=ja   atesian=ya='chu
teacher=APL=EXCL=INT   spaniard=MANN   say=INF=CONTR   teach=IRR=SUB

o   kitsa=ndekhû=khe=ti   tisû tsa'u=ni   kukama=ngae   afa-'je=ya='chu
or   father=APL=ADD=INT   self house=LOC   spaniard=MANN   say-IMPF=IRR=SUB

'Should the teachers only teach them to speak Spanish, or should the parents speak Spanish at home?'
[A20060118-LM-2-0246.062]

tsa'ma 'ADVRS'

(359) Pa'khu a'ta gi ñajan ke'ini sumbuje, tsa'ma ja'ñunda gi ushambi.

pa'khu a'ta=ngi   ña=ja   ke'i=ni   sumbu-'je   **tsa'ma**   ja'ñu=ta=ngi   usha=mbi
all   day=1   1.SG =CONTR   2.PL=LOC   emerge-IMPF   ADVRS   now=NEW=1   be.able=NEG

 'I used to visit you every day, but nowadays I can't.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-010]

tuya'kaen 'CONJ'

(360) Tsunda ña mamandatsû a'ingae tuya'kaen re'rikhue kukamangae tsa'kaen pañajenkhe injan.

tsun=ta   ña   mama=ta=tsû   a'i=ngae   **tuya'kaen**   re'ri'khu=e
kukama=ngae
do=NEW   1.SG   mum=NEW=3   Cofán=MANN   CONJ   small=ADV
Spaniard=MANN

tsa='kan=e   paña-'je='khe   in'jan
ANA=SIMIL=ADVR   hear-IMPF=ADD   think

'My mom only speaks A'ingae, and she understands a little Spanish I think.'
[Autobiografía de CLC 4:48]

jinge(sû) 'HORT'[9]

(361) Jinge anañe.

jinge   ana=ye
HORT   sleep=INF

'Let's go to sleep.' (Borman 1981: 28)

(362) Jingesû kan'jeñekhe.

jingesû   kan'jen=ye=khe
HORT   stay=INF=ADD

'Let's stay there too.' [20060118-LM-2-0507.085]

nane 'CERT'

(363) Ansange tsû nane.

ansange=tsû   **nane**

---

[8] This is a loan from Spanish that retains the original spelling.
[9] It is unclear what triggers the choice for one or the other variant of this particle.

be.ashamed=3   CERT
'They are shy for sure.' [20060118-LM-2-0318.734]

tse'i 'TMPS'

(364)   Tshûtshiamba kû'i. Tse'i khûsi.

        tshûtshû -an =pa kû'i **tse'i** khûsi

        steep-CAUS=SS   drink CONN be.drunk

        'Steeping it (the tobacco) in water he drank it. Then he was drunk.' [BC02.016/7]

tsumba 'TMPS'

(365)   Tsumba tsuve'jûvekhe tsû shaga'thoma ñuña'fa.

        tsumba   tsuvejû=ve=khe=tsû   shaga'tu=ma   ñuña='fa

        TMPS   face=ACC.IRR=ADD=3   cedar=ACC.REAL   make=PLS

        'And then they also made the face from cedar wood.'

        [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0018.692]

tsunsi 'TMPS'

(366)   Tsunsi Chiga Kitsata te in'jambi.

        tsunsi Chiga Kitsa=ta=te   in'jan=mbi

        TMPS   god   father=NEW=RPT   desire=NEG

        'And then Father God didn't agree.' [BC26.103]

4.2.14. Cliticizing particles

4.2.14.1. Introduction

A prominent feature of A'ingae is the large number of cliticizing particles it makes use of, all of which are enclitics. In this section we present this large class and give our motivation for considering them clitics rather than affixes. We will start with a discussion of the latter issue in Section 4.2.14.2, then present an overall classification of cliticizing particles in Section 4.2.14.3, and then present the different classes in Sections 4.2.14.4 through 4.2.14.15.

4.2.14.2. Criteria

We apply two main criteria in deciding whether or not something is a clitic. The first criterion, which we will refer to as 'Criterion 1', is known in the literature as 'freedom of host selection' (e.g. Zwicky & Pullum 1983), meaning that a clitic is not restricted to a specific type of host. We consider that Criterion 1 is only an epiphenomenon of a more fundamental property of clitics: they attach to constituents rather than to heads of constituents. As a result, an enclitic will attach to whatever is the last element of a constituent, and whatever is the category of that element. This can be illustrated by means of examples (367)-(368). In noun phrases, the adjective can either precede or follow the head noun. Both examples contain a reference to a large pot, but the order of the noun and adjective is different in the two cases, in (367) the adjective precedes the noun, in (368) it follows the noun. In both cases the noun phrase is combined with a case marker. The case marker in both cases follows the noun phrase as a whole, thus attaching to the head noun in (367) but to the adjective in (368). This shows that these case markers are enclitics, as they attach to the phrase rather than to the head. Note

that in the examples that follow we use square brackets to indicate constituent boundaries.

(367) Khakheve khakhe samba uya'je'chu funi'je'chu usha'chu eyephûpa tshûtshian'fa
       tsa'khûi'khû rande apinga.
       khakhe=ve   khakhe samba uya-'je='chu   funi=je='chu   usha'chu
       leave =ACC.IRR leaf   dry   move-IMPF=SUB   round=CLF:flt=SUB   various
       eyephû=pa tshûtshû-an='fa tsa'khû=i'khû [rande api]=**nga**
       mix=SS   steep-CAUS=PLS water=INST   large   pot=DAT
       'Leaves, dried leaves for shaking and round ones, all were mixed together with water
       in a large pot.' [BC12.024]

(368) Tse'thinga api randema khûtsian, anjampama buñañe.
       tse='thi=nga   [api rande]=**ma**   khûts -ian anjampa =ma   bu-ña=ye
       ANA.LOC=CLF:loc=DAT pot large=ACC.REAL stand-CAUS blood=ACC.REAL   collect-
CAUS=INF
       'Then he set a large pot there to collect the blood.' [BC09.040]

The same phrase-marking property of clitics can be illustrated by looking at the distribution of a single clitic, in this case the locative clitic =*ni*. In (369) it follows a noun phrase that consists of just a pronominal head, so in this case the clitic attaches to a pronoun. In (370) it follows a noun phrase with just a nominal head, so in this case the clitic attaches to a noun. In (371) it again follows a noun phrase, but since in this case the final element of the noun phrase is an adjective, the clitic attaches to the adjective. In (372), finally, it follows a temporal subordinate clause, which has a verb as its last element, so in this case it attaches to a verb.

(369) Vani tsû.
       [va]=**ni**=tsû
       PROX=LOC=3
       'It's over here.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-019]

(370) Tsunsi ñaja tsa'uni khûi'ya.
       tsun=si   ña=ja   [tsa'u]=**ni** khûi='ya
       do=DS   1.SG=CONTR house=LOC lie.down =ASS
       'So I was lying down in the house.'

(371) tise ethi randeni
       [tise   ethi   rande]=**ni**
       3.SG   house big=LOC
       'in his big house'

(372) Tise mama jipa uyaen khendyae'ninda a'iveta da'e.
       [tise   mama ji=pa   uya-en   khendya-en]=**ni**=ta
       3.SG   mother come=SS   move-CAUS awake-CAUS=LOC=NEW
       a'i=ve=ta   da-'je
       person=ACC.IRR=NEW become-IMPF
       'When its mother came and woke it up, it became a person.' [BC14.038]

These examples clearly show that freedom of host selection is simply an artefact of the fact that clitics attach to constituents rather than to heads.

For yet another example, consider the clitic =*'fa* 'PLS'. In (373) it attaches to a verb

phrase, the verb being the only element of that phrase; in (374) to a noun phrase containing a relative clause, the noun being the last element of the phrase; in (375) to a noun phrase containing the nominal plural clitic *=ndekhû*; in (376) to an adjective phrase with a derived adjective as its last element; in (377) to a numeral phrase consisting of just the numeral; in (378) to a similative phrase, itself ending in a clitic; and in (379) to an adverb. Example (375) is especially interesting, as the animate plural clitic *=ndekhû*, which is restricted to noun phrases, is part of the nominal predicate *inisendekhû* 'names', and is followed by another plural marker, the plural subject clitic *='fa*, which attehed to predicates only.

(373)   Junguesie ki jañuja ji'fa vanija ke'ija?
      jungue'sû=e=ki ja'ñu=ja   [ji]=**'fa**   va=ni=ja   ke'i=ja
      IGN.SBS=ADVR=2 now=CONTR   come=PLS   PROX=LOC=CONTR 2.PL=CONTR
      'Why did you come here?' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-054]

(374)   Aipa a'i, tsa tsû ñua'me tsetse'pama kûipa kansefa'chu a'ifa.
      aipa   a'i   tsa=tsû [ñua'me tsetse'pa=ma   kû'i=pa kanse='fa='chu
      secoya person ANA=3   really   chicha=ACC.REAL drink=SS live=PLS=SUB
      person=PLS
      a'i]=**'fa**
      'The secoya's, those are the people that really drink chicha.' []

(375)   Jungaesû inisendekhûfatsû.
      jungaesû [inise=ndekhû]=**'fa**=tsû
      IGN.SBS   name=APL=PLS=3
      'What are their names?' [Autobiografía de CLC 0:48]

(376)   Ñua'me kinsetshifa gi nane.
      [ñua'me   kinse-tshi]=**'fa**=ngi nane
      truly   strong-ADJR=PLS=1   surely
      ' We were truly healthy.' [20040218-EC-Interview-037]

(377)   Ma'kaen tsû khuangi'fa
      ma='kan=e =tsû   [khuangi]=**'fa**
      IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=3   two=PLS
      'It sounds as if there are two.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-036]

(378)   Ingia'kanfa tsû.
      [ingi='kan]=**'fa**=tsû
      1.PL=SIMIL1=PLS=3
      'They are like us.' [20040218-EC-Interview-223]

(379)   Me'i tuya'fa gi.
      me'i   [tuya]=**'fa**=ngi
      no   still=PLS=1
      'No we still (haven't)' [20060118-LM-5-0254.05]

Again, it is clear from these examples that *='fa* 'PLS' attaches to constituents rather than to heads, and as a result shows freedom of host selection.[10]

---

[10] Dąbkowski (2019) argues that many of the verbal enclitics that we discuss here should actually be considered suffixes, though suffixes of a special type. He argues, among other things, that clitics do not attach to constituents, as (i) is allowed but (ii) is not:

(i) Ja'ñu thûthû'fa.   (ii) *Thûthû ja'ñu'fa.

Note that there are two suffixes in A'ingae that also display a certain degree of freedom host selection, as discussed in Section 4.2.15.7. These suffixes, the causative and privative ones, however, can be identified as suffixes quite easily, as they do attach to lexical heads only, and can themselves be followed by other bonafide suffixes. Both are furthermore derivational in nature.

A second criterion that we use to identify clitics is an indirect one: if an element is attached to a clitic, then that element must be a clitic itself, as enclitics may follow suffixes, but not the other way around (Zwicky & Pullum 1983). To illustrate this criterion, which we will refer to as 'Criterion 2', we will consider the clitics =*ja* 'IMP' and =*jama* 'PROH'. These clitics are used with verb phrases only, and are illustrated in (380)-(381).

(380)   Khendyaja!
       [khendya]=**ja**
       wake.up=IMP
       'Wake up!' [BC19.029]

(381)   Ke anjama u'mama!
       ke   [an]=**jama** u'mama
       2.SG   eat=PROH   palm.fruit
       'Don't eat that palm fruit!' [BC17.020]

These examples might give the impression that =*ja* 'IMP' and =*jama* 'PROH' are suffixes attaching to verbal heads rather than clitics attaching to verb phrases. However, this would leave examples like (382)-(383) unexplained. In these examples, the two clitics attach to =*'fa* 'PLS', for which we established above in (373)-(379) that it is a clitic according to Criterion 1. As a result, since suffixes do not attach to clitics, =*ja* 'IMP' and =*jama* 'PROH' must be clitics as well.

(382)   Sejia'ngifaja pave dasa'ne
       [se'je-en-'ngi]=**'fa=ja** pa=ve   da-sa'ne
       heal-CAUS-CIS=PLS=IMP die=ACC.IRR become =APPR
       'Come cure lest they die.' [20040218-EC-Interview-039]

Ja'ñu [thûthû]='fa   [thûthû   ja'ñu]='fa
today fell=PLS   fell   today=PLS
'They felled it today.'   Intended: 'They felled it today.'

Though an adverb may be positioned after the verb, the plural subject clitic does not attach to it, as shown in (ii). The reason for this is, in our view, that *ja'ñu* 'today' modifies the sentence and not the verb, and thus does not form a constituent with the verb but is a constituent of its own. Similarly, when the undergoer argument follows the verb, the clitic does not attach to this argument but to the verbal complex. This is consistent with our view of the verb and its immediate modifiers constituting a verb phrase, rather than the verb and its direct object, as in standard generative approaches.

(383)   Tseyi, arapa kukuruchu khen se'yusi, ni ke'i khani ja'fajama.
      tse'i   arapa   kukuruchu khen se'yu=si, ni   ke'i kha=ni   [ja]=**'fa=jama**
      then   chicken cuckaloo thus sing=DS nor 2.PL other=LOC go=PLS-PROH
      'So when the cock sings, don't you (pl) go anywhere.'
      [20040215-01-LC-Tetetene-040]

We will use Criterion 1 and Criterion 2 below where we argue for the clitic status of the particles dealt with in this section. But first we will provide, in Section 4.2.14.3, a broad classification that will help us organize the discussion.

4.2.14.3. Overall classification

In classifying the 59 cliticizing particles identified in A'ingae grammar, we first make a distinction between between clause-level and constituent-level cliticizing particles. The first group consists of just two clitics that attach to the first constituent in the sentence, whatever the nature of that constituent. The second group consists of 56 clitics that attach to a constituent within the clause. Many constituent-level clitics do not attach to just one type of constituent, but to varying combinations of types of constituents. The constituent types we recognize here are the verb phrase (VP), the noun phrase (NP), the Adjective Phrase (AdjP), the Numeral Phrase (NumP), the Adverb Phrase (AdvP), and the Subordinate Clause (SubCl). The phrase types correspond to the lexical classes identified earlier in this chapter. Subordinate clauses are those that occur as a constituent of a higher clause, and are therefore also a potential host for clitics.

