A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF KAMSÁ,
A LANGUAGE ISOLATE OF COLOMBIA

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

1.1 Summary

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

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

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

1.2 The Kamsá people and language

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

### 1.2.1 Location and history

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

Map 1 (on the following page) shows where Sibundoy is within Colombia. Pasto is to the west, and Mocoa to the east.
Map 1. Sibundoy
Adapted from Google Maps (Map data ©2018 GBRMPA, Google).

Map 2 (on the following page) shows the location of Sibundoy in relation to the neighboring towns.
Map 2. Sibundoy and neighboring towns
Adapted from Google Maps (Map data ©2018 Google).

Figure 1.1 is a photo I took in Sibundoy.

Figure 1.1 Sibundoy
In addition to the Kamsá populations within Sibundoy Valley, there are four Kamsá *resguardos* ‘reservations’: two just outside Sibundoy town and two near Mocoa. Most Kamsás, however, do not live on *resguardos*, but rather live in their own houses in *veredas* (rural areas outside a city or town). Furthermore, there are also Kamsás who live in other cities in Colombia. The Colombian towns and cities with Kamsá *cabildos* ‘indigenous governing bodies’ (discussed further in 1.2.2) are: Bogotá, Puerto Asís, Mocoa, and Santiago. There are perhaps 100 Kamsá families living in Bogotá. Some were forcibly displaced during the Colombian conflict and others have moved there to seek other opportunities for work, education, and so on.

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

While it is assumed that the Kamsá people have had a presence in Sibundoy since before arrival or emergence of Inga speakers, it is not clear exactly how long they have been there, partially because the archaeological evidence is lacking. There are theories that they came from the north (that is, from other highland groups) and other theories that they came from the south (from lowland groups). The traditional Kamsá belief is that they are autochthonous, having
always been in Sibundoy and indeed there is no strong evidence that they came from the north or the south. They may have lived alone in the valley for many centuries without any particularly strong outside contact. As mentioned, there have been Inga people living in the valley for at least the past 500 years, though. In the 15th century, the Inca empire was very powerful to the south, but it is actually debated whether the Incas actually conquered Sibundoy valley.

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

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

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

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\(^1\) This quote is from a published English translation of the book.
1.2.2 Culture

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

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

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

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\(^2\) The gloss ‘garden’ is just an approximate translation and it is also sometimes rendered as ‘field, plantation’, and even ‘estate, hacienda’. It is a combination of orchard, ranch, and vegetable garden.
up to a week to make, involving several rounds of boiling and adding more ingredients. Thus, instead, often families will offer a black, very sweet coffee, instead (tinto in Colombian Spanish). The snack is often an envuelto or arepa, but can also be bread, sometimes with unaged cheese. It is very rude to refuse food or drink. There is a saying: Jtsabonýná ndoñ tšabian, shëntsam kwanjanoban (‘It is not good to refuse food, you can/will die of hunger’).

Kamsá handicrafts are very important culturally. Perhaps the most common is the tšombiach, an intricately woven, multicolored band, as seen in Figure 1.2 tšombiach (on the following page). The patterns have special meanings. The tšombiach are used for many purposes, including as belts, as straps for bags, and as decorative ornaments to hang from the crown used for Betšknaté, the annual Kamsá carnival. They are woven on a loom and typically take more than a day to make. Masks are another traditional handicraft. They are carved out of wood and are often painted or beaded. They are worn during certain ceremonies, particularly during Betšknaté. Finally there are flutes which are important for dancing, during Betšknaté especially, but traditionally there were other ceremonies that included dancing, as well, such as weddings.
Yagé (ayahuasca) is a very important part of Kamsá culture, as well as one of its more famous aspects. Yagé is a hallucinogenic brew made from a mixture of the *Banisteriopsis caapi* vine with other plants, such as the *Psychotria viridis* shrub. Yagé is administered by a shaman during overnight ceremonies that take place in a *maloca* (long house). The person who takes yagé generally hallucinates and vomits profusely, and the experience is viewed as being spiritual as well as being both literally and figuratively cathartic. Yagé ceremonies are used to cure
illnesses, both physical and emotional. Nowadays, the ceremony blends aspects of Catholicism with the traditional shamanism. It is hard to overstate the cultural cachet that yagé has for many Kamsás and the power that it is seen to possess. One shaman is quoted as saying:

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

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

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

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

Kamsá politics center around the cabildo. Ever year, a new Kamsá governor is elected. There are also four alguaciles (Spanish for ‘clerks’), who serve as aides to the governor. The cabildo organizes the various festivals, such as Day of the Spirits and Betšknaté. In Colombia, cabildos are recognized as a sort of representative of the community and receive money and aid from the government. They also organize for political issues that affect indigenous people, such as mining in the area, aspects of the 2016 peace accord between the Colombian government and the FARC, and ethnic education.
An important concept in Kamsá is *shinýak* ‘hearth’, the large fire kept in the traditional house or outdoor kitchen. Many Kamsás see this word as being connected to the words *in* ‘fire’ and *shinýe* ‘sun’, and thus see the three concepts as related. More pragmatically, the *shinýak* is used to make *chicha*, which needs to be cooked in a cauldron over a large fire, meaning it cannot be made on a modern stove. In the past, people would make meals on the fire and sit around the *shinýak*, telling stories.

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

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

### 1.2.3 Relationship to other languages / classification attempts

Kamsá is a language isolate. There have been several attempts to group it with other language families, mainly Chibchan, but there is no reliable evidence that it is related to other languages. See Campbell 2012 for a survey of larger-scale though mostly unaccepted proposals of distant genetic relationships involving languages in South America. There have also been suggestions that it is related to the language of the Quillacinga, whose ancestral homeland is around what is now the city of Pasto. Although the Quillacinga people still exist, their language
has been extinct for centuries and they now only speak Spanish. There are no records of what
their language was like. There are several theories about what language they spoke: Kamsá,
something related to Kamsá, something in the Chibchan family, or something in the Quechuan
family. It is of course impossible to classify their language, since there is no record of it.
Likewise, Kamsá could theoretically be related to whatever language was once spoken by the
Mocoa people (a group who once lived in the area of the current city of Mocoa), but their
language is also unknown to us. The extant languages geographically closest to Kamsá are: Inga
(Quechuan), Kofán (isolate), Siona (Tukano), Awa Pit (Barbacoan), and Koreguaje (Tukano).
Future research is needed to see if any of these languages have had lexical or structural
influences on Kamsá.

1.2.4 Borrowing

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

One obvious semantic domain for borrowing includes vocabulary for fauna, flora,
cultural objects and concepts that did not exist before the arrival of the Spanish. Examples
include: ral ‘money’ (from Spanish real, the old Spanish currency), naranjabe ‘orange’ (from
Spanish naranja ‘orange’), and jatrabajá ‘work’ (from Spanish trabajar ‘work’). All three of
these words exhibit the borrowed phoneme /r/, which suggests that the forms are foreign.
Nevertheless, their integration into Kamsá can be shown both phonologically and
morphologically. First, ral ‘money’ has undergone a phonological reduction, from the disyllabic
form *re.al to the current monosyllabic *ral (the fact that the term real is no longer used in local Colombian Spanish can obscure the word’s etymology). Second, the from *naranjabe ‘orange’ shows a morphological change, having received the noun classifier associated with round objects, -be (3.2.2). Finally, *jatrabaja has undergone the phonological change of the loss of a final consonant; furthermore, it reveals Kamsá verbal morphology by exhibiting the non-finite verb marker j(a)- (4), as well as being able to receive TAM morphology.

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

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

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

Kamsá’s traditional phoneme inventory also lacked a plain (non-prenasalized) voiced alveolar /d/, and many older Spanish words that contained /d/ have been borrowed into Kamsá with either /n/ or /ny/ (written in orthography used here as <nd> and <ný>, respectively). Examples of Spanish words with *d that have been borrowed with phonological changes into
Kamsá are: *nîios* or *ndios* or *nîioš* ‘god’ (from Spanish *dios* ‘god’); *ndeolpe* ‘suddenly’ from *de golpe* ‘suddenly’; and *nderado* ‘maybe’ possibly from *de raro*.

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

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

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

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

In addition to lexical borrowing, Kamsá has perhaps undergone structural changes under influence from Spanish and Inga. Since Kamsá has no known relatives and since no early
documents representing the language are known, it is impossible to say with any certainty what structural traits (if any) are due to influence from other languages. That said, it is possible that the basic word order in Kamsá is becoming more SVO (due to influence from Spanish), and that there is a trend toward using fewer adjectival verbs or null-copular constructions for predicate adjectives, with a preference instead for copula-plus-adjective constructions (as in Spanish). Fabre (Fabre 2001:3) suggests another influence from Spanish:

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

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{chisiajt}a \text{ ‘afternoon, all day’} & \ < \ chisya \\
\text{choroš} \text{ ‘snail’} & \ < \ churu \\
pats \text{ ‘one hundred’} & \ < \ patsa \\
taytá \text{ ‘father’} & \ < \ tayta \\
wambra \text{ ‘child’} & \ < \ wampra; \\
wata \text{ ‘year’} & \ < \ wata \\
yap(a) \text{ ‘a lot, very, much’} & \ < \ yapa \text{ ‘a lot, very, much’}.
\end{align*}\]

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

Words borrowed from Spanish and Inga have Kamsá morphology. Thus \textit{chagllufja} ‘thin cane or rod to measure work or construction of houses’ which comes from Inga \textit{chacla} has the Kamsá classifier -\textit{fja} used for long, thin, things. The example of \textit{naranja-be} ‘orange’ was seen above, with -\textit{be} ‘round-objects classifier. It should be noted that Kamsá classifiers are not separable from the word. They are part of the root. Borrowed words may reflect other
morphological affixation as well, as for example trabajayá ‘worker’ which has the agentive -yá on the Spanish-derived trabalja (from trabajar ‘to work’). The following sentence shows Kamsá morphology on two verbs borrowed from Spanish: jakwenta ‘tell’ from contar and japasa ‘happen’ from pasar.

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

1.2.5 Name of the language

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

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

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

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

*Ethnologue* (2018 ??) claims that Kamsá has 4,000 speakers out of an ethnic population of 4,770 and classifies Kamsá as “level 5: developing”, according to its EGIDS schema. UNESCO claims 3,500 speakers and says that the language is definitely endangered (3 on its scale) The Endangered Language Catalogue gives 4,773 speakers, based on Crevels 2012.

1.3.1 **UNESCO’s nine factors**

UNESCO uses nine factors to determine the endangerment of a language, most of which are graded on a scale from 0 (“extinct” to 5 (“safe”). Following this system, I would classify Kamsá as 2 (“severely endangered”). UNESCO, however, lists Kamsá as 3 “definitely endangered”. The following is a description of how Kamsá fares according to each of the nine UNESCO factors.
Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission;
Severely endangered (2):

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

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

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers;
500

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

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

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population;
Severely endangered (2):

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

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

Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains;
Limited or formal domains (2):

“The non-dominant language is used only in highly formal domains, as especially in ritual and administration. The language may also still be used at the community centre, at festivals, and at ceremonial occasions where these older members of the community have a chance to meet. The limited domain may also include homes where grandparents and other older extended family members reside, and other traditional gathering places of the elderly. Many people can understand the language but cannot speak it.” (UNESCO 2003:8)
Spanish is definitely the dominant language for most domains, but Kamsá is used in the cabildo, at festivals, and ceremonials. Also, in more domestic settings, sometimes older people use Kamsá with one other.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Non-dominant languages are explicitly protected by the government, but there are clear differences in the contexts in which the dominant/official language(s) and non-dominant (protected) language(s) are used. The government encourages ethnolinguistic groups to maintain and use their languages, most often in private domains (as the home language), rather than in public domains (e.g. in schools). Some of the domains of non-dominant language use enjoy high prestige (e.g. at ceremonial occasions).” (UNESCO 2003:8)
For this factor, as well, Kamsá has a higher rating. Colombia’s constitution of 1991 protects all indigenous languages. The Kamsá, and all other recognized indigenous languages, legally have a right to use and preserve their languages. The Colombian constitution has also been translated into Kamsá. Thus, it does have the state support, at least in name.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.2 LEI

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

Factor 1: Intergenerational transmission
Severely Endangered (4)

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

Most Kamsá older than 60 speak the language, but there are few fluent speakers younger than that.
Factor 2: Scale of absolute number of speakers.

Endangered

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

Kamsá has about 500 speakers.

Factor 3: Scale of speaker number trends

Severely Endangered (4)

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

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

Factor 4: Domains of use

Severely Endangered (4)

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

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

Kamsá thus comes out as a 4 “severely endangered” on the LEI scale of ELCat.

1.3.3 Language attitudes

My impression is that people view Kamsá positively; they like the language and they feel a strong sense of identity with the culture and see the language as inextricably linked to the culture. In addition to the cultural value in knowing the language, there are even economic rewards, as there are tests within Colombia for certain university scholarships for indigenous people that require knowledge of the language. The scholarships seem to be run by the cabildo in conjunction with the Colombian government. The colonial and missionizing history, however, tell a different story and these positive feelings about the language and culture are likely a recent phenomenon. The Capuchin monks were harsh and looked down on the Kamsá language being spoken.
Some community members have noticed that the language is not being passed on to children, and they have various reactions to this, ranging from desire to take action to feeling that no action is necessary, since the children will still somehow have the language because it is “in their blood”, to feeling futility, that the language will be lost no matter what, since children are concerned more with popular music than with the language of their elders. Many people, however, have not noticed how dire the situation is, perhaps in part because many children do indeed know the basic greetings and some vocabulary, and so can often come across as more engaged with the language than they actually are. Él(ella) entiende ‘(s)he understands’ is a common thing said about members of the younger generation.

1.3.4 Education

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

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

There was a thesis project done in 2016 by Agreda España, a pedagogy student at the Universidad Distrital in Bogotá, to implement knowledge of the traditional Kamsá garden into
the daily school system at the bilingual high school. The school seems interested in continuing projects that connect the students with the traditional community and in the future may start a documentation project where the students record elders speaking Kamsá as a way to engage them while at the same time recording knowledge before it may be lost.

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

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

1.3.5 The future of Kamsá

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

1.4 Previous research on the language

This dissertation is the first reference grammar of Kamsá. In this section I describe the history of research on the language and the major earlier contributions. There have been five major contributors to the documentation and description of Kamsá. Much has been published about the culture of the people and certain aspects of the language, and there are many Kamsá
texts that have been translated into Spanish and/or English, but there has not yet been a full grammatical description.

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

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

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

Fourth, in the 1990s, José Narciso Jamioy Muchavisoy, a Kamsá linguist, published a few articles about the language after completing his Masters in Ethnolinguistics at the Universidad de los Andes in 1989. Some of his articles are: “Tiempo, aspecto y modo en kamentsá” (‘tense, aspect, and mood in Kamsá’, 1992), “Estructuras predicativas del kamentsa” (‘predicative structures of Kamsá’, 1999) and “Observaciones a los documentos de Fray Marcelino de Castellví sobre la lengua Kamëntsá” (‘Observations on the documents of Father Marcelino de Castellví about the Kamsá language’, 1999). In addition to these articles, he also helped translate Colombia’s constitution of 1991 into Kamsá.
Fifth, Juan Bautista Jacanamijoy Juajibioy, a Kamsá taita who worked with SIL for many years, began compiling a dictionary. He was disappeared in 2008 and never finished the project, but other community members have been working on completing it and it will be published soon. In addition to these five people, Alain Fabre (2000) has written a brief grammatical sketch of the language: “Algunos rasgos tipológicos del Kamsá (Valle de Sibundoy, Alto Putumayo, sudoeste de Colombia) vistos desde una perspectiva areal” (‘Several typological features of Kamsá seen from an areal perspective, Sibundoy Valley, Upper Putumayo, southeast Colombia’). It gives a brief description of some features of the language, using existing sources, and he describes agent and patient marking and noun classifiers in the language. This 30-page sketch is perhaps the best linguistic description of the language. He also wrote a similar paper in English: “Kamsá, a poorly documented isolated language spoken in South-Western Colombia” (Fabre 2001). There is also an MA thesis in 2013 by Chloé Garsault about the phonology of the language, called "Éléments de sociolinguistique et de phonologie du kamsá, langue isolée du sud-ouest Colombien" (“Elements of socioloinguistics and phonology of Kamsá, a language isolate of Southwest Colombia”) and an MA thesis by a Kamsá linguist, María Clara Juajiboy Mutumbajoy, in Bogotá in 1995 called “Actancia verbal en Kamentsa” (“Verbal agreement in Kamentsa).

In addition to these linguistic works, there are several collections of stories and poems in Kamsá and many books and articles about Kamsá culture. In addition to McDowell’s book of Kamsá stories, there are also two books of stories compiled and translated by Alberto Juajibioy Chindoy, both containing Kamsá and Spanish texts side-by-side and glossaries at the end of each book. One is called Relatos ancestrales del folclor camentsa ‘Ancestral tales of Camentsa folklore’ (1988) and the other is Lenguaje Ceremonial y Narraciones Tradicionales de La Cultura Kamëntsá ‘Ceremonial Language and Traditional Narratives of the Kamëntsá Culture’.

There is a doctoral dissertation by Haydée Seijas (1969) at Tulane University called The medicinal system of the Sibundoy Indians, in which she discusses the medical practices of the Kamsá and Inga. There is an excellent book about the history of the Capuchins in Sibundoy Valley, Servants of Gods or Masters of Men?: The Story of a Capuchin Mission in Amazonia, by Victor Daniel Bonilla (1971). There is a Kamsá poet, Hugo Jamioy Juagibioy (2005), who published a book of poetry in Kamsá and Spanish called Danzantes del viento / Bînîye oboyejuayeng (‘Dancers of the wind’ in English). Finally, there was a doctoral dissertation published in 2018 about the philosophy, culture, and language of Kamsá by Alejandro Chindoy,
called *Constituted and constituting symbols of the Kamënšá culture: essays on native philosophy of culture*. There are also many pedagogical materials made by the Kamsá community and/or SIL.

### 1.5 Methodology

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

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

### 1.6 Typological overview

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

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

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

1.6.2 Morphology and word classes

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

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

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

1.6.3 Word order and syntax

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

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

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

1.6.4 Kamsá compared with Andean languages

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

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

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

2: **Suffixes on verbs:**

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

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

3: **Free/SOV constituent order:**

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

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

4: **Verb final subordinate clauses:**

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

More research is needed to determine if subordinate clauses are always verb-final in Kamsá.
5: **Modifiers precede modified in NPs:**

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

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

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

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

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

7: **Voiceless uvular stop:**

Many Andean languages have a contrastive voiceless uvular stop (Adelaar 2008:27).

Kamsá does not have this feature.

8: **No classifier systems:**

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

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

9: **No gender:**

“In most Andean languages, including Aymaran, Quechuan and Araucanian, gender distinctions are not expressed morphologically” (Adelaar 2008:28).
Kamsá does not have grammatical gender but it does have a class system for a subset of nouns.

10: Case marking on nouns by suffixes or postpositions

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

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

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

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

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

12: No possessed/dispossessed roots

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

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

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

“However, in most of the central Andean languages (including Aymaran and Quechuan) the transitive / intransitive distinction hardly plays a role” (Adelaar 2008:29). It is important to note that this means that the verbs do not have transitive vs intransitive morphology, but objects can still have accusative case.
Kamsá may have a morphological difference (namely *a-* vs *o*- after the verbalizing *j-*) between these transitive and intransitive verbs but it is not clear.

