An Introduction to Kogi Grammar

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Kogi (ISO 639-3: kog) is a an indigenous language of Colombia, spoken in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a mountain range situated in the north of the country right at the Caribbean coast.

The aim of the present thesis is to provide an introduction to the grammar of Kogi. While it is not intended to be comprehensive, it addresses a broad area of grammatical topics, spanning from the description of the phoneme inventory to the combination of clauses. The thesis is structured as follows: The phonology and (morpho-)phonological processes are described in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 is concerned with the notion of wordhood and discusses different types of bound morphemes. Word classes, major and minor ones, are the topic of Chapter 4. The major word classes are discussed in more detail in the following chapters, namely nouns (and noun phrases) in Chapter 5 and adjectives in Chapter 6. An introduction to verbs is provided in Chapter 7. Given that the verb appears to be the morphologically most complex entity, two further chapters are dedicated to this word class: Chapter 8 gives an overview of inflectional morphology, while Chapter 9 discusses derivational processes of the verb. Chapter 10 is concerned with morphosyntactic alignment in argument marking and addresses the question as to the existence of grammatical relations in Kogi. Lastly, selection of combinations of clauses are introduced in Chapter 11.

This introductory chapter provides background information about the speakers of Kogi (Section 1.1), the genetic affiliation of the language (Section 1.2), previous studies (Section 1.3) and the methods and presentation of the present work (Section 1.4).

1.1 People and culture

This section presents a short description of some basic points about Kogi culture which, mind you, does by no means do justice to complex socio-economic and religious organization of this group. While I mostly report on observations from my own time spent living with the Kogi, I refer the interested reader to the ethnological literature, for example Stendal (1979) or Reichel-Dolmatoff (1985) (see also Ortíz Ricaurte 2000:757–758).

The language name *Kogi* is commonly used in the anglophone linguistic and anthropological fields, while the language is known as *Cogui* in the Spanish-speaking area.

The speakers themselves refer to their mother tongue as *Koguian*. The Kogi word *käggaba* denotes the indigenous group of the Kogi, but also means 'indigenous person' in general. This term is opposed to *zhali* referring to any kind of non-indigenous people, be they Colombian or European.

According to the most recent national census of Colombia which was conducted in 2018 (DANE 2018), the Kogi comprise 15'820 individuals. They are one of three indigenous groups living in the region of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. The neighboring tribes, that inhabit this area with the Kogi are the Wiwa and Arhuaco. With them, the Kogi share many cultural traits, for example, their traditionally white clothing (with minor differences), the use of woven shoulder bags, the consumption of coca leaves and lime by men, as well as similar social organizations and cosmological views. Thus, the indigenous groups of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta can be regarded as one cultural complex (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1985).

The Kogi live relatively secluded from Colombian mainstream culture and still today preserve their traditional way of living. They predominantly live off auto-sustainable slash-and-burn agriculture, cultivating plantains (*mänta*), bananas (*malú*), pumpkin (*abezi*), sugarcane (*hiula*), coca (*hãniú*) and different tubers such as yuca (*inzhi*) or yams (*niama* Sp. *ñame*). In addition, most families own some livestock, such as cows (*bakka*), pigs (*mitu*) and chicken (*shentá*). While they live to a great extent auto-sustainably, they occasionally trade some of their produce (above all coffee, which they cultivate but do not consume themselves) to Colombian farmers, living in the foothills of the Sierra. With the profits, they are able to buy whatever they need and do not cultivate or make themselves, for example, rice (Sp. *arróz*), salt (*nakku*) or cloth (*zhakuá*) and yarn (*shi*).

While each family pertains to a Kogi village, they each live predominantly on their own fincas that are scattered in the region around the village, and where they look after their crops and livestock. A finca is often inhabited by more than one nuclear family which are related to each other. Each nuclear family, typically a married couple with their children, have their separate house, in which the family reunites, meals are prepared and eaten. For the night, the man retires to a different house, the *nũhué*, where all the men on the finca sleep. The women and children, by contrast, spend the night in their separate houses.

The village is inhabited approximately two to three times a month for a few days. The Kogi reunite in their respective village on special occasions, for example, for community work, for meetings with the mamo (*mama*), the leader of the community, or when doctors are visiting for medical attention. During these reunions, the men spend typically day and night conversing with each other and the mamo in the men's house (*nũhué*). The act of talking to the mamo is referred to as *confesar* in Spanish ('confess', *aluna zhiguashĩ* in Kogi). These "confessions" include not only confession of wrong deeds, but above all asking for permission for intended actions, such as the felling of trees, or the preparing of a new field to cultivate. The mamo acts as the leader of a village community. Various different roles are assumed by the mamo in his community, such as consultant, spiritual leader, doctor or judge (Ortíz Ricaurte 2000:757). He is

the person in charge of ceremonies, such as weddings or baptisms.

With the neighboring tribes, the Kogi have a relatively close relationship. My observations are in line with those of Ortíz Ricaurte (2000) in that marriages between members of the different groups are not uncommon. For these reasons, it is common for people to know a second language indigenous to the Sierra, as for example Damana in addition to Kogi, which is the case with some of my consultants. Among the Kogi, Spanish as a second language is spoken predominantly by men, as well as children who are attending school. Today there are still many monolingual speakers. These are mostly women or persons who live in more remote areas where contact with the Spanish speaking population is scarce.

1.2 Genetic affiliation

Kogi belongs to the Chibchan language family which comprises in total 23 languages, of which seven are extinct (Constenla Umaña 2012). Section 1.2 presents a map of the Chibchan language sphere and the location of each language. Of the numerous indigenous languages still spoken today in Colombia, seven are members of the Chibchan family. Kuna is spoken in the border area of Colombia and Panama, and at the border to Venezuela, we find Barí and Uwa (or Tunebo). The Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta is inhabited by speakers of Damana (or Malayo) and Ika (or Arhuaco) alongside the Kogis. The Kogi language area spans over the northwestern part of the mountainrange. The Wiwa (speakers of Dámana) inhabit the northeastern slopes of the Sierra, whereas the Arhuaco (speakers of Ika) are located on the southern slopes.[1] Lastly, to the south of the Sierra Nevada, we find Chimila.

Chibchan as a language family was first recognized by Uhle (1890) (Constenla Umaña 1983:cf.). Since then, different classifications have been proposed, the most recent one being that by (Constenla Umaña 1981, 2012), presented in Section 1.2. As proposed by Constenla Umaña, Kogi is part of the Magdalenic group which in turn forms part of Core Chibchan. Within the Magdalenic group, in the northern branch, we find the Arhuacan (Arhuacic)[2] subgroup, consisting of Kogi, Ika, Damana and extinct Atanques (or Kankuamo).

[1] The fourth group of the Sierra Nevada, the Kankuamo still identify as an indigenous group, but have lost their language, Kankuamo or Atanques, in the middle of the 20th century (Constenla Umaña 2012:394)

[2] Not to be confused with Arawakan (Shafer 1962)

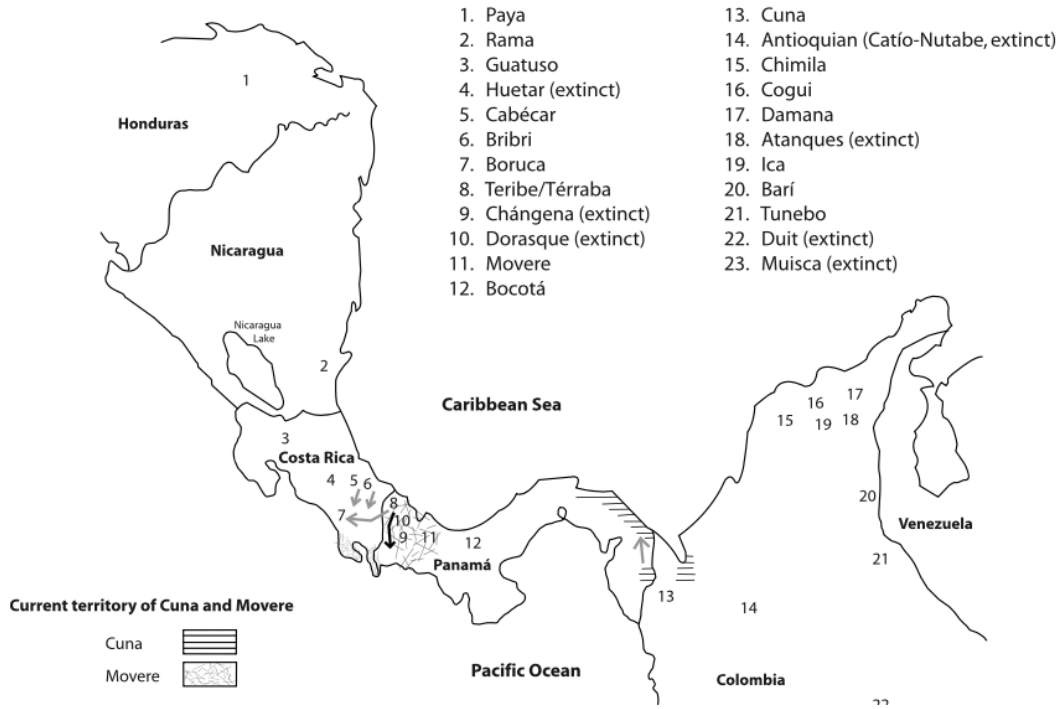


Figure 1.1: Map of the Chibchan language languages (Constenla Umaña 2012:394).

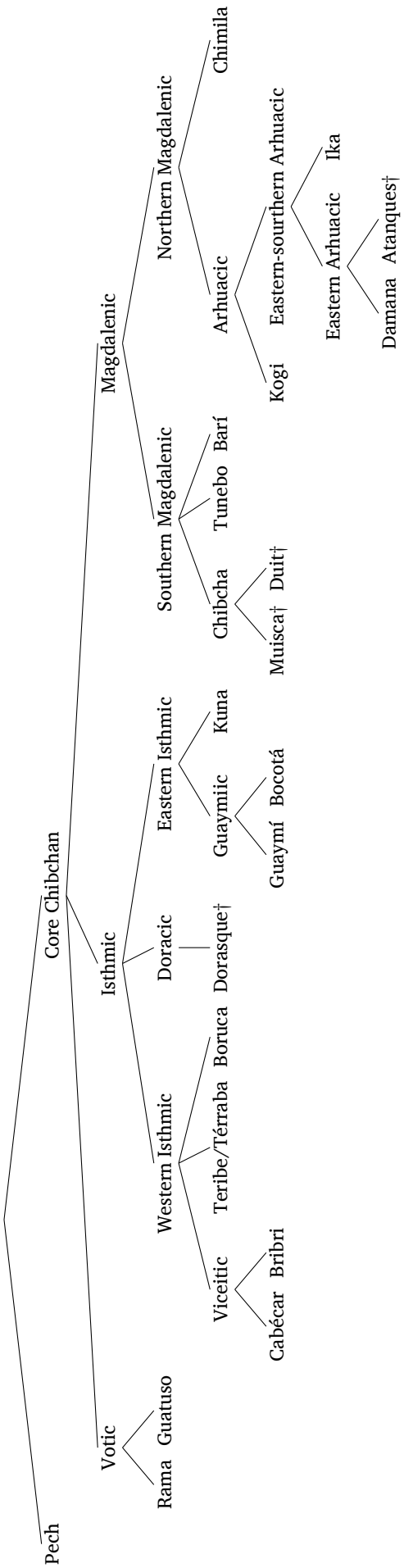


Figure 1.2: Classification of the Chibchan language family adapted from Constenla Umaña (2012)

1.3 Previous research

The pioneering description by Rafael Celedón dates back to 1886 (Celedón 1886). His work contains a short grammar sketch, a number of bible passages and prayers in Kogi and Spanish as well as a word list. We owe further descriptions to the German anthropologist Karl Theodor Preuss who studied the Kogi language and culture between 1921 and 1927 (Preuss 1925, 1926a,b, 1927a,b). In addition to ethnographic information about religious traditions, the reports of his expedition to the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta contains a fairly extensive albeit euro-centric grammar sketch and a wordlist (German – Kogi). A certainly valuable part of these publications are the texts, i.e. songs and narratives, that were transcribed and translated.

The second half of the 20th has seen several partial studies of the language. Holmer (1953) provides a short sketch of Kogi phonology and grammar and includes language data from two other Chibchan languages (Kuna and extinct Chibcha, which were studied in more depth by Holmer) to support his analyses. Other more recent studies include Stendal (1968)'s description of the structure and semantics of the medial verbs and his analysis of some basic aspects of Kogi grammar, including basic clause structure and an outline of tense and person marking (1976). The phonology and selected morpho-phonological processes are discussed in detail by Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984). Hensarling (1991)'s paper presents a description of the function of the topic marker *-ki*.

Carolina Ortíz Ricaurte has spent time studying the language between 1984 and 1991. Her work yielded a classification of nominal compounds as well as a description of compounding processes (Ortíz Ricaurte 1989). Furthermore, in a paper about different predicate types, Ortíz Ricaurte (1994) discusses aspects of nominal, adjectival and verbal predication. Ortíz Ricaurte (2000) presents revised analyses from her earlier work and covers the areas of phonology (including phoneme inventory, phonotactics and morpho-phonological processes), basic clause structure and the structure of noun phrases with a special emphasis on nominal compounding.

Olaya Perdomo (2000) proposes a preliminary analysis of the Kogi verb system and discusses the verbal categories of person, tense and mood/modality. His account, however, focuses on simple predicates, thus leaving out the system of complex predicates (i.e. auxiliary verb constructions) which constitutes an essential part of Kogi grammar.

Bergqvist (2016) presents a detailed study of a set of verbal prefixes that encode complex epistemic perspectives, also known as engagement (Evans, Bergqvist, et al. 2018a). The system of epistemic marking in Kogi is compared to the one of its sister language Ika in Bergqvist (2011).

In two articles that were published during the research period for the present work, I discussed (ad)nominal demonstratives in relation to the epistemic category of engagement (Knuchel 2019) and reflected on the method of interactional elicitation tasks for the investigation of epistemic marking (Knuchel 2020). Lastly, a forthcoming publication (Knuchel forthcoming) discusses standard negation in more detail.

1.4 Methods and theoretical background

The data on which the present work is based on were collected between 2016 and 2020 during four fieldwork periods (approximately nine months in total) in Colombia. I spent most of my time working on the finca of my main consultant Carmen Nuvita Coronado, which is located, driving up from the little Colombian town Mingueo in the department of La Guajira, between the Kogi villages of Kuizhímakke and Dumingueka. Carmen also took me several times to the house of her parents, next to the Kogi village Mulkuakungui in the valley of Rio Don Diego, where I worked with her father and other family members. At the Kogi school nearby the Carmen's finca, I worked with Lucas Coronado Zarabata, who is a teacher there, and several students. Lucas' finca is located a one and a half hour trek from the school and in the valley of Rio Ancho. I spend some time there, working with Lucas and his nephew José Ignacio Sauna Zarabata. In addition, I used to work in the city of Santa Marta, where electricity was available for charging my equipment and working on the computer.

The data corpus consists of different texts, namely narratives, short conversations, and discourse prompted by different elicitation tasks, such as the Family Problems Picture task (San Roque et al. 2012). Furthermore, the data include examples from direct elicitation targeting specific grammatical topics. I exclusively worked with bilingual speakers, given that I had to rely on Spanish as a metalanguage. In addition to data that I collected through my own fieldwork, I add access to recordings that Henrik Bergqvist had made during his time working with the Kogi.[3]

The collected texts were compiled in an electronic corpus, which was used for linguistic analysis. Digital processing was be carried out in EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN) , a software for the creation of annotations of audio resources, in combination with FieldWork Language Explorer (FLEx) , a software for the compilation of lexical and text databases.

The theoretical framework on which the analysis of the data is based on is best characterized as a functional-typological approach. This approach assumes that a language is best described in terms of the function of grammatical constructions that occur in it, rather than pre-established grammatical categories (see, for example, Haspelmath [2007]). Nevertheless, as this thesis is intended for linguists of different backgrounds, commonly accepted grammatical labels were used where applicable. For this, I consulted typological works aimed at aiding linguistic descriptive work, for example, Shopen (2007a,b,c) or Payne (1997).

[3]Many thanks go to Henrik Bergqvist for granting me access to his valuable data.

Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter outlines the phonology of Kogi, starting with the description of the consonant phonemes and their realizations in Section 2.1. The inventory of vowels and their realizations are introduced in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 details the syllable structure and Section 2.4 describes the properties of word stress. Section 2.5 introduces the orthographic conventions used in the present work. Finally, Section 2.6 presents the attested morphophonological processes.

2.1 Consonants

The phonemic inventory of Kogi comprises 19 consonants, shown in Table 2.1. Consonants differ in frequency and phonotactic restrictions. The following subsections present the phonemic contrasts of the consonants as well as their phonetic realization.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosives	p b	t d			k g	ʔ
affricates		t͡s	t͡ʃ			
fricatives		s z	ʃ ʒ			
nasals	m	n			ŋ	
approximants	w	l		j		

2.1.1 Plosives

Kogi plosive phonemes contrast in voice and three different places of articulation: (i) bilabial /p/, /b/, (ii) alveolar /t/, /d/, and (iii) velar /k/, /g/. These contrasts are illustrated in (2.1). All oral stops can occur in syllable onsets, while codas only feature voiceless ones, where /k/ is frequent, and /p/ and /t/ are restricted to ideophones.

(2.1)

/dua/	[dwa]	‘lie’
/tũa/	[tw̃ã]	‘see’
/ˈbulu/	[ˈbuɮ^{d}u]	‘little’
/ˈpula/	[ˈpuɮ^{d}a]	‘burn (intr.)’
/ˈkata/	[ˈk͡xat^{h}a]	‘cockroack’
/ˈgata/	[ˈgat^{h}a]	‘flesh’

The voiceless bilabial plosive is typically aspirated before vowels and realized as [p^{h}]. The degree of aspiration is variable, being most prominent in stressed syllables.

(2.2)

/ˈpebu/	[ˈp^{h}ei̯bu]	‘Arhuaco’
/ˈakpe/	[ˈak$^{\neg}$pe]	‘open’

The voiced bilabial stop is commonly realized as [b] and may be subject to lenition in intervocalic position, pronounced as [β].

(2.3)

/ˈbeakze/	[ˈbeaʁze]	‘animal’
/aˈba/	[aˈba] ~ [aˈβa]	‘remain’
/alˈnoba/	[aɮˈnoba] ~ [aɮˈnoβa]	‘sky’

Like /p/, the voiceless alveolar stop is aspirated before vowels and pronounced as [t^{h}], as shown in (2.4).

(2.4)

/te/	[t^{h}e]	‘field’
/tuai/	[t^{h}wai̯]	‘there’
/ˈkata/	[ˈkat^{h}a]	‘cockroack’

Before the high unrounded vowel /i/, /t/ is typically realized as [t͡ʃ] word-initially, but sometimes as [t͡s], as illustrated in (2.5). Word-internally, it is consistently [t͡s].

Affricatization is not only triggered by an adjacent [i], but generally by a syllabic [i] in the same syllable as /t/. This is evident from the morphologically complex form /tũĩ/ ‘looking’, which consists of /tũ/ [t^{h}ũ] ‘look’ and the imperfective suffix /-ĩ/, and is realized as [t͡ʃw̃ĩ].

(2.5)

/ˈtina/	[ˈt͡sina]	‘to destroy’
/muˈkuti/	[muˈk^{h}ut͡si]	‘fist’
/ˈputi/	[ˈp^{h}ut͡si]	‘pot’
/tui/	[t͡ʃwi]	‘mud’
/tũĩ/	[t͡ʃw̃ĩ]	‘looking’

The voiced alveolar plosive /d/, like its voiceless counterpart, is affricativized before /i/, and realized as [dʒ] word-initially and as [dz] word-medially, as shown in (2.6). In all other environments, /d/ is realized as [d], as in the examples in (2.7).

(2.6)

/dinˈʃe/	[d͡ʒinˈʃe]	‘type of ant’
/dĩ/	[d͡ʒĩ]	‘worm’
/munˈdi/	[munˈd͡zi]	‘malanga (kind of tuber)’

(2.7)

/due/	/dwe/	‘elder brother’
/sinˈduli/	/sinˈduld͡zi/	‘hummingbird’
/ˈduzgua/	/ˈduzgwa/	‘squish’

The phoneme /d/ is notably rare; it is attested only in word or syllable onset, and only before /i/ and /u/. Historically, it originates from a complex segment $*^{n}d$, which typically developed into /n/ or /l/ in Kogi (Pache n.d.). It is not clear what conditioned the change to /d/.

The voiceless velar plosive /k/ has a range of different realizations, including aspirated [kʰ], affricated [k͡x] and fricativized [χ] or [ʁ]. Furthermore, /k/ assimilates its place of articulation to the following vowel.

Before the high front vowel /i/, /k/ is aspirated and fronted to [k̟ʰ], as in (2.8). Before mid front /e/ and high back /u/, it is realized as [kʰ], as in (2.9).

(2.8)

/ˈnaki/	[ˈnak̟ʰi]	‘almost’
/saˈki/	[saˈk̟ʰi]	‘how’

(2.9)

/ˈkeha/	[ˈkʰeha]	‘jaw’
/kuˈkuba/	[kʰuˈkʰuba]	‘shoulder’

Before /o/, /ɜ/ and /a/, /k/ may either be retracted and affricated as [k̟͡x], or fricativized to [χ]. The first allophone occurs word-initially, while the second one surfaces word-internally, as shown in (2.10).

(2.10)

/ˈkaka/	[ˈk̟͡xaχa]	‘mouth’
/ˈkɜli/	[ˈk̟͡xɜld͡zi]	‘tree’
/ˈkokɜla/	[ˈk̟͡xoχɜʁa]	‘hand’

In a previous phonological description (Gawthorne & Hensarling 1984), the voiceless velar fricative /x/ was postulated as a phoneme in its own right. According to Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984:43–45), the distribution of /x/ is limited to intervocalic contexts, yet no minimal pair that clearly contrasts /x/ and /k/ is provided by the authors. Moreover, they mention native speaker intuitions and their preference for using <x> in writing as an argument for the phoneme status of /x/.

The segment described by Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984) is realized as a voiceless uvular fricative [χ] by my consultants and occurs with high frequency in the corpus. In contrast to Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984)’s proposal, however, I consider it an allophone of /k/. My data show that [χ] only occurs intervocalically before /a/ or /o/, and never word-initially, as illustrated in (2.11).

(2.11)

/ˈsaka/	[ˈsaχa]	‘moon’
/aˈkotʃi/	[aˈχo͡tʃi]	‘(an)other’
/ˈeka/	[ˈeχa]	‘there’
/ˈnika/	[ˈnika]	‘to sow’
/iˈkola/	[iˈχoɮa]	‘call’ (APPL-yell)
/ˈmuka/	[ˈmuχa]	‘hit (HAB)’

Note that /k/ does not fricativize after nasal vowels, as the combination of these elements trigger an epenthetic nasal [ŋ]. This prevents fricativization, which is exclusive to phonetically intervocalic environments (see Section 2.2 below).

In coda position, the realization of /k/ has a number of free variants. It varies between unreleased [kˀ] and [χ] in word final position, or if the following syllable starts with a voiceless consonant. When /k/ precedes a syllable starting in a voiced consonant, it is realized as the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ]. This is illustrated in (2.12).

(2.12)

/nak/	[nakˀ] ~ [naχ]	‘come’
/mukˈʃĩkɜla/	[mʊkˀˈʃĩk̟ˣɜla]	‘back’
/akˈle/	[aʁˈɮe]	‘more’

/g/ is realized as [g] before /e/ and /u/. Similar to its voiceless counterpart, its place of articulation assimilates to the following segment. Preceding the high front vowel /i/, it is fronted to [g̟], while it is retracted to [g̠] before the non-high back vowels /a/ and /o/, as shown in (2.13).

(2.13)

/ˈgeka/	[ˈgeχa]	‘mountains’
/ˈkagi/	[ˈkˣag̟i]	‘earth, ground’
/ˈgata/	[ˈg̠atʰa]	‘flesh’

The glottal stop /ʔ/ can be considered a marginal phoneme with low frequency, which occurs between vowels, or in isolated pronunciation of vowel-initial words.

(2.14)

/hiˈʔi/	[hiˈʔi]	‘something’
/waˈʔi/	[waˈʔi]	‘skunk’
/ˈebi/	[ˈʔeibi]	‘corn’

2.1.2 Affricates

The voiceless alveolar and postalveolar affricates /t͡s/ and /t͡ʃ/ constitute phonemes in their own right. Note, however, that many instances of affricates are either allophones of /t/ before /i/, or result from prefixation to stem-initial /z/ and /ʒ/ (see Section 2.6.6 below).

As illustrated in (2.15), phonemic affricates contrast with their plosive and fricative counterparts. Both are consistently realized as [t͡s] and [t͡ʃ] respectively.

(2.15)	/miˈt͡sa/	[miˈt͡sa]	‘how many’
	/hu̯aˈmita/	[hwaˈmitʰa]	‘seam of bag’
	/ˈnit͡ʃi/	[ˈɲit͡ʃi]	‘ascend’
	/ˈniʃĩ/	[ˈɲiʃĩ]	‘sowing’
	/aˈt͡ʃa/	[aˈt͡ʃa]	‘do’
	/aˈtaʃi/	[aˈtʰaʃi]	‘green’
	/aˈsaka/	[aˈsaχa]	‘his/ her grandmother’

2.1.3 Fricatives

Fricatives include alveolar and alveo-palatal phonemes which show a voicing contrast, i.e. /s/ – /z/, /ʃ/ – /ʒ/. Their phonemic status is illustrated by the minimal pairs in (2.16).

(2.16)	/se/	[se]	‘darkness’
	/ʒẽ/	[ʒẽ]	‘fear’
	/sa/	[sa]	‘stranger’
	/ʃa/	[ʃa]	‘lie’
	/za/	[za]	‘only’

Alveolar and postalveolar fricatives are realized as affricates when they follow an alveolar consonant (in other words, an alveolar stop is inserted before the fricative), as shown in (2.17). In all other environments they have a canonical realization, i.e. [s] and [z], [ʃ] and [ʒ].

(2.17)	/ˈmunʒi/	[ˈmund͡ʒi]	‘woman’
	/kɜlzeˈʒa/	[kɜld͡zeɻˈʒa]	‘mosquito’
	/hɜnʃiˈbe/	[hɜnt͡ʃiˈbe]	‘good’

Additionally, there is a voiceless glottal fricative typically realized as [h]. When /h/ precedes /i/, the vowel is usually dropped and the fricative is realized as palatal [ɕ]. Examples are given in (2.18).

(2.18)	/hẽ/	[hẽ]	‘this’
	/ˈhika/	[ɕkˣa]	‘something’
	/ˈhiula/	[ˈɕuɮa]	‘sugar cane’

2.1.4 Nasals

Nasal consonants in three different places of articulation are attested: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/. These contrasts are exemplified in (2.19).

(2.19) /ˈmeka/ [ˈmeχa] ‘to store, keep’
/ˈneka/ [ˈneχa] ‘to cultivate’
/ˈmɜnta/ [ˈmɜntʰa] ‘plantain’
/ˈinʒi/ [ˈind͡ʒi] ‘yuca (cassava)’
/ˈsiŋsi/ [ˈsiŋsi] ‘mouse’

Before the high, front vowel /i/, /n/ is palatalized to [ɲ]. Before vowel sequences starting with /i/, e.g. /i̯u/, /i/ is deleted.

(2.20) /ni/ [ɲi] ‘water’
/ˈni̯uwi/ [ˈɲuwi] ‘sun, day’

The contrast between /n/ and /ŋ/ is neutralized when followed by a velar consonant. That is, before /k/ and /g/, only [ŋ] is found.

2.1.5 Approximants

The set of approximants comprises a labio-velar /w/, a palatal /j/ and a lateral segment /l/. As shown in (2.21), the labio-velar and palatal approximants are consistently realized as [w] and [j], and adjacent to nasal vowels they are nasalized.

(2.21) /ˈwaka/ [ˈwaχa] ‘face’
/ˈjoʃi/ [ˈjoʃi] ‘burning’
/maˈkẽwã/ [maˈkʰẽw̃ã] ‘four’

The lateral approximant /l/ is realized as a voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ] in word-final position and before voiceless consonants. Its realization before voiced consonants, and between a consonant and a vowel can vary between [l] and [ɮ]. In the latter environment, the release of the allophone [ɮ] is typically similar to that of [d], which may be represented as [ɮᵈ].

(2.22) /ˈniuɜl/ [ˈɲuɜɬ] ‘dry season’
/ˈhoka-l/ [ˈhoχɜɬ] ‘bathe-PURP’
/kɜlˈke/ [kɜɬ.ˈkʰe] ‘leaf’
/alˈnoba/ [ɜɮ.ˈnoʷβa] ~ [ɜl.ˈnoʷβa] ‘sky’
/ˈgakla/ [ˈgɜkˀ.ɮᵈa] ~ [ˈgɜkˀ.la] ‘neck’

In most inter-vocalic environments, more precisely all but V_/i/, /l/ is consistently realized as [ɮᵈ]. An interesting trait of intervocalic /l/ reveals itself when speakers are asked to pronounce relevant words slowly in order to indicate syllable boundaries. It appears that /l/ often is long, or geminated, which is evident as in syllabification, /l/ occurs in both the syllable-coda (as [ɮ]) and in the onset of the following syllable (as [ɮᵈ]), e.g. /ˈgula/ [ˈguɮ.ɮᵈa] ‘arm’. It must be noted, however, that there is some variation in speaker judgements. That is, some speakers may opt for a segmentation with ambisyllabic /l/, e.g. [ˈguɮ.ɮᵈa], whereas others do not, e.g. [ˈgu.ɮᵈa] ‘arm’.

The ambisyllabic realization is likely connected to the diachronic origin of /l/, which can be traced back to a complex segment, namely the prenasalized stop *^{n}d (Pache n.d.). With only a few exceptions, *^{n}d has developed into /l/ in word-internal position.[1]

It is interesting to note that /l/ constitutes an allophone of morpheme-initial /n/, which results from the morphophonological process of denasalization can also be ambisyllabic, as shown in (2.23). A further indication for geminated /l/ in this example is the realization of the vowel /a/ which is centralized before long consonants. That is, it is typically realized as [ɜ] in closed syllables (see Section 2.2 below).

(2.23) /na-/ '1SG.INAL' + /nu/ 'elder sister' → [nɜɮ.ˈɮ^{d}u]

For both /l/ as a phoneme or as an allophone of /n/, it is plausible that the complexity of the reconstructed phoneme is reflected in the long realization of intervocalic /l/.

Note that, from a synchronic perspective, there is no evidence for geminated /l/ to phonemically contrast with a singleton /l/, as opposed to other long consonants (see below Section 2.1.7). Moreover, the contrast in length, which is rather elusive in normal speech, is subject to free variation.

Lastly, before /i/, /l/ is realized as [l$\widehat{\text{dz}}$]. Thus, it appears that the element [d] of the intervocalic allophone [ɮ^{d}] which is usually only weak, is affricativized in this environment. Note that [l$\widehat{\text{dz}}$] is also separated into two segments in syllabification with [l] forming the syllable coda, and [$\widehat{\text{dz}}$] the onset of the following syllable. This is shown in (2.24).

(2.24) /ˈkɜli/ [ˈkɜl.$\widehat{\text{dz}}$i] 'dry season'
/sinˈduli/ [sin.ˈdul.$\widehat{\text{dz}}$i] 'hummingbird'

2.1.6 Distribution of consonants

The distribution of consonant phonemes is illustrated in Table 2.2. In word-initial and syllable-initial position, almost all consonants are attested, with the exception of /ŋ/. Moreover, /l/, /$\widehat{\text{ts}}$/ and /$\widehat{\text{tʃ}}$/ occur syllable-initially, yet never word-initially. Word-medially, the syllable coda can be occupied by any consonant with the exception of affricates, glides, /ʔ/, /h/ and /p/. Word-final position is restricted to voiceless stops, voiceless coronal fricatives, and nasal as well as lateral consonants. Note that the voiceless consonants, with the exception of /k/, only occur in ideophones.

[1] Other reflexes of the reconstructed phoneme are /n/ in word-initial position, /ʒ/ after /i/, and occasionally /d/. Note also that in contemporary Kogi, morpheme-initial /n/ alternates with /l/ and /ʒ/ as a morphophonological process.

Table 2.2: Distribution of consonants

	Word-initial		Syllable-initial		Syllable-final		Word-final	
/p/	/ˈpena/	‘fall’	/ˈakpe/	‘open’	—		/tup/	‘spit’ (ideoph.)
/b/	/biˈgiʒa/	‘pineapple’	/ˈhiba/	‘work’	/ˈnɜbbi/	‘tiger’	—	
/t/	/te/	‘field’	/ˈhate/	‘father’	/atˈtue/	‘his older brother’	/hwɜt/	‘rise’ (ideoph.)
/d/	/ˈdueba/	‘old’	/sinˈduli/	‘hummingbird’	—		—	
/k/	/ˈkagi/	‘earth’	/ˈgeka/	‘mountains’	/aˈbaksɨ/	‘black’	/nak/	‘come’
/g/	/ˈgula/	‘arm’	/ˈkagi/	‘earth’	/ˈkɜggaba/	‘Kogi’	—	
/ʔ/	/ˈʔezua/	‘one’	/waˈʔi/	‘skunk’	—		—	
/t͡s/	—		/miˈt͡sa/	‘how many’	—		—	
/t͡ʃ/	—		/maˈt͡ʃui/	‘many, a lot’	—		—	
/s/	/siˈgi/	‘man’	/ˈkasa/	‘foot’	/hisˈbena/	‘crawl’	/gɜs/	‘cut’ (ideoph.)
/z/	/ˈzula/	‘seed’	/ˈsɨza/	‘arrow’	/azˈbuaŋ/	‘some’	—	
/ʃ/	/ʃi/	‘rope’	/ˈnẽʃa/	‘sell’	/kaʃˈkuama/	‘yellow’	/huiʃ/	‘shoo’ (ideoph.)
/ʒ/	/ˈʒawa/	‘little’	/biˈgiʒa/	‘pineapple’	/ˈhiʒba/	‘meal’		
/h/	/hui/	‘house’	/kãˈhã/	‘drum’	—		—	
/m/	/ˈmunʒi/	‘woman’	/suguaˈme/	‘bag’	/ˈsamne/	‘soft’	/ˈkasam/	‘on foot’
/n/	/ni/	‘water’	/alˈnoba/	‘sky’	/ˈinʒi/	‘yuca’	/ˈmuɜn/	‘middle’
/ŋ/	—		—		/ˈsiŋsi/	‘mouse’	/ˈnasiŋ/	‘1PL’
/l/	—		/ˈhiula/	‘sugar cane’	/ˈdulgua/	‘squish’	/nẽjal/	‘go-PURP’
/w/	/ˈwaka/	‘face’	/maˈkẽwa/	‘four’	—		—	
/j/	/ˈjoʃi/	‘burn’	/ˈgaja/	‘young woman’	—		—	

2.1.7 Consonant lengthening

Certain consonants can occur geminated, i.e. as long consonants. This is most evident in monomorphemic words that can contain geminated versions of /b/, /k/ and /g/, i.e. /bː/, /kː/ and /gː/.[2]

Geminates of /b/, /k/ and /g/ are illustrated in (2.25) with corresponding near-minimal pairs featuring a singleton consonant.

(2.25)	/ˈɜbbi/	[ˈɜbːi]	‘blood’
	/ˈebi/	[ˈe̯i̯bi]	‘maize’
	/ˈnukka/	[ˈnuk͡ːxa]	‘hear’
	/ˈnuka/	[ˈnuxa]	‘cook’
	/ˈkagi/	[ˈk̯͡xagi]	‘ground, earth’
	/ˈhɜggi/	[ˈhɜgːi]	‘stone’

The difference between geminate stops and their singleton counterparts is reflected in the duration of the closure phase, illustrated with the oscillograms of the near minimal pair /ˈnaki/ ‘almost’ and /ˈnɜkku/ ‘salt’, which were recorded in frame sentences (Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2).

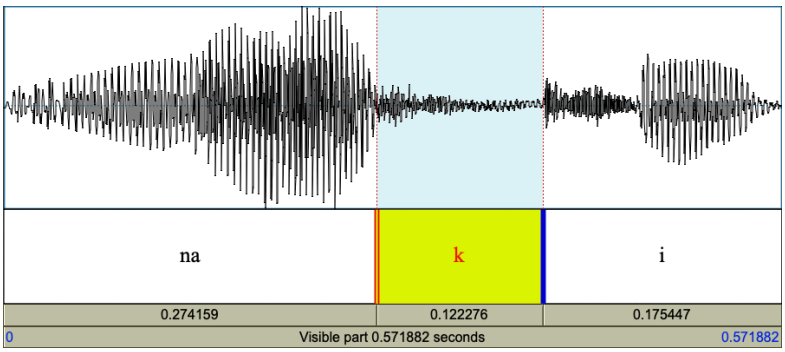


Figure 2.1: Short consonant /k/ in /ˈnaki/ [ˈnak̯ʰi] ‘almost’

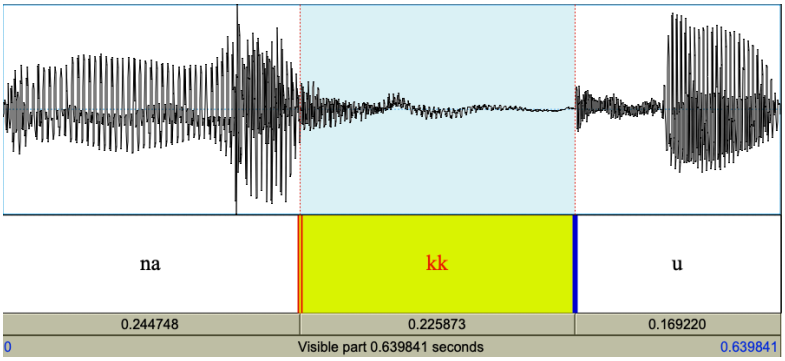


Figure 2.2: Geminate consonant /kː/ in /ˈnɜkku/ [ˈnɜkːʰu] ‘salt’

[2]According to Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984), /d/ may also be geminated, yet this is not attested in my corpus. The word ⟨gaddá⟩ ‘thick’ noted by Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984) appeared to be unknown by my consultants.

It is evident that the closure duration of long [kː], i.e. 226 ms, is longer than the one of short [k], i.e. 122 ms, which corresponds to a ratio of roughly 1:1.9. In general, the durational ratio between short and geminated stop consonants in Kogi varies between 1:15 and 1:2, which is in line with the cross-linguistic tendency observed by Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996:92).

While consonants show a length distinction, this is not the case for vowels (see Section 2.2 below).[3]

In addition, there are two peripheral geminates, namely [lː], which was discussed in Section 2.1.5 above, and [tː], which only occurs at a prefix stem boundary. The geminate [tː] in (2.26) is an allophone of /d/ resulting from the morphophonological process of devoicing (see Section 2.6.5). Note that /d/ developed from the same complex segment as /l/, i.e. $*^{n}d$, which may explain this long realization in intervocalic position.

(2.26) /a-/ '3SG.INAL' + /due/ 'elder brother' → /aˈtːue/ [ɜtˈtʰwe]

2.2 Vowels

The Kogi vowel inventory comprises 15 phonemes featuring seven oral monophthongs and one diphthong. With the exception of /ɜ/, each oral vowel has a nasal counterpart. There is no evidence for a phonological distinction in terms of length (as opposed to consonants). The inventory of vowel phonemes is presented in Figure 2.3.

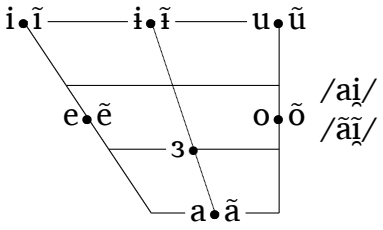


Figure 2.3: Vowel phonemes of Kogi

With the exception of /ɨ/ and /ɜ/, all vowels have unrestricted distribution. That is to say, they can occur after any consonant, are allowed in onset position, and in open as well as closed syllables.

The central vowel /ɨ/ exclusively occurs after /s/ or /z/, and the relevant syllable may be both open or closed, and stressed or unstressed. The fact that /i/ and /u/ can occur in the same environments rules out the possibility of /ɨ/ being an allophone of these other high vowel phonemes.

As for /ɜ/, its phonemic status is not unequivocal, as is discussed below. Its occurrence tends to be restricted to stressed, closed syllables.

[3] In this respect, Kogi is typologically unusual, as distinctive vowel length is overall more common than geminate consonants (Blevins 2004:179).

2.2.1 Oral vowels

Phonemic contrasts among oral vowels are illustrated in the following (near-) minimal pairs.

(2.27) a – e – i – o –u

/ˈnaka/	[ˈnaχa]	‘come’
/ˈneka/	[ˈnekχa]	‘cultivate’
/ˈnika/	[ˈɲiχa]	‘sow’
/ˈnoka/	[ˈnoχa]	‘be located’
/ˈnuka/	[ˈnuχa]	‘cook’

(2.28) i – ɨ –u

/ˈsɨka/	[ˈsɨχa]	‘arrow’
/ˈsiŋsi/	[ˈsiŋsi]	‘mouse’
/siˈzika/	[siˈziχa]	‘eagle’
/siˈgi/	[siˈgi]	‘man’
/ˈsɨgi/	[sɨgi]	‘deer’
/ˈsugi/	[ˈsugi]	‘poporo (gourd container)’

(2.29) a – ɜ

/kaˈla/	[k͡xaˈɮᵈa]	‘grass’
/ˈkɜla/	[ˈk͡xɜɮːᵈa]	‘leg’
/ˈkuali/	[ˈkʰwald͡zi]	‘living’
/ˈkuɜlini/	[ˈkʰwɜld͡ziɲi]	‘returning’
/ˈmɜli/	[ˈmɜld͡zi]	‘hunger’
/mɜˈle/	[mɜˈɮːᵈe] ~ [mɜˈɮᵈe]	‘a while’
/maˈlu/	[maˈɮᵈu]	‘banana’

Let us start the presentation of vowel phonemes and their realization with /a/ and /ɜ/, which are best discussed in relation to each other.

In monomorphemic words, /a/ is consistently realized as a low central unrounded vowel [a].

(2.30)

/ˈkagi/	[ˈk̟ˣagi]	‘ground, earth’
/ˈhaba/	[ˈhaba]	‘mother’
/ʃa/	[ʃa]	‘lie’
/aˈtaʃi/	[aˈtʰaʃi]	‘green, blue’

As for the open-mid central unrounded /ɜ/, it is considered as a phoneme in its own right in the present account, albeit a marginal one. Note that existing phonological accounts of Kogi vary in this respect; Ortíz Ricaurte (2000) and Holmer (1953) for instance, only postulated one phoneme /a/, whereas Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984) treat /ɜ/ and /a/ as two phonemes.

In order to illustrate the marginal status of /ɜ/, I firstly present aspects that challenge the analysis as a phoneme distinct from /a/, and subsequently present the reasons in favor of its phonemic status.

Firstly, it is apparent that /a/ alternates with [ɜ] in polymorphemic words, specifically before geminate consonants or affricates (cf. the morphophonemic process of devoicing and affricatization discussed in Section 2.6.6) that arise from affixing at morpheme boundaries. This is illustrated in (2.31).

(2.31)

/nak-/ '1SG.III'	+ /zek/ 'feel'	→	[naʁˈzekˀ]
/nak-/ '1SG.III'	+ /kõ/ 'give'	→	[nɜkˀ ˈk̲ˣõ]
/guak/ 'say'	+ /-a/ 'ST'	→	[ˈgwaχa]
/guak/ 'say'	+ /-ka/ 'HAB'	→	[ˈgwɜkˀ ˈk̲ˣa]
/a-/ 'adjective marker'	+ /ˈziʃi/ 'red'	→	[ɜˈtsïʃi]

Its diachronic source further underlines the marginal status of /ɜ/; both /a/ and /ɜ/ appear to have developed from the same Proto-Chibchan vowel **a* (Pache n.d.), as the examples presented in Table 2.3 illustrate.[4]

Table 2.3: Reflexes of Proto-Chibchan *a

Proto-Chibchan		Kogi	
**ka?(k)*	'cosmos, day, time earth'	/ˈkagi/	'ground, earth, year'
**hak*	'stone'	/ˈhɜggi/	'stone'

While both /a/ and /ɜ/ show tendencies to occur in certain contexts, no clear pattern of complementary distribution emerges. The tendencies that I observed are congruent in several respects with those noted by Gawthorne & Hensarling (1984). First of all, there is a tendency for /a/ to occur in open syllables (cf. (2.30) above), and for /ɜ/ to appear in closed ones, in particular where the coda is part of a geminate, as shown in (2.32).

(2.32)

/meˈbɜk/	[meˈbɜk]	'yesterday'
/uˈbɜŋ/	[uˈbɜŋ]	'immediately'
/ˈnɜmtu/	[ˈnɜmtʰu]	'hat'
/nɜs/	[nɜs]	'1SG'
/ˈhɜggi/	[ˈhɜggi]	'stone'
/hɜkˈka/	[hɜkˈka]	'bridge'
/ˈnɜbbi/	[ˈnɜbbi]	'feline'

Note that, in these examples, the vowel in question may theoretically constitute an underlying vowel /a/ which is centralized before geminates, parallel to the situation

[4] Note that Kogi's sister languages, Ika (Landaburu 2000) and Dámana (Trillos Amaya 1999; Williams 1993), also feature a central vowel phoneme distinct from /a/ which, according to the observations by Pache (n.d.) have developed from Proto-Chibchan *a alongside /a/.

in polymorphemic words (cf. (2.31) above). However, as they are monomorphemic words, this cannot be verified.

Moreover, the contrast appears to be more pronounced in stressed syllables. There is a slight tendency for /a/ in unstressed syllables to be centralized to [ɜ] in fluent speech, thus the contrast is possibly neutralized in this context.

Finally, it is also interesting to note that native speakers do not distinguish between /a/ and /ɜ/. This is also reflected in the commonly used orthography (see Section 2.5) in which both are represented by ⟨a⟩.

While these distributional tendencies point to an allophonic relation, it is apparent that both vowels can occur in virtually the same environment. The near-minimal pairs featuring /a/ and /ɜ/ introduced at the beginning of this section are repeated in (2.33). The analysis of /a/ and /ɜ/ as distinct phonemes is essentially motivated by these word pairs.[5]

(2.33) a – ɜ

/kaˈla/	[k͡xaˈɮᵈa]	‘grass’
/ˈkɜla/	[ˈk͡xɜɮːᵈa]	‘leg’
/ˈkuali/	[ˈkʰwald͡zi]	‘living’
/ˈkuɜlini/	[ˈkʰwɜld͡ziɲi]	‘returning’
/ˈmɜli/	[ˈmɜld͡zi]	‘hunger’
/mɜˈle/	[mɜˈɮːᵈe] ~ [mɜˈɮᵈe]	‘a while’
/maˈlu/	[maˈɮᵈu]	‘banana’

The front unrounded vowel /e/ has mid to low-mid realization, represented here as [e]. [e] occurs before voiceless plosives, the glottal fricative, nasals, glides as well as word-finally, as in the examples in (2.34).

(2.34)

/aˈtema/	[aˈtema]	‘big’
/eˈtagua/	[eˈtʰagwa]	‘eight’
/aseˈwa/	[aseˈwa]	‘his/her spouse’
/ˈkeha/	[ˈkʰeha]	‘jaw’
/aˈhate/	[aˈhatʰe]	‘his/her father’

Before voiced plosives, and alveolar and post-alveolar fricatives, /e/s tends to be diphthongized and realized as [e̯i].

[5] As a last remark, it is interesting to note that the relevant vowels in (2.33) are all followed by /l/, an element whose special properties were noted in Section 2.1 above. Recall that /l/ originates from a complex segment and often has a long realization. The existence of historically long and short /l/ is a possible explanation. That is, /ɜ/ and /a/ might have been in complimentary distribution, the former occurring before long /l/, and the latter before short /l/. This would mean that the length contrast of /l/ has been lost, while the quality contrast of the vowels is still maintained. Nevertheless, nothing conclusive can be said at present.

(2.35)

/ˈpebu/	[ˈpe̯ibu]	‘Arhuaco’
/aˈbezi/	[aˈbe̯izi]	‘pumpkin’
/ˈsesɨ/	[ˈse̯isɨ]	‘cricket’
/ˈteʒa/	[ˈte̯iʒa]	‘side’
/ˈmele/	[ˈme̯iʓe]	‘which’
/meˈbak/	[me̯iˈbakˀ]	‘tomorrow’

/i/ is realized as the high front unrounded cardinal vowel [i] in most environments. Preceding another vowel, it is realized as a glide [j].

(2.36)

/hi/	[hi]	‘what’
/ˈisa/	[ˈisa]	‘ant’
/ˈniuba/	[ˈɲuba]	‘bird’

/ɨ/ is pronounced like the high central unrounded vowel [ɨ] in all contexts. As noted above, /ɨ/ is relatively infrequent and only occurs after /s/, /t͡s/ or /z/ (either in open or closed, and stressed or unstressed syllables). As opposed to the other vowel phonemes, /ɨ/ never occurs before another vowel.

(2.37) i – ɨ –u

/ˈsɨka/	[ˈsɨχa] ‘arrow’
/ˈsɨgi/	[ˈsɨgi] ‘deer’
/aˈt͡sɨʃi/	[ɜˈt͡sɨʃi] ‘red’
/aˈbɜkˀsɨ/	[aˈbɜkˀsɨ] ‘black’

In most environments, /o/ corresponds to the mid back rounded vowel [o] and has a mid to low-mid realization. Before bilabial consonants, /o/ is slightly diphthongized to [o̯u̯].

(2.38)

/alˈnoba/	[aʓˈno̯u̯βa]	‘sky’
/soˈma/	[so̯u̯ˈma]	‘baby’

Lastly, /u/ corresponds to the high back rounded cardinal vowel [u] in all environments with the exception of vowel sequences. When /u/ occurs before another vowel, it is realized as a glide [w].

(2.39)

/ˈulu/	[ˈuʓu]	‘pan’
/ˈsukkua/	[ˈsukːʰwa]	‘boy’

There is one diphthong phoneme /ai̯/, which contrasts with monophthongs, as illustrated in (2.40).

(2.40) /ai̯/ - /a/ - /i/ - /e/

/hai̯/	‘here’
/hẽ/	‘this’
/hi/	‘what’
/ˈkai̯ga/	‘now’
/ˈkagi/	‘ground’

In an earlier stage of Kogi, as the one described by Preuss (1925), /ai̯/ was more prominent (and possibly still is in other varieties of modern Kogi). In the variety documented in this study, most instances have changed to /e/. This monophthongization affected /ai̯/ in word-initial, medial as well as final position, as shown in Table 2.4, where contemporary forms are compared with old forms found in Preuss (1926a).

Table 2.4: Monophthongization of /ai̯/

Gloss	Preuss (1926a)	Contemporary form
‘there’	*aika*	/ˈeka/
‘give’	*gai*	/ge/
‘agave’	*minkai*	/minˈke/
‘swim’	*huaina*	/ˈhũẽna/

Nevertheless, some instances of /ai̯/ are preserved, as shown in Table 2.5, which compares forms collected by Preuss with contemporary forms.[6] The factors, which caused the loss of the diphthong in certain words but not others, are not clear. It can be maintained that many of the forms with preserved /ai̯/ may be characterized as high frequency items, e.g. /ˈmai̯gua/ ‘three’ or /mai̯ng/ ‘2PL’. As evidenced by the phonetic representations in Table 2.5, the diphthong has variable realizations in the contemporary variety, i.e. /ai̯/ as in [ˈmai̯gwa], or [ɛi̯] as in [ˈkˣɛi̯ga].

The fact that there was a change from a diphthong phoneme /ai̯/ to a different monophthong phoneme /e/, rather than the disappearance of one of the vowel elements, further supports the analysis of /ai̯/ as a single segment.

Table 2.5: Preservation of /ai̯/

Gloss	Preuss (1926a)	Contemporary form
‘here’	*hai*	[hai̯]
‘hair’	*sai*	[sãĩ̯]
‘paca’	*mihai*	[miˈhai̯]
‘three’	*maigua*	[ˈmai̯gwa]
‘now, today’	*kaiga*	[ˈkʰɛi̯ga]
‘2PL’	*maing*	[mɛi̯ŋ]
‘like this’	*aiki*	[ɛi̯ˈkʰi]

[6] Note that *sãĩ̯* ‘hair’ is not marked for nasalization by Preuss, who did not notate nasalization in general (only sometimes with a following <ñ>). I do not assume that nasalization in this case is a recent development.

One might also consider an alternative analysis of the diphthong, namely as a sequence of a vowel and a glide /j/. This analysis, however, can be rejected , as it would imply the existence of consonant clusters in the syllable coda in words like /maiŋ/ '2PL' (/majŋ/). While Kogi allows for complex onsets, clusters in codas are not attested in any context.

In contrast to the diphthong /ai̯/, all other clusters of vowels in the same syllable are treated here as a sequence of two vowel phonemes. Examples thereof are provided in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Vowel sequences

/iu/	/ˈniuba/	'bird'
/io/	/nio/	epistemic particle
/ia/	/mia/	'where'
/ie/	/gie/	'firewood'
/ui/	/hui/	'house'
/ue/	/due/	'older brother'
/ua/	/ˈezua/	'one'
/uo/	/huola/	'to boil'

In all of these instances it is evident that the second vowel is the more prominent segment, i.e. in terms of intensity and duration (also known as rising prominence). As was shown above, the first element in these vowel sequences is phonetically realized as a glide, [w] or [j], respectively.

An alternative analysis of these vowel sequences is analyzing them as underlying glide-vowel sequences instead, as for example /ˈnjuba/ or /hwi/. The reason for rejecting such an analysis is the fact that a sequence of these segments can result from concatenation of two morphemes with a vocalic nucleus, as in the examples in (2.41). In these cases, it is obvious, that vowels are the underlying segments, yet they are realized in the same way as vowel sequences in monomorphemic words.

(2.41) /hangu/ 'think' + /-ĩ/ 'IPFV' → [ˈhaŋgw̃ĩ]
/tũ/ 'see' + /-a/ 'ST' → [tʰw̃ã]
/i-/ 'LOC.APPL' + /a-/ 'MID' + /te/ 'sit' → [jaˈtʰe]

2.2.2 Nasal vowels

The phonemic status of nasal vowels is illustrated in (2.42). As each example only features one (kind of) nasal vowel and as no nasal consonant is present, it can be ruled out that the nasality is caused by any other segment.

(2.42)

/ˈkãhã/	[ˈkãhã]	‘relative’
/ʒẽ/	[ʒẽ]	‘fear, afraid’
/dĩ/	[dʒĩ]	‘worm’
/kõ/	[kõ]	‘give’
/tũ/	[tũ]	‘look’
/ˈniuwisĩ/	[ˈɲwisĩ]	‘daytime’
/sãi̯/	[sãi̯]	‘hair’

For the nasal-oral contrast, there are only three minimal pairs attested in my corpus, presented in (2.43). A further near-minimal pair is given in (2.44).

(2.43)

/sai̯/	[sai̯]	‘how’ (contraction of /saˈkʰi/)
/sãi̯/	[sãi̯]	‘hair’
/ˈmowi/	[ˈmowi]	‘cloud’
/ˈmõwĩ/	[ˈmõw̃ĩ]	‘crying’
/tui/	[tʃwi]	‘mud’
/tũĩ/	[tʃw̃ĩ]	‘looking’

(2.44)

/ˈhu̯asgu̯i/	[ˈhwɜsgwi]	‘father-in-law’
/ˈhisgu̯ĩ/	[ˈhisgw̃ĩ]	‘tearing’

As for their phonetic realization, nasal vowels, apart from nasality, have the same allophones as oral vowels in the respective context (see Section 2.2.1).

As will be shown in Section 2.6.1 on morphophonological processes, nasalization is a supra-segmental process that operates both regressively and progressively across morpheme boundaries. Nasality of a nasal vowel spreads to vowels (or glides) of other morphemes through the consonantal segments /h/, /w/, and /j/, while it is blocked by all other consonants, including nasals. This can be observed, for example, in polymorphemic words with the ergative suffix *-hã*. For example, when affixed to *siˈgi* ‘man’, the marker causes the final vowel to nasalize: /siˈgi-hã/ [siˈgĩ-hã].

In mono-morphemic words, as seen in (2.45), sequences of vowels that are not interrupted by any consonant other than /h/, /w/ and /j/ are all nasal, which may point to a similar process of nasality spreading. Thus, one might assume that relevant words feature a single underlying nasal vowel which causes nasality in the other vowels. However, given that nasal spreading as a supra-segmental process may apply progressively as well as regressively, it is not possible to determine which vowel would be underlyingly nasal. For this reason, such an analysis is rejected and all nasal vowels, as in the examples in (2.45), are considered phonemically nasal.

(2.45)

/ˈnõwã/	[ˈnõw̃ã]	‘a little’
/ĩˈhĩã/	[ĩˈhj̃ã]	‘smoke’
/kẽˈwã/	[kʰẽˈw̃ã]	‘ankle’

Nasalization of vowels is also observed as a result of coarticulation in the vicinity of nasal consonants. However, there is an audible difference in degree of nasalization, which is clearly more prominent in nasal vowel phonemes.

One particularity of nasal vowels comes to light when they occur before a velar consonant /k/ or /g/. In these cases, an intervening epenthetic nasal [ŋ] appears, as shown in (2.46). The fact that [ŋ] here prevents the following /k/ to fricativize (which it does intervocalically before /a/ and /o/, see Section 2.1.1) suggests that it is an epenthetic consonant, rather than just a coarticulatory phenomenon.

(2.46) 'go' + /-ka/ 'HAB' → [ˈnẽŋk̲ˣa] 's/he goes'

2.3 Syllable structure

The canonical syllable minimally consists of a vowel and maximally of two consonants in the onset, two vowels, and one consonant in the coda, which can be represented as (C)(C)V(V)(C). The different syllable types are illustrated in Table 2.7. Recall that the diphthong /ai̯/ constitutes one segment, which occupies a single V-slot in the syllable representations.

Table 2.7: Types of syllables

Syllable	Example	Gloss
V	/ẽ/	'DEM'
CV	/te/	'field'
CVV	/due/	'elder brother'
CVV	/nuai̯/	'tobacco'
CVC	/nak/	'come'
CVC	/mai̯ŋ/	'2PL'
CCV	/ska/	'DUB'
CVVC	/tuaŋ/	'dark'
CCVC	/stak/	'beside'
CCVV	/na.ˈskua/	'my son'
CCVVC	/ʃkual.ˈgua/	'cut in two pieces'

Note that the presented syllable types are established on the basis of the phonemic or underlying form. The other option, taking the phonetic or surface form as a starting point, would call for different analyses for some syllables, namely those that involve a vowel sequence. Recall from Section 2.2 that vowel sequences always have a non-syllabic high vowel /i/ or /u/ as their first segment, which is realized as a glide consonant [j] or [w]. In the case of the types CVV and CVVC, the analysis based on the phonetic form would yield CCV for [dwe] 'elder brother', and CCVC for [tʰwaŋ] 'dark'. Both of these types are also attested with other segments, i.e. when the second consonant cannot be analyzed as a vowel. By contrast, instead of CCVV and CCVVC, two new types would emerge: CCCV for [na.ˈskʰwa] 'my son' and CCCVC for [ˈʃkʰwɜl.gwa] 'cut in two pieces'.

For a discussion of phonotactics, i.e. which segment can occur in different parts of the syllable, the reader is referred to Section 2.1.6 where the distribution of consonants is detailed.