The distribution of cliticizing particles across these constituents is shown in Table 4.15.

Cliticizing particle type	*VP*	*NP*	*AdjP*	*NumP*	*AdvP*	*SubCL*
VP clitics	+					
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP clitics	+	+	+	+		
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP clitics	+	+	+	+	+	
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl clitics	+	+	+	+	+	+
VP/AdjP/AdvP clitics	+		+		+	
NP clitics		+				
NP/AdvP clitics		+			+	
NP/AdvP/SubCl clitics		+			+	+
NP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl clitics		+		+	+	+
NP/SubCl clitics		+				+
SubCl clitics						+

Table 4.15. Types of constituent-level cliticizing particles

As shown in Table 4.15, constituent-level clitics distribute in different ways across constituent types. This corresponds partly with their meanings and functions. For instance, all classifiers may attach to both noun phrases and subordinate clauses. In some cases, there is no such direct correspondence. For instance, case markers may be found in four different classes.

Table 4.16 shows how the 59 cliticizing particles distribute across the different classes listed in Table 4.15. In our discussion of the clitic-status of these particles from Section 4.2.14.4 onward we will follow the order of the classes in this table. We will reproduce the

relevant part of Table 4.16 at the start of these sections for ease of reference.

Class	Clitic	Meaning/function	Gloss
Clause level cliticizing particles			
- Evidentiality	=*te*	reportative	RPRT
- Illocution	=*ti*	interrogative	INT
Constituent level cliticizing particles			
VP cliticizing particles			
- Illocution	=*ja*	imperative	IMP
	=*jama*	prohibitive	PROH
	=*kha*	diminutive imperative	DIM.IMP
	=*'ma*	frustrative	FRT
	=*'se*	mitigated imperative	MIT.IMP
- Mood	=*ya*	irrealis	IRR
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP cliticizing particles			
- Predicate markers	=*'ya*	assertive	ASS
	=*'fa*	plural subject	PLS
	=*mbi*	negation	NEG
	=*ve*	predicative	PRED
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP cliticizing particles			
- Subjective coloration	=*'khu*/=*'u*	augmentative	AUG
	=*'vi*	affective	AFF
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Substantivizer	=*a*	substantivizer	SBSTR
- Adverbializer	=*e*	adverbializer	ADVR
VP/AdjP/AdvP cliticizing particles			
- Adverbializers	=*tshe*	adverbializer	ADVR
NP cliticizing particles			
- Plurality	=*nakhû*	collective	COLL
	=*ndekhû*	animate plural	APL
	=*pa*	associative	ASSOC
- Nominal tense	=*'ye*	nominal past	NPST
- Case marking	=*i'khû*	instrument	INST
	=*mbe*	beneficiary	BEN
	=*nga*	dative	DAT
	=*ngae*	manner, path	MANN
	=*ve*	irrealis accusative	ACC.IRR
NP/AdvP cliticizing particles			
- Similative adjectivalizer	=*'kan*	similative	SIMIL1
- Case marking	=*ne*	source	SO
	=*pi*	limitative	LIM
	=*'the*	postessive	PSTE
	=*ye*	elative	ELAT
- Information structure	=*khe*	additive focus	ADD

	=yi	exclusive focus	EXCL
NP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Case marking	=ni	locative	LOC
- Information structure	=ja	contrastive topic	CONTR
	=ta	new topic	NEW
NP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Attribution	='sû	attributive	ATTR
NP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Similative adjectivalizer	=khia'kan	similative	SIMIL2
- Case marking	=ma	realis accusative	ACC.REAL
	=sa'ne	apprehensional	APPR
- Classification	='chu	classifier round objects	CLF:RND
	=fa	classifier lateral objects	CLF:LAT
	=fi'ndi	classifier splinter-like	CLF:SPL
	=fu'chu	classifier diffused objects	CLF:DIFF
	=ite	classifier periods objects	CLF.PRD
	=je	classifier flat objects	CLF:FLT
	=jin	classifier large objects	CLF:LRG
	=jiun	classifier tall objects	CLF:TLL
	='khu	classifier angular objects	CLF:ANG
	='khu	classifier quantities	CLF:QUANT
	=khû	classifier delimited objects	CLF:DEL
	=ki	classifier linear objects	CLF:LNR
	=ki	classifier days	CLF:DRN
	=si	classifier spiny objects	CLF:SPN
	='thi	classifier locations	CLF:LOC
SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Subordination	='chu	subordinator	SUB
	=ye	infinitive	INF
- Cosubordination	=pa	same subject cosubordinator	SS
	=si	different subject cosubordinator	DS

Table 4.16. Cliticizing particles

4.2.14.4. Clause-level clitics

- Evidentiality	=te	reportative	RPRT
- Illocution	=ti	interrogative	INT

Table 4.17. Clause level cliticizing particles

The group of clausal cliticizing particles consists of two second position clitics, which attach to whatever constituent occupies the first position in the clause. They thus show the same behaviour as the cliticizing pro-forms discussed in Section 4.2.10, which were treated separately as they are pro-forms rather than particles. This is shown for *=te* 'RPRT' in (384) and

(385). In (384) the clitic attaches to a noun phrase, while in (385) it attaches to a full co-subordinate clause, as a result of which it ends up cliticized to a verb. Thus, =*te* 'RPRT' is to be considered a clitic by Criterion 1.

(384) Tise kuñarunde'khûte afesi te tsama an' kanse'ya.
     [tise   kuñaru=ndekhû]=te   afe=si=te   tsa=ma   an   kanse='ya
     3.SG   brother.in.law=APL=RPRT   give=DS=RPRT   ANA=ACC   eat   live=ASS
     'His in-laws gave some to him and so he lived.' [Dyandyakhû 1:40]
(385) Khasheyendekhûja ñuñasite matachija tsama undikhûpa tsa'kaenjan ku'feya.
     [khashe'ye=ndekhû=ja   ñuña=si]=**te**   matachi=ja   tsa=ma
     old.man=APL=CONTR   make=DS=RPRT   matachi.clown=CONTR   ANA=ACC.REAL
     undikhû=pa tsa='kan=e=ja   kufe<F>='ya
     dress=SS   ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR=CONTR play<INTS>=ASS
     'After the elders made (the clothes) the Matachi would dress up and play.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0034.404]

The same holds for =*ti* 'INT': in (386) it attaches to a noun phrase, itself followed by a new topic clitic, and in (387) to a verb followed by a negative clitic.

(386) Tsendekhûta ti a'i
     [tsa=ndekhû=ta]=ti   a'i
     ANA=APL=NEW=INT   Cofán.person
     'Where they Kofans?'
(387) O ka'niambi ti?
     o ka'ni-en=mbi=ti
     or enter-CAUS=NEG=INT enter -CAUS
     'Or won't it have dug itself in?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-019]

4.2.14.5. VP clitics

- Illocution	=*ja*	imperative	IMP
	=*jama*	prohibitive	PROH
	=*kha*	diminutive imperative	DIM.IMP
	='*ma*	frustrative	FRT
	='*se*	mitigated imperative	MIT.IMP
- Mood	=*ya*	irrealis	IRR

Table 4.18. VP cliticizing particles

Verb phrase clitics are clitics that are found in combination with a verb phrase only. We thus have to use Criterion 2 to establish the clitic status of these elements. We already did so for =*ja* 'IMP' and =*jama* 'PROH' in Section 4.2.14.2, where we show that they may follow the plural subject marker ='*fa*, which we show to be a clitic in that section. We repeat the relevant examples here as (388) and (389). Examples (390)-(393) show that the same is true for the other clitics in this class.

(388) Sejia'ngifaja pave dasa'ne
       [se'je-en-'ngi]='fa=**ja** pa=ve   da=sa'ne
       heal-CAUS-CIS=PLS=IMP die=ACC.IRR become=APPR
       'Come cure lest they die.' [20040218-EC-Interview-039]

(389) Tseyi, arapa kukuruchu khen se'yusi, ni ke'i khani ja'fajama.
       tse'i   arapa   kukuruchu khen se'yu=si, ni   ke'i kha=ni   [ja]='fa=**jama**
       then   chicken cuckaloo thus sing=DS nor 2.PL other=LOC go=PLS-PROH
       'So when the cock sings, don't you (pl) go anywhere.'
       [20040215-01-LC-Tetetene-040]

(390) Ñanga ain jisa'ne injan'fakha.
       ña=nga   ain   ji=sa'ne   [injan]='fa=**kha**
       1.SG=DAT dog   come=APPR think=PLS=DIM.IMP
       'Make sure the dog doesn't come after me.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-030]

(391) Jûn a'ingaeyi afajefama.
       jûn   a'i=ngae=yi   [afa-'je]='fa=**'ma**
       yeah   Cofán=MANN=EXCL   speak-IMPF=PLS=FRT
       'Yeah, they only speak A'ingae.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 5:50]

(392) Chava'fase.
       [chava]='fa=**'se**
       buy=PLS=MIT.IMP
       'Go ahead and buy it!' [elic.]

(393) Amundetshie tsun'faya
       amunde'-tshi=ve   [tsun]='fa=**ya**
       dirty=QUAL=ACC.IRR make=PLS=IRR
       ' We'll make it dirty.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-120]

4.2.14.6. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP clitics

- Predicate markers	=*'ya*	assertive	ASS
	=*'fa*	plural subject	PLS
	=*mbi*	negation	NEG
	=*e*	adverbializer	ADVR

Table 4.19. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP cliticizing particles

VP, NP, AdjP, and NumP have in common that they can act as (non-verbal) predicates. The cliticizing particles in this group are related to this predicative potential of the four constituent types, in two different ways. The first three clitics in this group are main predicate markers, i.e. they attach to main predicates only, be they verbal or non-verbal. The predicative clitic =*ve* turns any of the four constituent types into a secondary predicate. This makes all of these clitics qualify as clitics by Criterion 1, and makes them different from the previous group of clitics, which attach to verb phrases only.

Starting with the main predicate markers, (394)-(397) show that the plural subject clitic =*'fa* can be attached to a verb phrase (394), a noun phrase (395), an adjective phrase (396), and a numeral phrase (397). In all cases the phrases concerned are used predicatively.

Note that =*'fa* in addition attached to the animate plural clitic in (395), which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.2. This shows that Criterion 2 is relevant too.

(394)   Ji'fa andeni.
        [ji]=**'fa**   ande=ni
        come=PLS earth=LOC
        'They came to earth.' (BC08.066)

(395)   Jungaesû inisendekhûfatsû.
        jungaesû [inise=ndekhû]=**'fa**=tsû
        IGN.SBS   name=APL=PLS=3
        'What are their names?' [Autobiografía de CLC 0:48]

(396)   Kinsetshifa gi nane.
        [kinse-tshi]=**'fa**=ngi   nane
        be.strong-ADJR=PLS=1 surely
        'We were healthy for sure.' [A20040218-EC-Interview-037]

(397)   Ma'kaen tsû khuangi'fa.
        ma='kan=e=tsû   khuangi=**'fa**
        IGN.SEL=SIMIL=ADVR=3   two=PLS
        'It seems there are two.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-036]

Examples (398)-(405) illustrate the use of the negative clitic =*mbi* and the assertive clitic =*'ya* attaching to the same range of hosts. Note that in (398), (402), and (403) the assertive clitic furthermore attaches to other clitics: the irrealis marker =*ya* in (398), which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.5, the negative marker =*mbi* in (402), which we show to be a clitic in this section, and the animate plural marker =*ndekhû*, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.10. Thus, Criterion 2 is relevant too.

(398)   Afayambi tsû.
        afa=ya=**mbi**=tsû
        say=IRR=NEG=3
        'They won't speak.' [20060118-LM-2-0304.758]

(399)   Kiyambi ti?
        [kiya]=**mbi**=ti
        aguti=NEG=INT
        'Isn't it an aguti?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-053]

(400)   Ñua'me avûjatshimbi.
        ñua'me   [avûja-tshi]=**mbi**.
        truly   be.happy-ADJR=NEG
        'We are not happy at all.' [20040218-EC-Interview-023]

(401)   <elicit example NumP=*mbi*>

(402)   Me'in atesû'fambiya.
        me'i   [atesû='fa=mbi]=**'ya**
        NEG.PRED know=PLS=NEG=ASS
        'No, we didn't know.' [20040218-EC-Interview-059]

(403)   Secoya familiandekhû'ya.
        [Secoya   familia=ndekhû]=**'ya**
        Secoya   family=APL=ASS
        'They are Secoya families.' [20060118-MM-2-0211.141]
(404)   Tse ki atesû'ya, upatshi'ya.
        tse=ki   atesû='ya   [upa-tshi]=**'ya**
        ANA.LOC=2   know=ASS   fearless-ADJR=ASS
        'Then you'll know, you will not fear.'[20060118-LM-2-0043.831]
(405)   <elicit example NumP=*'ya*>

        The case marker =*ve* 'PRED' is identical in form to the case marker =*ve* 'ACC.IRR' that will be dealt with in Section 4.2.14.10, but is treated separately here given the differences in meaning between the two uses and the corresponding differences in their range of application across constituent types (see Karsten 2021). It forms secondary predicates from VPs (406), NPs (407), AdjPs (408), and NumPs (409). Example (407) shows the predicative clitic attaching to the associative marker, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.10. Criterion 2 is therefore relevant too.