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

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

Kamsá encodes both subject and object on the verb.

15: *Distinguish between different types of objects:*

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

Kamsá does not have different types of objects.

16: *No stative-active distinction:*

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

Kamsá does not have this distinction.

17: *Rich verbal morphology:*

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

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

18: *Nominalizing markers:*

“Andean languages such as Aymaran, Quechuan and Uru-Chipaya have a set of morphological nominalizations, which may encode relative tense and which can be combined with case markers to form different types of adverbal clauses and complement clauses. They are also used to form relative clauses” (Adelaar 2008:30).
More research is needed to determine if Kamsá has this trait or not.

19: Person marking for inclusive/exclusive:

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

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

20: Evidentiality:

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

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

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

2.2 Segmental phonology

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

2.2.1 Vowels

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

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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
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<td>a</td>
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Figure 2.1 Kamsá vowels (in the IPA)
2.2.1.1 Distribution of /u, e, o, a/

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

_u_ and _e_:

xunatsan ‘carry multiple things’

xenabajan ‘come, multiple people’

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

_u_ and _o_:

xutsnaja ‘bed’

xotsbanan ‘get up’

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

_u_ and _a_:

kukwats ‘hand’

kakan ‘raw’

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

ťjumbo ‘turkey’

ťjam ‘for this’

xufan ‘crack, crevice’

xañnan ‘apply medicine’

_e_ and _o_:

xenoboten ‘get bigger’

xonanan ‘feel’

Both vowels can occur between a voiceless velar fricative _x_ and an alveolar nasal _n_.

_e_ and _a_:

̄de (response to a greeting)

̄da ‘who’

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

_o_ and _a_:

obona ‘fat’

obana ‘dead’
Both vowels can occur the second (stressed) syllable, between a voiced bilabial stop $b$ and an alveolar nasal $n$.

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

- **u:** ku$kwa$ts ‘hand’
- **e:** bekon ‘close’
- **o:** boko$koj$ ‘chicha (a fermented beverage)’
- **a:** bata ‘aunt’

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

- **u:** uta ‘two’
- **e:** enuta ‘friend’
- **o:** obana ‘dead’
- **a:** ak ‘you (singular)’

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

- **e:** ma$ʃa$ke ‘lulo fruit’
- **o:** tjumbo ‘turkey’
- **a:** moka ‘here’

### 2.2.1.2 The high front vowel [i]

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

1. (1a) empas ‘finished’
   (1b) ena ‘pure’
   (1c) $f$đza ‘other’ ($i$ preceding a prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate)
   (1d) ĭje ‘fire’ ($i$ preceding a palatal nasal)
   (1e) $i$ťfan- [future prefix] ($i$ preceding a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate)

Thus, the following phonological process could be posited:

$$e \rightarrow i / _{\_}\text{palatal}$$
/i/ before palatal glides
/i/ is also inserted before the glide /j/, just as /u/ can occur before /w/.
Ø → i / _ glide

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

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

\[ xiseboknan ‘leave from’ \\
\] \[ xiso gücwefxwan ‘fly from’ \\
\] \[ xisetsxwan ‘go up frome’ \\
\]

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

\[ i-n-ts-abwana ‘he/she is cooking’ \\
\]

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

\[ j → i / C _ # \\
\]

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

(2)  tʃ bjaxi bjen fwerti i^demin
    tʃ byax-j bjen fwert-j i^d-emin
    DET yage-CL very strong-CL 3SG-HAB-be
    ‘The yage is strong.’ (*fwert* < Spanish fuerte); *yage*, also known as *ayahuasca*, is a hallucinogenic plant mixture).

In the following sentence, a comparison can be made between the form [-i], which follows the consonant ᵑɡ, and the form [-j], which follows the vowel [a].
Some nouns with this class marker (which seems to mark liquids) are the following:

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

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

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

Or

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

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

(4a) ixa ‘he/she went (a long time ago)’ (from xan ‘go’)
(4b) jexá ‘he/she went (a long time ago)’ (from xan ‘go’)
(4c) i-namin ‘it was (a long time ago)’ (from xamnan ‘be’)
(4d) yexaʃaᵑɡo ‘he/she arrived (a long time ago) (from xaʃaᵑɡo arrive)’

There are loan words where /i/ can be a nucleus, such as /xwisjo/ from Spanish juicio ‘sensible’

2.2.1.3 The high central vowel /ɨ/

The high central vowel i seems to be phonemic, but with limited distribution, not occurring word initially or word finally. There are near minimal pairs with the high central vowel i and other vowels, but no true minimal pairs.
There are a few words in the language in which \( i \) occurs word-initially, namely some third person singular verb forms. The third singular present form of ‘be’ is \textit{indimin} ‘he/she/it is’. This is perhaps a reduction of the vowel \textit{i}- which is the most common third singular verbal prefix.

2.2.1.4 Arguments against the high central vowel as a phoneme

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

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

2.2.1.5 Vowel-glide sequences and glide-vowel sequences

There are no diphthongs in Kamsá, in that it is never the case that multiple vowels form the nucleus of a syllable. There are, however, two possible sequences of vowel-plus-glide in Kamsá (/\textit{aj}/ and /\textit{oj}/), as well as four possible sequences of glide-plus-vowel (/\textit{je}/, /\textit{jo}/, /\textit{ja}/, and /\textit{wa}/). The vowel-plus-glide sequences both contain the palatal glide /\textit{j}/ as their coda; the glide-plus-vowel sequences can begin with either the palatal glide /\textit{j}/ or the labio-velar glide /\textit{w}/.
although there are limitations on which vowels may form the nucleus of the syllable. Kamsá syllable structure forbids vowel sequences: any vowel sequences that could potentially occur are broken up by the insertion of a glide.

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

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

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

je: betje ‘tree’
ja: atšbjam ‘for me’
jo: atšbjoka ‘at my place’
joj: atšbjoj ‘to me’

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

ʃbwa ‘hunter’
ʃekwatʃ ‘foot’
waben ‘sister of a man’

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

2.2.2 Consonants

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t, ṭ, (d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k, ṭg, (g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tʂ</td>
<td>tʃ, ṭdʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l, (r)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ʎ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.2: Kamsá consonants (in the IPA)

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

Another interesting fact about Kamsá’s phonemic inventory is its large number of fricatives and affricates. The language has voiceless alveolar, retroflex, palato-alveolar, and velar fricatives, as well as voiceless alveolar and retroflex affricates and both voiced and voiceless palato-alveolar affricates; furthermore, the single labial obstruent /b/ can be realized as the voiceless labio-dental fricative [f].
Finally, there are several sounds that are phonemic but extremely rare, including the palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ which is maybe a loan from Spanish and the alveolar lateral approximant /l/, which could also possibly be a loan phoneme.

2.2.2.1 Voiceless stops /t, k/

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>katʃ</td>
<td>[intensifier]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotsɑ</td>
<td>‘chest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamo</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobias</td>
<td>‘girl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bakoftak</td>
<td>‘with the uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katʃat</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2.2 Voiced stops /b, n, ᵑg/  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ⁿd</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵑgmenan</td>
<td>‘pity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵈ</td>
<td>[deaf]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵑgwišbe</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bokoj</td>
<td>‘chicha’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⁿdoka</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baja</td>
<td>‘animal, beast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⁿdajek</td>
<td>‘why?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵑg</td>
<td>‘hat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xobweyan</td>
<td>‘offend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x⁰g</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned, the voiced bilabial stop /b/ exhibits the allophones [b], [p], and [f]. As discussed in Section (2.5) below, [p] is becoming (or has become) a phoneme as well, due to loan words in the language.

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

/b/ → [f] / [-voice] (optional?)

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

For at least some words, however, there may be free variation—for example, the word [ftfeⁿd] ‘blue’ can also be pronounced [btfeⁿd].

2.2.2.3 The prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ⁿdʒ/  

There is no oral equivalent /dʒ/. It can occur word initially as seen in with /ⁿdʒe ‘all’ and the particle /ⁿdʒa. It can come after vowels as seen in /ⁿdʒe ‘other’, kaⁿdʒe ‘one’, and xaⁿdʒan ‘examine’

ⁿdʒe ‘all’
ⁿdʒa ‘particle’
iⁿdʒe ‘other’
kaⁿdʒe ‘one’
xaⁿdʒan ‘examine’

2.2.2.4 Nasals /m, n, ɲ/

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

ⁿdøp ‘no’  jeⁿdon ‘squirrel’  tbom ‘a lot’
2.2.2.5 Liquids

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

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

2.2.2.6 Voiceless fricatives and affricates /s, ts, ş, tş, ş, tʃ x/

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

šeبدا ‘extreme point’
tsɛtʃaŋ ‘pain’
şɛşa ‘corn plant’
tʃemats ‘homininy’
ʃem ‘woman’
tʃenş ‘here’
şenanufşa ‘rod’

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

şaka ‘thus’
tʃajjoj ‘kitchen’
şatʃénaka ‘crying’
tʃaba good’
ʃatʃna ‘five’
tʃa ‘he, she’
xajʃxa(gulp) ‘arrive’
The two voiceless velar consonants /k/ and /x/ contrast, occurring word initially before /a/ and /e/, as seen below.

xan ‘go’  
kətʃ [intensifier]
xenanufxa ‘tool for corn’  
keq ‘dog’

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

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

/d/
deombre ‘truly’ (from Spanish de hombre ‘of man’)
dweɲ ‘owner’ (from Spanish dueño [dwejo] ‘owner’)

/r/
ral ‘money’ (from Spanish real)
rat ‘short amount of time’ (from Spanish rato)

/p/
plautufxa ‘flute’ (from Spanish flauta)
podesk ‘ugly’ (maybe from Spanish feo)
pwerte ‘strongly’ (from Spanish fuerte)

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

2.3 Syllables structure

Kamsá’s syllable structure permits multiple (up to three) consonants in an onset or coda and almost any combination of consonants. More research is needed to see if they follow the sonority hierarchy. There are phonological processes that occur when prefixes, suffixes, and clitics are added to words.
A syllable in Kamsa typically consists of a single-vowel nucleus, to which may be added up to two consonants in the onset and up to two consonants in the coda. Alternatively, the nucleus can be a consonant, but if there are more than two consonants in a syllable, an epenthetic high central vowel /ɨ/ is inserted.

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

- betsko ‘fast’
- kanta ‘four’
- mafakbe ‘lulo fruit’
- sasna ‘food’
- faxwan ‘bean’
- tabanok ‘village’
- wabon ‘spirit’
- xan ‘go’

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

- stonoj ‘behind’

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

- atš ‘I’
- enutá ‘friend’
- obaná ‘dead’
- uta ‘two’

2.4 Stress

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

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

Stress is usually penultimate, but it can be ultimate as well. For ultimate stress, only syllables with /a/, /o/, or /e/ as the nucleus can take stress. In the following examples, /a/, /o/, and
/e/ are in the final syllable and have stress. /i/, /u/, and /ɨ/ never have stress in the ultimate syllable.

batá ‘aunt’
bakó ‘uncle’
ʃaxbé ‘cucumber’

Words that end with closed syllables have penultimate stress.

bastok ‘Pasto’
benach ‘path’

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

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

xaxanán ‘to say’
xwaʃɨntsán ‘to plant corn’

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

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

Some clitics always take the stress, namely the clitic te ‘day’, as in kada-te ‘each day’

2.5 Loan phonology

Due to the influence of Spanish, Kamsá has acquired several (relatively) new phonemes, which speakers recognize as different sounds. These occur only in loanwords. Words with stops are now being borrowed with the stop /d/ or /g/ instead of with the prenasalized equivalent. /ɾ/ and /ʃ/ are also common and found only in loan words (from Spanish or Inga). Finally [p] (which
also occur in Kamsá as an allophone of /b/) is recognized by speakers as phonemically distinct when occurring in loanwords, and so could be considered a fifth loan phoneme.

2.6 Morphophonemics: phonological rules

There are several phonological rules.

Rule 1: Vowel deletion

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

txa + oj → txoj ‘to the mountain’

Rule 2: Vowel becomes glide

i → j / _ V

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

bata + bj + oj → batabjoj ‘to the aunt’

Rule 3: Optional devoicing

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

/ibs/ ‘tomorrow’ can be pronounced [ips]

Rule 4: Degemination

ʂ + ʂ → ʂ

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ë [i]</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.3 Kamsá vowels in the working orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>(p) b</td>
<td>t, nd [ⁿd], (d)</td>
<td>k, ng [ⁿg], (g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tš [tš]</td>
<td>ch [ʧ], ſ [ⁿdʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ [ʃ]</td>
<td>sh [ʃ], j [x]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ſ [ʃ]</td>
<td>j [ʃ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l, [ɾ]</td>
<td>ll [ʎ]</td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.4 Kamsá consonants in the working orthography
2.7.1 A brief history of Kamsá orthography

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

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

McDowell (2014) follows Howard in her orthography except for a couple of modifications. He uses <k> throughout for the voiceless velar stop (as do I). He does not use <ê>, or any other symbol for IPA [i], at all, arguing that this vowel is not phonemic but is predictable based on its environment, namely that it is inserted when there are consonant clusters or nasals. For example, McDowell generally transcribes the third person plural pronoun, which phonetically is closest to [tʃîⁿga], as <chnga> (p.106) or, sometimes, as <chunga> (p.228), whereas most Kamsá authors write <chênga>, using the symbol <ê> to transcribe the high central vowel. With other words, he transcribes [i] as <u> or <e>. Like Howard, he uses <x> for the retroflex fricative. For the prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate (IPA /ⁿdʒ/), he writes
<ny>, claiming that it is an allophone of /y/, perhaps a nasal preceding an allophone of /y/. He transcribes the labio-velar glide /w/ as <w>, even when it follows another consonant, whereas others transcribe it as <u> in such environments (e.g., he writes <twamba> ‘hen’ as compared to others’ <tuamba>). Finally, he writes the vowel-plus-glide sequence /oj/ as <oy>, whereas some writers prefer <oi>.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>§</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>n°dʒ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>&lt;c&gt;, &lt;qu&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;x&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ø&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDowell</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;x&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;∅&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ny&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chindoy</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ʃ&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ø&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nÿ&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugo Jamioy Juagibioy</td>
<td>&lt;c&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ʃ&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ø&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nÿ&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ʃ&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ø&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nÿ&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.5 Different spellings of Kamsá

2.7.2 Justifications for my orthography

<p, b, f>

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

<ë> (i)

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

<w, y>

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

Problems with using <x>

I have chosen not to use <x> as a symbol in my orthography, neither for the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ nor for the voiceless velar fricative /x/, because it has been used by several authors (McDowell 1994, Howard 1967) for the retroflex consonants, so that if I were to use it to symbolize the voiceless velar fricative, as in IPA, it would be confused by native speakers who have seen it written for retroflex consonants. Excluding <x> from my orthography will avoid some confusion. Following the conventions of many Kamsá writers and the Kamsá cabildo ‘governing body’, I use <š> to transcribe the voiceless retroflex fricative /š/ and <tš> to transcribed the voiceless retroflex affricate /tš/. Following Spanish orthography (and all Kamsá orthographies), I use <j> to transcribe the voiceless velar fricative /x/.
no <c> or <q>

To simplify the orthography, I use <k> for all voiceless velar stops. I do not use <c> in the orthography except as part of the digraph <ch> for the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/. Some authors have used <c> (at least in some lexemes) for the voiceless velar stop, presumably based on English usage. Thus Howard (1967) wrote the name of the language as “Camsa”.

Some authors have used <qu> for some Kamsá words to transcribe the velar stop while using <k> for transcribing the same sound elsewhere. I do not use <q> at all in my orthography.

<s̈> for retroflex

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

<ll>

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

<nd> for /nd/

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

Finally, to conclude this chapter, I offer one last note about the phonology. Although words can end in consonants, the vowel /a/, often reduced to [i], is often added to the end of words. It does not seem to be grammatical. It can only be added to consonant final words. Words that end in stressed /a/ cannot lose that /a/. In this dissertation, I gloss this added /a/ as EPE for epenthetic.
Chapter 3
Nouns

3.1 Introduction

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

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

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

The structure of a noun with a class marker is:

\[ \text{root} + \text{class} + (\text{dim}) + (\text{number}) + (\text{case}) \]

The structure of a noun without a class marker is:

\[ \text{root} + (\text{dim}) + (\text{number}) + (\text{case}) \]

For example, ‘with the little tree tomatoes’ could be \textit{chembalbe-tem-ēng-ak}. 

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

3.2 Noun classes

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

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

After showing that most nouns do not belong to the class of nouns that require a class marker, I show 11 noun classes and one additional suspect noun class. For each category, I give an example of the noun with an adjective, where possible with the adjective bchenda ‘blue’. Then, I give other examples of other nouns in the class. Finally, for each category I offer an explanation of what could connect them semantically. Where possible, I include both native Kamsá words and loanwords from Spanish that belong to the class. The loan words that have class markers may lend additional insight into the semantic domain of these noun classes because they are more recent additions to the class. I start with the the unmarked noun class giving examples of a human, an object, a place, and an abstract thing, to show that there is no class or
gender for these words, the majority of words in the language. There is no morphological difference in the root between animate and inanimate nouns, or between human and nonhuman nouns. Again, it is important to emphasize that most nouns in Kamsá do NOT have any class marker, while there are some very specific groups of nouns that do have special noun-class suffixes.

3.2.1 Nouns without noun class markers

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

(1a) ch bobonts tonjapaibs tbojin\textsuperscript{\textcircled{y}} kan\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{y}}}e botaman tobia\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}s\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}ch bobonts tonjapaibs t-b-ojin\textsuperscript{\textcircled{y}} kan\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{y}}}e botaman tobia\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}}
DEM youth yesterday PST-DU-see one beautiful girl
‘Yesterday, the young man saw a beautiful girl.’

(1b) tonjapaibs tojin\textsuperscript{\textcircled{y}} ch bobonts botaman beti
tonjapaibs t-ojin\textsuperscript{\textcircled{y}} ch bobonts botaman beti
yesterday PST-see DEM youth beautiful tree
‘Yesterday the young man saw the beautiful tree.’

(1c) ch t\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}jan tabano-\textsuperscript{k} botaman indem\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}n
ch t\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}jan tabano-k botaman i-nd-em\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}n
DEM mountain Sibundoy-LOC beautiful 3SG-HAB-be
‘The mountains in Sibundoy are beautiful / The mountain in Sibundoy is beautiful.’

(1d) ibet botaman indem\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}n
ibet botaman i-nd-em\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{}}}n
night beautiful 3SG-HAB-be
‘The night is beautiful.’

(1e) botaman kwent
botaman kwent
beautiful story
‘The story (is) beautiful.’ (kwent from Spanish cuenta ‘story’)

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

(2a-c) _ftseng waknà = wakná _ftsengá = black cow
 Tsēsiē twamba = twamba tsēsiā = yellow hen
 Fjants meseto = meseto³ fjantsá = white cat

3.2.2 Class 1: nouns with -be

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

(3a)  ch _shmnēbe bchendē-be indemēn
 ch _shmnēbe bchendē-be i-nd-emēn
 DET egg-CLF blue-CLF 3SG-HAB-be
 ‘The egg is blue.’

(3b)  Compare with:
 ch _shlfotš bchendē indemēn
 ch _shlfotš bchendē i-nd-emēn
 DET bird blue 3SG-HAB-be
 ‘The bird is blue.’

