

A grammar of A'ingae

Kees Hengeveld & Rafael Fischer

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5. Syntax

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter the syntactic units and the syntactic processes obtaining within them will be discussed. In Section 5.2 we focus on basic, non-derived phrases of the different types, and in Section 5.3 on (syntactically) derived phrases. In Section 5.4 we then turn to main clauses, and in Section 5.5 to dependent clauses. In Section 5.6, finally, we discuss sentential units.

5.2. Basic phrases

5.2.1. Introduction

In this section we discuss predicate phrases (Section 5.2.2), noun phrases (Section 5.2.3), adjective phrases (Section 5.2.4), adverb phrases (Section 5.2.5), and numeral phrases (Section 5.2.6).

5.2.2. Predicate phrases

In the syntax of A'ingae, verb phrases and the predicative uses of noun phrases, adjective phrases, and numeral phrases overlap to a considerable extent. Verb phrases have a predicative use only, while the other three types of phrases have other uses that will be discussed in later sections. We use the term 'predicate phrase' for any phrase in predicative position, and represent it in Figure 5.1.

As shown in Figure 5.1, the head position of the predicate phrase may be taken by a verbal word. The internal structure of the verbal word, which was discussed in Section 4.4.2, is included in Figure 5.1 for ease of reference. An example from that same section is repeated in (1). It shows a verbal word with suffixes from positions 4 and 5, expressing aspect and event location, respectively

- (1) Kathû'je'nga'ninda tise dûtshi'yendekhû ichuru'chuma
kathû-'je-'nga=ni=ta tise dûtshi'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]

The head position may also be taken by a serial verb construction with its inflection. In such a construction, a number of verbs occupy the head position together, and only the last verb in the series may carry inflectional affixes, which then have a bearing on all verbs in the series. This is shown in (2), in which the verb *amphi* 'fall' occurs in its bare form, and only the second verb carries an aspectual marker.

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-1	0						+1	+2	+3	+4
Adjunct	Head						Number	Mood	Negation	Illocution
Manner and degree adverbs and particles	<i>Verbal Word</i>						Plural subject (=fa)			Imperative (=ja) Prohibitive (=jama) Diminutive imperative (=kha) Mitigated Imperative (=se)
	0 Stem	+1 Derivation	+2 Causative	+3 Diathesis	+4 Aspect, Manner, Direction	+5 Event location				
	V/N	-PRIV						Irrealis (=ya)	Negation (=mbi)	Assertive (=ya/=ña)
	V	~DUR ~MLTP	-CAUS	-PASS -RECIP	-MANN.CV -NEG.CV -COME&DO -GO&DO -PRECUL -REP -DIM -IMPF					
	N/A									
	<i>Serial verb construction</i>									
	<i>Auxiliary constructions</i>									
	Verb=INF + <i>tsun</i> -IMPF (Prospective) Verb=INF + <i>usha</i> (Intrinsic ability) Verb=INF + <i>atesû</i> (Acquired ability/Habitual) Verb=SS + <i>kanse</i> (Habitual) Verb-IMPF=PRED + <i>da</i> (Ingressive) Non-verbal predicate=PRED + <i>da</i> (Semi-Copula construction)									
	<i>Non verbal predicate</i>									
	Adjective Phrase Noun Phrase [Noun Phrase]=Case marker Numeral Phrase [Headless relative clause]='chu [Headless relative clause]='sû									

Figure 5.1 . Syntactic template of the predicate phrase

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

Each of the individual verbs within the serial verb construction may be basic or derived. The following examples show, for instance, two serial verb constructions based on the verb *khûi* 'lie'. In (3) the verb preceding it undergoes durative derivation, in (4) it is *khûi* itself that is a durative derivation.

- (3) Ambakhuni ru'ndá khûi.
 ambakhû=ni ru'nda~: khûi
 manioc.patch=LOC wait~DUR lay
 'They lay waiting in the manioc patch.' [BC14.013]
- (4) I'na khûí.
 i'na khûi~:
 cry lay~DUR
 'The sick man lay there crying.' [BC15.072]

Example (5) shows that each of the verbs may also undergo causative derivation.

- (5) Fae'khue apinga pûvian khûiña.
 fae='khu=ve api=nga pûvi-an khûi-en
 one=CLF:QUANT=ACC.IRR clay.pot=DAT turn-CAUS lie.down-CAUS
 'One he put into the clay pot.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0148.752]

The functions and meanings of serial verb constructions will be discussed in Section XX.

The head position of the predicate phrase may also be taken by an auxiliary construction, a combination of a subordinate verb form with an auxiliary. The auxiliary can in this case not take any verbal suffixes, which verbs can take, with the exception of the fixed combination *tsun*-IMPF in the prospective construction. Regular verbs, serial verb constructions, and auxiliary constructions, all of which end in a verb, share the property that they can take the irrealis clitic, something which non-verbal predicates cannot. Regular verbs, serial verb constructions, and auxiliary constructions may thus be said to head a verb phrase in the narrower sense. Finally, the head position of the predicate phrase may also be taken by non-verbal predicates, which in A'ingae are not accompanied by a copular verb.

All types of head of the predicate phrase may be followed by the plural subject clitic =*'fa*. We will make use of this fact in presenting the various types of head in combination with this clitic, before moving to the other elements of the predicate phrase.

In Section 4.4.2 we argued that the last possible affix in a verbal word is an event location suffix and we repeated an example illustrating this in (1) above. Example (6) shows that this suffix may be followed by the plural subject clitic =*'fa*, which occupies the first clitic slot in the verb phrase.

- (6) Anachuma an nane tisûpa injanchuvete kansengifa.
 ana'chu=ma an nane tisû=pa in'jan'chu=ve=te kanse-'ngi='fa
 meat=ACC.REAL eat surely REFL=ASSOC much=ACC.IRR=RPRT live-COME&DO=PLS
 'We had plenty of food here.' [Kuankuan kundasepa 13:26]

Serial verb constructions may likewise be followed by the plural subject clitic. This is shown in (7) and (8):

- (7) Khushapa ru'nda dyai'fa.
 khusha=pa [ru'nda dyai]='fa
 drum=SS wait sat=PLS
 'They drummed and sat waiting.' [BC08.010]
- (8) Tsampini tsaikian jaja'fa.
 tsampi=ni [tsaiki-an ja~ja]='fa
 jungle=LOC trail-CAUS go~MLTP=PLS
 'They went to make a trail in the jungle.' [BC17.002]

Auxiliary constructions too can be followed by the plural subject clitic. This is shown for all six constructions in (9)-(14).

- (9) Ya jañungi ashaenñe tsunjenfa.
 ya ja'ñu=ngi ashaen=**ye** tsun-'je='fa
 already now=1 begin=INF do-IMPF=PLS
 'Now we're going to start.' [Autobiografía de CLC 0:02]
- (10) Se'jeye usha'fa.
 se'je=**ye** usha='fa
 cure can=PLS
 'They could heal him.' [BC15.061]
- (11) Usha'chuma añe atesû'fa taypûi'sû a'i.
 usha'chu=ma an=**ye** atesû='fa tayupi='sû a'i
 various=ACC.REAL eat=INF know=PLS already=ATTR people
 'The ancient people knew how to eat all kinds of food.' [BC17.008]
- (12) Kundasekanjan ingi pañañe mingae tsû matabhija tayupisû kuenzandekhûja kufepa kanse'fa, tayupija.
 kundase kan=ja ingi pañan=**ye** mingae=tsû matabhi =ve =ja
 tell try=IMP 1.PL hear=INF IGN.DEG=3 matabhi.clown=ACC.IRR=CONTR
 tayupi='sû kuenza=ndekhû=ja kufe=**pa** kanse='fa, tayupi =ja
 formerly=ATTR old=APL=CONTR play=SS live=PLS formerly=CONTR
 'Tell us how the old folks used to play matabhi clown, in early times.'
 [20060118-MM-1-0000.0]
- (13) Tsunsi tsû tse'thie gringondekhûja andejeve da'faya.
 tsun=si=tsû tse='thi=e gringo=ndekhû=ja
 make=DS=3 ANA.LOC=CLF:LOC=ADVR white.man=APL=CONTR
 ande-'je=**ve** da='fa='ya
 land-IMPF=ACC.IRR become=PLS=ASS
 'So from there the white people started to come down here.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-090]

- (14) Jungaesûve da'faya?
 jungue'sû=**ve** da=**fa**=ya
 IGN.SBS=ACC.IRR become=PLS=IRR
 'What shall we be?' [BC08.035]

The latter construction is used particularly when irrealis or an imperative mood has to be expressed on a non-verbal predicate.

Non-verbal predicates also take the plural subject enclitic. This is illustrated for the various types of non-verbal predicates in the next set of examples. In (15) a noun phrase is the predicate, in (16) an adjective phrase, in (17) a case-marked noun phrase, in (18) a numeral phrase, in (19) a headless relative formed with the subordinator clitic =*'chu*, and in (20) a headless relative formed with the attributive clitic =*'sû*.

- (15) Atesû'masia a'ifa tsû.
 [atesû-ma'sia a'i]=**'fa**=tsû
 know-NEG.HAB.ADJR people=PLS=3
 'They are people who do not think (of us).' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-040]
- (16) Tuya chirifangi.
 tuya chipiri=**'fa**=ngi
 still small=PLS=1
 'We were still small.' [Autobiografía de ARLQ 14:25]
- (17) Unjun, tsaja ñambe'fa tsû.
 unjun tsa=ja ña=mbe=**'fa**=tsû
 yes ANA=CONTR 1.SG=BEN=ASS=3
 'Yes, this is mine.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0306.725]
- (18) 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 of them.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-036]
- (19) Atesûchufambi gi tayupisû a'ija.
 atesû='chu=**'fa**=mbi=ngi tayupi='sû a'i=ja
 know=SUB=PLS=NEG=1 long.ago=ATTR Cofán.person=CONTR
 'We the people from the past were ignorant.' [20040218-EC-Interview-078]
- (20) Khusisûfate.
 khûsi='sû=**'fa**=te
 get.drunk=ATTR=PLS=RPRT
 'It is said they were drunk.' [Ishuakinikhu kundasepa 5:29]

As shown in Figure 5.1, the plural subject enclitic =*'fa* may be followed by the irrealis enclitic =*ya* in the second clitic position if the head is a verb, a serial verb construction, or an auxiliary construction. This is illustrated for verbal heads in (21)-(22), for serial verb constructions in (23), and for auxiliary heads in (24)-(26).

- (21) Afayambi tsû, feñamba tsû ja'nga'faya.
 afa=ya=mbi=tsû feña=pa=tsû ja-'nga=**'fa**=**ya**
 say=IRR=NEG=3 laugh=SS=3 go-GO&DO=PLS=IRR
 'They won't speak, they'll go laughing.' [20060118-LM-2-0316.279]

- (22) Ju'sû abugadondekhûi'khû gi jakan'faya.
 ju='sû abugadu=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]
- (23) 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
 'Softening it they will go up drinking it there.' [20040218-EC-Interview-230]
- (24) Semañe usha'faya.
 sema=ye usha=**'fa=ya**
 work=INF be.able=PLS=IRR
 'We will be able to work.' [Escuela 12:10]
- (25) Jungaesûve gi ingija dapa kanse'faya?
 jungue'sû=ve=ngi ingi=ja da=pa kanse=**'fa=ya**
 IGN.SBS=ACC.IRR=1 1.PL=CONTR become=SS live=PLS=IRR
 'What are we changing into?' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-026]
- (26) Jungaesûve da'faya?
 jungue'sû=ve da=**'fa=ya**
 IGN.SBS=ACC.IRR become=PLS=IRR
 'What shall we be?' [BC08.035]

The third clitic slot is occupied by the negative clitic =*mbi*. With verbal, serial, and auxiliary heads this clitic follows the irrealis clitic, if present, as shown in (27)-(28) for verbal heads, in (29) for serial heads, and in (30) for auxiliary heads.

- (27) Tisûyi kan'jen'da pa'faya'mbi gi.
 tisû=yi kan'jen=ta pa=**'fa=ya=mbi=ngi**
 REFL=EXCL live=NEW die=PLS=IRR=NEG=1
 'If we ourselves stay single we will not die.' [BC20.133]
- (28) Rundakhafayambiti.
 runda-kha=**'fa=ya=mbi=ti**
 wait-DIM=PLS=IRR=NEG=INT
 'Shall we not wait a bit?' [Caza 5:20]
- (29) Atu'tu naniña'mbiti?
 [atûi~tûi nani]=**ya=mbi=ti**
 chop~MLTP terminar=IRR=NEG=INT
 'Will we finish cleaning the field?' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0542.939]
- (30) Da kundaseye ushayambitiki tse'sûma fae'khue.
 da kundase=ye usha=**ya=mbi=ti=ki** tse'sû=ma fae='khu=e
 uh tell=INF be.able=IRR=NEG=INT=2 ANA.ATTR =ACC.REAL one=CLF:ANG=ADVR
 'Can you not tell such a story?' [Athembi a'i kundasepa 1:55]

Since with non-verbal predicates the irrealis clitic does not occur, the negative clitic follows the plural subject clitic with these predicates, as shown in (31) for a noun phrase predicate, in (32) for an adjectival predicate, and in (33) for a headless relative clause in ='*chu* used as a predicate.

- (31) Sionafambi ti
 siona=**fa=mbi=ti**
 siona=PLS=NEG=INT
 'They weren't Siona's?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0401.632]
- (32) Tayuta tsû tsa'kanfambi tsû.
 tayu=ta=tsû tsa'kan=**fa=mbi=tsû**
 already=NEW=3 ANA.SIMIL=PLS=NEG=3
 'It's not like that anymore.' [20060118-LM-2-0023.811]
- (33) Atesûchufambi gi tayupisû a'ija.
 atesû=**chu=fa=mbi=ngi** tayupi='sû a'i=ja
 know=SUB=PLS=NEG=1 long.ago=ATTR Cofán.person=CONTR
 'We the people from the past were ignorant.' [20040218-EC-Interview-078]

The final and fourth clitic slot hosts illocutionary enclitics. The directive ones, for semantic reasons, do not combine with the irrealis and negative clitics in positions +2 and +3, so they attach directly to the plural subject clitic in position +1, as shown in (34)-(35). These clitics are not used with non-verbal predicates directly, though they may be attached through the mediation of the semi-copula *da*, as shown in (36).

- (34) 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
 'Watch out lest the dog comes to me.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-030]
- (35) Ñanga afe'faja ña kataye.
 ña=nga afe=**fa=ja** ña kata=ye
 1.SG=DAT give=PLS=IMP 1.SG throw.spear=INF
 'Give it to me so that I can throw it.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-047]
- (36) A'i paye fensian'sûve daja.
 a'i pa =ye fensi-an='sû=ve da=**ja**
 Cofán.person die =INF portent-CAUS=ATTR=ACC.IRR become=IMP
 'Become a portent of death to people.' [BC08.016]

The assertive clitic =*ya*, on the other hand, combines with all kinds of predicates, including non-verbal ones. This is shown in (37) for a verbal predicate, in (38) for an auxiliary predicate, and in (39) for a non-verbal predicate.

- (37) Tsa tsan'dûja khakejema athembiya.
 tsa tsa'ndû=ja khakeje=ma athe=**mbi=ya**
 ANA husband=CONTR leaf=ACC.REAL see=NEG=ASS
 'The husband didn't find the leaves.' [Apicha pûshesû kundasepa 3:49]
- (38) Ja'ñu kundasepa kansembi'ya.
 ja'ñu kundase=pa kanse=**mbi=ya**
 now tell-NR live=NEG=ASS
 'Nowadays I don't tell stories.' [20060118-MM-2-0105.99]

- (39) Ja'ñuakaen juvakaen anthebuchumbiya
 ja'ñu=a='kan=e juva='kan=e anthepu'chu=**mbi='ya**
 now=NPM=SIMIL1=ADVR DIST=SIMIL1=ADVR island=NEG=ASS
 'In those days it was not an island like it is now.' [20040218-EC-Interview-052]

So far we have given examples in which the positions of clitics are compared pairwise. The following miscellaneous examples show combinations of three clitics, each corresponding in various ways to the order given in Figure 5.1.

- (40) 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]
- (41) Faetefayayatsû.
 fûite=**fa=ya='ya=tsû**
 help=PLS=IRR=ASS=3
 'They are going to help.' [Autobiografía of RA 1 5:53]
- (42) Iyiku'fambiya.
 iyiku=**fa=mbi='ya**
 fight=PLS=NEG=ASS
 'They don't argue.' [20040218-EC-Interview-110]
- (43) Jayambiyatsû singûkhûngakhuetsû tsangae kha'ya dûseya.
 ja=**ya=mbi='ya=tsû** singû'khû=nga='khu=e=tsû tsa=ngae kha'ya dûse=ya
 go=IRR=NEG=ASS=3 lake=DAT=CLF.ang=ADVR=3 ANA=MANN swim hang=IRR
 'No, it's not going to go because it stays in the lagoon swimming.' [Caza 3:19]

Verbal heads and auxiliary heads may be immediately preceded by a modifier or particle of manner or degree, as shown in examples (44)-(45).

- (44) Jûnde jayatingi?
jûnde ja=ya=ti=ngi
 quickly go=IRR=INT=1
 'Shall I go quickly?' [BC24.007]
- (45) Ti'tshe se'yuye ushambi.
titshe se'yu=ye usha=mbi
 more sing=INF can=NEG
 'He couldn't sing any more than that.' [BC05.009]

Examples (46)-(47) show the particle *ba've* 'APPR' preceding the same types of head.

- (46) Ba've angate tise afechu te'tamande upathû'ya.
ba've anga=te tise afe='chu te'ta=ma=te upathû='ya
 APPR carry=RPRT 3.SG give=SUB flower=ACC.REAL=RPRT tear=ASS
 'He was a bit like that, and tore the flower that she gave him.'
 [Athemi a'i kundasepa 4:15]

- (47) Mingae ki asithaen tsa kûintsû kukamangae ingi dû'shû ba've afapa kanseye.
 mingae=ki asi'thaen tsa kûintsû
 IGN.DEG=2 think ANA SWR.CNJ
 kukama=ngae ingi dû'shû **ba've** afa=pa kanse=ye
 spaniard=MANN 1.PL child somewhat say=SS live=INF
 'What do you think if we would talk more Spanish with our children?'
 [20060118-LM-2-0259.34]

The two clitics of subjective coloration =*'khu/'u* 'AUG' and =*'vi* 'AFF', not shown in Figure 5.1, occasionally attach to verb phrases and do in those cases attach immediately to the verb, as shown in (48) and (49). They are not found on auxiliary constructions or non-verbal predicates.

