

# Verbal complex predicates in A'ingae

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## 1. Introduction

This chapter provides a description of verbal complex predicates in A'ingae (ISO 639–3: con; Glottolog: cofa1242), a language isolate spoken along the San Miguel, Guamués, and Putumayo rivers in the provinces of Putumayo and Nariño in Colombia, and along the Aguarico river in the province of Sucumbios in Ecuador. A sketch of the grammar of A'ingae may be found in Fischer & Hengeveld (2023).<sup>1</sup> In the literature the language is better known as Cofán or Kofán, but the speakers themselves use the term A'ingae (< A'i=ngae 'Cofán.person=MANN'), while they use the term Cofán or Kofán as an ethnonym. Some salient typological features of A'ingae are nasality and nasalization in its phonology, the presence of clitics as a dominant strategy of marking grammatical functions, the use of classifiers in the nominal domain, the marking of information structure through segmental means, and the presence of switch reference constructions in combination with tail-head linkage in the formation of complex constructions.

For the following discussion, it is especially the structure of the verbal complex in A'ingae that is relevant, and I will therefore present its overall template in some detail. This template is represented in Table 1, which shows that the head position in the verbal complex may be taken by a variety of units. Each of these units may be followed by a series of phrasal clitics that attach to predicate phrases only, and in some cases to verbal predicate phrases only. These clitics occur in a fixed order, and are illustrated here when attaching to a non-complex verbal predicate.

The clitic =*fa* in position +1 expresses that the subject of the verb is plural and does not indicate person, which is indicated separately by a second position clitic (=ngi in (1)). It is followed by the irrealis clitic =*ya* in position +2 and the negative clitic =*mbi* in position +3. All three clitics are illustrated in (1).

- (1) *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]

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<sup>1</sup> Other relevant general publications on the language include Borman (1962, 1976, 1977, 1981, 2015), Dąbkowski (2021), and Repetti-Ludlow et al. (2019) for the Ecuadorian variety, and Tobar Gutiérrez (1995) for the Colombian variety. A full grammar in preparation is Hengeveld & Fischer (in prep). Most examples in this chapter are taken from the data collected by Rafael Fischer between 2001 and 2006 in the villages of Dureno, Sábalo, and Sinangoe in Ecuador. These data are coded in the following way: date of recording, abbreviations of names of speakers involved, topic, time code/line number. Additional examples are taken from legends told by Enrique Criollo and presented in M. B. Borman (1990). These data are coded by the abbreviation 'BC' followed by the legend number and the line number within the legend. Finally, examples are taken from the stories collected in the context of the A'ingae Language Documentation Project at Brown University (<https://cofan-aldp.github.io/LingView/#/>), in which case the name of the story is followed by a time code.

0						+1	+2	+3	+4
Head						Number	Mood	Negation	Illocution
<i>Verbal Word</i>						Plural subject (='fa)			Imperative (=ja) Prohibitive (=jama) Diminutive imperative (=kha) Mitigated Imperative (=se)
0 Stem	+1 Derivation	+2 Causative	+3 Diathesis	+4 Aspect, Manner, Direction	+5 Event location				
V	~VPL	-CAUS	-PASS -RECIP	-MANN.CV -NEG.CV -COME&DO -GO&DO -PRECUL -REP -DIM -IMPF		Irrealis (=ya)	Negation (=mbi)	Assertive (= 'ya/'ña)	
N/A					-DST -PRX				
<i>Serial verb construction</i>									
<i>Auxiliary constructions</i>									
Verb=INF + <i>tsun</i> -IMPF (Prospective)									
Verb=INF + <i>usha</i> (Intrinsic ability)									
Verb=INF + <i>atesû</i> (Acquired ability/Habitual)									
Verb=SS + <i>kanse</i> (Habitual)									
Verb-IMPF=PRED + <i>da</i> (Ingressive)									

Clitics occurring in position +4 express illocutionary values. The imperative and prohibitive ones do not combine with the irrealis and negative clitics, probably for semantic reasons, but the assertive clitic may occur with the full range of clitics in position +1, +2, and +3. An example in which it combines with the latter two is given in (2).

- (2) *Jayambiyatsû singûkhûngakhuetsû tsangae kha'ya dûseya.*  
 ja=**ya=mbi='ya**=tsû singû'khû=nga='khu=e=tsû tsa=ngae kha'ya dûse=ya  
 go=IRR=NEG=ASS=3 lake=DAT=CLF.ang=ADVR=3 ANA=MANN swim hang=IRR  
 'No, it's not going to go because it will stay in the lagoon swimming.' [Caza 3:19]

Turning now to the heads of verbal complexes, Table 1 shows that simple verb stems may be reduplicated and followed by a series of suffixes. Their combinations and ordering are illustrated in pairs in (3)-(6):

- (3) *Tsumba usha'chu aya'fama afa'faen.*  
 tsun=pa usha'chu aya'fa=ma afa~**fa-en**  
 do=SS various language=ACC.REAL speak~VPL-CAUS  
 'Then he caused the bluebird to speak all languages.' [BC05.004]
- (4) *Ingi asithaenchutatsû tres añome da'ni ka'nianñe efecenga tsa inicialkhen sù'chunga.*  
 ingi asi'thaen='chu=ta=tsû tres añome=ve da=ni ka'ni-**ña-ye**  
 1.PL think=SUB=NEW=3 three year=ACC.IRR become=LOC enter-CAUS-PASS  
 efecenga tsa inicial khen sù='chu=nga  
 pre.school=DAT ANA pre.school QUOT say=SUB=DAT  
 'We expect her to be 3 years old so she can enter pre-school.'  
 [Planes para el futuro 49]
- (5) *Ña gi chigaye'je.*  
 ña=ngi chi'ga-**ye-'je**  
 1.SG=1 not.want-PASS-IMPF  
 'I am not loved.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-024]
- (6) *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-DST=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]