Whereas no consonant clusters in codas are attested, complex syllable onsets are not uncommon. These always feature a sibilant as their first element, while the second is one of the following segments: /t/, /k/, /l/ and /n/.

These clusters evidently result from the elision of a vowel, which is typically unstressed. As shown with the examples in (2.47), many words still exhibit a form preserving the original vowel, yet this form is used less frequently.

(2.47)	/ˈskala/	/siˈkala/	‘needle’
	/ˈslakala/	/siˈlakala/	‘bone’
	/snunˈka/	/sinunˈka/	‘armpit’
	/stak/		‘at the side (side-LOC)’
	/ˈslɜmpakue/		‘flat’

2.4 Stress

Stress assignment is not regular in Kogi, rather it is lexically determined, or dependent on the particular construction. After discussing the phonetic properties of stressed syllables, it is shown how stress assignment is variable depending on word classes and constructions.

As illustrated with the minimal pair in Figure 2.4 (/ˈkãhã/ ‘relative’) and Figure 2.5 (/kãˈhã/ ‘drum (played by women)’, the main indicator of stress is intensity (presented by the green line), which is increased on the stressed syllable. The blue line marks the pitch and suggests that stressed syllables also are higher in pitch. This is true for words produced in isolated speech, as in the case of the recordings that yielded the graphs in Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5. However, in fluent speech, e.g. in the pronunciation of words within a frame sentence, both syllables show a stable pitch with little difference between stressed and unstressed syllables.

Vowel length, too, plays a relatively marginal role. While stressed vowels tend to be longer than unstressed vowels especially in isolated speech, both vowels are essentially of equal duration in fluent speech.

Different word classes show distinct behavior in terms of stress placement. For nouns, adjectives and minor parts of speech, stress is lexically determined and rigid, i.e. it is not influenced by affixing. Members of these word classes show a tendency for stress to be assigned to the penultimate syllable of the mono-morphemic form.

The class of nouns includes a small number of minimal pairs with contrastive stress; the minimal pairs in (2.48) express different meanings depending on stress placement.

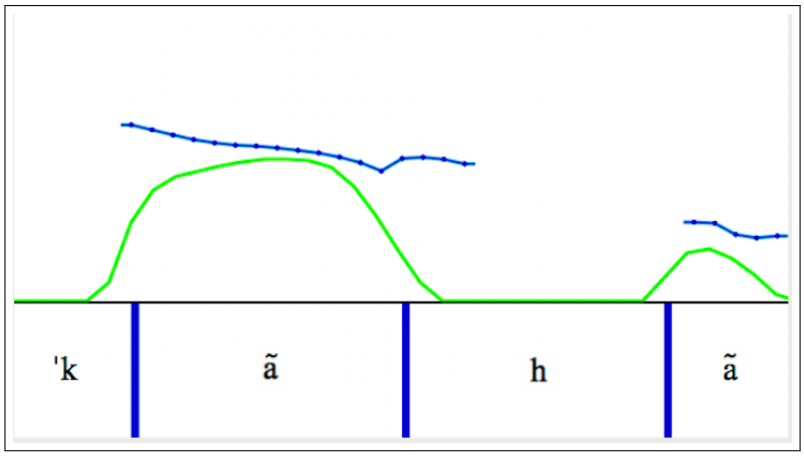


Figure 2.4: Stress on first syllable in /ˈkãhã/ ‘relative’

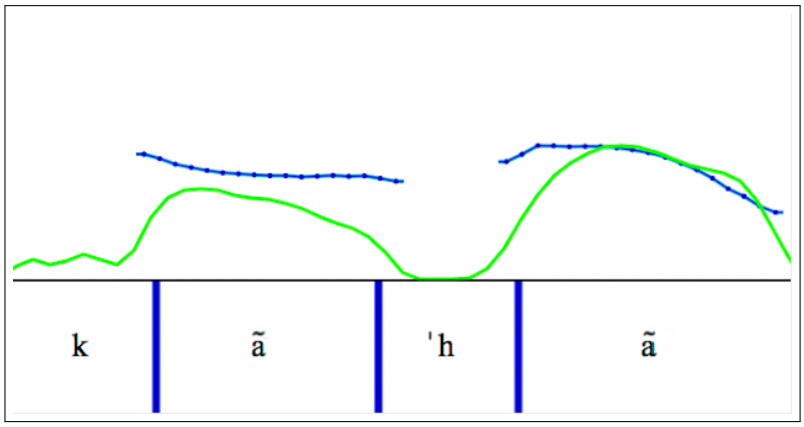


Figure 2.5: Stress on second syllable in /kãˈhã/ ‘drum played by women’

(2.48) Contrastive stress on nouns
/ˈnina/ ‘river’
/niˈna/ ‘belt worn by women’
/ˈkãhã/ ‘relatives’
/kãˈhã/ ‘drum played by women’
/ˈhuka/ (house.LOC) ‘in the house’
/huˈka/ ‘palm tree’

In contrast to other word classes, stress placement in verb forms is variable.

In inflected verb forms, the location of stress depends on the type of affix that is used, namely whether it carries inherent stress or not. Prefixes never have inherent stress, nor do they alter the placement of stress, which is typically on the penultimate syllable of the verb stem. Moreover certain suffixes are not inherently stressed, as for example the past anticlitic *#ne* or person suffixes, e.g. /-ma/ ‘2SG’. As shown in (2.49), stress is not influenced by these markers and remains on the first syllable of the stem.

(2.49) a. *túkane*

tuk-a#ne
drink-ST#PST

's/he drank'

b. *túkamale*

tuk-a-ma#ne
drink-ST-2SG#PST

'you drank'

When a suffix with inherent stress is used, by contrast, stress moves from the stem to the relevant syllable of the suffix, as for example, with the future marker *-líka*.

(2.50) *tuk-a-líka*
drink-ST-FUT

's/he will drink'

Stressed and unstressed suffixes are further discussed in Section 3.2.3.

While polymorphemic words consisting of a stem and one or more bound morphemes (i.e. affixes, clitics or anticlitics) do not show secondary stress, compounds generally do so. In compounds, primary stress is on the second stem and the first stem shows secondary stress, as in the examples in (2.51).

(2.51)

/ˌhate-ˈdueba/ 'grandfather' (lit.: 'father-old')
/ˌwaka-ˈteʒa/ 'cheek' (lit.: 'face-side')

2.5 Orthographic conventions

While no official standardized orthography has been established, literate speakers make use of a system largely based on the Spanish one to write in Kogi. An extensive example of the commonly used orthography is found in the translation of the New Testament in Kogi.

According to these conventions, /h/ is represented by the grapheme ⟨j⟩ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ by the grapheme ⟨ñ⟩. In addition, ⟨ʉ⟩ is typically used to write the phoneme /ɨ/, and ⟨x⟩ represents the uvular allophone [χ] of /k/. No distinction is made between oral and nasal vowels, nor is there a separate grapheme for the marginal phoneme /ʒ/. Lastly, it is noteworthy that /l/ before vowels is consistently written as ⟨ld⟩, reflecting the realization as /l^{d}/. ⟨l⟩ is only used before consonants.

In general, much like in other languages with no standard orthography (e.g. Swiss German), there is considerable variability in orthographic preferences among individual speakers.

Table 2.8: Phoneme grapheme correspondences

Phoneme	My convention	Kogi convention
/p/	⟨p⟩	⟨p⟩
/t/	⟨t⟩	⟨t⟩
/k/	⟨k⟩	⟨k, x⟩
/ʔ/	⟨'⟩	-
/b/	⟨b⟩	⟨b⟩
/d/	⟨d ⟩	⟨d⟩
/g/	⟨g⟩	⟨g⟩
/ts/	⟨ts⟩	⟨ts⟩
/tʃ/	⟨tsh⟩	⟨tsh⟩
/s/	⟨s⟩	⟨s⟩
/ʃ/	⟨sh⟩	⟨sh⟩
/z/	⟨z⟩	⟨z⟩
/ʒ/	⟨zh⟩	⟨zh⟩
/h/	⟨h⟩	⟨j⟩
/m/	⟨m⟩	⟨m⟩
/n/	⟨n⟩	⟨n⟩
/ŋ/	⟨ng⟩	⟨ñ⟩
/w/	⟨w⟩	⟨w⟩
/l/	⟨l⟩	⟨ld⟩
/j /	⟨y⟩	⟨y⟩
/i/, /ĩ/	⟨i⟩, ⟨ĩ⟩	⟨i⟩
/ɨ/, /ɨ̃/	⟨ï⟩, ⟨ĩ⟩	⟨ʉ⟩
/e/, /ẽ/	⟨e⟩, ⟨ẽ⟩	⟨e⟩
/a/, /ã/	⟨a⟩, ⟨ã⟩	⟨a⟩
/ɜ/	⟨ä⟩	⟨a⟩
/o/, /õ/	⟨o⟩, ⟨õ⟩	⟨o⟩
/u/, /ũ/	⟨u⟩, ⟨ũ⟩	⟨u⟩
/ai/, /ãĩ/	⟨ai⟩, ⟨ãĩ⟩	⟨ai⟩

The orthography used in the present work differs in some respects from the one employed by native speakers. The correspondences of phonemes and graphemes in my own and the commonly used system are presented in Table 2.8.

2.6 Morphophonological processes

This section details the attested morphophonological processes in Kogi. The processes include the spreading of nasalization (Section 2.6.1), denasalization of *n* (Section 2.6.2) and *m* (Section 2.6.3), different realizations of *k* (Section 2.6.4), devoicing of intervocalic plosives (Section 2.6.5), affricatization of voiced fricatives (Section 2.6.6) and raising of vowels (Section 2.6.7). Lastly, Section 2.6.8 illustrates the realization of vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries.

The description of these morphophonological processes also addresses restrictions in terms the type of boundaries they occur at. While morphophonological processes typically apply equally across morpheme boundaries within a phonological word (see

for example Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002)), we encounter some exceptions to this cross-linguistic trait in Kogi. That is, certain processes occur at some type of boundaries, but not others. As will become evident in the next chapter (Chapter 3), the observation of such restrictions is particularly important for the determination of the phonological word domain, or rather, different phonological word domains.

2.6.1 Nasalization

Nasal vowels cause oral vowels in their vicinity to nasalize. Nasality spreads through the glottal fricative *h* and the glides *w* and *j*, while it is blocked by any other consonantal segment. The process can operate progressively as well as regressively, and is restricted to the stem suffix boundaries, as illustrated by the examples in (2.52). Spreading of nasality, by contrast, does not occur across the prefix-stem boundary, as shown in (2.53).

(2.52) *sigí* 'man' + *-hã̃* 'ERG' → [siˈgĩhã]
go 'make' + *-wĩ̃* 'IPFV' → [ˈgõwĩ]
nẽ 'go' + *-ya* thematic suffix → [ˈnẽjã]

(2.53) *nãwĩ-* '1PL.INAL' + *haba* 'mother' → [nãwĩˈhaba]

Before the velar consonants *k* and *g*, nasal vowels are realized as a sequence of a vowel and a velar nasal, illustrated in (2.54). Note that the velar nasal may be considered a result of coarticulation resulting from the coincidence of nasality and a velar consonant. However, it is evident that *ŋ* is in fact an epenthetic segment, as it prevents another phonological process, namely the fricativization of *k* in intervocalic position, shown in the second example of (2.54).

(2.54) *tũ* 'look' + *-gua* '2SG.IMP' → [ˈtʰũŋgwa]
nẽ 'look' + *-ka* 'HAB' → [ˈnẽŋkˣa] (*[ˈnẽχa])

2.6.2 Denasalization of *n*

Morpheme-initial *n* is denasalized and realized as *l* or *ʑh* in three different environments:

(i) $n \rightarrow ʑh \;/\; i\_$

(ii) $n \rightarrow l \;/\; a, u\_$

(iii) $n \rightarrow l \;/\; k\_$

The alternation after *i* is illustrated with the examples in (2.55).

(2.55) *mi-* '2SG.INAL' + *nu* 'elder sister' → *mizhú*
i- 'LOC.APPL' + *nok* 'be.located' → *izhók* 'be located at'

n changes to *l* after non-front vowels on the one hand (cf. (2.56)), and after *k* on the other (cf. (2.57))

(2.56) *na-* '1SG.INAL' + *nu* 'elder sister' → *nalú*
u- 'COM.APPL' + *nak* 'come' → *ulak* 'bring'
uba 'eye' + *nia* 'liquid' → *úbalia* 'tear'
gua 'do (ST)' + *-na* '1SGI' + *-kuấ* 'REC.PST' → *gualakuấ*

(2.57) *nak-* '1SG.III' + *nuna* 'want (ST)' → *nakluna*
ak- '3SG.III' + *nu* 'put' → *aklú* 'put inside sth.'

These processes of denasalization show different behavior at the boundary of stems and anti-clitics.[7] That is, while *n* → *l* / *k*_occurs at the stem-anti-clitic boundary, *n* → *l* / *a, u*_ and *n* → *zh* / *i*_ do not. This is illustrated with the past anti-clitic *#ne* in (2.58).

(2.58) *guak* 'say' + *#ne* 'PST' → *guakle*
ga 'eat (ST)' + *#ne* 'PST' → *gane*
zabi 'descend' + *#ne* 'PST' → *zábine*

Stem-final *k* causes the initial *n* of *#ne* to denasalize, while this is not the case for the other two processes.[8]

2.6.3 Denasalization of *m*

Similar to the denasalization affecting *n*, morpheme-initial *m* becomes denasalized to *b* in two different environments, namely after vowels and after *k*. This is illustrated in (2.59).

(2.59) *na-* '1SG.INAL' + *munzhi* 'daughter' → *nabunzhi*
nak- '1SG.III' + *mẽya* 'tell (stem)' → *nakbẽya*
nẽya 'go (ST)' + *ma* '2SG' + *ne* 'NEG.HAB' → *nẽyabale*
manta 'plantain' + *malú* 'ripe' → *mantabalu*

[7] Kogi has two morphemes that can be analyzed as anti-clitics which constitute a phonological word on their own, but are part of a single grammatical word. For a more detailed discussion of anti-clitics, the reader is referred to the following chapter on wordhood and morpheme types (Chapter 3).

[8] This, coincidentally, also shows that (2.56) and (2.57) are two distinct processes, even though they result in the same segment, i.e. *l*

2.6.4 Realization of *k* at morpheme boundaries

As detailed in Section 2.1.1 above, the realization of /k/ depends on the following segment. Before /i/, /e/ and /u/, it is pronounced as an aspirated voiceless velar (with slight assimilation in place of articulation, which is not relevant here), unreleased before consonants, and realized as a fricative [χ] before /a/ and /o/. The realization of /k/ at the coincidence of morpheme boundaries is more complex and includes further realizations, namely *g* and *sh*.

With regard to the canonical realization as [χ] before non-front vowels, it appears that there is a restriction in morphophonological context which depends on word class membership. As shown in (2.60) and (2.61), fricativization takes place, as expected, before the vowels *o* and *a* at the prefix-stem boundary.

(2.60) [niχoˈɮa]

na-i-kol-a
1SG.II-LOC.APPL-yell-ST

'S/he called me (lit.: yelled at me).'

(2.61) [naχaˈna]

na-kan-a
1SG.II-dry-ST

'I dried (e.g. after being wet from rain)'

Fricativization before non-front vowels, however, does not occur at the prefix-stem boundary in nouns, as shown in (2.62). Note that, such a lexically determined restriction is not attested for any other morphophonological process.

(2.62) [naˈkˣãhã] (*[naˈχãhã])

na-kãhã
1SG.INAL-relative

'my relative'

A further realization of *k* that comes to light in morphologically complex words is the voiced stop *g*. It occurs on the one hand alternating with the allophone [χ] in benefactive and malefactive verb forms, and before morpheme-initial *g*, on the other.

Intervocalic *g* is an allophone of verb stem-medial *k* or final *k* of set III indexes. Final *k* of a Set III prefix preceding a stem with the benefactive marker *a-* is realized, as expected, as [χ]. This, however, is restricted to verbs that have a stem-initial voiced consonant, as in the examples presented in (2.63).

(2.63) *nak-* '1SG.III' + *a-* 'BEN' + *masha* 'leave sth.' → [naχaˈbaʃa]
mik- '1SG.III' + *a-* 'BEN' + *zuka* 'cook' → [miχaˈzuχa]
nak- '1SG.III' + *a-* 'BEN' + *nia* 'look for sth.' → [naχalˈdzia]

When the verb stem starts with an unvoiced consonant, by contrast, *k* is realized as *g*, as shown in (2.64). Note that in the last example in (2.64), the initial consonant of *guka* 'take' undergoes devoicing after benefactive derivation, i.e. *a-kuka* 'BEN-take'. The realization of the argument prefix is conditioned by voiceless *k* of this derived stem.

(2.64) *nak-* '1SG.III' + *a-* 'BEN' + *habbi* 'buy' → [nagaˈhɜbbi]
mik- '2SG.III' + *a-* 'BEN' + *tũ* 'look after' → [migaˈtũ]
nak- '1SG.III' + *a-* 'BEN' + *guka* 'take' → [nagaˈkʰuχa]

The same distribution of variants is found before the malefactive marker *i-* as in (2.65). (The change in vowel *a* → *e* is discussed in Section 2.6.8 below).

(2.65) *nak-* '1SG.III' + *i-* 'MAL.APPL' + *nakui* 'escape' → [nekʰiˈʒakwi]
nak- '1SG.III' + *i-* 'MAL.APPL' + *pula* 'burn' → [negiˈpuʒᵈa]
ak- '3SG.III' + *i-* 'MAL.APPL' + *guaka* 'kill' → [egiˈkʰwaχa]

A morpheme-final *k* assimilates in voice to a following *g*. As exemplified in (2.66), this process is attested at the prefix-stem boundary, as well as the stem-suffix boundary.

(2.66) *nak-* '1SG.III' + *ge* 'give, hand' → *naggé* 's/he gave me'
zhik- 'RECP' + *guak* 'talk, say' → *zhiggwák* 'talk to each other'
nak 'come ' + *-(n)gu* 'REC.PST' → *naggú* 's/he came'

Finally, *k* may be palatalized to *sh* before *i*. The process is restricted to the stem-suffix boundary, since it affects verb root-final *k* before the imperfective suffix *-ĩ*, but not prefix final *k* before malefactive *i-*. This becomes evident when comparing the examples in (2.67) with those in (2.65) above.

(2.67) *nek* 'say (root)' + *-ĩ* 'IPFV' → *neshĩ*
guk 'take' + *-ĩ* 'IPFV' → *gushĩ*
guilek 'grow (root)' + *-ĩ* 'IPFV' → *guileshĩ*

2.6.5 Devoicing of intervocalic stops

Morpheme-initial voiced plosives are often devoiced when preceded by a vowel-final morpheme, i.e in intervocalic position.

In the case of *g*, it is the opposite of the process of *k* becoming voiced intervocalically (i.e. in applicativized verbs with a voiceless onset, and in stem allomorphs). Examples for the intervocalic devoicing of *g* are provided in (2.68). It is evident that voiced segments are underlying, as other word-medial voiceless stops remain the same in absence of a prefix, as the example in (2.69).

(2.68) *na-* '1SG.INAL' + *gagi* 'mother-in-law' → *nakagi*
ma- '2SG.I' + *ga* 'eat' → *maká*
mata 'empty (adj.)' + *gu* 'CAUS' + *-a* 'ST' → *mátakua*

(2.69) *na-* '1SG.INAL' + *kãhã* 'relative' → *nakãhã*

This process of devoicing does not affect *g*-initial inflectional affixes (e.g. the emphatic marker *-(n)ga*, phasal negation *-gánga* 'not yet' or imperative *gua*) nor the initial segment of the perfective auxiliary *gu* when preceded directly by engagement markers:

(2.70) *ga-* 'eat' + *-gánga* 'not yet' → *gagánga*
tuka 'drink' + *-gua* '2SG.IMP' → *túkagua*
ni- 'SPKR.SYM' + *gu* 'PFV.AUX' + *-kú* '1SG.I' → *nigukú*

In a similar vein, morpheme-initial *d* becomes devoiced after vowels. Devoicing of *d* is exclusively observed at the prefix-stem boundary, which is however due to the relative scarcity of *d* in general. That is, there are not many instances in which its morphophonological alternation can occur.

(2.71) *mi-* '2SG.INAL' + *due* 'elder brother' → *mitué* 'your elder brother'
ma- '2SG.I' + *dulasha* 'speak (stem)' → *matulasha* 'you speak'
i- 'LOC.APPL' + *dua* 'lie' → *ituá* 'lie on'

2.6.6 Devoicing and affricatization of fricatives

Intervocalic devoicing also affects the voiced fricatives *z* and *zh*. At the same time they are affricativized to *ts* and *tsh*.

(2.72) *ma-* '2SG.I' + *zabi* 'descend' → *matsabi*
a- adjective marker + *zïshi* 'red' → *atsïshi*
i- 'LOC.APPL' + *zula* 'pour' → *itsula*
i- 'LOC.APPL' + *zhe* 'be located (PL)' → *itshé*
i- 'LOC.APPL' + *zhẽ* 'fear' + *sha* 'put' → *itshẽsha* 'to frighten'

The process occurs at the prefix-stem boundary but not between two prefixes nor at the stem suffix boundary, as shown in (2.73).

(2.73) *ma-* '2SG.I' + *zï-* 'ANTIP' + *guka* 'hunt' → *mazïkuka*
guka 'hunt' + *-zhá* 'NEG' → *gugazhá*

2.6.7 Raising of vowels

Low or mid vowels may be raised in two environments, (i) before the high vowel *i* and (ii) before geminate consonants.

In some contexts, the vowel *i* causes a preceding *a* to be raised to *e*. This is observed at the boundary of a person index and the locative / malefactive applicative *i-*, shown in (2.74). Note that this assimilation of vowel height can also occur when *a* is separated from *i* by another segment.

(2.74) *ka-* '1PL.II' + *i-* 'LOC.APPL' → *kei-*
nak- '1SG.III' + *i-* 'MAL.APPL' → *negi-*

By contrast, in other environments, e.g. before the imperfective suffix *-ĩ* or a verb stem featuring *i* in the first syllable, the height of *a* is not affected.

(2.75) *ga* 'eat' + *-hĩ* 'IPFV' → *gahĩ*
na '1SG.II' + *hizhisha* 'launder (CAUS)' → *nahízhasha*

Geminates may result from affixing such as at the boundary of a set III prefix and a *k*-initial stem, or a *k*-final verb root and the habitual suffix *-ka*. The geminates resulting from affixing are exclusively velar [kː] or [gː] (underlyingly /kg/, see Section 2.6.4 above about voicing of *k*).[9] The affected elements are the non-high vowels *a*, *e* and *o* which are raised to [ɜ], [ɨ] and [u], exemplified in (2.76).

(2.76) *nak-* '1SG.III' + *kõ* 'give' → [nɜkˀ ˈkˣõ]
zek 'happen' + *-ka* 'HAB' → [ˈzɨkˀkˣa]
nok 'be located' + *-ka* 'HAB' → [ˈnukˀkˣa]

2.6.8 Vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries

The sequence of two vowels across morpheme boundaries, in which the first segment is a high vowel, *i* or *u*, are realized in the same manner as falling diphthongs, i.e. with the first element realized as a glide *j* or *w*.

(2.77) *i-* 'LOC.APPL' + *a-* 'MID' + *te* 'sit' → *yaté* 'sit down'
na- '1SG.II' + *u-* 'COM.APPL' + *a-* '3PL.I' + *nẽ* 'go' → *nawalẽ́* 'they took me'
gu 'do' + *-eni* 'SEQ' → *gueni* 'after doing'
ni 'look for' + *-a* 'stem vowel' → *nia* 'look for' (stem)

There is only one instance of a sequence of *a* and *e* in my corpus, namely in the word *aézua* 'alone', which consists of (presumably) the adjective prefix *a-* and *ezua* 'one'. It is realized with an intervening glottal stop as [aˈʔezwa].

[9] Note that another sequence of identical consonants may result from affixing, namely *nn* as for example with the combination of a prefix final *n*. e.g. in *min-* '2PL.I', and stem initial *n*. However, it not realized as a geminate but rather as a singleton nasal (i.e. one of the nasals is elided).

Before the verb stem vowel *-a*, an epenthetic glide occurs, namely *y* after *e* and *w* after *o*.

(2.78) *mẽ* 'tell' + *-a* 'ST' → *mẽya*
go 'make' + *-a* 'ST' → *gowa*

The combination of *a* and *u* is realized as two monophthongs belonging to different syllables, rather than a diphthong .

(2.79) *na-* '1SG.II' + *u-* 'COM.APPL' + *nẽ* 'go' → *na.ú.lẽ* 'he took me'

Finally, the sequence of identical vowels, which is exclusively attested for *a* is realized as a monophthong.

(2.80) *na-* '1SG.II' + *akhiéngua* 'cause to fall down' → *nakhiéngua* 'he made me fall down'
ka- '3PL.II' + *aba* 'leave (tr.)' → *kabá* 'leave them'

Chapter 3

Wordhood and morpheme types

This chapter examines the notional concept of wordhood in Kogi. Typological studies in this area have shown that it is necessary in some languages to make a distinction between two types of words, namely a phonological (or prosodic) word and a grammatical word. As it is demonstrated in the following sections, such a distinction is evidently relevant in the grammar of Kogi, particularly for the description of different bound morphemes, e.g. affixes or clitics.

Section 3.1 illustrates the characteristics of grammatical words and phonological words in Kogi. It is shown that it is necessary to recognize two distinct phonological words, namely a major one and a minor one. Section 3.2 discusses the different bound morpheme types attested in Kogi. These include the typologically less common morpheme type of anti-clitics (Section 3.2.1), clitics and phrasal affixes (Section 3.2.2), and affixes (Section 3.2.3).

3.1 Wordhood

The definition of word as a cross-linguistic notion is not unproblematic, as several authors have noted (e.g. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002, Haspelmath 2011b). While I will not venture into this typological problem, it is important to note that cross-linguistic studies of wordhood have established a number of criteria that are relevant for the definition of word in a specific language.

Firstly, typological research (for example, Dixon & Aikhenvald [2002]) has shown that it is crucial to distinguish between two different types of words, namely between phonological and a grammatical words (henceforth p-word and g-word). Each type of word can be determined in terms of syntactical properties or phonological characteristics such as stress assignment or the scope of morphophonological rules. The two notions in Kogi are explored in Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

As for phonological words, Schiering et al. (2010) suggested an even more fine-grained distinction and showed that the assumption of a coherent phonological word does not hold for all languages. As is argued in Section 3.1.3, a more fine-grained distinction is also at hand in Kogi, where we can assume a major and a minor p-word.

3.1.1 The grammatical word

G-words canonically constitute independent syntactic units. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002:19) characterize the g-word as consisting of several linguistic elements which (i) always occur together, (ii) stand in a fixed order and (iii) express a conventionalized, coherent meaning. This is illustrated for Kogi with the verb form in (3.1).

(3.1) *zïligakualíka*

zï-nik-a-kua-líka
ANTIP-SOW-ST-1PL.I-FUT

'We will sow.'

Neither of the elements that make up the g-word in (3.1) may occur independently or in isolation. Moreover, their order is fixed and they cannot be interrupted by another grammatical unit, as for example an adverb.

3.1.2 The phonological word

P-words can be defined based on three criteria: (i) segmental features, (ii) prosodic features (i.e. stress assignment) and (iii) phonological processes (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002:13).

In addition to these criteria, which will be examined below, the possibility of separating two units by a pause may be a further diagnostic for phonological wordhood. Put differently, one can rely on the consultants' intentions as to which units form a coherent p-word. For example, the verbal predicate in (3.2) can be separated by a pause into two p-words: a lexical verb *zïlika* 'sow' and an auxiliary verb *nikakuǻ*. By contrast, the components of the future form in (3.1) above cannot be separated, and are perceived as a single p-word by speakers. Note, however, that the separation by a pause is a necessary, but not sufficient criterion for phonological wordhood.

(3.2) *zïlíka nikakuǻ*

zï-nik-a *ni-nka-gu-ǻ*
ANTIP-SOW-ST SPKR.SYM-1PL.I-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST

'We sowed (today).'

In Kogi, the p-word consists of minimally one syllable. As for segmental features, phonotactic restrictions indicate the boundaries of a p-word, as it is not possible for /l/, /tʃ/ and /ŋ/ to occur word-initially.

Among prosodic features, stress assignment is a reliable indicator of what constitutes a p-word. As Kogi has contrastive stress, p-word boundaries cannot be deduced from the position of stress. However, there is only one stressed syllable per p-word. This diagnostic is particularly useful in delimiting inflected verb forms, which can consist of

up to six syllables, as the one in (3.1). The predicate in (3.2) consists of two p-words, each carrying their own primary stress.

Finally, the morphophonological processes discussed in Section 2.6 above are a further important diagnostic for segmenting different p-words. These processes typically apply at morpheme boundaries within a phonological unit, but not across their boundaries.

To illustrate this, consider the following example, which involves two similar morphemes, namely a postposition *na* 'with' and a verbal affix indicating inceptive aspect *-ná*. Recall from Section 2.6.2 that there is a morphophonological process $n \rightarrow l \,/\, a,\, u\_$. As seen in (3.3a) the initial *n* of the postposition does not undergo this morphophonological process, which suggests that *nahaba* 'my mother' and *na* 'with' are two separate p-words. By contrast, in (3.3b), the suffix *-ná* changes to *-lá* in the surface form. *zabalá* 'start descending' can thus be considered a single p-word.

(3.3) a. *nahaba na*

na-haba *na*
1SG.INAL-mother with

'with my mother'

b. *zabalá*

zabi-a-ná
descend-ST-INCEP

'start descending'

Beside this morphophonological process, the criterion of word stress also suggests that (3.3a) features two phonological words, each carrying its own word stress.

Looking in more detail at the different morphophonological processes, it appears that the assumption that the phonological word is a single, coherent unit in a given language that can be defined by the scope of these processes does not apply in Kogi. As I showed in Section 2.6, not all morphophonological processes apply equally across different morpheme boundaries. As a result, taking these rules as a diagnostic for the phonological word, we obtain ambivalent analyses in some cases. These are discussed in more detail in the next section.

3.1.3 More than one phonological word

The conception of the phonological word in a given language as a single, coherent unit that can be defined based on the attested morphophonological processes was challenged by Schiering et al. (2010). They note for the Sino-Tibetan language Limbu that different phonological rules cluster on multiple phonological (or prosodic) domains which leads them to the assumption of two types of p-words, a major one and a minor one. The major p-word can be established by the criterion of stress placement and the phonological process of coronal to labial assimilation (Schiering et al. 2010:685). This

domain includes a larger portion of the g-word, spanning over stems, its prefixes, suffixes and enclitics. The minor p-word domain is determined by different phonological rules, namely a liquid alternation and glottal stop insertion. In contrast to the major p-word domain, it scopes over a smaller portion of the g-word, excluding prefixes. Thus, their findings show that morphophonological processes may sometimes call for the distinction of more than one p-word domains, each domain determined by the scope of a given (set of) rule(s).

That morphophonological rules do not apply equally across all morpheme boundaries within a g-word in Kogi was illustrated in Section 2.6 above. It now appears that, similarly to the observations by Schiering et al. (2010), individual processes may converge on different phonological domains, which calls for a recognition of more than one phonological word concept. As is exemplified in what follows, it is necessary to distinguish two types of p-words in Kogi, a major one and a minor one.

The domain of the major p-word can be identified by three criteria: (i) denasalization of *n* after *k*, (ii) denasalization of *m* after *k* and (iii) word stress. As shown in (3.4), the processes of denasalization of *n* and *m* after *k* occur at the prefix-stem boundary.

(3.4)

a. *naklunka*

nak-nun-ka
1SG.III-like-HAB

'I like it.'

b. *nakbẽya*

nak-mẽ-a
1SG.III-tell-ST

'S/he tells me.'

Likewise, as illustrated in (3.5), denasalization occurs at the stem-anti-clitic boundary.

(3.5)

a. *nakle*

nak#ne
arrive#PST

'S/he arrived.'

b. *nákbale*

nak#ma-ne
come#2SG.I-PST

'You arrived.'

It is furthermore evident, that the forms presented in (3.4) and (3.5) each constitute a p-word by the criterion of stress, i.e. each form has a single stressed syllable.

Turning to the minor phonological word, its domain is determined by the processes of denasalization of *n* and *m* after vowels. As shown in (3.6a), denasalization of *m* occurs at the boundary between stems and suffixes. That is, *m* of the second person singular suffix in the negated habitual form is denasalized after the verb stem ending in *a*. By contrast, as seen in (3.6b), the process does not take place at the boundary between a stem and an anti-clitic (here, the complex anti-clitic expressing second person singular past).

(3.6) a. *hogabale*

hok-a-ma-ne
bathe-ST-2SG.I-NEG.HAB

'You don't bathe.'

b. *hókamale*

hok-a#ma-ne
bathe-ST#2SG.I-PST

'You bathed.'

Examples for the process of *n*-denasalization are given in (3.7). While initial *n* of the first person Set II suffix is denasalized in (3.7a), the process does not affect the past anti-clitic in (3.7b).

(3.7) a. *hoka nigualakuá*

hok-a ni-gu-a-na-kuá
bathe-ST SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-ST-1SG.II-REM.PST

'I bathed (a long time ago).'

b. *hókanuge*

hók-a#ne-uge
bathe-ST#PST-1SG.I

'I bathed.'

The difference between the major and the minor phonological word is illustrated in (3.8) which features two constructions of the same kind, namely verb forms with *#ne* 'PST' and an adverb *mebák* 'yesterday'. By the criterion of word stress, both verb forms in (3.8) clearly constitute single phonological units, as they each have only one stressed syllable. Likewise, the process of denasalization after *k* in (3.8a) points to a single phonological unit, given that the process takes place at the stem-anti-clitic boundary. As shown in Figure 3.1, both clauses consist of two major p-words, indicated by the upper brackets. By contrast, according to the criterion of denasalization after vowels,

shown in (3.8b), the verb form consists of two minor p-words. That is, *hoka* is treated as one phonological unit and *male* as a separate one, given that the process does not occur at their boundary. Thus, as for the minor p-word, both clauses involve three units. These are indicated in Figure 3.1 by the lower brackets.

(3.8) a. *mebák nákbale*

mebák *nak#ma-ne*
yesterday come#2SG.I-PST

'You arrived yesterday.'

b. *mebák hókamale*

mebák *hok-a#ma-ne*
yesterday bathe-ST#2SG.I-PST

'You bathed yesterday.'

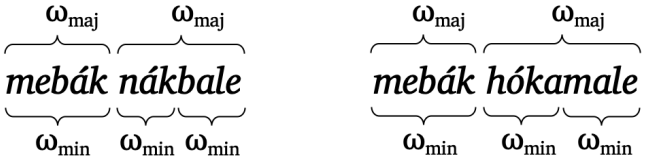


Figure 3.1: Major and minor p-words in (3.8a) and (3.8b)

It can be concluded that there are two types of p-words in Kogi, a major one and minor one. The major p-word is determined by the criterion of word stress and denasalization after *k*, and scopes over stems, its prefixes, suffixes, clitics and anti-clitics. The minor p-word is established by denasalization after vowels and excludes anti-clitics. Thus, the forms in (3.8) each constitute a single major p-word which consist of two minor p-words.

Having discussed the domains of the major and minor p-word, it is worthwhile noting that further phonological domains can be established. However, these other domains do happen to be of importance with respect to the definition of p-words in Kogi. As an example of a further phonological domain, let us look at the spreading of nasality (Section 2.6.1) and the palatalization of *k* before *i* (Section 2.6.4). Both processes are illustrated with the examples in (3.9). In (3.9a), the nasality of the suffix *-hã̃* 'ERG' spreads to the last syllable of the stem *kuiska* 'dancer', and in (3.9b) it spreads from a verb root *nẽ* 'go' the stem-forming suffix *-a*. The palatalization of *k* in (3.9c) occurs at the boundary of a verb root and a suffix. Thus both processes can occur at the root/stem-suffix boundary.

(3.9) a. [ˈkuiskãhã]

kuis-ka-hã̃
dance-NMLZ-ERG

'dancer (ERG)'

b. [ˈnẽ̃jã]

nẽ̃-a
go-ST

'go'

c. [ˈnaʃĩ]

nak-ĩ̃
come-IPFV

'coming'

By contrast, as (3.10) shows, the process of nasalization does not occur at the prefix-stem boundary. That is, the nasality of *nãwĩ-* 'our' does not spread to the stem *haba* 'mother'.

(3.10) [nãw̃ĩˈhaba]

nãwĩ-haba
1PL.INAL-mother

'our mother'

As for palatalization, it is evident that it does not occur at the prefix-prefix boundary, as illustrated in (3.11), where *k* of the first person prefix *nak-* is not affected by the rule.

(3.11) [negiˈkuaχa]

nak-i-guak-a
1SG.III-MAL.APPL-kill-ST

's/he killed (someone on me)'

The environments of these two processes are summarized in Table 3.1. In other words, Table 3.1 presents the phonological domain of the processes which includes stem/root-suffix boundaries but excludes prefix-prefix and prefix-stem boundaries.

Note that certain environments are not attested in my corpus, indicated with n.a. (not applicable). For example, no instance of two adjacent prefixes whereof one is nasalized is attested. Conversely, instances of a *k*-final prefix meeting an *i*-initial root is attested, given that all *k*-final prefixes are verbal ones and all verb roots are consonant-initial. While there is no evidence that the process of nasality spreading does not occur

at the prefix-prefix boundary, neither is there evidence that it does. Moreover, while evidence of *k*-palatalization between a prefix and a stem is lacking, so is counter-evidence for it. Considering these unattested instances as potential contexts for the processes, we can assume a contiguous range of morphemes that constitute a coherent phonological domain.

	nasality spreading	*k*-palatalization
prefix-prefix	n.a.	no
prefix-stem	no	n.a.
stem/root-suffix	yes	yes
suffix-suffix	n.a.	n.a.

Table 3.1: The phonological domain of spreading of nasality and palatalization of *k*.

The phonological domain of nasality spreading and *k*-palatalization served as a further example of how different processes may converge on a separate domain. However, in contrast to word stress and processes of denasalization discussed above, this phonological domain are not of relevance for the definition of the major and the minor p-word.

3.2 Morpheme types

Having explored the concepts of g-words and p-words in Kogi in the preceding sections, we can now look at the convergence of these different units.

In comparing units that can be defined as a g-word on morphosyntactic criteria, with those that constitute a major or minor p-word, it becomes evident that they do not always align.

For example, a major p-word may consist of two g-words. In this case one of the g-words, commonly know as clitics, is phonologically reduced and attaches to another g-word to form a single major p-word.

The reverse scenario – which is typologically less common – is also attested. That is, a single g-word may consist of two p-words, more precisely two minor p-words. Following Zúñiga (2014), I label this morpheme type 'anti-clitic' and use '#' to mark an anti-clitic boundary, i.e. the symbol that typically indicates a word boundary on the phonological level. The properties of anti-clitics are discussed in detail in Section 3.2.1 below.

As presented in Table 3.2, there are four different constellations of g-word and p-words, i.e. whether and how they coincide. In the case of an independent word in the prototypical sense, the g-word, and major and minor p-words align. The morpheme types of affix, clitic and anti-clitic have in common that they do not constitute independent words but are bound, either on the phonological level, the grammatical one, or on both. The present section discusses these three types of bound morphemes in more detail, starting with anti-clitics in Section 3.2.1, followed by clitics in Section 3.2.2 and affixes in Section 3.2.3.

Table 3.2: Convergence of phonological and grammatical words

	phonologically indep.	phonologically dep.
grammatically indep.	WORD	CLITIC
grammatically dep.	ANTI-CLITIC	AFFIX

3.2.1 Anti-clitics

Anti-clitics are part of a g-word but constitute an independent word on the phonological level. In the case of Kogi, an anti-clitic is a independent minor p-word and forms part of a larger, major p-word which coincides with the g-word. The attested anti-clitics in Kogi are the past tense marker *#ne*, the volitional modality marker *#nana* and a morpheme expressing potential modality, *#akka*.

The anti-clitic *#ne* 'PST' is once more illustrated in (3.12).

(3.12)

a. *nakle*

nak#ne
come#PST

'S/he came.'

b. *arróz gane*

arróz ga#ne
rice eat#PST

'S/he ate rice.'

On the grammatical level, both verb forms in (3.12) constitute one unit. This is evident as, for example, no intervening element is allowed between the constituents, and the past marker may not scope over more than one verb stem (i.e. the constituents cannot be coordinated, cf. Haspelmath (2011b:12–13)). On the major phonological word domain, which includes word stress and denasalization after *k*, both forms, too, represent one unit. That is, each verb form has a single stressed syllable and the change from *n* to *l* after *k* can be observed in (3.12a). The crucial property of the anti-clitic is that it constitutes a separate minor p-word (determined by denasalization after vowels), as seen in (3.12b).

A further indication of the major p-word involves the first person plural marker *nka*, which depending on the construction constitutes a prefix or a suffix. When the suffix occurs after a vowel, as in (3.13), the form surfaces as *nka*, rather than *ka*. On these grounds, the past verb form in (3.13) can be analyzed as one major p-word.

(3.13) *zábinkale*

zabi-nka-ne
descend-1PL.I-PST

'We descended.'

The volitional modality anti-clitic is exemplified in (3.14). Each form constitutes a single g-word. Moreover, like in the forms with the past marker *#ne*, the initial *n* denasalizes after *k*, pointing to a single major p-word, while it does not after the vowel *a*, which suggests that the form consists of two minor p-words.

(3.14) a. *náklana akzeshĩ*

nak#nana ak-zek-ĩ
come#VOL 3SG.III-feel-IPFV

'S/he wants to come.'

b. *nẽyanana akzeshĩ*

nẽy-a#nana ak-zek-ĩ
go-ST#VOL 3SG.III-feel-IPFV

'S/he wants to go.'

Anti-clitics may be complex, as they are able to combine with argument indexes, as shown in (3.15). Judging from (3.15a), it is evident that the second person singular index is part of the anti-clitic, as the process of *m*-denaslization after vowels does not affect to the initial *m*. By contrast the person index and the past morpheme constitute a minor phonological word, given that *n* changes to *l* after the vowel *a*.

(3.15)

a. *arróz gámale*

arróz ga#ma-ne
rice eat#2SG.I-PST

'You ate rice.'

b. *nákbale*

nak#ma-ne
come#2SG.I-PST

'You came.'

The form in (3.15b) constitutes a single major p-word, based on word stress and *n*-denasalization after *k*.

The potential modality marker *-akka* is illustrated in (3.16). Its status as an anti-clitic is evident in forms where it occurs as a complex anti-clitic with the first person

singular Set II marker *na-*. The potential verb forms constitute one unit with respect to the g-word and the major p-word, while they involve two units on the minor p-word domain.[1]

(3.16) a. *náklakka*

nak-na-akka
come-1SG.II-POT

'I can come.'

b. *núkanakka*

nuk-a-na-akka
cook-ST-1SG.II-POT

'I can cook.'

The different behavior of anti-clitics and suffixes is further illustrated in (3.17) and (3.18). Compare (3.17) featuring the past anti-clitic *#ne* and (3.18) with the homophone but distinct negative habitual suffix.[2] Note that the second singular subject marker *ma* undergoes denasalization in the habitual negation, but not in the past tense form.

(3.17) *arroz núkamale*

arroz núka#ma-ne
rice cook#2SG.I-PST

'You cooked rice.'

(3.18) *arroz nukabále*

arroz nuka-ma-ne
rice cook-2SG.I-NEG.HAB

'You don't cook rice (ever).'

It becomes apparent that the past anti-clitic *#ne* together with the second person singular index constitute a minor p-word, i.e. a complex anti-clitic, distinct from the lexical verb in (3.17). This is evident as the *m* following the *a*-final stem does not change to *b*. In construction in (3.18), by contrast, both the argument index and the negative habitual marker are suffixes and the form constitutes a major phonological word.

[1] Note that in potential modality constructions, S arguments are indexed by Set II markers, as opposed to Set I markers.

[2] Note that (3.17) and (3.18) also differ from each other in the position of stress, which is on the stem and the person index, respectively. While it is not clear what motivates this shift of stress, it does not play a role in the analysis of anti-clitics and suffixes.

3.2.2 Clitics and phrasal affixes

The term 'clitic' in descriptive and typological work is often used to subsume g-words that do not constitute a separate p-word on their own. These typically show morphosyntactic properties that likens them to affixes in some respects, and to independent words in others (e.g. Zwicky 1977, Zwicky 1985).

Kroeger (2005:319) notes that "the term 'clitic' has been applied to such a bewildering array of particles that it is very difficult to find a definition that will cover them all" and proposes a more fine-grained distinction between two types of clitics, namely "bound words" and "phrasal affixes". Such a distinction can also be made in Kogi.

According to Kroeger (2005:319–325), "bound words" are phonologically bound but show properties of independent words, in that they can be assigned to a word class and have the same syntactic distribution as free words of the respective class. Clitics of this sort typically are phonologically reduced variants of otherwise grammatically and phonologically free words. Through phonological reduction, they lose their stress so that the construction of host and clitic has a single stressed syllable.

Morphemes of the second type, i.e. "phrasal affixes", share more properties with affixes than with independent words. That is, they do not form independent p-words, typically encode grammatical rather than lexical meaning, and do not correspond to any of the attested word classes. By contrast, unlike affixes, phrasal affixes are not restricted to combine with stems of only one word class (also known as host-selectivity). As they attach to the boundary of an entire phrase, rather than a specific type of word, they occur with members of different word classes.

Here, a terminological note about the expression "bound" is in order. While Kroeger (2005) does not elaborate on this, it is evident that one needs to distinguish between two different types of "boundedness",[3] namely on the phonological or grammatical level. In order to heed this distinction in the terminology, I prefer to replace Kroeger's label "bound word" with "clitic". For the second type, by constrast, I adapt his term "phrasal affix".

3.2.2.1 Clitics

Clitics result from a process in which an independent word gets reduced and becomes phonologically dependent on a host.

For example, clitization may affect auxiliary verbs, which occur with dependent adjectives (i.e. adjectives that always require an auxiliary, in attributive as well as predicative use, see Chapter 5). Adjectives denoting visually perceivable qualities, for instance, require an auxiliary based on *zal* 'be' and featuring a Set III index followed by a derivational prefix *a-*.[4]

The predicative use of the dependent adjective *hänshi* 'beautiful' is shown in (3.19) and (3.20).

[3] Not including "boundedness" in the sense of verbal perfective aspect (cf. for example Comrie [1976]).

[4] The origin and concrete function of this derivational prefix is unknown (see Section 5.1.2.1. It is here preliminarily glossed as ADJ, given its occurrence in this specific auxiliary.

(3.19) *hänshi nagatsé*

hänshi *nak-a-zal*
beautiful 1SG.III-ADJ-be

'I'm beautiful.'

(3.20) *somaki hänshi agatsé*

somá-ki *hänshi* *ak-a-zal*
baby-TOP beautiful 3SG:AUX

'The baby is beautiful.'

Each of the forms clearly consists of two major p-words, which do each carry word stress and do not show any morphophonological cohesion between them. Moreover, each constitutes two g-words, as both of them can occur independently in different constructions.[5]

The form for third person singular in (3.20) is typically only used for animate referents. With inanimate referents, the auxiliary is encliticized, i.e. it loses the initial *a* (of the person index) as well as word stress, as shown in (3.21).

(3.21) *zhakuá-ki* *hắnshi=gatse*
dress-TOP beautiful=AUX

'The dress is beautiful.'

Clitization of nouns is found in certain complex predicates that consist of a noun and a verb. The predicate *shi akaliá* 'teach', for instance, consists of the noun *shi* 'yarn, thread' and the verb *nia* 'tie', and can be literally understood as 'tie yarn on'. It features the benefactive prefix *a-* indicating the beneficiary or recipient of the teaching, who is indexed with Set III indexes. (3.22) gives an example with a second person singular agent and a first person singular beneficiary.

(3.22) *kággabatshi muligaba shi nakaliámale*

kággaba-tshi *muligaba* *shi* *nak-a-ni-a#ma-ne*
Kogi-GEN language thread 1SG.III-BEN-tie-ST#2SG.I-PST

'You taught me Kogi.'

The predicate *shi nakaliámale* consists of two separate major p-words, each featuring a stressed syllable, showing no morphophonological alternations between them. Furthermore, both units constitute a separate g-word.

[5]For example, *hänshi* with the verb *zek* 'feel', and the derived auxiliary in obligative modality constructions.

In the case of a third person singular beneficiary, the noun *shi* is commonly reduced and attaches to the verb. The noun loses the final vowel and forms one p-with the verb, featuring only one stressed syllable.

(3.23) *nahí múligaba shakaliánuge*

nahí	*múligaba*	*shi = ak-a-ni-a#ne-uge*
1SG.POSS	language	yarn = 3SG.III-tie-ST#PST-1SG.I

'I taught you my language.'

3.2.2.2 Phrasal affixes

The inventory of the second type of grammatically independent but phonologically dependent morphemes, namely phrasal suffixes, is given in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Phrasal suffixes

Ergative	*-hã*
Dative	*-ka*
Genitive	*-tshi*
Locative	*-k(a)*
Allative, inessive	*-ni*
Plural	*-kũẽ*
Topic	*-ki*
Coreference, emphasis	*-nga*

They clearly do not constitute p-words on their own (neither on the major nor minor p-word domain), as they cannot be stressed nor have full form that can occur independently. Rather, they obligatorily attach to a host which carries word stress. Other indications of phonological cohesion is the regressive spreading of nasality from ergative *-hã* to the stem, and the realization of the locative marker *-ni* as *-li* after *a*, *u*, as exemplified in (3.24)

(3.24) *sukkua* 'boy' + *-hã* 'ERG' → [ˈsukːʰw̃ãhã]
hatu 'farm' + *-ni* 'LOC' → *hátuli*

Unlike clitics, phrasal affixes cannot be assigned to a word class. With regard to their distribution, they have low host-selectivity, as they attach to the right-most constituent of phrase irrespective of its word class, as shown in (3.25). Moreover, while case markers restricted to the noun phrase, markers of plural, topic and coreference / emphasis may also occur on verb phrases.

(3.25) *sigí-hã* 'man-ERG'
sigí dueba-hã 'man old-ERG'

3.2.3 Affixes

Affixes are morphemes that are dependent in both grammatical and phonological terms, and attach to a root or stem to form a complete word. Kogi makes use of prefixes and, to a larger extent, suffixes.

3.2.3.1 Prefixes

Prefixes express relatively few categories, namely inalienable possession, person and number of arguments (with few exceptions), reflexivity/reciprocity, antipassive and applicative. Additionally, there is the prefix *a-* which is characteristic for adjectives. Prefixes never carry inherent stress and do not influence stress placement. Examples of prefixes are given in (3.26) to (3.29).

(3.26) *mizhú*

mi-nu
2SG.POSS-elder.sister

'your elder sister'

(3.27) *nakbẽyane*

nak-mẽ-a#ne
1SG.III-tell-ST#PST

's/he told me'

(3.28) *skuka*

zï-guk-a
ANTIP-hunt-ST

'hunt'

(3.29) *ulak*

u-nak
COM-come

'bring'

3.2.3.2 Suffixes

Two types of suffixes can be distinguished based on whether they are inherently stressed or not. When a stressed suffix is used, it bears the main stress of a word, while the stress on the stem is lost. As shown in (3.30a), stress lies on the verb root with the unstressed suffix *-ka* 'HAB', whereas in (3.30b) it is on the inherently stressed suffix *-té* 'IPFV'.

(3.30)

a. *Maríahã gamá goka*

María-hã gamá gow-ka
María-ERG bag make-HAB

'María makes bags.'

b. *Maríahã gamá gowaté*

María-hã gamá gow-a-té
María-ERG bag make-ST-IPFV

'María is making a bag.'

There is one case known to me, in which a usually unstressed suffix can attract stress, namely in the first person singular form of recent past. The tense marker *-ngú* typically bears inherent stress. However, when the first person singular Set I index *-ku* follows, stress moves to this second morpheme, as shown in (3.31).

(3.31) *kaba nigungukú*

kaba ni-gu-ngú-ku
sleep SPKR.ASYM-AUX.PFV-REC.PST-1SG.I

'I slept.'

Most of the stressed suffixes never co-occur on the same form, either because they express different values of the same paradigm, or because their locus of marking is on two different p-words. However, there are a few cases, in which two stressed suffixes occur together and only one of them is stressed. No pattern based on the position of the suffixes is evident, as stress can lie on the first inherently stressed morpheme, as in (3.32a), or the second, as in (3.32b) .

(3.32)

a. *nẽyazháldika*

nẽ-a-zhá-ldíka
go-ST-NEG-FUT

'S/he won't go.'

b. *hiba atshihĩ nokaldikwéki*

hiba atshi-ĩ nok-a-ldí-ku-é́-ki
work do-IPFV AUX.IPFV-ST-FUT-1SG.I-SIMUL-TOP

'While I will be working.'

Chapter 4

Word classes

This chapter introduces the four major word classes of Kogi, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, which are discussed with regard to their defining morphosyntactic properties in Section 4.1 to Section 4.4. Furthermore, Section 4.5 lists the minor word classes and details their semantic and functional characteristics. These are ideophones, personal pronouns, (ad)nominal demonstratives, interrogative words, indefinite pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, postpositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections.

The distinction among different parts of speech is commonly based on three different types of criteria, namely according to their (i) semantic, (ii) morphological, and (iii) functional or distributional properties.

As is shown in the following sections, the most salient criterion for the distinction among major word classes is their morphological behavior. That is, most grammatical morphemes are restricted to occur with members of only one of the three major word classes.

By contrast, it is apparent that the distributional or functional properties are minimally informative in distinguishing major word classes, as members of any of them can head a noun phrase, including those whose main function is predication and modification. Moreover, words of any major class can have predicative function, even those which primarily have referential or modifying function.

4.1 Nouns

Nouns prototypically denote animate beings like persons and animals, inanimate beings, e.g. plants, objects, artefacts or abstract entities.

A distinction can be made between common nouns and proper nouns (Schachter & Shopen 2007:8). The former generically refer to an item of a class of, for example, persons or objects (e.g. *munzhi* 'woman', *hui* 'house'), while the latter denote specific referents, as for example, a person named *Liliana* or the place name of the village *Kuizhímakke*.

In addition, there is a subclass common nouns, namely non-count (or mass) nouns, that cannot take plural marking nor take numerals as modifiers. This class contains,

for example, *níkala* 'rain', *nakku* 'salt' or *wi* 'sand' (cf. Section 6.1.2).

For the present purpose of illustrating how nouns differs from other word classes, we will primarily be concerned with the properties of common nouns. A discussion of different types of nouns follows in Section 6.1.

A defining characteristic of common nouns is the ability to be possessed (cf. Section 6.1.1). They are the only part of speech which may accommodate inalienable possessive prefixes, or possessive pronouns in case of alienable possession. The inalienable class includes kinship terms and nouns denoting parts of wholes (e.g. the strap of a bag, the branch of a tree). All other nouns are members of the alienable class. The different manner of marking alienable and inalienable possession is illustrated in (4.1).

(4.1)

a. *na-haba*
1SG.POSS-mother

'my mother'

b. *nahí* *hui*
1SG.POSS house

'my house'

Case markers, e.g. *-hã* 'ERG', *-tshi* 'GEN' or *-k(a)* 'LOC', which are typically associated with nominal morphology, are not restricted to attach to nouns. Rather, they attach to the noun phrase as a whole and are affixed to its last constituent, irrespective of class membership (see Section 3.2.2.2 on phrasal affixes). This is illustrated in (4.2), where the locative marker occurs on either a noun or an adjective. Thus, case marking constitutes a defining characteristic for noun phrases, but not for the word class of nouns.

(4.2) a. *kali-k*
tree-LOC

'on the tree'

b. *kali atema-k*
tree big-LOC

'on the big tree'

As for derivational morphology, nominal derivation plays a minor role in Kogi grammar. For example, the language lacks morphological devices to derive denominal adjectives or verbs. There are only a few nominal affixes for category preserving-derivation, which are not productive for the most part. While not all nouns may accommodate such affixes, those words that do, can clearly be classified as nouns. For instance, the plural diminutive suffix *-bulu* 'DIM.PL', for example, combines with nouns but not other parts of speech.

A further example is the suffix *-kala*, which derives nouns with a related meaning, often adding the sense of extension or abundance of the referent.

(4.3) *ni* 'water' → *níkala* 'rain'
zhakuá 'cloth' → *zhakuákala* 'weaving loom'
kali 'tree' → *kalkala* 'woods'

Nouns prototypically constitute the head of noun phrases, which serve as arguments of a predicate. In other words, referential function is achieved by unmarked nouns. Note, however, that also unmarked adjectives and verbs may head noun phrases and fulfill referential function.

Furthermore, nouns have predicative function in proper inclusion (e.g. *Sue is a teacher.*) and equative (e.g. *Sue is my sister.*) clauses. In these constructions, they can occur unmarked in juxtaposition to the subject in present or habitual clauses. The use of the copula verb *nal* 'be', which takes inflectional verb morphology, is obligatory only in non-present and non-habitual clauses, as shown in (4.4).

(4.4) a. *ẽ-ki* *na-pebu*
DEM-TOP 1SG.INAL-friend

'He is my friend.'

b. *ẽki napebu nane*

ẽ-ki *na-pebu* *nal#ne*
DEM-TOP 1SG.INAL-friend be#PST

'He was my friend.'

A phrase headed by a noun can include different modifiers, e.g. adjectives, adnominal demonstratives, numerals or relative clauses. Common nouns can be modified by the quantifier *matshuí* 'a lot, many', differentiating them from adjectives, which cannot be modified in this way. Conversely, nouns do not occur with *ekí* 'very', which may modify adjectives.

(4.5) *[matshuí / (*ekí) baka] akalé*

*matshuí (*ekí) baka ak-a-nal*
a.lot / very cow

'S/he has a lot of cows.'

(4.6) *hui [ekí / (*matshuí) atema] akalé*

*hui ekí (*matshuí) atema akalé*
house very a.lot big 3SG.III-POSS-be

'S/he has a very big house.'

4.2 Verbs

Verbs prototypically denote actions or events. With respect to their morphological behavior, verbs clearly differ from nouns and adjectives, as they constitute the only word class that can take inflectional markers of tense, aspect, mood, modality or polarity (see Chapter 8 on verbal inflection). Moreover, they accommodate verbal derivation markers of voice and nominalizers (see Chapter 9 on verb derivation).

Verbs typically constitute heads of verb phrases with predicative function, as in (4.7a). Note, however, that verb forms without overt derivation may also head noun phrases with referential function, which is illustrated in (4.7b). Thus example (4.7) shows that the same verb form can be used with all of the three propositional act functions.

(4.7) a. *nalú zubẽyatúkka*

na-nu *zubẽ-ya-tok-ka*
1SG.INAL-elder.sister sing-ST-PROG-PRS

'My elder sister is singing.'

b. *zubẽyatúkkaki nalú (nzha)*

zubẽ-ya-tok-ka-ki *na-nu* *(ni-nal)*
sing-ST-PROG-PRS-TOP 1SG.INAL-elder.sister (SPKR.SYM-be)

'The one who is singing is my elder sister (lit.: the singing one).'

c. *munzhi zubẽyatúkkaki nalú (nzha)*

munzhi *zubẽ-ya-tok-ka-ki* *na-nu* *(ni-nal)*
woman sing-ST-PROG-PRS-TOP 1SG.INAL-elder.sister (SPKR.SYM-be)

'The woman who is singing is my elder sister.'

