

A grammar of A'ingae

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4. Morphology¹

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 present 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 jisitise se'je.
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]

¹ We are greatly indebted to Scott Anderbois, Maksymilian Dąbkowski, and the A'ingae research group at Brown University for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

- (3) Tai'ngapa tse'i se'jeye ashaen'fa kuragandekhû.
 tai='nga=pa tse'i **se'je**=ye ashan-en='fa kuraga=ndekhû
 gather-GO&DO=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=SIMIL1=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 suffix *-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~MLTP 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.ADJR=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.ADJR
'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=CONTRuh 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* 'COME&DO' and *-nga* 'GO&DO' 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 indiyey'a.
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 wait 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-GO&DO=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-COME&DO=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~MLTP=PLS
 'They were afraid and left.' [BC19.155]
- (41) Ay ma'kaen dyu.
 ay ma='kan=e **dyu**
 oh IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=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=SIMIL1=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.

Property verbs differ from adjectives (Section 4.2.2.4) in that adjectives can be used attributively, whereas property verbs cannot. Property verbs require relativization in order to be used predicatively, as illustrated in (44).

- (44) Japa khutha'khu tansinchuni ansunde.
 ja=pa [khutha'khu [**tansin**=**chu**]]=ni ansunde
 go=SS hill steep=SUB=LOC climb
 'He went and climbed a steep hill. (lit. "that was steep")' [BC16.024]
- (45) Biani japa aña='chu sanjan'sû japate shiparenga khûkhûye.
 bia=ni ja=pa [aña'chu [**san**=**sû**]] ja=pa=te shipare=nga khûkhû-ye
 far=LOC go=SS food dry=ATTR go=SS=RPRT manta.ray=DAT sting-PASS
 'Having gone far, having gone for dried meat, he was bitten by the manta ray.'

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 (46)-(47), where the transitive verb *dyu-ña* 'be.afraid-CAUS' in (47) is derived from the property verb *dyu* 'be afraid' illustrated in (46). In (48)-(49) we illustrate the same facts for the bound property verb *chape* 'be soft', with the intransitive use in (48) and the derived transitive use in (49).

- (46) Khen dyu.
 khen **dyu**
 thus be.afraid
 'I got scared that way.' [Caza y pesca 2:10]
- (47) Dyuñaja.
dyu-en=ja
 be.afraid-CAUS=IMP
 'Make her afraid.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-102]
- (48) Kipa uma'ndu chapia.
 kipa uma'ndu **chape**=a
 yellow macaw soft=NPM
 'The yellow macaw's is soft.' [BC03.026]
- (49) 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 (50)-(53) show free property verbs with nominalizing (50), causativizing (51), aspectual (52), directional (53), and manner (54) suffixes.

- (50) 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]
- (51) 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]
- (52) 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]

- (53) Phurungayatiki?
 phuru=**'nga**=ya=ti=ki
 be.near=GO&DO=IRR=INT=2
 'Can you get there?' [Yaje 2: 0:58]
- (54) 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 (55)-(57) show bound property verbs combining with the nominalizer *-pa* in (55), the causativizer *-en* in (56), and the imperfective aspect marker *-je* in (57).

- (55) Aiyepa tsû.
 aiye-**'pa**=tsû
 difficult-NR=3
 'It's a difficult thing.' [20040218-EC-Interview-045]
- (56) 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]
- (57) 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 (58)-(59) for free property verbs, and in (60)-(61) for bound property verbs.

- (58) Avûjatshi kansefaya.
 avûja-**tshi** kanse='fa='ya.
 be.happy-ADJR live=PLS=ASS
 'We lived happy.' [20040218-EC-Interview-019]
- (59) Dyu'tshia sejepaya'tsû tsaja.
 dyuju-**tshi**=a se'je-'pa='ya=tsû tsa=ja
 get.scared-ADJR=NPM cure-NR=ASS=3 ANA=CONTR
 'It is a potent medicine.' [El jardín y las plantas medicinales 1:07 S2]
- (60) Ñua'me ñutshia chanditshia na'ema.
 ñua'me ñu-**tshi**=a chan'di-**tshi**=a na'en=ma
 truly good-ADJR=NPM be.cold-ADJR=NPM river=ACC.REAL
 'The river was really clean.' [20040218-EC-Interview-016]
- (61) Ka'nimba já, bathi'nga chharatshi.
 ka'ni=pa ja~: bathi-'nga chhara-**tshi**
 enter=SS go~DUR emerge-GO&DO 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.

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

Table 4.1. Free property verbs

avûja 'be happy'

- (62) Tse'i chan'khe avûja.
 tse'i chan=khe **avûja**
 then mother=ADD be.happy
 'Then the mother also was happy.' [BC08.071]
- (63) 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'

- (64) Khen dyu.
 khen **dyu**
 thus be.afraid
 'I got scared that way.' [Caza y pesca 2:10]
- (65) 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-COME&DO=DS be.afraid=PLS=ASS
 'That's why we got scared when they came down.' [20040218-EC-Interview-063]

fava 'be easy'

- (66) 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]

- (67) Sûyaya favatshe ñambe khakejema chathûngaja.
 sû='ya~'ya **fava**=tshe ña=mbe khakeje=ma chathû-'nga=ja
 say=ASS~MLTP be.easy=ADVR 1.SG=BEN leaf=ACC.REAL cut-GO&DO=IMP
 'She said, quickly cut leaves for me.' [MW 2:46 S1]

me'i 'be non-existent'

- (68) Me'in añambi tshûjûtshi tsû.
me'i an=ya=mbi tshûjû-tshi=tsû
 be.non.existent eat=IRR=NEG stink-ADJR=3
 'I am not going to eat, it stinks.' [20040218-EC-Interview-073]
- (69) 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'

- (70) 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]
- (71) Atutu naniña'mbiti?
 atûi~tûi **nani**=ya=mbi=ti
 chop~MLTP be.complete=IRR=NEG=INT
 'Would it be that I can finish clearing it?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0542.939]

phuru 'be near'

- (72) 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]
- (73) 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'

(74) Upa kun'sin.

upa kun'sin

be.carefree woolly.monkey

'They were woolly monkeys that were unafraid.' [BC19.005]

(75) 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'

(76) 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]

(77) Ûtatsheyi ja'ngapa i'ngapa ji.

ûta=tshe=yi ja-'nga=pa i-'nga=pa ji

be.quick=ADVR=EXCL go-GO&DO=SS bring-GO&DO=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 38 members of this class, which are listed in Table 4.2.

<i>aiye</i>	'be difficult'
<i>amunde</i>	'be dirty'
<i>athaja</i>	'be wide'
<i>bia</i>	'be long'
<i>chana</i>	'be beautiful'
<i>cha'ndi</i>	'be cold'
<i>chape</i>	'be soft'
<i>chhara</i>	'be light'
<i>chû</i>	'be naked, be clean'
<i>giya</i>	'be smooth'
<i>in'jan</i>	'be.much'
<i>khashe</i>	'be old'
<i>kin</i>	'be strong'
<i>kinse</i>	'be healthy'
<i>kû</i>	'be red'
<i>mende</i>	'be beautiful'
<i>ñu</i>	'be good'
<i>ñu'me</i>	'be perfumed'
<i>pa</i>	'be many'
<i>phinphin</i>	'be calm'

<i>phû'chu</i>	'be fat'
<i>re'ri</i>	'be small'
<i>san</i>	'be dry'
<i>sape</i>	'be flat'
<i>sin</i>	'be black'
<i>ta'e</i>	'be hard'
<i>tansin</i>	'be straight'
<i>thephû</i>	'be satisfied'
<i>tsai'mbi</i>	'be many'
<i>tsapa</i>	'be all that'
<i>tshai</i>	'be heavy'
<i>tshûjû</i>	'be smelly'
<i>tû'a</i>	'be sticky'
<i>tuenga</i>	'be the same'
<i>tûmbi</i>	'be cool, be fresh'
<i>tutu</i>	'be white'
<i>vûvû</i>	'be fine'
<i>zenze</i>	'be painted'

Table 4.2. Bound property verbs

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

aiye 'be difficult'

- (78) 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'

- (79) Amundetshiamma 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'

- (80) 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=NPM trail clean-ADJR six trail after=ADVR GO~MLTP=PLS
 'They found six clear, clean, wide trails, and followed them.' [BC17.086]

bia 'be long'

- (81) 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'

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

cha'ndi 'be cold'

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

chape 'be soft'

- (84) 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'

- (85) 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'

- (86) 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'

- (87) Ma'kaengi giyaena?
 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'

- (88) 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]

khashe 'be old'

- (89) Ñutshe tûisi bu'tshe tûisi kashi katijesi tsû ñua'me ñutshiya
 ñutshetûi=si bu=tshe tûi=si **khashe**=ma
 good sprinkle=DS gather=ADVR sprinkle=DS be.old=ACC.REAL
 kati-'je=si=tsû ñua'me ñutshi=ya
 throw.away-IMP=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~MLTP-IMP 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=NPM=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:RNDhold=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
 kuirapa 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]

ñu'me 'be perfumed'

- (95) 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'

- (96) 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'

- (97) 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'

- (98) 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.upManhead
 'When she was living there and fat, Manhead came again.' [BC19.128]

re'ri 'be small'

- (99) 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'

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

sape 'be flat'

- (101) 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'

(102) Sin'khûama in'janse.

sin=khû=a=ma in'jan='se
 be.black=CLF:DEL=NPM=ACC.REAL think=MIT.IMP
 'Imagine, it's black.' [20040218-EC-Interview-046a]

ta'e 'be hard'

(103) 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'

(104) 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)'

(105) 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'

(106) 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'²

(107) Tsapatshe da in'ja'ma.

tsapa=tshe da in'jan='ma.
 be.all.that=ADVR become think=FRT
 'They thought wrongly that they would become all of that.'
 [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-029]

tshai 'be heavy'

(108) 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]

² Perhaps etymologically a combination of *tša* 'ANA' and *pa* 'ALL'.

tshûjû 'be smelly'

(109) Me'in tshûjûtsi tsû.

me'i **tshûjû**-tshi=tsû

NEG.PRED be.smelly-ADJR=3

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

tû'a 'be sticky'

(110) 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'

(111) 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'

(112) 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 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'

(113) 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'

(114) 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'

(115) 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 in (116)-(118).

- (116) Kiya randetsû.
 kiya **rande**=tsû
 aguti big=3
 'It is a big aguti.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-016]
- (117) chipiri tsaiki
chipiri tsaiki
 small road
 'a small road' [20040218-EC-Interview-118]
- (118) ega kanjansi
ega kanjansi
 bad boa
 'a bad boa' [BC20.088]

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 relativization or 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 relativization 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.

<i>chipiri</i>	'small'
<i>ega</i>	'bad'
<i>inzû</i>	'green, blue'
<i>kipa</i>	'yellow'
<i>kuenza</i>	'old'
<i>kuna</i>	'raw, fresh, new'
<i>rande</i>	'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'

- (119) Ñua'me chipiri dû'shûte sù'ya "Ñanga afe'faja ña kataye".
 ñua'me **chipiri** dû'shû=te sù='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'

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

inzû 'green, blue'

- (121) Tsundaki utaembayi ksheshuye ushaya kuye indzû.
 tsun=ta=ki utaen=pa=yi ksheshu=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'

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

kuenza 'old'

- (123) 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'

- (124) 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'

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

Ega 'bad' mostly behaves like an adjective, but is also occasionally found with the adjectivalizer *-tshi*, which is characteristic of property verbs, as in (126).

- (126) Pakhu egatsitsû.
 pa'khu ega-tshi=tsû
 all bad-ADJR=3
 'Everything is dangerous.' [Historia de familia 11:11]

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 (127).

- (127) 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 (128)-(129).

- (128) 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]
- (129) 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 (130) or is specified through a classifier (131).

- (130) 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]
- (131) 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 (132), 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 (133) the noun *tsute* is the head of a noun phrase, which carries the case marker =*ni* 'LOC'.

(132) *Patû randeve daya.*

patû rande=*ve* da=*ya*
rock large=ACC.IRR become =IRR

'I will become a large rock.' [BC07.137]

(133) *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 (132); and a small class of bound nouns of a locative nature, illustrated in (133). 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 (134), 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.

(134) *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-IMP=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 (135) and *a'i* 'Cofán person' and *tsa'u* 'house' in (136).

(135) *Chan kûikhuma se'pi.*

chan kûi'khû=*ma* se'pi
mother drink=ACC.REAL withhold

'Mother won't give us banana drink.' [BC08.033]

- (136) 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 (137), the property verb *dyuju* 'get scared' in (138), and the adjective *inzû* 'green' in (139).

- (137) 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]
- (138) 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]
- (139) 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 (140):

- (140) Fae a'tayi ti fiestaen'jenfa.
 fae a'ta=yi=ti **fiesta-en-'je='fa**
 one day=EXCL=INT party-CAUS-IMP=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 (141):

- (141) 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 (142).

- (142) tsa Dureno kankhe'*sû* ande
tsa Dureno kankhe='sû ande
 ANA Dureno village=ATTR land
 'the land of that Dureno village' [RBI01.022]

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:

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

In terms of their collocational possibilities as regards suffixation, nouns occur with the causative suffix (144) and the place suffix (145) only.

- (144) 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]
- (145) Singû'*khû*, ungû'*thi* ti'*tshe* umba'*thi*. Tumbafindie'*thi*.
 singû=khû **ungû-e**'thi ti=tshe umba='thi
 lake=CLF:DEL capuchin.monkey-PLACE=NR.LOC far=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 and are relational in nature. 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' (146), =*nga* 'DAT' in its locative use (147), and =*ngae* 'MANN' (148), with the adverbializer clitic =*e* (149), or with a classifier of a locative nature (150).