- (48) Tsesû a'ive da'u khenjan pañaña
 tse='sû a'i=ve da='u khen=ja pañan='ya
 ANA=ATTR Cofán.person=PRED become=AUG SO=CONTR hear=ASS
 'Since she became like those people, she understood.'
 [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-016]
- (49) 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]

5.2.3. Noun phrase

5.2.3.1. Introduction

In this section we discuss the structure of the noun phrase. After providing a general introduction in this section, we will separately discuss noun phrases with nominal heads in Section 5.2.3.2, headless ones in Section 5.2.3.3, and noun phrases with as clausal head in Section 5.2.3.4.

The overall constitution of the noun phrase is given in Figure 5.2. As shown in this figure, the head position of the noun phrase may be filled by a nominal word, which has the maximal template discussed in Section 4.4.3, repeated as part of Figure 5.2 for ease of reference. Heads may also be, and frequently are, absent. This absence is not marked with a pronoun but rather leaves a gap. Unmarked clauses may also occur as the head of a noun phrase when nominalized by a classifier. Finally, substantivized clauses may occupy the head position.

5.2.3.2. Noun phrases with nominal heads

We start with a discussion of the full structure of noun phrases headed by a nominal word, before turning to other types of head. We start with the clitic cluster following the head.

The last element of the nominal word is the place suffix *-e*. Example (50) shows that this may be followed by a classifier in position +1.

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-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8	
UQ	Deter- miner	Bare Poss.	Numeral	Modifier	Head	Modifier			NPST Number	NPM	Case	IS1	IS2	
<i>pa'khu</i> 'all'	<i>va</i> 'PROX' <i>juva</i> 'DIST' <i>tsa</i> 'ANA' <i>faesû</i> 'OTHER' <i>kha'i</i> 'OTHER' <i>tue</i> 'SAME' <i>jungue'sû</i> 'IGN.SBS' <i>ma</i> 'IGN.SEL' <i>majan</i> 'IGN.AN'	Bare pos- sessor	Numeral <i>pûi</i> 'each'	Adjective Phrase	<i>Nominal word</i>		Adjective Phrase			= <i>ye</i> 'NPST' = <i>nakhû</i> 'COLL' = <i>ndekhû</i> 'APL' = <i>pa</i> 'ASSOC'	= <i>a</i> 'NPM'	= <i>ikhû</i> 'INS' = <i>ma</i> 'ACC.REAL' = <i>mbe</i> 'BEN' = <i>ne</i> 'SO' = <i>nga</i> 'DAT' = <i>ngae</i> 'MANN' = <i>ni</i> 'LOC' = <i>pi</i> 'LIM' = <i>ve</i> 'ACC.IRR' = <i>ye</i> 'ELAT'	= <i>khe</i> 'ADD' = <i>yi</i> 'EXCL'	= <i>ja</i> 'CONTR' = <i>ta</i> 'NEW'
				Noun phrase	0 Stem	+1 Derivation	Case-marked NP							
				Case marked noun phrase	N Compound	-PLACE	Relative clause							
				Adverb phrase	V	-HAB.NR -NEG.HAB.NR -NR	+1 Classifier	+2 AUG	+3 AFF					
				Relative clause	∅		= <i>'chu</i> 'CLF:RND' = <i>'fa</i> 'CLF:LAT' = <i>'fin'di</i> 'CLF:SPL' = <i>'fu'chu</i> 'CLF:DIFF' = <i>'ite</i> 'CLF:PRD' = <i>'je</i> 'CLF:FLT' = <i>'jin</i> 'CLF:LRG' = <i>'jiun</i> 'CLF:TLL' = <i>'khu</i> 'CLF:ANG' = <i>'khu</i> 'CLF:QUANT' = <i>'khû</i> 'CLF:DEL' = <i>'ki</i> 'CLF:LNR' = <i>'ki</i> 'CLF:DRN' = <i>'si</i> 'CL:SPN' = <i>'thi</i> 'CLF:LOC'	= <i>'khu</i> 'AUG' = <i>'u</i> 'AUG'	= <i>'vi</i> 'AFF'					
					Clause=CLF									

Figure 5.2 . Syntactic template of the noun phrase

- (50) Singû'khû, ungûe'thi ti'tshe umba'thi. Tumbafindie'thi.
 singû=khû ungû-e='thi ti=tsh=e umba='thi
 lake=CLF:DEL capuchin.monkey-PLACE=NR.LOC far-ADJR=ADVR upwards=CLF:LOC
 tumbafindi-e='thi
 chip-PLACE=CLF:LOC
 'The lake is above Capuchin Monkey place at Chip place.' [BC10.032]

The classifier may then be followed by the augmentative clitic in position +2 (51), and the augmentative by the affective clitic in position +3 (52), which in turn may be followed by the nominal past clitic in position +4 (52).

- (51) Jarichu buve'chu'khuen dû'shû fae'khu.
 jarichu buve='chu='khu=en dû'shû fae='khu
 son young=CLF:RND=AUG=ADVR child one=CLF:QUANT
 'There was one little brother who was still a child.' [BC08.006]
- (52) Yayakhuviye kundasenijan.
 yaya='khu='vi='ye kundase=ni=ja
 father=AUG=AFF=NPST tell=LOC=CONTR
 'The late dear fathers told this.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0350.206]

The number clitics are in the same position as the nominal past clitic, as they may appear in both orders with respect to one another, as shown in (53) and (54).

- (53) Juva yaya'yendekhumbe.
 juva yaya='ye=ndekhû=mbe
 DIST father=NPST=APL=BEN
 'That was (a game) of our late elders.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0390.586]
- (54) Tsate tayupisû khasheyendekhû'ye chigama panshae'chu.
 tsa=te tayupi='sû khashe'ye=ndekhû='ye chiga=ma panshan-en='chu
 ANA=RPRT formerly=ATTR old.man=APL=NPST god=ACC.REAL pass-CAUS=SUB
 'They say that it was the holiday of the late elders.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0319.52]

The number clitics may be followed by the noun phrase marker =a in position +5, as shown in (55).

- (55) Tuya'kaen 150 tsû kanse'fa, faesûta tsû ijindekhû tuya'kaen khafaiseyi'khu
 kun'sindekhû khaningandekhia kanse'fa.
 tuya'kaen 150=tsû kanse='fa, faesû=ta=tsû iji=ndekhû tuya'kaen
 CONJ 150=3 live=PLS other=NEW armadillo=AN.PL CONJ
 khafaiseyi'khu kun'si=ndekhû khaninga=ndekhû=a kanse='fa.
 six woolly.monkey=AN.PL different=AN.PL=NPM live=PLS
 'There are some 150 individuals; a high density of armadillos; and six species of monkeys.' [RBI01.115]

The maximal structure at the right hand side of the noun phrase as such is complete at this point, but it may be followed by clitics that fit it into the clausal context. These are the case

markers in position +6, focus markers in position +7, and topic markers in position +8. Examples (56) and (57) show the attachment of case markers to the noun phrase marker.

- (56) Fentendekhukhuama afe.
 fentende='khu='khu=**a=ma** afe
 bent=CLF:ANG=AUG=NPM=ACC.REAL give
 'He gave him a crooked one.' [BC08.055]
- (57) Tsaja tisia've tsû kanse'faya tseni.
 tsa =ja tisû=**a=ve**=tsû kanse='fa='ya tsa=ni
 ANA=CONTR self=NPM=PRED=3 live=PLS=ASS ANA=LOC
 'They live by themselves over there.' [20040218-EC-Interview-160]

The case clitics may then be followed by focus markers in position +7 and topic markers in position +8. This is shown in (58) and (59).

- (58) Afeja ñanga chigane ña sarûpama keki a'mbiana ñu'tshe ñanga afembi kha'ingayita afepa maña khende sù'ya.
 afe=ja ña=nga chigane ña sarûpa=ma ke=ki a'mbian='ma
 give=IMP 1.SG=DAT please 1.SG clothes=ACC.REAL 2.SG=2 have=FRT
 ñu=tshe ña=nga afe=mbi kha=**nga=yi=ta** afe=pa mañan
 good=ADVR 1.SG=DAT give=NEG other=DAT=EXCL=TOP give=SS send
 khen=te sù='ya
 SO=RPRT say=ASS
 'Please give me my clothes, you have it, but you don't give it to me, the others you gave it to and let them go, she said.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0430.455]
- (59) Nane tseni'kheta ka'ngata ji.
 nane tse=**ni=khe=ta** kan-'nga=ta ji
 really ANA.LOC=LOC=ADD=NEW look-GO&DO=NEW come
 'Truly she comes from that place to visit.' [BC26.121]

Returning to position +1, the nominal head may also be followed by an adjective phrase (60), a case-marked noun phrase (61), a relative clause (62), or a combination of those (63).

- (60) 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]
- (61) tsa'u ñambe
 tsa'u **ña=mbe**
 house 1.SG=BEN
 'my house' (elic.)

- (62) Tsa sinjûnkhu injan'tshi vatuva sheke'chuta tsû ñua'me mendetshi.
 tsa sinjûnkhu **injan-tshi vatuva sheke='chu**=ta=tsû
 ANA valley many-ADJR crocodile be.scattered=SUB=NEW=NEW=3
 ñua'me mende-tshi
 really pretty-ADJR
 'That valley where there are a lot of crocodiles scattered is really beautiful.'
- (63) shavu [**chipiri**] [**khuangi a'i=mbe**]
 shavu chipiri khuangi a'i=mbe
 canoe small two person=BEN
 'a small canoe for two persons' (elic.)

When following the head noun, these modifiers are not followed by classifiers (position +1), the augmentative clitic (position +2) or the affective clitic (position +3), though they do occur with enclitics pertaining to position class +4, such as the nominal past marker in (64) and the animate plural marker in (65).

- (64) Khûtsiamba a'i pa'chu'ye simba'fama isû.
 khûtsû-an=pa a'i pa='chu=**ye** simba=fa=ma isû
 stand-CAUS=SS Cofán.person be.dead=SUB=NPST fish=CLF:LAT=ACC.REAL take
 'Having stood it up he got the deadman's string roll.' [BC09.028]
- (65) Faesû chhaje'khe'sû shaka'chundekhûta tsû usha'chu shipikhu, iyufa thûmbûma
 ankhe'sûndekhû zie kanse'fambi.
 faesû chhaje-khe'sû shaka=**chu=ndekhû**=ta=tsû usha'chu shipikhu, iyufa
 other fly-HAB.ADJR lack=SUB=AN.PL=NEW=3 various cockroach worm
 thumbû =ma an-khe'sû=ndekhû zie kanse='fa=mbi
 grasshopper=ACC.REAL eat-HAB.ADJR=AN.PL hardly live=PLS=NEG 15
 'The other of the missing birds are various cockroach-, worm- and grasshopper-eating
 (i.e. insectivorous) ones.' [RBI01.106]

Turning now to the part of the noun phrase preceding the nominal head, we first note that the head noun may be preceded in position -1 by several types of modifiers: an adjective phrase (66), a case-marked noun phrase (67)-(68), a bare noun phrase (69)-(70), an adverb phrase (71), or a relative clause (72)-(73).

- (66) panshen rande ande
panshen rande ande
 very big land
 'a rather big piece of land' [20060118-LM-2-0345.682]
- (67) pûshesûndekhûmbe thena'ngu
pûshesû=ndekhû=mbe thena'ngu
 woman=APL=BEN leg
 'women's laps' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0178.903]
- (68) Ma'kan kundase'chu tsû tsa.
 [ma]='**kan** kundase'chu=tsû tsa
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL1 story=3 ANA
 'What kind of story is that?' [20060118-MM-2-0309.8]

- (69) *biani'sû ande*
bia=ni='sû ande
 far=LOC=ATTR land
 'a country far away' (20050701-MA-Letter-3-021)
- (70) *na'en'sû kukuya*
na'en='sû kukuya
 river=ATTR devil
 'the river devil' (20060118-BM-Interview-0016.82)
- (71) *tayupi'sû a'i*
tayupi='sû a'i
 formerly=ATTR person
 'the people from the past' (20050701-MA-Letter-3-006)
- (72) **ingi=ma atesian='sû** pûshe'sû
 1.PL=ACC.REAL teach-ATTR woman
 'the woman that teaches us' (elic.)
- (73) *Ke kanse'chu andenga tsû napiya.*
ke kanse='chu ande=nga=tsû napi='ya
 2.SG live=SUB land=DAT=3 arrive=ASS
 'It will reach the country you live in.' (elic.)

Only adjective phrases and case-marked possessor phrases can be used directly as a modifier preceding a head noun, as shown in (66)-(67). All other modifying phrases preceding the head noun have to be provided with a clitic: the similitive 1 clitic =*'kan* in (68) is used with bare noun phrases only; the attributive clitic =*'sû*, is used with bare noun phrases (69), case-marked noun phrases other than possessive (70), and adverb phrases (71). One type of relative clause also uses the attributive clitic (72), while another type uses the general subordinator =*'chu* (73).

The modifier in position -1 is preceded by the numeral in position -2. This is illustrated in (74)-(75).

- (74) *khuangi rande shavu*
khuangi rande shavu
 Two big canoe
 'two big canoes' (elic.)
- (75) *fae chipiri singû'khû*
fae chipiri singû'khû
 one small lagoon
 'one small lagoon' [RBI01.020]

The numeral is preceded in position -3 by bare possessors, i.e. possessor phrases not carrying a case marker, as shown in (76).

- (76) **ña segundo** tsau
 ña segundo tsa'u
 1.SG second house
 'my second house' [Panzaye 6:23]

In position -4 determiners are found, as illustrated in (77)-(78).

- (77) tsa ke khuangi dû'shû
tsa ke khuangi dû'shû
 ANA 2.SG two child
 'those two children of yours' (elic.)
- (78) juva ña yaya khasheye
juva ña yaya khashe='ye
 DIST 1.SG dad old=NPST
 'that grandfather of mine' [HF 1:18 S1]

Finally, the determiner may be preceded by the universal quantifier *pa'khu* 'all', as exemplified in (79).

- (79) 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]

5.2.3.3. Headless noun phrases

Any noun phrase with any type of modifier in position -1 or a numeral in position -2 may be realized without a head. We illustrate this below for adjective phrases (80)-(82), case-marked possessive phrases (83), other case-marked phrases (84), bare noun phrases (85), adverb phrases (86), relative clauses (87)-(88), and numeral phrases (89).

- (80) Inzûkhu sumbu, kuankuan shundûsû'chu.
inzû(∅)=khu sumbu kuankuan shundu'sû'chu
 green=CLF:ANG emerge trickster testicle
 'A green thing came out, the trickster's penis.' [BC08.012]
- (81) kuenzandekhû'ye
kuenza(∅)=ndekhû='ye
 old=APL=NPST
 'the late elders' [20060118-MM-2-0208.142]
- (82) Tayupisû a'ite kanjenfa pûshe tuya'kaen ambianfayate tsandû tisû parejakhû
 jakanfaya fae dû'shûma ambianfaya chipirian.
 tayupi='sû a'i=te kan'jen='fa pûshe tuya'kaen
 long.ago=ATTR Cofán.person=RPRT stay=PLS wife CONJ
 a'mbian='fa=ya=te tsa'ndû tisû pareja=khû jakan='fa=ya fae
 have=PLS=IRR=RPRT husband REFL couple=CLF:dIm walk=PLS=IRR one
 dû'shû=ma a'mbian='fa=ya **chipiri(∅)**=a
 child=ACC have=PLS=IRR small=NPM
 'Yeah, it is said that long ago, a wife and husband, a couple had a child, a small (one).'
 [Tshararukuku kundasepa 0:12]

- (83) Tisumbema'khe kanjañe ashaen'fa'ya
tisû=mbe(∅)=ma=khe kanjan=ye ashaen='fa='ya
 self=BEN=ACC.REAL=ADD be.seen=INF begin=PLS=ASS
 'They started to show their (parts).' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0235.524]
- (84) Me'in tsata tsû tsenisundekhûya.
 me'i tsa=ta=tsû **tsa=ni='sû(∅)=ndekhû='ya**
 NEG.PRED ANA=NEW=3 ANA=LOC=ATTR=APL=ASS
 'No, they are (people) from there.' [20040218-EC-Interview-159a]
- (85) naesûndekhû
na'e='sû=ndekhû
 river=ATTR=APL
 'amphibians' (lit. "river ones") [RBI01.089]
- (86) Tsunsi kundaseye gi in'janfaya kei'khûja tayupisuma khen sûye.
 tsun=si kundase=ye=ngi in'jan='fa='ya ke=i'khû=ja **tayupi='sû(∅)=ma**
 do=DS converse=INF=1 want=PLS=ASS 2.SG=INST=CONTR formerly=ATTR=ACC.REAL
 khen sû=ye
 QUOT say=INF
 'So we want to talk with you about (things) from the past.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-003]
- (87) Chathûpa chathûsundekhû afa, "A'i paye fensian'sûve daja.
 chathû=pa **chathû='sû(∅)=ndekhû** afa a'i pa=ye
 cut.down=SS cut=ATTR=APL say Cofán.person die=INF
 fensian='sû=ve da=ja
 admonish=ATTR=ACC.IRR become=IMP
 'After cutting the cutting (ones) said: "Become a portent of death to people".'
 [BC08.016]
- (88) Qitoni ja'chundekhûta tsû tisepaja faechu'khu eskûelani ja'jeta junguesuma ki afaya.
Quito=ni ja='chu(∅)=ndekhû=ta=tsû tisepa=ja fae='chu='khu escuela=ni
 Quito=LOC go=SUB=APL=NEW=3 3.PL=CONTR one-CL:RND=AUG school=LOC
 ja-'je=ta jungue'sû=ma=ki afa=ya
 go-IMP=NEW IGN.SBS=ACC.REAL=2 say=IRR
 '(The ones) that go to Quito, if you go alone to school, then you will learn it.'
 [A20060118-LM-2-0163.034]
- (89) Tayu khuangima gi i'fa.
 tayu **khuangi(∅)=ma=ngi** i='fa.
 already two=ACC.REAL-1 bring=PLS
 'We already brought two (teachers).'