When serial verbs occupy the head position, they share the aspectual and locational suffixes, but may each by themselves be reduplicated or carry a causative suffix or a suffix expressing diathesis. Example (7) shows serial verbs sharing the imperfective suffix:

- (7) *Tsa'khû ichhui'sû ja'ta, na'enga amphi jaje'fa.*  
 tsa'khû ichhui='sû ja=ta na'e=nga [amphi ja]-'**je='fa**  
 water fetch=ATTR go=NEW river=DAT fall go-IMPF=PLS  
 'When they would go to fetch water, they would fall into the river.' [BC20.004]

Examples (8) and (9) show that each of the verbs in a serial verb construction can be reduplicated independently, while those in (10) and (11) show that each may carry a causative suffix:

- (8) *A'i ankan jaja'fa.*  
a'i [ankan **ja~ja**]='fa.  
Cofán.person hold go~MLTP=PLS  
'Clinging the people went.' [BC01.007]
- (9) *Tse'i dyupa tueki shandanda ja'fa.*  
tse'i dyu=pa tueki [**shanda~nda** ja]='fa  
then be\_afraid=ss back return~MLTP go=PLS  
'Then being afraid they began to leave.' [BC14.023]
- (10) *Tsampini tsaikian jaja'fa.*  
tsampi=ni tsaiki-**an** ja~ja='fa  
jungle=LOC trail-CAUS go~VPL=PLS  
'They went to make a trail in the jungle.' [BC17.002]
- (11) *Tandamba atsuveningae tandan dûsian.*  
tandan=pa atsuve=ningae tandan dûse-**an**  
tie=ss upside\_down=ALL tie hang-CAUS  
'He tied her up and hung her upside-down.' [BC09.039]

Serial verb constructions with their inflections may be followed by predicate clitics, just like simple verbs.

- (12) *Ana ji'jefaya.*  
[ana ji]-'je='fa='ya  
sleep come-IMPF=PLS=ASS  
'They came sleeping.' [20040218-EC-Interview-225]

Auxiliary constructions as heads of verbal complexes are different from the other types of head in that the auxiliary cannot be reduplicated and cannot carry any verbal suffixes. The only exception to this concerns the imperfective suffix in the prospective construction, but here this suffix is an obligatory part of the construction, without which the prospective reading would not arise. This construction is illustrated in (13).

- (13) *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]

Auxiliary constructions too may be followed by predicate clitics, just like simple verbs and serial verbs.

- (14) *Se'jeye usha'fa.*  
[se'je=ye usha]='fa  
cure can=PLS  
'They could heal him.' [BC15.061]

With these general properties of the A'ingae verbal complex in mind, I now turn to an overview of types of complex predicate in the language.

## 2. Overview of verbal complex predicates in A'ingae

Five different types of complex verbal predicates are encountered in A'ingae. These are listed and illustrated below and will be discussed in more detail in the various subsections of Section 3 of this chapter.

### *A'ingae Serial Verb Construction* (See Section 3.1)

The A'ingae Serial Verb Construction represents a case of nuclear serialization. The two verbs share the imperfective aspect operator, and also have a shared set of arguments.

- (15) *Tsa'khû ichhui'sû ja'ta, na'enga amphi jaje'fa.*  
 tsa'khû ichhui='sû ja=ta na'e=nga [amphi ja]-'je='fa  
 water fetch=ATTR go=NEW river=DAT fall go-IMPF=PLS  
 'When they would go to fetch water, they would fall into the river.' [BC20.004]

### *A'ingae Infinitive + Auxiliary Construction* (See Section 3.2)

The A'ingae Infinitive + Auxiliary Construction is a combination of a lexical verb in the infinitive with an auxiliary verb, which may be either *usha* 'be able' or *atesû* 'know'. Constructions with the former auxiliary express intrinsic ability (16), those with the latter acquired ability (17) or habituality (18).

- (16) *Tsu'fe tshan=si [athe-ye usha]=mbi.*  
 eye blind=DS see-INF can=NEG  
 'They blinded my eyes and I cannot see.' (BC02.038)
- (17) *Tayupi tsa'kaen tisepa ñuñañe atesû'ya.*  
 tayupi tsa'kan=e tisepa [ñuñañe=ye atesû]='ya,  
 formerly ANA.SIMIL=ADVR 3.PL make=INF know=ASS  
 'In early times they knew how to make it like that.' [A20060118-MM-2-0158.794]
- (18) *Thesi ma kachiye atesû tsamangi thesi ma pu'taeñe atesûmbi.*  
 thesi=ma [kachai=ye atesû] tsa='ma=ngi thesi=ma  
 jaguar=ACC.REAL meet=INF know ANA=FRT=1 jaguar=ACC.REAL  
 [pu'ta-ñe=ye atesû]=mbi  
 pass.through-CAUS=INF know=NEG  
 'I usually see tigers, too, but I don't usually shoot them.' [HF 4:48]

### *A'ingae Infinitive + Auxiliary + Imperfective Aspect Construction* (See Section 3.3)

The A'ingae Infinitive + Auxiliary + Imperfective Aspect Construction also combines an

infinitive with an auxiliary, but differs slightly from the previous type in that the auxiliary verb *tsun* 'do' is obligatorily inflected for imperfective aspect. The aspect marker thus forms part of the construction, which expresses prospective aspect.

- (19) *Ya jañu gi ashaenñe tsunjenfa.*  
 ya ja'ñu=ngi [ashaen=ye tsun-'je]='fa  
 already now=1 begin=INF do-IMPF=PLS  
 'Now we're going to start.' [Autobiografía de CLC 0:02]

### *A'ingae Same Subject Verb Form + Auxiliary Construction* (See Section 3.4)

The *A'ingae Same Subject Verb Form + Auxiliary Construction* is a combination of a lexical verb in the same subject form that is characteristic of cosubordinate constructions and the auxiliary verb *kanse* 'live'. It expresses habitual meaning.