It is evident that this functional flexibility is not reserved for progressive verb forms, as the one in (4.7), but a property of virtually any main clause verb form. Two further examples, of a past and a future verb form, are given in (4.8) and (4.9).

(4.8) a. *shi hábbiane*

shi *habbi-a#ne*
yarn buy-ST#PST

'She bought yarn.'

b. *shi hábbiane naggé*

shi *habbi-a#ne* *nak-ge*
yarn buy-ST#PST 1SG.III-give

'She gave me the yarn that she bought.'

(4.9) a. *Carmen zukalika*

Carmen zï-nuk-a-líka
Carmen ANTIP-cook-ST-FUT

'Carmen will cook.'

b. *zukalíkaki Carmen nzha*

zï-nuk-a-lika-ki *Carmen* *ni-nal*
ANTIP-cook-ST-FUT-TOP Carmen SPKR.SYM-be

'The one who will cook is Carmen.'

4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives in Kogi form a word class in their own right. They prototypically express qualities or attributes of a referent, and are clearly distinguishable from nouns and verbs on morpho-syntactic grounds. One can distinguish two subclasses of adjectives, namely independent and dependent ones. Independent adjectives are used on their own in both modification and predication function. Dependent adjectives may be regarded as typologically unusual, as they always require an auxiliary verb, be it in modification or predication. A detailed description of adjectives is found in Chapter 5.

4.3.1 Independent adjectives

Let us start with the properties of independent adjectives. These denote properties that belong to the four core semantic types suggested by Dixon (2004:3–4), namely dimension, age, value and color.

As for morphological properties, many independent adjectives are polymorphemic and involve a morpheme which is characteristic of this word class. For instance, subset of independent adjectives feature a prefix *a-*, e.g. *atema* 'big', *awawa* 'young (of animals)', *abisa* 'new', or *abutshi* 'white'. The prefix could possibly be tied to the verbal third person singular object index *a-*. However, it does not reflect person with adjectives, as it does not change according to subject person.

Adjectives share certain properties with nouns; for example, they do not accommodate any inflectional markers (e.g. tense, aspect or polarity). Furthermore, adjectives can be used predicatively by juxtaposition, only requiring the copula verb *nal* 'be' in some contexts.

With regard to modification, adjectives may occur with the intensifier *ekí* 'very' but not *matshuí* 'a lot', which combines with nouns or verbs.[1]

[1]Note that this adjective modification is an extended function of the adverbial manner demonstrative *ekí* 'like this' (see Section 4.4.3 below).

(4.10)

a. *nahate ekí dueba*

na-hate *ekí* *dueba*
1SG.POSS-father very old

'My father is very old.'

A clear difference between adjectives and nouns appears in their use as noun modifiers. In this function, adjectives always occur after the head of the noun phrase, as shown in (4.11). By contrast, nouns that function as modifiers, i.e. in genitive constructions, occur before the phrasal head, as in (4.12).

(4.11) *munzhi* *wezhu*
woman old

'the / an old woman'

(4.12) *José-tshi* *a-haba*
José-GEN 3SG.INAL-mother

'José's mother'

Finally, like nouns and verbs, adjectives may constitute the head of a noun phrase with referential function, without undergoing any derivational process.

(4.13) *atemaki dueba (nzha)*

atema-ki *dueba* *(ni-nal)*
big-TOP old SPKR.SYM-be

'The big one (e.g. the big house) is old.'

Thus far, we saw that dependent adjectives clearly distinguish themselves from the other major word classes. Closing the discussion on adjectives as a word class, only a few remarks on independent adjectives follow. A detailed description follows in Chapter 5.

4.3.2 Dependent adjectives

Dependent adjectives can never occur on their own but require an accompanying verb. Among this second class of adjectives a further distinction can be made between those that combine with a form of the auxiliary *zal* 'be' or the experiencer predicate *zek* 'feel'. In addition to these syntactic characteristics, the different subclasses have a semantic basis and distinguish (i) properties that are visually perceivable, (ii) properties that are perceivable through senses other than vision, and (iii) human conditions, e.g. mental states.

For illustrative purposes, let us consider the temperature adjective *sui* 'cold' in (4.14) and (4.15). The auxiliary *zal* 'be', marked with a Set III index, is not only obligatory in predicative use, but also in attributive use.

(4.14) *niki sui *(akze) nzha*

ni-ki *sui* **(ak-zal)* *ni-na*
water-TOP cold 3SG.III-be SPKR.SYM-be

'The water is cold.'

(4.15) *ni sui *(akze)*

ni *sui* **(ak-zal)*
water cold 3SG.III-be

'cold water'

The requirement of an auxiliary clearly sets independent adjectives apart from other major word classes, as well as independent adjectives. Just like independent adjectives, dependent ones occur after the head in a noun phrase, cf. (4.15) and can be modified by the adverb *ekí* 'very', as in (4.16).

(4.16) *niki ekí sui akze*

ni-ki *ekí* *sui* *akze*
water-TOP very cold AUX

'The water is very cold.'

4.4 Adverbs

As Schachter & Shopen (2007:20) note, the adverb class often subsumes lexical items with rather heterogeneous properties, semantic as well as morphosyntactic. Yet, a common property of adverbs, which is also shared by those in Kogi, is their ability to modify verbs or adjectives, but not nouns. Moreover, in contrast to the major word classes, adverbs cannot function as predicates. As for their syntactic distribution, adverbs in Kogi precede the verb or adjective they modify.

While in many languages adverbs are derived, more or less productively, from adjectives (Schachter & Shopen 2007:20), no productive process for adverb derivation is attested in Kogi.

With regard to their semantics, adverbs cover a range of different notions. In the case of Kogi, they include degree, manner, location and time. These four semantic classes of adverbs are discussed in the following sections.

4.4.1 Temporal adverbs

The first type of adverbs indicate a point in time at which an event takes place or a time span during which a state of affairs hold. The temporal adverbs attested in my corpus are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Adverbs of time

akanga	'before, in the past'
mõze	'recently, the day before yesterday'
mebák	'yesterday'
kaiga	'now, today'
ubắng	'right away'
malé	'for a while'
aklé kaiga	'later'
kaiga zhawa	'later'
nuzhín	'tomorrow'
moshi	'day after tomorrow'
abokuali	'the following day'
mũshaga	'early (in the morning)'
sesĩ̃	'at night'
niúwisĩ̃	'at daytime'

The adverb *mõze* 'the day before yesterday' can take the emphatic marker *-nga* to refer to a point more in the past, i.e. *mőzenga* 'before the day before yesterday'. Other temporal adverbs may be intensified in the same manner, e.g. *ubänga* 'immediately'.

(4.17) *näs hai mõze nitshi nagungukú*

näs hai mõze nitshi na-gu-ngu-kú
1SG DEM recently ascend SPKR.ASYM-AUX.PFV-REC.PST-1SG.I

'I recently came up here.'

The expression *aklé kaiga* 'later' literally translates to 'more now'. A different way to express 'later' is most likely a calque from Spanish *ahorita*, a diminutive form of *ahora* 'now', which in the regional variety denotes 'a bit later'. It features the diminutive particle *zhawa*, i.e. *kaiga zhawa*.

abokuali 'the following day' possibly contains the word *mokue* 'again, twice', but is no longer segmentable.

(4.18) *abokuálinki zïnake ai ité niuwi naklé*

abokuáli-ki zïnake ai i-té niuwi na-akle
following.day-TOP so DEM LOC.APPL-be day 1SG.II-last

'So the next day, I was there and stayed the day.'

mõze may also modify other words that denote a temporal notion, e.g. *mõze semana* 'last week' (Sp. *semana*) or *mõze kagi* 'last year' (sometimes *mõze kagian*; *-an* as a suffix is not attested elsewhere).

atshuizha 'once' *mutshizha* 'twice' *atshuí* 'one day' *mutshuí* 'two days' *maitshui* 'three days' *mekẽniuwi* 'three days'

The opposite meaning, e.g. 'next, the following', is expressed by a construction with *ezua* 'one' and a temporal locative suffix *-k(e)* (see Section 6.2.2.4), e.g. *ezua kagi-k(e)* 'next year'.

Other temporal notions like 'after', 'before' and 'while' are expressed by adverbial clauses which are discussed in Section 11.2.2.

4.4.2 Degree adverbs

The second group of adverbs express the degree or intensity of a property or a state of affairs, also known as (adverbial) intensifiers. These are presented in Table 4.2, and examples (4.19) to (4.20) illustrate the use of *aklé* 'more', *aguáng* 'less', *ubisha* 'too much' and *aigaba* 'only'.

Table 4.2: Adverbs of degree

aguáng	'less'
aklé	'more'
nõwã	'a little'
ubisha	'too much'
ziketsha	'too much' (from 'pass, exceed')
me	'only'
nuka	'only'
naki	'almost'
namak	'really, truly'

(4.19) *naskuá hiega aklé guile guane*

na-sukkuá *hiega* *aklé* *guilek* *gua#ne*
1SG.INAL-son also more grow AUX.PFV#PST

'My son, too, had grown more.'

(4.20) *aguáng huakue*
less thick

'It is less thick.'

(4.21) *ubisha niúzhihã síngsihã sesïng itshẽshaksá*

ubisha *niuzhi-hã* *singsi-hã* *sesïng* *itshẽsh-a-ksá*
too.much bat-ERG mouse-ERG at.night scare-ST-not.anymore

'At night, the bats and mice didn't scare her too much anymore.'

(4.22) *menki aigaba nukkaté*

maing-ki aigaba nukka-té
2PL-TOP only listen-IPFV.II

'You only have to listen (lit.: be listening).'

The adverb *muletua* has intensifying function, denoting 'very' when it modifies an adjective. This is exemplified in (4.23). As is shown in the following section, the same adverb conveys the meaning 'well' when directly modifying a verb.

(4.23) *goksék zugapanatshak muletua hanshibé zugakí*

goksé-k zï-nuk-a-pana-atshak muletua hanshibé zï-nuk-a-kí
fire-LOC ANTIP-cook-ST-INCEP-TEMP.LOC very good ANTIP-cook-ST-IPFV.NEG

'When she started cooking on the fire, she wasn't cooking very well.'

The adverbial demonstrative *ekí*, which denotes manner when modifying a verb, can also have intensifying function when combined with an adjective, as in (4.24).

(4.24) *hui-ki ekí dueba*
house-TOP very old

'The house is very old.'

4.4.3 Manner adverbs

The third type of adverbs, only a few of which are attested, denotes the manner in which an action is performed. Two adverbs indicating speed are *maléngaba* 'fast, quickly' and *séngaba* 'slowly, quietly', exemplified in (4.25) and (4.26).

(4.25) *mäléngaba eka zïligagäbbaki hiúngälak me nẽ*

mäléngaba eka zï-nik-a-gäbba-ki hiúngäla-k me nẽ
quickly DEM ANTIP-sow-ST-NEG-TOP road-LOC only go

'Instead of directly (lit.:quickly) sowing there, we just went up to the road.'

(4.26) *nalahĩ nẽ séngaba nẽ*

nala-ĩ nẽ séngaba nẽ
run-IPFV.I go quietly go

'He left running, he left quietly.'

They both feature a suffix *-ngaba* which is characteristic of certain adverbs. It is, however, not productive and adverbs featuring it often have a lexicalized meaning. For example, the lexical element in *mäléngaba* 'quickly' is *mälé* meaning 'a short while'.

séngaba ‘slowly, quietly’ contains *se* ‘dark’; a connection to doing something quietly, or in the dark, is easily construable. An adverb with similar meaning is *tĩ̃ngaba* ‘silently’.

As shown in (4.27), the adverb *muletua* expresses the meaning ‘well’ when modifying a verb.

(4.27) *shkazuka hiega muletua akwashegakí*

zhik-a-zï-nuk-a	*hiega*	*muletua*	*ak-washek-a-kí*
REFL.INDIR-BEN-ANTIP-cook-ST	also	well	3SG.III-know-ST-NEG.IPFV

‘Also, she didn’t know well how to cook for herself.’

Furthermore, there is a set of adverbial demonstratives that point to the manner in which an action is performed.

Note that the demonstrative system of Kogi, including locative adverbial and (ad)nominal (see Section 4.4.4 and Section 4.5.3 below) forms in addition to these manner adverbs, is person-oriented (as opposed to distance-oriented, cf. S. R. Anderson & Keenan (1985:282–286)). In a person-oriented system, proximal terms refer to a location in the speaker’s vicinity, medial terms to a location close to the addressee, and distal ones indicate locations far form both speech-act-paricipants.

Kogi adverbial manner demonstratives are presented in Table 4.3. There are different forms for endophoric and exophoric contexts. Demonstratives with exophoric reference are used to point to states of affairs (or objects or places) in the extra-linguistic world, while demonstratives in endophoric function generally refer to entities mentioned in discourse (Diessel 1999:6).

The exophoric forms contain different demonstrative roots that are associated with deictic values, namely *he-* ‘proximal’ (speaker), *tu-* ‘medial’ (addressee) and *ku-* ‘distal’ (non-speech act participant).

As these forms indicate the manner in which an action is performed, they can be translated to ‘like this (like I am doing)’, ‘like that (like you are doing)’ and ‘like that (like someone else is doing)’.

Table 4.3: Adverbial manner demonstratives

Endophoric	*ekí*
Exophoric, proximal	*hekí*
Exophoric, medial	*tukí*
Exophoric, distal	*kukí*

The use of the proximal form is illustrated in (4.28). The expression *amak* used in the second clause of (4.28) is a manner adverb similar to *ekí*. It refers back to information, in this case about manner, in previous discourse.

(4.28) *hekí minkuialdí gunguake amak kuiapana*

he-kí	*min-kui-a-ldí*	*gu-ngu-ake*	*amak*	*kuiapana*
PROX-MAN	2PL-harvest-ST-IMP	AUX.PFV-REM.PST-so	like.that	harvest-ST-INCEP

'Harvest like this (like I'm doing) [said our mother], so we started to harvest in that way.'

Similarly, in example (4.29), *amak* refers to the way of cultivating crops, which was described by the speaker earlier in her story.

(4.29) *gungueni amak amak negguatshake hanshibé nasïng tũ*

gu-ngu-eni	*amak*	*amak*	*nek-gu-atshake*	*hanshibé*
AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ	like.that	like.that	cultivate-REM.PST-when	good

nasïng	*tũ*
1PL	see

'And then, when we cultivated [the crops] like that [like our mother taught us] we saw that it was good. '

4.4.4 Locative adverbs

Lastly, there is a set of demonstrative adverbs (also referred to as locative adverbial demonstratives) that denote the place where an event takes place, or where a referent is located. They are listed in Table 4.4. Locative adverbs modify verbs and cannot directly modify nouns, as opposed to, for example, English *the book there*.

Table 4.4: Locative demonstrative adverbs

	general	inessive
Endophoric	*ai, eka*	*eni*
Exoph., proximal	*hai, heka*	*heni*
Exoph., medial	*tuai, tueka*	*tueni*
Exoph., distal	*ungueka*	*uni*

As with the manner demonstratives introduced above, there is one form for endophoric contexts (based on the root *e, ai*) and several exophoric terms. These feature the demonstrative roots expressing the deictic notions proximal *hai, he* and medial *tuai, tue*. The distal root *ku(e)* is only found in the general locative form *ungueka*, i.e.*un-kue-ka*. In addition to the locative suffix *-ka*, the word features a morpheme *un*, which is only attested in these locative adverbials but not in other demonstratives.

Locative adverbs with general locative semantics typically have two alternatives, i.e. *ai, hai* and *tuai,* and those that feature the locative marker *-k(a)*.[2] Both forms can often be used interchangeably.

[2]Note that the locative marker usually has two possible forms, one with and one without the vowel. Adverbial demonstratives exclusively feature the full form of the marker.

For locations that are distal but visible to both SAPs, only one form, *ungueka* it attested in my data. Preuss (1925:892) collected a form ⟨unkuéi̯⟩, which would be the distal equivalent of *hai* 'PROX' and *tuai* 'MED'. However, this word was apparently lost, as none of my informants claim to use or know it. According to Preuss (1925:892), it goes back to ⟨unikuéi̯⟩ consisting of *uni* 'DIST.INESS' and the verb *kual* 'exist, dwell'.

Example (4.30) comes from a narrative about an informant's trip to his house up in the mountains. In the story, he introduces differently places along the way and refers back to them with the endophoric locative adverb *eka*.

(4.30) *eka gékashaka iabegukueni zïnake eka zhini nẽyaté noshinga hiúngulak*

e-ka	*gékasha-ka*	*iabek-gu-ku-eni*	*zïnake*	*e-ka*
ENDO-LOC	mountain.ridge-LOC	ascend-REM.PST-1SG.I-SEQ	so	ENDO-LOC

zhini	*nẽ-a-té*	*nok-i-nga*	*hiúngula-k*
from	walk-ST-IPFV	AUX.IPFV-IPFV-CONT	trail-LOC

'I ascended there on the mountain ridge, and then from there kept on walking on the trail.'

With the speaker-proximal adverb *hai* in (4.31) from a different narrative, the speaker refers to the place where she is currently located, namely the village Kuizhimakke.

(4.31) *hanshibenga zabi nõwã nuanane hai kuibúluke nak*

hanshibé-nga	*zabi*	*nõwã*	*nuan-a#nehai*	*kuibulu-ke*	*nak*
good-EMPH	descend	a.bit	get.wet-ST#PST	PROX.LOC	village-LOC

'She came done well and, having gotten a little bit wet [from the river] arrived here in the village.'

As seen in Table 4.4, there is a distinctive form with a general locative meaning and others expressing a more specific inessive meaning. The latter contain the locative case marker *-ni*. With noun phrases, *-ni* denotes an inessive or allative relation Section 6.2.2.2. In the case of locative adverbs, by contrast, only the inessive meaning applies. Thus, this set generally refers to inessive locations, as for example, the inside of a house, or a hole in tree, as exemplified by (4.32).

(4.32) *eni kue hanguĩ*

e-ni	*kual*	*hangu-ĩ*
ENDO-INESS	exist	think-IPFV.I

'He thinks [the frog] is there [in the hole].'

It is evident that, the forms featuring *-ni* were extended to denote places that are generally not visually accessible to the speech act participants. This is shown in (4.33), where the location indicated by *uni* 'DIST-INESS' cannot be construed as being 'inside' of something, but rather as out of sight at the time and place of the utterance (i.e. it refers to a village behind a hilltop).

(4.33) *uni Duminguekali izhukkuge*

un-ni *Dumingueka-li* *i-nok-ka-uge*
DIST-INESS Dumingueka-INESS LOC.APPL-be-HAB-1SG.I

'I live there [far away and out of sight] in Dumingueka.'

In addition to these locative demonstrative adverbials, there are a few directional adverbs, given in (4.34). Example (4.35) illustrates *matáng* 'up', which consists of a root *mata* (also attested in a postposition) and a suffix *-ng*. This suffix also features in a few other adverbs, i.e. *ubáng* 'immediately' or *abisang* 'once more', yet is not productive.

(4.34) *matáng* 'up'
gäleni 'up'
gueni 'down'

(4.35) *matáng yabékane nalé pera zã guká*

matáng *i-abék-a#nenal-é* *pera* *zã* *guk-á*
up LOC.APPL-ascend-ST#PST be-SUB pear only

'Having climbed up, he was just picking pears.'

4.4.5 Other adverbs

There remain a few adverbs that cannot be assigned to any of the four semantic classes described in the previous sections. My corpus includes two forms that can be characterized as configurational adverbs (cf. (Beck 2008:22–23)), which denote the spatial configuration of a referent, namely *hien* 'straight, upright' and *kutám* 'upside down'.

(4.36) *muksú zhawa kutám* *te*
pot DIM upside.down sit

'The little pot is upside down.'

The adverb *mokue* 'again' may express the meaning of a reverse action (e.g. *She came and then went back again.*), as in (4.37a), or indicate that an event occurs a second time, as in (4.37b). This example also includes *abisang* 'once more, anew' (derived from the adjective *abisa* 'new'), which denotes the reoccurrence of an event, but not its reversal.

(4.37) a. *gungueninki mokue Santa Marta nẽ*

gu-gu-eni-nki *mokue* *Santa* *Marta* *nẽ*
AUX.PFV-PST-SEQ-TOP again Santa Marta go

'And then she went back to Santa Marta.'

b. *abisang* *aléng* *mokue* *zula* *nia*
once.more 3SG again seed look.for

'Once more, she looked for seeds again.'

Beside the class of adverbs discussed throughout the present section, Kogi makes use of other strategies for verb modification, as for example, underived adjectives that may modify predicates (see Section 5.2.4).

4.5 Minor word classes

This section introduces the minor word classes of Kogi. In contrast to the major word classes, which are open classes, most of the minor ones discussed in what follows are closed, i.e. the number of their class members is limited. The discussed minor word classes are ideophones (Section 4.5.1), personal pronouns (Section 4.5.2), (ad)nominal demonstratives (Section 4.5.3), interrogative words (Section 4.5.4), indefinite pronouns (Section 4.5.5) numerals and quantifiers (Section 4.5.6), postpositions (Section 4.5.7) and conjunctions (Section 4.5.8). For an in-depth description of the classes of particles and interjections, further research is necessary.

4.5.1 Ideophones

Ideophones, i.e. "marked words depictive of sensory imagery" (Dingemanse 2012:654), are relatively prominent in Kogi. While the study of such forms has not been conducted systematically, the present section gives an overview of the encountered ideophones and their properties.

A characteristic trait is their phonological structure, which differs from other word classes. They are predominantly monosyllabic and allow for consonants in the coda, a distribution that is not attested in other parts of speech, for example, *s* in *huis* 'throw', or *p* in *tup* 'spit'. Moreover, they may feature long vowels, as evidenced by the form *hiit* 'moving upwards'.

Similarly to verbs, ideophones characteristically denote events. However, they differ from verbs as they do not accommodate verbal morphology. Reduplication, which indicates iteration, is a common process observed with ideophones. In general, ideophones often show similarities with adverbs, in that they commonly occur together with verbs. Unlike adverbs, ideophones do not seem to be able to modify adjectives, and they can occur without an accompanying verb.

They may accompany a lexical verb, as *huat* with the verb *zhigalak* 'stand up' in (4.38). In this case, the ideophone emphasizes the suddenness of an upwards movement.

Table 4.5: Kogi ideophones

Form	Meaning
gäs	cut, tear (off) crosswise / horizontally
hã	open one's mouth
häs	cut, tear (off) lengthwise / vertically
hiat	upwards movement of small, long entities
hinshu hinshu	sneeze
hiit	sliding motion
hue hue	flying of birds
huat	upwards movement of big entities
hui	move, run quickly
hui	blow
huis	throw, e.g. an arrow
ka	hit with a blunt instrument
käs	break with a blunt instrument
pa, pak	hit, thrust
piga piga	jump up and down
mezhu mezhu	moving of a snake
sũĩ	whistle
täk	hit
tsik tsik	chop into small pieces
tak	chop, e.g. a tree trunk
tup	spit
wäla wäla	talk
zua	tear cloth
'uhu 'uhu	cough

(4.38) *eni stali zhini sïgi huat zhigalagatshake*

e-ni *stali* *zhini* *sïgi* *huat* *zhika-nak-atshake*
ENDO-INVIS behind from deer IDPH REFL-stand-when

'When the deer rises up from behind there [the rock]...'

(4.39) features the ideophone *sũĩ* denoting whistling with the quotative verb *nek* 'say'.

(4.39) *mokue apebu zhawahã sũĩ aklegatshake eni stũ*

mokue *a-pebu* *zhawa-hã* *sũĩ* *ak-nek-atshake* *e-ni*
again 3SG.INAL-friend DIM-ERG IDPH 3SG.III-say-when DEM.ENDO.INVIS
zï-tũ
ANTIP-look

'When his friend whistled to him again, he looked there.'

The form *hit* describing a sliding motion is illustrated in (4.40).

(4.40) *kákalia ibe mokue galeni munánkala hiit galeni nitshiksha*

káka-nia	*i-me*	*mokue*	*galeni*	*munánkala*	*hiit*	*galeni*
mouth-liquid	LOC.APPL-apply	again	above	shin	IDPH	above
nitshik-sh-a						
ascend-CAUS-ST						

'[She] applied saliva again on [his] shin, she smeared it moving [her hand] upwards.'

The ideophones presented so far are reminiscent of adverbs, as they, too, precede and modify verbs. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, they may also be used on their own, which clearly differentiates them from adverbs. Consider example (4.41), which comes from a story telling task with two participants. The speaker encourages his partner, who seems less talkative, not to be embarrassed and just keep on talking, *wäla wäla*.

(4.41) *hiwa mikze guagabbaki aigaba wäla wäla*

hiwa	*mik-zek*	*gu-a-gabba-ki*	*aigaba*	*wäla*	*wäla*
ashamed	3SG.III-feel	AUX.PFV-PROH-TOP	just	IDPH	IDPH

'Don't be ashamed, just talk.'

Two further examples of ideophones used on their own are given in (4.42) and (4.43).

(4.42) *kali hakligi za amak menguakí nanalá mukshinkalali nuka tak tak tak*

kali	*hakligi*	*za*	*amak*	*men-gu-a-kí*	*na-nal-á*
tree	axe	only	like.that	cut-CAUS-ST-NEG.IPFV	SPKR.ASYM-be-HOD.PST
mukshinkala-li	*nuka*	*tak*	*tak*	*tak*	
back-INSTR	only	IDPH	IDPH	IDPH	

'The axe wasn't cutting the trees like that, [he only] hit dem with the back [of the axe].'

(4.43) *sukkua zhawa nẽ ama haggik pa*

sukkua	*zhawa*	*nẽ*	*ama*	*haggi-k*	*pa*
boy	DIM	go	INTERJ	rock-LOC	IDPH

'The boy goes [rides] and hits a rock.'

As shown in (4.44), ideophones may also be accompanied by a light verb such as *atshi* 'do'.

(4.44) *mukuti hiat atshane*

mukuti *hiat* *atshi-a-ne*
fist IDPH do-ST#PST

'He lifted his fist.'

Finally, my data includes two ideophones associated with bodily functions / sensations, namely *hinshu hinshu* 'sneeze' and *'uhu 'uhu* 'cough'. As illustrated in (4.45), these occur together with the experiencer verb *zek* 'feel'.

(4.45) *'uhu 'uhu nakzeshĩ*

'uhu *'uhu* *nak-zek-ĩ*
IDPH IDPH 1SG.III-feel-IPFV

'I have a cough.'

4.5.2 Personal pronouns

The set of personal pronouns, given in Table 4.6 distinguish three persons, i.e. speaker (first person), addressee (second person) and non-speech act participant (third person), as well as two number values, i.e. singular and plural.

Table 4.6: Personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*näs*	*nasïng*
2	*ma*	*maing*
3	*aléng*	*kãwĩzhéng*

In contrast to noun phrases headed by nouns, phrases headed by personal pronouns do not accommodate the plural marker *-kũẽ*.

The plural forms of the first and second person may be segmented into a morpheme expressing person, i.e. *näs* '1' and *ma* '2', and a number-encoding suffix *-ing* ~ *-ïng*. This suffix, however, is not attested in any other context with this function.

Segmenting third person forms, the first components are identical with the respective inalienable possessive prefixes, i.e. *a-* '3SG.INAL' and *kãwĩ-* '3PL.INAL'. They appear to feature a morpheme *néng*, taking the form *léng* in *aléng* '3SG' (after *g*), and *zhéng* in *kãwĩzhéng* '3PL' (after *i*). The exact function and origin of *néng* remain unclear.

Noun phrases headed by personal pronouns cannot be marked for case. Instead, the relation between the predicate and its argument(s) is indicated by bound argument indexes expressing person and number values. These indexes belong two three different sets corresponding the three syntactic relations (i.e. subject, direct object and indirect object), though only considering prototypical clause types.[3]

[3]The the sets of verbal indexes are detailed in Section 8.1 and the issue of syntactic relations is discussed in depth in Section 10.2.

As noted, the person and number values of arguments are obligatorily indexed on the verb (pronominal indexes), and in fact, overt use of personal pronouns can be considered marked and is rather infrequent. In particular, first and second person pronouns are restricted to certain constructions, for example, those that express emphasis, as in (4.46), or require disambiguation, as in the case with an imperfective form that does not host argument indexes in (4.47).

(4.46) *näs nali hẽ gamá go#n-uge*
1SG EMPH DEM.SPKR bag make#PST-1SG.I

'I myself made this bag.'

(4.47) *eni kue hangu-ĩ näs hangu-ĩ*
DEM exist think-IPFV.I 1SG think-IPFV.I

'[He] thinks [the frog] is in there, I think.'

The third person pronouns *aléng* '3SG' and *kãwĩzhéng* '3PL' function anaphorically, i.e. they designate referents introduced previously in discourse, and are used exclusively with human referents.

(4.48) *nãwĩhaba muletwa hian akzegakí nalguake [...] aléng nali tũal nẽ*

nãwĩ-haba muletwa hian ak-zek-a-kí nal-gu-ake
1PL.INAL-mother really right 3SG.III-feel-ST-NEG.IPFV AUX-REM.PST-when
aléng nali tũ-a-l nẽ
3SG EMPH look-ST-PURP go

'Because our mother didn't really believe [us], she herself went to look.'

Another means for referencing human third persons is the use of the endophoric demonstrative pronoun *ẽ* which is further described and compared to third person pronouns in Section 4.5.3 below.

While person pronouns do not accommodate number or case markers, they can take the topic marker *-ki* or the emphatic / coreference marker *-nga*. Topic marking is illustrated in (4.49), the first utterance of a narrative introducing the speaker as topic.

(4.49) *näski Carmen nakazhukka*

näs-ki Carmen nak-a-nok-ka
1SG-TOP Carmen 1SG.III-POSS-be-HAB

'My name is Carmen.'

Kogi further exhibits a set of possessive pronouns that are used for possessed alienable nouns. These pronouns constitute independent morphemes, as opposed to the

Table 4.7: Possessive pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*nahí*	*nãwĩhí*
2	*mihí*	*mimihí*
3	*ahí*	*kãwĩhí*

bound possessive markers occurring with nouns of the inalienable class (see Section 6.1.1). The paradigm is given in Table 4.7.

All possessive pronouns contain a morpheme *-hí*, the function of which is not known. Their bases are identical with the corresponding possessive prefixes, e.g. *na-* '1SG.INAL'.

Finally, note that reflexivity and reciprocity are marked on the predicate through valency changing morphology (see Chapter 9), and dedicated pronouns with these functions do not exist. Neither are there relative pronouns; relative clauses are formed by juxtaposition or a verbal relative marker (see Section 11.1).

4.5.3 (Ad)nominal demonstratives

In addition to the demonstrative adverbs of location and manner introduced in Section 4.4, Kogi has a set of (ad)nominal demonstratives. These may function as demonstrative pronouns, substituting a noun, or as demonstrative modifiers, specifying a noun. I refer to these demonstratives as (ad)nominal forms, since they can occur in combination with a noun (adnominal) or in lieu of a noun (pronominal). They constitute a closed word class.

As in other sets of demonstratives, there are several forms for exophoric contexts, and one that occurs with endophoric function, namely *ẽ*. The inventory of (ad)nominal demonstratives is presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: (Ad)nominal demonstratives

	Non-constrastive	Contrastive
Endophoric	*ẽhié, ẽ*	–
Exoph., proximal	*hẽhié, hẽ*	*hale*
Exoph., distal	*kuẽhié, kuẽ*	*kuale*
Exoph., shared attention	*tuẽhié, tuẽ*	*tuale*

As noted in the preceding section, the endophoric demonstrative *ẽ* differs from the third person singular pronoun *aléng*. It does so in (at least) two crucial respects; firstly, the endophoric demonstrative may accommodate case or number marking, shown in (4.50) and (4.51), which personal pronouns never allow for (see Section 4.5.2 above).

(4.50) *ẽhã hẽ hui gone*

ẽ-hã	*hẽ*	*hui*	*go#ne*
ENDO-ERG	PROX.LOC	house	build#PST

'He built this house.'

(4.51) *ẽnkũẽ kuibúluli izhukka*

ẽ-kũẽ kuibulu-ni i-nok-ka
ENDO-PL village-INESS APPL.LOC-be-HAB

'They live in the village.'

Secondly, unlike the third person pronouns, *ẽ* is also used to denote non-human animate or inanimate referents. In (4.52), the endophoric demonstrative constitutes the head of a postpositional phrase and references *käli* 'tree' introduced earlier in the utterance.

(4.52) *ezua käli pokue nokake ẽ bakkalaka eka ibimí*

ezua käli broken nok-ake ẽ bakkala-ka e-ka i-bi-bi
INDEF tree rotten be-ADD ENDO on.top-LOC ENDO-LOC LOC.APPL-hang-PL

'There was a fallen [broken] tree and they were leaning [were hanging] over it.'

Aside from these differences, both the endophoric pronoun and the third person pronouns assume the function of referencing human referents. This is illustrated for *ẽ* in (4.53) and (4.54), where it refers to participants that were introduced in the preceding discourse.

(4.53) *ẽhãki aggone mokue pera akkuasha bicicleta iabeksha*

ẽ-hã-ki ak-gonek mokue pera ak-kual-sh-a bicicleta
ENDO-ERG-TOP 3SG.III-help again pear 3SG.III-exist-CAUS-ST bike
i-abek-sh-a
LOC.APPL-ascend-CAUS-ST

'He [his friend] helped him put the pears back in [the basket] and helped him get on the bike.'

(4.54) *ai numa nẽshikahã ẽ na nahí munzhi tũ*

ai numa nẽshi-ka-hã ẽ na nahí munzhi tũ
ENDO.LOC thing sell-NMLZ-ERG ENDO with 1SG.POSS woman see

'There, the vendor, [my friend] saw my woman with him.'

Thus, there are two different strategies to anaphorically refer to human third persons, either by a personal pronoun *aléng* '3SG' or *kãwĩzhéng* '3PL', or by the endophoric demonstrative *ẽ(-kũẽ)* 'DEM.ENDO(-PL)'. In constructed examples, including instances of third person pronouns in utterances from spontaneous speech which are substituted with the demonstrative (and vice versa), both seem to be interchangeable. With regard to their distribution in narratives and conversations, bearing in mind that their use is

rather scarce, there appears to be a tendency for the genuine personal pronouns being used for participants that are more topical or central in the discourse.

Particular contexts in which the demonstrative *ẽ* occurs are isolated sentences collected through elicitation which feature third person subjects that do not denote any specific referent. In such utterances, as for instance (4.55), third person pronouns are not accepted.

(4.55) *ẽhã / (*aléng) gamá gone*

ẽ-hã	*(*aléng)*	*gamá*	*go#ne*
ENDO-ERG	(*3SG)	bag	make#PST

'She made a bag.'

A more detailed description of the distribution and function of *ẽ* in relation the genuine third person pronouns remains a task for future research.

Let us now turn to exophoric (ad)nominal demonstratives, which are employed when pointing to referents, e.g. persons or objects, in the extra-linguistic setting.

Firstly, we find a distinction between non-contrastive and contrastive forms, e.g. *kuẽ, kuẽhié* (distal non-constrative) vs. *kuale* (distal contrastive). Contrastive demonstratives are used to refer to an entity "when pointing out one member of a group" (S. R. Anderson & Keenan 1985:289), while non-contrastive ones are used in all other contexts. The forms involve a suffix *-le* (∼ *-ne*), which encodes the contrastive meaning aspect. In (4.56), the contrastive speaker-proximal form is used adnominally, modifying *dibujo* 'drawing', and refers to a specific picture in a set of several.

(4.56) *hale dibujoke sukkwa zhawa ahí cama sha*

ha-le	*dibujo-ke*	*sukkwa*	*zhawa*	*ahí*	*cama*	*sha*
SPKR.PROX-CNTR	drawing-LOC	boy	DIM	3SG.POSS	bed	lie

'In this drawing, the little boy is lying in his bed.'

The paradigm of exophoric (ad)nominal demonstratives involves a three-way distinction among forms with a demonstrative root, i.e. *hẽ, ha*, *tuẽ, tua* and *kuẽ, kua*. For each of the three categories, two non-contrastive variants are attested, namely a short one, e.g. *hẽ* and one featuring the suffix *-hié*, e.g. *hẽhié*, both expressing 'SPKR.PROX'. At present, it is not clear what the exact function of this suffix is. Both forms are used interchangeably by some speakers, while others may show a preference to use one form or the other.

The forms based on *hẽ, ha* and *kuẽ, kua* encode a spatial contrast, akin to the corresponding locative and manner adverbial demonstratives (see Section 4.4). More precisely, the former refer to objects close to the speaker, while the latter refer to objects that are located at a distance from both speech act participants. Examples thereof are given in (4.57) and (4.58).

(4.57) *hẽ shina?*

hẽ *shi-nal*
PROX.LOC ADDR.EA-be

'Is it this one?'

(4.58) *nahatehã kuẽhié hui gone*

na-hate-hã *kuẽhié* *hui* *go#ne*
1SG.III-father-ERG DIST.LOC house build#PST

'My father built that house.'

Lastly, let us look at the forms that are based on the root *tua-, tuẽ-*. Recall that this root is associated with the medial value, i.e. the vicinity of the addressee, in the demonstratives introduced so far. In contrast to them, the (ad)nominal forms *tuẽ, tuẽhié* and *tuale* encode a contrast in terms of shared access or attention, rather than a spatial one.[4] Thus, this set of demonstratives differs fundamentally from the other members of the demonstrative class.

To illustrate the expression of joint attention by *tuẽ, tuẽhié* and *tuale*, let us look at a short example presented in (4.59). For more details on the analysis of these joint attention demonstratives, the reader is referred to Knuchel (2019), where the function of these forms is tested in a interactional elicitation task. In the following hypothetical scenario, which was provided by a consultant, two speakers are in the same location talking about distant objects (in this scenario, there were various necklaces hanging on hooks at the wall across the room). In the exchange in (4.59), the speaker points to an object uttering *kuẽhié* whereupon the addressee asks to verify their choice. In the speaker's confirmation *Ahá, tuẽhié.* 'Yes, that one.', they can switch to this form expressing joint attention (or access). Note that neither the location of the object nor that of the speech act participants has changed.

(4.59) S: *Kũẽhié!* 'That one over there.'
[pointing out one of the objects]
A: *Kũẽhié?* 'That one over there?'
[checking whether the A has identified the correct object]
S: *Ahá, tũẽhié.* 'Yes, that one.'
[confirming that A has identified the one S pointed out]

In (4.59), *tũẽhié* assumes an exophoric function by referencing an object present in the speech situation which is in the focus of attention of both speech act participants. The joint attention forms can also be used endophorically for referring to a referent that was mentioned in previous discourse and therefore is accessible to both speech act

[4] Attentional contrasts in demonstrative systems have been described for several unrelated languages, for example, Turkish (Özyürek & Kita n.d.), Jahai (Burenhult 2003) or Tiriyó (Meira 2018)

participants. In this regard, joint attention forms functionally parallel the endophoric demonstrative *ẽ*, discussed above. Further research is needed to describe the distribution of these apparently competing forms.

4.5.4 Interrogative words

Interrogative pronouns, e.g. 'who' or 'what', substitute a noun or noun phrase in constituent questions. In the same vein, interrogative adverbs, e.g. 'how', 'when', or interrogative demonstrative (or articles) as 'which', may replace other parts of speech.

Most of the interrogative words are based on the root *ma* ~ *mi*.

(4.60)

me	'who'
hi	'what'
mani	'where, where to'
mashi	'where'
sakí	'how'
maile	'which'
mitsák	'when'
mitsá	'how many /much'
hinak	'why'

As is illustrated in (4.61), the interrogative pronoun is typically fronted; in declarative ditransitive clauses, the recipient follows the agent.

(4.61) *mek Lucashã ahí moto akkõne?*

me-k	*Lucas-hã*	*ahí*	*moto*	*ak-kõ#ne*
who-DAT	Lucas-ERG	3SG.POSS	motorbike	3SG.III-give#PST

'Whom did Lucas give his motorbike to?'

Like nominal demonstratives, interrogative words may take number or case markers.

(4.62) *mailetshi shiná?*

maile-tshi	*shi-nal*
which-GEN	ADDR.EA-be

'Whose (shirt) is this (i.e. which one of the children)?'

(4.63) *me-kũẽ shi-ná*

who-PL	ADDR.EA-be

'Who are they?'

Interrogative words serve the basis for the formation of negative indefinite pronouns, as will be exemplified in the following section.

4.5.5 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite reference for the ontological categories 'person', 'thing' and 'time' can be achieved by the forms presented in Table 4.9. To express indefinite reference to persons, Kogi makes use of the numeral / indefinite marker *ezua* 'one'. For things, the noun *hika* 'thing' or the interrogative pronouns *maile* 'which' and *hi* 'what' can be used. With the exception of *maile* 'which', all of these forms can be used pronominally, as a phrasal head, and also as a nominal modifier. *maile*, by contrast can only function as a modifier.

Table 4.9: Indefinite pronouns

Category	Indefinite pronoun	
Person	*ezua*	'someone, some'
Thing	*hika*, *hi*, *maile*	'something, some'
Time	*atshuak*	'sometime'

ezua used as an indefinite pronoun is illustrated in (4.64) and (4.65). It is evident that there is no distinction between specific and non-specific indefinite reference (Haspelmath 1997:37–45). Examples (4.64) and (4.65) are excerpts of a story where the main character was told a rumor about his wife (San Roque et al. 2012). In (4.64), the referent of *ezua* 'someone' is specific; the speaker was just talking to his friend who told him the rumor. (4.65) comes from the narration of the same story as a kind of general contemplation of a situation that may cause family problems, told in impersonal second person form.

(4.64) *ezuahã ekí nakbẽya*

ezua-hã *ekí* *nak-mẽ-a*
someone-ERG DEM.ENDO.MAN 1SG.III-tell-ST

'Someone told me that.'

(4.65) *guatshake ezuahã tukabalokalienki mikbẽya*

gu-atshake *ezua-hã* *tuk-a-ma-noka-li-eng-ki*
AUX.PFV-when someone-ERG drink-ST-2SG.I-PROG-IRR-SIMUL.DUR-TOP
mik-mẽ-a
2SG.III-tell-ST

'And then when you are drinking someone tells you.'

hika 'thing' as an indefinite expression is exemplified in (4.66) in pronominal use, and in (4.67) as a modifier.

(4.66) *hika Santa Marta zhini nakulak!*

hika *Santa* *Marta* *zhini* *nak-u-nak*
something Santa Marta from 1SG.III-COM.APPL-come

'Bring me something from Santa Marta.'

(4.67) *hika atashi zhawa zã ga*
some green DIM only eat

'She only eats some vegetables.'

The interrogative pronoun *hi* 'what' with indefinite reference is illustrated in (4.68).

(4.68) *kabuhã hi aggégatukka*

kabu-hã *hi* *ak-gek-a-tok-ka*
police-ERG INDEF 3SG.III-give-ST-PROG-PRS

'The police man is giving him something.'

As seen in (4.69), the interrogative word *maile* is used in contexts of free choice of referents.

(4.69) *maile puti hiba akbḗmilakka*

maile *puti* *hiba* *ak-bẽ-mi-lakka*
any pot work 3SG.III-tell-2SG.I-POT

'You can use [lit.:tell it to work] any of the pots.'

atshuák 'once, i.e. at one time or sometime', used for indefinite time reference, is related to the adverb *atshuizha* 'once, i.e. a single time'. It contains a morpheme *a-* associated with the numeral 'one' (cf. *atshuĩ́* 'one day') and the temporal locative suffix *-k(e)*.

(4.70) *atshuak zaliéng natũal nak makualí*

atshuak *za-li-éng* *na-tũ-a-l* *nak* *ma-gu-a-lí*
sometime be-IRR-SIMUL.DUR 1SG.II-see-ST-PURP come 2SG.I-AUX.PFV-ST-IRR

'Come and visit me sometime.'

Negative indefinite pronouns are based on interrogative words, which are combined with either of two additive focus particles, namely *hiega* 'too, also' or *ni* 'even'. These pronouns are exclusively used in negative contexts, where they co-occur with verbal negation, as exemplified by (4.71).[5]

[5]In this regard, Kogi exhibits the cross-linguistically widespread pattern where negative indefinites and clausal negation obligatorily co-occur (Haspelmath 1997:202).

While both variants of a negative indefinite pronoun, e.g. *ni me* and *me hiega* 'no one', are used interchangeably, there can be speaker-dependent preferences for either of the forms. Two examples of negative indefinite pronouns are given in (4.71).

(4.71) a. *ni me nagazháne*

ni me nag-a-zhá-ne
ADD who come-ST-NEG#PST

'No one came.'

b. *nahí gamá mani hiega nakzalazhane*

nahí gamá mani hiega nak-zal-a-zhá-ne
1SG.POSS bag where ADD 1SG.III-be-NEG#PST

'I couldn't find my bag anywhere.'

4.5.6 Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers form a closed word class and express quantity or scope (Schachter & Shopen 2007:37). Kogi numerals, which constitute a decimal system, are presented in (4.72).

(4.72)

ezua	'one'	*tezhua*	'six'
mozhua	'two'	*kugua*	'seven'
maigua	'three'	*ábigua*	'eight'
makẽwã	'four'	*etagua*	'nine'
hatshĩwa	'five'	*ugwa*	'ten'

In order to illustrate the formation of numerals above ten, selected examples are provided in (4.73).

(4.73)

úguakasa ezua	'11'	*maigua ugua*	'30'
úguakasa mozhua	'12'	*makẽwã ugua*	'40'
úguakasa maigua	'13'	*uhase*	'100'
mózhugua	'20'	*mõhase*	'200'
mózhugua ezua	'21'	*maihase*	'300'
mózhugua mozhua	'22'	*ezua gatsala*	'1000'

Both numerals and quantifiers can be used as noun modifiers or as heads of a noun phrase. In modifying function, they can generally be placed either before or after the head noun.

The numeral *ezua* 'one' also functions as a indefinite marker, as shown in (4.74). The example further includes the numeral *mozhua* 'two' modifying a noun, *sukkua* 'son'.

Table 4.10: Quantifiers

From	Gloss
nuk	'all, entire'
ókanga, nókanga	'all'
sali	'all'
matshuí	'a lot, many'
azbuáng	'some'
nõwã	'a little, few'
akotshi	'other'

(4.74) *ai ezua sigí ezua due sukkwa mozhua nakua akalé*

ai	*ezua*	*sigí*	*ezua*	*due*	*sukkwa*	*mozhua*	*nakua*
DEM.ENDO.LOC	INDEF	man	INDEF	mister	son	two	young

ak-a-nal
3SG.III-POSS-be

'There was a man, a mister who had two young sons.'

The reduplication of *ezua* 'one' is used to convey the meaning 'each', as shown in (4.75).

(4.75) *pera maigua kakkõ ezua ezua ezua*

pera	*maigua*	*kak-kõw*	*ezua*	*ezua*	*ezua*
pear	three	3PL.III-give	one	one	one

'He gave them [the three boys] the three pears, one to each.'

The quantifier *nuk* is the most frequently used of the forms denoting 'all'.

(4.76) *ai kuíbulu nuk akõwa ahanashihĩ kuelakũe salukũẽ nuk akowa*

ai	*kuíbulu*	*nuk*	*a-gõw-a*	*a-hanashi-ĩ*	*kuela-kũe*
DEM.ENDO	village	all	3PL.I-build-ST	3PL.I-do-IPFV	school-PL

salu-kũẽ	*nuk*	*a-go-a*
medical.center-PL	all	3PL.I-build-ST

'There they were building the entire [lit.: all of the] village, they built schools, medical centers and all.'

The quantifier *ókanga* 'all' is illustrated with (4.77) in a negated clause, yet is also used in affirmative contexts, just as *nuk*. The form *nókanga* is a free variant.

(4.77) *ókanga zula muletua hánshigatse nalazhé*

ókanga	*zula*	*muletua*	*hanshi=agatsé*	*nal-a-zhá#ne*
all	seed	very	good=AUX	be-ST-NEG#PST

'Maybe not all of the seeds were very /really good.'

Further examples, namely of *azbuáng* 'some' and *few*, are presented in (4.78) and (4.79).

(4.78) *sukkuakũẽ azbuáng nuka internadoli izhukka*

sukkua-kũẽ azbuáng nuka internado-li i-nok-ka
child-PL few only boarding.school-INESS LOC.APPL-be-HAB

'Only some of the children live in the boarding school.'

(4.79) *nõwã hika atshakue tũgukuake nõwã atshá*

nõwã hika atshi-a-kue tũ-gu-ku-ake nõwã atshi-a
a.few thing do-ST-OBLG see-REM.PST-1SG.I-when a.few do-ST

'As I saw that there are a few things to do [at the finca], I did a few.'

4.5.7 Postpositions

Kogi has a closed class of postpositions, which constitute phonologically independent words. A distinction can be made between "canonical" postpositions, which are typically (at least synchronically) monomorphemic and non-inflectable on the one hand, and nominal items that function as postpositions when taking possessive and locative markers, on the other. After a short note on the distribution and function of postpositions, these subsets are discussed in turn.

Postpositions take a noun phrase as their argument and together with it form postpositional phrases. Postpositional phrases (PP) can modify predicates, as exemplified in (4.80) (the PP is indicated by brackets), whereas they cannot directly modify a noun phrase, as shown in (4.81).

(4.80) *gamá [kaloká sĩkli] dua*
bag chair-LOC under lie

'The bag is under the chair.'

(4.81) **gamá kaloká sĩkli nahí*
bag chair-LOC under 1SG.POSS

Intended: 'The bag under the chair is mine.'

The attested postpositions generally express a spatial meaning, specifying the configuration of a Figure in relation to a Ground as 'on top of' or 'beside'. Some topological relations are furthermore expressed by locative case markers, namely the phrasal suffixes *-k(a)* 'LOC' and *-ni* 'INESS/ALL' Section 6.2.2. Case markers typically convey a more generalized meaning, whereas postpositions denote more specific topological relations. Thus, for instance, *hu(i)-ka* (house-LOC) may be interpreted as 'in / at / close

to the house' and a specific configuration can be indicated with postpositions e.g. *buan* 'in front of' or *atezhak* 'next to'.

The set of monomorphemic, non-inflectable postpositions attested in my corpus are presented in (4.82).

(4.82)

na	'with'
zhekkua	'instead of'
zhini	'from (locative)'
zäla	'from (provenance, temporal)'
sïklí	'below, under (also with contact), inside'
muan	'in the middle'
buan	'in front'

The forms *na* 'with', *zhini* 'from (locative)', *zäla* 'from (provenance)' and *shánali* 'behind' are illustrated in (4.83) to (4.86). As for *muan* 'in the middle' and *buan* 'in front', it is apparent that the forms are closely related, given that *m* is in allophonic relation with *b*. However, the exact connection between them remains unclear.

(4.83) *ezua nabúnzhikũẽ na zabi*

ezua na-munzhi-kũẽ na zabi
one 1SG.INAL-daugher-PL with descend

'She came down with one of my daughters.'

(4.84) *käli bakkalaka zhini ai zã̄ tũ*
tree on.top from DEM only watch

'He was just watching from the top of the tree.'

(4.85) *ezua munzhi suiza zäla tũ*
one woman Switzerland from meet

'I met a woman from Switzerland.'

(4.86) *sukkwa zhawa kaldoká shánali ite*
boy DIM chair behind sit

'The boy is sitting behind the chair.'

As noted above, a second type of postposition can host possessive and case markers. The forms encountered in my data are presented in (4.87).

(4.87)

tezhak, atezhak	'next to, close to'
tézhali, atézhali	'next to, close to'
bakkalak, abakkálak	'on top'
bakkálali, abakkálali	'onto the top'
stak, asták	'beside'
stali, astali	'behind'
sïkak, asïkak	'at the tip'
mátaka, mátali	'above, over'
shánali	'behind'
atsalí	'instead of'

Their ability to take possessive and case marking points to nouns as their diachronic source. Certain forms in (4.87) in fact involve a base that is attested in other contexts as a common noun, as for example, *tezha* 'side'; it occurs in the compound *wakatezha* 'cheek (side of the face)'. Nevertheless, the nominal base of most forms is no longer used as a common noun, e.g. **shana* of *shánali* 'behind'.

A first example is given in (4.88). For illustrative purposes, the postposition based on *tezha* 'side' is segmented into the inalienable possessive prefix *a-*, the stem, and the locative marker *-k(a)*.

(4.88)

munzhi-hã	*maleta*	*a-tezha-ka*	*te*
woman-ERG	suitcase	3SG.INAL-side-LOC	put

'The woman put down the suitcase by her side.'

For comparison, consider the genitive construction in (4.89) featuring a common noun *haba* 'mother'. In this construction, possessive marking is found on both the possessor as well as the possessum. In (4.88), by contrast, the possessor (put differently, the Ground) noun phrase does not take genitive marking. In this respect, the nominal root of *atezhak* 'beside' clearly differs from common nouns.

(4.89)

José-tshi	*a-haba*
José-GEN	3SG.INAL-mother

'José's mother'

Most forms have several variants, as becomes evident from (4.87). The possessive prefix can optionally be omitted with no change in meaning. Two items, *mátaka, mátali* 'above, over' and *shánali* 'behind', never occur with the possessive marker.

Furthermore, these postpositions may feature either of the two locative markers, *-k(a)* 'LOC' or *-ni* 'ALL, INESS'. In case of the latter, it is typically the allative semantics, that apply with these postpositions, e.g. *abakkálali* 'onto the top of'. Another semantic facet of *-ni* in postpositions comes to light in (4.90), namely one of an invisible location. *stali* in this case denotes 'behind' and refers to a deer that suddenly appeared from behind a stone. The form with the general locative morpheme *stak* denotes 'besides', cf. (4.91),

(4.90) *eni stali zhini sïgi huat zhigalagatshake*

e-ni *stali* *zhini* *sïgi* *huat* *zhika-nak-atshake*
DEM.ENDO-INVIS behind from deer IDPH REFL-stand-when

'When the deer rises up from behind there [the rock]...'

(4.91) *munzhi zhawa astak nẽyatokenki*

munzhi *zhawa* *astak* *nẽ-a-tok-éng-ki*
girl DIM beside go-ST-PROG-SIMUL.DUR-TOP

'When a a girl is passing by next to him...'

The postposition *atsalí* 'instead of' has benefactive meaning, as shown in (4.92). Like the spatial postpositions discussed above, it features inalienable possessive prefixes. By contrast to the other items in (4.87), it does not seem to include locative case marking.

(4.92) *gayahã natsaldí hui zïpéne*

gaya-hã *na-tsaldí* *hui* *zïpe-ne*
young.woman-ERG 1SG.INAL-instead.of house sweep#PST

'The young woman swept the house instead of me.'

4.5.8 Conjunctions

Kogi has a small set of conjunctions, i.e. words that are used to indicate a coordinate or subordinate relationship between constituents (Schachter & Shopen 2007:45). They are presented in Table 4.11. Note that many coordinate relations, and subordinate ones in particular, are not expressed by means of conjunctions. For instance, temporal sequence, or the notion 'but' are expressed by constructions involving subordinate verb morphology. Furthermore, complement and relative clauses are usually introduced by mere juxtaposition to the main clause Chapter 11.

Table 4.11: Conjunctions

Form	Gloss	Type
na	'and'	coordinating
huizhi	'and'	coordinating
ezhi	'or'	coordinating
nak	'because'	subordinating
shala	'because'	subordinating
guakua	'so as not'	subordinating

The conjunction *na* 'and' exclusively coordinates nouns or nominal predicate clauses, while coordinated adjectives or verbs are commonly juxtaposed. It occurs postposed

to the head, and may mark all coordinated constituents, as in (4.93), or just one, as in (4.74).

(4.93) *atshuák zalguéng na ai dueba zhawa na wezhu zhawa na*

atshuák *zal-gu-éng* *na* *ai* *dueba* *zhawa* *na*
once be-REM.PST-SIMUL.DUR FOC DEM.ENDO.LOC old.male DIM and
wezhu *zhawa* *na*
old.female DIM and

'Once, there was an old man and an old woman.'

(4.94) *ai ezua sigí ezua due sukkwa mozhua nakua akalé ezuaki attue ezuaki alani na*

ai *ezua* *sigí* *ezua* *due* *sukkwa* *mozhua*
DEM.ENDO.LOC INDEF old.man INDEF mister son two
nakua *ak-a-nal* *ezua-ki* *a-due* *ezua-ki*
young 3SG.III-POSS-be one-TOP 3SG.INAL-elder.brother one-TOP
a-nani *na*
3SG.INAL-younger.sibling

'There was a man, an old man who had two young sons, one elder brother and one younger brother.'

The conjunction *na* originates from the postposition *na* 'with' which is also reflected in its position after the head and its restriction to occur with nouns.

There is a further postposition *huizhi* 'with', which is used when the head of the postpositional phrase denotes several referents, as in example (4.95). Similarly to *na*, *huizhi* can also be used for coordination and applies when there are more than two constituents, as in (4.96).

(4.95) *Jacinto na David na ahabakũẽ huizhi kuibúluli nẽ*

Jacinto *na* *David* *na* *a-haba-kũẽ* *hwizhi* *kuiblu-li* *nẽ*
Jacinto and David and 3SG.INAL-mother-PL with.PL village-ALL go

'Jacinto and David went to the village with their parents.'

(4.96) *kabuhã hi aggegatukka ahí zhakwá ahí zuhuba ahí zapatokũẽ huizhi*

kabu-hã *hi* *ak-gek-a-tok-ka* *ahí* *zhakwá* *ahí*
police-ERG something 3SG.III-give-ST-PROG-PRS 3SG.POSS clothes 3SG.POSS
zuhuba *ahí* *zapato-kũẽ* *huizhi*
shirt 3SG.POSS shoe-PL and

'The police man is giving him something, his clothes, his shirt and his shoes.'

huizhi is furthermore used to point out a (unexpectedly) high number of referents in the sense of 'and also'. In (4.96), it is used to list all the gifts a young man, who earlier had abandoned his parents, receives from them upon his return.

(4.97) *mitu ezua agakuaka caballo huizhi silla huizhi egite*

mitu ezua ak-a-guak-a caballo huizhi silla huizhi ak-i-te
pig one 3SG.III.BEN-kill-ST horse and saddle and 3SG.III-LOC.APPL-put

'They killed a pig for him and they also gave him a horse and also a saddle.'

ezhi 'or' occurs between the coordinated constituents and can be used with different word classes, e.g. nouns, verbs or adjectives.

(4.98) *maile namak ahatehã aggone guakue alusaba aluna aklukka ezhi alusaba aluna aklukka*

maile namak a-hate-hã ak-gonek gu-a-kue alusaba aluna
which really 3SG.INAL-father-ERG 3SG.III-help AUX-ST-OBLG good soul
ak-nok-ka ezhi alusaba aluna ak-nok-ka
3SG.III-be-HAB or bad soul 3SG.III-be-HAB

'Whom should the father help really, the one with the good soul or the one with the bad soul?'

The subordinate conjunctions denoting 'because', *nak* and *shala*, can be used interchangeably. Examples thereof are given in (4.99) and (4.100).

(4.99) *nalagale naklébine shala skekuĩ̃*

nal-a-ga-ne nak-nek#min-ne shala zï-keku-wĩ̃
be-ST-3SG.I-NEG.HAB 1SG.III-tell#2PL.I-PST because ANTIP-weed-IMP

'Since you told me a lie, go and weed!'

(4.100) *hẽhiéki koksha guane nak abekane karseli*

hẽhié-ki koksha gu-a#ne nak a-mek-a#ne karsel-li
DEM-TOP fight PFV.AUX-ST#PST because 3PL.I-lock.in-ST#PST jail-INESS

'Because he had fought, they locked him up in jail.'