- (146) 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]

- (147) 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]
- (148) Tsa'kamba sefangae ande'ngisi dyu'faya.
 tsa='kan=pa **se'fa=ngae** ande-'ngi=si dyuju='fa=ya
 ANA=SIMIL1=SS up=MANN land-COME&DO=DS get.scared=PLS=IRR
 'That's why we got frightened when we came down from up there.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-063]
- (149) 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]
- (150) 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 (151) and the dative clitic in (152).

- (151) 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]
- (152) 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 (153):

- (153) 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 (154), but this probably contains a lexicalized expression *se'fa'khu* 'sky'.

- (154) 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.

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

Table 4.4. Locative roots

asûkhu 'upriver'

- (155) 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'

- (156) 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]

khaje 'downriver'

- (157) 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'

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

sembatha 'transversely'

- (159) 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'

(160) Setsanigaekhe tsû nane juva Sabarue bathi'pa iseve'tshe vau'faja tsa daruekini bathi'pa.

setsa=ningae=khe=tsû nane juva Zabalo bathipa iseve=tshe
 low=ALL=ADD=3 surely DIST Zabalo river.mouth across=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'

(161) 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'

(162) 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)'

(163) 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'

(164) 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:

(165) 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]

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

In (165) 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 (166), 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.

<i>a'ta</i>	'day, become day'
<i>kue'je</i>	'sun, be hot'
<i>kuse</i>	'night, become night'
<i>unjin</i>	'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

- (167) 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]

- (168) 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]

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 khûtsiañaña.
 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~MLTP
 '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-PASSCofán.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]

Panshen 'very' probably derives etymologically from *panshan=e* 'pass=ADVR' (Anderbois pers.comm.), but we treat it as synchronically non-compositional.

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=NPM=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.turtle 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 22 attested members are listed and classified in broad semantic classes in Table 4.6.³ Examples of these adverbs are given in the order in which they appear in the table.

³ Note the absence of locative adverbs. Locative notions are expressed through bound nouns (see Section 4.2.6).

<i>Class</i>	<i>Adverb</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
Time	<i>ja'ñu</i>	'now'
	<i>kani</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>kanite</i>	'day before yesterday'
	<i>sime</i>	'in the afternoon/evening'
	<i>sinte</i>	'in the morning'
	<i>tayupi</i>	'formerly'
	<i>tû'i</i>	'tomorrow'
	<i>tû've</i>	'day after tomorrow'
Aspect	<i>vaeyi</i>	'recently'
	<i>tayu</i>	'already'
	<i>tuya</i>	'still'
Manner	<i>tsangae</i>	'forever, always'
	<i>jûnde</i>	'quickly'
	<i>vasûi</i>	'slowly'
Degree	<i>buve</i>	'more'
	<i>panshen</i>	'very, much'
	<i>ti'tshe</i>	'more'
Modality	<i>ka'tsa</i>	'almost'
	<i>mûite</i>	'difficultly, hardly'
	<i>tuyi</i>	'involuntarily'
	<i>usha'ta</i>	'maybe'
	<i>zie</i>	'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=NPM=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~MLTP=PLS

'Having made it they went out early in the morning.' [BC08.048]

tayupi 'formerly'

(187) Tayupi, kindya khasheye'ye kundase kundase'chu.

tayupi kindya khashe'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~MLTP<INTS>=INF tomorrow come=SS chop~MLTP<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]

jûnde 'quickly'

- (193) Jûnde jayatingi?
jûnde ja=ya=ti=ngi
 soon go-IRR=INT=1
 'Shall I go soon?' [BC24.007]

vasûi 'slowly'

- (194) Vasûi jakan.
vasûi jakan
 slowly walk
 'You walk very slowly.' [BC04.021]

buve 'more'

- (195) 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'

- (196) 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'

- (197) 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'

- (198) Ka'tsayi metshi.
ka'tsa=yi me'i-tshi.
 almost=EXCL NEG.PRED-ADJR
 'There is almost none.' [RBI01.030]

mûite 'difficultly, hardly'

- (199) 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]

tuyi 'involuntarily'

- (200) 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'

- (201) Tsama nanimba, usha'ta sundaru sepimbiniya 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'

- (202) 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 *khuanfiae* '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.

- (203) Ba've keja ñane diez y seis añondiki kuendza ñajan treintaya jañu tsunindatsû tsa'ma quice khendiki sù ba've ochenta y cinco seis sieteyakhen injan.
 ba've ke=ja ña=ne **diez y seis** año=ti=ki kuenza ña=ja
 APPROX 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 sù ba've
 thirty=ASS now do=LOC=NEW=3 ANA=FRT fifteen QUOT=INT=2 say APPROX
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 (204)-(214). 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.

- (204) fae
fae
'one'
- (205) khuangi
khuangi
'two'
- (206) kuanifae
khuangi_fae
two_one
'three'
- (207) khathûfayi
khathûfa=yi
pull.up=EXCL
'four'
- (208) faefa
fae=fa
one=CLF:LAT
'five'
- (209) khafaise
kha=fa_ise
other=CLF:LAT_cross
'six'
- (210) khafaisekhuangi
kha=fa_ise_khuangi
other=CLF:LAT_cross_two
'seven'
- (211) khafaisekuanifae
kha=fa_ise_khuangi_fae
other=CLF:LAT_cross_two_one
'eight'
- (212) khafaisekhathûfa
kha=fa_ise_khathû_fae
other=CLF:LAT_cross_pull.up_one
'nine'
- (213) tive pa'khu
tive all
hand all
'ten'
- (214) tsû'thepi pa'khu
tsû'the=pi pa'khu
foot=LIM all
'twenty'

Examples in context of (208) and (213) occur in (215).

- (215) Tsenima gi athe'fa faefayi'khu tsambi'ta tivepa'khu khangina 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 khangina kini=si jin='chu=ma.
 hand all different wood-CL:spine exist=SUB=ACC.REAL
 'We found 5 to 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:

- (216) chunga
 chunga
 ten
 'ten'
- (217) chunga fae'khu pasha
 chunga fae='khu pasha
 ten one=CLF:QUANT pass
 'eleven'
- (218) chunga khuangi'khu pasha
 chunga khuangi='khu pasha
 ten two=CLF:QUANT pass
 'twelve'
- (219) chunga faefayi'khu pasha
 chunga fae=fa=yi='khu pasha
 ten one=CLF:LAT=EXCL=CLF:QUANT pass
 'fifteen'
- (220) 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 (221).

- (221) 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 (222) and for borrowed ones (223).

- (222) 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]
- (223) 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 (224):

- (224) 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 (225):

- (225) 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 (226)-(227), respectively:

- (226) Khuangi'khu kauchu semasundekhû jaja'fa.
khuangi='khu kauchu sema='sû=ndekhû ja~ja='fa
 two=CLF:QUANT rubber work=ATTR=APL go~MLTP=PLS
 Two rubber hunters went out. [BC21.002]
- (227) 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 (228), the numeral *fae* 'one' occurs independently in a context in which the understood head *tetete* 'savage' is directly available in the preceding context.

- (228) 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, numerals but not adjectives can be inflected with the recursive suffix *-se*, which can be attached to both native A'ingae and borrowed stems, as shown in (229)-(232):

- (229) faese
 fae-**se**
 one-RCUR
 'once'
- (230) khuangise
 khuangi-**se**
 two-RCUR
 'twice'
- (231) kuanifaese
 khuangi_fae-**se**
 two_one-RCUR
 'three times'
- (232) 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, except that we did not find it in combination with the recursive marker. Example (233) shows its use as a free lexical item, (234) shows how it combines with *=yi* 'EXCL' and *=khu* 'CLF:QUANT', and (235) shows that it can be used independently when its head can be retrieved from the context.

- (233) 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]
- (234) 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]

- (235) Jungaesû ja'ñunda ti añachu san'jankhe ti pûimbe ethini tsa'kantshi?
 jungue'sû ja'ñu=ta=ti añ'a'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.

4.2.8. 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 it 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.

- (236) 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]
- (237) Pa'khu tsa tutua sarûpata'te sai'a.
pa'khu tsa tutu=a sarûpa=ta=te sai=a
 all ANA white=NPM clothes=TOP=RPRT fine=NPM
 'All that white cloth was very fine.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0471.471]
- (238) 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]
- (239) 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 (236)-(237) show that *pa'khu* precedes demonstratives, (238) shows that it can be used independently with its head understood from the context, and (239) 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 (240). 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 (240) the repeated element is the lexical verb *amphi* 'fall'.

- (240) a. Na'enga *amphi*.
 na'e=nga **amphi**
 river=DAT fall
 'He fell into the river.
- b. *Amhipa 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 (241):

- (241) 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. *Tsinsi 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 (241a) is replaced in (241b) 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. They may also be used within noun phrases to express the possessor, which is not marked by case in prenominal position.

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

Table 4.7. Personal pro-nouns

Examples of the clausal uses are given in (242)-(247).

ña '1.SG'

- (242) 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'

- (243) 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'

- (244) 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'

- (245) 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'

- (246) 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'

- (247) 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 phrasal uses are illustrated in (248)-(253).

ña '1.SG'

- (248) 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'

- (249) 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'

- (250) 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'

- (251) 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'

- (252) Vati kei jajeche 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-IMP=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'

- (253) 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]

The third person plural is, etymologically speaking, a combination of the third singular pronoun *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 pronoun, *tisû* 'REFL', without distinctions in person and number. This reflexive pronoun may occur within clauses and within noun phrases. Examples (254)-(256) show its use in clauses with first, second, and third person reference respectively.

- (254) Tse'thengi tha'tha semambave tisûmbe semañe.
 tse'the=ngi tha'tha sema-'pa=ve **tisû**=mbe sema=ye
 then=1 seek work-NR=ACC.IRR REFL=BEN work=INF
 'Then, I started searching for work for myself.' [Autobiografía de EQ 0:33]
- (255) Tisûmbe ankhesûma isûyekhen sûye.
tisû=mbe an=khe'sû=ma isû=ye khen sû=ye
 REFL=BEN eat=HAB.ADJR=ACC.REAL take=INF thus say=INF
 'You get food for yourself that way.' [Un día en la comunidad 1:00]
- (256) Tisuma afa'chu
tisû=ma afa='chu
 REFL=ACC.REAL say=SUB
 'He spoke to himself.' [BC03.035]

Examples (257)-(259) show the use of the reflexive pronoun in noun phrases, in which it occupies the position of the unmarked possessor.

- (257) Ñua'me avûjatshimbi tisû ankhesuma ñutshe an'jembikhiakaun.
 ñua'me avûja-tshi=mbi **tisû** an-khe'sû=ma ñutshe
 truly happy-ADJR=NEG self eat-HAB.SBSTR=ACC.REAL good
 an-'je=mbi=khia'kan='u
 eat-IMPF=NEG=SIMIL2=AUG
 'We are not happy because we are not enjoying our own food.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-023]
- (258) 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 own land and live there!' [BC26.115]
- (259) 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]

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)	<i>tʂa</i>	ANA
anaphoric (location or time)	<i>tʂe</i>	ANA.LOC
anaphoric (animate plural)	<i>tʂendekhû</i>	ANA.APL
proximal	<i>va</i>	PROX
distal (entity or event)	<i>juva</i>	DIST
distal (location or time)	<i>ju</i>	DIST.LOC
sensory	<i>ya</i>	SENS

Table 4.8. Demonstrative pro-nouns

The uses of these pro-nouns are illustrated in (260)-(266).

tʂa 'ANA'

(260) *Tʂai'khû tsû ku'fe'fa.*

tʂa=i'khû=tsû kufe<F>='fa

ANA=INS=3 play<EXCT>=PLS

'They played with that.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0007.92]

tʂe 'ANA.LOC'

(261) *Tʂe'fanga ingi andekhe.*

tʂe=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]

tʂendekhû 'ANA.APL'

(262) *Tʂendekhûve atesumbe va'thi kansefaya.*

tʂendekhû=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'

(263) *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'

(264) *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'

- (265) 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'

- (266) 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]

Tsendekhû probably goes back to a combination of *tse* 'ANA.LOC' with the animate plural clitic =*ndekhû*, but Zheng (2022: 76-77) shows it is not synchronically compositional, as *tse* in its independent form can only refer to locations and times, while *tsendekhû* refers to animate entities only.

The forms *tsa*, *va*, and *juva* have an adnominal use as well. One might argue that in their independent use they are in fact adnominal, the nominal head being understood from the context. This works fine for examples like (267).

- (267) Ti'tshe khajeni jukhani churu kanjansi kan'jen. Tsata ti'tshe atesû'chu.
 ti'tshe khaje=ni ju-kha=ni churu kanjansi kan'jen
 more downriver=LOC DIST.LOC-DIM=LOC snail boa live
tsa=ta ti'tshe atesû='chu
 ANA=NEW more know=SUB
 'Farther downriver lives a snail boa. That (boa) knows more than I do.'
 [BC20.096-097]

In many other cases, however, there is no nominal antecedent in the context and the demonstrative can therefore not be interpreted as nominal, as already noted by Zheng (2022) for *tsa*. The following examples show cases in which the three demonstratives with an adnominal cannot be interpreted as adnominal. In (268) the antecedent is a proposition, while in (269) and (270) reference is to a circumstance external to the speech situation.

