A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF KAMSÁ,
A LANGUAGE ISOLATE OF COLOMBIA

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ABSTRACT

       This dissertation presents a description of the grammar of Kamsá, an endangered language isolate spoken in the Putumayo department of southern Colombia. It is the first developed account of the language's phonology, morphology, and syntax.

       Kamsá is highly endangered due to the displacement of speakers and language shift. A reference grammar of a previously under-described language offers a number of potential benefits to general linguistics, showing what is possible in human languages. In addition to typologists, comparative and historical linguists are always interested to see whether an assumed isolate may, in fact, be demonstrably related to a known language family. The increasing endangerment of Kamsá, heightened by the displacement of Kamsá speakers from their ancestral home, has made the need for documentation and description extremely urgent, and this grammar will perhaps be useful for the creation of pedagogical materials, as well.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Wherever possible, the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf) are followed. The following is a complete list of abbreviations used in the glosses.

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative
AD	adessive case
ALL	allative
ANIM	animate
BEN	benefactive
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DISC	discourse
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EPE	epenthetic
EVAL	evaluative
EVI	evidential
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INST	instrumental
INT	intensive
INTENS	intensifier
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
NEG	negative/negator
NMLZ	nominalizer
PEJ	pejorative
PL	plural
PST	past
REC	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive

SG	singular
SPEC	speculative
SUB	subordinator
TOP	topic
VBLZ	verbalizer

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1   Summary

This dissertation presents a description of the grammar of Kamsá, an endangered language isolate spoken in the Putumayo department of southern Colombia. It is the first developed account of the language's phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Kamsá is highly endangered due to the displacement of speakers and language shift. A reference grammar of a previously under-described language offers a number of potential benefits to general linguistics, showing what is possible in human languages. In addition to typologists, comparative and historical linguists are always interested to see whether an assumed isolate may, in fact, be demonstrably related to a known language family. The increasing endangerment of Kamsá, heightened by the displacement of Kamsá speakers from their ancestral home, has made the need for documentation and description extremely urgent, and this grammar will perhaps be useful for the creation of pedagogical materials, as well.

This introductory chapter to this dissertation is organized as follows: In 1.2, I discuss the Kamsá people and language, including the location, culture, relationship to other languages, borrowing, and the name of the language. In 1.3 I discuss the language ecology and language vitality, and in 1.4 I discuss previous research on the language. In 1.5 I describe my methodology, and in 1.6 I give a typological overview of the language.

1.2   The Kamsá people and language

Kamsá [ISO 639-3 kbh, Glottocode cams1241] is an endangered language isolate spoken by fewer than 500 people in southern Colombia. According to ONIC (*Organizacion Nacional Indigena de Colombia*, 'National Indigenous Organization of Colombia'), the Kamsá population is 4,773 (onic.org). Although attempts have been made to find relationships to other language families such as the Chichban family, none has been successful (see 1.4.2). The Kamsá people have shared the Sibundoy Valley with the Inga people (who are speakers of a Quechuan language) for over 500 years, and they share many cultural similarities such as the important

carnival holiday, their use of *yagé* (ayahuasca, a hallucinogenic concoction), and their blue and red wool ponchos.

1.2.1   Location and history

The homeland of the Kamsá people lies in the Sibundoy Valley, a relatively high plateau at about 6,500 feet (2,000 meters) above sea level, surrounded by higher mountains. The population is centered around the municipality of Sibundoy, the GPS coordinates of which are 1°12'N, 76°55'W (1.20, -76.92). The municipality lies about half-way between the cities of Pasto and Mocoa in the northwest corner of the Putumayo department of Colombia. The region serves as a passageway between the lowlands and the highlands and for this reason has long been important for the migration of people (Ramírez de Jara & Pinzón Castaño 1992:288). The municipality of Sibundoy is composed of four different towns: Sibundoy, Santiago, San Francisco, and Colón, The Kamsá language area also extends somewhat into two neighboring *corregimientos* (population centers below the level of municipality): San Pedro and San Andrés. The largest concentration of ethnic Kamsá is found within the town of Sibundoy proper and its surrounding *veredas* (rural areas outside a city or town), but there are also some Kamsá in the small town of San Francisco.

Map 1 (on the following page) shows where Sibundoy is within Colombia. Pasto is to the west, and Mocoa to the east.

Map 1. Sibundoy

Adapted from Google Maps (Map data ©2018 GBRMPA, Google).

Map 2 (on the following page) shows the location of Sibundoy in relation to the neighboring towns.
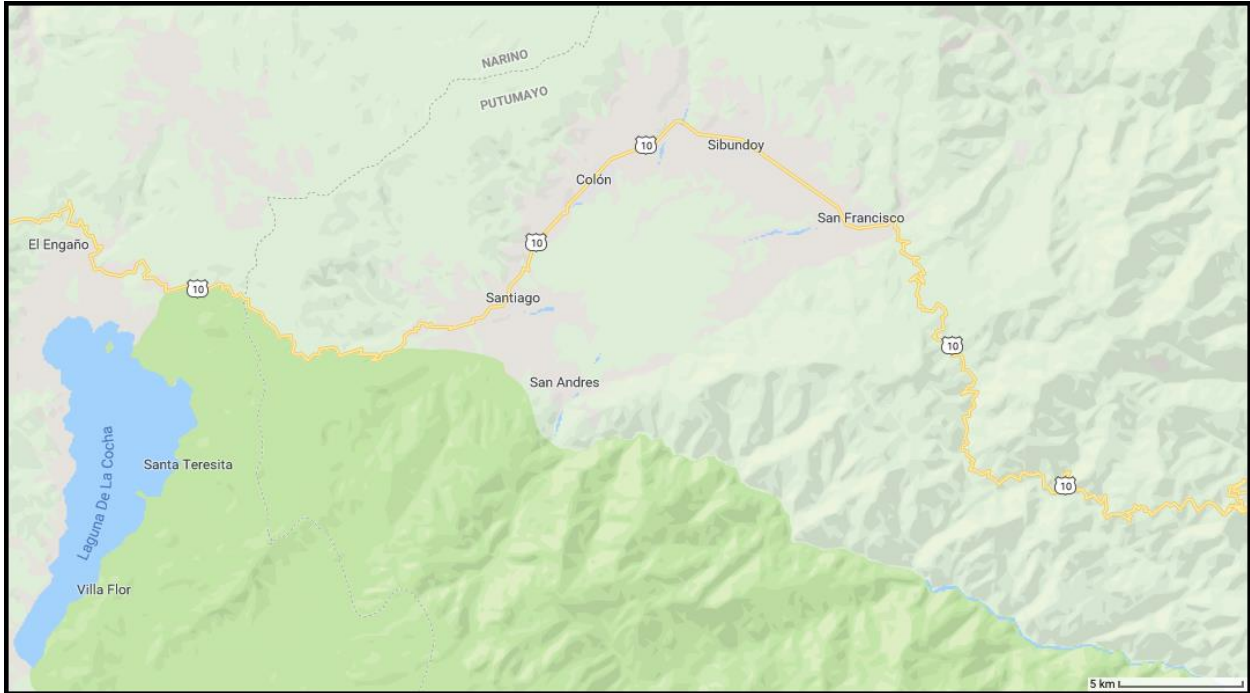
Map 2. Sibundoy and neighboring towns

Adapted from Google Maps (Map data ©2018 Google).

Figure 1.1 is a photo I took in Sibundoy.

Figure 1.1 Sibundoy

In addition to the Kamsá populations within Sibundoy Valley, there are four Kamsá *resguardos* 'reservations': two just outside Sibundoy town and two near Mocoa. Most Kamsás, however, do not live on *resguardos*, but rather live in their own houses in *veredas* (rural areas outside a city or town). Furthermore, there are also Kamsás who live in other cities in Colombia. The Colombian towns and cities with Kamsá *cabildos* 'indigenous governing bodies' (discussed further in 1.2.2) are: Bogotá, Puerto Asís, Mocoa, and Santiago. There are perhaps 100 Kamsá families living in Bogotá. Some were forcibly displaced during the Colombian conflict and others have moved there to seek other opportunities for work, education, and so on.

Sibundoy Valley is also home to another linguistic and ethnic group, the Ingas, who traditionally speak Inga (ISO 639-3 inb, Glottocode inga1252), which belongs to the Quechuan family (it is sometimes referred to as Highland Inga in the literature). The Kamsás and the Ingas have shared this valley since perhaps the 15th century, the assumption being that the Kamsás had inhabited the region first. There are several theories about how Inga came to be spoken in the valley. One theory is that, when the Inca empire conquered the area in the 15th century, some of the local inhabitants (perhaps themselves Kamsá speakers) adopted the language of the Incas. The current Inga language would thus represent the result of whatever diachronic changes occurred to the earlier Quechuan language of the Inca over the past five-hundred or so years. Another theory has it that Catholic missionaries brought Quechua as a lingua franca to use with the natives (Seijas 1969) and thus the local indigenous people of many groups began to speak what became today's Inga. This is suggested by records of missionaries writing to one another to tell each other to use Inga in southern Colombia. In the past, most Kamsás and Ingas spoke each other's languages, but with the growing influence of Spanish, this is increasingly less the case. Inga is a larger language, with about 18,000 speakers in Colombia, at least according to *Ethnologue* (Simons & Fennig 2018, citing Civallero 2008). (Although other sources, however, say there are 8,000 speakers or fewer). The influences of Inga are apparent in the lexicon; Kamsá has borrowed many words from its neighbor, as well as from Spanish.

While it is assumed that the Kamsá people have had a presence in Sibundoy since before arrival or emergence of Inga speakers, it is not clear exactly how long they have been there, partially because the archaeological evidence is lacking. There are theories that they came from the north (that is, from other highland groups) and other theories that they came from the south (from lowland groups). The traditional Kamsá belief is that they are autochthonous, having

always been in Sibundoy and indeed there is no strong evidence that they came from the north or the south. They may have lived alone in the valley for many centuries without any particularly strong outside contact. As mentioned, there have been Inga people living in the valley for at least the past 500 years, though. In the 15th century, the Inca empire was very powerful to the south, but it is actually debated whether the Incas actually conquered Sibundoy valley.

The Spanish came in 1534 and established the town of Sibundoy. Although they had a strong administrative presence, they were unable to erase the culture of the Kamsá. This was due to no lack of effort on the part of the Spanish. Wade Davis (1996:171) writes:

> More than a century after the arrival of the missionaries, the Franciscan bishop Peña Montenegro, frustrated by the persistence of traditional beliefs, noted that 'this evil seed planted such deep roots in the Indians that it appeared to become their very flesh and blood so that their descendants acquired the same beings as their parents, inherited in the same blood and stamped on their souls.'

In his book about the missionization of the natives of Sibundoy, Bonilla (1972:14) notes, however, that the missionaries were, in a sense, successful, because the Indians there at the time (the Kamsás and Ingas) ultimately syncretized their religion with Catholicism, identifying their "Sun God with the God Father, and the Moon and Earth goddesses with the Virgin Mary[1]". In 1767, the Franciscans were expelled from all of Colombia and so the area of Putumayo had less contact with the outside world for about the next century. At the end of the 19th century, however, the Capuchins, a Franciscan order, arrived in southern Colombia and, in 1899 or 1900, the Colombian government gave the Capuchins complete control over the Amazon to evangelize the natives. They established their base for the Amazon in Sibundoy, and "they ran a colonial theocracy unlike anything seen in the Americas since the heyday of the Jesuits. Their power was absolute." (Davis 1996:171). They essentially enslaved much of the native population. They built a road connecting Putumayo to Pasto, and thus to the rest of Colombia, using the labor of the Kamsás and Ingas.

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[1] This quote is from a published English translation of the book.

1.2.2 Culture

The Kamsá people traditionally grow their own food in large gardens[2] (known as *chagras* in Colombian Spanish and *jajañ* in Kamsá). Many families possess their own *jajañ*, containing many different types of plants and trees. Often they work together in their gardens: the verb meaning 'help one another in the garden' is *j-en-abwatambay-an*. In the *jajañ*, they grow corn (maize), beans, potatoes, *yuca* (cassava, sweet manioc), collard greens, squash, chili peppers, *achira* (arrowroot), *tomate de árbol* ('tree tomato'), *lulo* (*Solanum quitoense*), and *chilacuán* (mountain papaya). They also raise animals for slaughter, including pigs, chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs. The *jajañ* is not only a source of food but also an extremely important cultural and spiritual center for the Kamsá. As now Sibundoy has come to consist of a majority of *colonos* ('colonists', the Spanish word used by Kamsás and Ingas to refer to white and mestizo outsiders), many Kamsás have lost their land and thus no longer have their own *jajañ*.

The traditional diet of the Kamsá is centered around corn, with corn seen as a giver of life. Some pan-Colombian corn-based dishes, such as *arepas* (corn cakes) and *envueltos* (cornmeal boiled in banana leaves) are also common among the Kamsás, as well as soups with a corn base. *Wameshnen* is a common soup, made with corn kernels (*mote*, in Spanish), as is *bišanša*, a soup that is garnished with collard greens. Corn is also used to make *bocoy* (*chicha* in Spanish), a fermented, slightly alcoholic drink. Sometimes homemade fruit liquor is added to make the drink stronger, particularly for festivals. When men work in the *jajañ*, they often drink *bocoy* for its perceived energizing quality. Many Kamsás raise guinea pigs, using inedible leaves and weeds from the garden as fodder for the guinea pigs, and in turn using their manure as fertilizer for the garden. Guinea pig breeding is labor intensive, and the animals are only eaten for special occasions or sold for a relatively high price in town. The Kamsás make their own hot sauce (*ají* in Spanish, the same name as the peppers used to make the sauce), using chili peppers, onion, and vinegar. It is possible that people hunted traditionally, and there are stories about people hunting, but I never heard of it happening while I was there.

In a Kamsá family's home, it is customary always to offer a guest something to drink and a small snack to eat. *Chicha* is the most traditional drink to offer, but it is labor intensive, taking

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[2] The gloss 'garden' is just an approximate translation and it is also sometimes rendered as 'field, plantation', and even 'estate, hacienda'. It is a combination of orchard, ranch, and vegetable garden.

up to a week to make, involving several rounds of boiling and adding more ingredients. Thus, instead, often families will offer a a black, very sweet coffee, instead (*tinto* in Colombian Spanish). The snack is often an *envuelto* or *arepa*, but can also be bread, sometimes with unaged cheese. It is very rude to refuse food or drink. There is a saying: *Jtsabonÿnán ndoñ tšabian, shëntsam kwanjanoban* ('It is not good to refuse food, you can/will die of hunger').

Kamsá handicrafts are very important culturally. Perhaps the most common is the *tšombiach*, an intricately woven, multicolored band, as seen in Figure 1.2 *tšombiach* (on the following page). The patterns have special meanings. The *tšombiach* are used for many purposes, including as belts, as straps for bags, and as decorative ornaments to hang from the crown used for *Betšknaté*, the annual Kamsá carnival. They are woven on a loom and typically take more than a day to make. Masks are another traditional handicraft. They are carved out of wood and are often painted or beaded. They are worn during certain ceremonies, particularly during *Betšknaté*. Finally there are flutes which are important for dancing, during *Betšknaté* especially, but traditionally there were other ceremonies that included dancing, as well, such as weddings.

Figure 1.2 *tšombiach*

Yagé (ayahuasca) is a very important part of Kamsá culture, as well as one of its more famous aspects. *Yagé* is a hallucinogenic brew made from a mixture of the *Banisteriopsis caapi* vine with other plants, such as the *Psychotria viridis* shrub. *Yagé* is administered by a shaman during overnight ceremonies that take place in a *maloca* (long house). The person who takes *yagé* generally hallucinates and vomits profusely, and the experience is viewed as being spiritual as well as being both literally and figuratively cathartic. *Yagé* ceremonies are used to cure

illnesses, both physical and emotional. Nowadays, the ceremony blends aspects of Catholicism with the traditional shamanism. It is hard to overstate the cultural cachet that *yagé* has for many Kamsás and the power that it is seen to possess. One shaman is quoted as saying:

> "*Yagé* is a force that has power, will, and knowledge; with it we can reach the stars, enter the spirit of other people, know their desire to do good or bad; we can foresee the future of ours and others' lives, see illnesses and cure them, and with it we can travel to heaven or hell." (in Ramírez de Jara & Pinzón Castaño 1992:289)

Betšknaté is Sibundoy's most important celebration every year, with both the Inga and the Kamsá celebrating together. It has been syncretized to the Catholic festival period of Carnival, and its celebration follows the Catholic liturgical calendar, always occuring around Carnival. It is also known as the 'Carnival of Forgiveness' in Spanish. A common folk etymology has it that *Betšknaté* means 'big day', coming from *bëts 'big'* and *te* 'day'.The festival lasts several days, and all of Sibundoy takes part. There are parades around the *veredas* and some in town that lead to the Catholic church in the center of Sibundoy. People wear masks. One prominent figure is the *matachin* 'demon, devil' (in both Kamsá and Spanish).

Another common holiday is the Day of the Spirits, always held on November 2nd. It is a festival similar to Mexico's Day of the Dead. People visit the cemetery in Sibundoy, outside of which there are vendors grilling guinea pig and selling sweet fruit juices. The *cabildo* holds a celebration with free food and *chicha* for all.

The clothing of the Kamsá is very distinctive. Men and women wear a *betiyá*, which is a poncho made of wool that has been dyed blue, red and white, or other colors. The *tšombiach* may be wrapped around the *betiyá* as either a belt or a strap.

Kamsá politics center around the *cabildo*. Ever year, a new Kamsá governor is elected. There are also four *alguaciles* (Spanish for 'clerks'), who serve as aides to the governor. The *cabildo* organizes the various festivals, such as Day of the Spirits and *Betšknaté.* In Colombia, *cabildos* are recognized as a sort of representative of the community and receive money and aid from the government. They also organize for political issues that affect indigenous people, such as mining in the area, aspects of the 2016 peace accord between the Colombian government and the FARC, and ethnic education.

An important concept in Kamsá is *shinÿak* 'hearth', the large fire kept in the traditional house or outdoor kitchen. Many Kamsás see this word as being connected to the words *in* 'fire' and *shinÿe* 'sun', and thus see the three concepts as related. More pragmatically, the *shinÿak* is used to make *chicha*, which needs to be cooked in a cauldron over a large fire, meaning it cannot be made on a modern stove. In the past, people would make meals on the fire and sit around the *shinÿak*, telling stories.

There are several aspects of Kamsá culture that seem to come from lowland groups, namely *yagé*, the jaguar as a symbol, and *maloca*. The plants used to make *yagé* do not appear to be native to Sibundoy, so the practice is presumably from lowlands groups, whose rainforest environment contains the necessary plants. It is not clear how long *yagé* has been used by the Kamsá, but it is of course possible that there has been a very long tradition of trade and cultural transmission. It is also interesting to note that, despite living at a high altitude, the Kamsá do not use coca, which is rather common among other Andean groups. It would be interesting to look for Kamsá influence on lowland groups, such as the Siona and Kofán.

Taitas ('male elders') sometimes wear elaborate necklaces with beaded jaguars (called 'tigers') and artisans make jaguar masks. There is also a type of *yagé* called 'jaguar'. The Kamsá words for 'jaguar' and 'tiger' are borrowed for Spanish. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975), known as the father of Colombian anthropology, notes that many highland groups borrowed the symbol of the jaguar from lowland groups. This is in part assumed because the species is not found in the highlands, although it isn't impossible that there were jaguars in the area. The *maloca*, (traditional long house) also seems to be from lowland groups mainly because its design is suited for hot climates. This is speculation on my part.

1.2.3   Relationship to other languages / classification attempts

Kamsá is a language isolate. There have been several attempts to group it with other language families, mainly Chibchan, but there is no reliable evidence that it is related to other languages. See Campbell 2012 for a survey of larger-scale though mostly unaccepted proposals of distant genetic relationships involving languages in South America. There have also been suggestions that it is related to the language of the Quillacinga, whose ancestral homeland is around what is now the city of Pasto. Although the Quillacinga people still exist, their language

has been extinct for centuries and they now only speak Spanish. There are no records of what their language was like. There are several theories about what language they spoke: Kamsá, something related to Kamsá, something in the Chibchan family, or something in the Quechuan family. It is of course impossible to classify their language, since there is no record of it. Likewise, Kamsá could theoretically be related to whatever language was once spoken by the Mocoa people (a group who once lived in the area of the current city of Mocoa), but their language is also unknown to us. The extant languages geographically closest to Kamsá are: Inga (Quechuan), Kofán (isolate), Siona (Tukano), Awa Pit (Barbacoan), and Koreguaje (Tukano). Future research is needed to see if any of these languages have had lexical or structural influences on Kamsá.

1.2.4 Borrowing

Kamsá has a long tradition of lexical borrowed from both Spanish and Inga. More recently, as the language has come to be spoken less and less, it has become more and more influenced by Spanish, both lexically and syntactically. This section focuses more on the older borrowings, especially those forms that have been fully integrated into Kamsá phonotactics or have undergone sound changes that have somewhat obscured their non-Kamsá etymologies. The words considered in this section are—largely—considered by native speakers to be "Kamsá" (regardless of their origins) and they are used commonly in traditional stories, ceremonial speech, and other speech registers that may be considered "pure" or "traditional". Thus, these are—both etically (on the grounds of phonotactics and morphology) and emically (on the grounds of speaker identification of Kamsá-ness)—fully integrated loanwords as opposed to instances of code-switching or language loss.

One obvious semantic domain for borrowing includes vocabulary for fauna, flora, cultural objects and concepts that did not exist before the arrival of the Spanish. Examples include: *ral* 'money' (from Spanish *real*, the old Spanish currency), *naranjabe* 'orange' (from Spanish *naranja* 'orange'), and *jatrabaja* 'work' (from Spanish *trabajar* 'work'). All three of these words exhibit the borrowed phoneme /r/, which suggests that the forms are foreign. Nevertheless, their integration into Kamsá can be shown both phonologically and morphologically. First, *ral* 'money' has undergone a phonological reduction, from the disyllabic

form *re.al* to the current monosyllabic *ral* (the fact that the term *real* is no longer used in local Colombian Spanish can obscure the word's etymology). Second, the from *naranjabe* 'orange' shows a morphological change, having received the noun classifier associated with round objects, *-be* (3.2.2). Finally, *jatrabaja* has undergone the phonological change of the loss of a final consonant; furthermore, it reveals Kamsá verbal morphology by exhibiting the non-finite verb marker *j(a)-* (4), as well as being able to receive TAM morphology.

Almost all conjunctions (10.2) in Kamsá are borrowed from Spanish, including: *o* 'or' (from Spanish *o*); *i* 'and' (from Spanish *y*); *pero* 'but' (from Spanish *pero*); *porke* 'because' (from Spanish *porque*); *maske* 'although' (from Spanish *más que* 'more than'); and *ni* 'neither, nor' (from Spanish *ni*). Other borrowed basic function-like words include *mas* 'more' (from Spanish *más*); *mejor* 'better' (from Spanish *mejor*); and *peor* 'bad' (from Spanish *peor* 'worse'). These are all discussed in 10.2 and 9.4.

Because the Catholic missionaries were the only people speaking Spanish in Sibundoy until the 1950s (Fabre 2001:2), much of the older Spanish vocabulary that has been borrowed into Kamsá reflects the varieties of Spanish used by the them. Fabre states: "This explains why the Spanish layer we can detect in Kamsá and Inga is so replete with quaintly old-fashioned church Spanish" (Fabre 2001:2). Some examples are the following: *parla* 'speak' (from *parlar*, a now obsolete Spanish word for 'speak', cf. standard *hablar*); *ndeombre* 'truly' (from Spanish *de hombre* loosely, 'by my word'); *andela warda* 'God protect you' (from Spanish *dios le guarde*, 'God preserve you'), *dioslepay* 'thank you' (from (*que*) *dios le pague* 'may God pay you', cf. standard *gracias*).

Along with vocabulary, Kamsá has borrowed some phonology from Spanish as well (2.2.2.7). The most obvious loan phoneme is /r/, some examples of which were seen above. Other examples include *rat* 'bit, while' (from Spanish *rato* 'while') and *mor* 'now' (from Spanish *ahora* 'now' or, alternatively, from *mwa-hora 'this hour', from Kamsá *mwa* 'that' plus Spanish *hora* 'hour').

Kamsá's traditional phoneme inventory also lacked a plain (non-prenasalized) voiced alveolar /d/, and many older Spanish words that contained /d/ have been borrowed into Kamsá with either /ⁿd/ or /ⁿdʒ/ (written in orthography used here as <nd> and <nÿ>, respectively). Examples of Spanish words with *d that have been borrowed with phonological changes into

Kamsá are: *nÿios* or *ndios* or *nÿioš* 'god' (from Spanish *dios* 'god'); *ndeolpe* 'suddenly' from *de golpe* 'suddenly'; and *nderado* 'maybe' possibly from **de raro*.

Many words borrowed from Spanish have changed in meaning, sometimes even functioning as different parts of speech in Kamsá than in Spanish. Loanwords are pointed out throughout the dissertation as well as their change in meaning and/or part of speech. Two brief examples of loanwords that have taken on new meaning in Kamsá are *ora* 'when' and *parej* 'with'. First, *ora* 'when' comes from the Spanish nouns *hora* 'hour, time, when', but has become a subordinator for temporal clauses, thus shifting both in meaning and in function (10.3.3). Similarly, *parej* 'with' from the Spanish adjective *parejo* 'equal to, level with, similar to' functions in Kamsá as a preposition, not as an adjective.

Many Spanish words have found new meanings in ceremonial speech, the register of Kamsá that is used for many formal situations, such as greetings in the *cabildo*, and for Catholic sacraments, such as baptisms and confirmations. Haydee Seijas (1969:65), who conducted anthropological fieldwork in Sibundoy in the 1960s, refers to this type of speech as the *lengua de los antiguos* or "*relación* speech". She reports that most people are not fluent in this speech, which consists of set words and phrases and are used by the governor in his Sunday address to the Kamsá people and by others as a means of showing politeness. The following example, the beginning of a formal greeting, shows the Spanish influence, with three out of the four words coming from Spanish (the possessive pronoun *atšbe* 'my' is the only fully native Kamsá word). The verb, although derived from Spanish, exhibits Kamsá verbal morphology:

(1)   Primermente atšbe dios chašpasentsia …
        primermente   atš-be   dios   cha-š-pasentsia
        first   1SG-GEN   god   COND-1SG-forgive
        'First may god forgive me…' (Chindoy 28:5) (*primermente* from Spanish *primeramente*
        'firstly', *dios* from Spanish *dios* 'God', *pasentsia* from Spanish *paciencia* 'patience')

Much of the 'formal' speech relates to the Catholic church, which we might expect to have a lot of Spanish not because it's *formal* but because it involves *Catholic* rituals and ceremonies, where they borrowed the words along with the rituals. There is also non-religious formal speech that uses Spanish, such as the petitioning for a girlfriend, mentioned above.

In addition to lexical borrowing, Kamsá has perhaps undergone structural changes under influence from Spanish and Inga. Since Kamsá has no known relatives and since no early

documents representing the language are known, it is impossible to say with any certainty what structural traits (if any) are due to influence from other languages. That said, it is possible that the basic word order in Kamsá is becoming more SVO (due to influence from Spanish), and that there is a trend toward using fewer adjectival verbs or null-copular constructions for predicate adjectives, with a preference instead for copula-plus-adjective constructions (as in Spanish). Fabre (Fabre 2001:3) suggests another influence from Spanish:

> the redundant use of the same classifier, even with no intervening word between them, strongly reminds of the Spanish number and gender agreement rules between the same two parts of speech and sets Kamsá apart from classifier languages of Western Amazonia, where classifiers are mostly used as an anaphoric device, there being no need of repeating the noun to which they refer.

Kamsá and Inga have been in contact for at least five centuries. In the past, many Kamsá and Inga were multilingual, speaking each other's languages as well as Spanish. Today there are older Kamsá (over 60) who know some Inga, and they often say that their fathers (and sometimes mothers) were fluent in Inga. Borrowing from Inga needs to be investigated further, but here I provide a few examples of Inga words in Kamsá. Some examples of Kamsá words that Chindoy says are borrowed from Inga are as follows (the Kamsá and the Inga words have the same meaning unless otherwise noted):

> *chisiajta* 'afternoon, all day' < *chisya*
> *choroš* 'snail' < *churu*
> *pats* 'one hundred' < *patsa*
> *taytá* 'father' < *tayta*
> *wambra* 'child' < *wampra*;
> *wata* 'year' < *wata*
> *yap(a)* 'a lot, very, much' < *yapa* 'a lot, very, much'.

Fabre suggests that the Kamsá's determiner *ch* could be borrowed from Inga as well because it has a cognate in most Quechuan languages (2001:3).

Words borrowed from Spanish and Inga have Kamsá morphology. Thus *chagllufja* 'thin cane or rod to measure work or construction of houses' which comes from Inga *chacla* has the Kamsá classifier *-fja* used for long, thin, things. The example of *naranja-be* 'orange' was seen above, with *-be* 'round-objects classifier. It should be noted that Kamsá classifiers are not separable from the word. They are part of the root. Borrowed words may reflect other

morphological affixation as well, as for example *trabajayá* 'worker' which has the agentive *-yá* on the Spanish-derived *trabaja* (from *trabajar* 'to work'). The following sentence shows Kamsá morphology on two verbs borrowed from Spanish: *jakwenta* 'tell' from *contar* and *japasa* 'happen' from *pasar*.

(2)   Ntšamo šmontsekwentaká deombre tejapasá.
        ntšamo   š-mo-n-ts-ekwenta-ká   deombre   te-j-a-pasá
        how   1SGOBJ-PL-EVI-PROG-tell-ʔ   truly   PST-VBLZ-ʔ-happen
        'What you're telling me really happened (to me).' (Chindoy 80:28)

1.2.5   Name of the language

Kamsá is referred to variously in the literature by the following names: Camëntšá, Camëntsëá, Camëntxá, Camsa, Camsá, Coche, Kamemtxa, Kamentsá, Kamëntsa, Kamëntšá, Kamsa, Kamsá, Kamse, Kamtsá, Mocoa, Sibundoy, and Sibundoy-Gaché. Other than the terms *Coche*, *Sibundoy*, and *Mocoa*, these are all variants of *Kamsá*. The Kamsá people tend to pronounce the name of their language as *Kamëntšá* (in IPA [kamɨnˈtʂa]) or Kamënchá (in IPA [kamɨnˈtʃa]). One commonly repeated etymology is from *ka-* (intensifier) and *mwentš* 'here', meaning 'right here'. It is not clear, however, what sound changes would have generated *mëntšá* from **mwentš*, with the labial glide **w* being elided, and the front vowel **e* becoming the central vowel *ë*. The final *-á*, however, could perhaps be explained as a nominalizing suffix. Because most English- and Spanish-language sources have referred to the language as either Kamsá or Camsá, I have chosen to use that name as well, preferring <K> to <C> to match the overall orthography used within this grammatical description (2.7). Most Kamsá seem to write Kamëntšá or Camëntšá for the language.

Of the unrelated names that have been used to refer to the language, the name *Sibundoy* derives simply from the location (town, municipality, and valley) where Kamsá is spoken. (In some sources, the term *Sibundoy* is used to refer to the Kamsá and the Inga together.) It is possible that the term *Mocoa* actually refers to a different tribe that may or may not have spoken a different language. *Mocoa* is mentioned in some historical texts as being the name of a lowland people, the people who perhaps lived where the city of Mocoa is currently located, on the edge of the Amazon in the Putumayo department of Colombia. The source of the term *Coche* is unclear as is the source of *Gaché* in Sibundoy-Gaché.

1.3   Language ecology and language vitality

Kamsá is a severely endangered language based on UNESCO's factors and the LEI (Language Endangerment Index). I estimate that there were fewer than 500 fluent speakers of Kamsá in 2012, based on the current age of fluent speakers and the census data for different age groups. My personal observation is that there are few, if any, fluent speakers of Kamsá younger than 60 years old. Many ethnic Kamsás between the ages of 40 and 60 are semi-speakers (in that they are able to have basic conversations and have good comprehension of fluent speech, but are not themselves fluent speakers), but it is not known how many there are. According to the DANE (National Administrative Department of Statistics) census in 2012, there were 499 Kamsá who were 61 or older (2012). Thus, considering that only ethnic Kamsás older than 60 years old are fluent speakers, I estimate that the speaker number is less than 500. This method of counting speakers is problematic for several reasons. First, the most recent census was in 2012 (although now, in 2018, they are conducting a census so there will be better numbers next year). Second, the age groups in the census include all people 25-60, then those over 60. There isn't a more nuanced count of older people.

ONIC (*Organizacion Nacional Indigena de Colombia*, 'National Indigenous Organization of Colombia') lists an ethnic population of 4,773 (2005). Thus, just slightly over 10 percent of the ethnic Kamsá population are fluent speakers of the language.

Ethnologue (2018 ??) claims that Kamsá has 4,000 speakers out of an ethnic population of 4,770 and classifies Kamsá as "level 5: developing", according to its EGIDS schema. UNESCO claims 3,500 speakers and says that the language is definitely endangered (3 on its scale) The Endangered Language Catalogue gives 4773 speakers, based on Crevels 2012.

1.3.1   UNESCO's nine factors

UNESCO uses nine factors to determine the endangerment of a language, most of which are graded on a scale from 0 ("extinct" to 5 ("safe"). Following this system, I would classify Kamsá as 2 ("severely endangered"). UNESCO, however, lists Kamsá as 3 "definitely endangered". The following is a description of how Kamsá fares according to each of the nine UNESCO factors.

Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission;

Severely endangered (2):

"The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children." (UNESCO 2003:8)

Kamsá is mainly spoken by people older than 60, and the people in their 40s who understand some of the language do not typically speak it to their children.

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers;

500

"It is impossible to establish a hard and fast rule for interpreting absolute numbers, but a small speech community is always at risk." (UNESCO 2003:8)

With perhaps fewer than 500 speakers, Kamsá would, by practically any measure, be considered a small speech community.

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population;

Severely endangered (2):

"A minority speak the language." (UNESCO 2003:8)

Based on my calculations, about 500 of 4,773 speak the language, slightly more than 10 percent.

Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains;

Limited or formal domains (2):

"The non-dominant language is used only in highly formal domains, as especially in ritual and administration. The language may also still be used at the community centre, at festivals, and at ceremonial occasions where these older members of the community have a chance to meet. The limited domain may also include homes where grandparents and other older extended family members reside, and other traditional gathering places of the elderly. Many people can understand the language but cannot speak it." (UNESCO 2003:8)

Spanish is definitely the dominant language for most domains, but Kamsá is used in the *cabildo*, at festivals, and ceremonials. Also, in more domestic settings, sometimes older people use Kamsá with one other.

Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media;
Coping (2):

"The language is used in some new domains." (UNESCO 2003:8)

There are some websites, cell-phone apps, and short videos that use Kamsá, but most new domains encountered by community members (e.g., television, social media websites) are entirely in Spanish.

Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy;
Grade (3):

"Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media. Writing in the language is not used in administration." (UNESCO 2003:8)

For this factor, Kamsá receives a higher rating. There are materials in the language: books, pedagogical materials, websites, apps, and so on, and children that attend the bilingual school do have some literacy in the language. They are most unable, however, to speak the language.

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies, Including Official Status and Use ;
Differentiated support (4):

"Non-dominant languages are explicitly protected by the government, but there are clear differences in the contexts in which the dominant/official language(s) and non-dominant (protected) language(s) are used. The government encourages ethnolinguistic groups to maintain and use their languages, most often in private domains (as the home language), rather than in public domains (e.g. in schools). Some of the domains of non-dominant language use enjoy high prestige (e.g. at ceremonial occasions)." (UNESCO 2003:8)

For this factor, as well, Kamsá has a higher rating. Colombia's constitution of 1991 protects all indigenous languages. The Kamsá, and all other recognized indigenous languages, legally have a right to use and preserve their languages. The Colombian constitution has also been translated into Kamsá. Thus, it does have the state support, at least in name.

Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language;
Grade (4):

"Most members support language maintenance." (UNESCO 2003:8)

Most Kamsás seem in favor of maintaining the language, at least in theory. They are happy that there is a bilingual school and they want to see the language maintained.

Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation;
Fragmentary (2):

"There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation." (UNESCO 2003:8)

There is not much linguistic documentation, although, as mentioned above, there are a decent number of books, websites, and so on, in the language. It is hoped that this reference grammar will serve as another contribution to the documentation and description of the language.

1.3.2 LEI

Here I assess Kamsa's endangerment using the Language Endangerment Index (LEI) from the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat).

Factor 1: Intergenerational transmission
Severely Endangered (4)

"Many of the grandparent generation speak the language, but the younger people generally do not" (Lee and Van Way 2016:281).

Most Kamsá older than 60 speak the language, but there are few fluent speakers younger than that.

Factor 2: Scale of absolute number of speakers.

Endangered

"100–999 speakers" (Lee and Van Way 2016:281)

Kamsá has about 500 speakers.

Factor 3:Scale of speaker number trends

Severely Endangered (4)

"Less than half of the community speaks the language, and speaker numbers are decreasing at an accelerated pace." (Lee and Van Way 2016:283)

Given that only older people speak the language, it is definitely less than half.

Factor 4: Domains of use

Severely Endangered (4)

"Used mainly just in the home and/or with family, and may not be the primary language even in these domains for many community members." (Lee and Van Way 2016:285)

Kamsá is used for rituals and ceremonies, and also in the home between older people.

Kamsá thus comes out as a 4 "severely endagered" on the LEI scale of ELCat.

1.3.3 Language attitudes

My impression is that people view Kamsá positively; they like the language and they feel a strong sense of identity with the culture and see the language as inextricably linked to the culture. In addition to the cultural value in knowing the language, there are even economic rewards, as there are tests within Colombia for certain university scholarships for indigenous people that require knowledge of the language. The scholarships seem to be run by the cabildo in conjunction with the Colombian government. The colonial and missionizing history, however, tell a different story and these positive feelings about the language and culture are likely a recent phenomenon. The Capuchin monks were harsh and looked down on the Kamsá language being spoken.

Some community members have noticed that the language is not being passed on to children, and they have various reactions to this, ranging from desire to take action to feeling that no action is necessary, since the children will still somehow have the language because it is "in their blood", to feeling futility, that the language will be lost no matter what, since children are concerned more with popular music than with the language of their elders. Many people, however, have not noticed how dire the situation is, perhaps in part because many children do indeed know the basic greetings and some vocabulary, and so can often come across as more engaged with the language than they actually are. *Él/ella) entiende* '(s)he understands' is a common thing said about members of the younger generation.

1.3.4 Education

The Kamsá have many resources at their disposal for linguistic and cultural preservation and have begun several projects to maintain their language. These include a series of bilingual schools in Sibundoy, a Kamsá preschool in Bogotá, language and culture classes in the *cabildo*, an app for phones, a radio station, many websites, and books.

Sibundoy has its own bilingual school system, called the *Sibundoy Institución Etnoeducativa Rural Bilingüe Artesanal Kamentsá* 'Sibundoy ethno-educational rural, bilingual, artisanal Kamsá Institution', run by Kamsá community members and consisting of a preschool, elementary school, and high school. Thus a child can, in principle, attend the bilingual school for the entirety of his or her education. Any child can attend, whether ethnically Kamsá or not. I have not been inside the school myself, but according to people in the community, most of the instruction is in Spanish with some lessons about Kamsá culture and some instruction of vocabulary. Thus, these are not bilingual schools according to the classical definition that demands that there be instruction using two languages as teaching languages in subjects other than the languages themselves. Rather, the Kamsá school focuses more on culture, having cultural workshops where children can learn to make traditional Kamsá items, such as bracelets, but additionally has some Kamsá language classes (not unlike foreign language instruction in many schools in Colombia and elsewhere).

There was a thesis project done in 2016 by Agreda España, a pedagogy student at the *Universidad Distrital* in Bogotá, to implement knowledge of the traditional Kamsá garden into

the daily school system at the bilingual high school. The school seems interested in continuing projects that connect the students with the traditional community and in the future may start a documentation project where the students record elders speaking Kamsá as a way to engage them while at the same time recording knowledge before it may be lost.

In Bogotá, there is a preschool for children called the *Casa de Pensamiento Shinÿak* (literally 'House of *Shinÿak* Thought'). It is one of several preschools for indigenous children in Colombia's capital, and, like the school in Sibundoy, it is open to all.

There are also educational apps. A group of Kamsá university students has been collaborating to make Kamsá language learning apps. The first of these apps, *Juatsjinÿam Kamentsá* 'Practicing Kamsá' was released in November of 2017. Its purpose is to help children learn vocabulary, particularly related to the garden, clothing terms, and colors. The *cabildo* in Sibundoy sometimes offers language classes for community members. Anyone can attend these classes, and they can be used to supplement classes from the bilingual schools.

1.3.5 The future of Kamsá

Because most of the parent generation are not competent speakers and are not passing the language on to their children, it seems that the language will be lost unless a great effort is made to revitalize it now. Much of the infrastructure is in place: the bilingual school, written materials, and strong social presence of the *cabildo*. But community effort is necessary for today's children to learn the language and pass it on to their children. My feeling is that grandparents would need to start teaching Kamsá to the children in the community now, maybe following a language nest model, or the language will mostly be gone in 20 or 30 years.

1.4   Previous research on the language

This dissertation is the first reference grammar of Kamsá. In this section I describe the history of research on the language and the major earlier contributions. There have been five major contributors to the documentation and description of Kamsá. Much has been published about the culture of the people and certain aspects of the language, and there are many Kamsá

texts that have been translated into Spanish and/or English, but there has not yet been a full grammatical description.

First, there was Marcelino de Castellví (1908-1951), a Capuchin priest from Spain, who founded the *Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas y Etnológicas de la Amazonia Colombiana* ('Center for Linguistic and Ethnological Research in the Colombian Amazon', CILEAC). He wrote several articles about Kamsá including "Bibliografía de la familia lingüística Kamsá" ('Bibliography of the Kamsá linguistic family') (1940).

Second, Linda Howard, a linguist working for the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), spent a number of years living in Sibundoy. SIL was present in the region for almost 30 years, but with very few publications. Howard published two articles in English and two in Spanish on the language in the late 1960s: a brief description of the phonology "Camsá phonology" (Howard 1967) and an attempt at explaining verbal inflection from a tagmemic analysis, a theoretical framework used by SIL linguists in the 1970s: "Camsá: certain features of verb inflection as related to paragraph types" (Howard 1977).

Third, in the early 1990s, John McDowell, a folklorist at the University of Indiana, published *So wise were our elders: Mythic narratives of the Kamsá* (McDowell 1994), a book of traditional stories in Kamsá, all translated into English, with extensive commentary. Although an impressive book and an excellent record of traditional culture, its purpose was not to describe the morphology or syntax of the language, nor is there any interlinear glossing. He has also written several articles including "Collaborative Ethnopoetics: The View from the Sibundoy Valley", "Discourse Authority in the Sibundoy Valley" (1995), and "The Community-building Mission of Kamsá Ritual Language" (1990), among others.

Fourth, in the 1990s, José Narciso Jamioy Muchavisoy, a Kamsá linguist, published a few articles about the language after completing his Masters in Ethnolinguistics at the Universidad de los Andes in 1989. Some of his articles are: "Tiempo, aspecto y modo en kamentsa" ('tense, aspect, and mood in Kamsá', 1992), "Estructuras predicativas del kamentsa" ('predicative structures of Kamsá', 1999) and "Observaciones a los documentos de Fray Marcelino de Castellví sobre la lengua Kamëntsá" ('Observations on the documents of Father Marcelino de Castellví about the Kamsá language', 1999). In addition to these articles, he also helped translate Colombia's constitution of 1991 into Kamsá.

Fifth, Juan Bautista Jacanamijoy Juajibioy, a Kamsá *taita* who worked with SIL for many years, began compiling a dictionary. He was disappeared in 2008 and never finished the project, but other community members have been working on completing it and it will be published soon. In addition to these five people, Alain Fabre (2000) has written a brief grammatical sketch of the language: "Algunos rasgos tipológicos del Kamsá (Valle de Sibundoy, Alto Putumayo, sudoeste de Colombia) vistos desde una perspectiva areal" ('Several typological features of Kamsá seen from an areal perspective, Sibundoy Valley, Upper Putumayo, southeast Colombia'). It gives a brief description of some features of the language, using existing sources, and he describes agent and patient marking and noun classifiers in the language. This 30-page sketch is perhaps the best linguistic description of the language. He also wrote a similar paper in English: "Kamsá, a poorly documented isolated language spoken in South-Western Colombia" (Fabre 2001). There is also an MA thesis in 2013 by Chloé Garsault about the phonology of the language, called "Éléments de sociolinguistique et de phonologie du kamsá, langue isolée du sud-ouest Colombien" ("Elements of socioloinguistics and phonology of Kamsá, a language isolate of Southwest Colombia") and an MA thesis by a Kamsá linguist, María Clara Juajiboy Mutumbajoy, in Bogotá in 1995 called "Actancia verbal en Kamentsa" ("Verbal agreement in Kamentsa).

In addition to these linguistic works, there are several collections of stories and poems in Kamsá and many books and articles about Kamsá culture. In addition to McDowell's book of Kamsá stories, there are also two books of stories compiled and translated by Alberto Juajibioy Chindoy, both containing Kamsá and Spanish texts side-by-side and glossaries at the end of each book. One is called *Relatos ancestrales del folclor camentsa* 'Ancestral tales of Camentsa folklore' (1988) and the other is *Lenguaje Ceremonial y Narraciones Tradicionales de La Cultura Kamëntšá* 'Ceremonial Language and Traditional Narratives of the Kamëntšá Culture'. There is a doctoral dissertation by Haydée Seijas (1969) at Tulane University called *The medicinal system of the Sibundoy Indians*, in which she discusses the medical practices of the Kamsá and Inga. There is an excellent book about the history of the Capuchins in Sibundoy Valley, *Servants of Gods or Masters of Men?: The Story of a Capuchin Mission in Amazonia*, by Victor Daniel Bonilla (1971). There is a Kamsá poet, Hugo Jamioy Juagibioy (2005), who published a book of poetry in Kamsá and Spanish called *Danzantes del viento / Bínÿbe oboyejuayeng* ('Dancers of the wind' in English). Finally, there was a doctoral dissertation published in 2018 about the philosophy, culture, and language of Kamsá by Alejandro Chindoy,

called *Constituted and constituting symbols of the Kamëntŝá culture: essays on native philosophy of culture*. There are also many pedagogical materials made by the Kamsá community and/or SIL.

1.5   Methodology

This dissertation is based on fieldwork that I conducted with Kamsá speakers in Sibundoy Valley and Bogotá. I spent a total of 18 months in Colombia between 2015 and 2018; of that time, I spent about 6 months in Sibundoy. I worked mainly with older Kamsá speakers, above the age of 60, some of whom had never left the Putumayo/Nariño region. I recorded word lists, elicitations, conversations, traditional stories, and life histories in Kamsá and Spanish. This dissertation includes one of these texts, which shows the influence of Spanish on the language. Because there are so many existing texts in the language (albeit without grammatical description or glossing) I also took advantage of these existing materials for ideas and hypotheses about the grammar. The example sentences in this dissertation come both from my own recordings (elicitations and texts) and from these other sources. Sample sentences from Chindoy's and McDowell's stories are marked as such; from my elicitations are marked MC; and from my longer texts are marked with the date. All recordings were WAV files, recorded with a TASCAM recorder, except for a few recordings done by a couple of Kamsá friends on their cell phones.

All materials, including audio recordings of traditional stories, conversations between speakers, and elicitations will be archived with AILLA (Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America). I chose AILLA because it is the main archive for languages of Latin America and it is also where McDowell archived his Kamsá materials. They have agreed to archive the materials.

1.6   Typological overview

In the following sections I provide a general description of Kamsá's phonology, morphology, and syntax, placing the language in a typological context.

1.6.1 Phonetics and phonology

Kamsá's phonemic inventory is average for languages. There are 19 consonant phonemes and 6 vowel phonemes. The consonant inventory is marked by its large number of sibilants (both fricatives and affricates). Also, the language has many consonant clusters. The series of voiced stops /b, nd, ng/ is unusual, where /b/ is not prenasalized phonetically but the other two are.

There are a few phonemes that are borrowed from Spanish, including /d/, /g/, /ʎ/ and /r/, although the language had the two prenasalized stops previously.

1.6.2 Morphology and word classes

Kamsá has complex morphology and is polysynthetic. There are prefixes and suffixes, but not infixes or circumfixes. Verbs are primarily prefixing. Nouns and adjectives primarily have suffixes. But verbs also bear suffixes, and all parts of speech can have certain suffixes. Nouns and adjectives can have prefixes, as well.

Verbs have prefixes for person, number, tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality, emphasis, and more, and have a few suffixes for TAM and nominalization. Kamsá verbs have morphological marking distinguishing singular, plural, and dual. There is a distinction between present, recent past, distant past, and future. There's a two-way system of evidential marking. Negation is shown with a negator and verbal prefixes; the verb has several options for prefixes. There are a few clitics, as well, including subordinators.

Nouns have suffixes. These suffixes show number, case, class, and more. Noun class markers are part of the noun; the noun cannot appear without its class marker. Cases can stack, i.e. a noun can bear multiple case markers. Nouns can also appear with postpositions, but they do not have to. Case markers may be clitics or may be suffixes. Nouns can be singular, plural, or dual, shown by suffixes, but number marking on nouns is not obligatory.

1.6.3 Word order and syntax

The basic order of basic constituents in Kamsá seems to be SOV but it is extremely flexible and is also perhaps becoming SVO under the influence of Spanish. Kamsá is dependent-

marking, with possessors being marked morphologically rather than the thing possessed. The language also exhibits agreement, with adjectives agreeing with nouns in class, number, and sometimes case. Oblique phrases tend to follow the subject of the clause and can precede or follow the verb. Negators almost always precede verbs. Kamsá has mostly postpositions, although it also has some prepositions that it has borrowed from Spanish. There are some subordinators that are clause-initial and others that are clause final. In possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessum (possessed) and is marked with a genitive case ending. Adjectives can either follow or precede the nouns that they modify. Demonstratives and numerals always precede nouns. Kamsá may be considered a pro-drop language, in that an overt subject is not a necessary syntactic element.

Kamsá has nominative-accusative morphosyntactic alignment. In the third person, S and A (not O) trigger verbal agreement. There can be also object marking on verbs, mainly for first and second person objects. When the verb is ditransitive, if the goal is first or second person, it is marked on the verb (not the theme). Kamsá has a strange characteristic of having dual marking when there is a transitive sentence with an animate agent and patient. This could be polysemy.

There is *wh*-movement for questions: question words always come at the beginning of the clause. Polar ('yes/no') questions do not necessitate any change in word order, and no special particle is needed, although the tag *aiñ o ndoñ* 'yes or no' is commonly added to the end of the question with a difference in intonation. Comparatives and superlatives are formed with the Spanish loanword *más* 'more'. Both nouns and adjectives can function as predicate complements, either without a copula or with an inflected 'be' verb.

1.6.4 Kamsá compared with Andean languages

Adelaar (2008) states that it "has been a common practice among linguists working on South American languages to make an intuitive distinction between 'Amazonian' and 'Andean' languages on the assumption that there would be two different language types corresponding to these labels." He proposes many traits that Andean languages tend to have (and many traits that Andean languages lack). Here I discuss 20 of the traits that he suggests and explore whether Kamsá fits or does not fit the typological expectations of this proposed Sprachbund. These areal features are often tendencies.

1: *Complex number systems:*

"Andean languages tend to have elaborate numeral systems, generally conceived on a decimal basis, which have the potential of counting as far as a hundred thousand or even further" (Adelaar 2008:24).

Kamsá indeed has an elaborate numeral system, but the higher numbers are perhaps borrowed from Inga. The word for 'one hundred' is *pats*, which is from Quechuan. In forming multiples of one hundred, the cardinal number precedes *pats*, e.g., *uta pats* 'two hundred'.

2: *Suffixes on verbs*:

"Agglutinative structure with an exclusive or near exclusive reliance on suffixes for all morphological and morphosyntactic purposes has often been mentioned as a typical feature of an alleged Andean language type" (Adelaar 2008:25).

Kamsá is agglutinative, but it mainly has prefixation rather than suffixation (although there are a few suffixes that can go on verbs). Note that Adelaar points out that Kamsá is an exception in his article.

3: *Free/SOV constituent order*:

"Constituent order is relatively free in Andean languages, although there seems to be a preference for the order in which subject/actor and object precede the verb (SOV)" (Adelaar 2008:26).

This holds true for Kamsá: it has very free word order. The language seems to be SOV but because the word order is so free, and perhaps because of the influence of Spanish, it is not clear yet what should be considered its basic word order, if anything.

4: *Verb final subordinate clauses*:

"In many languages, including Aymaran and Quechuan, subordinate clauses are strictly verb-final" (Adelaar 2008:26).

More research is needed to determine if subordinate clauses are always verb-final in Kamsá.

5: *Modifiers precede modified in NPs*:

"A general characteristic of most Andean languages (including Aymaran and Quechuan) is that modifiers must precede the modified in hierarchically organized noun phrases. In some languages, however, adjectives follow the noun whereas in other modifiers precede it" (Adelaar 2008:26).

While determiners and numerals must precede their associated head noun, adjectives can either precede or follow the head noun.

6: *Few vowels, no tone, no nasality spread:*

"Andean languages are said to lack a variety of phonological traits", including many vowels, tone, and nasality spread (Adelaar 2008:26).

Kamsá, like many Andean languages, lacks these features. It has no contrastive tones, nasal vowels, or nasality spread, and it has more vowels than Quechuan or Aymaran languages typically have.

7: *Voiceless uvular stop*:

Many Andean languages have a contrastive voiceless uvular stop (Adelaar 2008:27). Kamsá does not have this feature.

8: *No classifier systems:*

"One of the most salient characteristics is again negative, namely the absence of Amazonian-type classifier systems (cf. Derbyshire and Payne 1990). Such classifier systems, which are largely based on distinctions of shape, are widely found in the pre-Andean Amazonian region, where they are subject to borrowing and imitation. They are not found in the Andes" (Adelaar 2008:28).

Kamsá diverges from the proposed Andean typological profile in having a large class/classifier system, with nouns having class markers and modifiers agreeing with them.

9: *No gender:*

"In most Andean languages, including Aymaran, Quechuan and Araucanian, gender distinctions are not expressed morphologically" (Adelaar 2008:28).

Kamsá does not have grammatical gender but it does have a class system for a subset of nouns.

10: *Case marking on nouns by suffixes or postpositions*

"Case marking on noun phrases expressed by means of suffixes or postpositions is common in Andean languages" (Adelaar 2008:29).

Kamsá nouns have case marking with nine cases. These all suffixes.

11: *Accusative marking and/or disambiguating suffix indicating actor as opposed to unmarked object*

"Accusative case marking is found in several central Andean languages (Aymaran, Quechuan, Barbacoan, Páez, also in the pre-Andean Jivaroan languages), but less so in the northern Andes (cf. Constenla 1991) and in the south. Some northern languages, viz. Chimila, Ika (both Chibchan) and Cholón, feature a disambiguating affix that indicates an actor in opposition to an (unmarked) object" (Adelaar 2008:29).

Kamsá does not have accusative case marking; S, A, and O are unmarked. There is an optional clitic =*na*, however, that possibly marks actors. It is discussed in 8.2.3.2.

12: *No possessed/dispossessed roots*

"The formal distinction between possessed and non-possessed roots is a wide-spread phenomenon in Mesoamerica (Mayan, Uto-Aztecan) and in the eastern lowlands of South America (Arawakan, Cariban, TupiGuaraní). It is nearly unknown in the Andean region, except in the Arawakan languages" (Adelaar 2008:29).

Kamsá (like other Andean languages) does not display a formal distinction between possessed and non-possessed roots.

13: *Some have transitive/intransitive distinctions but most do not:*

"However, in most of the central Andean languages (including Aymaran and Quechuan) the transitive / intransitive distinction hardly plays a role" (Adelaar 2008:29). It is important to note that this means that the verbs do not have transitive vs intransitive morphology, but objects can still have accusative case.

Kamsá may have a morphological difference (namely *a-* vs *o-* after the verbalizing j-) between these transitive and intransitive verbs but it is not clear.

14: Both subject and object can be encoded on verb:

"Some Andean languages encode both the subject and an object in a verb form" (Adelaar 2008:29).

Kamsá encodes both subject and object on the verb.

15: Distinguish between different types of objects:

"Some languages (e.g. Ika) distinguish different types of objects" (Adelaar 2008:29).

Kamsá does not have different types of objects.

16: No stative-active distinction:

"The stative-active distinction, which is attested in eastern lowland languages (e.g. Arawakan, Tupi-Guaraní) and in languages of the Gran Chaco (Guaicuruan), has not been found in the Andes" (Adelaar 2008:30).

Kamsá does not have this distinction.

17: Rich verbal morphology:

"In most Andean languages, as in some pre-Andean languages with an Amazonian background (for instance, the Arawakan languages Amuesha, Ashéninka, Guajiro etc.), the verbal morphology is extremely rich and varied" (Adelaar 2008:30). Here, switch reference is given as one example.

It is, of course, hard to quantify verbal morphology, but Kamsá would indeed most likely be considered to have a "rich verbal morphology" and can encode many things.

18: Nominalizing markers:

"Andean languages such as Aymaran, Quechuan and Uru-Chipaya have a set of morphological nominalizations, which may encode relative tense and which can be combined with case markers to form different types of adverbial clauses and complement clauses. They are also used to form relative clauses" (Adelaar 2008:30).

More research is needed to determine if Kamsá has this trait or not.

19: Person marking for inclusive/exclusive:

"Personal reference systems in Andean languages generally reflect the classical Amerindian pattern of 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person, 1st person inclusive (also known as 4th person)" (Adelaar 2008:31).

Kamsá seems to have first person singular, plural, and dual rather than first person inclusive.

20: Evidentiality:

"Aymaran and Quechuan are well known for having strict and compelling systems of evidentials that indicate data source. They may find their expression in the verbal paradigm (Aymaran) or in enclitic elements operating at the sentence level (Quechuan). Extensive systems of evidentials have been reported for other Andean languages as well" (Adelaar 2008:31).

Kamsá has a two-way evidential system, with a marker for known or experienced experiences and another marker for unknown.

Chapter 2
Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the consonants, vowels, and phonological processes of Kamsá. Phonemes are discussed primarily as they occur in native words (as opposed to loan words). In this section, I transcribe all Kamsá words using the IPA, before introducing my practical orthography. After presenting this orthography, I use it for the rest of the dissertation. Words without stress marked (with an acute accent) are understood to have penultimate stress.

2.2 Segmental phonology

Kamsá has 19 consonant phonemes, including affricates (but not including phonemes found only in loanwords), six vowel phonemes, and four loan phonemes. The phonemic inventory for consonants is unusual in that it has the series of voiced stops /b, nd, ng/, where /b/ is not prenasalized phonetically but the other two are. Stress is generally penultimate, although some words and a couple of morphemes are exceptional in that they have ultimate stress. Loan words from Spanish and the mixture of Spanish and Kamsá are now heavily influencing the phonology of the language.

2.2.1 Vowels

Kamsá has a typologically common pattern of six vowels, although the phonemic status of the high front vowel (2.2.1.2) is problematic. The vowels are shown in Figure 2.1.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Figure 2.1 Kamsá vowels (in the IPA)

2.2.1.1 Distribution of /u, e, o, a/

The four vowels that are definitely distinct phonemes in Kamsá are /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/. Because most Kamsá words are rather long, there are few true minimal pairs in the language. There are, however, a number of near minimal pairs, showing the distribution of these four vowels. The following examples illustrate that different vowels can occur in identical environments.

u and *e*:
x**u**natsan 'carry multiple things'   x**e**nabajan 'come, multiple people'

Both vowels can occur in the first (unstressed) syllable, between a voiceless velar fricative *x* and an alveolar nasal *n*.

u and *o*:
x**u**tsnaʃa 'bed'   x**o**tsbanan 'get up'

Both vowels can occur in the first (unstressed) syllable, between a voiceless velar fricative *x* and a voiceless alveolar affricate *ts*.

u and *a*:
k**u**kwatş 'hand'   k**a**kan 'raw'

Both vowels can occur in a stressed first syllable, between two voiceless velar stops *k*. Some more examples are:

tʃumbo 'turkey'   tʃam 'for this'
xuʃaɲ 'crack, crevice'   xaʃnan 'apply medicine'

e and *o*:
x**e**noboten 'get bigger'   x**o**nanan 'feel'

Both vowels can occur between a voiceless velar fricative *x* and an alveolar nasal *n*.

e and *a*:
ⁿd**e** (response to a greeting)   ⁿd**a** 'who'

Both can occur in open syllables, following a prenasalized alveolar stop *ⁿd*.

o and *a*:
ob**o**na 'fat'   ob**a**na 'dead'

Both vowels can occur the second (stressed) syllable, between a voiced bilabial stop *b* and an alveolar nasal *n*.

All four of these vowels can occur between two consonants (specifically stops), as seen below.

u: k**u**kwatʂ 'hand'
e: b**e**kon 'close'
o: b**o**koj '*chicha* (a fermented beverage)'
a: b**a**ta 'aunt'

All four of the vowels can be word initial, as seen below.

u: **u**ta 'two'
e: **e**nuta 'friend'
o: **o**bana 'dead'
a: **a**k 'you (singular)'

Only three of the four vowels (/e, o, a/) can occur word finally, however, as seen below. There is no attested form ending in **u#*.

e: maʃakb**e** '*lulo* fruit'
o: tʃumb**o** 'turkey'
a: mok**a** 'here'

2.2.1.2 The high front vowel [i]

The status of the high front vowel *i* is less clear. It seems to be an allophone of /e/, as the two phones are in complementary distribution. The form [i] is only found preceding palatal (or palatal-alveolar) consonants (/ʃ, ⁿdʒ, tʃ, ɲ, j, ʎ/), whereas [e] *never* precedes a palatal (or palatal-alveolar) consonant, as illustrated by the following:

(1a)   **e**mpas 'finished'
(1b)   **e**na 'pure'
(1c)   **i**ⁿdʒa 'other' (*i* preceding a prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate)
(1d)   **i**ɲe 'fire' (*i* preceding a palatal nasal)
(1e)   **i**tʃan- [future prefix] (*i* preceding a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate)

Thus, the following phonological process could be posited:

e → i / _ palatal

/i/ before palatal glides

/i/ is also inserted before the glide /j/, just as /u/ can occur before /w/.

$\emptyset \rightarrow i / \_ glide$

There are, however, a few places where *i* occurs that are not predictable, running counter to the posited palatal rule above (i.e., a limited number of lexemes exhibit [i] preceding non-palatal consonants). First, there are three words (likely etymologically related) that contain the form [ib] (all three of these words have something to do with time): *ibeta* 'night', *ibs* 'tomorrow', and *tonxapasaibs* 'yesterday'. Note that *tonxapasaibs* contains the Spanish-derived element *pasa* (from *pasar* 'spend time').

A second exceptional [i] is found in the verbal prefix *is-*, which designates movement 'from a place'. The following three verbs exemplify this derivational prefix.

xiseboknan 'leave from'
xisoⁿgwefxwan 'fly from'
xisetsxwan 'go up frome'

The third exception is the third person singular present marker *i-*, as seen below.

i-n-ts-abwana 'he/she is cooking'

There is a fourth possible exception to the rule of [i] only being found preceding palatal consonants, as there appears to be a noun class marker of the form -*i* (3.2.4). Nouns represented by this class and the adjectives that agree with them all end in [-i]. This final high front vowel could, however, underlyingly be the palatal glide /j/, which becomes syllabic when occurring word-finally and following a consonant, as shown below:

$j \rightarrow i / C \_ \#$

The following sentences illustrate this form as it follows the consonants *x* and *t*.