Finally, the conjunction *guakua* 'so that not' is used for negative purpose clauses, as illustrated in (4.101).

(4.101) *hugaké akiónuge shenta hulunĩ̃ guakua*

hugaké akió#ne-uge shenta hulun-ĩ̃ guakua
door close#PST-1SG.I chicken enter-IPFV.I NEG.PURP

'I closed the door so that the chickens won't enter.'

Chapter 5

Adjectives

In Kogi, there is a distinct class of adjectives which differs in their functional and formal properties from other word classes (see Section 4.3).

One can distinguish different classes and subclasses of adjectives based morphosyntactic as well as semantic criteria. There are two main classes, which I label dependent adjectives and independent adjectives.

Independent adjectives can be monomorphemic or polymorphemic, in which case they often feature an affix characteristic of adjectives. They can be used independently (i.e. without auxiliary verb) as a noun modifier, known as attributive use, and as a predicate in equation clauses, i.e. in predicative use. Semantically, they have in common that they denote properties that belong to the four prototypical semantic types, namely dimension, age, value and color (Dixon 2004:3).

The second class, dependent adjectives, cannot occur on their own but always require an auxiliary verb with the root *zal* 'be' or the experiencer verb *zek* 'feel'. They are all monomorphemic and can have attributive as well as predicative function. An interesting trait of dependent adjectives is that they require the auxiliary verb not only in predicative use, but also in attributive one.

The following section (Section 5.1), introduces the different adjective classes as well as the characteristics that motivate the classification. Morphosyntactic properties of adjectives in attributive and predicative function are discussed in Section 5.2, and Section 5.2.3 presents comparative and superlative constructions.

5.1 Adjective classes

5.1.1 Independent adjectives

Independent adjectives denote properties of the four core semantic types, namely dimension, age, value and color (Dixon 2004:3).

Most adjectives of the independent class are polymorphemic, that is they consist of a lexical morpheme expressing a property and a grammatical morpheme, which is characteristic of adjectives. The origin or detailed function of the grammatical morphemes is generally opaque.

Many independent adjectives feature a prefix *a-*. This prefix is possibly connected to the third person singular possessive marker *a-*. However, as it does not change according to subject person, it is evident that it does not reflect person in this context. The encountered forms are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Adjectives with *a-*

Adjective	Gloss	Semantic type
atema	'big'	Dimension
ahwiní	'round'	Dimension
apasï	'rectangular'	Dimension
abisa	'new'	Age
awawa	'young (of animals)'	Age
alusaba	'bad (of character)'	Value
asiaba	'good (of character)'	Value
abaksï	'black'	Color
abutshi	'white'	Color
atashi	'green, blue'	Color
atsïshi	'red'	Color
abata	'empty'	?
aliwang	'last'	?
akotshi	'other'	?

The form *alusaba* 'bad (of character)' has the dependent adjective *nusa* 'bad' as its root. The suffix *-ba (-ma)* is attested in a few other words, e.g. *dueba* 'old' (cf. *due* 'older brother') or *tashima* 'woods' (cf. *atashi* 'green'). Its origin or exact function remain unclear.

It is interesting to note that prefix *a-* can be omitted when the adjective modifies or predicates nouns that do not denote human referents.

(5.1) *häggi (a-)tema*
rock ADJ-big

'big rock'

(5.2) *sigí *(a-)tema*
man ADJ-big

'big man'

Moreover, the adjective marker is absent in compounds that feature an adjective, e.g. *kagitsïshi* 'red soil' (*kagi* 'soil' + *atsïshi* 'red'), or *huitema* 'type of house used by women' (*hui* 'house' + *atema* 'big').

There are a few instances in which the adjective root is the base for derivational morphology. This is illustrated in (5.3) with a causative verb based on *abata* 'empty', and in (5.4) with a noun derived from *atashi* 'green, blue'.

(5.3) *matakuĩ*

mata-gu-ĩ
empty-CAUS-IPFV.I

'emptying (vtr.)'

(5.4) *tashima*

tashi-ma
green-NMLZ

'woods'

A further set of adjectives involve the elements *-lukka*, *-gekue* and *-pakue*, their semantics and origin being opaque. The forms, presented in (5.5) all denote a dimensional property. The first part of these forms consists of a morpheme that is associated with small dimension, i.e. *nĩ-*, and the other one referring to large dimension, i.e. *wẽ-*.[1] A further dimension encoding adjective is *kalita* 'skinny' (likely derived from *kali* 'stick, tree'; *-ta* as a derivational suffix is not attested elsewhere).

(5.5)

nĩ́gekue	'skinny'
nĩ́pakue	'narrow, tight'
wẽ́zhilukka	'long'
wẽ́gekue	'fat'
wẽ́pakue	'wide, broad'
zhilukká	'tall'
slắmpakue	'flat'
huakue	'thick'

Two adjectives that denote a physical property *samne* 'soft' and *kuámale* 'hard' (derived from *kuama* 'strength') seem to feature a suffix *-ne / -le*, which is possibly related to *nal* 'be' or *nek* 'become'.

The same suffix *-ne* seems to feature in *hänshizhé* 'kind, nice'. Its base is the dependent adjective *hänshi*, which is associated in general with positive characteristics, and which is also found in *hänshibé* 'good'. An affix *-be* (underlyingly most likely *-me*) is not attested elsewhere.

The word *dueba* 'old', a derived form from *due* 'elder brother'. The status of the suffix *-ba (-ma)* is not clear; it seems to have a nominalizing function in *tashima* 'woods' (see (5.4) above).

Lastly, it may be noted that only a relatively small number of independent adjectives in my corpus are monomorphemic. These are listed in (5.6).

[1] Note that *wẽ-* also occurs as a independent adjective in the construction *wẽ akze*, which denotes 'tasty'.

(5.6)

Adjective	Gloss
wezhu	'old (for women)'
nakua	'young (for men)'
gaya	'young (for women)'
kabia	'rich'
nashi	'poor'

The color terms *käshkuama* 'yellow' and *muli* 'grey' also appear to be monomorphemic. They originally are nouns as they also refer to a type of plant with yellow flowers *käshkwama*, and 'ashes' *muli*, which are used to describe the respective color. However, they can be used attributively and predicatively to express color without derivation or auxiliary.

5.1.2 Dependent adjectives

Dependent adjectives are exclusively monomorphemic and always occur in combination with a verb in both, attributive as well as predicative function. Depending on the semantic type of a property, these adjectives take different types of verbs. Based on these syntactic and semantic traits, dependent adjectives can be further be classified in into subclasses, as presented in (5.7).

(5.7) Subclasses of dependent adjectives

I. Combining with the auxiliary *zal* 'be'

I.I. Underived form of auxiliary; denoting non-visually perceivable properties

I.II. Derived form of auxiliary; denoting visually perceivable properties

II. Combining with the experiencer verb *zek* 'feel'; denoting human propensity

III. Versatile dependent adjectives

Subclass I of dependent adjectives combine with the auxiliary *zal* 'be'. This subclass can further be divided according to the form of the auxiliary they require, as well as their semantics. Members of subgroup I.I take an underived form of the auxiliary and express properties that are perceivable through senses other than vision, e.g. taste or temperature. By contrast, members of subgroup I.II occur with a derived form of the auxiliary carrying a prefix *a-*, and denote visually perceivable qualities, such as 'shiny'.

Adjectives of subclass II exclusively combine with the experiencer predicate *zek* 'be' and express notions of human conditions, for instance, mental states.

Lastly, a small set, i.e. subclass III, of dependent adjectives can be characterized as versatile with regard to the verb they occur with. While adjectives of subclass I and II are restricted to occur with a particular verb, members of this last subclass may combine with different verbs and then denote distinct types of qualities.

These different types of adjectives are detailed in the following sections.

5.1.2.1 Dependent adjectives combining with *zal* 'be'

Adjectives that occur with the auxiliary *zal* 'be' can further be distinguished based on which form of the auxiliary they take as well as the type of property they denote. One subgroup combine with an underived *zal*, marking the subject with a Set III argument prefix. These typically denote attributes such as taste or temperature. The second subgroup require a derived form of the auxiliary, exhibiting a prefix *a-* in addition to a Set III index. They are associated with visually perceivable properties.

Let us start with the illustration of the first subgroup; examples are given in (5.8).

(5.8)

sui	'cold'
guangua	'warm'
tatshui	'hot'
mäl	'sweet'
kakkui	'bitter'
kuiskuis	'sour'
sakbé	'sour'
sua	'spicy'
wẽ	'tasty'
hie	'heavy'
huang	'light'

As illustrated with the predicative use of a dependent adjective in (5.9), the subject is indexed on the auxiliary with Set III argument markers. While the clause clearly has a present / habitual meaning, it does not exhibit overt tense-aspect marking in this context (past and future inflection are discussed in Section 5.2 below). Note also that the loss of the final consonant of *zal* and the change from *a* to *e* is widely attested in high-frequency verbs. The full paradigm of *hie* 'heavy' with the inflected auxiliary is given in Table 5.2.

(5.9) *hie nakzé*

hie	*nak-zal*
heavy	1SG.III-be

'I am heavy.'

Table 5.2: Independent adjective *hie* 'heavy'

	SG	PL
1	*hie nakzé*	*hie zïngzé*
2	*hie mikzé*	*hie mingzé*
3	*hie akzé*	*hie kakzé*

When the subject has an inanimate referent, the auxiliary it typically phonologically reduced, i.e. it loses word stress, and attaches as an enclitic to the adjective, as illustrated with the examples in (5.10).

(5.10) a. *Josétshi askua hie akzé*

José-tshi a-sukkua hie ak-zal
José-GEN 3SG.INAL-son heavy 3SG.III-be

'José's son is heavy.'

b. *gamá hiéakze*

gamá hié=ak-ze
bag heavy-3SG.III-be

'I am heavy.'

An interesting trait of dependent adjectives is that they cannot be used attributively on their own, but require the auxiliary in this function. The constructions of adjectives and auxiliary in (5.11) can be conceived of as relative clauses (i.e. 'water that is warm'), which indicates that dependent adjectives differ fundamentally in their syntactic behavior from independent adjectives.

(5.11) a. *ni guángua**(=ak-ze)*
water warm=3SG.III-be

'warm water'

b. *gakue wẽ**(=ak-ze)*
food tasty=3SG.III-be

'tasty food'

Turning to the second subgroup, as noted above, they occur with a derived stem of *zal* 'be'. In addition to the Set III index referencing the subject, it carries a prefix *a-*. While this morpheme is formally identical with the benefactive / possessive prefix, which occurs in the same slot Section 9.1.2.3, the specific nature of *a-* in this context is unknown. Thus, while the derived auxiliary is segmentable (i.e. Set III index + *a-* + auxiliary), the unclear function of the derivational prefix lead me to the practical decision of restraining from segmentation in the following examples. Instead the form is merely represented as 'AUX' in the glosses.

Semantically, this members of this subgroup share the expression of properties that are perceivable through vision. The few dependent adjectives that exclusively occur in this construction are given in (5.12).

Table 5.3: Dependent adjective *mũshi* 'fair, white'

	SG	PL
1	*mũshi nagatsé*	*mũshi zïngatsé*
2	*mũshi migatsé*	*mũshi mingatsé*
3	*mũshi agatsé*	*mũshi kagatsé*

(5.12) *mũshi* 'white, fair'
maksï 'dark'
zhik 'dry'
tubí 'shiny'

In addition, the visually perceivable properties 'beautiful, clean' and 'ugly, dirty' are expressed by versatile adjectives which can also combine with other verbs besides the derived auxiliary (see Section 5.1.2.3).

The predicative use with a first person singular subject is illustrated in (5.13) and Table 5.3 illustrates the inflection for all person/number values.

(5.13) *mũshi nagatsé*

mũshi *nak-atsal*
white 1SG.III-AUX

'I am white-skinned.'

Similar to the constructions discussed in the previous section, the auxiliary with third person subjects is generally encliticized to the adjective when the subject is inanimate. In addition to the loss of stress, is loses *a* of the argument prefix *ak-* '3SG.III', i.e. the first syllable of the form *agatsé*. Furthermore, as shown in (5.14), the auxiliary is obligatory in both predicative as well as attributive use of the dependent adjective.

(5.14) a. *zhakuá nusagatseki nahí*

zhakuá *nusa=gatse-ki* *nahí*
dress ugly=AUX-TOP 1SG.POSS

'The dirty dress is mine.'

b. *nahí zhakuá nusagatse (nzha)*

nahí *zhakuá* *núsa=gatse* *(ni-nal)*
1SG.POSS dress ugly=AUX SPKR.SYM-be

'My dress is dirty.'

In addition, the encliticized auxiliary occurs with certain forms that were introduced in Section 4.4 as adverbs of degree, denoting 'less', 'a little' and 'more'. Note that when they are used with *agatsé* 'AUX', the meaning component of degree is lost, thus *aguángatse* means 'small' (*'smaller').

nőgutse ‘small’ is an noteworthy case, as it appears to have grammaticalized and now exhibits the behavior of an independent adjective. It clearly evolved from the construction *nõwã agatsé / nőwãgatse* (‘little AUX’, and through further phonological reduction, lost the second syllable of *nõwã* ‘little, a bit’. Furthermore, the vowel *a* of the auxiliary assimilated to the preceding *o*.

(5.15)

aguáng	‘less’	*aguángatse*	‘small’
nõwã	‘little, a bit’	*nőgutse*	‘small’
aklé	‘more’	*aklégatse*	‘big’

5.1.2.2 Human conditions

Lastly, constructions with the experiencer verb *zek* ‘feel’ marking the subject with Set III indexes denote properties typically associated with human referents, i.e. emotional or mental states. The verb generally has imperfective marking, e.g. *akzeshĩ ak-zek-ĩ* ‘3SG.III-feel-IPFV’. Note that, while both *zal* ‘be’ and *zek* ‘feel’ may have the same surface form, they are distinct roots.

The adjectives found in my corpus that combine with *zek* ‘feel’ are presented in (5.16). In addition, the forms *hänshi* ‘good’ and *nusa* ‘bad’ can combine with the experiencer predicate to denote ‘feel well’ and ‘be angry’.

(5.16)

molí	‘jealous’
zeng	‘happy, content’
hiwa	‘ashamed’
sha	‘bad, uncomfortable’
zhẽ	‘afraid’
miwang	‘lazy’

All of these adjectives have in common that they express a merely transitory mental state. As can be seen in example (5.17) as well as in the paradigm in Table 5.4, the verb generally is marked for imperfective aspect with *-ĩ*.[2]

(5.17) *molí nakzeshĩ*

molí	*nak-zek-ĩ*
jealous	1SG.III-feel-IPFV.I

‘I am jealous.’

While predicative use of these adjectives is much more common, they can function as modifiers in form of a relative clause.

[2]This may be seen as a reflection of the temporary nature of these mental states. As comparable case, consider the effect of using imperfective aspect with adjectives, i.e. states, in English *You’re being lazy!*

Table 5.4: Dependent adjective *zhẽ* 'afraid'

	SG	PL
1	*zhẽ nakzeshi*	*zhẽ zïngzeshi*
2	*zhẽ mikzeshi*	*zhẽ mingzeshi*
3	*zhẽ akzeshi*	*zhẽ kakzeshi*

(5.18) *sukkua nusa akzeshĩ nẽ*

sukkua	*nusa*	*ak-zek-ĩ*	*nẽ*
boy	bad	3SG.III-feel-IPFV.I	leave

'The boy who was angry left.'

In contrast to the constructions with *zal*, the verb is never phonologically reduced and encliticized. This is not surprising, as these adjectives characteristically apply for human (or at least animate) referents. Recall that clitization occurs only with inanimate subjects.

5.1.2.3 Versatile dependent adjectives

While the dependent adjectives introduced above are restricted to occur with a particular verb, there are some forms that can be described as versatile. That is, they may combine with different verbs and then denote different types of qualities. The two adjectives attested in my data are *hänshi*, expressing positive qualities, and *nusa*, associated with negative properties. These are illustrated in (5.19).

(5.19)

nusa agatsé	'dirty, ugly'
nusa akze	'bad (of taste)'
nusa akzeshi	'angry (lit.: feel bad)'
hänshi agatsé	'beautiful, clean'
hänshi akze	'good (of taste)'
hänshi akzeshi	'good, healthy'

5.2 Morphosyntactic functions of adjectives

Kogi adjectives may assume any of the four functions that this word class typically fulfill (Dixon 2004:10–11). Thus, they occur in the following morphosyntactic contexts:

(i) In noun phrases as modifiers of nouns, i.e. in attributive function.

(ii) In statements expressing that a referent possesses a certain property, i.e. in predicative function, where the adjective appears juxtaposed to the subject or constitutes as a copula complement.

(iii) In comparative constructions as the parameter of comparison.

(iv) As a modifier of verbs with adverbial function.

The different constructions are discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1 Attributive function

Both, independent and dependent adjectives can function as a modifier in a noun phrase. As already pointed out in Section 5.1 above, the former may do so on their own, while the latter require an auxiliary verb in attributive function.

Adjectives invariably follow the nominal head, and adverbs of degree, which may modify adjectives, occur between these two elements. This is illustrated in (5.20) and (5.21).

(5.20) *zhakuá dueba ihuakue*

zhakuá dueba i-hua-kual
clothes old LOC.APPL-wear-exist

'He was wearing old clothes.'

(5.21) a. *hui ekí dueba*
house very old

'a / the very old house'

b. *malú ubisha málakze*
banana too.much sweet.AUX

'a /the banana that is too sweet'

Another element that can modify an adjective is the diminutive particle *zhawa*. As seen in (5.22), it occurs after the adjective.

(5.22) *ahí somá nõgutse zhawa aksha*

ahí somá nõgutse zhawa ak-sha
3SG.POSS baby small DIM 3SG.III-lie

'She carries her baby [in her arms].'

5.2.2 Predicative function

In predicative function, independent and dependent adjectives exhibit slightly different behavior. Let us first look at both types of adjectives in affirmative present/habitual clauses, which typically do not feature overt tense-aspect morphology.

As illustrated in (5.23), independent adjectives can be merely juxtaposed to the subject of the clause. There is a copula verb *nal* 'be', which is typically absent in present-habitual contexts but may be used by speakers to epistemically qualify their statement through markers of engagement.

(5.23) *mítuki wégekue (nzha)*

mitu-ki wégekue (ni-nal)
pig-TOP fat SPKR.SYM-be

'The pig is fat.'

As for dependent adjectives, the auxiliary or experiencer verb is always present in predicative use. There is again the option of adding a copula with engagement markers.

(5.24) *mihí zhakuá nusagatse (naklá)*

mihí zhakuá nusa=gatse (nak-nal)
2SG.POSS dress dirty=AUX SPKR.ASYM-be

'Your dress is dirty.'

Turning to non-present/habitual contexts, the respective tense-aspect markers attach to either the copula *nal* 'be', or one of the auxiliaries. Thus, in the case of independent, adjectives, the copula is obligatory, as for instance, in the clause with future tense reference in (5.25).

(5.25) *ezua kagian hẽ kali atema nalalika*

ezua kagi-an hẽ kali atema nal-a-líka
one year-TEMP.LOC DEM tree big be-ST-FUT

'Next year, this tree will be big.'

The copula is furthermore required when other inflectional morphology is used, as for example, negation:

(5.26) *shezhá abisa nalakí*

shezhá abisa nal-a-kí
machete new be-ST-PRS.NEG

'The machete is not new.'

In clauses with dependent adjectives, inflectional morphology attaches to the auxiliary or experiencer verb, as shown in (5.27) to (5.29). Note that in these cases, the auxiliary is never encliticized, as opposed to the present/habitual form without inflectional morphology.

(5.27) *gakue wẽ akzane*

gakue wẽ ak-zal#ne
food tasty 3SG.III-be#PST

'The food was tasty.'

(5.28) *hänshi nagatsalalika*

hänshi *nak-a-zal-a-líka*
beautiful 1SG.III-ADJ-be-ST-FUT

'I will be beautiful.'

(5.29) *hänshi akzegaksá*

hänshi *ak-zek-a-ksá*
good 3SG.III-feel-ST-not.anymore

'He doesn't feel good anymore.'

As most inflectional marking can attach to the auxiliary or experiencer predicate, the verb *nal* 'be' is not obligatory in these constructions, in contrast to those involving independent adjectives. Nevertheless, *nal* 'be' may be used in clauses like (5.27) to (5.29) for the purpose of engagement marking. Note that this auxiliary can be postposed to any predicate, i.e. also verbal ones, to additionally signal engagement.

(5.30) *hänshi nagatsalalika naklá*

hänshi *nak-a-zal-a-líka* *nak-nal*
beautiful 1SG.III-ADJ-be-ST-FUT SPKR.ASYM-be

'I will be beautiful.'

With regard to number marking, the plural phrasal affix *-kũẽ* may either attach to the subject or the predicate, as shown in (5.31).

(5.31) a. *zhakuakũẽ abutshi*

zhakuá-kũẽ *abutshi*
dress-PL white

b. *zhakuá* *abútshi-kũẽ*
dress white-PL

Both: 'The dresses are white.'

5.2.3 Comparative constructions

Kogi adjectives can feature in comparative constructions, i.e. constructions which have "the semantic function of assigning a graded (i.e. non-identical) position on a predicative scale to two (possibly complex) objects" (Stassen 1985:15). They involve a comparative particle *guashi* (corresponding to e.g. English *than* or Spanish *que*) and can

therefore be classified as a particle comparative construction according to the typology of Stassen (1985).

The schematic structure of the Kogi comparative construction is presented in (5.32) and exemplified by (5.33). The first constituent is the comparee noun phrase, expressing the comparative object, followed by the standard noun phrase denoting the object that the comparative object is contrasted against. The comparative particle *guashi*, typically marked as topic by *-nki*, follows next and the last constituent is the comparative predicate, namely an adjective phrase featuring a degree adverb, either *aklé* 'more' or *aguáng* 'less', and an adjective which denotes the compared quality.

(5.32) [comparee NP](-TOP) [standard NP] CMPR [degree adverb + comparative predicate]

(5.33) *näski Lorena guáshinki aklé atema (nzhakú)*

näs-nki Lorena guáshi-nki aklé atema (ni-nal-kú)
1SG-TOP Lorena CMPR-TOP more tall SPKR.SYM-be-1SG.I

'I am taller than Lorena.'

As in predicative function, the use of a copula with independent adjectives is optional in present/habitual clauses. Comparatives with dependent adjectives in combination with the corresponding auxiliary show the same structure, as shown in (5.34).

(5.34) a. *Lorena näs guáshinki aklé hänshigatse*

Lorena näs guáshi-nki aklé hänshi=gatsal
Lorena 1SG CMPR-TOP more good=AUX

'Lorena is more beautiful (good looking) than me.'

b. *näski ma guashinki aklé hie nakze*

näs-ki ma guashi-nki aklé hie nak-zal
1SG-TOP 2SG CMPR-TOP more heavy 1SG.III-AUX

'I am heavier than you.'

An interesting phenomenon is attested in the comparison of a person's age. Rather than forming a comparative construction with adjectives such as *wezhu* 'old (female)' or *nakua* 'young', the kinship terms denoting the relation of siblings, which make a distinction in age are used. These are *nu* 'elder sister', *due* 'elder brother', *nani* 'younger sibling of same sex' and *hasï* 'younger sibling of opposite sex'.

(5.35) a. *näs ma guashinki aklé mittué / mizhú*

näs ma guashi-nki aklé mi-due / mi-nu
1SG 2SG CMPR-TOP more 2SG.INAL-elder.brother / 2SG.INAL-elder.sister

'I am older than you.'

b. *María-Angelicaki Tatiana guáshinki akldé alani*

María-Angelica-ki *Tatjana* *guashi-nki* *akldé* *alani*
María-Angelica-TOP Tatjana CMPR-TOP more 3SG.INAL-younger.sibling

'María-Angelica is younger than Tatiana.'

The examples presented thus far are comparatives of inequality. Comparison of equality, which expresses that a comparative object exhibits a property to the same degree as the standard of comparison, is formed with *hana* 'like' combined with the coreference / emphasis marker *-nga*:

(5.36) *gayaki ahaba hánanga hā́nshigatse (nzha)*

gaya-ki *a-haba* *hana-nga* *hänshi=gatsal* *(ni-nal)*
young.woman-TOP 3SG.INAL like-ADD good=AUX SPKR.SYM-be

'The young woman is as beautiful as her mother.'

5.2.4 Adjectives in adverbial function

Some adjectives can be used without overt derivation to modify a verbal predicate, similar to adverbs. To my knowledge, two adjectives (and derivations thereof) can assume this function, namely *hänshi* 'good' and *nusa* 'bad'. (5.37) constitutes an example of an independent adjective in adverbial function.

(5.37) *goksék zugapanatshak muletua hänshibé zugakí*

goksé-k *zï-nuk-a-pana-atshak* *muletua* *hänshibé* *zï-nuk-a-kí*
fire-LOC ANTIP-cook-ST-INCEP-TEMP.LOC very good ANTIP-cook-ST-IPFV.NEG

'When she started cooking on the fire, she wasn't cooking very well.'

In (5.38), it is the dependent adjective construction *hā́nshigätse* 'beautiful' which modifies the verb *zïbẽnka* 'sing'.

(5.38) *gaya núsagatse zïbẽnka*

gaya *nusa=gatse* *zïbẽ-ka*
young.woman bad=AUX sing-HAB

'The young woman sings terribly.'

Chapter 6

Nouns and the noun phrase

This chapter details the word class of nouns which was discussed in relation to other major word classes in Section 4.1. In addition, noun phrases, i.e. phrases with a noun (or pronoun) as their head, are discussed. Section 6.1 introduces different classes of nouns, namely the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns, as well as count and mass nouns. Section 6.2 is concerned with morphemes that occur on noun phrases, including markers of case, number, topicality and emphasis. Section 6.3 presents some basic points of nominal derivation and Section 6.4 illustrates different noun phrase modifiers. The coordination of noun phrases is the topic of Section 6.5, and Section 6.6 addresses the predicative function of nouns.

6.1 Types of nouns

Different types of nouns can be distinguished based on semantic and morphosyntactic grounds. As noted in Section 4.1, it can be differentiated between common nouns, which have generic reference and denote items of a class (e.g. persons or objects), and proper names, which have specific reference and denote a certain referent. Proper names are, for instance, *Carmen*, the name of one of my language consultants, or *Dumingueka* the name of the village close to Carmen's farm.

Proper nouns do not show the same grammatical properties as common nouns. For instance, they cannot be modified by demonstratives nor can they be possessed. They can accommodate only some of the attested noun phrase markers. For example, they allow for case or topic marking, whereas they are incompatible with the plural marker. As further research on the class of Kogi proper names is necessary, the present work does not include a more detailed description.

The remainder of this subsection discusses the subclasses of common nouns, namely alienable and inalienable nouns (Section 6.1.1), and mass and count nouns (Section 6.1.2).

6.1.1 Alienable and inalienable possessed nouns

Common nouns can be divided into an alienable and an inalienable class. The inalienable class includes kinship terms and part-whole relations; these nouns mark the pos-

Table 6.1: Inalienable possessive prefixes

	SG	PL
1	*na-*	*nãwĩ-*
2	*mi-*	*mimi-*
3	*a-*	*kãwĩ-*

Table 6.2: Possessive pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*nahí*	*nãwĩhí*
2	*mihí*	*mimihí*
3	*ahí*	*kãwĩhí*

sessor with possessive prefixes. All other nouns, including body part terms, belong to the alienable class, which occur with independent possessive pronouns to indicate the possessor. The paradigms of possessive pronouns and markers are given in Table 6.1 and Table 6.2; an example that illustrates the structural difference between alienable and inalienable possession is shown in (6.1).

(6.1) a. *José-tshi* *a-haba*
José-GEN 3SG.INAL-mother

'José's mother'

b. *ahí* *zhakuá*
3SG.POSS

'his clothes'

While kinship terms generally require an inalienable possessive prefix, some instances of unpossessed terms are attested. Among the lexemes that denote a kinship relation, three subtypes can be distinguished: (i) nouns that obligatorily carry a possessive prefix and exclusively denote kinship relations, (ii) nouns that denote a kinship relation when marked with a possessive prefix and have a different meaning when unpossessed, and (iii) ambiguous nouns that are associated with both generic person reference (e.g. 'woman') and kin relations (e.g. 'wife'), their interpretation being dependent on the type of possession or the context.

An example of type (i) is given with *haba* mother is given in (6.1a) above. Even though these terms are typically possessed and marked with a possessive prefix, unpossessed uses are possible in a specific contexts. Example (6.2) comes from a picture-based elicitation task (San Roque et al. 2012) in which participants are asked to describe the contents of images including different characters and the relationships among them. In (6.2), the speaker points to the depicted persons, begins the description with an unpossessed kin term, and subsequently determines kinship connections, relating the

boy (*askuá*) and the woman (*ahí munzhi*) to the main character and reconsidering the relation of the old man (*ahuäsgui*), previously identified as *hatedueba* 'grandfather'

(6.2) *hẽ-ki* *hate-dueba* *hẽ-ki* *a-skuá* *ezhi* *a-huäsgui*
DEM-TOP father-old DEM-TOP 3SG.INAL-son or 3SG.INAL-father.in.law
hale-ki *ahí* *munzhi*
DEM-TOP 3SG.POSS woman

'This is the grandfather. This is his son. Or his father in law. This one is his wife.'

Type (ii) of kinship terms includes, for example, the expression *pebu*, which in its (inalienably) possessed form refers to friends, i.e. *a-pebu* 'his/her friend', and in unpossessed form to a person of the neighboring tribe, the Arhuacos. The mother of one's mother or father is referred to as *na-saka* 'my grandmother', whereas the unpossessed *saka* means 'moon'.

Kinship terms of type (iii) are ambiguous in that they have a generic, as well as a kinship interpretation. For example, *sukkua* is associated with both *boy* and 'son', the kinship interpretation being most prominent in possessed form. The possessor, in this case, can be expressed by both a possessive prefix, or pronoun, i.e. *ahí sukkua* and *a-skuá*[1] his/her son. By contrast, the word *sigí* 'man' can only occur with possessive pronouns and does not take any of the prefixes: *ahí sigí* 'her husband' (**a-sigí*). *Munzhi* 'woman' features a further meaning component depending on the type of possession. Unpossessed *munzhi* can denote 'woman' or 'wife' in contexts in which a kin relation can be inferred. As for the possessed forms, alienably possessed *ahí munzhi* 'his wife' indicates a spouse relation, whereas inalienably possessed *abunzhi* (*a-munzhi*) refers to a parent-child relation, i.e. 'his/her daughter'.

Kinship terms are used as forms of address, typically in their possessed form. Exceptions are *a-ldú (a-nú)* 'his/her older sister' and *a-tué (a-dué)* 'his/her older brother' that are frequently used without possessive prefix as a form of greeting, i.e. *nu* for senior women and *due* for senior men.

While body part terms belong to the inalienable class in many languages, their possession is expressed not by bound possessive markers but by possessive pronouns, as shown in (6.3).[2]

(6.3) *nahí* *huba*
1SG.POSS skin

'my skin'

[1] *skuá* is the allomorph of *sukkua* which occurs with the possessive prefix.

[2] The semantic inalienability of the relation between a person and their body parts is commonly reflected on the clause level, rather than on the noun phrase level (i.e. with possessive markers). That is, events involving a person's body parts are frequently expressed with external possessor constructions where the possessor is indexed on the verb with argument indexes of Set III.

By contrast, components of inanimate referents, such as plants or artefacts take inalienable possessive markers. The expression *huba* 'skin' is used to denote the skin of, for instance, plants or fruit, as in the compound *kalihuba* 'tree bark'. Thus, the term for skin of plants (and associated components) takes the inalienable marker, as in (6.4).

(6.4) *mänta ahuba itúlanuge*

mänta	*a-huba*	*i-tul-a#ne-uge*
plantain	3SG.INAL-skin	LOC.APPL-peel-ST#PST-1SG.I

'I peel the skin off the plantain.'

Moreover, components of artefacts such as houses or shoulderbags typically carry a possessive prefix:

(6.5) *ashizha* 'shoulder strap (of bag)'
ahuamita 'rim (of bag)'

Inalienable possessive prefixes furthermore occur with a particular type of nouns which function as postpositions. While only some of these nominal elements are still used as common nouns in contemporary Kogi, it is evident that they denote parts of referents, e.g. *tezha* 'side'. For a detailed description see Section 4.5.7.

Lastly, inalienable possessive markers are found in a lexicalized construction with the word *hui* 'house'. While it typically occurs with possessive pronouns, e.g. *nahí hui* 'my house', it is also attested in inalienable possessed form. These instances refer to the notion of 'home', as shown in (6.6).

(6.6) *nahuli nẽnkuge*

na-hui-ni	*nẽ-ka-uge*
1SG.INAL-house-ALL	go-PRS-1SG.I

'I'm going home.'

6.1.2 Count and mass nouns

A distinction can be made between mass (or non-count) nouns and count nouns. Mass nouns, in contrast to count nouns, do not accommodate the plural marker *-kũẽ* nor can they be modified by numerals. Nouns of this class are listed in (6.7).

(6.7)

níkala	'rain'
ni	'water, river'
wi	qusand
muli	'ashes'
nakku	'salt'
ebi	'corn, corncob'
ũwã	'meat'
tui	'mud'
niuba	'gold'
kagi	'ground, earth'
alitsha	'milk (Sp. *leche*)'
puelta	'money (Sp. *plata*)'
sai	'hair'

While mass and count nouns differ with regard to plural marking and numeral modification, both types can be modified by the same quantifiers (cf. , i.e. Section 4.5.6), e.g. *matshuí* 'many, a lot' or *nõwã* 'little, a few'. This is illustrated in (6.8) and (6.9).

(6.8) a. *(*maigua) wi(*-kũẽ)*
three sand-PL

'sand'

b. *matshuí wi*
a.lot sand

'a lot of sand'

(6.9) a. *maigua häggi-kũẽ*
three stone-PL

'three stones'

b. *matshuí häggi*
many stone

'many stones'

6.2 Noun phrase markers

This section examines grammatical categories marked on the noun phrase which are case, number, topicality and emphasis. As noted in the discussion of different types of bound morphemes (Section 3.2.2) there is a morphological category of phrasal affixes to which these inflectional markers belong. That is, they attach to the noun phrase as a whole and phonologically integrate to the right-most constituent of the phrase.

The case system includes three cases that flag the core arguments in different clauses, namely absolutive (Section 6.2.1.1), ergative (Section 6.2.1.2) and dative (Section 6.2.1.3). In addition, there are a genitive (Section 6.2.1.4) and different spatial (and instrumental) case markers (Section 6.2.2).

Kogi has two number markers, namely *-kũẽ* 'PL' and *-lula* which denotes a whole class of referents. These are presented in Section 6.2.3.

Section 6.2.4 addresses the discourse markers of topic and focus, and a pluri-functional morpheme *-nga* 'EMPH' is exemplified in Section 6.2.5.

6.2.1 Grammatical cases

Case markers are restricted to attach to non-pronominal noun phrases and cannot occur on phrases with a pronominal head. In this respect, the Kogi case flagging system exhibits split ergativity, which is conditioned by the nature of the noun phrase (cf. Dixon [1979]).

The function of the three core cases, absolutive, ergative and dative, is to indicate the syntactic function of arguments in a clause. Basing myself primarily on Bickel (2010), I distinguish among the following argument roles (see Section 10.1 for a detailed discussion of these terms):

(6.10) Argument roles

S	single argument of an intransitive verb
A	most agent-like argument of a (di)transitive verb
P	most patient-like argument of a transitive verb
T	most patient-like argument of a ditransitive verb
G	most goal-like argument of a ditransitive verb

As noted above, personal pronouns do not host case markers. Instead, the argument role of pronominal arguments is indicated by verbal indexing. A discussion of these argument indexes follows in Section 8.1.

The following subsections introduce the function of core case markers on the basis of a selection of prototypical underived intransitive, (mono)transitive and ditransitive clauses. Note that there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between case morpheme and syntactic function. For a more detailed discussion of the relation between flagging and syntactic functions, the reader is referred to Chapter 10 on grammatical relations and alignment.

6.2.1.1 Absolutive

Absolutive case is not overtly marked. Thus, noun phrases which do not carry any other relational marker, e.g. case suffixes or postpositions, is in absolutive. Absolutive noun phrases typically represent the following argument types: (i) S (cf. (6.11a)), (ii) P (cf. (6.11b)), or (iii) T (cf. (6.11c)).

(6.11) a. *mihaba kuibúluli nẽne*

mi-haba *kuibúlu-ni* *nẽ#ne*
2SG.INAL-mother village-ALL go#PST

'Your mother went to the village.'

b. *piohã sukkua holdine*

pio-hã *sukkua* *holdi#ne*
dog-ERG boy bite#PST

'The dog bit the boy.'

c. *munzhihã sukkuak gakue akkõne*

munzhi-hã *sukkua-k* *gakue* *ak-kõ#ne*
woman-ERG boy-DAT food 3SG.III-give#PST

'The woman gave the boy food.'

Absolutive case may further mark A in transitive clauses in certain contexts. While A typically exhibits the ergative marker, it may be omitted, when argument roles are indicated by argument indexes on the verb. This is the case in transitive clauses with third person A and non-third person P, as exemplified in (6.12). Given that the argument role P of the first person participant is always specified by verbal indexing, the ergative marker is not obligatory and the A argument may be in absolutive case.

(6.12) *sukkua napune*

sukkua *na-pu-ne*
sukkua 1SG.II-hit#PST

'The boy hit me.'

6.2.1.2 Ergative

The ergative phrasal suffix *-hã* marks A in transitive and ditransitive clauses. This is illustrated in (6.13a) for the former clause type, and in (6.13b) for the latter.

(6.13) a. *ẽhã hẽhié gamá gone*

ẽ-hã *hẽhié* *gamá* *go#ne*
DEM-ERG DEM bag make#PST

'She made this bag.'

b. *munzhihã sigík ni akkõne*

munzhi-hã *sigí-k* *ni* *ak-kõ#ne*
woman-ERG man-DAT water 3SG.III-give#PST

'The woman gave water to the man.'

Ergative marking is obligatory in clauses that involve two third person singular arguments. In these instances, ergative case on the noun phrase is typically the only indication of argument roles, as third person singular S/A and P arguments are not indexed on verb forms. Thus, ergative flagging unambiguously specifies the syntactic role of A in third person clauses. An example is given in (6.14).

(6.14) *piohã sukkua holdine*

pio-hã *sukkua* *holdi#ne*
dog-ERG boy bite#PST

'The dog bit the boy.'

For ergative case, there are no restrictions with regard to animacy of a referent. That is, as shown in (6.15), the marker is also used with inanimate agents.

(6.15) *mulkálahã hui akpene*

mulkála-hã *hui* *akpe#ne*
wind-ERG house open#PST

'The wind opened the door (lit. house).'

6.2.1.3 Dative

Dative case is marked by the phrasal suffix *-k*. It assumes a single function, namely the flagging of goal arguments G in ditransitive clauses, as in (6.16).

(6.16) *munzhihã sukkuak gakue akkõne*

munzhi-hã *sukkua-k* *gakue* *ak-kõ#ne*
woman-ERG boy-DAT food 3SG.III-give#PST

'The woman gave the boy food.'

While dative *-k* is formally similar to the locative case marker *-ka ∼-k* (see **??**), they are distinct morphemes, given that the dative morpheme never has to form *-ka*.

6.2.1.4 Genitive

The genitive phrasal suffix *-tshi* expresses a possessive relation. In possessive constructions, as those in (6.17), it attaches to the possessor noun phrase; nouns of the inalienable class in addition carry a possessive prefix, as in (6.17b).

(6.17) a. *sïgi-tshi* *katshu*
deer-GEN antlers

'the deer's antlers'

b. *Kalãwĩã-tshi* *a-skuá*
Kalãwĩã-GEN 3SG.INAL-son

'Kalãwĩã's son'

Beside possessive relations, genitive case can have a descriptive function specifying a certain type of object. The following example, comes from a elicitation task using the picture stimuli for positional verbs (Ameka et al. 1999) and features two Spanish loans:

(6.18) *balón* *fútbol-tshi*
ball soccer-GEN

'soccer ball'

Lastly, the genitive suffix can mark the beneficiary in benefactive constructions (cf. Section 9.1.2.3), as in (6.19). The sentence in (6.19) could also be interpreted as 'These beads are Lorena's.', i.e. conveying that they are already in Lorena's possession. If the sentence is uttered before such a possessive relation exists (i.e. 'I will gift these beads to Lorena.' it has a benefactive reading.

(6.19) *hẽ* *kuinta* *Lorena-tshi*
DEM beads Lorena-GEN

'These beads are for Lorena.'

6.2.2 Spatial cases

Spatial case markers prototypically express spatial relations that hold between two entities, commonly referred to as "Figure" and "Ground" (see for example Creissels [2008]). The Figure is the entity that is located or moves relative to another entity, namely the Ground. The Kogi spatial cases express three stative spatial configurations, namely relations of contact, i.e. 'on', propinquity, i.e. 'at', and containment, i.e. 'in'. Furthermore, one marker shows allative semantics, and two spatial case markers may also mark instruments.

Locative case in Kogi is marked with *-k(a)* (Section 6.2.2.1). It is typically associated with contact and propinquity relations, but also has instrumental semantics. Note that such a locative-instrumental polysemy has been observed in other, unrelated language families (e.g. Nilo-Saharan, cf. Narrog [2012:589]).

The spatial case marker *-ni* 'INESS / ALL' denotes a containment relation, or has allative semantics with motion verbs (Section 6.2.2.2).

A third marker, *-mba* 'LOC / INSTR' (Section 6.2.2.3) is attested in my corpus, which largely covers the same functional domain as *-k(a)* 'LOC'. It is a loan from the neighboring language Dámana, which has found its way into the speech of some of my consultants.

Lastly, there is a marker *-k(e)* that primarily marks a moment in time, rather than space (Section 6.2.2.4).

6.2.2.1 Locative *-k(a)*

The locative marker *-k(a)* 'LOC' is a phrasal affix; its form varies freely between *-ka* and *-k*.

Noun phrases carrying this marker can assume any of the three prototypical functions that Creissels (2008:607) determines, i.e. they may function (i) as a non-verbal predicate indicating the location of a referent, (ii) as a verb modifier indicating the location of an event, and (iii) as an argument of motion verbs, indicating the goal of a movement.

Examples (6.20) and (6.21)denote a relation of contact ('on', 'at') and illustrate the locative marker on noun phrases in predicative function.

(6.20) *alimeta käli mena#ne-k*
bottle tree cut#PST-LOC

'The bottle is on a tree that was cut (i.e. trunk).'

(6.21) *mälkua parék aklí*

mälkua pared-ka aklí
spider wall-LOC stick

'The spider is on (lit.: stuck to) the wall.'

The notion of propinquity is conveyed in (6.22).[3]

(6.22) *Judith ahuka izhukka*

Judith a-hui-ka i-nok-ka
Judith 3SG.INAL-house-LOC LOC.APPL-be-PRS

'Judith is at home.'

While *-k(a)* in clauses with stative verbs typically denotes 'on top' or 'at'-relations, it also may occur in clauses that express an 'in'-relation. This is attested, for example, in clauses where the containment configuration is indicated on the predicate, as by the verb forms in (6.23). The existential verb 'kual' carries a Set III index, which in this

[3]Note that an inessive relation in the sense of 'Judith is in the house' can be specified by the marker *-ni* 'INESS', which is introduced in the following section.

use has a similar function to the locative applicative *i-* (as opposed to a superessive relation, *ak-* conveys an inessive one).

(6.23) a. *mõkuí botellak akkualaksá*

mõkuí botella-k ak-kual-a-ksá
frog jar-LOC 3SG.III-exist-ST-not.anymore

'The frog wasn't in the jar anymore.'

b. *inzhi canastak akshá*
inzhi canasta-k ak-sha

'The yuca root is (lit.: lying) in the basket.'

The second prototypical function of locative noun phrases, i.e. modifying verb phrases, is illustrated in (6.24). A noun marked with locative case, i.e. *nahuka* 'in my house', modifies a predicate denoting an event, i.e. *kabá* '[I] slept'.

(6.24) *ai nahuka kabá*

ai na-hui-ka kaba
DEM 1SG.INAL-house-LOC sleep

'I slept there at my house.'

The third function of locative noun phrases is exemplified in (6.25) and (6.26), where the locative noun phrases specify the goal of a movement.

(6.25) *hiúngulak me nẽ kakunguẽninki hoklék*

hiúngula-k me nẽ ka-gu-ngu-ẽni-nki hoklék
road-LOC only go 1PL.I-AUX.PFV-PST-SEQ-TOP play

'We only went onto the road and played.'

(6.26) *käli atema-k i-abek-a*
tree big-LOC LOC.APPL-ascend-ST

'He climbed onto a big tree.'

Furthermore, locative *-k(a)* can mark the goal of a ditransitive placement predicate, as the one in (6.27).

(6.27) *halu mesak ité*

halu mesa-k i-té
glass table-LOC glloc.APPL-put

'She put the glass on(to) the table.'

The same morpheme *-k(a)* marks noun phrases that have an instrument as their referent. This is illustrated in (6.28) and (6.29).

(6.28) *käli shezhák menguá*

käli *shezhá-k* *men-gu-a*
stick machete-INSTR cut-CAUS-ST

'[I] cut the stick with a machete.'

(6.29) *ekí nusa akzegatshake mukutik ka*

ekí *nusa* *ak-zek-atshake* *mukuti-k* *ka*
DEM angry 3SG.III-feel-when fist-INSTR IDPH

'When he was angry like this, he hit her with his fist.'

6.2.2.2 Inessive / allative *-ni*

The phrasal suffix *-ni* characteristically denotes a containment (i.e. inessive) relation with stative predicates or has allative semantics with motion verbs. In contrast to *-k(a)*, *-ni* cannot convey 'on top' nor 'at'-relations. Thus, it covers a smaller semantic range than *-k(a)* 'LOC', which may denote more types of configurations, as discussed in Section 6.2.2.1 above.

As *-k(a)* 'LOC', *-ni* 'INESS / ALL' can assume all of the three functions of noun phrases marked with spatial case. The function as a non-verbal predicate in a locative statement is illustrated in (6.30).

(6.30) *dizhuki alimétali*

dizhú-ki *aldimeta-ni*
fish-TOP jar-INESS

'The fish is in the jar.'

(6.31) exemplifies the marker on a noun phrase referring to the place where an event took place.

(6.31) *näski San Pedroli kuka nanuge*

näs-ki *San* *Pedro-li* *kuka* *nal#ne-uge*
1SG-TOP San Pedro-INESS be.born AUX#PST-1SG.I

'I was born in San Pedro.'

In (6.32), the noun phrase carrying *-ni* denotes the goal of a placement event which can be construed as a container. In this example, both aspects of the marker's semantics are at hand, namely the allative component regarding the verb of placement, as well as the inessive component, given that the goal is a container.

(6.32) *moneda bolsilloli zhigihiú*

moneda bolsillo-li zhik-i-hiú
coin pocket-INESS/ALL REFL-LOC.APPL-put

'She put the coin into her pocket.'

Lastly, (6.33) exemplifies the use of *-ni* with a motion verb. In this case it conveys an allative relation, specifying the destination of a movement.

(6.33) *kalkálali hiega aliál alẽyatshák tũakí*

kalkala-ni hiega a-ni-a-l a-nẽ-a-tshák tũ-a-kí
woods-ALL ADD 3PL.III-search-ST-PURP 3PL.III-go-ST-when see-ST-NEG.IPFV

''They go to the woods to look [for the frog] but they don't see [it].'

6.2.2.3 Locative / instrumental *-mba*

The case marker *-mba* is a loan from the neighboring language Dámana, which found its way into the speech of several of my consultants. Two examples, the first denoting an inessive relation, the second expressing contact, are provided in (6.34).

(6.34) a. *canastamba mozhua inzhi agashá*

canasta-mba mozhua inzhi ak-a-sha
basket-LOC two yuca 3SG.III-3PL.I-lie

'There are two yuca tubers lying in a basket.'

b. *anillo gulamba ihiú*

anillo gula-mba i-hiu
ring hand-LOC LOC.APPL-be.stuck

'The ring is on the hand.'

According to Williams (1993:34), the marker (which she analyizes as *-ba*, but in her examples always surfaces as *-mba*) marks recipient and addressee arguments and can express a number of locative, as well as instrumental meanings.

The same morpheme with instrumental semantics seems to be involved in the expression *kasam* 'on foot', which is illustrated in (6.35).

(6.35) *ezua nabunzhikũe zabí kasam*

ezua na-munzhi-kũe zabi kasa-mba
one 1SG.INAL-daughter-PL descend foot-INSTR

'She went down on foot with one of my daughters.'

6.2.2.4 Temporal locative marker *-k(e)*

The phrasal suffix *-k(e)* assumes three different functions: (i) It locates an event at a point in time (temporal-locative), (ii) it functions like *-k(a)* as a general locative marker, and (iii) it expresses the meaning 'as, since'.

The temporal-locative use is illustrated in (6.36), marking the moment in time of ascending.

(6.36) *abokuali-k* *mũsha-ke* *nitshi*
following.day-TEMP.LOC morning-TEMP.LOC ascend

'On the following day, I went up.'

The same marker is used to locate an event on a specific day:

(6.37) *sábadoke*
Saturday-TEMP.LOC

'On Saturday'

(6.38) is an example of the locative use of *-k(e)*, which is considerably scarce in my corpus. According to speaker judgements *-k(e)* in can be replaced with both *-k(a)* 'LOC' as well as *-ni* 'INESS', without altering the meaning.

(6.38) *hanshibenga zabi nõwã nuanane hai kuibúluke nak*

hanshibé-nga *zabi* *nõwã* *nuan-a#ne* *hai* *kuibulu-ke* *nak*
good-EMPH descend a.bit get.wet-ST#PST PROX.LOC village-LOC arrive

'She came done well and, having gotten a little bit wet [from the river] arrived here in the village.'

Lastly, in examples (6.39) and (6.40), the use of *-k(e)* can be translated with 'as X' (alternatively, 'since I am X').

(6.39) *samẽyãke ni hi hiega migahuezhakí*

samẽyã-ke *ni* *hi* *hiega* *mik-a-huezha-kí*
single-ke ADD what ADD 2SG.III-BEN-need-NEG.IPFV

'As a single person, you don't need anything.'

(6.40) *käggabake aklé numa nawatũĩ*

käggaba-ke *aklé* *numa* *na-a-tũ-ĩ*
Kogi-ke more thing 1SG.II-3PL.I-look-IPFV.I

'As a Kogi (/ an indigenous person), they are looking after me more.'

6.2.3 Number

Kogi has two number markers, namely the phrasal affix *-kũẽ* which is used for a group of referents, and *-lula*, a global plural marker which denotes "all possible instances of the referent" (Corbett [2000:30], also called 'greater plural'). As shown in Section 6.2.3, the plural phrasal affix *-kũẽ* cannot attach to pronouns. Note that, while the plural marker *-kũẽ* is most commonly found on noun phrases, it can also occur with verbal and adjectival predicates (see Sections 8.2 and 5.2.2).

Noun phrases with both animate and inanimate can take the plural marker, as shown in (6.41) to (6.43).

(6.41) *Uluezhi alák nahatekũẽki nabamakũẽki*
Uluezhi 3PL.I-arrive 1SG.INAL-father-PL-TOP 1SG.INAL-ancestor-PL-TOP

'They arrived at Uluezhi, my parents and my ancestors.'

(6.42) *kuelakũe salukũẽ nuk akowa*

kuela-kũe salu-kũẽ nuk a-go-a
school-PL medical.center-PL all 3PL.I-build-ST

'They built schools, medical centers and all.'

(6.43) *kabuhã hi aggegatukka ahí zhakuá ahí zapatokũẽ*

kabu-hã hi ak-gek-a-tok-ka ahí zhakuá ahí
police-ERG INDEF 3SG.III-give-ST-PROG-PRS 3SG.POSS clothes 3SG.POSS
zapato-kũẽ
shoe-PL

'The police man is giving him something, his clothes and his shoes.'

As is illustrated with the following examples, the plural marker is typically omitted when number is indicated elsewhere in the clause, e.g. by a numeral modifier as in (6.44), or with the plural location verb *zhe* in (6.45).

(6.44) *ai ezua sigí ezua due sukkwa mozhua nakua akalé*

ai ezua sigí ezua due sukkwa mozhua nakua
DEM.ENDO.LOC INDEF man INDEF old.man son two young
ak-a-nal
3SG.III-POSS-be

'There was a man, a man, an old man who had two young sons.'

(6.45) *libro ulakéninki mesák itshé*

libro	*u-nak-éni-nki*	*mesa-k*	*i-zhe*
book	COM.APPL-come-SEQ-TOP	table-LOC	put.PL

'After bringing the books, she put them on the table.'

A marker *-lula* denoting 'all kinds of, the whole class of X' has been mentioned in earlier descriptions of Kogi (Ortíz Ricaurte 2000:767; Preuss 1925:889). In the variety of Kogi described in the present work, the suffix, which can be characterized as denoting global plural, has the form *-zhula*, irrespective of phonological environment.

(6.46) *hắggizhula* 'all kinds of stones'
dizhúzhula 'all kinds of fish'
nubázhula 'all kinds of birds'

The global plural marker is becoming obsolete; while my elder consultants know it, but do not use it frequently, younger speakers were not familiar with at all.

6.2.4 Discourse markers

6.2.4.1 Topic *-ki*

The topic marker *-ki* is a phrasal suffix which can attach to noun phrases or verb phrases. A more systematic study and a detailed description of this marker is a task for future research. In the present section, I will illustrate just a few of its functions that are found most frequently.

One function of *-ki* 'TOP' is to express that a participant is important for the subsequent discourse. Following Givón (2001:254) this function can be termed "cataphoric topicality" or "thematic importance".

Example (6.47) is the first sentence of a narrative, in which the speaker talks about her experience, meeting and hosting the researcher for the first time. Given that the story is about her, the topic marker on the first person singular pronoun indicates the high thematic importance of the speaker.

(6.47) *näs**ki** Carmen nakazhukka*

näs-ki	*Carmen*	*nak-a-nok-ka*
1SG.INDEP-TOP	C.	1SG.III-POSS-be-HAB

'My name is Carmen.'

Example (6.48), too, constitutes a narrative-initial sentence. The marker *-ki* indicates the main topic of the narrative, namely the situation of living in the Sierra as a Kogi.

(6.48) *heni ekí zegatukka**ki***

heni *ekí* *zek-a-tok-ka-ki*
DEM DEM happen-ST-PROG-PRS-TOP

'This is what is happening here.'

(6.49) presents a question-answer pair. The topic marker on the second person pronouns indicates a shift in topic from speaker B to speaker A.

(6.49) A: *Sai maloké?* (how 2SG.I-be-INT) 'How are you?'
B: *Hänshibenga. Ma**ki**?* (goodEMPH 2SG.INDEP-**TOP**) '[I'm] good. And you?'

A shift in topic is also at hand in (6.50). In this instance, the topic marker highlights a contrast between two participants, an older and a younger brother.

(6.50) *ai ezua sigí ezua due sukkwa mozhua nakua akalé ezuan**ki** attué ezuan**ki** alani na*

ai *ezua* *sigí* *ezua* *due* *sukkwa* *mozhua* *nakua*
DEM.ENDO.LOC INDEF man INDEF old.man son two young
ak-a-nal *ezua-nki* *a-dué* *ezua-nki* *a-nani*
3SG.III-POSS-be one-TOP 3SG.INAL-elder.brother one-TOP 3SG.INAL-younger.brother
na
and

'There was a man, an old who had two young sons, one of them was the older brother and the other the younger one.'

A similar function can be observed in (6.51), where a contrast between the speaker and her family on the one hand, and the reseacher (3SG), on the other, is indicated.

(6.51) *nasïng**ki** aléng dulasha amak shitsiaganga aléng**ki** ya aklé matshuí shitsiaté*

nasïng-ki *aléng* *dulasha* *amak* *shitsi-a-ganga* *aléng-ki* *ya* *aklé*
1PL-TOP 3SG speak like learn-ST-not.yet 3SG-TOP already more
matshuí *shitsi-a-té*
a.lot learn-ST-IPFV.II

'We haven't learned yet about her language (lit.:how she talks), but she was learning a lot more [Kogi].'

A particular function of the topic marker on first person pronouns is illustrated in (6.52). This construction is used to express one's opinion about something.

(6.52) *näs-**ki** akté*
1SG.INDEP-TOP

'I [would say] he is standing.'

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the topic marker may also attach to verbs and is in fact frequently found with subordinate verb forms in adverbial clauses or in tail-head linkage (see Section 11.2). According to Hensarling (1991), the topic marker on these verbs portray an event as of particular importance to the development of the story. In order to verify her analysis, a more in-depth study is needed.

6.2.4.2 Focus

A participant of a clause can be focused with the focus particle *na* 'FOC'. Examples (6.53) to (6.55) present focused participants which constitute A, P and G arguments, respectively. As indicated in brackets, the focus particle may be repeated at the end of the clause.

(6.53) *María-Angelicahã* ***na*** *gie miane* ***(na)***

María-Angelica-hã *na* *gie* *mia#nena*
María-Angelica-ERG FOC firewood collect#PST

'It was María-Angelica who collected the firewood.'

(6.54) *näs* ***na*** *José natũne* ***(na)***

näs *na* *José* *na-tũ#ne* *na*
1SG.INDEP FOC J. 1SG.II-see#PST FOC

'It was me José saw.'

(6.55) *sukkua kuẽhié* ***na*** *puelta akkõnuge* ***(na)***

sukkua *kuẽhié* *na* *puelta* *akkõnuge* *na*
boy DIST FOC money 3SG.III-give#PST-1SG.I FOC

'It was this boy to whom I gave to money.'

Focus constructions are in need of more detailed research, given that they are remarkably scarce in my corpus.

6.2.5 Emphasis *-nga*

The primary function of the marker *-nga* seems to be an emphatic or intensifying one. Besides this, other functions can be observed, namely the expression of continuity 'still' and the additive notion of 'too'.

The intensifying function of *-nga* is at hand with adverbs or adjectives. The independent adjective *hänshibé* 'good' is encountered frequently in an intensified form as *hänshibe**nga***. The adverb *mõze* 'the day before yesterday' with *-nga* refers to a point in time further in the past, namely *mõze**nga*** 'before the day before yesterday'. It furthermore has intensifying function in *ubä**nga*** 'right away'.

Emphasis is conveyed by the marker in (6.56), where the first person pronoun with *-nga* may be interpreted as 'I myself'.

(6.56) *näs-ga zhik-gonék*
1SG-EMPH REFL-help

'I helped myself.'

In (6.57), the emphatic marker modifies a demonstrative meaning 'there', the resulting interpretation being 'right there'.

(6.57) *aiga kabashĩ*

ai-ga kabak-ĩ
DEM-EMPH sleep-IPFV.I

'I was sleeping right there.'

The emphatic meaning in (6.58) (6.59) with the postposition *na* 'with' is translated with 'together with'. A possibly more adequate translation equivalent is found in German: 'samt'.

(6.58) *nasïng na**nga** agapa zïnaulẽ*

nasïng na-nga agapa zïna-u-nẽ
1PL with-EMPH together 1PL.II-COM.APPL-go

'With us together, she took us [there].'

(6.59) *eka akhiengua ahí pio na**nga***

e-ka akhien-gu-a ahí pio na-nga
ENDO-LOC fall-CAUS-ST 3SG.POSS dog with-EMPH

'[The deer] dropped him there, together with his dog.'

