

# Constituent order in *A'ingae* (Cofán)

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# Introduction

- Hengeveld & Keizer (forthc.) propose to add an additional Sentence layer at the Morphosyntactic Level in FDG.
- Part of their argumentation comes from languages that use a second position in their clausal template.
- A'ingae is such a language, and serves here as a test case for the usefulness of the additional layer.
- As a consequence, no full treatment of constituent order in A'ingae will be given, the focus will be on sentential/clausal linearization.

Hengeveld, Kees & Keizer, Evelien (forthc.), General principles of linearization in Functional Discourse Grammar. In Elnora Ten Wolde & Riccardo Giomi & Kees Hengeveld eds (forthc.), *Linearization in Functional Discourse Grammar*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

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A'ingae

# A'ingae (Cofán, Kofán)

- Language isolate.
- Spoken in in the provinces of Putumayo and Nariño in Colombia, and in the province of Sucumbios in Ecuador.
- UNESCO reports 379 speakers in Colombia and 600 speakers in Ecuador in 2008.
- Data collected by Rafael Fischer between 2001 and 2006 in Ecuador.
- Further datacollection in Colombia underway.
- Complemented by a collection of legends told by Enrique Criollo and presented in M.B. Borman (1990).

# A'ingae clausal constituent order

# A'ingae clausal constituent order

- The rules for clausal constituent ordering are different for main clauses and subordinate clauses.
- Subordinate clauses are predicate-final and most often subject-initial.
- Constituent order in main clauses exhibits much more freedom.

A'ingae clausal constituent  
order: subordinate clauses



# Overall template

$p^I$	$p^M$	$p^F$
-------	-------	-------

These three positions will be illustrated below.

# The final position

In subordinate clauses the predicate is always in final position.

(1) A'i jangipa kan dyai.

[a'i [jangi]]=pa kan dyai

man get.up=ss watch sit

'The man got up and sat watching.' [BC07.084]

# The final position

In subordinate clauses the predicate is always in final position.

(2) 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]

# The final position

In subordinate clauses the predicate is always in final position.

(3) Kupayeve da'chu a'ive dapa ji.

[[kupaye=ve] [**da**]]='chu a'i=ve da=pa ji

oriole=ACC.IRR become=SUB Cofán=ACC.IRR become=SS come

'The ones who had become orioles had again become people.'

[BC02.041]

# The initial and medial positions

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

(4) 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]

# The initial and medial positions

However, the subject is not always initial

(5) Ñanga ain jisa'ne injan'fakha.

[[ña=nga] [**ain**] [ji]]=sa'ne njan='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]

# Overall template

$p^I$	$p^M$	$p^F$
any constituent (subject)	any constituent	predicate

A'ingae clausal constituent  
order: main clauses



# Overall template

$p^{\text{PRE}}$	$p^{\text{I}}$	$p^{\text{2}}$	$p^{\text{M}}$	$p^{\text{F}}$
------------------	----------------	----------------	----------------	----------------

These five positions will be illustrated below.

# The second position

Second position clitics:

Class	Clitic	Meaning/function	Gloss
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

# The second position

Cliticizing pro-form

(6) 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]

# The second position

Cliticizing particle

(7) Kia'me te kan khûi.

[kia'n=ve]=**te**      kan<F>      khûi

strong=PRED=RPRT    look<EXCT>    lie

'They lay there looking intensely.' [BC14.020]

# The second position

Cliticizing particle + cliticizing proform

(8) Nama ti gi shu'khueñe?

[na=ma]=**ti=ngi**          shu'khuen=ye

meat=ACC.REAL=INT=1    cook=INF

‘Shall we cook some meat?’ [BC13.017]

# The second position

Second position clitics are optional except in content questions, in which a cliticizing proform is obligatory (see Dąbkowski 2023). This points at the focus-marking function of these proforms:

(9) Maningae gi jaya?

ma=ningae=**ngi** ja=ya'

IGN.SEL=ALL=1 go=IRR

'Where shall I go?' [BC02.060]

# The initial position

- The initial position in the clause may be occupied by any syntactic 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 and is then also obligatorily followed by a cliticizing proform. This is the case of ignorative constituents when used interrogatively, as just illustrated.