Note that these headless noun phrases occur with a variety of clitics: a classifier (position +1) in (80), a noun phrase marker (position +4) in (82), a number marker (position +5) in (81), a case marker (position +6) in (86), and a focus marker (position +7) in (83).

5.2.3.4. Noun phrases with a clausal head

Classifiers may attach directly to a bare clause to create a noun phrase (see also Section 4.2.14.15, Dąbkowski 2017, Pride 2017). This is a result of the fact that classifiers in A'ingae,

apart from their classificatory function, may be used as (syntactic) nominalizers. We repeat some examples from Section 4.2.14.15 here as (90)-(93). Additional examples are (94)-(96).

- (90) tise uchhachhaje'chui'khû
 [tise uchhi~chi-'je]='**chu**=i'khû
 3.sg hit~MLTP-IMPF=CLF:RND=INST
 'with the small thing that he usually hits with' (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-019)
- (91) 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)
- (92) Anañe andûfakhu phiña'ninda, anamba, ana'je'nda, kanjansiveta di'sha.
 [ana=ye andûfa]='**khu** phi-ña=ni=ta ana=pa ana-'je=ta
 sleep=INF carry=CLF:ANG sit.in.something-CAUS=LOC=NEW sleep=SS sleep-IMPF=NEW
 kanjansi=ve=ta di'sha
 boa=ACC.IRR=NEW change
 'But when it was put into the carrying sling it became a boa.' [BC14.036]
- (93) 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]
- (94) kan shunkendijen'thi
 [kan shunkendi-'je]='**thi**
 look look.around-IMPF=CLF:LOC
 'inventory sites' [RBI01.009]
- (95) ña an'jen'thi
 [ña an-'je]='**thi**
 1.SG eat-IMPF=CLF:LOC
 'the place where I was eating' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0058.698]
- (96) R.te sù'ya E.te sejepa dyu'ujjama isûjûpa sù'ya "vaniñi dañongaepa ja'chu" khende sù.
 R.=te sù='ya E.=te se'je=pa [dyuju]='**jin**=a=ma isûjû=pa
 R.=RPRT say=ASS E.=RPRT heal=SS fear=CLF:LRG=NPM=ACC.REAL take=SS
 sù='ya va=ni=yi dañu=ngae=pa ja='chu khen=te sù
 say=ASS PROX=LOC=EXCL damage=MANN=SS go=SUB so=RPRT say
 'R. said that E. after curing and taking out the spell (lit. "the large thing inspiring fear")
 said: I have left ill from here.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0117.278]

The classifier in this construction is never followed by the augmentative clitic (position +2), the affective clitic (position +3), or any of the clitics from position +4, but it may be followed by the noun phrase marker (position +5) or later clitics. An example with the noun phrase marker is given in (96), and with a case marker in (90).

5.2.3.5. Agreement

There is no grammatical agreement within noun phrases in A'ingae. However, in a few cases

one finds instances with a classifier repeated across several elements referring to a single entity. Examples are given in (97)-(98).

- (97) Jipa fetha kamba sapukhu randekhu sapukhutsû
 ji=pa fetha kan=pa [sapu]='khu [rande]='khu [sapu]='khu=tsû
 come=SS open look=SS toad=CLF:ANG large=CLF:ANG toad=CLF:ANG=3
 phi thuthumbuen.
 phi thuthumba-en
 sit foam-CAUS
 'Uncovering a pot she saw a large toad sitting in the foam.' [BC15.031]
- (98) 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=CLF:QUANT=ACC.REAL=3 string=SIMIL1=CLF:LAT=AUG=ADVR
 tutu]=fa='khu=e=tsû bia-ña='fa='ya
 white=CLF:LAT=AUG=ADVR=3 long-CAUS=PLS=ASS
 'Pulling they enlarged all that cotton into white string.'
 [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-042]

In (97) reference is made to a large toad through three different elements: the noun *sapu* 'toad' is used twice, the adjective *rande* 'large' once. In (98) there is an accusative argument *pa* 'all' which carries the classifier, and a resultative adjunct in two parts, each based on an adjective phrase: *piura'kan* 'like string' and *tutu* 'white'.

We do not consider these to be cases of agreement. Rather, we consider these to be cases of coreference: each phrase ending in a classifier is a noun phrase, and they refer in apposition to the same entity. Thus, in (97) reference is made three times to the large toad, and in (98) reference is made twice to the white string.

5.2.4. Adjective phrase

The structure of the Adjective phrase is given in Figure 5.3. This figure shows that the structure of this phrase type is relatively simple as compared to that of the predicate phrase and the noun phrase.

-1	0	
Modifier	Head	
Particle (Standard) Adverb	Adjectival word	
	0	+1
	Stem	Derivation
	Adj	
	V	-ADJR
Dem		

Figure 5.3. The adjective phrase

The head of the adjective phrase is a basic or derived adjectival word, the internal structure of which was argued for in Section 4.4.4 and is repeated in Figure 5.3 for ease of reference. There is only one further slot within the phrase, which may host a particle or a degree adverb, which may be optionally preceded by a standard of comparison.

Example (99) shows an adjective preceded by a particle.

- (99) Ba've rande tsû.
 ba've rande=tsû
 APPR big =3
 'It is more or less big.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-027]

Examples (100)-(105) show cases with a degree adverb, illustrating their combination with basic adjectives in (100)-(102), and derived ones in (103)-(105).

- (100) ñua'me chipiri
 ñua'me chipiri
 truly small
 'the smallest child' [A20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-047]
- (101) ñua'me kuenza
 ñua'me kuenza
 truly old
 'truly old like' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0409.784]
- (102) panshen rande
 panshen rande
 very big
 'a rather big piece of land' [20060118-LM-2-0345.682]
- (103) ñua'me kinsetshi
 ñua'me kinse-tshi
 truly be.strong-ADJR
 'really healthy' [20040218-EC-Interview-019]
- (104) ñua'me avûjatshi
 ñua'me avûja-tshi
 truly be.happy-ADJR
 'really happy' [20040218-EC-Interview-019]
- (105) panshen tsunjuntshia
 panshen tsunjun-tshi=a
 very be.smelly-ADJR=NPM
 'a very smelly thing' [20040218-EC-Interview-034]

The comparative construction is illustrated in (106), which shows the standard *rande shavuma* carrying the realis accusative clitic in combination with the adverb of degree *titshe*.

- (106) Shavu chipirita tsû rande shavuma titshe favatshi.
 shavu chipirita=ta=tsû rande shavu=ma titshe fava-tshi
 canoe small=NEW=3 big canoe=ACC.REAL more light-ADJR
 'A small canoe is faster than a big canoe.' (elic.)

5.2.5. Adverb phrase

The structure of adverb phrases is parallel to that of adjective phrases, as shown in Figure 5.4.

-1	0	
Modifier	Head	
Particle (Standard) Adverb	Adverbial word	
	0 Stem	+1 Derivation
	Adv	~MLTP

Figure 5.4. The adverb phrase

As Figure 5.4 shows, the basic or derived adverbial word may be preceded within the adverb phrase by a particle or by an adverb of degree, which may in turn be preceded by a standard of comparison. The use of a particle is illustrated in (107).

- (107) Tsumba ña Quitoni akhia re'rikhue japa estudiayekhe japa
 tsun=pa ña Quito=ni akhia re'ri='khu=e ja=pa studia=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]

Adverbs as modifiers are illustrated in (108)-(109).

- (108) ñua'me u'tie
 ñua'me u'tie
 truly firstly
 'really firstly' [BC04.001]
- (109) ti'tshe umbue
 titshe umbue
 more later
 'still later' [BC17.038]

The comparative construction is illustrated in (110). Here the standard *juva E.=ma* combines with the adverb of degree *titshe*.

- (110) Nane juva E.ma ti'tshe se'jeuta tsû
 nane juva E.=ma ti'tshe se'je='u=ta=tsû
 surely DIST E.=ACC.REAL more heal=AUG=TOP=3
 'He cured even better than E.' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0179.181]

5.2.6. Numeral phrase

The structure of numeral phrases is again similar to that of adjective and adverb phrases, as the numeral word may be preceded by a particle or by an adverbial modifier, as shown in Figure 5.5.

-1	0	
Modifier	Head	
Particle Adverb	Numeral word	
	0 Stem	+1 Derivation
	Num	RCUR

Figure 5.5. The numeral phrase.

Examples with a particle and with an adverb are given in (111)-(112).

- (111) Ba've mañikhu a'ifau?
 ba've mañi'khu a'i='fa='u=tsû
 APPROX IGN.QUANT=CLF:QUANT Cofán.person=PLS=AUG=3
 'Approximately how many people were they?'
- (112) ka'tsayi cinco familia
 ka'tsa=yi cinco familia
 almost=EXCL five family
 'just five families' [Fiesta de la Chonta 0:43]

5.3. Derived phrases

5.3.1. Introduction

A'ingae has a series of clitics available that are used to make a phrase suitable for use in other than its basic functions. By way of example, consider (113):

- (113) 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]

An adverbial phrase in its basic form cannot be used as a modifier within a noun phrase. However, when provided with the attributive clitic ='sû it can assume this function. Note that this type of function change can also be executed by morphological means, as discussed in

Section 4.2.15, but in that case the derivation takes place at the word level. In this section we focus on derivation through syntactic means at the phrase level. Four types of syntactic derivation are found, two creating adjective phrases, and two adverbial phrases. The different processes are listed in Table 5.1. Verb phrases and noun phrases are not derived by syntactic means. This may have to do with the fact that adjectives and adverbs constitute closed classes in A'ingae, while verbs and nouns form open classes.

Input	+	Clitic	=	Output
NP		= <i>'kan</i> 'SIMIL1'		AdjP
(Case marker) NP/AdvP		= <i>'sû</i> 'ATTR'		AdjP
VP/NP/AdjP/NumP/AdvP		= <i>e</i> 'ADVR'		AdvP
VP/AdjP/AdvP		= <i>tshê</i> 'ADVR'		AdvP

Table 5.1. Syntactically derived phrase types

5.3.3. Derived adjective phrases

As shown in Table 5.1, two clitics are used to derive phrases that may occupy the same syntactic positions as basic adjective phrases. These are noun phrases followed by the similative 1 clitic =*'kan*, and (case marked) noun phrases and adverbial phrases followed by the attributive clitic =*'sû*. The first creates similative adjective phrases. The adjectival nature of this derivation is clear from the fact that it can be used attributively within a headed noun phrase, as shown in (114), or a headless noun phrase, as in (115). However, adjective phrases may also be used predicatively, and this also holds for syntactic derivations with =*'kan*, as shown in (116)

(114) Ma'kan kundase'chu tsû tsa.

[ma]='**kan** kundase'chu=tsû tsa
IGN.SEL=SIMIL1 story=3 ANA

'What kind of story is that?' [20060118-MM-2-0309.8]

(115) Ma'kaen jen'da sa'vûya ñu'e chandisû'kan.

ma='kan=e je'n da sa'vû=ya [ña' me cha'ndi='sû]='**kan**
IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR well warm.up=IRR truly cold=ATTR=SIMIL1

Now how will he warm up being really cold like that (lit. "a really cold one like that").'
[A20060118-MM-2-0068.196]

(116) Colombiano a'ikhe, tsefasû a'ija nane ingia'kanfa tsû nane a'i.

colombiano a'i=khe tse='fa='sû a'i=ja [nane
Colombian Cofán.person=ADD ANA.LOC=CLF:LAT=ATTR Cofán.person=CONTR CERT

ingi=a]='**kan**=fa=tsû nane a'i

1.PL=NPM=SIMIL1=PLS=3 CERT Cofán.person

'The Colombian Cofán too, the Cofán from the other side, are really like us, real Cofán.'
[20040218-EC-Interview-223]

This derivation with =*'kan* 'SIMIL1' is very often input to a further derivation, in which it combines with the adverbializer =*e*, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Examples of this frequent combination are given in (117)-(118).

- (117) Mingapa tsû juva'kaenda guathiye?
 mingae=pa=tsû [juva]='**kan=e**=ta guathi=ye
 IGN.DEG=SS=3 DIST=SIMIL1=ADVR=NEW boil=INF
 'Why is it boiling like that?' [BC13.026]
- (118) Nane ñua'me tayupia'kaen avûjatshimbi.
 nane ñua'me [tayupi=a]='**kan=e** avûja-tshi=mbi
 CERT truly formerly=NPM=SIMIL1=ADVR happy-ADJR=NEG
 'We are not happy like the ones from the past.' [20040218-EC-Interview-027]

The second clitic used to syntactically derive adjective phrases is =*sû* 'ATTR'. It can turn noun phrases (119), case-marked noun phrases (120), and adverb phrases (121) into adjective phrases. It is thus more flexible than =*kan* 'SIMIL1', which can only derive adjective phrases from noun phrases.

- (119) 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 landCOME&DO=ASS
 'He came and landed here in an aquaplane.' [20040218-EC-Interview-054]
- (120) Umbakhuni'sû kanjansi pañamba tsû ina.
 [umba=khû=ni]='**sû** kanjansi paña=pa=tsû i'na
 upriver=CLF:DEL=LOC=ATTR boa hear=SS=3 cry
 'When the upriver boa heard that she cried.' [BC20.086]
- (121) Tsa tsû ingi tayupisû kanse'chuya.
 tsa=tsû ingi [tayupi]='**sû** kanse='chu='ya
 ANA=3 1.PL long.ago=ATTR live=SUB=ASS
 'Such was our former life.' [20040218-EC-Interview-041]

Like adjective phrases, phrases derived with =*sû* can also be used in a headless noun phrase (122) and as a non-verbal predicate (123).

- (122) Tsunsi kundaseye gi in'janfaya kei'khûja tayupisuma khen sûye.
 tsun=si kundase=ye=ngi in'jan='fa='ya ke=i'khû=ja [tayupi]='**sû**(∅)=ma
 do=DS converse=INF=1 want=PLS=ASS 2.SG=INST=CONTR formerly=ATTR=ACC.REAL
 khen sû=ye
 QUOT say=INF
 'So we want to talk with you about (things) from the past.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-003]
- (123) Juva va randetsû tayupisû.
 juva va rande=tsû [tayupi]='sû
 DIST PROX large=3 formerly=ATTR
 'That one is big and old.' [Autobiografía de OCQ 5:56]

The attributive clitic is also used to form relative clauses. This use of the clitic will be discussed in Section 5.5.2.

5.3.4. Derived adverb phrases

Two clitics are used to derive adverbial phrases from other types of phrases. The first of these is =e. It can derive adverb phrases from all other types of phrases: verb phrases (124), noun phrases (125), adjective phrases, such as the one based on the derived adjective *na'kan* 'like me' in (126), and numeral phrases (127).

- (124) 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]
- (125) Nai'kie jakañe atesû tsampi ni tsamangi
 [na'en=ki]=e jakan=ye atesû tsampi=ni tsa='ma=ngi
 river =CLF:LNR=ADVR walk=INF know forest=LOC ANA=FRT=1
 'I normally go by river, and across the forest, too.' [HF 6:08]
- (126) Ña'kaen me'ndetshe kanseyeja.
 [Ña='kan]=e me'nde=tshe kanse-ye=ja
 1.SG=SIMIL1=ADVR be.poor=ADVR live-PASS=IMP
 'You shall live sorrowfully like me.' [BC23.1.019]
- (127) 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]

The second adverbializer clitic is =*tshe*, which has a more restricted range of uses than =e. It can combine with verbs (128) and adjectives (129).

- (128) A'tûtsheyi jiye.
 [a'tû]=**tshe**=yi ji=ye
 hide=ADVR=EXCL come=INF
 'He went secretly.' [BC12.057]
- (129) Ti'tshe tsatsû kunsiana andeya ti'tshe egatshe kungunsi shunchhamba andeya.
 titshe tsa=tsû kunsiana ande='ya [titshe ega]=**tshe** kungun=si
 more ANA=3 vulture.woman land=ASS more bad=ADVR rot=DS
 shunchhan=pa ande='ya
 inhale=ss land=ASS
 'There the vulture women landed because they smelled the smell of bad rotting.'
 [Kunsiana kundasepa 1:02]

5.4. Main clauses

5.4.1. Introduction

In this section we discuss syntactic aspects of main clauses. We start with the alignment system in Section 5.4.2, then discuss word order, and then address the question whether there is clausal agreement in A'ingae.

5.4.2. Alignment

5.4.2.1. Introduction

In discussing the alignment system of A'ingae, we first consider the question whether the grammatical relations Subject and Object are relevant in the language in Section 5.4.2.2. After establishing that the grammatical relation Subject is relevant but the grammatical relation Object is not, we list the properties of Subjects in Section 5.4.2.3, after which we turn to the overall alignment system in Section 5.4.2.4.

5.4.2.2. Subject and object

Grammatical relations are relevant to the analysis of a language if there is a neutralization of semantic functions. If there is neutralization of Actors and Undergoers somewhere in the system, the grammatical relation Subject is invoked to generalize across the common behaviour of these two; if there is neutralization of Undergoers and Locations, Recipients, or Beneficiaries, then the grammatical relation Object is invoked in order to be able to discuss the common behaviour of these two.

Based on this definition, it is immediately clear that the grammatical relation Subject is relevant to the analysis of A'ingae. The following examples show this.

- (130) A'ima iyu tayu sin'tûsi panjin khûi.
 A'i=ma iyu tayu sin'tû=si pa-ji khûi
 Cofán.person=ACC.REAL snake already bite=DS die-PRECUL lie
 'After the snake had bitten the men, they lay dead.' [BC17.048]
- (131) Ingitangi tsaiye iyunga.
 ingi=ta=ngi tsai-ye iyu=nga
 1.PL=NEW=1 bite-PASS snake=DAT
 'We were bitten by a snake.' (elic.)

In the active sentence (130), the Actor *iyu* 'snake' appears in unmarked form, while the Undergoer *a'i* 'Cofán.person' is marked by the realis accusative clitic. In the passive sentence (131), the Undergoer *ingi* '1.PL' appears in the unmarked form, and the Actor *iyu* 'snake' is now marked by the dative clitic. Thus, there is neutralization of expression of the Actor in (130) and the Undergoer in (131). In Section 5.4.3.3.5 we will show that these two unmarked expressions behave the same in all respects.

One finds the same neutralization of expression in intransitive sentences: whether the only argument of an intransitive verb is an Actor or an Undergoer does not affect its expression, as shown in (132)-(133).