- (20) *Tsa'kaen tsû jipa kanse'fa'ya.*  
 Tsa='ka=en=tsû [ji=pa kanse]='fa='ya,  
 ANA=SIMIL-ADVR=3 come=SS live=PLS=ASS  
 'That's how they used to come here.' (20060118-MM-2-0237.799)

### *A'ingae Predicative Verb Form + Auxiliary Construction* (See Section 3.5)

The *A'ingae Predicative Verb Form + Auxiliary Construction* is a combination of a lexical verb in the imperfective aspect carrying the predicative clitic, which is characteristic of secondary predication, and the verb *da* 'become'. It expresses ingressive meaning.

- (21) *Tsunsî tsû tse'thie gringondekhûja andejeve da'faya.*  
 tsun=si=tsû tse='thi=e gringo=ndekhû=ja  
 make=DS=3 ANA.LOC=CLF:LOC=ADVR white.man=APL=CONTR  
 [ande-'je=ve da]='fa='ya.  
 land-IMPF=PRED become=PLS=ASS  
 'So from there the white people started to come down here.'  
 [20040218-EC-Interview-090]

## **3. Complex predicate constructions and their properties**

### **3.1. A'ingae Serial Verb Construction**

#### **3.1.1. Semantic relations and grammatical marking**

In the *A'ingae Serial Verb Construction* the final verb belongs to a restricted class of verbs expressing movement and posture. The only final verb that falls out of this semantic domain

is *nani* 'finish'. All final verbs have an independent use as well. This is shown for *khûtsû* 'stand' in (22) and (23):

- (22) *Kan khûtsû'fa.*  
 [kan **khûtsû**]='fa  
 watch stand=PLS  
 'They stood watching.' [BC02.028]
- (23) *Khûtsûsi unjin pa'chuave tûi.*  
**khûtsû**=si unjin pa'chu=a=ve tûi  
 stand=DS rain all=NPM=ACC.IRR rain  
 'While he stood there it rained very hard.' [BC10.006]

The final verbs involved identified so far are *anga* 'carry', *ansunde* 'go up', *dûse* 'hang', *dyai* 'sit', *ejian* 'make enter', *ja* 'go', *ji* 'come', *ka'ni* 'enter', *khûi* 'lie down', *khûtsû* 'stand', *nani* 'finish', and *phi* 'sit in'. Examples are given here for each of these verbs.

*anga* 'carry'

- (24) *Upi anga'fa.*  
 [upi **anga**]='fa  
 pick.up carry=PLS  
 'They carried him on their shoulders.' [BC26.059]

*ansûnde* 'go up'

- (25) *Tsau ni bûthu ansunde ja'ta ethini japa a'tûye tsû*  
 tsau=ni [bûthu **ansûnde**] ja=ta ethi=ni ja=pa a'tû=ye=tsû  
 house=LOC run ascend go=NEW room=LOC go=SS hide=INF=3  
 'Running up to the house she went in and hid. [BC24.023]

*dûse* 'hang'

- (26) *Umbanga sumbu dûse kanjansi.*  
 umba=nga [sumbu **dûse**] kanjansi  
 top=DAT emerge hang boa  
 'The boa rose up to the surface (of the lake).' [BC20.117]

*dyai* 'sit'

- (27) *Tsunsi tise'ja kan dyai'ya.*  
 tsun=si tise=ja [kan **dyai**]='ya  
 do=DS 3.SG=CONTR look sit=ASS  
 'So he sat watching.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0270.89]

*eje* 'be impaled'

- (28) *Ishatsû tsa'u tsusingaja amphi ejeya.*  
 isha=tsû tsa'u tsu'si=nga=ja [amphi **eje**]='ya  
 really=3 house deep=DAT=CONTR fall down be.impaled=IRR  
 'Maybe it fell to the floor.'

*ja* 'go'

- (29) *Tse jangi ja'ya.*  
tse [jangi ja]='ya  
ANA.LOC get.up go=ASS  
'Then she took off flying.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0409.523]

*ji* 'come'

- (30) *Tsûi ji ethinga i khûiñã.*  
[tsûi ji] ethi=nga i khûi-ñã  
walk come house=DAT bring lay.down-CAUS  
'He walked to the house and lay it down.' [BC09.020]

*ka'ni* 'enter'

- (31) *Enthingeveyita pisa ka'ni na'enga.*  
enthinge=ve=yi=ta [pisa ka'ni] na'e=nga  
half=ACC.IRR=EXCL=NEW press enter river=DAT  
'Part of them he put into the river.' [BC06.019]

*khûi* 'lie down'

- (32) *I'na khûi.*  
[i'na khûi]  
cry lay  
'He lay crying.' [BC15.072]

*khûtsû* 'stand'

- (33) *Ûfa'je'ninda dû'shû a'tûtshe kan khûtsû'fa.*  
ûfa-'je=ni=ta dû'shû a'tû=tshe [kan khûtsû]='fa  
blow-IMP=LOC=NEW child hide=ADVR watch stand=PLS  
'When he blew, the young men being hidden stood and watched.' [BC02.019]

*nani* 'finish'

- (34) *An nanimba ji.*  
[an nani]=paji  
eat finish=ss come  
'When he was done eating he came back.' [BC17.056]

*phi* 'sit in'

- (35) *Sefakhune amphi ka'ni ji phi.*  
sefa='khu=ne [amphi ka'ni ji phi]  
sky=CLF:ANG=ABL fall enter come sit.in  
'She came and fell into it from above.' [BC15.028]

More than two verbs may be involved in serialization. Example (36) shows a series of three verbs, example (37) of four verbs, which is the maximum number of verbs attested.