- (268) Kû'a manzanandekhûtatsû yayatshi'fa. Tsama atesûngi Juan ñanga kundasi.
 kû'a manzana=ndekhû=ta=tsû yaya=tshi-'fa. **Tsa**=ma atesû=ngi Juan
 red apple=APL=NEW=3 good=ADJR=PLS ANA=ACC.REAL know=1.SG Juan
 ña=nga kunda=si.
 1=DAT let.know=DS
 'Red apples are delicious. I know that because Juan told me.' (Zheng 2022: 16)
- (269) Va'chama ti va'kaen angaji Chiga Kitsamañi?
 va'cha=ma=ti **va**'kan=e anga-ji Chiga Kitsa=ma=yi
 poor=ACC.REAL=INT PROX=SIMIL=ADVR carry-PREC god father=ACC.REAL=EXCL
 'Poor Father God that they should bring him to you like this.' [BC26.052]

- (270) Mingapa tsû juva'kaenda guathiye?
 mingae=pa=tsû **juva**=kan=e=ta guathi=ye
 IGN.DEG=SS=3 DIST=SIMIL=ADVR=NEW boil=INF
 'Why is it boiling like that?' [BC13.026]

Given the existence of cases like these, we classify *tsa*, *va*, and *juva* both as demonstrative pronouns and as adnominal determiners. The latter use is discussed in Section 4.2.13.

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 (271). This suffix is otherwise restricted to verbs.

- (271) 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=NPM=SIMIL1-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 (272)-(273). These clitics are otherwise restricted to verbal predicate phrases.

- (272) Tsaya tsû.
tsa=ya=tsû
 ANA=IRR=3
 'It could be that one.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-010]
- (273) 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	<i>jungaesû</i>	IGN.SBS
ignorative – selection	<i>ma-</i>	IGN.SEL
ignorative – animate	<i>majan</i>	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 pronouns, respectively.

jungaesû 'IGN.SBS'

(274) *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]

(275) *Jungaesûkhe shakambitshi.*

jungue'sû=khe shaka=mbi-tshi

IGN.SBS=ADD lack=NEG-ADJR

'Nothing was lacking.' (lit. "It is not the case that something is lacking.")

[20040218-EC-Interview-020]

ma 'IGN.SEL'

(276) *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]

(277) *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'

(278) *Majan tsû khen i'na?*

majan=tsû khen i'na

IGN.AN=3 thus cry

'Who's crying?' [BC09.007]

(279) *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=NPM=CONTR scream=SS=3

'So we were looking while hiding and someone who wasn't afraid shouted.'

[20040218-EC-Interview-064]

The root *ma-* is found in combination with the case markers =*ne* 'SO', =*ni* 'LOC', =*pi* 'LIM', and =*'the* 'PSTE'; with the classifiers =*'fa* 'CLF:LAT', =*ki* 'CLF:DRN', and =*'thi* 'CLF:LOC'; and with the similative marker =*'kan* 'SIMIL1'. Examples (280)-(286) illustrate these possibilities.

- (280) Mane tsû shendyaje?
ma=ne=tsû shendya-'je
 IGN.SEL=SO=3 bark-IMPF
 'From where is it barking?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-030]
- (281) Manima tsû manda?
ma=ni=ma=tsû manda
 IGN.SEL=LOC=ACC.REAL=3 command
 'Where was it he sent me?' [BC07.044]
- (282) Asta ma'the asta ma'pi tsû va na'enga in'janija ke'i linderoja?
 asta **ma='the** asta **ma=pi=tsû** va na'en=nga in'jan=ni=ja
 until IGN.SEL=PSTE until IGN.SEL=LIM=3 PROX river=DAT want=LOC=CONTR
 ke'i lindero=ja
 2.PL delimitation=CONTR
 'Up to where, on this river if you want, is your delimitation?'
 [20060118-LM-2-0383.501]
- (283) Mafanga ji?
ma='fa=nga ji
 IGN.SEL=CLF:LAT=DAT come
 'To which side have I come?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-074]
- (284) 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]
- (285) ma'thinga sumbu'je khen in'jan va'kini kanjen tsû kanjansi
ma='thi=nga sumbu-'je khen in'jan va=ki=ni kan'jen=tsûkanjansi
 IGN.SEL=CLF:LOC=DAT go.OUT-IMPF QUOT think PROX=CLF:LNR=LOC stay=3 boa
 'I think sometimes boas come out here.' [HF 8:18]
- (286) Ma'kaen tsû khendyambitshi
ma='kan=e=tsû khendya-mbi-tshi
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL=ADVR=3 breathe-PRIV-ADJR
 'Why is it breathless?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-064]

All three ignorative pronouns have uses as adnominal determiners as well. However, we consider these to be distinct elements, as the ranges of meanings expressed in the two environments are different. *Jungaesû* has a wide range of uses in pronominal use, including reason, which it never has in adnominal position. The root *ma-* only combines with the diurnal classifier and the similative marker in adnominal use, and *majan* is in its pronominal use limited to animate referents, while in its adnominal use it is not. We therefore treat these three elements as both ignorative pronouns and as ignorative determiners. The latter uses are discussed in Section 4.2.13.

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

4.2.9.4. Pro-adjectives

There are two dedicated demonstrative pro-adjectives in A'ingae. The first of these is the similative anaphoric pro-adjective *tša'kan* 'ANA.SIMIL'. It is illustrated in (287)-(288).

tša'kan 'ANA.SIMIL'

- (287) Tša'kañi tsû pa'khu va tsampi.
tša'kan=yi=tsû pa'khu va tsampi
 ANA.SIMIL=EXCL=3 all PROX forest
 'All this forest was like that.' [20040218-EC-Interview-009]
- (288) Tša'kaen kan'jen.
tša'kan=e kan'jen
 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR live
 'We lived like that.' [BC15.024]

Etymologically, *tša'kan* 'ANA.SIMIL' consists of the anaphoric pronoun *tša* 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 (289):

- (289) Tsunda tsû tayupija tša'kambi nane ñua'me kinsetshifa gi nane.
 tsun=ta=tsû tayupi=ja **tša'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 *tša* 'ANA', *tša'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 (290)-(291).

- (290) Ingitangi ña'me tša'kantshi kurifindima mechufaya.
 ingi=ta=ngi ña'me **tša'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]
- (291) Jayambi gi tša'kantshiangaja.
 ja=ya=mbi=ngi **tša'kan**-tshi=a=nga=ja
 GO=IRR=NEG=1 ANA.SIMIL-ADJR=NPM=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 *tše'sû* 'ANA.ATTR', discussed in Zheng (2022), which is illustrated in (292).

tse'sû 'ANA.ATTR'

- (292) 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.

4.2.9.5. 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	<i>khen</i>	DEM.MANN
temporal demonstrative	<i>tse'i</i>	DEM.TEMP
degree ignorative	<i>mingae</i>	IGN.DEG
reason ignorative	<i>mikumba</i>	IGN.REAS

Table 4.11. Pro-adverbs

The manner pro-adverb *khen* 'DEM.MANN' is illustrated in (293)-(294). This same form has a related use as a quotative particle that will be discussed in Section 4.2.13.

khen 'DEM.MANN'

- (293) Khen tsû kundase'chu kuenzandekhû kundase'chu ji'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=ASS ANA=CLF:LOC=DAT=EXCL
 'Thus is the story that the elders have.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-068]
- (294) 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 (295)-(296). It has a related use as a connective particle that will be discussed in Section 4.2.13.

tse'i 'DEM.TEMP'

- (295) *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]
- (296) *Uma'khu sefa-en=si 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 (297)-(299), which show its use in expressing degree, manner, and reason, respectively.

mingae 'IGN.DEG'

- (297) *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]
- (298) *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]
- (299) *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 (300):

- (300) *Tisepa nakhûkheté 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 (301)-(302). For this adverb only the interrogative use has been attested.

- (301) *Mikumbaki paji.*
mikumba=ki paji
 IGN.REAS=2 ill
 'Why are you ill?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-02-0087.281]

- (302) 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 (303)-(304), 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'

- (303) 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=ADV
 tayupi=ja.
 long.ago=CONTR
 'More or less how many Cofán were there?' [20040218-EC-Interview-241]
- (304) 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 (305).

- (305) 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 came down from the sky.'
 [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0014.015]

Vayi'khu is similar in behaviour to *pûi-yi-'khu* 'each=EXCL=CLF:QUANT' discussed in Section 4.2.7. Just like *pûiyi'khu*, *vayi'khu* can be used headlessly, as shown in (306), which is the continuation of (305).

- (306) Andesite *vayi'khusi* *athepa* ...
 ande=si=te *vayi'khu*=si *athe*=pa
 descend=DS=RPRT DEM.QUANT=DS see=SS
 'When they came down, this many, he looked ...'
 [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0020.078]

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	= <i>ngi</i>	1
second person	= <i>ki</i>	2
third person	= <i>tsû</i>	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. This is shown for the third person clitic *tsû* in (307)-(311). In (307) the clitic attaches to a noun phrase, in (308) to a verb phrase, in (309) to an adverb phrase, in (310) to a same subject cosubordinate clause, and in (311) to an infinitival subordinate clause.

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

- (311) 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 (312)-(317) in pairs, which in each case show singular and plural reference, respectively. The examples have been chosen in such a way that singular or plural reference becomes clear from other elements in the sentence: the simultaneous presence of a free pronoun in (312), (314), (316), plural subject marking on the verb in (313) and (317), or both in (315).

=ngi '1'

- (312) Ñañi gi ûfambi.
 ña=yi=ngi ûfa=mbi
 1.SG=EXCL=1 blow=NEG
 'I just don't know how to shoot.' [BC07.009]
- (313) 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'

- (314) 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]
- (315) 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'

- (316) 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]
- (317) 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 (Dingemans *forthc.*). This is illustrated in (318) and (319):

- (318) Tsai'mbia shavepa jangian fuu, fuu.
 tsaimbi-a shavepa jangi-an **fuu fuu**
 many=NPM wave arise-CAUS IDEO IDEO
 'Many big waves rose, fooo, fooo.' [BC20.120]
- (319) 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 (318) or sentence-internally (319), but is generally set off intonationally from its surroundings. Ideophones often occur more than once, as in (318).

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 (320)-(321).

- (320) "Trun" khen amphi ji.
 trun khen amphi ji
 IDEO QUOT fall come
 "'Beng" he came falling.' [BC26.117]
- (321) Jasi kuse, a'ta, "'un, 'un, 'un, 'un" khen ina'jen.
 ja=si kuse a'ta ~: 'un 'un 'un 'un 'un khen ina-'je
 go=DS night dawn~DUR IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO QUOT cry-IMP
 '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'

- (322) Dan, dan amphipa a'i dû'shûa'kaen da di'sha.
dan dan amphipa a'i dû'shû='kan=e da disha
 IDEO IDEO fall=SS Cofán.person child=SIMIL1=ADV become change
 'Thud!, thud!, they fell and became like human babies.' [BC17.107]

puuu 'falling into the river'

- (323) 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)'

- (324) 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'

- (325) 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=NPM 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'

- (326) Bu'tshe, setsane "Jaeeee" khen true tru, true, tru, true, tru" khenga chhuiyu'jeni
 jiñafa chhui'ñakha.
 bu=tshe setsa=ne "jaeaaa" 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-IMP=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'

- (327) 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'

- (328) 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'

(329) "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.

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

Table 4.13. Interjections

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

aaa 'hey'

(330) 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'

- (331) 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

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

da/ta 'uh'

- (333) 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]
- (334) 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'

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

isha 'really'

- (336) 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'

- (337) 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]

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

jungaesû 'well'⁵

- (338) **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'

- (339) 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'

- (340) 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]

jûn 'yes'

- (341) Jûn, pa tsû.
jûn pa=tsû
 yes die=3
 'Yes, he died.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-125]

jûnjûn 'uh-huh'

- (342) 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

- (343) 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'

- (344) Da, mingaete, ya'kaen sù'fa
 da, **mingae**=te ya='kan=e sù='fa
 da IGN.DEG =RPRT PRO =SIMIL1=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'

- (345) 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'

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

ya 'yeah'

- (347) 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

4.3.13.1. Introduction

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.

- (348) 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]
- (349) Nane atesû gi.
nane atesû=ngi
 CERT know=1
 'I surely know.' [20040218-EC-Interview-206]
- (350) 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=NPM 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 (348) *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 (349), 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 (350). The same holds for all the free particles discussed in this section.

The free particles identified are listed in Table 4.14 in broad classes, in terms of the syntactic units to which they apply: the NP, the VP, various types of phrases, and the Clause. In the following sections we will discuss these classes of free particles in the order in which they are listed in Table 4.14.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Particle</i>	<i>Meaning/function</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
NP particles			
- Demonstrative	<i>juva</i>	distal	PROX
	<i>tsa</i>	anaphoric	ANA
	<i>va</i>	proximate	DIST
- Ignorative	<i>jungue'sû</i>	ignorative substance	IGN.SBS
	<i>ma</i>	ignorative choice	IGN.SEL
	<i>majan</i>	ignorative animate	IGN.AN
- Sameness/difference	<i>faesû</i>	difference	OTHER
	<i>kha'i</i>	difference	OTHER
	<i>tue</i>	sameness	SAME
VP particles			
- Aspect	<i>khase</i>	repetitive	REP
	<i>pan</i>	imminent	IMM
Flexible phrasal particles			
- Limiters	<i>akhia</i>	restrictive	RESTR
	<i>ba've</i>	approximate	APPROX
Clause particles			
- Main clause markers	<i>jinge(sû)</i>	hortative	HORT
	<i>nane</i>	certainty	CERT
- Coordinators	<i>o</i>	disjunctive coordinator	DISJ
	<i>tse'i</i>	temporal succession	TMPS
- Subordinators	<i>khen</i>	quotative conjunction	QUOT
	<i>kûintsû</i>	switch reference conjunction	SWR.CNJ
	<i>mapan</i>	concessive conjunction	CONC

Table 4.14. Free particles

4.2.13.2. NP particles

4.2.13.2.1. Demonstrative particles

In Section 4.2.9.3.4 we discussed demonstrative pronouns. Three of the forms discussed are

also found adnominally. As we argued in that section, the pronominal uses of these forms cannot simply be considered demonstrative particles with an empty head, as the distribution of the adnominal and pronominal forms is different. The adnominal uses of these demonstratives are shown in (351)-(353).

va 'PROX'

- (351) Tayupi'sû añachu ña'me tsai'mbitshi tsû sheke va na'eni.
 tayupi='sû añ'a'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'

- (352) 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]

tša 'ANA'

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

4.2.13.2.2. Ignorative particles

In Section 4.2.9.3.5 we discussed ignorative pronouns, which can be found adnominally as well. We argued in that section that the pronominal uses of these forms cannot simply be considered ignorative adnominal forms with an empty head, as the distribution of the adnominal and pronominal forms is different. The adnominal uses of these ignoratives forms is shown in (354)-(356).