- (132) Khaki ja kukama.
 kha=ki ja kukama
 other=CLF:DRN go Spaniard
 'The next day the white men went.' [BC21.047]
- (133) Ja'ninda tayu pa kukama.
 ja=ni=ta tayu pa kukama
 go=LOC=NEW already die Spaniard
 'As he went, the white man had already died.' [BC25.025]

In (132) *kukama* 'Spaniard' is an Actor, in (133) it is an Undergoer, but this does not affect the expression of this constituent.

Neutralizations like these cannot be found between Undergoers on the one hand and Locations, Recipients, or Beneficiaries on the other. Thus, there are no phenomena like dative shift, Acl-constructions, and the like in A'ingae, which would make it necessary to posit a grammatical relation Object for the language. In the following section we therefore focus on Subject properties only.

5.4.3.3. Subject properties

5.4.3.3.1. Introduction

The grammatical relation of subject manifests itself in various ways in A'ingae. We list and illustrate the relevant phenomena in this section.

5.4.3.3.2. Reflexives

Reflexives, whether at the clausal or the phrasal level, are always coreferential with the subject. This is illustrated in (134)-(135).

- (134) 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]
- (135) Tisû antiame a'mbiandiki Colombiani
 tisû antia=ve a'mbian=ti=ki Colombia=ni
 REFL relative=ACC.IRR have=INT=2 Colombia=LOC
 'Have you got your own relatives in Colombia?'
 (20040218-SC)

In (134) the subject is first person =ngi, and the reflexive, expressing the clausal benefactive, is coreferential with this subject. In (135) the subject is second person =ki, and the reflexive, in this case expressing the possessor within a noun phrase, is coreferential with this subject.

5.4.3.3.3. Control

The subject of complement clauses of verbs that require an infinitival complement is coreferential with that of the matrix clause (136), unless a special switch-reference conjunction is used, in which case the subject of the complement is necessarily different from that of the matrix clause (137).

- (136) Ña unkengema pûsheyeta ti ki in'jan?
 ña unkenge=ma pûshe=ye=ta=ti=ki in'jan
 1.SG daughter=ACC.REAL marry=INF=NEW=INT=2 desire
 'Do you want to marry my daughter?' [BC15.008]

- (137) Abogado tsû iñaja'ña kûintsû ingija informema afeye.
 abogado=tsû iñajan='ya kûintsû ingi=ja informe=ma afe=ye
 lawyer=3 ask=ASS SWR.CNJ 1.PL=CONTR report=ACC.REAL give=INF
 'The lawyers asked for us to hand over a report.'
 [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0099.193]

In (136) there is coreference between the second person subject =*ki* of the main clause verb *in'jan* 'desire' and the subject of the verb in the complement clause *pûshe* 'marry'. In (137) the subject of the main clause is *abogado* 'lawyers', which is different from the first person plural subject of the complement clause *ingi* '1.PL'.

The issue of control will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.5.6.

5.4.3.3.4. Switch reference

The switch reference system of A'ingae is subject-based, in the sense that the same subject and different subject clitics attached to a cosubordinate clause indicate whether the subject of the next clause is the same as or different from the current clause. This is illustrated in (138b).

- (138) a. Fae u'feyite dûseya.
 fae u'fe=yi=te dûse='ya
 one star=EXCL=RPRT hang=ASS
 'They say that only one star was hanging there.'
 [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-036]
- b. Dûsesi athepate sù'faya "Jinge juvanga jaye".
 dûse=**si** athe=**pa**=te sù='fa=ya jinge juva=nga ja=ye
 hang=DS see=SS=RPRT say=PLS=IRR HORT DIST=DAT go=INF
 '(The star) being there, they was it and said: "Let's go there".'
 [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-036/037]

The subject of the first verb in (138b) is the star introduced in (138a). The different subject clitic =*si* on this verb indicates that the next verb in line has a different subject, the people observing the star. The same subject clitic =*pa* on this verb indicates that the next verb in line has the same subject, as the people observing the star are also the ones saying something. We will discuss the switch reference system in more detail in Chapter 10.

5.4.3.3.5. Diathesis

In passive constructions, the Undergoer argument takes over the subject properties from the Actor, as we illustrated in Section 5.4.2.2. This can furthermore be seen in the following control structures. In (139) the Actor Subject of the main clause predicate *in'jan* 'want' is *Aitsuve* 'Manhead', which controls the Undergoer Subject of *kati-ye* 'leave-PASS' in the dependent clause. In (140) the Actor Subject of the main clause predicate *undikhû* 'put on' is a male third person given in the context, which controls the Undergoer Subject of *ise-ye* 'stain-PASS' in the dependent clause.

- (139) Pañamba Aitsuve ûtungã katiyeye in'jan.
 paña=pa Aitsuve ûtû=nga kati-ye=ye in'jan
 hear=SS Manhead part.way=DAT leeve-PASS=INF want
 'When Manhead heard it he wanted to be left there.' [BC19.063]
- (140) Tse'i pa'khuma undikhû apechukhû'ta khuanifûe'khu, kanjansi thimba'panga
 iseyesa'ne.
 tse'i pa'khu=ma undikhû apechukhû=ta khuanifûe='khu kanjansi
 then all=ACC.REAL put.on pants=NEW three=CLF:QUANT boa
 thimba'pa=nga ise-ye=sa'ne
 slime=DAT stain-PASS=APPR
 'Then he put on all the tunics and three pairs of pants, so he wouldn't be stained by
 the boa's slime.' [BC20.051]

A second context which shows the subject properties of an Undergoer argument in passive constructions is that of switch reference. In (141) the passive Undergoer Subject of the verb *tûi-ye* 'rain-PASS' is marked as the same as the Actor Subject of the verb *tsa'uña* 'make a house'. Similarly, in (142) the Undergoer Subject of the verb *indi-ye* 'catch-PASS' is marked as the same as the Actor Subject of the verb *pañã* 'hear'.

- (141) Tûiyepã tsau'ñañe tsun'jen.
 tûi-ye=pa tsa'u-ña=ye tsun-'je
 rain-PASS=SS house-CAUS=INF do-IMPF
 'Being wet by the rain he was going to make a small shelter.' [BC10.004]
- (142) Indiyepã Tururu pañamba indiyã ja.
 indi-ye=pa Tururu paña=pa indi=ye ja
 catch-PASS=SS Tururu hear=SS catch=INF go
 'Being caught, Tururu heard them and went to catch them.' [BC02.035]

5.4.3.4. Alignment system

In presenting the alignment system of A'ingãe, we make use of the conventions used in Dryer (1986), in which S is used as an abbreviation for the single argument of an intransitive verb, A for the most agent-like argument of a transitive or ditransitive construction, P for the most patient-like argument of a transitive or ditransitive construction, and G for the third type of argument involved in a ditransitive construction, e.g. a Goal or Recipient. Using these abbreviations, the alignment system in Figure 5.6 emerges for A'ingãe active sentences.

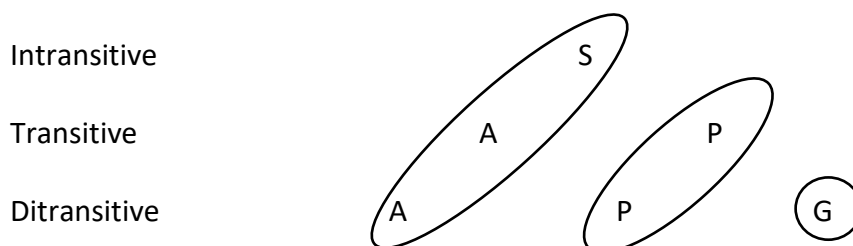


Figure 5.6. The alignment system of A'ingãe.

Pre-clausal	Initial	Second	Medial	Final
discourse connectives, topics	any constituent	2nd position clitics	any constituent	any constituent

Figure 5.7. The clause

As this figure shows, there are restrictions on the types of constituents that may occur in the preclausal position and in the second position. The other positions may all be filled by any formal type of constituent. We will start our discussion with the second position in Section 5.4.3.2, as this is the only position invariably filled with clausal clitics, if present. We then consider the initial position in Section 5.4.3.3 and the preclausal position in Section 5.4.3.4. In Section 5.4.3.5 we discuss the final position, and in Section 5.4.3.6 the medial position. In Section 5.4.3.7 we round off the discussion by showing for a variety of constituent types that they may indeed occur in different clausal positions.

5.4.3.2. The second position

The only position in the clausal template that is really fixed is the second position. This position may, but does not have to be filled by one of the three cliticizing pronominal subject clitics discussed in Section 4.2.10 and the clause-level cliticizing particles discussed in Section 4.2.14.4. They are listed in Table 5.2.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Meaning/function</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Cliticizing pro-forms			
	= <i>ngi</i>	first person	1
	= <i>ki</i>	second person	2
	= <i>tsû</i>	third person	3
Cliticizing particles			
	= <i>te</i>	reportative	RPRT
	= <i>ti</i>	interrogative	INT

Examples of these clitics are given in (146)-(150).

- (146) Matachima gi kundaseye tsun'jen.
 [matachi=ma]=**ngi** kundase=ye tsun-'je
 matachi.clown=ACC.REAL=1 converse=INF do-IMPF
 'I'm going to tell you about the Matachi clown.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0000.0]
- (147) Akhiaki afu'paen.
 [akhia]=**ki** afupuen
 just=2 lie
 'You're just lying.' [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0262.734]
- (148) Majan tsû khen i'na?
 [majan]=**tsû** khen i'na
 IGN.AN=3 thus cry
 'Who's crying?' [BC09.007]

- (149) Kia'me te kan khûi.
 [kia'n=ve]=**te** kan~: khûi
 strong=PRED=RPRT look~DUR lie
 'They lay there looking intensely.' [BC14.020]
- (150) Ke'i vathi kanjenindi ji'fachu?
 [ke'i va='thi kan'jen=ni]=**ti** ji='fa='chu
 2.PL PROX=CLF:LOC live=LOC=INT come=PLS=SUB
 'Did they come when you were living here? [20040218-EC-Interview-049]

In all examples in the following sections we will present the second position clitics in boldface, as they are the reference point for the preclausal, clause-initial, second, and medial positions.

5.3.3.3. The initial position

The initial position in the clause may be occupied by any type of constituent. Since second position clitics are not obligatory, constituents in this position can be identified unambiguously only in those cases in which a second position clitic is used in the same clause. Only in one case a constituent has to occur obligatorily in this position. This is the case of ignorative constituents when used interrogatively, as illustrated for an ignorative pro-noun in (151) and for a constituent with an ignorative pro-adjective in (152) (see also Dąbkowski forthc.).

- (151) Mane tsû shendyaje?
 [ma=ne]=**tsû**shendya-'je
 IGN.SEL=SO=3 bark-IMP
 'From where is it barking?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-030]
- (152) Ma'kan kundase'chu tsû tsa.
 [ma='kan kundase'chu]=**tsû** tsa
 IGN.SEL=SIMIL1 story=3 ANA
 'What kind of story is that?' [20060118-MM-2-0309.8]

Examples of constituents that may occur in the initial position follow.

Verbal predicate

- (153) Afayambi tsû.
 [afa=ya=mbi]=**tsû**
 say=IRR=NEG=3
 'They won't speak.' [20060118-LM-2-0316.279]

Non-verbal predicate

- (154) Ñu'a a'i tsû.
 [ñu'a a'i]=**tsû**
 good man=3
 'He was a good man.' [BC19.154]

- (155) Tsampini tsû ña pûshe kan'jen.
 [tsampi=ni]=**tsû** ña pûshe
 jungle=LOC=3 1.SG wife
 'My wife lives in the jungle.' [BC15.012]
- (156) Ba've rande tsû.
 [ba've rande]=**tsû**
 APPROX big=3
 'It is somewhat big.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-027]
- (157) Khuan'gi tsû khûi.
 [khuangi]=**tsû** khûi
 two=3 lie.down
 'There are two.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-037]

Secondary predicate

- (158) Tsaja tisia've tsû kanse'faya tseni
 tsa=ja [tisû=a=ve]=**tsû** kanse='fa=ya tsa=ni
 ANA=CONTR REFL=NPM=PRED=3 live=PLS=IRR ANA=LOC
 'They live there by themselves.' [20040218-EC-Interview-160]

Noun phrase

- (159) Khasheyendekhûta tsû tsa'kaen ku'fe'fa.
 [khashe'ye=ndekhû=ta]=**tsû** tsa'kan=e kufe<F>='fa
 old.man =APL=NEW=3 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR play<INTS>=PLS
 'The elders played it like this.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0007.92]

Adverb phrase

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

Particle

- (161) Khasetsû iñajampañajen.
 [khase]=**tsû** iñajampaña-'je
 REP=3 ask-IMPF
 'He is asking you again.' [Encuesta sociolingüística 0:56]

Subordinate clause

- (162) 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]
- (163) Nanimbengi sumbu.
 [nani-mbe]=**ngi** sumbu
 end-NEG.CV=1 go.out
 'I left without finishing.' [Autobiografía de LY 0:24]

- (164) Tûinfai'khû tsû anchun'fa'ya ki in'jan.
 [tûinfa=i'khû=tsû anchun='fa='ya]=ki in'jan
 rope=INST=3 sew=PLS=ASS=2 think
 'I bet they sewed with chambira.' [20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0040.143]
- (165) Kanjansite kanse khen tsû sû ña yaya khasheye
 [kanjansi=te kanse khen]=tsû sû ña yayakhashe'ye
 boa=RPRT live thus=3 say 1.SG grandfather
 But my grandfather says there is a boa. [HF 9:23]

Co-subordinate clause

- (166) Umbakhuni'sû kanjansi pañamba tsû ina.
 [umba=khû=ni='sû kanjansi paña=pa]=tsû i'na
 upriver=CLF:DEL=LOC=ATTR boa hear=SS=3 cry
 'When the upriver boa heard that she cried.' [BC20.086]

Note that coordinated phrases, too, may jointly occupy the first position, as in (167).

- (167) Kungsi mûndakhe tsû enthinghe ni kanse.
 [kun'sin mûnda='khe]=tsû enthinghe=ni kanse
 woolly.monkey peccary=ADD=3 half=LOC live
 'There are woolly monkeys and peccaries deep in the forest.' [HF 4:28]

5.4.3.4. The preclausal position

A limited number of elements may precede the initial clausal position. One may then wonder whether the initial position is really initial. We think it is, and assume that the elements that may precede it actually occupy a preclausal position. The elements involved are all either linking element or provide a setting within which the ensuing clause is to be interpreted.

Starting with the linking elements involved, we list them in Table 5.3.

surface form	underlying form	gloss	free translation
<i>nane</i>	nane	CERT	'sure', 'well'
<i>o</i>	o	DISJ	'or'
<i>tša'ma</i>	tša='ma	ANA=FRT	'but'
<i>tsunpa</i>	tsun=pa	do=SS	'and then'
<i>tsunsi</i>	tsun=si	do=DS	'and then'
<i>tuya'kaen</i>	tuya='kan=e	still=SIMIL1=ADVR	'and, moreover'

Table 5.3. Linking elements in preclausal position.

Among these six elements are the coordinators *o*, *tša'ma*, and *tuya'kaen*, the temporal linkers *tsunpa* and *tsunsi*, and the modal particle *nane*. Several of these are compositional in nature. As shown in Morvillo & Anderbois (2022), *tša'ma* is fully synchronically compositional. *Tsunpa* and *tsunsi* are the same and different subject forms of the pro-verb *tsun* 'do', which are frequently used as Head in the Tail-Head construction and from this use seem to have derived a more general use indicating temporal succession. *Tuya'kaen* consists of the adverb *tuya*

'still' with the simulative clitic =*'kan* and the adverbializer =*e*, a combination resulting in a general coordinative meaning. It is unclear to what extent this form is synchronically compositional.

Examples of these linking elements occurring in pre-clausal position are given in (168)-(179).

- (168) Nane tsayi tsû i'jeya.
 [nane] [tsa=yi]=tsû i-'je='ya
 surely ANA=EXCL=3 bring-IMPF=ASS
 'Well, he used to bring (things).' [20040218-EC-Interview-142]
- (169) Nane ñua'me tsû tsû'tsû.
 [nane] [ñua'me]=tsû tsû~tsû
 really truly=3 stamp~MLTP
 'They stamped it hard.' [BC26.065]
- (170) O ka'niambi ti?
 [o][ka'ni-an=mbi]=ti
 or enter-CAUS=NEG=INT
 'Or will it have digged itself in?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-1-019]
- (171) O tiseembe iniseti tsa kufe'sumbe iniseti?
 [o] [tise=mbe inise]=ti tsa kufe='sû=mbe inise=ti
 or 3.SG=BEN name=INT ANA play=ATTR=BEN name=INT
 'Or was it his name, the name of that player?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0535.976]
- (172) Tsa'ma fae a'iyi tsû
 [tsa='ma] [fae a'i=yi]=tsû
 ANA=FRT one man=EXCL=3
 'But now there is only one.' [20050701-MA-Letter-1-005]
- (173) Tsa'ma injenge'chu tsû.
 [Tsa='ma] [injenge='chu]=tsû
 ANA=FRT important=SUB=3
 'But it is important.' [20060118-LM-2-0036.681]
- (174) Tsumba tsuve'jûvekhe tsû shaga'thoma ñũa'fa.
 [tsun=pa] [tsuvejû=ve=khe]=tsû shaga'tu=ma ñũa'fa
 do=SS face=ACC.IRR=ADD=3 cedar=ACC.REAL make=PLS
 'Then they also made the face from cedar wood.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0018.692]
- (175) Tsumba mingae tsû ke asithaen'chu?
 [tsun=pa] [mingae]=tsû ke asithaen='chu
 do=SS IGN.DEG=3 2.SG think=SUB
 'What are your thoughts?' [20060118-LM-2-0246.062]
- (176) Tsunsi a'i dyupa tsû afa "Ña vue jayi gi tsun'jen."
 [tsun=si] [a'i dyu=pa]=tsû afa ña va=e ja-yi=ngi tsun-'je
 do=DS Cofán.person be.afraid=SS=3 say 1.SG PROX=ADVR go-PROSP=1 do-IMPF
 'Then, the man being afraid, said "I'm going to leave now."' [BC19.044]
- (177) Tsunsi tse gi ashaen'faya khase.
 [tsun=si] [tse]=ngi ashaen='fa='ya khase
 do=DS ANA.LOC=1 begin=PLS=ASS again
 'Then we started there again.' [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0091.623]

- (178) Tuya'kaen tshipa'khû tsû.
 [tuya'kaen] [tshipakhû]=tsû
 CONJ mud=3
 'And it is muddy.' [20060118-LM-2-0345.682]
- (179) Tuya'kaen profesormakhe tsû a'ingaeyi atesian'fa.
 [tuya'kaen] profesor=ma=khe=tsû a'i=ngae=yi atesian='fa
 moreover teacher=ACC.REAL=ADD=3 Cofán.person=MANN=EXCL teach=PLS
 'And they teach the teachers Kofan too.' [20060118-LM-2-0152.934]

The modal particle *nane* seems often to be used to pick up a new turn and in that sense is used as a linker. This is illustrated in the following exchange.