- (36) *Tse'i thatha tsûi jayi.*  
 tse'i [thatha tsûi ja]-yi  
 then search walk go-PROSP  
 'He began walking and searching.' [BC01.009]
- (37) *Tsunsî chan asikhu, si'tshima pantan'chuma, kûsepama usha'chuma andû anga ansûnde ji.*  
 tsun=si chan asikhu si'tshi=ma pantan'chu=ma kûsepa=ma  
 do=DS mother floor firewood=ACC.REAL fire.stones=ACC.REAL ash=ACC.REAL  
 usha'chu=ma [andû anga ansûnde ji]  
 various=ACC.REAL bear carry ascend come  
 'Then the mother gathered the bed, the firewood, the fire stones, the ashes, and carrying everything she came climbing. [BC08.077]

The non-final verbs in a SVC occur in their bare form, as shown in the examples above. However, this is not a distinguishing feature of serial verb constructions, as all regular verbs in A'ingae can be used in their bare form as main predicates, as shown in (38):

- (38) *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]

The final verb in the SVC may carry the aspectual and locational verbal inflections and predicate clitics, and could in that form be used independently as well. In (39) the imperfective suffix attaches to the final verb and is followed by the plural subject and assertive clitics:

- (39) *Ana ji'jefaya.*  
 [ana ji]-'je='fa='ya  
 sleep come-IMPF=PLS=ASS  
 'They came sleeping.' [20040218-EC-Interview-225]

In (40) the prospective suffix is attached to the final verb and is followed by the different subject clitic:

- (40) *Thatha jayisi fûesû a'i jipa kachûikhu'fa.*  
 [thatha ja]-yi=si fûe'sû a'i ji=pa kachûi-khu='fa  
 search go-PROSP=DS other Cofán.person come=SS meet-RECIP=PLS  
 'Then as he walked and searched, the other man came and they met.' [BC01.014]

### 3.1.2. Word order, contiguity, and wordhood

The word order in the A'ingae Serial Verb Construction is fixed. The verbs from the restricted set are always in final position. The verbs are also always strictly contiguous in this construction. The verbs in the A'ingae Serial Verb Construction do not form a single prosodic

word. This can be shown to be the case as the non-final verb may carry falsetto intonation (see Sanker, Silva, Lucitante & Anderbois 2018) by itself, which shows it forms its own prosodic domain. This is shown in (41), in which falsetto expresses excitement:

- (41) *Jipa ûfakhu'khuma tsûtuningae upí ji.*  
 ji=pa ûfakhu'khu=ma tsûtu=ningae [upi<F> ji]  
 come=SS blowgun=ACC.REAL muzzle=ALL carry<EXCT> come  
 'As he came, he carried his blowgun by the muzzle.' [BC09.019]

### 3.1.3. Levels of juncture, argument sharing and pooling, monoclausality

The A'ingae Serial Verb Construction can be clearly distinguished from multiclausal units, as in the latter case a subordinating clitic is used on the non-final verb. Compare, for instance, the following two examples:

- (42) *Shichapa ja.*  
 shicha=pa ja  
 pull.out=ss go  
 'Pulling it out he went away.' [BC17.069]
- (43) *Mangu ja na'enga.*  
 [mangû ja] na'e=nga  
 crawl go river=DAT  
 'Moving it crawled toward the river.' [BC18.044]

In (42) the first verb constitutes a cosubordinate clause by itself and is marked by the same subject cosubordinating clitic =*pa*. In the serial verb construction in (43) the first verb occurs in its bare form. Another pair of examples is given in (44)-(45):

- (44) *Pa'khu tsampinga bûthukhuin jafa.*  
 pa'khu tsampi=nga bûthu='khu-in ja='fa  
 all forest=DAT run=AUG-MANN.CV go=PLS  
 'They all went running to the forest.' [20040218-EC-Interview-055]
- (45) *Tsa'kaen tumba tse khaki tsûi ja.*  
 tsa'kan=e tsun=pa tse kha=ki [tsûi ja]  
 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR do=SS ANA.LOC other=CLF:DRN walk go  
 'That's why the other day I went walking.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0275.893]

In (44) the first verb is part of a simultaneity clause based on a converb created with the subordinating suffix *-in*. In the serial verb construction in (45) the first verb occurs in its bare form.

A'ingae SVCs are instances of nuclear serialization. They together share a single set of arguments. This does not mean that each of the predicates needs to have the same set of arguments individually, but it does mean that every semantic function/thematic role may be assigned only once in the joined set of arguments of the two predicates (Foley & Olson 1985: 44). For instance, in (46) *kun'sin* 'woolly monkey' is an argument of *andû* 'carry' but not of *ji*

'come'. The two verbs share their Actor argument, but not the Undergoer. Still, every semantic function is carried by a single participant.

(46) *Dapa kun'sima andú ji tsauni.*

da=pa kun'sin=ma [andû<F> ji] tsa'u=ni  
 become=SS woolly\_monkey=ACC.REAL carry<EXCT> come house=LOC  
 'Changing like that he came to the house carrying the monkeys.' [BC09.018]

In (47), the constituent *usha'chu* is an Undergoer argument of *andû* 'bear' and *anga* 'carry', but not of *ansûnde* 'ascend' and *ji* 'come', while all four verbs share the same actor argument *chan* 'mother'.