(2)   tʃ **bjaxi** bjen **fwerti** iⁿdemɨn
       tʃ   byax-**j**   bjen   fwert-**j**   ɨ-ⁿd-emɨn
       DET   yage-CL   very   strong-CL   3SG-HAB-be
       'The *yage* is strong.'(*fwert* < Spanish *fuerte*); *yage,* also known as *ayahuasca*, is a
       hallucinogenic plant mixture).

In the following sentence, a comparison can be made between the form [-i], which follows the consonant ⁿg, and the form [-j], which follows the vowel [a].

(3)   **ibwaj** jap **seᵑgi** iⁿdemɨn
       ibwa-**j**   jap   seᵑg-**j**   i-ⁿd-emɨn
       saliva-CL   very   dirty-CL   3SG-HAB-be
       'His saliva is very dirty.'

Some nouns with this class marker (which seems to mark liquids) are the following:

bjaxi '*yage* (a hallucinogenic concoction)'
bokoj '*chicha* (a fermented beverage)'
ibwaj 'saliva'
letʃi 'milk' (< Spanish *leche* [letʃe] 'milk', perhaps etymologically *letʃe-j, the mid vowel
deleting before the glide, and the glide syllabifying)
ʃatʃbwɨ 'tear'

      Finally, there is an optional rule, whereby the distant past marker *j-* can be realized as [i-]
when preceding a consonant. Alternatively, the vowel [e] may be inserted so as to follow the
prefix /j-/ and precede the consonant. The two options are thus:

j → i / _ C, when in the distant past marker

Or

Ø → e / j _ C, when in the distant past marker

Thus, (third singular) distant past form of *xan* 'go' can thus be realized as either *ixa* or *jexa,* as
shown in (4a) and (4b), respectively. Other verbs, too, can have *i-* or *ye-* as seen in (4c) and (4d).

(4a)   ixa 'he/she went (a long time ago)' (from *xan* 'go')
(4b)   jexá 'he/she went (a long time ago)' (from *xan* 'go')
(4c)   i-namɨn 'it was (a long time ago)' (from *xamnan* 'be')
(4d)   yexaʃaᵑgo 'he/she arrived (a long time ago) (from *xaʃaᵑgo* arrive')

There are loan words where /i/ can be a nucleus, such as /xw**i**sjo/ from Spanish juicio 'sensible'

2.2.1.3 The high central vowel /ɨ/

      The high central vowel *ɨ* seems to be phonemic, but with limited distribution, not
occuring word initially or word finally. There are near minimal pairs with the high central vowel
ɨ and other vowels, but no true minimal pairs.

(5a)   mamang 'worms'
(5b)   mengaj 'communal work' (from Inga)
(5c)   mongox 'deer'
(5d)   mɨng 'plural animate determiner'

(5e)   benach 'path'
(5f)   bɨnok 'far'

(5g)   betsko 'fast'
(5h)   bɨts 'big'
(5i)   bɨtská 'much'

There are a few words in the language in which *ɨ* occurs word-initially, namely some third person singular verb forms. The third singular present form of 'be' is *indɨmɨn* 'he/she/it is'. This is perhaps a reduction of the vowel *i-* which is the most common third singular verbal prefix.

2.2.1.4 Arguments against the high central vowel as a phoneme

An alternative analysis is that *ɨ* is not phonemic, but instead is either an epenthetic vowel (to break up consonant clusters) or a reduced form of an underlyingly different vowel. Sometimes (and especially between nasals), it is not clear whether [ɨ] is present in the word at all (even phonetically). Thus [mɨnte] 'today' could also be realized as [mnte], that is, with a syllabic nasal and [indɨmɨn*]* 'he/she'it is' could also be [ndmn*]*, *[*ndɨmɨn*]* or other various combinations of having the high central vowel and not having it.

Although there are arguments against *ɨ* being phonemic, I claim here that it is a phoneme because of the few minimal pairs and because speakers distinguish between it and other sounds.

2.2.1.5 Vowel-glide sequences and glide-vowel sequences

There are no diphthongs in Kamsá, in that it is never the case that multiple vowels form the nucleus of a syllable. There are, however, two possible sequences of vowel-plus-glide in Kamsá (/aj/ and /oj/), as well as four possible sequences of glide-plus-vowel (/je/, /jo/, /ja/, and /wa/). The vowel-plus-glide sequences both contain the palatal glide /j/ as their coda; the glide-plus-vowel sequences can begin with either the palatal glide /j/ or the labio-velar glide /w/,

although there are limitations on which vowels may form the nucleus of the syllable. Kamsá syllable structure forbids vowel sequences: any vowel sequences that could potentially occur are broken up by the insertion of a glide.

/aj/

The sequence /aj/ has wide distribution. It can be at the beginning of a word, as in *ajnan* 'heart'; it can be at the end of a word, as in *wafxaxonaj* 'lagoon'; and it can be somewhere in the middle of a word (with a consonant forming the onset of the syllable), as in *ʈajta* 'father'.

/oj/

The sequence /oj/ is also common. It can be at the beginning of a word, as in *ojena* 'inhabitant'; it can be at the end of a word, as in *tabanoj* 'to(ward) the town'; and it can be somewhere in the middle of a word (with a consonant forming the onset of the syllable), as in *soj* 'thing' or *boja* 'man'.

/jV/

Glides can also form the onset (or part of the onset of a syllable. The palatal glide /j/ can occur before three vowels: /e/, /a/, and /o/. That is, it may precede non-high vowels (**ji*, **jɨ*, **ju* are not attested). There can also be word initial onsets with *j-* followed by a vowel, such as the distant past marker *je-*.

je: betje 'tree'
ja: atʂbjam 'for me'
jo: atʂbjoka 'at my place'
joj: atʂbjoj 'to me'

/wa/

The labio-velar glide /w/ can also precede a vowel, although it has a much more restricted distribution: /w/ can only precede the low vowel /a/. There is no /w/ without a following vowel, but /w/ can be word initial as seen in the word waben 'sister of a man'.

ʃb**wa**ya 'hunter'
ʃek**wa**tʂ 'foot'

waben 'sister of a man'

In sum, there are four phonemic vowels in Kamsa that have wide distribution and that contrast with one another (/u/, /e/, /o/, and /a)/. There are also two vowels whose phonemic status is questioned, as their occurrence is predictable accept for minor exceptions (/ɨ/ and /i/). There are several vowel-glide and glide-vowel sequences, but vowel sequences are prohibited.

2.2.2 Consonants

Chart 2 displays all the consonant phonemes of Kamsá in the IPA. The forms in parenthes are borrowed sounds from Spanish and occur only in loan words.

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stops	b	t, ⁿd, (d)			k, ᵑg, (g)
Affricates		ts	tʂ	tʃ, ⁿdʒ	
Fricatives		s	ʂ	ʃ	x
Nasals	m	n		ɲ	
Liquids		l, (r)		(ʎ)	
Glides	w			j	

Figure 2.2: Kamsá consonants (in the IPA)

There are some unusual characteristics of Kamsa's consonant inventory. First, for the voiced stops, there is a prenasalized voiced velar stop /ᵑg/, but no non-prenasalized voiced velar stop (no */g/, aside from in loans from Spanish). Similarly, there is a prenasalized voiced alveolar stop, / ⁿd/, but no non-prenasalized voiced velar stop (no */d/, aside from in loans from Spanish). Finally, there is a prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ⁿdʒ/, again without the non-prenasalized counterpart (no */dʒ/). There is a voiced bilabial stop /b/, but no voiceless bilabial stop (no */p/, aside from in relatively recent loans from Spanish); rather, the voiceless bilabial stop [p] is an allophone of the voiced stop, /b/, as is the labiodental fricative [f].

Another interesting fact about Kamsá's phonemic inventory is its large number of fricatives and affricates. The language has voiceless alveolar, retroflex, palato-alveolar, and velar fricatives, as well as voiceless alveolar and retroflex affricates and both voiced and voiceless palato-alveolar affricates; furthermore, the single labial obstruent /b/ can be realized as the voiceless labio-dental fricative [f].

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Finally, there are several sounds that are phonemic but extremely rare, including the palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ which is maybe a loan from Spanish and the alveolar lateral approximant /l/, which could also possibly be a loan phoneme..

2.2.2.1 Voiceless stops /t, k/

Kamsá has two voiceless stops, /t/ and /k/, which contrast with each other. They can occur word initially before /a/ or before /o/, as seen below, as well as in other environments.

katʃ [intensifier]　　　　**ta**mo 'salt'
kotʃaş 'chest'　　　　　**to**biaş 'girl'

Both /t/ and /k/ can be word final, as seen below.

bakofta**k** 'with the uncle'　　katşa**t** 'brother'

2.2.2.2 Voiced stops /b, ⁿd, ᵑg/

The voiced stops are /b/, /ⁿd/, and /ᵑg/. Whereas the alveolar and velar voiced stops are prenasalized, the bilabial voiced stop is not. The prenasalized stops /ⁿd/ and /ᵑg/ contrast with each other, as seen in the following words.

ⁿdmwa 'who'　　　　　ᵑgmenan 'pity'
ⁿdwawenan [deaf]　　　ᵑgwɨşɨşbe 'nose'

The (non-prenasalized) voiced bilabial stop /b/ also contrasts with the two other voiced stops, ⁿd and ᵑg, as seen below.

bokoj '*chicha*'　　　　**ⁿd**oka 'nothing'
baja 'animal, beast'　　**ⁿd**ajek 'why?'

bwetʃtsanuko 'hat'　　　**ᵑg**wetʃe 'mud'
xo**b**weyan 'offend'　　　xo**ᵑg**wefxwan 'fly'

As mentioned, the voiced bilabial stop /b/ exhibits the allophones [b], [p], and [f]. As discussed in Section (2.5) below, [p] is becoming (or has become) a phoneme as well, due to loan words in the language.

The allophone [f] occurs when /b/ followed by a voiceless consonant, i.e.:

/b/ → [f] /   [-voice] (optional?)

The form [b] is always found when followed by a vowel or the labial-velar approximant /w/, as in *b*asa 'small' or *b*watʃana 'visitor' (i.e., never *fasa* or *fwatʃana*). It is only a following voiceless consonant that can condition the change of /b/ to [f], as in the word *ff*ants 'land' and *fxants* 'white', in which the following voiceless fricative conditions the [f]. Voiceless stops also condition b → f, as seen in the word *ften* 'bland'.

For at least some words, however, there may be free variation—for example, the word [ftʃeⁿd] 'blue' can also be pronounced [btʃeⁿd].

2.2.2.3 The prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ⁿdʒ/

There is no oral equivalent /dʒ/. It can occur word initially as seen in with ⁿdʒets 'all' and the particle ⁿdʒa. It can come after vowels as seen in *i*ⁿ*dʒe* 'other', *ka*ⁿ*dʒe* 'one', and *xa*ⁿ*dʒan* 'examine'

ⁿdʒets 'all'
ⁿdʒa 'particle'
iⁿdʒe 'other'
kaⁿdʒe 'one'
xaⁿdʒan 'examine'

2.2.2.4 Nasals /m, n, ɲ/

There are three nasals in Kamsá, a bilabial nasal /m/, an alveolar nasal, /n/, and a palatal nasal /ɲ/. They may all occur word-finally, as in the following:

ⁿdoɲ 'no'   jeⁿdo**n** 'squirrel'   tbo**m** 'a lot'

2.2.2.5 Liquids

There are a few sounds (namely liquids) that seem to be phonemic because they are not predictable, but they are extremely rare: the palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/, the alveolar lateral approximant /l/, and the alveolar tap /r/. The tap is certainly borrowed from Spanish (see 2.2.2.7), and the two lateral approximants may be as well.

An example of a word containing the palatal lateral approximant is in *maʎaxt* 'a lot'. An example with the alveolar lateral approximant is *lemp* 'all'. Neither sound can be predicted by the environment, with /ʎ/ being intervocalic and /l/ being at the start of a word followed by the vowel /e/.

2.2.2.6 Voiceless fricatives and affricates /s, ts, ʂ, tʂ, ʃ, tʃ x/

The voiceless fricatives (/s/, /ʂ/, and /ʃ/) and their corresponding voiceless affricates (/ts/, /tʂ/, and /tʃ/) all have (almost) the same exact distribution, along with the voiceless velar fricative /x/, which has no affricate counterpart. (There are no voiced fricatives in Kamsá). These seven voiceless fricatives and affricates can all appear word initially, as seen below. In each example, the fricative or affricate is immediately followed by the vowel /e/.

sebja 'extreme point'
tsetʂan 'pain'
ʂeʂa 'corn plant'
tʂematʂ 'hominy'
ʃem 'woman
tʃentʂ 'here'
xenanufxa 'rod'

These consonants can also all occur word initially before /a/, as in the following words.

saka 'thus'
tsafjoj 'kitchen'
ʂatʃénaka 'crying'
tʂaba good'
ʃatʃna 'five'
tʃa 'he, she'
xaʃxaⁿgwá 'arrive'

The two voiceless velar consonants /k/ and /x/ contrast, occurring word initially before /a/ and /e/, as seen below.

xan 'go'   **k**atʃ [intensifier]
xenanufxa 'tool for corn' **k**eʂ 'dog'

2.2.2.7 Borrowed phones /d, g, r/, and maybe /p/

Kamsa has borrowed /d/, /g/, /r/, and maybe /p/ from Spanish.

/d/

deombre 'truly' (from Spanish de hombre 'of man')
dweɲ 'owner' (from Spanish *dueño* [dweɲo] 'owner')

/r/

ral 'money' (from Spanish *real*)
rat 'short amount of time' (from Spanish *rato*)

/p/

plautufxa 'flute' (from Spanish *flauta*)
podesk 'ugly' (maybe from Spanish *feo*)
pwerte 'strongly' (from Spanish *fuerte*)

It's interesting that /f/ gets borrowed as /p/, especially since /p/ can get (or did get) borrowed as /b/ (e.g., *bastok* 'Pasto'). This could give you information about rules for the allophones of /b/. It would be interesting to investigate whether newer borrowings of /f/ from Spanish also become /p/ in Kamsá.

2.3   Syllables structure

Kamsá's syllable structure permits multiple (up to three) consonants in an onset or coda and almost any combination of consonants. More research is needed to see if they follow the sonority hierarchy. There are phonological processes that occur when prefixes, suffixes, and clitics are added to words.

A syllable in Kamsa typically consists of a single-vowel nucleus, to which may be added up to two consonants in the onset and up to two consonants in the coda. Alternatively, the nucleus can be a consonant, but if there are more than two consonants in a syllable, an epenthetic high central vowel /ɨ/ is inserted.

The following words exhibit syllables containing onsets consisting of a single consonant:

betsko 'fast'
kanta 'four'
maʃakbe 'lulo fruit'
sasna 'food'
ʃaxwan 'bean'
tabanok 'village'
wabon 'spirit'
xan 'go'

The following word contains syllables with two consonants in a single onset.

stonoj 'behind'

Vowel initial words in Kamsa are rare, but are possible, as seen by the following words.

atʂ 'I'
enutá 'friend'
obaná 'dead'
uta 'two'

2.4   Stress

Kamsá words generally have penultimate stress, although there are a few cases where stress is ultimate. Thus, stress is phonemic, not fully predictable. Stress cannot fall on syllables other than the penult or ultima.

Some words have lexically determined ultimate stress. This is particularly common for nouns ending in /-a/, such as *wabowán* 'horrible' and *batá* 'aunt'. There is a tendency for nouns that end in an open syllable with /a/ or /o/ or a closed syllable with /an/ to have ultimate stress, but it is not always the case.

Stress is usually penultimate, but it can be ultimate as well. For ultimate stress, only syllables with /a/, /o/, or /e/ as the nucleus can take stress. In the following examples, /a/, /o/, and

/e/ are in the final syllable and have stress. /i/, /u/, and /ɨ/ never have stress in the ultimate syllable.

batá 'aunt'
bakó 'uncle'
ʃaxbé 'cucumber'

Words that end with closed syllables have penultimate stress.

bastok 'Pasto'
benach 'path'

The high back vowel /u/ can be stressed when occurring in the penult of a word with default penultimate stress, but there are no Kamsá words with /u/ in the last syllable.

While ultimate stress can be lexically determined, it can be morphologically determined as well: verbs have ultimate stress in the infinitive, as in the following examples (note that the infinitive always ends in -*an*).

xaxanán 'to say'
xwaʃɨntsán 'to plant corn'

Although this ultimate stress appears to be morphologically conditioned, it could instead be that there is something (phonological) about final -*an* that attracts stress. Indeed, there are words belonging to other classes that end in -*an*, which also have ultimate stress, such as *wabowán* 'horrible'.

Although there are not many minimal pairs in Kamsá (in part because words tend to be quite long), there is at least one minimal pair in the language based on stress alone: whereas the word *ena* 'pure' has penultimate stress, the word *ená* 'seller' has ultimate stress.

Some clitics always take the stress, namely the clitic *te* 'day', as in *kada-té* 'each day'

2.5   Loan phonology

Due to the influence of Spanish, Kamsá has acquired several (relatively) new phonemes, which speakers recognize as different sounds. These occur only in loanwords. Words with stops are now being borrowed with the stop /d/ or /g/ instead of with the prenasalized equivalent. /r/ and /ʎ/ are also common and found only in loan words (from Spanish or Inga). Finally [p] (which

also occur in Kamsá as an allophone of /b/) is recognized by speakers as phonemically distinct when occurring in loanwords, and so could be considered a fifth loan phoneme.

2.6   Morphophonemics: phonological rules

There are several phonological rules.

Rule 1: Vowel deletion

Kamsá has no consecutive vowels within words. Whenever two vowels come together (over a morpheme boundary), the first vowel is deleted. For example, when the allative marker *-oj* is added to the noun *txa* 'mountain', /a/ in mountain is deleted.

txa + oj →txoj 'to the mountain'

Rule 2: Vowel becomes glide

i → j / _ V

If the vowel is /i/, however, the next following vowel is not deleted. Instead /i/ is a glide, /j/. When *bata* has the allative marker *-oj* after the animacy marker *-bi,* the /i/ is not deleted.

bata + bj + oj → batabjoj 'to the aunt'

Rule 3: Optional devoicing

When /b/ occurs before a voiceless consonant, it often becomes /f/ or /p/, although not always, as seen above with [btʃeⁿd] 'blue', also pronounced as [ftʃeⁿd].

/ibs/ 'tomorrow' can be pronounced [ips]

Rule 4: Degemination

ş + ş →ş

When there are two identical consonants in a row, only one is pronounced. Thus when the first person object marker ş- precedes the second person plural subject marker şmo- on a verb, it is realized as şmo, not şşmo-.

2.7 Orthography of Kamsá

The orthography that I use for transcribing Kamsá is mostly based on the writing of previous linguists, anthropologists, and Kamsá community members, although I have made some slight modifications. While there exists a substantial body of writing in the language, there is nevertheless no standard, agreed-upon orthography. This has been problematic in community efforts of revitalization. My goal in writing this dissertation has been to use an orthography that is close enough to previous orthographies that a Kamsá speaker could easily read the transcriptions, while also making it clear for non-Kamsá speakers.

Figure 2.3 presents the Kamsá vowel phoneme as written in my orthography. All forms are identical to the IPA, with the sole exception of the high central vowel, which I (following earlier orthographies) write as <ë> as opposed to /ɨ/.

Figure 2.4 presents the Kamsá consonant phonemes as written in my orthography. Where this orthography differs from the IPA, the IPA symbol is present in brakets. Sounds that are found in current Kamsá speech but that are (likely) not native sounds are included in parentheses (namely /r/, /d/, and /g/; although the segments [d] and [g] do exist in native vocabulary, they are only found there preceded by nasal articulations, i.e., /^{n}d/ and /^{ŋ}g/). I also put [f] and [p] in parentheses because—although they are phonologically predictable in the language—speakers tend to think of them as separate sounds (again, likely due to their phonemic status in Spanish, which is spoken by all Kamsá speakers).

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ë [ɨ]	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Figure 2.3 Kamsá vowels in the working orthography

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stops	(p) b	t, nd [^{n}d], (d)			k, ng [^{ŋ}g], (g)
Affricates		ts	tš [tʂ]	ch [tʃ], ÿ [^{n}dʒ]	
Fricatives	(f)	s	š [ʂ]	sh [ʃ]	j [x]
Nasals	m	n		ñ [ɲ]	
Liquids		l, [r]		ll [ʎ]	
Glides	w			y [j]	

Figure 2.4 Kamsá consonants in the working orthography

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2.7.1   A brief history of Kamsá orthography

Other than a few Spanish missionaries who wrote word lists in the 18th century, there was no attempt made at devising an orthography for Kamsá until the 1970s, when SIL linguists first arrived in the Sibundoy Valley. Since then, several people have been writing the language, including anthropologists, Kamsá community members, and other researchers. Although most of the orthographic symbols are the same across the board, the orthographies do differ on the following sounds (in IPA): /x/, /ʂ/, /tʂ/, /ɨ/, and /ⁿdʒ/. There is also variation in how people write the vowel-plus-glide sequence /oj/ (either <oi> or <oy>) and debate as to whether there is (underlyingly) a labial-velar approximant in the language or whether this sound is more properly a high back rounded vowel—that is, people differ on whether to use <w> or <u> to transcribe the bilabial approximant.

The first person to really propose an orthography of Kamsá was Linda Howard (1967; 1977), a missionary linguist from SIL (her work is discussed further in Section 1.4). She based her orthography on her phonemic analysis of the language and proposed more or less what I have written above. That said, as many SIL researchers have done in Latin America, she followed Spanish conventions, such that /k/ is spelled <qu> before /i, e/, but is spelled <c> elsewhere. The main differences between her orthography and mine are that she writes the voiceless velar stop as <qu> or <c> rather than <k>, the retroflex fricative as <x> rather than <ṡ>, and the retroflex affricate as <tx> rather than <tṡ>. This use of <x> may be confusing to those familiar with the IPA, since <x> (in the IPA) is used to transcribe the voiceless velar fricative and some Kamsá writers have used <x> as the voiceless velar fricative (Jamioy Muchavisoy 1992, 1999).

McDowell (2014) follows Howard in her orthography except for a couple of modifications. He uses <k> throughout for the voiceless velar stop (as do I). He does not use <ë>, or any other symbol for IPA [ɨ], at all, arguing that this vowel is not phonemic but is predictable based on its environment, namely that it is inserted when there are consonant clusters or nasals. For example, McDowell generally transcribes the third person plural pronoun, which phonetically is closest to [tʃɨⁿga], as <chnga> (p.106) or, sometimes, as <chunga> (p.228), whereas most Kamsá authors write <chënga>, using the symbol <ë> to transcribe the high central vowel. With other words, he transcribes [ɨ] as <u> or <e>. Like Howard, he uses <x> for the retroflex fricative. For the prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate (IPA /ⁿdʒ/), he writes

<ny>, claiming that it is an allophone of /y/, perhaps a nasal preceding an allophone of /y/. He transcribes the labio-velar glide /w/ as <w>, even when it follows another consonant, whereas others transcribe it as <u> in such environments (e.g., he writes <twamba> 'hen' as compared to others' <tuamba>). Finally, he writes the vowel-plus-glide sequence /oj/ as <oy>, whereas some writers prefer <oi>.

The divergences from the IPA that are shared by most transcriptions (including my own) are as follows: 1) superscripts are not employed for prenasalized segments (e.g., <nd> for /^{n}d/), 2) voiced velar segments are written (following common typesetting) <g> as opposed to /ɡ/, 3) the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate is written (following Spanish) <ch> as opposed to /tʃ/, 4) the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative is written (following English) <sh> as opposed to /ʃ/, 5) the voiceless velar fricative is written (following Spanish) <j> as opposed to <x>, 6) the palatal nasal is written (following Spanish) <ñ> as opposed to /ɲ/, 7) the palatal lateral approximant is written (following Spanish) <ll> as opposed to /ʎ/, and 8) the palatal glide is written (following English) <y> as opposed to /j/.

The symbols that differ among transcribers are summarized in Figure 2.5.

IPA	k	ʂ	ɨ	ⁿdʒ
Howard	<c>, <qu>	<x>	<ë>	
McDowell	<k>	<x>	<∅>	<ny>
Chindoy	<k>	<š>	<ë>	<nÿ>
Hugo Jamioy Juagibioy	<c>	<š>	<ë>	<nÿ>
Me	<k>	<š>	<ë>	<nÿ>

Figure 2.5 Different spellings of Kamsá

2.7.2 Justifications for my orthography

<p, b, f>

/b/ seems to be phonemic with [f] as an allophone (namely in consonant clusters when it precedes voiceless consonants) and [p] as another allophone (in word final positions). I have

decided to write these sounds with three separate symbols (i.e., as <b>,<p>, and <f>) for two reasons. First, I believe it will be more useful to people when they are reading the language to see the surface realization of underlying /b/. Second, it is the case that these phones are different phonemically among loan words from Spanish. When there is some free variation (mainly between [b] and [f]), I write the sound as <b>, sometimes with a note.

<ë> (ɨ)

The high central vowel is problematic for several reasons. First, it is difficult to determine whether it is actually a phoneme, because—for most (but not all) words—it is phonologically predictable. Second, it is often inserted as an epenthetic vowel between consonants, particularly nasals. These issues are discussed in greater depth above on the phonology of the language. The third difficulty is the question of how to write this vowel. Most authors have chosen <ë>, so I am following the literature by using that symbol. McDowell (2014) does not write it at all; instead, when he believes it to be epenthetic, he excludes it completely and when he believes it to be underlying /u/ or /e/, he writes it as <u> or <e> accordingly.

<w, y>

Glides: I have decided to write <w> although many Kamsa writers use <u>.

Problems with using <x>

I have chosen not to use <x> as a symbol in my orthography, neither for the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ nor for the voiceless velar fricative /x/, because it has been used by several authors (McDowell 1994, Howard 1967) for the retroflex consonants, so that if I were to use it to symbolize the voiceless velar fricative, as in IPA, it would be confused by native speakers who have seen it written for retroflex consonants. Excluding <x> from my orthography will avoid some confusion. Following the conventions of many Kamsá writers and the Kamsá *cabildo* 'governing body', I use <š> to transcribe the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ and <tš> to transcribed the voiceless retroflex affricate /tʂ/. Following Spanish orthography (and all Kamsá orthographies), I use <j> to transcribe the voiceless velar fricative /x/.

no <c> or <q>

To simplify the orthography, I use <k> for all voiceless velar stops. I do not use <c> in the orthography except as part of the digraph <ch> for the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/. Some authors have used <c> (at least in some lexemes) for the voiceless velar stop, presumably based on English usage. Thus Howard (1967) wrote the name of the language as "Camsa". . Some authors have used <qu> for some Kamsá words to transcribe the velar stop while using <k> for transcribing the same sound elsewhere. I do not use <q> at all in my orthography.

<ṡ> for retroflex

The retroflex has been written with a variety of symbols. One problem with using <ṡ> is that it could be confused with /ʃ/ or other sounds. The alternatives, however, seem more complicated. No one in the community uses IPA <ʂ>, and some researchers have used <x> for the retroflex, which could be confused with other sounds.

<ll>

There is perhaps a phoneme /ʎ/, the palatal lateral approximant as discussed in 2.2.2.7. The sound is extremely rare, but there are a few words where it exists, such as *mallajt* (IPA *maʎaxta*) 'many'. I use <ll> for this sound because every Kamsá speaker also speaks Spanish, where the sound [ʎ] is written <ll> and it is easier than using the IPA [ʎ].

<nd> for /ⁿd/

I use <nd> instead of <d> for /ⁿd/ for two reasons. First, I want to show the prenasalization in the orthography. Second, I want to be able to distinguish between older loan words that were borrowed as /ⁿd/ from Spanish /d/ and newer ones that are borrowed as /d/.

Finally, to conclude this chapter, I offer one last note about the phonology. Although words can end in consonants, the vowel /a/, often reduced to [ɨ], is often added to the end of words. It does not seem to be grammatical. It can only be added to consonant final words. Words that end in stressed /a/ cannot lose that /a/. In this dissertation, I gloss this added /a/ as EPE for epenthetic.

Chapter 3
Nouns

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter, nominal morphology and the structure of noun phrases in Kamsá are discussed. First, I lay out the inflectional morphology that nouns can take, and the head of the NP is identified, along with other elements that can be part of the noun phrase, including demonstratives, numbers, adjectives, and adpositions. Nouns are an open class in Kamsá.

Nouns can bear inflectional morphology, although a noun can be a word without any bound morphemes. The inflectional morphology includes: number marking (plural and dual), noun class markers, a topic marker, and a determiner that is a clitic preceding the noun. Kamsá has derivational morphology, including suffixes to make an agent from a verb and evaluatives (diminutives, augmentatives, and pejoratives). Kamsá nouns that are derived from verbs also lack morphology, i.e. they are stripped of the morphology of the verb.

Although Kamsá nouns can have multiple suffixes, it is not common for all possible suffixes to appear on a single noun at the same time. For example, a noun would not normally have a plural marker, a diminutive suffix, and a class marker all at once. If the noun has a class marker, the diminutive and/or the plural marker do not appear. Class markers are obligatory for those nouns that fall in the class of nouns that have class markers, whereas number marking is optional, and diminutives (by their nature) are also optional. Case markers are more flexible, because although they are obligatory, they can appear at the end of the noun phrase instead of on the noun itself, as discussed further below.

The structure of a noun with a class marker is:

root + class + (dim) + (number) + (case)

The structure of a noun without a class marker is:

root + (dim) + (number) + (case)

For example, 'with the little tree tomatoes' could be *chembalbe-tem-ëng-ak*.

Verbs that act as nouns grammatically are not included in this section, but are in section 4.4. Nouns that are derived from verbs are found in 4.2.

3.2   Noun classes

Kamsá has a system that falls between noun class and noun classifier, typologically, fitting neither definition neatly. Here I choose the term class because the markers are an obligatory part of the noun. Kamsá does not have grammatical gender, but there are at least 10 class markers that exist in the language, as well as a subset of nouns in which the noun itself is a suffix, often called a 'repeater' in other South American languages. The class markers are bound morphemes; they are suffixes which form a phonological word with their host and cannot be removed or changed. Demonstratives, adjectives, and sometimes numerals which agree with the noun have a matching suffix, depending on the position of the demonstrative, adjective, or numeral in relation to the noun. A few classes are signaled by both a prefix and a suffix, but no classes are signaled by a prefix without a suffix.

The majority of nouns in Kamsá do not belong to a noun class; the nouns with class markers are a very small subset of the nouns in the language. The majority of nouns have no special suffix and the adjectives, demonstratives, or numerals which agree with them do not take a special suffix, either. Although some noun classes have something semantic in common, such as signifying that the objects are round or hairy, many do not fall into a particular semantic domain, and for some classes, I have not found enough nouns to determine what if any the semantic relationship for the nouns could be.

After showing that most nouns do not belong to the class of nouns that require a class marker, I show 11 noun classes and one additional suspect noun class. For each category, I give an example of the noun with an adjective, where possible with the adjective *bchenda* 'blue'. Then, I give other examples of other nouns in the class. Finally, for each category I offer an explanation of what could connect them semantically. Where possible, I include both native Kamsá words and loanwords from Spanish that belong to the class. The loan words that have class markers may lend additional insight into the semantic domain of these noun classes because they are more recent additions to the class. I start with the the unmarked noun class giving examples of a human, an object, a place, and an abstract thing, to show that there is no class or

gender for these words, the majority of words in the language. There is no morphological difference in the root between animate and inanimate nouns, or between human and nonhuman nouns. Again, it is important to emphasize that most nouns in Kamsá do NOT have any class marker, while there are some very specific groups of nouns that do have special noun-class suffixes.

3.2.1 Nouns without noun class markers

In the following (1a-e), the adjective *botaman* 'beautiful' does not have any unique suffixes, regardless of the noun it agrees with: 'girl', 'tree', 'mountain', 'night', or 'story'. Thus, the adjectives that agree with this class of nouns do not have a special suffix. Rather, they retain whatever suffix they have in their basic form (often an optional -*a*).

(1a) ch bobonts tonjapasaibs tbojinÿ kanÿe botaman tobiaš
 ch bobonts tonjapasaibs t-b-ojinÿ kanÿe botaman tobiaš
 DEM youth yesterday PST-DU-see one beautiful girl
 'Yesterday, the young man saw a beautiful girl.'

(1b) tonjapasaibs tojinÿ ch bobonts botaman beti
 tonjapasaibs t-ojinÿ ch bobonts botaman beti
 yesterday PST-see DEM youth beautiful tree
 'Yesterday the young man saw the beautiful tree.'

(1c) ch tjan tabano-k botaman indemën
 ch tjan tabano-k botaman i-nd-emën
 DEM mountain Sibundoy-LOC beautiful 3SG-HAB-be
 'The mountains in Sibundoy are beautiful / The mountain in Sibundoy is beautiful.'

(1d) ibet botaman indemën
 ibet botaman i-nd-emën
 night beautiful 3SG-HAB-be
 'The night is beautiful.'

(1e) botaman kwent
 botaman kwent
 beautiful story
 'The story (is) beautiful.' (*kwent* from Spanish *cuento* 'story')

Whether or not *botaman* 'beautiful' or any other adjective has a final *-a* depends on whether the adjective precedes or follows the noun. When the adjective precedes the noun, the final vowel is dropped, as seen in (6a-c).

(2a-c) ftseng waknà = wakná ftsengá = black cow
Tsësië twamba = twamba tsësiá = yellow hen
Fjants meseto = meseto³ fjantsá = white cat

3.2.2 Class 1: nouns with *-be*

Nouns of this class end in *-be* and adjectives that agree with them have the same suffix, *-be*. In (3a), *shmnë-be* 'egg' has an obligatory suffix -be; *shmnë* does not exist in isolation. *bchendë* 'blue' is realized as *bchendë-be* because it agrees with *shmnëbe*. To compare, (3b) shows *shlfotš* 'bird', a noun that does not take a class marker, with *bchendë* 'blue'. Note *bchendë* does not have any suffix.

(3a) ch shmnëbe bchendëbe indemën
ch   shmnëbe   bchendë-be   i-nd-emën
DET   egg-CLF   blue-CLF   3SG-HAB-be
'The egg is blue.'

(3b) Compare with:
ch shlfotš bchendë indemën
ch   shlfotš   bchendë   i-nd-emën
DET   bird   blue   3SG-HAB-be
'The bird is blue.''

In the following example, *tamna* 'delicious' has the suffix *-be* to agree with *chembal-be* 'tree tomato'. As with *shmnë-be*, *-be* is obligatory; there is no word *chembal* in isolation.

(4) chembal**be** tamna**be** indemën
chembal-**be**   tamna-**be**   i-nd-emën
tomato-CLF   delicious-CLF   3SG-HAB-be
'The tree tomato is delicious.'

In the following sentence, *ftseng* 'black' has the suffix *-be* in agreement with *ndëtš-be* 'rock' :

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³ *meseto* 'cat' appears to be from the very widespread words for 'cat' in indigenous languages that are traced back to mix (mish) in Old Spanish, a word for calling cats

(5)   ch ndëtšbe indemën ftsengëbe
      ch   ndëtš-**be**   i-nd-emën   ftsengë-**be**
      DEM   rock-CLF   3SG-HAB-be   black-CLF
      'The rock is black.'

This class has many nouns, including some loanswords like *naranja-be* 'orange' (the fruit), which comes from Spanish *naranja*. Other nouns that belong in this class include:

(6a)   mashak-be 'lulo fruit'
(6b)   chembal-be 'tree tomato'
(6c)   bšën-be 'eye'
(6d)   ndëtš-be 'rock'
(6f)   nguešëš-be 'nose'

Many of the nouns in this category are round or spherical. Of course, not all round things in the language are in this class, nor are all of the things in this class necessarily round, but it more or less is a semantic attribute of most nouns belonging to this class and taking the ending in *-be*.

It is also important to note that there is another homophonous suffix *-be* in Kamsá, which is used for the genitive marker. The genitive marker attaches to the possessor. In (7) *bata* 'aunt' has the genitive marker *-be* to show that she is the possessor of the dog. It does not mean that she is round. Furthermore, if there is an adjective that agrees with 'aunt', that adjective will not have the suffix *-be*.

(7)   ch batabe keš
      ch   bata-be   keš
      DET   aunt-GEN   dog
      'the aunt's dog'

3.2.3   Class 2: nouns with (*wa-*) *-ya*

Nouns of this class end in *-ya* and the adjectives that agree with them have the suffix *-ya* as well as a prefix, *wa-*. In (8), the noun *wa-snani-ya* has both the prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ya*. There is no word **snan* in isolation; without this prefix and suffix, it is not a grammatical word. The adjective *bchendë* 'blue' has both a prefix *wa-* and a suffix *-ya* to agree with the noun *wa-snani-ya*. The final vowel *ë* in *bchendë* becomes *-i*, presumably because it is preceding the glide /y/.

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(8) ch wasnani**ya** indewamën **wa**bchendi**ya**
     ch   wa-snani-**ya**   i-nd-ewamën   **wa**-bchendi-**ya**
     DEM   CLF-manta-CLF   3SG-HAB-be   CLF-blue-CLF
     'The cloths/tablecloths are blue.'

For all nouns in this class, the adjectives modifying them have to take both the prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ya*, even for nouns that do not have the prefix *wa-*, such as *kmeši-ya* 'shirt' and *këbsayë-ya*, a piece of traditional clothing. It is also interesting to note that *kmeši-ya* is a loan word from Spanish *camisa* 'shirt'. This shows that semantically clothing and cloth words go into this class, even when they are not native words.

(9) ch kmeši-ya indewamën **wa-**bchendi-**ya**
     ch   kmeši-ya   i-nd-ewamën   **wa-**bchendi-**ya**
     DEM   shirt-CLF   3SG-HAB-be   CLF-blue-CLF
     'The shirts are blue.'

This class of nouns is much smaller than the *-be* class; I have not found many words with the *-ya* class marker suffix. All words in this class seem to be clothing or cloth related. Another words in this class is:

(10) këbsayë-ya 'tunic'

3.2.4 Class 3: nouns with *-i*

The nouns in this class end in *-i*, with some morphophonemic variation. The adjectives that agree with these nouns take the suffix *-i*. There is no prefix for this class. In (14) the noun *biaji* 'yagé, ayuahuasca' ends in *-i* and the adjective *bontja* 'bitter' (check) takes the suffix *-i* to become *bontji*. As in the other classes, the noun classifier is part of the word; *biaj* without *-i* is not a grammatical word. Although the *-i* as the ending of these nouns could be explained by the Spanish they are borrowed from (Spanish *leche* becoming *lechi*), the adjectives agreeing with them have to have this *-i,* as well, as seen in 12 and 13.

(11) ch biaji indemën yap bontji
      ch   biaji   i-nd-emën   yap   bontj-i
      DET   yagé   3SG-HAB-be   very   bitter-CLF
      'The yagé is very bitter.

In (12), *biaji* 'yage' is shown with *fwerti* 'strong', a loan word from Spanish *fuerte*. The adjective takes the suffix -i to agree with *biaji*.

(12) ch biaji bien fwerti indemën
　　　ch　　　biaji　　bien　　fwert-i　　　i-nd-emën
　　　DET　　yagé　　very　　strong-CLF　3SG-HAB-be
　　　'The yagé is strong.'

In (13) *lechi* 'milk' is a loan word from Spanish *leche* and is a member of the liquid noun class, showing that the class is productive. The adjective *asul* 'blue' (also a loan word from Spanish *azul*) takes the suffix *-i* to agree with *lechi*.

(13) ch lech**i** asul**i** indemën
　　　ch　　　lech-**i**　　　　asul-**i**　　　i-nd-emën
　　　DET　　milk-CLF　　　blue-CLF　　3SG-HAB-be
　　　'The mik is blue.'

In (14), another example of a word from this noun class is shown. *tamwi* 'salty' agrees with *shachbwi* 'tear', as shown by its suffix.

(14) shachbwi indemën tamw-i
　　　shachbw-i　　i-nd-emën　　　tamw-i
　　　tear-CLF　　　3SG-HAB-be　　salty-CLF
　　　'The tear is salty.'

The adjectives that agree with these nouns always take the suffix *-i* even if the noun itself ends in a vowel-glide sequence, such as [ay] or [oy]. In (15) *ibway* 'saliva' ends in -ay. Adjectives that agree with *ibway* have the suffix *-i*, not the vowel-glide sequence *-ay* as shown by *seng-i* 'dirty' with an *-i* suffix, not *seng-ay*. This morpheme is thus *-i* after C and *-y* after V.

(15) ibwa-y　　　　yap　　seng-i　　　　i-nd-emën
　　　saliva-CL　　very　　dirty-CLF　　3SG-HAB-be
　　　'His saliva is very dirty.'

Nouns that belong to this class share the semantic attribute of being liquids. So far, I have not found any nouns in this group that are not liquids, but there are nouns for liquids in the language that do not belong to this class, such as *buyesh* 'water'. Other words that belong to this class are:

(16a) lechi: milk

(16b) biaji: yage
(16c) shachbwi: tear
(16d) ibway: saliva
(16e) bokoy: chicha

3.2.5 Class 4: nouns with *-Vj*

Members of the next class of nouns end in *-aj* and the adjectives that agree with them end with *-j*, preceded by the final vowel of the adjective's stem. All nouns in this class end in *-aj*. Only the adjective agreeing with the noun takes the class marker: the second person possessive pronoun *akb*e does not take a class marker with these nouns.

(17) akbe bicha**j** indemën bchendë-**j**

ak-be	bich-a**j**	i-nd-emën	bchendë-**j**
2SG-POSS	tongue-CLF	3SG-HAB-be	blue-CLF

'Your tongue is blue.'

This class seems to be mostly composed of words related to the body but does not include all words in the language that are related to the body. Other nouns in this class include:

tomošaj: 'throat'
mëntjaj: 'leg'
stëtšaj: 'back'
tantšaj: 'shoulder'
kuashaj: 'gourd'
matbaj: 'pot'

3.2.6 Class 5: nouns with *-jwa*

This class contains nouns that end with *-jwa* and sometimes have a prefix *wa-*. As in Class 2, not all of the nouns in this class have the prefix *wa-* but the adjective agreeing with them must take the prefix *wa-*. Note that this is the same prefix as in Class 2.

In the following example, *botoman* 'beautiful' takes both the suffix *-jwa* and the prefix *wa-* to agree with *yentši-jwa* 'cloth'. The noun *yentši-jwa* does not have any prefix.

(18) bëng së-n-dawabën yentši-**jwa** **wa-**botaman-**jwa**

bëng	së-n-dawabën	yentši-**jwa**	**wa-**botaman-**jwa**
1PL	1-EVI-use	cloth-CLF	CLF -beautiful-CLF

'We use beautiful cloth.'

Interestingly, there are two words for 'cloth', almost identical except that the suffix is different: *yentši-jwa* and *yentši-ya*. Regardless of which version of the word for cloth is used, the suffix on the adjective is *-jwa*. It does not become *-ya* to agree with *yentši-ya*.

(19) kem yentšiya indewamën **wa**bchendu**jwa** i inÿa **wa**bwangan**jwa**

kem yentš-iya	i-nd-ewamën	**wa-**bchendu-**jwa**	i	inÿa	**wa-**bwangan-**jwa**
DEM cloth-CLF	3SG-HAB-be	CLF-azul-CLF	and	other	CLF-red-CLF

'This cloth is blue and the other is red.'

3.2.7   Class 6: nouns with *-sha*

The sixth class has nouns that end in *-sha*. Like in Class 2 and 5, this class also has the prefix *wa-* on the adjectives agreeing with the nouns.

In (20) the adjective *botoman* 'beautiful' has both the suffix *-sha* and the prefix *wa-* to agree with *wa-jajonë-sha* 'bird's nest'.

(20) ch shloftš endabomn wajajonë-sha **wa**botaman**sha**

ch	shloftš	i-nd-abomn	wa-jajonë-sha	**wa-**botaman-**sha**
DET	bird	3SG-HAB-has	CLF-nest-CLF	CLF-beautiful-CLF

'The bird has a beautiful nest.'

Unfortunately, my corpus has only one other word in this class and thus cannot posit a semantic theme. Because the suffix sha is not found in any othe classes, I do categorize it as a separate noun class. More research is needed to find more nouns in this class.

3.2.8   Class 7: nouns with *-fja*

The nouns of this class end in *-fja* and the adjectives that agree with them have the same suffix. There is no prefix for nouns in this class. In (21), *ochma-fja* 'spine' ends in *-fja* and the adjective *bchendë* 'blue' has the suffix *–fja*, *bchendë-fja*.

(21) ochmafja bchendëfja
     ochma-fja   bchendë-fja
     spine-CLF   blue-CLF
     'The spine is blue.'

This class has nouns that are long and thin, like spine, stick, and wand. Other nouns in this class include:

ochma-fja 'fish bone'
nÿenÿu-fja 'thin stick'
yeru-fja 'iron rod'
shengmanu-fja 'pitchfork'

3.2.9 Class 8: nouns with *-iñ*

The marker in class 8 is somewhere between a noun class marker and a repeater. It is almost the same as the word for 'fire', *inÿ*, and it is used mainly for adjectives agreeing with fire, as seen in (22) where *botaman* 'beautiful' has become *botamiñ* to agree with *inÿ* 'fire'.

(22) inÿ botamiñ
     inÿ   botam-iñ
     fire   beautiful-CLF
     'beautiful fire'

There may be other words that take this class marker, namely the words for 'light' and 'sun', but more data are needed.

3.2.10 Class 9: repeaters

Kamsá has a few nouns which are repeaters[4], much like in some other languages of South America. These nouns attach to the adjective, thus acting as suffixes themselves, as in (23):

(23) yebën indëmën botaman-yebën
     yebën   i-nd-ëmën   botaman-yebën
     house   3SG-HAB-be   beautiful-house
     'The house is beautiful.' (the house is a beautiful house)

---

[4] Thank you to Leidy Sophia Sandoval for pointing out that *soy* could be a repeater, and for all of our other discussions about noun classes.

I have only found three so far: *yebën* 'house', *soy* 'thing', and *mats* 'corn'.

3.2.11 Suspect class 10: *-kwa*

McDowell (1994) posits that *-kwa* is a classifier for body parts. A few nouns that are body parts have *-kwa* in the word, as a bound morpheme, and no non-body part words in the language have this *-kwa*. Adjectives that agree with these nouns do not take the suffix *-kwa*; however, and thus it does not seem to be a noun class, at least not one parallel to the other noun classes. In the following sentence, *derecha* 'right' and *iskyerda* 'left' do not have a suffix *-kwa* to agree with kukwach 'hand.' If *-kwa* marked nouns formed a true noun class, we would expect *derecha-kwa* and *iskyerda-kwa* for 'right' and 'left'. Because adjectives do not agree with these nouns, I do not categorize *kwa* as a noun class marker but rather maybe a frozen suffix.

(24)   kanÿe kukwatš derecha y kanÿe kukwatš iskyerda
        kanÿe   kukwatš   derecha   y   kanÿe   kukwatš   iskyerda
        one   hand   right   and   one   hand   left
        'one right hand and one left hand' (MC)

Other nouns marked with *-kwa* include the following:

matskwaš: ear
shekwatš: foot
bwakwatš: arm

Note that the nouns with the *-kwa* morpheme end in slightly different sounds, with *matskwaš* 'ear' and *shekwatš* 'foot' both ending in the retroflex and *bwakwatš* 'arm' and *kukwatš* 'hand' both ending in the retroflex affricate. This is different from all of the previous class markers, where the marker is the last suffix without any different consonants following it.

        Figure 3.1 (on the following page) summarizes the noun classes in Kamsá.

Class Number	Class Marker	Semantic Meaning
	-0	
1	-be	round ((spherical?))
2	wa- -ya	clothes
3	-i	liquids
4	-Vj	body
5	wa- -jwa	cloth
6	wa- -sha	hairy? ((no semantic identification was given))
7	-fja	long and thin
8	-iñ	fire
9	repeaters	short, common words
10	kwa (not a class)	body

Figure 3.1 Noun classes in Kamsá

3.2.12 Noun class with case

When the noun appears with case markers, the case marker is the last suffix of the adjective, after the noun classifier. In the following example, *ndëtš-be* 'rock' is in the instrumental case (with the suffix *-k*). The adjective *ftsen* 'black' agrees with *ndëtš-be* and has the classifier suffix *-be* followed by the instrumental suffix *-k*.

(25) atš sën-japorma ch more ndëtš-**be** ftsengë-**be-k**
      atš   së-n-japorma   ch   more   ndëtš-**be**   ftsengë-**be-k**
      1SG   1SG.PAST-EVI-make   DET   wall   rock-CLF   black-CLF-INST
      'I made a wall with black rocks.'

3.2.13 Noun class with plural

When a noun is plural, the class marker comes before the plural marker. In (26) *shemnë-be* 'egg' has the class marker *-be* and is followed by *-ng* to show it is plural. Note that the plural marker is not obligatory; *shemnë-be* could be plural without *-ng*.

(26)   shemnëbeng
        shemnë-**be-ng**
        egg-CLF-PL
        'eggs'

McDowell states that noun class markers (which he terms noun classifiers) can be added to words that do not necessarily have them as a way to be creative with the language (1994). He gives the following example. In (27), from one of McDowell's texts, the determiner *ch* refers to the *oso* 'bear' mentioned before in the same line. The determiner ch has the noun class marker *-be* which is used for round things. According to McDowell, this means he is being referred to as a round person, and that he is a humorous oaf rather than a fierce suitor that bears are in other stories.

(27)   i ch osona, chbe yojtsaishniy
        i   ch   oso-na   ch-be   yo-jtsaishniy
        and   DET   bear-TOP   DET-CLF   3G.PST-put.on.fire
        'And as for that bear, he put (them) on the fire.' (From McDowell 2014:220)

I have not found any productivity with noun class in my data. McDowell gives one example of this occurring, and it is with *-be*. Whether or not other class markers could be used productively is unknown. If it is true, however, then these noun class markers perhaps seem more like noun classifiers than markers of noun classes.

3.3   Other nominal morphology

Kamsá nouns can have derivational morphology, though it is very limited, mainly to nominalize verbs, and also evaluatives including diminutive, pejorative, and augmentative. There is also considerable inflectional morphology, for number and cases. This section discusses the morphology of nouns, including noun cases, number markers, and diminutives. Noun class

markers were discussed above (see 3.2). Some of the morphology was discussed in Chapter 3, but here it is discussed in more detail, including all of the morphemes and allomorphs and their uses and meanings.

3.3.1 Number

Kamsá nouns have suffixes for number and nouns can be singular, dual, or plural. Singular nouns have no overt marking, whereas dual and plural marking is shown by a suffix on the noun. Number marking is not obligatory in Kamsá, and often plural and dual nouns are left optionally in their singular form, especially when it is clear from the context that the noun is plural or dual.

The suffixes are summarized in Figure 3.2.

Number	Suffix	Example ending in Vowel	Example ending in consonant
Singular	Ø	bata 'aunt'	shloftš 'bird'
Dual	-at	bata-t 'two aunts'	shloftš-at 'two birds'
Plural	-(ë)ng	bata-ng 'aunts'	shloftš-ëng 'birds'

Figure 3.2 Nominal number

In the following example, *keš* 'dog' is *ke*š-*at* in the dual and *keš-ëng* in the plural. Because *batá* 'aunt' has a final stressed vowel which cannot be deleted (as in other words that have final stressed vowels, but unlike words that have optional final vowels; see Chapter 2 on the phonology). When *batá* is dual, *batá + at* becomes *batát*. When *batá* is plural, *batá + ëng* becomes *batáng*.

(kanÿe) keš 'one dog'
(uta) keš-at 'two dogs'
(unga) keš-ëng 'three dogs'

(kanÿe) batá 'one aunt'
(uta) bata-t 'two aunts'
(unga) bata-ng 'three aunts'

Nouns that end in -*n* become -*n*g in the plural as seen below, where *šešon* 'baby' becomes *šešong*. and *begon* 'fish' becomes *begong* in the plural. Thus the n → Ø /__+ng ?

šešon 'baby'
šešong 'babies'

begon 'fish'
begong 'fish (pl)'

The evidence that these are suffixes rather than separate words or clitics can be seen with nouns that undergo a phonological change when the plural or dual marker is added, as seen above with nouns that end in vowels, such as *bata* 'aunt' which is *batang* in the plural, 'aunts'. Also, nouns that end in -*n* undergo a phonological change when the plural marker is added, as seen where the plural of *begon* 'fish' is *begong* 'fish (pl)' The second piece of evidence that these are suffixes rather than separate words is that psychologically speakers think that they are part of the word based on questions I have asked consultants. Finally, -*at* and -*ng* never stand on their own.

In Kamsá, the dual and plural markers are optional. In (28), three options for marking dual can be seen. In (28a), the *uta viajerata* 'two travelers' has both the numeral two and a dual suffix, -at. In (28b), *viajerata* has the dual suffix but not numeral. In (28c), the noun *tjok* 'mountain' is modified by *uta* 'two' but has no dual marker. In (28d), the ungrammatical example shows that plural cannot be used for dual. Note that (28c) has the determiner *ch* to mark definiteness/specificity whereas (28a) and (28b) do not.

(28a) uta byajerata
         uta   byajer-at-a
         two   traveler-DU
         'two travelers'
         (Chindoy 2 61.1)

(28b) byajerata
         byajer-ata
         traveler-DU
         'two travelers' (Chindoy 62.12)

(28c) ch uta tjok indemun ngobshnin
　　　ch　　uta　　mountain　　i-nd-emun　　ngobshnin
　　　DET　　two　　mountain　　3SG-HAB-be　　green
　　　'The two mountains are green.'

(28d) *uta byajeratëng
　　　uta　　byajerat-ëng
　　　two　　travel-PL
　　　*'two travelers'

Similarly, plural nouns can be marked with both a number and a plural marker (29a), without a number and only a plural marker (29b), with a number without a plural marker (29c), and without a number and without a plural marker (29d), where the context makes it clear that the noun is plural. Note that (29d) could be singular, plural, or dual; context is needed to determine which it is.

(29a) unga keš-ëng 'three dogs'
(29b) keš-ëng 'dogs'
(29c) unga keš 'three dogs'
(29d) keš 'dog' 'dog'

Adjectives will often agree with nouns for number, although it is not obligatory. Adjectives as part of the noun phrase will be discussed more in Section (8.2).

(30a) shloftš bwangana
　　　shloftš　　　　bwangana
　　　bird　　　　　red
　　　'The bird is red.' (MC)

(30b) unga shlofts-ëng bwangana-ng
　　　unga　　shlofts-ëng　　bwangana-ng
　　　three　　bird-PL　　　　red-PL
　　　'The three birds are red.' (MC)

3.3.2 Evaluatives: diminutive, pejorative, and 'poor'

There are three evaluatives in Kamsá and they are used as suffixes on the noun and sometimes the adjective agree with the noun. There is a diminutive *-tem,* a pejorative *-ëfja* with allomorphs *-ëja* and *-ëfa,* and a suffix for 'poor' *-jema.*

The diminutive *-tem* is extremely common in Kamsá. Some speakers use it on almost every noun. Like the diminutive in many languages, it can mean something smaller and also show endearment. The diminutive is formed by adding *-tem* to the root of the noun. For nouns that have the optional /a/ vowel, the diminutive comes after /a/. For nouns that end in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is sometimes inserted between the root and the diminutive. For nouns that end in a vowel, there is no extra vowel between the root and *-tem*. The following words exemplify the dimunitive suffix.

kenata-tem 'little sibling' from kenat(a) 'sibling'
shloftsë-tem 'little bird' from shlofts̈ 'bird'
bata-tem 'little aunt' from *batá* 'aunt'

If there is a diminutive suffix and a plural suffix, the dimunitive is before the plural. In the following example, the root *kenat* 'sibling' takes the diminutive suffix. In the plural form of the diminutive, the two suffixes are stacked in the following way:

root + epenthetic vowel + diminutive + plural

kenat 'sibling'
kenat-atem 'sibling' (diminutive)
kenat-atem-ëng 'siblings' (diminutive)

Kamsa has a suffix *-jema* for pity, pitiable, or poor (they translate it as *pobrecito*). In (31a) it is on the word *shembasa* 'girl' and also on the adjective *ngwaye* 'scabby' that agrees with shembasa. In (31b) it is on *biangan* 'deer'.

(31a)   ndeolpna **shembasajema** yojtsobokiñe ngwayejema
ndeolpna   **shembasa-jema**   yo-j-ts-obokiñe   ngwaye-jema
suddenly   girl-POOR   3SG-VBLZ-PROG-appear   scabby-POOR
'Suddenly a poor girl appeared.' (McDowell 110)

(31b)   **Bianganëjem** ya bojwamënts̈a orna yejetsótbema jochnam.
biangan-ë-jem ya   bo-j-wamënts̈a orna   ye-j-ets-ótbema   j-ochna-m
deer-EPE-POOR already DU-VBLZ-tired when DIS-VBLZ-PROG-be.able VLBZ-rest-BEN
'When the poor deer was already tired, it was able to rest.' (Chindoy 2: 155.10)

Also, there is a pejorative suffix *-ëja*. It is common on bad things, like demons or thieves. In (32a) it is on *ladron* 'thief' (from Spanish ladron 'thief'). In (32b) it is on an adjective *wabowan* 'horrible' that agrees with a horrible noun: *mëtëts̈en* 'demon'.

(32a)   kanÿe jwesanëša waenbenenan plechufjwaka ch **ladronëja** jtsejwesam.

kanÿe   jwesanëša   waenbenenan   plechu-fjwa-ka
one   blow.pipe   poisoned   arrow-INS-DISC

ch   **ladron-ëja**   j-tsejwesa-m
DET   thief-PEJ   VBLZ-shoot-BEN

'one blow pipe with poisoned arrows to shoot the thief.' (95:18)

(32b)   Pero ch mëtëtšen yap **wabowanëja** bominÿe tejabwajo.

Pero   ch   mëtëtšen   yap   **wabowan-ëja** bominÿe   te-j-abwajo
but   DET   demon   very   horrible- PEJ   eye   PST-VBLZ-put

'The demon had a horrible look.' (Chindoy 79:24)

Evaluative	Suffix
Diminutive	*-tem*
Poor	*-jema*
Pejorative	*-ëja*

Figure 3.3 Evalutives

3.3.3   Noun cases

The nominal system of Kamsá is somewhere along the spectrum between having case suffixes versus postpositions. In this section, I first outline the case system, showing each of the cases and postpositions and their allomorphs, and giving examples of some of the uses of each case and postposition. Then I discuss the distribution of each case and postposition, showing whether it can occur with common nouns (both animate and inanimate where possible), proper nouns, pronouns, and loans words. Many cases are different for animate nouns and inanimate nouns: namely, animate nouns have the suffix *-bi* preceding the case marker whereas inanimate nouns do not. Also, there are some cases which do not seem to be possible semantically with proper nouns or pronouns (such as the instrumental) and others that are not possible with inanimate nouns (such as the comitative). This will become apparent with each case that has this distinction and will be discussed further. At the end of this section, I give evidence for why some things are actual cases whereas other things seem to be postpositions.

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There is no core argument case marking in the language (i.e. no overt marking for nominative and accusative). There are various semantic case markers which are oblique markers distinct from postpositions in that they are not separate words: they are bound morphemes and they fulfill various semantic functions to oblique case markers. By "case" I do not mean any theoretical definition of 'Case', but rather just a description of oblique marking in the language.

3.3.3.1 Unmarked case

In Kamsá, A, S, and O do not have any overt case marking. The noun stem appears alone without any affixes. Furthermore, in ditransitives, neither the O or the Goal has any marking.

In (33a) the A (agent) *batá* 'aunt' has no suffix. In (33b) *batá* is the P (direct object) and has no suffix. In (33c) *batá* 'aunt' is the S (subject of the intransitive sentence) and has no affix. Finally, in (33d), *batá* is a recipient object of the ditransitive verb and has no case-marking suffix. Note that the other object *sana* 'food' also has no case marking.

Agent
(33a) atšbe **batá** wameshnen tonjwabwa
　　　　atš-be　　　　**batá**　wameshnen　t-on-jwabwa
　　　　1SG-GEN　　　　aunt　mote　　　　PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook
　　　　'My aunt cooked *mote* (hominy soup).' (MC)

Patient
(33b) atš sënjojinÿ atšbe **batá**
　　　　atš　　së-n-jojinÿ　　　　　atš-be　　　　　**batá**
　　　　1SG　1SG-EVI-VBLZ-see　　1SG-GEN　　　aunt
　　　　'I saw my aunt.' (MC)

Subject of an intransitive
(33c) atšbe **batá** tontsomana
　　　　atš-be　　　　**batá**　to-n-ts-omana
　　　　1SG-GEN　　　aunt　3SG-EVI-PROG-sleep
　　　　'My aunt fell asleep.' (MC)

Recipient object of a ditransitive
(33d) sënjwawatshe sana atšbe **batá**
　　　　së-n-j-wawatshe　　　　sana　atš-be　　　　**batá**
　　　　1SG-EVI-VBLZ-give　　food　1SG-GEN　　　aunt
　　　　'I gave food to my aunt.' (MC)

Figure 3.4 summarizes the lack of marking for all of the possible grammatical roles of *batá*
'aunt' in these examples.

Grammatical role	Case Marker	Example
Agent	Ø	batá
Patient (object of transitive)	Ø	batá
Subject of intransitive	Ø	batá
Recipient in a ditransitive	Ø	batá

Figure 3.4 Core argument marking

3.3.3.2 Genitive

Kamsá has a genitive marker which shows possession. Kamsá is a dependent-marking
language in that it marks the possessor, not the possessee. The genitive marker is the suffix *-be*
and has no allomorphs. In (34a), *bata* 'aunt' has the genitive suffix *-be* to show that it is her
friend. In (34b), a noun that ends with a consonant is show: *bobonts* 'young man' is *bobonts-be*
in the genitive, without any phonological change.

(34a) atš sënjojinÿ **batabe** enuta
      atš së-n-jojinÿ   **bata-be**   enuta
      1SG   1SG-EVI-see   aunt-GEN   friend
      'I saw my aunt's friend.' (MC)

(34b) bobontsbe bëtsëtsatna
      bobonts-be   bëtsëts-at=na
      youth-GEN   parent-DU=TOP
      '(the) young man's parents' (Chindoy 91) (from *bëtsëtsat* 'parents' from *bëts* 'big')

The genitive is mostly used for possession, for family members and physical objects. It
can be used for possession by a definite noun, as seen above in (34a), where it is about a
particular aunt. Nouns that are not definite or specific can also be possessed as seen in (35)
where the speaker is talking about a sound that sounds like the scream of a human or a bark of a
dog.

(35) **yentšabe** yoyan o bëts **shbwayabe** oyanayan
yentša-be yoyan o bëts **shbwaya-be** oyanayan
human-GEN scream or big dog-GEN bark
'the scream of a human or the bark of a big dog' (Note: the usual word for dog is *keš* but
sometimes *shbwaya* is used, which is derived from the verb 'hunt')

The genitive can also be used grammatically with *kaus* (from Spanish *causa*) to show the
reason for an event. In (36) *batá* 'aunt' has the genitive suffix to show that she is the reason for
why the speaker couldn't leave.