- (354) 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]
- (355) Ma'kan kundase'chu tsû tša.
ma=kan kundase'chu=tsû tša
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL1 story=3 ANA
 'What kind of story is that?' [20060118-MM-2-0309.8]
- (356) Majan kankheni tsû
majan kankhe=ni=tsû
 IGN.AN village=LOC=3
 'Which village?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0354.368]

As shown in (354)-(356), the adnominal ignorative forms question the subtype of the class of entities denoted by the head noun. In their pronominal use, the ranges of meaning of the first two are wider: for instance, *jungue'sû* can ask for a reason, and *ma* can ask for a location. *Majan*, on the other hand, has wider adnominal uses than its pronominal counterpart. As a pronoun, it denotes animate referents only, while adnominally it can also combine with head nouns denoting an inanimate referent, as in (356).

4.2.13.2.3. Particles of sameness and difference

We include under the header of NP particles a number of forms that indicate whether the referent of the noun phrase is the same or different referent from a referent previously introduced. There are three such elements in A'ingae, as listed in Table 4.14. Their uses are shown in (357)-(359).

faesû 'OTHER'

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

kha'i 'OTHER'

- (358) 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=ningae ja='ya
 DIST-DIM=ALL go=ASS
 'Other shamans see another way, it is another life.' [Yaje 2 1:22]

tue 'SAME'

- (359) 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]

An important reason to treat these elements as NP particles is that, just like demonstrative and ignorative particles, they occupy a special determiner slot in the noun phrase, as we will show in Section 5.2.3.

These particles may also be used in headless constructions, as shown in the following examples.

faesû 'OTHER'

- (360) Faesû ti jin
faesû=ti jin

OTHER=INT exist

'Is there another one?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-112]

kha'i 'OTHER'

(361) 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'

(362) 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.'

We don't consider these uses to be pronominal in nature, as the independent use of these particles is only possible when the head noun can be retrieved from the context.

4.2.13.3. VP particles

Two particles are used in verb phrases only, and are aspectual in nature. They are illustrated in (363) and (364).

khase 'REP'

(363) Khase ashaen.

khase ashan-en

REP begin-CAUS

'They started again.' [BC03.010]

pan 'IMM'

(364) 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]

Khase may etymologically be a combination of *kha* 'OTHER' with the recursive suffix (Anderbois pers.comm.), but we treat it as non-compositional here.

4.2.13.4. Flexible phrasal particles

There are two particles that may combine with a wide range of phrase types. These are the restrictive particle *akhia* and the approximative particle *ba've*. The examples below illustrate the use of *akhia* in VPs (365), NPs (366), AdjPs (367) and AdvPs (368).

akhia 'RESTR'

- (365) *Akhia san'jamba ti anchuñe ushaya*
akhia san'jan=pa=ti anchun=ye usha=ya
 RESTR dry.smoke=SS=INT sew=INF be.able=IRR
 'Could they just dry it and sew it?' [20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0020.794]
- (366) *Tsampive me'i'un, akhia sisipaye.*
 tsampi=ve me'i=un **akhia** sisipa=ye
 jungle=ACC.IRR NEGP=ADVR RESTR sand=ELAT
 'There was no jungle, just sand.' [BC01.010]
- (367) *Akhia randekhe injanjeña nane.*
akhia rande='khe in'jan-'je='ya nane
 RESTR large=ADD think-IMPF=ASS surely
 'I imagine it is just big.' [Caza 4:48]
- (368) *Tsumba ña Quitoni akhia re'rikhue japa estudiayekhe japa*
 tsun=pa ña Quito=ni **akhia** re'ri='khu=e ja=pa estudia=ye='khe
 do=SS 1.SG Quito=LOC RESTR little=CLF:QUANT=ADVR go=SS study=INF=ADD
 ja=pa
 go=SS
 'I went to study in Quito for a bit.' [Autobiografía de LY 0:20]

A further set of examples shows the use of *ba've* in VPs (369), NPs (370), AdjPs (371), NumPs (372), and AdvPs (373).

ba've 'APPR'

- (369) *Ba'vetsû kanjanfa nane tsa'matsû nanifambi ûtûngatsû jaja katiyefa.*
ba've=tsû kanjan='fa nane tsa='ma=tsû nani='fa=mbi ûtû=ngae=tsû
 APPR=3 study=PLS surely ANA=FRT=3 end=PLS=NEG part.way=MANN=3
 ja=ja kati-ye='fa
 go=CONTR leave-PASS=PLS
 'They studied at least a bit, but stopped in the middle.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 7:02]
- (370) *Ba've fae semanakaun mingae ti'tshe fae khuvu.*
 ba've fae semana='kan='u mingae titshe fae khuvû
 APPR one week=SIMIL1=AUG IGN.DEG more one month
 'Like a week or like a month.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 14:52]
- (371) *Ba've rande tsû.*
ba've rande=tsû
 somewhat big=3
 It is somewhat big.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-027]
- (372) *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]
- (373) *Ba've jupi'tshete ja'ya.*
ba've ju=pi=tshe=te ja='ya
 APPR DIST.LOC=LIM=ADVR=RPRT GO=ASS
 'Who went off, rather far off.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0112.729]

4.2.13.5. Clause particles

4.2.13.5.1. Main clause particles

The particles included in this class are modal in nature, and characterize the main clause as a whole. The two particles in this class are illustrated in (374)-(376).

jinge(sû) 'HORT'⁸

(374) *Jinge anañe.*

jinge ana=ye

HORT sleep=INF

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

(375) *Jingesû kan'jeñekhe.*

jingesû kan'jen=ye=khe

HORT stay=INF=ADD

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

nane 'CERT'

(376) *Ansange tsû nane.*

ansange=tsû **nane**

be.ashamed=3 CERT

'They are shy for sure.' [20060118-LM-2-0318.734]

4.2.13.5.2. Coordinating particles

There are two coordinating particles in A'ingae: the disjunctive particle *o* (377) and the particle expressing temporal succession *tse'i* (378).

o 'DISJ'⁹

(377) *Profesorndekhûyi ti kukamangae afajeja 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-IMP=IRR=SUB

'Should the teachers only teach them to speak Spanish, or should the parents speak Spanish at home?'

[A20060118-LM-2-0246.062]

⁸ It is unclear what triggers the choice for one or the other variant of this particle.

⁹ This is a loan from Spanish that retains the original spelling.

tse'i 'TMPS'

- (378) 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]

4.2.13.5.3. Subordinating particles

Three free subordinating particles have been identified in A'ingae: the quotative particle *khen* (379), the switch reference conjunction *kûintsû* (380), and concessive conjunction *mapan* (381). *Khen* follows the subordinate clause, while the other two particles precede it.

khen 'QUOT'

- (379) 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'

- (380) 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]

mapan 'CONC'

- (381) Ingi chiteta gi mapan kurifin'dive mechua'khe gi asithaen'jenfambi.
 ingi chû=ite=ta=ngi **mapan** kurifi'ndi=ve me'i='chu=ma=khe=ngi
 1.PL young=CLF.PRD=TOP=1 CONC money=ACC.IRR NEG.PRED=SUB=ACC.REAL=ADD=1
 asi'thaen-'je='fa=mbi
 think -IMPF =PLS =NEG
 'We, in the past, even if there was no money, we didn't worry.'
 [20050701-MA-Letter-2-017]

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 4.2.14.16.

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. Criterion 1 can be formulated in a stricter form that points at a more fundamental property of clitics: they attach to constituents rather than to heads of constituents. As a result, a clitic complying with Criterion 1 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 (382)-(383). 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 (382) the adjective precedes the noun, in (383) 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 (382) but to the adjective in (383). 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.

(382) 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]

(383) Tse'thinga api randema khûtsian, anjampama buñañe.

tse='thi=nga [api rande]=ma khûts-ian anjampa=ma

ANA.LOC=CLF:LOC=DAT pot large=ACC.REAL stand-CAUS blood=ACC.REAL

bu-ña=ye

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 (384) it follows a noun phrase that consists of just a pronominal head, so in this case the clitic attaches to a pronoun. In (385) it follows a noun phrase with just a nominal head, so in this case the clitic attaches to a noun. In (386) 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 (387), finally, it follows a temporal subordinate clause, which has a verb as its last element, so in this case it attaches to a verb.

(384) Vani tsû.

[va]=ni=tsû

PROX=LOC=3

'It's over here.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-019]

- (385) 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.'
- (386) tise ethi randeni
 [tise ethi rande]=ni
 3.SG house big=LOC
 'in his big house'
- (387) 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 (388) it attaches to a verb phrase, the verb being the only element of that phrase; in (389) to a noun phrase containing a relative clause, the noun being the last element of the phrase; in (390) to a noun phrase containing the nominal plural clitic =*ndekhû*; in (391) to an adjective phrase with a derived adjective as its last element; in (392) to a numeral phrase consisting of just the numeral; in (393) to a similative phrase, itself ending in a clitic; and in (394) to an adverb. Example (390) is especially interesting, as the animate plural clitic =*ndekhû*, which is restricted to noun phrases, is part of the nominal predicate *inisenekhû* 'names', and is followed by another plural marker, the plural subject clitic =*fa*, which attached to predicates only.

- (388) 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]
- (389) 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.' []
- (390) Jungaesû inisenekhûfatsû.
 jungaesû [inise=ndekhû]='fa=tsû
 IGN.SBS name=APL=PLS=3
 'What are their names?' [Autobiografía de CLC 0:48]
- (391) 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]

- (392) 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]
- (393) Ingia'kanfa tsû.
 [ingi='kan]='fa=tsû
 1.PL=SIMIL1=PLS=3
 'They are like us.' [20040218-EC-Interview-223]
- (394) 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.

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 (395)-(396).

- (395) Khendyaja!
 [khendya]=**ja**
 wake.up=IMP
 'Wake up!' [BC19.029]
- (396) 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 (397)-(398) unexplained. In these examples, the two clitics attach to =*fa* 'PLS', for which we established above in (388)-(394) 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.

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

- (398) 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]

Note that Criterion 1 and 2 do not have the same status. As we will show in Section 4.2.14.17, in which we will evaluate the application of the two criteria, all clitics that can be considered a clitic by Criterion 1, also comply with Criterion 2, whereas clitics in another group only comply with Criterion 2 and are thus much closer to suffixes in that they can attach to one type of host only.

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. The reader who is not immediately interested in the detailed argumentation that we offer for each clitic individually, might just want to read Section 4.2.14.3 and then skip to Section 4.2.14.17.

4.2.14.3. Overall classification

In classifying the 60 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.

<i>Cliticizing particle type</i>	<i>VP</i>	<i>NP</i>	<i>AdjP</i>	<i>NumP</i>	<i>AdvP</i>	<i>SubCl</i>
VP clitics	+					
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP clitics	+	+	+	+		
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP clitics	+	+	+	+	+	
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/SubCl clitics	+	+	+	+		+
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl clitics	+	+	+	+	+	+
VP/AdjP/AdvP clitics	+		+		+	
VP/AdjP 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 60 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.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Meaning/function</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Clause level cliticizing particles			
- Evidentiality	= <i>te</i>	reportative	RPRT
- Illocution	= <i>ti</i>	interrogative	INT
Constituent level cliticizing particles			
VP cliticizing particles			
- Illocution	= <i>ja</i>	imperative	IMP
	= <i>jama</i>	prohibitive	PROH
	= <i>kha</i>	diminutive imperative	DIM.IMP
	= <i>'se</i>	mitigated imperative	MIT.IMP
- Mood	= <i>ya</i>	irrealis	IRR
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP cliticizing particles			
- Predicate markers	= <i>'ya</i>	assertive	ASS
	= <i>'fa</i>	plural subject	PLS
	= <i>mbi</i>	negation	NEG
	= <i>ve</i>	predicative	PRED
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP cliticizing particles			
- Subjective coloration	= <i>'khu</i> / <i>'u</i>	augmentative	AUG
	= <i>'vi</i>	affective	AFF
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Adverbializer	= <i>e</i>	adverbializer	ADVR
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Noun phrase marker	= <i>a</i>	noun phrase marker	NPM
VP/AdjP/AdvP cliticizing particles			
- Adverbializers	= <i>tshe</i>	adverbializer	ADVR
NP cliticizing particles			
- Plurality	= <i>nakhû</i>	collective	COLL
	= <i>ndekhû</i>	animate plural	APL
	= <i>pa</i>	associative	ASSOC
- Nominal tense	= <i>'ye</i>	nominal past	NPST
- Case marking	= <i>'khû</i>	instrument	INST
	= <i>mbe</i>	beneficiary	BEN
	= <i>nga</i>	dative	DAT
	= <i>ve</i>	irrealis accusative	ACC.IRR

NP/AdvP cliticizing particles			
- Similative adjectivalizer	= <i>'kan</i>	similative	SIMIL1
- Case marking	= <i>ne</i>	source	SO
	= <i>ningae</i>	allative	ALL
	= <i>pi</i>	limitative	LIM
	= <i>'the</i>	postessive	PSTE
	= <i>ye</i>	elative	ELAT
- Information structure	= <i>khe</i>	additive focus	ADD
	= <i>yi</i>	exclusive focus	EXCL
NP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Case marking	= <i>ni</i>	locative	LOC
- Information structure	= <i>ja</i>	contrastive topic	CONTR
	= <i>ta</i>	new topic	NEW
NP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Attribution	= <i>sû</i>	attributive	ATTR
NP/SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Case marking	= <i>ma</i>	realis accusative	ACC.REAL
	= <i>ngae</i>	manner	MANN
	= <i>sa'ne</i>	apprehensional	APPR
- Classification	= <i>'chu</i>	classifier round objects	CLF:RND
	= <i>fa</i>	classifier lateral objects	CLF:LAT
	= <i>fi'ndi</i>	classifier splinter-like	CLF:SPL
	= <i>fu'chu</i>	classifier diffused objects	CLF:DIFF
	= <i>ite</i>	classifier periods objects	CLF:PRD
	= <i>je</i>	classifier flat objects	CLF:FLT
	= <i>jin</i>	classifier large objects	CLF:LRG
	= <i>jiun</i>	classifier tall objects	CLF:TLL
	= <i>'khu</i>	classifier angular objects	CLF:ANG
	= <i>'khu</i>	classifier quantities	CLF:QUANT
	= <i>khû</i>	classifier delimited objects	CLF:DEL
	= <i>ki</i>	classifier linear objects	CLF:LNR
	= <i>ki</i>	classifier days	CLF:DRN
= <i>si</i>	classifier spiny objects	CLF:SPN	
= <i>'thi</i>	classifier locations	CLF:LOC	
SubCl cliticizing particles			
- Subordination	= <i>'chu</i>	subordinator	SUB
	= <i>'ma</i>	frustrative	FRT
	= <i>ye</i>	infinitive	INF
	= <i>khia'kan</i>	similative 2	SIMIL2
- Cosubordination	= <i>pa</i>	same subject cosubordinator	SS
	= <i>si</i>	different subject cosubordinator	DS

Table 4.16. Cliticizing particles

In the following rather extensive discussion we will, for each clitic in this list, provide evidence for its clitic status only. The meanings and functions of these clitics will be discussed in Part II

of this grammar.