(406)   Tsenima tayave ke indija.
        tse=ni=ma   [ta'e]=**ve**   ke   indi=ja
        ANA.LOC=LOC=ACC.REAL be.hard=PRED 2.SG hold=CONTR
        'Hold it firmly.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-037]
(407)   Matachipae da'fa khen.
        [matachi=pa]=**ve**   da='fa   khen
        matachi.clown=ASSOC=ACC.IRR become=PLS so
        'They also have Matachi.' (lit. "They have become (people) with Matachi.")
        [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0453.49]
(408)   Kinsetshive da.
        [kinse-tshi]=**ve**   da
        healthy-ADJR=PRED become
        'She had become strong.' [BC19.127]
(409)   Nane va'khueyingi ja'ñu isû'chuma khua'ngiveyingi isû khende sû'ya
        nane   va='khu=ve=yi=ngi   ja'ñu isû='chu=ma   [khuangi]=**ve**=yi=ngi
        surely PROX=CLF:quant=PRED=EXCL=1 now take=SUB=ACC.REAL   two=PRED=EXCL=1
        isû   khen=te   sû='ya
        take   so=RPRT   say=ASS
        'Really, I just took this much now, just two I took he said.'
        [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0370.058]

4.2.14.7. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP clitics

- Subjective coloration	=*'khu/=*'u*	augmentative	AUG
	=*'vi*	affective	AFF

Table 4.20. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP cliticizing particles

Clitics belonging to this group attach to a wide range of constituent types. This is a result of the fact that their meanings are of sufficient generality not to be bound by the nature of the constituent. Given that these markers attach to a variety of constituent types, they qualify as clitics by Criterion 1.

The following examples show the use of the augmentative clitic with the five different constituent types. In (410) it attaches to a VP headed by the reduplicated verb *uchhi* 'hit', in (411) to a noun phrase, in (412) to an adjectivalized privative form of the verb *ñuki* 'be peaceful', in (413) to a numeral phrase including a quantity classifier, and to an adverb phrase in (414). Example (413) shows the augmentative marker attaching to a classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.14, as a result of which Criterion 2 is relevant as well. Note that it is unclear under what conditions =*'u* or =*'khu* is chosen.

(410)   Tsumbate uchhi uchhi'u tsuninda ti ki keja khûtsû'ya?
        tsun=pa=te   [uchhi   uchhi]=**'u**   tsun=ni=ta=ti=ki   ke=ja   khûtsû='ya
        do=SS=RPRT   hit   hit=AUG   do=LOC=TOP=INT=2   2.SG=CONTR   stand=ASS
        'So if he is knocking and knocking, you'll stand still.'

(411)   Minga'khue tsû ke dû'shûkhuja sû.
        mingae='khu=e=tsû   [ke   dû'shû]=**'khu**=ja   sû
        IGN.DEG=AUG=ADVR=3   2.SG   child=AUG=CONTR   say
        'How is your child?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0251.843]

(412)   Tsa'kamba tsû ñukimbi'u
        tsa'kan=pa=tsû   [ñuki-mbi]=**'u**
        ANA.SIMIL=SS=3   be.peaceful-PRIV=AUG
        'Things being thus it is a sad situation.' [20040218-EC-Interview-028]

(413)   Tsunsi japa iñaja'ña khuangikhu'khue.
        tsun=si   ja=pa   iñajan='ya   [khuangi='khu]=**'khu**=ve
        do=DS   go=SS   request=ASS   two=CLF:quant=AUG=ACC.IRR
        'So I went and asked for two.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0063.784]

(414)   Na'en bu'eusi jayipa metshe sefa'fama in'janse.
        na'en   buve=**'u**=si   ja-yi=pa   metshe   se'fa='fa=ma   in'jan=se
        river   more=AUG=DS   go-PROSP=SS   none   up=PLS=ACC.REAL   think=MIT.IMP
        'Imagine when the river rose and they went they all died.'
        [20040218-EC-Interview-128]

A similar set of examples is given for =*'vi* 'AFF' in (415)-(419). In (415) the clitic attaches to a verb phrase, in (416) to a noun phrase, in (417) to a derived similative adjective phrase, in (418) to a pro-numeral, and in (419) to an adverbialized form of a similative adjective phrase. In (418) the affective clitic attaches to a classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.14. In (417) and (419) it attaches to the augmentative marker, which we show to be a clitic in this section. Criterion 2 is therefore relevant as well.

(415)   Ja'ñunda ñumbiyepa ñumbiyepa i'namiñi ja'ñundakha.
        ja'ñu=ta   ñumbiye=pa   ñumbiye=pa   [i'nan]=**'vi**=yi   ja'ñu=ta=kha
        now=NEW   be.sad=SS   be.sad=SS   cry=AFF=EXCL   now=NEW=DIM

'Now I am crying out of sadness.' [20050701-MA-Letter-3-025]

(416) Makavumakhe isumbe va'chavija bûthuen ja'ya.

makavû=ma=khe	isû=mbi=e	[va'cha]=**'vi**=ja	bûthu-en	ja'ya
cacao=ACC.REAL=ADD	take=NEG=ADVR	poor.soul=AFF=CONTR	run-CAUS	go =ASS

'The poor guy ran off without taking the cacao.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0244.674]

(417) Tsun'da ñua'me kuenza Santakrûsupa'kankhuvi dyaichu'ta manjan tsû jen'da aña'chuma kuiraya.

tsun=ta	ñua'me	kuenza	[Santacruzu=pa='kan='khu]=**'vi**	dyai='chu=ta
do=TOP	truly	old	Santa.Cruz=ASSOC=SIMIL=AUG=AFF	sit=SUB=TOP

majan=tsû	je'nda	aña'chu=ma	kuira=ya
IGN.AN=3	well	food=ACC.REAL	look.after=IRR

'So when you get old like those Santa Crusos, who is going to take care of your food? [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0409.784]

(418) Vakhuvian tsai'fa'ya.

[va='khu]=**'vi**=ma	tsai='fa='ya
PROX=CLF:quant=AFF=ACC.REAL	bite=PLS=ASS

'They bite of a part of this size.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0200.011]

(419) Tsegakaenkhu'vite khûi'ya

[tsa=nga='kan=e='khu]=**'vi**=te	khûi='ya
ANA=DAT=SIMIL=ADVR=AUG=AFF=RPRT	lie.down =ASS

'Poor thing just lay in there.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0078.966]

4.2.14.8. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl clitics

- substantivizer	=*a*	substantivizer	SBSTR
-adverbializer	=*e*	adverbializer	ADVR

Table 4.21. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles

The substantivizer =*a* attaches to all constituent types. It thus combines with verb phrases (420), noun phrases (421), adjective phrases (422), numeral phrases (423), adverb phrases (424), and subordinate clauses without (425) and with (426) a subordinator, and turns these into noun phrases or adjective phrases.

(420) Sian ma'kantsû tsa sinchuaja.

[sin]=**a**	ma='kan=tsû	tsa	sin='chu=a=ja
black=SBSTR	IGNR.SEL=SIMIL1=3	ANA	black=SUB=SBSTR=CONTR

'And what kind are black? [Pesca 1:40]

(421) Khafaiseyi'khu kun'sindekhû khaningandekhia kanse'fa.

khafaiseyi'khu	kun'si=ndekhû	[khaninga=ndekhû]=**a**	kanse ='fa.
six	woolly.monkey=APL	different=APL=SBSTR	live =PLS

'There are six species of monkeys.' [RBI01.115]

(422) Va kinsetshiasi dyuju.

va	[kinse-tshi]=**a**=si	dyuju
PROX	health-ADJR=SBSTR=DS	be.afraid

'This (aguti) being strong, I am afraid.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-067]

(423) Zabdindekhû fae'khu fae'khua kanjaen'fasi Na'sû Chigaja Akan, tsa Karmi
dûtshi'yema kanjaen.
Zabdi=ndekhû [fae='khu fae='khu]=**a** kanjaen='fa=si Chiga=ja

Zabdi=APL one=CLF:quant one=CLF:quant=SBSTR show=PLS=DS God=CONTR
Akan tsa Karmi dûtshi'ye=ma kanjaen.
Akan ANA Karmi child=ACC.REAL show
'And he had the family of Zabdi come forward man by man, and Akan son of Karmi
was selected.' [Joshua 7:18]

(424) Ja'ñuakaen juvakaen anthepuchombiya tsû tsampi ñua'me ñutshia ande tsû na'ekhe.
[ja'ñu]=**a**='kan=e juva='kan=e anthepu'chu=mbi='ya=tsû tsampi
now=SBSTR=SIMIL=ADVR DIST=SIMIL=ADVR island=NEG=ASS=3 forest
ñua'me ñu-tshi=a ande=tsû na'en=khe
truly good-ADJR land=3 river=ADD
'In those days it was not an island like the one it is now, the land was really good, the
river too.'
[20040218-EC-Interview-052]

(425) Tsa feñae'kha'a kundase'paya tsû tsaja.
tsa [feña-en-kha]=**a** kundase-'pa-'ya=tsû tsa=ja
ANA laugh-CAUS-DIM=SBSTR tell-NR=ASS=3 ANA=CONTR
'It's a story that will make you laugh a bit, that one.' [20060118-MM-2-0327.788]

(426) U'mama ambi'chua dyupa ansunde divajinga.
[U'ma=ma an=mbi='chu]=**a** dyu=pa ansunde di'va=jin=nga
palm.fruit=ACC.REAL eat=NEG=SUB=SBSTR be.afraid=SS climb palm=CLF:lrg=DAT
'The one who had not eaten the palm fruit was afraid and had climbed a palm tree.'
[BC17.042]

The fact that =*a* may attach to different types of constituents makes it qualify as a clitic by
Criterion 1. Criterion 2 is relevant as well: in (421) the substantivizer clitic follows the
animate plural marker, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.10; in (423) it follows a
classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.14; and in (426) it follows the
general subordinator, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15.

Similarly, the adverbializer =*e* can attach to verb phrases (427), noun phrases (428)-
(429), adjective phrases, such as the one based on the anaphoric pro-adjective *tsa'kan* in
(429), numeral phrases (430), adverb phrases (431), and subordinate clauses (432).

(427) Ingima tsû iñe'e atutu'faya.
ingi=ma=tsû [iñen]=**e** atûi~tûi='fa=ya
1.PL=ACC.REAL=3 hurt=ADVR chop~ITER=PLS=IRR
'They are going to chop us painfully.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-028]

(428) Tse'i ande tsu'sie sumbu.
tse'i [ande tsu'si]=**e** sumbu
then earth beneath=ADVR emerge
'Then it came out from beneath the earth.' [BC08.011]

(429)   Tsa'kaen tsû daya va'kie umbani.
        [tsa'kan]=**e**=tsû   da='ya   [va=ki]=**e**   u'mba=ni
        ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=3   become=ASS   PROX=CLF:lnr=ADVR   fill.up=LOC
        'It's gets really foggy along this river sometimes.' [HF 7:36 S1]

(430)   Tsampini jakan fae'khueyi.
        tsampi=ni   jakan [fae='khu]=**e**=yi
        jungle=LOC   walk one=CLF:quant=ADVR=EXCL
        'One man went alone into the jungle.' [BC10.001]

(431)   Titshe'e tsû jiñaña vaja
        [ti'tshe]=**e**=tsû   jiña=ya   va=ja
        more=ADVR=3   arrive=IRR   PROX=CONTR
        'That one will keep coming.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-054]

(432)   Ña khûtsû'chuekanda mûite tsû jaya.
        [ña   khûtsû='chu]=**e**='kan=ta   mûite=tsû   ja=ya
        1.SG   stand=SUB=ADVR=SIMIL=NEW   improbable=3   go=IRR
        'If I would have been standing there, it wouldn't have escaped.'
        [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-003]

Since *=a* may attach to different types of constituents, it should be considered a clitic by Criterion 1. Criterion 2 is relevant as well: in (429) and (430) the adverbializer clitic follows a classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.14; in (432) it follows the general subordinator, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15.

4.2.14.9. VP/AdjP/AdvP clitics

- Adverbializers	*=tshe*	adverbializer	ADVR

Table 4.22. VP/AdjP/AdvP cliticizing particles

The adverbializer *=tshe* is more limited in its distribution than the adverbializer *=e.* It attaches to verb phrases, adjective phrases, and adverb phrases, and may therefore be considered a clitic by Criterion 1. In (433) it attaches to a verb phrase, in (434) to an adjective phrase, and in (435) to an adverb phrase*.* Thus, Criterion 1 applied. Criterion 2 applies as well, as in (433) the clitic *=tshe* follows the negative marker *=mbi*, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.

(433)   Tsunsi tsekija jambe R. khe khûi kusema in'jan'se tseningae jambitshe.
        tsun=si   tse=ki=ja   ja-mbe   R.=khe khûi   kuse=ma
        do=DS   ANA.LOC=CLF:drn=CONTR   go-NEG.CV   R.=ADD lie.down   night =ACC.REAL
        in'jan'se   tse=ni=ngae   [ja=mbi]=**tshe**
        think =MIT.IMP   ANA.LOC=LOC=MANN   go=NEG=ADVR
        'So imagine that that day Linda was in bed until night without going there.'
        [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0251.225]

(434) Ti'tshe tsatsû kunsiana andeya ti'tshe egatshe kungunsi shunchhamba andeya.
titshe tsa=tsû kunsiana ande='ya [titshe ega]=**tshe** kungun=si
more ANA=3 vulture.woman land=ASS more bad=ADVR rot=DS
shunchhan=pa ande='ya
inhale=SS land=ASS
'There the vulture women landed because they smelled the smell of bad rotting.'
[Kunsiana kundasepa 1:02]

(435) Mikumbatshe paye tsun'jen ki?
[mikumba]=**tshe** pa=ye tsun-'je=ki
why=ADVR die=INF do-IMPF=2
'Why are you crying like you were going to die?' [BC15.050]

One might suspect that *=tshe* is a contraction of the adjectivalizer *-tshi* and the adverbializer *=e*. Though this might well be the case from an etymological perspective, synchronically the distribution of *=tshe* is different from that of *-tshi*. The latter suffix is only found on property verbs, while the former clitic is found on regular verbs as well, as shown in (428), on adjectives, as shown in (429), and on adverbs, as shown in (430).

4.2.14.10. NP clitics

- Plurality	=*nakhû*	collective	COLL
	=*ndekhû*	animate plural	APL
	=*pa*	associative	ASSOC
- Nominal tense	=*'ye*	nominal past	NPST
- Case marking	=*i'khû*	instrument	INST
	=*mbe*	beneficiary	BEN
	=*nga*	dative	DAT
	=*ngae*	manner, path	MANN
	=*ve*	irrealis accusative	ACC.IRR

Table 4.23. NP cliticizing particles

The clitics attaching to noun phrases only are presented in three sub-classes: markers of plurality, a marker of nominal tense, and case markers.