(36) ndoñ chiatobena jaboknan **batabe** kaus
ndoñ chi-at-obena j-aboknan **bata-be** kaus
NEG IRR-NEG-be.able VBLZ-leave aunt-GEN cause
'I couldn't leave because of my aunt.' (MC)

The genitive can be used to describe something, as well.

(37) San Pedrebe imajen
san pedre-be imajen
San Pedro-GEN image
'image of San Pedro' (60)

The genitive can occur with common nouns (animate and inanimate), proper nouns,
pronouns, and loan words. As seen above, the genitive can occur with common nouns such as
'aunt', 'person', and 'dog'. It can also occur with inanimate common nouns. The genitive can
also occur with proper nouns, as seen in (38) where *-be* is attached to the proper noun Carmen.

(38) Carmen-be taita
carmen-be taita
Carmen-GEN father
'Carmen's father'

It can attach to pronouns, as well, which is discussed more extensively in Section 5.1.4.
In (39), the personal pronoun *atš* has the suffix *-be* to show possession.

(39) atš-be dios
atš-be dios
1st-GEN god
'My god'

Finally, the genitive is very productive and can be used with loan words, such as (40) where the loan word *diablo* from Spanish *diablo* 'devil' has the genitive marker to show that it is the story of the devil.

(40)   diable-be parlo
        diable-be   parlo
        devil-GEN   story
        'story of the devil' (Chindoy 72.1)

3.3.3.3 Benefactive

The benefactive case expresses that the referent of the noun it marks receives the benefit of the situation expressed by the clause. The form is *-am* for inanimate nouns, with allomorph *-m* for nouns that end in vowels as seen in (41a) and (41b). In (41a) *shknen* ends in a consonant and the benefactive is the suffix *-am*. In (41b), *bomo* 'potato' ends in a vowel and the benefactive is realized as *-m*, presumably after going through the process of deleting *a* from *bomo + -am*. The form **bomoam* does not exist.

(41a)   ch bomo kem **shknen-am** i ch mntshen inÿa **shknen-am**
        ch   bomo kem   **shknen-am**   i   ch   mntshen   inÿa   **shknen-am**
        DET   potato DEM plate-BEN and   DET   meat   other   plate-BEN
        'The potato (is) for this plate and the meat (is) for the other plate.' (MC)

(41b)   ch tamo kem **bomo-m**
        ch   tamo   kem   bomo-m
        DET   salt   DEM   potato-BEN
        'The salt (is) for that potato.'

The benefactive is more common with animate nouns and the form is a composite of **-bi**, an animate marker, and **-am***,* becoming *-byam*. This form, -byam does not have other allomorphs; it is the same for a noun that ends in a vowel as for a noun that ends in a consonant. In (42a) the noun *bata* ends in a vowel and has the ending *-byam*; in (42b), the noun *keÿ* 'dog' ends in a consonant and has the same ending, *-byam*.

(42a) atš sënjwabwa wameshnen atšbe **batabiam**
       atš   su-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   atš-be   **bata-bi-am**
       1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   1SG-GEN   aunt-ANIM-BEN
       'I cooked *mote* (hominy soup) for my aunt.'

(42b) atš sënjwabwa wameshnan atšbe **kešbyam**
       atš   su-n-j-wabwa   wameshnan   atš-be   **keš-bi-am**
       1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   1SG-GEN   dog- ANIM-BEN
       'I cooked *mote* for my dog.'

The benefactive is used to show the one for whom the action is conducted, as seen in the examples above. The same suffix can also be used on the infinitive form of verbs (discussed further in 4.4.2). In (43a) *-am* is on the verb *jobwamin* 'buy' to show purpose.

(43) tonja tabanoy bišanša jobwaminam
       to-n-j-a   tabanoy   bišanša   j-obwamin-am
       3SG-EVI-VBLZ-go   town-ALL   collards   VBLZ-buy-BEN
       'He went to town to buy collard greens.'

The benefactive can be used with proper nouns, as seen in (44a) with *Carmen-byam*. With proper nouns that are animate, the animacy marker *-bi* is also obligatory. Pronouns can also have the benefactive. As with animate nouns, pronouns must have the -bi marker before the benefactive -am. In (44b), *bëng*, the first person plural pronoun, has *-byam*.

(44a) atš sënjwabwa wameshnen **Carmenbyam**
       atš   së-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   **carmen-bi-am**
       1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   Carmen-ANIM-BEN
       Cociné mote para Carmen
       'I cooked mote for Carmen.'

(44b) ch tobiaš to-n-jwabwa wameshnen **bëngbyam**
       ch   tobiaš   to-n-jwabwa   wameshnen   **bëng-bi-am**
       DET   girl   3SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   1SG-ANIM-BEN
       'The girl cooked mote for us.'

The benefactive is productive and can be used with loan words. In (45), three loan words have the benefactive marker: *popayej-ëng-byam, pastus-eng-byam,* and *bogotill-ëng-byam*, all of which are Spanish names (albeit derived from other indigenous languages) of cities, used on proper nouns, as seen in (45), from a text about preparing spots in Hell for people from several Colombian cities, including Popayan, Pasto, and Bogotá. Each noun is composed of the city

name, followed by the plural marker, followed by the animacy marker *-bi*, then finally the benefactive suffix. Note that the case marker comes after the plural marker.

(45) šmochtseprontay pwesto popayejëngbiam,
      šmo-ch-ts-eprontay   pwesto   popayej-ëng-bi-am
      2PL-FUT-PROG-prepare   spot   popayan-PL-ANI-BEN

      pastusengbiam, bogotillëngbiam y onÿayoykëngbiam
      pastus-eng-bi-am   bogotill-ëng-bi-am   y   onÿay-oyk-ëng-bi-am
      pasto-PL-ANI-BEN   bogota-PL-ANI-BEN   and   hot-LOC-PL-ANI-BEN
      'Prepare spots for the popayanenses, pastusos, bogotanos, and those from the hot places.'
      (Chindoy 68:6)

3.3.3.4 Instrumental

The instrumental case is *-ak* and has the additional allomorphs *-k* and *-ek*. When the noun ends in a consonant, the form is always *-ak*. When a noun ends in a vowel, the form is that vowel + *-k* When a noun ends in the glide *y*, the form is *-ek*.

In (46a), when *-ak* is added to the root *šknen* 'plate' it becomes *šknen-ak*. When the noun ends in a vowel, however, the root vowel remains. Thus *tomo* 'salt' with an instrumental ending becomes tomok, not /*tomak/ nor /*tomoak/. Likewise, in an example where the noun ends in /a/, the suffix is also /-k/ as seen in (46c) where *tsëtša* 'aji' becomes tsëtšak, not /*tsëtšaak/ or /*tsëtšaʔak/. Finally, in (46d) the instrumental is seen on *shachbuy* 'tear' which ends in the glide /y/. When *-ak* attaches to this noun, it becomes/ -ek/, perhaps because of phonetic reasons.

(46a) ch bobonts šo-n-japega **šknen-ak**
       ch   bobonts   šo-n-japega   **šknen-ak**
       DET   youth   1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-hit   plate-INS
       'The youth hit me with a plate.'

(46b) Carmen in-ts-jwabwana wameshnen **tamo-k**
       Carmen   i-n-ts-jwabwana   wameshnen   **tamo-k**
       Carmen   3SG-EVI-PROG-VBLZ-cook   mote   salt-INS
       'Carmen is cooking *mote* with salt.'

(46c) Carmen tonjwabwana wameshnen **tsëtšak**
       Carmen   to-n-j-wabwana   wameshnen   **tsëtša-k**
       Carmen   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   chili-INS
       'Carmen cooked *mote* with chili.'

(46d) chana **shachbuyek** yejontša jakwentan (...)
       cha-na   **shachbuy-ek**   ye-j-ontša   j-akwentan
       3SG-TOP   tear-INS   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-start   VBLZ-tell
       'He started to tell (the story) with a tear…' (Chindoy1 68.2)

In addition to the uses of the instrumental shown above, where it often shows the literal item used to accomplish a task, it can be used as a more metaphorical instrument as in (46d) above when the narrator is telling his story 'with a tear'.

The instrumental can also be used for other idiomatic uses and with certain verbs, such as the following example where the verb 'to be full of' takes the instrumental case. Note that there are no postpositions or prepositions in this sentence, only the verb. Also note that although the instrumental case is usually only found on inanimate common nouns, here it occurs on an animate noun.

(47) ch wajokainsha intsjutjen **yentšengak**
      ch   wajokainsha   i-n-ts-jutjen   **yentš-eng-ak**
      DET   car   3SG-EVI-PROG-be.full   person-PL-INS
      'The car is full of people.'

The instrumental case is also used with the preposition *sin* from Spanish *sin* 'without'. In (48) *tamo* 'salt' is preceded by *sin* 'without' and has the instrumental case marker *-ak,* here realized as /-k/.

(48) nÿe šmen janÿetšna sin **tamok**
      nÿe   šmen   janÿetšna   sin   **tamo-k**
      only   toasted.corn   corn.flour   without   salt-INS
      'only toasted corn flour without salt' (Chindoy1 62.17)

Although there are no native prepositions in Kamsá, it has borrowed some prepositions from Spanish that have changed their meanings to become more grammatical. One example is *parej* from Spanish *pareja* 'pair, couple'. In Kamsá, it is used to mean 'together with' and takes the instrumental case. In (49), *parej* is used with *ibet* 'night' to mean with each respective night (paired with each respective night).

(49) chana nÿe unga te parej **ibetak**
      cha=na   nÿe   unga   te   parej   **ibeta-k**
      3SG=TOP   only   three   day   with   night-INS
      'he only (spent) three days with their respective nights.' (Chindoy1 67:1)

This phenomenon is interesting in determining if these suffixes are case or not because it is one of the rare situations in Kamsá where the case suffix occurs with an additional adposition. At the same time, it is problematic because both of the adpositions shown above are loan words from Spanish.

The instrumental can occur on inanimate common nouns. It rarely occurs on proper nouns, pronouns, or animate common nouns, probably due to semantic limitations, that these things cannot normally be semantic instruments. In my data, this case mainly occurs with inanimate nouns.

The instrumental case ending is very productive, though, and is used with loanwords. In (50a) *kuchiyo* from Spanish *cuchillo* 'knife' has the instrumental suffix *-k*. The second example (50b) is even more interesting in that the case ending -ak appears on the loan word *asukar* 'sugar' (from Spanish *azúcar*) and has the word *sin* (also from Spanish) 'without'.

(50a)   kuchiyok
        kuchiyo-k
        knife-INS
        'with a knife'

(50b)   sin asukarak
        sin   asukar-ak
        without   sugar-INS
        'without sugar' (*asukar* < Spanish *azúcar* 'sugar')

3.3.3.5 Comitative

The comitative in Kamsá is for accompaniment and only applies to animate nouns. The form is *-abtak* (often pronounced as /-aftak/) and the initial vowel of this affix is deleted when the noun ends in a vowel. In (51a), *keš* 'dog' takes the suffix *-abtak*, with the first /a/ maintained; however, in (51b), *batá* 'aunt' ends in a vowel; thus *batá + abtak* becomes *bata-btak*.

(51a)   su-n-j-a atš-be **keš-abtak**
        su-n-j-a   atš-be   **keš-abtak**
        1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go   1SG-GEN   dog-COM
        'I went with my dog.'

(51b)   atš sënjwabwa wameshnen atšbe **batabtak**
      atš   së-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   atš-be   **bata-btak**
      1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   1SG-GEN   aunt-COM
      'I cooked *mote* with my aunt.'

It is likely that the comitative is derived from the instrumental. Many case markers on animate nouns must be preceded by *-bi* as shown above with the benefactive. Thus, it is possible that the comitative was noun + *bi* + *ak* and underwent some phonological or phonetic changes. For clarity the two cases are compared:

> comitative: keš-abtak 'with the dog'
> instrumental: šknen-ak 'with the plate'

Proper nouns can have the comitative marker as seen in (52a) where *Carmen*, has *-abtak*. All personal pronouns can also take -abtak. One example is shown in (52b) where *-ak*, the second singular pronoun, has the suffix *-abtak*. It is also productive and is attached to loan words. In (52c), *-abtak* is added to *madrang* 'nuns' a loan word from Spanish *madre* 'mother'. Note that the word *madgra-ng* is plural, and that the comitative marker comes after the plural marker.

(52a)   atš sënjwabwa wameshnen **Carmen-abtak**
      atš   së-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   **Carmen-abtak**
      1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   Carmen-COM
      'I cooked *mote* with Carmen' (MC)

(52b)   atš sënjwabwa wameshnen **ak-abtak**
      atš   së-n-jwabwa   wameshnen   **ak-abtak**
      1SG   1SG-EVI-cook   mote   2SG-COM
      'I cooked *mote* with you' (MC)

(52c)   sënjwatsjenda **madra-ng-abtak**
      së-n-j-watsjenda   **madra-ng-abtak**
      1SG-EVI-VBLZ-study   mother-PL-COM
      'I studied with the nuns.' (MC)

3.3.3.6 Locative

The locative is used for the location of something. For inanimate nouns, it is formed by adding *-ok* to the root of the noun. In (53a) *yebn* becomes *yebnok* and in (53b) *beti* 'tree' becomes *betyok*.

(53a) Yebunok kotšbian wabwanaingna
      yebun-ok   kotš-bian   wabwanai-ng=na
      house-LOC   pig-ABL   cook-PL=TOP
      'In the house, the pig-cooks…'

(53b) šloftš insemn betiok
      šloftš   i-nt-s-emn   beti-ok
      bird   3SG-EVI-PROG-be   tree-LOC
      'The bird is in the tree.'

For animate nouns, the locative is formed with the suffix *-bi* followed by *-ok*. The meaning (for humans) is 'at the house of', like *donde* 'where, at' in Spanish (as in *Está a donde Juan* 'he/she is at John's [at John's place/house]). In (54), *bobonts* 'young man' has the locative to mean 'at the house of the young man.'

(54) (...) tobiašna yejtaysashjango bobontsbioka
      tobiaš=na   ye-j-t-ay-sa-shjango   bobonts-bi-oka
      girl=TOP   DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-?-?-arrive   youth-ANIM-LOC
      the girl returned to the place of the young man.

As discussed above, many place names end in *-ok*, possibly because of the locative marker. Thus, for these nouns, the subject/object form is the same as the locative form as seen in (55a-b). In (55a), the object *tabanok* 'town' (it is also the name for the town of Sibundoy) is the same as the locative form in (55b).

(55a) sënjinÿ ch **tabanok** botamana
      së-n-j-inÿ   ch   **tabanok**   botamana
      1SG-EVI-VBLZ-see   DET   town   beautiful
      'I saw the beautiful town.

(55b) tonjapasaibs sënjomana taban-ok
      tonjapasaibs   së-n-j-omana   taban-ok
      yesterday   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-sleep   town-LOC
      'Yesterday I slept in the town.'

The locative can occur on pronouns and proper nouns although it is not very common. In (56a) *atš* the first person singular pronoun has the animacy marker *-bi* followed by the locative marker *-ok* and finally the optional vowel *a*. (56b) has the same structure: *Carmen* has the animacy marker *-bi* followed by the locative marker *-ok* and finally the optional vowel *a*.

(56a) atšbioka
       atš-bi-oka
       1SG-ANIM-LOC-EPE
       'at my place'

(56b) Carmenbioka
       Carmen-bi-ok-a
       Carmen-ANIM-LOC-EPE
       'at Carmen's place'

Loan words also can take the locative marker, as seen in (57) with *merkadok* from Spanish *mercado* 'market'.

(57) merkadok chanjij twamb
     merkad-ok   cha-n-j-ij   twamb
     market-LOC   1SG.FUT-EVI-VBLZ-sell   hen
     'I sell hens in the market.'

Because *-ok* is the locative marker in Kamsá, it is possible that some place names became fossilized to end in *-ok* such as *tabanok* 'Sibundoy', *shatjok* 'Mocoa', and *sokrok* 'Colón' and later, this extended to other place names like *Bogotok* 'Bogotá'.

3.3.3.7 Allative

The allative in Kamsá is marked with *-oy* on inanimate nouns and *-bi-oy* on animate nouns. The allative shows motion toward the noun and sometimes is used when the noun is the recipient of an action. It is used without any postpositions. With nouns that end in a vowel, the final vowel is deleted and *-oy* is added, as seen in (58a) where *tja* 'mountain, countryside' becomes *tjoy*, not /*tjaoy/ or /*tjay/. Animate nouns, as seen with some of the other cases, take the suffix *-bi* before the allative marker *-oy*. In (58b), *batá* has the markers *-bi* and *-oy* and the meaning is motion toward.

(58a)　sënja **tjoy**
　　　　së-n-j-a　　　　　　　　**tj-oy**
　　　　1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go　　　mountain-ALL
　　　　'I went to the mountain/countryside.'

(58b)　atš sënja **batabioy**
　　　　atš　　së-n-j-a　　　　　　**bata-bi-oy**
　　　　1SG　　1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go　　aunt-ANIM-ALL
　　　　'I went toward my aunt.'

The allative can be used for motion toward as seen in the examples above. It can also be used for the recipient of an action with certain verbs. In (59a) *kastigan-ëng* 'punished people' has the allative marker because they are the ones being made fun of, and in (59b) *shem* 'woman' has the allative marker because she is the one in whom the the demon is putting a rod.

(59a)　**kastiganëngbioy** tsabwayajwanës
　　　　kastigan-ëng-bioy　　　　ts-abwayajwan-ës
　　　　punished-PL-ALL　　　　　　PROG-make.fun.of-SUB
　　　　'making fun of the punished people' (Chindoy1 69.8)

(59b)　wabowan ftsengwuëjna kanÿe **shembioy**
　　　　wabowan　　ftsengwu-ëj=na　　　kanÿe　**shem-bi-oy**
　　　　horrible　　　black-EVAL=TOP　　　one　　woman-ANI-ALL

　　　　tshangan yerufja bejtseyautsayse
　　　　tshangan　　yerufja　　　be-j-ts-eyautsay-se
　　　　heated　　　rod-EVAL　　　DU-VBLZ-PROG-put.in-SUB
　　　　'A horrible black man was putting a heated rod into (the mouth of) a woman.' (Chindoy 69.9)

Proper nouns can have the allative marker, particularly places with the meaning of motion toward. Most place names that are proper nouns end in *-ok,* as seen above with *bastok* becoming *bastoy* (Pasto) and *shatjok* becoming *shatjoy* (Mocoa) in the allative. When the proper noun refers to a human, the animate marker *-bi* precedes the allative as seen with *Carmenbyoy* 'to/toward Carmen'; *Taitayioy* 'to/toward Father'; and *Mamabyoy* 'to/toward Mother'. Pronouns can also bear the allative marker, following the animate marker -bi, such as *atš-by-oy* for 'first person singular'; *ak-by-oy* for 'second person singular', and *bëng-by-oy* for 'first person plural'. Finally, loan words can have the allative marker to mean motion toward as seen in (60) where *lwar* from Spanish *lugar* 'place' has the allative marker *-oy.*

(60)   chabe alma yejtsatoñ tšabe wachwan **lwaroy**

        cha-be   alma   ye-j-ts-atoñ   tšabe   wachwan   **lwar-oy**

        3SG-GEN   soul   DIS-VBLZ-PROG-travel   good   admirable   place-ALL

        'His soul went to a good, admirable place.' (Chindoy1 71.17)

3.3.3.8 Ablative

The ablative is the case for motion away from. This is, of course, used most often for places, but it can be used for other nouns, as well, including animate nouns. Like the other cases, when it is used with an animate noun, the marker *-bi* precedes the ablative. The ablative seems to be a composite of the locative *-ok* with *-an* (which is not a marker, as far as I know). In (61a), *tja* 'mountain' has the ablative marker okan and in (61b) *yebn* 'house' has the ablative marker, ending in *-ok-an*. In (61c), *bata* has the ablative marker *-ok-an* following the animate marker *-bi*.

(61a)   atš sëntap **tjokan**

        atš   së-n-tap   **tj-okan**

        1SG   1SG-EVI-come   mountain-ABL

        'I came from the mountain.' (MC)

(61b)   ch keš **yebnokan** jabwach tbonsotjaj

        ch   keš   **yebn-okan**   jabwach   t-bo-n-s-otjaj

        DET   dog   house-ABL   strong   PST-DU-EVI-PROG-run

        'The dog ran fast from the house.' (MC)

(61c)   atš sënja **batabiokan**

        atš   së-n-j-a   **bata-bi-okan**

        1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go   aunt-ANI-ABL

        'I went from my aunt.' (MC)

In (62), *chatjok* 'Mocoa' ends in *-okan*. Like other nouns that are place names, the city ends in *-ok*. Like many place names, *chatjok* ends in *-ok*, which is also a locative marker. When used in the ablative, it does not become *chatjokokan* (adding *-okan* to *chatjok*) but rather *chatjok*. Perhaps the ablative is a composite of locative and *-an*.

(62)   ch benach indemën chatjok-an asta bastok.

        ch   benach   i-nd-emën   chatjok-an   asta   bastok

        DET   path   3SG-HAB-be   mocoa-ABL   until   pasto

        'The road goes from Mocao until Pasto.' (MC)

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3.3.3.9 Adessive

There is another case for location at a place: -*ents̈*. More research is needed to determine
the difference between this case and the locative -*ok*. In (63a) *taban-* 'town, village, Sibundoy'
has the marker -*ents̈e* for location, and in (63b) *kanÿe* 'one' has the marker -*ents̈e* to mean 'in
one place'.

(63a)   Desde tempskán bëngbe tabanents̈e kanÿe waman kabildo ineysomñe.
        desde   temps-kán   bëng-be   taban-ents̈e
        since   time-ABL   1PL-GEN   village-AD

        kanÿe   waman   kabildo   i-n-ey-somñe.
        one   sacred   cabildo   DIS-EVI-?-be
        'Since ancient times, there has existed just one holy cabildo in our town.' (Chindoy 82:1)
        (*desde* < Spanish *desde* 'since')

(63b)   Jentna mojobedezá jajmëtam kanÿents̈e.
        jent=na   mo-j-obedezá   j-ajmëta-m   kanÿ-ents̈e
        people=TOP   3PL-VBLZ-obey   VBLZ-put-BEN   one-AD
        'The community obeyed, putting (the material) in one place. (Chindoy2 115:6) (*jentna* is
        <gentna> in original orthography)

3.3.3.10 Illative

The last noun case, also a form of locative is the illative -*iñ*. It is used for something
going into something else, as seen in (64) below.

(64)   As inÿe tsëm kwashajiñ yejenëchnungo.
      as   inÿe   tsëm   kwashaj-**iñ**   ye-j-en-ëchnungo
      then   other   new   gourd-ILL   DIS-VBLZ-REC-transfer
      'Then he transferred (it) into another new gourd.' (Chindoy 63:28)

3.3.3.11 Summary of noun cases

Kamsá nouns have suffixes that are somewhere between case markers and postpositions.
They do not seem like true case markers because they do not differentiate between subjects and
objects, yet they are not really postpositions because many of them are phonologically part of the

noun. Also, some of them function with other adpositions or special verbs that take a certain case, much like cases do typologically. Some of the cases also require an animacy marker *bi-* for animate nouns preceding the case, namely the benefactive, allative, locative and ablative. The comitative perhaps comes from the instrumental but underwent a phonological change. The genitive is the only case that is the same for animate and inanimate nouns, always *-be*. Postpositions are discussed in 8.4.

The noun cases are shown in the Figure 3.5 below.

Case/post-position	Function	Label	Example
-∅	S, A, and O		batá, shknen
-be	possession	genitive	bata-be
-ak	instrument	instrumental	shknen-ak
-abtak	comitative	comitative	bat-abtak
-am, -bi-am	benefactive, purpose	benefactive	bata-bi-am, shknen-am
-oy, -bi-oy	motion toward	allative	taban-oy, bata-bi-oy
-ok, -bi-ok(a)	location at	locative	beti-ok, bata-bi-oka
-(k)an, -bi-akan	motion from	ablative	bata-bi-akan
-iñ	motion into	illative	kwashaj-iñ
-entš	location at	adessive	taban-entše

Figure 3.5 Noun cases and postpositions

Chapter 4
Verbal morphology

4.1   Introduction

Kamsá verbs exhibit intricate morphology, with multiple prefixes and suffixes that index person and number for subjects and objects and indicate tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality for events and states. This introduction summarizes the important phenomena of Kamsá verbal morphology discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Kamsá verbs reflect a nominative-accusative morphosyntactic alignment: the person marking for the single argument (the subject) of an intransitive verb matches the person marking for the more agentive argument (the subject) of a transitive verb, whereas the marking for the more patientive argument (the object) is different. Subject marking is obligatory in Kamsá, as is object marking for first and second person objects.

In verbs that do not exhibit any object marking, the first verbal prefix is usually a subject marker, with all other prefixes following this prefix and preceding the stem. There are some exceptions, however, such as the emphatic prefix *kwa-* and the perfective marker *t-*, both of which may precede the subject prefix. When a transitive verb exhibits overt object marking (that is, in verbs with first or second person objects), the object marker is the first prefix on the verb, followed by the subject marker, and then followed by all other prefixes and the stem.

This introductory section summarizes the different morphemes that Kamsá verbs can have, all of which are discussed in more depth in the rest of this chapter.

A verb consists minimally either of a root plus inflectional morphology or a root with the prefix *j-* and the suffix *-an* or *-am*. A root can never appear alone. Some examples of verb roots are the following. The elicitation forms always have *j-* and *-an*, thus I write them as such here. As seen in these examples, verb roots can start with /a/, /o/, or /w/.

j-abwamiy-an 'buy'
j-achway-an 'greet'
j-alants-an 'dance'
j-amn-an 'be'
j-as-an 'eat'
j-ayan-an 'say'

j-otbem-an 'sit'
j-owen-an 'hear'
j-oyebwambay-an 'speak'
j-wabw-an 'cook'
j-wabwem-an 'write'
j-washaby-an 'wash clothes'

While all person (subject and object) and TAME (tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality) prefixes precede the root, there are a few suffixes that can appear on a root as well. Some prefixes are portmanteau, simultaneously encoding multiple grammatical categories, such as both person and tense or both tense and aspect. All inflected verbs are marked for both person and number.

Verbs also exhibit TAM marking. There are many prefixes that combine with each other for different tenses and aspects. In this chapter, I discuss all of the various morphemes that can occur on verbs. First, I discuss person and number subject marking (4.2) then person and number for object marking (4.3). In 4.4, I discuss the different tense, aspect, mood, and negation prefixes. In 4.5, I discuss evidentiality, followed by reciprocal marking in 4.6. In 4.7, I discuss the imperative form *m-*, and in 4.8 I show the intensifying prefix *kwa-*. The last sections are dedicated to suffixes.

4.2   Person and number: subject marking

Verbs can be marked to index both subjects and objects. This section illustrates the subject marker morphology on verbs that indexes the person and/or number of the referent. The subject marker is usually the first prefix on the verb, farthest from the stem, although there are a few prefixes that can precede it, such as the prefix *kwa-* 'truly', discussed in 4.8.

Figure 4.1 (on the following page) shows the different verbal prefixes that mark the person and number of the subject. In the table, I include the pronouns for each person/number. These prefixes typically precede the TAM markers. For some tenses/aspects, the person marker is different, as discussed below.

Person and number	Pronoun	Verbal prefix options	Optional number suffix on verb
1SG	atš	së- (past, habitual, progressive), Ø- (future, conditional)	
2SG	ak	ko-	
3SG	cha	i- (future, conditional, progressive), t- (past), bo- (animate A and O)	
1PL	bëng	bsë-, së-, mo-	-ang
2PL	tsëngaftang	šm-, ko- mo-	-ang
3PL	chëng	mo-	-ang
1DU	bëndat	së-, bo-, mo-	-at
2DU	tsëndat	šm-, bo-	-at
3DU	chat	bo-	-at

Figure 4.1 Person and prefixes

The first person singular prefix is *së-* or *Ø-*, depending on the TAM, i.e. *së-* (followed by the TAM prefix) for the past, habitual, and progressive forms, and *Ø-* (followed by the TAM prefix) for the future and conditional forms. The second person singular prefix is *ko-* for all TAM distinctions. The third person singular prefix exhibits a number of forms depending on tense distinctions: *i-* for progressive and future; *Ø-*, occasionally, for habitual (discussed below); *to-* for past; and *ye-* or yo- for distant past. Finally, the third person singular prefix can also be *bo-* (which is the same as the dual prefix[5]); this is the case usually only if the clause is transitive and both the agent and patient are animate. It is important to note that in the future tense, first person subjects are zero-marked, whereas in other tenses third person subjects are zero-marked.

There are several options for marking non-singular: with simply plural or dual marking person prefixes; with plural or dual marking person prefixes in addition to plural or dual marking

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[5] It is not clear if the bo- used on transitive verbs when both the subject and object are transitive is the same as the bo- used on verbs with dual subjects.

suffixes; or singular marking person prefixes with plural or dual marking suffixes. For plural and dual, person can be encoded, or number, or both. Whether the person and/or number is encoded depends partially on pragmatics (i.e. if the overt pronoun is used or not). The first person plural marker is *bs-*, but verbs that have first person plural subjects will often exhibit the first person markers *së-* or *Ø-* instead, or the plural marker *mo-*. The second person plural marker is *šm-*, but second person plural subjects can instead be marked with the second person prefix *ko-* or the plural prefix *mo-*. The third person plural marker is always *mo-*. Similarly, dual subjects may or may not be specified. Verbs with dual subjects can be marked specifically as dual with the prefix *bo-* (regardless of person). Alternatively, verbs can index only the person (and not the number) of dual subjects (*së-* or *Ø-* for first person, *šm-* or *ko-* for second person, but generally not *i-*, *Ø-*, *to-*, or *ye-* for third person). Finally, dual subject referents can be indexed with the plural marker *mo-*. There is no marker that encodes first person dual (as opposed to dual in other persons, or first person in other numbers) or second person dual (as opposed to dual in other persons, or second person in other numbers. In sum, verbs may employ a precise prefix to encode both person and number or a less specified prefix that encodes the number but not the person of the subject or one that encodes the person but not the number of the subject.

In addition to the set of prefixes that can encode both the person and number of the subject, there are two number suffixes that can be added to verbs to index the (non-singular) number of the subject: *-ang* for plural and *-at* for dual. These suffixes are the same as those that occur on nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. In sum, there are several options for marking non-singular: with simply plural or dual marking person prefixes; with plural or dual marking person prefixes in addition to plural or dual marking suffixes; or singular marking person prefixes with plural or dual marking suffixes. To determine the difference in meaning, more research is needed. Pragmatically, these suffixes are often used when the prefix is marked only for person, not number, and/or when the subject pronoun or noun is not overt in the clause. These suffixes are also shown in Table 4.1.

The person and number markers are discussed for the remainder of 4.2. It is not exhaustive, however; person/number marking can differ in other tenses/moods.

4.2.1 First person singular: *së-* and *Ø-*

Verbs with first person singular subjects are marked with the prefix *së-* in the present progressive, habitual, and past. They are unmarked (or marked with the null marker *Ø-*) in the future. There is one small class of verbs where first person singular is *te-* in the past.

In the following sentences, the first person pronominal agreement prefix on the verb is *së-,* shown with different tense/aspect marking. In (1a) and (1b) the verbs *j-wabw-an* 'cook' and *j-wam-an* 'know' are habitual. The verbs *j-wabw-a*n 'cook' and *j-otebem* 'sit' are present progressive in (1c-d). The verb *j-wabw-an* 'cook' and *j-achemb* 'call' are past in (1e-f). In some of the examples (1a, 1b, 1c, and 1e), the first person singular pronoun *ats̈* is used, but it is not obligatory (and not included in 1d or 1f), because the prefix *së-* shows that the subject of the verb is first person singular.

(1a)   Kadaté ats̈ **sëndwabwán** wameshnen.
      kadaté   ats̈   **së**-nd-wabwán   wameshnen
      every.day   1SG   1SG-HAB-cook   *mote*
      'Every day, I cook *mote* (hominy soup).' (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* 'each day')

(1b)   Aiñ, ats̈ **sëndwaman** jobatman iytëmenoy.
      aiñ   ats̈   **së**-nd-waman   j-obatman   iytëm-en-oy⁶
      yes   1SG   1SG-HAB-know   VERB-wait   hide-?-ALL
      'Yes, I know to wait in a hiding place.' (i.e., 'I usually wait', possibly calqued from the Spanish idiom of *saber* 'know' + [infinitive] for habitual sense) (Chindoy 93:3)

(1c)   Ats̈ **sëntsabwana** mënts̈en.
      ats̈   **së**-n-ts-abwana   mënts̈en
      1SG   1SG-EVI-PROG-cook   meat
      'I'm cooking meat.'

(1d)   Mwënts **sëntsotebem**.
      mwënts   **së**-n-ts-otebem
      here   1SG-EVI-PROG-VERB-sit
      'I am sitting here.'

(1e)   Tonjapasaibs ats̈ **sënjwabwá** wameshnen.
      tonjapasaibs   ats̈   **së**-n-j-wabwá   wameshnen
      yesterday   1SG   1SG-EVI-VERB-cook   *mote*
      'I cooked *mote* (hominy soup) yesterday.'

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⁶ The morpheme *-en* is possibly a nominalizer.

(1f)   Tonjapasaibs **sënjachemb** atš̌be enuta.
        tonjapasaibs   **së-**n-j-achemb   atš̌-be   enuta
        yesterday   1SG-EVI-VERB-call   1SG-GEN   friend
        'I called my friend yesterday.'

In the future tense, first person singular subjects are always unmarked (that is marked by Ø-) on the verb. The future marker is the prefix *chan-*, which is the same for all persons and numbers (see 4.4.5). The following examples illustrate future-marked verbs with first person subjects, *jwabwan* 'cook' in (2a) and *jan* 'go' in (2b).

(2a)   **Chanjwabwá**.
        Ø-chan**-**j-wabwá
        1SG-FUT-VBLZ-cook
        'I will cook.'

(2b)   Atš̌ **chanja** tabanoy akabtak.
        atš̌   **Ø**-chan-ja   taban-oy   ak-abtak
        1SG   1SG-FUT-go   town-ALL   2SG-COM
        'I will go to town with you.'

Compare (2a) *chan**-**j-wabwá* 'I will cook' above with second person and third person pronominal agreement marking, both of which are marked overtly in the future, as seen below: 2SG is *ko-* as in (3a); 3SG is *i-* as in (3b).

(3a)   Ibs ak **kochanjwabwá** wameshnen.
        Ibs   ak   **ko-chan**-j-wabwá   wameshnen.
        tomorrow   2SG   2SG-FUT-VBLZ-cook   *mote*
        'Tomorrow you will cook *mote* (hominy soup).'

(3b)   Ibs cha **ichanjwabwá** wameshnen.
        Ibs   cha   **i-chan**-j-wabwá   wameshnen
        tomorrow   3SG   3SG-FUT-VERB-cook   *mote*
        'Tomorrow she will cook *mote* (hominy soup).'

Certain verbs exhibit *te-* (as opposed to *së-*) as the first person prefix in the past. There does not seem to be any phonological or semantic conditioning for this class of verbs. Some examples are *j-otëmb-an* 'recognize', as seen in (4a) and *j-oman-an* 'sleep', as seen in (4b). More research is needed to determine what verbs constitute this class.

(4a)   Atŝbe washëntsniñe lempe **tejabtstëmbá**.
        Atŝ-be   washëntsniñe   lempe te-j-a-b-ts-tëmbá
        1SG-GEN   sowing   all   1SG-VERB-?-?-PROG-recognize
        'I recognized all my sown items.' (Chindoy 89:11)

(4b)   **Tejtsamaná**.
        te-j-ts-amaná
        1SG-VERB-PROG-sleep
        'I slept.' (MC)

4.2.2   Second person singular: *ko-*

The second person singular subject prefix is very regular, always marked with the prefix
ko- on the verb. In (5a) the verb *jinÿan* 'see' is marked with *ko-*. In (5b) *jabtëmán* 'drink' is
marked with *ko-*. And in (5c) *jobenan* 'be able' is marked with *ko-*. In (5d) *j-otjajw-an* 'run fast'
is marked with the second singular ko- followed by the future marker *ch-*. Note that (5a-c) are
questions, and (5d) is a statement, with future being used to mean imperative.

(5a)   Tonjopasaibs nda **kojinÿ**?
        tonjopasaibs   nda   **ko**-jinÿ
        yesterday   who   2SG-see
        'Who did you see yesterday?' (MC)

(5b)   Ndaya mor **kojtsebtëmán**?
        ndaya   mor   **ko**-j-ts-e-btëmán
        what   now   2SG-VERB-PROG-EPE-drink
        'What are you drinking now?' (*mor* < Spanish *ahora* 'now')

(5c)   Chká **koben**?
        chká   **ko-**ben
        like.that   2SG-be.able
        'Thus you can?' ('Asi puedes?') (Chindoy 89:6)

(5d)   **kochjotjajo** i atŝna kbochwakmye."
        ko-ch-j-otjajo   i   atŝ=na   k-bo-ch-wakmye
        2SG-FUT-VBLZ-run.fast   and   1SG=TOP   2SG-DU-FUT-follow
        'You (will) run fast and I will chase/follow you.' (Chindoy 2: 154.2)

4.2.3   Third person singular: *i-* or *ton-*

Third person singular subjects are indexed on the verb with the vowel *i-* in the present, future, and distant past tenses and *to-* in the past tense. (There is yet another form for the third person singular distant past: *ye-*. The difference between the distant past with *i-* and the distant past with *ye-* is as yet undetermined and is discussed further in 4.4.7). Finally, when a transitive verb has a third person singular subject and a first or second person (singular, plural, or dual) object, the subject is not marked; only the object is marked. Phonetically, the *i-* for third person singular habitual is often reduced to [ë].

In (6a) and (6b), the tense/aspect of the verb is present/habitual and the subject is a third person singular referent. In (6a), the subject is *cha*, the third person singular pronoun. In (6b), the subject is *kešˇ* 'dog', In (6c), the verb *j-wabwan* 'cook' has the future marker *chan-* with the third person singular marker *i-* preceding *chan-* and indexing a third person singular (pronominal) subject.

(6a)   Kadaté cha **indwabwán** wameshnen.
kadaté   cha   **i**-nd-wabwán   wameshnen
every.day   3SG   3SG-HAB-cook   *mote*
'Every day she cooks *mote* (hominy soup).' (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* 'each day')

(6b)   Ch kešˇ obana **indëmën**.
ch   kešˇ   obana **i**-nd-ëmën
DET   dog   dead   3SG-HAB-be
'The dog is dead.'

(6c)   Ibs cha **ichanjwabwa** wameshnen.
ibs   cha   **i**-chan-jwabwa   wameshnen
tomorrow   3SG   3SG-FUT-cook   *mote*
'Tomorrow she'll cook *mote* (hominy soup).'

The third singular subject prefix *i-* can be seen as it is used for the distant past in (7) below.

(7)   Shbwaya **inaujabwachan** patronangbioy kotšˇ jotbayam jatshok.
shbwaya   **i**-n-au-jabwachan   patron-ang-bioy kotšˇ jotbaya-m jatsh-ok
hunter.dog   3SG-EVI-OBJ-help   owner-PL-ALL pig   catch-BEN swamp-LOC
'A hunting dog helped its owners catch a pig in the swamp.' (Chindoy 55:1) (*patron* < Spanish *patrón* 'owner, boss', and *kotšˇ* < Spanish *coche* 'pig')

The portmanteau prefix that marks both past tense and third person singular subjects is *to-*. In (8a) *j-wabw-an* 'cook' has the prefix *to-*, agreeing with the third person singular pronoun *cha*. In (8b) the verb *jonÿnan* 'be born' has the prefix *ton-*, agreeing with the singular subject *šešonatem* 'baby'. For comparison, (8c) shows a verb with the completive marker *to-* but without the evidential marker *n-*. An alternative analysis is that *t-* could be the past or completive marker and that third person singular is zero-marked. This analysis is problematic, however, because *t-* does not appear for the past in other persons or numbers, except very rarely.

(8a)   Cha **tonjwabwa** wameshnen bëngbiam.
        cha   **to**-n-jwabwa   wameshnen   bëng-biam
        3SG   3SG.PST-EVI-cook   *mote*   1PL-BEN
        'She cooked *mote* (hominy soup) for us.'

(8b)   Šešonatem **tonjonÿna** tonjopasanÿete.
        šešon-atem   **to**-n-j-onÿna   tonjapasanÿete
        baby-DIM   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-be.born   day.before.yesterday
        'The baby was born the day before yesterday.' (*tonjapasanÿete* composite of Kamsá
        tonja 'he/she/it went' Sp. *pasar* 'happen' and Sp. *anteayer* 'the day before yesterday')

(8c)   Ndmoy tojatoñ?
        Ndmoy   to-j-atoñ
        where-DIAT   3SG.PST-VBLZ-go
        'Where did she go?' (Chindoy 89:8)

4.2.4   First person plural: *bsë-*

There are three ways in which first person plural subjects may be indexed (or partially indexed) on verbs. The first option is to use the verbal prefix *bsë-*, which encodes both first person and plural number. The second option is to use the first person prefix *së-*, which marks only that the subject is first person, without indicating its number. The third option is to use the plural marker *mo-*, which marks only that the subject is plural, without indicating its person. Without an expressed subject or context there would be no way to tell if a verb with *mo-* is first second or third person; the only thing that is apparent is that it is plural. Similarly, if there is no other context or pronoun, *së-* is definitely first person, but could be singular, plural, or dual. The prefix *bsë-*, on the other hand, is specifically first person plural.

It is interesting to note that there is a contrast between singular, plural, and dual first person and no contrast between inclusive and exclusive plural first person, a common feature of many languages in the area.

Additionally, there are optional suffixes that show that the subject of a verb is plural or dual (-*ang* and -*at*, respectively). Although these suffixes can co-occur with number marking prefixes, they are often used when the number marking prefixes are not present.

The following sentences show verbs marked with the first person plural prefix *bs-* (often pronounced [fs-], perhaps because of different dialects or free variation). In (9a), the verb *jamnan* 'be' is marked with the prefix *bsë-*, without any overt (pronominal) subject included in the clause. In (9b), on the other hand, the first person plural pronoun *bëng* is present in the clause, and the verb *jetšan* 'lose' is marked with *bsë-* to agree with it. Similarly, in (9c), *japasar* 'pass, be' is marked with *bsë-*, indexing the first person plural pronoun *bëng*.

(9a)   **Bsëndanmën** bëts tabanok.
      bsë-nd-anmën bëts   tabanok
      1PL-HAB-be   big   village-LOC
      'We are/were in a big town.'

(9b)   **Bëngna** kadaté ba bolletënga **bsëntsbwetšan**.
      bëng=na   kadaté   ba   bollet-ëng-a   **bsë**-n-ts-bw-etšan
      1PL=TOP   every.day   many   chicken-PL-V   1PL-EVI-PROG-EMPH?-lose
      'Every day, we are losing many chickens.' (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* 'each day'; *bollet* < Spanish *pollo* 'chicken') (Chindoy 95.13)

(9c)   **Bëngna** lastem **bsëndëpasas**.
      bëng=na   lastem   **bsë**-nd-ëpasas
      1PL=TOP   poor   1PL-HAB-be
      'We are poor.' (*lastem* < Spanish *lástima* 'pity'; *japasa* < Spanish *pasar* 'pass (as time)') (Chindoy 64.36)

In (10a), the plural prefix *mo-* indexes the first person plural subject *bëng* on the verb *j-wabw-an* 'cook'. The verb is not marked for first person, only for plural. In (10b) there is no pronoun, on the verb *j-en-ebjën-an* 'meet'.

(10a)   Kadaté bëng **mondwabwán** wameshnen.
      kadaté   bëng   **mo**-nd-wabwán   wameshnen
      every.day   1PL   PL-HAB-cook   *mote*
      'Everyday, we cooked *mote* (hominy soup).' (MC) (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* 'each day')

(10b) A ver chkasë nÿetesë kamwentše **mochjenebjna**.
      a.ver   chkasë nÿetesë   ka-mwentše   **mo**-ch-j-enebjna
      okay   thus   noon   INTENS-here   PL-FUT-VBLZ-meet
      'Thus tomorrow we will meet right here.' (Chindoy2 161:10) (*mochjenebjna* in original orthography is <mochjenefjna>)

Another option is for the verb to index only first person without indexing plural. In (11), the first person prefix *së-* indexes the first person plural subject *bëng* on the verb *j-ab-an* 'leave'. It does not index number, only first person.

(11) Tonjapasaibs bëng **sënjabo** yap jetiñ kabildokan.
      tonjapasaibs   bëng   **së**-n-jabo   yap   jetiñ   kabildo-kan
      Yesterday   1PL   1SG-EVI-leave   very   late   town.hall-ABL
      'Yesterday we left the town hall very late.'(*kabildo* < Spanish *cabildo* 'town hall') (MC)

4.2.5 Second person plural: *šmo-*

Second person plural subjects are indexed on verbs by the prefix *šmo-*. Whereas the use of this prefix indexes both (second) person and (plural) number, it is possible for a verb agreeing with a second person plural subject to index just one or the other feature (as is the case with first person plural subjects, 4.2.4). Thus, a verb that agrees with a second person plural subject can simply be marked for second person with *ko-* or for plural with *mo-*. In (12a) the conquistadors are telling the Kamsá people that they (the Kamsás) will build a chapel in a certain spot. The prefix *šmo-* identifies the second person plural subject 'you (pl)', otherwise unspecified in the clause. In (12b) the second person plural pronoun *tsëngafta*[7] is used. (Note: the pronoun is usually *tsëngaftang,* as *-ang* is the plural suffix on nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives.)

(12a) Kapilla **šmochtsebojebuna**.
      kapilla   **šmo-**ch-ts-ebojebuna
      chapel   2PL-FUT-PROG-build
      'You (plural) will build the chapel.' (*kapilla* < Spanish *capilla* 'chapel') (Chindoy2 115:4)

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[7] There are two second person plural pronouns, the more common one being *tsëngaftang,* as *-ang* is the plural suffix on nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives, but both are used.

(12b)   Tsengfta matsetem **šmontsotšëmbwana**.
       tsengfta   matse-tem   **šmo-**n-ts-otšëmbwana
       2PL   corn-DIM   2PL-EVI-PROG-cry.out
       'You (plural) are crying out for corn.' (Chindoy 2 73:2)

It is important to note that *šmo-* is confusingly the same morpheme as the composite for a first person object *š̈-* and third person plural agent *mo-*. Thus, 'you all are screaming' and 'they are screaming at me' would both have *šmo-*.

      This is discussed further below, but for now these morphemes are summarized below:

Second person plural subject: šmo-
First person object: š̈-
Third person subject: mo-
First person object + third person subject = šmo-

4.2.6   Third person plural: *mo-*

      Third person plural subjects are indexed on verbs by the plural prefix *mo-*. Each of the verbs in (13) has a plural subject and is marked with *mo-*. In (13a), the subject, *shloftstemang* 'little birds', is overt in the clause, whereas in (13b) and (13c), the subjects are not expressed, but are understood to be third person plural referents due to the verbal morphology. In (13d) the third person plural pronoun *chëng* is used.

(13a)   Chentš shlobšetemang **motsomën**.
       chentš shlobše-tem-ang   **mo-**ts-omën
       there   bird-DIM-PL   3PL-PROG-be
       'The birds are there.'

(13b)   Chorna tersiadëjaka **mojetsëtsjanja** bestaš.
       Chorna   tersiadëj-ak-a   **mo-**je-ts-ëtsjanja   bestaš
       then   machete-INST-VOWEL   3PL-VERB-PROG-hit   head
       'Then they hit him on the head with a machete.'

(13c)   Kadaté **mojontša** otšanan kanÿa, utat, asta shachnënga
       kadaté   **mo-**jontša   otšanan   kanÿa utat   asta   shachn-ëng-a
       every.day   3PL-start   lost   one   two   until   five-PL-VERB
       'Each day, they started being lost: one, two, then five.' (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* 'each day') (Chindoy 94:7)

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(13d)   **Chënga** lempe **mojwangonjo** ch bëtsëtsa animalëngbeñe.
      chëng lempe **mo**-j-wangonjo   ch   bëts-ëts-a   animal-ëng-be-ñe
      3PL   all   3PL-VBLZ-grab   DET   big-?-?   animal-PL-GEN-?
      'They all grabbed on to the big animals.' (Chindoy2 161:18)

4.2.7   First person dual marking

There is no specific verbal marker to indicate first person dual subjects. That is, no prefix encodes both first person and dual number. First person dual subjects can be indexed with the dual marker *bo-*, the first person marker *së-*, and *bsë-*. It is possible that such subjects can alternatively be marked with the plural marker *mo-*, but I do not have examples of *mo-* marking first person dual in my data.

In (14a), the verb *j-wabw-an* 'cook' is marked with the dual marker *bo-*, agreeing with the first dual pronoun *bëndat* in the same clause. In (14b), the two verbs *jashjango* 'arrive' and *jatay* 'spend the night' are marked with the dual marker *bo-*. Here, there is no overt subject, but the subject is understood to be first person (dual) since the sentence belongs to a text in which a man is planning with his brother. In (14c), the verb *jan* 'go' is marked with *së-*, the first person marker. Here, the subject of the verb is overtly expressed and seen to be dual: is *atš i atšbe bemb* 'my daughter and I'. In (14d), there is the prefix *bs-* for a dual subject.

(14a)   Kadaté bëndat **bondwabwán** wameshnen.
      kadaté   bëndat   **bo**-nd-wabwán   wameshnen
      every.day   1DU   1DU-HAB-cook *mote*
      'Every day we two cook *mote* (hominy soup).' (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* 'each day')

(14b)   Jetiñoy **bochanjashjango** i kachoka **bochanjatay**.
      jetiñoy   **bo**-chan-jashjango   i   ka-choka   **bo-**chan-jatay
      afternoon-ALL   DU-FUT-arrive   and   INT-there   DU-FUT-spend.night
      'We (two) will arrive in the afternoon and spend the night right there.' (*i* < Spanish *y* 'and') (Chindoy 62:18)

(14c)   Atš i atšbe bemb tonjopasaibs**sënja** tabanoy twamb tsjatobiam.
      atš   i   atš-be   bemb   tonjopasaibs   **së-n-ja**
      1SG   and   1SG-GEN   daughter   yesterday   1SG-EVI-go

      taban-oy   twamb   ts-jatobiam
      village-ALL   hen   ?-sell
      'My daughter and I went to the village yesterday to sell hens.' (MC) (*twamb* < Quechua?)

(14d) I chata tbojanjuá: "Aíñe, **fchanjobenaye** ka."
      i   chat-a   t-bo-j-anjuá   aíñe   **bs**-chan-j-obenaye   ka
      and   3DU-EPE   PST-DU-VBLZ-say   yes   1PL-FUT-VBLZ-be.able   DISC?
      'They (two) said: "Yes, we can."' (Matthew 20:22) (i = <i> and ka = <ca> in original orthography)

4.2.8 Second person dual: *šo-*

Second person dual has the marker *šo-*, but it can also be indexed with the dual marker *bo-*. It is possible that such subjects can alternatively be marked with the plural marker *mo-* or the second person plural marker *šmo-* but I do not have examples of these in my corpus. In (15a), both verbs are marked with *šo-* to agree with the second person dual subject pronoun *tsëndat*. Also in (15b) the verb *j-aman* 'sleep' is marked with *šo-* to agree with *tsëndat,* whereas in (15c) the verb is marked simply with the dual marker *bo-,* which does not index person. Note that in (15a) the verb also has a dual suffix *-at* in addition to the second person dual prefix.

(15a) Tsëndata katšata **šondmëna**,
      Tsëndat-a   katšat-a   **šo**-nd-mëna
      2DU-EPE   brother-EPE   2DU-HAB-be

      ¿ndáyeka **šojtsentsjanata** ka?
      ndáyeka   **šo**-j-ts-en-tsjan-**ata**   ka
      why   2DU-VBLZ-?-REC-hurt?-DU   DISC?
      'You two are brothers, why do you want to hurt each other?' (Acts 7:26) (*katšata* = <catšata>, *ndáyeka* = <ndáyeca>, and *ka* =<ca> in original orthography)

(15b) Tsëndata šojtsamana
      tsëndat   šo-j-ts-amana
      2DU   2DU-VBLZ-PROG-sleep
      'You (two) slept.' (MC)

(15c) Tsëndat **bondoyen** tabanoka.
      tsëndat   **bo**-nd-oyen   taban-ok
      2DU   DU-HAB-live   town-LOC
      'You (two) live in town.'

Confusingly, the prefix *šo-* is also the prefix that indexes third person singular subject with first person object. It seems that this is homophony rather than being the same prefix. In (16) *j-apegan* 'hit' has the prefix *šo-* to index a third person singular subject *basetem* 'boy' and first person singular object *atš* 'I, me'. Object marking is discussed in 4.3.

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(16) ch basetem atš **šonjapega** base ndëtšbemak
  ch base-tem atš **šo**-n-j-apega   base ndëtšbem-ak
  DET small-DIM 1SG 1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-hit small rock-INST
  'The boy hit me with a small rock.' (MC)

4.2.9 Third person dual: *bo-*

  Third person dual subjects are indexed on verbs by the dual marker *bo-* (which can also be used to index first person dual 4.2.7 and second person dual 4.2.8 subjects). This can be seen in (17a) on *j-ashjango* 'arrive' and (17b) with *jamnan* 'be'. It is possible that third person dual subjects can be indexed with the plural verbal prefix *mo-* but I do not have any examples of this in my data.

(17a) Jetiñoy tamboka **bojashjango** jatayam.
  jetiñoy   tamb-ok **bo**-j-ashjango   j-ataya-m
  afternoon ranch-LOC DU-VBLZ-arrive   VERB-spend.the.night-BEN
  'They (two brothers) arrived at the ranch in the afternoon to spend the night.'

(17b) keš i meset yebonëntš bo-jtsemën
  keš i   meset yebën-ëntš bo-j-ts-emën
  dog and cat house-LOC DU-EVI-PROG-be
  'The dog and the cat are in the house.'

  It is important to note that the prefix *bo-* for third person dual subject is the same as the (optional) prefix for third person subject and third person object. In (18) *bo-* is on the verb *j-ashjango* 'arrive' to agree with the null subject (two brothers). The same prefix is on the verb *j-abwayenan* 'advise' where both the Agent and the Theme are animate: *wabochená* 'older brother' and *wabentsa* 'younger brother', respectively. Note that in this example, the theme has the allative marker *-bioy*. There are two possible analyses for this. The first is homophony: *bo-* can be third person dual or third subject and object. The other possibility is that *bo-* indexes the total number of participants. Throughout this dissertation, I gloss *bo-* as DU-.

(18) Yebunok **bojatashjango** orna …
  yebun-ok **bo**-j-at-ashjango orna
  home-LOC DU-VBLZ-IRR-arrive when
  'When they (two) arrived home, …'

… wabochená **bojabwayená** wabentsabioy.

wabochená	**bo**-j-abwayená	wabentsa-bi-oy
older.brother	DU-VBLZ-advise	younger.brother-ANIM-ALL

'… the older brother advised the younger brother:' (*orna* < Spanish *hora* 'hour')
(Chindoy 64:33)

4.2.10 Suffixes for marking number: plural *-ang* and dual *-at*

Verbs can exhibit number suffixes in addition to the person/number prefixes. These are the plural suffix *-ang* and the dual suffix *-at*. They are identical to the number suffixes that occur on nouns and they are optional.

In (19a) and (19b), the verbs are prefixed with plural person prefixes with special plural and dual markers as suffixes (*-ang* for plural, *-at* for dual). Note that the vowel /a/ in -at is deleted when it follows another vowel.

(19a) Mas bëng **montsabwanang** mëntšen.

mas	bëng	mo-n-ts-abwana-**ng**	mëntšen
more	1PL	PL-EV-PROG-cook-PL	meat

'More than two of us are cooking meat.' (*mas* < Spanish *más* 'more')

(19b) Bëndat **montsabwanat** mntšen.

bëndat	mo-n-ts-abwana-**t**	mëntšen
1DU	PL-EV-PROG-cook-DU	meat

'We (two) are cooking meat.'

In the following two examples, the verb exhibits the second person plural prefix *šm-*. In (20a) the verb additionally contains a plural suffix, whereas in (20b) the verb contains a dual suffix. These suffixes thus serve to specify the number of the referent (plural or dual). Although prefixes are not always specific for number, suffixes seem always to be specific: *-ang* is always for plural subjects, and *-at* is always for dual subjects.

(20a) Tsëngaftang **šmëntsabwanang** mntšen.

tsëngaftang	**šm**-ëntsabwana-**ng**	mntšen
2PL	2PL-cook-PL	meat

'You (pl) are cooking meat.' (MC)

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(20b) Tsëndat **šmëntsabwanat** mntšen.
    tsëndat   šm-ëntsabwana-**t**   mntšen
    2DU   2PL-cook-DU   meat
    'You two are cooking meat.' (MC)

In the following examples, a contrast between verbs with the suffix and without it are shown. In (21a), the verb is marked with -*t* to show dual whereas in (21b) it is not. Similarly, in (21c), the verb is marked with -*ang* while in (21d) it is not.

(21a) tsëndat šojtsamanat[8]
    tsëndat   šo-j-ts-amana-**t**
    2DU   2DU-VBLZ-PROG-sleep-DU
    'You two slept.'

(21b) tsëndat šojtsamana
    tsëndat   šo-j-ts-amana
    2DU   2DU-VBLZ-PROG-sleep
    'You two slept.'

(21c) tšengabtang šmojtsamanang
    tšengabtang   šmo-j-ts-amana-**ng**
    2PL   2PL-VBLZ-PROG-sleep-PL
    'You (plural) slept.'

(21d) tšengabtang šmojtsamana
    tšengabtang   šmo-j-ts-amana
    2PL   2PL-VBLZ-PROG-sleep
    'You (plural) slept.'

For comparison, (22a-b) show -*ang* as the plural marker that occurs on nouns and and -*at* as the dual marker for nouns:

(22a) Chentš **shlobšetemang** motsomën.
    chentš   shlobše-tem-**ang**   mo-ts-omën
    there   bird-DIM-PL   3PL-PROG-be
    'The birds are there.'

(22b) **twambat**
    twamb-**at**
    hen-DU
    'two chickens'

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[8] Here I gloss *ts-* as progressive, but it is possible that the *ts-* occurring after *j-* is a different morpheme from the *ts-* that's progressive in other environments.

4.2.11 Concluding remarks on subject marking on verbs

This section (4.2) has illustrated person and number marking prefixes and suffixes on verbs. As shown, the verb can be more specific or less specific for person or number. The following section (4.3) will discuss object marking.

4.3 Object marking on verbs

In addition to indexing subjects, transitive verbs index objects with bound, obligatory prefixes. Although grammatical objects need not be overtly expressed as free words (whether independent personal pronouns or full NPs), it is obligatory to index objects with verbal prefixes allowing for a null prefix for third person referents; that is to say, first and second person objects are marked on the verb. First person and second person (object) pronouns can co-occur with object marking prefixes, although they are not obligatory. The object prefix is the first prefix on the verb, followed by the subject prefix (which is itself followed by any TAM prefixes). Direct objects are marked. When the construction is ditransitive, it is the Goal and not the theme that is marked. This chapter focuses on morphology.

In most TAM distinctions (excluding, future and conditional), neither third person subjects nor third person objects are overtly marked on verbs. Although the first person subject marker and first person object marker have different forms (*së-* and *s̈-*, respectively), the second person object marker is identical to the second person subject marker. Thus, in clauses with third person subjects and second person objects (or with second person subjects and third person objects), only the second person argument is overtly marked on the verb (with the prefix *k-*). It is thus impossible (from the shape of the verb alone) to determine whether the second person argument is the subject or the object of the verb.

The first person object prefix is *s̈-*, the second person object prefix is *k-* (the same as its subject prefix counterpart), and the third person object prefix is null (*Ø-*). These forms are used for all TAM distinctions. Number is not marked in any way for object prefixes. Thus, plural objects never receive the plural marker *mo-*, nor do dual objects receive the dual marker *bo-*. Similarly, neither the portmanteau first person plural subject prefix *bsë-* nor the portmanteau second person plural subject prefix *s̈mo-* has an equivalent object prefix form. Plural first person

objects are marked with *s̈-* and plural second person objects are marked with *s̈mo-*.

The first person subject prefix is *bo-* when the object is second person (regardless of the number of either the subject or the object). The third person singular subject prefix is also *bo-* when the object is third person (regardless of the number of the object). Thus, first person subject with second object is *kbo-*, with *k-* marking the second object and *bo-* showing that the subject is first person. The first person singular subject prefix is never *bo-* when there isn't an object.

Object marking is usually the same for non-singular as for singular.

All of the prefixes that encode subject and object end in *o-*, so this could perhaps be analyzable as something to do with transitivity, but it also appears in intransitive verbs.

Figure 4.2 (on the following page) summarizes the person marking for verbs, showing the various possible combinations of subject and object prefixes.

	1SG subject	**2SG subject**	**3SG subject**	**1PL subject**	**2PL subject**	**3PL subject**
no object	së- (e.g., past), Ø- (e.g., future)	ko-	to- (e.g., past), i- (e.g., future)	bsë-, së-, mo-	šmo-, ko-, mo-	mo-
1SG object	N/A	ško- (< š-ko-)	šo- (< š-Ø-)	N/A	šmo- (< š-šmo-), ško- (<š-ko-) šmo-ntsonÿa	šmo- (< š-mo-) šmo-ntsonÿa
2SG object	kbo- (< k-bo-) **kbo**ntsonÿa	N/A	ko-**ko**ntsonÿa	kbo- (< k-bo-) **kbo**ntsonÿa	N/A	kmo- (< k-mo-) **kmo**ntsonÿa
3SG object	së-	ko-	V, to-, t-bo-, bo-	bs-, së-, mo-	šmo-, ko-, mo-	mo-
1PL object	N/A	ško- (< š-ko-)	šo-	N/A	šmo- (< š-mo- or < š-šmo-), ško- (<š-ko-)	šmo- (< š-mo-)
2PL object	kbo- (< k-bo-)	N/A	**???**	kbo- (< k-bo-)	N/A	kmo- (< k-mo-)
3PL object	së-	ko-	V, to-, t-bo-, bo-	bs-, s-, mo-	šmo-, ko-, mo-	mo-

Figure 4.2 Person marking prefixes on verbs

4.3.1   First person singular subject, second person object: *k-bo-*

First person singular subject and second person object is shown on the verb as *k-bo-*, with *k-* marking the object and *bo-* marking the subject. Note that the first person singular subject

marker is usually *së-* whereas *bo-* is the dual marker. Thus, when the object is second person, the first person subject marker changes to *bo-*, which is also the dual marker.

An alternative analysis is that it is *k-b-o-* and with *o-* marking transitivity.

In the following examples, the subject is first person singular and the object is second person singular. The prefix for the second person object *k-* is the first prefix on the verb, followed by *bo-* which here marks first person singular.

In (23a) 'I am looking at you' there are no independent subject or object pronouns in the clause, but *k-* marks the second person object and *bo-* marks the first person subject. In (23b) the dual marker *bo-* is shown for comparison; the verb *jochashjajwa* 'rest on a patio' (from *chashjan* 'patio') has the dual marker *bo-* to agree with the subject (which is not expressed), a couple.