In the following example, _tamna ‘delicious’ has the suffix -be to agree with _chembal-be ‘tree tomato’. As with _shmnē-be, -be is obligatory; there is no word _chembal in isolation.

(4)  _chimballbe tamnabe indemēn
 _chimbal-be tamna-be i-nd-emēn
 tomato-CLF delicious-CLF 3SG-HAB-be
 ‘The tree tomato is delicious.’

In the following sentence, _ftseng ‘black’ has the suffix -be in agreement with _ndētš-be ‘rock’:

³ meseto ‘cat’ appears to be from the very widespread words for ‘cat’ in indigenous languages that are traced back to mix (mish) in Old Spanish, a word for calling cats
The rock is black.

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

(6a) mashak-be ‘lulo fruit’
(6b) chembal-be ‘tree tomato’
(6c) bšēn-be ‘eye’
(6d) ndētš-be ‘rock’
(6f) nguešēs-be ‘nose’

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

-bē.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(10) këbsayè-ya ‘tunic’

### 3.2.4 Class 3: nouns with -i

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

(11) ch biaji indemnën yap bontji
    DET yagé 3SG-HAB-be very bitter-CLF
    ‘The yagé is very bitter.'
In (12), *biaji* ‘yage’ is shown with *fwerti* ‘strong’, a loan word from Spanish *fuerte*. The adjective takes the suffix -i to agree with *biaji*.

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

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

(13) ch lech-i asul-i i-nd-emën
    ch lech-i asul-i i-nd-emën
    DET milk-CLF blue-CLF 3SG-HAB-be
    ‘The milk is blue.’

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

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

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

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

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

(16a) lechi: milk
3.2.5 Class 4: nouns with -\(Vj\)

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{akbe} & \text{bichaj} & \text{indemën} & \text{bchendë-}j \\
\text{2SG-POSS} & \text{tongue-CLF} & \text{3SG-HAB-be} & \text{blue-CLF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Your tongue is blue.’

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

- tomošaj: ‘throat’
- měntjaj: ‘leg’
- stëtšaj: ‘back’
- tantšaj: ‘shoulder’
- kuashaj: ‘gourd’
- matbaj: ‘pot’

3.2.6 Class 5: nouns with -\(jwa\)

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

In the following example, botoman ‘beautiful’ takes both the suffix -\(jwa\) and the prefix \(wa\)- to agree with yentši-\(jwa\) ‘cloth’. The noun yentši-\(jwa\) does not have any prefix.
bëng së-n-dawabën yentši-jwa wa-botaman-jwa
bëng së-n-dawabën yentši-jwa wa-botaman-jwa
1PL 1-EVI-use cloth-CLF CLF -beautiful-CLF
‘We use beautiful cloth.’

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

kem yentši-ya indewamën wabchendu-jwa i inyä wabwanganjwa
dem cloth-CLF 3SG-HAB-be CLF-azul-CLF and other CLF-red-CLF
‘This cloth is blue and the other is red.’

3.2.7 Class 6: nouns with -sha

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

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

ch shloft sëndabomn wajajonë-sha wabotamansha
det bird 3SG-HAB-has CLF-nest-CLF CLF-beautiful-CLF
‘The bird has a beautiful nest.’

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

3.2.8 Class 7: nouns with -fja

The nouns of this class end in -fja and the adjectives that agree with them have the same suffix. There is no prefix for nouns in this class. In (21), ochma-fja ‘spine’ ends in -fja and the adjective bchendë ‘blue’ has the suffix –fja, bchendë-fja.
This class has nouns that are long and thin, like spine, stick, and wand. Other nouns in this class include:

ochma-fja ‘fish bone’
nényenyu-fja ‘thin stick’
yeru-fja ‘iron rod’
shengmanu-fja ‘pitchfork’

3.2.9 Class 8: nouns with -iñ

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

(22) inñ botamiñ
    inñ botam-iñ
    fire beautiful-CLF
    ‘beautiful fire’

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

3.2.10 Class 9: repeaters

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

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

---

4 Thank you to Leidy Sophia Sandoval for pointing out that soy could be a repeater, and for all of our other discussions about noun classes.
I have only found three so far: *yebën* ‘house’, *soy* ‘thing’, and *mats* ‘corn’.

3.2.11 Suspect class 10: -kwa

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

(24) \[\text{kanïye kukuwats derecha y kanïye kukuwats iskyerda} \]
\[\text{kanïye kukuwats derecha y kanïye kukuwats iskyerda} \]
\[\text{one hand right and one hand left} \]
\[\text{‘one right hand and one left hand’ (MC)} \]

Other nouns marked with -kwa include the following:

matskwaš: ear
shekwatš: foot
bwakwatš: arm

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

Figure 3.1 (on the following page) summarizes the noun classes in Kamsá.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Number</th>
<th>Class Marker</th>
<th>Semantic Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-be</td>
<td>round ((spherical?))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa- -ya</td>
<td>clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>liquids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-Vj</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wa- -jwa</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wa- -sha</td>
<td>hairy? ((no semantic identification was given))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-fja</td>
<td>long and thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-iñ</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>repeaters</td>
<td>short, common words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kwa (not a class)</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1 Noun classes in Kamsá

### 3.2.12 Noun class with case

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

(25)  atš sën-japorma ch more ndëtš-**be** ftsengē-**be-k**
    atš  sē-n-japorma  ch  more  ndëtš-**be**  ftsengē-**be-k**
    1SG  1SG.PAST-EVI-make  DET  wall  rock-CLF  black-CLF-INST

‘I made a wall with black rocks.’
3.2.13 Noun class with plural

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

(26) shemmëbeng
     shemmë-be-ng
     egg-CLF-PL
     ‘eggs’

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

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

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

3.3 Other nominal morphology

Kamsá nouns can have derivational morphology, though it is very limited, mainly to nominalize verbs, and also evaluatives including diminutive, pejorative, and augmentative. There is also considerable inflectional morphology, for number and cases. This section discusses the morphology of nouns, including noun cases, number markers, and diminutives. Noun class
markers were discussed above (see 3.2). Some of the morphology was discussed in Chapter 3, but here it is discussed in more detail, including all of the morphemes and allomorphs and their uses and meanings.

### 3.3.1 Number

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

The suffixes are summarized in Figure 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example ending in Vowel</th>
<th>Example ending in consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>bata ‘aunt’</td>
<td>shlofš ‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>bata-t ‘two aunts’</td>
<td>shlofš-at ‘two birds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-(ë)ng</td>
<td>bata-ng ‘aunts’</td>
<td>shlofš-ëng ‘birds’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.2 Nominal number

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

(kañye) keš ‘one dog’
(uta) keš-at ‘two dogs’
(unga) keš-ëng ‘three dogs’

(kañye) batá ‘one aunt’
(uta) bata-t ‘two aunts’
(unga) bata-ng ‘three aunts’
Nouns that end in -n become -ng in the plural as seen below, where šešon ‘baby’ becomes šešong. and begon ‘fish’ becomes begong in the plural. Thus the n → Ø /__+ng ?

šešon ‘baby’
šešong ‘babies’
begon ‘fish’
begong ‘fish (pl)’

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

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

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

(28b) byajerata
     byajer-at-a
     traveler-DU
     ‘two travelers’ (Chindoy 62.12)
(28c) ch uta tjok indemun ngobshnin
ch uta tjok i-nd-emun ngobshnin
DET two mountain 3SG-HAB-be green
‘The two mountains are green.’

(28d) *uta byajerätëng
uta byajerat-ëng
two travel-PL
*two travelers’

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.2 Evaluatives: diminutive, pejorative, and ‘poor’

There are three evaluatives in Kamsá and they are used as suffixes on the noun and sometimes the adjective agree with the noun. There is a diminutive -tem, a pejorative -ëfja with allomorphs -ëja and -ëfa, and a suffix for ‘poor’ -jema.
The diminutive -tem is extremely common in Kamsá. Some speakers use it on almost every noun. Like the diminutive in many languages, it can mean something smaller and also show endearment. The diminutive is formed by adding -tem to the root of the noun. For nouns that have the optional /a/ vowel, the diminutive comes after /a/. For nouns that end in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is sometimes inserted between the root and the diminutive. For nouns that end in a vowel, there is no extra vowel between the root and -tem. The following words exemplify the diminutive suffix.

kenatatem ‘little sibling’ from kenat(a) ‘sibling’
shloftštem ‘little bird’ from shloftš ‘bird’
bata-tem ‘little aunt’ from batá ‘aunt’

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

root + epenthetic vowel + diminutive + plural

kenat ‘sibling’
kenat-atem ‘sibling’ (diminutive)
kenat-atem-ěng ‘siblings’ (diminutive)

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

(31a) ndeolpna shembasajema yojtsobokiñe ngwaynejema
ndeolpna shembasa-jeña yo-j-ts-obokiñe ngwayne-jeña
suddenly girl-POOR 3SG-VBLZ-PROG-appear scabby-POOR
‘Suddenly a poor girl appeared.’ (McDowell 110)

(31b) Bianganějem ya bojwaměntša orna yejetsōtbema jochnam.
bianganě-jeña ya bo-j-wamēntša orna ye-j-ets-ōtbema j-ochna-m
deer-EPE-POOR already DU-VBLZ-tired when DIS-VBLZ-PROG-be.able VLBZ-rest-BEN
‘When the poor deer was already tired, it was able to rest.’ (Chindoy 2: 155.10)

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

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70
The nominal system of Kamsá is somewhere along the spectrum between having case suffixes versus postpositions. In this section, I first outline the case system, showing each of the cases and postpositions and their allomorphs, and giving examples of some of the uses of each case and postposition. Then I discuss the distribution of each case and postposition, showing whether it can occur with common nouns (both animate and inanimate where possible), proper nouns, pronouns, and loans words. Many cases are different for animate nouns and inanimate nouns: namely, animate nouns have the suffix -bi preceding the case marker whereas inanimate nouns do not. Also, there are some cases which do not seem to be possible semantically with proper nouns or pronouns (such as the instrumental) and others that are not possible with inanimate nouns (such as the comitative). This will become apparent with each case that has this distinction and will be discussed further. At the end of this section, I give evidence for why some things are actual cases whereas other things seem to be postpositions.
There is no core argument case marking in the language (i.e. no overt marking for nominative and accusative). There are various semantic case markers which are oblique markers distinct from postpositions in that they are not separate words: they are bound morphemes and they fulfill various semantic functions to oblique case markers. By "case" I do not mean any theoretical definition of 'Case', but rather just a description of oblique marking in the language.

3.3.3.1 Unmarked case

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

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

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

Patient
(33b) atš sēnjojinŷ atš-be batá
atš sē-n-jojinŷ atš-be batá
1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-see 1SG-GEN aunt
‘I saw my aunt.’ (MC)

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

Recipient object of a ditransitive
(33d) sēnjwawatshe sana atš-be batá
sē-n-j-wawatshe sana atš-be batá
1SG-EVI-VBLZ-give food 1SG-GEN aunt
‘I gave food to my aunt.’ (MC)
Figure 3.4 summarizes the lack of marking for all of the possible grammatical roles of *batá* ‘aunt’ in these examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical role</th>
<th>Case Marker</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>batá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient (object of transitive)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>batá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject of intransitive</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>batá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipient in a ditransitive</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>batá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.4 Core argument marking

### 3.3.3.2 Genitive

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

(34a) atš sēnjojíný **batabe** enuta  
      atš sē-n-jojíný **bata-be** enuta  
      1SG 1SG-EVI-see aunt-GEN friend  
      ‘I saw my aunt’s friend.’ (MC)

(34b) bobontsbe bētsētsatna  
      bobonts-be bētsēts-at=na  
      youth-GEN parent-DU=TOP  
      ‘(the) young man’s parents’ (Chindoy 91) (from *bētsētsat* ‘parents’ from *bēts* ‘big’)

The genitive is mostly used for possession, for family members and physical objects. It can be used for possession by a definite noun, as seen above in (34a), where it is about a particular aunt. Nouns that are not definite or specific can also be possessed as seen in (35) where the speaker is talking about a sound that sounds like the scream of a human or a bark of a dog.
(35) yentšabe yoyan o bëts shbwayabe oyanayan
yentša-be yoyan o bëts shbwaya-be oyanayan
human-GEN scream or big dog-GEN bark
‘the scream of a human or the bark of a big dog’ (Note: the usual word for dog is keš but
sometimes shbwaya is used, which is derived from the verb ‘hunt’)

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

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

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

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

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

(38) Carmen-be taita
carmen-be taita
Carmen-GEN father
‘Carmen’s father’

It can attach to pronouns, as well, which is discussed more extensively in Section 5.1.4.

In (39), the personal pronoun atš has the suffix -be to show possession.

(39) atš-be dios
atš-be dios
1st-GEN god
‘My god’
Finally, the genitive is very productive and can be used with loan words, such as (40) where the loan word *diablo* from Spanish *diablo* ‘devil’ has the genitive marker to show that it is the story of the devil.

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

### 3.3.3.3 Benefactive

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

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

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

The benefactive is more common with animate nouns and the form is a composite of -*bi*, an animate marker, and -*am*, becoming -*byam*. This form, -*byam* does not have other allomorphs; it is the same for a noun that ends in a vowel as for a noun that ends in a consonant. In (42a) the noun *bata* ends in a vowel and has the ending -*byam*; in (42b), the noun *keš* ‘dog’ ends in a consonant and has the same ending, -*byam*.
(42a) atš sēnjwabwa wameshnen atš be batabiam
\[ \text{atš-su-n-j-wabwa wameshnen atš-be bata-bi-am} \]
\[ 1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 1SG-GEN aunt-ANIM-BEN \]
‘I cooked mote (hominy soup) for my aunt.’

(42b) atš sēnjwabwa wameshnan atš be kešbyam
\[ \text{atš-su-n-j-wabwa wameshnan atš-be keš-bi-am} \]
\[ 1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 1SG-GEN dog-ANIM-BEN \]
‘I cooked mote for my dog.’

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

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

The benefactive can be used with proper nouns, as seen in (44a) with Carmen-byam.

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

(44a) atš sēnjwabwa wameshnen Carmenbyam
\[ \text{atš-sē-n-j-wabwa wameshnen carmen-bi-am} \]
\[ 1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote Carmen-ANIM-BEN \]

Cociné mote para Carmen
‘I cooked mote for Carmen.’

(44b) ch tobiaš to-n-jwabwa wameshnen bēngbyam
\[ \text{ch tobiaš to-n-jwabwa wameshnen bēng-bi-am} \]
\[ \text{DET girl 3SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 1SG-ANIM-BEN} \]
‘The girl cooked mote for us.’

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

(45) šmochteprontay pwesto popayejiengbiam,
šmo-ch-ts-eprontay pwesto popayej-ēng-bi-am
2PL-FUT-PROG-prepare spot popayan-PL-ANI-BEN

pastusengbiam, bogotillēngbiambiam y onyayoykēngbiam
pastus-eng-bi-am bogotill-ēng-bi-am y onyay-oyp-ēng-bi-am
pasto-PL-ANI-BEN bogota-PL-ANI-BEN and hot-LOC-PL-ANI-BEN

‘Prepare spots for the popayanenses, pastusos, bogotanos, and those from the hot places.’
(Chindoy 68:6)

3.3.3.4 Instrumental

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

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

(46a) ch bobonts ŝo-n-javaega šknen-ak
ch bobonts ŝo-n-javaega šknen-ak
DET youth 1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-hit plate-INS
‘The youth hit me with a plate.’

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

(46c) Carmen tonjwabwana wameshnen tsētšak
Carmen to-n-j-wabwana wameshnen tsētša-k
Carmen 3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote chili-INS
‘Carmen cooked mote with chili.’
In addition to the uses of the instrumental shown above, where it often shows the literal item used to accomplish a task, it can be used as a more metaphorical instrument as in (46d) above when the narrator is telling his story ‘with a tear’.

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

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

Although there are no native prepositions in Kamsá, it has borrowed some prepositions from Spanish that have changed their meanings to become more grammatical. One example is parej from Spanish pareja ‘pair, couple’. In Kamsá, it is used to mean ‘together with’ and takes the instrumental case. In (49), parej is used with ibet ‘night’ to mean with each respective night (paired with each respective night).
This phenomenon is interesting in determining if these suffixes are case or not because it is one of the rare situations in Kamsá where the case suffix occurs with an additional adposition. At the same time, it is problematic because both of the adpositions shown above are loan words from Spanish.

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

(50a) kuchiyo
     kuchiyo-k
     knife-INS
     ‘with a knife’

(50b) sin asukar
     sin asukar-ak
     without sugar-INS
     ‘without sugar’ (*asukar* < Spanish *azúcar* ‘sugar’)

3.3.3.5 Comitative

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

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

(51b)  atš sēnjwabwa wameshnen atšbe batabtak
       atš sē-n-j-wabwa wameshnen atš-be batabtak
       1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 1SG-GEN aunt-COM
       ‘I cooked mote with my aunt.’

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

comitative: keš-abtak ‘with the dog’
instrumental: šknen-ak ‘with the plate’

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

(52a)  atš sēnjwabwa wameshnen Carmen-abtak
       atš sē-n-j-wabwa wameshnen Carmen-abtak
       1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote Carmen-COM
       ‘I cooked mote with Carmen’ (MC)

(52b)  atš sēnjwabwa wameshnen ak-abtak
       atš sē-n-jwabwa wameshnen ak-abtak
       1SG 1SG-EVI-cook mote 2SG-COM
       ‘I cooked mote with you’ (MC)

(52c)  sēnjwatsjenda madra-ng-abtak
       sē-n-j-watsjenda madra-ng-abtak
       1SG-EVI-VBLZ-study mother-PL-COM
       ‘I studied with the nuns.’ (MC)
3.3.3.6 Locative

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

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

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

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

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

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

(55a) sēnjiný ch tabanok botamana
     sē-n-j-iný  ch  tabanok  botamana
     1SG-EVI-VBLZ-see  DET  town  beautiful
     ‘I saw the beautiful town.’

(55b) tonjapasaibs sēnjomana taban-ok
     tonjapasaibs  sē-n-j-omanana  taban-ok
     yesterday  1SG-EVI-VBLZ-sleep  town-LOC
     ‘Yesterday I slept in the town.’
The locative can occur on pronouns and proper nouns although it is not very common. In (56a) atš the first person singular pronoun has the animacy marker -bi followed by the locative marker -ok and finally the optional vowel a. (56b) has the same structure: Carmen has the animacy marker -bi followed by the locative marker -ok and finally the optional vowel a.

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.3.7 Allative

The allative in Kamsá is marked with -oy on inanimate nouns and -bi-oy on animate nouns. The allative shows motion toward the noun and sometimes is used when the noun is the recipient of an action. It is used without any postpositions. With nouns that end in a vowel, the final vowel is deleted and -oy is added, as seen in (58a) where tja ‘mountain, countryside’ becomes tjoy, not /*tjaoy/ or /*tjay/. Animate nouns, as seen with some of the other cases, take the suffix -bi before the allative marker -oy. In (58b), batá has the markers -bi and -oy and the meaning is motion toward.
(58a) sēnda tjøy
   sē-n-j-a       tj-oy
   1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go mountain-ALL
   ‘I went to the mountain/countryside.’

(58b) ats sēnda batabiøy
   ats  sē-n-j-a       bata-bi-oy
   1SG  1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go aunt-ANIM-ALL
   ‘I went toward my aunt.’