In (6.60) and (6.61) the marker indicates, that a state of affairs still continues. In these contexts, I chose the gloss 'CONT' (continued state of affairs) and it can be translated with 'still'.

(6.60) *eka zhini nẽyaté noshĩ**nga** hiúngulak*

e-ka zhini nẽ-a-té nok-ĩ-nga hiúngula-k
ENDO-LOC from walk-ST-IPFV AUX.IPFV-IPFV-CONT trail-LOC

'From there kept on walking on the trail.'

(6.61) *botella ihiunga kágika akhienaté*

botella	*i-hiu-nga*	*kagi-ka*	*akhien-a-té*
jar	LOC.APPL-stick-CONT	ground-LOC	fall-ST-IPFV.II

'[The dog] was falling to the ground with the jar still stuck on its head.'

In (6.62), the marker, glossed as 'ADD' (additive), signals 'too'. (6.62b) comes from an elicitation task in which participants were asked to describe and compare two almost identical pictures.

(6.62) a. *näs ekí-nga*
1SG DEM-ADD

'Me too.'

b. *nahí ekí-ga*
1SG.POSS DEM-too

'Mine [my picture] is like this too.'

6.3 Derivation

As nominal derivation was not studied systematically in the scope of this work, this section only briefly addresses to points, namely compounds of two nominal roots and emerging compounds of a noun and a verb.

Compounds can be identified typically by word stress, that is, a compound only has primary stress, as opposed to two separate nouns. The encountered compounds involving two nominal roors mostly denote a part-whole relation, for example *bakkahuba* 'leather', consisting of *bakka* 'cow' and *huba* 'skin'. Compounding with *huba* is productive, given that it can combine with various nominals, as shown in(6.63).

(6.63)

takbihuba 'snake skin'	*takbi* 'snake'
mäntahuba 'peel of a plantain'	*mänta* 'snake'
kälihuba 'bark of a tree'	*käli* 'tree'

Other part-whole relationships, by contrast, cannot be expressed by nominal compounding but require a genitive construction, as the ones in (6.64).

(6.64) a. *kälitshi gula*

käli-tshi gula
tree-GEN arm

'branch'

b. *ovejatshi gäla*

oveja-tshi *gäla*
sheep-GEN hair

'wool'

Further compounds are formed with *kezha* 'edge', for example *nibunikezha* 'seashore' (*nibuni* 'sea') or *kokalakezha* 'edge of the hand' (*kókala* 'hand').

In some cases, there is phonological reduction and assimilation of one component in a compound, as for example, in (6.65). The final [i] of *käli* [ˈkɜld͡zi] 'tree' is deleted, and [d] of the affricate becomes devoiced.

(6.65) *kältshihuala*

käli-shihuala
tree-vein

'root of a tree'

A similar process is observed in the compound in (6.66).

(6.66) *hakshizha*

haggi-shizha
stone-wall

'wall made of stones'

In the examples presented so far, the modifying noun precedes the head noun, which parallels the order of genitives in noun phrases (see Section 6.4). An example of a compound in which the modifying element follows the head is *mäntabalu* 'ripe plantain', consisting of *mänta* 'plantain' and *malú* 'banana'. The meaning of the second noun in the compound can, however, be interpreted as 'sweet', given that the dependent adjective 'mal' also seems to originate in *malú* 'banana'. Note that compounding with *malú* is not productive, i.e. it does not combine with other nouns denoting fruit in order to refer to a ripe or sweet referent (e.g. **bigizhamalu* from *bigizha* 'pineapple').

There are a number of predicates that consist of a noun and a verb stem, in which both components show phonological cohesion, i.e. in that morphophonological alternations occur at the boundary. These were already introduced in Section 3.2.2.1 above as constructions consisting of a verb and a cliticized noun. Such predicates often have a metaphoric meaning, which can be more or less idiosyncratic.

One example is the predicate *shizhi* 'teach' which consists of the noun *shi* 'yarn' and the verb *ni* 'tie'. As seen in (6.67), the phonological change $n \rightarrow zh \ / \ i\_$ takes place and it features a single stressed syllable.

(6.67) *Maríaki shizhíka*

Maríaki *shi=ni-ka*
María-TOP thread=tie-NMLZ

'María is a teacher.'

Note that this compound is emergent, as the phonological cohesion is only observed in the third person singular. The predicate consists of two separate words when the verb takes inflectional prefixes. This is the case when there is a recipient of the teaching event. Then, the verb carries a derivational prefix *a-* 'BEN' and the recipient is indexed with Set III markers, as illustrated in (6.68). In this case, the elements do not constitute a compound, given that each has its own stress and no morphophonological alternation occurs.

(6.68) *Carmenki shi nakalika*

Carmen-ki *shi* *nak-a-ni-ka*
Carmen-TOP thread 1SG.III-BEN-tie-HAB

'Carmen teaches me.'

The related verb *shiti* 'learn, study' also involves the noun *shi* 'thread', where the meaning of the verbal part *ti* is unknown, nor does it occur on its own, unlike *ni* 'tie'. In this respect, the development from two separate components to a compound can be considered more advanced.

(6.69) *Kóguian shitihĩ*

Kóguian *shiti-ĩ*
Kogi learn-IPFV.I

'I'm learning Kogi'

However, in forms in which an argument index intervenes, such as the second person singular marker in (6.70), the components of *shiti* 'learn' are separated, along the lines of example (6.68) above.

(6.70) *Kóugian shi matialíka*

Kóugian *shi* *ma-ti-a-líka*
Kogi thread 2SG.I-learn-ST-FUT

'You will learn Kogi.'

Further predicates of this kind are provided in (6.71).[4]

[4]Another compound of this sort involving an adjective and a verb is *duébalek* 'become old' consisting of *dueba* 'old' and *nek* 'become'.

(6.71)

dulashi 'tell'	*dula* 'message, rumor' + *shi* 'lay'
kokshi 'fight'	*kókala* 'hand' + *shi* 'lay'
nábbilek 'become a feline'	*nabbi* 'feline' + *nek* 'become'

6.4 Modifiers in the noun phrase

In this section, the structure of noun phrases is discussed. A number of elements that can function as a noun modifier were introduced in Chapter 4, namely adjectives (4.3), adnominal demonstratives (4.5.3), and numerals and quantifiers (4.5.6). In addition, genitives and relative clauses may occur as part of a noun phrase. In the following paragraphs, I illustrate the position of these elements in respect to the head noun.

Adjectives occur exclusively in post-head position, as illustrated in (6.72). Constructions with adjective after the head are deemed ungrammatical by my consultants.

(6.72) a. *[**hui** atema]*

hui *atema*
house big

'a big house'

b. *[*atema **hui**]*

big *house*
big house

Intended: 'a big house'

As mentioned earlier in Section 4.5.3, adnominal demonstratives may function pronominally, in which case they constitute the head of a noun phrase, or adnominally, in which case they modify the nominal head. In modifying use, they are attested equally in pre-nominal and post-nominal position, as shown in (6.73). Whether there is a pragmatic difference between the pre-nominal and post-nominal use, requires further research.

(6.73) a. *[kũehié **käli**]*

kũehié *käli*
DIST tree

'that tree (over there)'

b. *[**käli** kũehié]*

käli *kũehié*
tree DIST

'that tree (over there)'

Numerals may occur before the nominal head, as in (6.74), or after it, as in (6.75).

(6.74) *[ezua mozhua **semana**] zegguakke*

ezua mozhua semana zek-gu-akke
one two week pass-REM.PST-SUB

'When one or two weeks passed...'

(6.75) *ai ezua sigi ezua due **[sukkua** mozhua nakua] akalé*

ai ezua sigí ezua due sukkua mozhua nakua
DEM.ENDO.LOC INDEF man INDEF old.man son two young
ak-a-nal
3SG.III-POSS-be

'There was a man, an old who had two young sons.'

Quantifiers, such as *nõwa* 'a little, few' or *matshuí* 'a lot, many' occur only in pre-head position, as opposed to numerals which show variability in this respect. Two examples are given in (6.76).

(6.76) a. *[nõwa **arróz]***

nõwa arróz
a.litte rice

'a little bit of rice'

b. *[matshuí **kággaba]***

matshuí kággaba
many people

Intended 'many people'

An exception is the quantifier 'nuk' 'all' which can also stand after the head. As shown in (6.77), depending on the position, the quantifier has a different interpretation, either 'the whole group of items' or 'a whole item'.

(6.77) a. *[nuk **mänta]***

nuk mänta
all plantain

'all of the plantains'

b. *[**mänta** nuk]*

mänta nuk
plantain all

'the entire plantain'

The numeral *ezua* 'one' functions as an indefinite article. By contrast to numerals which can occur before or after the head, the indefinite article is obligatorily in pre-head position, as shown in (6.78).

(6.78) *ai [ezua **sigí**] [ezua **due**] sukkua mozhua nakua akalé*

ai	*ezua*	*sigí*	*ezua*	*due*	*sukkua*	*mozhua*	*nakua*
DEM.ENDO.LOC	INDEF	man	INDEF	old.man	son	two	young

ak-a-nal
3SG.III-POSS-be

'There was a man, an old who had two young sons.'

(6.79) **ai [**sigí** ezua]*

ai	*sigí*	*ezua*
DEM.ENDO.LOC	man	INDEF

'There was a man.'

The possessor of a nominal head always occurs to the left side of it. This holds for possessive modifiers, as the one in (6.80), as well as genitives. Genitive case is marked by the phrasal affix *-tshi* on the possessor, as exemplified in (6.81).

(6.80) *[nahí **kuinta**]*

nahí	*kuinta*
1SG.POSS	necklace

'my necklace'

(6.81) *[José-tshi **a-hate**]*

José-tshi	*a-hate*
J.-GEN	3SG.INAL-father

'José's father'

Relative clauses are clauses that function as a modifier in a noun phrase. They are either unmarked and merely juxtaposed to the head of the noun phrase, or they involve an auxiliary with the relative marker *-é*. The structure of relative clauses is discussed in detail in REF in terms of headedness and position. The nominal head which a relative clause modifies may either occur inside or outside of the relative clause. When the nominal head outside of it, as the one in (6.82), the relative clause always occurs post-nominally, while pre-head position is not attested.

(6.82) ***[shi** [tiendali hábbinuge]]*

shi *tienda-ni* *habbi#ne-uge*
yarn store-INESS buy#PST-1SG.I

'the yarn that I bought at the store'

Table 6.3 summarizes the attested positions, pre-head or post-head, for the different types of modifiers in the noun phrase. Adjectives are restricted to the post-head position, while quantifiers, the indefinite article, possessors and relative clauses exclusively stand in pre-head position. Demonstratives and numerals are variable in this regard.

Modifier	pre-head	post-head
Adjectives	no	yes
Demonstratives	yes	yes
Numerals	yes	yes
Quantifiers	yes	no[5]
Indefinite article	yes	no
Possessors	yes	no
Relative clauses	yes	no

Table 6.3: Position of modifiers in the noun phrase

6.5 Coordination

The conjunction *na* 'and' expresses conjunctive coordination (i.e. 'x and y') between two or more noun phrases. A first example is provided in (6.83), where the conjunction is used once and follows the second NP.

(6.83) *sakí egisane ahí munzhi ahí sukkua **na** akbẽya*

sakí *ak-i-sa#ne* *ahí* *munzhi* *ahí*
how 3SG.III-MAL-happen#PST 3SG.POSS-woman SG.POSS-son and
sukkua *na* *ak-mẽ-a*
3SG.III-tell-ST

'He told his wife and his son what happened to him.'

As shown in (6.84), the conjunction *na* may also occur after each coordinated NP.

(6.84) *ẽki Jacintotshi **na** Davidtshi **na** kãwihaba*

ẽ-ki *Jacinto-tshi* *na* *David-tshi* *na* *kãwi-haba*
ENDO-TOP J.-GEN and D.-GEN and 3PL.INAL-mother

'She's the mother of Jacinto and David.'

Note that *na* 'and' is restricted to NP coordination, while verb phrases show other strategies (see **??**).

Disjunctive coordination (i.e. 'x or y') is expressed by *ezhi* 'or', as seen in (6.85). As opposed to the conjunction *na* 'and', which typicy*ezhi* only occurs

(6.85) *hẽ-ki a-skuá* ***ezhi*** *a-huäsgui*
DEM-TOP 3SG.INAL-son or 3SG.INAL-father.in.law

'This is his son or his father in law.'

A further example is shown in (6.86), in which two NPs consisting of headless relative clauses are coordinated.

(6.86) *maile namak ahatehã aggone guakue asiaba aluna aklukka* ***ezhi*** *alusaba aluna aklukka?*

maile namak a-hate-hã ak-gonek gu-a-kue asiaba
which really 3SG.INAL-father-ERG 3SG.III-help AUX.PFV-ST-OBLIG good
aluna ak-nok-ka ezhi alusaba aluna ak-nok-ka
soul 3SG.III-be-HAB or bad soul 3SG.III-be-HAB

'Which one should the father really help, the one with the good soul **or** the one with the bad soul?'

6.6 Nouns in predicative function

6.6.1 Predicate nominals

Predicate nominals express the concepts of equation and proper inclusion (Payne 1997:114). Both clause types involve the same strategies, namely juxtaposition or the copula *nal*. Examples of equation and proper inclusion where the noun phrases are juxtaposed are presented in (6.87a) and (6.87b).

(6.87) a. *Lúcaski natué*

Lucas-ki na-due
Lucas-TOP 1SG.INAL-elder.brother

'Lucas is my elder brother.'

b. *Lúcaski shizhika*

Lucas-ki shizhi-ka
Lucas-TOP teach-NMLZ

'Lucas is a teacher.'

(6.87) denotes a state of affairs in the present. Non-present clauses require the copula verb which takes relevant tense morphology. This is illustrated in (6.88). In

(6.88a) the copula carries the past marker *#ne* and (6.88b) involves the future suffix *-líka*.

(6.88) a. *nahate mama nane*

na-hate *mama* *na#ne*
1SG.INAL-father mamo COP#PST

'My father was a mamo.'

b. *mama nalalíkue*

mama *nal-a-líka-uge*
mamo COP-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will be a mamo.'

6.6.2 Predicative possession

Predicative possessive constructions are clauses in which, ownership of a referent (i.e. the possessum) is predicated of another referent (i.e. the possessor) (Stassen 2005, 2009).

In Kogi, predicative possession involves the verb *nal* 'be', which carries a derivational possessive prefix *a-* as well as a Set III argument index referencing the possessor.[6] This is illustrated in (6.89).

(6.89) a. *hui gekali nakalé*

hui *geka-li* *nak-a-nal*
house mountains-INESS 1SG.III-POSS-be

'I have a house in the mountains.'

b. *José-Ignacio(*-k) ezua moto akalé*

José-Ignacio-k *ezua* *moto* *ak-a-nal*
José-Ignacio-DAT one motorbike 3SG.III-POSS-be

'José-Ignacio has a moto bike.'

The construction is comparable to so called oblique or locational possessives which typically involve an intransitive verb with locational or existential semantics (Stassen 2005). The constructions in (6.89), however, feature the verb *nal* 'be', which is used as a copula for nominal predicates (see Section 6.6 above), rather than the locational verb *nok* 'be located', or the existential *kual* 'exist'.

The derivational possessive prefix *a-* is identical with the benefactive applicative marker Section 9.1.2.3 which introduces a peripheral participant (i.e. a beneficiary)

[6] *nal* 'be' belongs to the group of high frequency verbs, which have a shortened stem form with final *e*. See Section 7.1 below for details.

into the argument structure of a verb. In predicative possessives, it appears to have the function of licensing the expression of a possessor.

While the possessor noun phrase is indexed on the verb with Set III argument markers, it cannot be marked for dative case, as shown in (6.90). Note that dative case and Set III indexes usually cooccur to indicate the recipient (G argument) in ditransitive clauses.

(6.90) *nasaka(*-k) matshuí bakka akalé*

na-saka-k	*matshuí*	*bakka*	*ak-a-nal*
1SG.INAL-grandmother-DAT	a.lot	cow	3SG.III-POSS-be

'My grandmother has a lot of cows.'

Chapter 7

Verbs

The present section introduces the class of verbs in more detail. The distinction between verbs and other major word classes was discussed in Chapter 4. Section 7.1 presents the distinction between verb roots and stems, a distinction which is crucial for understanding the inflectional and derivational processes, discussed in the following Chapters 8 and 9. Section 7.2 is dedicated to different types of verbs, namely valency classes and the group of auxiliary verbs.

7.1 Verb roots and stems

A fundamental distinction in the morphology of verbs is that between roots and stems. A verb root is mono-morphemic and can be characterized as the nuclear part of a verb form. The root cannot be used on its own (apparent exceptions are shortened stem forms) and can directly host inflectional affixes of only a few inflectional categories, namely the present/habitual, hodiernal and recent past as well as imperfective with *-ĩ*. Furthermore, roots are the base for derivational affixes, such as causative or applicative markers. Phonologically, roots are always consonant-initial and can be mono-syllabic or bisyllabic. It is more common for a monosyllabic root to be closed, i.e. consonant-final. Bisyllabic roots, by contrast, typically have an open second syllable (i.e. are vowel-final), with a small number of exceptions, e.g. *kabak-* 'sleep', that also show exceptional behavior in certain constructions (discussed below).

The stem is derived by suffixing a thematic vowel *-a* (glossed as ST for 'stem') to the root and is used in two different contexts: (i) with inflectional affixes of certain inflectional categories (different from those who require the root), e.g. future or recent past, or (ii) with auxiliaries, which are distinct words. Kogi verbs can be divided into three classes according to their characteristics in the formation of inflectional stems: (i) roots ending in *a*, (ii) monosyllabic, consonant-final roots and (iii) bisyllabic, consonant-final and high-frequency roots.

The first class consists of relatively few attested verb roots with *a*-final, e.g. *ga* 'eat' or *nukka* 'listen'. They show no formal difference between the root and the stem form, as illustrated in Table 7.1 with the verb *ga* 'eat'.

Table 7.1: *a*-final roots

	Morphemes	Gloss
Root	*ga-ka*	eat-HAB
Stem	*ga-líka*	eat-FUT
Stem	*ga#ne*	eat#PST
Stem	*ga ni-gu-ngú*	eat SPKR.SYM-do-REC.PST

The majority of verbs belong to the second class. The distribution of the root and stem form of these verbs is illustrated in Table 7.2 with *nuk* 'cook' in third person singular (note that third person singular arguments are not indexed). The root is used in the habitual, whereas the stem carrying the stem vowel *-a* is used in the other three contexts, i.e. with the future suffix, with the past anti-clitic, and with separate auxiliaries hosting past markers.[1]

Table 7.2: Distribution of root and stem

	Morphemes	Gloss
Root	*nuk-ka*	cook-HAB
Stem	*nuka-líka*	cook-FUT
Stem	*núka#ne*	cook#PST
Stem	*nuka ni-gu-ngú*	cook SPKR.SYM-do-REC.PST

Thus, it appears that habitual inflection requires the root, while the stem form with *-a* occurs in the other inflections, as well as auxiliary constructions. Note that this is the distribution of roots and stems observed with the majority of verbs.[2]

The third class includes verbs that deviate from the pattern observed with verbs like *nuk-* 'cook'. This class can be again divided into two subgroups. The first of these can be characterized as occurring with high frequency, including *nẽ* 'go, walk, leave', *nak* 'come, arrive', *tũ* 'see, look', *guak* 'say'. As an example consider the verb *nak-* 'come' presented in Table 7.3. In this case, the form *nak* occurs in the habitual, and also with the past anti-clitic and the recent past auxiliary (where the majority of verbs use the stem, mind you). The stem *naka* occurs, as expected, in the future.

Rather than assuming that different verbs show a different distribution of root and stem forms in auxiliary constructions, it appears more likely that *nak* shows a shortened

[1] It might strike the reader as noteworthy that some inflectional suffixes trigger the root (e.g. habitual), while others the stem form (e.g. future). One might wonder whether *a* is part of the future suffix *-líka*, so that it can be segmented as *nuk-aldíka* instead of *nuka-ldíka* 'S/he will cook'. Such an analysis might be favorable as the base for inflectional suffixes would invariable be the root. However, this assumption would also imply that a great number of suffixes (including those expressing future, negation, imperfective, inceptive and others) would have initial *a*. While there is no decisive evidence that the segment *a* is clearly separate from the future suffix, i.e. no example of an intervening element between the two is attested, this prominence of *a*-initial suffixes does seem suspicious.

[2] A possible explanation for the difference in verb forms combining with different TAM categories might lie in the diachronic origin of the suffixes. Some of those that require the stem form can be related to lexical items, e.g. the inceptive marker *-pána* to the verb *pan* 'begin' or imperfective *-té* to the locative verb *te* 'be located'. Assuming an original construction consisting of two separate words thus might explain the use of the stem instead of the root, in accordance with the pattern observed with auxiliary constructions.

stem (formally identical with the root after dropping the thematic vowel *a*) in these contexts. This shortening may be explained by the more frequent occurrence of these verbs.

Table 7.3: High frequency verbs

	Morphemes	Gloss
Root	*nak-ka*	come-HAB
Stem	*naka-líka*	come-FUT
Stem	*nak#ne*	come#PST
Stem	*nak ni-gu-ngú*	come SPKR.SYM-do-REC.PST

The high-frequency verb *guak* 'say' in fact has a homophonous counterpart *guak* 'kill'. The lexeme denoting 'kill' is not classified as high frequency, and as shown in (7.1a), requires the stem form *guaka* with the past anti-clitic. By contrast, the high-frequency verb 'guak' 'say' features the shortened stem *guak* (homophonous with the root form) in the same construction. (7.1).

(7.1)

a. *guakane*

guak-a#ne
kill-ST-#PST

'S/he killed [it].'

b. *guakle*

guak#ne
say#AUX

'S/he said.'

Using the full stem (with the thematic vowel) of these high frequency verbs in with the anti-clitic or in an auxiliary construction, in fact, sounds odd, according to native speakers, e.g. ?*nẽ-ya#ne* (go-ST-#PST) vs. *nẽ#ne* (go#PST) 'S/he went'.

To my knowledge, there is one verb, *mẽ* 'tell', which shows flexibility in this regard: in careful speech, the full stem *mẽya* is used, while it is often shortened to *mẽ* in spontaneous speech.

The second subclass of the third class of verbs are the relatively few roots that are bisyllabic and consonant-final, e.g. *kabak* 'sleep', *nitshik* 'ascend' or *hulun* 'enter'. As seen in Table 7.4, *kabak* 'sleep' has in fact three different forms, the root *kabak*, the stem *kabaka* and a form *kaba*, lacking either the final consonant of the root or the last syllable of the full stem.

With the past anti-clitic and the auxiliary, one would again expect the stem form, i.e. *kabaka*, as in future tense. Yet, it appears that, similar to the high frequency verbs discussed above, the stem is shortened in these contexts: in addition the stem vowel,

Table 7.4: Bisyllabic, consonant-final roots

	Morphemes	Gloss
Root	*kabák-ka*	sleep-HAB
Stem	*kabaka-líka*	sleep-FUT
Stem	*kába#ne*	sleep-#PST
Stem	*kaba ni-gu-ngú*	sleep SPKR.SYM-do-REC.PST

the final consonant is subject to this reduction. Given that the verb forms attested with the past anti-clitic or auxiliary never consists of three syllables, one may assume a restriction for verb stems to be maximally bisyllabic. Thus, the last syllable of the full stem *kabaka* is elided.

To recap, I assume that the root form of verbs like 'sleep' is *kabak*, which applies in the habitual inflection. Inflectional suffixes that require the stem form, e.g. future tense, show the stem *kabaka* with *-a* 'ST'. The third form, i.e. the shortened stem *kaba* (instead of *kabaka*), applies in constructions that do not allow for trisyllabic stems, i.e. with the past anti-clitic and auxiliaries.

Two alternative analyses must be shortly considered here, namely that the one of the other two forms, *kaba* or *kabaka*, is underlying. The first alternative can be easily rejected, given that the final consonant is part of the verb (cf. *hulun* 'enter'). Starting from *kabaka*, it would not be possible to determine, why only final *a* is omitted in the habitual inflection, but the entire syllable *ka* in the past tense.

Note that there is no restriction for final *k*, given that forms like *nak* in *nak nigungú* 'S/he came (recently).' exist.

To conclude, the form of the verb, i.e. whether a construction triggers the root or the stem, is generally dependent on the TAM category: some inflectional suffixes require the root, while others require the stem. In combination with auxiliaries or anti-clitics, the verb is used in the stem form. All exceptions can be explained either (i) because of shortening of high frequency verbs, or (ii) the restriction for the verb to be maximally bisyllabic in these constructions. These forms are all analyzed to have an underlying full stem form. Having discussed the rather complex distribution of verb forms according to construction and verb class, it is important to note that there is no semantic difference between roots and stems. Neither does the stem vowel *-a* have a dedicated function, other than allowing certain inflectional suffixes to be used. In the remainder of this work, the full stem forms will be recognizable by the glossed stem vowel *-a*. The stem vowel, however, will not be noted in the underlying representation in shortened stem forms, given that the use of the full or shortened stem does not influence the meaning, but is merely conditioned by the factors just described.

7.2 Types of verbs

7.2.1 Valency classes

Kogi verb roots can be categorized into four valency classes which can be identified as lexically intransitive, transitive, ambitransitive (or labile) and ditransitive. The basis for this classification is the number of core syntactic arguments that the underived verb form may take.

The members of these verb classes can further be categorized on the basis of their coding pattern, i.e. in terms of how their arguments are marked. Kogi makes use of both argument flagging (i.e. marking of ergative, absolutive or dative case) and indexing (with three different sets of markers). While different roots of a valency class show different coding patterns, I restrict myself to prototypical members of the valency classes, showing the basic coding pattern. Minor coding patterns are further detailed in Section 10.1 in the discussion of morphosyntactic alignment and grammatical relations. For the morphological means of indexing and flagging, the reader is referred to Sections 8.1 and 6.2.1.

7.2.1.1 Intransitive roots

Intransitive roots take one syntactic argument. This argument, S, typically occurs in absolutive case, i.e. unmarked as shown in (7.2).

(7.2) *hui púlane*

hui *pul-a#ne*
house[ABS] burn-ST#PST[3SG.I]

'The house burned.'

In the basic pattern of indexing, S is marked with a Set I index, as seen in (7.3).

(7.3) *hoklénkale*

hoklek#nka-ne
play#1PL.I-PST

'We played.'

7.2.1.2 Transitive roots

Roots of the transitive class take two core arguments. The basic coding pattern is attested with prototypical transitive predicates such as *muk* 'hit' or *guak* 'kill' and applies for the majority of transitive roots. In this pattern, A is marked ergative and indexed with Set I markers, while P is absolutive and indexed with Set II markers. This is illustrated in (7.4).

(7.4) a. *súkkuahã pio mukalika*

sukkua-hã pio muk-a-líka
boy-ERG dog hit-ST-FUT[3SG.I]

'The boy will hit the dog.'

b. *hinák nabúkamale*

hinák na-muk-a#ma-ne
why 1SG.II-hit-ST#2SG.I-PST

'Why did you hit me?'

7.2.1.3 Ambitransitive roots

The majority of verb roots are either intransitive or transitive, and a change in valency must be overtly coded with derivational verb morphology. An exception are locative verb roots, a selection of which is presented in Table 7.5.

te	'be located / put (of three-dimensional objects, e.g. a cup)'
pa	'be located / put (of two-dimensional objects, e.g. a book)'
sha	'be located / put (of one-dimensional objects, e.g. a stick)'
dua	'be located / put (of flexible objects, e.g. clothing)'
mi	'be hung / hang over'

Table 7.5: Amitransitive location verbs

These verbs are of the S=P ambitransitive type, meaning that the S of the intransitive clause is identical with the P of the transitive clause. This is illustrated in (7.5) with *pa* 'be located / put (of two-dimensional objects, e.g. a book)'.

(7.5) a. *libro kagi-k pa*
book floor-LOC be.located

'The book is (lying) on the floor.'

b. *munzhi-hã libro a-sta-k pa*
woman-ERG book 3SG.POSS-side-LOC put

'The woman put the book down by her side.'

7.2.1.4 Ditransitive roots

The class of underived ditransitive verb roots is relatively small and includes *kõ* 'give, offer', *gek* 'give, hand', *mẽ* 'tell' and *wash* 'lend', all showing the same coding pattern. As for argument flagging, A is marked ergative, T is absolutive, and G receives the dative marker *-k*. The predicates have a maximum of two slots for indexing, which are taken by Set I markers for A, and by Set III markers for G. This is illustrated in (7.6).

(7.6) a. *Joséhã kalta naggene*

José-hã *kalta* *nak-gek#ne*
José-ERG book 1SG.III-hand#PST[3SG.I]

'José handed me the book.'

b. *sigík ni akkõnuge*

sigí-k *ni* *ak-kõ#ne-uge*
man-DAT water 3SG.III-give#PST-1SG.I

'I gave water to the man.'

7.2.2 Auxiliaries

Kogi makes extensive use of auxiliary verb constructions, i.e. "mono-clausal structure[s] minimally consisting of a lexical verb element that contributes lexical content to the construction and an auxiliary verb element that contributes some grammatical or functional content" (G. Anderson 2004:7). Most of these constructions have a synthetic counterpart, where inflectional morphology attaches to the lexical verb. While synthetic and periphrastic auxiliary verb predicates are interpreted to be equal in meaning by my consultants, the conditioning factors of their distribution needs further study.

This section details the different auxiliary verbs attested in Kogi. I follow G. Anderson (2004) by defining an auxiliary as an item that is located intermediately on the lexical verb–grammatical affix continuum, which is semantically bleached and grammaticalized to express functional categories such as tense or aspect. There are four verbs that function as auxiliaries, namely *gu* 'do' and *nok* 'be located, live', *nal* 'be' and *zal* 'be'.

The perfective AV originates from a verb *gu* meaning 'do'. It is used as a light verb in certain constructions, such as with ideophones, (7.7), or in the predicate with the meaning 'help' in (7.8). Note that, as a light verb, *gu* hosts argument indexes of Set II. In constructions with *gu* as an AV, by contrast, Set II markers attach to the LV (see below).

(7.7) *mukutik ka ninakuǻ*

mukuti-k *ka* *ni-na-gu-ǻ*
fist-INSTR hit.IDPH SPKR.SYM-1SG.II-do-HOD.PST

'He hit me with his fist.'

(7.8) *kuíbulu akowapana guakke ai yo kakuapana*

kuíbulu *a-go-a-pána* *guakke* *ai* *yo* *ka-gu-a-pána*
village 3PL.I-build-ST-INCEP so DEM help 3PL.II-do-ST-INCEP

'They started building a village, so I started helping them there.'

The perfective AV *gu* occurs, for example, in periphrastic predicates featuring the paradigm of past suffixes (involving a three-way remoteness distinction), which are employed whenever a predicate is marked for engagement.

(7.9) *nas mõze hai nitshi nagungukú*

nas	*mõze*	*hai*	*nitshik*	*na-gu-ngú-ku*
1SG	recently	DEM	ascend	SPKR.ASYM-AUX.PFV-REC.PST-1SG.I

'Recently, I came up here.'

Kogi auxiliary verb constructions belong to the split type which G. Anderson (2004) establishes on the basis of locus of inflection in his typology of such constructions. The split is found in argument indexing: S/A (with Set I) is marked on the auxiliary,[3], while P (Set II) and G (Set III) are indexed on the LV. S-indexing on the AV is shown in (7.9), and the AV construction with the interrogative marker in (7.10). Indexing of P with a Set II marker on the LV is illustrated in (7.11).

(7.10) *nukka mingué?*

nukka	*min-gu-é*
listen	2PL.I-AUX.PFV-INT

'Did you hear (2PL)?'

(7.11) *kabu hiega napú gualika nzha*

kabu	*hiega*	*na-pú*	*gu-a-líka*	*ni-nal*
police	also	1SG.II-hit	AUX.PFV-ST-FUT	SPKR.SYM-be

'The police will also beat me.'

(7.12) exemplifies the perfective AV as part of a periphrastic subordinate predicate in an adverbial clause. In these instances, the AV can carry the remote past suffix *-ngú* and host a temporal subordinate marker such as *-ẽni* expressing the sequence of events.

(7.12) *nãwihátehã nuk menguá gunguéninki nuk zïyoká*

nãwi-hate-hã	*nuk*	*men-gu-a*	*gu-ngú-ẽni-ki*	*nuk*
1PL.POSS-father-ERG	all	cut-CAUS-ST	AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ-TOP	all
zï-yok-a				
ANTIP-burn-ST				

'Our father cut all [the trees and bushes] and then burned it all.'

The verb *nok* as a main verb has the meaning 'be located' in locative statements, or 'live', as in (7.13).

[3] one exception being the third plural Set I prefix *a-* which attaches to the LV

(7.13) *nibunikezhak izhukka*

nibuni-kezha-k i-nok-ka
sea-shore-LOC LOC.APPL-live-HAB

'They live at the coast.'

In contrast to the perfective AV, it occurs in imperfective clauses which involve a lexical verb with an imperfective suffix, i.e. *-ĩ* IPFV.I or *-té* IPFV.II. Thus, while there is no marker for perfectivity on the lexical verb in the constructions with *gu*, imperfectivity is expressed by a combination of an imperfective suffix and the imperfective AV, as shown in (7.14).

(7.14) *muan me zïbunaté nzhoká*

muan me zï-muna-té ni-nok-á
half only ANTIP-grow-IPFV.II SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV-HOD.PST

'Only half (of the crops) were growing.'

The copula verb used in non-verbal predicates is *nal* 'be'.

The verb *nal* 'be' functions as a copula in non-verbal predicates, as for example in the nominal predicate in (7.15) and (7.16).

(7.15) *käggaba nzhakú*

käggaba ni-nal-kú
Kogi SPKR.SYM-be-1SG.I

'I am Kogi.'

(7.16) *zula muletua hänshibé nalazhé*

zula muletua hänshibé nal-a-zha#ne
seed well good be-ST-NEG#PST

'The seeds weren't really good.'

As an auxiliary, it occurs in the remote past construction with the past anti-clitic *#ne*, as the one shown in (7.17).

(7.17) *näski San Pedroli kuka nánuge*

*näs-ki San Pedro-li kuka **nal**#ne-uge*
1SG-TOP San Pedro-INESS be.born **AUX**#PST-1SG.I

'I was born in San Pedro.'

The auxiliary *nal* in the remote past construction is neutral in aspect. That is, it can be used in the expression of perfective remote past event, as in (7.17), or of imperfective ones, as the habitual remote past form in (7.18).

(7.18) *Dumingueka izhukka nánuge*

Dumingue-ka *i-nok-ka* *nal-ne-uge*
D.-LOC LOC.APPL-live-HAB

'I used to live in Dumingueka (a long time ago).'

The last verb discussed here, *zal* 'be'[4] was introduced in Chapter 5 as an auxiliary which is obligatory in the use of dependent adjectives they denote visually perceivable qualitites. As a LV, I encountered it in my text corpus in the following clause, in the description of a room. Thus, it seems to be associated with visually perceivable qualities also as a LV.

(7.19) *tuang zalĩ*

tuang *zal-ĩ*
dark be-IPFV.I

'It [the room] is dark.'

zal 'be' is once more illustrated in an adjectival predicate in (7.20). Note that the verb in these constructions indexes S with Set III markers. Moreover, it carries a derivational prefix *a-*, the function of which is opaque.

(7.20) *ekí nusa nusa agatsé*

ekí *nusa* *nusa* *ak-a-zal*
ENDO-MAN dirty dirty 3SG.III-DERIV-be

'He is very dirty, like this.'

Like *nal* 'be', it is neutral in aspect, as it can denote imperfective state of affairs, as in (7.20), as well as perfective ones, as in the future construction in (7.21).

(7.21) *gamáki hänshigatsalalika*

gamá-ki *hänshi=gatsala-líka*
bag-TOP beautiful=AUX-FUT

'The bag will be beautifil [when it's done].'

As an auxiliary *zal* also occurs in obligative modality constructions, as the one in (7.22).

(7.22) *mokue shi hábbiakue nagatsé*

mokue *shi* *habbi-a-kue* *nak-atsal*
again yarn buy-ST-OBLIG 1SG.III-AUX

'I need to buy yarn again.'

[4]which is obviously related to *nal* 'be', the relation between them being unclear at present.

Chapter 8

Verbal inflection

The present chapter is concerned with the inflectional categories that are marked on Kogi verbs. These include argument indexed and number which are detailed in Sections 8.1 and 8.2. The categories of tense and aspect are discussed in Sections 8.3 and 8.4, while mood and modality are the topic of Sections 8.5 and 8.6. Section 8.7 examines the epistemic category of engagement, i.e. the marking of asymmetries in access to knowledge in the speaker-hearer dyad. Lastly, Section 8.8 provides an account of standard negation.

8.1 Argument indexing

Kogi has three distinct sets of morphemes that mark core arguments of a clause on the verb. While each of the paradigms is typically associated with a specific argument role,[1] i.e. Set I with S/A arguments, Set II with P arguments, and Set III with G arguments, there are exceptions. For instance, some intransitive verb index S with Set III marker (i.e. experiential predicates). For this reason, I label the paradigms Set I, II and III, as they neither correspond exactly so a semantic role (e.g. agent or patient), nor a syntactic role (e.g. subject or direct object).

Nevertheless, I will focus on the prototypical use in this first presentation of argument indexes. For a discussion of coding different argument types the reader is referred to Section 10.1 about morphosyntactic alignment.

The paradigms of argument indexes encode a three-way contrast in person, i.e. speaker, addressee and non-speech act participant, and a binary distinction between singular and plural referents.

Set I indexes are presented in Table 8.1. As mentioned above, they commonly index A/S arguments. First person singular has two allomorphs, namely *-kú* which is restricted to engagement predicates (cf. (8.1)) and subordinate verbs (cf. (8.2)), and *-uge*, occurring in all other contexts (e.g. habitual aspect in (8.3)).

[1] I adopted the term 'argument role' from Bickel (2010) refer to the argument types found with different verbs, i.e. S = single argument of an intransitive verb, A = most agent-like argument of a transitive verb, P = most patient-like argument of a transitive verb, T = most patient-like argument of a ditransitive verb, and G = most goal-like argument of a ditransitive verb.

Table 8.1: Set I argument indexes

	SG	PL
1	*-uge*	*ka- / -nka*
	-kú	*-kua*
2	*ma- / -ma*	*min- / -min*
3	*Ø*	*a-*

(8.1) *Dominga nzhakú*

Dominga ni-nal-kú
Dominga SPKR.SYM-be-1SG.I

'I am Dominga.'

(8.2) *huli nẽyatogukuéng*

hui-ni nẽ-a-tok-gu-kú-éng
house-ALL go-ST-PROG-REM.PST-1SG.I-DUR.SIMUL

'While I was going home'

(8.3) *Santa Martaka hiba atshákuge*

Santa Marta-ka hiba atshi-a-ka-uge
Santa Marta-LOC work do-ST-HAB-1SG.I

'I work in Santa Marta.'

In future tense *-uge* is realized as *-ue*, as shown in (8.4).

(8.4) *kắggaba hana zukalikue*

kắggaba hana zï-nuk-a-líka-uge
Kogi like ANTIP-cook-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will cook like a Kogi.'

Note that for the first person plural as well as second person singular and plural, the same form can occur either as a prefix, suffix or as part of an anti-clitic, depending on the construction. The prefixed indexes apply, for instance, in hodiernal and recent past constructions as well is in the habitual aspect, as shown in (8.5) and (8.6).

(8.5) *ya zhakuá hizha shimakuắ*

ya zhakuá hizhi-a shi-ma-gu-ắ
alrady clothes wash-ST ADDR.EA-2SG.I-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST

'Did you already wash the clothes?'

(8.6) *hanshibé mazibẽnka*

hanshibé *ma-zibẽ-ka*
well 2SG.I-sing-HAB

'You sing well.'

By contrast, Set I indexes of 1PL, 2SG and 2PL occur as suffixes in the progressive as well as habitual and future negation (cf. (8.7)).

(8.7) *hinak nakabalálika*

hinak *nak-a-ma-zhá-líka*
why come-ST-2SG.I-NEG-FUT

'Why won't you come?'

The prefixed forms are also attested in future tense (cf. (8.8a)), with the exception of first person plural, which has a distinct allomorph *-kua* occurring after the stem (cf (8.8a)). The first person plural allomorph is exclusively attested in future tense.

(8.8) a. *mintũalika*

min-tũ-a-líka
2SG.I-see-ST-FUT

'you (pl) will see'

b. *tũakualika*

tũ-a-kua-líka
see-ST-1PL.I-FUT

'we will see'

Set I indexes for 1PL, 2SG and 2PL appear as part of an anti-clitic in the past construction with *#ne*.

(8.9) *ya zúkamale*

ya *zï-nuk-a#ma-ne*
already ANTIP-cook#2SG.I-PST

'Did you cook already?'

Third person singular is unmarked, whereas third person plural is indexed with *a-*. Note that it never occurs as a suffix.

Set II markers, which most typically index P on transitive verbs, are presented in Table 8.2.

As seen in (8.10),

Table 8.2: Set II argument indexes

	SG	PL
1	*na- / -na*	*zïna- / -zïna*
2	*ma- /*	*mima-*
	mi- / -mi	*-min*
3	*Ø*	*ka-*

(8.10) a. *matũnuge*

ma-tũ#ne-uge
2SG.II-see#PST-1SG.I

'I saw you.'

b. *zïnapu naguã*

zïna-pu na-gu-ã
1PL.II-hit SPKR.ASYM-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST

'He hit us.'

If there are two argument prefixes, the order is typically Set I - Set II, as shown in (8.10).

(8.11) *malatũalika*

ma-na-tũ-a-lika
2SG.I-1SG.II-see-ST-FUT

'You will see me.'

The third person plural Set I index, however, behaves differently and always occurs directly before the verb stem, so that the order of two argument prefixes is Set II - Set I, as in the examples in (8.12).

(8.12) a. *nawabúkane*

na-a-muk-a#ne
1SG.II-3PL.I-hit-ST#PST

'They hit me.'

b. *kawabukalika*

ka-a-muk-a-líka
3PL.II-3PL.I-hit-FUT

'They will hit them.'

As indexes of P, they only occur as prefixes. However, there are some constructions where A/S is indexed with Set II, rather than Set I, e.g. (epistemic) remote past or

potential modality, as for example in (8.13). The second person allomorphs *-mi* and are restricted to these constrictions.

(8.13) *nákminakka*

nak-min-akka
come-2PL.II-POT

'You (pl) may come'

Note that the second person singular Set II marker is formally identical with the Set I. As shown above, Set I 2SG markers appear as suffixes, in certain constructions, e.g. in negated future (cf. (8.7)). The Set II marker *ma-* '1SG.II', however, can only occur as a prefix, as illustrated by the negated future form in (8.14), where the second person constitutes P.

(8.14) *matũazhálikue*

ma-tũ-a-zhá-líka-uge
2SG.II-visit-ST-NEG-FUT-1SG.I

'I won't visit you.'

In auxiliary verb constructions, Set II markers attach to the lexical verb, whereas those of Set I are hosted by the auxiliary:

(8.15) *kabu hiega napú gualika nzha*

kabu	*hiega*	*na-pu*	*gu-a-lika*	*ni-nal*
police	also	1SG.II-hit	AUX.PFV-ST-FUT[3SG]	SPKR.SYM-be

'The police will also beat me.'

Indexes of Set III, presented in Table 8.3, exclusively constitute prefixes and show no morphologically conditioned allomorphy. As shown in (8.16), they attach to the lexical verb in auxiliary constructions, like Set II markers.

(8.16) *sakí negisá nane mikbẽya gualikue nzha*

sakí	*nak-i-sal*	*na-ne*	*mik-mẽ-a*	*gu-a-lika-uge*
how	1SG.III-MAL-happen	be-PST	2SG.III-tell-ST	AUX.PFV-ST-FUT-1SG.I

ni-nal
SPKR.SYM-be

'I will tell you what happened to me.'

akakonegazhé ak-a-gonek-a-zhá-ne They didn't help him.

Table 8.3: Set III argument indexes

	SG	PL
1	*nak-*	*zïng-*
2	*mik-*	*ming-*
3	*ak-*	*kak-*

8.2 Number

The plural marker *-kũẽ*, which predominantly occurs on noun phrases (see Section 6.2.3) can also attach to verbs to index core arguments which refer to several referents. It commonly occurs on third person plural forms in elicited paradigms. As seen in (8.17a), a third person singular form with *-kũẽ* can be used for plural S/A arguments as an alternative to verb with the Set I index *a-* '3PL.I', shown in (8.17b).

(8.17) a. *gie ménguatukkakũẽ*

gie *men-gu-a-tok-ka-kũẽ*
firewood cut-DIR.CAUS-ST-PROG-PRS-PL

'They are chopping firewood.'

b. *gie abénguatukka*

gie *a-men-gu-a-tok-ka*
firewood 3PL.I-cut-DIR.CAUS-ST-PROG-PRS

'They are chopping firewood.'

As shown in (8.18), the plural marker does not only indicate plurality of referents of S/A arguments, but also, for example, G arguments (i.e. 'his wife and his son').

(8.18) *ahí munzhi na askuá na akbẽyatukkakũẽ "ekí negisane nzha."*

ahí *munzhi* *na* *a-skua* *na* *ak-mẽ-a-tok-ka-kũẽ*
3SG.POSS woman and 3SG.INAL-child and 3SG.III-tell-ST-PROG-PRS-PL
ekí *nak-i-sa#ne* *ni-nal*
DEM.MAN 1SG.III-MAL-happen#PST SPKR.SYM-be

'He is telling his wife and his son "This is what happened to me."'

Note, however, that verb forms with the plural marker *-kũẽ* is not frequent in spontaneous speech. Plural referents are commonly indicated on the predicate by the respective plural argument indexes, which were introduced in the preceding section.

Another possibility observed for third person plural S/A arguments is to omit number marking on the verb altogether. This occurs frequently when the relevant noun phrase carries the plural marker and immediately precedes the predicate as in (8.19) and (8.20).

(8.19) *apébukũẽhã ekí akbẽyane*

a-pebu-kũẽ-hã *ekí* *ak-mẽ-a#ne*
3SG.INAL-friends-PL-ERG DEM 3SG.III-tell-ST#PST

'His friend told him this.'

(8.20) *duekũẽ mozhua huizhalekalika*

due-kũẽ *mozhua* *huizhalek-a-lika*
elder-PL two meet-ST-FUT

'The elder will meet on the second [of December].'

8.3 Tense

8.3.1 Present-habitual *-ka*

The present/habitual form is a synthetic verb form that is formed by attaching the suffix *-ka* to the verb root. The marker expresses a state of affairs that occurs or holds habitually as shown in (8.21) and (8.22).

Table 8.4: Paradigm of *tuk* 'drink' HAB / PRS

	SG	PL
1	*túkkuge*	*katukka*
	tuk-ka-uge	*ka-tuk-ka*
2	*matukka*	*mintukka*
	ma-tuk-ka	*min-tuk-ka*
3	*tukka*	*atukka*
	tuk-ka	*a-tuk-ka*

(8.21) *niuwi nẽyoka kuibúluli zábikuge*

niuwi *nẽ-oka* *kuibulu-ni* *zabi-ka-uge*
day go-always village-ALL descend-HAB-1SG.I

'I go down to the village every day.'

(8.22) *nibunikezhak izhukka*

nibuni-kezha-k *i-nok-ka*
sea-shore-LOC LOC.APPL-live-HAB

'They live at the coast.'

In some instances, verbs that carry *-ka* are interpreted as present tense, such as in example (8.23).

(8.23) *ahuli nẽnka*

a-hui-ni *nẽ-ka*
3SG.INAL-house-ALL go-PRS

'He is going home.'

As seen in (8.24), the marker *-ka* has present semantics when it combines with the progressive morpheme *-tok*.

(8.24) *tezhi zhini nágatukka*

tezhi zhini nak-a-tok-ka
field from return-ST-PROG-PRS

'[They] are returning from the field.'

To express a habitual situation that held in the past, the habitual form is combined with an auxiliary *nal* 'be' carrying the past marker.

(8.25) *sukkua nalgukueng alishta túkkuge nane*

sukkua *nal-gu-ku-éng* *alishta* *tuk-ka-uge* *na#ne*
child be-REM.PST-1SG.III-DUR.SIMUL milk drink-HAB-1SG.II be#PST

'When I was a child, I used to drink milk.'

A past interpretation of the habitual is also possible when tense is not expressed in the immediate context. (8.26) comes from a narrative that is set in the past, tense being indicated mostly on medial verbs.

(8.26) *ai kuibuluk gonekka maile atshika ahate aggonekka*

ai *kuibulu-k* *gonek-ka* *maile* *atshi-ka* *a-hate* *ag-gonek-ka*
DEM village-LOC help-HAB INDEF do-HAB 3SG.INAL-father 3SG.III-help-HAB

'There, he helped in the village, did whatever [he was asked to], helped his father.'

Note that there is a formally identical nominalizer *-ka*, which derives agent nouns from verbs (see Section 9.4.0.1).

8.3.2 Past tense

For past tense marking, three environments of tense marking can be distinguished, which involve different tense morphemes:

(i) Main clause verbs without engagement marking

(ii) Main clause verbs with engagement marking

(iii) Subordinate verbs in adverbial clauses or medial verbs (tail-head linkage)

Types (i) and (iii) are observed most frequently in elicitation and the corpus of texts. In narratives, tense is most commonly marked on medial verbs that carry subordinating morphemes indicating temporal or logical relations between events (e.g. sequence vs. simultaneity). Overt tense marking can be omitted when time reference is given by context, e.g. by a time adverbial such as *nuzhín* 'tomorrow'.

(8.27) *nuzhínki mihendi eni nahí munzhi nogali nitshi*

nuzhín-ki	*mihendi*	*eni*	*nahí*	*munzhi*	*nok-a-ni*	*nitshik*
tomorrow-TOP	above	DEM	1SG.POSS	woman	be-ST-ALL	ascend

'Tomorrow, I will go up there there my wife is.'

Moreover, when time reference is established in previous discourse tense marking may is typically omitted on the following verbs, as in (8.28). The perfective auxiliary which is used here as a tail-head linking device, carries the remote past marker.

(8.28) *gungueninki mokue Santa Martali nẽ*

gu-ngu-eni-nki	*mokue*	*Santa*	*Marta-ni*	*nẽ*
AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ-TOP	again	Santa	Marta-ALL	go

'And then, she went back to Santa Marta.'

8.3.2.1 Past anti-clitic *#ne*

The past anti-clitic *#ne* marks past tense in main clauses. It possibly originates from the verb *nal* 'be' which also functions as a copula in non-verbal predication.

(8.29) *Santa Martali nẽnkalde*

Santa	*Marta-ni*	*nẽ#nka-ne*
Santa	Marta-ALL	go#1PL.I-PST

'We went to Santa Marta.'

The past paradigm of *nẽ* 'go, walk' is presented in Table 8.5. Note that the marker for third person plural is prefixed to the verb stem.

(8.30) *gamá gómale*

gamá	*gow#ma-ne*
bag	make#2SG.I-PST

'You made a bag.'

Table 8.5: Paradigm of *nẽ* 'go, walk' PST

	SG	PL
1	*nẽ́nuge*	*nẽ́nkale*
	nẽ#ne-uge	*nẽ#nka-le*
	go#PST-1SG.I	go#1PL.I-PST
2	*nẽ́male*	*nẽ́mine*
	nẽ#ma-ne	*nẽ#min-ne*
	go#2SG.I-PST	go#2PL.I-PST
3	*nẽne*	*alẽne*
	nẽ#ne	*a-nẽ#ne*
	go#PST	3PL.I-go#PST

As for time reference, *#ne* past is associated with recent past. Remote past can be expressed with a construction that features the auxiliary *nal* 'be'. The cut-off point between the distinctions seems to be variable depending on the frame of reference (i.e. something happened a week ago can be either recent or remote, depending on how the speaker wants to present it).

(8.31) *näski San Pedroli kuka nanuge*

näs-ki *San* *Pedro-li* *kuka* *nal#na-uge*
1SG-TOP San Pedro-INESS be.born AUX#PST-1SG.I

'I was born in San Pedro.'

The anti-clitic *#ne* also attaches to auxiliaries, such as the imperfective auxiliary *nok* shown in ().

(8.32) *gamá gowĩ nómale*

gamá *gow-ĩ* *noka#ma-ne*
bag make-IPFV.I AUX.IPFV#2SG.I-PST

'You were making a bag.'

8.3.2.2 Past tense in engagement constructions

Past tense on predicates marked for engagement, i.e. the expression of (a)symmetries in epistemic access between speech act participants, use a distinct set of tense morphemes. These forms are rather infrequent in my corpus, and past tense is predominantly expressed by *#ne* 'PST' or on subordinate verbs (see below).

It is interesting to note that these forms are the ones included in earlier descriptions of Kogi (Olaya Perdomo 2000; Stendal 1968), while a discussion of *#ne* 'PST' is absent. Starting from these accounts, I checked the functions of these past tense markers with my consultants.

Table 8.6: Paradigm of *gu* 'AUX.PFV' in with hodiernal past

	'sg'	'pl'
1	*nigukuǽ*	*nikakuǽ*
	ni-gu-ku-ǽ	*ni-nka-gu-ǽ*
	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-1SG.I-HOD.PST	SPKR.SYM-1PL.I-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST
2	*nibakuǽ*	*nibinguǽ*
	ni-ma-gu-ǽ	*ni-min-gu-ǽ*
	SPKR.SYM-2SG.I-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST	SPKR.SYM-2PL.I-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST
3	*niguǽ*	*niakuǽ*
	ni-gu-ǽ	*ni-a-gu-ǽ*
	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST	SPKR.SYM-3PL.I-AUX.PFV-HOD.PST

There is a three-way distinction in terms of remoteness: *-ǽ* 'HOD.PST', *-ngú* 'REC.PST' and *-kuǽ* 'REM.PST' The hodiernal past refers to events that occurred in course of the present day, while the recent past applies for events that happened the day before the moment of speaking or earlier. The cut-off point between recent and remote past may be about a week before the moment of speaker, yet it is variable. They have in common that they are always preceded by an engagement marker, e.g. *ni-* 'speaker-perspective, shared' or *na-* 'speaker-perspective, non-shared'.

Each tense value can be used in synthetic predicates, where it is marked on the lexical verb, or in periphrastic ones, where an auxiliary marked for tense is combined with a lexical verb. Both variants appear to be equal in meaning. There might be a pragmatic difference, which however is unknown at present.

The hodiernal past marker *-ǽ* is illustrated in (8.33) on a synthetic form. The hodiernal time reference is applicable with the time adverb *kang mũsha* 'this morning', but not, for example, *mebák* 'yesterday'.

(8.33) *kang mũshak / (*mebák) tezhi ninẽnkuǽ*

kang *mũsha-k* *mebák* *tezhi* *ni-nẽ-ku-ǽ*
today morning-TEMP.LOC yesterday farm SPKR.SYM-go-1SG.I-HOD.PST

'I went to the field this morning.'

(8.34) exemplifies the marker in a periphrastic construction with the imperfective auxiliary *nok*. The formation of hodiernal past forms is illustrated in Table 8.6.

(8.34) *mihí munzhi akotshi sigí na hoklé ninokǽ*

mihí *munzhi* *akotshi* *sigí* *na* *hoklék* *ni-nok-ǽ*
2SG.POSS woman other man with play SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV-HOD.PST

'Your wife was flirting with another man.'

Table 8.7: Paradigm of *gu* 'AUX.PFV' in with recent past

	'sg'	'pl'
1	*nigungukú*	*nikakungú*
	ni-gu-ngu-kú	*ni-nka-gu-ngú*
	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-REC.PST-1SG.I	SPKR.SYM-1PL.I-AUX.PFV-REC.PST
2	*nibakungú*	*nibingungú*
	ni-ma-gu-ngú	*ni-min-gu-ngú*
	SPKR.SYM-2SG.I-AUX.PFV-REC.PST	SPKR.SYM-2PL.I-AUX.PFV-REC.PST
3	*nigungú*	*niakungú*
	ni-gu-ngú	*ni-a-gu-ngú*
	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-REC.PST	SPKR.SYM-3PL.I-AUX.PFV-REC.PST

Table 8.8: Paradigm of *gu* 'AUX.PFV' with remote past

	'sg'	'pl'
1	*nigualakuá́*	*niguazïnkuá́*
	ni-gu-a-na-kuá́	*ni-gu-a-zïna-kuá́*
	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-ST-1SG.II-REM.PST	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-ST-1PL.II-REM.PST
2	*niguabikuá́*	*niguabinkuá́*
	ni-gu-a-mi-kuá́	*ni-gu-a-min-kuá́*
	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-ST-2SG.II-REM.PST	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-ST-2PL.II-REM.PST
3	*niguakuá́*	*niakuakuá́*
	ni-gu-a-kuá́	*ni-a-gu-a-kuá́*
	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-ST-REM.PST	SPKR.SYM-3PL.I-AUX.PFV-ST-REM.PST

(8.35) *näs mõze hai nitshi nagungukú*

näs mõze hai nitshi na-gu-gu-kú
1SG recently DEM ascend SPKR.ASYM-AUX.PFV-REC.PST-1SG.I

'I recently came up here.'

A third past tense form is associated with events that happened in the remote past, typically about a year ago or longer. It is marked by the suffix *-kuá́* and, in contrast to other past tense forms, the base for inflection is the stem (i.e. root plus *-a* 'ST') rather than the root. Interestingly, subject person is indexed with Set II markers instead of Set I, with the exception of third person plural. Furthermore, they occur as post-stem instead of before.

While my corpus does not provide any examples of these forms, the construction was checked with consultants, which showed that the forms are accepted and, indeed, refer to events in the remote past.

(8.36) *mõze kagi Bogotali ninẽyalakuá*

mõze kagi Bogotá-ni ni-nẽ-a-na-kuá
last year Bogotá-ALL SPKR.SYM

'I went to Bogotá last year.'

8.3.2.3 Remote past on subordinate predicates

Past tense is furthermore indicated on subordinate verbs that occur in adverbial clauses and are used as a tail-head linkage device in discourse. Temporal adverbial clauses contain verbs that take a subordinating morpheme signaling temporal relations such as subsequence or simultaneity. In addition, the subordinate verb forms can take argument indexes and tense morphology.

(8.37) *nak gukuẽni zúkanuge*

nak *gu-ku-éni* *zï-nuk-a#ne-uge*
arrive PFV.AUX-1SG.I-SEQ ANTIP-cook-ST#PST-1SG.I

'After arriving, I cooked.'

(8.38) *mokue ahí mõkuí gukeni nẽ*

mokue *ahí* *mõkuí* *guk-éni* *nẽ*
again 3SG.POSS frog take-SEQ go

'After picking up his frog again, he left.'

The examples above illustrate subordination through a periphrastic construction consisting of a lexical verb and an auxiliary (in this case: *gu* 'AUX.PFV'). The markers can also attach directly to the root of the lexical verb, yielding a synthetic verb form. (8.39) illustrates the synthetic form of the predicate in (8.37) above; both utterances convey the same meaning.

(8.39) *nakkuẽni zúkanuge*

nak-ku-ẽni *zï-nuk-a#ne-uge*
arrive-1SG.I-SEQ ANTIP-cook-ST#PST-1SG.I

'After arriving, I cooked.'

On the subordinate verbs presented so far, no overt tense marking is present. Yet, these forms tend to have a recent past interpretation and contrast with forms marked for remote past *-ngu* or future tense with *-lí*. The following example comes from a text by a speaker who told a story about working on the field when she was a girl. As the recounted events lie in the remote past, the subordinate verb form carries the suffix *-ngu* 'REM.PST'.