(47) *Tsuni chan asikhu, si'tshima pantan'chuma, kûsepama usha'chuma andû anga ansûnde ji.*

tsun=si chan asikhu si'tshi=ma pantan'chu=ma kûsepa=ma  
 do=DS mother floor firewood=ACC.REAL fire.stones=ACC.REAL ash=ACC.REAL  
 usha'chu=ma [andû anga ansûnde ji]  
 various=ACC.REAL bear carry ascend come  
 'Then the mother gathered the bed, the firewood, the fire stones, the ashes, and carrying everything she came climbing. [BC08.077]

In many cases, though, the serial verbs share a single argument, as in (48):

(48) *Khushapa ru'nda dyai'fa.*

khusha=pa [ru'nda dyai]='fa  
 drum=SS wait sat=PLS  
 'They drummed and sat waiting.' [BC08.010]

In the A'ingae Serial Verb Construction, verbs share all TAME values except for verbal plurality, which may be expressed on each verb individually, in (49) on the initial verb, in (50) on the final verb:

(49) *Tse'i dyupa tueki shandanda ja'fa.*

tse'i dyu=pa tueki [shanda~nda ja]='fa  
 then be\_afraid=SS back return~VPL go=PLS  
 'Then being afraid they began to leave.' [BC14.023]

(50) *Tsampini tsaikian jaja'fa.*

tsampi=ni [tsaiki-an ja~ja]='fa  
 jungle=LOC trail-CAUS go~VPL=PLS  
 'They went to make a trail in the jungle.' [BC17.002]

Not only verbal suffixes are shared, but also clitics that attach to the predicate phrase, as in (51), which shows that the two serial verbs share the imperfective aspect suffix and the plural subject clitic. (52) shows that two serial verbs also share the predicate clitic expressing negation.

- (51) *Tsa'khû ichhui'sû ja'ta, na'enga amphi jaje'fa.*  
 tsa'khû ichhui='sû ja=ta na'e=nga [amphi ja]-'je='fa  
 water fetch=ATTR go=NEW river=DAT fall go-IMPF=PLS  
 'When they would go to fetch water, they would fall into the river.' [BC20.004]
- (52) *Andûpa'khe anga jimbi.*  
 andû=pa=khe [anga ji]=mbi  
 carry=SS=ADD [carry come]=NEG  
 'He didn't bring him by carrying him.' [BC26.050]

Lexical modification also affects both serial verbs. This is shown in (53), in which the phasal particle *tayu* 'already' scopes over both serial verbs:

- (53) *tayu ka'ni jaja*  
 tayu [ka'ni ja]=ja  
 already enter go=CONTR  
 'when they already entered' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0232.385]

### 3.2. A'ingae Infinitive + Auxiliary Construction

#### 3.2.1. Semantic relations and grammatical marking

The grammaticalized final verb *usha* 'be able' and *atesû* 'know' are used as auxiliaries in combination with an infinitival initial verb. The construction with *usha* 'be able' expresses intrinsic ability, as shown in (54) and (55).

- (54) *Tsene ke ki kundaseye usha vanima.*  
 tse=ne ke=ki [kundase=ye usha] va=ni=ma  
 ANA.LOC=ABL 2.SG=2 tell=INF be.able PROX=LOC=ACC.REAL  
 'You are able to talk to those from here.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-019]
- (55) *Ñanjan vani kanseye ushambingi.*  
 ña=ja va=ni [kanse=ye usha]=mbi=ngi  
 1.SG=CONTR PROX=LOC live=INF be.able=NEG=1  
 'I cannot live here.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0250.03]

The construction with *atesû* 'know' expresses acquired ability (56) or habituality (57):

- (56) *Tayupi tsa'kaen tisepa ñuñañe atesû'ya.*  
 tayupi tsa'kan=e tisepa [ñuñañe atesû]='ya,  
 formerly ANA.SIMIL=ADVR 3.PL make=INF know=ASS  
 'In early times they knew how to make it like that.' [A20060118-MM-2-0158.794]

- (57) *Thesi ma kachiye atesû tsamangi thesi ma pu'taeñe atesûmbi.*  
 thesi=ma [kachai=ye atesû] tsa='ma=ngi thesi=ma  
 jaguar=ACC.REAL meet=INF know ANA=FRT=1 jaguar=ACC.REAL  
 [pu'ta-ña=ye atesû]=mbi  
 pass.through-CAUS=INF know=NEG  
 'I usually see tigers, too, but I don't usually shoot them.' [HF 4:48]

The two auxiliary verbs behave somewhat differently in their independent uses. *Usha* 'be able' can be used independently, but only if the initial verb can be contextually retrieved, as in:

- (58) *Tsa'kamba usha'fambi khen sù'ya.*  
 Tsa'kan=pa usha='fa=mbi khen sù='ya.  
 ANA.SIMIL=SS be.able=PLS=NEG QUOT say=ASS  
 'That is why I say we can't (encircle our land).'

However, *usha* 'be able' can be the input to privative derivation as in (59):

- (59) *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]

*Atesû* 'know' has a fully independent use, as shown in (60):

- (60) *Atesû'fambingi kurifindive.*  
 atesû='fa=mbi=ngi kurifi'ndi=ve  
 know=PLS=NEG=1 money=ACC.IRR  
 'We were not familiar with money.' [20040218-EC-Interview-148]

The initial verb in the construction is an infinitival form that can, outside of the auxiliary constructions it participates in, only be used in subordinate clauses, both complement clauses (61) and adverbial clauses (62).

- (61) *Ingima katiye in'jambi Chiga Chan.*  
 [ingi=ma kati]=ye in'jan=mbi Chiga Chan  
 1.PL=ACC.REAL leave=INF desire=NEG god mother  
 'God Mother didn't want to leave us.' [BC26.102]
- (62) *Ña'khe kei'khû kan'jeñe gi ji.*  
 [ña=khe ke=i'khû kan'jen]=ye=ngi ji  
 1.SG=ADD 2.SG=INS live=INF=1 come  
 'I came to live with you.' [BC26.082]

Aspectual suffixes are not allowed with auxiliary verbs, as shown in Section 1, but if predicate clitics are present, these attach to the final verb, as shown in (63)-(64):

- (63) *Ñutshe pañanye usha'fambi.*  
 ñutshe [pañan=ye usha]='fa=mbi  
 good hear=INF be.able=PLS=NEG  
 'They can't understand well.' [20060118-LM-2-0101.582]
- (64) *Tayupi tsa'kaen tisepa ñuñañe atesû'ya.*  
 tayupi tsa'kan=e tisepa [ñuñã=ye atesû]='ya  
 formerly ANA.SIMIL=ADVR 3.PL make=INF know=ASS  
 'In early times they knew how to make it like that.' [20060118-MM-2-0158.794]

### 3.2.2. Word order, contiguity, and wordhood

As shown in the examples so far, the grammatical verb is generally the last verb within the construction. However, there are exceptional cases in which the order is inverted. All attested cases involve the auxiliary *usha* 'be able'.