4.2.14.4. Clause-level clitics

- Evidentiality	= <i>te</i>	reportative	RPRT
- Illocution	= <i>ti</i>	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 (399) and (400). In (399) the clitic attaches to a noun phrase, while in (400) 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.

- (399) 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]
- (400) Khasheyendekhûja ñuñasite matachija tsama undikhûpa tsa'kaenjan ku'feya.
 [khashe'ye=ndekhû=ja ñuñã=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 (401) it attaches to a noun phrase, itself followed by a new topic clitic, and in (402) to a verb followed by a negative clitic.

- (401) Tsendekhûta ti a'i
 [tsa=ndekhû=ta]=ti a'i
 ANA=APL=NEW=INT Cofán.person
 'Where they Kofans?'
- (402) 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]

Note that in the examples given here both clitics attach to other clitics as well, as a result of which they also qualify as clitics by Criterion 2.

4.2.14.5. VP clitics

- Illocution	= <i>ja</i>	imperative	IMP
	= <i>jama</i>	prohibitive	PROH
	= <i>kha</i>	diminutive imperative	DIM.IMP
	= <i>'se</i>	mitigated imperative	MIT.IMP
- Mood	= <i>ya</i>	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 (403) and (404). Examples (405)–(407) show that the same is true for the other clitics in this class.

- (403) Sejia'ngifaja pave dasa'ne
 [se'je-en-'ngi]='fa=**ja** pa=ve da=sa'ne
 heal-CAUS-COME&DO=PLS=IMPdie=ACC.IRR become=APPR
 'Come cure lest they die.' [20040218-EC-Interview-039]
- (404) 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]
- (405) 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]
- (406) Chava'fase.
 [chava]='fa=**'se**
 buy=PLS=MIT.IMP
 'Go ahead and buy it!' [elic.]
- (407) 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	= <i>'ya</i>	assertive	ASS
	= <i>'fa</i>	plural subject	PLS
	= <i>mbi</i>	negation	NEG
	= <i>ve</i>	predicative	PRED

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, (408)-(411) show that the plural subject clitic =*'fa* can be attached to a verb phrase (408), a noun phrase (409), an adjective phrase (410), and a numeral phrase (411). In all cases the phrases concerned are used predicatively. Note that =*'fa* in addition attached to the animate plural clitic in (411), which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.2. This shows that Criterion 2 is relevant too.

- (408) Ji'fa andeni.
 [ji]='**fa** ande=ni
 come=PLS earth=LOC
 'They came to earth.' (BC08.066)
- (409) Jungaesû inisendekhûfatsû.
 jungaesû [inise=ndekhû]='**fa**=tsû
 IGN.SBS name=APL=PLS=3
 'What are their names?' [Autobiografía de CLC 0:48]
- (410) Kinsetshifa gi nane.
 [kinse-tshi]='**fa**=ngi nane
 be.strong-ADJR=PLS=1 surely
 'We were healthy for sure.' [A20040218-EC-Interview-037]
- (411) Ma'kaen tsû khuangi'fa.
 ma='kan=e=tsû khuangi='**fa**
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=3 two=PLS
 'It seems there are two.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-036]

Examples (412)-(419) illustrate the use of the negative clitic =*mbi* and the assertive clitic =*'ya* attaching to the same range of hosts. Note that in (412), (416), and (417) the negative and assertive clitics furthermore attaches to other clitics: the irrealis marker =*ya* in (412), which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.5, the negative marker =*mbi* in (416), which we show to be a clitic in this section, and the animate plural marker =*ndekhû* in (417), which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.11. Thus, Criterion 2 is relevant too.

- (412) Afayambi tsû.
 afa=ya=**mbi**=tsû
 say=IRR=NEG=3
 'They won't speak.' [20060118-LM-2-0304.758]
- (413) Kiyambi ti?
 [kiya]='**mbi**=ti
 aguti=NEG=INT
 'Isn't it an aguti?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-053]

- (414) Ñua'me avûjatshimbi.
 ñua'me [avûja-tshi]=**mbi**.
 truly be.happy-ADJR=NEG
 'We are not happy at all.' [20040218-EC-Interview-023]
- (415) <elicit example NumP=*mbi*>
- (416) 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]
- (417) Secoya familiandekhû'ya.
 [Secoya familia=ndekhû]='**ya**
 Secoya family=APL=ASS
 'They are Secoya families.' [20060118-MM-2-0211.141]
- (418) 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]
- (419) <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 4.2.14.11, 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 (420), NPs (421), AdjPs (422), and NumPs (423). Example (421) shows the predicative clitic attaching to the associative marker, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.11. Criterion 2 is therefore relevant too.

- (420) 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]
- (421) 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]
- (422) Kinsetshive da.
 [kinse-tshi]=**ve** da
 healthy-ADJR=PRED become
 'She had become strong.' [BC19.127]

- (423) 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	= <i>'khu</i> / <i>'u</i>	augmentative	AUG
	= <i>'vi</i>	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 (424) it attaches to a VP headed by the reduplicated verb *uchhi* 'hit', in (425) to a noun phrase, in (426) to an adjectivalized privative form of the verb *ñuki* 'be peaceful', in (427) to a numeral phrase including a quantity classifier, and to an adverb phrase in (428). Example (429) shows the augmentative marker attaching to a classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15, as a result of which Criterion 2 is relevant as well. Note that it is unclear under what conditions *'u* or *'khu* is chosen.

- (424) 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.'
- (425) 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]
- (426) 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]
- (427) 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]

- (428) 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 (429)-(433). In (429) the clitic attaches to a verb phrase, in (430) to a noun phrase, in (431) to a derived similative adjective phrase, in (432) to a pro-numeral, and in (433) to an adverbialized form of a similative adjective phrase. In (432) the affective clitic attaches to a classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15. In (431) and (433) it attaches to the augmentative marker, which we show to be a clitic in this section. Criterion 2 is therefore relevant as well.

- (429) 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]
- (430) 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]
- (431) Tsun'da ñua'me kuenza Santakrûsupa'kankhuvi dyaichu'ta manjan tsû jen'da
 aña'chuma kuiraya.
 tsun=ta ñua'me kuenza [Santacruz=pa='kan='khu]='vi dyai='chu=ta
 do=TOP truly old Santa.Cruz=ASSOC=SIMIL1=AUG=AFF sit=SUB=TOP
 majan=tsû je'nda aña'chu=ma kuiraya
 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]
- (432) 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]
- (433) Tsegakaenkhu'vite khûi'ya
 [tsa=nga='kan=e='khu]='vi=te khûi='ya
 ANA=DAT=SIMIL1=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/SubCl clitics

- adverbializer	=e	adverbializer	ADVR
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Table 4.21. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles

The adverbializer =e can attach to verb phrases (434), noun phrases (435), adjective phrases, such as the one based on the anaphoric pro-adjective *tsa'kan* in (436), numeral

phrases (437), and subordinate clauses (438), i.e. it can adverbialize anything except for phrases that are already adverbial.

- (434) Ingima tsû iñe'e atutu'faya.
 ingi=ma=tsû [iñen]=e atûi~tûi='fa=ya
 1.PL=ACC.REAL=3 hurt=ADVR chop~MLTP=PLS=IRR
 'They are going to chop us painfully.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-028]
- (435) 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]
- (436) 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 gets really foggy along this river sometimes.' [HF 7:36 S1]
- (437) 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]
- (438) Ña khûtsû'chuekanda mûite tsû jaya.
 [ña khûtsû='chu]=e='kan=ta mûite=tsû ja=ya
 1.SG stand=SUB=ADVR=SIMIL1=NEW improbable=3 go=IRR
 'If I would have been standing there, it wouldn't have escaped.'
 [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-003]

Since =e may attach to different types of constituents, it should be considered a clitic by Criterion 1. Criterion 2 is relevant as well: in (436) and (437) the adverbializer clitic follows a classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15; in (438) it follows the general subordinator, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.16.

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

- noun phrase marker	=a	noun phrase marker	NPM
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Table 4.22. VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles

The noun phrase marker =a attaches to all constituent types. It thus combines with verb phrases (439), noun phrases (440), adjective phrases (441), numeral phrases (442), adverb phrases (443), and subordinate clauses without (444) and with (445) a subordinator.

- (439) Sian ma'kantsû tsa sinchuaaja.
 [sin]=a ma='kan=tsû tsa sin='chu=a=ja
 black=NPM IGNR.SEL=SIMIL1=3 ANA black=SUB=NPM=CONTR
 'And what kind are black? [Pesca 1:40]

- (440) Khafaiseyi'khu kun'sindekhû khangandekhîa kanse'fa.
 khafaiseyi'khu kun'si=ndekhû [khangandekhîa]=a kanse='fa.
 six woolly.monkey=APL different=APL=NPM live =PLS
 'There are six species of monkeys.' [RBI01.115]
- (441) Va kinsetshiasi dyuju.
 va [kinse-tshi]=a=si dyuju
 PROX health-ADJR=NPM=DS be.afraid
 'This (aguti) being strong, I am afraid.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-067]
- (442) Zabdindekhû fae'khu fae'khua kanjaen'fasi Na'sû Chigaja Akan, tsa Karmi
 dûtsi'yema kanjaen.
 Zabdi=ndekhû [fae='khu fae='khu]=a kanjaen='fa=si Chiga=ja
 Zabdi=APL one=CLF:QUANT one=CLF:QUANT=NPM show=PLS=DS God=CONTR
 Akan tsa Karmi dûtsi'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]
- (443) Ja'ñuakaen juvakaen antheputchombiya tsû tsampi ñua'me ñutshia ande tsû na'ekhe.
 [ja'ñu]=a='kan=e juva='kan=e antheputchu=mbi='ya=tsû tsampi
 now=NPM=SIMIL1=ADVR DIST=SIMIL1=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]
- (444) Tsa feña'e'kha'a kundase'paya tsû tsaja.
 tsa [feña-en-kha]=a kundase-'pa='ya=tsû tsa=ja
 ANA laugh-CAUS-DIM=NPM tell-NR=ASS=3 ANA=CONTR
 'It's a story that will make you laugh a bit, that one.' [20060118-MM-2-0327.788]
- (445) 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=NPM 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 (440) the noun phrase marker follows the animate plural marker, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.11; in (442) it follows a classifier, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15; and in (445) it follows the general subordinator, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.16.

4.2.14.10. VP/AdjP clitics

- Adverbializers	=tshé	adverbializer	ADVR
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Table 4.23. VP/AdjP/AdvP cliticizing particles

The adverbializer *=tshē* is more limited in its distribution than the adverbializer *=e*. It attaches to verb phrases and adjective phrases, and may therefore be considered a clitic by Criterion 1. In (446) it attaches to a verb phrase, in (447) to an adjective phrase. Thus, Criterion 1 applies. Criterion 2 applies as well, as in (446) the clitic *=tshē* follows the negative marker *=mbi*, which we show to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.

- (446) Tsunsi tsekija jambe R. khe khûi kusema in'jan'se tse ningae 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=ningae [ja=mbi]=**tshē**
 think =MIT.IMP ANA.LOC=ALL go=NEG=ADVR
 'So imagine that that day Linda was in bed until night without going there.'
 [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0251.225]
- (447) Ti'tshe tsatsû kunsiana andeya ti'tshe egatshe kungunsi shunchhamba andeya.
 titshe tsa=tsû kunsiana ande='ya [titshe ega]=**tshē** 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]

One might suspect that *=tshē* 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 *=tshē* 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 (446), and on adjectives, as shown in (447).

4.2.14.11. NP clitics

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

Table 4.24. 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 (448) shows that *=nakhû* 'COLL' is a clitic, as it can attach to *=pa* 'ASSOC', which we show in (450) to be a clitic. In (449) *=ndekhû* 'APL' is shown to be a clitic, since it attaches to *=sû* 'ATTR', which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.14. Finally, *=pa* 'ASSOC'

is a clitic in (450), as it can attach to the clitic =*'ye*, the clitic status of which is demonstrated later in this section.