In (23c), the object is also shown by the overt independent pronoun *ak* 'you singular'. Note that there is no difference between subject and object independent pronouns; *ak* is the second singular pronoun, both for subjects and objects. In (23d), the sentence is the same as (23c) but without the second person singular independent pronoun *ak*. In (23e) the verb is in the future, which is zero marked in the first person singular when there is not an object marker as seen in (23f) for comparison, where the verb *jan* 'go' is first person singular future, with the first person singular marking null and an oblique *ak-abtak* 'with you'. (23g) provides another example of the first person singular subject and second person plural object in the future. Note that *j-wasta-n* 'follow, accompany' *j-wakmeya-n* 'follow, chase' are transitive, whereas jan 'go' is not. Thus in (23f) the second person *ak* 'you' is in an oblique role and not marked on the verb, whereas in (23e) and (23g) the second person is marked on the verb with *k-*.

(23a)　**kbo**ntsonÿa
　　　　k-bo-n-ts-onÿa
　　　　2SG-1SG-EV-PROG-look.at
　　　　'I'm looking at you.'

(23b)　Kanÿe te pwerte yejtsejënÿa orna, **bojochashjajwa**.

Kanÿe	te	pwerte	ye-j-ts-ejënÿa	orna	**bo**-j-ochashjajwa
one	day	very	3DIS-VERB-PROG-be.sun	when	DU-VERB-rest.on.patio

　　　　'One day when the sun was shining a lot, they (the couple) rested on the patio.'
　　　　(jochashjajwa 'rest on patio' from chashjan 'patio')

(23c) Tonjapasaibs **kbonjangwango** ak
       Tonjapasaibs **k-bo**-n-j-angwango   ak
       yesterday   2SG-1SG-EVI-VERB-seek   2SG
       'Yesterday I looked for you.'

(23d) Tonjapasaibs **kbonjangwango**
       Tonjapasaibs **k-bo**-n-j-angwango
       yesterday   2SG-1SG-EVI-VERB-seek
       'Yesterday I looked for you.'

(23e) i atš̌na **kbochwakmie**.
       i   atš̌=na   **k-bo**-ch-wakmie
       and   1SG=TOP   2SG-1SG-FUT-follow
       'I will chase you/follow you.' (Chindoy 2: 154.2)
       jwakmeyan 'follow, chase'

(23f) atš̌ **chanja** tabanoy akabtak
       atš̌   **Ø**-chan-ja   taban-oy   **ak-abtak**
       1SG   1SG-FUT-go   village-ALL   2SG-COM
       'I will go to town with you.' (MC)

(23g) **kboch**jwasto
       k-bo-ch-**jwasto**
       2SG-1SG-FUT-accompany
       'I will accompany you.' (Chindoy 103.2)

4.3.2 First person singular subject, third person singular object: *së-*

When the subject is first person singular and the object is third person singular, only the first person singular subject is indexed overtly on the verb. The object is not marked overtly on the verb. In (24a-b) the prefix is the same on the verb. In (24a) the subject is first person singular and the object is *tsjan* 'guinea pig'; in (24b) the subject is first person singular and the object is animate, *enuta* 'friend'. In (24c) an intransitive verb is shown for comparison.

(24a) Tonjapasaibs atš̌ **sënjangwango** tsjan
       Tonjapasaibs atš̌   **së**-n-j-angwango   tsjan
       yesterday   1SG   1SG-EVI-VERB-seek   guinea.pig
       'Yesterday I looked for the guinea pig.' (MC)

(24b) tonjapasaibs **sёnjachemb** atšbe enuta
tonjapasaibs   sё-n-j-achemb   atš-be   enuta
yesterday   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-call   1SG-GEN   friend
'Yesterday I called my friend.' (MC)

(24c) mwёntš sёnsjotebem
mwёntš   sё-n-s-j-otebem
here   1SG-EVI-PROG-VBLZ-sit
'I'm sitting here.' (MC)

4.3.3 Second singular subject, first singular object: *š-ko-*

When the subject is second person singular, and the object is first person singular, the first person object marker *š-* is the first prefix on the verb, followed by the second person subject marker *ko-*. In (25a) the first person object marker *š-* is the first prefix on the verb, followed by the second person subject marker *ko-*. (25b) shows the same ordering, with both the first person object marker *š-* and the second person subject marker *ko-* preceding the evidential marker *n-* and the progressive marker *ts-*. In (25c) it is the same, but the object, the first person singular pronoun *atš* is in the clause. Note that when there is a first person subject with a second person object, the subject marker on the verb is dual, whereas when there is a second person subject with a first person object, it is simply the second person singular subject marker, not dual.

(25a) **ško**yengwango
š-ko-yengwango
1SG-2SG-insult
'You insult(ed) me.' (MC)

(25b) **ško**ntsonÿa
š-ko-n-ts-onÿa
1SG-2SG-EVI-PROG-look.at
'You are looking at me.' (MC)

(25c) Tonjapasaibs atš **škojangwango** pero atš ndokna ketatsmёn yebunok
tonjapasaibs   atš   **š-ko**-j-angwango   pero   atš   ndokna
yesterday   1SG   1SG-2SG-VBLZ-look.for   but   1SG   NEG

ke-ta-ts-mёn   yebun-ok
IRR-IRR-PROG-be   house-LOC
'Yesterday, you looked for me but I wasn't home.' (MC)

4.3.4   Second singular subject, third object: *ko-*

When the subject is second person singular and the object is third person singular, the object is not indexed on the verb as seen in (26a) where *jangwango* 'look for' is only indexed for the second person singular subject, not for the third person singular object *tsjan* 'guinea pig'. Similarly in (26b) the verb *jatbanan* 'collect, gather' is only marked as second person singular.

(26a)   Tonjapasaibs ak **konjangwango** tsjan
       tonjapasaibs   ak   **ko**-n-j-angwango   tsjan
       yesterday   2SG   2SG-EVI-VERB-look.for   guinea.pig
       'Yesterday you looked for the guinea pig.' (MC)

(26b)   Akna tsbwanach **kochjatbana** bien jwashabwayam
       ak=na   tsbwanach   **ko**-ch-j-atbana   bien   jwashabwayam
       2SG=TOP   leaf   2SG-FUT-VBLZ-collect well   VBLZ-shelter
       'You collect the leaves, to shelter (the house) well.' (Chindoy 104:5)

4.3.5   Third singular subject, first object: *šo-*

When the subject is third person singular and the object is first person singular, only the first person singular object is indexed on the verb. In (27a) *j-apegan* 'hit' is marked with the third singular object marker *šo-*. There is no subject marker, but third singular subjects are the only ones that are not indexed on the verb when the object is first or second person; all other subjects are indexed. (27c) shows a causative construction, where the agent is third person singular and the object is first person singular. As discussed in 10.5, causatives are formed by putting the object pronoun on the verb.

(27a)   ch basatem atš **šonjapega** base ndëtšbemak
       ch   basa-tem   atš   **šo**-n-j-apega   base   ndëtš-be-ma=k
       DET   small-DIM   1SG   1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-hit small rock-CL-DIM=INST
       'The boy hit me with the small rock.' (MC)

(27b)   Ndmwate contrariëja **šojtseshbwatená**,
       ndmwa-te   contrari-ëja   **šo**-j-ts-eshbw-at-e-ná
       what.day   enemy-EVAL   1SG.OBJ-VBLZ-PROG-hunt-DU?-EPE-TOP

ndoñe mas kechatsbokna.

ndoñ-e   mas   ke-ch-at-s-bokna.

NEG-EPE   more   IRR-FUT-IRR-PROG-come

'If one day an enemy hunts me, I will no longer come.' (Chindoy 2 74:21)

(27c)   Mo bën betieshiñ **šonjaušëngo**.

       mo   bën   betie-shiñ   **šo**-n-j-aušëngo

       very   soon   tree-?   1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-make.climb

       'Very soon, he made me climb a tree.'

(27d)   **šonjabejëngwenás** fshantsoy **šontsatsëntše**.

       šo-n-j-abejëngwen=ás   fshants=oy   **šo**-n-tsatsëntše

       1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-tie.neck=SUB   earth=ALL   1SG.OBJ-EVI-push

       'Tying my neck he pushed me to the ground.' (Chindoy 79:23)

       (*jabejëngwnayan* 'tie neck' with *bejëngwaj* 'neck')

There are certain verbs that take an object as the experiencer. In (28) the verb *j-tsebubwa* 'be drunk' has the marker *šo-* to show that it is first person singular, i.e. 'I was drunk.'

(28)   **šojtsebubwa** kausna ndoñ chiyatobená jtan.

       šo-j-tsebubwa   kaus=na   ndoñ   chiy-at-obená   j-t-an.

       1SG.OBJ-VBLZ-be.drunk   because=TOP   NEG   COND-IRR-be.able   VBLZ-again-go

       'Because I was drunk I couldn't return.' (Chindoy 80:30) (*kausna* < Spanish *causa* 'cause' with Kamsá topic marker =*na*)

4.3.6   Third singular subject, second object: *k-*

When the subject is third person singular and the object is second person singular, only the second person singular object is marked on the verb.

(29)   i bëndatbe barina "komprade" o "wakina" **kt**sekedana.

       i   bëndat-be   barina komprade   o   wakina   **k-t**-sekedana

       and   1DU-GEN   lord   compadre   or   son   2SG-PST-give

       'and our lord has given you the name "godfather" or "son"' (Chindoy 43:3, from ceremonial speech.) (*kompadre* from Spanish *compadre* 'godfahter')

4.3.7   Third singular subject, third plural object: *to-*

When the subject is third singular and the object is third plural, only the third singular subject is indexed on the verb. In (30a) the verb is marked with *to-* to show third person singular

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past. The prefix is the same as in an intransitive verb with a third person singular subject, as seen in (30b).

(30a) Jesús chë mallajta entšanga tojánanÿe ora...
      Jesús chë   mallajta   entš-anga   **to**-j-ánanÿe   ora
      Jesus DET   many   person-PL   PST.3SG-VBLZ-see   when
      'When Jesus saw many people…' (Matthew 5:1)

(30b) tonja tabanoy
      to-n-ja   taban-oy
      PST.3SG-EVI-go   town-ALL
      'He went to town.' (MC)

4.3.8 Third plural subject, first object: *š̈-mo-*

When a verb has a third person plural subject and a first-person singular object, the verb has the prefixes *š̈-* for first person object and *mo-* for third person subject. In (31a) the verb *j-akmen* 'chase' has the prefixes *š̈-* and *mo-* to mean 'they chase me'. In (31b) the verb has two objects, the first person singular and *pavor* 'favor'.

This combination is identical to the prefix for second person singular subject *š̈mo-* and to the morphemes for first person object and imperative, *š̈-* and *mo-* respectively, and to the combination of first person singular object and second person plural subject *š̈-* and *š̈mo-*, which become *š̈mo-* (not *š̈š̈mo-* or *š̈ëš̈mo-*, which can be explained by a phonological rule that doesn't allow *š̈* and *š̈* next to each other.).

(31a) šmojtsakmen
      š̈-mo-j-ts-akmen
      1SG.OBJ-3PL-VBLZ-PROG-chase
      'They chase me.' (Chindoy 101.6)

(31b) Chënga lempe atšbe pavor šmëntjašbwachená.
      chënga   lempe atš-be   pavor   **š̈-m**ë-n-t-j-aš̈bwachená
      they   all   1SG-GEN   favor   1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-ʔ-VBLZ-agree
      'They all will agree with me.' (Chindoy2 160:7)

4.3.9 Third plural subject, second object: *k-mo-*

Third plural subject and second singular object is shown with the second singular object marker *k-* followed by the third plural subject marker mo-. In (32a), 'they will kill you' is shown with the object marker *k-* followed by the plural subject marker *mo-*, and then the TAME markers: evidential *n-* future *chan-* and progressive *ts-*. In (32b), three verbs are marked with the second person object marker *k-* and the plural subject marker *mo-*, all talking about different creatures (ants, wasps, and bees) biting/stinging the listener. Note that these examples are problematic because the verb kind of has two patients, both the second person pronoun and the body part getting bitten or stung (belly, eye, and genitals).

(32a)   **kmo**nchantseshbwas
       k-mo-n-chan-ts-eshbwas
       2SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-FUT-PROG-behead
       'They will kill you.' (Chindoy 84.3) *j-asbwa-n* 'behead, to cut s.o.'s throat'

(32b)   Jwangna wabsbentša **kmochanjwajansantse**;
       jwa-ng=na   wabsbentša   **k-mo**-chan-j-wajansantse
       ant-PL=TOP   belly   2SG-3PL-FUT--VBLZ-bite

       mejtëmbongna fšnëbe **kmochanjwabuchwetotjo**
       mejtëmbo-ng=na   fšnëbe   **k-mo**-chan-j-wabuchwetotjo
       wasp-PL=TOP   eye   2SG-3PL-FUT-VBLZ-sting

       y tjowangná batësoy **kmochanjwetotjo**.
       y   tjowa-ng=ná   batës-oy   **k-mo**-chan-j-wetotjo
       and   bee-PL=TOP   genital-ALL   2SG-3PL-FUT-VBLZ-sting
       'The ants will bite you in the belly, the wasps will sting you in the eye, and the beetles will sting you in the genitals.' (Chindoy2 161:14)

4.3.10 Third plural subject, third singular object: *mo-*

When the subject is third person plural and the object is third person singular, the verb is usually marked simply as third person plural with the third person plural subject marker *mo-*.

(33a)   Chorna tersiadëjaka **mojetsëtsjanj**a beštsaš
       Chorna   tersiadëj-ak-a   **mo**-je-ts-ëtsjanja   beštsaš
       then   machete-INST-EPE   3PL-VBLZ-PROG-hit   head
       'Then they hit him in the head with a machete.'

(33b) Ch gabilanëj **mojtsoba** chentšan

ch	gabilan-ëj	**mo**-j-ts-oba	chentšan
DET	gavilan-EVAL	3PL-VBLZ-die/kill	later

'They killed the sparrow hawk (and) later...'

bolletëngna mojontša jtëtobochan natjëmban.

bollet-ëng=na	mo-j-ontša	j-t-ët-obochan	natjëmban
chicken-PL=TOP	3PL-VBLZ-begin	VBLZ.AGAIN-IRR-grow	peaceful

'The chickens began to grow peacefully.' (Chindoy 96:21)

(33c) Betsko ch tšombiach **mojetsajatka**.

betsko	ch	tšombiach	**mo**-j-ets-ajatka
fast	DET	tšombiach	3PL-VBLZ-?-cut

'Quickly, they cut the *tšombiach*.' (Chindoy 78:16) (A *tšombiach* is a traditional woven sash or strap.)

(33d) Chorsa **mojaparlang** ntšamo yejochjangwan boyaftak

chor-sa	**mo**-j-aparla-ng	ntšamo	ye-j-ochjangwan	boya-ftak
then-?	3PL-VBLZ- tell-PL	how	3DIS-VBLZ-make.mistake	man-COM

'Then they told her what she did with her husband.' (Chindoy 79:25)

4.3.11 First plural subject, second singular object: *k-bo-*

When the first person plural is the subject, it is the same as first singular subject. In (34), the subject is 'we' and the object is second singular. The form is identical to 'I will kill you.'

(34)   **kbo**chtespochoka
        k-bo-ch-te-spochoka
        2SG-1SG-FUT-?-kill
        'We will kill you.' (Chindoy 65.43)

4.3.12 Second plural subject, first singular object: *šm-*

When the subject is second person plural and the object is first person singular, the morpheme is *šm-* as mentioned above. This is probably because of a phonological rule that prohibits the same consonant twice; thus the first person object marker *š-* when combining with the second person plural object marker *šm-* becomes *šm-*. In (35) the narrator is talking to a group of people.

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(35) Chka **šmë**ntsianentšan atšna chjisolwariñe, inÿoy chjatoñe.
    chka   **šmë**-n-ts-ianentšan
    thus   2PL-EVI-PROG-call

    atš=na   ch-j-is-olwariñe   inÿ-oy   ch-j-atoñe
    1SG=TOP   FUT-VBLZ-?-leave   other-ALL   FUT-VBLZ-go
    'Having called me thus, leaving I will go to another place.' (Chindoy 95:16)

4.3.13 Objects in imperatives

When a verb is marked for imperative and there is a first-person object, the object marker precedes the imperative marker. In (36a), the verb has the first-person object marker *š-* followed by the imperative marker *m-*. Similarly, in (36b) the verb has *š-* followed by *m-*.

(36a) šmanatse
    š-m-anatse
    1SG.OBJ-IMP-bring
    'Bring me.' (Chindoy 62:15)

(36b) Mandadna nÿa yejtsofšenasná bojojwá: "A ver chkasna **šmenÿinÿie**."
    mandad=na   nÿa   ye-j-tsofšenasná   bo-jojwá a.ver chkasna **š-m-**enÿinÿie
    governor=TOP ?   3DIS-VBLZ-surprise   DU-answer well then   1SG.OBJ-IMP-show
    'The governor, surprised, answered, "Well, then, show me."' (Chindoy2 116:21)

4.3.14 Other phenomena associated with object marking

One interesting phenomenon in the Kamsa language is that when a verb is ditransitive, the pronominal agreement morpheme that is attached to the verb indexes the goal. In (37), the goal is first singular and is shown on the verb with *šo-*. Furthermore, the first person pronoun *atš* is in the sentence with no marking.

(37) atš **šo-n-jakwenta** tonjapasaibs kanÿe kwent tayta mandat.
    atš   **šo**-n-j-akwenta   tonjapasaibs kanÿe kwent tayta   mandat
    1sg   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-tell   yesterday   one   story tayta   governor
    'The governor told me a story yesterday.'

Other ditransitive verbs that take goal as the only thing marked on the verb are 'tell' shown in (38a) and 'ask', shown in (38b).

(38a) cha **šonjauyan** bnetsan or i-n-ts-emn

       cha   **šo-n-j-auyan**   bnetsan   or   i-n-ts-emn

       3sg   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-tell   three?   hour   3SG-evi-prog-be

       'She told me it's 3 o'clock.'

(38b) Andrea **šonjatja** tsekore-j-ts-emñ

       Andrea   **šonjatja**   tsekor   e-j-ts-emñ

       Andrea   1SG-EVI-ask   how.many   3SG-EV-PROG-be

       'Andrea asked me what time it is.'

4.4   Tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality

Tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality in Kamsá is marked by a combination of prefixes and suffixes on the verb. Some prefixes are portmanteaus indicating both TAM and person at the same time. Some prefixes are obligatory while others are optional. Some prefixes combine with suffixes to create TAM. Given that most prefixes consist of just one phoneme, there is also a lot of homophony.

Past is shown with *j-* while distant past is shown with *y-*. Non-past habitual action is shown with *nd-* while non-past progressive action is shown with *ts-*. Future is shown with *ch-* or *cha-* and conditional is shown with *chao* or *tai*. Negation and some irrealis are shown with *ke-* and/or *at-*. Evidentiality is shown with *n-* or *j-, n-* for known events and *j-* for unknown. Some of these prefixes can combine, namely the evidential marker with the progressive marker *ts-* and the future *cha-*, and the irrealis/negation marker *ke-* with the progressive marker *ts-*, the habitual marker *nd-*, or the past marker *j-*.

Infinitives always start with *j-*, but presumably a different *j-* than the past tense marker and the evidential marker.

The different tenses are summarized here with the verb *j-wabw-an* 'cook'. The present habitual is formed with *nd-* (39a). The past is formed with *j-* (39b). The future is formed with *chan-* (39c). The present progressive is formed with *-ts-* (39d). Nonfinite verbs (that is, verbs that are not inflected for person or number) have several uses in Kamsá, as discussed in 4.4.2. Morphologically, they are marked by the prefix *j-* and either the suffix *-an* for verbal complements (39e) or the suffix *-am* for purpose (39f).

The actual function of these morphemes is not clear, however, and their functions depend on how they combine with other morphemes. This section focuses on TAM, and here a short summary is provided.

(39a) **Present: person + *nd* + root**
Kadaté atš wameshnen **sëndwabwán**.
kadaté	atš	wameshnen	**së**-nd-wabwán
every.day	1SG	*mote*	1SG-HAB-cook
'Every day, I cook *mote* (hominy soup).' (MC) (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* 'each day')

(39b) **Past: person + (*n*) + *j* + root**
Tonjapasaibs atš wameshnen **sënjwabwa**.
tonjapasaibs	atš	wameshnen	**së**-n-j-wabwa
yesterday	1SG	*mote*	1SG-EVI-VERB-cook
'Yesterday I cooked *mote* (hominy soup).' (MC)

(39c) **Future: person (first person is Ø) + *chan* + root (no *-n*)**
Ibs atš wameshnen **chanjwabwa**.
ibs	atš	wameshnen	**Ø**-chan-j-wabw-a
tomorrow	1SG	mote	1SG-FUT-VERB-cook-?
'Tomorrow, I will cook *mote* (hominy soup).' (MC)

(39d) **Progressive: person + *n* + *ts* + root (no *-n*)**
Mor atš mëntšen **sëntsabwana**.
mor	atš	mëntšen	**së**-n-ts-wabwa-na
now	1SG	meat	1SG-FUT-VERB-cook-?-? [9]
'I am cooking meat now.' (MC)

(39e) As mëntšá yejontšá **japarlan**.
As	mëntšá	ye-jontšá	**j**-aparlan
then	like.this	3DIS-start	VERB-tell
'Then, this is how he started to tell (it).' (MC)

(39f) Yejwamba batatem kastellan ralak **jentrokam**.
yejwamba	bata-tem	kastellan	[rala-k	**j**-en-trok-**am**]
3DIS-brought	little-DIM	gold	[money-TRANS-VBLZ-REC-change-BEN]
'He brought a little gold to exchange for money.' (Chindoy 61:10) (*kastellan* < Spanish *castellano* 'Castilian', *rala* < Spanish *real* 'real [unit of currency]' and *j-en-trok-am* 'exchange', presumably from Spanish)

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[9] The *-na* on the end of verbs is probably a different *-na* than the topic marker =na on NPs. It is possibly *-an* and *-a*. More research is needed, however.

In addition to these two suffixes found on nonfinite verbs, there are a number of suffixes found on finite verbs in Kamsá, namely: *-as*, *-ye*, *-an*, *-a*, *-na -entš* (?), and *-ok*.

Evidentiality is treated separately in 4.5.

4.4.1   Aspect: non-past habitual *nd-* and non-past progressive *ts-*

The aspect markers *nd-* and *ts-* come after the person and number markers, and also after the evidential markers, if there are evidential markers. Thus, they are the inflectional prefixes closest to the verb root. (Footnote: derivational prefixes can occur between these inflectional prefixes and the root) *nd-* and *ts-* precede the verbal root. Often, epenthetic vowel /ë / is added after the aspect marker, before the verb root. This seems to be phonological or phonetic rather than morphological. Neither *nd-* nor *ts-* is obligatory; verbs can be marked without aspect. nd- marks habitual in the present or future, and ts- marks a progressive action in the past or future.

Note that there is homophony between the habitual prefix *nd-* and negative prefix *nd-*. They have different functions, and appear in different slots. The negative prefix *nd* is discussed in 4.9.3.

In (40a-b), *ts-* shows actions that are currently happening: cooking and changing. *ts-* is between the evidentiality marker *n-* and the verb root in both examples. (40c-f) show *nd-* for habitual actions and states. In (40c) and (40d), *nd-* shows a constant state, being able to sing, having a house, and usually waiting. In (40c), the verb is also ongoing, non-completed. Thus, *nd-* could also be interpreted as non-completive.

(40a)   Mor atš mëntšen **sëntsabwana**
      mor   atš   mëntšen   së-n-**ts**-abwana
      now   1SG   meat   1SG-EVI-PROG-cook
      'I'm cooking meat now.'

(40b)   ch tiempotem **intsotroka** rat jinÿa i rat wabten
      ch   tiempo-tem   i-n-**ts**-otroka   rat   jinÿa i   rat   wabten
      DET   weather-DIM   3SG-EVI-PROG-change   bit   sun   and   bit   rain
      'The weather is changing, sun for a bit and rain for a bit.' (MC) (*jotroka* from Spanish *trocar* 'change')

(40c) atš̌be enuta botaman **indoben** jakantan
atš̌-be   enuta botaman   **i-nd**-oben   j-akantan
1SG-GEN   friend beautiful   3SG-HAB-be.able   VBLZ-sing
'My friend can sing beautifully.' (MC) (*jakantan* from Spanish *cantar* 'sing')

(40d) atš̌be enuta **indbomën** bëts yebëna
atš̌be   enuta i-**nd**-bomën   bëts   yebëna
1SG-GEN   friend 3SG-HAB-have   big   house
'My friend has a large house.' (MC)

(40e) atš̌na beka së-nd-enÿena jajañ
atš̌=na   beka   së-nd-enÿena jaja-ñ
1SG=TOP   many   1SG-HAB-see   chagra- ILL
'I have seen a lot (of fruits) in the *chagra* (small farm)[10].' (Chindoy 102.1)

(40f) Aiñ. Atš̌ **sëndwaman** jobatman iytëm-en-oy.
aiñ   atš̌   së-**nd**-waman   j-obatman   iytëm-en-oy.
yes   1SG   1SG-HAB-know   VBLZ-wait   hide-?-ALL
'Yes, I know to wait in a hiding place.' (i.e. 'I usually wait…') (Chindoy 93:3)

The following two examples show the verb *jamnan* 'be' with these two TAM markers, *nd-* and *ts-*. In (41a) *i-nd-emën* shows a characteristic of the leaf, whereas in (41b) *i-n-ts-emën* is a temporary state, the bird being in a tree. Note that in Kamsá *jamnan* 'be' inflects in the same way as other verbs.

(41a) kem tsbuanach bëtsich **indemën**
kem   tsbuana-ch   bëts-ich   i-**nd-**emën
this   leaf-CL   big-CL   3SG-HAB-be
'This leaf is big.'

(41b) shloftš̌ **intsemën** betiok
shloftš̌   i-n-**ts-**emën   beti-ok
bird   3SG-EVI-PROG-be   tree-LOC
'The bird is in the tree..'

Finally, *ts-* is used for temporary states with adjectival verbs, as in (42) where it appears on *joyejwa* 'be happy'.

(42)   atš̌be enuta tš̌aba i-n-ts-oyejwa
atš̌-be   enuta tš̌aba i-n-ts-oyejwa
1SG-GEN   friend well   3SG-EVI-PROG-happy
'My friend is very happy.'

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[10] See 1.2.2 for a discussion of *chagras*.

4.4.2 Past and infinitives: *j-*

Past tense is often shown with the prefix *j-* as well as special person/number prefixes. Whether this is the same *j-* as the one at the beginning of an infinitive is unclear. Both are discussed here: first the *j-* with uninflected verbs, then *j-* in past tenses (recent and distant).

Uninflected verbs can take two forms:

j-root-*an*: *jan* 'go' and *j-abwamiy-an* 'buy'
or
j-root-*am*: *jam* 'in order to go', *j-abwamiy-am* 'in order to buy'

Verbs with prefix *j-* and suffix *-an* are the citation form, and the complement for other verbs that take complements. *j-* and *-am* show purpose. In (43a) the verb *j-abwamiy-an* 'buy' is the complement of *jobenan* 'be able' and in (43b) *j-abwamiy-am* is a purpose clause. *-am* is also the benefactive marker for nouns as seen in (43c) with *bëng-bi-am* 'for us', where *bi-* is used on animate nouns and pronouns. The syntax of this construction is discussed further in 9.2.4.

(43a) tobiaš indoben mashakbe **jabwamiyan**
       tobiaš i-nd-oben   mashak-be   **j**-abwamiy-**an**
       girl   3SG-HAB-be.able   lulo-CL   VBLZ-buy-?
       'The girl can buy lulo fruits.'

(43b) tobiaš tonja tabanoy mashakbe **jabwamiyam**
       tobiaš to-n-ja   tabanoy   mashak-be   **j**-abwamiy-**am**
       girl   3SG.PST-EVI-go   town-ALL   lulo-CL   VBLZ-buy-BEN
       'The girl went to town to buy lulo fruits.' (MC)

(43c) bëngbiam
       bëng-bi-**am**
       1PL-ANIM-BEN
       'for us' (MC)

Past in Kamsá is shown with *j-* after the person, number, and evidentiality marking. In the third person singular, it is often further indicated by the first singular person marker *to-*. In (44a) *j-wamb-an* 'carry' has *to-* and *j-*. In (44b) *j-wamb-an* has the distant past marker *ye-* and *j-*. In (44c-d) the past and present progressive are contrasted on the verb *j-amn-an* 'to be'.

(44a) juanap **tojwamb** kanÿe tsbwanach
      juan-ap   to-**j**-wamb   kanÿe tsbwanach
      ant-?   3SG.PST-VBLZ-bring one   leaf
      'The ant carried a leaf.' (MC)

(44b) **yejwamba** batatem kastellan ralak jentrokam.
      ye-**j**-wamba   batatem   kastellan   rala-k   j-entrok-am
      3SG.DIS-VBLZ-bring little   gold   money-TRANS VBLZ-change-BEN
      'He brought a little gold to exchange for money.' (Chindoy 61:10)

(44c) keše-tem baše-tem **ijemën**
      keše-tem   baše-tem   i-**j**-emën
      dog-DIM   small-DIM   3SG-VBLZ-be
      'The little dog was small.'

(44d) mor bëts keš **intsemën**
      mor bëts keš i-n-**ts**-emën
      now big dog 3SG-EVI-PROG-be
      'Now the dog is big.'

Another analysis is that *j-* is on all verbs, but when a verb is marked with *ts-* for progressive or *nd-* for habitual, it is deleted because there are too many consonants together. If this is the case, then *j-* would be a verb marker, and past would be the unmarked tense, with everything else (future, habitual, present progressive, etc.) being marked.

4.4.3 Past, completed: *t-*

As discussed in 4.2, the third person singular is marked with *t-* in the past. Thus, *to-* marks both third person singular and past. In (45a-b) the verb *j-an* 'go' is shown with different person and number prefixes to contrast with *to-*. In (45a) the third person is marked with *to-*, which is contrasted with the first person singular *së-* in (45b) and the second person singular *ko-* in (45c). In (45d) the third person singular is marked *i-* in the future, showing that third person singular isn't marked with *t-* in other tenses.

(45a) Tonjapasaibs tobiaš **tonja** tabanoy.
      tonjapasaibs   tobiaš   **to-**n-j-a   taban-oy
      yesterday   girl   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-go village-ALL
      'Yesterday the girl went to town.' (MC)

(45b) Tonjapasaibs atš **sënja** tabanoy.
tonjapasaibs   atš   **së-**n-j-a   taban-oy
yesterday   1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go   village-ALL
'Yesterday I went to town.' (MC)

(45c) Tonjapasaibs ak **konja** tabanoy.
tonjapasaibs   ak   **ko-**n-j-a   taban-oy
yesterday   2SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go   village-ALL
'Yesterday you went to town.' (MC)

(45d) Ibs tobiaš **ichanja** tabanoy
ibs   tobiaš **i-**chan-ja   taban-oy
tomorrow   girl   3SG-FUT-go   town-ALL
'Tomorrow the girl with go to town.'(MC)

Although *t-* is only obligatory in the third singular, sometimes *t-* can precede other person morphemes for completed actions. In the following example, *t-* precedes the second person object marker *k-* and the first person subject marker *bo-*.

(46)   tonjapasaibs   atš   t-**k-bo-**n-jakwenta   kanÿe istoria
        tonjapasaibs   atš   t-**k-bo-**n-jakwenta   kanÿe istoria
        yesterday   1SG   PST-2SG-1SG-EVI-tell one   story
        'I told you a story yesterday.' (MC)

4.4.4 Irrealis: *ke-*

Irrealis is marked by the prefix *ke-*. It can be used in conditional clauses with *ora* or *orna* 'when', which comes from Spanish *ahora* 'now'. In these subordinate clauses *ora* is clause final. In (47a), the verb has the *ke-* prefix for irrealis, then the second person object marker followed by the third person plural subject marker. The clause ends with *orna*. Similarly in (47b), the verb *j-amn-an* 'to be' has the irrealis prefix at the beginning, and the clause ends with *ora*.

(47a) ndayentš **kekmonjinÿe** orna kmochantsepochoka
[ndayentš   **ke-**k-mo-n-jinÿe   orna]   k-mo-chan-ts-epochoka
[where   IRR-2SG-3PL-EVI-see   when]   2SG-3PL-FUT-PROG-kill
'When they see you wherever, they will kill you.' (Chindoy 110.5)

(47b) kbochjwasto silensio **kejtsemën** ora
k-bo-ch-**j**wasto   [silensio   **ke-j-**ts-emën   ora]
2SG-1SG-FUT-VBLZ-accompany   [silence   IRR-VBLZ-?-be   when]
'I will accompany you when there is silence.' (Chindoy 103.2)

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As discussed in 4.9, the irrealis marker is often used in negation.

4.4.5   Future: *chan-*

The future is signaled by the prefix *chan-* which is perhaps analyzable as *ch-* and *an-*. The subject marker and object marker, if there is one, precede the future marker. The aspect marker *ts-* can follow *chan-*, as can *j-*, but it is not clear what the difference is. As mentioned in 4.2 Subject Marking, the first person singular is unmarked in the future and conditional whereas the third person singular is marked with *i-* in the future and conditional.

In (49a) and (49c), the future is shown with *chan + ts* and the verb root. In (49b) *japten* 'rain' is repeated from above in the present progressive tense for comparison. In (49d-g) the future is shown with *chan-* and the verb root, including the *j-*. In (49d) the verb *jan* 'go' is marked simply with *chan-* because first person singular is zero marked in the future. Similarly in (49e) *j-akwenta* 'tell' is only marked with *chan-*. In (49f), *j-atrabaja* is marked with *i-chan-* for third singular. In (49g) both verbs *j-ashjango* 'arrive' and *j-atay* 'spend the night' are marked with the third person dual marker *bo-* and the future chan-. Note that *j-akenta* 'tell' and *j-atrabaja* 'work' are both loanwords from Spanish, from *contar* 'tell' and *trabajar* 'work'. They have the same verbal morphology as native words.

(49a)   mor **ichantsapte**
      mor   i-**chan**-ts-apte
      now   3SG-rain
      'It's going to rain now.'

(49b)   mor **intsapten**
      mor   **i-n**-ts-apten
      now   3SG-EVI-PROG-rain
      'It's raining now.' (MC)

(49c)   **ichantsbokan**
      i-**chan**-ts-bokan
      3SG-FUT-PROG-leave
      'She will leave.' (MC)

(49d)   atš **chanja** tabanoy akabtak
      atš   **Ø-chan**-ja   taban-oy   ak-abtak
      1SG   1SG-FUT-go   village-ALL   2SG-COM
      'I will go to the village with you.' (MC)

(49e) atš chanjakwenta atš-be enuta kwento.
      atš   **Ø-chan**-j-akwenta   atš-be   enuta kwento
      1sg   1SG-FUT-VBLZ-tell   1SG-GEN   friend story
      'I will tell my friend a story.' (MC)

(49f) ibs ch bobonts Carlos **ichanjatrabraja**
      ibs   ch   bobonts   Carlos i-**chan**-j-atrabraja
      tomorrow   DET   youth   Carlos 3SG-FUT-VBLZ-work

      cha-be taita-btak twambangabiam joporman
      cha-be   taita-btak   twamb-ang-biam   j-oporman
      2SG-GEN   father-COM   chicken-PL-BEN   VBLZ-fix
      'Tomorrow the young man Carlos will work with his father, fixing the chicken coup.'

(49g) jetiñoy bochanjashjango i kachoka bochanjatay.
      jetiñ-oy   bo-**chan**-j-ashjango   i   ka-choka   bo-**chan**-j-atay
      afternoon-ALL DU-FUT-VBLZ-arrive   and   INT-there   DU-FUT-VBLZ-stay
      'We two will arrive in the afternoon and spend the night right there.'

4.4.6 Conditional/speculative: *chao-* and *tay-*

    The prefixes *chao-* and *tay-* mark the conditional. *chao-* seems related to *chan-* and it is possible that *ch-* is a separate morpheme, with *ao-* and *an-* being different morphemes.When *chao-* is used, there is no person or number marking. The vowel sequence *ao-* in *chao-* is suspect as it is the only such vowel sequence in the language.

    In (50a) the verb *j-amn-an* 'be' is marked with *chao-* to show uncertainty. The clause also has the particle *ndok* which can mean 'maybe'. In (50b) the verbs are marked with *chao-* to show a possible occurrence. In (50c), *chao-* also shows a possibility.

(50a) Ndok ch bobontsesh chaomna,
      ndok   ch   bobonts-esh   chao-mna
      maybe DET   youth-?   COND-be
      'Maybe it could be the young man.' (Chindoy 94:9) (Note: I think *-esh* is an evaluative)

(50b) Saká chte nda natsan **chaojtsëtjajandwoná** o **chaojtsenobwasto**
      Saká   ch=te   nda   natsan **chao**-j-ts-ët-j-ajandwoná
      well   DET=day   who   first   COND-VBLZ-PROG-IRR-VBLZ-roll.around

o   **chao**-j-ts-en-obwasto

or   COND-VBLZ-PROG-REC-scratch

'Well, in this day (we will see) who first rolls around or scratches himself.' (Chindoy2 161:11)

(50c)   o bayujema **chaondotsomineka**?

         o   bayu-jema   **chao**-nd-ots-omine-ka

         or   beast-poor   COND-HAB-?-be-?

         'or could he be some kind of beast?'

There is another morpheme *tay-* which also is uncertainty. It is not very common. In (51a) it is on the verb 'be' in a sentence where the person is wondering if someone is something. In (51b) its use on the verb *jatatšembwan* 'notice' denotes 'maybe'. Here I call *tay-* a speculative marker.

(51a)   sempra bebtena jatsnotisiana sikera krischan **taykunamena**

         sempra bebte=na   jatsnotisiana   sikera   krischan   **tay**-k-unam-ena

         always father=TOP   think   even   human   SPEC-IRR-**be-?**

         'But the father kept wondering if he might be a human being,' (*tay* = <tai> in original orthography) (*sempra* from Spanish *siempre* 'always', *krischan* perhaps from Spanish *cristiano* 'christian' and *sikera* from Spanish *siquiera* 'even')

(51b)   chkasa **tayšmojtatšumboka**

         chkasa   **tay**-šmo-j-tatšumbo-ka

         like.this   SPEC-2PL-VBLZ-understand-DISC

         'Like this maybe you (pl) will understand.' (McDowell 63) (*tay* = tai in original orthography)

4.4.7   Distant past: *ye-*

The distant past is used in some Kamsá stories. It is never used in speech (at least in my data). It is only used for third person, probably for pragmatic reasons, i.e. that it is only for very distant past before a speaker or hearer was born. It is formed with *i-* which becomes *y-* before vowels. Thus, for third person singular, distant past is *ye-* or *yo-* while for plural and dual it is *i-* before the usual plural marker *mo-* or dual marker *bo-*, or simple *mo-* or *bo-* without *i-*.

In (52a) and (52b), the verbs *j-an* 'go' and *j-ay-an* 'say' have the prefix *ye-* to show distant past for a third singular subject. In (52c) and (52d), from the Kamsá Bible, Jesus is telling a parable and the verbs all have the prefix *yo-* for distant past. It is not clear what the difference between *ye-* and *yo-* is, if any, but it is possible that *yo-* also functions as a passive marker as

discussed in the next section. It seems like *ye-* is 'narrative past' that is now archaic. It appears in older texts, in Chindoy, the Bible, and McDowell but I do not have it in any of my own texts. The function of *yo-* is less clear. It could be a composite of the distant past *y-* with the *o-* that is in many other person/tense morphemes. It could also be a composite of the third singular *i-* with *o-*.

(52a) Kachor **yejá** washëntsayoy.
Kachor   **ye**-já   washëntsay-oy
INTS-then   3SG.DIS-go   sowing-ALL
'Right away, she went to the sowing place.' (Chindoy 89:7)

(52b) Chorna ch dweñna **yejayán**:
chorna ch   dweñ=na   **ye**-j-ayán
then   DET   owner=TOP   3DIS-VBLZ-say
'Then the owner said:' (Chindoy 89:12)

(52c) Chë boyabásana ndëtšbeñe chabe yebna **yojajebo**.
chë   boyabása=na   ndëtšbeñe   cha-be   yebna   **yo**-j-ajebo
DET   man-TOP   rock-LOC   3SG-GEN   house   3DIS-VBLZ-put
'The man built his house on rocks.' (Matthew 7:24)

(52d) Waftena **yojuáshjango**, chë béjayënga yojóftjajna, chë yebnoye puerte yojtsebinÿiaye.
waftena   **yo**-j-uáshjango   chë   béjayënga   **yo**-j-óftjajna
rain   3DIS-VBLZ-come   DET   river-PL   3DIS-VBLZ-rise?

chë   yebn-oy-e   puerte   **yo**-j-tsebinÿiaye
DET   house-ALL-EPE   strong   3DIS-VBLZ-wind.blow
'The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house;' (Matthew 7:25) (*waftena* = <Uaftena> in original orthography)

Plural and dual distant past are shown with the distant past marker *i-* preceding the plural marker *mo-* as seen in (53a) and (53b) or the dual marker *bo-* as seen in (53c) and (53d).

(53a) chjemna lempe impase **imojtsoshane**
ch-jem=na   lempe   impase   **i-mo**-j-ts-oshane
DET-EVAL=TOP   all   all   DIS-3PL-VBLZ-PROG-eat
'They completely devoured that poor fellow.' (McDowell 74)

(53b) Chë bnë́tsana uta uatsjéndayënga mëntšá **imojanabaina**
chë   bnë́tsana   uta   uatsjénday-ënga   mëntšá   i-mo-j-anabaina
DET   ten   two   apostle-PL   thus   DIS-3PL-VBLZ-call
'The twelve apostles were named thus:' (Matthew 10:2)

(53c) ibojaushjangoka
     i-bo-j-aushjango-ka
     DIS-DU-VBLZ-arrive-ka
     'They two arrived there together.' (McDowell 51)

(53d) Y kachora jinÿama **ibojtsobena**
     i   ka-chora   jinÿama   **i-bo**-j-ts-obena
     and   INTS-then   VBLZ-see   DIS-DU-VBLZ-?-can
     'And then (the two blind men) could see.' (Matthew 9:30) (*i* = <y> and *kachora* =
     <cachora> in original orthography)

For plurals and duals, it is also common for the distant past to be marked with just the

plural or dual marker, without the *i-*. In (54), the verb is only marked with mo-, no*t i-mo-*.

(54) Ndëjwabnayora kem lwar mallajt langostënga **mojabetsashjajna**.
     ndëjwabnayora   kem   lwar   mallajt   langost-ënga   **mo**-j-abetsashjajna
     without.thought   DET   place   many   lobster-PL   3PL.PST-VBLZ-arrive
     'Without thinking about it, many lobsters arrived at this place (a long time ago).'
     (Chindoy 107:1)

4.4.8 Passive?: *yo-*

There is a prefix *yo-* which is perhaps a passive or impersonal marker. It is not common

and more research is needed to determine its function, but a few examples are provided here.

In (55a) *yo-* is on the verb *jenÿenan* 'find'. Other morphology on the verb is different, as

well. The meaning seems to be passive. Although *yo-* can be a distant past marker, here it is not,

because it is found in dialogue. The other examples are even less clearly passive. In (55b), it is

on the verb *j-opodenan* 'be able' (from Spanish *poder* 'be able'). Note that there is a native

Kamsa word for 'be able', as well, and it is possible that this word has a slightly different

meaning. In (55c), the verb could be distant past, with *yo-* marking distant past, or it could be a

different construction. In (55d), the subject is plural, and the verb is *j-onan* 'feel'.

(55a) Atš sëndenÿena ndayentše ch matse yobinÿana.
     atš   së-nd-enÿena   ndayentše   ch   matse   **yo**-binÿana
     1SG   1SG-HAB-see   where   DET   corn   PASS-find
     'I have seen where the corn is found.' (Chindoy 2 73:2)

(55b)   Bobontsna bojojwá: Oo bënoka sëndenÿena.
   bobontsna   bojojwá   oo   bënoka   së-nd-enÿena
   youth=TOP   DU-VBLZ-say   oh   far   1SG-HAB-see

   Saká bochjasa, kbochjenÿinÿie ndayentš yopodenán.
   saká   bo-ch-j-asa   k-bo-ch-j-enÿinÿie   ndayentš   **yo**-podenán
   well   DU-FUT-VBLZ-eat   2SG-1SG-FUT-VBLZ-show   where   ?-can

   'The young man responded: "Oh! I have seen (them) far from here. Well, we will eat
   them, I will show you where we can."' (Chindoy 2: 81:22)

(55c)   shinÿe **yojtashjango**
   shinÿe **yo**-j-t-ashjango
   sun   DIS-VBLZ-again-arrive
   'The sun arrived.' (McDowell 52)

(55d)   Yentšangna **yojonan** mo nda ndeolpe btsatsbanaká
   yentš-ang=na   **yo**-j-onan   mo   nda ndeolpe   b-ts-ats-banaká
   person-PL=TOP   PASS-VBLZ-feel   like   who suddenly   ?-?-?-lift
   'The people felt as if someone had suddenly lifted (them).' (Chindoy 56:6)

4.5   Evidentiality: *n-* and *j-* or *Ø-*

There is a two-way evidentiality system: *n-* for known information and *j-* or *Ø-* for
unknown information. More research is needed to determine if the form of the unknown
evidential marker is *j-* or *Ø-* because it always appears with verbalizer *j-* and thus could be *j-* + *j-*
. The evidential marker comes after the person markers and before the aspect markers. There are
several morphophonemic rules with these evidential markers, discussed below.

The marker for something known is *n-*. It is often used in the recent past, and never used
in the distant past[11]. It is almost always used in first person singular (not necessarily plural,
because first person plural could mean 'we, the Kamsás').

The marker for something not known is *j-* or *Ø-*. Jamioy Muchavisoy describes the
evidential system as being *n-* for 'close' and *j-*[12] for removed (1999). In (56a), the *j-* shows that
the speaker is has distance from responsibility, while in (56b) the speaker is closer.

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[11] Logically, it makes sense that there would be no known evidential marker for the distant past because the speaker
could not have seen/experienced what happened.
[12] In his examples, I use my orthography rather than his original orthography.

(56a) kojtesa tandës
      kojtesa   tandës
      comer   pan
      'you must be eating bread'

(56b) entsejen bomo
      entsejen   bomo
      sembrar   papa
      'he is planting potatoes' (Jamioy Muchavisoy 267)

Because of the prohibition against geminates, with this analysis, when there is /j-/ + /j-/, one /j-/ is deleted. Thus, it isn't clear if it is formed with *j-* or *Ø-*. *tojashëng,* 'he climbed' for example, could be *to-Ø-j-ashëng or to-j-jashëng.*

      A preliminary observation is that in the Kamsá Bible, the Gospels are are written with the removed evidentiality while the epistles are written more with the witness evidential marker *n-*.

4.6   Reciprocal: *en-*

      Reciprocals and reflexives are shown with *en-*. (57a-b) show reciprocals. In (57a) *j-obetšan* 'run into someone' is marked with *en-* to mean 'run into each other'. Similarly, in (57b), the verb has *en-* to mean greet each other. In (57c) the verb is reflexive, with *en-* showing that the speaker is looking at herself. (57d) shows the verb *j-onÿa* 'see' used transitively, without *en-*, for comparison.

(57a) Sapo i bianganaftaka **bojenbetše**.
      sapo   i   biangan-aftaka   bo-j-**en**-betše
      toad   and   deer-COM   DU-VBLZ-REC-meet
      'The toad and deer ran into each other.' (Chindoy 154: 1)

(57b) **Bojenchwaye** orna biangan yejayán:
      bo-j-**en-**chwaye   orna   biangan   ye-j-ayán
      DU-VBLZ-REC-greet-   when   deer   3DIS-VBLZ-say
      'When they greeted each other, the deer said:' (Chindoy 154: 1)

(57c) atš **sënjenonÿ** espejwiñ
      atš   sën-j-**en**-onÿ   espejw-iñ
      1SG   1SG-VBLZ-REC-see   mirror-LOC
      'I see myself in the mirror.' (MC 8)

(57d)   atš **sëntsonÿa** atšbe enuta
        atš   së-n-ts-onÿa   atšbe   enuta
        1SG   1SG-EVI-PROG-see   1SG-GEN   friend
        'I see my friend.' (MC 8)

4.7   Imperative: *m-*

The imperative is formed by adding *m-* to the verb root as seen in (58a) with *jabo* 'come'.
Imperatives do not have *j-* but sometimes they have *ts-* as shown in (58b-c). It is not clear what
the difference in meaning is. *m-* seems to be the imperative for singular, plural, and dual, third
person. Another common way to express commands is by using the future tense, which is
discussed in 9.5.2. (58d) shows both the morphological imperative *m-olempia* 'clean!', marked
with *m-* and the future being used as imperative *ko-ch-jase* 'you will eat'.

(58a)   mabo
        m-abo
        IMP-come
        'Come!'

(58b)   motsabo
        mo-ts-abo
        IMP-PROG?-come
        'Come!

(58c)   Morna lempe motsañe.
        morna lempe mo-ts-añe
        now   all   IMP-PROG?-eat
        'Now eat them all.' (Chindoy 69:11)

(58d)   Mwata molempia. Kanÿaná kochjase,
        mwa-ta   mo-lempia   kanÿa=ná   ko-ch-jase
        DET-DU   IMP-clean   one=TOP   2SG-FUT-eat
        'Clean these two, and eat one of the them.' (Chindoy 94:6)

4.8   Certainty/intensifier: *kwa-*

There is a prefix *kwa-* that can be added to verbs to intensify them, as seen in (59) below.

(59a) tsëngaftana malisiosëng **kwašëmmëna**
     tsëngaftana   malisios-ëng   **kwa**-šëm-mëna
     2PL   malicious-PL   **kwa**-2PL-be
     'You all are malicious.' (Chindoy 95.16)

(59b) jaja shloftše ñemalo **kwanmëna**
     jaja   shloftše   ñemalo **kwa-**nmëna
     sparrow   bird   animal **kwa**-be
     'She is a sparrow animal!' (not a human) (Chindoy 89.13)

(59c) ndoñe krischana **kwakundemun** asna
     ndoñe krischana   **kwa**-ku-ndemun   asna
     NEG   human   KWA-IRR-be   SUB
     'He is not even a human being.' (McDowell)

4.9　Negation

Negation in Kamsá is shown by the negator word *ndoñ* preceding the verb. Usually, when a verb is negated it has the irrealis prefix *ke-* and the negative prefix *at-*. The *ke-* comes before person, number, tense, aspect, mood, and evidential marking, while the *at-* come after all of those markers, closer to the verb root. Neither morpheme is obligatory, however, and it is possible simply to have the negator word *ndoñ* without the irrealis prefix or the negative prefix. Furthermore, in some tenses, such as distant past, a different negative prefix is used, namely *n-* or *nd-*, both of which are homophonous with other prefixes in the language, i.e. evidential marker and present habitual, respectively.

4.9.1　*ndoñ* with *ke-* and *at-*

A common way to negate verbs is to use the irrealis marker *ke-* which comes at the beginning of the word, preceding the subject marker, and *at-* which comes closer to the root, after the aspect markers. In (60a), the *j-amn-an* 'be' is negated with *ndoñ* and the verb has both prefixes *ke-* and *at-*. In (60b-c) *j-amëntšna* 'be tired' is shown with and without the negative marking. In (60b) and (60c) the verb has an agreement marker *š-* for first person agreement. In (60c) the first person agreement marker *š̈-* comes after *ke-* and before *at-*. In (60d-e) *j-apten* 'to rain' is shown with and without negative marking. In (60e) the evidential marker *n-* comes between *ki-* and *at-*. It is phonetically *ki-* not *ke-*. (60f) shows *j-abowenynan* 'remember' with

the irrealis prefix *ke-* followed by the first person singular marker *ts-* and then the negative marker *at-* and (60g) has *j-opasan* 'happen'.

(60a) atšna ndoñ chka **ketsataman**
       atš=na   [ndoñ chka   **ke-ts-at-aman]**
       1SG=TOP   [NEG   thus   IRR-PROG-NEG-be]
       'I am not like that..' (Chindoy 109.2)

(60b) atš yap **šontsamëntšna**
       atš   yap   **šo-n**-ts-amëntšna
       1SG   very   1SG-EVI-PROG-tired
       'I'm very tired.'

(60c) ndoñ **kešatamëntšna**
       ndoñ   **ke**-š-**at**-amëntšna
       NEG   IRR-1SG-NEG-tired
       'I'm not tired.

(60d) mor **intsapten**
       mor **i-n**-ts-apten
       now 3SG-EVI-PROG-rain
       'It's raining now.'

(60e) ndoñ **kinatapten**
       ndoñ   **ki**-n-**at**-apten
       NEG   IRR-EVI-NEG-rain
       'It's not raining.'

(60f) ndoñ **ke-ts-at-abowenyná**
       ndoñ   ke-ts-at-abowenyná
       NEG   IRR-1SG-NEGremember
       'I don't remember.' (Chindoy 79.24)

(60g) fshantsokna ndoñ chka kenatopasan.
       fshants-ok=na   ndoñ   chka   **ke-n-at-opasan**
       earth-LOC=TOP   NEG   like.that   IRR-EVI-NEG-happen
       'It doesn't happen like that on the ground' (Chindoy 104:7)

4.9.2 *ndoñ* with *at-*

In the following example, which is second person singular, the verb is not marked with *ke-*, only with *at-*. The negative marker *at-* follows the second singular subject marker *ko-* and the future marker *ch-*.

(61)   Akajem kochatoben atš jtsakmenán
         aka-jem   ko-ch-at-oben   atš   j-tsakmenán
         2SG-EVAL   2SG-FUT-NEG-be.able   1SG   VBLZ-follow
         'You are not able to follow/chase/catch me.'

4.9.3   *ndoñ* with *nd-*

Another way to show negation is with *nd-* instead of *ke-*. Subject markers precede *nd-* and there is no *at-*. In (61a) the verb *j-abwach-an* 'visit' has the distant past marker *i-* and the third plural marker *mo-*.In (61b) the verb *j-opoden* 'be able' has the negative marker *nd-*. The present habitual is also shown with *nd-* but this cannot be the same *nd-* as the present habitual, because it is distant past.

(61a)   lo mismo ndoñe benache ndoñe **imundenabwache**
        lo.mismo   ndoñe benache ndoñe i-mu-nd-en-abwache
        the same   NEG   trail   NEG   DIS-3PL-NEG-REC-visit
        'Since there was no trail they didn't visit there.' (McDowell 150) (*lo mismo* from Spanish
        lo mismo 'the same')

(61b)   Ch lwarna ndoñ **yendopoden** tbako jwakwakwayán;
        ch   lwar=na   ndoñ   ye-**nd-**opoden   tbako   j-wakwakwayán
        DET   place=TOP   NEG   3.DIS-NEG-be.able   tobacco   VBLZ-smoke

        ni juyamban jatán tsëtšaka ni sebollëšeka.
        ni   juyamban   jatán   tsëtša-ka   ni   sebollës-eka
        neither   VBLZ-bring   fiambre   chilli-INST   nor   onion-INST
        'In that place, one cannot smoke tobacco or bring cold cuts with chilli sauce or onion.' (
        Chindoy 66:44) (*sebollës* from Spanish *cebolla* 'onion' with *ll* being a palatalized to *l*,
        perhaps borrowed from Spanish as a plural, *cebollas* 'onions')

4.9.4   *ndoñ* with *n-*

Sometimes negation is shown with only *n-* on the verb. The following examples show different persons and numbers with *n-* showing negation. Note that they are all distant past or past.

133

(62a)   ndoñ tsëšeybe **yen**joshma
        ndoñ   tsëšey-be   **ye-n-**j-oshma
        NEG   yellow-CLF   3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-lay.eggs
        'It didn't lay yellow (eggs).' (Chindoy 74.22)

(62b)   Chëngna ndoñ bëtsëtsanga **mon**jobemas
        chëngna   ndoñ   bëts-ëts-anga   **mo-n-**j-obemas
        3PL-TOP   NEG   big-?-PL   3PL-NEG-VBLZ-become
        'They didn't get big.' (Chindoy 74.23)

(62c)   Chentšan chë bobonts diablëjna ndoñ mas monjatenÿe
        chentšan chë   bobonts diabl-ëj-na   ndoñ   mas   mo-n-j-at-enÿe
        later   DET   young devil-EVAL-TOP NEG   more   3PL-NEG-VBLZ-AGAIN-see
        'Later they didn't see the young devil anymore.' (Chindoy 75)

(62d)   ndoñ bien yenjowen
        ndoñ   bien   ye-n-j-owen
        NEG   well   3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-hear
        'She didn't hear (him) well.' (Chindoy 77.6)

(62e)   ch kausa ndon bonjabtsashjango
        ch   kausa   ndoñ   bo-n-j-ab-t-sashjango
        DET   reason NEG   DU-NEG-VBLZ-?-? arrive
        'For this reason, they (two) didn't arrive.' (Chindoy 62.22)

4.9.5 *ndoñ* with infinitive

        Sometimes the verb can be marked with only the verbalizer *j-* without any person,

number, TAM, evidential, or negation marking. This is identical to the infinitive.

(63a)   i nÿe ndoñese juwenan
        i   nÿe   ndoñ-e-se   j-uwenan
        and   PART   NEG-EPE-?   VBLZ-listen
        'And she wouldn't listen.' (McDowell 208)

(63b)   ndoñe jinÿenaneka
        ndoñe j-inÿenane-ka
        NEG   VBLZ-find-?
        'He couldn't find her' (McDowell 186)

(63c)   imbangoye jtetana ndoñ
        imba-ng-oye   j-t-etana   ndoñ
        heathen-PL-ALL   VBLZ-AGAIN-go   NEG
        'He never returned to the heathens.' (McDowell 63)

4.9.6 *ndoñ* with *nt-*

Sometimes negation is shown with the prefix *nt-* on the verb, without any person or number marking. It is possible this is *nd-* that becomes *nt* through a phonological rule that devoices the prenasalized *d* when it precedes *j-*.

(64a)   ndoñe **ntjobekonan**
      ndoñe   nt-j-obekonan
      NEG   NEG-VBLZ-get.close
      'He wouldn't come nearby.' (McDowell 188)

(64b)   nÿe **ntjontješeka** inachembumbe
      nÿe   nt-j-ontješeka   i-n-achembumbe
      PART   NEG-VBLZ-look   3SG.DIS-EVI-scold
      'Without looking she scolded her.' (McDowell 197)

(64c)   Uchmašëshe betiyentšana ndoñe uvas **ntjuátabebiana**,
      uchmašëshe   betiy-entš-an-a   ndoñe uvas   nt-j-uátabebiana
      thorn   tree-LOC-ABL   NEG   grape NEG-VLBZ-pick
      'People do not pick grapes from thornbushes' (Matthew 7:16) (*jwatbeyan* 'colocar')

(64d)   pero chë yebna ndoñe **ntjwáshajayana**,
      pero   chë   yebna ndoñe nt-j-wáshajayana
      but   DET   house NEG   NEG-VBLZ-fall

      chë yebna ndëtšbeñe inajéboyeca.
      chë yebna ndëtšbeñe inajéboyeca
      DET house rock ?
      'Yet it did not fall, because it had its foundation on the rock.' (Matthew 7:25)
      (*ntjwáshajayana* = <ntjuáshajayana> in original orthography)

Chapter 5

Pronouns and determiners

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses pronouns and determiners, determiners being a class of deictics. The sections on pronouns include some notes on the semantics of the pronouns, a brief discussion of the alignment, the basics of case marking on pronouns, and the use of the intensifier and evaluatives on pronouns. The lack of reciprocal pronouns is discussed. Finally, I present my attempt at analyzing indefinite pronouns. This chapter discusses independent pronouns, not bound pronominal marking on verbs, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

5.2 Independent pronouns

Kamsá has nine personal pronouns for subject/object. As with nouns, there is no morphological difference for pronouns that would depend on whether they function as the subject of an intransitive sentence, the subject of a transitive sentence, or a direct object. They mostly behave as nouns do in the language. They take case markers, and sometimes evaluatives. Like nouns, they do not seem to take class markers when they are referring to a noun with class markers. this section does not discuss pronominal affixes (e.g. pronominal agreement markers on verbs). Kamsá is a prodrop language. Person and number is marked by agreement affixes on the verb, both for subjects and objects, and the pronoun is not necessary.

5.2.1 Personal pronouns

The pronouns for first person have the same root for dual and plural, *bë-* with *ng* for plural (like the plural marker on nouns and adjectives) and *-ndat* for the dual: *bëndat* 'we (two) and *bëng* 'we (more than two)'. Similarly, the second person pronouns have the same root *tsë* in the plural and dual, with *-at* for the dual and *-ng* for the plural. There is a second form of second person plural: *tsëngaftang*. The pronouns for third person all have the same root, with the singular having a vowel -a, and the dual and plural having *-at* and *-ëng*, respectively. The third

person dual pronoun has another form *chëndat*. The third person pronoun likely comes from determiner *ch*. Note that for first and second person, the singular pronoun is unrelated to the plural and dual. Figure 5.1 shows the personal pronouns.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	atš	bëndat	bëng
2nd	ak	tsëngat	tsëng or tsëngaftang
3rd	cha	chat or chëndat	chëng

Figure 5.1 Personal pronouns

An example of each personal pronoun in a clause can be seen below.

(1a) **atš** mëntšamaytrë sëndëmën
    atš   mëntša   maytrë së-nd-ëmën
    1SG   thus   master 1SG-HAB-be
    'I am the master in this way.'(Chindoy 72.3)

(1b) **ak** ena mëntšen
    ak   ena   mëntšen
    2SG   pure   meat
    'You (are) pure meat.' (Chindoy 109.1)

(1c) **Cha** tonjayana y chë binÿia y chë búyeshe tmonjoyeuná ca.
    cha   to-n-j-ayana   y chë   binÿia y chë búyeshe t-mo-n-j-oyeuná ca
    3SG   PST-EVI-VBLZ-speak and DET   wind and DET water PST-3PL-EVI-VBLZ-listen DISC
    'He speaks and the wind and water listen.' (Matthew 8:27)

(1d) **cha**na yejojwa
    cha=na   ye-j-ojwa
    3SG=TOP   DIS-VBLZ-answer
    'He answered (...)' (Chindoy 72.2)

(1e) **bëndat** bëntsabwana mëntšen
    bëndat   bë-n-ts-abwana   mëntšen
    1DU   1DU-EVI-PROG-cook   meat
    We (two) are cooking meat.

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(1f)　**bëng**　nÿe　kakanas
　　　bëng　nÿe　kakanas
　　　1PL　only　raw.things
　　　'We only (eat) raw things.'
　　　(Chindoy2 80.11)

(1g)　**tsëngaftang** matsetem šmontsotšëmbuana
　　　tsëngaftang　matse-tem　　š-šmo-n-ts-otšëmbuana
　　　2PL　　　　　　corn-DIM　　1SG.OBJ-2PL-EVI-PROG-clamor.for
　　　'You (pl) are clamoring for corn.' (Chindoy2 73.2)

(1h)　**chënga** atšbe pamillanga mondmën
　　　chëng-a　　atš-be　　　pamill-ang-a　mo-nd-mën
　　　3PL-EPE　　1SG-GEN　　family-PL-EPE　3PL-HAB-be
　　　'They are my family members.' (Chindoy 92.14)

5.2.2　Semantics of Kamsá pronouns

There is no difference between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural; the difference is only between dual and plural. *bëng* is a very culturally important word, being used when people are discussing their community, and has come to be associated with a sort of indigenous resistance and fight for cultural rights, but it is also simply the first person plural pronoun.