Grammatical elements expressing different types of plurality can be considered cliticizing particles. Since they attach to noun phrases only, we need Criterion 2 to demonstrate this. Example (436) shows that *=nakhû* 'COLL' is a clitic, as it can attach to *=pa* 'ASSOC', which we show in (438) to be a clitic. In (437) *=ndekhû* 'APL' is shown to be a clitic, since it attaches to *='sû* 'ATTR', which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.13. Finally, *=pa* 'ASSOC' is a clitic in (438), as it can attach to the clitic *='ye*, the clitic status of which is demonstrated later in this section.

(436) Tisûpanakhû sû "Ñumbi'yembe kanján".
[tisû=pa]=**nakhû** sû ñumbiye=mbi=e kan=ja~:
REFL=ASSOC=COLL say be.good=NEG=ADVR try=IMP-DUR
'His crowd said: "Try not to be sad".' [BC20.089]

(437)   Tsata tsû tsenisundekhûya
      tsa=ta=tsû   [tsa=ni='sû]=**ndekhû**='ya
      ANA=NEW=3   ANA=LOC=ATTR=APL=ASS
      'They are from there.' [20040218-EC-Interview-159a]

(438)   Yaya'yepa tsû ñua'me ñanga tayupi'sû kuenzandekhûja anañe khûi'ja ñua'me ñutshia
      kundasepave tsû kundasepa kanse'fa.
      [yaya='ye]=**pa**=tsû   ñua'me ña=nga   tayupi'sû
      father=NPST=ASSOC=3 truly   1.SG=DAT   formerly=ATTR
      kuenza=ndekhû=ja   ana=ye   khûi=ja   ñua'me ñutshi =a
      old=APL=CONTR   sleep=INF lie.down=CONTR truly   good=SBSTR
      kundase-'pa=ve=tsû kundase=pa   kanse='fa
      tell-NR=ACC.IRR=3   tell=SS   live=PLS
      'My late dad and the others used to tell me really good stories as the old people lay
      down to make me sleep.' [20060118-MM-2-0098.891]

        The nominal past clitic =*'ye* can be shown to be a clitic as it conforms to Criterion 2. As shown in (439) it can be attached to the clitic =*ndekhû* 'APL', which was itself shown to be a clitic above.

(439)   Tsate tayupisû kasheyendekhû'ye chigama panshae'chu.
      tsa=te   [tayupi'sû   khashe'ye=ndekhû]=**'ye** chiga=ma
      ANA=RPRT formerly=ATTR   old.man=APL=NPST   god=ACC.REAL
      panshan-en'chu
      pass-CAUS=SUB
      'They say that was the holiday of the late elders.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0319.52]

        Some of the case markers of A'ingae attach to noun phrases only. These are =*i'khû* 'INSTR', =*mbe* 'BEN', =*nga* 'DAT', =*ngae* 'MANN', and =*ve* 'ACC.IRR'. In these cases often Criterion 2 is decisive in considering the case marker a clitic. In the following examples the instrumental (440), benefactive (441), dative (442), and irrealis accusative (443) case markers follow the animate plural marker -*ndekhû*, which we have shown above to be a clitic.

(440)   Je'nda mingae dapa ki iyikhu'fa juva sekuyandekhûi'khû.
      je'nda mi=ngae   da=pa=ki   iyikhu'fa [juva Secoya=ndekhû]=**i'khû**
      well   IGN.SEL=MANN become=SS=2 argue=PLS DIST Secoya=APL=INST
      'How come you are in conflict with the Secoyas?' [20060118-LM-2-0477.982]

(441)   Pûshesundekhumbe thenangonga ti khûi.
      [pûshesû=ndekhû]=**mbe** thena'ngu=nga=ti   khûi
      woman=HUM.PL=BEN   leg=DAT=INT   lie.down
      'Did he lay down on the women's laps?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0178.903]

(442)   Tanjensive daye sumbu, tisû dûshûndekhûngaye chathûyeye.
      tanjensi=ve   da=ye   sumbu [tisû dû'shû=ndekhû]=**nga**=ye
      magic_snake=ACC.IRR become=INF   emerge REFL child=APL=DAT=ELAT
      chathû-ye=ye
      cut_off-pass=inf
      'He came out to become a magic snake and be cut down by his children.' [BC08.013]

(443)   Atesûfambi gi ingija tsendekhûve.
        atesû='fa=mbi=ngi   ingi=ja   [tsa=ndekhû]=**ve**
        know=PLS=NEG=1   1.PL=CONTR ANA =APL=ACC.IRR
        'We didn't know about them.' [20040218-EC-Interview-048]

The case marker =*ngae* can attach to the case marker =*ni* 'LOC', which we will show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.12. It is thus also a clitic by Criterion 2.

(444)   Ji vaningae.
        ji   [va=ni]=**ngae**
        come   PROX=LOC=MANN
        'I came this way.' [HF 7:42]

        Note that these case markers may also attach to headless noun phrases (445)-(446), which shows that Criterion 1 is relevant too.

(445)   Jayambi gi tsa'kantshiangaja.
        ja=ya=mbi=ngi [tsa'kan-tshi=a]=**nga**=ja
        go=IRR=NEG=1   ANA.SIMIL-ADJR=SBSTR=DAT=CONTR
        'I will not go to a (mountain) that is like that.' [B&T]
(446)   Tsûtsûpa thunthun'chui'khû thunthun'fa ñutshe.
        [tsûtsû=pa   thunthun='chu]=**i'khû**   thunthun ='fa   ñu=tsh=e
        stamp=SS   smoothen=SUB=INS   smoothen=PLS   good-ADJR=ADVR
        Having stamped it, they scraped it smooth with a potsherd.

4.2.14.11. NP/AdvP clitics

- Similative adjectivalizer	=*'kan*	similative	SIMIL1
- Case marking	=*ne*	source	SO
	=*pi*	limitative	LIM
	=*'the*	postessive	PSTE
	=*ye*	elative	ELAT
- Information structure	=*khe*	additive focus	ADD
	=*yi*	exclusive focus	EXCL

Table 4.24. NP/AdvP cliticizing particles

The clitics in this group attach not just to noun phrases, but to adverb phrases as well. They are thus all clitics according to Criterion 1. They are presented here in three groups: the similative adjectivalizer =*'kan* 'SIMIL1', the case markers *ne* 'SO', =*pi* 'LIM', =*'the* 'PSTE' and =*ye* 'ELAT', and the focus markers =*khe* 'ADD' and =*yi* 'EXCL'.
        Starting with the similative adjectivalizer, the following examples show that it can attach to both noun phrases (447) and adverb phrases (448). Example (447) also shows the relevance of Criterion 2, as here the clitic attaches to the general subordinator, which in this case acts as a nominalizer. This subordinator is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15.

(447)   Ankan'chu'kaen da ukeye.
      [ankan='chu]='**kan**=e   da   uke=ye
      fasten=SUB=SIMIL=ADVR   become burn=INF
      'They became something that stuck on and then burned.' [BC17.115]

(448)   Ñua'me tayupia'kaen avûjatshimbi tsû.
      ñua'me   [tayupi]='**kan**=e   avûja-tshi=mbi=tsû
      truly   formerly=SIMIL=ADVR   happy-ADJR=NEG=3
      'They are not happy like before.' [20040218-EC-Interview-027]

      Examples of the four case markers mentioned above are given in (449)-(456). In each case an example of the clitic attaching to a noun phrase is given first, and an example of that same clitic attaching to an adverb phrase next. The three case markers involved are all of a locative nature, which may be the factor licensing its cooccurrence with adverb phrases. Apart from Criterion 1, Criterion 2 is relevant too in establishing the clitic status of these case markers. In (450) the case marker follows the adverbializer =*e*, the clitic status of which was argued for in Section 4.2.14.8; in (455) the case marker follows a classifier, the clitic status of which is shown in Section 4.2.14.14.

(449)   Tsampinendi ki ji?
      tsampi=**ne**=ti=ki   ji
      forest=SO=INT=2   come
      'Did you come from the forest?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-02-0154.905]

(450)   Tsa'kaene tsandieve me'iu'ña.
      tsa'kan=e=**ne**   tsandie=ve   me'i='u='ya
      ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=SO man=ACC.IRR   NEG.PRED=AUG=ASS
      'That is why there were no men.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-005]

(451)   Ungûepi japa   shanda.
      Ungûe=**pi**   ja=pa   shanda
      Ongu.Creek=LIM   go=SS   return
      'He went as far as Ongu Creek and returned.' (Borman 1981: 14)

(452)   Tetetema kachai'fa tayupi.
      tetete=ma   kachai='fa tayu=**pi**
      savage=ACC.REAL   meet=PLS   already=LIM
      'Long ago they met the savages.' [BC12.001]

(453)   Sumbuye'thi tuya'kaen setsaningaeja Zabalo bathi'pa'the japa tsû tsa'kaen enthingenikhe thû'chu.
      sumbu=ye='thi   tuya'kaen setsa=ni =ngae=ja   [Zabalo bathi-'pa]='**the**
      come.out=INF=CLF:LOC CONJ   low=LOC=MANN=CONTR Zabalo end-NR=PSTE
      ja=pa=tsû   tsa'kan=e   enthinge=ni=khe thû='chu
      go=SS=3   ANA.SIMIL=ADVR   middle=LOC=ADD surround=SUB
      'And down river it also goes landward from the Zabalo river mouth, thus encircling it.'
      [20060118-LM-2-0413.046]

(454) Tsa ña'me jañu va agostothe jukhaningaeki simbapa asiya tsesûma.

tsa ña'me   ja'ñu [va   agosto]='the jukhaningae=ki simba=pa asi='ya
ANA truly   now PROX August=PSTE later=2   fish=SS   take.out=VER

tse'sû=ma
ANA.ATTR=ACC.REAL

'From August onwards you can fish that.' [Pesca 3:03]

(455) Tsa'mandi ki sumbueña tse'thieja.

tsa='ma=ti=ki   sumbu-en=ya   [tse'thi]=**ye**=ja
ANA=FRT=INT=2   emerge-CAUS=IRR ANA.LOC=CLF:LOC=ELAT=CONTR

'But can't you get it out from there?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-011]

(456) Khendekhungapa khaki sinte'ye kuyekhuni ja.

khendekhu=nga=pa   khaki   sinte=**ye**   kuye=khû=ni   ja
trap=DAT=SS   next.day   morning=ELAT banana.field=CLF:del=LOC go

'Setting the trap, the next morning they went to the banana patch.' [BC02.032]

Note that the case marker =*pi* is found only very sporadically. Its occurrence in *tayupi* 'long ago' may be etymologically rather than synchronically relevant.

Finally, the two focus markers =*khe* 'ADD' and =*yi* 'EXCL' can be added to noun phrases and adverb phrases as well, as shown pairwise in (457)-(460).

(457) Kukamame khe metshisi tsû tsa'kaen añachu sumbu.

[kukama=ve]=**khe**   me'i-tshi=si=tsû   tsa='kan=e   añachu sumbu
Spaniard=ACC.IRR=ADD   NEG.PRED-ADJR=DS=3 ANA=CMPR=ADVR game   emerge

'Since there were no white people either, the game would come out like that.'
[002-002-EC-Interview-006]

(458) Nane mi'ngetshe'khete kan'jemba inzû'si'khuete dapa pajikhia'kaende da'ya.

nane [mingae<F>=tshe]=**khe**=te   kan'jen=pa inzû'si'khu=ve=te   da =pa
surely IGN.DEG<INTS>=ADVR=ADD=RPRT   stay=SS   pale=PRED=RPRT   become=SS

paji=khia'kan=e=te   da='ya
sick=SIMIL2=ADVR=RPRT   become=ASS

'After quite some time she became pale like she was ill.'
[20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-02-0077.203]

(459) Khase egapa'e dapa tue'thingayi unjún kan'jen.

khase egapa=e   da=pa [tue'thi=nga]=**yi**   unjun~:   kanjen
again menstruate=PRED   become=SS same=CLF:loc=DAT=EXCL bath~DUR stay

'The next time she had her period she went and stayed at the same place to bathe.'
[BC14.002]

(460) A'tûtsheyi jiye.

[a'tû=tshe]=**yi**   ji=ye
hide=ADVR=EXCL   come=INF

'He went secretly.' [BC12.057]

As shown in these examples, Criterion 2 is relevant as well in establishing the clitic status of these focus markers: in (457) and (459) they attach to case markers, which were shown to be clitics in Section 4.2.14.10; in (458) and (460) they attach to the adverbializer =*tshe*, which was shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.9.

4.2.14.12. NP/AdvP/SubCl clitics

- Case marking	=*ni*	locative	LOC
- Information structure	=*ja*	contrastive topic	CONTR
	=*ta*	new topic	NEW

Table 4.25. NP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles

The clitics in this group are like the ones in the previous group, but have the added option of cliticizing to subordinate clauses without the intervention of a subordinator. This group comprises one locative case marker, the general locative case marker =*ni* 'LOC', and two markers of information structure, =*ja* 'CONTR' and =*ta* 'NEW'. All three markers are used in the formation of conditional/temporal subordinate clauses, apart from their uses with noun phrases and adverb phrases. The fact that they can attach to these three constituent types makes them qualify as clitics on the basis of Criterion 1.

Examples (461)-(463) show the use of =*ni* 'LOC' with a noun phrase, adverb phrase, and subordinate clause, respectively.