- (180) a. Atesûti ki corombiasû a'indekhuma.
 atesû=ti=ki Colombia='sû a'i=ndekhû=ma
 know =INT =2 Colombia=ATTR Cofán.person=AN.PL=ACC.REAL
 'Do you know Cofans from Colombia?' [20040218-EC-Interview-205]
- b. Nane atesû gi.
 [nane] [atesû]=ngi
 surely know=1
 'Well, I do know.' [20040218-EC-Interview-206]

A clear difference between compositional and non-compositional forms is that, when occurring in a position preceding a second position clitic, the non-compositional forms occur in preclausal position only, whereas the compositional ones also may occur in the clause-initial position. The latter is shown in the following examples.

- (181) Tsa'ma tsû a'ima pajisi se'jepa khûshaen'jen.
 [tsa'ma]=tsû a'i=ma paji=si se'je=pa khûsha -en -'je
 but=3 Cofán.person=ACC.REAL sick=DS heal=SS recover-CAUS-IMPF
 'But when the people are ill, he heals them.' [20040218-EC-Interview-113]
- (182) Tsumba tsû tsa'kaenjan kufe'je'fa'ya.
 [tsun=pa]=tsû tsa'kan=e=ja kufe-'je='fa='ya tsa=te
 do=SS=3 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=CONTR play-IMPF=PLS=ASS ANA=RPRT
 'So that's how they played.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0136.472]
- (183) 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=IRR
 'So they gave him making him a house with a roof made of chonta palm leaves.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-081]
- (184) Tuya'kaen tsû jin faesû chipiri nai'ki atesû'chu Guara khen sù'chu.
 [tuya'kaen]=tsû jin faesû chipiri nai'ki atesû='chu Guara khen sù='chu.
 CONJ=3 exist other small stream know=SUB Guara thus say=SUB
 'There is also a small stream known as the Guara.' [RBI01.019]

A possible explanation for this distribution may be that the four linkers in (181)-(184) have both a compositional and a non-compositional interpretation, i.e. are partly grammaticalized. An indication that this might be correct, is that in their linking uses the

subject-marking on *tsumba* and *tsunsi* is not necessarily as expected. Consider for instance example (175), here repeated as part of (185), in context:

- (185) a. Tsa'kamba gi usha'fambi khi in'jan.
 tsa'kan-'pa=ngi usha='fa=mbi khi in'jan
 ANA.SIMIL-NR=1 be.able=PLS=NEG QUOT think
 'I think that we can't (learn Spanish) that way.' [20060118-LM-2-0236.888]
- b. Tsumba mingae tsû ke asithaen'chu?
 [tsun=pa] [mingae]=**tsû** ke asithaen='chu
 do=SS IGN.DEG=3 2.SG think=SUB
 'What are your thoughts?' [20060118-LM-2-0246.062]

The subject in (185a) is first person, whereas in (185b) it is third person. One would thus expect different subject marking in the Head constituent in (185b), but the form found is same subject. A similar example, now with different subject marking, is (186).

- (186) a. Tise'ta'tsû tse jayi'ya.
 tise=ta=tsû tse jayi='ya
 3.SG=NEW=3 ANA.LOC go.PROSP=ASS
 'He (my grandfather) was preparing to leave.' [Autobiografía de JWC 19:33]
- b. Tsunsi, amigo, tsakaen'tsû yayakhasheye kanjem'ba
 [tsun=si] (amigo) [tsa'kan=e]=**tsû** yayakhashe='ye kan'jen=pa
 do=DS friend ANA.ADJ=ADV=3 grandfather=NPST live=SS
 'That, my friend, is how my grandfather lived.' [Autobiografía de JWC 19:35]

The subject of (186a) is the grandfather of the speaker, who is also the subject of (186b). The Head constituent would be expected to carry the same subject marker, yet it carries the different subject marker.

We do not have similar types of evidence for *tsa'ma* and *tuya'kaen*, but on the basis of examples like these we very tentatively hypothesize that the linkers used in pre-clausal position are interpreted by speakers as non-compositional linkers rather than compositional ones.

Another group of constituents that may occur in preclausal position are those that specify a (new) setting for the ensuing clause. These are constituents that are either provided with the contrastive topic marker =*ja* or with the new topic marker =*ta*. Note that both types of constituents may occupy a variety of positions in the clause, as we will discuss later, and that here we are focusing on those cases in which the topical constituents precede a second position clitic in the clause.

The fact that constituents with the contrastive topic marker =*ja* may occur in preclausal position was first observed in Dąbkowski (forthc.). Examples are given in (187)-(192), among which are conditional clauses (191)-(192), which may also be marked by =*ja*.

- (187) Ñaja asithaen gi kinikhuve daye.
 [ña=**ja**] [asi'thaen]=**ngi** kinikhu=ve da=ye
 1.SG=CONTR think=1 tree=ACC.IRR become=INF
 'I am thinking of changing into a tree.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-027]
- (188) Tsaja tisia've tsû kanse'faya tseni.

- [t_{sa}=**ja**] [t_ishû=a=ve]=**tsû** kanse='fa=ya t_{sa}=ni
 ANA=CONTR self=NPM=ACC.IRR=3 live=PLS=IRR ANA=LOC
 'They live there by themselves.' [20040218-EC-Interview-160]
- (189) Ingi a'i dû'shuneja t_{sa} tsû aiyepa.
 [ingi a'i dû'shû=ne=**ja**] [t_{sa}]=**tsû** aiye-'pa
 1.PL Cofán.person child=SO=CONTR ANA=3 difficult-NR
 'For our Cofán children it is a difficult thing.' [20060118-LM-2-0293.686]
- (190) 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]
- (191) Tayupi nuja'khuve mechuja jungaesû'khû tsû anchun'fa?
 [tayupi nuja'khu=ve me'i='chu=**ja**] [jungue'sû=i'khû]=**tsû** anchun='fa
 formerly needle=ACC.IRR NEG.PRED=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]
- (192) Ingi kinikhuve dapa tsû iñe'e atutu'faya.
 [ingi kinikhu=ve da=pa kanse=ni=**ja**] [ingi=ma]=**tsû** iñen=e
 1.PL tree=ACC.IRR become=SS live=LOC=CONTR 1.PL=ACC.REAL =3 hurt =ADVR
 atûi~tûi='fa=ya
 chop~MLTP=PLS=IRR
 'If we are going to live converted into trees, they are going to chop us painfully.'
 [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-028]

Constituents marked with the new topic marker =*ta* may also occur in pre-clausal position, as illustrated in (193)-(198). The new topic marker may also occur on conditionals, as shown in (197)-(198).

- (193) Ñanda tsangaeyi gi se'je.
 [ña=**ta**] [t_{sa}=ngae=yi]=**ngi** se'je
 1.SG=NEW ANA=MANN=EXCL=1 heal
 'That's all I can do to heal.' [BC20.094]
- (194) Ingita avûjatshe kanse'chu a'ifa gi
 [ingi=**ta**] [avûja=tshe kanse='chu a'i='fa]=**ngi**
 1.PL=NEW happy=ADVR live=SUB Cofán.person=PLS=1
 'We were the people who were living happily.' [20050701-MA-Letter-3-044]
- (195) Tsa umbakhuni'sû na'enda utsekhiaka'en te ñuñamba kukuya jiña.
 [t_{sa} umba=khû=ni='sû na'e=**ta**] [utse=khia'kan=e]=**te** ñu-ña=pa
 ANA upriver=CLF:DEL=LOC=ATTR river=NEW raft=SIMIL2=ADVR=RPT make-CAUS=SS
 kukuya jiña
 demon arrive
 'It is said that on that river in the headwaters demons were coming on a thing made like a balsa raft.' [BC24.019]

- (196) Ja'ñunda ñumbiye i'nami gi dyai.
 [ja'ñu=**ta**] [ñumbiye i'nan='vi]=**ngi** dyai
 now=NEW sad cry=AFF=1 sit
 'Now we are crying out of sadness.' [20050701-MA-Letter-3-048]
- (197) Paji'ta, ma'kaen tsû?
 [pa-ji=**ta**] [ma='kan=e]=**tsû**
 be.sick-PREC=NEW IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=3
 'If she's sick, what is it?' [BC19.093]
- (198) Tisûyi kan'jen'da pa'faya'mbi gi.
 [tisû=yi kan'jen=**ta**] [pa='fa=ya=mbi]=**ngi**
 REFL=EXCL live=NEW die=PLS=IRR=NEG=1
 'If we stay single we will not die.' [BC20.133]

An important difference between constituents marked by the contrastive topic marker =*ja* and those marked by the new topic marker =*ta* is that the former have to occupy the preclausal position (when preceding a second position clitic), while the latter may also occur in clause-initial position. A few examples of this are (199)-(201).

- (199) Tsendekhûta ti a'i?
 [tsendekhû=**ta**]=**ti** a'i
 ANA.APL=NEW=INT Cofán.person
 'Where they Cofáns?' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0399.373]
- (200) Tuntunme dayeta ti ki in'jan?
 [tuntun=ve da=ye=**ta**]=**ti=ki** in'jan
 trumpeter=PRED become=INF=NEW=INT=2 desire
 'Do you want to become a trumpeter bird?' [BC04.015]
- (201) Pûshe'ta gi pa'faya.
 [pûshe=**ta**]=**ngi** pa='fa=ya
 marry.a.woman=NEW=1 die=PLS=IRR
 'If we take wives we will die.' [BC20.132]

A last point to be discussed here is that combinations of linkers and topical constituents may occur in the preclausal position. In (202), for example, there are three elements in the preclausal position: the linkers *tumba* and *nane* and the contrastive topic *khakija*, which are then followed by the question word *ma'kaen* in clause-initial position, as is clear from the fact that it is followed by the second position clitic =*ki*.

- (202) Tsumba nane khakija ma'kaen ki jen'da ja'ya.
 [tsun=pa] [nane] [kha=ki=ja] [ma='kan=e]=**ki** je'nda ja'ya
 do=SS surely other=CLF:DRN=CONTR IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=2 well go=ASS
 'So the next day, how can you go?' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0218.641]

In (203) the series in the pre-clausal position consists of the linker *tša'ma* and a conditional clause carrying the contrastive topic marker. These two constituents precede the question word *mani* in the clause-initial position.

- (203) Tsa'ma ña dûshundekhû'khe maki a'ta paji'nijan mani gi ñajan se'jiañe ushaya.
 [tσα='ma] [ña dû'shû=ndekhû=khe maki a'ta paji=ni=ja]
 ANA=FRT 1.SG child=AN.PL=ADD IGN.SEL=CLF:DRN day sick=LOC=CONTR
 [mani]=ngi ña=ja se'je-en=ye usha=ya
 where=1 1.SG=CONTR heal-CAUS=INF be.able=IRR
 'But if some day my children fall ill, where will I be able to have them cured?'
 [20050701-MA-Letter-2-036]

In (204) a topical constituent and the linker *nane* are in preclausal position.

- (204) Tseta nane piñererayi tsû chavajeya.
 [tse=ta] [nane] [P.=yi]=tsû chava-'je=ya
 ANA.LOC=NEW surely P.=EXCL=3 buy-IMPFF=IRR
 'That time only P. was buying.' [20040218-EC-Interview-139]

And in (205) two linkers and a contrastive topic follow each other in the preclausal position.

- (205) Tsumba nane khakija ma'kaen ki jen'da ja'ya.
 [tsun=pa] [nane] [kha=ki=ja] [ma='kan=e]=ki je'nda ja=ya
 do=SS CERT other=CLF:DRN=CONTR IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=2 well go=IRR
 'So surely the next day how will you go then?' [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0218.641]

5.4.3.5. The final position

The final position in main clauses is most commonly occupied by a predicate phrase, and these are most commonly verb phrases. For instance, of the 60 main clauses in BC01, 80% end in a verb phrase, such as those in (206)-(207).

- (206) Pûshepa dû'shûve isian.
 pûshe=pa dû'shû=ve isû-an
 marry.woman=SS child=ACC.IRR give.birth-CAUS
 'After marrying, they had children.' [BC01.048]
- (207) Fûe'khuyi u'tie khûsha.
 fûe='khu=yi u'tie khûsha
 one=CLF:QUANT=EXCL first survive
 'One was first to survive.'

The remaining 20% end in noun phrases, either with (208) or without (209) case marking.

- (208) Matichive agathuemba afe a'inga.
 matichi=ve agathu-en=pa afe a'i=nga
 machete=ACC.IRR create-CAUS=SS give Cofán.person=DAT
 'So making a machete, he gave it to the men.' [BC01.035]

- (209) Sime ji jakan'chu a'i.
 sime ji jakan='chu a'i
 evening come travel=SUB Cofán.person
 'In the evening the hunter returned.' [BC01.040]

But other elements may occupy the final position, too. We illustrate the possibilities in (210)-(223).

Verbal predicate

- (210) Kuyema se'pi.
 kuye=ma se'pi
 platano=ACC.REAL withhold
 'She won't give us bananas.' [BC08.034]

Non-verbal predicate

- (211) Fatshi tise sundarundekhû.
 fatshi tise sundaru=ndekhû
 squirrel.monkey 3.SG soldier=AN.PL
 'The squirrel monkeys were his soldiers.' [BC06.003]
- (212) Kasepa'chu tisû=mbe.
 kasepa='chu tisû=mbe
 nut=CLF:RND REFL=BEN
 'The casepa'chu nut was his own.' [BC03.051]
- (213) Changu u'mbatshi.
 changu u'mba-tshi
 hole full=ADJR
 'The hole is full.' [BC07.107]
- (214) Tise kindya'ye khuangi'khu.
 tise kindya='ye khuangi='khu
 3.SG older.brother=NPST two=CLF:QUANT
 'There were two older brothers.' [BC08.005]

Secondary predicate

- (215) Kaufajenga anshan avuma kanseveyi.
 kaufaje=nga anshan avû=ma kanse=ve=yi
 cane=DAT string fish=ACC.REAL live=ACC.IRR=EXCL
 'He strung the fish alive on a cane shoot.' [BC02.024]

Noun phrase

- (216) Isû ipa afe ungûnga.
 isû i=pa afe ungû=nga
 receive bring=ss give capuchin=DAT
 'He brought it and gave it to Capuchin.' [BC06.010]

Adverb phrase

- (217) Ansunde tse'i.
 ansunde **tse'i**
 climb then
 'Then he went up.' [BC03.041]

Particle

- (218) Tsumba a'i ana khase.
 tsun=pa a'i ana **khase**
 do=ss man sleep again
 'Then the man slept again.' [BC19.035]

Subordinate clause

- (219) Ña ushambi ansundeye.
 ña usha-mbi **ansunde=ye**
 1.SG can-PRIV climb.up=INF
 'I am unable to climb up.' [BC03.038]
- (220) Ûtungaye cha'ndi'sûpa dyai tsûtupani nepimbeyi.
 ûtû=nga=ye cha'ndi='sû pa dyai **tsûtupa=ni nepi-mbe=yi**
 part.way=DAT=ELAT cold=ATTR=SS sit end=LOC arrive-NEG.CV=EXCL
 'Being cold and and part way up he sat down without reaching the top.' [BC03.029]
- (221) Tsei'ita athe, amphi jakhia'kaen, ñua'me kanjansi an'jen.
 tsei=ta athe amphi ja=khia'kan=e **ñua'me kanjansi an-je**
 then=NEW see fall go=SIMIL2=ADVR truly boa eat-IMPF
 'Now they saw that, although it was like he fell into the water, really the boa had eaten him.' [BC20.019]
- (222) Tûrûrû afa "Ña vachu kañe" .
 Tûrûrû afa **ña vachu kan=ye**
 Tururu say 1.SG net try=INF
 'Tururu said, "I'll try to net them."' [BC02.005]

Co-subordinate clause

- (223) Tsumba angapa tse'i changuen'fa andema pa'fûpa.
 tsu=pa anga=pa tse'i changu-en='fa **ande=ma pa'fû=pa**
 do=ss carry=ss then hole-CAUS=PLS earth=ACC.REAL dig =SS
 'Then they made a hole digging the earth.' [BC26.061]

5.4.3.6. The clause-medial position

In between the second and the final positions again all different types of constituents may be found. The possibilities are illustrated in (224)-(232).

Verbal predicate

- (224) Maningae tsû ja ña pûsheta?
 ma=ningae=**tsû** [ja] ña pûshe=ta
 IGN.SEL=ALL=3 go 1.SG wife =NEW
 'Where did my wife go?' [BC12.014]

Non-verbal predicate

- (225) Va tsû ñua'me mende'chu indiye.
 va=**tsû** ñua'me mende='chu indi =ye
 PROX =3 [truly beautiful=SUB] hold =INF
 'This one is a really beautiful one to catch.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-049]

Secondary predicate

- (226) Ñaja asithaen gi kinikhuve daye.
 ña=ja asi'thaen=**ngi** [kinikhu=ve] da=ye
 1.SG=CONTR think=1 tree=ACC.IRR become=INF
 'I am thinking of changing into a tree.' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-027]

Noun phrase

- (227) Tsampini tsû ña pûshe kan'jen.
 tsampi=ni=**tsû** [ña pûshe] kan'jen
 jungle=LOC=3 1.SG wife live
 'My wife lives in the jungle.' [BC15.012]

Adverb phrase

- (228) Jañunda gi sembathae khûiña.
 ja'ñu=ta=**ngi** [sembathae] khûi-en
 Fidel now=NEW=1 transversely lie.down-CAUS
 'Now I am going to put it down transversely.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-045]

Particle

- (229) Tse'thetsû khase jaye atesû.
 tse='the=**tsû** [khase] ja=ye atesû
 ANA.LOC=PSTE=3 again go=INF know
 'Then he would go again.'