For second person singular, there is no difference between formal and informal. In many Kamsá materials, *ak* is translated as *Usted,* the formal second person singular form in Spanish, rather than as *tu*, the informal second person singular, perhaps because in the Kamsá community people use *Usted* with each other much more than *tu*. Indeed, I have met some Kamsás for whom *tu* does not exist in their speech and who use *Usted* with everyone: parents, spouses, children, friends.

The third person singular pronoun *cha* has no gender; it can mean 'he', 'she,' and sometimes 'it', although for pronominal reference to inanimate nouns usually a determiner is used pronominally instead of this third person pronoun. The third person pronoun perhaps comes from the determiner *ch* 'the' often pronounced as *chë*, (or perhaps *ch* comes from *cha*). Often, because of the reduction of the vowel in *cha*, it is hard to tell if the word being said is the determiner *chë* or the pronoun *cha*. Thus, another possibility is that they are the same word, but people think they are different words for other reasons, such as for the project of creating a written language.

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5.2.3 Use of pronouns and alignment: subject and object

In Kamsá, there is no difference in form between subject and object pronouns, just as there is no difference in form between subject and object nouns. The language is thus neither nominative/accusative nor ergative/absolutive in its alignment for pronouns.

In (2a), the first person singular pronoun *atš* is the subject of an intransitive sentence, with *jan* 'go' as the verb. The verb agrees with the subject, shown by the first person singular subject marking *së*. In (2b) *atš* is the subject of a transitive sentence. As in (2a), the verb has the prefix *së-* to show that the subject is first person singular. In (2c), *atš* is the direct object of a transitive verb. There is no change to *atš*; the form is identical to that in (2a) and (2b). The verb in (2c) is marked with a first person singular prefix *šo-* to agree with the direct object.

Intransitive subject

(2a) **atš** chan-ja tabanoy ak-abtak
    atš cha-n-j-a   taban-oy   ak-abtak
    1SG   1SG.FUT-EVI-VBLZ-go   village-ALL   2SG-COM
    'I will go to the village with you.' (MC)

Transitive subject

(2b) **atš** sën-ts-abwana mëntšen
    atš sën-ts-abwana   mëntšen
    1SG   1SG-PROG-cook   meat
    'I'm cooking meat.' (MC)

Object of transitive sentence

(2c) ch basatem **atš** šonjapega
    ch   basa-tem   **atš**   šo-n-j-apega
    DET   small-DIM   1SG   1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-hit
    'The boy hit me.' (MC)

If the independent pronoun is used it often has the topic marker *=na* attached to it. In (3), the first person subject pronoun has the topic marker *=na*, presumably for emphasis.

(3)   **atšna** mosekak tsabo
        atš̈=na   mosek-ak   ts-abo
        1SG=TOP   music-INST   1SG-come
        'I come with music.' (Chindoy 85.3)

In (4), the first person singular is the subject and the independent pronoun is present, but the direct object, the second person singular, is marked on the verb and does not appear as an independent pronoun.

(4)   **atš̈** che**k**bojamanda chka
        atš̈   ch-e-**k**-bo-j-amanda   chka
        1SG   COND-EPE-2SG-DU-VBLZ-order   thus
        'I will order you thus.' (Chindoy 62.21)

In (5), *atš̈* is used as the independent object pronoun. It is the first word in the sentence. The verb also is marked for first person singular object, as well as with *m-* for imperative. Note that *atš̈* here, when it is an object, has the same form as when it is a subject (as in (4)) but the verbal morphology is different.

(5)   **atš̈** mwentše šmëntjofja
        atš̈   mwentše   š-më-n-tjofja
        1SG   here   1SG.OBJ-IMP-EVI-invite
        'Invite me here (command)' (Chindoy 93.1)

In (6), there is no independent subject pronoun or object pronoun. Both are marked only on the verb. The subject is marked with *mo-* which agrees with third person plural subjects. The object is marked with *k-*, the marker for second person objects. Note that the object agreement marker precedes the subject agreement marker on the verb. This is discussed more in 4.3 on object marking prefixes on verbs.

(6)   **k-mo**-n-chan-tse-shbwas
        k-mo-n-chan-tse-shbwas
        2SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ-EVI-FUT-PROG-kill
        'They are going to kill you.' (Chindoy 84.3)

5.1.4 Pronoun cases

Each pronoun in Kamsá can take a variety of case markers, all of which are suffixes, and postpositions. They are the same as the case markers discussed in Chapter 2.2.3, and the case markers that require the animate marker *-bi* for animate nouns, are the same for pronouns. Thus, the allative and benefactive both require *-bi,* whereas the genitive -be does not, and the comitative is *-abtak,* perhaps deriving from *-bi* + *-ak*. Figure 5.2 summarizes the pronoun forms of the genitive, allative, benefactive, and comitative.

Pronouns: Subject/Object	Genitive	Allative	Benefactive	Comitative
atš 'I', 'me'	atš-be 'my'	atš-bi-oy 'to me'	atš-bi-am(a) 'for me'	atš-abtak 'with me'
ak 'you'	ak-be 'your'	ak-bi-oy 'to you'	ak-bi-am 'for you'	ak-abtak 'with you'
cha 'he', 'she', 'it'; 'him', 'her'	cha-be 'his' 'her'	cha-bi-oy 'to him', 'to her'	cha-bi-am 'for him', 'for her'	cha-btak 'with him', with her'
bënd-at 'we two'	bëndat-be 'of us two'	bëndat-bi-oy 'to us two'	bëndat-bi-am 'for us two'	bëndat-abtak 'with us two'
tsëndat	tsëndat-be 'of you two'	tsëndat-bi-oy 'to you two'	tsëndat-bi-am 'for you two'	tsëndat-abtak 'with you two'
chat, sometimes chëndat	chatbe 'of the two of them'	chat-bi-oy 'to the two of them'	chat-bi-am 'for the two of them'	chat-abtak 'with the two of them'
bëng	bëngbe 'of us'	bëng-bi-oy 'to us'	bëng-bi-am 'for us'	bëng-abtak 'with us'
tsëng or tsëngaftang	tsëngaftang-be 'of you (pl)'	tsëngaftang-bi-oy 'to you (pl)'	tsëngaftang-bi-am 'for you (pl)'	tsëngaftang-abtak 'with you (pl)'
chëng	chëngbe 'their'	chëng-bi-oy 'to them'	chëng-bi-am 'for them'	chëng-abtak 'for them'

Figure 5.2 Case markers on pronouns

Some examples of pronouns with these case markers are seen in the examples to follow. In (7a), the second person singular pronoun *ak* is shown with the benefactive marker *-byam*. In (7b) the third person singular pronoun cha is show with the comitative marker *-abtak*. In (7c) the first person plural pronoun *bëng* has the genitive marker -be. In (7d) the first person plural pronoun *bëng* has the benefactive marker *-byam*. In (7e) the first person dual pronoun bëndat has the genitive marker *-be*. In (7f), the second person plural pronoun *tsëngabtang* has the benefactive marker *-byam*. In (7g) the third person dual pronoun chat has the genitive marker *-be* to show that it was the lifeforce of both the people.

(7a)   atš sënjwabwa wameshnen **akbiam**
       atš   së-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   **ak-bi-am**
       1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   2SG-ANIM-BEN
       'I cooked *mote* for you.' (MC)

(7b)   ch batá tbojinÿ kanÿe bako i tojson **chabtak**
       ch   batá   t-bo-j-inÿ   kanÿe bako   i to-json   **cha-btak**
       DET   aunt   PST-DU-VBLZ-see   one   uncle   and PST-DU-VBLZ-go   3SG-COM
       'The aunt saw an uncle and went with him.'

(7c)   **bëngbe** Bëtsa
       bëng-be   Bëtsa
       1PL-GEN   big
       'our Father' (Chindoy1 28)

(7d)   ch tobiaš tonjwabwa wameshnen **bëngbiam**
       ch tobiaš   to-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   **bëng-bi-am**
       DET girl   PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   1PL-ANIM-BEN
       'The girl cooked mote for us.' (MC)

(7e)   **bëndatbe** botaman palabra
       bëndat-be   botaman   palabra
       1DU-GEN   beautiful   word
       'our beautiful word'
       (Chindoy1 29)

(7f)   ch tobiaš tonjwabwa wameshnen **tsëngabtangbiam**
       ch tobiaš   to-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   **tsëngabtang-bi-am**
       DET girl   PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   2PL-ANIM-BEN
       'The girl cooked mote for you (pl). (MC)

(7g)   **chatbe** aynan
       chat-be   aynan
       3DU-GEN   heart/lifeforce
       'Their hearts' (Chindoy 1 58.3)

5.1.5   Other pronominal morphology

In addition to case markers, pronouns can also have the topic marker/discourse marker
=*na*, as seen above, the intensifier prefix *kach-*, and evaluatives.

Pronouns can bear the intensifier prefix; it adds extra emphasis to the pronoun. In (8) the
second singular pronoun *ak* has the prefix *kach* and the genitive suffix -*be*.

(8)   **kachakbe** kausa
       kach-ak-be   kausa
       EMPH-2SG-GEN   cause
       'Because of you' (Chindoy 69.11)

Sometimes pronouns can take evaluatives, although this is very rare and is perhaps only
done for narrative or poetic reasons. In (9), the first person plural pronoun *bëng* has the suffix -
jem, an evaluative suffix used for poor things. Note that there is an additional plural marker, even
though *bëng* is already plural.

(9)   **bngajemunga** sasnunga mondemenamse
       bng-a-jem-ung-a   sasn-ung-a   mo-nd-emen-am-se
       1PL-EPE-EVAL-PL-EPE food-PL-EPE   3PL-be-BEN-SUB
       'We poor things food being food (...)' (McDowell 181)

5.3   Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive is shown with the intensifier/emphatic marker *ka-* or *kach-* added to the
personal pronoun.

(10)   Cha ínÿenga tojëftsatsebaká,
       cha   ínÿe-ng-a   to-j-ëftsatsebaká
       3SG   other-PL-EPE PST-VBLZ-help

pero kachá jéntsbokama ndoñe kenátobena
pero   ka-chá   j-én-ts-bokama   ndoñe ke-n-át-obena
but   EMPH-3SG   VBLZ-REC-PROG-save NEG   IRR-EVI-NEG-be.able
'He saved others, but he can't save himself!' (Matthew 27:42) (*tojëftsatsebaká* = <tojëftsatsebacá>, *kachá* = <cachá>, *jéntsbokama*= <jéntsbocama>, and *kenátobena* = <quenátobena> in original orthography)

5.4   Reciprocal pronouns

Kamsá does not seem to have reciprocal pronouns. Rather, the reciprocity is marked on the verb with the prefix *en-* The verb 'to say' takes different morphemes depending on whether there is a hearer or whether it is mutual as seen in (11): *j-ayanan* is less transitive, while *j-auyanan*, with the /u/ means 'to tell someone', and *j-enyanan*, with /en/ means that the telling is reciprocal, telling each other. This is discussed more in 4.6.

(11)   jayanan 'say'
       jauyanan 'tell someone'
       jenyanan 'tell each other'

The following two examples show the verb *j-ayanan* 'to say' as a reciprocal and with a hearer. In (12a) the verb has the reciprocal marker *en-*, and in (12b), the verb has the marker *au-* to show that there is a hearer. The hearer is marked with the allative marker *-bioy*.

(12a)   enabwatmat (...) bojenyan
       enabwatmat   bo-j-en-yan
       couple   DU-VBLZ-REC-tell
       'The couple told each other…' (Chindoy 58.4)

(12b)   bojauyan wabentsabyoy
       bo-j-auyan   wabentsa-bi-oy
       DU-VBLZ-tell   younger.brother-ANIM-ALL
       'He told his younger brother..' (Chindoy 62.20)

5.5   Determiners

This section discusses the determiners, both articles and demonstratives.

Kamsá has one article, *ch*, which is probably related to the third person singular pronoun *cha*. It is used for definiteness/specificity but more research is needed. The language has one

main demonstrative *kem*, which basically means 'this'. Both *ch* and *kem* can modify animate and inanimate nouns, although *ch* is used very often with animate nouns and not so often with inanimate nouns. Also, *ch* is used more when the noun is the subject (which is, of course, related to the previous observation). *kem* can also be used for both animate and inanimate nouns. Both *ch* and *kem*, when part of an NP, come at the beginning, regardless of the order of the other words in the NP and they can both stand alone, not as part of a larger NP. When the determiners are part of an NP, they do show any overt marking of agreement with the noun, but if they stand alone, they agree with their referent/antecedent in class, and sometimes in case and/or number. In addition to ch and kem, there is also *kanÿe* 'one' and *inÿa* 'other' that I include in this section because they behave similarly to *ch* and *kem,* also occurring at the beginning of an NP and agreeing with their referent/antecedent when they stand alone. Himmelmann uses the following two criteria to distinguish between articles and demonstratives:

- articles occur only in nominal expressions, whereas demonstratives may appear as pronouns, adverbials, predicates or adnominal modifiers;

- within the nominal expressions articles occupy a fixed position, either consistently to the left or to the right of the noun, whereas demonstratives may occur on either side of the noun in many languages. (Himmelmann 2001:832)

Kamsá does not seem to have these distinctions. All determiners must go at the beginning of the NP when they're part of the NP, and they can all stand alone. That being said, it is rare for *ch* to stand alone; *ch* is extremely frequent as part of an NP, but it rarely stands alone.

The four determiners discussed in this chapter are presented in Figure 5.3.

Kamsá word	English translation	Status
ch	'the'	definite article
kem	'this, that'	demonstrative
kanÿe	'one'	indefinite article, numeral
inÿa	'other, another'	unclear

Figure 5.3 Determiners in Kamsá

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5.5.1 Determiners in NPs

The following four examples show the determiners modifying various nouns. In (13a) the noun *bobonts* 'young man and the noun *beti* 'tree' are preceded by *ch*, the definite article. In (13b) *kem* 'this' precedes *tsbwanach* 'leaf'. In this sentence *bëts* 'big' is a predicate adjective. In (13c) *mayor* 'elder' from Spanish *mayor* 'older', 'older person' is preceded by *kanÿe* 'one'. In (13d) *inÿe* 'other' precedes *yendon* 'squirrel'.

(13a) ch bobonts ch beti tëtsitshak intsjotbemna
      ch   bobonts   ch   beti   tëtsitshak   i-n-ts-j-otbemna
      DET   young.man   DET   tree   under   3SG-EVI-PROG-VBLZ-sit
      'The young man is sitting under the tree.' (MC)

(13b) **kem** tsbwanach bëtsich indemën
      kem   tsbwanach   bëts-ich   i-nd-emën
      DEM   leaf   big-CLF   3SG-HAB-be
      'This leaf is big.' (MC)

(13c) **kanÿe** mayor jatshok kotšëng-a inabwajën
      kanÿe mayor jatsh-ok   kotš-ëng-a   i-n-abwajën
      one   elder   swamp-LOC   pig-PL-EPE   3SG-EVI-have.animals
      'One elder had pigs in a swamp.' (Chindoy 96.1)

(13d) **inÿe** yendon bojobetše
      inÿe yendon bo-j-obetše
      other squirrel DU-VBLZ--meet
      'He (the squirrel) met with another squirrel.' (Chindoy 101.3)

Determiners can modify animate objects, inanimate subjects, and inanimate objects, as well. In (14a), the definite article *ch* is used with *bëshatema* 'little door'. In (14b) *kanÿe* 'one' is modifying the direct object *tobiaš* 'girl' . In (14c) *kanÿe* modifies an inanimate direct object *kwent* 'story'.

Determiner with inanimate subject:

(14a) **ch** bëshatema intsatamën
      ch   bësha-tem-a   i-n-ts-atamën
      DET   door-DIM-EPE 3SG-EVI-PROG-close
      'The door is closing.' (MC)

Determiner with animate object:

(14b) ch bobonts tonjapasaibs tbojinÿ **kanÿe tobiaš** botamana

ch	bobonts	tonjapasaibs	t-bo-j-inÿ	**kanÿe tobiaš**	botamana
DET	boy	yesterday	PST-DU-VBLZ-see	one girl	beautiful

'The boy saw a beautiful girl yesterday.' (MC)

Determiner with inanimate object:

(14c) atš šochan-jakwenta **kanÿe kwent** taita mandat

atš	šo-chan-j-akwenta	**kanÿe kwent**	taita	mandat
1SG	1SG.OBJE-FUT-VBLZ-tell	one story	taita	leader

'The governor tells me a story.' (MC)

When determiners are part of an NP, they are always at the beginning of the NP, regardless of the order of other elements of the NP. In (15a), the definite article *ch* is at the beginning of the NP, followed by *satkakan* 'perforated' derived from the verb *jasatkan* 'perforate'. The noun *kwashaj* 'gourd' follows the adjective. In (15b), a noun with the genitive marker comes between the article *ch* and the head noun *mëntjaj* 'leg'. In (15c) the number 'two' *uta* comes between the noun *tjan* 'monte' and the article.

(15a) ch satkakan kwashaj

ch	satkakan	kwashaj
DET	perforated	gourd

'the perforated gourd' (Chindoy 63.29)

(15b) ch bobontse-be mëntjaj

ch	bobonts-e-be	mëntjaj
DET	boy-EPE-GEN	leg

'The leg of the boy', 'the boy's leg'

(15c) ch uta tjan benok i-ndemun

ch	uta	tjan	benok	i-nd-emun
det	two	mountain	far	3SG-HAB-be

'The two mountains are far.'

When determiners are part of the NP, they do not agree with the noun. In (16), *bobontsënga* 'boys' is plural but the definite article *ch* does not change.

(16)   ch bobonts-ëng-a
         ch   bobonts-ëng-a
         DET   young.man-PL-EPE
         'the young men' (Chindoy 79.18)

5.5.2 Determiners standing alone

Determiners can stand alone without anything else from the NP. When determiners stand
alone, they agree with their referents. In (17a) *inÿe* 'other' has the class marker *-be* to agree with
ndëtšbe 'rock'. In (17b) the definite article *ch* has the suffix for poor things *-jem*. In (17c), the
definite article has both *-jem*, the suffix for poor things, and the plural marker.

(17a)   kem ndëtšbe mas intsewut ch **inÿebe**
         kem   ndëtš-be   mas   i-n-ts-ewut   ch   **inÿe-be**
         DET   rock-CLF   more   3SG-EVI-PROG-heavy   DET   DEM-GEN
         'This rock is heavier than that one.'

(17b)   chora **chjemna** ntšamo jutsemanana
         chora **ch-jem=na**   ntšamo ju-ts-emanana
         then   DET-EVAL=TOP   how   be
         'then that poor one, what can he do?' (McDowell)

(17c)   lempe ch-jem-ung-a
         lempe ch-jem-ung-a
         all   DET-EVAL-PL-EPE
         'all those poor ones' (McDowell 80)

In (18) *ch-be* has as its antecedent *šunjanabe* 'drum' that occurred earlier in the discourse, and
ch- plus 'round thing' classifier *-be* means 'that' in reference to a round antecedent, in this case
the drum.

(18)   bweno yojtsotsobobwertana shashinÿiñe **chbe**
         bweno yo-j-ts-otsobobwertana   shashinÿ-iñe   **ch-be**
         well   DIS-VBLZ-PROG-spin   foam-LOB   DET-CL
         'Well, it spun around in the foam, that one.' (McDowell 75)

5.5.3 Semantics of determiners

Kanÿe 'one' is used to modify nouns when they are first introduced in a story. However *kanÿe* is not necessary; a noun need not have any determiner at all. In the following two examples, an animal disguises itself as a human to go to a human's house. In (19a) the animal is marked with *kanÿe* and in (19b) the noun has no determiner.

(19a) **kanÿe tobiaš** bekotem washekwa yejashango **kanÿe** yebunentše
      kanÿe tobiaš bekotem washekwa   ye-j-ashango **kanÿe** yebun-entše
      one   girl   little-DIM footed   DIS-VBLZ-arrive one house-LOC
      'A girl with short feet arrived at a house.' (Chindoy 91.1)

(19b) **ntsoyna** paresido bobonts-ka (...) yeja
      ntsoyna   paresido   bobonts-ka   ye-ja
      cusumbo   seeming   young.man-DISC   DIS-go
      'A coatimundi[13], seeming like a young man, went…' (Chindoy 98.1)

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[13] Cusumbo = coatimundi, (*Procyonidae Nasua*). It is an animal in the raccoon family.

Chapter 6
Adjectives

6.1   Introduction

Adjectives in Kamsá are an open class of words. I define them as being words that can agree with nouns in class, number, and sometimes evaluatives and/or case; that can be intensified; and can take comparative degrees. Their typical functions are to modify nouns/nominals (attributive adjectives, e.g. the big dog) and as adjectival predicate complements (e.g. the dog is big). Their defining criteria in my analysis is their ability agree with nouns because nouns cannot agree with other nouns.

An adjective can agree with a noun that it modifies in class, number, and evaluative marking. Adjectives often take the case marker for a noun phrase, and they can sometimes agree with a noun in case. Adjectives can be intensified with adverbs such as *bien* 'very' and *yap* 'very, much'. Adjectives can also take comparatives.

The following examples show the morphology that adjectives have when agreeing with nouns. This chapter discusses this morphology in greater depth. In (1b) the adjective *bwangan* 'red' agrees with *chembalbe* 'tree tomato' with the class marker *-be*. In (1c) *bwangan* 'red' agrees with the plural noun *šloftšëng* with the plural marker *-ang*. In (1d) *stjnëj* 'hair' has the diminutive marker *-tem*, as does the adjective *ftseng* 'black' that agrees with it. In (1e) both the noun *chembalbe* 'tree tomato' and *bochan* 'ripe' have the instrumental case marker *-k*. In addition, the adjective *bochan* agrees with *chembal-be* in class, as shown by the suffix *-be*. In (1f) the adjective is intensified with *yap*. Finally, in (1g) an adjective is used in a comparative construction with *mas* 'more'. These qualities of adjectives are discussed further in the following sections of this chapter.

(1a)   bwangan 'red'

(1b)   chembalbe indemun bwanganbe
       chembal-be   i-nd-emun   bwangan-be
       tomato-CLF   3SG-HAB- be   red-CLF
       'The tree tomato is red.' (MC)

(1c) unga šloftšëng bwanganang
      unga   šloftš-ëng   bwangan-ang
      three   bird-PL   red-PL
      'The three birds (are) red.' (MC)

(1d) ch tobiaš indaboman stjnëjatem ftsengatem
      ch   tobiaš i-nd-aboman   stjnëj-a-tem   ftseng-a-tem
      DET   girl   3SG-HAB-have   hair-EPE-DIM black-EPE-DIM
      'The girl has black hair.' (MC)

(1e) atš sënjwaba mntsen chembalbek bochanbek
      atš   së-n-j-waba   mëntsen   chembal-be-k   bochan-be-k
      1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   meat   tomato-CLF-INST   ripe-CLF-INST
      'I cooked meat with ripe tree tomato.'

(1f) tobiaš **yap flakwa** ijamën
      tobiaš **yap**   **flakwa**   i-j-amën
      girl   very   thin   3SG-VBLZ-be
      'The woman was very thin.'

(1g) ch bobonts ya **mas bna** ch tobiašbyam
      ch   bobonts   ya   mas   bna   ch   tobiaš-by-am
      DEM   boy   already   more tall   DET   girl-ANI-BEN
      'The boy is (already) taller than the girl.' (MC)

6.2   The form of adjectives

Adjectives tend to end in /a/, /o/, or /á/. Adjectives that end in /o/ or /a/ lose this final vowel when they precede the noun, but adjectives ending in the stressed vowel /á/ do not lose the final vowel. In Figure 6.1 *botamana* 'beautiful' is *botamán* when preceding a noun and *botamana* when following the noun or standing alone after the verb. *i-nd-emën* is the third singular present form of *j-amnan 'be'*.

botamán tobiaš	'beautiful girl'
tobiaš botamana	'beautiful girl'
tobiaš indemën botamana	'(the) girl is beautiful'
tobiaš botamana indemën	'(the) girl is beautiful'

Figure 6.1 Noun/adjective order

Likewise, adjectives that end in /o/ lose the /o/ when they precedes the noun. *betsko* 'fast' can be *betsk* and *podesko* 'ugly' can be *podesk* when preceding a noun. Adjectives that end in

stressed /á/ cannot lose the vowel regardless of the position of the adjective. 'Fat dog' can be either *oboná keš* (fat dog) or *keš oboná* (dog fat), but not **obon keš*.

Figure 6.2 shows some common adjectives in the language.

Word	Meaning
botamana	beautiful
wabowana	sacred
oboná	dead
podesko	ugly
bëts(á)	big
binchá or base or basá	small
osertaná	intelligent
bëná or tsbanana	tall
bekwá	short
bochen	ripe
obaná	fat
tamná	delicious

Figure 6.2 Common adjectives

6.3   Adjectival inflection/agreement

Adjectives agree with the noun they modify. Class agreement is obligatory (unless the adjective preceeds the noun), while number, case, and evaluative marking are optional. Adjectives agree with nouns even if the noun is not overt in the clause.

6.3.1   Plural marking on adjectives

Adjectives can have plural markers and dual markers. Number agreement is not obligatory. In (2a) the adjective *botamana* 'beautiful' has the plural marker *-ëng* to agree with the plural noun *yebnëng* 'houses'. In (2b) *bën* 'tall' has the plural marker *-ang* to agree with the plural pronoun *bëng* 'we (pl)'. In (2c) there are two adjectives *bëts* 'big' and *basa* 'small' both agreeing with the plural pronoun *chëng* 'they'.

(2a)   ch yebnëng botamanëng yomën
       ch   yebnëng   botamanëng   yo-mën
       DET   house-PL   beautiful-PL ?-be
       'The houses are beautiful.' (MC)

(2b)   Bëng bënënang mondemun
       Bëng   bënën-ang   mo-nd-emun
       1PL   tall-PL   3PL-HAB-be
       'We are tall (MC).

(2c)   chëng bëtsang y basëng
       chëng bëts-ang   y   basëng
       3PL   big-PL   and   small-PL
       'They are big and small.' (MC)

6.3.2   Class markers on adjectives

As discussed in 3.2, there is a subset of nouns in Kamsá that has class markers. Adjectives that agree with nouns that have class markers must bear these class markers. As seen in (3a) the adjective *gobshn* 'green' has the class marker *-be* to agree with the noun *shemne-be* 'egg'. In (3b) there are two adjectives, *botamana* 'beautiful' and *bseng* 'black' agreeing with the noun *wasnaniya* 'blanket' and they both have class markers. As discussed in 3.2.3 some nouns in

Kamsá have a class marking suffix as well as the prefix *wa-*. In (3b) both adjectives have the suffix *-ya* and the prefix *wa-*.

(3a) ch bobonts tbonjacheta ch tobiaš shemnebe gobshnebe
| ch | bobonts | t-bo-n-j-acheta | ch | tobiaš | shemne-be | gobshne-be |
| DET | boy | PST-DU-EVI-VBLZ-give | DET | girl | egg-CLF | green-CLF |

'The boy gave green eggs to the girl.' (MC)

(3b) ch wasnaniya wabotamanëya indowamën i wabsengiya
| ch | wa-snani-ya | wa-botamanë-ya | i-nd-owamën | i | wa-bsengi-ya |
| DET | CLF-manta-CLF | CLF-beautiful-CLF | 3SG-HAB-be | and | CLF-black-CLF |

'The blanket is beautiful and black.' (MC)

(3c) kem yentšiya indewamn wabchendujwa
| kem | yentšiya | i-nd-owamn | wa-bchendu-jwa |
| DEM | cloth | 3SG-HAB-be | CLF-blue-CLF |

y inyajuan wabbwanganjwa
| y | inya-jwan | wa-bwangan-jwa |
| and | other-CLF | CLF-red-CLF |

'One cloth is blue and the other is red.' (MC)

6.3.3 Evaluatives on adjectives

Adjectives can have evaluatives. The adjective can have the evaluative whether the noun has an evaluative or not. In (4a) both the noun and adjective have the diminutive suffix *-tem*: *gobshin* 'green' agrees, having the diminutive marker *-tem* to agree with *bominÿ-tem* 'eyes'. In (4b) *gobshin* 'green' has the suffix *-tem* but the noun, *bominÿ* 'eye' does not. In (4c) the adjective has the class marking prefix *wa-* and the diminutive *-tem*. Also note that the adjective is a loan word from Spanish *delgado* 'thin'. In (4d) the adjective *bëtsa* 'big' has the diminutive *-tem*.

(4a) bominÿetem gobshintem indëmën
| bominÿ-e-tem | gobshin-tem | i-nd-ëmën |
| eye-DIM | green-DIM | 3SG-HAB-be |

'(Her) eyes are green.' (MC)

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(4b)   atšbe bominÿ indemën gobshintem
       atšbe   bominÿ   i-nd-emën   gobshin-tem
       1SG-GEN   eye-DIM   3SG-HAB-be   green-DIM
       'My eyes are green.' (MC)

(4c)   ch wasnaniya indemun bien wadelgadatema
       ch   wa-snani-ya   i-nd-emun   bien   wa-delgada-tem-a
       DET   blanket-DIM   3SG-HAB-be   very   thin-DIM-EPE
       'The blanket is very thin.' (MC)

(4d)   ya bëtsatema yojtsemna orna
       ya   bëtsa-tem-a   yo-j-ts-emna   orna
       already   big-DIM-EPE   3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-be   when
       'When he was grown…' (McDowell 76)

6.3.4   Case marking on adjectives

Adjectives can have case markers. Generally, the last element of the NP (usually the noun or adjective) has the case marker. It is also possible for multiple elements of the NP to have the case marker, i.e. the noun and adjective can both be marked. In (5a), repeated from (1e) above, both the adjective and the noun are marked with the instrumental marker -*k*. In (5b) only the adjective, which is the last part of the NP, is marked with the instrumental marker. As with nouns, on adjectives the case marker comes after the number markers, as seen in (5c).

(5a)   atš sënjwaba mntsen chembalbek bochanbek
       atš   së-n-j-waba   mëntsen   chembal-be-k   bochan-be-k
       1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook   meat   tomato-CLF-INST   ripe-CLF-INST
       'I cooked meat with ripe tree tomato.' (MC)

(5b)   sënjatbonja šešon wasnaniya wabwanganiyak
       së-n-j-atbonja   šešon   wa-snani-ya   wa-bwangani-ya-k
       1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cover   baby   CLF-blanket-CLF   CLF-red-CLF-INST
       'I covered the baby with the red blanket.' (MC)

(5c)   sënja ch betiesh tsbananëngshoy
       sënja   ch   beti-esh   tsbanan-ëng-sh-oy
       1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go   DET   tree-?   tall-PL-CL?-ALL
       'I went toward the tall trees.' (MC)

6.4   Types of adjectives

There are several types of adjectives in Kamsá. Most end in *-an* and can precede or follow the NP they are modifying. Of the adjectives that end in *-an*, some are derived from verbs. Some adjectives can be used both as an adjective with the verb 'to be' or can have verbal morphology. Some can only be used as an adjective, i.e. cannot take verbal morphology. Of the ones that can only be an adjective (and not take verbal morphology), there is a small subset that has three unique qualities: [1] they generally precede the noun (rather than following the noun, as most nouns usually, but not always, do); [2] they do not usually agree with the noun; [3] and they can be used as compounds. These words are *bëts* 'big' and *basa* 'small'.

All adjectives, however, can be used in compounds, and all adjectives can follow or precede the noun. All adjectives can agree with nouns in case, class, number, and evaluative (except when they are functioning as verbs, of course) and all adjectives can be used substantively as the head an NP. All adjectives **must** agree with their referent in class when they are not preceding the noun (i.e. adjectives agree with their referent if they follow their referent or when their referent is not in the same NP)

Adjectives derived from verbs behave the same as other adjectives. The following are some examples of adjectives derived from verbs. It is not clear how productive this derivational process is, if all verbs can become adjectives. Adjectives derived from verbs are the same as the verb, but without the initial *j-*. As with other adjectives, they do not take person, tense, aspect, or mood markers, but they can take case, number, evaluative, and class markers.

(6a)   *wabwán* 'cooked' from *j-wabwan* 'to cook'
(6b)   *obaná* 'dead' from *jobanan* 'die'

The following are two compound nouns with the adjectives *basa* 'small' and *bëts* 'big'.

(7a)   shembasa 'girl' (from *shem* 'woman' and *basa* 'small')
(7b)   bëts mamá 'grandmother' (from *bëts* 'big' and *mamá* 'mother')

A subset of adjectives in Kamsá can also be used as verbs. There are perhaps others that can be verbs, as well, but that have not appeared as verbs in my data. In (8a) joyejwan 'be happy' is used as a verb with verbal prefixes for person, number, evidentiality, and aspect. In (8b)

oyejway 'happy' is used with the verb 'be' and has no verbal prefixes. Instead it has the number suffix *-ëng* 'pl' as nouns and adjectives do.

(8a)   atšbe enuta botamán tsaba intsoyejwa
        atšbe   enuta botamán   tsaba i-n-ts-oyejwa
        1SG-GEN   friend beautiful   good   3SG-EVI-PROG-happy
        'My beautiful friend is happy.' (MC)

(8b)   Chë maguënga chë estrella tmojáninÿe orna
        chë   magu-ënga   chë   estrella   t-mo-j-áninÿe   orna
        DET   magi-PL-EPE DET   star   PST-3PL-VBLZ-see   when

        corente oyejuayënga imojtsemna
        corente   oyejuay-ëng-a   i-mo-j-ts-emna
        very   happy-PL-EPE   DIS-PL-VBLZ-PROG-be
        'When the Magi saw the star, they were very happy (overjoyed).' (Matthew 2:10)

6.5   Present and absent referents

Adjectives agree with their referent whether or not it is present in the phrase. In (9a-b) the noun and adjective are both in the clause, and both are marked with the class marker (for round things) -be. The word order is different. In (9c) the referent *chembalbe* 'tree tomato' is not in the clause at all, but the adjective has the class marker *-be* to agree with it. (9d) is interesting in that the entity speaking is round (a lulo fruit) and the adjective *botaman* has the marker *-be* to agree with it. The first person singular pronoun *atš* is in the clause, referring to the lulo fruit.

(9a)   chembalbe tamnabe indemun
        chembal-be   tamna-be   i-nd-emun
        tomato-CLF   delicious-CLF   3SG-HAB-be
        'The tomato is delicious.' (MC)

(9b)   chembalbe indemun bwanganbe
        chembal-be   i-nd-emun   bwangan-be
        tomato-GEN   3SG-HAB-be   red-CLF
        'The tomato is red.' (MC)

(9c)   bëtsabe indemun
        bëtsa-be   i-nd-emun
        big-CLF   3SG-HAB-be
        'It is big' (referring to a tomato) (MC)

(9d)   Ch mashakbe šonjauyan, "Atš botaman-be sën-demun!"
       ch   mashak-be   šo-n-j-auyan   atš   botaman-be   së-nd-emun
       DET   lulo-CLF   1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-say   1SG   beautiful-CLF   1SG-HAB-be
       'The *lulo* fruit told me, "I am beautiful!" (MC)

Chapter 7

Other word classes

7.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the function, structure, morphology, and distribution of various word types that do not fit neatly into other word classes, i.e. words that are not nouns, verbs, or adjectives. I first discuss adverbs (7.2), including temporal adverbs (7.2.1), adverbs of manner (7.2.2), and adverbs of degree (7.2.3). In (7.2.4) I discuss some issues for the class of adverbs of degree. In (7.2) I discuss deictics of place and other words related to location (words that function as nouns, postpositions, and adjectives). Then I discuss function words and particles, (7.4), followed by negators (7.5) and quantifiers (7.6).

7.2   Adverbs

Adverbs in Kamsá can modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. They have no inflection, neither nominal inflection nor verbal inflection. There are not many adverbs in the language, although adjectives can be used adverbially. Many adverbs are derived from Spanish. Temporal and locative adverbs generally come first in a clause, only preceded by conjunctions and certain particles. Manner adverbs can occur in different places in a clause. In general, it seems that adverbs come at the beginning of VPs. They can precede or follow subjects; they generally precede objects; and they almost always precede verbs.

7.2.1   Temporal adverbs

Kamsá uses adverbs for time. They do not agree with nouns (thus are not adjectives); nothing can agree with them (thus they are not nouns); and they cannot be inflected for person or TAM (thus they are not verbs). The etymology of each adverb is shown in Figure 7.1. Some adverbs can also be used as postpositions.

Figure 7.1 shows common temporal adverbs in Kamsá. Some of the words are loans from Spanish; because they are used so frequently and there are no native equivalents, I include them here.

Kamsá word	Meaning	Proposed etymology
kachiñ	again	derived from intensifier *kach*
empas	forever, finished	
mor	'now'	Kamsá demonstrative *mwa* + Spanish *ahora* 'now'
ibs	tomorrow	
mn-te	today	Kamsá demonstrative *mwa* + *te* from Spanish *dia* 'day'
tonja-pasa-ibs	yesterday	*tonja* is past of 'go', *pasa* from Spanish *pasado* or *pasar*, and ibs from Kamsá word for 'tomorrow'
chentšan	later	locative marker *-entš*
natsan	before	
ya	already	from Spanish *ya* 'already'
kanÿ-na	once from kanÿe 'one'	
kada=té	every day	from Spanish *cada* 'every' + *te* from Spanish *dia*
betsko	soon	also means 'fast'
ndoknate	'never'	*nd* 'negative'; related to *ndoka* 'nothing'
anteo	'long ago'	from Spanish *anterior* 'before'
kanÿe=té	'one day'	from Kamsá *kanÿe* 'one' and *te* from Spanish *dia* 'day'
ibsan	'the next day'	from *ibs* 'tomorrow'

kachës	'early' 'in the morning'	intensifier *ka-*
kachor	'at that moment' 'instantly'	intensifier *ka-* and *chor* 'then' with *or* from Spanish *hora* 'hour, time'
mobën	'soon, then'	
kaba	'still'	

Figure 7.1 Common adverbs in Kamsá

Many adverbs are composites of two words, sometimes two Kamsá words, and sometimes a Kamsá word and a word of Spanish origin. Several adverbs are formed from a Kamsá word and *té* 'day', (presumably from Spanish *dia* 'day') which is a stressed clitic, attaching to other words; the stress is always on *te*. For example, *mnte* 'today' is formed from the Kamsá demonstrative *mwa* and *té*, 'day'. Similarly, *kadaté* 'every day' and *kanÿeté* 'one day' are formed with *kada* from Spanish *cada* 'each' and *te,* and Kamsá *kanÿe* 'one' and *te*. Some adverbs are formed from the intensifier *kach*, including *kachiñ* 'again' *kachës* 'early' and *kachor* 'instantly' (presumably from Spanish *ahora* 'now'). One interesting composite is *tonjapasaibs* 'yesterday' formed with the Kamsá word *ibs* 'tomorrow', *tonja* 'he/she went', and *pasa* from Spanish *pasar* 'to spend, pass'[14]. Some common adverbs are loan words from Spanish, such as *mor* 'now' from Spanish *ahora* 'now' and *ya* 'already' from Spanish *ya*. This chart does not include all temporal adverbs in the language.

Sentences (1a-i) show adverbs. In all of the sentences, except (1k), (1i) and (1m), the adverb is the first element in the clause. In (1a) *kachiñ* 'again' is at the beginning of the clause. In (1b) *mor* means 'now'. In (1c) *ibs* 'tomorrow' is at the beginning of the clause, and the verb has the future tense. Similarly in (1d) the clause begins with *tonjapasaibs* 'yesterday' for past tense. In (1e) and (1f) the clauses start with *kanÿna* 'once' and *kanÿe te* 'one day', respectively. In (1g) the clause starts with *kadate* 'each day'. In (1h), the clause (and the story) begins with *anteo* 'long ago'. In (1i) *natsan* 'before' goes at the beginning of the NP, meaning something like 'the gold-before-knower', i.e. the one who knew first where the gold was. Some of these words can also be used adverbially as seen in the following two examples with *natsan* 'before'. In (1j),

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[14] The etymology of *tonjapasaibs* is strange, because one would expect it to mean 'day after tomorrow' rather than 'yesterday'.

natsan is used to refer to an event that had happened earlier, that the brother had warned him about earlier. In (1k) *natsan* is used to mean 'ahead' or 'fast'. In (1l) *empas* 'forever' is used. In (1m) *ya* is used, in much the same way as Spanish *ya* 'already'. In (1n) the clause begins with *kachor-a* 'instantly', which is a composite of the intensifier *ka-, chor,* and epenthetic vowel /a/. In (1o) *moben* 'soon, quickly' is at the beginning of the clause, after the conjunction *i* 'and'. In (1p) the word kaba 'still' is used. These words are not inflected at all and do not agree with anything in class, case, evaluative, etc.

(1a) **kachiñ** tojtesan ch twamb plakofj wabwambaya orna
kachiñ to-j-t-esan   ch   twamb   plakofj wab-wamba-ya   orna
again   3SG-VBLZ-again-return DET chicken   thin   NMLZ-sell-NMLZ   when
'When the thin chicken seller returns again (...)' (Chindoy 75.26)

(1b) **mor** ichansapte
mor   i-chan-sapte
now   3SG-FUT-rain
'It's going to rain now.' (MC)

(1c) **ibs** ch bobonts Carlos ichanjatrabraja chabe taitabtak
ibs   ch   bobonts   Carlos i-chan-jatrabraja   cha-be taita-btak
tomorrow   DET   young.man   Carlos 3SG-FUT-VBLZ-work   3SG-GEN father-COM
'Tomorrow the youth Carlos will work with his father.' (MC)

(1d) **tonjapasaibs** sënjachemb atš-be enuta
tonjapasaibs   së-n-j-achemb   atš-be   enuta
yesterday   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-call   1SG-GEN   friend
'I called my friend yesterday.' (MC)

(1e) **kanÿna** uta viajerata tambilloy ayata
kanÿna   uta   viajera-ta   tambill-oy   aya-ta
once   two   travel-DU   tambill-ALL   walk-DU

bojashango chembonokna ya ibetatan
bo-jashango   chembon-ok-na   ya   ibet-at-an
DU-arrive   Gritadero-LOC-TOP   already   night-?-?
'Once, two travelers (walking to) Tambillo arrived at Gritadero to spend the night.'
(Chindoy 2 61:1) (kanÿna 'once' is a composite of kanÿe 'one' and =na 'topic')

(1f) **kanÿeté** pwerte yejtsejënÿa orna
kanÿe=té   pwerte   ye-j-ts-ejënÿa   orna
one=day   strong   3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-shine   when
'One day, when the sun was shining strongly…' (Chindoy 57.6)

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(1g) **kadaté** chka yechantsetjamian
kada=té   chka   ye-chan-ts-etjamian
every=day   like.this   3SG-FUT-PROG-defecate
'Every day like this (the horse) defecates.' (Chindoy 74.17)

(1h) **anteo** shbway yentša inashebwanay tortolita
anteo   shbway   yentša   i-n-ashebwanay   tortolita
long.ago   hunter   person   3SG-EVI-hunt   turtledove
'Long ago, a hunter man hunted turtledoves …' (Chindoy 60.1)

(1i) wbochena **natsan** wabwatma kastellan binÿnoy
wbochena   natsan   wabwatma   kastellan   binÿnoy
older.brother   before   NMLZ-know   gold   clearly
'The older brother clearly knowing the gold before' (Chindoy 66: 47)

(1j) ndoñ yenjokumplia ntšamo **natsan** bojabwayenaka
ndoñ   ye-n-j-okumplia   ntšamo [natsan   bo-j-abwayena-ka]
NEG   3DIS-EVI-VBLZ-comply   how   [before   DU-VBLZ-warn]
'He didn't comply as (the other brother) had warned him before.' (Chindoy 62:22)

(1k) as **natsan** yejtsatoñ
as   **natsan**   ye-j-ts-atoñ
then   before   3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-return
'Then he returned fast.' (Chindoy 65.39)

(1l) **empas** chka kausa ch tsunakwanga kamjena
empas   chka   kausa   ch   tsunakw-ang   k-amjena
forever   thus   cause   DET   parrot-PL   IRR-be
'forever, because of that, parrots exist[15]' (McDowell 66)

(1m) Bianganëjem **ya** bojwamëntša orna
Biangan-jem   ya   bo-jwamëntša   orna
deer-EVAL   already   DU-be.tired   when
'When the poor deer was already tired…'
(Chindoy 2: 155.10)

(1n) **Kachora** sapnak yejontsënja jwakmeyam
ka-chora   sapna-k   ye-j-ontsënja   j-wakmeya-m
immediately   frog-?   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-jump   VBLZ-chase-BEN
'Immediately/suddenly the frog jumped up in order to chase (him).' (Chindoy 2: 154.8)

(1o) i **mobën** jatëntšañ yejtsobiamnay.
i   mobën   jatëntšañ   ye-j-ts-obiamnay
and   soon   swamp   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-change
'And soon changed (it) into swamp.' (Chindoy 56:8)

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[15] This story provides an explanation for why parrots exist.

(1p)   chka jtsopasanan
        chka   j-ts-opasanan
        like.this VBLZ-PROG-happen

        porke choyna **kaba** yemba jente kamoyenaka
        porke   choy=na   kaba yemba   jente   ka-mo-oyena-ka
        because   there=TOP   still infidel   people   INTS?-3PL-live-DISC
        'This happens because the unfaithful (non-christian) people still live there.' (*j-opasa-n*
        from Spanish *pasar* 'happen'; *jente* from Spanish *gente* 'people'; The morpheme *-ka* on
        the verb *j-oyena-n* 'live' possible discourse suffix *-ka*. Note that *-ka* is also the translative
        marker as well as one form of the instrumental marker *-ak*.)

Multiple temporal adverbs can appear in a clause. In (2a) *mor* 'now' and *ya* 'already' are used together to mean something like 'not anymore, 'no longer'. This is like *ya no* 'not anymore' in Spanish. In (2b), (2c), and (2d) *mnte* 'today' is used with other words to add specificity. In (2b) *mnte* is used with *jitiñ* 'afternoon' to mean 'this afternoon'. In (2c) *mnte* 'today' is used together with *kantate* 'Thursday' to mean 'this Thursday' and in (2d) *mnte* is used with *kachës* 'morning' to mean 'this morning'. Note that this is common in colloquial Spanish, as well, using something like *hoy tarde* 'today afternoon' to mean 'this afternoon'. In (2e) both *chentšan* 'later' and *empasam* 'forever' appear, but not as a compound; rather, they are separate, meaning 'From then on, she disappeared forever'.

(2a)   atšbe keš bëndanonÿa meset
        atš-be   keš   bë-nd-anonÿa meset
        1SG-GEN   dog   DU-?-look   cat

        i **mor ya** ndoñ kebënatonÿa
        i   [mor   ya]   ndoñ   ke-bë-n-atonÿa
        and [now already]   NEG   IRR-DU-EVI-IRR-look
        'My dog was looking at the cat, and now it is not looking anymore.' (MC)

(2b)   mnte jitiñ
        mnte   jitiñ
        today   afternoon
        'This afternoon.'

(2c)   mnte kantaté
        mnte   kanta-té
        today   four-day (thursday)
        'This thursday'

(2d) **mnte kachës** sënjwaliya librësha
[mnte kachës]   së-n-j-waliya   librësha
[today morning]   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-read   book
'This morning I read a book.' (MC) (*librësha* is from Spanish *libro* 'book' with the suffix *-ësh* which is added to many loanwords.)

(2e) **chentšan empasam** ch tondol welaja yejwenatjëmba
chentšan   empasam   ch   tondol welaja   ye-j-wenatjëmba
later   forever   DET   spirit old.woman   3DIS-VBLZ-disappear
'From then, the old lady ghost disappeared forever.' (Chindoy2 55.5) (*yejwenatjëmba* = <yejuenatjëmba> and *welaja* = <uelaja> in original orthography)

7.2.2 Adverbs of manner and other Adverbs

Kamsá has adverbs of manner, which can be defined as adverbs that tell how something is done. They have the same form as adjectives, but when they are functioning as adverbs they are not inflected, and they almost always precede the verb. In other words, when they are functioning as adverbs, they are not inflected (i.e. do not agree with anything) but when they are functioning as adjectives, they can agree with the noun in case, class, number, and/or evaluative. It is not clear if all adjectives can be used adverbially; more research is needed. Figure 7.2 summarizes the adverbs of manner in Kamsá.

Kamsá word	Meaning
betsko	'fast'
wenán	'slow'
tšabá	'well' or 'good'
podesk	'bad, ugly'
wabowan	'horrible'

Figure 7.2 Adverbs of manner

The following sentences show adverbs of manner in clauses. In (3a) and (3b) *betsko* 'fast' is shown; in both examples it precedes the verb. In (3c) and (3d) *wenán* 'slow' is shown; in both examples it is used twice. In (3c) *wenán* precedes the verb and in (3d) *wenán* follows the verb. In (3e) and (3f) *tšabá* 'good, well' is shown, in (3e) meaning 'to sing well' and in (3f) that an action

went well. In (3g) *podesk* 'ugly, ugily' is used with the verb *jojwan* 'reply' to mean that the woman replied nastily. Finally, in (3h) and (3i) another adverb is shown: *natjëmban* 'calmly, peacefully'. In (3h) it comes directly before the verb, and in (3i) it precedes *shufta* 'uchuva fruit' the object of the verb, which precedes the verb *j-as-an* 'to eat'. The adverbs precede the VP in most examples; in (3d), however, *wenán wenán* 'slowly' follows the verb phrase *bo-j-ontšá. j-wastán* 'they (two) started to follow' and in (3e) *tšabá* 'good, well' comes between *ki-w-at-oben* 'she is not able to' and *j-abersian* 'sing'.

(3a) ch bejay **betsko** intsobwjën
     ch   bejay   betsko   i-n-ts-obwjën
     DET   river   fast   3SG-EVI-PROG-run
     'The river goes fast.' (MC)

(3b) **betsko** kwatay tamboy.
     betsko kwatay   tamb-oy
     fast   let's.go   ranch-ALL
     'Let's go quickly to the ranch.' (Chindoy 63:30)

(3c) fjabinÿën inetsomñená josisiang **wenán wenán** mojobekoná
     fjabinÿën   i-n-ets-omñe=ná   josisi-ang   **wenán wenán** mo-j-obekoná
     moonlight   3SG-EVI-PROG-be=TOP aguacil-PL   slow   slow   3PL-VBLZ-get.close
     'In the moonlight the aguaciles slowly, slowly got closer…' (Chindoy 82.4) (An *alguacil* is a position in the *cabildo* 'indigenous meeting house'.)

(3d) nÿe bojontšá jwastán **wenán wenán**.
     nÿe   bo-jontšá   j-wastán   wenán wenán
     only   DU-start   VLBZ-follow slow   slow
     'he just started to follow slowly.' (Chindoy 60:3)

(3e) ch tobiaš ndoñ kiwatoben **tšabá** jabersian
     ch   tobiaš ndoñ ki-w-at-oben   tšabá   j-abersian
     DET   girl   NEG   IRR-?-IRR-be.able   good   VBLZ-sing
     'The girl cannot sing well.' (MC)

(3f) **Tšabá** yejapasa jeyam,
     tšabá ye-japasa   j-eya-m
     good   3DIS-VBLZ-pasar   VBLZ-sell-BEN
     '(Because) it went well in the selling,' (Chindoy 61:11)

(3g) ayekna **podesk** bojtsjwa
     ayekna   podesk   bo-j-ts-jwa
     because.of.which   ugly   DU-VBLZ-PROG-reply
     'Because of which she replied uglily.' (Chindoy 77:6)

(3h)   mëtškwayna onÿayo tjoka
        mëtškway=na   onÿayo   tj-ok
        snake=TOP   hot.place   monte-LOC

        natjëmban yejtsendmanán betiesh bwakwashiñ orna
        natjëmban   ye-j-ts-endmanán   beti-esh   bwakwash-iñ orna
        calmly 3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-wrap   tree-?   root-LOC   when
        'When a snake in a tropical place was calmly wrapped around a tree root…' (Chindoy
        109.1)

(3i)   Kanÿna **natjëmban** shufta inetsasañe orna oso yejtabokna.
        Kanÿna   natjëmban   shufta   i-ne-ts-asañe
        once   calm   physalis.berry 3SG-EVI-PROG-eat
        orna   oso   ye-j-t-abokna
        when   bear   3DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-go.out
        'Once (upon a time), when (the squirrel) was eating *uchuva* fruits, a bear came out (of the
        same place). (Chindoy 101:8) (Note: The etymology of *natjëmban* 'calmly' is unclear,
        but the verb *j-w-enatjëmban* means 'disappear'. They probably aren't related.)

Most things used as adverbs of manner are also adjectives. The following two examples

show *wabowan* 'horrible' being used adverbially and adjectively. In (4a) *wabowan* goes with the

verb *jwabonjnwan* 'shake' whereas in (4b) *wabowan* modifies the look of the demon and has the

pejorative marker *-ëj*. When used as an adverb, a word cannot have an evaluative marker (or

case, class, etc), but when used as an adjective, it must have a class marker if its referent has a

class marker, and it can have an evaluative to agree with its referent. Adjectives can also have

case markers if they are at the end of the NP.

(4a)   Fshants **wabowán** yejisabonjnaye
        fshants   wabowán   ye-j-**is**-abonjna-ye
        earth   terrible   3DIS-VBLZ-?-shake-?

        i yejtsenojatanay inÿok inÿok.
        i   ye-j-ts-en-ojatanay   inÿ=ok   inÿ=ok
        and   3DIS-REC-VBLZ-REC-split   other=LOC   other=LOC
        'The earth shook terribly and split here and there.' (*i* from Spanish *y* 'and') (Chindoy
        56:6)

(4b)   Pero ch mëtëtšen yap **wabowanëja** bominÿe tejabwajo.
        pero   ch   mëtëtšen   yap   **wabowan-ëj** bominÿe   te-j-abwajo.
        but   DET   devil   very   horrible-EVAL eye   PST-VBLZ-have
        'But the devil had a horrible look.' (Chindoy 79:24) (*mëtëtšen* from Spanish *matachin*)

7.2.3 Adverbs of degree

Kamsá has several adverbs of degree, which can modify adjectives, other adverbs, and/or verbs. They cannot be inflected or agree with nouns. Adverbs of degree usually directly precede the word they are modifying. The following table shows the adverbs of degree. Most can be translated as 'very' or 'very much'. *Yap*, from Inga *yapa* 'a lot', can modify adjectives, verbs, and possibly other adverbs. *Mallajt* can modify adjectives and nouns, and could possibly be analyzed as a quantifier, as discussed further below. *Bien* from Spanish *bien* 'well' can modify adjectives and adverbs. Unlike the use of *bien* in Spanish, which usually goes with verbs, *bien* in Kamsá mainly modifies adjectives and verbs, but it can sometimes modify verbs, as well. People in southern Colombia often use *bien* in this way, like something is 'bien difícil' or 'bien bonita'. In my corpus *korent* and *j-abwach* only modify verbs, but it is possible that they could modify other word classes, as well.

Kamsá word	Meaning	Etymology	What it modifies
yap	very	possibly from Inga	adjectives, verbs, maybe other adverbs
mallajt	very	possibly from *milliones*?	adjectives, nouns
bien	very	from Spanish *bien*	only adjectives
korent	very	from Spanish	verbs
jabwach	'strongly'	there's a verb *j-abwach-an* 'invite' but they probably aren't related	verbs

Figure 7.3 Adverbs of degree

The following examples show adverbs of degree: *yap, mallajt, bien,* all of which mean 'very' and are modifying adjectives. In (5a-c), *yap* modifies adjectives *flakwa* 'thin' *benoka* 'close' and *wabowan,* 'horrible'. (Note: In (5c), the status of *wabowan* isn't clear, because *wabowan* 'horrible' is being used substantively, as the subject of the sentence.). In (5d) *mallajt* modifies *bëts* 'big' and in (5e) *bien* modifies *tsbananok* 'tall'.

(5a) tobiaš **yap** flakwa ijamën
      tobiaš [yap   flakwa]   i-j-amën
      girl   [very   thin]   3SG-EVI-be
      'The girl is very thin.' (MC) (*flakwa* from Spanish *flaco/a* 'thin')

(5b) atšbe kenat indoyan **yap** benoka
      atšbe   kenat i-nd-oyan   [yap   benoka]
      1SG-GEN   sister 3SG-?-live   [very   close]
      'My sister lives very close' (MC)

(5c) enperno kanabaynaka šmënjauyan **yap** wabowanká
      enperno   kanabaynaka š-më-n-j-auyan   [yap   wabowan-ká]
      hell   is.called   1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-VBLZ-say   [very   horrible-ka]
      'It's called hell, the very horrible ones told me.' (Chindoy 70.15)

(5d) ibojtseitume **mallajkta** bëts mateba inajajonaye
      i-bo-j-ts-eitume   mallajkta   bëts   mateba   i-na-j-ajona-ye
      DIS-DU-VBLZ-hide   very   big   jar   3SG-EVI-VBLZ-put-?
      'They hid, a very large jar was kept there.' (*bëts* = \<btse\> in original orthography)
      (McDowell 51)

(5e) ch uta tjok **bien** tsbananok indemun
      ch   uta   tjok   [bien tsbanan-ok]   i-nd-emun
      DET   two   mountain   [very   tall-LOC]   3SG-?-be
      'The two mountains are very tall.'

Although not all adverbs of degree can modify adjectives, all adverbs of degree can modify verbs. As with adverbs of degree modifying adjectives, adverbs of degree generally precede the verb they are modifying, although not always as seen in (6b) where *mallajt* 'very' follows the verb *j-abshatajo* 'move'. In (6a) *yap* 'very' modifies the verb jatrabaja 'work'. In (6c) *korent* modifies a verb, *j-wakakan-an* 'chastise'. Similarly, *jabwach* modifies a verb in (6d) *j-abochembw-an* 'shout at someone'

(6a) atšbe enuta **yap** indetrabaja
      atš-be   enuta [yap   i-nd-etrabaja]
      1SG-GEN   friend [very   3SG-?-work]
      'My friend works a lot.'

(6b) ijabshatajo **mallajt** bejayná tsachaján ndetšbenga
      [i-j-abshatajo   mallajt]   bejayná   tsachaján   ndetšbe-ng
      [3SG-VBLZ-move   very]   river-TOP   shore   rock-PL

y betieshënga lemp yejtsejatsaka;
y   betiesh-ëng   lemp   ye-j-tsejatsa-ka
and   tree-PL   all   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-shoot-?
'(The avalanche) advanced very much, shooting out all (the) trees and rocks (of the)
riverbank.' (Chindoy 66:50) (Another analysis is that *mallajt* here is a quantifier going
with the trees and rocks from the river bank, rather than going with the verb).

(6c)   **korente** bojisakakán ndoñ kondoyeunam chabe konsejo,
[korente   bo-j-is-akakán]   ndoñ   ko-nd-oyeuna-m   cha-be konsejo
[strongly   DU-VBLZ-?-chastise] NEG   IRR-EVI-listen-BEN   3SG-GEN advice
'He chastised him strongly for not listening to his advice.' (Chindoy 65:39)
jwakakanan 'reprender'

(6d)   chíyeka cha **jabwache** tojanchembo:
chíyeka   cha   [jabwache   to-j-anchembo]
therefore   3SG   [strongly   3SG-VBLZ-shout]
'Because of that, he shouted strongly:' (Matthew 14:30)
(In original orthography: chíyeka = chíyeca and jabwache = jabuache)
jabochembwan 'shout at someone'

It is important to note that *bien* in Kamsá is more limited than *bien* in Spanish. In
Spanish, *bien* usually means well, like *ella canta bien* 'she sings well.' In Kamsá, however, *bien*
means 'very' and modifies adjectives or adverbs. Generally, you cannot say that someone sings
bien; you have to say someone sings *bien tšaba* 'very good'. There are exceptions, however, and
sometimes *bien* modifies a verb as in (7) where *bien* modifies *j-owen* 'hear, understand'.

(7)   ndoñ **bien** yenjowen ndayam boyá betjsatsëtsnayam,
[ndoñ bien   ye-n-j-owen]   ndayam   boyá   be-t-j-satsëtsnaya=m
[neg   well   3DIS-EVI-VBLZ-hear] what   man   DU-again-VBLZ-say=BEN
'(Because the woman was drunk) she didn't understand well what the an was saying.'
(Chindoy 77:6)

7.2.4   Issues for adverbs of degree

The class of adverbs of degree is complicated for several reasons. First, the distribution is
varied: *yap* and *mallajt* can modify both adjectives and verbs, whereas *jabwach* and *korent*
seem only to go with verbs. *Bien* mostly goes with adjectives, despite its primary use in Spanish
to mean 'well', with verbs. *yap* and *mallajkt*, which seem to be able to modify the most words
classes, can also go with nouns or nominalized verbs. In (8a) *yap* is modifying a nominalized
verb, meaning 'the ones not having drunk a lot'. In (8b) *mallajkt* is modifying a noun, *twamb*

'hen', to mean 'many hens'. Section 7.6 about quantifiers discusses the possibility of *mallajkt* being a quantifier.

(8a)   Bobontsënga ndoñ **yap** mondëbtëmanënganá shëntsënga mnetsomñe.
Bobonts-ëng [ndoñ yap   mo-nd-ëbtëman-ëng-ná]   shënts-ëng   mn-ts-omñe
young.man-PL [NEG very   3PL-?-drink-PL-TOP] sober-PL   3PL-PROG-be
'The young men, not having drunk much, were sober.' (Chindoy 78:13)

(8b)   bainte indemen sëndabomn **mallajkt** twambëng
bainte i-nd-emen   së-nd-abomn   [mallajkt   twamb-ëng]
past   1SG-?-be   1SG-?-have   [much   hen-PL]
'In the past, I had many hens.' (Note: I don't know where *bainte* comes from)

7.3   Deictics of place / locative adverbs

Deictics of place morphologically are like nouns (or adjectives?). They take limited case markers. They can take one of two locative markers: *-ok* or *-entše*; the allative marker *-oy*; and the ablative marker *-an*. Not all deictics of place take all markers, however. Many deictics of place can also have the intensifier prefix *ka-*. Many deictics can have the topic marker *=na*, without a change in meaning (as far as I can tell). It's possible that more forms exist than the ones I provide below.

There are two forms for 'here': *mwentš* and *moka*, but it is not clear what the difference in meaning is. It is possible one is 'here' (static, no movement) and the other is locative 'towards here' but more research is needed. There are also two forms for 'there': *chentše* and *choka*, with *choka* meaning 'there, farther away'. When the deictics have the ablative marker, it means motion from, and when there is a allative marker, it means motion toward. There doesn't seem to be a allative form of either *mwentš* or *moka*, however; just the usual form is used.

Figure 7.4 (on the following page) details locative adverbs in Kamsá.

Locative word	Description	Allative	Ablative	Intensified
mwentš(e)	'here'	n/a	*mwentš-an*	*kamwentš*
moka	'here'		*mok-an, moyk-an*	n/a
chentše	'there'		*chentš-ana*	*ka-chentše* right there'
choka	'there, (farther)' away'	choy	n/a	*kachoka* 'right there' *kachoy* 'to right there'

Figure 7.4 Locative adverbs

In (9a-9c) are seen three sentences, with where, here, and there. All have the locative markers.