- (448) 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]
- (449) 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]
- (450) Yaya'yepa tsû ñua'me ñanga tayupi'sû kuenzandekhûja anañe khûi'ja ñua'me ñutshia kundasepa 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=NPM
 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 (451) it can be attached to the clitic =*ndekhû* 'APL', which was itself shown to be a clitic above.

- (451) Tsate tayupisû khasheyendekhû'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 =*'khû* 'INSTR', =*mbe* 'BEN', =*nga* 'DAT', and =*ve* 'ACC.IRR'. In these cases Criterion 2 is decisive in considering the case marker a clitic. In the following examples the instrumental (452), benefactive (453), dative (454), and irrealis accusative (455) case markers follow the animate plural marker -*ndekhû*, which we have shown above to be a clitic.

- (452) 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]
- (453) Pûshesundekhûmbe 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]

- (454) 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]
- (455) 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]

4.2.14.12. NP/AdvP clitics

- Similative adjectivalizer	= <i>'kan</i>	similative	SIMIL1
- Case marking	= <i>ne</i>	source	SO
	= <i>ningae</i>	allative	ALL
	= <i>pi</i>	limitative	LIM
	= <i>'the</i>	postessive	PSTE
	= <i>ye</i>	relative	ELAT
- Information structure	= <i>khe</i>	additive focus	ADD
	= <i>yi</i>	exclusive focus	EXCL

Table 4.25. 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', =*ningae* 'ALL', =*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 (456) and adverb phrases (457). Example (456) 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 4.2.14.16.

- (456) Ankan'chu'kaen da ukeye.
 [ankan='chu]='**kan**=e da uke=ye
 fasten=SUB=SIMIL1=ADVR become burn=INF
 'They became something that stuck on and then burned.' [BC17.115]
- (457) Ñua'me tayupia'kaen avûjatshimbi tsû.
 ñua'me [tayupi]='**kan**=e avûja-tshi=mbi=tsû
 truly formerly=SIMIL1=ADVR happy-ADJR=NEG=3
 'They are not happy like before.' [20040218-EC-Interview-027]

Examples of the five case markers mentioned above are given in (458)-(467). 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 (459) the case marker follows the adverbializer =e, the clitic status of which is argued for in Section 4.2.14.8; in (466) the case marker follows a classifier, the clitic status of which is demonstrated in Section 4.2.14.15.

- (458) 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]
- (459) 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]
- (460) Kuse setsaemba a'tanangaeta thûthû'fa.
 kuse setsa-en=pa a'ta=**ningae**=ta thûthû ='fa
 night be.lit-CAUS=SS dawn=ALL=NEW fell=PLS
 'At night they lit them and cut until it dawned.' [BC03.014]
- (461) Mingaetsû jañuningaeja kambian
 mingae=tsû ja'ñu=**ningae**=ja kambian
 how=3 now=ALL=CONTR change
 'What has changed until now?' [Escuela 0:20]
- (462) 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)
- (463) 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]
- (464) Sumbuye'thi tuya'kaen setsaningaeja Zabalo bathi'pa'the japa tsû tsa'kaen
 enthingenkhe thû'chu.
 sumbu=ye='thi tuya'kaen setsa=ningae=ja [Zabalo bathi-'pa]='**the**
 come.out=INF=CLF:LOC CONJ low=ALL=CONTR Zabalo end-NR=PSTE
 ja=pa=tsû tsa'kan=e enthingene=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]
- (465) Tsa ña'me jañu va agostothe jukhaningaeki simbapa asiya tsesûma.
 tsa ña'me ja'ñu [va agosto]='**the** jukhaningaeki simba=pa asi='ya
 ANA truly now PROX August=PPSTE later=2 fish=SS take.out=VER
 tse'sû=ma
 ANA.ATTR=ACC.REAL
 'From August onwards you can fish that.' [Pesca 3:03]
- (466) 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]

- (467) 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. The clitic *ningae* seems to be decomposable into =*ni* 'LOC' and =*ngae* 'MANN', but it has a different distribution from both =*ni* and =*ngae*, which is why we treat it as non-compositional here.¹⁰

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 (468)-(471).

- (468) 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]
- (469) 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]
- (470) Khase egapa'e dapa tue'thingayi unjun 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]
- (471) 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 (468) and (470) they attach to case markers, which were shown to be clitics in Section 4.2.14.11; in (469) and (471) they attach to the adverbializer =*tshe*, which was shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.10.

4.2.14.13. NP/AdvP/SubCl clitics

- Case marking	= <i>ni</i>	locative	LOC
- Information structure	= <i>ja</i>	contrastive topic	CONTR
	= <i>ta</i>	new topic	NEW

Table 4.26. NP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles

¹⁰ We are grateful to Scott Anderbois for drawing our attention to this.

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

- (472) 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]
- (473) Mingaetsû jañuningaeja kambian.
 mingae=tsû [ja'ñu]=ningae=ja kambian
 how=3 now=ALL=CONTR change
 'How have things changed nowadays?' [Escuela 0:20]
- (474) 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-IMP=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 (474), 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 (472) it follows a classifier, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.15; in (474) 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 (475)-(480) to have the same distribution as =*ni*, attaching to noun phrases, adverb phrases, and subordinate clauses, respectively.

- (475) 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=NPM
 kukama=ve]=**ja** athe-'je='fa=ya
 Spaniard=ACC.IRR=CONTR see-IMP=PLS=IRR
 'But now where are we going to find a white person that can help us like you?'
 [20050701-MA-Letter-2-039]
- (476) 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]

- (477) [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]
- (478) 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]
- (479) 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]
- (480) 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 (475) and (478) they attach to the irrealis accusative case marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.11; in (476) and (479) to the adverbializer =e, shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.8; and in (477) and (480) to the negative marker, shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.

4.2.14.14. NP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl clitics

- Attribution	=sû	attributive	ATTR
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Table 4.27. 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 (481), numeral phrases (482), adverb phrases (483), and subordinate clauses (484).

- (481) 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]

- (482) 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]
- (483) 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]
- (484) 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 (467) the attributive clitic attaches to the animate plural marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.11.

4.2.14.15. NP/SubCl clitics

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

Table 4.28. 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 case markers =*ma* 'ACC.REAL', =*ngae* 'MANN', and *sa'ne* 'APPR' on the one hand, and a large set of nominal classifiers on the other.

Starting with the realis accusative case marker =*ma*, the manner case marker =*ngae*,

and the apprehensional case marker =*sa'ne*¹¹, examples (485)-(490) 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.

- (485) Ma'kaen ña dûsundekhumanda katiya?"
 ma='kan=e [ña dû'sû=ndekhû]=**ma**=ta kati=ya
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR1.SG child=APL=ACC.REAL=NEW leave=IRR
 'How can I leave my stepchildren?' [BC26.101]
- (486) 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]
- (487) Shavungae tsû ji ana ji'jefaya.
 shavu=**ngae**=tsû ji ana ji-'je='fa='ya
 dugout=MANN=3 come sleep come-IMP=PLS=ASS
 'They came by canoe, sleeping on the way.' [20040218-EC-Interview-225]
- (488) Tseni kan'jen'faja ña kundaya'ngae.
 tse=ni kan'jen='fa=ja [ña kunda=ya]=**ngae**
 ANA.LOC=LOC stay=PLS=IMP 1.SG tell=IRR=MANN
 'Stay there until I tell you.' [Matthew 2.13]
- (489) Tsumba ñutshe tenkhensane uphaen.
 tsun=pa ñu=tshe [tenken]=**sa'ne** upha-en
 do=SS good=ADVR fly=APPR covered-CAUS
 'Then he covered up (the fish) against the flies.'
 [20060119-AnC-Consiana-02 -0208.859]
- (490) 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 (485) the clitic follows the animate plural marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.11; in (486) and (488) 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 (491) and (492) this classifier is attached directly to a nominal head.

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

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

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).

- (492) 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 (493) and (494), 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.

- (493) tise uchhachhaje'chui'khû
 [tise uchhi~chi-'je]='**chu**=i'khû
 3.sg hit~MLTP-IMP=CLF:RND=INST
 'with the small thing that he usually hits with' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-019]
- (494) 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 (495) the classifier is attached to a noun phrase consisting of just a noun, in (496) to a clause.

- (495) Khuthai'khu du.
 [khutai]='**khu** du
 jaw=CLF:ANG broke
 'He broke his jaw.' [BC03.049]
- (496) 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-IMP=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 (497) it attaches to a noun that is the head of a noun phrase; in (498) to a subordinate clause.

- (497) 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]
- (498) 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 (499) it attaches to a noun

phrase, in (500) to a clause.

(499) 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]

(500) Sia'me pa'ma tsû athefambi ña an'jenthinga.

sin'=a=ve pa='ma=tsû athe='fa=mbi [ña an-'je]='**thi**=nga
black=NPM=PRED die=FRT=3 see=PLS=NEG 1.SG eat-IMP=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 (5015), 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.

(501) Ansundain jaja'fapa kachapama ansûnde'chuthinga dyaiña'fa.

ansunde-in jaja='fa=pa kachapa=ma [ansûnde='chu]='**thi**=nga
ascend-MANN.CV go=PLS=SS parrot=ACC.REAL ascend=SUB=CLF:LOC=DAT
dyai-ña='fa
sit-CAUS=PLS

'Having gone up they placed their parrot at the head of the ladder.' [BC08.075]

Similarly, in (502) a classifier attaches to the attributive marker ='sû, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.14.

(502) Durenosûkhutsû tsa'kaen dajifa.

[Dureno='sû]='**khu**=tsû tsa='kan=e da-ji='fa
Dureno=ATTR=CLF:ANG=3 ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR become-PRECUL=PLS

'The ones from Dureno are becoming like that.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 20:52]

4.2.14.16. SubCl clitics

- Subordination	'chu	subordinator	SUB
	'ma	frustrative	FRT
	ye	infinitive	INF
	khia'kan	similative 2	SIMIL2
- Cosubordination	pa	same subject cosubordinator	SS
	si	different subject cosubordinator	DS

Table 4.29. Subordinate clause cliticizing particles

The clitics in this last group attach to (co)subordinate clauses only. We divide them here in subordinators and cosubordinators.

The subordinating clitics ='chu 'SUB', ='ma 'FRT' and =ye 'INF' attach to subordinate clauses with a verbal predicate only. Their clitic status can therefore only be demonstrated by

applying Criterion 2, as subordinate clauses have the predicate in final position. The subordinating clitic =*'chu* may attach to a wide variety of other clitics, such as the negative clitic =*mbi* in (503), the plural subject clitic =*'fa* in (504), and the irrealis clitic =*ya* in (505). We show these elements to be clitics in Sections 4.2.14.6 en 4.2.14.5.

- (503) in'janjembichuasi
 [in'jan-'je=mbi]='**chu**=a=si
 think-IMP=NEG=SUB=NPM=DS
 'because she is crazy' (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-056)
 "because she doesn't think"
- (504) Ke'i vathi kanjenindi ji'fachu?
 ke'i [va='thi kan'jen=ni=ti ji='fa]='**chu**
 2.PL PROX=CLF:LOC live.in.a.place=LOC=INT come=PLS=SUB
 'They came when you were here?' (lit. "They were ones that came when you lived here?" [20040218-EC-Interview-049])
- (505) 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
 ANA.LOC=1 truly forest =LOC walk =IRR =SUB =ACC.IRR truly want
 'Since then, I wanted to go hunting more frequently.' (HF 1:55 S1)

The frustrative clitic may likewise attach to a range of other clitics, such as the plural subject clitic in (506) and the negative clitic in (507), which we show to be clitics in Section 4.2.14.6.

- (506) Jûn a'ingaeyi afajefama.
 jûn a'i=ngae=yi [afa-'je]='**fa**='**ma**
 yeah Cofán=MANN=EXCL speak-IMP=PLS=FRT
 'Yeah, they only speak A'ingae.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 5:50]
- (507) Ñambeja juva kevinja atesûmbima jarichu a'ingae.
 ña=mbe=ja juva kevin=ja atesû=**mbi**='**ma** jarichu a'i=ngae
 1.SG=BEN=CONTR DIST Kevin=CONTR know=NEG=FRST grandson
 Cofán.person=MANN
 'My grandson Kevin doesn't know how to write in A'ingae.'
 [Desarrollo de tecnología 5:34]

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.

- (508) 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~MLTP-GO&DO=PLS=INF
 'Let's go kill the rock people.' [BC12.046]

The subordinating clitic =*khia'kan* attaches to clauses with both verbal and non-verbal predicates. Examples (509)-(510) shows that it can attach to a subordinate clause with a verbal predicate, while (511)-(512) shows that it may attach to a subordinate clause with a

non-verbal predicate.

- (509) Mishi ana'jenkhia'ka'un tsû.
 [mishi ana-'je]=**khia'kan**='u=tsû
 cat sleep-IMPf=SIMIL2=AUGM=3
 'It is like a cat is sleeping' (Borman 1981: 8)
- (510) Ñua'me avûjatshimbi tisû ankhesuma ñutshe an'jembikhiakaun.
 ñua'me avûja=tshi=mbi [tisû an-khe'sû =ma ñutshe
 truly happy=ADJR=NEG self eat-HAB.ADJR=ACC.REAL good
 an-'je=mbi]=**khia'kan**='u
 eat-IMPf=NEG=SIMIL2=AUG
 'We are not happy because we are not eating well our own food.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-023]
- (511) Gringombikhia'kaen tsa khe shû'jû.
 [gringo=mbi]=**khia'kan**=e tsa=khe shû'jû
 gringo=NEG=SIMIL2=ADVR ANA=ADD rub
 'As if he was not a gringo, he too was rubbing me.'
 [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0160.128]
- (512) 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 examples (510)-(511), in which the similative 2 clitic attaches to the negative marker, which is shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6.