Subordinate clause

- (230) Junguesu ki agathuyeta jakan?
 jungue=su=ki [agathu=ye=ta] jakan
 IGN.SBS=2 count=INF=NEW travel
 'Why do you come to count the houses?' [BC12.073]
- (231) Sûsi ti "Akhia afupuen khen ki sù" khen in'jamba.
 sù=si=ti [akhia afupa-en khen=ki] sù
 say=DS=INT just lie-CAUS QUOT=2 say
 'If you said that, they would say: "You just lied."'

Cosubordinate clause

- (232) Jungaesû ki tuya chû'ama pishupa i?
 jungue'sû=ki tuya chû'a=ma pishu=pa i
 IGN.SBS=2 [still young=ACC.REAL pick=SS] bring
 'Why did you pick and bring the unripe ones?' [BC07.052]

Of course, in between the second and the final position of the clause, multiple constituents may occur. Since the possibilities are infinite, we cannot list them here, but we have not observed any specific restrictions as regards the formal categories of these constituents. Some illustrations are given below.

- (233) Tayu tsû kukuya an ingi a'ima.
 tayu=tsû [kukuya] [an] ingi a'i=ma
 already=3 demon eat 1.PL man=ACC.REAL
 'A demon came and ate our people.' [BC17.075]
- (234) Gurupa'chu tsû jipa ja'fa setsani.
 gurupa='chu=tsû [ji=pa] [ja='fa] setsa=ni
 cap=CLF:RND=3 come=SS go=PLS prow=LOC
 They wore caps and having come went downriver.
- (235) Tse'i tsû kukuya dyupa buûtu ande ja.
 tse'i=tsû [kukuya] [dyu=pa] buûthu ande ja
 then=3 demon be.afraid=ss run descend go
 'Then the devil being afraid ran off, descending to earth.' [BC26.098]
- (236) Tsunsi tsû tse'thie gringondekhûja andejeve da'faya.
 tsun=si=tsû [tse='the] [gringo=ndekhû=ja] ande-'je=ve
 make=DS=3 ANA.LOC=PSTE white.man=AN.PL=CONTR land-IMP=ACC.IRR
 da='fa='ya
 become=PLS=ASS
 'So from then on the foreigners started to come.' [20040218-EC-Interview-090]
- (237) Khen'khe gi ñanda chûvu kanseya.
 khi=ke=ngi [ña=ta] [chûvu] kanse=ya
 thus=ADD=1 1.SG=NEW poor live=IRR
 'Like this it is that I shall live being a beggar.' [BC25.019]

5.4.3.7. Freedom of word order

In the previous sections we have listed the types of constituents that may occur in the various clausal positions. As shown in those sections, there are very few restrictions on clausal order. The only true restrictions there are concern the preclausal and the second positions. In the preclausal position six different linkers and new and contrastive topics are the only constituents allowed. The second position may be occupied by one of five clitics only. There is a strong tendency for the final position to be occupied by the (verbal) predicate, but other types of constituents are allowed too. In the remaining two positions, the clause-initial and the clause-medial one, all constituents seem to be equally acceptable.

To illustrate this freedom of word order in another way, consider the following five examples, in which the same adverb *ja'ñu* 'now' appears in the four different positions identified.

Preclausal

(238) *Ja'ñuja, panshen rande ande tsû.*

ja'ñu=ja panshenrande ande=**tsû**
now=CONTR very big land=3

'Now it's a rather big piece of land.' [20060118-LM-2-0345.682]

Clause initial

(239) *Jañunda gi sembathae khûiña.*

ja'ñu=ta=**ngi** sembathae khûi-en
now=NEW=1 transversely lie.down-CAUS

'Now I am going to put it transversely.'

Clause medial

(240) *Tayu tsû ja'ñuja fithiye tsunjen.*

tayu=**tsû** **ja'ñu**=ja fi'thi=ye tsun-'je
already=3 now=CONTR kill=INF going.to-IMPF

'Now it is going to kill it.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-091]

Clause-final

(241) *Khen tsumbaki ufiyaya jañu.*

khen tsun=pa=**ki** ufi=ya='ya **ja'ñu**
DEM.MANN do=SS=2 feed=IRR=ASS now

'After putting it in like that you will now sift it.' [Preparar casave 2: 7:21]

For another example, consider the positional possibilities of new topics in the examples below.

Pre-clausal

(242) *Ñanda tsangaeyi gi se'je.*

[ña=ta] [tsa=ngae=yi]=**ngi** se'je
1.SG=NEW ANA=MANN=EXCL=1 heal

'That's all I can do to heal.' [BC20.094]

Clause-initial

(243) *Ñanda gi paye tsun'jen.*

[ña=ta]=**ngi** pa=ye tsun-'je
1.SG=NEW=1 die=INF do-IMPF

'I'm going to die.' [BC20.143]

Clause-medial

- (244) Mane tsû u'gaveta tshû'jian?
 ma=ne=**tsû** [u'ga=ve=ta] tshû'jú -an
 IGN.SEL=SO=3 perfume=ACC.IRR=NEW smell -CAUS
 'Where is that sweet perfume coming from?' [BC07.074]

Clause-final

- (245) Maningae tsû ja ña pûsheta?
 ma=ningae=**tsû** ja [ña pûshe =ta]
 IGN.SEL=ALL=3 go 1.SG wife =NEW
 'Where did my wife go?' [BC12.014]

As a last illustration, the following examples show how noun phrases carrying the animate plural clitic =*ndekhû* may occupy all four positions identified.

Preclausal

- (246) Khasheyendekhûja tsesûvete ku'fe'fa.
 [khashe'ye=ndekhû=ja] [tsa'sû=ve]=**te** kufe<F>='fa
 old.man=AN.PL=CONTR ANA.ATTR=ACC.IRR=RPRT play<INTS>=PLS
 'The late elders played that kind of games.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0562.384]

Clause-initial

- (247) Ñua'me tecnicondekhû gi jakan'faya.
 [ñua'me tecnico=ndekhû]=**ngi** jakan='fa=ya
 truly specialist=AN.PL=1 walk=PLS=IRR
 'We'll walk around with real specialists.' [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0333.479]

Clause-medial

- (248) Escuelatati dûshûndekhûma kanjaenñe injingechu o me'indi?
 [escuela=ta]=**ti** [dû'shû=ndekhû=ma] kanjan=ye injenge='chu o me'in=ti
 school=NEW=INT child=APL=ACC.REAL read=INF be.important=SUB OR NEGP=INT
 'Is it important for children to study in a school or not?' [Autobiografía of RA 1 5:23]

Clause-final

- (249) Jûn, kanjenfatsû nane ña antiandekhû.
 jûn kan'jen='fa=**tsû** nane ña [antian=ndekhû]
 yeah stay=PLS=3 CERT 1.SG kin=APL
 'Yes, my family lives there. [Autobiografía de CLC 7:04]

5.4.4. Clausal agreement

There is no clausal agreement in A'ingae, despite the fact that there may be multiple expressions of person and/or number in a single clause, as in (250)-(255). The six free personal pronouns of A'ingae are shown to cooccur in all these examples with the corresponding cliticizing pronominal clitics. For instance, in (250) the free pronoun *ña* '1.sg' cooccurs with the pronominal clitic =*ngi* '1'. In the case of plural pronouns in (253)-(255), they furthermore

cooccur with the plural subject clitic. For instance, (254) not only contains the free pronominal subject expression *ke'i* '2.PL', but also the clausal pronominal clitic =*ki* '2' and the predicate clitic =*fa* 'PLS'. Note that the pronominal clitic only marks person, not number, which is marked separately by the plural subject clitic.

- (250) Atesumbingi ña'khe.
 atesû=mbi=**ngi** ña=khe,
 know=NEG=1 1.SG=ADD
 'I don't know neither.' [A20060118-MM-2-0406.163]
- (251) Ke ti ki tûsana'kaen?
ke=ti=**ki** tûsana='kan=e
 2.SG=INT=2 woodpecker=SIMIL1=ADV
 'Are you like a woodpecker?' [BC03.019]
- (252) Kanjansite khen tsû sû tise.
 kanjansi=te khen=**tsû** sû **tise**.
 boa=RPRT QUOT=3 say 3.SG
 'He said it was a boa.' [HF 7:47]
- (253) Nane pa'khu kusengi ingi'ja kemaja kuira'jefaya
 nane pa'khu kuse=**ngi** **ingi**=ja ke=ma=ja kuira-'je='fa=ya
 CERT all night=1 1.PL=CONTR 2.SG=ACC.REAL=CONTR look.after-IMP=PLS=IRR
 'Really every night we'll take care of you, and the other one said.'
 [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0391.211]
- (254) 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=ADV=2 now=CONTR come=PLS PROX=LOC=CONTR 2.PL=CONTR
 'Why did you (plural) come here now?' [20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-054]
- (255) Tsa'kanfa'ya tsû tisepa atesû'chu.
 tsa'kan='fa='ya=**tsû** **tisepa** atesû='chu
 ANA.SIMIL=PLS=ASS=3 3.SG=ASS know=SUB
 'The people who knew were like that.' [20060118-MM-2-0158.794]

On the basis of examples like these, one might be tempted to consider the pronominal clitics as well as the plural subject clitic to be agreement markers, as they replicate information already contained in the free pronoun. However, these clitics may also be fully referential by themselves, i.e. occur in a context in which the free pronoun is absent.

- (256) Utifa'chuya gi sapuje chûpaveyi.
 utifa='chu=ya=**ngi** sapuje chûpa=ve=yi
 crown=SUB=IRR=1 palm shoot=ACC.IRR=EXCL
 'I'll be crowned with palm leaf shoot.' [BC12.076]
- (257) Athe ti ki vaju tsai'kima?
 athe=ti=**ki** vaju tsai'ki=ma
 see=INT=2 demon trail=ACC.REAL
 'Did you see the demon's trail?' [BC17.076]

- (258) Tse'i tsû fi'thi.
 tse'i=**tsû** fi'thi
 then=3 kill
 'Then he killed her.
- (259) Pûshe'ta gi pa'faya.
 pûshe=ta=**ngi** pa=**'fa**=ya
 marry.a.woman=NEW=1 die=PLS=IRR
 'If we marry we will die. [BC20.132]
- (260) Tsa'mandi ki tseiteja atesû'fambi ni kukama ni mane jiyachuvekhe?
 tsa='ma=ti=**ki** tse=ite=ja atesû=**'fa**=mbi
 ANA=FRT=INT=2 ANA.LOC=CLF:PRD=CONTR know=PLS=NEG
 ni kukama ni ma=ne ji=ya='chu=ve=khe
 nor Spaniard nor IGN.SEL=SO come=IRR=SUB=ACC.IRR=ADD
 'But at that time you (plural) did not know that the Spaniards were going to come, nor from where.' [20040218-EC-Interview-057]
- (261) Jiye in'jambipa tsampini tsû ja'fa.
 ji=ye in'jan=mbi=pa tsampi=ni=**tsû** ja=**'fa**
 come=INF want=NEG=SS jungle=LOC=3 go=PLS
 'Not wanting to come they have gone to the jungle to hunt.' [BC20.014]

The other way around, personal pronouns and other subject noun phrases may occur without being accompanied by a pronominal clitic, or, in the case of plural reference, the plural subject clitic. In (262)-(267) the pronominal subject clitics are lacking, in (267) the plural subject clitic is furthermore absent, where it would be expected if it were an agreement marker.

- (262) Ñanda ega kanjansi.
 ña=ta ega kanjansi
 1.SG=NEW bad boa
 'I'm a bad boa.' [BC20.088]
- (263) Keja pañambi.
 ke=ja paña=mbi
 2.SG=CONTR listen=NEG
 'You didn't listen.'
- (264) Tsa'kamba tseta jaye tsun'jen sefakhu.
 tsa'kan=pa **tise**=ta ja=ye tsun-'je sefa='khu
 ANA.SIMIL=SS 3.SG=NEW go=INF begin-IMPF sky=CLF:ANG
 'Things being like that, he started to go to heaven.' [BC26.104]
- (265) Ingi'ta ja'jefa'ya vani ke kan'jen=ni=ja.
ingi=ta ja-'je=**'fa**=ya va=ni ke kan'jen=ni=ja.
 1.PL=NEW go-IMPF=PLS=IRR PROX=LOC 2 stay=LOC=CONTR
 'We will come for as long as you stay.'
- (266) Tsunsi jañu ke'ija fae tsa'u fae va tsa'unga bu'faja pa'khu a'i.
 tsun=si ja'ñu **ke'i**=ja fae tsa'u fae va tsa'u=nga
 do=DS now 2.PL=CONTR one house one PROX house=DAT
 bu=**'fa**=ja pa'khu a'i
 get.together=PLS=CONTR all Cofán.person
 'So now you have to get together all in one house.' [Erision kundasepa 8:21]

- (267) Tisepa yaje ma kûsûndekhûja.
tisepa yaje=ma kûi'=sû=ndekhû=ja
 3.PL ayahuasca drink=ATTR=APL=CONTR
 'They are the ones who drink ayahuasca.' [Historia de Familia 3:00]

Based on the facts presented above we conclude that the pronominal clitics and the plural subject clitic do not express agreement but are referential by themselves. In cases in which these clitics are present together with a lexical or free pronominal subject, as for instance in (250)-(255), they should therefore be interpreted as appositional in nature.

5.5. (Co-)subordinate clauses

5.5.1. Introduction

In this section we focus on the structure of (co-)subordinate clauses. We will start with a discussion of the position of the subordinator in Section 5.5.2, and then turn to the distribution of the different (co-)subordinate clauses across clausal positions in Section 5.5.3. In Section 5.5.4 we then focus on the internal structure of (co-)subordinate clauses, after which we discuss the issues of control and switch-reference in Section 5.5.6 and 5.5.7. Finally, Section 5.5.4 is on word order in (co-)subordinate clauses. We will not discuss the position of (co-)subordinate clauses within the matrix clause here, as this issue was dealt with in the previous section, nor will we discuss their functions, which will be discussed in Chapter XX. For earlier work on (co-)subordinate clauses see Fischer (2007) and Fischer & van Lier (2010).

5.5.2. The place of the subordinator

Subordinators may be of three types: free particles preceding the subordinate clause, free particles following the subordinate clause, and cliticizing particles following the subordinate clause. They are listed in Table 5.4. Earlier analyses of =*sa'ne* 'APPR' can be found in Dąbkowski & Anderbois (forthc.a, forthc.b) and Anderbois & Dąbkowski (2020), and of =*ma* 'FRT' in Morvillo & Anderbois (2022). The three different types are illustrated in (268), (269), and (270) respectively.

- (268) Tsunsi tsû texaco na'sûyi texaco abogado tsû iñaja'ña kûintsû ingija infurmema afeye.
 tsun=si=tsû texaco na'sû=yi texaco abogado=tsû iñaja'ña
 do=DS=3 texaco chief=EXCL texaco lawyer=3 ask=ASS
[kûintsû ingi=ja informe=ma afe=ye].
 SWR.CNJ 1.PL=CONTR report=ACC.REAL give=INF
 'Then the owners of Texaco, the Texaco lawyers asked for us to hand over a report.'
 [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0099.193]
- (269) Chipiriveti ki in'jan? khen sû'ya.
 [chipiri=ve=ti=ki in'jan **khen**] sû='ya
 small=ACC.IRR=INT=2 want QUOT say=ASS
 'He said: "Do you want small (coins)?"' [20040218-EC-Interview-190]
- (270) Ña unkengema pûsheyeta ti ki in'jan?
 [ña unkenge=ma pûshe=**ye**]=ta=ti=ki in'jan
 1.SG daughter=ACC.REAL marry.a.woman=INF=NEW=INT=2 desire
 'Do you want to marry my daughter?' [BC15.008]

Free subordinators - preposed	
<i>kûintsû</i>	SWR.CNJ
<i>mapan</i>	CONC
Free subordinators - postposed	
<i>khen</i>	QUOT
Bound subordinators	
= <i>'chu</i>	=SUB
= <i>ja</i>	=CONTR
= <i>khia'kan</i>	=SIMIL2
= <i>ma</i>	=ACC.REAL
= <i>'ma</i>	=FRT
= <i>ngae</i>	=MANN
= <i>ni</i>	=LOC
= <i>pa</i>	=SS
= <i>sa'ne</i>	=APPR
= <i>si</i>	=DS
= <i>'sû</i>	=ATTR
= <i>ta</i>	=NEW
= <i>ye</i>	=INF

Table 5.4. Subordinators

5.5.3. Distribution

The syntactic distribution of the various types of (co)subordinate clauses varies. Some have the same distribution as adjective phrases, others the same as noun phrases, and yet others as adverb phrases. We will call these adjective clauses, noun clauses, and adverb clauses. Furthermore, two subordinators mark cosubordinate clauses, which have their own distributional features and thus form a class of their own. A classification of the different types of subordinate clauses in terms of their syntactic distribution is given in Table 5.5. We discuss these types in the order in which they appear in the table.

Two subordinators form adjective clauses, which have the same syntactic distribution as adjective phrases, as we have shown in Section 5.2.3. Examples of these two types are given in (271)-(272).

=*'sû* 'ATTR'

- (271) Tise'ma Chiga Chanma kuirasû kusinera arapa dûsû'chu arapama fi'thipa shukuen'jen.
 [tise=ma chiga chan=ma kuirasû kusinera arapa dûsû='chu
 3.SG=ACC.REAL god mother=ACC.REAL serve=ATTR cook chicken egg=CLF:RND
 arapa=ma fi'thi=pa shuku-en-'je
 chicken=ACC.REAL kill=SS cook-CAUS-IMPF
 'The cook who served God Mother (prepared) chicken eggs, killed a chicken and
 cooked it.' [BC26.081]

=*'chu* 'SUB'

(272) Khasheyendekhû'ye kufe'je'chu kankhe tsû tsaja ji'ña.