- (65) *Tsa'kamba gi usha'fambi sumbuye.*  
 tsa'kan=pa=ngi [usha='fa=mbi sumbu=ye]  
 ANA.SIMIL=SS=1 be.able=PLS=NEG emerge=INF  
 'That is why we cannot go out.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-011]
- (66) *Ña ushambi ansûndeye.*  
 ña [usha=mbi ansûnde=ye]  
 1.SG can=NEG climb\_up=INF  
 'I am unable to climb up. [BC03.038]

The verbs are, however, contiguous in both orders, but do not form a single phonological word. This is clear from the following example, in which falsetto is expressed on the lexical verb.

- (67) *Tsangate ku'feye atesû'fa.*  
 tsangae=te [ku'fe<F>=ye atesû]='fa  
 always=RPRT play<EXCT>=INF know=PLS  
 'They always play that game.'

### 3.2.3. Levels of juncture, argument sharing and pooling, monoclausality

In the construction discussed here the subject is necessarily shared, but no other arguments are. For instance, in (68) the constituent *tsûthema* 'foot=ACC.REAL' is allowed within the construction because it is an argument of *indi* 'get hold of'. *Usha* 'be able' could just as well combine with an intransitive verb, as in (69).

- (68) *Tsûthema indiyê ushambi*  
 tsûthe=ma [indi=ye usha]=mbi  
 foot=ACC.REAL get.hold.of=INF be.able=NEG  
 'I can't get hold of its feet.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-030]
- (69) *Ñanjan vani kanseye ushambingi khen.*  
 ña=ja va=ni [kanse=ye usha]=mbi=ngi khen  
 1.SG=CONTR PROX=LOC live=INF be.able=NEG=1 QUOT  
 'I cannot live here she said.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0250.03]

The component verbs share the same values for TAME and negation. This is shown in (70) for irrealis mood, in (71) for assertive mood, and in (72) for negation.

- (70) *Akhia san'jamba ti anchuñe ushaya.*  
 akhia san'jan=pa=ti [anchun=ye usha]=ya  
 just dry.smoke=SS=INT sew=INF be.able=IRR  
 'Could they just dry it and sew it?' [20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0020.794]
- (71) *Tayupi tsa'kaen tisepa ñuñañe atesû'ya.*  
 tayupi tsa'kan=e tisepa [ñuñañe=ye atesû]='ya  
 formerly ANA.SIMIL=ADVR 3.PL make=INF know=ASS  
 'In early times they knew how to make it like that.' [20060118-MM-2-0158.794]
- (72) *Tsu'fe tshansi atheyê ushambi.*  
 Tsu'fe tshan=si [athe-ye usha]=mbi.  
 eye blind=DS see=INF can=NEG  
 'They blinded my eyes and I cannot see.' (BC02.038)

### 3.3. A'ingae Infinitive + Auxiliary + Imperfective Aspect Construction

#### 3.3.1. Semantic relations and grammatical marking

The combination of the grammaticalized verb *tsun* 'do' inflected for imperfective aspect with a preceding infinitival verb expresses prospective aspectual meaning.

- (73) *Isha, tayu tsû ja'ñuja fithiye tsunjen.*  
 isha tayu=tsû ja'ñu=ja [fi'thi=ye tsun-'je]  
 really already=3 now=CONTR kill=INF going.to -IMPF  
 'Really, now she (the dog) is going to kill it.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-091]
- (74) *Khasheyeta paye tsun'jen.*  
 khashe'ye=ta [pa=ye tsun-'je]  
 old.man=NEW die=INF do-IMPF  
 'That old man is going to die.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0072.606]

As shown in the previous section, the verb in initial position, being an infinitive, is outside the auxiliary construction used in subordinate clauses only.

The auxiliary verb carries the imperfective suffix, but since this marking is obligatory, it should be considered part of the construction, comparable to the use of the progressive

form in the *be going to* construction in English. Predicate clitics are expressed on the final verb. An example with a predicate clitic, the plural subject clitic =*fa*, is (75):

- (75) *Vaetsû jaye tsunjenfa.*  
 vae=tsû [ja-ye tsun-'je]=**fa**  
 already=3 go-INF do-IMPF=PLS  
 'They are already leaving.' [Erision kundasepa 5:09]

### 3.3.2. Word order, contiguity, and wordhood

The lexical verb and auxiliary always occur in that order, but do not form a single prosodic word. They are generally contiguous, but may occasionally be interrupted, as in (76).

- (76) *Mingae dapate gi kanseye ja'nñunda tsun'jenfa.*  
 mingae da=pa=te=ngi [kanse=ye] ja'nñu=ta [tsun-'je]='fa  
 IGN.DEG become=SS=RPRT=1 live=INF now=NEW do-IMPF=PLS  
 'How are we going to live now?' [20040218-EC-Interview-044]

### 3.3.3. Levels of juncture, argument sharing and pooling, monoclausality

In this construction, as in the previous one, the subject is necessarily shared, but other arguments are not, as can be shown by means of the following example:

- (77) *Matachima gi kundaseye tsun'jen.*  
 matachi=ma=ngi [kundase=ye tsun-'je]  
 matachi.clown=ACC.REAL=1 converse=INF do-IMPF  
 'I'm going to tell you about the matachi clown.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0000.0]

In (77) the accusative argument *matachi* 'matachi clown' depends on the verb *kundase* 'tell', not on the verb *tsun* 'do' which can just as well be used with an intransitive lexical verb, as in (78).