(461)   Munda tsaufani kan'jenfa.
        munda [tsa'u=fa]=**ni**   kan'jen='fa
        peccary house=CLF:lat=LOC   live =PLS
        'The peccary stayed around the house.' [BC07.159]

(462)   Mingaetsû jañuningaeja kambian.
        mingae=tsû [ja'ñu]=**ni**=ngae=ja   cambian
        how=3   now=LOC=MANN=CONTR change
        'How have things changed nowadays?' [Escuela 0:20]

(463)   Nane tsama fiestanga bu'fanija tsa'kaende shukendije'ya.
        nane   tsa='ma [fiesta=nga bu'fa]=**ni**=ja   tsa'kan =e =te
        surely ANA=FRT party=DAT gather=PLS=LOC=CONTR ANA.MANN=ADVR=RPRT
        shukendi-'je='ya
        turn.around-IMPF=ASS
        'But when they were gathered at the party, he would twirl around.'
        [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0272.744]

When =*ni* is attached to a subordinate clause, as in (463), no further subordinator is required. Several of these examples also show the relevance of Criterion 2 in establishing the clitic status of the locative case marker: in (461) it follows a classifier, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.14; in (463) it follows the plural subject marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.

The topic markers =*ja* ' CONTR' and =*ta* 'NEW' are shown in (464)-(469) to have the same distribution as =*ni*, attaching to noun phrases, adverb phrases, and subordinate clauses, respectively.

(464) Tsa'ma ja'ñujan maningi tsa'kaen ñutshia cocamamejan athe'jefaya.
 tsa='ma   ja'ñu=ja   ma=ni=ngi   [tsa='kan   ñu-tshi=a
 ANA=FRT   now=CONTR IGN.SEL=LOC=1   ANA=SIMIL1   good-ADJR=SBSTR
 kukama=ve]=**ja**   athe-'je='fa=ya
 Spaniard=ACC.IRR=CONTR   see-IMPF=PLS=IRR
 'But now where are we going to find a white person that can help us like you?'
 [20050701-MA-Letter-2-039]

(465) Tsama tsû te'vapa tsa'kaenjan ku'fe'fa'ya,
 tsa=ma=tsû   te'va=pa   [tsa'kan=e]=**ja**   kufe<F>='fa='ya
 ANA=ACC.REAL=3 drawing=SS ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=CONTR   play<INTS>=PLS=ASS
 'They paint that and play like that.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0377.476]

(466) [Ke   pa=mbi]=**ja**   paña   kanse=fa=ja.
 2.sg   die=NEG=CONTR   hear   live=PLS=IMP
 'If you don't die, live to hear (what is going to happen).'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-123]

(467) Faesûvetatsû tisû chandekhû chavayachu.
 [faesû=ve]=**ta**=tsû   tisû   chan=te=i'khû   chava=ya'chu
 other=ACC.IRR=NEW=3   REFL   mother=RPRT=INST   buy=IRR=SUB
 'Their mothers need to buy another one.' [Escuela 1:12 S2]

(468) Tsa'kaenda ti ku'fefambi?
 [tsa'kan=e]=**ta**=ti   kufe<F>='fa=mbi
 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=NEW=INT play<INTS>=PLS=NEG
 'Didn't they play like that.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0423.034]

(469) Tsa'ma jañu ingikaen atesûmbita ingikaen khen kanjenchuya.
 tsa='ma   ja'ñu ingi='kan=e   [atesû=mbi]=**ta** ingi='kan=e   khen
 ANA=FRT   now 1.PL=SIMIL1=ADVR know=NEG=NEW   1.PL=SIMIL1=ADVR ANA.MANN
 kan'jen'chu=ya
 stay=SUB=IRR
 'But if they don't study, like us, they will have to live as we do.' [Escuela 5:16]

The relevance of Criterion 2 in establishing the clitic status of the topic markers is also shown in these examples: in examples (464) and (467) they attach to the irrealis accusative case marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.10; in (465) and (468) to the adverbializer =*e*, shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.8; and in (466) and (469) to the negative marker, shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.

4.2.14.13. NP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl clitics

- Attribution	=*'sû*	attributive	ATTR

Table 4.26. NP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles

The attributive marker =*sû* 'ATTR' turns any non-verbal constituent except for the adjective phrase into a constituent that can be used as an attribute within a noun phrase. Adjectives being attributive by themselves, they have no need to occur with this marker. Given that the marker may occur with constituents of different types, it is a clitic according to Criterion 1.

The following examples illustrate its use with noun phrases (470), numeral phrases (471), adverb phrases (472), and subordinate clauses (473).

(470) ña dû'shûndekhûsû dû'shû
       [ña dû'shû=ndekhû]=**'sû**   dû'shû
       1SG child=APL=ATTR   child
       'my children's children' [20060118-LM-2-0306.901]

(471) Nane pui cuatro'sû a'ima tsû fae'khuve fi'thiye usha'fa.
       nane [pui   cuatro]=**'sû**   a'i=ma=tsû   fae'khu=ve
       surely every four=ATTR   Cofán.person=ACC.REAL=3 one=CLF:quant=ACC.IRR
       fi'thi=ye   usha='fa.
       kill=INF   be.able=PLS
       'They were given power to kill one out of every four persons.' [Revelations 6.8]

(472) Jun juthiya tsû ingi tayupisû kankheya.
       jun ju'thi='ya=tsû   ingi   [tayupi]=**'sû**   kankhe='ya
       yes DIST.LOC =CLF:LOC=ASS=3 1.PL   long.ago=ATTR   village=ASS
       'Yes, our former village was over there.' [20040218-EC-Interview-050]

(473) San Miguel na'enni kanse'sûndekhû a'ija
       [San Miguel na'en=ni   kanse]=**'sû**=ndekhû a'i=ja
       San Miguel   river=LOC   live=ATTR=APL   person=CONTR
       'the people that live on the San Miguel river' [20060118-MM-02-0219.328]

The relevance of Criterion 2 is also visible in these examples: in (470) the attributive clitic attaches to the animate plural marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.10.

4.2.14.14. NP/SubCl clitics

- Similative adjectivalizer	=khia'kan	similative	SIMIL2
- Case marking	=ma	realis accusative	ACC.REAL
	=sa'ne	apprehensional	APPR
- Classification	='chu	classifier round objects	CLF:RND
	=fa	classifier lateral objects	CLF:LAT
	=fi'ndi	classifier splinter-like	CLF:SPL
	=fu'chu	classifier diffused objects	CLF:DIFF
	=ite	classifier periods objects	CLF.PRD
	=je	classifier flat objects	CLF:FLT
	=jin	classifier large objects	CLF:LRG
	=jiun	classifier tall objects	CLF:TLL
	='khu	classifier angular objects	CLF:ANG
	='khu	classifier quantities	CLF:QUANT
	=khû	classifier delimited objects	CLF:DEL
	=ki	classifier linear objects	CLF:LNR
	=ki	classifier days	CLF:DRN
	=si	classifier spiny objects	CLF:SPN
	='thi	classifier locations	CLF:LOC

Table 4.27. NP/SubCl cliticizing particles

The clitics in this group attach both to noun phrases and to subordinate clauses, and therefore they comply with Criterion 1. We subdivide this group here into the similative adjectivalizer =*khia'kan* 'SIMIL2', the case markers =*ma* 'ACC.REAL' and *sa'ne* 'APPR', and a large set of nominal classifiers.

Starting with =*khia'kan* 'SIMIL2', example (474) shows that it can attach to a noun phrase, while (475) shows that it may attach to a subordinate clause.

(474) Ñua'me injan'tshi kompaniña diez shavukhia'kaen tsû rande motoruja ansundeya.
ñua'me   in'jan -tshi companiña [diez shavu]=**khia'kan**=e=tsû   rande
truly   much-ADJR company   ten   dugout=SIMIL2=ADVR=3   big
motoru=ja   ansunde=ya
motor.boat=CONTR   go.up=IRR
'Really many came up, like ten canoes, big motor boats.' [20040218-EC-Interview-126]

(475) Afejefakhia'kaen gi injan.
[afe-'je'fa]=**khia'kan**=e=ngi   injan
give-IPFV=PLS=SIMIL2=ADVR=1   think
'I recall it as if they gave (us money).' [002-002-EC-Interview-177]

Different from some other subordinating clitics, *khia'kan* may attach to subordinate clauses based on a non-verbal predicate as well. This is shown in (476):

(476) Vai'khûja 13 añokhia'kan tsû.
va=i'khû=ja   [13   año]=**khia'kan**=tsû
DEM.DIST=INS=NEW 13   year=SIMIL2=3
'Including this it has been like 13 years.'[20060118-LM-5-0055.062]

The relevance of Criterion 2 is visible in example (475), in which the similative clitic attaches to the plural subject marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.

Turning now to the realis accusative case marker =*ma* and the apprehensional case marker =*sa'ne*[11], examples (477)-(480) show pairwise that these markers too can attach to noun phrases and subordinate clauses. When =*ma* or =*sa'ne* is attached to a subordinate clause, no further subordinator is required.

(477) Ma'kaen ña dûsundekhumanda katiya?"
ma='kan=e   [ña   dû'sû=ndekhû]=**ma**=ta   kati=ya
IGN.SEL=SIMIL=ADVR 1.SG   child=APL=ACC.REAL=NEWleave=IRR
'How can I leave my stepchildren?' [BC26.101]

(478) Tsuve'jûve'khe ñuña'fama in'jan'se.
[tsuvejû=ve=khe   ñuña='fa]=**ma**   in'jan='se
face=ACC.IRR=ADD   make=PLS=ACC.REAL   think=MIT.IMP
'Imagine, they make a face mask too.' [20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0037.906]

---

[11] The diffferent uses of =sa'ne 'APPR' are discussed in detail in Dąbkowski & Anderbois (forthc.).

(479)   Tsumba ñutshe tenkhensane uphaen.
   tsun=pa ñu=tsh=e   [tenken]=**sa'ne** upha-en
   do=SS   good-ADJR=ADVR fly=APPR   covered-CAUS
   'Then he covered up (the fish) against the flies.'
   [20060119-AnC-Consiana-02 -0208.859]

(480)   Tetete fi'thi'fasa'ne fae'khu pasa'ne sumbujama.
   [tetete fi'thi='fa]=**sa'ne** fae='khu   pa=sa'ne sumbu=jama
   savage kill=PLS=APPR one=CLF:quant die=APPR emerge=PROH
   'Lest the savages kill and you die, don't go out.' [BC12.087]

Criterion 2 also helps revealing the clitic status of these case markers: in (477) the clitic follows the animate plural marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.10; in (478) and (480) it follows the plural subject marker, shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.
   A'ingae has a large class of classifiers, which take the shape of clitics.[12] We will show this to be the case using examples of some of the more frequently used classifiers, the first one being =*'chu* 'CLF:rnd', used for round and small objects. In (481) and (482) this classifier is attached directly to a nominal head.

(481)   Kasepa'chu tisumbe.
   [kasepa]=**'chu** tisû=mbe
   nut=CLF:rnd   REFL=BEN
   'The orinoconut was his.' [BC03.051]

(482)   Shichha ta'vama shichhaja tava'chuve.
   shichha ta'va=ma   shichha=ja [ta'va]=**'chu**=ve
   spin   cotton=ACC.REAL spin=IMP spinner=CLF:rnd=ACC.IRR
   'Spin cotton with your spinner!' [BC08.046]

This is not its only use, however. As shown in (483) and (484), a classifier may also have a nominalizing effect when attached to a clause. Based on facts like these, we conclude that classifiers should be considered clitics on the basis of Criterion 1.

(483)   tise uchhachhaje'chui'khû
   [tise uchhi~chi-'je]=**'chu**=i'khû
   3.sg hit~ITER-IMPF=CLF:rnd=INST
   'with the small thing that he usually hits with' (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-019)

(484)   Dû'shûma mandian'chu amphi.
   [dû'shû=ma mandian]=**'chu**   amphi
   child=ACC.REAL chase=CLF:rnd fall
   `The small/round one chasing the child fell.' (Dąbkowski 2017: 5)

Similar facts are given below for the classifier =*'khu*, used for angular or sizeable objects. In (483) the classifier is attached to a noun phrase consisting of just a noun, in (485) to a clause.

---

[12] In Fischer & Hengeveld (fc.) we consider the A'ingae classifiers to be suffixes. We change our position here, following Dąbkowski (2017) and Pride (2017).

(485)   Khuthai'khu du.
    [khutai]=**'khu**   du
    jaw=CLF:ang   broke
    'He broke his jaw.' [BC03.049]

(486)   Anañe andûfakhu phiña'ninda, anamba, ana'je'nda, kanjansiveta di'sha.
    [ana=ye   andûfa]=**'khu** phi-ña=ni=ta   ana=pa   ana-'je=ta
    sleep=INF carry=CLF:ang sit.in.something-CAUS=LOC=NEW sleep=SS   sleep-IMPF=NEW
    kanjansi=ve=ta   di'sha
    boa=ACC.IRR=NEW   change
    'But when it was put into the carrying sling it became a boa.' [BC14.036]

For a third case consider the lateral classifier =*fa*. In (487) it attaches to a noun that is the head of a noun phrase; in (488) to a subordinate clause.

(487)   Singû'khû utafani bu'mbuma chatû.
    [singû=khû   uta]=**fa**=ni   bu'mbu =ma   chatû
    lake=CLF:del   shore=CLF:lat =LOC   palm=ACC.REAL cut
    'At the side of the lake the son of the boa was cutting down a palm tree. [BC14.070]

(488)   Tive tandan'fa usha'chuma chavaeña'chuve tsû me'in'un.
    [tive   tandan]=**fa**   usha'chu=ma   chava-en =ya ='chu =ve =tsû
    hand   tie=CLF:lat   all.kinds.of.stuff =ACC.REAL   buy-CAUS=IRR=SUB=ACC.IRR=3
    me'i='u
    NEG.PRED=AUG
    'There is no way to sell bracelets and that kind of stuff.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-018]

A last illustration concerns the classifier for locations =*'thi*. In (489) it attaches to a noun phrase, in (490) to a clause.

(489)   Khûiña sisipa'thinga.
    khûi-ña   [sisipa]=**'thi**=nga
    lay.down-CAUS sand=CLF:loc=DAT
    'They laid the earth down on the sand.' [BC01.026]

(490)   Sia'me pa'ma tsû athefambi ña an'jenthinga.
    sin'=a=ve   pa='ma=tsû   athe'=fa=mbi [ña   an-'je]=**'thi**=nga
    black =SBSTR=PRED die=FRT=3   see=PLS=NEG   1.SG   eat-IMPF=CLF:LOC=DAT
    'I fainted but they did not see me because I fainted at the place where I was eating.'
    [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0058.698]

    Criterion 2 can also be invoked to support the analysis of classifiers as clitics. In (4919), a classifier follows the general subordinator =*'chu*, in this example used as a nominalizer, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.5.