(8.40) *eka tũ kakungueninki mokue nak*

eka *tũ* *ka-gu-ngu-éni-nki* *mokue* *nak*
DEM look 1PL.I-AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ-TOP again return

'After we had a look there [where the crops are], we returned.'

The same subordinate verb forms are common in discourse, where they function as linking verbs in tail-head linkage. These verbs (either generic, e.g. 'do', or the repeated lexical verb) refer back to the state of affairs denoted in the preceding clause and serve to structure discourse. In narratives, they generally constitute the main indicator of temporal location and succession.

8.3.3 Future tense *-líka*

Future time reference in main clauses is expressed by the marker *-líka*, which bears inherent stress. A future paradigm of *nẽ* 'go' is given in Table 8.9. The basis of inflection is the stem form. One irregularity can be observed: First person plural is not indexed by the subject prefix *ka-*, as in other tenses but rather by a suffix *-kua*.

Table 8.9: Paradigm of *nẽ* 'go' in future tense

	'sg'	'pl'
1	*nẽyalikue*	*nẽyakualika*
	nẽ-a-líka-uge	*nẽ-a-kua-líka*
	go-ST-FUT-1SG.I	go-ST-1PL.I-FUT
2	*malẽyalika*	*minẽyalika*
	ma-nẽ-a-líka	*min-nẽ-a-líka*
	2SG.I-go-ST-FUT	2PL.I-go-ST-FUT
3	*nẽyalika*	*alẽyalika*
	nẽ-a-líka	*a-nẽ-a-líka*
	go-ST-FUT	3PL.I-go-ST-FUT

(8.41) *menki haiga mizhokalika nzha*

ma-ki	*hai-ga*	*ma-i-noka-líka*	*ni-nal*
2SG-TOP	DEM-EMPH	2SG.I-LOC.APPL-be-FUT	SPKR.SYM-be

'You will live right here.'

(8.42) *munzhi zhigakuka gualdikue hangua*

munzhi	*zhik-a-guka*	*gu-a-líka-uge*	*hangu-a*
woman	REFL-BEN-take	AUX.PFV-ST-FUT-1SG.I	think-ST

'I was thinking "I will get married (lit. take myself a woman).".'

While the future suffix *-líka* occurs in main clause verbs, future time reference in subordinate verbs is expressed by *-lí*. *-lí* evidently forms part of the main clause future marker, which can be segmented into *-lí-ka*. I introduced the *-ka* with habitual / present meaning above. It is clear that these semantics do not apply in the future. Thus, the functions of the individual components are opaque, at least synchronically.

(8.43) *nahate nakalini za*

na-hate	*nak-a-lí-ẽni*	*zï-ga*
1SG.INAL-father	arrive-ST-FUT-SEQ	ANTIP-eat

'After arriving, my father will eat.'

(8.44) *takbi itanalikuake na-holi-a-lika*

takbi	*i-tan-a-lí-ku-áke*	*na-holdi-a-lika*
snake	LOC.APPL-step-FUT-1SG.I-when	1SG.II-bite-ST-FUT

'When I will step on the snake it will bite me.'

The marker was observed in a subordinate verb in a habitual context (present as well in past), as illustrated in (X). In this context, the marker does not denote future but rather habitual. A similar function of a future form is found English, i.e. would that refers to habitual actions in the past (e.g. When I was a child, I would go on long walks every Sunday.).

lí in subordinate clauses can convey habitual meaning. Moreover, used in main clauses it expresses optative mood, or denotes future events that the speaker is not certain about.

8.4 Aspect

This section introduces verbal markers that express aspect. Imperfective morphemes are discussed in Section 8.4.1, while Section 8.4.2. Note that perfective aspect is unmarked.

8.4.1 Imperfective aspect

The marker *-ka* which conveys habitual aspect (besides present tense in certain instances) was introduced already in Section 8.3.1 above. In addition, there are three markers of imperfective aspect which partially assume the same function and can be substituted with each other in some instances. A full understanding of the functions and exact distribution of the different imperfectives will require a more in-depth investigation.

The imperfective markers include *-tok ~-nok* which combines with dynamic predicates and expresses progressive aspect (8.4.1.1) and *-ĩ* which predominantly occurs with stative predicates, but also dynamic ones (8.4.1.2) While the functional and distributional properties of the third imperfective marker *-té* (8.4.1.3) are not yet fully unveiled, it appears that it can have inchoative semantics, focussing on the beginning of a state of affairs, or conveys progressive aspect.

8.4.1.1 Progressive *-tok* ~*-nok* 'PROG'

The progressive marker has two allomorphs which are morphologically conditioned: *-tok* occurs in the first person singular and third person forms, while *-nok* appears in first person plural and second person. The marker clearly originates from the lexical verb *nok* 'be located' which also functions as an imperfective auxiliary. For the development of the allomorph with initial *t*, I have no explanation at present.

Table 8.10 presents the paradigm of *hiba atshi* 'work' in the present progressive. Progressive verbs constitute finite forms, given that they accommodate Set I indexes as well as tense markers.

Table 8.10: Present progressive paradigm of *hiba atshi* 'work'.

	SG	PL
1	*hiba atshátukkuge*	*hiba atshánkalukka*
	hiba atshi-a-tok-ka-uge	*hiba atshi-a-nka-nok-ka*
	work do-ST-PROG-PRS-1SG.I	word do-ST-1PL.I-PROG-PRS
2	*hiba atshábalukka*	*hiba atshábinukka*
	hiba atshi-a-ma-nok-ka	*hiba atshi-a-min-nok-ka*
	work do-ST-2SG.I-PROG-PRS	work do-ST-2PL.I-PROG-PRS
3	*hiba atshátukka*	*hiba atshátukkakue*
	hiba atshi-a-tok-ka	*hiba atshi-a-tok-ka-kũe*
	work do-ST-PROG-PRS	work do-ST-PROG-PRS-PL

An example of a past progressive is presented in (8.45). Note that final *k* of *-tok* is dropped.

(8.45) *ekí atshatone*

e-kí *atshi-a-tok#ne*
DEM-MAN do-ST-PROG#PST

'That is what she was doing.'

As for its function, the marker denotes events that are on-going at the time of speaking (or point of reference in non-present tense) and exclusively occurs with activity predicates.[2] Examples are provided in (8.46) and (8.47).

[2]When asking for grammaticality judgements of state predicates with this marker, some speakers deemed it grammatical and noted that the form expresses a state that has been going on for a while, e.g. the progressive of *mulbatá zek* 'be sick' could be interpreted as 'I have been sick for some time now.'. However, I did not encounter any progressive states in my text corpus.

(8.46) haiki zhali hiba atshátukka ahí munzhi na [...] abezi gúgatukka

hai-ki *zhali* *hiba* *atshi-a-tok-ka* *ahí* *munzhi* *na*
SPKR.LOC-TOP non.indigenous work do-ST-PROG-PRS 3SG.POSS wife with
abezi *guk-a-tok-ka*
pumpkin pick-ST-PROG-PRS

'Here, the non-indigenous guy is working with his wife, he is picking pumpkins.'

(8.47) *ekí hánguatukka eka sai nokalikue ne*

e-kí *hangu-a-tok-ka* *e-ka* *sakí* *nok-a-líka-uge* *ne*
ENDO-MAN think-ST-PROG-PRS ENDO-LOC how live-ST-FUT-1SG.I UNCERT

'Like this, he is thinking "How will I live [in jail]?".'

While the examples presented so far involved atelic events (i.e. ones that have no inherent endpoint), the progressive also occurs with telic events, as shown in (8.48). Thus, telicity does not influence progressive marking.

(8.48) *nämtu zhikhuétukka*

nämtu *zhik-hue-tok-ka*
hat RECP.INDIR-put.on-PROG-PRS

'He is putting on his hat.'

8.4.1.2 Imperfective *-ĩ* 'IPFV.I'

The marker labeled imperfective I occurs with activities, like the progressive, but is also used to denote state predicates. Moreover, it covers different imperfective meanings, namely progressive as well as habitual. As is exemplified in what follows, a characteristic trait of imperfective I forms is their ability to function adverbially. Imperfective I forms are non-finite as they only accommodate Set II and III person indexes and derivational morphemes, while they do not host any Set I markers nor tense morphology. As a non-finite form, the imperfective I co-occurs with an auxiliary, i.e. *nok* 'AUX.IPFV' which indicates tense. The auxiliary, however, is often omitted when time reference is already established.

The aspect marker *-ĩ* is predominantly found with predicates that denote a state. A first illustration is given in (8.49) with three homonymous verb roots, denoting 'feel', 'hurt' and 'happen'.

(8.49) a. *guangua akzeshĩ*

guangua ak-zek-ĩ
hot 3SG.III-feel-IPFV.I

'She is feeling hot.'

b. *nõwa kala nakzeshĩ*

nõwa kala nak-zek-ĩ
a.little leg 1SG.III-hurt-IPFV.I

'My legs are hurting a little.'

c. *sui zeshĩ*

sui zek-ĩ
cold happen-IPFV.I

'It is cold (the weather).'

d. *níkala zeshĩ*

tuaníkalang zek-ĩ
rain happen-IPFV.I

'It's raining.'

(8.50) presents two further examples of states marked with *-ĩ*.

(8.50) a. *ni naklunĩ*

ni nak-nun-ĩ
water 1SG.III-want-IPFV.I

'I'm thirsty.'

b. *zeng nakleshĩ*

zeng nak-nek-ĩ
happy 1SG.III-be-IPFV.I

'I'm happy.'

It appears that in some instances, depending on the aspect marker, the same predicate can have a different interpretation regarding the aktionsart. Compare the imperfective I form of *hangu* 'think' in (8.51) with the progressive form *hánguatukka* from (8.47) above which is interpreted as 'thinking about, pondering'. The form in (8.51), by contrast, is best translated with 'think, believe', i.e. have an opinion. While the progressive form can be conceived of as a dynamic event, the imperfective of *hangu* seems to denote stative one.

(8.51) *eni kue hanguĩ näs hanguĩ*

e-ni	*kual*	*hangu-ĩ*	*näs*	*hangu-ĩ*
ENDO-INESS	exist	think-IPFV.I	1SG.INDEP	think-IPFV.I

'He thinks [the frog] is in there, I think.'

A state predicate without the imperfective marker is interpreted as perfective. While the construction usually involves non-present tense marking, as the one in (8.52), it may be left out when tense is established in previous discourse.

(8.52) *zeng naklekle*

zeng	*nak-nek#ne*
happy	1SG.III-be#PST

'I was happy.'

Examples of *-ĩ* with activity predicates and progressive meaning are presented in (8.53) to (8.57). In these instances, according to speakers judgements, the imperfective I can be often substituted with the progressive marker without change in meaning.

(8.53) *gamá gowĩ nzhokú*

gamá	*go-ĩ*	*ni-nok-kú*
bag	make-IPFV.I	SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-1SG.I

'I'm making a bag.'

(8.54) *aiga kabashĩ*

ai-ga	*kabak-ĩ*
DEM-EMPH	sleep-IPFV

'I was sleeping right there.'

(8.55) *muletua kabagazháne mũshake guashĩ*

muletua	*kabak-a-zhá#ne*	*mũsha-ke*	*guak-ĩ*
well	sleep-ST-NEG#PST	morning-TEMP.LOC	say-IPFV.I

'In the morning, she was saying that she didn't sleep well.'

Example (8.53) comes from the progressive questionnaire; two speakers used the imperfective I form, while the third one opted for a progressive form.

(8.56) *Esther keiga hiba atshihĩ nakló*

Esther keiga hiba atshi-ĩ nak-nok
E. now work do-IPFV.I SPKR.ASYM-AUX.IPFV

'Esther is working at the moment.'

As (8.57) exemplifies, the marker is used irrespective of telicity of the predicate.

(8.57) *tuluma / maigua tuluma kẽhĩ*

tuluma / maigua tuluma kẽ-ĩ
potato / three potato peel-IPFV.II

'She is peeling a potato / three potatoes.'

Imperfective I forms may also convey a habitual meaning. In (8.58) the speaker is talking about a hypothetical future situation where one has a family and owns a farm. The sentence involves events that are not necessarily taking place at a point in time, but occur again and again in the referenced period, thus expressing a habitual meaning, rather than a progressive one.

(8.58) *hiba atshihĩ tezhi zïbálahĩ inzhi shkizhishĩ*

hiba atshi-ĩ tezhi zï-mala-ĩ inzhi zhik-i-nik-ĩ
work do-IPFV.I field ANTIP-weed-IPFV.I yuca REFL.INDIR-BEN.APPL-SOW-IPFV.I

'You work, you weed the fields, you sow yuca for yourself.'

A characteristic property of imperfective I verbs is that they can function as a modifiers of verbs, much like adverbs. This is exemplified in (8.59) and (8.60).

(8.59) *eni itshanĩ ité*

eni itshan-ĩ ité
ENDO-INESS suffer-IPFV.I sit

'He sits in there suffering.'

(8.60) *pera gahĩ nẽ*

pera ga-ĩ nẽ
pear eat-IPFV.I go

'They left (while) eating the pears.'

A further construction in which verbs with *-ĩ* are attested, is the complement clause of the predicate *gonek* 'help', illustrated in (8.61). The question as to whether the imperfective I is used in other subordinate clauses needs to be addressed by future research.

(8.61) *Maríahã [zhakuá **meshĩ**] naggónekle*

María-hã zhakuá mek-ĩ nak-gonek#ne
M.-ERG clothes put.away-IPFV 1SG.III-help#PST

'María helped me putting away the clothes.'

Finally, the imperfective I is also found in the negative purposive construction with the particle *guakua*, as shown in (8.62).

(8.62) *hugaké akiónuge shentá hulunĩ guakua*

hugaké akiók#ne-uge shentá hulun-ĩ guakua
door close#PST-1SG.III chicken enter-IPFV.I NEG.PURP

'I closed the door lest the chickens should enter.'

8.4.1.3 Imperfective *-té* 'IPFV.II'

The marker *-té* labeled imperfective II is attested to varying degrees in the speech of different consultants. Like in the imperfective II, verb forms with *-té* are non-finite, as is illustrated below. One characteristic of imperfective II forms appears to be the expression of phasal aspect, namely either expressing the notion of 'already' or inchoative aspect. Note, however, that this is only one component of their function, as some speakers employ them similarly to the progressive.

Spanish translations of imperfective II provided by consultants often involved the adverb *ya* 'already'.[3] This is illustrated in (8.63). The context of the clause was described as when a baby has started to walk, thus indicating the beginning of the process of learning how to walk. Note that the action of walking does not have to be going on at the moment of utterance, thus it can express both habitual or progressive meaning.

(8.63) *somá nẽyaté*

somá nẽ-a-té
baby walk-ST-IPFV.II

'The baby already walks / is walking already.'

Judging from examples like (8.64), it is evident that the imperfective II can mark inchoative aspect, indicating the starting phase of a state of affairs.

(8.64) *mulbatá nakzegaté*

mulbatá nak-zek-a-té
sick 1SG.III-feel-ST-IPFV.II

'I'm getting sick.'

[3]Note that *ya* is a Spanish loan which is used in Kogi. Imperfective II forms sometimes co-occur with *ya*.

The following example may also be interpreted as inchoative, as it focusses on the initial phase of leaving. It comes from the progressive questionnaire and all three consultants translated it with *-té*. The context is as follows: Somebody on the phone wants to know about Julie; the answer is "She is going out [right now; do you want me to hold her back?]".

(8.65) *nẽyaté nakló*

nẽ-a-té *nak-nok*
leave-ST-IPFV.II SPKR.ASYM-AUX.IPFV

'She is leaving.' (Lit.: She is just about to leave)

The next sentence of the progressive questionnaire, too, was translated by all three speakers with *-té*: The old man was dying [but finally they found the right medicine]. Note that in the discussion of the example, it was back-translated with Sp. *estaba por morir* 'He was about to die.'. Thus, it appears that the imperfective II form focusses on the end phase of the process.

(8.66) *dueba shuigaté*

dueba *shuik-a-té*
old die-ST-IPFV.II

'The old one was about to die.'

Note however, that the use of *-té* is dependent on speaker preferences. The following examples from the progressive questionnaire illustrate these speaker dependent differences. In (8.67), the form with *-té* (8.67a) was provided by one speaker, while two opted for a progressive (8.67b).

(8.67) a. *hakbuná nusalegaté*

hakbuná *nusa-nek-a-té*
mango bad-become-ST-IPFV.II

'The mangoes are rotting.'

b. *hakbuná nusalégatukka*

hakbuná *nusa-nek-a-tok-ka*
mango bad-become-ST-PROG-PRS

'The mangoes are rotting.'

The next example triggered three different responses: one with 'ipfv'.II in (8.68a) (from the same speaker as in (8.68a)), a progressive form in (8.68b), and 'ipfv'.I in (8.68c).[4]

[4]Note that the word *dila* ([dzila]) 'water' is a loan from Damana.

(8.68) a. *ni holaté*

ni *hol-a-té*
water boil-ST-IPFV.II

'The water is boiling.'

b. *dila holatukka*

dila *hol-a-tok-ka*
water boil-ST-PROG-PRS

'The water is boiling.'

c. *dila holĩ*

dila *hol-ĩ*
water boil-IPFV.I

'The water is boiling.'

In fact, the texts recorded with the consultant who provided (8.67a) and (8.68a) include considerably more instances of the imperfective II than the texts other speakers. As illustrated in the following examples from the same speaker, the form can also have progressive function.

(8.69) *wahúhãnki mátaka zhini tũaté*

wahú-hã-ki *mátaka* *zhini* *tũ-a-té*
owl-ERG-TOP above from watch-ST-IPFV.II

'The owl is watching from above.'

(8.70) *nasïng hanguaté sai tũalika ne*

nasïng *hangu-a-té* *sakí* *tũ-a-líka* *ne*
1PL.INDEP think-ST-IPFV.II how look-ST-FUT UNCERT

'We were thinking (i.e. wondering) how [the field] would look.'

(8.71) *muan me zïbunaté nzhoká*

muan *me* *zï-muna-té* *ni-nok-á*
half only ANTIP-grow-IPFV.II SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV-HOD.PST

'Only half (of the crops) were growing.'

Example (8.72) from a different speaker, too, has a progressive interpretation.

(8.72) *numa nawatũaté nahate naláshi nahaba naláshi*

numa *na-a-tũ-a-té* *na-hate* *nal-a-shi* *na-haba*
thing 1SG.II-3PL.I-look-ST-IPFV.II 1SG.INAL-father be-ST-IRR 1SG.INAL-mother
nal-a-shi
be-ST-IRR

'They are looking after me, as if they were my father and mother.'

As noted above, the imperfective II form is a non-finite form, accommodating only markers of Set II, the 3PL Set I marker or derivational morphology. This is illustrated in (8.71) with the antipassive prefix, and in (8.72) for argument indexes.

8.4.2 Phasal aspect: Inceptive *-pána, -ná*

Inceptive aspect indicates the starting point of a state of affairs and is marked with the suffixes *-pána* or *-ná*. As both forms fulfill the same function and have the same distribution, it is most likely that *-ná* is the shortened form of *-pána*. The lexical source of this marker is the phasal verb root *pan* 'begin'.

Examples of the inceptive markers are provided in (8.73) to (8.75).

(8.73) *kuíbulu akowapana guakke ai yo kakuapana*

kuíbulu *a-go-a-pána* *guakke* *ai* *yo* *ka-gu-a-pána*
village 3PL.I-build-ST-INCEP so DEM help 3PL.II-do-ST-INCEP

'They started building a village, so I started helping them there.'

(8.74) *aléng ya aklé hänshi akzekalá*

aléng *ya* *aklé* *hänshi* *ak-zek-a-ná*
3SG.INDEP already more good 3SG.III-feel-ST-INCEP

'She already started feeling better.'

(8.75) *shkazuka hiega muletua akwashegakí nalatshák hiega zugapana*

zhig-a-zï-nuk-a *hiega* *muletua* *ak-washek-a-kí*
REFL-BEN-ANTIP-cook-ST also well 3SG.III-know-ST-NEG.IPFV
nal-atshákke *hiega* *zï-nuk-a-pána*
be-SUB ADD ANTIP-cook-ST-INCEP

'She also didn't know well how to cook for herself, even so she started cooking.'

While inceptive aspect is grammaticalized, there is no grammatical marker for completive aspect, indicating the end point of an event.

8.5 Mood

8.5.1 Imperative and hortative

Imperatives and hortatives express a speaker's wish for a state of affairs to come about (Auwera et al. 2013). In imperatives, the speaker appeals to the addressee(s) to realize the state of affairs, while in hortatives the fulfilment of the state of affairs involves both the speaker(s) and the addressee(s).

Imperative mood is marked by the suffixes *-gua* 'IMP-2-SG' and *-guĩ* 'IMP-2-PL'. The markers seem to originate from the verb *gu* 'do'. The respective vowels of the imperative markers are characteristic for the corresponding second person indexes, i.e. *ma-* '2SG.I' and *min-* '2PL.I'. The final nasal in the second person plural form is reflected in the nasalization of the vowel in the plural imperative. As seen in the imperative forms in (8.76), the imperative markers attach to the verb root.

(8.76)

nak	'come'	*naggua*	'Come! (SG)'	*nagguĩ*	'Come! (PL)'
tũ	'look'	*tũgua*	'Look! (SG)'	*tũguĩ*	'Look! (PL)'
zabi	'go down'	*zábigua*	'Go down! (SG)'	*zábiguĩ*	'Go down! (PL)'

In fluent speech, the imperative markers are often reduced. In (8.77a), the imperative of *nal* 'run' lost *g*, and with *ga* 'eat', a high frequency form, only *w* remains of the imperative suffix.

(8.77) a. *nalwa!*

nal-gua
run-IMP.2SG

'Run!'

b. *zau!*

zï-ga-gua
ANTIP-eat-IMP.2SG

'Eat!'

A reduced form of a second plural imperative is given in (8.78).

(8.78) *zbunaté shinók tũawĩ*

z-mun-a-té	*shi-nok*	*tũ-a-guĩ*
ANTIP-grow-ST-IPFV	ADDR.EA-AUX.IPFV	look-ST-IMP.2PL

'Go look (2PL) whether [the crops] are growing.'

Hortative verbs involve the prefix *kuis* which is used with the *ĩ*-imperfective form, as shown in (8.79).

(8.79) *nẽ* 'go' *kuisnẽhĩ* 'Let's go!'
kabak 'sleep' *kuiskabashĩ* 'Let's sleep!'

8.5.2 Prohibitive

Prohibitives express prohibition addressed to the addressee(s). It is typically marked with the suffix *-gábba* which attaches to the verb stem, as shown in (8.80) and (8.81).

(8.80) *nahuguagabba!*

na-hugu-a-gábba
1SG.II-touch-ST-PROH

'Don't touch me!'

(8.81) *mihí tũshagabba!*

mihí *tũ-sh-a-gábba*
2SG.POSS see-CAUS-ST-PROH

'Don't let him see you [picture]!'

As opposed to imperatives, prohibitives use the same marker for singular as for plural addressees:

(8.82) *kabagagabba!*

kabak-a-gábba
sleep-ST-PROG

'Don't sleep! (SG/PL)'

Prohibition may alternatively be expressed with a negated imperfective verb marked with *-kí* (see Section 8.8.2). I overheard the form in (8.83) frequently when speakers were telling children to refrain from doing something they should not.

(8.83) *guakí!*

gu-a-kí
do-ST-NEG.IPFV

'Don't!'

8.5.3 Optative

Optative mood, i.e. the expression of hopes or wishes, is marked by the suffix *-lí*, as shown in (8.84). The suffix is inherently stressed and attaches to the stem form of the verb.

(8.84) a. *hanshibé nakalí*

hanshibé nak-a-lí
well arrive-ST-OPT

'Hopefully, he will arrive safely.'

b. *Mingueo hanshibé matsabalí*

Mingueo hanshibé ma-zab-a-lí
Mingueo good 2SG.I-descend-ST-OPT

'Hopefully, you will go down to Mingueo safely.'

The marker *-lí* is also used in the expression of invitations, as in (8.85). Such clauses can be conceived of as a mitigated form of commands which are typically imperatives. Thus of (8.85) might more accurately be translated as 'Drink, why don't you?'.

(8.85) *tuka makualí!*

tuk-a ma-gu-a-lí
drink-ST 2SG.I-AUX.PFV-ST-OPT

'Drink!'

shi- can be used with or without an interrogative pronoun, most commonly with the copula *nal*, e.g. Who are you? Who is this?

8.5.4 Interrogative

Marking an utterance as a question can involve the following strategies: (i) Interrogative pronoun, (ii) rising intonation, (iii) engagement marker *shi-*, and (iv) interrogative marker *-é*.

The difference between polar questions (i.e. those that elicit an affirmative or negative answer) and constituent questions (i.e. those that elicit a more specific answer, other than 'yes' or 'no') lies in the absence of interrogative pronouns in the former, and presence of them in the latter. Furthermore, raising intonation is a characteristic trait of polar questions, not so much of constituent questions.

Beyond these differences, both types of interrogatives may feature the interrogative marker *-é* or the engagement marker targeting the addressee's knowledge *shi-*.

This means, that there are always several variants of the same questions, for instance, for a constituent question one that features only an interrogative word, and another variant with an additional interrogative marker. The functional or pragmatic difference among these variants need to be addressed in further research.

8.5.4.1 Constituent questions

The interrogative words that occur in constituent questions are presented in (8.86).

(8.86)

me	'who'
hi	'what'
mani	'where, where to'
mashi	'where'
sakí	'how'
maile	'which'
mitsák	'when'
mitsá	'how many /much'
hinak	'why'

The interrogative pronoun typically occurs in the same position at its corresponding argument in an indicative clause, i.e. A clause-initially, as in (8.87) or P clause-medially, as in (8.88).

(8.87) ***mehã*** *gakue nigane?*

me-hã *gakue* *na-i-ga#ne*
who-ERG food 1SG.II-MAL-eat#PST

'Who ate my food?'

(8.88) *aléng* ***hi*** *habbine*

aléng *hi* *habbi#ne*
3SG.INDEP what buy#PST

'What did she buy?'

As seen in (8.89), the interrogative adverbial *sakí* 'how' occurs before the verb.

(8.89) *nahí múnzhiki nahí sukkuakí* ***sai*** *nukka?*

nahí *munzhi-ki* *nahí* *sukkuak-í* *sakí* *nuk-ka*
1SG.POSS wife-TOP 1SG.POSS son-TOP how be-PRS

'How are my wife and my son?'

While interrogative words typically retain their position, there is variability in some cases. (8.90) presents two versions of the same question, one with *mitsák* 'when' in initial position, the other one with the question word in medial position. Both versions appear to be equal in meaning.

(8.90) a. ***mitsák*** *mihaba mokue nakalika?*

mitsák *mi-haba* *mokue* *nak-a-líka*
when 2SG.INAL-mother again come-ST-FUT

b. *mihaba **mitsák** mokue nakalika?*

mi-haba *mitsák* *mokue* *nak-a-líka*
2SG.INAL-mother when again come-ST-FUT

Both: 'When will your mother return?'

The examples presented so far feature interrogative words as only interrogative strategy. Note that it is possible to use an additional interrogative marker, as in the examples (8.91) and (8.92).

(8.91) *sakí maloké?*

sakí *ma-nok-é*
how 2SG.I-be-INT

'How are you? (in greeting)'

(8.92) a. *sai shimakuaka?*

sakí *shi-ma-guak-a*
how ADDR.EA-2SG.I-say-ST

'What did you say?'

b. *hẽhié hi shiná?*

hẽhié *hi* *shi-nal*
PROX what ADDR.EA-be

'What is this?'

8.5.4.2 Polar questions

One type of polar questions shows the same structure as the indicative clause and is distinguished by raising intonation. Two examples that show no structural marking of interrogation but involve rising intonation are shown in (8.93).

(8.93) a. *uba mikalé?*

uba *mik-a-nal*
eye 2SG.III-POSS-be

'You are awake?' (A common greeting in the morning, lit.: Do you have eyes?)

b. *mikzegakí*

mik-zek-a-kí
2SG.III-hurt-ST-NEG.IPFV

'You are well?' (In greeting, lit.: You're not hurting?)

The interrogative markers-*é* and *shi-* occur in complementary distribution, meaning that they cannot be used together in the same clause.

(8.94) *nuk zïlika mingué?*

nuk *zï-nik-a* *min-gu-é*
all ANTIP-SOW-ST 2PL.I-AUX.PFV-INT

'Did you sow all [the seeds]?'

(8.95) *hänshibé makabaké?*

hänshibé *ma-kabak-é*
well 2SG.I-sleep-INT

'Did you sleep well?'

8.6 Modality

8.6.1 Event modality

Kogi marks four types of event modality: obligative, volitive, abilitive (for acquired ability) and potential. The former three are expressed by a combination of a lexical verb marked for the type of modality and an auxiliary verb, whereas potential modality only involves a modality suffix.

8.6.1.1 Volitional modality

Volitional modality expresses that an individual wishes or intends to perform an action. The construction consists of a lexical verb taking the modality anti-clitic *#nana* and the verb *zek* 'feel', which serves as an auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb indexes the subject with Set III, and hosts other markers, e.g. tense or subordination, as in (8.96). Like in other periphrastic constructions, indexes referencing objects attach to the lexical verb (cf. (8.97)).

(8.96) *nahí huli nẽnana akzeguakke ulẽ*

nahí *hui-ni* *nẽ#nana* *ak-zek-ngu-ákke* *u-nẽ*
1SG.POSS house-LOC go#VOL 3SG.III-feel-REM.PST-SUB COM.APPL-go

'She wanted to go to my house, so I took her [there].'

(8.97) *mimatũnana nakzeshĩ*

mima-tũ#nana *nak-zek-ĩ*
2PL.II-visit#VOL 1SG.III-feel-IPFV

'I want to visit you (2pl).'

The volitional anti-clitic *#nana* attaches to verb roots, as exemplified by the forms in (8.98). It is evident that it has the same morphophonological behavior as the past anti-clitic *#ne*, given that the initial *n* changes to *l* after root-final *k*, but not after vowels.

(8.98)

nak	'come'	*náklana*
tuk	'drink'	*túklana*
ga	'eat'	*gánana*
mengu	'cut'	*méngunana*
zabi	'descend'	*zábinana*

While the auxiliary constitutes an intransitive verb, case marking is dependent on the lexical verb. That is, when the lexical verb is transitive, the subject typically takes the ergative marker, as shown in (8.99).

(8.99) *Joséhã ahí munzhitshi hui gõnana akzeshĩ*

José-hã	*ahí*	*munzhi-tshi*	*hui*	*gõ#nana*	*ak-zek-ĩ*
José-ERG	3SG.POSS	woman-GEN	house	build#VOL	3SG.III-feel-IPFV

'José wants to build a house for his wife.'

The auxiliary can be omitted when reference is determined by the context, as in (8.100). The utterance comes from a conversation in which the speaker stated that it had been a while since he visited his village in the sierra.

(8.100) *eni mízhinana*

eni	*mizhi#nana*
DEM	walk.around#VOL

'I want to walk around there [i.e. visit my village].'

8.6.1.2 Abilitive modality

Abilitive modality refers to actions that an individual is capable of performing. It typically involves acquired abilities, such as *hũẽn* 'swim', *maléngaba nala* 'run fast', *Kogi dulasha* 'speak Kogi'. The construction involves a lexical verb in stem form and a cognitive predicate denoting 'know'.

The examples in (8.101) and (8.102) feature the verb *akkual* 'know', which takes Set III markers to indicate the subject (i.e. the cognizer).[5]

[5]The base of this cognitive predicate is the existential verb *kual*. When combined with Set III indexes it denotes 'know', e.g. *nakué* (*nak-kual*) '3SG.III-know'. It could literally be translated as 'knowledge exists in me'.

(8.101) *ya sũguamé gõwa mikkué naklá*

ya	*sũguamé*	*gõ-a*	*mik-kual*	*nak-nal*
already	bag	make-ST	2SG.III-know	SPKR.ASYM-be

'You already know how to make bags.'

(8.102) *kaiga zhini ezua kagi Kogi dulasha nakkualalika*

kaiga	*zhini*	*ezua*	*kagi*	*Kogi*	*dula=shi-a*	*nak-kual-a-líka*
now	from	one	year	Kogi	message=lay-ST	1SG.III-know-ST-FUT

'In a year I will be able to speak Kogi.'

In the following example, a different verb was used, namely *washek* 'know' (also denoting 'remember' in other contexts).

(8.103) *shkazuka hiega muletua akwashegakí*

zhik-a-zï-nuk-a	*hiega*	*muletua*	*ak-washek-a-kí*
REFL-BEN-ANTIP-cook-ST	also	well	3SG.III-know-ST-NEG.IPFV

'Also, she didn't know well how to cook for herself.'

8.6.1.3 Obligative modality

Obligative modality marks an action as something an individual is obliged to or needs to do. This is conveyed by a construction consisting of a lexical verb with the obligative suffix *-kue* and an auxiliary verb. It is the same auxiliary verb form that is used with dependent adjectives that denote a visually perceivable property, i.e. *agatsal* (see Section 5.1.2.1). As already noted in the discussion of adjectives, the base of the auxiliary is *zal* 'be' carrying a derivational prefix *a-* (whose function is unclear) and marking the subject with Set III indexes.

(8.104) *maile namak tuẽ nakuahã aggonegakue agatsé?*

maile	*namak*	*tuẽ*	*nakuahã*	*ak-gonek-a-kue*	*agatsé?*
which	truly	DEM	young.man-ERG	3SG.III-help-ST-OBLIG	3SG.III:AUX

'Whom should that young man really help?'

(8.105) *mokue shi hábbiakue nagatsé*

mokue	*shi*	*habbi-a-kue*	*nak-atsal*
again	yarn	buy-ST-OBLIG	1SG.III-AUX

'I need to buy yarn again.'

As shown in (8.106), the obligative marker attaches to the stem form of verbs.

(8.106)

nak	'come'	*nágakue*
tuk	'drink'	*tugakue*
ga	'eat'	*gakue*
kabak	'sleep'	*kabágakue*

8.6.1.4 Potential modality

Potential modality, similarly to abilitive, denotes actions that an individual is capable of performing. In contrast to the abilitive, however, the potential does not refer to acquired abilities. Rather, the action is possible for the individual because of external factors, for examle through permission of an authority, or, as in example (8.107), the possibility given the circumstances (e.g. 'I don't have to work tomorrow, so I can go up.'

(8.107) *nuzhinki näs hiega nitshi atshánakka*

nuzhín-ki	*näs*	*hiega*	*nitshi*	*atshi-a#na-akka*
tomorrow-TOP	1SG	also	ascend	AUX#1SG.II-POT

'Tomorrow I can go up as well.'

Potential modality is expressed by the marker *#akka*, which attaches to the lexical verb. As opposed to other event modalities, the potential does not involve an auxiliary or modal verb.

The subject is indexed on the verb by Set II markers, as exemplified by the two potential forms (i.e. *-mi* '2SG.II' and *-na* '1SG.II') in (8.108). Note also that the potential marker *#akka* has, for a reason unknown to me, the second person singular allomorph *#lakka*.

(8.108) *nahate menki kaklusáng hian nẽmilakka nzha guatshake näski gäleni menguĩ nẽ-nakka naklá*

na-hate	*ma-ki*	*kaklusáng*	*hian*	*nẽ-mi-lakka*	*ni-nal*
1SG.INAL-father	2SG-TOP	at.the.edge	straight	go#2SG.II-POT	SPKR.SYM-be

gu-atshake	*näs-ki*	*gäleni*	*men-gu-ĩ*	*nẽ-na-akka*
do-SIMUL	1SG-TOP	above	cut-DIR.CAUS-IPFV	go#1SG.II-POT

nak-nal
SPKR.ASYM-be

'Father, you can go straight along the end of the slope and I can go cutting [along] above.'

#akka constitutes an anti-clitic, showing the same morphophonological behavior as *#ne* 'PST' and *#nana* 'VOL'. This can be observed in forms with argument suffixes in

which the initial consonant, i.e. *n* or *m*, alternates, i.e. with *l* or *b*, in the relevant contexts. As seen in (8.108) above, they do not change after vowels. After *k*, by contrast, the nasals are subject to the morphophonological alternation, as shown in (8.109).

(8.109) a. *náklakka*

nak#na-akka
come#1SG.II-POT

'I can come.'

b. *nákbilakka*

nak#mi-lakka
come#2SG.II-POT

'You can come.'

The distribution of inflectional base forms follows the same pattern that is attested in constructions with the past anti-clitic *#ne* (see Section 7.1). That is, with the majority of verbs, *#akka* 'POT' attaches to the stem, as shown in Table 8.11. As for high frequency verbs, like *nẽ* 'go' (in (8.108) above) or *guak* 'say' (see Table 8.12), the the root is used.

Table 8.11: Potential modality *nik* 'sow'

	SG	PL
1	*níkanakka* *nik-a#na-akka* SOW-ST#1SG.II-POT	*níkazïnakka* *nik-a#zïna-akka* SOW-ST#1PL.II-POT
2	*níkamilakka* *nik-a#mi-lakka* SOW-ST#2SG.II-POT	*níkaminakka* *ník-a#min-akka* SOW-ST#2PL.II-POT
3	*nigakka* *nik-a#akka* SOW-ST-#POT	*aligakka* *a-nik-a-akka* 3PL.I-SOW-ST-POT

Table 8.12: Potential modality *guak* 'say'

	SG	PL
1	*guáklakka* *guak#na-akka* say#1SG.II-POT	*guákzïnakka* *guak#zïna-akka* say#1PL.II-POT
2	*guákbilakka* *guak#mi-lakka* say#2SG.II-POT	*guákbinakka* *guak#min-akka* say#2PL.II-POT
3	*guagakka* *guak-a#akka* say-ST#POT	*akuagakka* *a-guak-a-akka* 3PL.I-say-ST-POT

8.7 Engagement

This section discusses a set of verbal markers that encode different configurations of access to information between speaker and addressee. These markers were first detailed by Bergqvist (2011, 2016). Section 8.7.1 introduces the notion of engagement, which refers to the grammatical encoding of different knowledge states, and provides a short account of the analysis by Bergqvist (2016). Subsequently, Section 8.7.2 presents the functions of engagement markers encountered in my data corpus.

8.7.1 The notion of engagement and first analysis of Kogi markers

Engagement is a relatively recently proposed grammatical category which is concerned with the expression of different configurations of access to knowledge in the speaker-hearer dyad. From a cross-linguistic perspective, engagement was first discussed by Evans and colleagues, who define it as "a grammatical system for encoding the relative accessibility of an entity or state of affairs to the speaker and addressee" Evans, Bergqvist, et al. (2018a:118).

Engagement is part of the more general category of epistemicity in linguistics which is concerned with the encoding of knowledge in grammar (Grzech et al. 2020). Other grammatical categories expressing epistemicity are, for example, evidentiality, (i.e. the expression of information source, cf. (Aikhenvald 2003)) or egophoricity (i.e. the marking of privileged knowledge by way of personal involvement, cf. (Bergqvist & Knuchel 2017) and (Floyd et al. 2018)).

A characteristic trait of engagement which sets it apart from other epistemic categories is an inherent intersubjective meaning component. That is, markers of engagement typically encode the accessibility of a state of affairs not only from the perspective of the speaker, but also from the perspective of the addressee. In other words, with engagement marking, the speaker expresses whether a state of affairs is accessible to them, and additionally, whether they assume the addressee to have access to it.

The notion of accessibility that is part of the definition of engagement includes different types of access, including, for example, sensory, cognitive or epistemic access (Bergqvist & Knuchel 2019). That is, a state of affairs may be accessible to an individual, for instance, by constituting a part of personal knowledge, by being prominent in one's mind because of previous mention in discourse, or by way of being in the focus of visual attention.

Engagement marking in Kogi was first described by Bergqvist (2016) as well as Evans, Bergqvist, et al. (2018b). This initial analysis recognizes a paradigm of four mutually exclusive verbal prefixes, namely *ni-*, *na-*, *shi-* and *sha-* which signal (a)symmetries between speech act participants in epistemic access to a state of affairs. As Bergqvist (2016) illustrates, the markers encode two parameters: (i) epistemic authority, i.e. who of the interlocutors has primary access to information, and (ii) whether this access is shared between the interlocutors, or non-shared.

The forms *ni-* and *na-* target information that is primarily accessible to the speaker (i.e. they have epistemic authority), whereas *shi-* and *sha-* target information accessible to the addressee.

The opposition between *ni- / shi-* and *na- / sha-* encodes shared and non-shared access respectively. That is, the former two forms signal that information is accessible to both interlocutors, while the latter express that access is exclusive to one of them.

For a first illustration, compare examples (8.110) and (8.111), featuring a speaker-authority asymmetrical marker and a speaker-authority symmetrical marker, respectively. In the context of the overheard utterance in (8.110), children were getting their things together to go to school. It was uttered by the speaker to remind her younger brother, with particular vigor, that he mistakenly took her bag. The elicited sentence in (8.111), by contrast, is pragmatically less marked, solely presenting information that the addressee might already be aware of.

(8.110) *nahí naklá!*

nahí ***nak****-nal*
1SG.POSS **SPKR.ASYM**-be

'[Hey,] that's mine!'

(8.111) *nahí gamá nzha*

nahí *gamá* ***ni****-nal*
1SG.POSS bag **SPKR.SYM**-be

'This is my bag.' (As you know.)

8.7.2 Observations of engagement markers

In the scope of the present study, I was able to confirm the analysis of the speaker-authority forms *ni-* and *na-* indicating information that is in the speaker's epistemic authority. Moreover, as is illustrated in what follows, the distinction between the two forms encodes (a)symmetries in access to information. The addressee-authority form *shi-*, as argued below, targets information that is accessible to the addressee and occurs in requests for information. In contrast to Bergqvist (2016)'s observation, the addressee-authority asymmetrical form *sha-*, which is not attested in my text corpus, is not used by consultants to target information that only the addressee has epistemic authority over.

It is important to note that engagement markers are not obligatory and are restricted to specific pragmatic contexts. Their function can be likened to modal particles attested in European languages, as they contribute non-at-issue meaning to a proposition. Engagement markers are used by speakers in order to epistemically assess a proposition. In this way they constitute pragmatic means for, for example, requesting information, signaling unexpected information or highlighting epistemic authority.

A further factor which seems to condition the use of engagement forms are the text genre, the topic of conversation and the social relationships between speakers. In monologic, narrative texts, the markers are scarcely used, whereas they seem more frequent in conversations. Discourse about high-stake topics, such as disputes or gossip, tend to exhibit more instances in comparison to conversations about trivial topics in everyday discourse.

8.7.2.1 Speaker-authority forms *ni- / na-*

Let us first look at some examples of the speaker-authority asymmetrical forms, *na-* ~ *nak-*. These signal that the propositional content constitutes information that the speaker primarily knows, while the addressee has no access to it. As the examples show, this marker is used to mark information counter to the addressee's expectation, to insist on one's own opinion which is not congruent with the one of the addressee, or to announce narrative content that is new to the addressee.

(8.112) comes from the Shape Classifier elicitation task and illustrates how the SPKR.ASYM form can mark information counter to the addressee's expectation. In the preceding discourse the director describes an object by likening its shape to a half moon. She then suddenly realizes that she provided an inaccurate description. Thus, the director's initial description it is counter to the expectations of the addressee, who expects the director's instructions to be reliable.

(8.112) *anga nalagäle naguakkú ahuiní*

anga	*nalagäle*	***na**-guak-kú*	*ahuiní*
INTER	lie	**SPKR.ASYM**-say-1SG.I	round

'Ehrm, no I'm saying it wrong (I lied), it's round.'

(8.113) presents an excerpt from a run of the Difference Task. It exemplifies the function of the speaker asymmetric form to highlight disagreement with the addressee. The relevant picture stimuli are presented in **??**: picture A was assigned to speaker A, and picture B to speaker B. The participants are discussing which object follows to the left of the yuca tuber. As speaker A explains that there is a wooden cow (Picture A), speaker B maintains that there is a clock (Picture B) and rejects A's description, insisting on what he is perceiving with a speaker asymmetric form.

(8.113)

B:	*no, inzhi zhawa nak-a-li-ẽni hi?*	'No, a yuca tuber and then what?'
	no yuca DIM come-ST-SEQ what	
A:	*bakka zhawa*	'A little cow.'
	COW DIM	
B:	*relo zhawa nẽ-ka **naklá***	'There's a little clock (don't you see?)!'
	clock little go-PRS SPKR.ASYM.be	

Furthermore, the use of a speaker asymmetric form can be observed in the opening line of narratives. (8.35) comes from a narrative about the consultant's recent journey

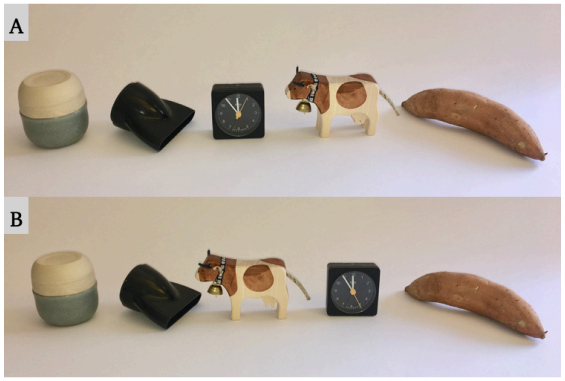


Figure 8.1: Picture stimuli of the Difference Task.

in the Sierra. As I was not involved in this event, the information was obviously new to me. This is reflected by the speaker asymmetric form.

(8.114) *näs mõze hai nitshi nagungukú*

näs mõze hai nitshi ***na****-gu-gu-kú*
1SG recently DEM ascend **SPKR.ASYM**-AUX.PFV-REC.PST-1SG.I

'I recently came up here.'

Similarly, (8.115) is the opening line of the Pear Story, which was known to the speaker, who had just seen the video, but not her interlocutor, the speaker-authority asymmetric form indicates that the following information is unknown to the addressee.

(8.115) *ekí nagatshá*

ekí ***nak****-atshi-a*
ENDO.MAN **SPKR.ASYM**-do-ST

'This is what they did.'

The contrast between the symmetrical and asymmetrical form framing the same proposition is illustrated in (8.116). The two examples are descriptions of the same scene from the FPPT provided by two different speakers. In the scene, a friend of the story's protagonist talks to him about the protagonist's wife who supposedly was flirting with another man. Both examples feature a speaker-authority form which reflects that the report involves information in the epistemic authority of narrated speaker who personally observed the wife's action. The speaker in (8.116a), portrays the event (i.e. the wife's flirting with another man) as information that the addressee might be aware of (i.e. potentially has access to). Put differently, given that the information lies in the addressee's epistemic territory (i.e. the actions of his wife), the narrated speaker indicates that his access to it is not exclusive. In this way, the narrated speaker mitigates his statement. In(8.116b), by contrast, the report of the wife's actions is framed by an asymmetric form. In this instance, the narrated speaker reports an event, he assumes, the his interlocutor is unaware of.

(8.116) a. *mihí munzhi akotshi sigí na hoklé nzhoká*

mihí *munzhi* *akotshi* *sigí* *na* *hoklek* ***ni****-nok-á*
2SG.POSS woman other man with flirt SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-IMM.PST

'Your wife was flirting with another man.'

b. *hekí atshika naklá mihí munzhi akbẽyaté*

hekí *atshi-ka* ***nak****-nal* *mihí* *munzhi* *ak-mẽy-a-té*
DEM do-PRS SPKR.ASYM-be 2SG.POSS woman 3SG.III-tell-ST-IPFV.II

'"This is what she is doing, your wife", he is telling him.'

Turning to the speaker-authority symmetrical form *ni-*, which in contrast to *na-*, indicates a speaker's agreement with the addressee, as illustrated in the following example. A speaker symmetrical form is used in B's answer in the excerpt in (8.117). In a run of the Difference Task, A describes what he sees in his photograph and expresses uncertainty concerning an unfamiliar object (i.e. a coffee pod). In this solely descriptive utterance, no engagement markers occur. As speaker B compares his picture with A's description, he agrees with speaker A's guess. With the speaker-authority symmetrical form, he signals that his view of the object is congruent with the one of speaker A.

(8.117) a. A: *haiki atsïshi málakze hana agatsé zhawa hiekatshi tapa hana agatsé*

hai-ki *atsïshi* *málakze* *hana* *agatsé* *zhawa* *hieka-tshi* *tapa*
PROX.LOC-TOP red sweet like seem DIM INDEF-GEN lid
hana *agatsé*
like seem

'And here something red that seems like candy or it seems like the lid of something.'

b. B: *málakze hangua nigukú*

málakze *hangu-a* ***ni****-gu-kú*
sweet think-ST **SPKR.SYM**-AUX.PFV-1SG.I

'It's candy, I think (as you suggested).'

A proposition marked with a speaker-authority symmetrical form may further express an appeal to the addressee's agreement, as exemplified in (). The reported speaker in the excerpt signals her determination to learn how to properly prepare food on an open fire, after some difficulties at the beginning. The reported utterance could be rephrased as 'I will cook like the Kogi, you'll see.'.

(8.118) *shkazuka hiega muletua akwashegakí nalatshák hiega zugapana "käggaba hana zukalikue nzha"*

zhig-a-zï-nuk-a *hiega* *muletua* *ak-washek-a-kí*
REFL-BEN-ANTIP-cook-ST also well 3SG.III-know-ST-NEG.IPFV
nal-atshákke *hiega* *zï-nuk-a-pána* *käggaba* *hana* *zï-nuk-a-líka-uge*
be-SUB ADD ANTIP-cook-ST-INCEP Kogi like ANTIP-cook-ST-FUT-1SG.I
***ni**-nal*
SPKR.SYM-be

'She also didn't know well how to cook for herself, even so she started cooking. "I will cook like the Kogis.", she said.'

8.7.2.2 Addressee-authority form *shi-*

The addressee-authority form *shi-* 'ADDR.EA' (addressee epistemic authority) targets information that is primarily accessible to the addressee. As noted above, the marker *sha-* is no longer used by the speakers I worked with. Based on this, the contrast between shared and non-shared access can be considered neutralized in this domain, at least in the variety of Kogi that is described in the present work.

The function of the addressee-authority form is illustrated in (8.119). Speaker A asks her interlocutor about the identity of some persons depicted in an image, appealing to his opinion with the addressee-authority form.

(8.119) a. A: *guatshák hẽnkuẽki hi shiná?*

gu-atshák *hẽ-kuẽ-ki* *hi* ***shi**-nal?*
AUX.PFV-SUB DEM-PL-TOP what ADDR.EA-be

'So, these guys, what are they?'

b. B: *ẽkuẽki juezkuẽ sánkalakuẽ naklá*

ẽ-kuẽ-ki *juez-kuẽ* *sánkala-kuẽ* *nak-nal*
DEM-PL-TOP judge-PL chief-PL SPKR.ASYM-be

'They are judges or chiefs.'

The marker is also attested in first person questions which can be conceived of as a rhetorical request for information. That is, the person in (8.120) is portrayed as having lost track of his own actions. Note that the participant in the story is not expecting his question to be answered.

(8.120) *hekí tũatshake canasta abata te "sai shiatshikuấ" ẽ zã hanguá*

hekí *tũ-atshake* *canasta* *abata* *te* *sakí* *shi-atshi-ku-ấ*
DEM see-SIM basket empty be.located how ADDR.EA-do-1SG.I-HOD.PST
ẽ *zã* *hangu-a*
DEM just think-ST

'When he saw the empty basket like this he thought "What did I just do?".'

8.8 Standard negation

This section contains a short presentation of standard negation, the basic way of negating declarative main clauses (Miestamo 2005), in Kogi. An in-depth description of this topic is found in Knuchel (forthcoming). Standard negation involves a number of different bound morphemes that reflect the aspectual value of a clause, namely *-zhá* (general negative) (8.8.1), *-kí* (negative imperfective) (8.8.2), and *-né* (negative habitual) (8.8.3). In addition, two further markers *-gánga* 'not yet' and *-ksá* 'no longer' express values of phasal polarity (8.8.4).

8.8.1 Negation in perfective clauses

The negation marker *-zhá* is used in perfective past and future clauses. The marker is inherently stressed and attaches to the stem form of lexical verbs. An example is given in (8.121).

(8.121) *Santa Martali nẽyazhánkale*

Santa *Marta-ni* *nẽ-a-zhá-nka-ne*
Santa Marta-ALL go-ST-NEG-1PL.I-PST

'We did not go to Santa Marta.'

Negation in an auxiliary construction, i.e. indicating recent past, is shown in (8.122a).

(8.122) a. *mebák nagazhá nigungú*

mebák *nak-a-zhá* *ni-gu-ngú*
yesterday arrive-ST-NEG SPKR.SYM-AUX.PFV-REC.PST

'S/he did not arrive yesterday.'

b. **mebák ninagazhangu*

mebák *ni-nak-a-zhá-ngú*
yesterday SPKR.SYM-arrive-ST-NEG-REC.PST

Intended: 'S/he did not arrive yesterday.'

Negation of a future tense clause is illustrated in (8.123).

(8.123) *nagazhálika*

nak-a-zhá-líka
come-ST-NEG-FUT

'S/he won't come.'

An affirmative and a negative paradigm of the verb *tuka* 'drink' are given in Table 8.13 and Table 8.14, respectively. When comparing them, the following idiosyncrasies can be observed: In the second person forms, the person index changes from a pre-stem position to post-stem position in the negated form. First person plural has two possibilities in future negation: one in which the person index follows the stem, as in the affirmative, and one in which it precedes the stem. Both forms can be used interchangeably.

Moreover, there are different allomorphs of the negation marker *-zhá* in future clauses: *-zhá* occurs always in post-stem position. In the forms in which a person index precedes it, the negation marker has the allomorphs *-ná* after *n* (2PL) and *-lá* after *a* (2SG and 1PL). Recall from Section 2.6 that the phonemes *n*, *l* and *zh* are in allophonic relation, as *n* typically changes to *l* after *k* or non-front vowels, and to *zh* after *i*. This suggests a historically underlying negation marker *-ná*. However, the element *i*, which would trigger a change to *zh*, is not present in these verb forms. For this reason, the allomorphy can be considered morphologically conditioned (at least from a synchronic perspective).

Table 8.13: Future paradigm of *tuk* 'drink'

	SG	PL
1	*tukalikue* *tuk-a-líka-uge* drink-ST-FUT-1SG.I	*tugakualika* *tuk-a-kua-líka* drink-ST-1PL.I-FUT
2	*matukalika* *ma-tuk-a-líka* 2SG.I-drink-ST-FUT	*mintukalika* *min-tuk-a-líka* 2PL.I-drink-ST-FUT
3	*tukalika* *tuk-a-líka* drink-ST-FUT	*atukalika* *a-tuk-a-líka* 3PLI-drink-ST-FUT

8.8.2 Imperfective negation

Imperfective clauses, except habitual aspect, are negated by the negative imperfective marker *-kí*. The three-way distinction in the imperfective, namely *-nok/-tok* 'PROG', *-té* 'IPFV.II' and *-ĩ* 'IPFV.I', is neutralized in the negative domain.

The negative marker *-kí* attaches to the lexical verbs, as shown in (8.124).

Table 8.14: Negated future paradigm of *tuk* 'drink'

	SG	PL	
1	*tugazhálikue* *tuk-a-zhá-líka-uge* drink-ST-NEG-FUT-1SG.I	*tugakalálika /* *tuk-a-ka-lá-líka* drink-ST-1PL.I-NEG-FUT	*katugazhálika* *ka-tuk-a-zhá-líka* 1PL.I-drink-ST-NEG-FUT
2	*tukabalálika* *tuk-a-ma-lá-líka* drink-ST-2SG.I-NEG-FUT	*tukabinálika* *tuk-a-min-ná-líka* drink-ST-2PL.I-NEG-FUT	
3	*tugazhálika* *tuk-a-zhá-líka* drink-ST-NEG-FUT	*atugazhálika* *a-tuk-a-zhá-líka* 3PLI-drink-ST-NEG-FUT	

(8.124) a. *inzhi munaté (nzhok)*

inzhi mun-a-té (ni-nok)
yuca grow-ST-IPFV.II SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV

'The yuca plants are growing.'

b. *inzhi munakí (nzhok)*

inzhi mun-a-kí ni-nok
yuca grow-ST-NEG.IPFV SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV

'The yuca plants are not growing.'

Progressive clauses with the marker *-tok* have two possible negative variants, which appear to be equal in meaning. In (8.125b), the negation marker *-kí* attaches after *-tok* 'PROG', to a stem that is extended with the thematic vowel *a*. While affirmative progressive verbs accommodate person and tense markers, this is not the case in negated forms. Instead, these categories can be marked on the (optional) auxiliary *nok*.

The sentence in (8.125a) can equally by negated with the clause in (8.125c), which is the same negative construction as the one in (8.124b).

(8.125) a. *arróz nugatúkkuge*

arróz nuk-a-tok-ka-uge
rice cook-ST-PROG-PRS.1SG.I

'I am cooking rice.'

b. *arróz nugatogakí (nzhokú)*

arróz nuk-a-tok-a-kí (ni-nok-kú)
rice cook-ST-PROG-TH-NEG.IPFV SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV-1SG.I

'I am not cooking rice.'

Table 8.15: Paradigm of *tuk* 'drink' NEG.HAB

	SG	PL
1	*tugazhuge*	*tukankale*
	tuk-a-zhe-uge	*tuka-nka-ne*
	drink-ST-NEG.HAB-1SG.I	drink-ST-1PL.I-NEG.HAB
2	*tugabale*	*tukabine*
	tuk-a-ma-ne	*tuk-a-min-ne*
	drink-ST-2SG.I-NEG.HAB	drink-ST-2PL.I-NEG.HAB
3	*tugagale*	*atugagale*
	tuk-a-ga-ne	*a-tuk-a-ga-ne*
	drink-ST-3-NEG.HAB	3PL.I-drink-ST-3-NEG.HAB

c. *arróz nugakí (nzhokú)*

arróz nuk-a-kí (ni-nok-kú)
rice cook-ST-NEG.IPFV SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV-1SG.I

'I am not cooking rice.'

8.8.3 Habitual negation

Habitual clauses are marked by *-ka* and are negated by the suffix *-ne*, as exemplified in example (8.126).

(8.126) a. *awalinti katukka*

awaldinti ka-tuk-ka
aguardiente 1PL.I-drink-HAB

'We drink aguardiente.'

b. *awalinti tukankale*

awalinti tuk-a-nka-ne
aguardiente drink-ST-1PL.I-NEG.HAB

'We do not drink aguardiente.'

Table 8.15 presents the full paradigm of the verb *tuk* 'drink' in the negative habitual. Word stress in all forms falls on the penultimate syllable (i.e. mostly on the argument index). While in the affirmative habitual, agent argument markers are in pre-stem position, they occur after the stem in the negated forms. The habitual negation marker has an allomorph *-zhe* ∼*-zha* in the first person singular. Interestingly, third person is overtly expressed in this construction, i.e. with the suffix *-ga* in the same slot as other argument indexes.

8.8.4 Phasal polarity

The category of phasal polarity combines polarity distinctions with temporal/aspectual meanings (Van der Auwera 1998; Kramer 2017). It can be illustrated by the phasal polarity expressions in English in (8.127).