The markers of cosubordination =*pa* 'ss' and =*si* 'ds' are like the preceding clitics 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.

- (513) Pañambipa pa.
 [pañã=mbi]=**pa** pa
 listen=NEG=SS die
 'Disobeying he died.' [BC07.152]
- (514) 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]
- (515) 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]

- (516) 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 (513) and (515) the cosubordinating clitics attach to the negative marker, which was shown to be a clitic in Section 4.2.14.6. In (514) and (516) they attach to the general subordinating clitic, which creates nominalizations in these examples, and which was shown to be a clitic in this section.

4.2.14.17. Two types of clitics¹³

After the detailed discussion of the properties of individual clitics in Sections 4.2.14.4 – 4.2.14.16, we now turn to an overall comparison of the behaviour of these clitics with respect to the two different criteria that we have used in our description. In brief, the two criteria that we have used in the preceding sections are: the marker can attach to constituents of different types (Criterion 1); the marker can attach to an element identified as a clitic (Criterion 2). Table 4.30 shows how the various clitics behave with respect to these criteria.

The first thing that can be read off from Table 4.30 is that elements that are clitics by Criterion 1, also abide by Criterion 2. From this we may conclude that clitics that abide by Criterion 1 are stronger clitics, as they comply with both criteria, while those that abide by Criterion 2 are weaker clitics, as they abide by one criterion only. We will call the strong clitics Type 1 clitics, the weaker clitics Type 2 clitics. As can be seen in Table 4.30, all NP cliticizing particles, all VP cliticizing particles, and three of the SubCl cliticizing particles are of Type 2. Among the SubCl cliticizing particles those that may attach to a subordinate clause based on a verbal predicate only are of Type 2, those that may attach to a subordinate clause based on a non-verbal predicate as well are of Type 1. Since subordinate clauses have the predicate as their final element, this means that all Type 2 clitics attach to either a noun phrase or to a verb phrase only, that is, they do not exhibit freedom of host selection. Type 2 clitics may even attach at the word level rather than at the constituent level, as shown by the following example:

- (517) Aniva chan tsû sûya jinge kukamakhû'ni chavaengaye fiñuma
 Aniva chan=tsû sû='ya jinge kukama=khû='u=ni
 Hannibal mother=3 say=ASS HORT Spaniard=CLF.DLM=AUG=LOC
 chava-ña-'nga=**ye** fiñu=ma
 buy-CAUS-GO&DO=INF icecream bean=ACC
 'Anibal's mother asked me to go help her sell fruit at Lago Agrio.'
 [El jardín y las plantas medicinales 2:30]

¹³ The discussion presented in this section has benefitted greatly from discussion with Maksymilian Dąbkowski and Scott Anderbois.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Meaning/function</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Criterion 1</i>	<i>Criterion 2</i>
Clause level cliticizing particles					
- Evidentiality	= <i>te</i>	reportative	RPRT	+	+
- Illocution	= <i>ti</i>	interrogative	INT	+	+
Constituent level cliticizing particles					
VP cliticizing particles					
- Illocution	= <i>ja</i>	imperative	IMP	-	+
	= <i>jama</i>	prohibitive	PROH	-	+
	= <i>kha</i>	diminutive imperative	DIM.IMP	-	+
	= <i>'se</i>	mitigated imperative	MIT.IMP	-	+
- Mood	= <i>ya</i>	irrealis	IRR	-	+
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP cliticizing particles					
- Predicate markers	= <i>'ya</i>	assertive	ASS	+	+
	= <i>'fa</i>	plural subject	PLS	+	+
	= <i>mbi</i>	negation	NEG	+	+
	= <i>ve</i>	predicative	PRED	+	+
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP cliticizing particles					
- Subjective coloration	= <i>'khu/=u</i>	augmentative	AUG	+	+
	= <i>'vi</i>	affective	AFF	+	+
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/SubCl cliticizing particles					
- Adverbializer	= <i>e</i>	adverbializer	ADVR	+	+
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles					
- Noun phrase marker	= <i>a</i>	noun phrase marker	NPM	+	+
VP/AdjP/AdvP cliticizing particles					
- Adverbializers	= <i>tshe</i>	adverbializer	ADVR	+	+
NP cliticizing particles					

- Plurality	= <i>nakhû</i>	collective	COLL	-	+
	= <i>ndekhû</i>	animate plural	APL	-	+
	= <i>pa</i>	associative	ASSOC	-	+
- Nominal tense	= <i>'ye</i>	nominal past	NPST	-	+
- Case marking	= <i>'khû</i>	instrument	INST	-	+
	= <i>mbe</i>	beneficiary	BEN	-	+
	= <i>nga</i>	dative	DAT	-	+
	= <i>ngae</i>	manner, path	MANN	-	+
	= <i>ningae</i>	allative	ALL	-	+
	= <i>ve</i>	irrealis accusative	ACC.IRR	-	+
NP/AdvP cliticizing particles					
- Similitive adjectivalizer	= <i>'kan</i>	similitive	SIMIL1	+	+
- Case marking	= <i>ne</i>	source	SO	+	+
	= <i>pi</i>	limitative	LIM	+	+
	= <i>'the</i>	postessive	PSTE	+	+
	= <i>ye</i>	elative	ELAT	+	+
- Information structure	= <i>khe</i>	additive focus	ADD	+	+
	= <i>yi</i>	exclusive focus	EXCL	+	+
NP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles					
- Case marking	= <i>ni</i>	locative	LOC	+	+
- Information structure	= <i>ja</i>	contrastive topic	CONTR	+	+
	= <i>ta</i>	new topic	NEW	+	+
NP/NumP/AdvP/SubCl cliticizing particles					
- Attribution	= <i>'sû</i>	attributive	ATTR	+	+
NP/SubCl cliticizing particles					
- Case marking	= <i>ma</i>	realis accusative	ACC.REAL	+	+
	= <i>sa'ne</i>	apprehensional	APPR	+	+
- Classification	= <i>'chu</i>	classifier round objects	CLF:RND	+	+
	= <i>fa</i>	classifier lateral objects	CLF:LAT	+	+

	= <i>fi'ndi</i>	classifier splinter-like	CLF:SPL	+	+
	= <i>fu'chu</i>	classifier diffused objects	CLF:DIFF	+	+
	= <i>ite</i>	classifier periods objects	CLF:PRD	+	+
	= <i>je</i>	classifier flat objects	CLF:FLT	+	+
	= <i>jin</i>	classifier large objects	CLF:LRG	+	+
	= <i>jiun</i>	classifier tall objects	CLF:TLL	+	+
	= <i>'khu</i>	classifier angular objects	CLF:ANG	+	+
	= <i>'khu</i>	classifier quantities	CLF:QUANT	+	+
	= <i>khû</i>	classifier delimited objects	CLF:DEL	+	+
	= <i>ki</i>	classifier linear objects	CLF:LNR	+	+
	= <i>ki</i>	classifier days	CLF:DRN	+	+
	= <i>si</i>	classifier spiny objects	CLF:SPN	+	+
	= <i>'thi</i>	classifier locations	CLF:LOC	+	+
<hr/>					
SubCl cliticizing particles					
- Subordination	= <i>'chu</i>	subordinator	SUB	-	+
	= <i>'ma</i>	frustrative	FRT	-	+
	= <i>ye</i>	infinitive	INF	-	+
	= <i>khia'kan</i>	similative 2	SIMIL2	+	+
- Cosubordination	= <i>pa</i>	same subject cosubordinator	SS	+	+
	= <i>si</i>	different subject cosubordinator	DS	+	+

Table 4.30. Clitics by criteria

The subordinator =*ye* 'INF' is attached to the verbal predicate of a subordinate clause in (517), but is at the same time followed by an argument that belongs to that subordinate clause, which shows that the infinitive marker does not attach to the clause as a whole, just to its verbal predicate.

Despite facts like these, we prefer to treat type Type 2 clitics as clitics rather than as suffixes. The main reason for this is would be hard to explain facts like the following. We start with a few examples of the use of the plural subject marker =*fa*.

- (518) Ju'sû abogadondekhûi'khû gi jakan'faya.
 ju='sû abogado=ndekhû=i'khû=ngi jakan='fa=ya
 DIST.LOC=ATTR lawyer=AN.PL=INST=1 walk=PLS=IRR
 'We will go with those lawyers.' [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0331.413]
- (519) Tsumba ña, Humbertu, eh, tsendekhû gi ingija accionista'fa, tsa kompañía khen
 sùkhia'kaen empresa'sundekhû'fa'ya
 tsun=pa ña Humbertu, tsendekhû=ngi ingi =ja accionista='fa,
 do=SS 1.SG Humberto ANA.PL=1 1.PL=CONTR stock.holder=PLS
 tsa kompaniña khen sù=khia'kan =e empresa='sù=ndekhû='fa='ya
 ANA company QUOT say=SIMIL2=ADVR company=ATTR=AN.PL=PLS=ASS
 'I, H., we are are the stock holders, we are that company's stock holders, so called.'
 [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0227.542]

In (518) the plural subject marker =*fa* attaches directly to a verb. In (519), however, the situation is more complex. The noun phrase *empresa'sundekhû* 'the ones of that company' represents a headless construcion. When inserting the head, the phrase would be *empresa'su accionistandekhû* 'the stockholders of that company'. The phrase contains the animate plural clitic =*ndekhû*, which is restricted to noun phrases, which is itself followed by the plural subject marker =*fa*. So =*fa* must be a clitic by the Criterion 1, the strongest criterion.

Now there is a series of elements that may follow =*fa*, but only when it occurs on verbs. A few examples are given in (520)-(523).

- (520) Ke juni japa fûesû ethini kan'jen'faja.
 ke ju=ni ja=pa fûe='sû ethi=ni kan'jen='fa=ja
 2.SG DIST.LOC=LOC go=SS other=ATTR house=LOC live=PLS=IMP
 'You go over there in another house and stay.' [BC07.127]
- (521) Jungaesûve da'faya?
 jungue'sû=ve da='fa=ya
 IGN.SBS=ACC.IRR become=PLS=IRR
 'What shall we change ourselves into?' [BC08.035]
- (522) A'ima tsetsepama kûi'jepa khusha'je'fa'chuma paña.
 a'i=ma tsetsepa=ma kû'i-'je=pa khusha-'je='fa='chu=ma paña
 man=ACC.REAL beer=ACC.REAL drink-IMP=SS drum-IMP=PLS =SUB =ACC.REAL hear
 'He heard the people who were drinking beer and beating the drums.' [BC19.062]
- (523) Jûn a'ingaeyi afajefama.
 jûn a'i=ngae=yi afa-'je='fa='ma
 yeah Cofán.person=MANN=EXCL speak-IMP=PLS=FRT
 'Yes, they only speak A'ingae.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 5:50]

In these examples the imperative (520), irrealis (521), subordination (522), and frustrative (523) marker all follow the plural subject marker =*ʃa*. The fact that these four markers are restricted to verbs makes them like suffixes, but the fact that they follow a marker that is a clitic by all standards, makes them like clitics, as clitics cannot be followed by suffixes: clitics constitute separate words, so suffixes attaching to them can never be part of the word that the clitic separates them from.

We therefore classify Type 2 clitics as clitics, though recognizing that they are closer to suffixes than Type 1 clitics are. This is schematically shown in Table 4.31.

	Type 1 clitics	Type 2 clitics	suffixes
Freedom of host selection	+	-	-
Attachment to other clitics	+	+	-

Table 4.31. Clitics and suffixes

Dąbkowski (2019) makes the opposite choice, preferring to treat our Type 2 clitics as suffixes.

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 Type 1 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, while Type 2 clitics attach to other clitics. Inflectional suffixes follow derivational suffixes, as we will show in Section 4.4.

4.2.15.3. Classification

Table 4.30 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.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Suffix</i>	<i>Meaning/function</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Verb suffixes			
- derivational	<i>-fasi</i>	nominalizer	HAB.NR
	<i>-khe'sû</i>	habitual nominalizer	HAB.NR
	<i>-ma'sia</i>	negative habitual nominalizer	NEG.HAB.NR
	<i>-'pa</i>	nominalizer	NR
	<i>-pari</i>	nominalizer	HAB.NR
	<i>-ri</i>	nominalizer	HAB.NR
	<i>-tshi</i>	adjectivalizer	ADJR
- diathesis	<i>-khu</i>	reciprocal	RECIP
	<i>-ye</i>	passive	PASS
- direction and location	<i>-'nga</i>	associated motion go&do	GO&DO
	<i>-'ngi</i>	associated motion come&do	COME&DO
- aspect	<i>-'je</i>	imperfective	IMPF
	<i>-ji</i>	preculminative	PRECUL
	<i>-kha</i>	diminutive	DIM
	<i>-'ñakha</i>	repetitive	REP
	<i>-yi</i>	prospective	PROSP
- converbal endings	<i>-in</i>	manner converb	MANN.CV
	<i>-mbe</i>	negative converb	NEG.CV
Noun suffix			
	<i>-e</i>	place name	PLACE
Numeral suffix			
	<i>-se</i>	recursive	RCUR
Flexible suffixes			
	<i>-an/-ña/-en</i>	causative (V/N/A)	CAUS
	<i>-mbi</i>	privative (V/N)	PRIV

Table 4.30. 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 (524)-(526).

- (524) Ñua'me tsû dyujufasi.
 ñua'me=tsû dyuju-**fasi**
 really=3 get.scared-HAB.NR
 'They are really cowards.' [20060118-LM-2-0180.135]
- (525) amphi-**pari**
 fall-HAB.NR
 'person that always falls' (elic.)
- (526) 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 (527)-(528).

- (527) 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]
- (528) 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 also rather frequent though not fully productive and is illustrated in (529)-(530).