- (78) *Tayu tsû paye tsun'jen*  
 tayu=tsû [pa=ye tsun-'je]  
 already=3 die=INF going.to-IMPF  
 'It's already going to die.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-121]

The component verbs share all TAME and negation values. For instance, in (79) the assertive clitic is shared:

- (79) *Khasheyeta paye tsunjeña*  
 khashe'ye=ta [pa=ye tsun-'je]='ya  
 old.man=NEW die=INF going.to-IMPF=ASS  
 'The old man was going to die.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-023]

### 3.4. A'ingae Same Subject Verb Form + Auxiliary Construction

#### 3.4.1. Semantic relations and grammatical marking

The A'ingae Same Subject Verb Form + Auxiliary expresses habitual aspect, as in:

- (80) *Tsampi ni va'the bia'ave japa kansembi.*  
 tsampi=ni va='the bia=a=ve [ja=pa kanse]=mbi  
 forest=LOC PROX=PSTE long=NPM=ACC.IRR go=SS live=NEG  
 'I never go far into the forest.' [HF 6:11]

The initial verb, being an infinitive, cannot be used independently in main clauses, but only as the predicate of a subordinate clause. But the final verb does have an independent use, as illustrated in (81).

- (81) *Ñua'me avûjatshi kansefaya.*  
 Ñua'me avûjatshi kanse='fa='ya.  
 truly happy-ADJR live=PLS=ASS  
 'We lived happily.' [20040218-EC-Interview-019]

While inflectional marking does not occur on auxiliaries, predicate clitics do attach to the final verb, as in the following example with the plural subject clitic =*'fa* and the assertive clitic =*'ya*.

- (82) *Tsa'kaen tsû jipa kanse'fa'ya.*  
 tsa'kan=e=tsû [ji=pa kanse]='fa='ya  
 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=3 come=SS live=PLS=ASS  
 'That is how they used to come here.' [20060118-MM--0237.799]

#### 3.4.2. Word order, contiguity, and wordhood

In this construction the order of the verbs can not be inverted, and they have to be contiguous. The grammatical verb is always the final verb. The verbs involved do not form a single prosodic word.

#### 3.3.3. Levels of juncture, argument sharing and pooling, monoclausality

It may be hard to distinguish this construction from a multiclausal one such as the one in (81):

- (83) *Tanjensive dapa kanseja.*  
 tanjensi=ve                    da=pa        kanse=ja  
 magic\_snake=ACC.IRR become=SS live=IMP  
 'Go live as a magic snake.' [BC08.017]

It is the context that decides whether the habitual reading or the lexical one is intended. In this case the fact that one cannot order a habit triggers the lexical reading of the verb *kanse* 'live'.

The component verbs share their subject, but other arguments pertain to the lexical verb. Thus, *kanse* may combine with both intransitive and transitive verbs:

- (84) *Khase tueveyi isûpa kansefa.*  
 khase tue=ve=yi                    [isû=pa kanse]='fa  
 again same=ACC.IRR=EXCL take=SS live=PLS  
 'They used to drink like before.' [20040218-EC-Interview-115]
- (85) *Athepa kansembi.*  
 [athe=pa kanse]=mbi  
 see=SS live=NEG  
 'I never see one.' [HF 6:52]

They also share all TAME categories and negation. In (86) the assertive marker is shared:

- (86) *Jun, tsa'kaende matachija kufepa kanse'ya.*  
 jun tsa'kan=e=te                    matachi=ja                    [kufe=pa kanse]='ya  
 yes ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=RPRT matachi.clown=CONTR play=SS live=ASS  
 'Yes it is told that that's how he used to play the matachi game.'  
 [20060118-MM-2-0135.474]

### 3.5. A'ingae Predicative Verb Form + Auxiliary Construction

#### 3.5.1. Semantic relations and grammatical marking

The rather infrequent A'ingae Predicative Verb Form + Auxiliary Construction expresses ingressive meaning, as illustrated in (87).

- (87) *Afa'jeve da'ya.*  
 [afa-'je=ve                    da]='ya  
 speak-IMPF=PRED become=ASS  
 'She started to talk.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0523.439]

The predicative marker =ve<sup>2</sup>, outside this construction, marks secondary predicates, as in (88):

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<sup>2</sup> A marker of the same form as the predicative marker =ve is used as an irrealis accusative marker, but the distribution of the two is different.



### 3.5.3. Levels of juncture, argument sharing and pooling, monoclausality

This construction can not be interpreted as consisting of two clauses, as the predicative marker =ve cannot be used as a subordinating morpheme. It is used as a predicative marker on adjectives (88), verbs (89), and nouns (92) only:

- (92) *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]

The configuration in which the predicative marker follows a verb inflected for imperfective aspect is unique to this construction, which cannot therefore be interpreted otherwise.

## 4. Patterns of grammaticalization

Several constructions discussed in Section 3 are instantiations of known grammaticalization paths as documented in Heine & Kuteva (2002). This holds first of all for the construction, discussed in Section 3.2, in which an infinitive combines with the verb *atesû* 'know'. As explained there the construction may express both acquired ability and habitual aspect. The relevant examples (17) and (18) are repeated here as (93) and (94):

- (93) *Tayupi tsa'kaen tisepa ñuñañe atesû'ya.*  
tayupi    tsa'kan=e                      tisepa    [ñuñã=ye    atesû]=ya,  
formerly ANA.SIMIL=ADVR    3.PL    make=INF    know=ASS  
'In early times they knew how to make it like that.' [A20060118-MM-2-0158.794]
- (94) *Thesi ma kachiye atesû tsamangi thesi ma pu'taẽne atesûmbi.*  
thesi=ma                      [kachai=ye atesû]    tsa='ma=ngi    thesi=ma  
jaguar=ACC.REAL meet=INF    know    ANA=FRT=1    jaguar=ACC.REAL  
[pu'ta-ña=ye                      atesû]=mbi  
pass.through-CAUS=INF    know=NEG  
'I usually see tigers, too, but I don't usually shoot them.' [HF 4:48]