(8.127)

a. *John is already at home.*

b. *John is still at home.*

c. *John is no longer at home.*

d. *John is not yet at home.*

Expressions of phasal polarity have been described as denoting "reference points at two related phases implying situations which are contrasted as opposites with different polarity values" (Kramer 2017:1). That is, the expressions *already* and *still* express that the proposition *John is at home* holds at a certain reference point, while at the same time referring to a point in time, either preceding (i.e. already) or subsequent (i.e. still), at which it does not hold. The terms *no longer* and *not yet*, by contrast, indicate that the proposition is not the case at a certain reference point, while referring to a reference point, either preceding (i.e. no longer) or subsequent (i.e. not yet), at which the proposition holds. The Kogi equivalents of the examples in (8.127) are provided in (8.128).

(8.128) a. *José ya ahúk izhukka*

José ya a-hui-k i-nok-ka
José already 3SG.INAL-house-LOC LOC.APPL-be.located-PRS

'José is already at home.'

b. *José ahúk izhúkkaga*

José a-hui-k i-nok-ka-ga
José 3SG.INAL-house-LOC LOC.APPL-be.located-PRS-still

'José is still at home.'

c. *José ahúk izhogaksá*

José a-hui-k i-nok-a-ksá
José 3SG.INAL-house-LOC LOC.APPL-be.located-ST-no.longer

"José is no longer at home."

d. *José ahúk izhogagánga*

José *a-hui-k* *i-nok-a-gánga*
José 3SG.INAL-house-LOC LOC.APPL-be.located-ST-not.yet

'José is not yet at home.'

The phasal polarity value of 'already' is expressed by the Spanish loan *ya* 'already' (8.128a), and the value 'still' by the emphatic marker *-ga* (8.128b) (see Section 6.2.5). Negative phasal values are expressed by the suffixes namely *-ksá* 'no longer' (8.128c) and *-gánga* 'not yet' (8.128d).

Chapter 9

Verbal derivation

This chapter presents the various derivational processes attested with Kogi verbs. The inventory of valency changing morphology is rather diverse. It includes valency-increasing markers for causativization and applicativization, discussed in Section 9.1, and two valency-reducing morphemes, namely antipassive and what can be considered an anti-applicative, both detailed in Section 9.2. Furthermore, there are markers for reflexive and reciprocal derivation, which are presented in Section 9.3.

9.1 Valency-increasing processes

9.1.1 Causatives

Kogi has lexical, morphological, as well as periphrastic causatives, i.e. constructions in which a participant is promoted to subject and fulfills the role of an instigator of an event (causer).

As for the morphological strategies, two different markers are attested, which are presented in Sections 9.1.1.1 to 9.1.1.2. One of them, *-gu*, is used for direct causation, and another one, *-sh* for indirect causation. Both attach directly to the verb root to form a causative stem, which can take inflectional suffixes.

As put forward by Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002), direct causation prototypically involves a single event (in terms of space and time), while indirect causation can be construed as consisting of two sub-events, namely a causing event and a caused event. Furthermore, in direct causation, the causer directly acts on an entity which can be characterized as less volitional. Thus, this type of causatives is typically associated with intransitive predicates that feature a patientive participant. By contrast, indirect causation tends to involve a participant with agentive features such as animacy or volitionality. The two markers *-gu* 'DIR.CAUS' and *-sh* 'INDIR.CAUS' occur in complementary distribution, and as a consquence cannot be applied to the same verb to signal different degrees of directness (e.g. differences in volitionality).

The periphrastic causative construction, introduced in Section 9.1.1.3, involves a lexical verb with the purposive suffix *-l* and the placement predicate *nak* ~ *te* 'put'. In

addition to morphological and periphrastic causatives, a few lexical causative pairs are attested in my data. They are listed in (9.1).

(9.1) *shuizhi* 'die' *guak* 'kill'
pul 'burn (intr.)' *yok* 'burn (tr.)'
shitsí 'learn' *shiaklí* 'teach'

9.1.1.1 Direct causation *-gu*

The direct causation marker *-gu* attaches to verb roots and likely originates from the verb *gu* meaning 'do'. A first example of direct causation with the intransitive predicate *akhien* 'fall down' is given in (9.2). Causativization in (9.2b) introduces a new argument, namely a causer, which is coded as subject. The former subject of the intransitive clause (9.2a) takes on the role of the causee, coded as a direct object in the causative construction. As is typical for direct causation, the causer in (9.2b) directly manipulates the causee, and the clause represents a single event.

(9.2) a. *häggi akhiénane*

häggi akhien-a#ne
stone fall.down-ST#PST

'The stone fell.'

b. *nubahã häggi akhiénguane*

nubá-hã häggi akhien-gu-a#ne
bird-ERG stone fall.down-DIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'The bird dropped the stone.'

The direct causative marker *-gu* is restricted to combine with a set of intransitive verbs and derives transitive predicates. The underived forms of these verbs involve an argument S, which can be characterized as patientive or as acting non-volitionally. (9.3) presents a few selected pairs of underived verb stems and their causativized counterpart.[1]

(9.3)

kana	'dry (intr.)'	*kangua*	'dry (tr.)'
nuana	'become wet'	*nuangua*	'make wet, soak'
tina	'get destroyed'	*tingua*	'destroy'
galona	'rot, go bad'	*galongua*	'spoil'
huola	'boil (intr.)'	*huokua*	'boil (tr.)'
pena	'fall over'	*pengua*	'knock over'

[1] Note that the verb *huola* 'boil (intr.)' loses final *l* in the causative form. What conditions this change is unclear at present.

While direct causatives most commonly involve an inanimate causee, they may also be used with human participants, as in example (9.4). It is evident that the causee in (9.4b) can be construed as patientive and someone who does not volitionally instigate the caused event.

(9.4) a. *Kuntshémaku pénane*

Kuntshémaku pen-a-ne
Kuntshémaku fall.over-ST#PST

'Kuntshémaku fell over.'

b. *ẽhã alani pénguane*

ẽ-hã a-nani pen-gu-a-ne
DEM-hã 3SG.INAL-younger.sibling fall.over-DIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'He knocked over his little brother.'

While the direct causative marker exclusively applies to intransitive predicates with patientive S arguments, not all predicates of this type are causativized with *-gu* 'DIR.CAUS'. That is, verbs such as *kabák* 'sleep', for example, are causativized by the indirect causative marker *-sh*, as discussed in the following section.

Direct causative constructions show the same argument marking pattern as underived transitive clauses. In terms of argument marking, the direct causative construction follows the same pattern as underived transitive clauses. That is, the direct object (here: the causee), is flagged with ergative case, whereas the direct object (here: the causee) is unmarked, as in (9.4b). In terms of argument indexing, the causer like the subject in underived transitive clauses is indexed by Set I markers, and the causee like the direct object in underived transitive clauses is indexed by Set II markers, as illustrated in (9.5).

(9.5) *naluánguamale*

na-nuan-gu-a#ma-ne
1SG.II-get.wet-DIR.CAUS-ST#2SG.I-PST

'You made me get wet.'

9.1.1.2 Indirect causation *-sh*

The indirect causative marker *-sh* most likely originates from the verb *sha* 'lay' (of two-dimensional objects). Like *-gu* 'DIR.CAUS', it is suffixed to verb roots. Unlike *-gu* 'DIR.CAUS', *-sh* expresses indirect causation in which a causer incites a causee to instigate an action, as in (9.6). The state of affairs can be conceived of as involving two sub-events, i.e. a causing and a caused event.

(9.6) a. *Martahã inzhi nukane*

Marta-hã inzhi nuk-a-ne
Marta-ERG yuca cook-ST#PST

'Marta cooked yuca.'

b. *ahabahã Marta inzhi núkshane*

a-haba-hã Marta inzhi nuk-sh-a-ne
3SG.INAL-mother-ERG Marta yuca cook-INDIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'Her mother made Marta cook yuca.'

While direct causation is exclusive to intransitive verbs, the indirect causative marker *-sh* shows no restriction with regard to the valency of the base verb. That is, it can combine with base transitive predicates, as in (9.6) above, intransitive predicates, as in (9.7), and ditransitive predicates, as in (9.8).

(9.7) a. *somá kabane*

somá kaba-ne
baby sleep#PST

'The baby slept.'

b. *Maríahã ahí somá kabákshane*

María-hã ahí somá kabák-sh-a-ne
María-ERG 3SG.POSS baby sleep-INDIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'María put her baby to sleep.''

(9.8) a. *gayahã gakue nakkõne*

gaya-hã gakue nak-kõ-ne
young.woman-ERG food 1SG.III-give#PST

'The young woman gave me food.'

b. *Carmenhã gaya gakue nakkõshane*

Carmen-hã gaya gakue nak-kõ-sh-a-ne
Carmen-ERG young.woman food 1SG.III-give-INDIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'Carmen made the young woman give me food.'

While the causee is typically animate, as in the examples presented so far, exceptions to this tendency are found, for example, with verbs of movement. The causative derivation of the intransitive verb *zabi* 'descend' can involve both an animate or an inanimate causee.

Table 9.1: Argument indexing in indirect causative verbs

	Causer	Causee	Patient / theme	Goal
intransitive base	Set I	Set II	n.a.	n.a.
transitive base	Set I	–	Set II	n.a.
ditransitive base	Set I	–	–	Set II

(9.9) a. *puti zabishánuge*

puti zabi-sh-a-ne-uge
pot descend-INDIR.CAUS-ST#PST-1SG.I

'I took the pot down (e.g. from a shelf).'

b. *napebu Mingueoli zabishaldikue*

na-pebu Mingueo-li zabi-sh-a-ldíka-uge
1SG.INAL-friend Mingueo-ALL descend-INDIR.CAUS-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will make my friend go down to Mingueo.'

A further example is the causative stem *nẽsha* 'cause to go, leave' (from *nẽ* 'go, leave'), which has acquired the meaning 'sell' and is therefore frequently encountered with inanimate causees.

Argument indexing in indirect causatives depends on the valency of the derived verb. The pattern of argument indexing in indirect causative verbs forms is presented in Table 9.1.

Like underived verbs, causativized verbs have maximally two slots for argument markers. These are taken up by indexes of the causer and, depending on the valency, the causee or the goal argument. In derived transitive causatives, causer and causee (constituting the subject and the direct object) are indexed by Set I and Set II markers, respectively:

(9.10) *nishímshamale*

na-ishím-sh-a#ma-ne
1SG.II-laugh-INDIR.CAUS-ST-#2SG.I-PST

'You made me laugh.'

In ditransitive causatives, the causer is marked with Set I indexes, as with the first person plural marker *-nka* in (9.11). Note that instead of the causee (*ẽkũẽ* 'third person plural'; not indexed on the verb), the second argument index slot is occupied by a Set II marker referencing the patient (*mima-* '2PL.II'):

(9.11) *ẽkũẽhã mimabúkshankale*

ẽ-kũẽ-hã *mima-muk-sh-a#nka-ne*
DEM-PL-ERG 2PL.II-hit-INDIR.CAUS-ST#1PL.I-PST

'We made them hit you.'

Causatives that are derived from ditransitive base verbs involve four participants, i.e. a causer, a causee, a theme and a goal. As shown in (9.12), the two slots for person indexes are taken up by the causer, i.e. *-uge* '1SG.I', and the goal argument, i.e. *kak-* '3PL.III'. Causee and theme, by contrast, are not indexed. Note also that the second singular person causee, which cannot be indexed on the verb in this case, is obligatorily expressed by a personal pronoun, i.e. *ma* '2SG'.

(9.12) *ma gakue kakkõshalíkue*

ma *gakue* *kak-kõ-sh-a-líka-uge*
2SG food 3PL.III-give-INDIR.CAUS-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I made you give them food.'

Turning to argument flagging, case marking in causatives with two arguments show the same pattern as underived transitives. That is, the direct (here: the causee) is marked in the absolutive, and the subject (here: the newly introduced causer) in the ergative case, as in (9.13).

(9.13) *sigihã munzhi ishimshá*

sigí-hã *munzhi* *ishim-sh-a*
man-ERG woman laugh-INDIR.CAUS-ST

'The man made the woman laugh.'

Causatives derived from transitive base verbs involve three arguments. As shown in (9.14), the former A, i.e. the causee, loses the ergative marker, and instead the new A, i.e. the causer, is marked ergative. Both the former A (i.e. the causee) and the former P argument thus receive no case marking. In order to distinguish between causee and patient, constituent order is crucial: the first constituent is interpreted as the causee and the second as the patient.

(9.14) *ahatehã José bakka guakshá*

a-hate-hã *José* *bakka* *guak-sh-a*
3SG.INAL-father-ERG José cow kill-INDIR.CAUS-ST

'His father made José kill a / the cow.'

In indirect causatives based on ditransitive verbs as well, the causer argument is always marked in the ergative case, as in both examples in (9.15). As for the flagging

of a second argument, speaker intentions diverge; some use dative *-k* for the goal argument, as in (9.15a), thus preserving the case marking of the underived ditransitive clause. Others, by contrast, opt for marking the former A argument, i.e. the causee, with dative case, as in (9.15b).

(9.15) a. *Martahã abunzhi medicok ni akkõshane*

Marta-hã a-munzhi medico-k ni ak-kõ-sh-a-ne
Marta-ERG 3SG.INAL-daughter doctor-DAT water 3SG.III-give-INDIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'Marta made her daughter give water to the doctor.'

b. *Martahã abunzhik medico ni akkõshane*

Marta-hã a-munzhi-k medico ni ak-kõ-sh-a-ne
Marta-ERG 3SG.INAL-daughter-DAT doctor water 3SG.III-give-INDIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'Marta made her daughter give water to the doctor.'

9.1.1.3 Periphrastic causatives

Kogi furthermore has a periphrastic causative construction consisting of a subordinate verb form marked with *-l* and the suppletive verb *nak* ~ *te* 'put'. As a lexical verb, *nak* ~ *te* is a locative verb used for three-dimensional objects. The distribution of the suppletive stems is conditioned by the tense/aspect value of the clause, *te* occurring in past tense and *nak* elsewhere. This is illustrated in (9.16).

(9.16) a. *nuli mesak izhakalikue*

nuli mesa-k i-nak-a-lík̃a-uge
basket table-LOC LOC.APPL-put-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will put the basket on the table.'

b. *nuli mesak iténuge*

nuli mesa-k i-te#ne-uge
basket table-LOC LOC.APPL-put#PST-1SG.I

'I put (PST) the basket on the table.'

An example of a periphrastic causative is given in (9.17). The causee is indexed on the verb *te* 'put' by Set II indexes, in this case *zïna-* '1PL.II'.

(9.17) *nãwĩhaba zïlikal zïnaté*

nãwĩ-haba zï-nik-a-l zïna-té
1PL.INAL-mother ANTIP-sow-ST-SUB 1PL.II-put

'Our mother made us sow.'

The main semantic difference between morphological and periphrastic causatives is that a caused punctual (as opposed to durative) event in the periphrastic construction has iterative interpretation. This is exemplified in (9.18).

(9.18) a. *mitu nabúkshane*

mitu na-muk-sh-a-ne
dog 1SG.III-hit-ST-CAUS#PST

'He made me hit the pig.'

b. *mitu múkal natene*

mitu muk-a-l na-te-ne
dog hit-ST-SUB 1SG.II-put#PST

'He made me hit the pig over and over again.'

Similarly, with the verb *tũ* 'see, look' in (), the morphological causative is interpreted as 'show', and the periphrastic construction as 'look after, take care of'.

(9.19) a. *nahatehã bakka natũshá*

na-hate-hã bakka na-tũ-sh-a
1SG.INAL-father-ERG cow 1SG.III-see-CAUS-ST

'My father showed me a/the cow.'

b. *nahatehã bakka tũal naté*

na-hate-hã bakka tũ-a-l na-té
1SG.INAL-father-ERG cow see-ST-SUB 1SG.II-put

'My father made me look after the cow.'

9.1.2 Applicatives

Following Peterson's 2007 definition, applicatives can be characterized as valency-increasing processes which involve overt marking on the verb and promote a peripheral participant to a core argument, more precisely, a direct object. The peripheral participant can correspond to a number of different semantic roles. In Kogi, applicative constructions are used to promote themes, locations, beneficiaries and maleficiaries.

The inventory of applicative markers includes comitative *u-*, which promotes a theme (Section 9.1.2.1), locative or malefactive applicative *i-*, which introduces locations, themes or maleficiaries (Section 9.1.2.2), and benefactive *a-* which promotes a beneficiary (Section 9.1.2.3).

As noted above, the promoted participant is prototypically coded as an object argument. Recall that in Kogi, direct objects are in absolutive case and referenced in the

predicate by Set II markers. As shown in the following sections, some of the applicative constructions have non-prototypical properties in this respect. Thus, for example, locative arguments promoted by applicative markers retain their locative (i.e. oblique) case marking, and beneficiaries in benefactive constructions are marked with Set III indexes, which are typically associated with indirect objects instead of direct objects.

9.1.2.1 Comitative applicative

Comitative applicative *u-* introduces a comitative theme into the argument structure of a verb. This participant can alternatively be expressed by a postpositional phrase with *na* 'with'. The constructions with a prepositional phrase on the one hand and an applied theme on the other are illustrated in (9.20).

(9.20) a. *(napebu na) gékali nitshikalikue*

(na-pebu na) geka-li nitshik-a-líka-uge
1SG.INAL-friend with mountains-ALL ascend-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will go up to the mountains (with my friend).'

b. *napebu gékali ulitshikalikue*

na-pebu geka-li u-nitshik-a-líka-uge
1SG.INAL-friend mountains-ALL COM.APPL-ascend-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will bring my friend up to the mountains.'

As exemplified in (9.21), the promoted argument, in this case a first person plural referent, is indexed on the predicate with Set II markers, just like direct objects in prototypical transitive clauses.

(9.21) *mäli zïnakuígäbba gunguake mokue zïnaulẽ*

mäli zïna-kuí-gäbba gu-ngu-ake mokue zïna-u-nẽ
hunger 1PL.II-exist-INTENS AUX.PFV-PST-because again 1PL.II-COM.APPL-go

'Since we were very hungry, [our mother] took us back [home].'

With regard to case marking, the newly introduced theme argument, i.e. *somá* 'baby' is coded like a direct object with absolutive case:

(9.22) *Martahã ahí somá kuibululi ulakle*

Marta-hã ahí somá kuibulu-ni u-nak-ne
Marta-ERG 3SG.POSS baby[ABS] village-ALL COM.APPL-come#PST

'Marta brought her baby to the village.'

Applicativization with *u-* 'COM.APPL' is restricted to verbs that simultaneously encode motion and path (see Talmy [2007:88–96]), such as *nẽ* 'go', *nak* 'come', *zabi*

'descend' and *nitshi* 'ascend'. An exception appears to be the verb *mizhi* 'stroll, walk around', which derives to *ubizhi* 'take on a stroll', whereas other manner encoding motion verbs such as *nala* 'run' or *hũẽ̃n* 'swim' cannot host the comitative applicative marker.

Note that these verbs also allow for indirect causativation with *-sh* 'INDIR.CAUS'. While in comitative applicatives, the agent performs the action together with the applied argument, in a causative clause like (9.23), the causer typically makes the causee perform an action on their own.

(9.23) *napebu gékali nitshikshalikue*

na-pebu	*geka-li*	*nitshik-sh-a-líka-uge*
1SG.INAL-friend	mountains-ALL	ascend-INDIR.CAUS-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will make my friend go up to the mountains (while I stay here).'

9.1.2.2 Applicative *i-*

For the applicative prefix *i-*, three distinct, but clearly related functions can be determined:

(i) Promotion of location, goal or source

(ii) Promotion of theme

(iii) Promotion of maleficiary

The first (and possibly basic) function of the applicative marker *i-* is the promotion of an argument denoting a location (or Ground), to which a physical entity (or Figure) bears an 'on top'-relation. Applicativization with this function primarily occurs with predicates with spatial semantics, i.e. verbs of location, placement or removal.[2]

Predicates that combine with the locative applicative prefix can be categorized into two different classes on the basis of their semantics and transitivity. These are presented in Table 9.2 and discussed below. In addition to these two groups, there are a few predicates that can take *i-* 'LOC.APPL', e.g. *pen* 'fall' or *mun* 'grow', which do not form a coherent semantic class. Note that applicativization with *i-* is not productive and cannot be used with any kind of predicate to express the location where an event takes place. Thus a form based on, for example, *kabak* 'sleep' cannot be derived to *i-kabak* ('LOC.APPL-sleep') in order to convey the idea of 'sleep on something'.

Class I includes ambitransitive verbs of location and placement, which become ambiditransitive when applicativized. Kogi exhibits a relatively large set of predicates used in location and placement constructions. These encode physical properties (e.g. two-dimensional vs. three-dimensional referents) and the orientation (e.g. lying vs.

[2]Similar constructions are discussed under the label 'relational preverbs' by Craig & Hale (1988), particularly in the Chibchan language Rama, among others. Following Peterson (2007), who discusses the constructions presented in Craig & Hale (1988), I consider them applicative constructions.

Table 9.2: Predicates compatible with locative applicative

Verb types	Change in valency	Examples
Location and placement	INTR/TR > TR/DITR	*te* 'sit / put', *sha* 'lie / lay'
Removal and placement	TR > DITR	*guk* 'take', *zu* 'pour'

standing) of the Figure, as well as the type of contact between Figure and Ground. The locative applicative marker can combine with a subset of these, namely those presented in Table 9.3. Given that locative applicativization exclusively denotes an 'on top'-relation between Figure and Ground, the subset only includes verbs which denote that the Figure is supported from below, excluding, for example, *akli* 'be hung from, hang on'. A further verb root that belongs to this class is *zhe* 'be located, put PL', which is used for plural referents; the contrast among Figures with different physical properties encoded in other locative verbs is neutralized in the case of plural referents.

Table 9.3: Location verbs compatible with locative applicative

Verb	Gloss	Physical properties	Example Figure
sha	'lie, lay'	rigid, 1D	stick
pa	'lie, lay'	rigid, 2D	book, plate
te	'sit, put'	rigid, 3D, canonical base	ball, pot
dua	'lie, lay'	flexible, 1D/2D, mass	cloth, rope, mud
bi	'be hung, hang over'	flexible, 1D/2D	cloth, rope, mud

The ambitransitive nature of these predicates is illustrated in (9.24) for *sha* 'lie, lay', which is used in the intransitive meaning in (9.24a) and the transitive meaning in (9.24b). While (9.24a) merely describes how a two-dimensional Figure is positioned, (9.24b) conveys that an agent placed a two-dimensional Figure in a certain position.

(9.24) a. *käli sha*
stick lie

'The stick is lying.'

b. *munzhi-hã käli sha*
woman-ERG stick lay

'The woman put (i.e. laid) the stick down.'

With the addition of the applicative prefix *i-*, the verb *sha* 'lie, lay' becomes ambiditransitive and allows for the expression of a promoted argument, specifically a noun phrase indicating a location or goal, such as *mesa* 'table' in (9.25). The derived verb is ambiditransitive as it can be used in transitive clauses denoting a stative location as (9.25a), as well as ditransitive clauses, like (9.25b), describing a dynamic placement event.

(9.25) a. *käli mesa-ka i-shá*
stick table-LOC LOC.APPL-lie

'The stick is lying on the table.'

b. *munzhi-hã käli mesa-ka i-sha*
woman-ERG stick table-LOC LOC.APPL-lay

'The woman put (i.e. laid) the stick on the table.'

As can be seen the examples in (9.25), the promoted argument, i.e. *mesa* 'table', obligatorily carries the locative marker *-k(a)* 'LOC'. In this respect, the Kogi locative applicative construction can be considered typologically unusual, as arguments that are introduced by applicativization are prototypically coded like a direct arguments (i.e. in absolutive case in Kogi).

In contrast to case marking, indexing of the promoted argument on the verb appears to be canonical, as shown in (9.26). That is, the first person argument (i.e. the location) introduced by the locative applicativization is coded like a direct object and indexed with Set II markers.

(9.26) *cobija nituá*

cobija na-i-tua
blanket 1SG.II-APPL-lie

'The blanket is on top of me.'

An 'on top'-relation between a Figure and a Ground, as conveyed by locative applicative constructions, may alternatively be expressed with the postposition *abakkalak* 'on top' (see Section 4.5.7). This is shown in (9.27).

(9.27) *käli mesa abakkalak i-shá*
stick table on.top LOC.APPL-lie

'The stick is lying on the table.'

It is interesting to note that, while the applicative prefix in clauses like (9.27) can be omitted, it is more commonly present when the postposition *abakkalak* 'on top' is used. Thus, similar to locative case marking on the promoted argument in locative applicatives, the occurrence of a postposition together with an applicativized predicate is a further non-prototypical trait of the Kogi locative applicative. In canonical applicatives, where promoted arguments are coded like a direct object, one would not expect the introduced noun phrase to occur with a postposition.

As noted above, *i-* 'LOC.APPL', exclusively refers to 'on top'-relations between a Figure and a Ground. This becomes evident from (9.28), where the use of the applicative marker is ungrammatical when a Figure is located below the Ground.

(9.28) *gamá mesa sïkli (*i)-duá*
bag table under LOC.APPL-lie

'The bag is lying under the table.'

Example (9.29) further illustrates that *i-* 'LOC.APPL' only promotes arguments that reference a concrete ground, which constitutes a discernible object. It is apparent that *kagi* 'ground' is not conceived as such an object, as an applicativized verb is ungrammatical in a clause like (9.29).

(9.29) *gamá kagi-k (*i)-duá*
bag ground-LOC LOC.APPL-lie

'The bag is lying on the ground.'

To sum up, the locative applicative prefix *i-* can be used with ambitransitive predicates of location and placement, which become ambiditransitive through applicativization. The promoted argument constitutes a location or goal to which the Figure bears an 'on top'-relation. This promoted argument is coded like the direct object of prototypical transitive clauses, in that it is referenced with Set II indexes on the verb. However, regarding case marking and the use of postpositions, the applied object is typologically unusual, given that it is either marked with locative case *-k(a)* 'LOC', or occurs in a postpositional phrase.

Members of the second class of verbs that can be applicativized with *i-* can be distinguished from those of class I in that their base is transitive and their applicativized form is strictly ditransitive. That is, this class does not contain any stative location verbs, but only dynamic verbs of placement and also removal. The promoted argument in applicative constructions with these verbs constitutes a goal or a source.

(9.30) provides an example of a newly introduced argument, which constitutes the goal of a putting event, more precisely of pouring (*zu* 'pour'). The promoted argument, *häggi* 'stone', carries the locative marker *-k(a)*, akin to the applied objects in the constructions above (e.g. (9.25)).

(9.30) *häggik ni itsúnuge*

häggi-k ni i-zu#na-uge
stone-LOC water LOC.APPL-pour#PST-1SG.I

'I poured water onto the stone.'

In states of affairs with reverse semantics, i.e. in the removal of a physical object, applicativization introduces a source argument. This is illustrated in (9.31) with the verb *guk* 'take' and a first person singular as the promoted participant.

(9.31) *shétsukkua nikuká*

shétsukkua *na-i-guk-a*
knife 1SG.II-LOC.APPL-take-ST

'He took the knife from me.'

As seen in (9.31), the promoted argument is indexed on the verb with Set II markers, similar to direct objects in prototypical transitives. Thus, the pattern of argument marking in locative applicative constructions with base transitive verb of placement and removal corresponds to the one of constructions based on ambitransitive verbs of location and placement, introduced above.

As noted at the outset of this section, there is an additional small set of intransitive verbs that may occur in a locative applicative construction.

For example, it is attested with *mizhi* 'walk around, stroll', which denotes a non-translational motion. In (9.32) the locative applicative *i-* promotes the location where the event takes place, coded with locative case.

(9.32) *mälkua camak ibizhatukka*

mälkua *cama-k* *i-mizhi-a-tok-ka*
spider bed-LOC LOC.APPL-walk.around-ST-PROG-PRS

'The spider is crawling around on the bed.'

The clause in (9.33) features the causativized form of *pen* 'fall', which without applicative denotes 'drop'. The applicative marker *i-* promotes a goal argument to which the motion is directed (here: the water).

(9.33) *dilaka ipenguá*

dila-ka *i-pen-gu-a*
water-LOC LOC.APPL-fall-DIR.CAUS-ST

'[The deer] let [the boy] fall onto (i.e. into) the water.'

In (9.34), the promoted argument refers to an animate being, i.e. *takbi* 'snake', on which the event of growing takes place. Note that in contrast to constructions with in animate locations or goals, the promoted argument does not carry locative case, but is instead coded as absolutive.

(9.34) *nugi takbi mokue ibunĩ*

nugi *takbi* *mokue* *i-mun-ĩ*
tail snake again LOC.APPL-grow-IPFV.I

'The snake is growing its tail back (lit.: The tail is growing on the snake again).'

A last example is presented in (9.35). The use of *i-* 'LOC.APPL' with *kol* 'shout' promotes a goal (or addressee) to which the event is directed. This can be interpreted as 'shout at' but more commonly as 'call someone, summon'.

(9.35) *ahí mõkuí zã ikolá*

ahí	*mõkuí*	*zã*	*i-kol-a*
3SG.POSS	frog	only	LOC.APPL-shout-ST

'He only called his frog.'

The second function of applicative *i-* is the promotion of a theme argument, namely with verbs denoting cutting, breaking or related actions. Note that these actions can be construed as a type of removal. The introduced argument in these constructions is coded like a direct object, i.e in absolutive case.

An example is given in (9.36) with the causative verb stem 'mengu' 'cut'. The promoted arguments in (9.36b), are *sánkala* 'head' and *nugi* 'tail', which can be construed as themes and are expressed with absolutive case.

(9.36) a. *dizhú muan häs menguá*

fish	middle	IDPH	cut-DIR.CAUS-ST

'He cut the fish through the middle.'

b. *dizhúki sánkala ibenguá nugi ibenguá*

dizhú-ki	*sánkala*	*i-men-gu-a*	*nugi*	*i-men-gu-a*
fish-TOP	head	APPL-cut-DIR.CAUS-ST	tail	LOC.APPL-cut-DIR.CAUS-ST

'He cut off the head and the tail of the fish.'

A further illustration is provided in (9.37) with *tuli* 'peel'.

(9.37) a. *malú túlinuge*

malú	*tuli-ne-uge*
plantain	peel#PST-1SG.I

'I peeled the plantain.'

b. *malú ahuba itúlinuge*

malú	*a-huba*	*i-tuli-ne-uge*
plantain	3SG.INAL-skinn	APPL-peel#PST-1SG.I

'I peeled the plantain.'

The third function of applicative *i-* is the expression of malefactive situations, i.e. ones that involve a participant to whose detriment an event occurs. A connection between locative and malefactive applicatives was noted by Zúñiga & Kittilä (2010), and

also becomes evident from the English translations of the Kogi malefactive constructions in (9.38).[3]

(9.38) a. *Ana asewatshi gakue egipulá*

Ana *a-sewá-tshi* *gakue* *ak-i-pul-a*
Ana[ABS] 3SG.INAL-spouse-GEN food 3SG.III-MAL.APPL-burn-ST

'Ana's husband's food got burnt on her.'

b. *mihí sũguamé negihísbene*

mihí *sũguamé* *nak-i-hisbe-ne*
2SG.POSS bag 1SG.III-MAL.APPL-rip#PST

'Your shoulder bag got ripped on me.'

The coding of the promoted argument in malefactives can be considered atypical for an applicative constructions. Recall that applicativization prototypically introduces a direct object. In terms of verbal indexing of maleficiaries, they are marked with Set III indexes, which are associated with the indirect, rather than the direct object (e.g. *ak-* '3SG.III' or *nak-* '1SG.III', as in (9.38)).

In terms of flagging, however, the promoted argument does not constitute a canonical indirect object, which is typically marked with dative case, but instead occurs in the absolutive, as in (9.38a). Example (9.39) illustrates that the use of the dative marker on the maleficiary is ungrammatical.

(9.39) *Ana(*k) gakue egipulá*

Ana-k *gakue* *ak-i-pul-a*
Ana-DAT food 3SG.III-MAL.APPL-burn-ST

'The food got burnt on Ana.'

To summarize, argument flagging treats the maleficiary as a core argument (marked with absolutive case), as expected in canonical applicatives. By contrast, the beneficiary is indexed with Set III markers, rather than Set II markers, which typically mark direct objects. Thus, it appears that argument marking in malefactives constitutes the mirror image of the pattern encountered in locative applicatives, where the promoted argument behaves like a direct object in terms of indexing, but not flagging.

9.1.2.3 Benefactive applicative

Benefactive situations involve a participant who can be construed as benefitting from an event. These situations can be expressed by a benefactive applicative construction featuring the marker *a-*, which is prefixed to the verb root.[4]

[3] See also Völlmin (2010) for a relation between the expression of location and malefaction.

[4] The prefix *a-* furthermore occurs in another construction in predicative possession, where the possessor does not necessarily constitute a beneficiary (see Section 6.6.2).

By prefixing *a-* 'BEN.APPL' to a verb root, a noun phrase referencing a beneficiary is introduced as a core argument of the predicate. In addition to the applicative, there are non-verbal strategies that express benefaction, namely possessive constructions, or the postpositions *zhekkua* or *atsalí*, both meaning 'instead of'. Before focusing on benefactive applicatives, I shortly introduce these non-verbal strategies.

In (9.40a), the beneficiary (Lorena's friend) is expressed in a genitive case construction (*-tshi* 'GEN') and in (9.40b) with a possessive pronoun (*nahí* '1SG.POSS').[5] In both cases, the beneficiary can be construed as a (eventual) possessor of the head noun. As evidenced by (9.40c), this strategy can also be used when there is no concrete possessum.

(9.40) a. *Lorenahã apebutshi kuinta gone*

Lorena-hã *a-pebu-tshi* *kuinta* *go-ne*
Lorena-ERG 3SG.INAL-friend-GEN necklace make#PST

'Lorena made her friend a necklace (lit.: made her friend's necklace).'

b. *napebu nahí hiba atshane*

na-pebu *nahí* *hiba* *atshi-a#ne*
1SG.INAL-friend 1SG.POSS work do-ST#PST

'My friend worked for me / in my stead (lit.: did my work).'

c. *nahaba nahí zubẽyane*

na-haba *nahí* *zubẽ-a-ne*
1SG.INAL-mother 1SG.POSS sing-ST#PST

'My mother sang for me.'

The benefactive function of the postposition *zhekkua* 'instead of' is illustrated in (9.41).

(9.41) *nasaka zhekkua tiéndali nẽnuge*

na-saka *zhekkua* *tienda-li* *nẽ-na-uge*
1SG.INAL-grandmother instead.of store-ALL go#PST-1SG.I

'I went to the store for / instead of my grandmother.'

A second postposition *atsalí* with the same meaning 'instead of' features inalienable possessive markers, which reference the beneficiary.

[5] Note that the three phonologically identical forms *a-* 'BEN.APPL', *a-* '3SG.INAL' and *-a* 'ST' are distinct morphemes.

(9.42) *gayahã natsaldí hui zïpéne*

gaya-hã *na-atsaldí* *hui* *zïpe-ne*
young.woman-ERG 1SG.INAL-instead.of house sweep#PST

'The young woman swept the house instead of me.'

Benefactive constructions involve a verb form that is derived by the applicative prefix *a-*, as illustrated in (9.43). Derivation with *a-* 'BEN.APPL' is productive and not restricted to any semantic class of verbs. [6]

(9.43) *ahatekũẽ zeng aklekägga ubáng mitu ezua agakuaka*

a-hate-kũẽ *zeng* *ak-nek-kägga* *ubáng* *mitu* *ezua*
3SG.INAL-fater-PL happy 3SG.III-be-INTENS immediately pig one
ak-a-guak-a
3SG.III-BEN.APPL-kill-ST

'His parents are very happy [about their son's return], they immediately kill a pig for him.'

Similarly to malefactives, benefactive applicativization promotes a peripheral participant to an indirect object, which is indexed by Set III argument markers. This is illustrated in (9.44), where the addressee ('2SG') is the beneficiary and eventual recipient of the leftovers.

(9.44) *nõwã gakue pútili mikabáshanuge*

nõwã *gakue* *puti-ni* *mik-a-ma-sh-a-ne-uge*
a.bit food pot-INESS 2SG.III-BEN.APPL-remain-INDIR.CAUS#PST-1SG.I

'I left a bit of food for you in the pot.'

As illustrated in (9.45), the promoted argument does not constitute a canonical indirect object, as the use of the dative marker is not possible. Instead, the beneficiary argument occurs in absolutive case, which is typical for direct objects.

(9.45) *Maríahã ahí somá(*k) akazubẽya*

María-hã *ahí* *somá-k* *ak-a-zubẽ-a*
María-ERG 2SG.POSS baby-DAT 3SG.III-BEN.APPL-sing-ST

'María sang for her baby.'

The realization of the Set III prefix in benefactive verb forms depends on the initial consonant of the verb and alternates between, for instance, *ak-* and *ag-* '3SG.III'. This is illustrated in (9.46). In (9.46a), the first consonant of the derived benefactive stem is

[6] Note, however, that there are some predicates that do not take the benefactive marker *a-*, but rather the applicative prefix *i-*, which is typically used in malefactive applicatives (see Section 9.1.2.2 above).

voiced, i.e. *aluka* (*a-nuk-a* 'BEN.APPL-cook-ST'), and the velar consonant of the Set III marker is unvoiced, i.e. *nak-* '1SG.III'. By contrast, when the first consonant is voiceless as in (9.46b), i.e. *akuka* (*a-guk-a* 'BEN.APPL-catch-ST'), the index is realized with a voiced velar as *nag-*. Note that the initial consonant of the root *guk* becomes devoiced after the benefactive prefix *a-*, which suggests that it is the stem form, rather than the root that determines the allomorph of the person prefix.

(9.46) a. *arróz nakalúkagua!*

arróz nak-a-nuk-a-gua
rice 1SG.III-BEN.APPL-cook-ST-IMP.SG

'Cook some rice for me!'

b. *mihaí nagakúkagua!*

mihaí nak-a-guk-a-gua
paca 1SG.III-BEN.APPL-catch-ST-IMP.SG

'Catch a paca for me!'

Certain verbs form their benefactive stem with the applicative prefix *i-* instead of *a-* 'BEN.APPL'. As discussed in Section 9.1.2.2 above, applicativized verbs with *i-* and Set III indexes referencing a promoted argument typically denote malefactive situations. However, some forms with *i-* have benefactive semantics. Thus, for instance, the verb *nik* 'sow' does not derive to **nakaldika* (1SG.III-BEN.APPL-sow, intended: 'sow for me'), but rather as illustrated in (9.47). Note that *i-* 'APPL' causes *a* of the argument index to be raised to *e*.

(9.47) *inzhi nekizhíkane*

inzhi nak-i-nik-a-ne
yuca 1SG.III-APPL-sow-ST#PST

'He sowed yuca seeds for me.'

Other verbs that form the benefactive applicative in the this way are: *dula shishi* 'read', *yupa* 'lay out (e.g. a blanket)', guangusha 'heat up'. For certain verbs, namely *pek* 'pick, harvest' and *mengu* 'cut', only some speakers use a benefactive form with *i-*, while others use a form featuring benefactive *a-*.

9.2 Valency-decreasing processes

Kogi has two valency-decreasing derivations, which remove a core argument from the argument structure of a predicate. These are introduced in Section 9.2.1 and Section 9.2.2.

Note that no passive construction is attested in Kogi. Instead, clauses in which the agent is unknown or remains unspecified involve a third person plural verb form, which serves as an impersonal construction, as illustrated in examples (9.48) and (9.49).

(9.48) a. *pio nahóline*

pio *na-holi-ne*
dog 1SG.II-bite-PST

'The dog bit me.'

b. *nawahóline*

na-a-hóli#ne
1SG.II-3PL.I-bite-#PST

'I was bitten.'

(9.49) *Santo Tukua akuakka*

Santo *Tukua* *a-guak-ka*
Santo Tukua 3PL.I-say-HAB

'The place that is called Santo Tukua.'

9.2.1 Antipassive *zï-*

The prefix *zï-* is used to supress the patient argument (i.e. the direct object) in transitive clauses. By this process, a clause is rendered syntactically monovalent, while semantically, the patient is still implied (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019:63–66) .[7] That it is not possible to express the P argument in an antipassive construction with *zï-*, e.g. with oblique marking, suggests that the argument is supressed, rather than just demoted. The antipassive marker becomes *s-* before voiceless consonants, while the form *zï-* is attested in all other contexts.

The antipassive prefix is generally used when a speaker does not further specify the object. This is illustrated with the verb *tuk* 'drink' in (9.50); while an underived form occurs in (9.50a) where the direct object is mentioned, the antipassive form is used in (9.50b) where the patient argument is merely implied.

[7] My corpus includes one instance where the antipassive marker occurs on an intransitive verb, namely *mun* 'grow'. In the text in which this is attested, *mun* 'grow' is used in underived form where the S argument is explicitly expressed. The antipassive form occurs in a clause without overt S argument with the meaning 'nothing was growing'. An explanation for such an untypical use of antipassive voice requires more research.

(9.50) a. *awalinti tugatukka*

awalinti *tuk-a-tok-ka*
aguardiente drink-ST-PROG-PRS

'He is drinking aguardiente (kind of liquor).'

b. *apebukũẽ na stugatukka*

a-pebu-kũẽ *na* *zï-tuk-a-tok-ka*
3SG.INAL-friend-PL with ANTIP-drink-ST-PROG-PRS

'He is drinking with his friends.'

My corpus includes two verbs in which *zï-* 'ANTIP' replaces the first consonant of the verb root and is realized as *z-*. These are *ga* 'eat', illustrated in (9.51), and *nuk* 'cook', in (9.52). A possible explanation for this fusion may be their status as high frequency items.

(9.51) *nasïng hana zakí ũwã gakí*

nasïng *hana* *zï-ga-kí* *ũwã* *ga-kí*
1PL like ANTIP-eat-NEG.IPFV meat eat-NEG.IPFV

'She doesn't eat like us, she doesn't eat meat.'

(9.52) *goksék zugapanatshak muletua hänshibé zugakí*

goksé-k *zï-nuk-a-pana-atshak* *muletua* *hänshibé* *zï-nuk-a-kí*
fire-LOC ANTIP-cook-ST-INCEP-TEMP.LOC very good ANTIP-cook-ST-IPFV.NEG

'When she started cooking on the fire, she wasn't cooking very well.'

There are a small number of predicates, shown in (9.53), whose combination with the antipassive marker may be considered lexicalized. While the base of *zïbẽ* 'sing' likely is *mẽ* 'tell', the base of the other two examples (**keti*) is not known.

(9.53) *zïbẽ* 'sing'
sketi 'pass by'
aksketi 'exit'

9.2.2 Detransitivizing *sh-*

The detransitivizing prefix *sh-* removes the goal argument in ditransitive clauses. In an underived ditransitive clause such as (9.54), the goal argument is marked with dative case and referenced with Set III verbal indexes. Detransitivizing *sh-* occurs, for example, when no concrete goal is given, as in the negated clause in (9.55).

(9.54) *Kuntshémakuk nahí gamá akkõnuge nzha*

Kuntshémaku-k	*nahí*	*gamá*	*ak-kõ#ne-uge*	*ni-nal*
Kuntshémaku-DAT	1SG.POSS	bag	3SG.III-give#PST-1SG.I	SPKR.SYM-be

'I gave my bag to Kuntshémaku.'

(9.55) *nahí gamaki shkõwazhánuge nzha*

nahí	*gamá-ki*	*sh-kõ-a-zhá#ne-uge*	*ni-nal*
1SG.POSS	bag-TOP	DETR-give-NEG#PST-1SG.I	SPKR.SYM-be

'I didn't give my bag away.'

Furthermore, the detransitivizing morpheme can be used when the goal of a ditransitive action does not refer to an animate recipient but rather a location, as the example in (9.56). This utterance, where the speaker's sister is not singled out as concrete recipient, conveys that the speaker will give away the addressee (let us say, for example, their child) to the place where their sister lives.

(9.56) *naldú nogali mishkõwalikue*

na-nu	*nok-a-ni*	*mi-sh-kõ-a-líka-uge*
1SG.INAL-elder.sister	be-ST-ALL	2SG.II-DETR-give-ST-FUT-1SG.I

'I will give you away to where my sister lives.'

This detransitivizing process appears to constitute the mirror image of the applicatives constructions discussed in Section 9.1.2. That is, while the benefactive applicative, for instance, introduces a new object, which is indexed with Set III markers, the detransitivizer *zï-* suppresses the argument with similar coding in ditransitive clauses, i.e. the goal. As Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019:66) note, such constructions can be regarded as "proper" antiapplicatives, given that they remove, rather than just suppress, the argument in question. They further note that such processes are relatively rare cross-linguistically.

9.3 Reflexive and reciprocal

Reflexive and reciprocal situations, i.e. in which an agent acts on him/herself, or several agents act on each other, are coded by prefixes on the predicate. These prefixes decrease the syntactic valency of the verb and have the effect of assigning two separate semantic roles to one and the same argument.

Following Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019), this process can be regarded as an instance of duplex voice marking in which several semantic roles are assigned to the same syntactic argument (e.g. A and P to the subject).

Kogi only makes use of verbal marking and has no nominal means, such as dedicated pronouns, to express reflexivity and reciprocity. There are two distinct prefixes that

express reflexive and reciprocal situations, namely *al-* and *zhik-*, which are discussed in Section 9.3.1 and Section 9.3.2 below. The functional distinction between the two can be characterized in terms of direct and indirect, a distinction which is manifested in both reflexive and reciprocal constructions in Kogi. The marker *al-* applies when the former A is co-referential with P in the reflexive/reciprocal construction.

By contrast, *zhik-* is used when the A is co-referential with an argument that is associated with a semantic role different from P. This can be, for instance, the recipient of ditransitive verbs of giving, or the addressee of verbs of speaking (realized as the indirect object in underived clauses). In addition, *zhik-* applies when the former A is not co-referential with any argument of the underlying verb, but rather can be connected to P by way of being a possessor or a beneficiary. Following Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019:141), the label X° is used to subsume these semantic roles that are associated with an extra-thematic or non-selected argument (see also Bosse et al. [2012]).

Both *al-* and *zhik-* appear in the templatic slot for Set III indexes in non-derived verb forms, and can be combined with transitive or ditransitive verbs. One effect of their detransitivizing function is the loss of the ergative marker on the former A in reflexive/reciprocal constructions.

9.3.1 Direct reflexives and reciprocals

The prefix *al-* is used in direct reflexives and reciprocals in which the A is co-referential with P (which is syntactically realized as a direct object in the underived clause). As shown in (9.57), the agent, i.e. *María* in (9.57a)), is no longer marked with ergative case in the reflexive construction in (9.57b).

(9.57) a. *Maríahã ahí sukkua shũne*

María-hã *ahí* *sukkua* *shũ-ne*
María-ERG 3SG.POSS son comb#PST

'María combed her son.'

b. *María alshũne*

María *al-shũ-ne*
María REFL-comb#PST

'María combed herself.'

While *al-* is most commonly used with monotransitive predicates, it can also combine with ditransitive verbs such as *gek* 'give, hand'. In this case, just as in constructions with monotransitive base verbs, the former A is co-referent with the direct object, which in ditransitive clauses corresponds to the semantic role of theme (T). Thus, in (9.58), the subject is associated with the semantic roles of both A and T.

(9.58) *näs policíak alkénuge*

näs policía-k al-gek#ne-uge
1SG police-DAT REFL-hand#PST-1SG.I

'I handed myself in to the police.'

The prefix *al-* serves to derive reciprocal verbs denoting situations that involve several participants, which are at the same time agents and patients. A reciprocal reading is given with plural subjects or more than one singular subjects that are coordinated by the conjunction *na* 'and'. An example of an underived and a reciprocal construction is given in (9.59).

(9.59) a. *naluhã asewá núsguane*

na-nu-hã a-sewá nusgu-a-ne
1SG.INAL-elder.sister-ERG 3SG.INAL-spouse kiss-ST#PST

'My elder sister kissed her husband.'

b. *nalú na asewá na alúsguane*

na-lú na a-sewá na al-nusgu-a-ne
1SG.INAL-elder.sister and 3SG.INAL-spouse and RECP-kiss-ST#PST

'My elder sister and her husband kissed each other.'

Constructions with more than one participant frequently allow for two interpretations, i.e. a reflexive plural or a reciprocal one, as illustrated in example (9.60).

(9.60) *José na David na altũne*

José na David na al-tũ-ne
José and David and REFL-see#PST

'José and David saw each other.' or 'José and David saw themselves.'

The reflexive interpretation is more restrictive and is impossible with certain verbs. For example, *al-guk* ('RECP-take') 'marry each other (lit. take each other)" never has a reflexive plural reading.[8]

9.3.2 Indirect reflexive and reciprocal

The indirect reflexive/reciprocal prefix *zhik-* occurs in a number of constructions in which the former A assumes a semantic role other than patient. In these instances, the A of a reflexive/reciprocal construction is co-referential with the participant which is associated with the semantic role of recipient, addressee or goal, and is coded as indirect

[8]There is no formal distinction between different semantic types of reciprocals, such as pair, strong, or chain reciprocals (cf. Evans, Majid, et al. [2011]).

object (i.e. marked with dative *-k* and indexed by Set III markers) in the underived clause.

Further instances of *zhik-* involve an A argument that coincides with an extra-thematic argument X° associated with semantic roles such as beneficiary, source or (external) possessor. Note that some of the semantic roles assigned to A in the reflexive/reciprocal constructions are part of the argument structure of the base verb, while others are not. Nevertheless, they all behave alike in terms of indexing in non-reflexive/reciprocal clauses. That is, all of the participants associated with these semantic roles are indexed in the verb by Set III markers, as shown in the following examples.

(9.61) Recipient (indirect object)
Cármenhã paletu naggé

Carmen-hã paletu nak-gek
Carmen-ERG plate 1SG.III-hand

'Carmen handed me the plate.'

(9.62) Goal (indirect object)
sukkuak balde akténuge

sukkua-k balde ak-te#ne-uge
boy-DAT bucket 3SG.III-put#PST-1SG.I

'I gave the boy a bucket to carry (lit.: put a bucket in his hands).'

(9.63) Beneficiary (extra-thematic)
arróz migahäbbinuge

arróz mik-a-häbbi#ne-uge
rice 2SG.III-BEN.APPL-buy#PST-1SG.I

'I bought you some rice.'

(9.64) External possessor (extra-thematic)
huángäla nakpulá

huángäla nak-pul-a
tongue 1SG.III-burn-ST

'My tongue got burned.'

Examples (9.65) and () illustrate indirect reciprocal constructions involving a recipient or addressee (i.e. the recipient of a message).

(9.65) *José-María Jorge na hãniú zhiggé*

José-María Jorge na hãniú zhik-gek
José-María Jorge and coca RECP-give

'José-María and Jorge gave each other coca leaves. (i.e. exchanged coca leaves - the common way of greeting each other among Kogi men)'

(9.66) *ai malé dula zhikshá*

ai malé dula zhik-shi-a
DEM a.while message RECP-lay-ST

'(We) talked to each other for a while here.'

Compare (9.65) with example (9.67). They illustrate the difference between the direct and the indirect marker on the same verb, namely *gek* 'give, hand'. In the indirect reciprocal construction, the agent is co-referential with the recipient, while in the direct reflexive construction, the agent is co-referential with the theme argument.

(9.67) *näs policíak alkénuge*

näs policía-k al-gek#ne-uge
1SG police-DAT REFL-hand#PST-1SG.I

'I handed myself in to the police.'

The A argument may also assume the role of goal of a ditransitive putting event, as with the verb *nak* 'put (of three dimensional objects)'.

(9.68) a. *maleta zhiklakéninki nẽ*

maleta zhik-nak-eni-ki nẽ
suitcase REFL-put-SEQ-TOP leave

'After picking up the suitcase (lit.: putting it on herself), she left.'

b. *súkkuahã gie zhikshá*

súkkua-hã gie zhik-shi-a
boy-ERG firewood REFL-put-ST

'The boy picked up the fire wood (lit.: put it on himself).'

The prefix *zhik-* also applies when S can at the same time be construed as source/location or external possessor, as in the following examples. In (9.69a), the agent can be construed as the location of the searching event. In the reciprocal construction in (9.69b), the participants can be construed as external possessors.

(9.69) a. *kũĩ zhikliánuge*

kũĩ zhik-ni-a#ne-uge
louse REFL-search-ST#PST-1SG.I

'I deloused myself (lit.: looked for lice on myself).'

b. *samotshi zhiklushĩ*

samotshi zhik-nuk-ĩ
white.hair RECP-pluck-IPFV.I

'They are plucking each other's white hair (lit.: from each other).'

The prefix *zhik-* can furthermore combine with the benefactive applicative marker *a-* to denote an autobenefactive situation, i.e. in which an individual performs an action to their own benefit. In these constructions, the extra-thematic role of beneficiary (or alternatively, of a current or eventual possessor) is assigned to the agent, as illustrated in (9.70) and (9.71). Note that the benefactive marker is prefixed after *zhik-* which then has the allomorphic realization *shk-* (i.e. it undergoes vowel deletion and assimilation of voicelessness).

(9.70) *shkazuka hiega muletua akwashegakí*

zhik-a-zï-nuk-a *hiega* *muletua* *ak-washek-a-kí*
REFL.INDIR-BEN-ANTIP-cook-ST also well 3SG.III-know-ST-NEG.IPFV

'Also, she didn't know well how to cook for herself.'

(9.71) *munzhikũẽ zhakuá shkhizhihĩ*

munzhi-kũẽ zhakuá zhik-a-hizhi-ĩ
woman-PL clothes RECP-BEN.APPL-wash-IPFV.I

'The women are washing each other's clothes.'

The alternation *zhik-* ~ *shk-* seems to be conditioned morphologically, rather than phonologically. While *zhik-* occurs before the 3PL.I index *a-*, *shk-* occurs before the benefactive prefix *a-*, as illustrated in (9.72).

(9.72) a. *ẽkũẽ gula zhigaké*

ẽ-kũẽ gula zhik-a-gek
DEM-PL hand RECP-3PL.I-give

'They greeted each other (lit.: gave each other their hands).'

b. *naskuaki munzhik shkagé*

una-skua-ki *munzhi-k* *zhik-a-gek*
1SG.INAL-son-TOP woman-DAT REFL-POSS-give

'I gave my son to a woman (to marry).'

9.4 Nominalization

Nominalizations play a marginal role in Kogi grammar. There are two types of deverbal nouns, namely one that refers to an agent who performs the action denoted by the verb, and another one that indicates a place where an event occurs. These deverbal nouns frequently form part of an action nominal, which can be defined as "a noun phrase that contains, in addition to a noun derived from a verb, one or more reflexes of a proposition or predicate" (Comrie & S. A. Thompson 1985:343). A characteristic trait of action nominals is that they commonly exhibit syntactic properties of both senctences and non-derived noun phrases (Comrie & S. A. Thompson 1985:344). While a more detailed study of these constructions is a task for future research, I shortly give an overview on the observed properties of action nominals in the remainder of this section.

9.4.0.1 Agent nominalization

The derivational suffix *-ka* attaches to verb roots and involves a change of word class, namely from verb to noun. The derived noun denotes a referent who habitually performs the action denoted by the verb. Two examples are given in (9.73) and (9.74).[9]

(9.73) *Mártahki kuizka*

Marta-ki *kuiz-ka*
Marta-TOP dance-NMLZ

'Marta is a dancer.'

(9.74) *sãĩ kángukatshi sánkala*

sãĩ *kan-gu-ka-tshi* *sánkala*
hair dry-DIR.CAUS-.NMLZ-GEN head

'The top part of a hair dryer.'

The construction in (9.74) constitutes an action nominal with the deverbal noun *kánguka* 'dryer' and the noun *sãĩ* 'hair', which is the patient of the predicate *kangu* 'dry (tr.)'. Thus, the construction preserves the verbal property of transitivity, requiring the

[9]Example (9.74) comes from a stimuli-based elicitation task which involved photographs of objects, some more easily identifiable, other less so (Enfield & De Ruiter [2003]), see also Knuchel (2020)). One of the photos depicted a part of a hair dryer, which was referred to with the presented action nominal.

expression of a patient. Note that the object *sãĩ̃* in this case is expressed in the same way as in common transitive sentence, i.e. in absolutive case, and does not feature genitive marking.

Another example of an action nominal with a direct object is given in (9.75a). Compare the construction in (9.75b) in which the direct object of the selling event is not specified. In this case, the deverbal noun allows for antipassive marking with *zï-*.

(9.75) a. *gakue nẽshika*

gakue nẽ-shi-ka
food go-INDIR.CAUS-NMLZ

'food vendor (lit.:the one who makes food go)'

b. *zlẽshika*

zï-nẽ-shi-ka
ANTIP-go-INDIR.CAUS-NMLZ

'vendor'

Note that the nominalizer *-ka* is formally identical with the marker expressing habitual aspect *-ka*. In third person singular clauses, the action nominals with a deverbal noun can clearly be distinguished from habitual verb forms, as exemplified in (9.76). The clause in (9.76a) features the transitive verb *go* 'build', which takes two arguments, an agent and a patient. As common in transitive clauses, these are flagged as ergative and absolutive, respectively. (9.76b), by contrast, constitutes a nominal predicate construction, which evidently is intransitive, as the subject (i.e. *ẽ* 'he') is in absolutive case.

(9.76) a. *ẽhã hui goka*

ẽ-hã hui go-ka
DEM-ERG house build-HAB

'He builds houses.'

b. *ẽki [hui goka]*

ẽ-ki hui go-ka
DEM-ERG house build-HAB

'He is a constructor (of houses).'

Turning to non-third person singular clauses, the distinction between the action nominal and the habitual verb form is less clearcut. As seen in (9.77), non-third person singular agents, e.g. *nasïŋ* 'we', are indexed on the predicate with the respective Set I markers. Recall, also, that personal pronouns cannot host case markers, such as ergative, which would mark the subject *nasïŋ* '1PL' as an A argument (i.e. of a transitive clause). Thus, this example can be interpreted as both, a transitive habitual clause or

a nominal predicate clause, in which the action nominal retains the verbal property of argument indexing.

(9.77) *(nasïng) hui kakoka (nzha)*

(nasïng)	*hui*	*ka-go-ka*	*ni-nal*
1PL	house	1PL.I-build-NMLZ/HAB	SPKR.SYM-be

'We are constructors. / We build houses.'

Furthermore, it is apparent that action nominals cannot be used in nominal predicate constructions with non-third person arguments in the same way as underived nouns. This is exemplified in (9.78). (9.78a) presents a prototypical nominal predicate construction in which A, i.e. '1PL', is indexed on the copula *nal*. The constructed example in (9.78b) shows that the action nominal *hui goka* 'constructor' cannot be used with a copula to indicate A.

(9.78) a. *nasïng kǎ́ggaba nikalá*

nasïng	*kǎ́ggaba*	*ni-nka-nal*
1PL	Kogi	SPKR.SYM-1PL.I-be

'We are Kogis.'

b. **nasïng [hui goka] nikalá*

nasïng	*hui*	*go-ka*	*ni-nka-nal*
1PL	house	build-NMLZ	SPKR.SYM-1PL.I-be

Intended: 'We are constructors.'

9.4.0.2 Place nominalization

A second type of nominalization is formed with the suffix *-éng* and derives nouns that refer to a place, where an event takes place. Like agent nominalizations, these derived nouns commonly occur as a part of an action nominal.

A first example is given in (9.79) in which the speaker refers to the place where an acquaintance of his lives. The action nominal consists of the deverbal noun *nogéng* ('live-NMLZ') and the noun *due* 'old man', which represents the subject of *nok* 'live'. Moreover, the action noun carries a locative marker *-k(a)* 'LOC'. The action nominal refers to the goal of a motion event in the first instance, and to a location in the second instance.