# The initial position

Verb

(10) Afayambi tsû.

[afa=ya=mbi]=**tsû**

say=IRR=NEG=3

'They won't speak.' [20060118-LM-2-0316.279]



# The initial position

Noun phrase

(11) 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]

# The initial position

Adverbial phrase

(12) 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.'

# The initial position

## Cosubordinate clause

(13) 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]

# The initial position as a focus position

- (14) a. Jungaesûve ki ji'fa?"  
[jungue'sû=ve]=**ki** ji='fa  
IGN.SBS=ACC.IRR=2    come=PLS  
'What did you come for?' [BC08.068]
- b. Kachapave gi ji.  
[kachapa=ve]=**ngi** ji  
parrot=ACC.IRR=1    come  
'We came for our parrot.' [BC08.069]

# The initial position as a focus position

(15) a. Ya kiya ti?

ya kiya=**ti**

SENS aguti=INT

'Is it an aguti?' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-050]

b. Me'i, kua'ngi tsû khûi'fa

me'i kua'ngi=**tsû** khûi='fa

NEG.PRED two=3 lie.down=PLS

'No, there are two.' [20040202-FASC-Panzaye-2-051]

# The pre-position

A limited number of elements may precede the initial position. So the initial position is not really initial. The elements that may precede perhaps actually occupy a pre-position. The elements involved are all either linking elements or constituents with the contrast marker or the new topic marker, connecting the ensuing clause to the wider discourse. They may occur with or without an intonation break.

# The pre-position

Linker

(16) Tuya'kaen profesormakhe tsû a'ingaeyi atesian'fa.

[**tuya'kaen**] [profesor=ma=khe]=**tsû** a'i=ngae=yi atesian='fa

and teacher=ACC.REAL=ADD=3 Cofán=MANN=EXCL teach=PLS

‘And they teach Cofán to the teachers too.’ [20060118-LM-2-0152.934]

# The pre-position

Any constituent with Contrast marker =*ja*

(17) Tsaja tisia've tsû kanse'faya tseni.

[tsa=**ja**]      [tisû=a=ve]=**tsû**      kanse='fa=ya tsa=ni

ANA=CONTR self=NPM=ACC.IRR=3      live=PLS=IRR      ANA=LOC

'They live there by themselves.' [20040218-EC-Interview-160]

Constituents with the contrast marker =*ja*, when marking a contrastive topic, cannot be in initial position.



# The pre-position

Any constituent with Contrast marker =*ja*

(18) Ja'ñuja, panshen rande ande tsû.

[**ja'ñu=ja**] [panshen rande ande]=**tsû**

now=CONTR very big land=3

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

# The pre-position

Constituent with New Topic marker =*ta*

# The pre-position

(19) 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]

(20) Tsendekhûta ti a'i?  
[tsendekhû=**ta**]=**ti** a'i  
ANA.APL=NEW=INT Cofán.person  
'Where they Cofáns?'  
[20060104-AQ-Matachi-0399.373]

Constituents  
carrying the new  
topic marker =*ta*  
can also be in initial  
position.

# The pre-position

Constituent with New Topic marker =*ta*

(21) Ingita ja'ñunda men'detshe gi pa sefa'fa.

[ingi=**ta**] [ja'ñu=**ta**] [mendetshe]=**ngi** pa se'fa='fa

1.PL=NEW now=NEW live.bad=1 die finish=PLS

'Now we end up dead living bad.'

[20050701-MA-Letter-3-035]

# The pre-position

Combinations of linkers and topical constituents too may occur in the pre-position.

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

# The final position

The final position in main clauses is most commonly occupied by a predicate phrase, and these are most commonly verbal. In a sample text with 60 main clauses, 80% end in a verbal predicate phrase.