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

(59a) kastiganēngbiøy tsabwayajwanēs
    kastigan-ēng-biøy     ts-abwayajwan-ēs
    punished-PL-ALL       PROG-make.fun.of-SUB
    ‘making fun of the punished people’ (Chindoy 1 69.8)

(59b) wabowan ftsengwuējna kanēye shembiøy
    wabowan     ftsengwu-ēj=na   kanēye shem-bi-oy
    horrible    black-EVAL=TOP     one    woman-ANI-ALL
    tshangan yerufja bejtseyautsayse
    tshangan    yerufja       be-j-ts-eyautsay-se
    heated       rod-EVAL     DU-VBLZ-PROG-put.in-SUB
    ‘A horrible black man was putting a heated rod into (the mouth of) a woman.’ (Chindoy 69.9)

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

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

(61a) atš sëntap tjokan
atš së-n-tap tj-okan
1SG 1SG-EVI-come mountain-ABL
'I came from the mountain.' (MC)

(61b) ch keš yebnokan jabwach tbonstotjaj
ch keš yebn-okan jabwach t-bo-n-s-otjaj
DET dog house-ABL strong PST-DU-EVI-PROG-run
'The dog ran fast from the house.' (MC)

(61c) atš sënja batabiokan
atš së-n-j-a bata-bi-okan
1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go aunt-ANI-ABL
'I went from my aunt.' (MC)

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

(62) ch benach indemën chatjok-an asta bastok.
ch benach i-nd-emën chatjok-an asta bastok
DET path 3SG-HAB-be mocoa-ABL until pasto
'The road goes from Mocao until Pasto.' (MC)
3.3.3.9 Adessive

There is another case for location at a place: -entš. More research is needed to determine the difference between this case and the locative -ok. In (63a) taban- ‘town, village, Sibundoy’ has the marker -entše for location, and in (63b) kanỳ ‘one’ has the marker -entše to mean ‘in one place’.

(63a) Desde tempskán bëngbe tabanentše kanỳ waman kabildo ineysomñe.
since time-ABL 1PL-GEN village-AD

kanỳ waman kabildo i-n-ey-somñe.
one sacred cabildo DIS-?be

‘Since ancient times, there has existed just one holy cabildo in our town.’ (Chindoy 82:1)
(desde < Spanish desde ‘since’)

(63b) Jentna mojobedezá jajmëtam kanỳentše.

jent=na mo-j- obedezá j-ajmëta-m kanỳ-entše
people=TOP 3PL-VBLZ-obey VBLZ-put-BEN one-AD

‘The community obeyed, putting (the material) in one place. (Chindoy2 115:6) (jentna is <gentna> in original orthography)

3.3.3.10 Illative

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

(64) As inỳe tsëm kwashajiñ yejenëchnungo.

as inỳe tsëm kwashaj-iñ ye-j-en-ëchnungo
then other new gourd-ILL DIS-VBLZ-REC-transfer

‘Then he transferred (it) into another new gourd.’ (Chindoy 63:28)

3.3.3.11 Summary of noun cases

Kamsá nouns have suffixes that are somewhere between case markers and postpositions. They do not seem like true case markers because they do not differentiate between subjects and objects, yet they are not really postpositions because many of them are phonologically part of the
noun. Also, some of them function with other adpositions or special verbs that take a certain case, much like cases do typologically. Some of the cases also require an animacy marker *bi-* for animate nouns preceding the case, namely the benefactive, allative, locative and ablative. The comitative perhaps comes from the instrumental but underwent a phonological change. The genitive is the only case that is the same for animate and inanimate nouns, always *-be.* Postpositions are discussed in 8.4.

The noun cases are shown in the Figure 3.5 below.

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

Figure 3.5 Noun cases and postpositions
Chapter 4
Verbal morphology

4.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

- j-abwamiy-an ‘buy’
- j-achway-an ‘greet’
- j-alants-an ‘dance’
- j-amn-an ‘be’
- j-as-an ‘eat’
- j-ayan-an ‘say’
While all person (subject and object) and TAME (tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality) prefixes precede the root, there are a few suffixes that can appear on a root as well. Some prefixes are portmanteau, simultaneously encoding multiple grammatical categories, such as both person and tense or both tense and aspect. All inflected verbs are marked for both person and number.

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

4.2 Person and number: subject marking

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

Figure 4.1 (on the following page) shows the different verbal prefixes that mark the person and number of the subject. In the table, I include the pronouns for each person/number. These prefixes typically precede the TAM markers. For some tenses/aspects, the person marker is different, as discussed below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person and number</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Verbal prefix options</th>
<th>Optional number suffix on verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>atš</td>
<td>sē- (past, habitual, progressive), Ø- (future, conditional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ak</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>i- (future, conditional, progressive), t- (past), bo- (animate A and O)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>bëng</td>
<td>bsē-, sē-, mo-</td>
<td>-ang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tsēngatang</td>
<td>ūm-, ko- mo-</td>
<td>-ang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>chëng</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>-ang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU</td>
<td>bëndat</td>
<td>sē-, bo-, mo-</td>
<td>-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>tsëndat</td>
<td>ūm-, bo-</td>
<td>-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>chat</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>-at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1 Person and prefixes

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

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

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\(^5\) It is not clear if the bo- used on transitive verbs when both the subject and object are transitive is the same as the bo- used on verbs with dual subjects.
suffixes; or singular marking person prefixes with plural or dual marking suffixes. For plural and
dual, person can be encoded, or number, or both. Whether the person and/or number is encoded
depends partially on pragmatics (i.e. if the overt pronoun is used or not). The first person plural
marker is $bs$-, but verbs that have first person plural subjects will often exhibit the first person
markers $s\ddot{e}$- or $\emptyset$- instead, or the plural marker $mo$-. The second person plural marker is $\ddot{sm}$-, but
second person plural subjects can instead be marked with the second person prefix $ko$- or the
plural prefix $mo$-. The third person plural marker is always $mo$-. Similarly, dual subjects may or
may not be specified. Verbs with dual subjects can be marked specifically as dual with the prefix
$bo$- (regardless of person). Alternatively, verbs can index only the person (and not the number)
of dual subjects ($s\ddot{e}$- or $\emptyset$- for first person, $\ddot{sm}$- or $ko$- for second person, but generally not $i$-, $\emptyset$-, $to$-, or $ye$-
for third person). Finally, dual subject referents can be indexed with the plural marker
$mo$-. There is no marker that encodes first person dual (as opposed to dual in other persons, or
first person in other numbers) or second person dual (as opposed to dual in other persons, or
second person in other numbers. In sum, verbs may employ a precise prefix to encode both
person and number or a less specified prefix that encodes the number but not the person of the
subject or one that encodes the person but not the number of the subject.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1c) Atś sëntsabwana mëntšen.
    atś së-n-ts-abwana mëntšen
    1SG 1SG-EVI-PROG-cook meat
    ‘I’m cooking meat.’

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

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

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6 The morpheme -en is possibly a nominalizer.
(1f) Tonjapasaibs sēnjachemb atšbe enuta.
tonjapasaibs sē-n-j-achemb atš-be enuta
yesterday 1SG-EVI-VERB-call 1SG-GEN friend
‘I called my friend yesterday.’

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

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

(2b) Atš chanja tabanoy akabtak.
atš Ø-chan-ja taban-oy ak-abtak
1SG 1SG-FUT-go town-ALL 2SG-COM
‘I will go to town with you.’

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

(3a) Lbs ak kochanjwabwá wameshnen.
lbs ak ko-chan-j-wabwá wameshnen.
tomorrow 2SG 2SG-FUT-VBLZ-cook mote
‘Tomorrow you will cook mote (hominy soup).’

(3b) Lbs cha ichanjwabwá wameshnen.
lbs cha i-chan-j-wabwá wameshnen
tomorrow 3SG 3SG-FUT-VERB-cook mote
‘Tomorrow she will cook mote (hominy soup).’

Certain verbs exhibit te- (as opposed to sē-) as the first person prefix in the past. There does not seem to be any phonological or semantic conditioning for this class of verbs. Some examples are j-otēmb-an ‘recognize’, as seen in (4a) and j-oman-an ‘sleep’, as seen in (4b). More research is needed to determine what verbs constitute this class.
(4a) Atšbe washëntsniñe lempé tejabtstëmbá.
Atš-be washëntsniñe lempé te-j-a-b-ts-tëmbá
1SG-GEN sowing all 1SG-VERB?-?-PROG-recognize
‘I recognized all my sown items.’ (Chindoy 89:11)

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

4.2.2 Second person singular: ko-

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

(5a) Tonjopasaibs nda kojinñ?
tonjopasaibs nda ko-jinñ
yesterday who 2SG-see
‘Who did you see yesterday?’ (MC)

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

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

(5d) kochjotjajo i atšna kbochwakmye."
kochjotjajo i atš=na k-bo-ch-wakmye
2SG-FUT-VBLZ-run.fast and 1SG=TOP 2SG-DU-FUT-follow
‘You (will) run fast and I will chase/follow you.’ (Chindoy 2: 154.2)
4.2.3 Third person singular: *i*- or *ton*- 

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

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

(6a) Kadaté cha **indwabwán** wameshnen.

kodaté cha i-n-d-wabwán wameshnen

*every.day 3SG 3SG-HAB-cook* mote

‘Every day she cooks mote (hominy soup).’ (kadaté < Spanish *cada día* ‘each day’)

(6b) Ch keš obana **indëmën**.

ch keš obana i-n-d-emën

*DET dog dead 3SG-HAB-be*

‘The dog is dead.’

(6c) Ibs cha **ichanjwabwa** wameshnen.

ibs cha i-chan-jwabwa wameshnen

*tomorrow 3SG 3SG-FUT-cook* mote

‘Tomorrow she’ll cook mote (hominy soup).’

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

(7) Shbwaya **inaujabwachan** patronangbiyo kotš jotbayam jatshok.

shbwaya i-n-au-jabwachan patron-ang-biyo kotš jotbayam-m jatsh-ok

*hunter.dog 3SG-EVI-OBJ-help owner-PL-ALL pig catch-BEN swamp-LOC*

‘A hunting dog helped its owners catch a pig in the swamp.’ (Chindoy 55:1) (*patron* < Spanish *patrón* ‘owner, boss’, and *kotš* < Spanish *coche* ‘pig’)

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

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

(8b) Šešonatem tonjonýna tonjopasanýete.
šešon-atem to-n-j-onýna tonjapasanýete
baby-DIM 3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-be.born day.before.yesterday
‘The baby was born the day before yesterday.’ (tonjapasanýete composite of Kamsá tonja ‘he/she/it went’ Sp. pasar ‘happen’ and Sp. anteayer ‘the day before yesterday’)

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

4.2.4 First person plural: bsë-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(10a) **Kadaté bëng mondawbwan wameshnen.**
    kadaté bëng mo-nd-wabwàn wameshnen
    every.day 1PL PL-HAB-cook mote
    ‘Everyday, we cooked mote (hominy soup).’ (MC) (kadaté < Spanish cada día ‘each day’)
A ver chkasë n'yetesë kamwentë mochjenebjna.
a.ver chkasë n'yetesë ka-mwentë mo-ch-j-enebjna
okay thus noon INTENS-here PL-FUT-VBLZ-meet
‘Thus tomorrow we will meet right here.’ (Chindoy2 161:10) (mochjenebjna in original orthography is <mochjeneffja>)

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

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

4.2.5 Second person plural: šmo-

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

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

7 There are two second person plural pronouns, the more common one being tsëngaftang, as -ang is the plural suffix on nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives, but both are used.
(12b) Tsengfta matsetem šmontsoťëmbwana.
tsengfta matse-tem šmo-n-tsőśëmbwana
2PL corn-DIM 2PL-EVI-PROG-cry.out
‘You (plural) are crying out for corn.’ (Chindoy 2 73:2)

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

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

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

4.2.6 Third person plural: mo-

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

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

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

(13c) Kadaté mojontša ošanan kanŷa, utat, asta shachnënga
kadaté mo-jontša ošanan kanŷa utat asta shachn-ëng-a
every.day 3PL-start lost one two until five-PL-VERB
‘Each day, they started being lost: one, two, then five.’ (kadaté < Spanish cada día ‘each
day’) (Chindoy 94:7)
4.2.7 First person dual marking

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

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

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

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

(14c) Atš i atšbe bemb tonjopasaibssënja tabanoy twamb tsjatobiam.
    aši  i  atš-be  bemb  tonjopasaibs  sē-n-ja
    1SG  and  1SG-GEN  daughter  yesterday  1SG-EVI-go
    taban-oy  twamb  ts-jatobiam
    village-ALL  hen  -sell
    ‘My daughter and I went to the village yesterday to sell hens.’ (MC) (twamb < Quechua?)
(14d) I chata tbojanjuá: “Aîñe, fchanjobenaye ka.”
and 3DU-EPE PST-DU-VBLZ-say yes 1PL-FUT-VBLZ-be.able DISC?
‘They (two) said: “Yes, we can.”’ (Matthew 20:22) (i = <i> and ka = <ca> in original orthography)

### 4.2.8 Second person dual: šo-

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

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

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

(15b) Tsëndata şojtsamana
tsëndat šo-j-ts-aman
2DU 2DU-VBLZ-PROG-sleep
‘You (two) slept.’ (MC)

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

Confusingly, the prefix šo- is also the prefix that indexes third person singular subject with first person object. It seems that this is homophony rather than being the same prefix. In (16) j-apegan ‘hit’ has the prefix šo- to index a third person singular subject basetem ‘boy’ and first person singular object atš ‘I, me’. Object marking is discussed in 4.3.
(16) ch basetem atš šonjapega base ndętšbemak
    ch base-tem atš šo-n-j-apega base ndętšbem-ak
DET small-DIM 1SG 1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-hit small rock-INST
‘The boy hit me with a small rock.’ (MC)

4.2.9 Third person dual: bo-

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

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

(17b) keš i meset yebonënts bo-jtemën
    keš i meset yebën-ënts bo-j-ts-emën
dog and cat house-LOC DU-EVI-PROG-be
‘The dog and the cat are in the house.’

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

(18) Yebunok bojatashjango orna …
    yebun-ok bo-j-at-ashjango orna
home-LOC DU-VBLZ-ARRIVE when
‘When they (two) arrived home, …’

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… wabochená bojabwayená wabentsabioy.
older.brother DU-VBLZ-advise younger.brother-ANIM-ALL
‘… the older brother advised the younger brother:’ (orna < Spanish hora ‘hour’)
(Chindoy 64:33)

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

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

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

(19a) Mas bëng montsabwanang mentšen.
mas bëng mo-n-ts-abwana-ng mentšen
more 1PL PL-EV-PROG-cook-PL meat
‘More than two of us are cooking meat.’ (mas < Spanish más ‘more’)

(19b) Bëndat montsabwanat mntšen.
bëndat mo-n-ts-abwana-t mentšen
1DU PL-EV-PROG-cook-DU meat
‘We (two) are cooking meat.’

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

(20a) Tsëngaftang ũmêntsabwanang mntšen.
tsengaftang ũm-êntsabwana-ng mntšen
2PL 2PL-cook-PL meat
‘You (pl) are cooking meat.’ (MC)
(20b) Tsëndat ſmën̓tsabwanat mnt̓ən.
tsëndat ſm-é̓ntsabwana-t mnt̓ən
2DU 2PL-cook-DU meat
‘You two are cooking meat.’ (MC)

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

(21a) tsëndat ſo̲jtsamanat
    tsëndat ſo̲-j-ts-ama̲na-t
    2DU 2DU-VBLZ-PROG-sleep-DU
    ‘You two slept.’

(21b) tsëndat ſo̲jtsamina
    tsëndat ſo̲-j-ts-ama̲na
    2DU 2DU-VBLZ-PROG-sleep
    ‘You two slept.’

(21c) tšengabtang ſmo̲jt̓amana̲ng
    tšengabtang ſmo̲-j-ts-ama̲na-ng
    2PL 2PL-VBLZ-PROG-sleep-PL
    ‘You (plural) slept.’

(21d) tšengabtang ſmo̲jt̓amana̲ng
    tšengabtang ſmo̲-j-ts-ama̲na
    2PL 2PL-VBLZ-PROG-sleep
    ‘You (plural) slept.’

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

(22a) Chent̓š shlob̓̑šet̓emang motsom̓ən.
    chent̓š shlob̓̑še-tem-ang mo-ts-om̓ən
    there bird-DIM-PL 3PL-PROG-be
    ‘The birds are there.’

(22b) twambat
    twamb-at
    hen-DU
    ‘two chickens’

---

8 Here I gloss ts- as progressive, but it is possible that the ts- occurring after j- is a different morpheme from the ts- that’s progressive in other environments.
4.2.11 Concluding remarks on subject marking on verbs

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

4.3 Object marking on verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 4.2 (on the following page) summarizes the person marking for verbs, showing the various possible combinations of subject and object prefixes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG subject</th>
<th>2SG subject</th>
<th>3SG subject</th>
<th>1PL subject</th>
<th>2PL subject</th>
<th>3PL subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no object</td>
<td>sē- (e.g., past), Ø- (e.g., future)</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>to- (e.g., past), i- (e.g., future)</td>
<td>bsē-, sē-, mo-</td>
<td>ūšmo-, ko-, mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG object</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>ško- (&lt; ško-)</td>
<td>šo- (&lt; š-Ø-)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>šmo- (&lt; ūšmo-), ško- (&lt;š-ko-) ūšmo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG object</td>
<td>kbo- (&lt; k-bo-)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>ko- kontsonyā</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>kmo- (&lt; k-mo-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG object</td>
<td>sē-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>V, to-, t-bo-, bo-</td>
<td>bs-, sē-, mo-</td>
<td>ūšmo-, ko-, mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL object</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>ško- (&lt; š-ko-)</td>
<td>šo-</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>šmo- (&lt; ūšmo- or &lt; ūšmo-), ško- (&lt;š-ko-) ūšmo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL object</td>
<td>kbo- (&lt; k-bo-)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>???</td>
<td>kbo- (&lt; k-bo-)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL object</td>
<td>sē-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>V, to-, t-bo-, bo-</td>
<td>bs-, s-, mo-</td>
<td>ūšmo-, ko-, mo-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.2 Person marking prefixes on verbs

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

First person singular subject and second person object is shown on the verb as k-bo-, with k- marking the object and bo- marking the subject. Note that the first person singular subject...
marker is usually sē- whereas bo- is the dual marker. Thus, when the object is second person, the first person subject marker changes to bo-, which is also the dual marker.

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

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

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

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

(23a)  kbonstonya
k-bo-n-ts-onya
2SG-1SG-EV-PROG-look.at
‘I’m looking at you.’