(9.79) *eka [due nogenka] nẽ eka [due nogenka] malé izho malé dula akshá*

eka	*due*	*nok-éng-ka*	*nẽ*	*eka*	*due*	*nok-éng-ka*	*malé*
DEM	old.man	be-NMLZ-LOC	go	DEM	old.man	be-NMLZ-LOC	a.while

i-nok	*malé*	*dula*	*ak-shi-a*
LOC.APPL-be	a.while	message	3SG.III-lay-ST

'I went there, where the old man lives. I stayed there, where the old man lives for a while and talked to him for a while.'

A further example is presented in (9.80).

(9.80) *ai [shúmnakala akuaggenka] eka kaziketingueni nẽhĩnga*

ai	*shúmnakala*	*a-guak-éng-ka*	*eka*	*ka-ziketi-ngu-eni*
DEM	shúmnakala	3PL.I-call-NMLZ-LOC	DEM	1PL.I-pass-REM.PST-SEQ

nẽ-ĩ-nga
walk-IPFV.I-CONT

'We passed by the place called (lit.:they call) shúmnakala and then kept walking.'

As example (9.81) illustrates, the action nominal can host tense/aspect morphology, such as the progressive marker.

(9.81) *zhakuá hizhatogéng*

zhakuá	*hizhi-a-tok-éng*
clothes	wash-ST-PROG-NMLZ

'the place where they are washing clothes'

Unlike underived nouns, the deverbal locative noun cannot be possessed, as shown in (9.82). Instead, the subject of the event is indexed on the deverbal noun, in the same way as in an underived verb form.

(9.82) a. *mihí kabakéng*

mihí	*kabak-éng*
2SG.POSS	sleep-NMLZ

Intended: 'your sleeping place (i.e. your room)'

b. *makabakéng*

ma-kabak-éng
2SG.I-sleep-NMLZ

'The place where you sleep'

Lastly, it is interesting to note that the nominalizer *-éng* is formally identical with the subordinate marker *-éng* 'SIMUL', which marks an imperfective figure event (see Section 11.2.2.2). The connection between the locative semantics of the nominalizer and the imperfective semantics of the subordinator is not hard to construe, given the relation between expressions of location and imperfectivity in general.

Chapter 10

Alignment and grammatical relations

The first part of this chapter (Section 10.1) gives an overview of the types of morphosyntactic alignment that can be established on the basis of argument marking, i.e. case flagging on the noun phrase and argument indexing on the verb. It is shown that noun phrase flagging follows an ergative-absolutive pattern, while verbal indexing predominantly shows nominative-accusative alignment (beside two minor patterns).

The notion of grammatical relations, e.g. subject or direct object, is the topic of Section 10.2. With regard to argument marking, a grammatical relation in a language typically covers different argument types that are coded alike (i.e. align). It is shown that in Kogi, grammatical relations cannot be defined on the basis of argument marking, i.e. flagging and indexing. In addition to these coding properties, further constructions that may provide evidence for grammatical relations are examined. It will become evident that the notion of grammatical relations in the sense of a set of arguments showing similar coding or syntactic behaviors across different constructions is difficult to apply to Kogi.

10.1 Morphosyntactic alignment

The notion of morphosyntactic alignment captures how different argument types in a clause a treated a like – in other words, align – in terms of morphosyntactic coding. Comparative studies as well as language-internal descriptions of alignment patterns commonly make use of the notions S, A and P (or O), T and R (or G) (Haspelmath 2011a). As Haspelmath (2011a) notes, there are a number different approaches to the definition of these terms.

For the description of morphosyntactic alignment in Kogi, I adopt the approach put forward by Bickel (2010), who uses the cover term 'generalized argument roles' to refer to the different argument types in a clause. The labels and their definitions are presented in (10.1). Note that my presentation of argument roles differs in one respect from the original one by Bickel (2010:402). That is, I opted for the label P in

lieu of Bickel's O, as it reflects a semantic property of this role (i.e. patient-like), thus paralleling the labels of T (for themes) and G (for goals).

(10.1) Argument roles (Bickel 2010)

S	single argument of an intransitive verb
A	most agent-like argument of a (di)transitive verb
P	most patient-like argument of a transitive verb
T	most patient-like argument of a ditransitive verb
G	most goal-like argument of a ditransitive verb

The following subsections illustrate the alignment patterns of argument flagging and verbal indexing found in transitive as well as ditransitive clauses.

10.1.1 Alignment in transitive clauses

10.1.1.1 Argument flagging

As noted above, flagging is restricted to non-pronominal noun phrases (see **??**), and personal pronouns never take case morphology (see Section 4.5.2). Let us first consider non-pronominal noun phrases, which take the three core cases absolutive (unmarked), ergative *-hã* and dative *-k* (see **??**). As illustrated in (10.2) and (10.3), S of intransitive predicates always occurs in the absolutive.

(10.2) *sukkua hoklégatukka*

sukkua *hoklek-a-tok-ka*
boy[ABS] play-ST-PROG-PRS

'The boy is playing.'

(10.3) *María sui akzeshĩ*

María *sui* *ak-zek-ĩ*
María[ABS] cold 2SG.III-feel-IPFV.I

'María is feeling cold.'

Flagging with transitive verbs is illustrated in examples (10.4) to (10.7).[1] Comparing these transitive clauses with the intransitive ones in (10.2) and (10.3) above, it is evident that P aligns with S, as both occur in absolutive case. A, by contrast, is coded

[1] Note that these examples involve A arguments with different semantic roles, i.e. a prototypical agent in (10.4), an inanimate agent in (10.5), and experiencers in (10.6) and (10.7). While flagging is the same for all of them, the semantic role of A (an S) can require different types of indexes, as is shown in the following section.

with the ergative *-hã*. Thus, flagging of non-pronominal arguments in transitive clauses shows ergative-absolutive alignment.[2]

(10.4) *sigihã mitu pune*

sigí-hã *mitu* *pu#ne*
man-ERG pig hit#PST

'The man hit the pig.'

(10.5) *mulkálahã hui akpene*

mulkala-hã *hui* *akpe#ne*
wind-ERG house open#PST

'The wind opened the door (lit.: the house).'

(10.6) *Martahã nahaba tũne*

Marta-hã *na-haba* *tũ#ne*
Marta-ERG 1SG.INAL-mother saw#PST

'Marta saw my mother.'

(10.7) *ẽhã hẽhié gaya aklunka*

ẽ-hã *hẽhié* *gaya* *ak-nun-ka*
DEM-ERG DEM young.woman 3SG.III-like-HAB

'He likes this young woman.'

As discussed in Section 4.5.2, personal pronouns are used rather scarcely and only in particular contexts, e.g. when it is necessary to disambiguate between two competing referents, or to indicate emphasis. Given that personal pronouns do not host case markers, they can be considered to occur in absolutive (i.e. unmarked) case in any of the three argument roles. This is illustrated in (10.8) and (10.9). Thus, flagging of personal pronouns shows neutral alignment, in which all three argument roles are coded alike.

(10.8) *näs nali eka nẽnuge*

näs *nali* *e-ka* *nẽ#n-uge*
1SG EMPH ENDO-LOC go#PST-1SG.I

'I myself made this bag.'

[2] As detailed in Section 6.2.1.2 on ergative case *-hã*, the marker is often omitted in transitive clauses that involve a non-third person singular P argument. This could point to an additional, minor alignment pattern (i.e. neutral) exclusive to clauses of that type. However, it can be maintained that A of a transitive clause always has the possibility of ergative marking and therefore no additional alignment type is postulated for argument flagging.

(10.9) *ma na tű́nuge*

ma *na* *tũ#ne-uge*
2SG FOC see#PST-1SG.I

'It was you I saw.'

The two alignment patterns of argument flagging with transitive verbs is schematically presented in Figure 10.1. There are two alignment types depending on the nature of the noun clause: while non-pronominal argument follow ergative-absolutive alignment, personal pronouns show a neutral pattern.

a. Non-pronominal NPs b. Personal pronouns

Figure 10.1: Transitive alignment of argument flagging

10.1.1.2 Argument indexing

Core arguments of a clause are referenced on the verb with indexes of three distinct sets, Set I, II and III (see Section 8.1). Each set typically corresponds to one of the argument roles, i.e. Set I to A/S, Set II to P and Set III to G. This correlation, however, is merely a tendency. Given that the index sets cannot exclusively be associated with a particular role, I use the labels Set I, II and III to distinguish the markers.

For argument indexing with transitive verbs, four different alignment patterns can be established; a major nominative-accusative alignment, and three minor ones, which occur with certain types of verbs.

Argument indexing on intransitive verbs is illustrated in (10.10) and on transitive ones in (10.11) to (10.12). It is evident that S and A both take markers of Set I, while P is marked with Set II indexes. Thus, the system of verbal indexing shows nominative-accusative alignment.

(10.10) *ya hókankale*

ya *hoka#nka-ne*
already bathe#1PL.I-PST

'We already bathed.'

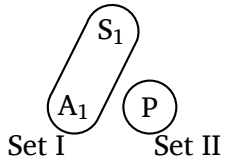


Figure 10.2: Nominative-accusative alignment in indexing

(10.11) *mabúkankale*

ma-muka#nka-ne
2SG.II-hit#1PL.I-PST

'We hit you.'

(10.12) *Martahã askuá hánguatukka*

Marta-hã a-skua hangua-tok-ka
Marta-ERG 3SG.INAL-son think-PROG-PRS

'Marta loves / is thinking about her son.'

(10.13) *nahaba tũmale?*

na-haba tũ#ma-ne
1SG.INAL-mother see#2SG.IPST

'Did you see my mother?'

The nominative-accusative alignment can be considered the predominant alignment type of indexing, as the majority of verbs follow this pattern. However, there are three subclasses of verbs that show a different alignment, namely certain transitive or intransitive experiencer predicates, and some intransitive patientive verbs.

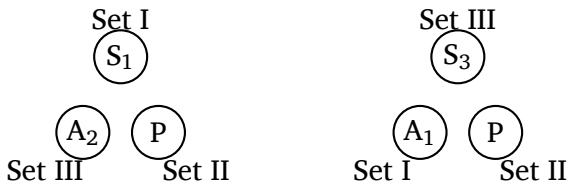
Let us first look at transitive experiencer verbs (i.e. of perception or cognition, such as *nukka* 'hear', *hangu* 'love, think about'). Most of these verbs reference A with Set I indexes, as (10.12) and (10.13) above. However, a handful of them use Set III markers, as for example *nun* 'like, want', illustrated in (10.14). Thus, these verbs code A (with Set III) unlike S (with Set I) and P (with Set II), which constitutes a tripartite alignment pattern.

(10.14) *somahã ni aklunĩ*

somá-hã ni ak-nun-ĩ
baby-ERG water 3SG.III-want-IPFV.I

'The baby wants water (i.e. is thirsty).'

The same manner of coding is observed with A, which constitutes a possessor, in the predicate possession clause in (10.15).



a. Transitive exp. verbs b. Intransitive exp. verbs

Figure 10.3: Two types of tripartite alignment with experiencer verbs

(10.15) *ezua nalú nakalé*

ezua *na-nu* *nak-a-nal*
ART 1SG.POSS-elder.sister 1SG.III-POSS-be

'I have an elder sister.'

As will be illustrated below, indexes of Set III prototypically mark G (i.e. a recipient or goal) in ditransitive clauses. As Bickel (1999:414) notes, the alignment of S with G is a cross-linguistically frequent pattern attested with experiential predicates, commonly referred to as dative experiencers.

The second minor alignment type of indexing is attested with intransitive verbs that involve the semantic role of experiencers of, for example, emotions or bodily sensations. These reference S with Set III indexes. Thus, S is coded in the same way as A of the transitive experiential verbs discussed above. Two examples are provided in (10.16). As S, A and P each receive indexes of different sets, the alignment is tripartite.

(10.16) a. *guangua nakzeshĩ*

guangua *nak-zek-ĩ*
warm 1SG.III-feel-IPFV.I

'I feel warm.'

b. *sukkua zeng akleshĩ*

sukkua *zeng* *ak-nek-ĩ*
boy happy 3SG.III-be-IPFV.I

'The boy is happy.'

Thus, we find two distinct tripartite alignment patterns with experiencer predicates which are distinguished by the allocation of Set III indexes to different argument roles. In the case of transitive experiencer predicates, Set III marks A, while in the the case of intransitive experiencer predicates, Set III marks S. This is illustrated in the alignment diagrams in Figure 10.3.

Lastly, there is a small number of intransitive predicates that denote a non-volitional action and index S with markers of Set II, such as *nuan* 'get wet', illustrated in (10.17). In this case, the alignment is ergative-absolutive where S is marked in the same way as P.

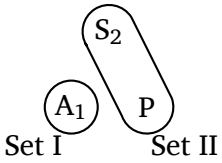


Figure 10.4: Ergative-accusative alignment with patientive intransitive verbs

Table 10.1: Indexing of S

Role	Marker	Predicate type
S_1 / A_1	Set I	Majority of verbs
A_2	Set III	Some transitive experiencer verbs
S_2	Set II	Some intransitive patientive verbs
S_3	Set III	Intransitive experiencer verbs

(10.17) *zïnaluánane*

zïna-nuan-a#ne
1PL.II-get.wet-ST#PST

'We got wet.'

Note that only a subset of non-volitional verbs show this pattern, others are *itsol* 'get angry', *itshuizhan* 'get lost' or *ihuan* 'vomit'. Other non-volitional intransitives, e.g. *shuizhan* 'die', follow the predominant nominative-accusative alignment.

Two intransitive predicates that denote the (non-volitional) action of falling show differential marking of S (also known as split-intransitive) which can be marked either by an index of Set I or Set II. With the verb *pen* 'fall', the differential marking does not entail any meaning difference, and both predicates in (10.18) denote a non-volitional event. The second predicate that shows differential S marking, *akhien*, has a strictly non-volitional meaning with Set II indexes (i.e. 'fall off / down'), whereas with Set I indexes, it can have a non-volitional (i.e. 'fall off / down') as well as volitional reading (i.e. 'descend').

(10.18) *hiúngulak pénanuge / napénane*

hiungula-k pen-a#ne-uge / na-pen-a#ne
road-LOC fall#PST1-SG.I / 1SG.II-fall-ST#PST

'I fell on the road.'

This third minor alignment type is illustrated in Figure 10.4.

From the preceding discussion, it becomes clear that there are several ways in which S and A can be marked, depending on the predicate. The different subtypes are summarized in Table 10.1.

10.1.2 Alignment in ditransitive clauses

The alignment of argument marking in ditransitive clauses can be determined by comparing the coding of T and G with the one of P of monotransitive clauses. Kogi only has two underived ditransitive verbs, namely *gek* 'give, hand' and *kõ* 'give as a gift, give to eat'. Example (10.19) illustrates that T, i.e. *ni* 'water', occurs in the absolutive, just as P in monotransitives. G, by contrast, is flagged differently, namely with dative *-k*. The alignment of flagging can be characterized as indirective.

(10.19) *munzhihã asewak ni akkõne*

munzhi-hã *a-sewá-k* *ni* *ak-kõ#ne*
woman-ERG man-DAT water 3SG.III-give#PST

'The woman gave water to the man.'

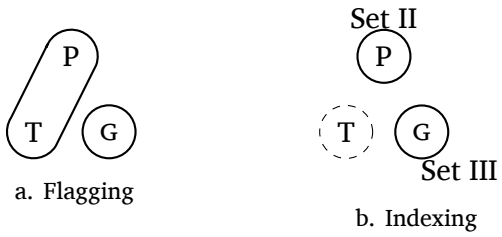
Verbal indexing of ditransitive clauses follows a tripartite pattern in which all three roles are treated differently. Unlike P, T is not indexed on the verb and G is indexed by Set III markers, as shown in (10.20).

(10.20) *nahí zhakuá naggene*

nahí *zhakuá* *nak-gek#ne*
1SG.POSS clothes 1SG.III-give#PST

'He gave me my clothes.'

The alignment patterns of flagging and indexing in ditransitive clauses are illustrated in Figure 10.5.



a. Flagging b. Indexing

Figure 10.5: Diransitive alignment

10.2 Grammatical relations

The present section addresses the question of whether or not grammatical relations, like subject or direct object, can be established in the grammar of Kogi. Following Bickel (2010:401), I adopt the definition of grammatical relations as "the syntactic relation that an argument bears to *a specific construction or rule*".

Grammatical relations can typically be established on two kinds of criteria, coding properties and behavioral properties (**vanvalin2001syntax**). The former typically concern morphological marking, such as NP flagging and argument indexing, discussed in

the previous section. These properties are examined in terms of grammatical relations in Section 10.2.1. In addition, Section 10.2.2 discusses the coding property of number indexing, and the position of an argument in the clause, which may indicate particular grammatical relation, is addressed in Section 10.2.3.

The second type of properties concern the behavior of arguments in terms of their syntax. The ones addressed here are constraints on control and coreference in multi-clausal constructions (Section 10.2.4), the accessibility of arguments for relativization (Section 10.2.5) and availability for certain valency-changing processes (Section 10.2.6).

As will be illustrated in what follows, there is no convincing evidence for coherent grammatical relations in Kogi.

10.2.1 Argument marking

On the basis of argument flagging, the following grammatical relations can be determined.

- ERG: {A}
- ABS: {S, P, T}
- DAT: {G}

Verbal indexing points to the following grammatical relations:

- Set I: {S_1, A_1}
- Set II: {S_2, P}
- Set III: {A_2, S_3, G }
- unmarked: {T}

By comparing argument flagging and indexing, it becomes evident that the established grammatical relations differ considerably. For prototypical transitive clauses, as shown in Table 10.2, the patterns do not align. In other words, on the basis of flagging, S and P are conflated into one grammatical role, whereas S and A are conflated on the basis of indexing. Thus, it seems that the traditional notion of subject as a pervasive "S/A pivot" is problematic in Kogi.

Table 10.2: Argument flagging and indexing in transitive clauses

	A	S	P
NP-flag	ERG	ABS	
V-index	Set I		Set II

10.2.2 Number marking

Indexing of number with the plural marker *-kũẽ* on the predicate constitutes a further coding property that may point to grammatical relations. While this marker is mostly found on noun phrases, it can also attach to verbs to indicate plurality of participants. In elicited verb paradigms, the marker is commonly used to indicate third person plural S/A arguments, as in the verb form in (10.21) and (10.22). (10.23) is an example from naturally occurring speech, which features the verb *hoklek* 'play' taking *-kũẽ* 'PL' (besides several other elements that indicate plurality of referents).

(10.21) *kabánekũẽ*

kabak#ne-kũẽ
sleep#PST-PL

'They slept.'

(10.22) *eka nẽnekũẽ*

eka nẽ#ne-kũẽ
there go#PST-PL

'They went there.'

(10.23) *maigua sukkua bulu-kũẽ zhekualé hoklégatokakũẽ nalgué hekí atũ*

maigua sukkua bulu-kũẽ zhe-kual-é hoklek-a-tok-kũẽ nal-ngu-é
three boy DIM.PL-PL be.PL-exist-REL play-PROG-PL be-PST-REL
hekí a-tũ
DEM.MAN 3PL.S/A-look

'Three little boys that were there, who were playing, looked at him like this.'

A further example from spontaneous speech is presented in (10.24). From this example, it becomes evident that plural indexing is not exclusive to S/A but can also index G in ditransitives like *mẽ* 'tell'. In (10.24), A refers to a single person (2SG) while G references two persons (i.e. the addressees, 3PL). In the verb form, G is indicated with a combination of the third person singular index of Set III *ak-* and the plural marker *-kũẽ*.

(10.24) *ahí munzhi na askuá na akbẽyatukkakũẽ "ekí negisane nzha."*

ahí munzhi na a-skua na ak-mẽ-a-tok-ka-kũẽ
3SG.POSS woman and 3SG.INAL-child and 3SG.III-tell-ST-PROG-PRS-PL
ekí nak-i-sa#ne ni-nal
DEM.MAN 1SG.III-MAL-happen#PST SPKR.SYM-be

'He is telling his wife and his son "This is what happened to me."'

While this type of indicating a third person plural argument is not very frequent in texts, further elicitation confirmed that it is not restricted restricted to any particular set of roles. The elicited phrase in (10.25) is interpreted as involving P with plural referents ('the dogs').

(10.25) *súkkuahã̃ pio múgatukkakũ̃ẽ*

sukkua-hã̃ pio múk-a-tok-ka-kũ̃ẽ
boy-ERG dog hit-ST-PROG-PRS-PL

'The boy is hitting the dogs.'

In order to get a reading with a plural A, number must be marked explicitly on the noun phrase, as in (10.26).

(10.26) *súkkuakũ̃ẽhã̃ pio múgatukkakũ̃ẽ*

sukkua-kũ̃ẽ-hã̃ pio múk-a-tok-ka-kũ̃ẽ
boy-PL-ERG dog hit-ST-PROG-PRS-PL

'The boys are hitting the dog(s).'

In conclusion, the plural marker *-kũ̃ẽ* as an argument index on the predicated does not point to a unified grammatical role.

10.2.3 Constituent order

Constituent order is relatively rigid in Kogi clauses.. The predicate is always the last constituent, while S/A is prototypically the first one. In transitive clauses, P follows S/A. This is illustrated in (10.27).

(10.27) Constituent order: SPV
ẽ̃kũ̃ehã̃ nuhṹ gowatukka

ẽ̃-kũ̃e-hã̃ nuhṹ go-a-tok-ka
DEM-PL-ERG house.for.men build-ST-PROG-PRS

'They are building a house for men.'

SPV is the canonical order in unmarked clauses. The fronting of P has the pragmatic effect of emphasizing this constituent.

Constituent order points to two grammatical relations, namely S/A occurring in the first slot, and P occurring in the second slot of a clause.

10.2.4 Coreference of arguments in coordinated and adverbial clauses

Clauses can be coordinated with the suffix *-atshake* on lexical verbs or auxiliaries. As illustrated with the following examples, coreference between participants of the first and the second clause depends on the pragmatic context, rather than a syntactical constraint.

(10.28) *Maríahã Marta tũ guatshake ikólane*

María-hã Marta tũ gu-atshake i-kola#ne
María-ERG Marta see AUX.PFV-COORD LOC.APPL-call#PST

'María$_i$ saw Marta$_j$ and (she) called her$_{i/j}$.'

(10.29) *munzhi zháwahã alimeta akhienguatshake kualbene*

munzhi zhawa-hã alimeta akhien-gu-atshake kualbe#ne
woman little-ERG bottle fall-DIR.CAUS-COORD break#PST

'The girl dropped the bottle and (it) broke.'

(10.30) *munzhi zháwahã alimeta kualbeguatshake alménguane*

munzhi zhawa-hã alimeta kualbe-gu-atshake al-ben-gu-a#ne
woman little-ERG bottle break-CAUS-COORD REFL-cut-DIR.CAUS-ST#PST

'The girl broke the bottle and cut herself.'

Moving on to subordinate clauses, similarly to co-ordinated clauses, coreference between participants in the main clause and in the subordinate clause is governed by pragmatics. Temporal adverbial clauses contain verbs that take subordinate markers that signal temporal relations such as subsequence or simultaneity. In addition, the subordinate verb forms can take inflectional morphemes of tense/aspect and person. A of the subordinate clause is coreferent with A of the main clause in (10.31). In (10.32), by contrast, A of the subordinate clause is coreferent with P of the main clause.

(10.31) *súkkuahã pio hangunguéninki pune*

sukkua-hã pio hangu-ngu-eni-nki pu#ne
boy-ERG dog pet-PST-SEQ-TOP hit#PST

'After the boy petted the dog, he hit it. '

(10.32) *sukkuahã pio huguĩ guatoguéngnki hóline*

sukkua-hã pio hugu-ĩ gu-a-tok-ngu-éng-nki holi#ne
boy-ERG dog pet-IPFV.I AUX.PFV-ST-PROG#PST-SIMUL-TOP bite-PST

'While the boy was petting the dog, it bit him.'

Given that the interpretation of these coordinated and subordinated clauses depends on the pragmatic context rather than a syntactical constraint, grammatical relations cannot be established on the basis of this criterion.

10.2.5 Relative clauses

Most relative clauses in Kogi do not carry any relative marking and are merely juxtaposed to the noun that they modify. A minor type of relative clauses is formed the relative marker *-é* which attaches to an auxiliary verb. This type of relativization is restricted to express states of affairs with past tense reference. See Section 11.1 for more details on relative clauses.

Relativization in Kogi is constrained to core arguments and oblique noun phrases. Concerning the generalized roles that the present chapter focuses on, all of them are accessible to relativization, as illustrated in (10.33) to (10.36). Additionally, (10.37) provides an example of a relativized oblique noun phrase.

(10.33) S
ezua sukkua [bicicleta ak-te] ai

ezua	*sukkua*	*bicicleta*	*ak-te*	*ai*
one	boy	bicycle	3SG.III-hold	DEM

'There is a boy who is holding (i.e. pushing) a bicycle.'

(10.34) P
gaziosa [múnzhihã aksui kualé] sigihã ikuká

gaziosa	*munzhi-hã*	*ak-sui*	*kual-é*	*sigí-hã*	*i-guk-a*
soda	woman-ERG	3SG.III-hold.in.hand	exist-REL	man-ERG	LOC.APPL-take

'The man took the soda that the woman was holding.'

(10.35) T
gamá [Olgahã nakkõne nalgué] negihisbene

gamá	*Olga-hã*	*nak-kõ-ne*	*nal-gu-é*	*nak-i-hisbe-ne*
bag	Olga-ERG	1SG.III-give-PST	be-PST-REL	1SG.III-MAL.APPL-tear-PST

'The bag that Olga gave me, got torn (on me).'

(10.36) G
sigí [múnzhihã gakue akkõne] kabashĩ

sigí	*munzhi-hã*	*gakue*	*ak-kõ-ne*	*kabak-ĩ*
man	woman-ERG	food	3SG.III-give-PST	sleep-IPFV.I

'The man to whom the woman gave food is sleeping.'

(10.37) Oblique
hamaca [Domingahã nakkõne]k kabákkuge

hamaca *Dominga-hã* *nak-kõ-ne-k* *kabak-ka-uge*
hammock Dominga-ERG 1SG.III-give-PST-LOC sleep-HAB-1SG.I

'I sleep in the hammock that Dominga gave me.'

It is evident that both types of relative clauses are not restricted to a particular subset of roles, and do therefore not indicate a specific grammatical relation.

10.2.6 Valency-changing processes

Among the valency adjusting processes in Kogi, two valency-decreasing operations can be examined with regard to the grammatical role they specify (note that Kogi does not have a morphological passive).

The antipassive prefix *zï-* is used to remove the P argument from the syntactic structure of underived transitives. While the resulting clauses are syntactically monovalent, P is still part of the semantic valency of the predicate.

(10.38) *nãwĩhabahã zïlikal zïnakaka*

nãwĩ-haba-hã *zï-nik-a-l* *zïna-gak-a*
1PL.INAL-mother-ERG ANTIP-sow-ST-PURP 1PL.II-send-ST

'Our mother sent us to sow.'

While P patterns like T arguments in ditransitive clauses with regard to case marking (absolutive), the antipassive marker does not target T arguments.

The detransitivizing prefix *sh-* is used with ditransitive predicates to remove the G argument which is then no longer indexed in the verb. This is used, for example, when the recipient of *kõ* 'give as a gift' is unspecific as in the following negated clause.

(10.39) a. *nahí gamaki kakkõnuge*

nahí *gamá-ki* *kak-kõ#ne-uge*
1SG.POSS bag-TOP 3PL.III-give-#PST-1SG.I

'I didn't give my bag away.'

b. *nahí gamaki shkõwazhánuge nzha*

nahí *gamá-ki* *sh-kõ-a-zhá#ne-uge* *ni-nal*
1SG.POSS bag-TOP DETR-give-NEG#PST-1SG.I SPKR.SYM-be

'I didn't give my bag away.'

In this operation, the input grammatical role is G.

10.2.7 Summary

This section examined different constructions on the basis of which grammatical relations may be identified. It is apparent that the evidence for unified grammatical relations which can be established across different constructions is rather weak. Only constituent order and the anti-applicative construction show easily identifiable grammatical relations. By contrast, the investigation of all other constructions yields a picture too divers to establish grammatical relations as morphological or syntactic pivots.

Chapter 11

Combination of clauses

In the present chapter, three selected constructions of combined clauses are shortly addressed. These include relative clauses, discussed in Section 11.1, adverbial clauses which are examined in Section 11.2, and complement clauses, exemplified in Section 11.3. While the following sections present some basic aspects, the area of combined clauses will need more attention in future research in order to provide a more detailed and comprehensive account.

11.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) forms part of a noun phrase and functions as a modifier of the head noun. There are two types of relative clauses in Kogi: (i) RCs that involve juxtaposition of the relative clause and the head noun with no relative marking, and (ii) RCs formed with the verbal relative marker *-é*.

A first example of a RC without relative marking is presented in (11.1). This type of relative clause seems to be used more frequently. Unmarked relative clauses can denote states of affairs with present, past or future reference.

(11.1)

ezua sukkua [bicicleta ak-te] ai

ezua	*sukkua*	*bicicleta*	*ak-te*	*ai*
one	boy	bicycle	3SG.III-hold	DEM

'There is a boy who is holding (i.e. pushing) a bicycle.'

A construction with the relativizer *-é* is shown in (11.2). These RCs appear to be restricted to express past states of affairs and always involve an auxiliary verb to which the relative marker attaches. Note, however, given that RCs are fairly rare in my text corpus, this is a preliminary hypothesis. Furthermore, it is not clear at present whether there is a functional difference between unmarked and marked RCs with past tense reference.

(11.2) *guatshak tueka alani [alusaba aluna aklukka noggué̱ki] nẽ*

gu-atshak	*tueka*	*a-nani*	*alusaba*	*aluna*	*ak-nok-ka*
AUX.PFV-SUB	DEM	3SG.INAL-elder.brother	bad	soul	3SG.III-be-HAB

nok-gu-é̱-ki	*nẽ*
AUX.IPFV-REM.PST-REL-TOP	leave

'And then there, the elder brother, who had a bad soul, left.'

The present section discusses relative clause constructions, i.e. noun phrases that consist of a head noun and a RC, in relation to Lehmann (1986)'s typology in terms of their structure (i.e. headedness and position of the RC) (Section 11.1.1) and in relation to Keenan & Comrie (1977)'s "accessibility hierarchy" (Section 11.1.2).

11.1.1 Structure of relative clause constructions

According to Lehmann (1986), a RC construction may either be internally or externally headed, meaning that the modified noun may occur inside of the RC or outside of it. Further, a RC may either be adjoined to the main clause or embedded in it. In the case of embedded RCs, the RC can either occur before the nominal head (prenominally) or after it (postnominally). Kogi RC constructions may be both externally or internally headed. As for the externally headed constructions, the RC always occurs postnominally, i.e. after the nominal head which is modified by the RC. Furthermore, RCs can be headless, meaning that a nominal head is lacking in the NP.

(11.3) comes from a story about an informant's first encounter with the researcher. It features three RCs (indicated by brackets) that do not have any relative marking. The head of the RC construction *munzhi* 'woman' (indicated in bold face) occurs outside of the RC, i.e. the construction is externally headed. The RCs stand in postnominal position, i.e. after the head.

(11.3) *ezua* ***munzhi*** *[Suiza säla] [ventiocho kagi itsé̱] [Dominga akazhukka] tũ*

ezua	*munzhi*	*Suiza*	*säla*	*ventiocho*	*kagi*	*i-te*	*Dominga*
INDEF	woman	Switzerland	from	twenty.eight	year	LOC.APPL-be	D.

ak-a-nok-ka	*tũ*
3SG.III-POSS-be-HAB	meet

'I met a woman who is from Switzerland, who is twenty eight years old and is called Dominga.'

(11.4a) presents a plain transitive clause which functions as a RC (indicated with square brackets) in (11.4b). This construction, too, is externally headed, as the head *takbi* 'snake' occurs outside of the RC. Furthermore, it is evident that the RC occurs after the head, i.e. in postnominal position.

(11.4) a. *sigíhã takbi guákane*

sigí-hã *takbi* *guák-a#ne*
man-ERG snake kill-ST#PST

'The man killed the snake.'

b. ***takbi** [sigíhã guakane] tũnuge*

takbi *sigí-hã* *guak-a#ne* *tũ#ne-uge*
snake man-ERG kill-ST#PST see#PST-1SG.I

'I saw the snake that the man killed.'

With regard to argument marking in the RC, (11.4b) shows that the original marking, i.e. ergative case on A (*sigí* 'man') is retained in the RC. Comparing the sentences in (11.5), it is evident that ergative marking on a RC construction, by constrast, is not possible. (11.5a) presents a plain transitive clause which constitutes the matrix clause in (11.5b). In the plain clause, A ('the woman') is expressed by a simple NP which is marked for ergative case. In (11.5b), the RC construction ('the woman whom the man kissed') takes a topic marker, but not ergative.

(11.5) a. *munzhihã gie kualguĩ*

munzhi-hã *gie* *kual-gu-ĩ*
woman-ERG firewood cut-CAUS-IPFV.I

'The woman is cutting firewood.'

b. ***munzhi** [sigihã núsguane](*hã)ki gie kualguĩ*

munzhi *sigí-hã* *nusgu-a#ne-hã-ki* *gie* *kual-gu-ĩ*
woman man-ERG kiss-ST#PST-ERG-TOP firewood cut-CAUS-IPFV.I

'The woman whom the man kissed is gutting firewood.'

An example of an internally-headed RC is given in (11.6). The head *suguamé* 'bag' appears within the RC.

(11.6) *[Domingahã **suguamé** nakkõne] tũ makué*

Dominga-hã *suguamé* *nak-kõ#ne* *tũ* *ma-gu-é*
D.-ERG bag 1SG.III-give#PST see 2SG.I-AUX-PFV-INT

'Did you see the bag that Dominga gave me?'

Note that the same proposition can be expressed by a externally-headed construction, as the one in (11.7). At present it is not clear what the functional difference between internally and externally headed RCs is.

(11.7) ***suguamé*** *[Domingahã nakkõne] tũ makué*

suguamé	*Dominga-hã*	*nak-kõ#ne*	*tũ*	*ma-gu-é*
bag	D.-ERG	1SG.III-give#PST	see	2SG.I-AUX-PFV-INT

'Did you see the bag that Dominga gave me?'

RCs may also be headless, meaning that there is no nominal head which is modified by the RC. This is illustrated in (11.9) and (11.8). In both examples, the noun phrases that function as S arguments consist solely of a RC. While headless RCs are used for non-specific referents in some language, this is not the case in Kogi. That is, the referent of the headless RC in (11.9) is specific, referring to some crops that were planted earlier by the speaker.

(11.8) *[naklunka]ki nalakí*

nak-nun-ka-ki	*nal-a-kí*
1SG.III-like-HAB-TOP	be-ST-NEG.IPFV

'There's nothing that I like.'

(11.9) *ya [níkankale nalgueki] ya gakuká*

ya	*ník-a-nka-ne*	*nal-gu-é-ki*	*ya*	*ga-kuká*
already	sow-ST-1PL.I-PST	AUX-REM.PST-REL-TOP	already	eat-POT

'What we had sown was already ready to be eaten.'

11.1.2 Accessibility hierarchy

Languages differ in what types of elements can be relativized. Keenan & Comrie (1977) noted that a given relativizing strategy will apply to a contiguous portion of a hierarchy, known as the accessibility hierarchy. While their version of the hierarchy involves labels of grammatical relations (e.g. subject, direct object), I present an adapted version featuring the labels of argument roles (which prototypically correspond to the grammatical relations) in (11.10).

(11.10) S/A > P > G > Oblique > possessor

The portion marked in grey in (11.10) corresponds to the elements that can be relativized. That is, relativization in Kogi is constrained to core arguments and oblique noun phrases.

The different types of unmarked RCs is illustrated in (11.11) to (11.15).

(11.11) S
ezua sukkua [bicicleta ak-te] ai

ezua sukkua bicicleta ak-te ai
one boy bicycle 3SG.III-hold DEM

'There is a boy who is holding (i.e. pushing) a bicycle.'

(11.12) P
gaziosa [múnzhihã aksui kualé] sigihã ikuká

gaziosa munzhi-hã ak-sui kual-é sigí-hã i-guk-a
soda woman-ERG 3SG.III-hold.in.hand exist-REL man-ERG LOC.APPL-take

'The man took the soda that the woman was holding.'

(11.13) T
gamá [Olgahã nakkõne nalgué] negihisbene

gamá Olga-hã nak-kõ#ne nal-gu-é nak-i-hisbe#ne
bag Olga-ERG 1SG.III-give#PST be-PST-REL 1SG.III-MAL.APPL-tear#PST

'The bag that Olga gave me, got torn (on me).'

(11.14) G
sigí [múnzhihã gakue akkõne] kabashĩ

sigí munzhi-hã gakue ak-kõ#ne kabak-ĩ
man woman-ERG food 3SG.III-give#PST sleep-IPFV.I

'The man to whom the woman gave food is sleeping.'

(11.15) Oblique
hamaca [Domingahã nakkõne]k kabákkuge

hamaca Dominga-hã nak-kõ#ne-k kabak-ka-uge
hammock Dominga-ERG 1SG.III-give#PST-LOC sleep-HAB-1SG.I

'I sleep in the hammock that Dominga gave me.'

As for the right-most position in the accessibility hierarchy, it is not possible to relativize a noun phrase corresponding a possessor along the lines of 'I saw the snake [whose teeth are big]'.

11.2 Adverbial clauses

A set of verbal suffixes mark a predicate as subordinate and express a temporal or logical relationship between two events.

11.2.1 Purpose clauses

There are two suffixes that mark the purpose of an action. The suffix *-l* expresses the purpose of a motion event, and *-amak* is used in all other types of purpose clauses. While purpose of motion verbs cannot be negated, other purpose clauses have the negative purpose marker *-guakua*. These markers are illustrated in the following paragraphs.

The purpose of a motion event is marked by the suffix *-l*. It is attached to the verb that expresses the purpose, as, for example, *shitti* 'study' in (11.16).

(11.16) *kaggabatshi muligaba shittial nakle*

kaggaba-tshi muligaba shitti-a-l nak#ne
Kogi-GEN language study-ST-PURP come#PST

'She came to study the language of the Kogi.'

The purposive verb form takes indexes of Set II and III (cf. (11.17)), and the third person plural marker of Set I (cf. (11.18)). The motion verb which follows the purposive verb takes Set I markers of the remaining person/number values, as well as other verb morphology such as markers of tense or subordination.

(11.17) *mitsák mokue zïnatũal malakalika*

mitsák mokue zïna-tũ-a-l ma-nak-a-lika
when again 1PL.II-see-ST-PURP 2SG.I-come-ST-FUT

'When will you come and see us again?'

(11.18) *kalkálali hiega alial nẽyatshák tũakí*

kalkala-ni hiega a-ni-a-l nẽ-atshák tũ-a-kí
forest-LOC ADD 3PL.I-look.for-ST-PURP go-SIMUL see-ST-NEG.IPFV

'Even as they go into the forest to look for [the frog] they don't see him.'

Purpose clauses that do not express a purpose of motion involve the marker *-amak* 'PURP', as illustrated in (11.19) and (11.20). The purpose marker may attach to the lexical verb, as in (11.20a) or to an auxiliary verb, as in (11.19) and (11.20b). Note that both constructions in (11.20) appear to be equal in meaning. Furthermore, purposive verb forms take verbal morphology such as tense of person markers.

(11.19) *nahí sukkuakũẽ colegioli nẽ akualiamak hiba atshikuge*

nahí sukkua-kũẽ colegio-ni nẽ a-gu-a-lí-amak hiba
1SG.POSS child-PL school-LOC go 3PL.I-AUX.PFV-ST-FUT-PURP work
atshi-ka-uge
do-HAB-1SG.i

'I work so that my children can go school.'

(11.20) a. *mätsa gukalikuamak katu ténuge*

mätsa guk-a-lí-ku-amak katu te#ne-uge
iguana catch-ST-FUT-1SG.I-PURP trap put#PST-1SG.I

b. *mätsa guka gualikuamak katu ténuge*

mätsa guk-a gu-a-lí-ku-amak katu te#ne-uge
iguana catch-ST AUX.PFV-ST-FUT-1SG.I-PURP trap put#PST-1SG.I

Both: 'I put up a trap in order to catch an iguana.'

For the negation of purpose clauses, the particle *guakua* is used in combination with an imperfective form of the purpose verb. Even though *guakua* possibly comprises the verb *gu* 'do', it is considered a particle as it does not accommodate any person or tense/aspect marking.

(11.21) a. *hugaké akiónuge shentá hulunĩ guakua*

hugaké akiók#ne-uge shentá hulun-ĩ guakua
door close#PST-1SG.III chicken enter-IPFV.I NEG.PURP

'I closed the door lest the chickens should enter.'

b. *séngaba nẽgua mapenĩ guakua*

séngaba nẽ-gua ma-pen-ĩ guakua
slowly walk-IMP.SG 2SG.I-fall-IPFV.I NEG.PURP

'Walk slowly lest you should fall.'

11.2.2 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal interclausal relations, e.g. sequence or simltaneity, are expressed by adverbial clauses. In the example After my father arrived, he ate the figure event (he ate) is expressed in a main clause, which is related to the ground event (he arrived) in an adverbial clause. Temporal adverbial clauses in Kogi are characterized by bound subordinating morphemes that occur on the lexical verb, or alternatively on the auxiliary in periphrastic predicates. -eni is associated with anteriority, in other words the ground event preceeded the figure event. -eng is associated with simultaneous duration, i.e. while the ground event is taking place, the figure event occurrs. The ground event in adverbial clauses with -eng is always durative and the predicate is marked with progressive aspect (i.e. a synthetic progressive form of the lexical verb or a construction with the auxiliary nok 'be'). In this sense, the ground event spans over a time period in which the figure event, which can be punctual or durative, takes place or is initiated. Further subordinating morphemes that express interclausal relations are -(a)kke (gwakke, gungwakke, gwaldiakke) and -atshak(ke), -atshigak. Possible semantic categories are immediate anteriority (i.e. an event happens/is completed, and the another

one occurs - almost causal relation), simultaneity overlap (p overlaps with q: when they arrived, she came home) and contingency (whenever).

11.2.2.1 Temporal sequence *-ẽni*

The subordinating marker *-ẽni* 'SEQ' expresses temporal anteriority. That is, the figure event occurs after the ground event which carries the subordinator. A first example is provided in (11.22), the adverbial clause is indicated with brackets. The subordinate marker may occur on the lexical verb, as in (11.22a), or on an auxiliary, as in (11.22b). Note that both sentences are equal in meaning. While the forms in (11.22) are not overtly marked for tense, they have a recent past interpretation.

(11.22) a. *[nahate nakẽni] zane*

na-hate *nak-**ẽni*** *zï-ga-ne*
1SG.INAL-father come-SEQ ANTIP-eat#PST

'After my father arrived, he ate.'

b. *[nahate nak guẽni] zane*

na-hate *nak* *gu-**ẽni*** *zï-ga-ne*
1SG.INAL-father come do-SEQ ANTIP-eat#PST

'After my father arrived, he ate.'

States of affairs that happened in the remote past are marked with *-ngu*, either on the lexical verb in synthetic predicates or the auxiliary verb. The tense marker occurs directly before the sequential marker. An example comes from a narrative about a speaker's childhood experience, presented in (11.23). From this example, it also becomes clear that the subordinate verb form accommodates argument indexes, as in this case *ka-* '1PL.I'.

(11.23) *[eka tũ kakunguẽninki] [mokue nak kakunguẽni] ekí akbẽya: "muan me zbunaté nzhokã"*

eka *tũ* *ka-gu-ngu-**ẽni**-ki* *mokue nak* *ka-gu-ngu-**ẽni***
DEM look 1PL.I-AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ-TOP again return 1PL.I-AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ

ekí *ak-mẽ-a* *muan me* *zï-mun-a-té* *ni-nok-ã*
DEM 3SG.III-tell-ST half only ANTIP-grow-ST-IPFV.II SPKR.SYM-AUX.IPFV-HOD.PST

'After we had a look [at the crops], after we returned, we told [my mother]: "Only half [of the crops] are growing."'

Subordinate verbs with future reference take the future marker *-lí*.[1] Example (8.43) comes from the "Family Problems Picture Task" in which a speaker recounted the story

[1]Note that the future marker in the subordinate verb is *-lí*, as opposed to *-lika* as in main clause predicates (Reference to section on future tense).

like a cautionary tale, using second person singular as an impersonal form and future tense.

(11.24) *kasake [kukí alkuka makualini] [kualapana makualini] sukkua zhawa mikalé*

kasa-ke	*kukí*	*al-guk-a*	*ma-gu-a-lí-**ẽni***
beginning-TEMP.LOC	DEM	RECP-marry-ST	2SG.I-AUX.PFV-FUT-SEQ

kual-a-pana	*ma-gu-a-lí-**ẽni***	*sukkua*	*zhawa*	*mik-a-nal*
live-ST-INCEP	2SG.I-AUX.PFV-ST-FUT-SEQ	child	DIM	2SG.III-POSS-be

'At the beginning, after having married each other, after having started living together, you will have a child.'

11.2.2.2 Durative simultaneity *-éng*

The subordinate marker *-éng* marks an imperfective ground event and can by translated with 'while'. The subordinate predicate is marked for imperfectivity either with the progressive marker *-tok* ∼*-nok* or the imperfective auxiliary. A first example is given in (11.25), where the subordinate marker occurs on the lexical verb with a progressive marker.

(11.25) *[nakua nẽyatokengki] ezua munzhi zhawa ai zïketa*

nakua	*nẽ-a-tok-**éng**-ki*	*ezua*	*munzhi*	*zhawa*	*ai*	*zïket-a*
young.man	walk-ST-PROG-SIM-TOP	INDEF	woman	DIM	DEM	pass-ST

'While the young man was walking, a girl passed by.'

Similarly to the temporal sequence marker *-ẽni*, subordinate verbs with *-éng* take person indexes and the remote past marker *-ngu*, as shown in (11.26) and (11.27)

(11.26) *[hoklé kalogguengki] zula muan zïngitshuizhá*

hoklek	*ka-nok-gu-**éng**-ki*	*zula*	*muan*	*zïng-i-shuizhá*
play	1PL.I-AUX.IPFV-REM.PST-SIM-TOP	seed	half	1PL.III-MAL-get.lost

'While we were playing, half of the seeds got lost on us.'

(11.27) *[Santa Marta nẽyatoggukuengki] ezua munzhi Suiza säla tũ*

Santa	*Marta*	*nẽ-a-tok-gu-ku-**éng**-ki*	*ezua*	*munzhi*
Santa	Marta	travel-ST-PROG-REM.PST-1SG.I-SIM-TOP	INDEF	woman

Suiza	*säla*	*tũ*
Switzerland	from	meet

'While I was traveling around in Santa Marta, I met a woman from Switzerland.'

The use of an imperfective auxiliary is illustrated in (11.28).

(11.28) *[ezua te nakalé nalguéng] ezua napebu na nãwĩhaba zïlikal zïnakaka*

ezua	*te*	*nak-a-nal*	*nal-ngu-**éng***	*ezua*	*na-pebu*	*na*
INDEF	field	1SG.III-POSS-be	be-REM.PST-SIM	INDEP	1SG.POSS-friend	and

nãwĩ-haba	*zï-nik-a-l*	*zïna-gak-a*
1PL.POSS-mother	ANTIP-SOW-ST-PURP	1PL.II-send-ST

'When I had a field, my mother sent me and a friend of mine to sow.'

11.2.3 Absolutive adverbial clauses *-ákke*

The subordinate morpheme *-ákke* marks so called absolutive clauses. These show the three characteristics of absolutive clauses noted by S. A.-. Thompson et al. (1985:264). That is, they (i) are marked as subordinate, (ii) do not specify the exact relationship between the main and the subordinate clause, and (iii) the interpretation of the relationship depends on the context. Payne (1997:320) characterizes absolutive clauses as "present[ing] the general background for the situation expressed in the main clause" which is the function of clauses involving *-ákke*.

In Kogi absolutive clauses, the relationship between main and subordinate clauses with *-ákke* is not as unequivocal as with the clauses introduced above: depending on the context, it may be interpreted as temporal 'when', causal 'because', or 'so, then'. Given this its plurifunctionality, *-ákke* is glossed as 'SUB' (rather than 'absolutive', in order to prevent confusion with absolutive case), i.e. representing its syntactic rather than its semantic function.

The marker can attach to lexical or auxiliary verbs and takes the same subordinate remote past marker *-ngu*, as temporal adverbial clauses. In addition, an absolutive verb form takes the marker *-atsh(a)* which is in complementary distribution with the remote past marker. From its use in present tense narratives, *-atsh(a)* is seems to convey present tense. However, as it is also attested in certain constructions in narratives set in the (remote) past, I refrain from glossing it as such. Instead, I treat the combination of *-atsh(a)* and *-ákke* as one morpheme, glossed as 'SUB'.

The temporal, i.e. simultaneous, meaning 'when' of *-ákke* is exemplified in (11.29) and ().

(11.29) *ezua mozhua semana zegguakke mõkue nãwihabahã tũal zïnakaka*

ezua	*mozhua*	*semana*	*zek-ngu-**ákke***	*mõkue*	*nãwi-haba-hã*
one	two	week	happen-REM.PST-SUB	again	1PL.INAL-mother-ERG

tũ-a-l	*zïna-gak-a*
look-ST-PURP	1PL.II-send-ST

'When one, two weeks passed, out mother sent as again to go and have a look.'

(11.30) *anunka mõtshuizha kabalatshákke ya nikankale nalguéki ya gakuká*

anunka *mõtshuizha* *nka-mal-**atshákke*** *ya* *nik-a-nka-ne*
a.while second.time 1PL.I-weed-SUB already sow-ST-1PL.I-PST
nal-gu-é-ki *ya* *ga-kuká*
be-REM.PST-REL-TOP already eat-POT

'After a while, when we weeded [the field] a second time, what we had sown was already ready to eat.'

In (11.31) and (11.32), the adverbial clause denotes a reason and its translation involves the notion of 'since, because'.

(11.31) *aléng mokue ya kalá munalá guxá aklegguakke aléng nali tũal nẽ*

aléng *mokue ya* *kalá* *muna-ná* *guxá* *ak-nek-ngu-**ákke***
3SG.INDEP again already grass grow-INCEP CERT 3SG.III-think-REM.PST-SUB
aléng *nali* *tũ-a-l* *nẽ*
3SG.INDEP EMPH look-ST-PURP go

'Since she was certain that the grass had started growing again, she herself went to have a look.'

(11.32) *colmena hoklekshatokéngki piohã akhiengua guatshák holilika*

colmena *hoklek-sha-tok-éng-ki* *pio-hã* *akhien-gu-a*
bee.hive play-DIR.CAUS-PROG-SIM-TOP dog-ERG fall-INDIR.CAUS-ST
*gu-**atshákke*** *holi-líka*
AUX.PFV-SUB sting-FUT

'Because the dog causes the bee hive to fall while messing around with it, [the bees] are going to sting [him].'

An example, in which the subordinate marker best translates as 'and then' is given in (11.33).

(11.33) *tũẽni zeng aklekkagga guakke mokue ahí mõkui gukẽni nẽ*

tũ-ẽni *zeng* *ak-nek-kagga* *gu-**ákke*** *mokue* *ahí* *mõkui*
see-SEQ happy 3SG.III-be-INTENS AUX.PFV-SUB again 3SG.POSS frog
guk-ẽni *nẽ*
take-SEQ leave

'After seeing [the frogs], he feels very happy and then, after taking his frog again, he leaves.'

Finally, the marker *-atshakke* is used with the additive particle *hiega* to express 'but' or 'even though, even so'. This is illustrated in(11.34). Note that, given that the narrative is set in the past, *-atshakke* does not have present tense meaning in this instance.

(11.34) *shkazuka hiega muletua akwashegakí nalatshák hiega zugapana*

zhig-a-zï-nuk-a	*hiega*	*muletua*	*ak-washek-a-kí*
REFL-BEN-ANTIP-cook-ST	also	well	3SG.III-know-ST-NEG.IPFV

*nal-**atshákke***	*hiega*	*zï-nuk-a-pána*
be-SUB	ADD	ANTIP-cook-ST-INCEP

'She also didn't know well how to cook for herself, even so she started cooking.'

11.2.4 Adverbial verb forms in tail-head linkage

The adverbial verb forms detailed in the preceding sections are encountered with high frequency in Kogi texts. Beside their occurrence in subordinate clauses, they constitute a device for tail-head linkage. According to De Vries (2005:365) tail–head linkage (THL) can be characterized as "a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain". A short illustration is presented in (11.35) which is an elicited narrative from a tense-aspect questionnaire (see Dahl (1985)).

(11.35) *tashimak nẽyaté **noggukuéngki** ezua takbi itana **gunguẽninki** kasa naholí **gunguakke** ezua haggi guka **gungukuẽninki** aguteya **guatshakke** shuizhá*

tashima-k	*nẽ-a-té*	*nok-ngu-ku-**éng**-ki*	*ezua*	*takbi*
forest-LOC	walk-ST-IPFV.II	AUX.IPFV-REM.PST-1SG.I-SIM-TOP	INDEF	snake

itana	*gu-ngu-**ẽni**-ki*	*kasa*	*na-holí*	*gu-ngu-**ákke***
step.on	AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ-TOP	foot	1SG.II-bite	AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SUB

ezua	*haggi*	*guk-a*	*gu-ngu-ku-**ẽni**-ki*	*aguteya*	*gu-**atshákke***	*shuizhá*
INDEF	rock	take-ST	AUX.PFV-SUB	die		

'**While** I was walking in the forest, I stepped on a snake **and then** it bit my foot. **So** I took a rock **and then**, **when** I threw it [at the snake], it died.'

11.3 Complementation

Prototypically, complement clauses (CC) function as an argument of a predicate in a matrix clause (Noonan 2007). While complementation in Kogi is an area that awaits further research, I shortly discuss some instances encountered in my corpus. A first observation for different types of complement constructions in Kogi is that they often do not involve any complementizers, i.e. elements that mark the subordinate status of the CC. In some cases, namely speech or thought complements, an interrogative pronoun assumes the function of a complementizer.

According to Payne (1997:315), different CCs can be positioned on a continuum from non-finite complements to finite complements. Finite complements are similar to

independent clauses in that they carry their own tense-aspect marking and can include expressions of the arguments. A finite complement with future tense is illustrated in (11.36). The interrogative word *sakí* 'how' serves as a complementizer.

(11.36) *nasïng hanguaté [sai tũalika ne]*

nasïng *hangu-a-té* *sakí* *tũ-a-líka* *ne*
1PL.INDEP think-ST-IPFV.II how look-ST-FUT UNCERT

'We were thinking (i.e. wondering) how [the field] would look.'

(11.37) shows a finite complement of *hangu* 'think' without complementizer and future time reference.

(11.37) *näs hanguĩ [Lucas kaiga colegiok izhokalika]*

näs *hangu-ĩ* *Lucas* *kaiga* *colegio-k* *i-nok-a-líka*
1SG.INDEP think-IPFV.I L. today school-LOC LOC.APPL-be-ST-FUT

'I think Lucas will be at the school today.'

In (11.38), the finite complement clause contains a person marker indexing the second person singular A argument, in addition to past tense morphology.

(11.38) *[ya zamale] natũkuá́*

ya *zï-ga#ma-ne* *na-tũ-ku-á́*
already ANTIP-eat#2SG.I-PST SPKR.ASYM-see-1SG.I-HOD.PST

'I saw that you already ate.'

Examples of finite complements of indirect speech are given in (11.39). As is typical for indirect speech, the person of the original speech events ('I'm feeling hot.' and 'I will go back home') is changed from first to third person singular. As for tense/aspect, the values remain unchanged in the complement.

(11.39) a. *aléngki nakbẽya [guangua akzeshĩ]*

aléng-ki *nak-mẽ-a* *guangua* *ak-zek-ĩ*
3SG.INDEP-TOP 1SG.III-tell-ST hot 3SG.III-feel-IPFV.I

'She told me that she was feeling hot.'

b. *gunguẽninki [mokue ahuli nẽyalika] nakbẽya*

gu-ngu-ẽni-ki *mokue* *a-hui-ni* *nẽ-a-líka*
AUX.PFV-REM.PST-SEQ again 3SG.INAL-house-ALL go-ST-FUT
nak-mẽ-a
1SG.III-tell-ST

'And then she told me that she would go back home.'

From the examples presented so far, it becomes evident that the position of the complement clause in relation to the matrix clause is variable. That is, the CC may occur both, at the beginning or at the end of the matrix clause. Certain complement clause constructions involve a non-finite verb form. For example, in reported imperatives, as the one in (11.40), a non-finite form marked with *-l* 'SUB' is used.[2] The subordinate verb form can be considered non-finite as it does not host any inflectional morphology other than Set II markers to index P.

(11.40) *[zhakuá **mekal**] nakbẽne*

zhakuá	*mek-a-l*	*nak-mẽ#ne*
clothes	put.away-ST-PURP	1SG.III-tell#PST

'She told me to put away the clothes.'

The complement clause of the predicate *gonek* 'help' features a non-finite imperfective verb, as shown in (8.61).

(11.41) *Maríahã [zhakuá **meshĩ**] naggónekle*

María-hã	*zhakuá*	*mek-ĩ*	*nak-gonek#ne*
M.-ERG	clothes	put.away-IPFV.I	1SG.III-help#PST

'María helped me putting away the clothes.'

In (11.42) the complement clause contains a non-finite verb, namely one marked for obligative modality (see Section 8.6.1.3). The sentence expressing a wish of the speaker can thus literally be translated as 'I think my son has to go to school.'

(11.42) *näs [naskuá colegioli **nẽyakue**] hanguĩ*

näs	*na-skua*	*colegio-li*	*nẽ-a-kue*	*hangu-ĩ*
1SG.INDEP	1SG.INAL	school-ALL	go-ST-OBLIG	think-IPFV.I

'I want my son to go to school.' (lit.: 'I think my son has to go to school.'

[2]The same subordinate marker is also found in periphrastic causatives (see Section 9.1.1.3).

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List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agentive transitive argument
ABS	absolutive
ADD	additive
ADDR	addressee perspective
ADJ	adjective
ALL	allative
ANTIP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ASYM	asymmetrical access
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
CMPR	comparative particle
CNTR	contrastive
COM	comitative
CONT	continuative
COORD	coordinate
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DERIV	derivational prefix
DETR	detransitivizer
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct
DIST	distal
DITR	ditransitive
DUB	dubitative
DUR	durative
EA	epistemic authority
EMPH	emphatic particle
ENDO	endophoric demonstrative
ERG	ergative
FOC	focus
FUT	future
G	gender
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HOD	hodiernal past
I	set ONE
IDPH	ideophone
II	set TWO
III	set THREE
IMM	immediate past
IMP	imperative
INAL	inalienable
INCEP	inceptive
INDEF	indefinite
INDEP	independent person form
INDIR	indirect
INESS	inessive
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative
INTENS	intensifying morpheme
INTER	interjection
INTERJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
INVIS	invisible
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MAL	malefactive
MAN	manner
MED	medial
MID	middle
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBLG	obligative
OBLIG	obligative
OPT	optative
P	patientive transitive argument
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal

PRS	present
PST	past
PURP	purposive
REC	recent past
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM	remote past
S	intransitive argument
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SIM	similative
SIMUL	simultaneous
SPKR	speaker perspective
ST	stem form
SUB	subordinate
SYM	symmetrical access
T	theme-like argument in ditransitive clause
TEMP	temporal
TH	thematic vowel
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
UNCERT	uncertainty
VOL	volitional