(23) Pûshepa dû'shûve isian.

pûshe=pa                      dû'shû=ve                      **isû-an**

marry.woman=SS    child=ACC.IRR    give.birth-CAUS

'After he married her, she gave birth.' [BC01.048]

# The final position

But other types of constituent may go there too: noun phrase

(24) Matichive agathuemba afe a'inga.

matichi=ve                      agathu-en=pa                      afe      **a'i=nga**

machete=ACC.IRR      create-CAUS=SS                      give      Cofán=DAT

‘So making a machete, he gave it to the men.’ [BC01.035]

# The final position

But other types of constituent may go there too: subordinate clause

(25) Ña ushambi ansundeye.

ña usha-mbi **ansunde=ye**

1.SG can-PRIV climb.up=INF

'I am unable to climb up.' [BC03.038]



# The final position

But other types of constituent may go there too: adverb phrase

(26) Khen tsumba ki 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]

# The final position as a Background position

Backgrounded information generally remains unexpressed in A' ingae.

(27) Afe ungûnga.  
afe ungû=nga  
give capuchin=DAT  
'(He) gave (it) to Capuchin.'  
[BC06.010]

(28) Tise chanjan afe.  
tise chan=ja afe  
3.SG mother=CONTR give  
'His mother gave (it) (to him)'  
[BC14.042]

# The final position as a Background position

If given information is expressed, it is placed in final position, after the predicate.

- (29) Context: The man killed his small peccary and gave it to the trickster. Splitting it the trickster took half. He gave half to the man.

Isûpa shu'khuemba an nama a'i.

isû=pa shu'khue=mba an **na=ma** **a'i**  
take=ss cook=ss eat meat=acc.real Cofán

'The man took it, cooked it, and ate the meat.' (BC07.068)

# The final position as a Background position

If given information is expressed, it is placed in final position, after the predicate.

(30) Context: Their mother climbed the ladder. The parrot cut the ladder.

"Din, trun," tueki amphi ji kanchana chani'khû.

din trun tueki amphi ji **kanchana** **chan=i'khû**

IDEO IDEO back fall come ladder mother=INSTR

“Crash”, the ladder fell with their mother.’ [BC08.080]

# The medial position

In between the second and the final positions again all different types of constituents may be found: verbal predicate.

- (31) 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]

# The medial position

In between the second and the final positions again all different types of constituents may be found: noun phrase.

(32) 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]

# The medial position

In between the second and the final positions again all different types of constituents may be found: subordinate clause.

(33) Junguesu ki agathuyeta jakan?

junguesu=**ki** [**agathu=ye=ta**] jakan

IGN.SBS=2      count=INF=NEW      travel

'Why do you come to count the houses?' [BC12.073]

# The medial position

In between the second and the final positions again all different types of constituents may be found: adverbial phrase.

(34) Tayu tsû ja'ñuja fithiye tsunjen.

tayu=**tsû**    **ja'ñu**=ja    fi'thi=ye    tsun-'je

already=3    now=CONTR    kill=INF    do-IMPF

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



# The medial position

In between the second and the final positions again all different types of constituents may be found: noun phrase and verbal predicate phrase.

(35) 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]

# Overall template so far

$p^{PRE}$	$p^I$	$p^2$	$p^M$	$p^F$
connectives, Contrast, NewTopic	Focus Q-word	2nd position clitics	other constituent(s)	Background Predicate

# Clausal constituent order in FDG

# The current approach

Ordering templates: absolute and relative positions

$p^1$     $p^{1+1}$     $p^{1+2}$    etc.  
    $p^2$     $p^{2+1}$     $p^{2+2}$    etc.  
   etc.    $p^{M-2}$     $p^{M-1}$     $p^M$     $p^{M+1}$     $p^{M+2}$    etc.  
                               etc.    $p^{F-2}$     $p^{F-1}$     $p^F$

# The current approach

Ordering templates: extraclausal positions

[P<sup>PRE</sup>                    P<sup>INT</sup>                    P<sup>POST</sup>]<sub>LinguisticExpression</sub>  
          [P<sup>I</sup>    P<sup>2</sup>    P<sup>M</sup>    P<sup>F</sup>]<sub>Clause</sub>

# The current approach

Ordering rules:

Hierarchical ordering precedes non-hierarchical (configurational) ordering.