(491)   Ansundain jaja'fapa kachapama ansûnde'chuthinga dyaiña'fa.
    ansunde-in   jaja='fa=pa kachapa=ma   [ansûnde='chu]=**'thi**=nga dyai-
ña='fa

       ascend-ᴍᴀɴɴ.ᴄᴠ   go=ᴘʟs=ss parrot=ᴀᴄᴄ.ʀᴇᴀʟ ascend=sᴜʙ=ᴄʟꜰ:loc =ᴅᴀᴛ sit-
ᴄᴀᴜs=ᴘʟs
      'Having gone up they placed their parrot at the head of the ladder.' [BC08.075]

Similarly, in (492) a classifier attaches to the attributive marker *='sû*, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.13.

(492)   Durenosûkhutsû tsa'kaen dajifa.
       [Dureno='sû]=**'khu**=tsû tsa='kan=e   da-ji='fa
       Dureno=ᴀᴛᴛʀ=ᴄʟꜰ:ang=3 ᴀɴᴀ=sɪᴍɪʟ1=ᴀᴅᴠʀ become-ᴘʀᴇᴄᴜʟ=ᴘʟs
       'The ones from Dureno are becoming like that.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 20:52]

4.2.14.15. SubCl clitics

- Subordination	*='chu*	subordinator	ꜱᴜʙ
	=ye	infinitive	ɪɴꜰ
- Cosubordination	*=pa*	same subject cosubordinator	ss
	=si	different subject cosubordinator	ᴅs

Table 4.28. Subordinate clause cliticizing particles

The clitics in this last group attach to subordinate clauses only. We divide them here in subordinators and cosubordinators.
      The subordinating clitics attach to subordinate clauses with a verbal predicate only. Their clitic status can therefore only be demonstrated by applying Criterion 2. The subordinating clitic *='chu* may attach to a wide variety of other clitics, such as the negative clitic *=mbi* in (493), the plural subject clitic *='fa* in (494), and the irrealis clitic *=ya* in (495). We show these elements to be clitics in Sections 4.2.14.6 en 4.2.14.5.

(493)   in'janjembi'chuasi
       [in'jan-'je=mbi]=**'chu**=a=si
       think-ɪᴍᴘꜰ=ɴᴇɢ=sᴜʙ=ꜱʙꜱᴛʀ=ᴅs
       'because she is crazy' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-056)
       "because she doesn't think"
(494)   Ke'i vathi kanjenindi ji'fachu?
       ke'i [va='thi   kan'jen=ni=ti   ji='fa]=**'chu**
       2.ᴘʟ ᴘʀᴏx=ᴄʟꜰ:ʟᴏᴄ live.in.a.place=ʟᴏᴄ=ɪɴᴛ come=ᴘʟs=sᴜʙ
       'They came when you were here?' (20040218-EC-Interview-049)
       "They were ones that came when you lived here?"
(495)   Tse gi ña'me tsampini jakañan'chuve ña'me in'jan.
       tse=ngi   ña'me   [tsampi=ni jakan=ya]=**'chu**=ve   ña'me   in'jan
       ᴀɴᴀ.ʟᴏᴄ=1   truly   forest =ʟᴏᴄ walk =ɪʀʀ =sᴜʙ =ᴀᴄᴄ.ɪʀʀ truly   want
       'Since then, I wanted to go hunting more frequently.' (HF 1:55 S1)

      The infinitive marker *=ye* attaches to a smaller array of clitics (see Section 5.2.4.3), but can follow the plural subject clitic *='fa*, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6. It can

thus also be considered a clitic by Criterion 2.

(496)   Jinge patû'sû a'i =ma fi'thithi'nga'faye.
        jinge   [patû='sû   a'i=ma   fi'thi~thi-'nga='fa]=**ye**
        HORT   rock=ATTR   people=ACC.REAL   kill~ITER-TRANS=PLS=INF
        'Let's go kill the rock people.' [BC12.046]

   The markers of cosubordination =*pa* 'SS' and =*si* 'DS' are different from the preceding subordinators in that they can attach to clauses with both verbal and non-verbal predicates. These markers thus qualify as clitics by Criterion 1. The following examples pairwise show the two clitics attached to a cosubordinate clause based on a verbal predicate and a non-verbal predicate, respectively.

(497)   Pañambipa pa.
        [paña=mbi]=**pa**   pa
        listen=NEG=SS   die
        'Disobeying he died.' [BC07.152]

(498)   Ña dûshû Roveiroja atesûpa tise tsa'kaen atesûchupa tise antiandekhûma atesianñe atesû.
        ña   dû'shû   Roveiro=ja   atesû=pa   tise   tsa='kan=e   [atesû='chu]=**pa**
        1.SG   child   Roveiro=CONTR   know=SS   3.SG   ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR   know=SUB=SS
        tise   antian=ndekhû=ma   atesian=ye atesû
        3.SG   sibling=APL=ACC.REAL teach=INF   know
        'Because my son Roveiro knows (lit. "is a knower"), he teaches his siblings.'
        [Aya'fa tuya'kaen atesûjechune 2:22]

(499)   Sumbumbisi chan iyikha'yepa tise dû'shundekhuma ma'phi.
        [sumbu=mbi]=**si**   chan   iyikha'ye=pa   tise   dû'shû=ndekhû=ma   ma'phi
        emerge=NEG=DS   mother become.angry=SS   3.SG   child=APL=ACC.REAL   whip
        'When it didn't emerge, the mother was angry and beat her children.' [BC08.027]

(500)   Panshaen jayachusi tuya'kaen aiyepatsû kurifindi mechuni injandiki.
        [panshaen   ja=ya='chu]=**si**   tuya'kaen   aiye'pa=tsû   kuri=fi'ndi
        much   go=IRR=SUB=DS   CONJ   difficult=3   gold=CLF.spl
        me'chu=ni   in'jan=ti=ki
        NEG.PRED=SUB=LOC   know=INT=2
        'They need to go (lit. "they are ones that have to go"), it's very difficult if one doesn't have money, you know.' [Escuela 1:37]

Note that in (497) and (499) the cosubordinating clitics attach to the negative marker, which was shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6. In (498) and (500) they attach to the general subordinating clitic, which creates nominalizations in these examples, and which was shown to be a clitic in this section.

4.2.15. Suffixes

4.2.15.1. Introduction

In this section we list the suffixes of A'ingae, as the last morphological building block to be presented. In Section 4.2.15.2 we briefly discuss the criteria for suffixhood, in Section 4.2.15.3 we give a broad classification of suffixes, and in the subsequent sections we present the various classes of suffixes.

4.2.15.2. Criteria

The criteria we apply for determining whether something is a suffix or not are complementary to the ones we used for clitics. First of all, while clitics attach to phrases, suffixes attach to heads, i.e. to lexical rather than phrasal units. Thus, suffixes may be recognized by the fact that they attach to lexical units only. Secondly, suffixes may attach to other suffixes, but they may not attach to clitics. As shown in Section 4.2.14, many clitics can be identified by the fact that they do attach to other clitics. Inflectional suffixes follow derivational suffixes, as we will show in Section 4.4.

4.2.15.3. Classification

Table 4.29 provides a list of all A'ingae suffixes, organized in broad categories that are meant to facilitate our presentation. The major subdivision is made in terms of the head to which suffixes attach: verb, noun, or numeral. A last class of suffixes attaches to more than one type of head.

Class	Suffix	Meaning/function	Gloss
Verb suffixes			
- nominalizers	*-fasi*	nominalizer	HAB.NR
	-khe'sû	habitual nominalizer	HAB.NR
	-ma'sia	negative habitual nominalizer	NEG.HAB.NR
	-'pa	nominalizer	NR
	-pari	nominalizer	HAB.NR
	-ri	nominalizer	HAB.NR
- diathesis	*-khu*	reciprocal	RECIP
	-ye	passive	PASS
- direction and location	*-'nga*	translocative	TRANS
	-'ngi	cislocative	CIS
- aspect	*-'je*	imperfective	IMPF
	-ji	preculminative	PRECUL
	-'ñakha	repetitive	REP
	-yi	prospective	PROSP
- converbal endings	*-in*	manner converb	MANN.CV
	-mbe	negative converb	NEG.CV
Noun suffix			
	-e	place name	PLACE
Numeral suffix			
	-se	recursive	RCUR
Flexible suffixes			
- derivational	*-an/-ña/-en*	causative (V/N/A)	CAUS
	-mbi	negative adjectivizer (V/N)	PRIV

| | *-tshi* | adjectivalizer (V/Dem) | ADJR |
| - inflectional | *-kha* | diminutive (V/Dem) | DIM |

Table 4.29. Suffixes

4.2.15.4. Verbal suffixes

4.2.15.4.1. Introduction

Verbal suffixes are ones that attach to verbs and verb/nouns only. Within the relatively large class of suffixes of this type a subdivision is made between derivational suffixes (Section 4.2.15.4.2) on the one hand, and inflectional suffixes on the other. Within the latter group we distinguish markers of diathesis (Section 4.2.15.4.3), direction (Section 4.2.15.4.4), aspect (Section 4.2.15.4.5), and manner (Section 4.2.15.4.6).

4.2.15.4.2. Derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes include several nominalizers and one adjectivalizer, which we will discuss in this section.

Some of the nominalizers in A'ingae are little productive. This holds for the habitual nominalizers *-fasi*, *-pari*, and *-ri*. These three nominalizers are illustrated in (501)-(503).

(501) Ñua'me tsû dyujufasi.
ñua'me=tsû dyuju-**fasi**
really=3   get.scared-HAB.NR
'They are really cowards.' [20060118-LM-2-0180.135]

(502) amphi-**pari**
fall-HAB.NR
'person that always falls' (elic.)

(503) ku'fe-**ri**
play-HAB.NR
'playful person, joker' (elic.)

The habitual nominalizer *-khe'sû* and its negative counterpart *-ma'sia* are more frequent, and are illustrated in (504)-(505).

(504) Me'in ankhe'sû tsû.
me'i   an-**khe'sû**=tsû
NEG.PRED   eat-HAB.NR=3
'No, it's edible.' [20040218-EC-Interview-071]

(505) Ega'ngayi gi antheye'fa, atesû'masia a'ifa tsû.
ega=nga=yi=ngi   anthe-ye='fa   atesû-**ma'sia**   a'i='fa=tsû
bad=DAT=EXCL=1   leave-PASS=PLS   know-NEG.HAB.NR   Cofán.person=PLS=3
'Only the bad ones stayed, they are people that do not think.'
[20050701-MA-Letter-2-040]

The nominalizer -*'pa* is a very productive suffix and is illustrated in (506)-(507).

(506) Tayupi'sû kundasepama ña kenga kundaye.
      tayupi='sû   kundase-**'pa**=ma ña   ke=nga   kunda =ye
      formerly=ATTR tell-NR=ACC.REAL 1.SG 2.SG=DAT   tell =INF
      'I'm going to tell you an old story.' [BC23.2.001]

(507) Kanjansi khûsipanga khûsi.
      kanjansi   khûsi-**'pa**=nga   khûsi
      boa   drink-NR=DAT   drink
      'He was drunk with the boa's potion.' [BC18.010]

Nominalizers do not only attach to bare verb stems, but to verb stems derived with the causative suffix as well, as shown in (508)-(510). The causative marker will be shown to be a suffix in Section 4.2.15.6.

(508) chavaenkhe'sû
      chava-en-**khe'sû**
      buy-CAUS=HAB.NR
      'things that can be sold' [El jardín y las plantas medicinales 5:58]

(509) Ka'nia'masia.
      ka'ni-an-**ma'sia**
      enter-CAUS-NEG.HAB.NR
      'impenetrable thing.' [BC12.093]

(510) tsa'uñamba
      tsa'u-ña-'pa
      house-CAUS-NR
      'the construction of the house' [Autobiografía de MM 1 2:09]

The suffix -*tshi* creates adjectives from property verbs as shown in (511).

(511) A'i tsu'fe thuthutshi.
      a'i   tsu'fe   thuthu-**tshi**
      man   eye   be.white-ADJR
      'Men's eyes are white.' [BC09.031]

The only suffix that may precede -*tshi* is the negative adjectivalizer suffix -*mbi* (see Section 4.2.15.7.2), as shown in (512).

(512) Afambitshiya.
      afa-mbi-**tshi**='ya
      speak-PRIV-ADJR=ASS
      'He was silent'(lit. "speechless").' [Kuke chiste 1:08]

As mentioned in Section 4.2.9, -*tshi* also attaches to the similative anaphoric adjective *tsa'kan*, as shown in (513).

(513) Jayambi gi tsa'kantshiangaja.
      ja=ya=mbi=ngi [tsa'kan]-**tshi**=a=nga=ja
      go=IRR=NEG=1   ANA.SIMIL-ADJR=SBSTR=DAT=CONTR
      'I will not go to (a place) that is like that.' [B&T]

4.2.15.4.3. Diathesis

There are two markers of diathesis in A'ingae that attach to verbs only: the reciprocal suffix -*khu* and the passive suffix -*ye*. They are illustrated in (514) and (515), respectively.

(514) Tsaja kachaikhu'ya.
      tsa=ja   kachi-**khu**='ya
      ANA=CONTR   meet-RECIP=ASS
      'They met each other.' [20060118-MM-2-0398.632]

(515) Jakambate tsû'the shiparenga khûkhûye'ya.
      jakan=pa=te   tsûthe   shipare=nga   khûkhû-**ye**='ya
      walk=SS=RPRT   foot   manta.ray=DAT   sting-PASS=ASS
      'They say that having walked he was stung in his foot by a manta ray.'
      [A20060118-MM-2-0012.277]

      The infinitive clitic dealt with in Section 4.2.14.10 is homophonous with the passive suffix. The two forms have to be clearly distinguished, however, as they may co-occur, as shown in (516).