(23b)  Kanye te pwerte yejtsejennya orna, bojochashjajwa.
Kanye te pwerte ye-j-ts-ejennya orna bo-j-ochashjajwa
one day very 3DIS-VERB-PROG-be.sun when DU-VERB-rest.on.patio
‘One day when the sun was shining a lot, they (the couple) rested on the patio.’
(jochashjajwa ‘rest on patio’ from chashjan ‘patio’)
(23c) Tonjapasaibs **kbonjangwango** ak
     Tonjapasaibs  **k-bo-n-j-angwango**  ak
     yesterday  2SG-1SG-EVI-VERB-seek  2SG
     ‘Yesterday I looked for you.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

(24a) Tonjapasaibs atš **sēnjangwango** tsjan
     Tonjapasaibs  atš  **sē-n-j-angwango**  tsjan
     yesterday  1SG  1SG-EVI-VERB-seek  guinea.pig
     ‘Yesterday I looked for the guinea pig.’ (MC)
(24b) tonjapasaibs sēnjachemb atšbe enuta
tonjapasaibs sē-n-j-achemb atš-be enuta
yesterday 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-call 1SG-GEN friend
‘Yesterday I called my friend.’ (MC)

(24c) mwëntši sēnsjotebem
mwëntši sē-n-s-j-otebem
here 1SG-EVI-PROG-VBLZ-sit
‘I’m sitting here.’ (MC)

4.3.3 Second singular subject, first singular object: ṣ-ko-

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

(25a) ṣkoyengwango

ṣ-ko-yengwango
1SG-2SG-insult
‘You insult(ed) me.’ (MC)

(25b) ṣkontsonyā

ṣ-ko-n-ts-onyā
1SG-2SG-EVI-PROG-look.at
‘You are looking at me.’ (MC)

(25c) Tonjapasaibs atš ṣkojangwango pero atš ndokna ketatsmën yebunok
tonjapasaibs atš ṣ-ko-j-angwango pero atš ndokna
yesterday 1SG 1SG-2SG-VBLZ-look.for but 1SG NEG
ke-ta-ts-mën yebun-ok
IRR-IRR-PROG-be house-LOC
‘Yesterday, you looked for me but I wasn’t home.’ (MC)
4.3.4 Second singular subject, third object: *ko*

When the subject is second person singular and the object is third person singular, the object is not indexed on the verb as seen in (26a) where *jangwango* ‘look for’ is only indexed for the second person singular subject, not for the third person singular object *tsjan* ‘guinea pig’.

Similarly in (26b) the verb *jatbanan* ‘collect, gather’ is only marked as second person singular.

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

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

4.3.5 Third singular subject, first object: *šo*

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

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

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

110
ndoñe mas kechatsbokna.
ndoñ-e mas ke-ch-at-s-bokna.
NEG-EPE more IRR-FUT-IRR-PROG-come
‘If one day an enemy hunts me, I will no longer come.’ (Chindoy 2 74:21)

(27c) Mo bën betieshiñ šonjaušęngö.
mo bën betie-shiñ šo-n-j-aušęngö
very soon tree-? 1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-make.climb
‘Very soon, he made me climb a tree.’

(27d) šonjabejëngwenás fshantsoy šontsatsëntše.
šo-n-j-abejëngwen=ås fshants=oy šo-n-tsatsëntše
1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-tie.neck=SUB earth=ALL 1SG.OBJ-EVI-push
‘Tying my neck he pushed me to the ground.’ (Chindoy 79:23)
(jabejëngwnayan ‘tie neck’ with bejëngwaj ‘neck’)

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

(28) šojtsebubwa kausna ndoñ chiyatobená jtan.
šo-j-tsebubwa kaus=na ndoñ chiy-at-obená j-t-an.
1SG.OBJ-VBLZ-be.drunk because=TOP NEG COND-IRR-be.able VBLZ-again-go
‘Because I was drunk I couldn’t return.’ (Chindoy 80:30) (kausna < Spanish causa
‘cause’ with Kamsá topic marker =na)

4.3.6 Third singular subject, second object: k-

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

(29) i bëndatbe barina “komprade” o “wakina” ktsekedana.
i bëndat-be barina komprade o wakina k-t-sekedana
and 1DU-GEN lord compadre or son 2SG-PST-give
‘and our lord has given you the name “godfather” or “son”’ (Chindoy 43:3, from
ceremonial speech.) (kompadre from Spanish compadre ‘godfather’)

4.3.7 Third singular subject, third plural object: to-

When the subject is third singular and the object is third plural, only the third singular
subject is indexed on the verb. In (30a) the verb is marked with to- to show third person singular
past. The prefix is the same as in an intransitive verb with a third person singular subject, as seen in (30b).

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

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

4.3.8 Third plural subject, first object: š-mo-

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

This combination is identical to the prefix for second person singular subject šmo- and to the morphemes for first person object and imperative, š- and mo- respectively, and to the combination of first person singular object and second person plural subject š- and šmo-, which become šmo- (not ššmo- or šēšmo-, which can be explained by a phonological rule that doesn’t allow š and s next to each other.)

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

(31b) Chënga lempe atš-be pavor šmēntjašbwachená.
    chënga      lempe  atš-be   pavor  š-mě-n-t-j-ašbwachená
    they       all    1SG-GEN favor  1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-?-VBLZ-agree
    ‘They all will agree with me.’ (Chindoy2 160:7)
4.3.9 Third plural subject, second object: *k-mo-*

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

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

(32b) Jwangna wabsbentša kmochanjwajansantse;
   jwa-ng=na wabsbentša k-mo-chan-j-wajansantse
   ant-PL=TOP belly 2SG-3PL-FUT--VBLZ-bite
   mejtěmbongna fšněbe kmochanjwabuchwetotjo
   mejtēmbongna fšněbe k-mo-chan-j-wabuchwetotjo
   wasp-PL=TOP eye 2SG-3PL-FUT-VBLZ-sting
   y tjowangná batësoy kmochanjwetotjo.
   y tjowangná batës-oy k-mo-chan-j-wetotjo
   and bee-PL=TOP genital-ALL 2SG-3PL-FUT-VBLZ-sting
   ‘The ants will bite you in the belly, the wasps will sting you in the eye, and the beetles will sting you in the genitals.’ (Chindoy2 161:14)

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

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

(33a) Chorna tersiadėjaka mojetsčtsjanja beštsaš
   Chorna tersiadėj-ak-a mo-je-ts-čtsjanja beštsaš
   then machete-INST-EPE 3PL-VBLZ-PROG-hit head
   ‘Then they hit him in the head with a machete.’
(33b) Ch gabilanëj mojtsoba chentšan
ch gabilan-ëj mo-j-ts-oba chentšan
DET gavilan-EVAL 3PL-VBLZ-die/kill later
‘They killed the sparrow hawk (and) later...’

bolletëngna mojont jëtotochan natjëmban.
bollet-ëng=na mo-j-ontša j-t-ët-obochan natjëmban
chicken-PL=TOP 3PL-VBLZ-begin VBLZ.AGAIN-IRR-grow peaceful
‘The chickens began to grow peacefully.’ (Chindoy 96:21)

(33c) Betsko ch tsombiach mojestsajatka.
betsko ch tsombiach mo-j-ets-ajatka
fast DET tsombiach 3PL-VBLZ-?-cut
‘Quickly, they cut the tsombiach.’ (Chindoy 78:16) (A tsombiach is a traditional woven sash or strap.)

(33d) Chorsa mojaparlang ntšamo yejochjangwan boyaftak
chor-sa mo-japarla-ng ntšamo ye-j-ochjangwan boya-ftak
then-? 3PL-VBLZ- tell-PL how 3DIS-VBLZ-make.mistake man-COM
‘Then they told her what she did with her husband.’ (Chindoy 79:25)

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

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

(34) kbochtespochoka
k-bo-ch-te-spochoka
2SG-1SG-FUT-?-kill
‘We will kill you.’ (Chindoy 65.43)

4.3.12 Second plural subject, first singular object: ŝm-

When the subject is second person plural and the object is first person singular, the morpheme is ŝm- as mentioned above. This is probably because of a phonological rule that prohibits the same consonant twice; thus the first person object marker ŝ- when combining with the second person plural object marker ŝm- becomes ŝm-. In (35) the narrator is talking to a group of people.
(35) Chka šmëntsianentšan atšna chjisolwariñe, inýoy chjatoñe.
    chka šmê-n-ts-ianentšan
    thus 2PL-EVI-PROG-call

    atš=na     ch-j-is-olwariñe     iný-oy     ch-j-atoñe
    1SG=TOP  FUT-VBLZ-?-leave   other-ALL   FUT-VBLZ-go

    'Having called me thus, leaving I will go to another place.' (Chindoy 95:16)

4.3.13 Objects in imperatives

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

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

(36b) Mandadna nỳa yejtsofšenasná bojojwá: “A ver chkasna šmenỳinỳie.”
    mandad=na nỳa ye-j-tsofšenasná bo-jojwá a.ver chkasna š-m-enỳinỳie
governor=TOP ? 3DIS-VBLZ-surprise DU-answer well then 1SG.OBJ-IMP-show
    ‘The governor, surprised, answered, “Well, then, show me.”’ (Chindoy2 116:21)

4.3.14 Other phenomena associated with object marking

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

(37) atš šo-n-jakwenta tonjapasaibs kanỳe kwent tayta mandat.
    atš šo-n-j-akwenta tonjapasaibs kanỳe kwent tayta mandat
    1sg 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-tell yesterday one story tayta governor

    ‘The governor told me a story yesterday.’

Other ditransitive verbs that take goal as the only thing marked on the verb are ‘tell’ shown in (38a) and ‘ask’, shown in (38b).
(38a) cha šonjauyan bnetsan or i-n-ts-emn
cha šo-n-j-auyan bnetsan or i-n-ts-emn
3sg 1sg-evi-vblz-tell three? hour 3sg-evi-prog-be
‘She told me it’s 3 o’clock.’

(38b) Andrea šonjatja tsekore-j-ts-emn̈
Andrea šonjatja tsekore e-j-ts-emn̈
Andrea 1sg-evi-ask how many 3sg-evi-prog-be
‘Andrea asked me what time it is.’

4.4 Tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality

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

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

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

The different tenses are summarized here with the verb j-wabw-an ‘cook’. The present habitual is formed with nd- (39a). The past is formed with j- (39b). The future is formed with chan- (39c). The present progressive is formed with -ts- (39d). Nonfinite verbs (that is, verbs that are not inflected for person or number) have several uses in Kamsá, as discussed in 4.4.2. Morphologically, they are marked by the prefix j- and either the suffix -an for verbal complements (39e) or the suffix -am for purpose (39f).
The actual function of these morphemes is not clear, however, and their functions depend on how they combine with other morphemes. This section focuses on TAM, and here a short summary is provided.

(39a) **Present: person + nd + root**
Kadaté atš wameshnen sëndwabwán.
kadaté atš wameshnen së-nd-wabwán
every.day 1SG mote 1SG-HAB-cook
‘Every day, I cook mote (hominy soup).’ (MC) (*kadaté* < Spanish *cada día* ‘each day’)

(39b) **Past: person + (n) + j + root**
Tonjapasaibs atš wameshnen sënjwabwa.
tonjapasaibs atš wameshnen së-n-j-wabwa
yesterday 1SG mote 1SG-EVI-VERB-cook
‘Yesterday I cooked mote (hominy soup).’ (MC)

(39c) **Future: person (first person is Ø) + chan + root (no -n)**
Ibs atš wameshnen chanjwabwa.
ibs atš wameshnen Ø-chan-j-wabw-a
tomorrow 1SG mote 1SG-FUT-VERB-cook-?
‘Tomorrow, I will cook mote (hominy soup).’ (MC)

(39d) **Progressive: person + n + ts + root (no -n)**
Mor atš mëntšen sëntsabwana.
mor atš mëntšen së-n-ts-wabwa-na
now 1SG meat 1SG-FUT-VERB-cook-?-?
‘I am cooking meat now.’ (MC)

(39e) As mëntšá yejontšá japarlan.
As mëntšá ye-jontšá j-aparlan
then like.this 3DIS-start VERB-tell
‘Then, this is how he started to tell (it).’ (MC)

(39f) Yejwamba batatem kastellan ralak jentrokam.
yejwamba bata-tem kastellan [rala-k j-en-trok-am]
3DIS-brought little-DIM gold [money-TRANS-VBLZ-REC-change-BEN]
‘He brought a little gold to exchange for money.’ (Chindoy 61:10) (*kastellan* < Spanish *castellano* ‘Castilian’, *rala* < Spanish *real* ‘real [unit of currency]’ and *j-en-trok-am* ‘exchange’, presumably from Spanish)

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9 The *-na* on the end of verbs is probably a different *-na* than the topic marker *=na* on NPs. It is possibly *-an* and *-a*. More research is needed, however.
In addition to these two suffixes found on nonfinite verbs, there are a number of suffixes found on finite verbs in Kamsá, namely: -as, -ye, -an, -a, -na -entš (?) and -ok.

Evidentiality is treated separately in 4.5.

4.4.1 Aspect: non-past habitual nd- and non-past progressive ts-

The aspect markers nd- and ts- come after the person and number markers, and also after the evidential markers, if there are evidential markers. Thus, they are the inflectional prefixes closest to the verb root. (Footnote: derivational prefixes can occur between these inflectional prefixes and the root) nd- and ts- precede the verbal root. Often, epenthetic vowel /ë / is added after the aspect marker, before the verb root. This seems to be phonological or phonetic rather than morphological. Neither nd- nor ts- is obligatory; verbs can be marked without aspect. nd- marks habitual in the present or future, and ts- marks a progressive action in the past or future.

Note that there is homophony between the habitual prefix nd- and negative prefix nd-. They have different functions, and appear in different slots. The negative prefix nd is discussed in 4.9.3.

In (40a-b), ts- shows actions that are currently happening: cooking and changing. ts- is between the evidentiality marker n- and the verb root in both examples. (40c-f) show nd- for habitual actions and states. In (40c) and (40d), nd- shows a constant state, being able to sing, having a house, and usually waiting. In (40c), the verb is also ongoing, non-completed. Thus, nd- could also be interpreted as non-completive.

(40a) Mor atš měntšen sëntsabwana
    mor atš měntšen sē-n-ts-abwana
    now 1SG meat 1SG-EVI-PROG-cook
    ‘I’m cooking meat now.’

(40b) ch tiempotem intso troka rat jinīa i rat wabten
    ch tiempo-tem i-n-ts-o troka rat jinīa i rat wabten
    DET weather-DIM 3SG-EVI-PROG-change bit sun and bit rain
    ‘The weather is changing, sun for a bit and rain for a bit.’ (MC) (jotroka from Spanish trocar ‘change’)
(40c) atšbe enuta botaman **indoben** jakantan
    atš-be enuta botaman i-nd-**oben** j-akantan
    1SG-GEN friend beautiful 3SG-HAB-be.able VBLZ-sing
    ‘My friend can sing beautifully.’ (MC) (**jakantan** from Spanish *cantar* ‘sing’)

(40d) atšbe enuta **indbomën** bëts yebëna
    atšbe enuta i-nd-bomën bëts yebëna
    1SG-GEN friend 3SG-HAB-have big house
    ‘My friend has a large house.’ (MC)

(40e) atšna beka sē-nd-enỳena jajañ
    atš=na beka sē-nd-enỳena jajañ
    1SG=TOP many 1SG-HAB-see chagra- ILL
    ‘I have seen a lot (of fruits) in the *chagra* (small farm)*10.* (Chindoy 102.1)

(40f) Aiñ. Atš **sëndwaman** jobatman iytëm-en-oy.
    aiñ atš sē-nd-waman j-obatman iytëm-en-oy.
    yes 1SG 1SG-HAB-know VBLZ-wait hide-?-ALL
    ‘Yes, I know to wait in a hiding place.’ (i.e. ‘I usually wait…’) (Chindoy 93:3)

The following two examples show the verb *jamnan* ‘be’ with these two TAM markers, *nd-* and *ts*-. In (41a) *i-nd-emën* shows a characteristic of the leaf, whereas in (41b) *i-nts-emën* is a temporary state, the bird being in a tree. Note that in Kamsá *jamnan* ‘be’ inflects in the same way as other verbs.

(41a) kem tsbuanačch bëtsich **indemën**
    kem tbsuana-ch bëts-ich i-nd-emën
    this leaf-CL big-CL 3SG-HAB-be
    ‘This leaf is big.’

(41b) shlofš **intsemën** betiok
    shlofš i-n-**ts-emën** beti-ok
    bird 3SG-EVI-PROG-be tree-LOC
    ‘The bird is in the tree..’

Finally, *ts-* is used for temporary states with adjectival verbs, as in (42) where it appears on *joye**jwa* ‘be happy’.

(42) atšbe enuta tšaba i-nt-**soyejwa**
    atš-be enuta tšaba i-n-**ts-oye**jwa
    1SG-GEN friend well 3SG-EVI-PROG-happy
    ‘My friend is very happy.’

*10* See 1.2.2 for a discussion of *chagras*. 

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4.4.2 Past and infinitives: j-

Past tense is often shown with the prefix j- as well as special person/number prefixes. Whether this is the same j- as the one at the beginning of an infinitive is unclear. Both are discussed here: first the j- with uninflected verbs, then j- in past tenses (recent and distant).

Uninflected verbs can take two forms:

j-root-an: jan ‘go’ and j-abwamiy-an ‘buy’
or
j-root-am: jam ‘in order to go’, j-abwamiy-am ‘in order to buy’

Verbs with prefix j- and suffix -an are the citation form, and the complement for other verbs that take complements. j- and -am show purpose. In (43a) the verb j-abwamiy-an ‘buy’ is the complement of jobenan ‘be able’ and in (43b) j-abwamiy-am is a purpose clause. -am is also the benefactive marker for nouns as seen in (43c) with bëng-bi-am ‘for us’, where bi- is used on animate nouns and pronouns. The syntax of this construction is discussed further in 9.2.4.

(43a)      tobia̱  indoben mashakbe jabwamiyan
            tobia̱  i-nd-oben    mashak-be     j-abwamiy-an
            girl 3SG-HAB-be.able lulo-CL    VBLZ-buy-?
     ‘The girl can buy lulo fruits.’

(43b)      tobia̱  tonja tabanoy mashakbe jabwamiyam
            tobia̱  to-n-ja       tabanoy   mashak-be     j-abwamiy-am
            girl 3SG.PST-EVI-go town-ALL     lulo-CL    VBLZ-buy-BEN
     ‘The girl went to town to buy lulo fruits.’ (MC)

(43c)  bëngbiam
       bëng-bi-am
     1PL-ANIM-BEN
     ‘for us’ (MC)

Past in Kamsá is shown with j- after the person, number, and evidentiality marking. In the third person singular, it is often further indicated by the first singular person marker to-. In (44a) j-wamb-an ‘carry’ has to- and j-. In (44b) j-wamb-an has the distant past marker ye- and j-. In (44c-d) the past and present progressive are contrasted on the verb j-amn-an ‘to be’.
4.4.3 Past, completed: t-

As discussed in 4.2, the third person singular is marked with t- in the past. Thus, to-marks both third person singular and past. In (45a-b) the verb j-an ‘go’ is shown with different person and number prefixes to contrast with to-. In (45a) the third person is marked with to-, which is contrasted with the first person singular së- in (45b) and the second person singular ko-in (45c). In (45d) the third person singular is marked i- in the future, showing that third person singular isn’t marked with t- in other tenses.

(45a) Tonjapasaiibs tobias tonja tabanoy.
   tonjapasaiibs tobias to-n-j-a taban-oy
   yesterday girl 3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-go village-ALL
   ‘Yesterday the girl went to town.’ (MC)
4.4.4 Irrealis: ke-

Irrealis is marked by the prefix ke-. It can be used in conditional clauses with ora or orna ‘when’, which comes from Spanish ahora ‘now’. In these subordinate clauses ora is clause final. In (47a), the verb has the ke- prefix for irrealis, then the second person object marker followed by the third person plural subject marker. The clause ends with orna. Similarly in (47b), the verb j-amm-an ‘to be’ has the irrealis prefix at the beginning, and the clause ends with ora.