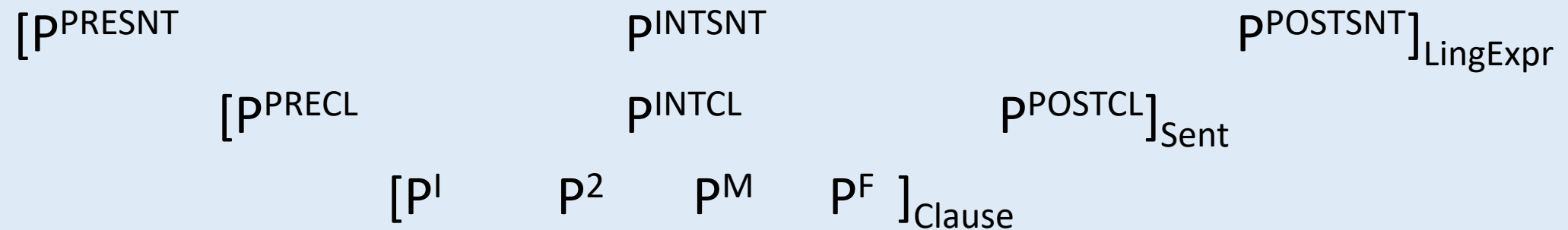
The process of hierarchical ordering involves the assignment of positions to elements from IL and RL expressing functions, operators and modifiers, from those with the widest scope to those with lower scopes.

Configurational ordering is based on alignment considerations.

# A modification

Hengeveld & Keizer (subm.) propose various modifications.

The one that is important here is the introduction of a Sentence layer in between the layers of the Linguistic Expression and the Clause.



# A modification

This modification is motivated by differences in the behaviour of languages with a clausal second position.

In some of these languages, this position is present in both independent and dependent clauses.



# A modification

*Tagalog* (Kroeger 1998: 56)

- (36) Sinabihan=**ako**            ni=Luz    na  
PRF.say.DV=1.SG.NOM    GEN=Luz    CONJ  
[ibinigay=**mo=na**                    ang=pera    kay=Charlie].  
IV.PRF-give=2.SG.GEN=already    NOM=money    DAT=Charlie  
'I was told by Luz that you already gave the money to Charlie.'

Kroeger, Paul (1998). Clitics and clause structure in Tagalog. In Bautista (ed.), *Pagtanaw: Essays on language in honor of Teodoro A. Llamzon*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 53–72.

# A modification

This modification is motivated by differences in the behaviour of languages with a clausal second position.

In some of these languages, this position is present in independent clauses only.

# A modification

## *Dutch*

(37) Gisteren **was** Peter ziek.

yesterday COP.PST.3.SG Peter ill

'Yesterday Peter was ill.'

(38) Ik dacht [dat Peter (gisteren) ziek **was**].

1.SG think.PST.1.SG CONJ Peter (yesterday) ill COP.PST.3.SG

'I thought that Peter was ill (yesterday).'

# A modification

The difference between Dutch and Tagalog can then be described as Tagalog having a clausal second position, while Dutch has a sentential second position.

This means that in Dutch the second sentential position actually corresponds to the first clausal position.

# A modification

*Dutch*

(37) Gisteren was Peter ziek.

yesterday COP.PST.3.SG Peter ill

‘Yesterday Peter was ill.’

[ $p^{\text{PRECL}}$  [ $p^{\text{I}}$   $p^{\text{M}}$   $p^{\text{M}+1}$ ]<sub>Clause</sub> ]<sub>Sentence</sub>

Gisteren was Peter ziek

yesterday was Peter ill

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

Second position clitics in A'ingae are only used in independent clauses.

- (39) [Ke(\*=ki) kunda='chu]=ma=**ngi** paña=mbi  
2.sg(\*=2) tell=SUB=ACC=1 understand=NEG  
'I didn't understand what you said.' (Dąbkowski 2023)

Dąbkowski, Maksymilian (2023), A'ingae second-position clitics are matrix C-heads. In: Marianne Huijsmans, D. K. E. Reisinger, and Rose Underhill (eds.), *Proceedings of the 25th Workshop on Structure and Constituency in the Languages of the Americas*. Vancouver, BC: UBCWPL, 31-42.