(516) Pañamba Aitsuve ûtunga katiyeye in'jan.
      paña=pa Aitsuve   ûtû=nga   kati-**ye**=**ye**   in'jan
      hear=SS Manhead   part_way=DAT left-PASS=INF   want
      When Manhead heard it he wanted to be left there. [BC19.063]

Note that from a phonological perspective the two forms are different as well, as the passive suffix deletes stress, while the infinitive clitic does not (see Dąbkowski 2021, as discussed in Section 3.6.2.3).

4.2.15.4.4. Direction and event location

There are two suffixes expressing direction of movement and event location, translocative -'*nga* and cislocative -*ngi*. Both are expressed on the verb, as shown in (517) and (518).

(517) I'ngapa faesûsi'omanda afe'ya.
      i-**'nga**=pa   faesû='si='o=ma=ta   afe='ya
      bring-TRANS=SS   other=CLF:spn=AUG=ACC.REAL=NEW   give=ASS
      'He went and got the other clothes and handed them over.'
      (20060119-AnC-Consiana-01-0356.152)

(518)   Jipa tsû na'esû avionga ande'ngiya.
        ji=pa=tsû   na'en='sû   avion=nga   ande-**'ngi**=ya
        come=SS=3   river=ATTR   plane=DAT   land-CIS=IRR
        'He came and landed here in an aquaplane.' [20040218-EC-Interview-054]

Both of these suffixes may follow a verb provided with a causative suffix as well, as shown in (519) and (520).

(519)   An'chuen nanimba khûiña'nga'fa na'e utafanga sa'nianga.
        an'chu-en   nani=pa khûi-ña-**'nga**='fa   na'e   uta =fa =nga
        bait-CAUS   finish=SS lay.down-CAUS-TRANS=PLS   river shore =CLF:lat =DAT
        san=ni=ngae
        dry=LOC=MANN
        'When the hook was baited they laid the baby on the bank by the edge of the river.'
        [BC20.032]

(520)   Sejia'ngifaja pave dasa'ne.
        se'je-an-**'ngi**='fa=ja   pa=ve   da=sa'ne
        heal-CAUS-CIS=PLS=IMP die=ACC.IRR become=APPR
        'Come over to heal so that they do not fall ill.' [20040218-EC-Interview-039]

When expressing event location, these suffixes follow the imperfective marker *-'je*, which is shown to be a suffix in the next section. This is illustrated for *-'nga* 'TRANS' in (521).

(521)   Kathû'je'nga'ninda tise dûtshi'yendekhû ichuru'chuma pûviamba khusha changu jinithi.
        kathû-'je-**'nga**=ni=ta   tise dûtshi'ye=ndekhû ichuru'chu=ma
        cultivate-IMPF-TRANS=DS=NEW 3.SG child=APL   gourd.bowl=ACC.REAL
        pûvi-an=pa   khusha changu jin='thi
        invert-CAUS=SS drum   hole   exist =CLF:loc
        'While she was away clearing, her children having turned a gourd bowl upside down, were drumming on it near the hole.' [BC08.009]

4.2.15.4.5. Aspect

The class of verbal suffixes in A'ingae includes five aspectual suffixes: imperfective *-'je*, preculminative *-ji*, diminutive *-kha*, repetitive *-'ñakha*, and prospective *-yi*. They are illustrated in (522)-(526).

(522)   Tsa'kaen ka'nije tsû ja'ñuja.
        tsa'kan=e   ka'ni-**'je**=tsû   ja'ñu=ja
        ANA.SIMIL=ADVR enter-IMPF=3   now=CONTR
        'They are entering like that now.' [20060118-LM-2-0379.603]

(523) Tseti ki khûshajipa ji?
      tse=ti=ki   khûsha-**ji**=pa   ji
      ANA.LOC=INT=2   recover-PRECUL=SS   come
      'Did you come came in the process of recovering?'
      [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0280.346]

(524) Jinge rundakhaye.
      jinge   ru'nda-**kha**=ye
      HORT   wait-DIM=INF
      'Let's wait a little.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-067]

(525) Tsumba khatikhûñakha ka'nijin.
      tsun=pa   khatikhû-**'ñakha**   ka'ni-ji
      do=SS   crawl-REP   enter-PRECUL
      'Then crawling he started to enter.' [BC18.012]

(526) Avû vachu'sû jayi.
      avû vachu='sû   ja-**yi**
      fish net=ATTR   go-PROSP
      'I am going fishing with my net.' [BC11.005]

The prospective suffix *-yi* has a very limited distribution. It is attested with the verb *ja* 'go' only. The other aspectual suffixes may also follow causative verbs, as illustrated in (527)-(530).

(527) Fae a'tayi ti fiestaen'jenfa.
      fae a'ta=yi=ti   fiesta-en-**'je**='fa
      one day=EXCL=INT   party-CAUS-IMPF=PLS
      'Did they celebrate for just one day?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0292.918]

(528) Ingi tsamakhe kheñajin'fangi.
      ingi   tsa=ma='khe   khe-ña-**ji**='fa=ngi
      1.PL   ANA=ACC.REAL=ADD   get.lost-CAUS-PRECUL=PLS=1
      'We are forgetting all this.' [Autobiografía de JWC 12:53]

(529) Sumbuenkajan.
      sumbu-en-**kha**=ja
      emerge-CAUS-DIM=IMP
      'Get it out a little bit.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-073]

(530) <elicit example of causative + repetitive>

As shown in Section 4.2.9.3.4, the suffix *-kha* may also attach to a limited number of demonstrative pronouns, as illustrated for *ju* 'DIST.LOC' in (527).

(531) Ti'tshe khajeni jukhani churu kanjansi kan'jen.
      ti'tshe khaje=ni   ju-**kha**=ni   churu   kanjansi kan'jen
      more   downriver=LOC   DIST.LOC-DIM=LOC snail   boa   live
      'A bit further downriver lives a snail boa.' [BC20.096]

4.2.15.4.6. Converbal endings

There are two suffixes that create converbs out of verbs, the manner converb suffix *-in* and the negative converb suffix *-mbe*. They are illustrated in (532) and (533).

(532)   Bûthuin ja.
        bûthu-**in**   ja
        run-MANN.CV   go
        'He ran off.' [BC04.011]

(533)   Dyujumbe anaján.
        dyuju-**mbe**   ana=ja.
        get.scared-NEG.CV sleep=IMP
        'Sleep without being afraid.' [BC19.032]

The negative coverb marker *-mbe* might at first sight seem to be a combination of the negative marker *=mbi* and the adverbializer *=e*. We consider it a separate marker and a suffix, however, as its distribution is much more limited than that of *=mbi*. The converbal suffix attaches to verbs only, whereas the negative clitic can take a wide range of hosts, as shown in Section 4.2.14.6.

4.2.15.5. Nominal suffix

There is only one suffix that attaches to nouns only, which is the place name forming suffix *-e*. It is illustrated in (534)-(535).

(534)   Juva santa sisiriane, tsene tsampi jachuchuma kanjan asta pa'khu sabarueni pa'khu.
        juva   Santa Sisiria=ne tse=ne   tsampi ja='chu='chu=ma   kanjan asta
        DIST Santa Cecilia=SO ANA.LOC=SO forest   go=SUB=SUB=ACC.REAL   be.seen until
        pa'khu Sabalo-**e**=ni   pa'khu
        all   sabalo-PLACE=LOC   all
        'From Santa Cecilia up to Sabalo it was all forest.' [20040218-EC-Interview-030]

(535)   Singû'khû, Ungûe'thi ti'tshe umba'thi. Tumbafindie'thi.
        singû=khû   ungû-**e**='thi   ti=tsh=e   umba='thi
        lake=CLF:DEL capuchin.monkey-PLACE=NR.LOC far-ADJR=ADVR upwards=NR.LOC
        tumbafindi-**e**='thi
        chip-PLACE=NR.LOC
        'The lake is above Capuchin Monkey place at Chip place.' [BC10.032]

4.2.15.6. Numeral suffix

One suffix attaches to numerals only. This is the recursive suffix *-se*, discussed in Section 4.2.9. An example given there is repeated here.

(536) kuanifaese
       khuangi_fae-**se**
       two_one-RCUR
       'three times'

4.2.15.7. Flexible suffixes

Two suffixes can attach to heads of more than one lexical class. These should still be considered suffixes as they are not phrase-marking but head-marking. This is clear from the fact that they have to attach directly to the stem, without the intervention of other suffixes. Both suffixes involved are derivational in nature and can be followed by other suffixes, as shown in (537), in which the flexible causative suffix is followed by the imperfective suffix, and in (538), in which the flexible privative suffix is followed by the adjectivalizer suffix:

(537) I khûiñamba ûfakhu'khuma khûtsian'jen.
       i   khûi-ña=pa   ûfakhukhu=ma   khûtsû-**an**-'je
       bring lay_down-CAUS=SS blowgun=ACC.REAL stand-CAUS-IMPF
       'Having laid (them) down he stood up his blowgun.' [BC09.021]
(538) Afambitshiya.
       afa-mbi-**tshi**='ya
       speak-PRIV-ADJR=ASS
       'He was silent'(lit. "speechless").' [Kuke chiste 1:08]

The causative marker *-an/-ña/-en* may attach to stems of various classes. The choice for one of the allomorphs is governed by morphophonological rules explained in Section 3.6. The causative marker may attach to verbs (539), nouns (540), and adjectives (541).

(539) Tayupi'sû a'ija da khitshapa tsû mûtsinuen'faya tavafamaja.
       tayupi='sû   a'i=ja   da   khitsha=pa=tsû   mûtsinun-**en**'fa=ya
       long.ago=ATTR Cofán.person=CONTR uh   pull/draw=SS=3   rotate-CAUS=PLS=IRR
       tavafamaja
       ta'va=fa=ma=ja
       cotton=CLF:LAT=ACC.REAL=CONTR
       'The people from the past made cotton pulling and rotating it.'
       [A20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-041]
(540) Ña yaya'yeja matachiankhe.
       ña   yaya='ye=ja   matachi-**an**=khe
       1.SG   father=NPST=CONTR   matachi.clown-CAUS=ADD
       'My late dad also played Matachi.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0335.606]
(541) Randiaja
       rande-**an**=ja!
       big-CAUS=IMP
       'Make it bigger!' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-054]

The privative suffix *-mbi* is a negative adjectivalizer that can attach to nominal and

verbal heads, as shown in (542)-(543).

(542) Injamambi keja!
       injama-**mbi** ke=ja
       heart-PRIV   2.SG=CONTR
       'You are stupid (lit. "heartless").' [BC26.047]

(543) Jañunda ushambi ña khashepa.
       ja'ñu=ta   usha-**mbi**   ña   khashe=pa
       now=NEW   be.able-PRIV   1.SG old.woman=SS
       'Now I'm a weak old woman.' [Autobiografía de CLC 3:10]

The negative converb suffix -*mbe* discussed in Section 4.2.15.4.6 above is not a combination of the privative suffix -*mbi* and the adverbializer =*e*, as one might suspect. This is evident from the fact that the negative converb suffix -*mbe* attaches to verbs only, whereas -*mbi* attaches to nouns as well.

4.3. Morphological processes

4.3.1. Introduction

In this section we present the morphological processes relevant to the grammar of A'ingae: affixation (Section 4.3.2), reduplication (Section 4.3.3), vowel lengthening (Section 4.3.4), and compounding (Section 4.3.5).

4.3.2. Affixation

Affixation has been extensively illustrated in Section 4.2.15. It was shown there that affixation of nominal stems is rather marginal, while verbal stems have more inflectional possibilities. While larger strings would be possible, one normally finds verbs with two suffixes at most, as in (544)-(545).

(544) Dûsian'jen'ninda dû'shundekhû athe'fa.
       dûse-**an**-'**je**=ni=ta   dû'shû=ndekhû   athe='fa
       hang-CAUS-IMPF=LOC=NEW   child=APL   watch=PLS
       'When he hung them there, the young men saw it.' [BC02.027]

(545) Kathû'je'nga'ninda tise dûtshi'yendekhû ichuru'chuma khusha.
       kathû-'**je**-'**nga**=ni=ta   tise dûtshi'ye=ndekhû khusha
       cultivate-IMPF-TRANS=DS=NEW   3.SG child=APL   drum
       'While she was clearing, her children were drumming.' [BC08.009]

We will discuss the order of affixes in Section 4.4.

4.3.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is found especially with verbs in A'ingae, and derives iterative verbs. Some examples are given in (546)-(549).

(546) Chhichhipa phiñamba apinga si'ngenga utsian.
       chhi~**chhi**=pa   phiña=pa   api=nga si'nge=nga utsian
       slice~ITER=SS   put.in=SS   pot=DAT fire=DAT   put.on
       'Having sliced it she put it in the pot and set it on the fire.' [BC13.021]

(547) Tsama afesi tsai'khû tshetshe.
       tsa=ma   afe=si   tsa=i'khû   tshe~**tshe**
       ANA=ACC.REAL   give=DS   ANA=INS   pierce~ITER
       'Having been given (the staff) he pierced (the earth) with it.' [BC14.057]

(548) Ingima tsû iñe'e atutu'faya.
       ingi=ma=tsû   iñe'=en   atu~**tu**='fa='ya
       1.PL=ACC.REAL=3 hurt=ADVR   chop~ITER=PLS=ASS
       'They are going to chop us in a painful manner.'
       (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-028)

(549) Khuvimakhe fithithi.
       khuvi=ma=khe   fi'thi~**'thi**
       tapir=ACC.REAL=ADD   kill~ITER
       'They killed the tapir as well.' [20040218-EC-Interview-156]

In some cases reduplication is found with adverbs as well, as in (550)-(551).

(550) Titshetshekhûkhue changuenjan.
       ti'tshe~**tshe**=khû='khu=e   changu-en=ja
       more~ITER=CLF:del=AUG=ADVR   hole-CAUS=IMP 2.SG
       'Make a hole that is a bit bigger.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-008]

(551) jundedekhue
       junde~**de**='khu=e
       quickly~ITER=AUG=ADVR
       'very quickly' [A20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-001]

The examples of both verbal and adverbial reduplication given in this section also illustrate the fact that in all cases it is the last syllable of the stem that is being reduplicated.