[khashe'ye=ndekhû='ye kufe-'je]='**chu** kankhe=tsû tsa=ja jin='ya
 old.man=AN.PL=NPST play-IMP=SUB village=3 ANA=CONTR exist=ASS
 'It's the village where the late elders played that one.'
 [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0367.446]

Conjunction	Gloss	Adj. Cl.	Noun Cl.	Adverb Cl.	Cosub. Cl.
= <i>'sû</i>	=ATTR	+			
= <i>'chu</i>	=SUB	+	+		
= <i>ma</i>	=ACC.REAL		+		
<i>khen</i>	QUOT		+		
<i>kûintsû</i>	SWR.CNJ		+	+	
= <i>ye</i>	=INF		+	+	
= <i>ja</i>	=CONTR			+	
= <i>khia'kan</i>	=SIMIL2			+	
<i>mapan</i>	CONC			+	
= <i>'ma</i>	=FRT			+	
= <i>ngae</i>	=MANN			+	
= <i>ni</i>	=LOC			+	
= <i>sa'ne</i>	=APPR			+	
= <i>ta</i>	=NEW			+	
= <i>pa</i>	=SS			+	+
= <i>si</i>	=DS			+	+

Table 5.5. The syntactic distribution of (co-)subordinate clauses.

Note that adjective clauses with =*'chu* 'SUB' may not only precede or follow the head noun, as shown in Section 5.2.3, but may also be internally headed, as shown in (273)-(274). In (273) *kachapa=ma* is case-marked according to its function within the subordinate clause, that is, as the patient of *aiña* 'domesticate'. If this would not have been an internal head, it would have been marked with =*ve* 'ACC.IRR', which is instead attached to the subordinate clause as a whole. Similarly, in (274), *turista=nga* is case marked as an argument of *chavaen* 'sell', not as an argument of *afa* 'speak'.

=*'chu* 'SUB'

(273) Tise mamani jaja'faya kachapama tisepa aiñachuve.

tise mama=ni ja~ja='fa='ya
 3.SG mother=loc go~MLTP=PLS=ASS
 [kachapa=ma tisepa aiña]='**chu**=ve.
 parrot=ACC.REAL 3.PL domesticate=SUB=ACC.IRR
 'They went to their mother for the parrot they had domesticated.'
 (20040215-03-LC-Unfendyu'ndyu-053)

- (274) Afa tsû ke mama tsa turistanga ashan'fama chavaen'chui'khû.
 afa=tsû ke mama tsa turista=nga ashan'fa=ma chava-en='chu=i'khû
 speak=3 2.SG mother ANA tourist=DAT handicraft=ACC.REAL buy-CAUS=SUB=INST
 'He spoke with the tourist to whom your mother sold handicrafts.'

Turning now to noun clauses, it is first to be noted that =*'chu* can be used as a subordinator to create this type of clauses as well. This is illustrated in (275), in which it is shown that a subordinate clause marked with =*'chu* 'SUB' can be case-marked just like a noun phrase.

=*'chu* 'SUB'

- (275) Rande singû'khû khûtsû'chuma athe.
 [rande singû=khû khûtsû]='**chu**=ma athe
 large lake=CLF:DEL stand=SUB=ACC.REAL see
 'They saw that the large lake was there.' [BC10.030]

There are four further types of noun clauses, illustrated in (276)-(279).

=*ma* 'ACC.REAL'

- (276) Tsuve'jûve'khe ñuña'fama in'jan'se khentshe.
 [tsuvejû=ve=khe ñuña='fa]=**ma** in'jan='se khen=tshe
 face=ACC.IRR=ADD make=PLS=ACC.REAL think=MIT.IMP DEM.MANN=ADVR
 'Imagine that they made the face mask like that.'
 [20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0037.906]

khen 'QUOT'

- (277) "'Payatingi khen?" khen Napu asi'thaemba dyupa.'
 [pa=ya=ti=gi khen] **khen** Napa asi'thaen=mba dyu=pa anthe.
 die=IRR=INT=1 DEM.MANN QUOT Quichua think=ss fear=ss stop
 'Will I die like this?' the Quichua thought and became afraid and stopped.' (BC14.077)

kûintsû 'SWR.CNJ'

- (278) Tsunsi tsû texaco na'sûyi texaco abogado tsû iñaja'ña kûintsû ingija infurmema afeye.
 tsun=si=tsû texaco na'sû=yi texaco abogado=tsû iñaja'ña
 do=DS=3 texaco chief=EXCL texaco lawyer=3 ask=ASS
kûintsû [ingi=ja informe=ma afe=ye].
 SWR.CNJ 1.PL=CONTR report=ACC.REAL give=INF
 'Then the owners of texaco, the texaco lawyers asked for us to hand over a report.'
 [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0099.193]

Note that the switch reference conjunction *kûintsû*, as illustrated in (278), always requires an infinitive in its complement, except in its in subordinate use (see Section 5.7).

ye 'INF'

- (279) Ingima katiye in'jambi Chiga Chan.
 [ingi=ma kati]=**ye** in'jan=mbi Chiga Chan
 1.PL=ACC.REAL leave=INF desire=NEG god mother
 'God Mother didn't want to leave us.' [BC26.102]

All noun clauses fill an obligatory slot in the higher clause that could also be filled by a noun phrase. For instance, in (280) the verb *in'jan* 'want', which in (279) occurs with a subordinate clause, occurs with a noun phrase.

- (280) Keve in'jamba indi'fanijan keja asi'thaembe vani kanseja.
 ke=ve in'jan=pa indi='fa=ni=ja ke=ja asi'thaen-mbe
 2.SG=ACC.IRR think=SS hold=PLS=LOC=CONTR 2.SG=CONTR think-NEG.CV
 va=ni kanse=ja
 PROX=LOC live=IMP
 'If they want you, stay here without worrying.'

Turning now to adverb clauses, we will start with two constructions from the previous set that can be used as adverb clauses as well: those with the conjunctions *kûintsû* 'SWR.CNJ' and *=ye* 'INF'.

kûintsû 'SWR.CNJ'

- (281) Umbanga utsian kûintsû setsaye, kûintsû anchandaye.
 umba=nga utsian **kûintsû** [setsa=ye] **kûintsû** [anchanda=ye]
 on.top=DAT put.on SWR.CNJ be.lit=INF SWR.CNJ flare.up=INF
 'They piled it on top so it would ignite and would burn high.' [BC13.013]

=ye 'INF'

- (282) Ña'khe ki'khû kan'jeñe gi ji.
 [ña=khe ke=i'khû kan'jen]=**ye**=ngi ji
 1.SG=ADD 2.SG=INS live=INF=1 come
 'I came to live with you.' [BC26.082]

There are ten further types of adverb clauses, illustrated in (283)-(292).

=ja 'CONTR'

- (283) Ke pambija paña kansefaja.
 [ke pa=mbi]=**ja** paña kanse=fa=ja
 2.SG die=NEG=CONTR hear live=PL=IMP
 'If you don't die, live to hear.' [20040218-EC-Interview-123]

=khia'kan 'SIMIL2'

- (284) 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]

mapan 'CONC'

(285) Mapan nanimba tise vani jijakhetsû akhia kansefayakhe injanñe atesû.

mapan [nani-'pa tise va=ni ji=ja='khe]=tsû akhia kanse='fa=ya
 CONC end-NR 3.SG PROX=LOC come=CONTR=ADD=3 only live=PLS=IRR
 khen in'jan=ja=ye atesû
 QUOT want=CONTR=INF know

'Even if they end up here, they'll want to live here.' [Escuela 12:05]

'ma 'FRT'

(286) Tsa'matsû inginga tsa'kaen afepuenjenña injaen jakafambima.

tsa='ma=tsû ingi=nga tsa='kan=e afe'puen-'je='ya
 ANA=FRT=3 1.PL=DAT ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR pay-IMP=ASS
 [in'jan=e jakan='fa=mbi]='**ma**
 much=ADVR walk=PLS=NEG=FRT

'But that was how we were paid, although it didn't add up to much.'

[Contaminación del río 3:25]

=ngae 'MANN'

(287) 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]

=ni 'LOC'

(288) Keve in'jamba indi'fanijan keja asi'thaembe vani kanseja.

[ke=ve in'jan=pa indi='fa]=**ni**=ja ke=ja asi'thaen-mbe
 2.SG=ACC.IRR think=SS hold=PLS=LOC=CONTR 2.SG=CONTR think-NEG.CV
 va=ni kanse=ja
 PROX=LOC live=IMP

'If they want you, stay here without worrying.'

[20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-01-0187.19]

=sa'ne 'APPR'

(289) In'jañaña ki fûesû ainkhûu jisa'ne.

in'jan=ya~ya=ki [fûesû ain=khû='u ji]=**sa'ne**
 think=IRR~MLTP=2 other dog=CLF:DEL=AUG come=APPR

'Watch out lest other dogs come.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-068]

=ta 'NEW'

(290) Ñanda gi jû, ñua'me afaya gi tevaen'jema ka'nda.

ña=ta=ngi jû ñua'me afa=ya=ngi [tevaen=je=ma kan]=**ta**
 1.SG=NEW=1 alright well say=IRR=1 write=CLF:FLT=ACC.REAL look=NEW

'I, well, I can speak it well if I look at the book.' [20060118-LM-2-0083.41]

=pa 'ss'

- (291) Anjampave kundyi'je a'ima amba.
 anjampa=ve kundyi-'je [a'i=ma an]=pa
 blood=ACC.IRR urinate-IMPF Cofán.person=ACC.REAL eat=SS
 'They urinated blood because they had eaten people.' [BC17.091]

=si 'DS'

- (292) Añe in'jambi thupa iñesi.
 an=ye in'jan=mbi [thupa iñe]=si
 eat=INF desire=NEG stomach hurt=DS
 'I don't want to eat because my stomach aches.' [BC17.028]

All adverb clauses occupy an optional slot in the clause and in that sense differ in their distribution from noun clauses.

Finally, there are two types of co-subordinate clauses, which use the same (co-)subordinator as the adverb clauses illustrated in (291) and (292). They are illustrated in (293) and (294).

- (293) Uthathakhuma andûpa ñamaja umbanga dyaiñajan.
 [uthathakhu=ma andû]=pa ña=ma=ja umba=nga dyai-ña=ja
 basket=ACC.REAL carry=SS 1.SG=ACC.REAL=CONTR up=DAT sit-CAUS=IMP
 'Carrying the basket, put me on top of it.' [BC19.055]
- (294) Tsa'ma tsû a'ima pajisi se'jepa khûshaen'jen.
 tsa='ma=tsû [a'i=ma paji]=si se'je=pa khûsha-en-'je
 ANA=FRT=3 Cofán.person=ACC.REAL sick=DS heal=SS recover-CAUS-IMPF
 'But when people are sick, he heals them.' [20040218-EC-Interview-113]

The difference between the cosubordinate and the adverbial use is that in the former use the cosubordinate clause always precedes the main clause, as in (293) and (294), whereas in the latter use it may follow the main clause, as in (291) and (292).

5.5.4. Internal structure

The various conjunctions cooccur with clauses of different degrees of complexity, or different degrees of 'finiteness', in the sense that there are differences in the kinds of predicate clitics that may occur within them. We showed in Section 5.2.2 that the predicate phrase may occur with the enclitics shown in (295).

- (295) +1 +2 +3 +4
 Head = PLS = IRR = NEG = illocution

Subordinate clauses differ in the portion of this structure that may appear within them, as schematically indicated in Figure 5.8. As this figure shows, the differences are systematic, in that by peeling off clitic by clitic from right to left the different configurations are arrived at.

Conjunction	Clitic position class	+1	+2	+3	+4
1. <i>khen</i> 'QUOT'					
2. =' <i>chu</i> 'SUB', = <i>ja</i> 'CONTR', = <i>khia'kan</i> 'SIMIL2', = <i>ma</i> 'ACC.REAL', = <i>ma</i> 'FRT', <i>mapan</i> 'CONC', = <i>ni</i> 'LOC', = <i>pa</i> 'SS', = <i>si</i> 'DS', = <i>ta</i> 'NEW'.					
3. = <i>ngae</i> 'MANN', = <i>sa'ne</i> 'APPR'					
4. <i>kûintsû</i> 'SWRCNJ', = <i>ye</i> 'INF'.					
5. = <i>sû</i> 'ATTR'					

Figure 5.8. The internal structure of (co-)subordinate clauses

We will now provide examples of the (co-)subordinate clauses with the subordinators listed in Figure 5.8 in which the highest clitic allowed is present.

Group 1: *khen* 'QUOT'. Subordinate clauses in this group may contain an illocutionary clitic of position class +4.

- (296) *Sûsite sa'vûja khen sû'faya.*
sû=si=te [sa'vû=ja] khen sû='fa='ya
 say=DS=RPRT warm.up=IMP quot say=PLS=ASS
 'Having said that, they said "warm up!"' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0096.892]

Group 2: ='*chu* 'SUB', =*ja* 'CONTR', =*khia'kan* 'SIMIL2', =*ma* 'ACC.REAL', =*ma* 'FRT', *mapan* 'CONC', =*ni* 'LOC', =*pa* 'SS', =*si* 'DS', =*ta* 'NEW'. (Co-)subordinate clauses in this group may contain the negative clitic from position class +3.

- (297) *Nane tsombichuekanda gi pa.*
nane [tsun=mbi]='chu=e='kan=ta=ngi pa
 CERT do=NEG=SUB=ADVR=SIMIL=TOP=1 die
 'If it weren't for that, I would have died. [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0207.526]
- (298) [*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]
- (299) *Gringombikhia'kaen, tsa khe shû'jû.*
[gringo=mbi]=khia'kan=e tsa=khe shû'jû~:
 white.person=NEG=SIMIL2=ADVR ANA=ADD rub ~DUR
 'As if he weren't a gringo, he too was healing (lit. "rubbing").'
 [20040306-AC-01-Pajisûne-0160.128]

- (300) Pûshesûndekhû dûshûngakheti tsa tayupisû pûshesûndekhû sethapaemchuma
ambianfambima injankanse?
pûshesû=ndekhû dû'shû=nga='khe=ti [tsa tayupi='sû pûshesû=ndekhû
woman=APL child=DAT=ADD=INT ANA formerly=ATTR woman=APL
setha'paen='chu=ma a'mbian='fa=**mbi**]=**ma** in'jan kanse
sing=SUB=ACC.REAL have=PLS=NEG=ACC know live
'Do you think young women also do not know the former women songs?'
- (301) Sianña'me siambima akhie kûfachukhuma chûre tse'the ña'me siametsû da'ya
kû'chupa.
[sin=a ña'me sin=a=**mbi**]=**ma** akhia kû'a='fa='chu='khu=ma chûre
black=NPM truly black=NPN=NEG=FRT only red=PLS=SUB=SH:ANG=ACC.REAL tender
tse='the ña'me sin=a=ve=tsû da='ya kû'chu-'pa
ANA.LOC=PSTE truly black=NPN=PRED=3 become=ASS mature-NR
'How do I say, despite that it's not really black, it's a little red when it's tender and
black when it's ripe. [Pesca 1:44]
- (302) Mapan atesûmbiakhetsû kanseyaya nane tisû semamba tsa'kaen.
mapan [atesû=**mbi**=a='khe]=tsû kanse=ya~ya nane tisû sema=pa
CONC know=NEG=NPM=ADD=3 live=IRR~MLTP CERT REFL work=SS
tsa='kan=e
ANA.SIMIL=ADV
'Even if you don't study, you can still work and live like that.' [Escuela 5:43]
- (303) Usha'ta sundaru sepimbiniya va Gûantanga kaniñe.
usha'ta [sundaru sepi=**mbi**]=**ni**=ja va Gûanta=nga ka'ni=ye
maybe soldier forbid=NEG]=LOC=CONTR PROX Guanta=DAT enter=INF
'Maybe, if the army does not prohibit it, they'll enter Guanta.'
[20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0310.9]
- (304) Jiye in'jambipa tsampini tsû ja'fa.
[ji=ye in'jan=**mbi**]=**pa** tsampi=ni=tsû ja='fa
come=INF want=NEG=SS jungle=LOC=3 go=PLS
'Not wanting to come they have gone to the jungle.' [BC20.014]
- (305) Sumbumbisi chan iyikha'yepa tise dû'shundeckhuma 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=AN.PL=ACC.REAL whip
'When it didn't emerge, the mother was angry and beat her children.' [BC08.027]
- (306) 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]

Group 3: =ngae 'MANN', =sa'ne 'APPR'. Subordinate clauses in this group may contain the irrealis clitic from position class +2.

- (307) 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]
- (308) Tsefan khi'tshajama khitsha thûñasane.
 tsa=ma khitsha=jama [khitsha thû=**ya**]=sa'ne
 ANA=ACC.REAL pull=PROH pull break=IRR=APPR
 'Don't pull that, lest it break.' [Contaminación del río 0:50-0-53]

Group 4: *kûintsû*, =*ye* 'INF'. Subordinate clauses in this group may contain the plural subject clitic from position class +1.

- (309) Entonces ña'khe tsa'kaen injan ña dûshûndekhû kaentsû tevaenñe atesûfaye.
 entonces ña='khe tsa'kan=e in'jan ña dû'shû=ndekhû
 then 1.SG=ADD ANA.SIMIL=ADV want 1.SG child=APL
kûintsû [tevaen=ye atesû='fa=ye]
 SWR.CNJ write=INF know=PLS=INF
 'So, I too want it to be like that for my children so that they know how to write.'
 [Aya'fa tuya'kaen atesûjechune]
- (310) Tsenindi kanjenfaye injan.
 [tse=ni=ti kan'jen='fa]=ye in'jan
 ANA.LOC=LOC=INT stay=PLS=INF want
 'They want to stay there.' [Autobiografía de OCQ 8:56]

Group 5: =*sû* 'ATTR'. Subordinate clauses in this group may not contain any predicate clitic.

- (311) 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]

5.5.6. Control

The subordinate clauses that are accompanied by the conjunctions in group 4 and 5 identified in the previous section, i.e. those with the least inflectional possibilities, are the ones that also exhibit control properties, i.e. they necessarily either have the same or a different subject than the higher clause.

The subordinators =*ye* 'INF' and *kûintsû* 'SWR.CNJ' are complementary, in that the former requires the subject of the subordinate clause to be identical to the one of the higher clause, while the latter requires it to be different.