(47a) ndayentiš kekmonjinye orna kmochantseepochoka
     [ndayentiš ke-k-mo-n-jinye orna] k-mo-chan-ts-epochoka
     [where IRR-2SG-3PL-EVI-see when] 2SG-3PL-FUT-PROG-kill
     ‘When they see you wherever, they will kill you.’ (Chindoy 110.5)

(47b) kbochjwasto silensio kejtemen ora
     k-bo-ch-jwasto [silensio ke-j-ts-emen ora]
     2SG-1SG-FUT-VBLZ-accompany [silence IRR-VBLZ-?be when]
     ‘I will accompany you when there is silence.’ (Chindoy 103.2)
As discussed in 4.9, the irrealis marker is often used in negation.

### 4.4.5 Future: chan-

The future is signaled by the prefix *chan-* which is perhaps analyzable as *ch-* and *an-*.

The subject marker and object marker, if there is one, precede the future marker. The aspect marker *ts-* can follow *chan-*, as can *j-* , but it is not clear what the difference is. As mentioned in 4.2 Subject Marking, the first person singular is unmarked in the future and conditional whereas the third person singular is marked with *i-* in the future and conditional.

In (49a) and (49c), the future is shown with *chan-* + *ts-* and the verb root. In (49b) *japten* ‘rain’ is repeated from above in the present progressive tense for comparison. In (49d-g) the future is shown with *chan-* and the verb root, including the *j-* . In (49d) the verb *jan* ‘go’ is marked simply with *chan-* because first person singular is zero marked in the future. Similarly in (49e) *j-akwenta* ‘tell’ is only marked with *chan-* . In (49f), *j-atrabaja* is marked with *i-chan-* for third singular. In (49g) both verbs *j-ashjango* ‘arrive’ and *j-atay* ‘spend the night’ are marked with the third person dual marker *bo-* and the future chan-. Note that *j-akenta* ‘tell’ and *j-atrabaja* ‘work’ are both loanwords from Spanish, from *contar* ‘tell’ and *trabajar* ‘work’. They have the same verbal morphology as native words.

(49a)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mor</th>
<th>ichantsapte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mor</td>
<td>i-chan-ts-ape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>3SG-rain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘It’s going to rain now.’

(49b)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mor</th>
<th>intsapten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mor</td>
<td>i-n-ts-apt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>3SG-EVI-PROG-rain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘It’s raining now.’ (MC)

(49c)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ichantsbokan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-chan-ts-bokan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG-FUT-PROG-leave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘She will leave.’ (MC)

(49d)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aţă chanja tabanoy akabtak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aţă Ø-chan-ja taban-oy ak-abtak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG 1SG-FUT-go village-ALL 2SG-COM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I will go to the village with you.’ (MC)
(49e) atš chanjakwenta atš-be enuta kwento.
   atš  O-chan-j-akwента  atš-be  enuta  kwento
   1sg  1SG-FUT-VBLZ-tell  1SG-GEN  friend  story
   ‘I will tell my friend a story.’ (MC)

(49f) ibs ch bobonts Carlos i-chanjatrabraja
ibsg  ch  bobonts  Carlos  i-chan-j-atrabraja
tomorrow  DET  youth  Carlos  3SG-FUT-VBLZ-work
cha-be  taita-btak  twambangabiam  joporman
cha-be  taita-btak  twamb-ang-biam  j-oporman
2SG-GEN  father-COM  chicken-PL-BEN  VBLZ-fix
‘Tomorrow the young man Carlos will work with his father, fixing the chicken coup.’

(49g) jetińoy bochanjashjango i kachoka bochanjatay.
jetiń-oy  bo-chan-j-ashjango  i  ka-choka  bo-chan-j-atay
afternoon-ALL  DU-FUT-VBLZ-arrive  and  INT-there  DU-FUT-VBLZ-stay
‘We two will arrive in the afternoon and spend the night right there.’

4.4.6 Conditional/speculative: chao- and tay-

The prefixes chao- and tay- mark the conditional. chao- seems related to chan- and it is possible that ch- is a separate morpheme, with ao- and an- being different morphemes. When chao- is used, there is no person or number marking. The vowel sequence ao- in chao- is suspect as it is the only such vowel sequence in the language.

In (50a) the verb j-amn-an ‘be’ is marked with chao- to show uncertainty. The clause also has the particle ndok which can mean ‘maybe’. In (50b) the verbs are marked with chao- to show a possible occurrence. In (50c), chao- also shows a possibility.

(50a) Ndok ch bobontsesh chaomna,
   ndok  ch  bobonts-esh  chao-mna
   maybe  DET  youth-?  COND-be
   ‘Maybe it could be the young man.’ (Chindoy 94:9) (Note: I think -esh is an evaluative)

(50b) Saká chte nda natsan chaojtsëtjajandwoná o chaojtsenobwasto
   Saká  ch=te  nda  natsan  chao-j-ts-ët-j-ajandwoná
   well  DET=day  who  first  COND-VBLZ-PROG-IRR-VBLZ-roll.around
Well, in this day (we will see) who first rolls around or scratches himself.’ (Chindoy 161:11)

(50c) o bayujema chaondotsomineka?
o bayu-jema chao-nd-ots-omine-ka
or beast-poor COND-HAB-?-be-?
‘or could he be some kind of beast?’

There is another morpheme *tay-* which also is uncertainty. It is not very common. In (51a) it is on the verb ‘be’ in a sentence where the person is wondering if someone is something. In (51b) its use on the verb *jatatšembwan* ‘notice’ denotes ‘maybe’. Here I call *tay-* a speculative marker.

(51a) sempra bebtena jatsnotisiana sikera krischan *taykunamena*
sempra bebe=na jatsnotisiana sikera krischan *tay-k-unam-ena*
always father=TOP think even human SPEC-IRR-be-?
‘But the father kept wondering if he might be a human being,’ (*tay* = <tai> in original orthography) (*sempra* from Spanish *siempre* ‘always’, *krischan* perhaps from Spanish *cristiano* ‘christian’ and *sikera* from Spanish *siquiera* ‘even’)

(51b) chkasa *tayšmojtatšumboka*
chkasa *tay-šmo-j-tatšumbo-ka*
like.this SPEC-2PL-VELZ-understand-DISC
‘Like this maybe you (pl) will understand.’ (McDowell 63) (*tay* = tai in original orthography)

4.4.7 Distant past: *ye-*

The distant past is used in some Kamsá stories. It is never used in speech (at least in my data). It is only used for third person, probably for pragmatic reasons, i.e. that it is only for very distant past before a speaker or hearer was born. It is formed with *i-* which becomes *y-* before vowels. Thus, for third person singular, distant past is *ye-* or *yo-* while for plural and dual it is *i-* before the usual plural marker *mo-* or dual marker *bo-* or simple *mo-* or *bo-* without *i-*.

In (52a) and (52b), the verbs *j-an* ‘go’ and *j-ay-an* ‘say’ have the prefix *ye-* to show distant past for a third singular subject. In (52c) and (52d), from the Kamsá Bible, Jesus is telling a parable and the verbs all have the prefix *yo-* for distant past. It is not clear what the difference between *ye-* and *yo-* is, if any, but it is possible that *yo-* also functions as a passive marker as
discussed in the next section. It seems like ye- is ‘narrative past’ that is now archaic. It appears in older texts, in Chindoy, the Bible, and McDowell but I do not have it in any of my own texts. The function of yo- is less clear. It could be a composite of the distant past y- with the o- that is in many other person/tense morphemes. It could also be a composite of the third singular i- with o-.

(52a) Kachor yejá washëntsayoy.
Kachor ye-já washëntsay-oy
INTS-then 3SG.DIS-go sowing-ALL
‘Right away, she went to the sowing place.’ (Chindoy 89:7)

(52b) Chorna ch dweñna yejayán:
chorna ch dweñ=na ye-j-ayán
then DET owner=TOP 3DIS-VBLZ-say
‘Then the owner said.’ (Chindoy 89:12)

(52c) Chë boyabásana ndëtëbeñe chabe yebna yojahebo.
chë boyabása=na ndëtëbeñe cha-be yebna yo-j-ajebo
DET man-TOP rock-LOC 3SG-GEN house 3DIS-VBLZ-put
‘The man built his house on rocks.’ (Matthew 7:24)

(52d) Waftena yojuáshjango, chë bëjayënga yojóftjajna, chë yebnoye puerte yojtebinïyaiye.
wafena yo-j-uáshjango chë bëjaiënga yo-j-óftjajna
rain 3DIS-VBLZ-come DET river-PL 3DIS-VBLZ-rise?
chë yebn-oy-e puerte yo-j-tebinïyaiye
DET house-ALL-EPE strong 3DIS-VBLZ-wind.blow
‘The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house;’
(Matthew 7:25) (waftena = <Uaftena> in original orthography)

Plural and dual distant past are shown with the distant past marker i- preceding the plural marker mo- as seen in (53a) and (53b) or the dual marker bo- as seen in (53c) and (53d).

(53a) chjemna lempe impase imojahebái
ch-jem=na lempe impase i-mo-j-ts-oshane
DET=EVAL=TOP all all DIS-3PL-VBLZ-PROG-eat
‘They completely devoured that poor fellow.’ (McDowell 74)

(53b) Chë bnëtsana uta uatsjëndayënga mëntšá imojahebái
chë bnëtsana uta uatsjënday-ënga mëntšá i-mo-j-anabaina
DET ten two apostle-PL thus DIS-3PL-VBLZ-call
‘The twelve apostles were named thus:’ (Matthew 10:2)
(53c) ibojaushjangoka
   i-bo-j-aushjango-ka
   DIS-DU-VBLZ-arrive-ka
   ‘They two arrived there together.’ (McDowell 51)

(53d) Y kachora jinỳama ibojtsobena
   i ka-chora jinỳama i-bo-j-ts-obena
   and INTS-then VBLZ-see DIS-DU-VBLZ-?-can
   ‘And then (the two blind men) could see.’ (Matthew 9:30) (i = <y> and kachora =
   <cachora> in original orthography)

For plurals and duals, it is also common for the distant past to be marked with just the
plural or dual marker, without the i-. In (54), the verb is only marked with mo-, not i-mo-.

(54) Ndëjwabnayora kem lwar mallajt langostënga mojabetsjajna.
   ndëjwabnayora kem lwar mallajt langost-ënga mo-j-abetsashjajna
   without.thought DET place many lobster-PL 3PL.PST-VBLZ-arrive
   ‘Without thinking about it, many lobsters arrived at this place (a long time ago).’
   (Chindoy 107:1)

4.4.8 Passive? : yo-

There is a prefix yo- which is perhaps a passive or impersonal marker. It is not common
and more research is needed to determine its function, but a few examples are provided here.

In (55a) yo- is on the verb jenëyen ‘find’. Other morphology on the verb is different, as
well. The meaning seems to be passive. Although yo- can be a distant past marker, here it is not,
because it is found in dialogue. The other examples are even less clearly passive. In (55b), it is
on the verb j-opodenan ‘be able’ (from Spanish poder ‘be able’). Note that there is a native
Kamsa word for ‘be able’, as well, and it is possible that this word has a slightly different
meaning. In (55c), the verb could be distant past, with yo- marking distant past, or it could be a
different construction. In (55d), the subject is plural, and the verb is j-onan ‘feel’.

(55a) Atš sëndenëyena ndayentše ch matse yobinỳana.
   atš së-nd-enëyena ndayentše ch matse yo-binỳana
   1SG 1SG-HAB-see where DET corn PASS-find
   ‘I have seen where the corn is found.’ (Chindoy 2 73:2)
Bobontsna bojojwá: Oo bënoka sëndenýena.

Saká bochjasá, kbochjenýiníie ndayentš yopodenán.

‘The young man responded: “Oh! I have seen (them) far from here. Well, we will eat them, I will show you where we can.”’ (Chindoy 2: 81:22)

(55c) shinýe yojtashjango

‘The sun arrived.’ (McDowell 52)

(55d) Yentšangna yojonan mo nda ndeolpe btsatsbanaká

‘The people felt as if someone had suddenly lifted (them).’ (Chindoy 56:6)

4.5 Evidentiality: n- and j- or Ø-

There is a two-way evidentiality system: n- for known information and j- or Ø- for unknown information. More research is needed to determine if the form of the unknown evidential marker is j- or Ø- because it always appears with verbalizer j- and thus could be j- + j- . The evidential marker comes after the person markers and before the aspect markers. There are several morphophonemic rules with these evidential markers, discussed below.

The marker for something known is n-. It is often used in the recent past, and never used in the distant past\textsuperscript{11}. It is almost always used in first person singular (not necessarily plural, because first person plural could mean ‘we, the Kamsás’).

The marker for something not known is j- or Ø-. Jamioy Muchavisoy describes the evidential system as being n- for ‘close’ and j-\textsuperscript{12} for removed (1999). In (56a), the j- shows that the speaker is has distance from responsibility, while in (56b) the speaker is closer.

\textsuperscript{11} Logically, it makes sense that there would be no known evidential marker for the distant past because the speaker could not have seen/experienced what happened.

\textsuperscript{12} In his examples, I use my orthography rather than his original orthography.
(56a) kojtesa tandëš
  kojtesa tandëš
comer pan
‘you must be eating bread’

(56b) entsejen bomo
  entsejen bomo
  sembrar papa
‘he is planting potatoes’ (Jamioy Muchavisoy 267)

Because of the prohibition against geminates, with this analysis, when there is /j-/ + /j/, one /j/ is deleted. Thus, it isn’t clear if it is formed with j- or Ø-. tojashëng, ‘he climbed’ for example, could be to-Ø-j-ashëng or to-j-jashëng.

A preliminary observation is that in the Kamsá Bible, the Gospels are are written with the removed evidentiality while the epistles are written more with the witness evidential marker n-.

4.6 Reciprocal: en-

Reciprocals and reflexives are shown with en-. (57a-b) show reciprocals. In (57a) j-obetšan ‘run into someone’ is marked with en- to mean ‘run into each other’. Similarly, in (57b), the verb has en- to mean greet each other. In (57c) the verb is reflexive, with en- showing that the speaker is looking at herself. (57d) shows the verb j-onýa ‘see’ used transitively, without en-, for comparison.

(57a) Sapo i bianganaftaka bojenbetšé.
  sapo i biangan-aftaka bo-j-en-betšé
toad and deer-COM DU-VBLZ-REC-meet
‘The toad and deer ran into each other.’ (Chindoy 154: 1)

(57b) Bojenchwayne orna biangan yejayán:
  bo-j-en-chwayne orna biangan ye-j-ayán
  DU-VBLZ-REC-greet when deer 3DIS-VBLZ-say
‘When they greeted each other, the deer said:’ (Chindoy 154: 1)

(57c) atš sënjenoný espejwiñ
  atš sën-j-en-oný espejw-iñ
  1SG 1SG-VBLZ-REC-see mirror-LOC
‘I see myself in the mirror.’ (MC 8)
4.7 **Imperative: m-**

The imperative is formed by adding *m-* to the verb root as seen in (58a) with *jabo* ‘come’. Imperatives do not have *j-* but sometimes they have *ts-* as shown in (58b-c). It is not clear what the difference in meaning is. *m-* seems to be the imperative for singular, plural, and dual, third person. Another common way to express commands is by using the future tense, which is discussed in 9.5.2. (58d) shows both the morphological imperative *m-olempia* ‘clean!’, marked with *m-* and the future being used as imperative *ko-ch-jase* ‘you will eat’.

(58a) mabo
    m-abo
    IMP-come
    ‘Come!’

(58b) motsabo
    mo-ts-abo
    IMP-PROG?-come
    ‘Come!’

(58c) Morna lemp motsañe.
    morna lemp mo-ts-añe
    now all IMP-PROG?-eat
    ‘Now eat them all.’ (Chindoy 69:11)

(58d) Mwata molempia. Kanýana kochjase,
    mwa-ta mo-lempia kanýa=ná ko-ch-jase
    DET-DU IMP-clean one=TOP 2SG-FUT-eat
    ‘Clean these two, and eat one of the them.’ (Chindoy 94:6)

4.8 **Certainty/intensifier: kwa-**

There is a prefix *kwa-* that can be added to verbs to intensify them, as seen in (59) below.
4.9 Negation

Negation in Kamsá is shown by the negator word *ndoñ* preceding the verb. Usually, when a verb is negated it has the irrealis prefix *ke*- and the negative prefix *at*-. The *ke*- comes before person, number, tense, aspect, mood, and evidential marking, while the *at*- come after all of those markers, closer to the verb root. Neither morpheme is obligatory, however, and it is possible simply to have the negator word *ndoñ* without the irrealis prefix or the negative prefix. Furthermore, in some tenses, such as distant past, a different negative prefix is used, namely *n*- or *nd*-, both of which are homophonous with other prefixes in the language, i.e. evidential marker and present habitual, respectively.

4.9.1 *ndoñ* with *ke*- and *at*-

A common way to negate verbs is to use the irrealis marker *ke*- which comes at the beginning of the word, preceding the subject marker, and *at*- which comes closer to the root, after the aspect markers. In (60a), the *j-amn-an* ‘be’ is negated with *ndoñ* and the verb has both prefixes *ke*- and *at*-. In (60b-c) *j-amëntš̱na* ‘be tired’ is shown with and without the negative marking. In (60b) and (60c) the verb has an agreement marker *š*- for first person agreement. In (60c) the first person agreement marker *š*- comes after *ke*- and before *at*-. In (60d-e) *j-apten* ‘to rain’ is shown with and without negative marking. In (60e) the evidential marker *n*- comes between *ki*- and *at*-. It is phonetically *ki*- not *ke*-. (60f) shows *j-abowenynan* ‘remember’ with
the irrealis prefix *ke-* followed by the first person singular marker *ts-* and then the negative marker *at-* and (60g) has *j-opasan* ‘happen’.

(60a)  aṭša ndoñ chka **ketsataman**
      aṭš=na \[ndoñ chka **ke-ts-at-aman**\]
      1SG=TOP \[NEG thus IRR-PROG-NEG-be\]
‘I am not like that..’ (Chindoy 109.2)

(60b)  aṭš yap ṣontsamënštša
       aṭš yap ṣo-n-ts-amënštša
       1SG  very  1SG-EVI-PROG-tired
‘I’m very tired.’

(60c)  ndoñ **kešatamënštša**
       ndoñ **ke-š-at-amënštša**
       NEG  IRR-1SG-NEG-tired
‘I’m not tired.

(60d)  mor **intsapten**
       mor i-n-ts-aften
       now 3SG-EVI-PROG-rain
‘It’s raining now.’

(60e)  ndoñ **kinatapten**
       ndoñ **ki-n-at-aften**
       NEG  IRR-EVI-NEG-rain
‘It’s not raining.’

(60f)  ndoñ **ke-ts-at-abowenyná**
       ndoñ **ke-ts-at-abowenyná**
       NEG  IRR-1SG-NEGremember
‘I don’t remember.’ (Chindoy 79.24)

(60g)  fshantsokna ndoñ chka kenatopasan.
       fshants-ok=na \[ndoñ chka **ke-n-at-opasan**\]
       earth-LOC=TOP  NEG  like.that  IRR-EVI-NEG-happen
‘It doesn’t happen like that on the ground’ (Chindoy 104:7)

4.9.2 **ndoñ with at-**

In the following example, which is second person singular, the verb is not marked with *ke-*, only with *at-*. The negative marker *at-* follows the second singular subject marker *ko-* and the future marker *ch-*. 
(61) Akajem kochatoben atš jtsakmenán
    aka-jem ko-ch-at-ohen atš j-tsakmenán
 2SG-EVAL 2SG-FUT-NEG-be.able 1SG VBLZ-follow
  ‘You are not able to follow/chase/catch me.’