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

This means that, as in Dutch, they occupy the first clausal position.

- (39) [Ke kunda='chu=ma]=**ngi** paña=mbi  
2.SG tell=SUB=ACC=1 understand=NEG  
'I didn't understand what you said.' (Dąbkowski forthc.: 5)

[ <b>P</b> <sup>PRECL</sup>	[ <b>P</b> <sup>I</sup>	<b>P</b> <sup>F</sup>	]	] <sub>Clause</sub>	]	] <sub>Sentence</sub>
[(Ke kunda='chu=ma)	[(= <b>ngi</b> )	(paña=mbi)	]	]	]	]
what you said	I	did not understand				



# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

But, as shown earlier, the constituent in the sentence-initial, preclausal position may be preceded by other elements. These must then be in the presentential position

(40) Ja'ñuja, panshen rande ande tsû.

[ja'ñu=ja] [panshen rande ande]=tsû

now=CONTR very big land=3

'Now it's a rather big piece of land.'

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

These must then be in the presentential position

- (40) [ja'ñu=ja] [panshen rande ande]=tsû  
now=CONTR very big land=3  
'Now it's a rather big piece of land.'

[p <sup>PRESNT</sup>	[p <sup>PRECL</sup>	[P <sup>1</sup> ] <sub>Clause</sub>	]Sent	]LingExpr
(ja'ñu=ja)	(panshen rande ande)	=tsû		
now	very big land	=3		

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

These must then be in the presentential position

- (19) [ña=ta] [tsa=ngae=yi]=ngi se'je  
1.SG=NEW ANA=MANN=EXCL=1 heal  
'I heal only in that way.' [BC20.094]

[p <sup>PRESNT</sup>	[p <sup>PRECL</sup>	[P <sup>I</sup>	p <sup>F</sup>	]Clause ]Sent ]Ling.Expr.
(ña=ta)	(tsa=ngae=yi)	(=ngi)	(se'je)	
I	only in in that way	1	heal	

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

- Backgrounded elements cannot be in the final clausal position, as dependent clauses do not permit postverbal constituents.
- This means they must be in the postclausal position, i.e. in the final sentential position.

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

These must then be in the postclausal position

- (29) an    **na=ma**            **a'i**  
eat meat=ACC.REAL Cofán  
'The man ate the meat.' (BC07.068)

[[[P<sup>I</sup>    P<sup>F</sup>]<sub>Clause</sub> P<sup>POSTCL</sup>    P<sup>POSTCL</sup>    ]<sub>Sent</sub> ]<sub>Ling.Expr.</sub>  
          (an)        (nama)    (a'i)  
          eat        meat        Cofán

# A'ingae clausal constituent order in FDG

These must then be in the postclausal position

- (30) tueki    amphij    **kanchana**    **chan=i'khû**  
back    fall    come    ladder    mother=INSTR  
'The ladder fell with their mother.' [BC08.080]

[[[P <sup>I</sup>	P <sup>M</sup>	P <sup>F</sup>	]	Clause	P <sup>POSTCL</sup>	]	Sent	]	Ling.Expr.
(tueki)	(amphi ji)				(kanchana)	(chan=i'khû)			
back	fall come				ladder	with mother			

# Conclusions

# Conclusions

- A' ingae is an interesting test case for FDG placement rules, given its sentential second position clitics and the fact that some constituents may precede the first position, as defined by those second position clitics.
- Since second position clitics do not occur in dependent clauses, they must occupy the second position in the sentence, and the first in the clause contained in that sentence. The sentential layer proposed in Hengeveld & Keizer (subm.) provides this additional position.
- For the constituents preceding the first sentential constituent, a presentential position is then available.
- And backgrounded constituents following the predicate are accommodated by a sentence-final, as opposed to a clause-final position.



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[www.keeshengeveld.nl](http://www.keeshengeveld.nl)