- (312) Tetete kuraga manda a'i dû'shuma a'jûye.
 tetete kuraga manda a'i dû'shû=ma [a'jû]=ye
 savage shaman command Cofán.person child =ACC.REAL vomit=INF
 'The savage shaman commanded the Cofan youth vomit.' [BC12.025]

clause. If the locative marker is present, the subject of the following clause is different. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (316) Ke pambija paña kansefaja.
 [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).'
- (317) Je'nda keve in'jamba indi'nija keja vani kanse'faja.
 Je'nda [ke=ve in'ja=mba indi~:]=**ni=ja**
 well 2.SG=ACC.IRR think=SS hold~DUR]=LOC=CONTR
 ke=ja va=ni kanse='fa=ja.
 2.SG=CONTR PROX=LOC live=PL=IMP
 'If he really wants to keep you, you stay here.'
- (318) Dûshundekhû escuelani undikûpa jaje'ta zie ansange atesumbi tsû.
 [dû'shû=ndekhû escuela=ni undikhû=pa ja-'je]=**ta** zie ansange
 child=APL school=LOC dress=SS GO-IMPFF=NEW hardly shame
 atesû=mbi=tsû
 know=NEG=3
 'If the children go to school dressed in traditional clothes, they will not be embarrassed.'
- (319) Cadena jiñaninda ki tsai thuvayaya khani.
 [Cadena jiña]=**ni=ta=ki** tsai tuva=ya~ya kha=ni
 Cadena arrive=LOC=NEW=2 bite throw=IRR~MLTP other=LOC
 'If Cadena comes, send her the other way.'

Examples (316)-(317) illustrate conditional clauses with =*ja* 'CONTR', examples (318)-(319) with =*ta* 'NEW'. In each pair the first example does not contain the locative clitic =*ni*, in the second example it does. In cases of the former type, the subject of the clause following the conditional clause is identical to the subject of the conditional clause itself, in the latter type it is different. For instance, in (316) the subordinate clause has a second person singular subject, which is also the subject of the following clause. In (319) the subject is third person, which is different from the second person subject of the following clause.

Conditional clauses will be discussed in more detail in Chapter XXX. See also Dąbkowski (unpubl.).

5.5.8. Word order

We exclude subordinate quoted clauses with the conjunction *khen* from the discussion in this section, as the word order in these clauses follows the rules for word order in the quoted main clauses. Word order in all other (co-)subordinate clauses is less free than that in main clauses and uses less positions. As second position clitics are not allowed in (co-)subordinate clauses, the second position is irrelevant in the word order template of these clauses. The preclausal position is irrelevant too, so that the overall template is as in Figure 5.9.

Initial	Medial	Final
any constituent	any constituent	Predicate phrase

Figure 5.9. The (co-)subordinate clause

Whereas in main clauses there is just a strong tendency for the predicate to occur in final position, in (co-)subordinate clauses such placement is obligatory. Some assorted examples illustrate this. In (320) and in the second (co-)subordinate clause in (321) the clause-final predicate is preceded by a subject, in the first (co-)subordinate clause in (321) by a realis accusative argument, in (322) by an irrealis accusative argument, in (323) by a dative argument, and in both (co-)subordinate clauses in (324) by a predicative adjunct.

- (320) Tsunsi tise yaya atesumbipa iyikha'ye.
 tsun=si [[tise yaya] [atesû=mbi]]=**pa** iyikha'ye
 do=DS 3.SG father know=NEG=SS be.angry
 'When her father found out, he was angry.' [BC14.006]
- (321) Tsa'kambate undikhû'jema san'janmbisite tsa pajikhia'kan'khuta dyaichu'ya.
 tsa'kan=pa=te [[undikhû=je=ma] [san'jan=mbi]]=**si**=te [[tsa]
 ANA.SIMIL=SS=RPRT dress=CLF:FLT=ACC.REAL dry=NEG=DS=RPRT ANA
 [paji]]=**khia'kan**=khu=ta dyai='chu='ya
 sick=SIMIL2=CLF:QUANT=TOP sit=SUB=ASS
 'That's why if they do not dry the clothes she is like sick.'
 [20060119-AnC-Kunsiana-02-0149.874]
- (322) 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 made a mask too.' [20060104-AQ-Kharapacha-0037.906]
- (323) Nane tsama fiestanga bu'fanija tsa'kaende shukendije'ya.
 nane tsa='ma [[fiesta=nga] [bu='fa]]=**ni**=ja
 surely ANA=FRT party=DAT gather=PLS=LOC=CONTR
 tsa'kan=e=te shukendi-'je='ya
 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=RPRT turn.around-IMPF=ASS
 'But when they were gathered at the party, he would twirl around like that.'
 [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0272.744]
- (324) Kupayeve da'chu a'ive dapa ji.
 [[kupaye=ve] [da]]=**chu** [a'i=ve da]=**pa** ji
 oriole=ACC.IRR become=SUB Cofán.person=ACC.IRR become=SS come
 'The ones who had become orioles had again become people.' [BC02.041]

If both the subject and any other argument or adjunct are expressed in a (co-)subordinate clause, the subject is generally in initial position, as shown in the following examples.

- (325) Tsunsi tsû texaco na'sûyi texaco abogado tsû iñaja'ña kûintsû ingija infurmema afeye.
 tsun=si=tsû texaco na'sû=yi texaco abogado=tsû iñaja'ña
 do=DS=3 texaco chief=EXCL texaco lawyer=3 ask=ASS
kûintsû [[ingi=ja] [informe=ma] [afe=ye]].
 SWR.CNJ 1.PL=CONTR report=ACC.REAL give=INF
 'Then the owners of texaco, the texaco lawyers asked for us to hand over a report.'
 [20060122-TA-JuicioTexacone-0099.193]
- (326) Ña ke tevaen'jema athepa avûjatshiye vane
 [[ña [ke tevaen=je=ma] [athe]]=pa avûja-tshi=ye va=ne
 1.SG 2.SG write=CLF:FLT=ACC.REAL see=SS happy-ADJR=INF PROX=SO
 'Reading your letter I would be happy.' [20050701-MA-Letter-2-016]
- (327) Ingi pistama khikhûkhûkhia'kaen te itûye.
 [[ingi] [pista=ma] [khikhû'~khû]]=khia'kan=e=te itû=ye
 1.PL airstrip=ACC.REAL tamp~MLTP=SIMIL2=ADVR=RPT circle=INF
 'They say he went around just like we did tamping on the airstrip.' [BC14.060]
- (328) Ña anae'mama chavaensi tsû faejekhue afe'ya.
 [[ña] [anaema=ma] [chava-en]=si]=tsû fûe=je='khu=ve afe='ya
 1.SG hammock=ACC.REAL buy-CAUS=DS=3 one=CLF:FLT=AUG=ACC.IRR give=ASS
 'When I sold him a hammock he gave me a banknote.' [20040218-EC-Interview-183]

However, the subject is not always initial, as can be observed in examples like the following.

- (329) 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
 'Be careful lest the dog comes after me.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-030]

A contrastive pair of elicited examples taken from Dąbkowski (forthc.) is given in (330).

- (330) a. Paña gi kuraga thesima athe'chuma.
 Paña=ngi [[kuraga] [thesi=ma] [athe]]=chu=ma.
 hear=1 shaman jaguar=ACC.REAL see=SUB=ACC.REAL
 'I hear that a shaman saw a jaguar.'
- b. Paña gi thesima kuraga athe'chuma.
 Paña=ngi [[thesi=ma] [kuraga] [athe]]=chu=ma.
 hear=1 jaguar=ACC.REAL shaman see=SUB=ACC.REAL
 'I hear that a shaman saw a jaguar.'

In sum, then, (co-)subordinate clauses in A'ingae are predicate-final and have a strong tendency to have the subject, when overt, in initial position. There seem to be no (formal) restrictions on the constituents that may occur in between the initial and the final position.

5.6. Sentential units

The term 'sentential units' here refers to units of structure that may be used independently, are complete by themselves. Units that comply with this definition may be words, phrases, subordinate clauses, simple main clauses, and clause combinations.

Examples of words functioning as sentential units are vocatives, such as those cited from Borman (1981) in (331)-(333).

- (331) Dûshûndekhû!
 dûshû=ndekhû
 child=APL
 'Children!' (Borman 1981: 20e)
- (332) Deji chan!
 deji chan
 Deji mother
 'Deji's mother!' (Borman 1981: 20e)
- (333) Tsusinambi!
 tsusina-mbi
 ear-PRIV
 'Earless one!' (Hey, can't you hear!)' (Borman 1981: 20e)

Interjections form another class of words functioning by themselves as sentential units. Interjections were discussed in Section 4.2.12. Some examples are repeated here.

- (334) Me'i.
 'No.' (Borman 1981: 21)
- (335) Aaa.
 'Hey.' [BC21.005]
- (336) Dasû.
 OK. (Borman 1979: 333)
- (337) Jûnjûn.
 'Uh-huh' [Autobiografía de MM 1 10:32]

Phrases too can occur as sentential units, mainly in the context of question-answer pairs. In (338) and (339) the B-answers are phrasal in nature.

- (338) A. 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]
- B. Kharapachaku'u.
 kharapacha='khu='u
 tree.bark=CLF:ANG=AUG
 'A tree bark (dress).' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0123.333]
- (339) A. Majan kankheni tsû? Tseiteja kansepa tuya ku'fe'fa.
 Majan kankhe=ni=tsû tse=ite=ja kanse=pa tuya kufe<F>='fa
 IGN.AN village=LOC=3 ANA.LOC=CLF:PRD=CONTR live=SS still play<INTS>=PLS
 'Which village? They say that they still play it over there.'

B. Umbaninda, Cuvoeninda.

umba=ni=ta Cuvoe=ni=ta
 up=LOC=NEW Cuvoe=LOC=NEW
 'Upriver, in Cuvoe.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0354.368]

Subordinate clauses may have in subordinate uses, and then occur as sentential units. This happens in A' ingae with subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinator *kûintsû* and carrying the imperative clitic. This is illustrated in (340)-(341).

(340) Kûintsû tshamba paja.
 kûintsû tshan=pa pa=ja
 SWR.CNJ pluck=SS die=IMP
 'Let him die blinded.' [BC02.045]

(341) Kûintsû japa paja!
 kûintsû ja=pa pa=ja
 SWR.CNJ go=SS die=IMP
 'Go ahead and die.' [BC12.125]

Independent main clauses may of course constitute sentential units by themselves. An example is (342). A main clause may contain a second position clitic, which is highlighted here.

(342) Tsa'kaen tsû kundase yaya'yeja.
 tsa'kan=e=**tsû** kundase yaya='ye=ja
 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=3 tell father=NPST=CONTR
 'That's how my late father told me.' [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0380.961]

Clause combinations form sentential units of different types. In coordination two or more main clauses are combined, each clause maintaining its main clause properties. In the following examples, each conjunct contains a second position clitic, which are used in main clauses only. Together they form a sentential unit in our sense.

(343) Profesorndekhûyi ti kukamangae afayeja atesiaña'chu o kitsandekhûkhe ti tisû tsa'uni kukamangae afajeya'chu?
 [profesor=ndekhû=yi=**ti** kukama=ngae afa=ye=ja atesian=ya='chu] **o**
 teacher=AN.PL=EXCL=INT Spaniard=MANN say=INF=CONTR teach=IRR=SUB or
 [kitsa=ndekhû=khe=**ti** tisû tsa'u=ni kukama=ngae afa-'je=ya='chu]
 father=AN.PL=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? [20060118-LM-2-0246.062]

(344) Tsa'kaen tsû jipa kanse'fa'ya, tsa'ma ingi a'itengi ñua'me tayupi nane va'thisû tayupi'sû nasundekhû.
 [tsa'kan=e=**tsû** ji=pa kanse='fa='ya] **tsa'ma** [ingi a'i=te=**ngi**
 ANA.SIMIL=ADVR=3 come=SS live=PLS=ASS but 1.PL person=RPRT=1
 ñua'me tayupi nane va='thi='sû tayupi='sû na'sû=ndekhû]
 truly formerly CERT PROX=CLF:LOC=ATTR formerly=ATTR chief=AN.PL

'That's how they came to live here, but they say that our people were really the owners of this place in early times.' [20060118-MM-2-0237.799]

- (345) Ja'ñuja, panshen rande ande tsû, tuya'kaen tshipa'khû tsû.
 ja'ñu=ja [panshen rande ande=**tsû**] **tuya'kaen** [tshipakhû=**tsû**]
 now=CONTR very big land=3 moreover mud=3
 'Now, it's a rather big piece of land, and it's muddy too.' [20060118-LM-2-0345.682]

Note that in (343) both conjuncts are questions, but each carries the interrogative clitic separately. Similarly, in (345) both conjuncts have the same third person subject, yet each has the third person clitic in second position.

In subordination, a clause is part of another clause, and the resulting combination is a sentential unit. In (346) and (347) the main clauses contain two subordinate clauses each. The examples also show that there is just one second position clitic present, =*ti* 'INT' in (346) and =*ki* '2' in (347).

- (346) Ingi kanseya'chunetati injengembi kûintsû kuenzandekhû o yayandekhû tisû dûshûndekhûma iyû'ûye.
 [Ingi kanse=ya]=**'chu**=ne=ta=**ti** injenge=mbi **kûintsû** [kuenza=ndekhû o
 we live=IRR=SUB=ABL=NEW=INT important=NEG SWR.CNJ elder=APL or
 yaya=ndekhû tisû dûshû=ndekhû=ma iyû'û=ye]
 dad=APL REFL child=APL=ACC.REAL scold=INF
 'Isn't it important for (how) we will live that the elders or the parents reprimand their children?'
- (347) Tsa'ma sethajeyama ki in'jambi akhepasane.
 Tsa='ma [setha-'je=ya]=**ma=ki** in'jan=mbi [akhepa]=**sa'ne**.
 ANA=FRT chant-IPFF-IRR=ACC.REAL=2 think=NEG forget=APPR
 'You don't think you will be singing lest we forget.'

Subordinate clauses may also contain another subordinate clause themselves, as shown in (348). In this example the conditional clause, marked by the clitic combination =*ni=ta* 'LOC NEW', contains a complement clause of the verb *in'jan* 'want', marked by the clitic =*ye* 'INF'. The clause as a whole has a single second position clitic =*tsû* '3'.

- (348) Tisepa atesûye injanindatsû injingeyakhe.
 [[tise'pa atesû]=**ye** in'jan]=**ni=ta=tsû** injenge='ya='khe
 3.PL know=INF want=LOC=NEW=3 be necessary=ASS=ADD
 'It's important if they want to study.' [Escuela 9:42]

Note that if the subordinate clause is a direct speech complement marked by the quotative particle *khen*, the subordinate clause exhibits all the features of a main clause, and may thus also carry its own second position clitic. This is illustrated in (349), where the conditional clause marked by =*ni=ta* contains the verb *sû* 'say' with its direct speech complement. The main clause carries the second position clitic =*ki* '2', the direct speech complement the second position clitic =*te* 'RPRT'.

- (349) Cocanende ji khen sù'ninda ma'kaen ki atesûya.
 [[coca=ne=**te** ji] **khen sù**]=**ni=ta** ma='kan=e=**ki** atesû=ya
 Coca.river=SO=RPRT come QUOT say]=LOC=NEW IGN.SEL=SIMIL1=ADVR=2 know=IRR
 'How would you know if he said that he came from the Coca river.'
 [20040218-EC-Interview-144]

In cosubordination, a series of non-finite clauses and a finite clause form a string of clauses that together constitute a sentential unit. The non-finite clauses are not embedded in the main clause, but they do depend for their occurrence on that main clause. A few examples are given in (350)-(352). The markers of cosubordination are =*pa* 'ss' and =*si* 'ds', which indicate whether the subject of the next clause is identical or different from the current one, respectively (see Section 5.5.7 and Chapter X).

- (350) Tse'i kanjansi tayu khûpasi athepa dyupa ji.
 Tse'i [kanjansi tayu khûpa]=**si** [athe]=**pa** [dyu]=**pa** ji.
 then boa already unwind=DS see=SS be.afraid=SS come
 'The boa having unwinded she realized what had happened, was afraid, and returned home.' [BC14.032]
- (351) Khasheyendekhûja ñuñasite matachija tsama undikhûpa tsa'kaenjan ku'feya.
 [khashe'ye=ndekhû=ja ñuña]=**si=te** [matachi=ja tsa=ma
 elder=APL=CONTR make=DS=RPRT matachi.clown=CONTR ANA=ACC.REAL
 undikhû]=**pa** tsa='kan=e=ja ku'fe='ya
 dress=SS ANA=SIMIL1=ADVR=CONTR play=ASS
 'After the elders made (the clothes) the Matachi clown would dress up and play.'
 [20060104-AQ-Matachi-0034.404]
- (352) Tse'thiete kanungu randenga japa kanungu'chuma shûjûpa kû'iñaba anga'faya tisepa kankhe kanseni.
 tse='thi=e=**te** [kanungu rande=nga ja]=**pa**
 ANA.LOC=CLF:LOC=ADVR=RPRT moriche.palm big=DAT go=SS
 [kanungu='chu=ma shûjû]=**pa** [kû'i-ña]=**pa** anga='fa='ya tisepa
 moriche.palm=CLF:RND=ACC.REAL rub=SS drink-CAUS=SS lead=PLS=ASS 3.PL
 kankhe kanse=ni.
 they village live-LOC
 'After that they went to a big swamp where there are canongo palms, they rubbed the milk out of the canongo seeds, they made him drink it and took him to their village.'

Note that these clause combinations may contain one second position clitic, such as =*te* 'RPRT' in (351) and (352). They are also the units that engage in Tail-Head linkage, a topic that we will address in Chapter X (see also Anderbois & Althuser 2022). An example is given in (353).

- (353) a. Ande usefuen, uya.
 ande usefa-en uya.
 earth end-CAUS move
 'The world came to an end by an earthquake.' [BC01.001]

- b. Uyasi pûiyi'khu usefuensi a'i pa'fa.
 [Uya]=si [pûiyi'khu usefa-en]=si a'i pa='fa.
 move=DS all end-CAUS=DS people die=PLS
 'When the earthquake ended it all, the people died.' [BC01.002]

The first cosubordinate clause in (353b) resumes the last verb of (353a) and thus connects the two sentences to one another. The initial verb may also be a pro-verb, as shown in (354).

- (354) a. Fûe'khu ûfa'ma fi'thimbe pasa.
 Fûe=khu ûfa='ma fi'thi-mbe pasa.
 one=CLF:ANG blow=FRT kill-NEG.CV pass
 'He shot at one but missed.' [BC07.013]
- b. Tsuma tse'i munda jasi, umbuen ja.
 [tsun]=pa tse'i [munda ja]=si umbu=en ja.
 do=SS then peccary go=DS pursue=ADVR go
 'So, then when the peccary left, he followed them.' [BC07.014]

In (354b) the first cosubordinate clause contains the pro-verb *tsun* 'do', which stands in for the final verb *pasa* 'pass' in (354b).

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