(9a)   **ndayentš** shem in-ts-emn
      ndayentš   shem   i-n-ts-emn
      where-LOC   woman   3SG-EVI-PROG-be
      'Where is the woman?'

(9b)   shem **mwentše** in-ts-emn
      shem   mw-entše   i-n-ts-emn
      woman   here-LOC   3SG-EVI-PROG-be
      'The woman is here.'

(9c)   shem **chok** intsemn.
      shem **chok** i-n-ts-emn
      woman there 3SG-EVI-PROG-be
      'The woman is there.'

7.3.1   *mwentš* and *moka* 'here'

Examples of *mwentš* and moka are shown below. In (10a) and (10b) *mwentš* 'here' has a locative marker. Example (10c) shows *moka* 'here'. There is not enough data to determine the difference between *mwentš* and *moka*, both of which have locative markers *-entš* and *-ok*, but it is possible that *moka* involves more motion toward the location.

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(10a) **mwentš** sënsjotebem
mwentš   së-n-s-jotebem
here   1SG-EVI-PROG-sit
'I'm sitting here.'

(10b) Atš **mwentše** šmëntjofja;
atš   mwentše   š-më-n-tjofja
1sg   here   1SG-IMP-EVI-invite
'Invite me here!'
jofjan: invitar (Chindoy 93:1)

(10c) Yajtashjango **moka** orna yejabetsenobošachna (...)
Yajtashjango moka orna   ye-ja-be-ts-en-obošachna (...)
3DIS-arrive   here   when   3SG.DIS-?-?-PROG-REFL-cry
'When he arrived here, he cried.' (Chindoy 65:40)

7.3.2 *chentš* and *choka* 'there'

Examples of *chentše* and *choka* are shown below. In (11a) and (11b) *chentše* means
'there' and is at the beginning of the clause. In (11c) and (11d) *choka* is shown. In both (11c) and
(11d) the location is farther; in (11c) the hunter is in a faraway place hunting deer, and in (11d)
the sentence itself means 'There is far.' In both (11c) and (11d) *choka* is marked with the topic
marker *-na*.

(11a) **Chentše** bendicion chjëbtsachentše tšengaftabiama.
chentše   bendicion   ch-j-ëbtsachentše   tšengafta=biam
there   mass   FUT-VBLZ-celebrate   2PL=BEN
'There I will celebrate the mass for you (pl).' (Chindoy2 115:4)

(11b) **chentše** shlobšetemang motsomën
chentše   shlobše-tem-ang   mo-ts-omën
there   bird-DIM-PL   3PL-PROG-be
'The birds are there' (closer)

(11c) **Chokna** ndoñ bënënskosna bojawabinÿna inÿe mongoj.
chok=na   ndoñ bënënskos=na bo-j-awabinÿna   inÿe   mongoj
there=TOP   NEG   delay=TOP   DU-VBLZ-spot   other   deer
'He wasn't there long before he spotted another deer.' (Chindoy 60:3)
jwabinÿnan 'divisar'

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(11d) **Chokna** bënok ktsomëñ,
      chok=na   bënok   k-ts-omëñ
      there=TOP   far-LOC   IRR-PROG-be
      'As for there, it's far.' (Chindoy 62:18)

7.3.3 Other cases: allative and ablative

choka 'there' can have the allative marker *-oy* to show motion toward. In (12) *choka* becomes *choy* to show motion-toward, the people fell into there (a giant hole in the earth).

(12) Yentšang **choy** mojatkëkjanëngna empas mojwenatjëmba.
      yentš-ang   ch-oy   mo-j-atkëkjan-ëng=na empas   mo-j-wenatjëmba
      person-PL   there-ALL   3PL-VBLZ-fall-PL=TOP forever   3PL-VBLZ-disappear
      'The people fell into there and disappeared forever.' (Chindoy 56:7)

Many deictics take the ablative, to mean motion from. In (13a) *chentše* 'there' has the ablative *-an* to mean 'from there' with the motion word *jabetsbon* 'come' (with other morphology). In (13b) *choka* 'there' has the ablative *-an* to mean 'from there' with the motion verb *jisongwefjwa* 'fly from a place'.

(13a) **Chentšana** ch mongojna yejabetsboñe
      chentš-ana   ch   mongoj=na   ye-j-abetsboñe
      there-ABL   DET   deer=TOP   3DIS-VBLZ-come
      'From there, the deer came.'
      (Chindoy2 116:16)

(13b) i **chokan** yojisonguefjwa gabilanka.
      i   chok-an   yo-j-is-onguefjwa   gabilan=ka
      and   there-ABL   DIS-VBLZ-**?**-fly   gavilan=TRANSL
      'And from there, he flew as a sparrow hawk.' (Chindoy 95:16)

7.3.4 Intensifiers with deictics

Deictics can have the intensifying prefix *ka-*. In (14a) *mwentše* 'here' has the intensifier prefix *ka-* to mean 'right here'. In (14b) *chentše* has the intensifier ka- to mean 'right there' and in (14c) *choka* has the prefix *ka-* to mean 'right there (farther away)'. In addition, deictics with case markers can have the intensifier *ka-* as seen in (14d) in which *choy* has the prefix *ka-* to mean 'right there' in a sentence with a motion word: *jan* 'go'.

(14a)   A ver chkasë nÿetesë **kamwentše** mochjenefjna.
      a.ver   chkasë   nÿetesë   ka-mwentše   mo-ch-j-enefjna
      well   thus   noon   INTS-here   3PL-FUT-VBLZ-meet
      'Thus we'll see each other right here at noon.' (Chindoy2 161:10)

(14b)   i kachentše yejoban.
      i   ka-chentše   ye-j-oban
      and   INT-there   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-die
      'and right there he died.'

(14c)   jetiñoy bochanjashjango i **kachoka** bochanjatay.
      jetiñ-oy   bo-chan-j-ashjango   i   ka-choka   bo-chan-jatay
      afternoon- ALL   DU-FUT-VBLZ-arrive   and   INT-there-LOC DU-FUT-spend.night
      'We will arrive in the afternoon and we will spend the night right there.' (Chindoy 62:18)

(14d)   Kebuntjá jenokwedam **kachoy**?"
      ke-bu-n-tjá   j-en-okwed-am   ka-ch-oy
      IRR-DU-EVI-go   VBLZ-REFL-feed-BEN INT-there-ALL
      'Would you go and eat right there?' (Chindoy 103:1)

7.3.5   Other locative words

There are other words related to location in Kamsá that do not fit neatly into any category. They can be nouns, adjectives, postpositions, and maybe adverbs. Some examples are: *bënok* 'far', *bekon* 'close', *tsjwan* 'above', and *stonoy* 'below'. Figure 7.5 shows these words.

Kamsá word	Meaning
bënok	'far'
bekon	'close'
tsjwan	'above'
stonoy	'below'
jashenoye	'under'
stëtšoyka	'behind'
natsan	'before'
tsëntsa-k	'middle'

tsëmán	'down'
bekoñ	'close'
bënok	'far'
tsok	'inside'
tsoy	'to the inside'
shjok	'outside'

Figure 7.5 Other place words

In (15) *bënok* 'far' is used in three different forms: *bënok, bën=oy* and *bënënoka*. In (15a) and (15b) *bën-ok* is used with the 'to be' verb *jamnan*, to mean that 'it's far'. In (15c) *bënok* is used with *jan* 'to go' to mean 'when they went far' or 'once they reached the farther place'. In (15d) *bënok* has the allative marker *-oy* and is used in a command telling someone to go far away. Finally, in (15e) there is an extra morpheme *-ën*, the function of which is unclear.

(15a)   Chokna **bënok** ktsomëñ,
      chok=na   bën-ok   k-ts-omëñ
      there=TOP   far-LOC   IRR-PROG-be
      'there is far.' (Chindoy 62:18) (repeated from (11b) above)

(15b)   **Bënoka** komna, pero šmojëtspagasná stja jakam.
      [bënok] ko-mna   pero   šmo-j-ts-pagas=ná   stja   j-ak=am
      [far]   IRR-be   but   2PL-VBLZ-PROG-pay=TOP   ?-go   VBLZ-bring=BEN
      'It's far, but if you (pl) pay me I will go to bring it.' (Chindoy 2 73:3)

(15c)   **Bënoka** mojtsajna orna mojenebiajwá chë tobiaš
      [bën-ok]   mo-j-ts-ajna   orna   mo-j-en-ebiajwá   ch   tobiaš
      [far-LOC]   3PL-VBLZ-PROG-go   when   3PL-VBLZ-REFL-laugh DET   girl
      'When they got far (away) they laughed at the girl.' (Chindoy 82:7)

(15d)   Sobrenafna nÿa **bënoy** motsafja.
      sobrenaf=na   nÿa   [bën=oy]   mo-tsafja
      nephew=TOP PART? [far=ALL]   IMP-?
      'Nephew, go far away (from here)!' (Chindoy 102:18)

(15e) maske **bënënoka** mnetsieñesna,
    maske   [bën-ën-ok]   mn-ts-ieñ=es=na
    although   [far-?-LOC]   3PL-PROG-be=SUB=TOP
    'Although being far (from each other)' (Chindoy 95:19)

In (16) examples with *bekon* 'close' are shown. In (16a) *bekon* is used adverbially as well as in (16b). In (16b), however, *bekon* has extra morphology: *bekonan*. It is not clear why. In (16c), *bekonan* is a postposition, part of a postpositional phrase: 'close to the waterfall'. Similarly, in (16d) *bekonan* is a postposition. It is not clear why the NP in (16d) has the genitive marker =*be* while the NP in (16c) does not.

(16a) Chbayjënga nÿe chora mojacheta **bekoñ**.
    ch   bayj-ëng   nÿe   chora mo-j-acheta   [bekoñ]
    DET   beast-PL   just   then   3PL-VBLZ-flee [close]
    The beasts only fled nearby (i.e. they didn't flee far away) (Chindoy 107:4)

(16b) NÿosÖ yebun jajebwam inamën **bekonan**.
    nÿos   yebun j-ajebw=am   i-n-amën   [bekon-an]
    god   house VBLZ-build=BEN   3SG-EVI-be [close-?]
    '(the place) to build God's house was close.' (Chindoy 57:10)

(16b) Yejtsashjajwan chorer **bekonán** orna
    ye-j-ts-ashjajwan   [chorer   bekon-án]   orna
    3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-arrive   waterfall   close-?   when
    'When he arrived close to the waterfall.' (Chindoy 66:48) (*chorer* from Spanish *chorrera* 'spout, stream')

(16c) chabe **bekonan**
    [cha=be   bekon-an]
    [3SG=GEN   close-?]
    'close to her' (Chindoy 69.10)

In (17a-17c) *tsëntsa* 'middle' is shown with different morphology. In (17a) it has the locative marker =*ok*; in (17b) it has -*jan* and in (17c) it has =*an, =ok* and =*n*a. I don't know what any of the morphology means, especially in (17c) with three suffixes.

(17a) wabowan bëtsëkna tsa **tsëntsak** jakena
    wabowan   bëtsëk=na   [tsa   tsëntsa=k]   jakena
    horrible   arrogant=TOP [room middle=LOC] seated
    'A horrible arrogant one seated in the middle of the room…' (Chindoy 68:6)

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(17b) Chatbe **tsëntsajan** bejay bewatajwán kastellan.
[chat=be   tsëntsa-jan] bejay be-watajwán kastellan
[3DU=GEN   middle-?] water DU-flow gold
'Between the two, water flowed with gold.' (Chindoy 60:6) jotjajwan 'correr agua'

(17c) **Tsëntsañokna**   kojontše jatëshenÿnán.
tsëntsañ=ok=na   ko-j-ontše   j-atëshenÿnán
middle=LOC=TOP   IRR-VBLZ-begin   VBLZ-shine
'(arriving) at the middle, the sun would begin to shine.' (Chindoy 70:14)

In the following examples, other words that can commonly be used as adverbs or postpositions are shown. In (18a) *tsjwan* 'above' is used without an NP. In (18b) *jashenoy* is used (as a postposition?) with two nouns: *fshants* 'earth' and *bejay* 'water'. In (18c) and (18d) *stëtšoyk* 'behind' is shown. In (18c) it does not take an NP whereas in (18d) it is a postposition, following the NP *bëšaša* 'door' to mean 'behind the door'. The word *natsan* 'before' is often used for time as seen above but can be used for space, as well, as seen in (18e) where *natsan* means 'before, in front of'. Note that *natsan* has a case marker =*oyka*.

(18a) Ndoká monjapasangna mojtsacheta **tsjwan**
ndoká   mo-n-j-apasangna   mo-j-ts-acheta   [tsjwan]
nothing   3PL-EVI-VBLZ-happen 3PL-VBLZ-PROG-flee [above]
'The ones to whom nothing happened to fled above.' (meaning to the high part of the valley) (Chindoy 57:10)

(18b) i anÿengna fshantsa **jashenoye** bejaye **jashenoye**
i   anÿeng=na   fshantsa   jashen-oy   bejaye jashen-oy
and   other-PL=TOP earth   under-ALL   water under-ALL
'And others lived under the earth, under the water.' (McDowell 75)

(18c) Katšatna nÿets uta kukwatš **stëtšoyk** enaná
katšat=na   nÿets uta   kukwatš   stëtšoyk   enaná
younger.brother= TOP all   two   hand   behind   tied
'the younger brother with both hands tied behind…' (Chindoy 65:43)

(18d) bëšaša **stëtšoyka** te-jotsay
bëšaša stëtšoyka   te-j-otsay
door behind   1SG.PST-VBLZ-stand
'I stood behind the door.'

(18e)   chë altarentša **natsanoyka**
       ch   altarentša   natsan-oy=ka
       DET   altar   before-ALL=DISC[16]
       'before the altar' (Matthew 5:24) (*natsanoyka* = <natsanoica> in original orthography)

Similar to the deictics for 'here' and 'there' are the words for 'inside' and 'outside', *tsok* and *shjok*, respectively. They both end with the locative marker *-ok* and can also have the allative *-oy* (*tsoy*, *shjoy*) and the ablative *-an*. They can also be postpositions, unlike the deictics. In (19a) *tsok* 'inside' is used without other case markers, and without any NP. In (19b) *tsok* has the allative marker to become *tsoy* because the dog is entering the inside area. Similarly, in (19c) *tsok* has the allative marker *-oy* because the item is being brought to the inside. Also note that in this sentence, *tsoy* 'to inside' is used to mean 'to the house'. In (19d) *shjok* has the ablative marker =*an* and means 'from outside'.

(19a)   Tambo **tsokna** mojenÿena ch kapuchin bachnëna obantá yejtsatsjajona.
       tambo tsok=na   mo-j-enÿena
       hut   inside=TOP   3PL-VBLZ-find

       ch   kapuchin   bachnëna   obantá   yejtsatsjajona
       DET   capuchin   priest   dead   ?
       'Inside the hut they found the dead capuchin priest.'

(19b)   keš tontamesëng **tsoy**
       keš   to-n-tamasëng   ts-oy
       dog   3SG.PST-EVI-enter   inside-ALL
       'The dog entered inside' (MC)

(19c)   As **tsoy** yejuyamba
       as   ts-oy   ye-juyamba
       then   inside-ALL   3SG.DIS-bring
       'Later he brought it to the house (lit 'inside') (Chindoy 61:9)

(19d)   i **shjokan** wangwefjosh jawenatjëmban."
       i   shjok-an   wangwefjosh jawenatjëmban
       and   outside-ABL   fly   disappear
       'And from outside, he flies like a bird to disappear.' [17] (Chindoy 94:9)

Like other adjectives, these words can sometimes be used substantively. In (20) *tsok* 'inside' has the plural marker *-ëng* and is used substantively as the object of the verb.

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[16] This morpheme could be either *ka* which is perhaps a discourse particle or *-k* for locative followed by an epenthetic vowel.

[17] *wangwefjosh* is perhaps a nominalization from the verb *jongwefjwan* 'fly'.

(20)   Chorna **tsokënga** yejabwayená:
        chor=na   tsok-ëng   ye-j-abwayená
        then=TOP   inside-PL   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-tell
        'Then he told the ones inside:' (Chindoy 78:1)

7.4   Other function words and particles

Kamsá has many function words that appear to have no precise or easy translation. First, I discuss four words that seem related etymologically: *nÿe*, *nÿa*, *nÿets*, and *nÿetsá.* Then I discuss other particles and function words including: *chor* 'then, thus'; *chka* 'in this way, like this'; *mëntšá* 'in this way, like this'; and *aiñ* 'yes' when being used as an intensifier. Figure 7.6 presents function words and particles.

Kamsá word	Meaning
nÿe	'not only, only, but'
nÿa	'hopefully, but, therefore'
chor	'then, thus'
chka	'in this way, like this'
mëntšá	'in this way, like this'
aiñ	'yes', intensifier

Figure 7.6 Function words and particles

7.4.1   The function word *nÿe* 'only'

The word *nÿe* is extremely common. It has three uses. It can be used in parallel structures; it can be used alone to mean 'only'; and it can strengthen words/phrases.

In (29a-c), *nÿe* is used to create parallel structures. In (29a) the first clause has the subordinator *=as* and has a concessive meaning, and the second clause has the conjunction *pero* 'but'. In (29b), *nÿe* is used to convey 'not only, but also…'; the first clause has an inflected verb *jamnan* 'be' while the second clause has an uninflected verb marked with the benefactive clitic *=am*. Also note that *jamnan* 'be' in the first clause has the emphatic marker *kwa-*. In (29c) *nÿe* is

used twice to create parallel structures within a single clause, first before a list of nouns and then before *lempe* 'all'.

(29a)   **nÿe** botaman labran bobach kondbomnas
       nÿe   botaman   labran   bobach   ko-nd-bomn=as
       just   beautiful   patterned   skin   2SG-?nd-have=SUB
       'You have beautiful, patterned skin.'

       pero akbe wayantšañna **nÿe** yentšang obanay benen kondomna
       pero   ak-be   wayantšañna nÿe   yentšang   obanay benen ko-nd-omna
       but   2SG=GEN   mouth   PART? people   deadly venom 2SG-?nd-have
       'but your mouth has people-killing venom.' (Chindoy 110.9)

       The following examples show *nÿe* meaning 'only'. In these examples *nÿe* is used just once, unlike the examples in (29) where it is used twice to create parallel structures. Even when it is only used once, *nÿe* shows a contrast. In (30a) *nÿe* modifies 'three days', to contrast with another person (who stayed in hell for longer than three days). In (30b) *nÿe* modifies *shloftŝëngbe mëntŝen* 'meat of birds' to mean it is the only thing that he eats. In (30c) *nÿe* modifies *uta shloftsë* to mean 'only two birds', i.e. he didn't hunt more than two birds. As in the example above where *nÿe* is used twice to create parallel structures, when it is used only once it creates a contrast. In (30d) *nÿe* is used with the verb phrase 'start to follow'.

(30a)   Kanÿe yentšá bojadesmaya chnungwan te parej ibetak.
       kanÿe yentšá bo-j-adesmaya   chnungwan   te   parej   ibeta=k
       one   person DU-VBLZ-faint   six   day   with   night=INST
       'One person fainted for six days with their respective nights.'

       Inÿanak kachká yejatspasa,
       inÿan=ak   ka=chká   ye-j-ats-pasa
       other=INST   like.that   3DIS-PROG-happen
       'To another person, the same happened,'

       pero chana **nÿe** unga te parej ibetak.
       pero   cha-na   [nÿe   unga te   parej   ibeta-k]
       but   3SG=TOP   [only? three day   together.with night-INSTR]
       'but *he* (stayed) only three days and their nights.' (Chindoy 67:1)

(30b) Atšbe mantensionna komna **nÿe** shloftšëngbe mëntšena.
atš=be   mantension-na   ko-mna   nÿe   shloftšëng=be mëntšen
1SG=GEN   maintenance-top   IRR-be   only(?) bird-PL=POSS meat
'My maintenance is only bird meat.' (Chindoy 93:1)

(30c) Unga tianoyná yejtashjango **nÿe** uta shloftsëka.
Unga   ti-an-oy=ná   ye-j-t-ashjango   nÿe   uta   shloftsë-ka
three   day-?-ALL=TOP   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-arrive   only   two   bird- DISC?
'The third day, he arrived with only two birds.' (Chindoy 94:6)

(30d) **nÿe** bo-jontšá jwastán wenán wenán.
nÿe   bo-j-ontšá   j-wastán   wenán wenán
PART? DU-VBLZ-start   VBLZ-follow   slow   slow
(He didn't shoot with the arrow) 'he just started to follow slowly.' (Chindoy 60:3)

In (31) *nÿe* gives emphasis to the tears the narrator had while relating his tale.

(31)   Chentšán **nÿe** shachbuyek inaparlay
chentšán   nÿe   shachbuye-k   i-n-aparlay
later   PART?   tear-INST   3SG-EVI-tell
'Then he told with tears…' (Chindoy 70:15)

7.4.2   The function word *nÿa* 'hope, would that'

nÿa is a function word that can express several things: 'hope, would that'; 'concessive';
and 'thus'.

(32a) Tayt sobren **nÿa** ndayá kenokwedán?
tayt.sobren   nÿa   ndayá   k-en-okwedán
nephew   PART?   what   2SG-REFL-eat
'Nephew, what are you eating? (Chindoy 101:8)

(32b) Sobrenafna **nÿa** bënoy motsafja.
sobren-af=na   nÿa   bën=oy   mo-tsafja[18]
nephew- PEJ=TOP   PART?   far=ALL   IMP-?
'Nephew, go far away from here!' (Chindoy 102:18)

(32c) Atšna yap lastem tsjisepasas
Atš=na   yap   lastem ts-j-is-epas=as
1SG=TOP   very   poor   1SG-VBLZ-?-happen=SUB

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[18] The meaning of motsafja is unclear but it is perhaps related to the verb for 'fly'.

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nÿa šmanatse jawabwatmanám (the place of the gold)

nÿa   š-m-anatse   j-awabwatman=ám

PART   1SG.OBJ-IMP-bring   VBLZ-know=BEN

'I'm very poor, bring me to know (the place of gold).' (Chindoy 62:15) (*lastem* 'poor' from Spanish *lástima* 'pity, shame'; *japasan* 'happen to someone' from Spanish *pasar* 'to happen')

(32d)   **nÿa** ndoká aka grillofja keškatatsma.

        nÿa   ndoká   ak   grillo-fja   ke-š-k-at-atsma

        PART?   nothing   2SG   cricket-PEJ   IRR-1SG.OBJ-2SG-IRR-do

        'You will do nothing to me.' (Chindoy2 160:5)

(32e)   Ah, **nÿa** bëtsá ktsemnama aka mas kochatabowanas,

        ah   nÿa   bëtsá   k-ts-emna-ma   ak   mas   ko-cha-ta-bowan=as

        ah   PART?   big   2SG-PROG-be-?   2SG   more   2SG-FUT-IRR-terrible=SUB

        'Ah, just because you are big, you are more terrible/scary.' (Chindoy2 160:6)

(32f)   Mandadna **nÿa** yejtsofšenasná bojojwá:

        Mandad=na   nÿa   ye-j-ts-ofšen=as=ná   bo-j-ojwá

        governor=TOP   PART?   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-surprise=SUB=TOP   DU-VBLZ-reply

        'The governor, surprised, replied:' (Chindoy2 116:21)

(32g)   waften yejtsetkëkjan **nÿa** shuftaká;

        waften   ye-j-ts-etkëkjan   **nÿa**   shufta-ká

        rain   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-fall   PART?   uchuva-TRANSL

        'The rain fell just like *uchuva* fruit.'(Chindoy 64:31)

(32h)   **Nÿa** ndayentš nÿetšá kastellán tëktsenÿen;

        nÿa   ndayentš   nÿetšá   kastellán   të-k-ts-enÿen

        PART   where   such   gold   PST-2SG-PROG-find

        'Where did you find so much gold?'

        nÿa klarë šmenÿanÿie.

        nÿa   klarë   šm-enÿanÿie

        PART?   clear   2PL-show

        'Show us clearly.' (Chindoy 64:36)

7.4.3   The function word *chor* 'then, thus'

Another function word is *chor*. It means something like 'then, thus'. It is extremely common in narratives, where many sentences begin with *chká* or *chor*. It often has *-na* which is perhaps the topic marker =*na* or *-a* but I have not determined a difference in meaning between *chor*, *chorna*, and *chora*. It always comes at the beginning of a clause. In (35a) *chorna* is at the

beginning of a clause that begins a dialogue. In (35b) and (35c) *chorna* is at the beginning of an action. In (35d) *chora* is used in the same way that *chorna* is used in (35a), at the beginning of a sentence that begins dialogue.

(35a)   **Chorna** ch dweñna yejayán:
       chorna ch   dweñna   ye-jayán
       then   DET   owner   3SG.DIS-say
       'Then the owner said…' (Chindoy 89:12)

(35b)   **Chorna** yejenbokna shajbe inabinÿnoka.
       chorna   ye-jenbokna   shajbe   i-na-binÿnoka
       then   3SG.DIS-go.back   cucumber   3SG-EVI-find
       'Then he went to the place where cucumbers are found.' (Chindoy 102:15)

(35c)   **Chorna** tersiadëjaka mojetsëtsjanja bestaš
       chorna tersiadëj-ak   mo-je-ts-ëtsjanja   bestaš
       then   machete-INST   3PL-VBLZ-PROG-hit   head
       'Then they hit him in the head with a machete.' (Chindoy 96:21)

(35d)   **Chora** grillo bojowá: "Atšna sëndëtsbamñe katšatanga…"
       chora   grillo   bo-j-owá   atš=na së-nd-ëtsbamñe   katšat-ang
       then   cricket DU-VBLZ-reply 1SG=TOP   1SG-?ND-have   brother-PL
       'Then the cricket replied: 'I (too) have brothers,' (Chindoy2 160:8)

7.4.4   The function word *chka* 'in this way, like this'

Another important function word is *chka* 'in this way, like this' and, like *chor*, it is very common in narratives. In (36a) a new line, and new clause, begins with *chka*. In (36b), a short dialogue between two characters in a text is shown, where one asks the other 'Can you like that?' and the other responds, 'I can like that.' (referring to tilling soil with her feet). As with (36a), chka precedes the verb. Because *chka* is used frequently in narratives, it often starts the clause or line, but it doesn't necessarily have to. But it must precede the verb. In (36c) *chka* follows the subject *oso* 'bear' and precedes the verb *j-atoyeunay* 'heed' and in (36d) *chka* follows the subject *yendon* 'squirrel' and precedes the verb *jamnan* 'to be'. Like many word classes, *chka* can take the intensifying prefix ka- as shown in (36e).

(36a) **Chká** inawabobayna shuftá.
       chká   i-n-awabobayna   shuftá
       like.that   3SG-EVI-call   uchuva
       'In this way, he called the *uchuva* fruit.'[19] (Chindoy 102:9)

(36b) **chka** koben?
       chka   k-oben
       like.that   2SG-be.able
       'Like that you can?'

       chka-sa tsoben.
       chkasa   ts-oben
       like.that=?sa   1SG-be.able
       'Like that I can.' (Chindoy 89.6)

(36c) Oso obëjemna chká bojatoyeunay
       oso   obë-jem-na   chká   bo-j-atoyeunay
       bear   stupid-EVAL=TOP   like.that   DU-VBLZ-heed
       'The stupid bear heeded (the suggestion).' (Chindoy 102:10)

(36d) Serto chë yendon chka ondebiayá inetsomñe,
       serto   chë   yendon   **chka**   ondebiayá   i-ne-ts-omñe
       certainly   DET   squirrel   like.that   thief   3SG-EVI-PROG-be
       'Certainly/truly the squirrel was a thief like that.' (Chindoy 101:7)

(36e) Inÿanak **kachká** yejatspasa
       inÿa-n-ak   ka-chká   ye-j-atspasa
       another-?-COMM   INT-like.this 3SG-VBLZ-happen
       'To another person, the very same happened …' (Chindoy 67:1)

7.4.5 The function word *mëntšá* 'like this, like that, in this way'

A similar function word is *mëntšá* which also means something like 'in this way, like this'. It is similar to *chka* (7.4.6), and I have not been able to determine a difference. In both (37a) and (37b) *mëntša* precedes the verb phrases: *j-amn-an* 'be' and *j-ontšán j-aparl-an* 'start to tell', respectively.

(37a) atš **mëntša** maytrë sëndëmën
       atš   mëntša   maytrë   së-nd-ëmën
       1SG   like.this   master   1SG-?ND-be
       'Like this, I am the master.' (Chindoy 72.3)

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[19] *Uchuva*, also known as *uvilla*, is a golden colored fruit that looks like a grape.

(37b) As **mëntšá** yejontšá japarlan.
      as   mëntšá   ye-j-ontšá   j-aparlan.
      thus   like.this   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-start   VBLZ-tell
      'Thus, here is how he started to tell (it):' (Chindoy 68:2) (*j-aparl-an* 'tell' from older Spanish)

7.4.6 *aiñ* as an intensifier

aiñ 'yes' can also be used as an intensifier. In both (38a) and (38b) *aiñ* precedes the main verb.

(38a) Choka škenëngna aiñ mojontšabwameñ.
      Chok   šken-ëng=na   aiñ   mo-j-ontšabwameñ
      there   white.people-PL=TOP yes   3PL-VBLZ-buy
      'There the white people indeed bought it.' (Chindoy 61:10)

(38b) Aiñ bojašbwachená jwanatsam.
      aiñ   bo-j-ašbwachená   j-wanats=am
      yes   DU-VBLZ-du-agree   VBLZ-bring=BEN
      'Indeed he agreed to bring (him).' (Chindoy 61:12)

7.5 Negators

There are two main negators in Kamsá: *ndoñ* and *tonday*. They are also discussed in section 9.3 on negation. *ndoñ* means 'no' and can precede words: verbs, nouns, adjectives as well as be the answer to a yes/no question. Generally, *ndoñ* precedes the thing it is negating, as seen in (39a) in which it precedes a verb; in (39b) in which it precedes an NP; (39c) in which it precedes *chka* 'in this way'; (39d) in which it precedes *mas* 'more'; and in (39e) in which it precedes and adjective: *tšaba* 'good'.

(39a) Atšna jenanufja **ndoñ** kešnatajaboto.
      atš=na   jenanu-fja   [ndoñ   ke-š-n-ata-jaboto]
      1SG=TOP   stick-CL   [NEG   IRR-1SG-EVI-IRR-need]
      'I don't need a digging stick.' (Chindoy 88:5)

(39b) Mwana **ndoñ** tobiaš yentšá kwandmënas,
        mwa-na   [ndoñ tobiaš yentšá] kwa-ndmën-as
        DET=TOP   [NEG girl   human]   EMPH-be=SUB
        'This girl not being a human person…' (Chindoy 89:12)

(39c) fshantsokna **ndoñ** chka kenatopasan.
        fshants=ok=na   [ndoñ chka]   ke-n-at-opasan
        floor=LOC=TOP   [NEG like.that]   IRR-EVI-IRR-spend
        'On the floor like that, I do not.' (Chindoy 104:7)

(39d) morna **ndoñe** mas buyesh
        mor=na   [ndoñe mas]   buyesh
        now=TOP   [NEG   more] water
        'No more water now.' (McDowell 135)

(39e) before adjective
        ch bayujeman **ndoñe** tšabaka
        ch   bayu-jem-an [ndoñe   tšaba=ka]
        DET   beast-EVAL-? [NEG   good=KA?]
        'This little beast is not good.' (McDowell 200)

Although *ndoñ* generally precedes words it is negating, it can follow them, as well. This seems to add more emphasis. In (40a) *ndoñ* follows *wabwanán* 'cooked', and in (40b) *ndoñ* follows *mas* 'more' to mean 'no more' (or 'more, no').

(40a) Jatan tsëtšakna ndoñ ntsambayán, **wabwanán ndoñ**,
        Jatan   tsëtša-k-na   ndoñ ntsambayán [wabwanán   ndoñ]
        fiambre   aji-INST=TOP NEG   bring   [cooked   NEG]

        nÿe šmen janÿetšna sin tamok.
        nÿe   šmen   janÿetšna   sin   tamo-k
        only   toasted.corn   corn.flour   without   salt=INST
        'Don't bring fiambre with aji, nor cooked food, only toasted corn flour without salt.'
        (Chindoy 62:17)

(40b) mas ndoñ
        mas   ndoñ
        more   NEG
        'Not more' (lit 'more no') (Chindoy 64.33)

Another negator is *tonday*. It precedes the noun it is negating. (41a) *tonday* negates *shloftš* 'bird' and in (41b) *tonday* negates *yentšang* 'people' and in (41c) *tonday* negates *waskwatšijwa* 'tail'. I have found no examples of clauses with both *ndoñ* and *tonday*.

(41a) ndayak **tonday** shloftstšunga tonday
      ndayak   [tonday   shloftstš-ung] tonday
      why   [NEG   bird-PL]   NEG
      'Why are there no birds, none?' (McDowell 103)

(41b) anteona bngabe tabanokna **tonday** yentšanga yemondemuna
      anteona   bng=be   tabanok=na [tonday yentš-ang] ye-mo-nd-emuna
      long.ago   1PL=GEN   town=TOP [NEG person-PL]   DIS-PL-?-be
      'In the old days, there were no people in our town.' (McDowell 149)

(41c) chentšana ch kausa ch koñeshunga
      chentšana   ch   kausa   ch   koñesh-ung
      then=ABL   DET   cause   DET   rabbit-PL

      tonday waskwatšijwa ndwabomenunga
      [tonday   wa-skwatšij-wa]   nd-wabomen-ung
      [NEG   CL-tail-CL]   NEG-have-PL
      'From that day, because of that, rabbits are without a tail.'
      (McDowell 167)

7.6 Quantifiers

There are several quantifiers in Kamsá. They often precede the noun they are quantifying.
They are: *ena* 'pure'; *mallajk(ta)* 'very, much'; *lempe* 'all'; *batatem* 'little', *nÿets* 'all' and *nÿetšá*
'all, completely'. Figure 7.7 shows these quantifiers.

Kamsá word	Meaning
ena	'pure'
mallajk(ta)	'very, much'
lempe	'all'
batatem	'little'
nÿets	'all'
nÿetšá	'all, completely'

Figure 7.7 Quantifiers

The following examples show *ena* 'pure' modifying different nouns to mean 'only' or 'a lot'.

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ena is translated as 'pure' but it is a common quantifier meaning 'only' or 'many'.

(42a) Kada utsjanján **ena** chispëjënga jisajkëshayán.
      Kada   utsjanján   [ena   chispëj-ëng]   j-is-ajkëshayán
      each   rod   [pure   spark-PL]   VBLZ-?-scatter
      'Each rod scattering pure chispas.' (Chindoy 69:7)

(42b) ch lware ch imba shem-ang-a **ena** shem-ang-a
      ch   lware   ch   imba   shem-ang   [ena   shem-ang]
      DET   place   DET   heathen   woman-PL [pure   woman-PL]
      'In that place (there were) heathen women, only women.' (McDowell 59) (*ena* = <ina> in
      original orthography)

Mallajta 'many, very' can quantify a noun as seen in (43a) where it precedes *langostëng* 'lobsters'. It can also quantify uncountable nouns, as seen in (43b) where it quantifies *bejay* 'water'.

(43a) kem lwar [**mallajt** langostënga] mojabetsashjajna
      kem   lwar   **mallajt**   langost-ëng   mo-j-abetsashjajna
      DET   place   many   lobster-PL   3PL-VBLZ-arrive
      'Lots of lobsters arrived to this place.'

(43b) de la warda [bejaye **mallajta**] inamna
      de.la.warda   [bejaye   mallajt]   i-n-amna
      heaven.forbid   [water   much]   3SG-EVI-be
      'Heaven forbid, there was much water.' (McDowell 61)

lemp means 'all'. In (44a) *lemp* follows the third person pronoun *chëng* to mean 'all of them' or 'they all'. In (44b) it is used substantively, without any NP, and is the subject of the sentence. Note that the verb is marked as plural. In (44c) *lemp* goes with *wabtšanga* 'brothers' to mean 'all my brothers'. In (44d) *lemp* is used adverbially to mean 'completely'.

(44a) Chënga **lempe** atšbe pavor šmëntjašbwachená.
      [chëng lemp]   atš=be   pavor   š-më-n-t-j-ašbwachená
      [3PL   all]   1SG=GEN   favor   1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-again-VBLZ-agree
      'All of them will be at my favor' (Chindoy2 160:7)

(44b) i chka **lempe** imojtashjajna
      i   chka   lemp   i-mo-j-t-ashjajna
      and   like.that   all   DIS-3PL-VBLZ-again-arrive
      'And like that they all arrived.' (McDowell 66)

(44c) atšbe changa wabtšanga **lempe** bayá tojtsañika **lempe impas**
atš-be   chëng wabtšang   lemp bayá to-j-ts-añi=ka   lempe impas
1sg-GEN 3PL   brothers-PL   all   beast 3SG-PST-VBLZ-PROG-eat=ka? all   forever
'My brothers and sisters were all eaten by a beast, completely, forever.' (McDowell 65)

(44d) akabe tayta **lempe** ainungaka
ak=be   tayta lemp   ain-ung=ka
2SG=GEN   father all   alive-PL=ka?
'Your father is completely alive.' (McDowell 65)

batatem means 'little' and generally precedes the noun it is quantifying. Note that *-tem* is a diminutive in the language, but that to be a quantifier, the word has to be *batatem*, not *bata*. In (45) *batatem* precedes *kastellan* 'gold'.

(45)   Bastoy yejabokën orna yejwamba **batatem** kastellan.
Bastoy   ye-j-abokën   orna   ye-j-wamba   [batatem kastellan]
pasto-ALL   3DIS-VBLZ-go when   3DIS-VBLZ-bring   [little   gold]
'When he went to Pasto, he brought a little gold.' (Chindoy 61:10)

Another possible quantifier is *nÿe*, 'only'. The other uses of *nÿe* are discussed above.

(46)   **nÿe** šešonga kanÿanÿenga tojanÿenësna
nÿe   šešong kany-any-eng   to-j-anÿen=ës=na
only   baby-PL   alone-REDUP-PL   3G.PST-VBLZ-find(?)=SUB=TOP
'(when) she found only babies alone …' (Chindoy2: 55:3)

Sometimes *ena* 'pure, purely' can be used with other quantifiers, as seen in (47) where *nÿe* and *ena* are used together.

(47)   **nÿe ena** kastellan yejokedá.
[nÿe   ena   kastellan]   ye-j-okedá
[only pure   gold]   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-stay
'in which only gold remained.' (Chindoy 63:28)

The word *nÿets* is used to show quantity, often to mean 'all' or 'much'. It modifies nouns, to make phrases like 'all day' as seen in (48a) and in (48b) it is used twice, both with *bnëte* 'day' and *ibet* 'night' to mean 'all day and all night'. In (48c) it modifie*s kwashbiá kastellán* 'totuma of gold' and in (48d) it modifies *uta kukwatš* 'two hands' to mean 'both hands'. In all of these examples, it precedes the noun it is modifying/quantifying.

(48a)   Tsbananok atšna tswatma **nÿets** bnëte tšaba jtsamanam,
       tsbanan=ok   atš-na   ts-watma   [nÿets bënëte] tšaba j-ts-aman=am
       tall=LOC   1SG=TOP   1sg-know   [all   of.day] good VBLZ-PROG-sleep=BEN
       'I'm used to living in the tall part to sleep well all day.' (Chindoy 104:7)

(48b)   **nÿets** bnëte i **nÿets** ibet.
       [nÿets bnëte]   i   [nÿets ibet]
       [all   of.day]   and   [all night]
       'all day and all night' (Chindoy 66:45)

(48c)   Ndwawenaná **nÿets** kwashbiá kastellán yejtsayambañ Bastok jetsabweyam.
       nd-wawena=ná [nÿets kwashbiá kastellán] ye-j-ts-ayambañ Bastok j-etsabwey-am
       NEG-listen=TOP [all   totuma gold] 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-bring   Pasto VBLZ-sell=BEN
       'Not listening (to his older brother) he brought all the *totuma* 'gourd' of gold to Pasto to
       sell.' (Chindoy 64:34)

(48d)   Katšatna **nÿets** uta kukwatš stëtšoyk enaná
       Katšat=na   [nÿets uta kukwatš]   stëtšoyk   enaná
       younger.brother=TOP [all   two hand]   behind   tied
       'the younger brother with both hands tied behind…' (Chindoy 65:43)

       Another word is *nÿetšá*. It is maybe a quantifier. In (49a) *nÿetšá* precedes *botamán*
'beautiful' to mean very or completely. (49b) is ambiguous; it isn't clear if *nÿetšá* should refer to
the agent or to the screaming, whether the sentence means 'they all screamed' or 'they screamed
a lot'. In (49c) the lobsters kept eating the food until the earth was completely empty. It isn't
clear where the 'empty' meaning comes from. In (49d) *nÿetšá* modifies *kastellán* 'gold' to mean
'such a quantity of gold, so much gold'.

(49a)   asta **nÿetšá** botamán binÿnoy empasam jetsashjangwam.
       asta   nÿetšá botamán   binÿn-oy   empasam   je-ts-ashjangw=am
       until   PART? beautiful   clear-ALL   forever   VBLZ-PROG-arrive=BEN
       'Until arriving at the (place) always most beautiful and clear' (describing heaven)
       (Chindoy 71:16) (Note: it's not clear if *empasan* 'forever' means arriving forever at the
       place, or if the place is forever beautiful and clear)

(49b)   i **nÿetšá** jisendëntjanán lastementše.
       i   nÿetšá   j-is-nd-ëntjanán   lastementše.
       and   PART?   VBLZ-?-?-scream   pitifully
       'And they screamed pitifully.' (Chindoy 68:5)

(49c)   asta ena fshants jisebem **nÿetšá**.
       asta   ena   fshants j-is-ebem   nÿetšá
       until   pure   earth   make   no.more
       'until they made the earth completely empty.' (the lobsters ate everything until the land was empty) (Chindoy 108:6)

(49d)   Nÿa ndayentš **nÿetšá** kastellán tëktsenÿen?
       nÿa   ndayentš   [nÿetšá   kastellán]   të-k-ts-enÿen
       PART   where   [such   gold]   PST-2SG-PROG-find
       'Where did you find so much gold?'

       nÿa klarë šmenÿanÿie.
       nÿa   klarë   šm-enÿanÿie
       PART?   clear   2PL-show
       'Show us clearly.' (Chindoy 64:36)

Chapter 8
Phrase-level syntax

8.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses phrase-level syntax in Kamsá. A phrase may be considered a set of one or more words functioning together as a syntactic unit, a unit usually smaller than (or a constituent of) a clause. A phrase consists minimally of a single word, but more often contains multiple words. In Kamsá, there are noun phrases (8.2), verb phrases, (8.3), postpositional phrases (9.4), and prepositional phrases (8.5). Although prepositional phrases only occur with Spanish loan words, they are very common in the language. There are some phrase-level clitics, including the topic marker =*na* which occurs at the end of a noun phrase (8.2.3.2) and case marking clitics at the end of noun phrases (8.2.3.1). Case marking is discussed further in (3.3.3).

8.2   Noun phrases

A noun phrase consists minimally of a noun (common or proper), pronoun (personal or indefinite), substantive determiner (demonstrative: *ch* 'the'; *kem* 'that'; *mwa* 'that' or *inÿe* 'other', all functioning as a noun) or substantive numeral (number functioning as a noun). Noun phrases can include other constituents, such as determiners, adjectives, and prenominal numerals. They also have case markers, which tend to go on the noun but can also occur at the end of the entire NP or on multiple constituents in the NP, namely the noun and an adjective that agrees with the noun. Some constituents of an NP can exhibit overt agreement with the head noun, indexing the same semantic case and noun class or reflecting the same evaluative suffix as the noun. Adjectives have class suffixes that agree with their nouns. Additionally, determiners, some pronouns, and numerals in certain environments bear class suffixes that agree with the classes of their referents, namely when they follow the noun or when they are in a different NP from the noun that they agree with, as discussed in 6.3. Furthermore, a number of NP constituents are marked with evaluative suffixes when they follow or are used substantively: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, determiners, and numerals, both within a noun phrase or across noun phrases (see

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3.3.2 for evaluatives). Sometimes these constituents will have evaluative suffixes when they precede a noun, but generally not.

Determiners and numerals always precede the heads of noun phrases, with determiners preceding numerals. Adjectives generally follow the noun, but due to the free word order of Kamsá they can sometimes precede the noun. There seems to be no appreciable difference in meaning. Possessors always precede the noun.

Thus, the order of constituents in a NP is as follows:

[determiner] [possessor] [numeral] [adjective] [noun] [adjective] [adjective]

8.2.1   Heads of noun phrases

The head of a noun phrase is often a noun, but can also be a non-archetypical nominal, such as substantive adjectives, personal pronouns, numerals, and determiners (used substantively). Numbers and determiners always precede the noun, whereas adjectives can precede or follow the noun.

If a personal pronoun is the head of the noun phrase, then no other constituents are permitted. However, the pronoun can exhibit case marking and/or bear an evaluative suffix, with the case marking always at the end of the noun phrase. Because indefinite pronouns do not show up frequently in my corpus it is not clear if there can be other constituents in a noun phrase headed by an indefinite pronoun or what suffixes and clitics can be marked. Two determiners, the demonstrative *kem* 'this, that' and *inÿe* 'other' can also be heads of NPs when used substantively. The definite article *ch* can also stand alone as an NP, but it is more common for the third person singular pronoun *cha*, to serve as the entire NP, (8.2.1.2). Determiners are discussed in 5.4 but here are simply defined as words that show definiteness and/or specificity and precede the noun (as opposed to adjectives which can precede or follow the noun).

The following subsections detail the use of various word categories as heads of NPs.

8.2.1.1 Noun as head of an NP

Unsurprisingly, the head of a noun phrase is often a noun, as seen in (1a-c), in which three individual nouns occur without determiners or adjectives, and without any extra morphology.

(1a)   Yendon bojauyán...
Yendon   bo-j-auyán[20]
squirrel   DU-VBLZ-say
'The squirrel said to him …'(Chindoy 100:1)

(1b)   mashakbe šonjatchwa
[mashak-be]   šo-n-j-atchwa
[lulo-CL]   1SG-EVI-VERB-greet
'The lulo fruit greeted me.' (MC)

(1c)   atš sënsaboš tsëbomnan šošon.
atš   së-n-s-aboš   tsë-bomnan   [šošon]
1SG   1SG-EVI-PROG-want   1SG-have   [baby]
'I want to have a baby.' (MC)

A noun can be preceded by a determiner, including the indefinite determiner *kanÿe*[21] 'one' (2a), the definite article *ch* (2b), the demonstrative *kem* 'that' (2c), and the determiner *inÿe* 'other' (2d). Nouns can also be preceded by numerals (2e). Determiners and numerals always precede the noun.

(2a)   Bëtachjañ kanÿe yentšá bojobetše.
Bëtachjañ   [kanÿe yentšá]   bo-jobetše
camino   [one   person]   DU-encontrar
'In the path he ran into a person.' (Chindoy 56:5)

(2b)   Ch bobonts intsabwana mëntšen.
[ch   bobonts]   in-ts-abwana   mëntšen
[DET   young.man]   3SG-PROG-cook   meat
'The young man is cooking meat.' (MC)

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[20] As discussed in Chapter 4, the prefix bo- is used for the dual and for transitive verbs when there is an animate A and an animate O. More research is needed to determine if this is the same morpheme if it is polysemy.

[21] *kanÿe* is the numeral 'one' and can be used as an indefinite determiner, but it is not obligatory. There can be no article at all.

(2c)   Nda kem boyabasa yomna?
        nda   [kem   boyabasa]   yo-mna
        who   DEM   man   D.PST-be
        'Who was that man?' (*kem* = <quem> in original orthography) (Matthew 8:27)

(2d)   inÿe yendon
        [inÿe   yendon]
        [other squirrel]
        '(an)other squirrel' (Chindoy 101.3)

(2e)   Ch uta tjok bien tsbananok indëmën
        [ch   uta   tj-ok]   bien   tsbanan-ok   i-nd-ëmën[22]
        [DET   two   mountain-LOC]   very   tall-LOC   3SG-HAB-be
        'The two mountains are very tall.' (*bien* 'very' < Spanish *bien* 'well') (MC)

Nouns can sometimes combine with other nouns without extra morphology (i.e. genitive marking or derivational marking) In (3a) *dweñ* 'owner' (< Spanish *dueño* 'owner') combines with *koway* 'horse' (ultimately < Spanish *caballo* 'horse') to give the meaning 'horse owner' and in (3b) *tobiaš* 'girl' combines with *yentšá* 'person'.

(3a)   Ch koway dweñna bojojwá …
        [Ch   koway dweñ-na]   bo-jojwá
        [DET   horse owner-top]   DU-answer
        'The horse owner answered …' (Chindoy 73:11)

(3b)   Mwana ndoñ **tobiaš yentšá** kwandmënas
        mwa=na   ndoñ   [tobiaš yentšá]   kwa-nd-mën-as
        DEM=top   NEG   [girl   person]   EMPH-EVI-be-PROG
        'This one is not being a human girl …' (Chindoy 88.12)[23]

NPs with nouns as their head often also contain adjectives. In (4a) the noun *bobonts* 'young man' is modified by the adjective *sëchbon* 'lazy'. The adjective precedes the noun in (4a), but adjectives can also follow nouns as seen in (4b), in which *botaman* 'beautiful' precedes the head noun of the NP *kwento* 'story' (< Spanish *cuento* 'story').

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[22] Plural marking on the verb is optional. For this sentence we would expect *mondëmën* as the verb rather than *indëmën*, with *mo-* being the 3rd plural prefix.

[23] This sentence is from a text where the family discovers that the girl living with them isn't actually a human, but rather is a sparrow pretending to be a human in order to marry the son of the family.

(4a)   Gabilan **sëchbon bobontse** inamna.

gabilan	[sëchbon	bobonts]	i-n-amna
hawk	[lazy	young.man]	D.PST-EV-be

'The sparrowhawk was a lazy young man.' (Chindoy 93:1) (*gabilan* < Spanish *gavilán* 'hawk')

(4b)   Atš chanjakwenta atšbe enutá **botaman kwento**.

atš	chan-jakwenta	atš-be	enutá	**botamana**	**kwento**
1SG	1SG.FUT-tell	1SG-GEN	friend	beautiful	story

'I'm going to tell my friend a beautiful story.' (MC)

Note that (4b) above can only be interpreted as containing the phrase 'beautiful story' (and not 'beautiful friend') since the final *–a* of the adjective *botamana* is apocopated (adjectives lose their final vowel if and only if they precede the noun they modify). If the sentence were instead *atš chanjakwenta atšbe **enuta botamana** kwento*, then it would mean 'I'm going to tell my beautiful friend a story.'

Noun phrases may also indicate possession. In Kamsá, the possessor (a pronoun or noun marked by the genitive suffix *-be*) precedes the possessee (the head noun of the phrase). In (5) *mëntšena* 'meat' is modified by the genitive-marked noun *shloftšëng-be* 'bird-GEN and *mantension* 'maintenance' is modified by the genitive-marked first person singular pronoun *atš-be* 'my'.

(5)   **Atšbe mantensionna** komna nÿe **shloftšëngbe mëntšena**.

[atš-be	**mantension-na]**	ko-mnanÿe	**[shloftš-ëng-be**	**mëntšen-a]**
[1SG-GEN	support-TOP]	IRR-be only	[bird-PL-GEN	meat-epe]

'My support is only bird meat.' (*mantension* < Spanish *mantención* 'support') (Chindoy 93:1)

In noun phrases, multiple dependent constituents can co-occur along with the head noun. Noun phrases containing both an adjective and determiner (as well as the head noun) are common. In (6) the noun *entšanga* 'people' occurs with an adjective *bakna* 'bad' and the demonstrative *kem*. The adverb *puerte* 'really' (derived from Spanish *fuerte* 'strong') is modifying the adjective.

(6)   **Kem puerte bakna** entšanga.

kem	puerte	bakna	entšanga
DEM	really	bad	person-PL

'Those really bad people' (*kem = quem*, *bakna = bacna* in original orthography) (Matthew 12:39)

In (7) the noun *ángel* 'angel' (< Spanish *ángel*) is preceded by the indefinite article *kanÿe* 'one' and the genitive-marked noun *Bëtsa* 'God'.

(7)   kanÿe Bëngbe Bëtsabe ángel
        kanÿe   bëng-be   bëtsa-be   ángel
        one   1PL-GEN   god-GEN   angel
        'an angel of God' (*kanÿe* = *canÿe* in original orthography) (Matthew 1:20)

In (8) the comitative-marked noun *shembásaftaka* 'with (the) woman' follows both the determiner *ch* and *inÿe* 'other' (in that order).

(8)   ch inÿe shembásaftaka
        ch   inÿe   shem-bása-ftak-a
        DET   other   woman-little-COM-EPE
        'with the other woman' (*shembásaftaka* = <shembásaftaca>, *ch* = <chë> in original orthography) (Matthew 5:28)

In (9) the noun *soy* 'thing' is marked as plural (i.e., contains the suffix *-ëng*) and is the head of an NP that also has the determiners *chë* and *inÿe* and the adjective *tšabe* 'good'.

(9)   ch inÿe tšabe soyënga
        ch   inÿe   tšabe   soyënga
        DET   other   good   thing-PL-EPE
        'the other good things' (*ch* = *chë* in original orthography) (Matthew 23:23)

Proper nouns can be heads of noun phrases as well, as seen in (10a). Although it is rare for proper nouns to head phrases containing determiners or other constituents, it is nevertheless possible, as seen in (10b), in which *inÿe* 'other' modifies the proper noun Mary.

(10a)   **Carmen** intsabwana wameshnen.
        Carmen   i-n-ts-abwana   wameshnen
        Carmen   3SG-EVI-PROG-cook   mote
        'Carmen is cooking *mote* (hominy soup).' (MC)

(10b)   ch inÿe Mariyna
        ch   inÿe   mariy=na
        DET   other   mary=TOP
        'the other Mary' (*ch* = *chë* in original orthography) (Matthew 27:61)

8.2.1.2 Pronoun as head of an NP

Pronouns can be heads of noun phrases. Often they are not marked in any way morphologically—as seen in (11a)—but they can also appear with the topic marker *=na* (11b) or with an evaluative (11c) where *ak* 'you' has the evaluative *-jem*. There are no known examples of NPs headed by pronouns that contain adjectives.

(11a)   tonjapasaibs atš sonja jabwacham atšbe enuta
tonjapasaibs   [atš]   so-n-ja   j-abwacha-m   atš-be   enuta
yesterday   [1SG]   1SG-EVI-go   VERB-visit-BEN   1SG-GEN   friend
'Yesterday I went to visit my friend.'

(11b)   **atšna** katšatanga sëndëtsbamñe
[atš=na]   katšat-ang-a   së-nd-ëts-bamñe
[1SG=TOP]   sibling-PL-EPE   1SG-EVI-PROG-have
'I have siblings…'
(Chindoy2 160:6)

(11c)   **Akajem** kochatoben atš jtsakmenán.
[aka-jem]   ko-ch-at-oben   atš   j-tsakmenán
[2sg-EVAL]   2SG-FUT-IRR-be.able   1SG   VERB-chase.
'You are not able to follow/chase/catch me.' (Chindoy 2: 154.4)

Note that although the determiner *ch* cannot go with a pronoun, it can precede a noun when it is functioning as a relativizer (discussed more in Chapter 11 on subordination), as seen in (12). Here, *ch* does not belong to the NP headed by the first person singular pronoun *atš*; rather, it is functioning as a relativizer.

(12)   i tšëngaftanga, ch atš šmëstonëngna
i   tšëngaftang-a   ch   atš   šmëstonëngna
and   2PL-EPE   DET   1SG   2PL-follow
'and you who have followed me …' (*ch* = <chë>, *at*š = <atše> in original orthography; *i* < Spanish *y* 'and') (Matthew 19:28)

8.2.1.3 Determiner as head of an NP

In addition to modifying other heads of noun phrases, determiners (when functioning as substantives) can serve as heads of noun phrases. In (13a), repeated from above, *mwa* 'this, that' is the head of a noun phrase. In (13b) *inÿe* 'other' is the head of the NP with the determiner *ch*

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preceding it. It has the class marker *-be* to agree with its referent *ndëtšbe* 'rock'. For discussion of the various demonstratives and determiners in Kamsá, see Chapter 5.

(13a) **Mwana** ndoñ tobiaš yentšá kwandmënas
 mwa-na   ndoñ   tobiaš yentšá kwa-nd-mën-as
 DEM-TOP   NEG   girl   human   EMP-EVI-be-PART
 'This (one) not being a human girl …' (Chindoy 88:12)

(13b) kem ndëtšbe mas intsewut ch inÿebe
 kem   ndëtš-be   mas   i-n-ts-ewut   [ch   inÿe-be]
 DEM   rock-CL   more   3SG-EVI-PROG-heavy   [DET   other-CL]
 'This rock is heavier than the other one.' (MC) (*mas* from Spanish *más* 'more')

8.2.1.4 Numeral as head of an NP

Noun phrases with numerals as the heads can have determiners, as seen in (14), where *esconëfta bnë́tsana* 'ninety nine' (referring to sheep) is marked with both the article *ch* and *inÿe* 'other'.

(14)   ch inÿe esconëfta bnë́tsana
 ch   inÿe   esconëfta   bnë́tsana
 DET   other   nine   ninety
 'the other ninety nine (sheep)' (*ch* = <chë> in original orthography) (Matthew 18:12)

8.2.1.5 Adjective as head of an NP

Adjectives, when used substantively, can serve as head of an NP. In (15), *bwangan* 'red' is used substantively to mean 'the red (one)', here referring to a feather. It has the suffix *-jwa* to agree in class marking with *plumubjwa* 'feather', which is not present here. (Note *plumu-* < Spanish *pluma* 'feather')

(15)   Wabwanganabjwa yotsetsebwanaka.
 wa-bwangana-bjwa   yo-tsetsebwana-ka
 CL-red-CL   3DIS.PST-catch-EMPH
 'A red one was caught.' (McDowell 49.)

8.2.2 Noun phrase agreement

Other elements of an NP can agree with a noun in class, number, case, and evaluative. Often they will agree with a noun that is not present in the NP, indexing the noun by bearing morphemes that agree with the missing noun in class, number, case, and/or evaluative (anaphorically) to indicate they are tracking a noun mentioned earlier but not repeated later in the discourse.

As discussed in (3.2) on noun class, adjectives in a noun phrase must agree with the noun they modify (unless the adjective precedes the head noun). In (16a), the adjective *bën* 'long' agrees with *bichaj* 'tongue' in class, with the suffix *-j*. In (16b) the adjectives *botaman* 'beautiful' and *bseng* 'black' both agree in class with *wasniya* 'poncho', in that they are marked with the prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-iya*, both of which are found on the noun. For nouns that do not have the prefix *wa-* but for which adjectives agreeing with them have *wa-* see section 3.2.

(16a)   ch mëtškway indobmën bënëj bichaj
      ch   mëtškway   i-nd-obmën   bënë-j   bicha-j
      DET   snake   3SG-HAB-have long-CL   tongue-CL
      'The snake has a long tongue.' (MC 33)

(16b)   Ch wasnaniya **wabotamaniya** indowamën i **wabsengiya**.
      ch   wa-snan-iya **wa-botaman-iya**   i-nd-o-wa-mën   i   **wa-bseng-iya**
      DET   CL-poncho-CL CL-beautiful-CL   3SG-HAB-?-?-be   and CL-black-CL
      'The poncho is beautiful and black.' (*i* < Spanish *y* 'and')

Numerals and determiners are not generally marked in any way to agree with the head noun of their NP. This may be so because these parts of speech always precede the noun. However, when a numeral is a head of its own NP, it must agree in class with its (implied but absent) referent. In (17a), the numeral *unga* 'three' is marked with the classifier *-be* to agree with *mashakbe* '*lulo* fruit', even though this noun occurs in a separate phrase. Similarly, in (17b), *inÿe* 'other' has the class marker *-jwa* to agree with *yentšiya* 'cloth'. (See 3.2 for why the class marker is *-jwa* instead of *-ya*.)

(17a)   Kanÿe **mashakbe** indoben joyebambayan i **ungabe** ndoñ.
      kanÿe mashak-be   ind-oben   j-oyebambayan   i   unga-be   ndoñ
      one   lulo-CL   3SG-be.able   VERB-talk.INF   and   three-CL   NEG
      'One *lulo* fruit can talk and three cannot.' (*i* < Spanish *y* 'and')

(17b) Kem **yentši̇ya** indewamn wabchendujwa i **inÿejwa** wabwanganjwa.
kem   yentši-ya indewamn   wa-bchendu-jwa   i   inÿe-jwa wa-bwangan-jwa
DEM   cloth-CL 3SG-be   CL-blue-CL   and   other-CL   CL-red-cl
'One cloth is blue and the other is red.' (*y* < Spanish)

8.2.3 Phrase-level clitics

There are at least two phrase level clitics that occur at the end of NPs. These include case marking clitics and the topic marker =*na*. If =*na* is present in an NP it is always the last element of the NP.

8.2.3.1 NPs with case-marking clitics

NPs can have case marking. Usually, case marking is a clitic attached to the last element of the NP, after the class marker, as discussed in 3.1.12. In (18), *bwangan* 'red' has the morphemes *wa-* and *-ya* to agree with *wasnaniya* 'poncho'. In addition, it has the case marker *-k* for the instrumental. As discussed in 3.1.12, case marking clitics come after the suffixes on nouns including the suffixes for class, number, and evaluatives.

(18)   suntatbonja šešon **wasnaniya wabwanganiyak**
su-ntatbonja   šešon [wasnani-ya   wa-bwangani-ya-k]
1SG-cover   baby [blanket-CL   CL-red-CL-INSTR]
'I covered the baby with the red blanket.' (MC)

8.2.3.2 NPs with topic marker =*na*

The topic marker =*na*, which is particularly common in narratives, often cliticizes to NPs, usually the last element in the noun phrase. In (19a), *yendon* 'squirrel' exhibits the clitic =*na*,. It can attach to pronouns, as well, as seen in (19b). The topic marker =*na* is always the last element of the NP: in (19c) =*na* comes after the locative marker =*ok*. Similarly, in (19d), =*na* cliticizes to the second element in the NP, coming after the evaluative *-jem*. In (19e) =na also cliticizes to the second element in the NP *tsbanan* 'tall' and comes after the allative case marker *-oy*.