4.3.4. Vowel lengthening

Vowel lengthening is limited to verbs and expresses durative aspect (see Section XX). The vowel lengthened is the last vowel of the basic (552)-(554) stem and, as it is never followed by any suffix, also the last vowel of the morphosyntactic word. Lengthening is not shown in orthography.

(552) Japa tha'tha akhûi'khuchui'khû.
       ja=pa   thatha~:   akhûi-'khu-'chu=i'khû
       go=SS   search~DUR paddle=CLF:ang=CLF:round=INS
       'He went off and looked and looked with his paddle.' [20060118-MM-2-0007.2]

(553) Uma'khuma upikhu'vite japa mangû.
uma'khu=ma   upi='khu='vi=te   ja=pa mangû~:
arrow=ACC.REAL carry=CLF:ang=AFF=RPRT go=SS drag~DUR
'He went off carrying a chonta spear and dragging.'
[20060104-AQ-Matachi-0050.815]

(554) Utaensi kuraga kû'ipa kuse setá a'ta, khûsi.
uta-en=si   kuraga kû'i=pa kuse seta~:   a'ta   khûsi
boil-CAUS=DS shaman drink=SS night chant~DUR dawn   be.drunk
'The shaman drank and, being drunk, chanted all night until dawn.' [BC20.048]

4.3.5. Compounding

The last morphological process to be discussed here is compounding, which can be both nominal and verbal in nature. A few examples of nominal compounding are given in (555)-(558).

(555) ampanu dû'shû
ampanu   dû'shû
baby   child
'baby child' [Vaju kundasepa 6:50]

(556) kuchhi nan
kuchhi   nan
pig   meat
'pig meat' [elic.]

(557) charapa dûsû-'chu
charapa   dûsû-'chu
charapa.turtle conceive-CLF:rnd
'charapa turtle egg' [elic.]

(558) kauchu semasu
kauchu   sema='sû
rubber   work=ATTR
'hunter' [BC21.002]

These cases are different from those in which a noun is used as a modifier within a noun phrase, as in this use the modifying noun has to be accompanied by the attributive clitic *='sû*, as shown in (559).

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

Examples of verbal compounding are given in (560)-(561):

(560) I'na khûí.
i'na khûi~:
cry lay-DUR
'The sick man lay there crying a long time.' [BC15.072]

(561) Chapiamba kû'i ansunde'faya vanijan.
chape-en=pa kû'i ansunde='fa=ya va=ni=ja
soft-CAUS=SS drink go.up=PLS=IRR PROX=LOC=CONTR
'They softened it and went up drinking there.' [A20040218-EC-Interview-230]

These cases are different from those in which one verbal construction modifies another, as in this case the modifying verbal construction is realized as a cosubordinate clause or an adverbialized verb phrase, as shown in (562)-(563).

(562) Pûshesû i'namba bathimbi.
[pûshesû i'na]=**pa** bathi=mbi
woman cry=SS release=NEG
'The woman cried but it wouldn't let go.' [BC19.084]

(563) Ingima tsû iñe'e atutu'faya.
ingi=ma=tsû [iñen]=**e** atûi~tûi='fa=ya
1.PL=ACC.REAL=3 hurt=ADVR chop~ITER=PLS=IRR
'They are going to chop us painfully.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-028]

4.4. Morphological templates

4.4.1. Introduction

In this section the morphological templates for various classes of words are presented. We are interested here in morphosyntactic words, and therefore discuss the combinations of stems with affixes, reduplicated material, and lengthening only. The many clitics that A'ingae uses are part of phonological words, not of morphosyntactic words. They enter into the constitution of syntactic constituents, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Verbal words have a somewhat more complex template, which will be presented in Section 4.4.2. The structure of nominal words is discussed in Section 4.4.3., and that of adjectival words in Section 4.4.4. The remaining classes of words are taken together in Section 4.4.5.

4.4.2. Verbal words

The overall morphological template for verbal words is given in Figure 4.1.

Stem	Derivation	Diathesis	Aspect, Direction, Manner	Event location
V	~DUR ~ITER	-PASS -RECIP -CAUS	-MANN.CV -NEG.CV	
N/A		-CAUS	-CIS -TRANS -PRECUL -REP -DIM	
			-IMPF	-DIST -PROX

Figure 4.1. Template of the verbal word

Note that Figure 4.1. represents basic and derived verbs, i.e. the overall output of the figure is a verbal word, but this word may be based on a non-verbal stem. It is also important to note that the position of V in the template may also be occupied by flexible verb/nouns, which show the same inflectional possibilities to the extent that these are semantically compatible with the semantic nature of the stem.

The first row in Figure 4.1 represents underived verbs and their inflectional possibilities. (Iterative) reduplication and (durative) vowel lengthening apply to the verb stem directly and before the attachment of suffixes, as shown in (564)-(565).

(564) Tsumba usha'chu aya'fama afa'faen.
　　　 tsun=pa　usha'chu　aya'fa=ma　　　　　afa~**fa**-**en**
　　　 do=SS　　various　　language=ACC.REAL　speak~ITER-CAUS
　　　 'Then he caused the bluebird to speak all languages.' [BC05.004]

(565) Bu'tshe, setsane "Jaeeee" khen "true tru, true, tru, true, tru"　khenga　chhuiyu'jeni jiñafa chhui'ñakha.
　　　 bu=tshe　　　　　 setsa=ne　jaeeee　khen　true　tru　　true　tru
　　　 grow=ADVR　prow=SO　IDEO　　　thus　IDEO　IDEO　IDEO　IDEO
　　　 true　　tru　　khen=nga　chhui~:-**'je**=ni　ji-ña='fa　　　　　chhui-'ñakha
　　　 IDEO　　IDEO　thus=DAT　paddle~DUR-IMPF　come-CAUS=PLS　paddle-REP
　　　 'After a long time, from down river they heard a cry, "Jaeeee" and "True, tru, true, tru" - the repeated strokes of the paddles.' [BC15.073]

Among the suffixes, the ones expressing diathesis are attached first, the causative to non-verbal stems as well, thereby creating derived verbal stems that behave similarly to underived verbal stems with respect to further suffixation, as indicated in the third column in Figure 4.1. Examples of verbal words based on a verbal stem are given in (566)-(568).

(566) Tse jani tse pasa'ya pu'taembeyi.
　　　 tse　　　　ja=ni　　tse　　　pasa='ya　pu'ta-**en**-**mbe**=yi
　　　 ANA.LOC　go=LOC　ANA.LOC　pass=ASS　pass.through-CAUS-NEG.CV=EXCL
　　　 'If they go away, I will let them, without firing.' [HF 5:02 S1]

(567)   Ña gi chigaye'je ña gi asithaen'jen
         ña=ngi chi'ga-**ye**-**'je**
         1.SG=1 not.want-PASS-IMPF
         'I am the person not wanted.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-024]

(568)   Tsa feñae'kha'a kundase'paya tsû tsaja
         tsa feña-**en**-**kha**=a   kundase-'pa='ya=tsû   tsa=ja
         ANA laugh-CAUS-DIM=SBSTR   tell-NR=ASS=3   ANA =CONTR
         'It's a story that will make you laugh a little bit, that one.'

Verbal words based on nominal and adjectival stems are presented in (569)-(570).

(569)   Fae a'tayi ti fiestaen'jenfa?
         fae a'ta=yi=ti   fiesta-**en**-**'je**='fa
         one day=EXCL=INT   party-CAUS-IMPF=PLS
         'Did they celebrate for just one day?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0292.918]

(570)   Tsa'ma ja'ñu khase faesû andeve randianjen.
         tsa='ma ja'ñu khase   faesû   ande=ve   rande-**en**-**'je**
         ANA=FRT now again   other   land=ACC.IRR big-CAUS-IMPF
         'But now again they are enlarging another land. [20060118-LM-2-0429.777]

Of the suffixes expressing aspect, direction or manner, only the imperfective suffix can be followed by suffixes expressing event location, as shown in (571).

(571)   Kathû'je'nga'ninda tise dûtshi'yendekhû ichuru'chuma
         kathû-**'je**-**'nga**=ni=ta   tise dûtshi'ye=ndekhû   ichuru'chu=ma
         cultivate-IMPF-TRANS=DS=NEW 3.SG child=APL   gourd_bowl=ACC.REAL
         pûviamba khusha changu jinithi.
         pûvi-an=pa   khusha changu jin='thi
         invert-CAUS=SS drum   hole   exist=CLF:loc
         'While she was away clearing, her children having turned a gourd bowl upside down, were drumming on it near the hole.' [BC08.009]

4.4.3. Nominal words

Turning now to nominal words, their overall morphological template is given in Figure 4.2.

Stem	Derivation
N Compound	-PLACE
V	-HAB.NR -NEG.HAB.NR -NR

Figure 4.2. Template of the nominal word

Note that the position of N in the template may also be occupied by flexible verb/nouns, which show the same inflectional possibilities to the extent that these are semantically compatible with the semantic nature of the stem. Apart from bare nouns and compounds, nominalized verbs are found, as shown and amply illustrated in Section 4.2.15.4.2. We repeat just one example from that section here.

(572)   Ñua'me tsû dyujufasi.
        ñua'me=tsû dyuju-**fasi**
        really=3   get.scared-HAB.NR
        'They are really cowards.' [20060118-LM-2-0180.135]

Place names may be derived from bare nouns by means of the the place suffix *-e*, as shown in 4.2.15.5, from which we repeat example (573).

(573)   Juva santa sisiriane, tsene tsampi jachuchuma kanjan asta pa'khu sabarueni pa'khu.
        juva   Santa Sisiria=ne tse=ne   tsampi ja-'chu-'chu=ma   kanjan asta
        DIST   Santa Cecilia=SO ANA.LOC=SO forest go=SUB=SUB=ACC.REAL   be.seen until
        pa'khu Sabalo-**e**=ni   pa'khu
        all   sabalo-PLACE=LOC   all
        'From Santa Cecilia up to Sabalo it was all forest.' [20040218-EC-Interview-030]

4.4.4. Adjectives

The morphological template for adjectival words is given in Figure 4.3.

Stem	Derivation	Inflection
Adj		
N	-PRIV	Ø
V		
Dem	-ADJR	

Figure 4.3. Template of the adjectival word

Figure 4.3. shows that an adjectival word may consist of an adjectival stem, of a nominal or verbal stem followed by the privative suffix *-mbi*, or of a verbal or demonstrative stem followed by the adjectivalizer *-tshi*. Adjectival words are not inflected.

4.4.4. Other word classes

The possibilities for inflection of the remaining classes of words are very limited. We list the possibilities here.

Adverbs may undergo partial reduplication, as shown in (574).

(574)   Titshetshekhûkhue changuenjan.
         ti'tshe~**tshe**=khû='khu=e   changu-en=ja
         more~ITER=CLF:del=AUG=ADVR   hole-CAUS=IMP 2.SG
         'Make a hole that is a bit bigger.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-008]

Demonstrative pro-nouns may contain the diminutive suffix -*kha*. This is exemplified in (575)

(575)   Ti'tshe khajeni jukhani churu kanjansi kan'jen.
         ti'tshe khaje=ni   ju-**kha**=ni   churu   kanjansi kan'jen
         more downriver=LOC   DIST.LOC-DIM=LOC snail   boa   live
         'A bit further downriver lives a snail boa.' [BC20.096]

Numeral words may occur with the recursive suffix -*se*, attaching directly to the stem, as shown in (576).

(576)   kuanifaese
         khuangi_fae-**se**
         two_one-RCUR
         'three times'

All other types of words consist of a stem only.

References

Borman, Marlytte Bubs. 1976. *Vocabulario cofán: Cofán-castellano, castellano-cofán*. Quito: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Borman, Marlytte Bubs. 1981. Cofán clause structure and function. Unpublished manuscript.

Borman, Marlytte Bubs. 2015. Cofán dictionary. In Mary Ritchie Key & Bernard Comrie (eds.), *The Intercontinental dictionary series.* Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropolog, http://ids.clld.org/contributions/254. (accessed 6 April 2022.)

Dąbkowski, Maksymilian. 2017. Cofán comes in all shapes and sizes. Term paper, Brown University.

Dąbkowski, Maksymilian. 2019. *The morphophonology of A'ingae verbal stress*. BA Thesis, Brown University.

Dąbkowski, Maksymilian & Anderbois, Scott. forthc. The apprehensional domain in A'ingae (Cofán).

Dingemanse, Mark. 2019. "Ideophone" as a comparative concept. In: Kimi Akita & Prashant Pardeshi (eds.), *Ideophones, Mimetics, Expressives*, 13–33. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dingemanse, Mark. forthc., Ideophones. In: Eva van Lier (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of word classes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fischer, Rafael & Hengeveld, Kees. forthc. A'ingae (Cofán). To appear in: Patience Epps & Lev Michael (eds), *Amazonian languages: An international handbook. Volume 1: Language isolates*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Hengeveld, Kees. 1992. Parts of speech. In: Michael Fortescue, Peter Harder & Lars Kristoffersen eds, *Layered structure and reference in a functional perspective* (Pragmatics & Beyond New Series 23), 29-55. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Karsten, Nils. 2021. Accusative marking – Nominal mood in A'ingae. *Linguistics in Amsterdam* 14.2, 1-27.

Morvillo, Sabrina & AnderBois, Scott (forthc.), The inner workings of contrast: decomposing A'ingae tsa'ma. To appear in *Proceedings of Semantics of Understudied Languages of the Americas (SULA) 11*.

Pride, Kalinda. 2017. Shape clitics: Revisiting the clitic and affix system in Kofán. Term paper, Brown University.

Zheng, Yuqi Holly (2022), *Anaphoric expressions in A'ingae*. BA honors thesis, Brown University.

Zwicky, Arnold & Pullum, Geoffrey. 1983. Cliticization vs. Inflection: English N'T. *Language* 59.3, 502-513.