These examples reflect the grammaticalization paths KNOW > ABILITY and KNOW > HABITUAL (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 186-187). It is important to repeat here that the verb *atesû* 'know' can be used with its full lexical meaning outside the auxiliary construction, as shown in (95):

- (95) *Sumbusi tise yayave atesumbipa chathû.*  
sumbu=si    tise    yaya=ve                      atesû=mbi=pa chathû  
emerge=DS    3.SG    father=ACC.IRR    know=NEG=SS    cut\_off  
'When he emerged, his children didn't recognize their father and cut him.'  
[BC08.014]

A second construction for which the grammaticalization path is transparent and well attested is the one discussed in Section 3.4. In this construction a same subject verb form combines with the verb *kanse* ‘live’ and expresses habitual aspect. Example (20) is repeated here as (96):

- (96) *Tsa'kaen tsû jipa kanse'fa'ya.*  
 Tsa='ka=en=tsû [ji=pa kanse]='fa='ya,  
 ANA=SIMIL-ADVR=3 come=SS live=PLS=ASS  
 ‘That’s how they used to come here.’ (20060118-MM-2-0237.799)

This construction is an instantiation of the grammaticalization path LIVE > HABITUAL (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 197). The lexical use of the verb *kanse* is shown in (97):

- (97) *Tsani kanjansi kanse.*  
 tsa=ni kanjansi kanse  
 ANA=LOC boa live  
 ‘A boa lives there.’ [HF 8:57]

The construction in which a verb form inflected for imperfective aspect carries a predicative marker and is combined with the verb *da* ‘become’ (see Section 3.5) might be a case of the grammaticalization path CHANGE-OF-STATE > FUTURE (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 64-65), as the ingressive expresses an event that is not completed. Example (21) is repeated here as (98):

- (98) *Tsunsi tsû tse'thie gringondekhûja andejeve da'faya.*  
 tsun=si=tsû tse='thi=e gringo=ndekhû=ja  
 make=DS=3 ANA.LOC=CLF:LOC=ADVR white.man=APL=CONTR  
 ande-'je=ve da='fa='ya  
 land-IMPF=PRED become=PLS=ASS  
 ‘So from there the white people started to come down here.’  
 [20040218-EC-Interview-090]

The lexical use of *da* is illustrated in (99):

- (99) *Kun'sime da atsefapa.*  
 kun'sin=ve da atsefa-'pa  
 woolly\_monkey=PRED become tail-NR  
 ‘It became a woolly monkey with a tail.’ [BC26.012]

A final construction to be discussed is the combination of an infinitive with the verb *usha* ‘be able’ presented in Section 3.2. Example (54) is repeated here as (100).

- (100) *Tsene ke ki kundaseye usha vanima.*  
 tse=n ke=ki [kundase=ye usha] va=ni=ma  
 ANA.LOC=ABL 2.SG=2 tell=INF be.able PROX=LOC=ACC.REAL  
 ‘You are able to talk to those from here.’ [20050701-MA-Letter-2-019]

This might be an instantiation of the grammaticalization path CAPABLE > ABILITY that is not listed in Heine & Kuteva (2002), but has been attested in e.g. American Spanish (see Grández Ávila 2010). This analysis is supported by the fact that *usha* may be used in lexical derivations such as the following, which make sense if the lexical meaning ‘capable’ is assumed:

- (101) *usha-en*  
capable-CAUS  
‘train’
- (102) *usha-mpi*  
capable-PRIV  
‘weak’

## Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of verbal complex predicates in A’ingae. A’ingae exhibits the phenomenon of verb serialization, which is of the nuclear type, and which is based on positional verbs and verbs of movement. Apart from these, A’ingae has auxiliary constructions, in which the lexical verb takes the form of an infinitive, a same subject verb form, or a verb inflected for imperfective aspect provided with the predicative case marker. The auxiliaries have developed from lexical verbs meaning ‘know’, ‘be capable’, ‘live’, ‘become’, and ‘do’, most of which are known sources in established grammaticalization paths.

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## Abbreviations used

1: first person, 2: second person, 3 third person, ABL: ablative, ACC.IRR: irrealis accusative, ACC.REAL: realis accusative, ADD: additive focus, ADJR: adjectivalizer, ADVR: adverbializer, ALL: allative, ANA: anaphoric reference to entity or event, ANA.ATTR: attributive anaphoric pro-adjective, ANA.LOC: anaphoric reference to location or time, ANA.SIMIL: similative anaphoric pro-adjective, APL: animate plural, ASS: assertive, ASSOC: associative, ATTR: attributive, AUG: augmentative, CAUS: causativizer, CL:TLL: classifier tall objects, CLF:ANG: classifier angular objects, CLF:DRN: classifier days, CLF:FLT: classifier flat objects, CLF:LOC: classifier locations, CLF:RND: classifier round or small objects, COME&DO: associated motion come and do, CONTR: contrastive topic, CV: converb, DAT: dative, DIM: verbal diminutive, DIST: distal, DS: different subject cosubordinator, DST: distal event location, EXCL: exclusive focus, EXCT: excitement, FRT: frustrative, GO&DO: associated motion go and do, IGN.DEG: ignorative degree, IMP: imperative, IMPF: imperfective, INF: infinitive, INS: instrument, INT: interrogative, IRR: irrealis, LOC: locative,

MANN: manner, path, MLTP: multiplicative, NEG: negation, NEW: new topic, NPM: noun phrase marker, NR: nominalizer, PASS: passive, PL: plural, PLS: plural subject, PRECUL: preculminative, PRED: predicative, PRIV: negative adjectivalizer, PROSP: prospective, PROX: proximal, PRX: proximal event location, PSTE: postessive, QUOT: quotative, RECIP: reciprocal, REP: repetitive, RPRT: reportative, SG: singular, SIMIL: similative, SS: same subject cosubordinator, SUB: subordinator, VPL: verbal plurality.

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