(19a) **Yendonna** bojojwa.
yendon=na   bo-jojwa
squirrel=TOP   DU-VERB-answer
'The squirrel answered (him).' (i.e., 'As for the squirrel, he answered.') (Chindoy 102.9)

(19b) **Atšna** jenanufja ndoň kešnatajaboto.
atš=na   jenanu-fja   ndoñ   ke-š-n-at-ajaboto.
1SG=TOP   chaquin-CL   NEG   IRR-1SG.OBJ-EVI-IRR-need
'I don't need a *chaquín* (digging stick).' (Chindoy 88:5)

(19c) **fshantsokna** ndoñ chka kenatopasan.
fshants-ok=na   ndoñ   chka   ke-n-at-opasan
[earth-LOC=TOP]   NEG   like.that   IRR-EVI-IRR-happen
'It didn't occur like that on the ground.' (Chindoy 104:7)

(19d) **Oso obëjemna** chká bojatoyeunay
[oso   obë-jem=na]   chká   bo-j-atoyeunay
[bear   stupid-EVAL=TOP]   like.that   DU-VBLZ-heed
'The stupid bear heeded the suggestion.' (Chindoy 102:10) (*oso* < Spanish *oso* 'bear')
joyeunayan 'hacer caso'

(19e) **Sklerësa tsbananoyná** korente binÿniñ sëntsonÿá.
[sklerësa   tsbanan-oy=ná]   korente   binÿniñ   së-n-ts-onÿá
[stairs   tall-ALL=TOP]   very   clarity   1SG-EVI-PROG-see
'Up to the tall stairs, I saw very beautiful things.' (*skler*ësa. < Spanish *escalera 'stairs')

8.3   Verb phrases

A verb phrase in Kamsá consists minimally of a verb (8.3.1), but can, alternatively,
consist of a verb and its direct object (8.3.2), a verb and an oblique object (8.3.3), a verb and two
objects (ditransitive verbal constructions) (8.3.4), a verb, a direct object, and an oblique object
(8.3.5), a verb and an adverb (8.3.6), and a verb and a verbal complement (8.3.7), among other
possible combinations. Some (semantically) transitive verbs have within their argument structure
an object marked with an oblique case (8.3.8). There are also other possible pairings not
discussed here.

8.3.1 VPs consisting entirely of a single verb

A verb phrase can consist of just a verb (without any other constituents) as seen in (20a), where the verb *jwenatjëmban* 'disappear' is marked for person, number, and TAM. The prefix *tën-* '3SG' indexes the third person singular subject *washëntsayá* 'sower'. There is no object, oblique, adverb, or postposition within the VP. In (20a), the verb phrase contains nothing but a verb, and the object of the verb that is not present as a full noun is indicated by a cross-referencing prefix on the verb (*k-* '2SG)'. The prefix *b-* (which follows the object marker) indexes a first person singular subject; and the prefix *at-* marks the mood of the verb as irrealis.

(20a) Ndayek **tënjwenatjëmba** ch washëntsayá?
      ndayek   **tën-j-wenatjëmba**   ch   washëntsayá
      why   3SG.R.PST-VERB-disappear   DET   sower
      'Why did the sower disappear?' (Chindoy 88.9)

(20b) Aiñ **kbatjwanáts**.
      aiñ   k-b-at-j-wanáts
      yes   2SG-1SG-IRR-VERB-bring
      'Yes I will bring you.' (Chindoy 62:16)

8.3.2 VPs with a direct object

Verb phrases can have expressed direct objects. As there is no case marking on any nominals (including pronouns) to indicate their role as subject or (direct) object in Kamsá, there is no morphological difference between subjects and objects. Also, because the word order in Kamsá is very free, it is generally not possible to use word order to discern which NP is the subject and which is the object in a transitive clause. In (21), there is no expressed subject; the NP *mongoj* 'deer' is the direct object of the verb. There is no extra morphology on *mongoj* to indicate what its role in the sentence is.

(21) **Bojashbwá mongoj**.
      bo-jashbwá   mongoj
      DU-PAST-hunt deer
      'He hunted a deer.' (Chindoy 60:2)

Pronouns can also serve as objects in a verb phrase. They are not marked any differently from full NP direct objects. In (22a). the object is *atš* '1SG'. Note that the verb agrees with *atš* in person and number. The noun *ndëtš-be* 'rock' is marked with an instrumental case marker. In (2b), the subject is the first person singular pronoun *atš*. When comparing of (22b) in which *atš* '1SG' is the subject of a transitive clause with (22a) in which *atš* '1SG' is the object, it can be seen that the form of the pronoun is the same regardless of whether it is serving as subject or as object. In (22c), *atš* '1SG' is the subject of the sentence and has the topic marker *-na*. When a pronoun is the direct object of a verb, it does not have to be expressed, as seen in example (20b) above, in which the verbal prefix *k-* '2SG' shows that the object is second person singular.

(22a) Ch basatem **atš** šonjapega base ndëtšbemak.
     ch   basa-tem   **atš**   š-o-n-j-apega   base   ndëtš-be-mak
     DET   boy-DIM   1SG   1SG-R.PST-EV-verb-hit   small rock-CL-INS
     'The boy hit me with a small rock.'

(22b) **Atš** sëntsabwana mëntšen.
     atš   sëntsabwana   mëntšen
     1SG   1SG-EV-PROG-cook   meat
     'I am cooking meat.'

(22c) Kochjotjajo i **atšna** kbochwakmie.
     ko-ch-jotjajo   i   atš-na   k-bo-ch-wakmie
     2SG-FUT-run.fast   and   1SG-TOP   2SG-1SG-FUT-follow
     'You run fast and I will follow you.' (*i* < Spanish *y* 'and') (Chindoy2 154:3)

Some other parts of speech can also serve as objects within VPs. In (23), the demonstrative *mwa* is the object of the imperative form of the verb *jolempia* 'clean' (from Spanish *limpiar* 'clean') and the numeral *kanÿe* 'one' is the object of the verb *jasan* 'eat'.

(23) **Mwata** molempia **kanÿaná** kochjase.
     mwa-ta   mo-lempia   kanÿa=ná   ko-ch-jase
     DET-DU   IMP-clean   one=TOP   2SG-FUT-eat
     'Clean these two, and you will eat one of the them.' (Chindoy 93:6) (*lempia* < Spanish *limpia* 'clean')

8.3.3 VPs with obliques

Verb phrases can also contain obliques—that is, NPs that are marked with case-marked suffixes but do not play the role of core arguments (subject, object, or object of a distransitive) of the verb. In (24a) *bobonts* 'young man' bears the allative marker *-bioy*. In (24b), *ndweñang* 'owners' has the benefactive marker. (Note that *ndweñ* 'owner' is from Spanish *dueño* 'owner'; the initial alveolar stop is prenasalized, following the phonology of Kamsá, imposed by some speakers on Spanish loan words as well). In (24c), *bata* 'aunt' has the locative marker *-bioka*. None of these verb phrases has an expressed direct object.

(24a) Ch kaserna bojatjay **bobontsbioy**:
       Ch   kaser-na   bo-jatjay   **bobonts-bioy**
       DET   landlord-TOP   DU-ask   youth-ALL
       'The owner asked the young man:' (*kaser* < Spanish *casero* 'owner') (Chindoy 93:2)

(24b) Pero kochantsareparan **ndweñangbiama**!
       pero   ko-chan-ts-areparan   **ndweñ-ang-biam-a**
       but   2PL-FUT-PROG-be.careful   owner-PL-BEN-EPE
       'Be careful of the owners!' (*pero* < Spanish, *ndeñ* < Spanish *dueño*)(Chindoy 101:4)

(24c) Yejaysashjango **batabioka** orna …
       ye-j-ay-sashjango   **bata-bioka**   orna
       3SG.D.PST-VERB-?-arrive   aunt-LOC   when
       'When she arrived to the aunt's (house) …' (*orna* < Spanish *hora* 'hour') (Chindoy 89:9)

In (25), the verb *jatrabaja* 'work' (< Spanish *trabajar* 'to work') has two oblique objects, *jajan* '*chagra* (small farm)' marked as locative (*jajan* loses the final *n* and becomes *jaja* + *-ok*, then *jajok)* and *taita* 'father' marked as comitative.

(25)   Atš sënjatrabaja jajok atšbe taitabtak mats sënjwashënts.
       atš   së-n-j-atrabaja   jaj-ok   atš-be   taita-btak
       1SG   1SG.R.PST-EVI-VERB-work   chagra-LOC   1SG-GEN   father-COM

       mats   së-n-j-washënts
       corn   1SG.R.PST-EVI-verb-plant
       'I worked in the *chagra* (small farm) with my father sowing corn.'
       jwashentsan 'sembrar'

8.3.4 VPs with two objects

Verbs can sometimes be ditransitive and take two objects without marking either object as an oblique. In (26), neither *twamb* 'hen' nor *wabem* 'sister' is marked for case.

(26) Tonjopasaibs ch bata tbojtam kanÿe **twamb**[24] atšbe **waben**.
tonjopasaibs	ch	bata	t-b-ojtam	kanÿe	**twamb**	atš-be	**waben**
yesterday	DET	aunt	R.PST-DU-sell	one	hen	1SG-GEN	sister

'Yesterday the woman sold a hen to my sister.'

Similarly, when a verb has two objects and one of the objects is a pronoun, the pronoun is not marked as an oblique. In (27a) neither *kwento* 'story' nor *atš* '1SG' is marked, compared with (27b) where the first person singular pronoun *atš* has a benefactive clitic.

(27a) **Atš** šochanjakwenta taita mandat kanÿe **kwent**.
atš	šo-chan-jakwenta	taita.mandat	kanÿe	**kwent**
1SG	1SG-FUT-tell	governor	one	story

'The governor will tell me a story.' (MC) (*mandat* < Spanish *mandar* 'to command', *kwento* < Spanish *cuento* 'story')

(27b) ch tobiaš tonjwabwa wameshnen **atšbiam**
ch	tobiaš	to-n-jwabwa	wameshnen	**atš-bi-am**
DET	girl	3SG.PST-EVI-cook	mote	1SG-ANI-BEN

'The girl cooked *mote* for me.' (MC)

8.3.5 VPs with one direct object and one oblique

Verbs can also have a direct object and an oblique. In (28a) the direct object is *wameshnen* 'mote' and the first singular plural pronoun *bëng* is marked with the benefactive clitic *=bi-am*. In (28b) the direct object is also *wameshnen* 'mote' and the NP *atšbe wampnan taita* 'my father-in-law' is marked with the locative clitic *=bi-ok*[25] to mean 'at my father-in-law's (place)', or *donde mi suegro* '(lit) where my father-in-law' in Spanish.

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[24] *twamb* 'hen' is probably borrowed from Quechua, *atawalʸpa* 'chicken', typically shortened to just *walʸpa*, and then widely borrowed from one indigenous language to the next.

[25] *-bi* is used for case marking on animate nouns.

(28a)   Ch tobiaš tonjwabwa wameshnen bëngbiam.
        ch   tobiaš to-n-j-wabwa   wameshnen   bëng-bi-am
        DET   girl   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook   mote   1PL-ANI-BEN
        'The girl cooked *mote* (hominy soup) for us.'

(28b)   Carmen intsabwana wameshnen atšbe wampnan taitabiok.
        Carmen   i-n-ts-abwana   wameshnen   atš-be   wampnan.taita-bi-ok
        Carmen   3SG-PROG-cook   mote   1SG-GEN   father.in.law-ANI-LOC
        'Carmen is cooking *mote* (hominy soup) at my father-in-law's.'

8.3.6   VPs with adverbs and deictics

Adverbs and deictics often precede verbs. Adverbs are discussed in greater detail in Section 7. In (29a), the adverb *kachentše* 'right there/right then' precedes the verb *jobanan* 'die'. Similarly, in (29b) *kachor* 'right away' precede the verb *jan* 'go'.

(29a)   I **kachentš**e yejoban.
        i   **ka-chentše**   ye-joban
        and   INT-there   D.PST-die
        'And right there he died.' (*I* < Spanish *y* 'and')

(29b)   **Kachor** yejá washëntsayoy.
        kachor   ye-já   washëntsay-oy
        right.away   3SG-go   sowing.place-ALL
        'Right away, she went to the field.'

Often the adverb or deictic occurs between the object and the verb, as seen in (30), where *mwentše* 'here' occurs after the object *atš* '1SG' and before the verb *jofjan* 'invite'. Word order in Kamsá is very free, however, so these words could go in any order, as discussed in 9.2.

(30)   Atš **mwentš**e šmëntjofja.
        Atš   **mwentše**   š-më-n-tjofja
        1SG   here   1SG-IMPER-EV-invite
        'Invite me here!'

8.3.7   VPs with verbal complements

All verbs can have non-finite verbs as complements. These non-finite-verb complements are not inflected for person or number, and often they have the suffix *-n* (this latter suffix appears

on citation forms of verbs) or the suffix *-m* (which is of the same form as the benefactive marker that appears on nouns). When the verb has the suffix *-m* it often shows purpose. In (31a), the verb *yejontŝá* 'begin' is inflected for third person singular distant past and has the complement *japarlan* 'to tell' (derived from Spanish *parlar* 'to talk'). The complement *japarlan* has the suffix *-n*.

In (31b) and (31c) the uninflected verbs show purpose and have the suffix *-m*, which is the same as the benefactive clitic for nouns. In (31b) the verb *japroba* is inflected to index a third person singular subject and contains a complement *jonguefjwan* 'to fly', which contains its own complement, *jtsacha-m* 'to escape'. In (31c), the verb *bojaŝbwachen* 'agree' is inflected for person and TAM with the third person dual past prefix *bo-* and has the complement *jwashëntsam* 'to plant corn'. In (31d) the noun *shajwan* 'fruit' has the benefactive marker *-m*.

(31a) As mëntŝá yejontŝá japarlan:
     as   mëntŝá   ye-jontŝá   j-aparlan
     thus   like.this   D.PST-start   VERB-to.tell
     'Thus, he started to tell (it) like this:' (Chindoy 68:2)

(31b) Yejaproba jonguefjwan jtsacham.
     ye-j-aproba   j-onguefjwan   j-ts-acha-m
     D.PST-try   VBLZ-fly   VBLZ-PROG-escape-BEN
     'He tried to fly to escape.' (*japroba* < Spanish *probar* 'try')

(31c) Chë tobiašajatemna yejobojinÿenas bojaŝbwachen jwashëntsam.
     ch tobiaša-ja-tem=na   ye-jobojinÿen-as   bo-j-aŝbwachen j-washëntsa-m
     DET girl-EVAL-DIM=TOP   DIS-enthusiastic-PTCP DU-VBLZ-agree VBLZ-plant(corn)-BEN
     'The girl, being enthusiastic, agreed to plant corn.' (Chindoy 88:3)

(31d) Aa bakó shajwanam kwatëkjabo?
     aa   bakó   shajwan-am   kwa-të-k-jabo
     ah   uncle fruit-BEN   INT-PST-2SG-come
     'Uncle, did you come for fruit?' (Chindoy 102:15)

When there is a verb that has a verbal complement which has a direct object, the direct object tends to precede the complement verb, both when the object is a noun (32a) and when it is a pronoun (32b). This is not always the case, however, as seen in (32c), where the object *soy* 'thing' precedes the subject, main verb, and complement verb. Also note that the verbal complement *jatrabajan* 'work' precedes the modal verb *jobenan* 'be able'.

(32a) Ndoñ yentsoben shloftsënga jtsashebwayan tená …

ndoñ	ye-n-ts-oben	shloftš-ëng-a	j-ts-ashebwayan	te=ná
NEG	D.PST-EV-PROG-be.able	bird-PL-EPE	VBLZ-PROG-hunt	day=TOP

'The day he couldn't hunt birds…'

(32b) Akajem kochatoben **atš** jtsakmenán.

aka-jem	ko-ch-at-oben	**atš**	j-ts-akmenán
2SG-EVAL	2SG-FUT-NEG-be.able	**1SG**	VBLZ-PROG-chase

'You are not able to follow me.' (Chindoy2 154:4)

(32c) Pero inÿe soy atš jatrabajamna ndon ketsatoben.

pero	inÿe	soy	atš	jatrabaja-m=na	ndoñ	ke-ts-at-oben
but	other	thing	1SG	work.INF-BEN=TOP	NEG	IRR-PROG-IRR-be.able

'But other things, I'm not able to do.' (*pero* < Spanish) (Chindoy 93:1)

8.3.8 Verbs that take case-marked objects

Some verbs, which on semantic grounds seem very much to be transitive, nevertheless co-occur with nouns (i.e., objects) marked by an oblique case. Such verbs could perhaps be analyzed as intransitive, but with an argument structure that includes an oblique-marked nominal argument. Alternatively, they can be analyzed as transitive, but with a (lexically determined) stipulated selectional restriction that their direct-object arguments must be marked as oblique NPs. The verb *jwajabwachan* 'help', for example, takes a allative-marked NP as its object. In (33), the object of *jwajabwachan* 'help' is *patronang* 'owners', here marked with the allative suffix *-bi-oy*.

(33) Shbwaya inaujabwachan patronangbioy kotš jotbayam jatshok.

shbwaya	i-n-au-jabwachan	patron-ang-bi-oy	kotš	jotbaya-m	jatsh-ok
hunter.dog	3SG-EVI-?-help	owner-PL-ANI-ALL	pig	catch-BEN	swamp-LOC

'A hunting dog helped its owners catch a pig in the swamp.' (Chindoy 55:1) (*patron* < Spanish *patrón* 'owner'); *kotš* < Spanish *coche* 'pig')

8.4 Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases in Kamsá consist of a noun followed by a postposition. Often case markers are also present: case markers can occur on the postposition itself, on the noun, or on both the postposition and the noun. In (34a), the postposition *tsëntsa* 'middle' follows the noun *tsa* 'room' and *tsëntsa* has the locative marker *-k*. Similarly, in (34b) *tsëntsa* has the case marker

-*k* and the NP preceding it, *chëng* '3PL', has the genitive marker -*be*. In (34c) the third person singular pronoun *cha* has the genitive marker -*be* when it precedes *bekonan* 'close'. An alternative analysis is that these are not postpositions, but rather nouns. In (34d) the *tsëntsak* is used nominally without any other noun (i.e. just 'in the middle' not 'in the middle of the room'). Another analysis is that these are compound nouns, not postpositions.

(34a) wabowan bëtsëkna tsa **tsëntsak** jakena
      wabowan   bëtsëk-na   tsa   tsëntsa-k   jakena
      horrible   arrogant-TOP room middle-LOC   seated
      'A horrible, arrogant one seated in the middle of the room' (Chindoy 68:6)

(34b) chëngbe tsëntsaka
      chëngbe   tsëntsa-k-a
      3PL-GEN   among-LOC-EPE
      'among them' (Matthew 18:2)

(34c) chabe bekonan
      cha-be   bekonan
      3SG-GEN   close
      'close to her' (Chindoy 69.10)

(34d) Tsëntsañokna kojontše jatëshenÿnán.
      Tsëntsañ-ok=na   ko=jontše   j-atëshenÿnán
      middle=LOC=TOP   ?=begin   VBLZ-get.bright
      '(arriving) at the middle, it begin to get bright.' (Chindoy 70:14)

8.5   Prepositional phrases

Although Kamsá normally employs postpositions, it has borrowed some prepositions from Spanish. There are no native prepositions in the language (only postpositions), but the Spanish prepositions are very common now. In (35a), the preposition *sin* 'without' (from Spanish *sin* 'without') precedes the noun *tamo* 'salt'. Nouns governed by the loan preposition *sin* take the instrumental case marker -*k*, as does *tamo* 'salt' below. If the preposition *sin* were not present in this sentence, then the phrase would mean 'with salt', as illustrated in (35b).

It is interesting to note that the language has postpositions, and that all subordinators go at the end of clauses, such as the general subordinator -*as* and *ora* 'when', but that it has started borrowing prepositions, and subordinators that go at the beginning of clauses (like *ante* 'before'), so now you can have a mix of things going at the end of phrases and clauses and at the beginning

of verbs and clauses. Furthermore, it is possible that adpositions and subordinators borrowed from Spanish earlier (maybe several centuries ago) became postpositions or clause final subordinators, such as *ora* 'when' from Spanish *hora* 'time, hour', whereas recent borrowings became prepositions or clause initial subordinators.

(35a) nÿe šmen janÿetšna **sin tamok**
      nÿe   šmen   janÿetšna   [sin   tamo-k]
      only   toasted.corn corn.flour   [without   salt-INS]
      'only toasted corn flour without salt' (Chindoy 62:17)

(35b) wameshnen **tamok**
      wameshnen   [tamo=k]
      mote   [salt=INS]
      '*mote* (hominy soup) with salt'

In (36a) another common preposition. *asta* 'until' (from Spanish *hasta* 'until'), precedes *bastok* 'Pasto (a city near Sibundoy)'. This preposition can have a noun or an infinitive object; when it takes an infinitive, it is always an uninflected. In (36a) *asta bastok* means 'until Pasto'. It is unclear whether there is case marking on bastok because, like many place names, the unmarked form is already locative (such as *bogotok* 'Bogotá'; *tabanok* 'Sibundoy' and *chatjok* 'Mocoa'). In (36b) *asta* 'until' is the preposition and the infinitive belongs to the prepositional phrase. The verb *jwenatjëmb* 'disappear' is not inflected for person, number, or TAM. In (36c) *asta* precedes *shachna* 'five', which is used substantively and has the plural marker *-ëng*.

(36a) ch benach indëmën chatjokan **asta bastok**.
      ch   benach indëmën   chatjok=an   [asta   bastok]
      DET   path   3SG-?-be   mocoa=ABL   [until pasto]
      'The road is from Mocoa to Pasto' (MC)

(36b) **asta** ch shem jwenatjëmb nÿetsá
      asta   ch   shem   j-wenatjëmb   nÿetsá
      until DET woman   VBLZ-disappear   all
      'Until the woman disappeared completely' (Chindoy 69:9)

(36c) Kada te mojontša otšanan kanÿa, utat, **asta shachnënga**
      kada   te   mo-jontša   otšanan   kanÿa utat   [asta   shachn-ëng]
      each   day   3PL-start   lost   one   two   [until   five-PL]
      'Each day, they started getting lost: one, two, then five.' (Chindoy 94:7)

Another preposition, also derived from Spanish, is *parej* 'together with' presumably from *parejo* 'similar, equal, close, next to'. It is interesting because its meaning has shifted from the Spanish meaning mostly as an adjective to become a preposition. Its noun has a case marker: commitative for animate nouns and instrumental for inanimate nouns. In (37a) *parej enuntëngaftaka* means 'together with (her) friends' where *enuntëng* 'friends' has the comitative marker -*aftak*. In (37b) *parej twambianak* means 'together with that of the hen' (meaning the brother discarded the chili along with the piece of hen). Note that in (37b) the noun has the ablative marker to show source; it does not have -*bi* even though it's an animal (and living animals are animate) because in this sense it is food; and it does not show any object marking.

(37a)   nÿe šëšetem jtsabmuchtkoyám parej enuntëngaftaka.
        nÿe   šëš-tem   j-ts-ab-mu-ch-tkoyám   parej   enunt-ëng-aftaka
        PART   corn-DIM   VBLZ-PROG-?-PL-FUT-bite   together   friend-PL-COM
        'She was also going to eat it together with her friends.' (Chindoy 90:14)

(37b)   Wabentsá tsëtša wayatmá bojongmia bojisantšautšenam tboy,
        wabentsá   tsëtša wayatmá   bo-jongmia   bo-jisantšautšen-am   tb-oy
        brother   chili   lover   DU-worry   DU-discard-BEN   abyss-ALL

        parej twamb-ian-ak.
        [parej   twamb-ian-ak]
        together   chicken-ABL-INSTR
        'The younger brother, a lover of chili, was upset by his throwing (it) into the abyss, along with that of the chicken (i.e. piece of the chicken).' (Chindoy 63:23)

Chapter 9

Simple clauses (monoclausal sentences)

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of clause-level syntax in Kamsá, a clause being minimally a verb and a subject (expressed or not expressed). Because verbs are marked for person and number, a noun or pronoun is not obligatory, thus a clause could be simply a verb. First I discuss clauses (9.2) including intransitive (9.2.1), predicative (9.2.2), then transitive clauses (9.2.3) and clauses with complements (9.2.4). In (9.2.5) I discuss clauses with obliques and in (9.2.6) I discuss ditransitive clauses. In (9.3) I discuss negation and in (9.4) I discuss comparatives and superlatives. (9.5) covers imperatives and (9.6) describes interrogatives.

Indexing on the verb clearly shows that the system is nominative-accusative: subjects of transitive verbs have the same morphemes as subjects of intransitives, both contrasting with the marking of objects of transitives. NPs and personal pronouns are not marked in any way for Agent or Patient (see 3.3.3 on noun cases). As seen in the following examples, although the nouns and pronouns do not have any morphology for case, the verbal morphology is nominative/accusative.

(1a)   ch bobonts tonjachemb tobiaš
        ch   bobonts   to-n-j-achemb   tobiaš
        DET   boy   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-call   girl
        'The boy called the girl.'

(1b)   ch bobonts šonjachemb (atš)
        ch   bobonts   šo-n-j-achemb   atš
        DET   boy   1OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-call   1SG
        'The boy called me.'

(1c)   atš sënjachemb bobonts
        atš   së-n-j-achemb   bobonts
        1SG   1SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-call   boy
        'I called the boy.'

(1d)   ch bobonts tonja
        ch   bobonts   to-n-j-a
        DET   boy   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-go
        'The boy went.'

(1e)   atš sënja
        atš   së-n-j-a
        1SG   1SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-go
        'I went.'

9.2   Clauses

The following sections cover intransitive clasues (9.2.1), predicative clasues (9.2.2), transitive clauses (9.2.3), clauses with complements (9.2.4), clauses with obliques (9.2.5), and ditransitive clauses (9.2.6).

9.2.1   Intransitive clauses

In intransitive sentences, the word order is almost always SV, whether the subject is a pronoun or a noun. In (2a) the verb *j-ashjajna* 'arrive' is preceded by *bobonts-ënga* 'young men'. In (2b) *j-abokna* 'leave' is preceded by *oso* 'bear'. In (2c) *j-abostero* 'lie' is preceded by the first person singular pronoun *atš* whereas in (2d) *j-amanan* 'sleep' doesn't have any overt subject, but the prefix *së-* on the verb shows that it is first person singular. In (2e) *j-asapten* 'rain' is inflected as third person singular. Although the subject usually precedes the verb, in (2f) the subject *kanÿe baká wabon* 'one horrible spirit' follows the verb *jashjango* 'arrive'. It is possible that in intransitive sentences the subject is more likely to follow the verb if it is heavier as in (2f) in which the subject is *kanÿe baká wabon bachnaj kapuchinká pormaná* 'one horrible spirit dressed as a priest', but more research is needed.

(2a)   ch bobontsënga mojashjajna
        ch   bobonts-ënga   mo-j-ashjajna
        DET   young.man-PL   3PL-VBLZ-arrive
        'The young men arrived.' (Chindoy 78:16)[26]

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[26] There seems to be a lexical difference between *j-ashjango* 'arrive (one person)' *j-ashjajna* 'arrive (multiple people). It doesn't seem to be explicable by morphology, especially considering that *-ng-* is a plural marker, not a singular marker

(2b)   oso yejtabokna
        oso   ye-j-t-abokna
        bear   3SG-DIS-VBLZ-again-leave
        'A bear went out again.'
        (Chindoy 101:8)

(2c)   atš sënjabostero
        atš   së-n-j-abostero
        1SG   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-lie
        'I lied.' (MC:40)

(2d)   bien tsëntsamana
        bien   t-së-n-ts-amana
        well   PST-1SG-EVI-PROG-sleep
        'I slept well.' (MC)

(2e)   mor ichansapte
        mor i-chan-sapte
        now 3SG-FUT-rain
        'It will rain now (MC)

(2f)   yejashjango kanÿe baká wabon bachnaj kapuchinká pormaná.
        ye-j-ashjango   kanÿe baká   wabon bachnaj kapuchin-ká   porma-ná
        3DIS-VBLZ-arrive   one   horrible spirit priest capuchin-TRANSL   dressed-TOP
        'A horrible spirit, dressed as a capuchin priest, arrived.' (Chindoy)

9.2.2   Predicative with *jamnan* 'be'

Predicative clauses are formed with *j-amn-an* 'be'. It is inflected in the same way as other Kamsá verbs. The word order is flexible. In (3a) *tsbwanach* 'leaf' is *bëts* 'big'. Note that the adjective agrees with the class of the noun. In (3b) *santopes* 'centipede' is a *botaman shembasa* 'beautiful woman'. In (3c) *j-amn-an* 'be' is used for location *yebën-entš* 'in the house'. Similarly in (3d) *jamnan* is used for location *chentš* 'there' and is marked with the third person plural prefix *mo-* to agree with the plural subject. In (3d-f) other persons are shown. In (3g) the personal pronoun is not used, but the verbal inflection shows that it is second person plural, indicated by *šmo-*.

The verb *j-amn-an* is inflected for TAM in addition to person and number. In (3a) it has the marker *nd-* to show a habitual state, whereas in (3b) it is distant past because it is in a traditional story. In addition, the adjectives agree with the nouns or pronouns. In (3a) the

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adjective agrees with the class of the noun and in (3f) and (3g) *wayan* 'hated' agrees with 'you all' and 'we' in number, shown by the plural marker *-ëng*.

(3a)   kem tsbwanach bëtsich **indemën**
        kem   tsbwana-ch   bëts-ich   i-nd-emën
        this   leaf-CLF   big-CLF   3SG-HAB-be
        'This leaf is big.'

(3b)   santopes-na **i-n-amna** botaman shembasa
        santopes=na   **in-amna**   botaman   shembasa
        centipede=TOP   DIS-be   beautiful   woman
        'The centipede was a beautiful woman.' (Chindoy 105.1)

(3c)   mor yebënentš **intsomën** bata josef
        mor   yebën-entš   i-n-ts-omën   bata   josef
        now   house-LOC   3SG-EVI-PROG-be   Aunt Josefa
        'Aunt Josefa is home now.' (MC)

(3d)   chentš shlobše-tem-ang **motsomën**
        chentš shlobše-tem-ang   mo-ts-omën
        there   bird-DIM-PL   3PL-PROG-be
        'The birds are there.' (MC)

(3e)   atš mëntša maytrë **sëndëmën**
        atš   mëntša   maytrë   së-nd-ëmën
        1SG   thus   master   1SG-HAB-be
        'I am the master.' (Chindoy 72.3)

(3f)   bëng šešong nÿe lempe wayanëng **bsëndmëna**
        bëng   šešo-ng   nÿe   lempe wayan-ëng   b**s-**ënd-mëna
        1PL   child-PL   just   all   hate-PL   1PL-HAB-be
        'All of us descendants are completely hated.' (Chindoy 110.6)

(3g)   wayanënga šmondmëna
        wayan-ënga   šmo-nd-mëna
        hate-PL   2PL-HAB-be
        'You all are hated.' (Chindoy 110.7)

9.2.3 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have very free word order, so much so that some have asserted that Kamsá has no dominant word order (Fabre 2001). In his typological sketch of Kamsá, Fabre says

that out of one hundred instances he found a slight predominance of VERB + PATIENT (56%).
Most AGENT NPs appear first, but the inverse order is not rare either (Fabre 2001).

The following examples show various options for word order. In (4a) and (4b) the word
order is SVO and in (4c) and (4d) it is SOV.

(4a) ch bobonts tojashwa shlobtš
      ch   bobonts   to-j-ashwa   shlobtš
      DET   youth   3SG.PST-VBLZ-hunt   bird
      'The young man hunted birds.' (MC)

(4b) mënte kachës ch bobonts tonjwaliya librësha
      mënte kachës   ch   bobonts   to-n-j-waliya   librësha
      today morning   DET   youth   3SG-EVI-VBLZ-read   book
      'This morning the young man read a book.' (MC) (*librësha* from Spanish *libro* 'book')

(4c) ch bobonts shlobtš tojashwa
      ch   bobonts   shlobtš   to-j-ashwa
      DET   youth   bird   3SG.PST-VBLZ-hunt
      'The young man hunted birds.' (MC)

(4d) Carmen kanÿe mashakbe tonjobuayán.
      carmen   kanÿe mashak-be   to-n-j-obuayán
      Carmen   one   lulo-CLF   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-choose
      'Carmen chose a lulo fruit.'

9.2.4 Clauses with complements

Clauses where the verb has a complement tend to have the following word order:
subject - verb - complement.
If the complement has an object, that object precedes the verbal complement. In (5a) the verb *j-ontšá* 'begin' has the complement *j-akwentan* 'tell'. The oblique *shachbuyek* 'with tears' precedes both the verb and the complement. In (5b) and (5c), intransitive verbs have verbal complements. In (5d) *j-oben* 'be able to' has a complement, and in (5e) *j-anpochoká* 'stop'. The word order in (5e) is different, perhaps because it is part of a subordinate clause. The verbs *j-ontšá* 'begin', *j-oben* 'be able to' and *j-anpochoká* 'stop' all commonly take complements. The verb in the complement is almost always non-finite, nominal in form.

(5a)   chana shachbuyek yejontšá jakwentan
        cha=na   shachbu=ek   ye-j-ontšá   j-akwentan
        3SG=TOP   tear=INST   3.DIS-VBLZ-begin   VBLZ-tell
        'He began to tell (it) with tears.' (Chindoy 68:2) (*j-akwentan* from Spanish *contar* 'tell')

(5b)   byajerata i mas uta tjëmbambnayata mojanga jontješeyama
        byajera-ta   i   mas   uta tjëmbambnaya-ta mo-j-anga   j-ontješey-am-a
        traveler-DU   and   two   companion-DU   3PL-VBLZ-go   VBLZ-look-BEN-EPE
        'The (two) travelers and the other two companions went to look.' (Chindoy 2 62:12)

(5c)   ch tobiaš tonja merkadoy bišanša jobwamiñam.
        ch   tobiaš   to-n-j-a   merkadoy   bišanša   j-obwamiñ-am
        DET   girl   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-go   market-ALL   collards   VBLZ-buy-BEN
        'The girl went to the market to buy collard greens.'[27]

(5d)   Ndoñ yentsoben shloftšënga jtsashebwayan tená,
        ndoñ   ye-n-ts-oben   shloftš-ënga   j-ts-ashebwayan   te=ná
        NEG   DIS-EVI-PROG-can   bird-PL   VBLZ-PROG-hunt   day-top
        'The day he couldn't hunt birds…' (Chindoy 94:7)

(5e)   Jesús chë soyënga jakwéntama tojanpochoká ora,
        Jesús   chë   soy-ënga   j-akwéntama   to-j-anpochoká   ora
        jesus   DET   thing-PL   VBLZ-tell-BEN 3SG.PST-VBLZ-stop   when

        chentšana tojtsanoñe.
        chentšana   to-j-ts-anoñe
        there-ABL   3SG.PST-VBLZ-?-go
        'When Jesus finished saying these things, he moved on from there.' (Matthew 13:53)
        (*jakwéntama* = <jacwéntama> and *tojanpochoká* = <tojanpochocá> in original
        orthography)

9.2.5 Clauses with obliques

Obliques are very common in Kamsá and Kamsá has a robust case system (as discussed in 3.3.3). Both transitive and intransitive sentences can have obliques.

The following examples are clauses with obliques. In (6a) the clause is intransitive and in (6b) it is transitive. In (6c) the oblique is perhaps the object of the complement.

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[27] The benefactive suffix *-am* on the verb shows the purpose of the verb, not that it is a benefactive.

(6a)   Yentšaka yejisebokna chashjontskoñ
          yentša=ka   ye-j-is-ebokna   chashjontsk-oñ
          person=TRANSL   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-?-leave   patio
          'As a person he left from the patio'

(6b)   Carmen intsabwana wameshnen atšbe wampnan taitabiok
          Carmen   i-n-ts-abwana   [wameshnen] [atš-be   wampnan.taita=biok]
          Carmen   3SG-EVI-PROG-cook   [mote]   [1SG-GEN   father-in-law=LOC]
          'Carmen is cooking mote (corn soup) at my father-in-law's (place).' (MC)

(6c)   Bobonts betsensma yejá tobiašbioy jabwachama.
          bobonts   betsensma   ye-já   tobiašbioy   j-abwach-ama
          young.man   rat   3SG.DIS-go   girl-ALL   VBLZ-visit-BEN
          'A young male rat went to visit a girl.' (Chindoy 2 80:1)

9.2.6 Ditransitive clauses

Some verbs take two objects. In these constructions, neither object is marked as an oblique. All three nouns (i.e. Agent, Theme, and Goal) are unmarked. Some examples of these verbs are: *jeyan* 'sell', *jakwenta* 'tell' and *j-atšetay* 'give'.

9.2.6.1 Ditransitives with nouns

In (7a) *waben* 'sister' is not marked, nor is *tobiaš* 'girl' in (7b). Note that in (7a) the Goal is at the end of the sentence whereas in (7b) the Theme *tsjan* 'guinea pig' is the last element in the cause. Sometimes, however, the Goal has an allative marker as seen in (7c) with *boya* 'man'. Perhaps the allative has a different semantic connotation.

(7a)   tonjopasaibs ch bata tbojeyam kanÿe twamb atšbe **waben**
          tonjopasaibs   ch   bata t-bo-jeyam   kanÿe twamb [atš-be   waben]
          yesterday   DET   aunt PST-DU-sell   one   hen   [1SG-GEN   sister]
          'Yesterday the woman sold a hen to my sister.' (MC)

(7b)   ibs ch bobonts bochanjatšetay ch tobiaš kanÿe tsjan.
          ibs   ch   bobonts   bo-chan-j-atšetay   [ch   tobiaš] kanÿe tsjan
          tomorrow DET youth   DU-FUT-VBLZ-give   [DET   girl]   one guinea.pig
          'Tomorrow the young man will give the girl a guinea pig.' (MC 40)

(7c)   Ungatianoy boyabioy lempe mojakwenta
        unga-ti-an-oy   boya-bioy   lempe   mo-j-akwenta
        three-day-ADJ-ALL   man-ALL   all   3PL-VBLZ-tell
        'On the third day, they told the man everything.' (Chindoy 80:33)

9.2.6.2 Ditransitives with pronouns

When the Goal is first or second person in a ditransitive, it is marked on the verb. If the pronoun appears in the clause, which is optional, it does not have any special marking. In (8a), the verb *j-akwenta* 'tell' is marked with *šo-*, the first person object marker. (8b) is repeated from above to show comparison with *j-achemb* 'call' marked with *šo-* to agree with the object. In both (8a) and (8b) the first person singular pronoun *atš* is not marked.

(8a)   **Atš** šochanjakwenta kanÿe **kwent** taita mandat.
        atš   šo-chan-jakwenta   kanÿe   kwent   taita.mandat
        1SG   1SG-FUT-tell   one   story   governor
        'The governor will tell me a story.' (*-kwenta* < Spanish *cuenta* 'tells', *mandat* < Spanish
        mandar 'to command, direct', *kwent* < Spanish *cuento* 'story')

(8b)   ch bobonts šonjachemb (atš)
        ch   bobonts   šo-n-j-achemb   atš
        DET   boy   1OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-call   1SG
        'The boy called me.'

9.3   Negation

Negation is shown by the negator word *ndoñ*, negative indefinite pronouns, and/or verbal morphology. The language does not allow double negatives, meaning that either the negator word *ndoñ* is used or a negative indefinite pronoun, but never both at the same time. The language can have, however, negative verbal morphology and the negator *ndoñ* in the same clause. When the verb is negative, the negator *ndoñ* is usually there but sometimes negation can be shown by verbal morphology without the negator. Similarly, although the verb usually has negative morphology, sometimes negation can be shown with *ndoñ* without any special morphology on the verb. The verbal morphology of negation is discussed in 4.9. Here I discuss the syntax of such constructions.

9.3.1 Negator words *ndoñ* and *tonday* in predicative constructions

There are two negator words in Kamsa. The negator word in Kamsa is *ndoñ* and it can negate any word class and *tonday* means 'there isn't' and negates nouns. In the following examples, there is no verb. In predicative constructions, a copula is not necessary. In (9a) *ndoñ* negates the adjective *tšaba* 'good' and in (9b) it negates *mas* 'more'. Neither clause has a verb. In (9c) and (9d) *tonday* 'there is not' is used, to show the nonexistence of *shloftstšunga* 'birds' and *begong* 'fish'.

(9a)   ch bayujeman ndoñe tšabaka
        ch   bayu-jem-an   ndoñe tšaba-ka
        DET   beast-EVAL-?   NEG   good=?
        'This little beast is not good.' (McDowell 200)

(9b)   morna ndoñe mas buyesh
        morna   ndoñe   mas   buyesh
        now=TOP   NEG-EPE   more   water
        'No more water now.' (McDowell 135)

(9c)   ndayak tonday shloftstšunga tonday
        ndayak   tonday shloftstš-unga   tonday
        why   NEG   bird-PL   NEG
        'Why are there no birds, none/nothing?' (McDowell 103)

(9d)   bejain tonday begong
        beja-in   tonday begong
        river-LOC   NEG   fish-PL
        'There are no fish in the river'. (MC)

9.3.2 Negating verbs

The following two examples provide a review of the negative verbal morphology discussed in 4.9. The verb *j-obenan* 'be able to' appears in the first person singular present. In (10a), the verb has no extra morphology. In (10b) *ndoñ* precedes the verb, and the verb has both the prefix *ke-* and the additional prefix *at-* closer to the verb stem.

(10a) chkasa tsoben
      chkasa   ts-oben
      thus   1SG-be.able
      'Thus I can.' (Chindoy 89.6)

(10b) ndoñ ketsatoben
      ndoñ   ke-ts-at-oben
      NEG   IRR-1SG-NEG-be.able
      'I can't.' (Chindoy 91.6)

9.3.3 *tonday* **'there is not'**

Another common word used for negation is *tonday* 'there isn't'. In (11a) *tonday* precedes *vida* 'life' (from Spanish *vida* 'life') to mean 'no life', spoken by a dead person. In (11b) *tonday* precedes *bien* 'good, well' to mean nothing good, only reeds. In (11c) it precedes *mas defensa* 'more defense' and in (11d) it has the topic marker =*na* to mean 'there wasn't anyone.'

(11a) atšna ya tonday vida ketsatsbomna
      atš=na   ya   tonday   vida   ke-ts-at-s-bomna
      1SG=TOP   already   NEG   life   IRR-1SG-NEG-?-have
      'I now have no life.'

(11b) inyuwasha tonday bien ena inyuwashaka
      inyuwasha   tonday bien   ena   inyuwasha-ka
      reed   NEG   well   pure   reed-?
      'Reeds, nothing good, pure reeds.' (McDowell 82) (*bien* from Spanish *bien* 'well')

(11c) tonday mas defensa nÿe jwesanša
      tonday mas   defensa   nÿe   jwesanša
      NEG   more   defense   only   blow.gun
      'With no other defense than a blow gun' (McDowell 97)

(11d) tondayana yendomunaka
      tondaya=na   ye-nd-omuna-ka
      NEG=TOP   DIS-NEG-be-?
      'Nobody was there.'

9.3.4　Neither/nor

　　　Neither/nor constructions are formed with *ni* from Spanish *ni* 'neither, nor'. When ni is used, n*doñ* is used as well. In (12a) and (12b) *ni* is used to show neither one NP nor the other. In (12c) it is used to mean 'not even'.

(12a)　akna ndoñ bonshana ke-k-at-smën
　　　　ak=na　　　ndoñ　bonshana　　ke-k-at-smën
　　　　you=TOP　　NEG　admirable　　IRR-2SG-NEG-be

　　　　yentšangbiam **ni** tjañ ajnëngbyam
　　　　yentš-ang-biam　　**ni**　　tjañ　　　　ajn-ëng-byam
　　　　person-PL-BEN　　　NEG　country　　　living-PL-BEN
　　　　'You are not admirable for people or the animals in the countryside.' (Chindoy 110:5)

(12b)　Ch lwarna ndoñ yendopoden tbako jwakwakwayán;
　　　　ch　　lwar=na　　　ndoñ　ye-nd-opoden　　　tbako　　　　j-wakwakwayán
　　　　DET　place=TOP　　NEG　3.DIS-NEG-be.able　tobacco　　　VBLZ-smoke

　　　　ni juyamban jatán tsëtšaka ni sebollëšeka.
　　　　ni　　j-uyamban　jatán　　　tsëtša-ka　　ni　　sebollëš-eka
　　　　NEG　VBLZ-bring　fiambre　　chilli-INST　nor　onion-INST
　　　　'In that place, one cannot smoke tobacco or bring fiambre with chilli sauce or onion.'
　　　　(Chindoy 66:44)

(12c)　ndoñe ni japalankan
　　　　ndoñe　　　　ni　　j-apalankan
　　　　NEG-EPE　　　NEG　VBLZ-lift
　　　　'They couldn't even lift him.' (McDowell 80)

9.3.5　Other negative words

　　　Negation can be shown by negative pronouns without the use of *ndoñ* or *tonday*. Two examples are *ndoká* 'nothing' and *ndokena* 'no one'. In (13a) *ndoká* 'nothing' is used with the verb jayan which is marked with n- to show that it is negative, meaning 'saying nothing'. In (13b) it is used with *nÿa* for emphasis in the command. In (13c) the verb *j-amnan* 'to be' has negative morphology. In (13d) *ndokna* 'no one' shows that there was nothing left of two images. It has the dual marker *-ta* because it is of the two images and it isn't clear why it is *ndokna* 'no one' instead of *ndoká* 'nothing'.

(13a)   Inÿená nÿe **ndoká** njayanká yejajwaboy:

inÿe=ná   nÿe   ndoká   n-j-ayan-ká   ye-j-ajwaboy
other=TOP   PART   nothing   NEG-VLBZ-say?   3SG.DIS-VBLZ-think
'The other one, saying nothing, thought:' (Chindoy 77:4)

(13b)   Kachk akafja nÿa ndoká šmatatsana,

kachk   aka-fja   nÿa   ndoká   šm-at-atsana
INTENS   2SG-EVAL   PART   nothing   1SG.OBJ-IMP-NEG-walk
'Don't walk toward me.' (Chindoy2 160:4)

(13c)   ndokena mwentše kenatsmuna

ndokena   mwentše   ke-n-at-s-muna
no.one   here   IRR-EVI-NEG-?-be
'He is not here.' (McDowell 78)

(13d)   san pedre-be imajen i gabilan-be imajen **ndok-na-ta**

san pedre-be   imajen i   gabilan-be   imajen ndokna-ta
san pedro-GEN   image and   sparrow.hawk-GEN   image nothing=TOP-DU
'The image of San Pedro and of the sparrowhawk are no more.' (Chindoy 66.51) (*i* = <y>
in original orthography)

9.3.6   Word order: *ndoñ*

ndoñ usually goes directly before the verb, as in most of the examples above. It tends to
go at the beginning of the verb phrase. Objects come after *ndoñ* and before the verb, as seen in
(14a) where *tsëšey* 'yellow' is the object of the verb. Note that *tsëšey* has the class marker *-be* for
round things to agree with egg, which is implied by the verb. In (14b) the adjective *bëts* 'big'
precedes the verb, with *ndoñ* preceding it. In (14c) *ndoñ* precedes the adverb *bien* 'well' and in
(14d) *ndoñ* precedes the adverb *chka* 'like that'. Although *ndoñ* usually comes before the verb
phrase, it can follow the verb as well, as seen in (14e). In (14f), there is a common expression,
with *ndoñ* at the end of the phrase.

(14a)   ndoñ tsëšeybe **yen**joshma

ndoñ   tsëšey-be   **ye-n-**j-oshma
NEG   yellow-CLF   3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-lay.eggs
'It didn't lay yellow (eggs).' (Chindoy 74.22)

(14b) Chëngna ndoñ bëtsëtsanga **mon**jobemas
      chëngna   ndoñ   bëts-ëts-anga   **mo-n**-j-obemas
      3PL-TOP   NEG   big-?-PL   3PL-NEG-VBLZ-become
      'They didn't get big.' (Chindoy 74.23)

(14c) ndoñ bien yenjowen
      ndoñ   bien   ye-n-j-owen
      NEG   well   3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-hear
      'She didn't hear (him) well.' (Chindoy 77.6)

(14d) fshantsokna ndoñ chka kenatopasan.
      fshants-ok=na   ndoñ   chka   ke-n-at-opasan
      earth-LOC=TOP   NEG   like.that   IRR-EVI-NEG-happen
      'It doesn't happen like that on the ground' (Chindoy 104:7)

(14e) imbangoye jtetana ndoñ
      imbang-oye   j-t-etana   ndoñ
      heathen-ALL   VBLZ-AGAIN-go   NEG
      'He never returned to the heathens.' (McDowell 63)

(14f) Pero mor ndoñ
      pero   mor   ndoñ
      but   now   NEG
      'But now, no/not anymore.'

9.4   Comparatives and superlatives

Comparatives are formed with *mas* (from Spanish *más* 'more') followed the adjective. The word being compared is marked with the benefactive *-am* for inanimate nouns and *-byam* for animate nouns. Comparatives for phrases are similarly formed with *mas* and the phrase. There are no irregular comparatives; all comparatives are formed with *mas* + adjective. One interesting phenomenon, however, is that for better sometimes the language uses *mas* + *tšaba* 'good' and sometimes *mas* + *mejor*. Similarly, worse is often *mas* + *peor*. Superlatives are formed with *mas* and the adjective. The noun has no special marking.

In (15a) the adjective *bna* 'tall' is preceded by *mas* and *tobiaš* 'girl' is marked with the benefactive *byam*, while *bobonts* 'young man' is not marked. In (15b) *wamaná* 'above' is preceded by *mas* and *bwatëmbaya* 'teacher' is marked with the benefactive biam. In the second part of (15b) *wamaná* 'above' is preceded by *mas* and *ndwiñ* 'owner' (from Spanish *dueño*) is marked with benefactive *-byam*. In (15c), there is a phrase being compared, *obenana bomná*

'power-having'. In all examples, *mas* precedes the adjective. In (15d) *más* 'more' and *tšabá* 'good' mean 'better'.

(15a)   ch bobonts ya **mas bna** ch tobiašbyam

ch	bobonts	ya		mas	bna	ch	tobiašbyam
DEM	boy	already		more	tall	DET	girl=BEN

'The boy is (already) taller than the girl.' (MC)

(15b)   Ni kanÿe watsjendayá chabe bwatëmbayabiama más wamaná ntsemnana,

Ni	kanÿe	watsjendayá	cha=be	[bwatëmbaya=biama más wamaná]	n-ts-emnana
neither one	student		3SG=GEN	[teacher=BEN more above]	NEG-PROG-be

ni chë oservená chabe nduiñbiama **más wamaná**.

ni	chë	oservená	cha=be	[ndwiñ-bi-ama	más	wamaná]
nor	DET	servant	3SG=GEN	[owner-ANIM-BEN	more	above]

'The student is not above the teacher, nor a servant above his master.' (Matthew 9:24) (*kanÿe* = <canÿe>, *watsjendayá* = <uatsjendayá>, *ndwiñbiama* = <nduiñbiama>, *bwatëmbayabiama* = <buatëmbayabiama>, *wamaná* = <uamaná> in original orthography; *ni* from Spanish *ni* 'neither, nor' and *nduiñ* from Spanish *dueño* 'owner').

(15c)   Pero chë atšbe ústonoye echanjabá,

pero	chë	atšbe	ústonoye	e-cha-n-j-abá
but	DET	1SG=GEN	after	3SG-FUT-EVI-VBLZ-come

atšbiama **más** obenana bomná komna

atšbiama	más	obenana	bomná	k-omna
1SG=BEN	more	power	have	IRR-be

'But after me comes one who is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry.' (Matthew 3:11) (*komna* = <comna> in original orthography)

(15d)   Más tšabá tšëngaftangbiama entsemna…

más	tšabá	tšëngaftangbiama	e-n-ts-emna
more	good	2PL=BEN	3SG-EVI-PROG-be

'It is better for you.'(Matthew 6:20)

Superlatives are formed with *mas* and the adjective, as seen below.

(16a)   mwentš indëmën **mas** tšabá sanatem

mwentš	i-nd-ëmën	**mas**	tšabá	sana-tem
here	3SG-HAB-be	more	good	food-DIM

bishantem matsanatem tsunbek y bishak

bishan-tem	mats-an-atem	tsunbe-k	i	bisha-k
soup-DIM	corn-ADJ-DIM	bean-INST	and	collard-INST

'Here (in Sibundoy) the best food is corn soup with beans and collard greens.' (MC)

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(16b) i chë Bëngbe Bëtsabe bëts yebnentše chë **más** tsbanánoka tbojanatsá
     i   chë   Bëngbe Bëtsabebëts yebn-entše chë   más   tsbanánoka tbojanatsá
     and   DET   our   lord=GEN   big house-LOC DET   more   tall   stand
     '(Then the devil took him to the holy city) and had him stand on the highest point of the
     temple.' (Matthew 4:5) (*tsbanánoka* = <tsbanánoca>, *i* = <y> in original orthography)

To form 'worse', *mas* is used with *peor* from Spanish *peor* 'worse'. Note that to convey

worse, *mas* is not used with the Kamsá word for bad, only with Spanish *peor*.

(17a) mas peor yejopasa.
     mas   peor   ye-j-opasa
     more   worse 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-happen
     '(Something) worse happened.' (Chindoy 56:7)

9.5 Imperatives

There are two types of imperatives in Kamsá: morphological imperatives with *m-* and

future as imperative.

9.5.1 Morphological imperatives

Imperatives are formed with *m-* before the verb root. There is no other morphology. In

(18a) *jabo* 'come' has *m-* as does *j-olempia* 'clean' (from Spanish *limpiar* 'clean') in (18b).

(18a) mabo
     mabo
     'Come!' (MC)

(18b) Mwata **molempia**. Kanÿaná kochjase,
     mwa-ta   mo-lempia   kanÿa-ná   ko-ch-jase
     DET-DU   IMP-clean   one=TOP   2SG-FUT-eat
     'Clean these two, and eat one of the them.' (Chindoy 94:6)

9.5.2 Future as imperative

Another common way to make a command is by using the future. In (19a) the verb *j-*

areparan 'watch' is marked with the second singular marker *ko-* followed by the future prefix

ch- as in (19b) with *jatbana* 'collect'. (19c) is repeated from above and shows both strategies of command: the morphological imperative *mo-lempia* 'Clean!' and the future as imperative with *kochjase* 'Eat!'.

(19a)   Pero kochantsareparan ndweñangbiama.
  pero ko-ch-an-ts-areparan   ndweñ-ang-biama
  but   2SG-FUT-?-PROG-watch   owner-PL-BEN
  'But watch the owners!' (Chindoy 101:4)

(19b)   Akna tsbwanach kochjatbana bien jwashabwayam
  akna   tsbwanach ko-ch-j-atbana   bien jwashabwayam
  2SG=TOP   leaf   2SG-FUT-VBLZ-collect   well VBLZ-cover
  'Collect the leaves to cover (the house) well.' (Chindoy 104:5)

(19c)   Mwata molempia. Kanÿaná kochjase,
  mwa-ta   mo-lempia kanÿa-ná   ko-ch-jase
  DET-DU   IMP-clean   one=TOP   2SG-FUT-eat
  'Clean these two, and eat one of the them.' (Chindoy 94:6)

9.6 Interrogatives

Word order in Kamsa is very free. Yes/no questions can have any word order. WH questions, however, generally have the question word first with other constituents following the question word. Adverbs can precede the question word. Sometimes the evidentiality is different with only *j-* and not *n-*, the marker for things the speaker has seen or experienced. The verb *jamnan* 'be' often has the prefix *yo-* in questions, but I have not determined the use of this prefix.

9.6.1 Yes/no

Yes/no questions can have any order. They often end with the tag *aiñe o ndoñ* 'yes or no?' In (20a) the clause is verb final, whereas in (20b) the main verb *jan* 'go' is first with the complement *jenokwedam* 'eat together' and the deictic 'to there' following it. In (20c) the verb *jan* 'go' shows different morphology than the usual affirmative tonja for the third singular past. Also, the question ends with the tag *aiñe o ndoñ*. In (20d) the word order is OSV and the question ends with the particle *ka*. (20e) shows a longer yes/no question with an embedded clause.

(20a)   Aa bako shajwanam kwatëkjabo?
        aa   bako   shajwanam   kwa-të-k-jabo
        ah   uncle   fruit-BEN   EMPH-PST-2SG-come
        'Uncle, did you come for fruits?' (Chindoy 102:15)

(20b)   Kebuntjá jenokwedam kachoy?"
        ke-bu-nt-já   j-en-okwedam   ka-ch-oy
        IRR-DU-NEG-go   VBLZ-REC-eat   EMPH-there-ALL
        'Would you go with me to eat together there?' (Chindoy 103:1) (*j-en-okwedan* 'serve
        oneself, serve together, feed oneself, eat together' from Spanish *cuidar* 'take care of')

(20c)   tojatoñ tabanoy, aiñe o ndoñ?
        to-j-atoñ   taban-oy   aiñe o ndoñ
        3SG.PST-VBLZ-go   town-ALL   yes or no
        'Did he go to town, yes or no?' (MC)

(20d)   más atše aka kbochjwabaye ka?
        mas   atše   aka   k-bo-ch-j-wabaye   ka
        more   1SG   2SG   2SG-1SG-FUT-VBLZ-come   PART
        'Do you come to me?' (Matthew 3:14) (*aka* = <aca>, *kbochjwabaye* = <cbochjuabaye>,
        and *ka* = <ca> in original orthography)

(20e)   Ndoñe šmondwalya y šmondétatšëmbo
        ndoñe   šmo-nd-walya   y   šmo-nd-étatšëmbo
        NEG   2PL-NEG-read   and   2PL-NEG-know

        ndayá David y chabe enutënga tmojanmama,
        ndayá   David   y   cha-be   enutënga   t-mo-j-anmama
        what   david   and   3SG-GEN   friend-PL   PST-3PL-VBLZ-?

        shéntseca imojtsemna ora?
        shéntse-ka   i-mo-j-ts-emna   ora
        hungry-TRANSL   DIS-3PL-VBLZ-?-be   when
        'Haven't you all read and don't you all know what David and his friends did when they
        were hungry?' (Matthew 12:3) (*šmondwalya* = <šmëndualía>, *shéntseka* = <shéntseca>
        in original orthography)

9.6.2   WH questions

Although word order in Kamsá is quite free, question words are always at the start of the
clause when WH questions are formed. The only words that can precede question word are
adverbs. Subjects, objects, and verbs always come after the question word. The remaining

constituents of the clause can be in any word order. Figure 9.1 shows the question words in Kamsá.

Question word	Meaning
nda	'who?'
ndabtak	'with whom?'
ndabyam	'for whom?'
ndayá	'what?'
ndayam	'for what?'
ndayentš	'(at) where?'
ndëmoy (or ndmoy)	'to where?'
ndëmoykan (or ndmoykan)	'from where?'
ndayek	'why?'
ntšam(o)	'how?'
ntsachetšá	'how much?'
ntseko	'when?'

Figure 9.1 Question words

The following examples are all WH questions. In each one, the clause starts with the WH word. (21a) shows *ndayá* 'what' in three questions, where it is the object. (21b) and (21c) show *nda* 'who' in intransitive questions. (21d) and (21e) show *ndmoy* 'to where' in intransitive sentences. In (21d) the subject is not realized, whereas in (21e) it is and the verb is the last word in the question. (21f) and (21g) both have questions with *ndayek* 'why' and have different word orders: in (21f) it is verb then subject and in (21g) there is no verb. In (21i) the question word *ndëmwanÿe* modifies *boyabasa* 'man'.

(21a) Ndayá mochjase? o ¿Ndayá mochjofšiye?
      ndayá mo-ch-j-ase   o   ndayá mo-ch-j-ofšiye
      what   PL-FUT-VBLZ-eat   or   what   PL-FUT-VBLZ-drink

o ¿Ndayá mochtichëtjo ca?
o   ndayá mo-ch-tichëtjo   ca
or   what   PL-FUT-wear   part
'What will we eat? or What will we drink? or What will we wear?' (Matthew 6: 31)

(21b)   Nda atšbe mamá yomna?
        nda   atš-be   mamá   yo-mna
        who   1SG-GEN   mother   ?-be
        'Who is my mother?' (Matthew 12:48)

(21c)   Nda kem boyabása yomna?
        nda   kem   boyabása   yo-mna
        who   that   man   ?-be
        'Who is that man?' (Matthew 8:27) (kem = <quem> in original orthography)

(21d)   ndmoy tojaton
        ndmoy   to-j-aton
        where   3SG-VBLZ-go
        'Where did (he) go?' (Chindoy 65.37)

(21e)   ndmoy tšëngaftang šmochjabokan?
        ndmoy   tšëngaftang   šmochjabokan
        where   2PL   2PL-FUT-VBLZ-go.out
        'Where are you all going to go?'(NCJ 11:9) (jabokan 'salir')

(21f)   Ndayek mojtsotšan chubta bolletëng
        ndayek   mo-j-ts-otšan   chubta   bolletëng
        why   3PL-VLBZ-?-lose   quantity   chicken-PL
        'Why are so many chickens lost?'

(21g)   Ndáyeka akbe watsjéndayënga ndoñe chka ka?
        ndáyeka   ak-be   watsjénday-ënga   ndoñe chka   ka
        why   2SG-GEN   disciple-PL   NEG   thus   PART
        'Why do your disciples not (do) (it) like that?' (Matthew 9:14) (ndáyeka = <ndáyeca>,
        akbe = <acbe>, watsjéndayënga= <uatsjéndayënga>, chka = <chca>, ka = < ca> in
        original orthography)

(21h)   Asna ntšamo kamana jatrabajam?
        asna   ntšamo   ka-mana   j-atrabaj-am
        then   how   2SG-know   VLBZ-work-BEN
        'Then, how are you used to working?' (Chindoy 2: 80:3)

(21i)   Ndëmuanÿe boyabása tšëngaftanguentšá,
        ndëmuanÿe   boyabása   tšëngaftang-uentšá
        which   man   2PL-?

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canÿe tandëše chabe uaquiñá tbojtsotjanañe ora,

canÿe	tandëše	cha-be	uaquiñá	tbojtsotjanañe	ora
one	bread	3SG-GEN	son	ask	when

canÿe ndëtšbé chábioye buanjatštaye?

canÿe	ndëtšbé	chá-bioye	buanjatštaye
one	rock	3SG-ALL	give

'Which of you, if your son asks for bread, will give him a stone?' (Matthew 7:9)

It is maybe possible to have double WH questions, as seen in (22) which is asking both *ndayá* 'what?' and *ndoy* 'where?'

(22)   ndayá jinÿama chë entšanga ndoyena lwaroye šmojánbokana?

ndayá	j-inÿama	chë	entšanga	ndoyena	lwaroye	šmo-j-ánbokana
what	VBLZ-see	DET	person-PL	where	place-ALL	2PL-VBLZ-go

'What did you people go to what place to see?' (Matthew 11:7) (*lwaroye* = <luaroye>, *šmojánbokana* = <šmojánbocana> in original orthography)

Chapter 10

Sentences and multi-clausal constructions

10.1   Introduction

In this chapter I examine Kamsá sentences that are composed of more than one clause (in addition to considering the coordination of multiple elements within a single clause). Two (or more) clauses may be combined in Kamsá, either through coordination or through subordination. When two clauses are coordinated, they maintain an equal grammatical status. A subordinate clause, on the other hand, is dependent upon another (main) clause. Both coordination and subordination can be signalled (in part) through the use of a class of words called conjunctions.

First I discuss coordination (10.2), including conjunctive coordination (10.2.1), disjunctive coordination (10.2.2), adversative coordination (10.2.3), and correlatives (10.2.4). In (10.3) I discuss subordination strategies, and (10.4) is dedicated to indirect discourse.

Kamsá has several conjunctions, including both coordinators and subordinators. Many of the coordinators, which can connect words or phrases as well as entire clauses, are derived from Spanish. Figure 10.1 shows the most commonly used conjunctions in Kamsá, providing basic glosses and etymologies (where known).