- (529) 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]
- (530) 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 (531)-(533). This process may well be restricted to lexicalized causatives, as it is only sparsely found. The causative marker will be shown to be a suffix in Section 4.2.15.6.

- (531) chavaenkhe'sû
 chava-en-**khe'sû**
 buy-CAUS=HAB.NR
 'things that can be sold' [El jardín y las plantas medicinales 5:58]

- (532) Ka'nia'masia.
 ka'ni-an-**ma'sia**
 enter-CAUS-NEG.HAB.NR
 'He was impenetrable.' [BC12.093]
- (533) 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 (534).

- (534) A'i tsu'fe thuthutshi.
 a'i tsu'fe tutu-**tshi**
 man eye be.white-ADJR
 'Men's eyes are white.' [BC09.031]

The only suffix that may precede *-tshi* is the privative suffix *-mbi* (see Section 4.2.15.7.2), as shown in (535).

- (535) 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 simulative anaphoric adjective *tsa'kan*, as shown in (536).

- (536) Jayambi gi tsa'kantshiangaja.
 ja=ya=mbi=ngi [tsa'kan]-**tshi**=a=nga=ja
 GO=IRR=NEG=1 ANA.SIMIL-ADJR=NPM=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 (537) and (538), respectively.

- (537) Tsakambatsû injingeya pûiyikhu fûitekhuye.
 tsa='kan=pa=tsû injenge='ya pûi=yi-khu fûite-**khu**=ye
 ANA=SIMIL1=SS=3 important=ASS each=EXCL-CLF:QUANT help-RECIP=INF
 'That's why its necessary to help each other.' [Ser un miembro de la comunidad 4:49]
- (538) 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 4.2.14.11 is homophonous with the passive suffix. The two forms have to be clearly distinguished, however, as they may co-occur, as shown in (539).

- (539) 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=AN.PL=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]

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. Associated motion and event location

There are two suffixes expressing associated motion and event location, associated motion go&do -'nga and associated motion come&do -ngi. Both are expressed on the verb, as shown in (540) and (541).

- (540) I'ngapa faesûsi'umanda afe'ya.
 i-'nga=pa faesû='si='u=ma=ta afe='ya
 bring-GO&DO=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)
- (541) 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-COME&DO=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 (542) and (543).

- (542) 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-GO&DO=PLS river shore =CLF:LAT =DAT
 san=ningae
 dry=ALL
 'When the hook was baited they laid the baby on the bank by the edge of the river.'
 [BC20.032]
- (543) Sejja'ngifaja pave dasa'ne.
 se'je-an-'ngi='fa=ja pa=ve da=sasa'ne
 heal-CAUS-COME&DO=PLS=IMPdie=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 'GO&DO'* in (544).

- (544) Kathû'je'nga'ninda tise dûtsi'yendekhû ichuru'chuma pûviamba khusha changu jinithi.
 kathû-'je-'nga=ni=ta tise dûtsi'ye=ndekhû ichuru'chu=ma
 cultivate-IMPF-GO&DO=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 (545)-(549).

- (545) 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]
- (546) Tseti ki khûshajipa ji?
 tse=ti=ki khûsha-ji=pa ji
 ANA.LOC=INT=2 recover-PRECU=SS come
 'Did you come came in the process of recovering?'
 [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0280.346]
- (547) Jinge rundakhaye.
 jinge ru'nda-kha=ye
 HORT wait-DIM=INF
 'Let's wait a little.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-067]
- (548) Tsumba khatikhûñakha ka'nijin.
 tsun=pa khatikhû-'ñakha ka'ni-ji
 do=SS crawl-REP enter-PRECU
 'Then crawling he started to enter.' [BC18.012]
- (549) 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 (550)-(553).

- (550) Fae a'tayi ti fiestaen'jenfa.
 fae a'ta=yi=ti fiesta-en-'je='fa
 one day=EXCL=INT party-CAUS-IMP=PLS
 'Did they celebrate for just one day?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0292.918]
- (551) 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]
- (552) Sumbuenkajan.
 sumbu-en-**kha**=ja
 emerge-CAUS-DIM=IMP
 'Get it out a little bit.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-073]
- (553) <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 (554).

- (554) 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. Converbial 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 (555) and (556).

- (555) Bûthuin ja.
 bûthu-**in** ja
 run-MANN.CV go
 'He ran off.' [BC04.011]
- (556) Dyujumbe anaján.
 dyuju-**mbe** ana=ja.
 get.scared-NEG.CV sleep=IMP
 'Sleep without being afraid.' [BC19.032]

The negative converb 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 (557)-(558).

- (557) 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]
- (558) Singû'khû, Ungûe'thi ti'tshe umba'thi. Tumbafindie'thi.
 singû=khû ungû-e='thi ti'tshe umba='thi
 lake=CLF:DEL capuchin.monkey-PLACE=NR.LOC more 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.

- (559) 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 (560), in which the flexible causative suffix is followed by the imperfective suffix, and in (561), in which the flexible privative suffix is followed by the adjectivalizer suffix:

- (560) I khûiñamba ûfakhu'khuma khûtsian'jen.
 i khûi-ñã=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]
- (561) Afambitshiya.
 afa-mbi-tshi='ya
 speak-PRIV-ADJR=ASS
 'He was silent'(lit. "speechless").' [Kuke chiste 1:08]

The causative marker *-an/-ñã/-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 (562), nouns (563), and adjectives (564).

- (562) 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=CONTRuh 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]
- (563) 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]
- (564) Randiaja
 rande-**an**=ja!
 big-CAUS=IMP
 'Make it bigger!' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-054]

The privative suffix *-mbi* can attach to nominal and verbal heads, as shown in (565)-(566).

- (565) Injamambi keja!
 injama-**mbi** ke=ja
 heart-PRIV 2.SG=CONTR
 'You are stupid (lit. "heartless").' [BC26.047]
- (566) 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. The privative suffix *-mbi* is also different from the negative clitic *=mbi*, which is evident from the fact that the two may combine, as in the following example:

- (567) Kimbimbitiki.
 kin-**mbi=mbi**=ti=ki
 strength-PRIV=NEG=INT=2
 'You don't get tired?' [Desarrollo de tecnología 4:19]

This suffix creates property verbs. This is clear from the fact that it may be followed by the adjectivalizer *-tshi*, which attaches to property verbs only, as discussed in Section 4.2.15.4.2. An example is given in (568).

- (568) Ma'kaen tsû khendyambitshi.
 ma='kan=e=tsû khendya-**mbi-tshi**
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=3 breathe-PRIV-ADJR
 'Why doesn't it breathe?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-064]

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 (569)-(570).

- (569) 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]
- (570) Kathû'je'nga'ninda tise dû'tshi'yendekhû ichuru'chuma khusha.
 kathû-'**je-nga**=ni=ta tise dû'tshi'ye=ndekhû khusha
 cultivate-IMPF-GO&DO=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 multiplicative verbs. Some examples are given in (571)-(574).

- (571) Chhichhipa phiñamba apinga si'ngenga utsian.
 chhi~**chhi**=pa phiña=pa api=nga si'nge=nga utsian
 slice~MLTP=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]
- (572) Tsama afesi tsai'khû tshetshe.
 tsa=ma afe=si tsa=i'khû tse~**tshe**
 ANA=ACC.REAL give=DS ANA=INS pierce~MLTP
 'Having been given (the staff) he pierced (the earth) with it.' [BC14.057]

- (573) Ingima tsû iñe'e atutu'faya.
 ingi=ma=tsû iñe'=en atu~tu='fa='ya
 1.PL=ACC.REAL=3 hurt=ADVR chop~MLTP=PLS=ASS
 'They are going to chop us in a painful manner.'
 (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-028)
- (574) Khuvimakhe fithithi.
 khuvi=ma=khe fi'thi~**thi**
 tapir=ACC.REAL=ADD kill~MLTP
 'They killed the tapir as well.' [20040218-EC-Interview-156]

In some cases reduplication is found with adverbs as well, as in (575)-(576).

- (575) Titshetshekhûkhue changuenjan.
 ti'tshe~**tshe**=khû='khu=e changu-en=ja
 more~MLTP=CLF:DEL=AUG=ADVR hole-CAUS=IMP 2.SG
 'Make a hole that is a bit bigger.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-008]
- (576) jûndedekhue
 jûnde~**de**=khu=e
 quickly~MLTP=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 (577)-(579) stem and, as it is never followed by any suffix, also the last vowel of the morphosyntactic word. Lengthening is not shown in orthography.

- (577) 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]
- (578) 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]
- (579) Utaensi kuraga kû'ipa kuse setá a'ta, khûsi.
 uta-en=si kuraga kû'i=pa kuse setha~: 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 applies to nouns only. A few examples of nominal compounding are given in (580)-(585).

- (580) ampanu dû'shû
 ampanu dû'shû
 baby child
 'baby child' [Vaju kundasepa 6:50]
- (581) pûshesû dû'shu
 pûshesû dû'shu
 woman child
 'girl' [BC12.139]
- (582) a'i dû'shu
 a'i dû'shu
 Cofán.person child
 'human child' [BC17.107]
- (583) a'i pûshesû
 a'i pûshesû
 Cofán.person woman
 'a human woman' [BC15.003]
- (584) kuchhi nan
 kuchhi nan
 pig meat
 'pig meat' [elic.]
- (585) charapa dûsû-'chu
 charapa dûsû-'chu
 charapa.turtle conceive-CLF:RND
 'charapa turtle egg' [elic.]

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 (586).

- (586) na'en'sû kukuya
 na'en='sû kukuya
 river=ATTR devil
 'the river devil' [20060118-BM-Interview-0016.82]

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	Causative	Diathesis	Aspect, Direction, Manner	Event location
V/N	-PRIV				
V	~DUR ~MLTP			-MANN.CV -NEG.CV COME&DO GO&DO	
N/A		-CAUS	-PASS -RECIP	-PRECU -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 furthermore 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.

In the first row in Figure 4.1, property verbs derived by the privative suffix are listed. These can be identified as property verbs, as they can cooccur with the adjectivalizer suffix, which is restricted to this class of verbs. An example is given in (587).

- (587) Ma'kaen tsû khendyambitshi.
 ma='kan=e=tsû khendya-mbi-tshi
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=3 breathe-PRIV-ADJR
 'Why doesn't it breathe.' (lit. "why is it breathless.") [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-064]

The second row in Figure 4.1 represents underived verbs and their inflectional possibilities. (Multiplicative) reduplication and (durative) vowel lengthening apply to the verb stem directly and before the attachment of suffixes, as shown in (588)-(589).

- (588) Tsumba usha'chu aya'fama afa'faen.
 tsun=pa usha'chu aya'fa=ma afa~fa-en
 do=SS various language=ACC.REAL speak~MLTP-CAUS
 'Then he caused the bluebird to speak all languages.' [BC05.004]

- (589) Bu'tshe, setsane "Jaeeee" khien "true tru, true, tru, true, tru" khenga chhuiyu'jeni
jiñafa chhui'ñakha.
bu=tshe setsa=ne jaeeee khien true tru true tru
grow=ADVR prow=SO IDEO thus IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO
true tru khien=nga chhui~:-'je=ni ji-ñã='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 causative ones are attached first to both verbal and non-verbal stems, in the latter case 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 (590)-(592).

- (590) 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]
- (591) Ña gi chigaye'je ña gi asithaen'jen
ñã=ngi chi'ga-ye-'je
1.SG=1 not.want-PASS-IMPF
'I am the person not wanted.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-024]
- (592) Tsa feñae'kha'a kundase'paya tsû tsaja
tsa feña-en-kha=a kundase-'pa='ya=tsû tsa=ja
ANA laugh-CAUS-DIM=NPM 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 (593)-(594).

- (593) 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]
- (594) 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]

Suffixes expressing diathesis follow the causative suffix, as argued in Dąbkowski (forthc.a) and shown in (595)-(596).

- (595) Ingi asithaenchutatsû tres añome da'ni ka'nianñe efecenga tsa inicialkhen sù'chunga.
ingi asi'thaen='chu=ta=tsû tres año=ve da=ni ka'ni-ñã-ye
1.PL think=SUB=NEW=3 three year=ACC.IRR become=LOC enter-CAUS-PASS
efece=nga tsa inicial khien 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]
 (596) Indiankhu'jengi'fayaninde ...
 indi-**an-khu-**'je-'ngi='fa=ya=ni=te
 be.fermented-CAUS-RECIP-IMPFCOME&DO=PLS=IRR=LOC=RPRT
 'Allegedly they will come to be fermenting among themselves, ...'
 (Dąbkowski forthc.a. (50a))

The suffixes expressing diathesis are then followed by suffixes expressing aspect, direction and manner. Some examples are given in (597)-(599).

- (597) 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]
 (598) Injingetsû nane fûitekhuje.
 injenge=tsû nane fûite-**khu-'je=ye**
 important=3 surely help-RECIP-IMPF=INF
 'It's important to have help.' [A commentary on language 249]

Of the suffixes expressing aspect, direction or manner, only the imperfective suffix can be followed by suffixes expressing event location, as shown in (599).

- (599) Kathû'je'nga'ninda tise dûtsi'yendekhû ichuru'chuma
 kathû-'**je-'nga=ni=ta** tise dûtsi'ye=ndekhû ichuru'chu=ma
 cultivate-IMPF-GO&DO=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.

- (600) 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 (601).

- (601) 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		∅
V	-ADJR	
Dem		

Figure 4.3. Template of the adjectival word

Figure 4.3. shows that an adjectival word may consist of an adjectival stem 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 (602).

(602) Titshetshekhûkhue changuenjan.

ti'tshe~**tshe**=khû='khu=e changu-en=ja

more~MLTP=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 (603)

(603) 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 (604).

(604) kuanifaese

khuangi_fae-**se**

two_one-RCUR

'three times'

All other types of words consist of a stem only.

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