4.9.3 ndoñ with nd-

Another way to show negation is with nd- instead of ke-. Subject markers precede nd- and there is no at-. In (61a) the verb j-abwach-an ‘visit’ has the distant past marker i- and the third plural marker mo-. In (61b) the verb j-opoden ‘be able’ has the negative marker nd-. The present habitual is also shown with nd- but this cannot be the same nd- as the present habitual, because it is distant past.

(61a) lo mismo ndoñe benache ndoñe imundenabwache
  lo.mismo ndoñe benache ndoñe i-mu-nd-en-abwache
  the same NEG trail NEG DIS-3PL-NEG-REC-visit
  ‘Since there was no trail they didn't visit there.’ (McDowell 150) (lo mismo from Spanish lo mismo ‘the same’)

(61b) Ch lwarna ndoñ yendopoden tbako jwakwakwayán;
  ch lwar=na ndoñ ye-nd-opoden tbako j-wakwakwayán
  DET place=TOP NEG 3.DIS-NEG-be.able tobacco VBLZ-smoke
  ni juyamban jatán tsëtša-ka ni sebollë-eka
  neither VBLZ-bring fiambre chilli-INST nor onion-INST
  ‘In that place, one cannot smoke tobacco or bring cold cuts with chilli sauce or onion.’ (Chindoy 66:44) (sebollëš from Spanish cebolla ‘onion’ with l being a palatalized to l, perhaps borrowed from Spanish as a plural, cebollas ‘onions’)

4.9.4 ndoñ with n-

Sometimes negation is shown with only n- on the verb. The following examples show different persons and numbers with n- showing negation. Note that they are all distant past or past.
(62a) nدو نسیبی ين Joshua
ندو نسیبی ين-Joshua
NEG yellow-CLF 3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-eggs
'It didn’t lay yellow (eggs).’ (Chindoy 74.22)

(62b) چنجا ندو بیتسیسماگا منjobemas
چنجا ندو بیتسیسماگا من-Jobemas
3PL-TOP NEG big-؟-PL 3PL-NEG-VBLZ-become
'They didn’t get big.’ (Chindoy 74.23)

(62c) چنتسان چی بوبوتس دیابلنجا ندو مانجتنیه
چنتسان چی بوبوتس دیابل-یہ-نا ندو مان-J-at-enیه
later DET young devil-EVAL-TOP NEG more 3PL-NEG-VBLZ-AGAIN-see
'Later they didn’t see the young devil anymore.’ (Chindoy 75)

(62d) ندو یونجواهن
ندو یونجواهن
NEG well 3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-hear
'She didn’t hear (him) well.’ (Chindoy 77.6)

(62e) چکاوسا ندوم بناجبتساجاجو
چکاوسا ندوم بناجبتساجاجو
DET reason NEG DU-NEG-VBLZ-؟-؟ arrive
'For this reason, they (two) didn't arrive.’ (Chindoy 62.22)

4.9.5 یندو with infinitive

Sometimes the verb can be marked with only the verbalizer ی- without any person, number, TAM, evidential, or negation marking. This is identical to the infinitive.

(63a) این ین اسیسیعو نوا
این ین اسیسیعو نوا
and PART NEG-EPE-؟ VBLZ-listen
‘And she wouldn't listen.’ (McDowell 208)

(63b) ندو ینیکننکا
ندو ینیکننکا
NEG VBLZ-find-؟
‘He couldn't find her’ (McDowell 186)

(63c) ینبوگی یتینا ندو
ینبوگی یتینا ندو
heathen-PL-ALL VBLZ-AGAIN-go NEG
‘He never returned to the heathens.’ (McDowell 63)
### 4.9.6 *ndoñ with nt-

Sometimes negation is shown with the prefix *nt- on the verb, without any person or number marking. It is possible this is *nd- that becomes *nt through a phonological rule that devoices the prenasalized *d when it precedes *j-.

(64a) *ndoñ *ntjobekonan
ndoñ *nt-j-obekonan
NEG NEG-VBLZ-get.close
‘He wouldn’t come nearby.’ (McDowell 188)

(64b) *nye *ntjontješeka inachembumbe
*nye *nt-j-ontješeka i-n-achembumbe
PART NEG-VBLZ-look 3SG.DIS-EVI-scold
‘Without looking she scolded her.’ (McDowell 197)

(64c) Uchmašëshe betiyentšana *ndoñ uvas *ntjuátabebiana,
uchmašëshe betiy-entš-an-a *ndoñ uvas *nt-j-útabebiana
thorn tree-LOC-ABL NEG grape NEG-VLBZ-pick
‘People do not pick grapes from thornbushes’ (Matthew 7:16) (*jwatbeyan 'colocar')

(64d) pero chë yebna *ndoñ *ntjwáshajayana,
pero chë yebna *ndoñ *nt-j-wáshajayana
but DET house NEG NEG-VBLZ-fall

chë yebna ndëtšbeñe inajéboycà.
chë yebna ndëtšbeñe inajéboycà
DET house rock?
‘Yet it did not fall, because it had its foundation on the rock.’ (Matthew 7:25)
(*ntjwáshajayana = <ntjuáshajayana> in original orthography)
Chapter 5  
Pronouns and determiners

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses pronouns and determiners, determiners being a class of deictics. The sections on pronouns include some notes on the semantics of the pronouns, a brief discussion of the alignment, the basics of case marking on pronouns, and the use of the intensifier and evaluatives on pronouns. The lack of reciprocal pronouns is discussed. Finally, I present my attempt at analyzing indefinite pronouns. This chapter discusses independent pronouns, not bound pronominal marking on verbs, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

5.2 Independent pronouns

Kamsá has nine personal pronouns for subject/object. As with nouns, there is no morphological difference for pronouns that would depend on whether they function as the subject of an intransitive sentence, the subject of a transitive sentence, or a direct object. They mostly behave as nouns do in the language. They take case markers, and sometimes evaluatives. Like nouns, they do not seem to take class markers when they are referring to a noun with class markers. This section does not discuss pronominal affixes (e.g. pronominal agreement markers on verbs). Kamsá is a prodrop language. Person and number is marked by agreement affixes on the verb, both for subjects and objects, and the pronoun is not necessary.

5.2.1 Personal pronouns

The pronouns for first person have the same root for dual and plural, bē- with ng for plural (like the plural marker on nouns and adjectives) and -ndat for the dual: bēndat ‘we (two)’ and bēng ‘we (more than two)’. Similarly, the second person pronouns have the same root tsē in the plural and dual, with -at for the dual and -ng for the plural. There is a second form of second person plural: tsēngaftang. The pronouns for third person all have the same root, with the singular having a vowel -a, and the dual and plural having -at and -ēng, respectively. The third
person dual pronoun has another form chëndat. The third person pronoun likely comes from
determiner ch. Note that for first and second person, the singular pronoun is unrelated to the
plural and dual. Figure 5.1 shows the personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>atš</td>
<td>bëndat</td>
<td>bëng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ak</td>
<td>tsëngat</td>
<td>tsëng or tsëngaftang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>chat or chëndat</td>
<td>chëng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.1 Personal pronouns

An example of each personal pronoun in a clause can be seen below.

(1a) **atš** mëntšamaytrë sëndëmën
     **atš** mëntša  maytrë së-nd-ëmën
     1SG  thus    master 1SG-HAB-be
     ‘I am the master in this way.’ (Chindoy 72.3)

(1b) **ak** ena mëntšen
     **ak** ena   mëntšen
     2SG  pure    meat
     ‘You (are) pure meat.’ (Chindoy 109.1)

(1c) **Cha** tonjayana y chë binyía y chë búyeshe tmonjoyeuná ca.
     **cha** to-n-j-ayana    y chë   binyía  y chë  búyeshe t-mo-n-j-oyeuná ca
     3SG  PST-EVI-VBLZ-speak and DET wind and DET water PST-3PL-EVI-VBLZ-listen DISC
     ‘He speaks and the wind and water listen.’ (Matthew 8:27)

(1d) **chana** yejojwa
     **cha=na** ye-j-ojwa
     3SG=TOP   DIS-VBLZ-answer
     ‘He answered (...)’ (Chindoy 72.2)

(1e) **bëndat** bëntsabwana mëntšen
     **bëndat** bë-n-ts-abwana  mëntšen
     1DU  1DU-EVI-PROG-cook    meat
     We (two) are cooking meat.
We only (eat) raw things.

(Chindoy 2 80.11)

You (pl) are clamoring for corn.

(Chindoy 2 73.2)

They are my family members.

(Chindoy 92.14)

5.2.2 Semantics of Kamsá pronouns

There is no difference between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural; the difference is only between dual and plural. bëng is a very culturally important word, being used when people are discussing their community, and has come to be associated with a sort of indigenous resistance and fight for cultural rights, but it is also simply the first person plural pronoun.

For second person singular, there is no difference between formal and informal. In many Kamsá materials, ak is translated as Usted, the formal second person singular form in Spanish, rather than as tu, the informal second person singular, perhaps because in the Kamsá community people use Usted with each other much more than tu. Indeed, I have met some Kamsás for whom tu does not exist in their speech and who use Usted with everyone: parents, spouses, children, friends.

The third person singular pronoun cha has no gender; it can mean 'he', 'she,' and sometimes 'it', although for pronominal reference to inanimate nouns usually a determiner is used pronominally instead of this third person pronoun. The third person pronoun perhaps comes from the determiner ch ‘the’ often pronounced as chë, (or perhaps ch comes from cha). Often, because of the reduction of the vowel in cha, it is hard to tell if the word being said is the determiner chë or the pronoun cha. Thus, another possibility is that they are the same word, but people think they are different words for other reasons, such as for the project of creating a written language.
5.2.3 Use of pronouns and alignment: subject and object

In Kamsá, there is no difference in form between subject and object pronouns, just as there is no difference in form between subject and object nouns. The language is thus neither nominative/accusative nor ergative/absolutive in its alignment for pronouns.

In (2a), the first person singular pronoun atš is the subject of an intransitive sentence, with jan ‘go’ as the verb. The verb agrees with the subject, shown by the first person singular subject marking së. In (2b) atš is the subject of a transitive sentence. As in (2a), the verb has the prefix së- to show that the subject is first person singular. In (2c), atš is the direct object of a transitive verb. There is no change to atš; the form is identical to that in (2a) and (2b). The verb in (2c) is marked with a first person singular prefix šo- to agree with the direct object.

Intransitive subject

(2a) atš chan-ja tabanoy ak-abtak
    atš cha-n-ja taban-oy ak-abtak
    1SG 1SG.FUT-EVI-VBLZ-go village-ALL 2SG-COM
    ‘I will go to the village with you.’ (MC)

Transitive subject

(2b) atš sën-ts-abwana mëntšen
    atš sën-ts-abwana mëntšen
    1SG 1SG-PROG-cook meat
    ‘I’m cooking meat.’ (MC)

Object of transitive sentence

(2c) ch basatem atš šonjapega
    ch basa-tem atš šo-n-j-apega
    DET small-DIM 1SG 1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-hit
    ‘The boy hit me.’ (MC)

If the independent pronoun is used it often has the topic marker =na attached to it. In (3), the first person subject pronoun has the topic marker =na, presumably for emphasis.
(3) atšna mosekak tsabo
    atš=na mosek-ak ts-abo
    1SG=TOP music-INST 1SG-come
    ‘I come with music.’ (Chindoy 85.3)

In (4), the first person singular is the subject and the independent pronoun is present, but
the direct object, the second person singular, is marked on the verb and does not appear as an
independent pronoun.

(4) atš chekbojamanda chka
    atš ch-e-k-bo-j-amanda chka
    1SG COND-EPE-2SG-DU-VBLZ-order thus
    ‘I will order you thus.’ (Chindoy 62.21)

In (5), atš is used as the independent object pronoun. It is the first word in the sentence.
The verb also is marked for first person singular object, as well as with m- for imperative. Note
that atš here, when it is an object, has the same form as when it is a subject (as in (4)) but the
verbal morphology is different.

(5) atš mwentše šměntjofja
    atš mwentše š-mě-n-tjofja
    1SG here 1SG.OBJ-IMP-EVI-invite
    ‘Invite me here (command)’ (Chindoy 93.1)

In (6), there is no independent subject pronoun or object pronoun. Both are marked only
on the verb. The subject is marked with mo- which agrees with third person plural subjects. The
object is marked with k-, the marker for second person objects. Note that the object agreement
marker precedes the subject agreement marker on the verb. This is discussed more in 4.3 on
object marking prefixes on verbs.

(6) k-mo-n-chan-tse-shbwäs
    k-mo-n-chan-tse-shbwäs
    2SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ-EVI-FUT-PROG-kill
    ‘They are going to kill you.’ (Chindoy 84.3)
### 5.1.4 Pronoun cases

Each pronoun in Kamsá can take a variety of case markers, all of which are suffixes, and postpositions. They are the same as the case markers discussed in Chapter 2.2.3, and the case markers that require the animate marker -bi for animate nouns, are the same for pronouns. Thus, the allative and benefactive both require -bi, whereas the genitive -be does not, and the comitative is -abtak, perhaps deriving from -bi + -ak. Figure 5.2 summarizes the pronoun forms of the genitive, allative, benefactive, and comitative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns: Subject/Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Benefactive</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atš ‘I’, ‘me’</td>
<td>atš-be ‘my’</td>
<td>atš-bi-oy ‘to me’</td>
<td>atš-bi-am(a) ‘for me’</td>
<td>atš-abtak ‘with me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak ‘you’</td>
<td>ak-be ‘your’</td>
<td>ak-bi-oy ‘to you’</td>
<td>ak-bi-am ‘for you’</td>
<td>ak-abtak ‘with you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’; ‘him’, ‘her’</td>
<td>cha-be ‘his’ ‘her’</td>
<td>cha-bi-oy ‘to him’, ‘to her’</td>
<td>cha-bi-am ‘for him’, ‘for her’</td>
<td>cha-btak ‘with him’, with her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bënd-at ‘we two’</td>
<td>bëndat-be ‘of us two’</td>
<td>bëndat-bi-oy ‘to us two’</td>
<td>bëndat-bi-am ‘for us two’</td>
<td>bëndat-abtak ‘with us two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsëndat</td>
<td>tsëndat-be ‘of you two’</td>
<td>tsëndat-bi-oy ‘to you two’</td>
<td>tsëndat-bi-am ‘for you two’</td>
<td>tsëndat-abtak ‘with you two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chat, sometimes chëndat</td>
<td>chatbe ‘of the two of them’</td>
<td>chat-bi-oy ‘to the two of them’</td>
<td>chat-bi-am ‘for the two of them’</td>
<td>chat-abtak ‘with the two of them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëng</td>
<td>bëngbe ‘of us’</td>
<td>bëng-bi-oy ‘to us’</td>
<td>bëng-bi-am ‘for us’</td>
<td>bëng-abtak ‘with us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsëng or tsëngaftang</td>
<td>tsëngaftang-be ‘of you (pl)’</td>
<td>tsëngaftang-bi-oy ‘to you (pl)’</td>
<td>tsëngaftang-bi-am ‘for you (pl)’</td>
<td>tsëngaftang-abtak ‘with you (pl)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chëng</td>
<td>chëngbe ‘their’</td>
<td>chëng-bi-oy ‘to them’</td>
<td>chëng-bi-am ‘for them’</td>
<td>chëng-abtak ‘for them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.2 Case markers on pronouns
Some examples of pronouns with these case markers are seen in the examples to follow.

In (7a), the second person singular pronoun *ak* is shown with the benefactive marker *-byam*. In (7b) the third person singular pronoun *cha* is show with the comitative marker *-abtak*. In (7c) the first person plural pronoun *bëng* has the genitive marker *-be*. In (7d) the first person plural pronoun *bëng* has the benefactive marker *-byam*. In (7e) the first person dual pronoun *bëndat* has the genitive marker *-be*. In (7f), the second person plural pronoun *tsëngabtang* has the benefactive marker *-byam*. In (7g) the third person dual pronoun *chat* has the genitive marker *-be* to show that it was the lifeforce of both the people.

(7a) atš sēnjwabwa wameshnen **akbi-am**
    atš sē-n-j-wabwa wameshnen **ak-bi-am**
    1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 2SG-ANIM-BEN
    ‘I cooked mote for you.’ (MC)

(7b) ch batá tbojinŷ kanŷe bako i tojson **cha-btak**
    ch batá t-bo-j-inŷ kanŷe bako i to-json **cha-btak**
    DET aunt PST-DU-VBLZ-see one uncle and PST-DU-VBLZ-go 3SG-COM
    ‘The aunt saw an uncle and went with him.’

(7c) **bëngbe** Bêtsa
    bëng-be Bêtsa
    1PL-GEN big
    'our Father' (Chindoy1 28)

(7d) ch tobiaš tonjwabwa wameshnen **bëngbi-am**
    ch tobiaš to-n-j-wabwa wameshnen **bëng-bi-am**
    DET girl PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 1PL-ANIM-BEN
    ‘The girl cooked mote for us.’ (MC)

(7e) **bëndatbe** botaman palabra
    bëndat-be botaman palabra
    1DU-GEN beautiful word
    'our beautiful word'
    (Chindoy1 29)

(7f) ch tobiaš tonjwabwa wameshnen **tsëngabtangbi-am**
    ch tobiaš to-n-j-wabwa wameshnen **tsëngabtang-bi-am**
    DET girl PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 2PL-ANIM-BEN
    ‘The girl cooked mote for you (pl). (MC)
5.1.5 Other pronominal morphology

In addition to case markers, pronouns can also have the topic marker/discourse marker 
=na, as seen above, the intensifier prefix kach-, and evaluatives.

Pronouns can bear the intensifier prefix; it adds extra emphasis to the pronoun. In (8) the 
second singular pronoun ak has the prefix kach and the genitive suffix -be.

(8) kachakbe kausa
    kach-ak-be kausa
    EMPH-2SG-GEN cause
    'Because of you' (Chindoy 69.11)

Sometimes pronouns can take evaluatives, although this is very rare and is perhaps only
done for narrative or poetic reasons. In (9), the first person plural pronoun bëng has the suffix -
jem, an evaluative suffix used for poor things. Note that there is an additional plural marker, even
though bëng is already plural.

(9) bngajemunga sasnunga mondemenamse
    bng-a-jem-ung-a sasn-ung-a mo-nd-emen-am-se
    ‘We poor things food being food (...)' (McDowell 181)

5.3 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive is shown with the intensifier/emphatic marker ka- or kach- added to the
personal pronoun.

(10) Cha inỳenga tojëftsatsebaká,
    cha inỳe-ng-a to-j-ëftsatsebaká
    3SG other-PL-EPE PST-VBLZ-help
pero kachá jéntsobokama ndoñe kenátobena
pero ka-chá j-én-ts-bokama ndoñe ke-n-át-obena
but EMPH-3SG VBLZ-REC-PROG-save NEG IRR-EVI-NEG-be.able
‘He saved others, but he can’t save himself!’ (Matthew 27:42) (tojëftsatsebaká = <tojëftsatsebacá>, kachá = <cachá>, jéntsobokama = <jéntsbcama>, and kenátobena = <quenátobena> in original orthography)

5.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Kamsá does not seem to have reciprocal pronouns. Rather, the reciprocity is marked on the verb with the prefix *en*- The verb ‘to say’ takes different morphemes depending on whether there is a hearer or whether it is mutual as seen in (11): *j-ayan* is less transitive, while *j-auyan*, with the /u/ means ‘to tell someone’, and *j-enyan*, with /en/ means that the telling is reciprocal, telling each other. This is discussed more in 4.6.