Conjunction	Gloss	Etymology
i	'and'	from Spanish *y* 'and'
o	'or'	from Spanish *o* 'or'
pero	'but'	from Spanish *pero* 'but'
maske	'although'	from Spanish *más que* 'more than'
ayekna	'thus, because of which'	unclear etymology, but related to *chiyekna* (below)
chiyekna	'thus, because of which'	unclear etymology, but related to *ayekna* (above), maybe containing the determiner *ch*

as	'so, then'	probably from Spanish *así* 'thus, therefore, so, like that, in this way'. Maybe related to subordinating clitic *=as*, which appears at the end of clauses
mas nÿe	'instead'	from Spanish *más* 'more' and Kamsá *nÿe* 'only'
ni	'neither, nor'	from Spanish *ni* 'neither, nor, not even'
porke	'because'	from Spanish *porque* 'because'
nÿe	correlative, 'just'	

Figure 10.1 Conjunctions

The following sections provide illustrations of clause combinations. First, coordination is considered, both at the phrase level and at the clause level (10.2). Then I examine how subordination works in Kamsá (10.3).

10.2   Coordination

Coordination is typically signaled by the placement of a conjunction (coordinator) between the constituents being connected. The following sections discuss three types of coordination in Kamsá: conjunctive ('and') coordination (10.2.1), disjunctive ('or') coordination (10.2.2), and adversative ('but') coordination (10.2.3). All three coordinating conjunctions in Kamsá are loans from Spanish; there are no known indigenous coordinators.

10.2.1 Conjunctive coordination

Conjunctive coordination is shown with the conjunction *i* 'and', which has been borrowed from Spanish *y* 'and'. When the conjunction *i* 'and' is placed between two elements, the two are joined syntactically, with neither element receiving special status or grammatical

marking. When two or more NPs are obliques, they can all have the oblique marker (seen in 1f) or sometimes only the second NP will have the oblique marker.

The conjunction *i* 'and' can be used to connect phrases within a clause as well as to connect clauses within a sentence. In (1a), it connects two NPs, each consisting of a single common noun: *boyabasetemënga* 'boys' and *shembasetemënga* 'girls'. In (1b), the conjunction *i* 'and' connects *natjëmban* 'peace' and *silentsio* 'silence', two NPs used adverbially. In (1c), it connects two VPs: *škotabe* 'I pull it out for you' and *kbochjwebutšen* 'I'll throw it to you'. In (1d), two clauses are connected: *akna benchetema* 'you (are) small' and *atšna bëtsá* 'I (am) big'. there is no verb, however, because the copula can be dropped. In (1e) two clauses are connected. In (1f) there is coordination between NPs that are marked for case, with the benefactive *-am*.

(1a)   boyabasetemënga **i** shembasetemënga
       boya-base-tem-ëng   **i**   shem-base-tem-ëng
       male-small-DIM-PL   and   woman-small-DIM-PL
       'boys and girls' (Chindoy 69:10) (*i* = <y> in original orthography)

(1b)   Chokna natjëmban **i** silentsio jtsyenam.
       chok=na   natjëmban   **i**   silentsio   j-ts-yenam
       there=TOP   peace   and   silence   VBLZ-PROG-live
       'There one lives peacefully and silently.' (Chindoy 104:6) (*jtsyenam* = <jtsienam> in
       original orthography, from *joyen* 'live'; *i* = <y> in original orthography; *silentsio* <
       Spanish *silencio* 'silence')

(1c)   Atš škotabe **i** kbochjwebutšen.
       atš   š-k-otabe   **i**   k-bo-ch-j-webutšen
       1sg   1SG-2SG-pluck   and   2SG-1SG-FUT-VBLZ-throw
       'I'll pluck (it) for you and throw (it) to you.' (Chindoy 102:17) (*i* = <y> in original
       orthography)

(1d)   Akna benchetema **i** atšna bëtsá.
       ak=na   benche-tem   **i**   atš=na   bëtsá
       2SG=TOP   small-DIM   and   1SG=TOP   big
       'You are small and I am big.' (*i* = <y> in original orthography)

(1e)   šjaumashëngo tsoy i bëšaša stëtšoyka tejotsay
       š-j-au-mashëngo   tsoy   i   bëšaša stëtš-oyka   te-jotsay
       1SG.OBJ-VBLZ-?-enter inside and   door   behind-LOC   1SG.PST-stand
       'He made me go inside and I stood behind a door.'(Chindoy 68:4) (*i* = <y> in original
       orthography)

(1f)   šmochtseprontay pwesto popayejëngbiam,
šmo-ch-ts-eprontay   pwesto   popayej-ëng-bi-am
2PL-FUT-PROG-prepare   spot   popayan-PL-ANI-BEN

pastusengbiam, bogotillëngbiam y onÿayoykëngbiam
pastus-eng-bi-am   bogotill-ëng-bi-am   y   onÿay-oyk-ëng-bi-am
pasto-PL-ANI-BEN   bogota-PL-ANI-BEN   and   hot-LOC-PL-ANI-BEN
'Prepare spots for the people from Popayán, Pasto and Bogotá, and those from the hot places.' (Chindoy 68:6)

As seen in (1a), the conjunction *i* 'and' may be used, in a sense, to add an NP participant to a clause. Another means of accomplishing this is with the preposition *parej* 'together with'. Unlike *i* 'and', the word *parej* 'together with' does not conjoin two NPs equally; rather, the second element is marked with either the instrumental suffix *-ak* for inanimate nouns or the comitative suffix *-byak* for animate ones. Although this isn't a conjunction (it's a preposition) it semantically achieves a similar thing.

Thus, although clearly derived from the Spanish noun *parejo* 'equal (to)', 'equivalent (with)', 'on a par with', 'at the same level (with)', 'even', 'identical', the Kamsá word *parej* 'together with' functions as a preposition. In (2a), *parej* is used twice. In the first instance, it connects *chnungwan te* 'six days' with *ibet* 'night', meaning 'six days and (six) nights'; the second instance functions similarly to express the notion of 'three days and nights'. In (2b), the first element of the coordination is not expressed (it is understood to be the 3PL pronoun *chëng* 'they'); only the element after *parej* is overt: the object of the preposition *enuta* 'friend'.

(2a)   Kanÿe yentšá bojadesmaya chnungwan te **parej i**betak.
kanÿe yentšá bo-j-adesmaya   chnungwan te   **parej** ibeta-ak
one   person DU-VBLZ-faint   six   day   with   night=INST
'One person fainted for six days with (their respective) nights.'

Inÿanak kachká yejatspasa,
inÿan=ak   ka=chká   ye-j-ats-pasa
other=INST   like.that   3DIS-PROG-happen
'To another person, the same happened,' (*pasa* < Spanish *pasar* 'happen')

pero chana nÿe unga te **parej** ibetak.
pero   cha-na   nÿe   unga   te   **parej** ibeta-ak
but   3SG=TOP   just   three day   with   night-INST
'but *he* (stayed) only three days with (their respective) nights.' (*pero* < Spanish *pero* 'but') (Chindoy 67:1)

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(2b) nÿe šëšetem jtsabmuchtkoyám **parej** enuntëngaftaka.
    nÿe   šëše-tem   j-ts-ab-mu-chtkoy-ám   **parej**   enunta-ëng-aftaka.
    just   corn-DIM   VBLZ-PROG-?-PL-peck-BEN   together.with friend-PL-COM
    'but also they pecked the corn together with friends.' (Chindoy 90:14)

10.2.2 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination in Kamsá is signaled by either the conjunction *o* 'or' (in positive polarity) or by the conjunction *ni* 'neither, nor' (in negative polarity). Both words are transparently loans from Spanish.

Like the conjunctive coordinator *i* 'and', the disjunctive coordinator *o* 'or' can be used to join two phrases, as in (3a), where it occurs between the numerals *unga* 'three' and *kanta* 'four'. In (3b), the conjunction *o* 'or' joins two NPs (place names), *Tëtknaiyay* and *Chitjianëjay*. Note that only the second place has the locative suffix/clitic. In (3c), it connects two VPs : *j-ojandwon-áy-an* 'roll around' and *j-en-obwast-an* 'scratch oneself'.

(3a) ayekna mobën unga **o** kanta jajañ jtsepochokayán.
    ayekna   mobën [unga **o**   kanta] jajañ   j-ts-epochokayán
    thus   soon [three or   four] field   VBLZ-PROG-finish
    'Thus they finished three or four fields.' (Chindoy 108:5)

(3b) Ch bachna yejabanÿena kabënga Tëtknaijay **o** Chitjianëjayoka.
    ch   bachna ye-j-abanÿena   ka-bënga   [Tëtknaijay **o**   Chitjianëjay=ok]
    DET   priest 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-find   INT-1PL   [Tëtknaiyay or   Chitjianëjay=LOC]
    'The priest found us in Tëtknaiyay or Chitjianëjay.' (Chindoy2 115:2)[28]

(3c) Saká chte nda natsan
    saká   ch=te   nda   natsan
    well   DET=day   who   before

    chaojtsëtjajandwoná **o** chaojtsenobwasto
    [chao-j-ts-ët-jajandwoná   **o**   chao-j-ts-en-obwasto]
    [IRR-VBLZ-PROG-IRR-roll.around   or   IRR-VBLZ-PROG-REFL-scratch]
    'That day we'll see who will be the first to roll around or scratch himself.' (Chindoy2 161:11)

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[28] The word *kabëng* (the first plural pronoun with the intensifier *ka-*) is used to refer to indigenous people, often Kamsás and Ingas, as opposed to other people. One can say someone is '*kabëng*' to mean that he or she is Kamsá/Inga" but you wouldn't use *ka-bëng* to talk about you and your friends to do something, unless you're emphasizing that the group is indigenous. Thus, this sentence means the priest found the indigenous people there.

In negative polarity, the disjunctive coordinator *ni* 'nor' from Spanish *ni* 'neither, nor, not even' is used. It can be between NPs (nouns and pronouns) as seen in (4a) in which it is between three nouns, and in (4b) between two nouns. It can also be used to connect VPs, as in (4c). In addition to appearing between conjoined elements, *ni* 'nor' may also (as in Spanish usage) occur before the first element as well. In such instances (as in 4a), it is means *neither … nor*.

(4a) Atš ndoñ kintsatbom **ni** kenatënga **ni** wabtšënga **ni** katšatang
      atš   ndoñ   ki-n-ts-at-bom   **ni** kenat-ëng **ni** wabtšënga **ni** katšatang
      1SG   NEG   IRR-EVI-PROG-IRR-have nor sister-PL nor brother-PL nor brother-PL
      'I don't have brothers or sisters or brothers.' Or 'I have neither men's brothers, nor sisters, nor women's brothers'

(4b) O kach akafja **ni** katšatafjënga keštatoservia
      O   kach   ak-fja   **ni**   katšata-fj-ëng ke-š-tat-oservia
      oh   INT   2SG-PEJ   nor   brother-PEJ-PL IRR-1SG-IRR-do
      'Oh! Not even you nor your (bad) brothers will do anything to me.' (Chindoy2 160:9)

(4c) Ch lwarna ndoñ yendopoden tbako jwakwakwayán;
      ch   lwar=na   ndoñ   ye-nd-opoden   tbako   j-wakwakwayán
      DET   place=TOP   NEG   3SG.DIS-ND?-be.able tobacco   VBLZ-smoke

      ni juyamban jatán tsëtšaka **ni** sebollëšeka.
      ni   juyamban   jatán   tsëtš=aka   **ni**   sebollëš=eka
      nor   bring   cold.cut   chili=INST   nor   onion=INST
      'This place doesn't allow smoking tobacco, nor bringing cold cuts with chili sauce nor with onion.' (Chindoy 66:44) (*tbako* from Spanish *tabaco* 'tobacco', *sebollëš* from Spanish *cebolla* 'onion')

10.2.3 Adversative coordination

The adversative coordinator *pero* 'but' is also a Spanish word. Although it may connect elements within a single clause (as in 5d), it most commonly conjoins two main clauses. As such, it appears between two clauses. In (5a) it introduces a new clause. In (5b) *pero* also introduces a new clause, and the word *nÿe* is also used. As discussed further in 10.2.4 *nÿe* 'just, only' also has a correlative function. In (5c) *pero* creates a contrast.

(5a) yejshenÿe škenëngbe yentšayá lachabëfjungaká (...)
      ye-j-shenÿe   šken-ëng-be   yentšayá   lachabë-fj-ung-a-ká (...)
      3SG.DIS-VBLZ-see   white.person-PL=GEN person   clothes-PEJ-PL-?ka

pero chënga i ch katšat mojtsenatjëmba.

pero	chëng	i	ch	katšat	mo-j-ts-enatjëmba
but	3PL	and	DET	younger.brother	3PL-VBLZ-PROG-disappear

'He saw the clothes of the white people, but they and his brother had disappeared.'
(Chindoy 66:48) (*i* = <y> in original orthography)

(5b) Ch trabajayaná yejajwaboy jotbayan ch mongojo,

ch	trabajaya=ná	ye-j-ajwaboy	j-otbayan	ch	mongojo
DET	worker=TOP	3DIS-VBLZ-think	VBLZ-trap	DET	deer

'The worker thought to trap the deer,'

pero chana nÿe njowatjanaká nÿe yejontšá jtsojwanañán.

pero	chana	nÿe	njowatjana-ká	nÿe	ye-jontšá	jtsojwanañán
but	3SG	just	NEG-fear-?	just	3DIS-begin	VBLZ-?

'but the deer, without fear, began to go away peacefully.' (Chindoy2 115:10) (*trabajaya*
from Spanish *trabajar* 'work' *jojowanan* 'retirarse')

(5c) ch tobiaš kamntša indwaman jobwambayan pero ingatsatch ndoñ

ch	tobiaš	kamntša	i-nd-waman	j-obwambayan	pero	ingatsatch	ndoñ
DET	girl	kamsá	3SG-HAB-know	VBLZ-speak	but	inga	NEG

'The girl knows how to speak Kamsá but not Inga.' (MC)

The word *maske* 'although', which serves a semantically similar (concessive) function, is
discussed below in the section on subordination (11.3.6).

10.2.4 Correlative *nÿe*

Sometimes *nÿe* 'just' is used with both elements to make a parallel structure. In (29a), *nÿe*
is used to convey 'not only, but also' and is in both clauses. The first clause has an inflected verb
jamnan 'be' while the second clause has an uninflected verb marked with the benefactive clitic
=am. Also note that *jamnan* 'be' in the first clause has the emphatic marker *kwa-*. In (29b) *nÿe* is
used twice to create parallel structures within a single clause, first before a list of nouns and then
before *lempe* 'all'.

(6a) Chana **nÿe** tobiašajatem obiamnayá kwanmëna,

cha=na	nÿe	tobiaša-ja-tem	obiamnayá	kwa-nmëna
3sg=TOP	PART?	girl-EVAL-DIM	pretender	KWA-be

nÿe šëšetem jtsabmuchtkoyám parej enuntëngaftaka.
nÿe šëšetem j-ts-ab-mu-chtkoy-ám parej enuntëngaftaka
PART? corn-DIM VBLZ-PROG-?-PL-peck-BEN together.with friend-PL-COMM
'Not only is the poor girl a pretender, but also they pecked the corn together with her friends.' (Chindoy 90:14)

(6b) i ko **nÿe** osënga, leonga, trigrënga, zorrënga, lobënga, i trigrillënga
i ko **nÿe** os-ënga leo-ng trigr-ëng zorr-ëng lob-ëng i trigrill-ëng
and then PART? bear-PL lion-pl jaguar-PL fox-PL wolf-PL and tiger-PL

nÿe lempe mojacheta ojandwonaye wabowanká.
nÿe lempe mo-jacheta ojandwonaye wabowan-ká
PART? all 3PL-VBLZ-flee revolve horrible-?
'So much so that the bears, lions, tigers, foxes, wolves, and tigers all fled rolling in terror.' (Chindoy2 162:26)

10.3 Subordination

Kamsá has several strategies for connecting a dependent clause to a main clause—that is, for marking subordination. Most often, subordinate clauses are indicated by free words (subordinating conjunctions or subordinators) that occur at the beginning of the subordinate clause. Alternatively, a few such subordinators occur at the end of their respective subordinating clause. There is also one subordinating clitic, =*as*, that appears at the end of the subordinate clause.

Figure 10.2 (on the following page) lists the major Kamsá subordinators, providing basic glosses and indicating where in the clause they are located—that is, whether at the beginning or at the end of the subordinate clause.

Subordinator	Gloss	Position in clause
ch	'that' (determiner)	beginning
ntšamo	'how'	beginning
=as	'SUB' (for 'subordinator')	end
ora ~ or ~ gor ~ orna	'when' (from Spanish *hora*, 'hour')	end
ndayentš	'where'	beginning
nda	'who'	beginning
ndayá	'what'	beginning
kaus	'because' (from Spanish *causa*, 'cause')	end
maske	'although' (from Spanish mas 'more' and que 'that'	beginning

Figure 10.2 Subordinators

As seen in the table above, subordinate clauses that formed with *ch* 'that', or the question words *ntšamo* 'how', *ndayentš* 'where', *nda* 'who', or *ndayá* 'what' always begin with the subordinator, whereas in temporal subordinate clauses with *ora* 'when' or in causal subordinate clauses with *kaus* 'because', the subordinator comes at the end of its clause. Furthermore, subordinate clauses with *ch, ntšamo*, and question words tend to follow the main clause, whereas temporal and causal subordinate clauses can either follow or precede the main clause.

10.3.1 Subordinate clauses with *ntšamo* 'how, what happened'

A common subordinator is *ntšamo* 'how', which (in such constructions) is used much like the English word 'what'. To see how *ntšamo* is used in questions, see 9.6.2. In (7a), *ntšamo* 'how' subordinates the clause 'horrible [things] happened' to the main clause 'the older brother … returned to see'. In (7b), *ntšamo* 'how' is used for 'how it happened'. In (7c), it is in a subordinate clause following the main verb *montsetatšëmbo* 'they (didn't) know' with an

infinitive *j-tsenojwanan* 'get rid of'. The verb in this subordinate clause *j-tsenojwanan* 'get rid of' is not inflected.

(7a) Wbochená natsán wabwatmá kastellan binÿnoy, yejobaye ora,
      wbochená   natsán wabwatmá   kastellan   binÿnoy ye-j-obaye   ora
      brother   before knower   gold   place   3DIS-VBLZ-approach when

      yejischumo kachoy jtsetatsëmbwan
      ye-j-is-chumo   ka-choy   jtsetatsëmbwan
      3DIS-VBLZ-?-return?   INTENS-there   ?

      ntšamo wabowanká yejopasan.
      [ntšamo   wabowan-ká   ye-j-opasan]
      [how   horrible-?   3DIS-VBLZ-happen]
      'The older brother, the one who knew the place of the gold before, returned there to see (?) what horrible (thing) had happened.' (Chindoy 66:47)

(7b) Tayteko, **ntšamo** yechapasay, aburido tokjëbtseboknas,.
      tayteko   [ntšamo ye-ch-apasay]   aburido   to-k-j-ëbtsebokn=as
      father   [how 3DIS-COND-happen]   bored   PST-?-VBLZ-leave=SUB

      kachkanak motsëston jenÿam. Kem tersiadëj metsaka.
      kachkanak   m-otsëston   j-enÿ-am   kem   tersiadëj   m-etsaka
      INTENS   IMP-follow   VBLZ-see-BEN DET   machete   IMP-bring
      'Oh god, what happened (was); she, leaving bored, follow (her) to watch (her). Bring that machete.' (*japasar* from Spanish *pasar* 'happen'; *aburido* from Spanish *aburrido* 'bored')

(7c) I ndoñe montsetatšëmbo **ntšamo** ch bainga jtsenojwanan.
      i   ndoñe mo-n-ts-etatšëmbo   [ntšamo   ch   bai-nga   j-tsenojwanan]
      and   NEG   3PL-EVI-PROG-know [how   DET   beast-PL   VBLZ-get.rid]
      'And they didn't know how to get rid of the beasts (insects).' (Chindoy2 162:22) (*i* = <y> in original orthography.

Thus, while *ntšamo* 'how' is a question word and—as such—functions much like the other question words that an act as subordinators (11.3.3), it is treated separately here since it fills a number of roles and expresses a number of meanings not seen with the other question words.

10.3.2 Subordinate clauses with other question words

In addition to *ntšamo* 'how', other question words can be used to form subordinate clauses. These include *nda* 'who', *ndayentš* 'where', *ndayek* 'why', and *ndaya* 'what'. These subordinators are identical in form to their respective interrogatives (9.6.2). They always come at the beginning of the clause. (8) shows a sentence with several subordinate clauses, including the question words *ndayek* 'why', *ndayentš* 'where', and *nda* 'who', and *ntšamo* 'how'.

(8)   Shbwayabe kompañera yejauyan tjanaingbioy,
       shbwaya-be   kompañera   ye-j-auyan   tjan-aing-bi-oy
       hunter-GEN   wife   DIS-VBLZ-tell   questioner-PL-ANI-ALL

       ndayeka i **ndayentše** kojanÿenán ch tsjanga
       ndayeka   i   **ndayentše**   ko-j-anÿenán ch   tsja-nga
       why   and   where   IRR-VBLZ-find DET   guinea.pig-PL

       i **nda** kojëbtsenán otjenayoka,
       i   **nda**   ko-j-ëb-ts-enán   otjenayoka
       and   who   IRR-VBLZ-?   dream-LOC

       ch animalotemënga sasnënga bemnán,
       ch   animalo-tem-ënga   sasn-ënga   be-mnán
       DET   animal-DIM-PL   food-PL   SBVJ-be

       ntšamo jtsëmnán ka bëngbe tšabiam.
       ntšamo   j-tsëmnán   ka   bëng-be   tšabi-am
       how   VBLZ-be   PART   1PL-GEN   good-BEN
       'The hunter's wife told them why and where the guinea pig is found and who had dreamed that the animals are food (and) how they should be for our good (benefit).' (Chindoy2 68:16) (*kompañera* = <compañera> in original orthography, from Spanish *compañera* 'companion, partner, wife', *i* = <y> in original orthography, *animalotem* from Spanish *animal* 'animal'; *tjan-ai-ng-bioy* from *tjanaya* 'questioner' from *jatjayan* 'ask')

The following sentence (9) provides an example of several subordinate clauses, including a number of question words. The main verb *j-obwambay* 'tell, advise' is inflected for third singular distant past. Each of the following subordinate clauses starts with a question word. In the first two (with *ndayentš* 'where' and *ndayá* 'what'), the verb is marked with *bi-*, which is perhaps a subjunctive marker. In the third subordinate clause, *ntšamo* is followed by the infinitive *j-oshacheñán* 'find'. The fourth subordinate clause is really two clauses, 'what would happen/how it would happen' and 'when they collect (the) gold'. The first begins with *ntšamo*

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'how' and the verb is inflected; the second (which is actually itself embedded within the first—that is, it is subordinated to the subordinate clause beginning with *ntšamo* 'how') ends with the temporal subordinator *ora* 'when' (see 11.3.4).

(9)   Chë obëjemna lempe yejobwambay
        chë   obë-jem-na   lempe ye-j-obwambay
        DET   stupid-EVAL-TOP   all   3DIS-VLBZ-tell

      ndayentš chë kastellán bebinÿnán;
      [**ndayentš**   chë   kastellán   be-b-inÿnán]
      [where   DET   gold   SBVJ?-?-find]

      ndayá choka biatsanán;
      [**ndayá**   choka bi-atsanán]
      [what   there   SBJV?-stand]

      ntšamo joshacheñán chorerentše
      [**ntšamo**   j-oshacheñán] chorer-entše
      [how   VLBZ-collect] waterfall-LOC

      i **ntšamo** choka inopasanán kastellán tkojoshacheñ **ora**.
      i   [**ntšamo**   choka i-n-opasanán] kastellán   [t-ko-j-oshacheñ   ora]
      and [how   there   DIS-?-happen] gold   [?-?-collect   when]
      'The stupid (one) told (them) everything: where the gold could be found, what there could be; how to get the (gold) in the waterfall; and what would happen there when getting the gold.' (Chindoy 64:37) (*kastellán* from Spanish *castellano* 'Castilian'), *chorer* from Spanish chorro 'gushing water, water jet')

10.3.2.1   Subordinate clauses with *ndayá* 'what'

The question word *ndayá* 'what' is used to form subordinate clauses, especially in indirect discourse or indirect questions. (10a) is repeated from (6) above and shows a subordinate clause that starts with *ndayá* 'what'. (10b) has *ndaya-m*. It is not clear why *ndaya* 'what' has the benefactive marker *-m* in this example but it is possible that it is required for complements of certain verbs. In (10c), *ndayá* 'what' is used together with the noun *pago* 'payment'.

(10a) **ndayá** choka biatsanán;
       [ndayá choka bi-atsanán]
       [what there   SBJV?-stand]
       'What could be there …'

(10b)   ndoñ bien yenjowen **ndayam** boyá betjsatsëtsnayam,
        ndoñ   bien   ye-n-j-owen   [**ndaya**-m   boyá   be-t-j-satsëtsnaya=m]
        NEG   well   3DIS-EVI-VBLZ-hear   [what-BEN   man   DU-again-VBLZ-say=BEN]
        '(Because the woman was drunk) she didn't understand well what the man was saying.'
        (Chindoy 77:6) (*bien* from Spanish *bien* 'well')

(10c)   i mojatjay **ndayá** pago kochtsayñe
        i   mo-j-atjay   **ndayá** pago   ko-ch-tsayñe
        and   3PL-VBLZ-ask   what   payment   IRR-FUT-ask.for?
        'And they asked what payment they would request.' (Chindoy 2 73:5) (*i* = <y> in original
        orthography; *pago* from Spanish *pago* 'payment')

10.3.2.2   Subordinate clauses with *ndayentš* 'where'

        The question word *ndayentš* 'where' is used to form subordinate clauses as well. In (11a),
it is used to form a subordinate clause meaning 'where the cathedral is now'. In (11b), it is
negated by the negator *ndoka* to mean 'there is nowhere…', perhaps an existential matrix clause
with null copula: "(there was) not [where he could be]" In (11c), the people are talking about
where to shoot the hawk who has been hunting their chickens and they say to aim for 'where he
breathes'.

(11a)   Chiyekna primer nÿoš yebuna tojëbtsojebo
        chiyekna   primer nÿoš yebuna   to-j-ëbtsojebo
        thus   first god   house   PST-VLBZ-build

        ndayentše morska catedral yendt**s**oseorañentse.
        [**ndayentše**   morska   catedral   ye-nd-ts-oseorañentse]
        [where   now   cathedral   DIS-HAB-?-put]
        'Thus they build the first church where the cathedral is now.' (Chindoy2 117:26) (*primer*
        from Spanish *primer* 'first', *nÿoš* from Spanish *dios* 'god', *morska* Spanish *hora* 'hour,
        time', *catedral* from Spanish *catedral* 'cathedral')

(11b)   **ndoka ndayent**š yojtsemna
        ndoka [**ndayentš**   yo-j-ts-emna]
        NEG   [where   DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-be]
        'There was nowhere he could be.' (McDowell 99)

(11c)   Nÿe **ndayentšna** chabwaboshache ch bolletëng ambrentëja.
        nÿe   **ndayentš**=na cha-bwa-boshache   ch   bollet-ëng   ambrent-ëja.
        only   where=TOP   COND-?-breathe   DET   chicken-PL   hungry-EVAL
        'Just where the one hungry for chickens breathes.' (Chindoy 95:18) (*bollet* from Spanish
        pollo 'chicken' or *pollito* 'chick')

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10.3.2.3   Subordinate clauses with *nda* 'who'

Finally, the question *nda* 'who' may be used as a subordinator as well, as seen in (12a) (repeated from 3c above).

(12a)   Saká chte **nda** natsan
saká   ch=te   **nda**   natsan
well   DET=day   who   before

chaojtsëtjajandwoná o chaojtsenobwasto
chao-j-ts-ët-jajandwoná   o   chao-j-ts-en-obwasto
IRR-VBLZ-PROG-IRR-roll.around   or   IRR-VBLZ-PROG-REFL-scratch
'That day (we'll see) who will be the first to roll around or scratch himself.' (Chindoy2 161:11)

10.3.3   Temporal subordinate clauses with *ora* 'when'

Temporal clauses may use the subordinator *ora* 'when', which derives from Spanish *hora* 'hour, time, term'. Unlike the question words discussed in the previous sections (which come at the beginning of the clause), the subordinator *ora* comes at the end of the clause. In (13a), *ora* is the final element of the subordinate clause 'when the field-owner didn't see her'. In (13b), this word comes at the end of the clause 'when the deer was tired'. Sometimes the forms *or*, *gor*, or *orna* may be used instead of *ora* (note *orna* in 13b, *gor* in 13c and 13d). (13d) shows a simultaneous action in the past. Temporal clauses with *ora* can either precede the main clause (as in 13a, 13b, and 13c) or follow the main clause (as in 13d); the order is flexible.

(13a)   Ch jaja dweñna bojetše **ora** yejenojwaboy:
ch   jaja   dweñ=na   bo-jetše   **ora**   ye-j-en-ojwaboy
DET   field   owner=TOP   DU-VBLZ-not.see   when   DIS-VBLZ-REC-think
'When the sowing-ground owner lost sight (of her), she thought to herself:'
(Chindoy 89:8) (*dweñna* from Spanish *dueña* 'mistress, owner')
jetšan 'perder de vista'

(13b)   Bianganëjem ya bojwamëntša **orna** yejetsótbema jochnam.
bianganë-jem ya   bo-j-wamëntša   **orna**   ye-j-ets-ótbema   j-ochn-am
deer-EVAL   already DU-VBLZ-tired   when   DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-sit   VBLZ-rest-BEN
'When the poor deer was already tired, he sat down to rest.' (Chindoy2 155:10) (*ya* from Spanish *ya* 'already')

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(13c) Atš chaijatson bastoy **gor** chantsaman jasam wameshnen.

Atš	chaijatson	bast-oy	**gor**	chan-tsaman	j-asam	wameshnen
1SG	COND-go	Pasto-ALL	when	FUT-miss	VBLZ-eat	mote

'When I go to Pasto, I will miss eating *mote* (hominy soup).' (MC)

(13d) Tonjopasiabs sundengwa meset ensaftena **gor**.

tonjopasiabs	su-nd-engwa	meset	ensaftena	**gor**
yesterday	1SG-HAB-seek	cat	rain	when

'Yesterday I was looking for (the) cat when it was raining.' (MC)

10.3.4 Subordinate clauses with =*as*

A common strategy for subordinate clauses is employing the clitic =*as*, which comes at the end of the subordinate clause. It tends to attach to the verb, but it can attach to the end of the VP. It is possibly a clause level clitic, related to the word *as* 'then' which may derive from Spanish *así* 'thus, therefore, so, like that, in this way'. The word *as*, however, comes at the beginning of clauses, whereas the clitic =*as* comes at the end of the clause. Semantically, =*as* seems to be like the Greek participle where one does not know if it is causal, concessive, temporal, etc. It can be used for past, present and future.

In (14a) =*as* is on the verb *j-apasan* 'happen' (which can also mean 'be') and has a causal meaning. In (14b), =*as* is on *j-obobekon* 'get close' for a temporal meaning, for two things happening simultaneously. In (14c) it is on *j-obebi-an* 'bathe' for a temporal meaning, as well. In (14d) it is on the verb *j-atersi-an* 'drape' and has a temporal meaning. In (14e) it is on two verbs before the main verb *j-atsëntše* 'push'. In (14f) the adversative clause has the subordinator =*as* in *kondbomnas* 'you having'. It is strange in that it uses *pero*, or that *pero* can be used redundantly with =*as*.

(14a) Atšna yap lastem **tsjisepasas**

[atš=na	yap	lastem	ts-j-is-epas=**as]**
[1SG=TOP	very	poor	1SG-VBLZ-?-happen=SUB]

nÿa šmanatse jawabwatmanám (the place of the gold)

nÿa	š-m-anatse	j-awabwatman=ám
PART	1SG.OBJ-IMP-bring	VBLZ-know=BEN

'Because I am very poor, bring me to know (the place of gold).' (Chindoy 62:15) (*lastem* from Spanish *lástima* 'pity, shame'; *japasan* from Spanish *pasar* 'happen')

(14b) Chiekna **mojobobekonas** mojtsetjanay …
  chiekna   [mo-j-obobekon=**as**]   mo-j-ts-etjanay
  thus   [3PL-VBLZ-surround=SUB]   3PL-VBLZ-PROG-ask
  'Therefore while surrounding (him) they asked …' (Chindoy 64: 36)

(14c) Jam te tshenÿán **kochjisobebiás** bochjá.
  ja-m   te   [tshenÿán   ko-ch-j-is-obebi=**as**]   bo-ch-já
  go-BEN   day   [morning   2SG-FUT-VBLZ-?-bathe=SUB]   DU-FUT-VBLZ-go
  'The departure day, you bathing early, we'll go.' (Chindoy 62:18)

(14d) Chorna ch kompañerná betiá **yejtatersiás**
  chorna ch   kompañer=ná [betiá   ye-j-t-atersi=**as**]
  then   DET   wife=TOP   [cloth   3.DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-drape.sideways=SUB]

  kanÿá yejontšá lantsayán mnetsobwertañëngbe tsëntsaján.
  kanÿá ye-j-ontšá   lantsayán   mne-ts-obwertañ-ëng-be   tsëntsaján
  alone 3.DIS-VBLZ-begin   dance   3PL-PROG-spin-PL-GEN   middle
  'Then, after the wife put the cloth diagonally, she began to dance alone in the middle of
  the ones spinning.' (Chindoy 78:10)[29]

(14e) Chokna kachatšbe tšombiach bwakwashiñ **tonjenás**
  chok=na   kach-atš-be   tšombiach bwakwash-iñ   to-n-j-en=**as**
  there=TOP   INTS-1SG-GEN belt   branch-LOC   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-REC-go=SUB

  inÿoyka sebiachek **šonjabejëngwenás** fshantsoy šontsatsëntše.
  inÿ-oyka sebia-chek   šo-n-j-abejëngwen=**as**
  other-LOC side-?   1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-tie.neck=SUB

  fshants-oy   šo-n-ts-atsëntše
  earth-ALL   1SG.OBJ-EVI-PROG-push
  'There, he tied my very own belt to the branch, and to the other side he tied my neck, and
  pushed me to the ground.' (Chindoy 79:23)

(14f) nÿe botaman labran bobach kondbomnas,
  nÿe   botaman   labran   bobach   ko-nd-bomn=as
  just   beautiful   patterned   skin   2SG-?nd-have=SUB
  'You have beautiful, patterned skin,' (Chindoy 110.9)

  pero akbe wayantšañna nÿe yentšang obanay benen kondomna
  pero   ak-be   wayantšañna nÿe   yentšang   obanay benen ko-nd-omna
  but   2SG=GEN   mouth   just   people   deadly venom 2SG-HAB-have
  'but your mouth has people-killing venom.' (Chindoy 110.9)

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[29] *chorna* is possibly from determiner *ch* and subordinator *or* 'when'. Interestingly, it is always at the beginning of
clauses whereas *or* is always at the end of clauses.

Sentence (15) shows *=as* being used for contrast with two examples of the copular verb *mën* 'be'.

(15)   Mwana ndoñ yentšá **kwandmënas**, baij kwantsomëñ.
        mwa=na   ndoñ   yentšá kwa-nd-mën=**as**   baij   kwa-n-ts-omëñ.
        this=TOP   NEG   person EMPH-NEG-be-SUB   beast   EMPH-EVI-PROG-be
        'This one isn't a person, but a beast.' (Chindoy 77:4)

The subordinator *=as* does not necessarily immediately follow a verb; rather, it attaches to the end of a verb phrase (which may end with something other than a verb). In (16), the subordinator *=as* cliticizes to the end of the VP, immediately following the oblique phrase *plechufjw-ak* 'with (an) arrow', following the instrumental suffix *-ak*. Here, *=as* seems to have adversative force ('but rather'). Given that it is following the oblique, it seems to be a phrase level clitic rather than a phrasal clitic.

(16)   Chana ndoñ bonjajwesa **plechufjwakas**,
        cha=na   [ndoñ bo-n-jajwesa   plechufjw-ak=**as**]
        3SG=TOP   [NEG   DU-NEG-VBLZ-shoot   arrow-INST=SUB]

        nÿe bo-jontšá jwastán wenán wenán.
        nÿe   bo-jontšá   j-wastán   wenán wenán
        just   DU-start   VBLZ-follow slow   slow
        'He didn't shoot with an arrow, but rather he just started to follow slowly.' (Chindoy 60:3) (*plechufjwa* from Spanish *flecha* 'arrow', with the classifier *-jwa*)

Sometimes the subordinator *=as* be followed by the topic marking clitic *=na*, as seen in (17a). In (17b), *=as* follows the VP of the clause, on the complement, and has *=na* after it.

(17a)   Mandadna nÿa yejtsofšen**asná** bojojwá:
        mandad=na   nÿa   ye-jtsofšen=**as=ná**   bo-jojwá
        governor=TOP just   3DIS-surprise=SUB=TOP   DU-VBLZ-say
        'The governor, surprised, answered:' (Chindoy2 116:21)

(17b)   y batá mamá tkojabokna jwajabwachamasna laora bochjáma.
        y   batá   mamá tk-ojabokna   j-wajabwacham=as=na   laora bo-ch-jáma
        and   aunt   mother ?-come   VBLZ-help=SUB=TOP   soon   DU-FUT-do
        'and if Aunty also helps, we will finish soon.' (Chindoy 88:3)[30]

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[30] This *tk-* prefix is peculiar. I only have it in a few examples, mostly in conditional sentences.

10.3.5 Causal clauses

To encode the cause of an event or state as a dependent clause, there are two options in Kamsá: either the subordinator *kaus* 'because' (which is clause-final) or the subordinator *porke* 'because' (which is clause-initial) may be used. Both are loan words from Spanish: *kaus* 'because' derives from *causa* 'cause' and *porke* 'because' derives from *porque* 'because'. Whereas *porke* has the same grammatical function as its Spanish equivalent, *kaus* has a different grammatical function: it is a subordinator in Kamsá (as opposed to a noun, as is its Spanish equivalent).

10.3.5.1 The subordinator *kaus* 'because'

The subordinator *kaus,* which can also be *kausa* or *kausna,* may be used to show the cause of an event or state. In (18a), *kausa* comes at the very end of the clause, after the verb. The verb is fully inflected for person and number. In (18b), it is at the end of a clause, with the verb being inflected and marked as a subjunctive. In (18c), it also comes at the end of a clause. For comparison, (18d) shows *kausa* as a postposition which follows an NP, creating the phrase 'because of the wind'. Postpositions are discussed in 8.4. It is possible that the subordinator *kaus* is clause final because of its use as a postposition.

(18a) Oknayan i šojtsebubwa **kausna** ndoñ chiyatobena jtan.
      oknayan i   šo-j-tsebubwa   **kausna**] ndoñ chiyatobena   j-t-an
      tired   and   1SG-VBLZ-drunk   cause] NEG COND-NEG-be.able VBLZ-AGAIN-go
      'Because I was drunk and tired, I couldn't return.' (Chindoy 80.30) (*i* = <y> in original orthography.)

(18b) Ibojtsabote murselako betsemen **kausa**.
      i-bo-j-tsabote   [murselako   be-ts-emen   **kausa**]
      DIS-DU-VBLZ-reject   [bat   SBVJ-PROG-be   SUB]
      'They rejected him because he was a bat.' (*murselako* from Spanish *murciélago* 'bat'.)

(18c) Tšëngaftanga tša batšatema ošbuáchiyana bomna **kausa**.
      [tšëngaftanga tša   batšatema   ošbuáchiyana bomna   **kausa**]
      [2PL   much little   hope   have   because]

ndegombre škuayana:
ndegombre   š-k-uayana
really   1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB-tell
'Because you have so little faith, truly I tell you:' (Matthew 17:21) (Note: *batšatem* is a variant of *batatem*. The diminutive suffix *-tem* is lexical; *bata* means 'aunt'.) (*kausa* = <causa> and *škuayana* = <šcuayana> in original orthography.)

(18d)   Ch binÿeay **kausa** joshbwañama ndoñe tšabaka.
[ch   binÿeay   **kausa**]   j-oshbwañama   ndoñe tšaba-ka
[DET   wind   SUB]   VBLZ-hunt   NEG   good-?
'Because of that wind, they could not hunt well.' (McDowell 119)

10.3.5.2 The subordinator *porke* 'because'

The subordinating conjunction *porke* 'because' from Spanish *porque* 'because' is common in Kamsá. It is used to connect clauses, always occurring as the first element of the subordinate clause, as in (20). The 'because' clause seems always to be the second clause.

(20)   Chka jtsopasanan
        chka   j-ts-opasanan
        like.this VBLZ-PROG-happen

        porke choyna kaba yemba jente kamoyenaka
        [**porke**   choy=na   kaba   yemba   jente   ka-mo-oyena-ka]
        [because   there=TOP   still   infidel people   INTS?-3PL-live-DISC]
        'This happens because the unfaithful (non-Christian) people still live there.'
        (*j-opasa-n* from Spanish *pasar* 'happen'; *jente* from Spanish *gente* 'people'. The morpheme *-ka* on the verb *j-oyena-n* 'live' is possibly the discourse marker suffix *-ka*. Note that *-ka* is also the translative marker as well as one form of the instrumental marker *-ak*.)

10.4   Indirect speech

Indirect speech is encoded in Kamsá with a verb of speaking, followed by the thing being told (without any subordinators). Some common verbs used for introducing indirect discourse are:

j-ayanan 'say'
j-auyanan 'say'
j-atjayan 'ask'

j-ojwan 'answer'
j-aparlan 'tell'
j-akwentan 'tell'
j-obwambayan 'say, declare'

The following two examples show the verbs *jojwan* 'answer' and *jatjayan* 'ask', each having an object of the VP: in (21a) *kanÿe palabra* 'one word' and in (21b) *kanÿe soy* 'one thing'.

(21a) Chora ndokná tonjanobená ni mo kanÿe palabra **jojwana**.
       chora ndocná   to-n-j-anobená   ni   mo   kanÿe palabra **j-ojwana**
       then   no.one   3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-can not   maybe one   word   VBLZ-answer
       'Then no one could answer even one word.' (Matthew 22:46) (*ndokná* = <ndocná>, *kanÿe* = <canÿe>, *jojwana* = <jojuana> in original orthography; *palabra* from Spanish *palabra* 'word')

(21b) Atšnaka kanÿe soy sếntsebomna tšëngaftanga **jatjayama**.
       atš=na-ka   kanÿe soy   sế-n-ts-ebomna   tšëngaftanga **j-atjayama**
       1SG=TOP-?   one   thing 1SG-EVI-PROG-have 2PL   VBLZ-ask-VEN
       'I have one thing to ask you all.' (Matthew 21:24) (*Atšnaka* = <Atšnaca> and *kanÿe* = <canÿe> in original orthography)

When the one being told or asked something is first or second person, this participant is marked in the object marking slot of the verb. In (22), the verb *j-awentan* 'tell' is marked with the first person object marker *šo-*. *šo-* is the marker for first person objects in transitive sentences or the goal in ditransitive sentences.

(22)   Atš **šonjakwenta** tonjapasaibs kanÿe kwent atšbe taita.
       atš   **šo-n-j-akwenta**   tonjapasaibs kanÿe kwent atš-be   taita
       1SG   1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-tell yesterday   one   story 1SG-GEN   father
       'My father told me a story yesterday.' (*kwent* from Spanish *cuento* 'story'.)

Sometimes the verb of speaking is marked with the dual marker *bo-*, as seen in (23a), but not always, as seen in (23b), where it is marked with the third person singular distant past prefix *ye-*.

(23a) Osna **bojojwá**:
       os=na   **bo**-j-ojwá
       bear=TOP   DU-VBLZ-answer

"Ko šjeshëntsenajem kausna tejabo shajbe jongwangwam."

Ko	š-jeshëntsenajem	kausna	te-jabo	shajbe	j-ongwangw-am
then	1SG-hungry	because	1SG.PST-come	cucumber	VBLZ-seek-BEN

'The bear answered: "Because I was hungry, I came to look for cucumbers."' (Chindoy 102:16) (*os* from Spanish *oso* 'bear'.)

(23b)   Bwenoká yejojwa shien: "Asna rat ibet chanjaka."

bwenoká	yejojwa	shien	asna	rat	ibet	chan-jaka
well	DIS-answer	rat	thus	soon	night	FUT-go

'Well then the rat answered: "Then we will go soon tonight."' (Chindoy 2 73:8) (*rat* from Spanish *rato* 'while, a bit'. Note that *rat* is also another word for 'rat' from Spanish *rata* which is confusing here because the sentence happens to be spoken by a rat, but the Kamsá word *shien* 'rat' is used. *bwenoka* from Spanish *bueno* 'good' with clitic *ka*)

With the verbs *jayanan* 'say' or *jauyanan* 'say', the person hearing (if designated) is marked with a allative suffix. The word order is flexible: the hearer can come before the verb, as seen in (24a), or after the verb, as seen in (24b).

(24a)   Kaserna bojauyan **bobontsbioy**:

kaser=na	bo-jauyan	bobonts-**bioy**
owner=TOP	DU-say	youth-ALL

'The owner said to the young man:'

"Bëngna kadate ba bolletënga bsëntsbwetšan."

bëng=na	kadate	ba	bollet-ënga	bsë-n-ts-bwe-tšan
1PL=TOP	each.day	lot	chicken-PL	1PL-EVI-PROG-?-lose

'The owner said to the young man: "We have been losing a lot of chickens each day."' (Chindoy 95:13) (*kaser* from Spanish *casero* 'landlord', *kadate* from Spanish *cada día* 'each day', *bollet* from Spanish *pollo* 'chicken' or *pollito* 'chick'.)

(24b)   **Shembasabioy** bojauyan:

Shembasa-**bioy**	bo-j-auyan[31]
woman-ALL	DU-VBLZ-say

'To the woman he said:'

"Mwata molempia. Kanÿaná kochjase."

mwa-ta	m-olempia	kanÿa=ná	ko-ch-ja-se
DET-DU	IMP-clean	one=TOP	2SG-FUT-eat-SUB

'The woman said, "Clean these two, and you will eat one of the them".' (Chindoy 102:15) (*j-olempia* from Spanish *limpiar* 'clean')

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[31] Chindoy lists two forms: *j-auyan* 'say to someone' and *j-ayan* 'say'. It is not clear whether the *u* in the second form is morphological or lexical.

There are a few strategies for encoding reported speech discussed in the following sections.

10.4.1 Paratactic reported speech

One strategy for encoding reported speech is to have the verb of speaking followed by that which is said, without any subordinators or other indicators that two clauses are being linked. In (25a), the verb *j-ayana* 'say' is followed by the clause detailing that which is said.

(25a) **Chanjayana** cha atšbe entšá yomna ka.
     chan-**jayana**   cha   atšbe   entšá   yo-mna   ka
     FUT-say   3SG   1SG-GEN   person 3SG-be   [32]PART
     'I will say he is my people.' (i.e. 'I will acknowledge him.') (Matthew 10:32-33) (*ka* = <ca> in original orthography.)

10.4.2 Reported speech using subordinators

Reported speech can be encoded with the subordinator *ntšamo* 'how', as well as with other question words. In (26a) the reported speech is shown with *ntšamo* 'how' followed by the verb *j-apasan* 'happen'. In (26b) the reported speech is also shown with *ntšamo* but the verb is an infinitive. In (26c) there are two clauses of reported speech. *ntšamo* is also discussed in 10.3 on subordination and 9.6.2 on questions.

(26a) Ibsana ch viajeratna bojakwentá kaserbioy
     ibs-ana   ch   byajer-at=na   bo-j-akwentá kaser-bi-oy
     day-ABL   DET   traveler-DU=TOP   DU-VBLZ-tell   owner-ANIM-ALL

     ntšamo bojapasatana.
     ntšamo   bo-j-apas-ata-na
     how   DU-VBLZ-happen-DU-?
     'The next day, the (two) travelers told the owner what had happened.' (Chindoy2: 61:11) (*bojakwentá* = <bojacuentá> in original orthography; *byajer* from Spanish *viajero* 'traveler', *jakwent*a from Spanish *contar* 'tell', *kaser* from Spanish *casero* 'landlord', *japasatana* from Spanish *pasar* 'happen'.)

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[32] The prefix *yo-* on the verb is unusual

(26b)   Ch sapna entre kachënga kachora
       Ch   sap=na   entre   ka-chënga   ka-chora
       DET   toad=TOP   among   INTENS-PL   INTENS-then

       yejoyaunaye chëngbe palabraka
       ye-joyauna-ye   chëng-be   palabra-ka
       3.DIS-speak-?   3PL-GEN   word-INST

       ntšamo jamamës ch biangan jebganam.
       ntšamo   jamam-ës   ch   biangan   je-b-ganam
       how   prepare-SUB   DET   deer   VBLZ-DU-win
       'The toad with others like it then spoke in their language (about) how to beat the deer.'
       (Chindoy 2: 154.3) (*entre* from Spanish *entre* 'among', *palabra* from Spanish *palabra*
       'word', *ganam* from Spanish *ganar* 'win')

(26c)   Yajtashjango moka orna
       ya-j-t-ashjango   moka orna
       ?-VBLZ-AGAIN-arrive here   when

       yejabetsenobošachna jabwaches yejobwambay shembeñe
       ye-j-abe-ts-en-ob-ošachna   jabwach-es   ye-jobwambay   shem-beñe
       DIS-VBLS-?-REC-?-cry   strong-SUB   3DIS-VBLZ--talk   woman-?

       ntšamo wabentsá yejochjwangwan Bastok
       ntšamo   wabentsá   ye-j-ochjwangwan   bast-ok
       how   brother   3DIS-VBLZ-do.bad   pasto-LOC

       i **ntšamo** mejabwachjangwan chë kastellan mojtsabokës.
       i   **ntšamo** me-jabwachjangwan chë   kastellan   mo-jtsabok-ës
       and   how   3PL-do.bad   DET   gold   3PL-approach-SUB
       'When he arrived here again, crying bitterly, he told the woman how his brother had done
       wrong in Pasto and how they (the white people) would do bad and find the gold.'
       (Chindoy 65:40) (*i* = <y> in original orthography; *kastellan* from Spanish *castellano*
       'Castilian'.)

10.4.3 Indirect questions (embedded questions)

Indirect questions are formed with the question word followed by the verb. The verb often has the evidential marker *j-* that indicates unknown. The comparison can be shown between (27a) and (27b) where the verb *j-amnan* 'be' in (27a) is marked with the unkown evidential marker *j-* in the indirect question and in (27b) is marked with *n-*, the known evidential marker, for the response.

(27a) Andrea šonjatja tsekor **ejtsemñ**
       andrea   šo-n-jatja   tsek-or   e-**j**-ts-emñ
       Andrea   1SG.OBJ-EVI-ask   how.much-hour   3SG-EVI-PROG-be
       'Andrea asked me what time it was.' (MC) (*or* from Spanish *hora* 'hour'.)

(27b) Së-n-jojwa kanye or **intsemn**.
       së-n-jojwa   kanye   or   i-**n**-ts-emn
       1SG.-EVI-answer   one   hour   3SG-EVI-PROG-be
       'I answered that it was one o'clock.' (MC) (*or* from Spanish *hora* 'hour'.)

(27c) Chora Herodes iytëcana chë maguënga tojánachembo
       chora   herodes   iytëcana   chë   magu-ënga   to-jánachembo
       then   Herod   hiding   DET   magus-PL   3SG.PST-call

       i kedádoka tojanatjá ntseco ora chë estrella tmojáninÿama.
       i   kedádoka   to-janatjá   ntseco   ora   chë estrella t-mojáninÿama.
       and   ?   3SG.PST-ask   how.much   hour   DET star PST-see/appear
       'Then Herod called the magi secretly and asked them when the star had appeared.'
       (Matthew 2:7) (*i* = <y> and *kedádoka* = <cuedádoca> in original orthography; *magu*
       from Spanish *mago* 'magus'; *ora* from Spanish *hour* 'hour'.)

10.5   Causative constructions

Causatives are formed morphologically. They are formed by adding the object pronoun prefix to the verb. A causative meaning is formed by putting an object pronoun marker on the verb, thus, increasing valency, going from 'she cried' vs. 'she cried me' = increase valency of 'cry' by 1, meaning it now takes a direct object, and therefore, since 'cry' is semantically inherently intransitive, with the object the sense is a verb with both a subject and an object, hence causative. As far as I know, there is no analytic version, i.e. no multiword construction like 'make someone do something' composed of some independent 'make'-like auxiliary or verb plus another verb. In (28a) there is an intransitive sentence with the verb *j-ošachn* 'cry'. It is marked with *to-* to show past and third singular subject. In causative (28b) *j-ošachn* 'cry'is marked with the direct object pronominal prefix *šo-*. In (28c) the verb is marked with the dual *bo-*. In (28d) only the first person subject is marked with *te-*, an alternate past form for the first person singular. The function of *j-* is unclear. In (28c) the bo- shows that there is an animate subject and an animate object, while in (28d) the verbal prefix (28d) just marks first person singular subject and past tense. In (28e-f) a causative with a transitive verb *jasan* 'eat' is shown.

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(28a)   Alena tontsošachn
        alena   to-n-ts-ošachn
        alena   3SG.PST-EVI-PROG-cry
        'Alena cried.' (CT)

(28b)   cha šontsešachn
        cha   šo-n-ts-ešachn
        3SG   1SG.OBJ-EVI-PROG-cry
        'She made me cry.' (CT)

(28c)   ch bobonts tbontsešachn
        ch   bobonts   t-bo-n-ts-ešachn
        DET   young.man   PST-DU-EVI-PROG-cry
        'The young man made her cry.' (CT)

(28d)   Atš tejtsešachn ch bobonts.
        atš   te-j-ts-ešachn   ch   bobonts.
        1SG   1SG.PST-VBLZ-PROG-cry   DET   young.man
        'I made the young man cry.' (CT)

(28e)   tonjapasaibs sonjas wameshnen
        tonjapasaibs   so-n-jas   wameshnen
        yesterday   1SG.PST-EVI-eat   mote
        'Yesterday I ate *mote* (traditional corn soup).' (MC)

(28f)   cha šontsesasa bayëng
        cha   šo-n-ts-esasa   bay-ëng
        3SG   1SG.OBJ-EVI-PROG-eat   beast-PL
        'She made me eat worms.' (CT)[33]

Sometimes the causative construction used with the negator can mean 'didn't let' as seen in (29), where the negator ndone precedes *j-waproban* 'try, taste' (from Spanish *probar* 'try, taste') to mean 'he didn't let me taste'

(29)   ko atšebe patrona **ndone** ch **šmunjwaproba** mntšenaka
        ko   atš-ebe   patrona **ndone** ch   **š-mu-n-j-waproba**   mntšena-ka
        thus   1SG-GEN   owner   NEG   DET   1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-VBLZ-try   meat-DISC
        'My owner didn't let me taste any meat.' (McDowell 152)

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[33] *baya* 'beast, creature' is frequently used instead of naming the exact creature.

10.6 Nominalization as an equivalent to relative clauses

Constructions equivalent to relative clause are formed by nominalizing the verb. More research is needed to determine if there are relative clauses in the language.

One strategy to form a structure semantically similar to a relative clause is nominalizing the verb in the modifying clause by removing prefixes. In (30a) the verb *ja-bomn-an* 'have' does not have any verbal morphology, and it has the plural marker *-ëng* (usually used for nouns) as well as the negation marker *nd-*. In (30b) the verb *ja-bos̈-an* 'want' and *j-oban-an* 'die' do not have any verbal morphology (no tense, aspect, mood, person agreement, etc) and have the plural suffix *-ëng*. In (30c) there are several examples of these nominalizations. In (30d) there is a lot of morphology on the verb: *t-c-mo-j-ts-ababuánÿeshan-ënga*, showing past tense, second person singular object, third person plural subject. It also has the plural suffix *ëng*.

(30a) y tojanmandá lempe jtsëbáyama base boyabásetemënga
      y   to-j-anmandá   lempe j-ts-ëbáya-ma   base   boyabáse-tem-ënga
      and   PST-VBLZ-order   all   VBLZ-?-kill-BEN   small boy-DIM-PL

      uta uata **bomnënga** y cabá uta uata **ndbomnënga**,
      uta   uata   bomn-ënga   y   cabá   uta   uata   nd-bomn-ënga
      two   year   have-PL   and   still   two   year   NEG-not.have-PL
      'and he gave orders to kill all the boys (in Bethlehem and its vicinity) who were two years old and under.' (Matthew 2:16) (Literally equivalent to '… small boys having two years and still not having two years')

(30b) Motsbaná, chë šešonatema y chabe mamá mes̈ëbiatše y Israeloye kochtá.
      mo-tsbaná chë šešona-tema   y cha-be mamá   me-s̈ëbiatše y Israel-oye ko-ch-tá
      IMP-get.up DET baby-DIM   and 3SG-GEN mother   IMP-take? and israel-ALL 2SG-FUT-go

      Chë šešonatema jóbama **bošënga** ya **obanënga** montsemna ka.
      chë šešona-tema   jóbama boš-ënga   ya   oban-ënga   mo-ntsemna ka
      DET   baby-DIM   kill   want-PL   already dead-PL   3PL-be   PART
      'Get up, take the child and his mother and go to the land of Israel, for those who were wanting to take the child's life are dead.' (Matthew 2:20) (*kochtá* = <cochtá>, *ka* = <ca> in original orthography) (Literally equivalent to '… the [ones] wanting to kill [the] baby are already dead …')

(30c) As entšanga nÿetska šokana bomnënga Jesúsbioye imojtsënachaye:
As   entš-anga nÿetska šoka-na bomn-ënga Jesús-bi-oye   i-mo-jtsënachaye
thus person-PL all   sick-TOP have-PL   jesus-ANIM-ALL DIS-3PL-?

šokënga y tsetšanana **bomnënga**,
šok-ënga   y   tsetšanana   bomn-ënga
sick-PL   and   ?   have-PL

bacna bayëjbe juabna **wambayënga**,
bacna bay-ëj-be   juabna   wambay-ënga
evil   creature-EVAL-GEN   thought   carry-PL

ataque **osháchichanënga** y jama **ndobenënga**.
ataque osháchichan-ënga   y   ja-ma   nd-oben-ënga
attack be.sick-PL   and   go-BEN   NEG-able-PL

Jesús nÿetskanga yojánashnaye.
Jesús   nÿetsk-anga   yo-j-án-ashnaye
Jesus   all-PL   DIS-VBLZ-?-cure
'News about him spread all over Syria, and people brought to him all who were ill with
various diseases, those suffering severe pain, the demon-possessed, those having seizures,
and the paralyzed, and he healed them.'
(*nÿetska* = <nÿetsca>, *šokana* = <šocana>, *šokënga* = <šoquënga>, *wambayënga* =
<uambayënga>, and *nÿetscanga* = <nÿetscanga> in original orthography).

(30d) Tšëngaftanga nÿe chë tšëngaftanga tcmojtsababuánÿeshanënga
tšëngaftanga nÿe   chë   tšëngaftanga t-c-mo-j-ts-ababuánÿeshan-ënga
2PL   just   DET   2PL   PST-2SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ-VBLZ-PROG-love-PL

šmoj-ts-ababuánÿeshan-ëse,
šmo-j-ts-ababuánÿeshan-ëse
2PL-VLBZ-PROG-love-SUB

Bëngbe Bëtsábiocana ndayá šmochjuacaná?
bëngbe.bëtsá-bioc-ana   ndayá   šmo-ch-j-uacaná
god-LOC-ABL   what   2PL-FUT-receive
'If you love those who love you, what reward will you get?' (Matthew 5:46)

Sometimes these nominalized verbs bear other morphology, such as case markers. In

(30e) *ja-bomn-an* 'have' has the benefactive marker *-am* preceded by the marker *bi-* that

precedes case markers on animate nouns. In (30f) *w-a-jabotán*[34] 'need' is missing the verbalizing

j- and is modified by a genitive *bëndat-be* 'our (dual)'.

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[34] More research is needed to determine if *w-* and *a-* are morphological or lexical.

(30e) Chka kastigo inamën inÿe lwar kem bidentše
       chka   kastigo   i-n-amën   inÿe   lwar   kem   bide-ntše
       thus   punishment   3SG-EVI-be   other place DEM   life-AD

       ndmwanÿe shembasa tonday šešon **bomnabiam**.
       ndmwanÿe   shemhit   tonday šešon bomna-bi-am
       whatever   woman   NEG   child have-ANIM-BEN
       'The punishment in the afterlife (that other place life) for whatever woman didn't have
       children.' (Chindoy 70:12)

(30f) Morkokaye tbënjëbtsshacheñ **bëndatbe wajabotán**,
       mor-kokaye   tbë-n-j-ëb-ts-shacheñ   bëndat-be   wajabotán
       now-?   1PL-EVI-VBLZ-?-PROG-collect   1DU-GEN   need

       betsko kwatay tamboy.
       betsko kwa-tay   tamb-oy
       fast   EMPH-go   ranch-ALL
       'Now that we've collected what we need, let's go fast to the ranch.' (Chindoy 63:30)

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SAMPLE TEXT

This section provides a sample Kamsá text. I am currently in the process of preparing more texts to be available soon.

In this text, Yamile, a younger woman asks Yolanda, an older woman, what marriages were like long ago and how they are now. Yamile asks in Spanish, and Yolanda answers in Kamsá.

Yamile:

¿Cómo eran los matrimonios antes y cómo los ve usted ahora?
'How were marriages before and how do you see them now?'

Yolanda:

antes nëbien bëtaman enjanëmën matrimonio muchanjašjango…

antes	në=bien	bë-t-aman	en-j-anëmën	matrimonio	mu-chan-j-ašjango
before	PART=well	DU-be	3SG-EVI-VBLZ-?walk	marriage	3PL-FUT-VBLZ-arrive

wakiña taita-ptaka bepti…

wakiña	taita-ptaka	bepti
son	father-COM	?

mamaptak le mucha gent kwentabëtaman.

mama-ptak	le	mucha	gent	kwenta	bë-t-aman
mother-COM	PART	many	people	story	DU-?-be

y yas no como j-ayana-ng, como voluntad kasun chan-j-ayan.

y	yas	no	como	j-ayana-ng	como	voluntad	kasun	chan-j-ayan
and	now	no	as	VBLZ-say-PL	as	volition	marriage	FUT-say

y yas bësani chan-jayan ke ayiñe o ndoñe. j-ontš-am…

y	yas	bësani	chan-jayan	ke	ayiñe	o	ndoñe	j-ontš-am
and	now	?	FUT-VBLZ-say	PART	yes	or	no	VBLZ-begin-BEN….

la pareja tbojen kwentakas. semna……...

la	pareja	t-bo-j-en	kwent-ak=as	semna
the	couple	PST-DU-VBLZ-?	story-INST=SUB	be

y morska bobontsëng ner ya ndoñsa…

y	mor-ska	bobonts-ëng	ner	ya	ndoñ=sa
and	now-DISC	young.man-PL	no	already	NEG=PART

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chka jtsanÿenana bëtaman mor ndayan ye

chka	j-ts-anÿenana	bëtaman	mor	ndayan	ye
thus	VBLZ-PROG-see	be	now	what	PART

kach kajts tsiñá muchantse jwabnai.

kach	kajts	tsiñá	mu-chan-ts-e-j-wabnay
EMPH	?	?	3PL-FUT-PROG-EPE-VBLZ-think

ndoñ temp ka.

ndoñ	temp	ka
NEG	time	DISC

Before, well, the marriage—the son arrived with the father and the mother, and there were many people. And now, they don't (do) as (they) say. It's volitional: the couple decide, and now the young men don't anymore—thus, they see now what they think.

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