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Two grammars of A'ingae glottalization

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language: A'ingae, or Cofán, an Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: con

inner domain: glottal stops are a prosodic feature

- (i) **trigger** stress assignment
- (ii) **deleted** along with stress

outer domain: glottal stops are regular consonants

- (i) **no effect** on stress
- (ii) **unaffected** by stress deletion

stress deletion: triggered by **idiosyncratic** morphemes

implications: need to combine phonological effects specific to

- (i) **domains**, as in Stratal OT (e.g. Bermúdez-Otero, 1999)
- (ii) **morphemes**, as in Cophonology Theory (e.g. Orgun, 1996)

A'ingae (or Cofán): geography

Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: **con**

spoken by ca. 1,500 Cofán people in

- Sucumbíos, northeast Ecuador
- Putumayo, southern Colombia

A'ingae (or Cofán): geography



figure 1: indigenous languages of southern Colombia and northern Ecuador (Curnow and Liddicoat, 1998)

A'ingae (or Cofán): sociocultural status

endangered and highly underdocumented

under economic, ecological, and political pressures

uniformly positive language attitudes (Dąbkowski, 2021)

data

- collected by author
- in 2021–2022
- with two consultants from Dureno, Sucumbíos, Ecuador



Jorge Mendúa



Shinjen Aguinda

glottal stop: the basics

(1) ʔ AS CONTRASTIVE IN ROOTS

a. *ʔk^ha*

break.INTR

b. *ʔʔk^ha*

break.TR

(2) ʔ AS CONTRASTIVE IN FUNCTIONAL MORPHEMES

a. *tsá* =*ma*

ANA =ACC

b. *tsá* -ʔ*ma*

ANA -FRST

morphological structure of the A'ingae verb

heavily agglutinating, suffixing language

two morphophonological domains, or strata

- *inner* domain: root, voice, aspect, associated motion
- *outer* domain: number, reality, polarity, subject person, etc.

(3) STRATAL ORGANIZATION OF THE A'INGAE VERB

[*kofé* -*k^ho* -*?he* -*ŋgi*] -*?fa* -*ja* -*^mbi* =*tsi*
play -RCPR -IPFV -PROX -PL -IRR -NEG =3

“they_{3,PL} will_{IRR} not_{NEG} come_{PROX} to be_{IPFV} playing with each other_{RCPR}”

root categories

(4) STRESSLESS ROOTS

a. / atapa /
[atápa]
breed

b. / atapa -hi /
[atapá -hi]
breed -PRCL

(5) STRESSED ROOTS

a. / áfase /
[áfase]
offend

b. / áfase -hi /
[áfase -hi]
offend -PRCL

(6) GLOTTALIZED ROOTS

a. / ák^heʔpa /
[ák^heʔpa]
be shy

b. / ák^heʔpa -hi /
[ák^heʔpa -hi]
be shy -PRCL

stress and glottalization in suffixed verbs

		lexical stress		
		no lexical stress		lexical stress and ?
		↓	↓	↓
		<i>atapa</i>	<i>áfase</i>	<i>ák^he?pa</i>
		breed	offend	forget
inner regular	-hi PRCL	<i>atapáhi</i>	<i>áfasehi</i>	<i>ák^he?pahi</i>
inner preglottalized	-?he IPFV	<i>atápa?he</i>	<i>afáse?he</i>	<i>ak^hépa?he</i>
inner stress-deleting	-k ^h o RCPR	<i>atapák^ho</i>	<i>afasék^ho</i>	<i>ak^hepák^ho</i>
outer regular	-ja IRR	<i>atapája</i>	<i>áfaseja</i>	<i>ák^he?paja</i>
outer preglottalized	-?fa PL	<i>atapá?fa</i>	<i>áfase?fa</i>	<i>ák^he?pa?fa</i>
outer stress-deleting	-k ^h a IMP	<i>atapák^ha</i>	<i>afasék^ha</i>	<i>ak^he?pák^ha</i>

blue: stress

red: glottal stop

central generalization

central generalization:

stress and glottal stops either interact or they don't

inner domain: stress and glottal stops do interact

- (i) glottal stops trigger stress assignment
- (ii) stress deletion deletes glottal stops

outer domain: stress and glottal stops do not interact

- (i) glottal stops do not affect stress
- (ii) stress deletion ignores glottal stops

- (7) INNER DOMAIN: ? IS A
FEATURE OF THE FOOT

. (× . ?).
a *tá* pa he
breed IPFV

- (8) OUTER DOMAIN: ? IS A
REGULAR SEGMENT

. . (× .)
a ta *pá* ?fa
breed PL

stress assignment in the two domains

- (9) INNER DOMAIN: ? AT THE RIGHT EDGE OF THE FOOT

. . . ?.	. (× . ?).
a ta pa he	a tá pa he
breed IPFV	→ breed IPFV

- (10) OUTER DOMAIN: ? AS A REGULAR CONSONANT

. (× .)
a ta pa ja	a ta pá ja
breed IRR	→ breed IRR

. (× .)
a ta pa ?fa	a ta pá ?fa
breed PL	→ breed PL

stress deletion in the two domains

(11) INNER DOMAIN: ? AS A FEATURE OF THE FOOT

~~(x . ?)~~ (x . .)
á k^he pa k^ho a k^he *pá* k^ho
forget RCPR → forget RCPR

(12) OUTER DOMAIN: ? AS A REGULAR CONSONANT

~~(x .)~~ (x . .)
á k^he? pa k^ha a k^he? *pá* k^ha
forget IMP → forget IMP

conclusion

inner domain: glottal stops are a **prosodic feature**

outer domain: glottal stops are regular **consonants**

stress deletion: triggered by idiosyncratic morphemes

(i) **inner** stress deletion **targets** ?

(ii) **outer** stress deletion retains ?

implications: need to combine phonological effects specific to

(i) **domains**, as in Stratal OT (e.g. Bermúdez-Otero, 1999)

(ii) **morphemes**, as in Cophonology Theory (e.g. Orgun, 1996)

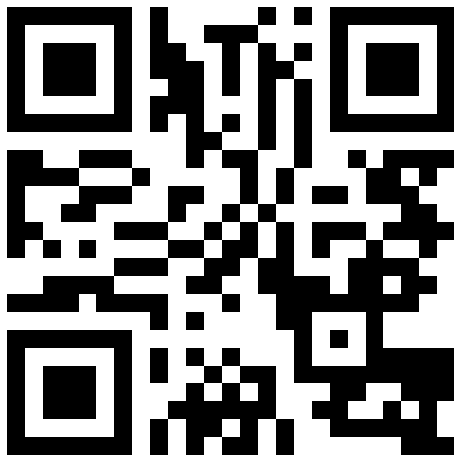
full paper: a case for **Cophonologies by Phase** (Sande et al., 2020)

thank you!





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<https://bit.ly/3RMKSUx>

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