(11) jayanan ‘say’
    jauyanan ‘tell someone’
    jenyanan ‘tell each other’

The following two examples show the verb *j-ayan* ‘to say’ as a reciprocal and with a hearer. In (12a) the verb has the reciprocal marker *en*- and in (12b), the verb has the marker *au*- to show that there is a hearer. The hearer is marked with the allative marker -biyo.

(12a) enabwatmat (...) bojenyan
    enabwatmat bo-j-en-yan
couple DU-VBLZ-REC-tell
‘The couple told each other…’ (Chindoy 58.4)

(12b) bojauyan wabentsabyoy
    bo-j-auyan wabentsa-bi-oy
    DU-VBLZ-tell younger.brother-ANIM-ALL
‘He told his younger brother..’ (Chindoy 62.20)

5.5 Determiners

This section discusses the determiners, both articles and demonstratives.

Kamsá has one article, *ch*, which is probably related to the third person singular pronoun *cha*. It is used for definiteness/specificity but more research is needed. The language has one
main demonstrative kem, which basically means ‘this’. Both ch and kem can modify animate and inanimate nouns, although ch is used very often with animate nouns and not so often with inanimate nouns. Also, ch is used more when the noun is the subject (which is, of course, related to the previous observation). kem can also be used for both animate and inanimate nouns. Both ch and kem, when part of an NP, come at the beginning, regardless of the order of the other words in the NP and they can both stand alone, not as part of a larger NP. When the determiners are part of an NP, they do show any overt marking of agreement with the noun, but if they stand alone, they agree with their referent/antecedent in class, and sometimes in case and/or number. In addition to ch and kem, there is also kanye ‘one’ and inya ‘other’ that I include in this section because they behave similarly to ch and kem, also occurring at the beginning of an NP and agreeing with their referent/antecedent when they stand alone. Himmelmann uses the following two criteria to distinguish between articles and demonstratives:
- articles occur only in nominal expressions, whereas demonstratives may appear as pronouns, adverbials, predicates or adnominal modifiers;
- within the nominal expressions articles occupy a fixed position, either consistently to the left or to the right of the noun, whereas demonstratives may occur on either side of the noun in many languages. (Himmelmann 2001:832)

Kamsá does not seem to have these distinctions. All determiners must go at the beginning of the NP when they’re part of the NP, and they can all stand alone. That being said, it is rare for ch to stand alone; ch is extremely frequent as part of an NP, but it rarely stands alone.

The four determiners discussed in this chapter are presented in Figure 5.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamsá word</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>‘the’</td>
<td>definite article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kem</td>
<td>‘this, that’</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanye</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>indefinite article, numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inya</td>
<td>‘other, another’</td>
<td>unclear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.3 Determiners in Kamsá
5.5.1 Determiners in NPs

The following four examples show the determiners modifying various nouns. In (13a) the noun *bobonts* ‘young man and the noun *beti* ‘tree’ are preceded by *ch*, the definite article. In (13b) *kem* ‘this’ precedes *tsbwana* ‘leaf’. In this sentence *bëts* ‘big’ is a predicate adjective. In (13c) *mayor* ‘elder’ from Spanish *mayor* ‘older’, ‘older person’ is preceded by *kanýe* ‘one’. In (13d) *inye* ‘other’ precedes *yendon* ‘squirrel’.

(13a)  
*ch* *bobonts* *ch* *bëts* *tëtsitshak*  
DET young.man DET tree under 3SG-EVI-PROG-VBLZ-sit  
‘The young man is sitting under the tree.’ (MC)

(13b)  
*kem* *tsbwana* *bëts*  
DEM leaf big-CLF 3SG-HAB-be  
‘This leaf is big.’ (MC)

(13c)  
*kanýe* *mayor* *jatshok* *kotsëng-a*  
one elder swamp-LOC pig-PL-EPE 3SG-EVI-have.animals  
‘One elder had pigs in a swamp.’ (Chindoy 96.1)

(13d)  
*inye* *yendon* *bojobetse*  
other squirrel DU-VBLZ--meet  
‘He (the squirrel) met with another squirrel.’ (Chindoy 101.3)

Determiners can modify animate objects, inanimate subjects, and inanimate objects, as well. In (14a), the definite article *ch* is used with *bëshatema* ‘little door’. In (14b) *kanýe* ‘one’ is modifying the direct object *tobiaš* ‘girl’. In (14c) *kanýe* modifies an inanimate direct object *kwent* ‘story’.

Determiner with inanimate subject:

(14a)  
*ch* *bëshatema*  
DET door-DIM-EPE 3SG-EVI-PROG-close  
‘The door is closing.’ (MC)
Determiner with animate object:

(14b)  
ch bobonts tonjapasaibs tbojniŋ kanyë tobias botamana

‘The boy saw a beautiful girl yesterday.’ (MC)

Determiner with inanimate object:

(14c)  
atš šo-chan-jakwenta kanyë kwent taita mandat

‘The governor tells me a story.’ (MC)

When determiners are part of an NP, they are always at the beginning of the NP, regardless of the order of other elements of the NP. In (15a), the definite article *ch* is at the beginning of the NP, followed by *satkakan* ‘perforated’ derived from the verb *jasatkan* ‘perforate’. The noun *kwashaj* ‘gourd’ follows the adjective. In (15b), a noun with the genitive marker comes between the article *ch* and the head noun *mëntjaj* ‘leg’. In (15c) the number ‘two’ *uta* comes between the noun *tjan* ‘monte’ and the article.

(15a)  
ch satkakan kwashaj

‘the perforated gourd’ (Chindoy 63.29)

(15b)  
ch bobonts-e-be mëntjaj

‘The leg of the boy’, ‘the boy’s leg’

(15c)  
ch uta tjan benok i-ndemun

‘The two mountains are far.’

When determiners are part of the NP, they do not agree with the noun. In (16), *bobontsēnga* ‘boys’ is plural but the definite article *ch* does not change.
(16) ch bobonts-ēng-a
    ch bobonts-ēng-a
DET young.man-PL-EPE
‘the young men’ (Chindoy 79.18)

5.5.2 Determiners standing alone

Determiners can stand alone without anything else from the NP. When determiners stand alone, they agree with their referents. In (17a) inē ‘other’ has the class marker -be to agree with ndētšbe ‘rock’. In (17b) the definite article ch has the suffix for poor things -jem. In (17c), the definite article has both -jem, the suffix for poor things, and the plural marker.

(17a) kem ndētšbe mas intsewut ch inēbe
    kem ndētš-be mas i-n-ts-ewut ch inē-be
DET rock-CLF more 3SG-EVI-PROG-heavy DET DEM-GEN
‘This rock is heavier than that one.’

(17b) chora chjemna ntšamo jutsemanana
    chora ch-jem=na ntšamo ju-ts-emanana
then DET-EVAL=TOP how be
‘then that poor one, what can he do?’ (McDowell)

(17c) lempe ch-jem-ung-a
    lempe ch-jem-ung-a
all DET-EVAL-PL-EPE
‘all those poor ones’ (McDowell 80)

In (18) ch-be has as its antecedent ˈsunjanabe ‘drum’ that occurred earlier in the discourse, and ch- plus ‘round thing’ classifier -be means ‘that’ in reference to a round antecedent, in this case the drum.

(18) bweno yojtsotso bobwetana shashinỳiñe chbe
    bweno yo-j-ts-o-tsobobwetana shashinỳ-iñe ch-be
well DIS-VBLZ-PROG-spin foam-LOB DET-CL
‘Well, it spun around in the foam, that one.’ (McDowell 75)
5.5.3 Semantics of determiners

*Kanýe* ‘one’ is used to modify nouns when they are first introduced in a story. However *kanýe* is not necessary; a noun need not have any determiner at all. In the following two examples, an animal disguises itself as a human to go to a human’s house. In (19a) the animal is marked with *kanýe* and in (19b) the noun has no determiner.

(19a) **kanýe tobiaš** bekotem washekwa yejashango **kanýe** yebunentše
     **kanýe tobiaš** bekotem washekwa ye-j-ashango **kanýe** yebun-entše
     one girl little-DIM footed DIS-VBLZ-arrive one house-LOC
     ‘A girl with short feet arrived at a house.’ (Chindoy 91.1)

(19b) **ntsoyna** paresido bobonts-ka (...) yeja
     **ntsoyna** paresido bobonts-ka ye-ja
     cusumbo seeming young.man-DISC DIS-go
     ‘A coatimundi\(^{13}\), seeming like a young man, went…’ (Chindoy 98.1)

\(^{13}\) Cusumbo = coatimundi, (*Procyonidae Nasua*). It is an animal in the raccoon family.
Chapter 6
Adjectives

6.1 Introduction

Adjectives in Kamsá are an open class of words. I define them as being words that can agree with nouns in class, number, and sometimes evaluatives and/or case; that can be intensified; and can take comparative degrees. Their typical functions are to modify nouns/nominals (attributive adjectives, e.g. the big dog) and as adjectival predicate complements (e.g. the dog is big). Their defining criteria in my analysis is their ability agree with nouns because nouns cannot agree with other nouns.

An adjective can agree with a noun that it modifies in class, number, and evaluative marking. Adjectives often take the case marker for a noun phrase, and they can sometimes agree with a noun in case. Adjectives can be intensified with adverbs such as *bien* ‘very’ and *yap* ‘very, much’. Adjectives can also take comparatives.

The following examples show the morphology that adjectives have when agreeing with nouns. This chapter discusses this morphology in greater depth. In (1b) the adjective *bwangan* ‘red’ agrees with *chembalbe* ‘tree tomato’ with the class marker -be. In (1c) *bwangan* ‘red’ agrees with the plural noun *šlofišëŋ* with the plural marker -ang. In (1d) *stjnëj* ‘hair’ has the diminutive marker -tem, as does the adjective *ftseng* ‘black’ that agrees with it. In (1e) both the noun *chembalbe* ‘tree tomato’ and *bochan* ‘ripe’ have the instrumental case marker -k. In addition, the adjective *bochan* agrees with *chembal-be* in class, as shown by the suffix -be. In (1f) the adjective is intensified with *yap*. Finally, in (1g) an adjective is used in a comparative construction with *mas* ‘more’. These qualities of adjectives are discussed further in the following sections of this chapter.

(1a)  bwangan ‘red’

(1b)  chembalbe indemun bwanganbe
      chembal-be i-nd-emun bwangan-be
      tomato-CLF 3SG-HAB- be red-CLF
‘The tree tomato is red.’ (MC)
6.2 The form of adjectives

Adjectives tend to end in /a/, /o/, or /á/. Adjectives that end in /o/ or /a/ lose this final vowel when they precede the noun, but adjectives ending in the stressed vowel /á/ do not lose the final vowel. In Figure 6.1 botamana ‘beautiful’ is botamán when preceding a noun and botamana when following the noun or standing alone after the verb. i-nd-emën is the third singular present form of j-amnan ‘be’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>botamán tobiaš</th>
<th>‘beautiful girl’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tobiaš botamana</td>
<td>‘beautiful girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobiaš indemën botamana</td>
<td>‘(the) girl is beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobiaš botamana indemën</td>
<td>‘(the) girl is beautiful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.1 Noun/adjective order

Likewise, adjectives that end in /o/ lose the /o/ when they precedes the noun. betsko ‘fast’ can be bets and podesko ‘ugly’ can be podesk when preceding a noun. Adjectives that end in
stressed /á/ cannot lose the vowel regardless of the position of the adjective. ‘Fat dog’ can be either *oboná keš (fat dog) or keš oboná (dog fat), but not *obon keš.

Figure 6.2 shows some common adjectives in the language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>botamana</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabowana</td>
<td>sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oboná</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>podesko</td>
<td>ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēts(á)</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binchá or base or basá</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osertaná</td>
<td>intelligent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēná or tsbanana</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekwá</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bochen</td>
<td>ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obaná</td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamná</td>
<td>delicious</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.2 Common adjectives
6.3 Adjectival inflection/agreement

Adjectives agree with the noun they modify. Class agreement is obligatory (unless the adjective precedes the noun), while number, case, and evaluative marking are optional. Adjectives agree with nouns even if the noun is not overt in the clause.

6.3.1 Plural marking on adjectives

Adjectives can have plural markers and dual markers. Number agreement is not obligatory. In (2a) the adjective botamana ‘beautiful’ has the plural marker -ëng to agree with the plural noun yebnëng ‘houses’. In (2b) bën ‘tall’ has the plural marker -ang to agree with the plural pronoun bëng ‘we (pl)’. In (2c) there are two adjectives bëts ‘big’ and basa ‘small’ both agreeing with the plural pronoun chëng ‘they’.

(2a) ch yebnëng botamanëng yomën
    ch yebnëng botamanëng yo-mën
    DET house-PL beautiful-PL ?-be
    ‘The houses are beautiful.’ (MC)

(2b) Bëng bënënang mondemun
    Bëng bënën-ang mo-nd-emun
    1PL tall-PL 3PL-HAB-be
    ‘We are tall (MC).

(2c) chëng bëtsang y basëng
    chëng bëts-ang y basëng
    3PL big-PL and small-PL
    ‘They are big and small.’ (MC)

6.3.2 Class markers on adjectives

As discussed in 3.2, there is a subset of nouns in Kamsá that has class markers. Adjectives that agree with nouns that have class markers must bear these class markers. As seen in (3a) the adjective gobshn ‘green’ has the class marker -be to agree with the noun shemne-be ‘egg’. In (3b) there are two adjectives, botamana ‘beautiful’ and bseng ‘black’ agreeing with the noun wasnaniya ‘blanket’ and they both have class markers. As discussed in 3.2.3 some nouns in
Kamsá have a class marking suffix as well as the prefix *wa-. In (3b) both adjectives have the suffix -*ya and the prefix *wa-.*

(3a) ch bobonts tbonjacheta ch tobias shemnebe gobshnebe  
ch bobonts t-bo-n-j-acheta ch tobias shem-ne-be gobsh-ne-be  
DET boy PST-DU-EVI-VBLZ-give DET girl egg-CLF green-CLF  
'The boy gave green eggs to the girl.' (MC)

(3b) ch wasnaniya wabotamaneya indowamën i wabsengiya  
ch wa-snani-ya wa-botaman-ë-ya i nd-owamën i wa-bsengi-ya  
DET CLF-manta-CLF CLF-beautiful-CLF 3SG-HAB-be and CLF-black-CLF  
'The blanket is beautiful and black.' (MC)

(3c) kem yentšiya indewamn wabchendujwa  
kem yent-Šiya i nd-owamn wa-bchendu-jwa  
DEM cloth 3SG-HAB-be CLF-blue-CLF  
y inyajuan wabwanganjwa  
y inya-jwan wa-bwangan-jwa  
and other-CLF CLF-red-CLF  
'One cloth is blue and the other is red.' (MC)

6.3.3 Evaluatives on adjectives

Adjectives can have evaluatives. The adjective can have the evaluative whether the noun has an evaluative or not. In (4a) both the noun and adjective have the diminutive suffix -*tem:*  
gobshin ‘green’ agrees, having the diminutive marker -tem to agree with bominỹ-tem ‘eyes’. In (4b) gobshin ‘green’ has the suffix -tem but the noun, bominỹ ‘eye’ does not. In (4c) the adjective has the class marking prefix *wa- and the diminutive -*tem. Also note that the adjective is a loan word from Spanish delgado ‘thin’. In (4d) the adjective bëtsa ‘big’ has the diminutive -tem.

(4a) bominỹ-tem gobshintem indẽmẽn  
bominỹ-e-tem gobshin-tem i nd-ẽmẽn  
eye-DIM green-DIM 3SG-HAB-be  
'(Her) eyes are green.' (MC)
(4b) atšbe bominį indemën gobshintem
    atšbe bominį i-nd-emën gobshin-tem
1SG-GEN eye-DIM 3SG-HAB-be green-DIM
‘My eyes are green.’ (MC)

(4c) ch wasnaniya induem bien wadelgadatem
    ch wa-snani-ya i-nd-emun bien wa-delgada-tem-a
DET blanket-DIM 3SG-HAB-be very thin-DIM-EPE
‘The blanket is very thin.’ (MC)

(4d) ya bëtsatema yojtsemna orna
    ya bëtsa-tem-a yo-j-ts-emna orna
already big-DIM-EPE 3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-be when
‘When he was grown…’ (McDowell 76)

6.3.4 Case marking on adjectives

Adjectives can have case markers. Generally, the last element of the NP (usually the noun or adjective) has the case marker. It is also possible for multiple elements of the NP to have the case marker, i.e. the noun and adjective can both be marked. In (5a), repeated from (1e) above, both the adjective and the noun are marked with the instrumental marker -k. In (5b) only the adjective, which is the last part of the NP, is marked with the instrumental marker. As with nouns, on adjectives the case marker comes after the number markers, as seen in (5c).

(5a) atš sënzwaba mentsen chembalbek bochanbek
    atš sē-n-j-waba mëntsen chembâl-be-k bochan-be-k
1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cook meat tomato-CLF-INST ripe-CLF-INST
‘I cooked meat with ripe tree tomato.’ (MC)

(5b) sënjabonja šeson wasnaniya wabwanganiyak
    sē-n-j-atbonja šeson wa-snani-ya wa-bwangani-ya-k
1SG-EVI-VBLZ-cover baby CLF-blanket-CLF CLF-red-CLF-INST
‘I covered the baby with the red blanket.’ (MC)

(5c) sēnja ch betiesh tsbanenëngshoy
    sēnja ch beti-esh tsbanan-ëng-sh-oy
1SG-EVI-VBLZ-go DET tree-? tall-PL-CL?-ALL
‘I went toward the tall trees.’ (MC)
6.4 Types of adjectives

There are several types of adjectives in Kamsá. Most end in -an and can precede or follow the NP they are modifying. Of the adjectives that end in -an, some are derived from verbs. Some adjectives can be used both as an adjective with the verb ‘to be’ or can have verbal morphology. Some can only be used as an adjective, i.e. cannot take verbal morphology. Of the ones that can only be an adjective (and not take verbal morphology), there is a small subset that has three unique qualities: [1] they generally precede the noun (rather than following the noun, as most nouns usually, but not always, do); [2] they do not usually agree with the noun; [3] and they can be used as compounds. These words are bëts ‘big’ and basa ‘small’.

All adjectives, however, can be used in compounds, and all adjectives can follow or precede the noun. All adjectives can agree with nouns in case, class, number, and evaluative (except when they are functioning as verbs, of course) and all adjectives can be used substantively as the head an NP. All adjectives must agree with their referent in class when they are not preceding the noun (i.e. adjectives agree with their referent if they follow their referent or when their referent is not in the same NP)

Adjectives derived from verbs behave the same as other adjectives. The following are some examples of adjectives derived from verbs. It is not clear how productive this derivational process is, if all verbs can become adjectives. Adjectives derived from verbs are the same as the verb, but without the initial j-.

(6a) wabwán ‘cooked’ from j-wabwan ‘to cook’
(6b) obaná ‘dead’ from jobanan ‘die’

The following are two compound nouns with the adjectives basa ‘small’ and bëts ‘big’.

(7a) shembasa ‘girl’ (from shem ‘woman’ and basa ‘small’)
(7b) bëts mamá ‘grandmother’ (from bëts ‘big’ and mamá ‘mother’)

A subset of adjectives in Kamsá can also be used as verbs. There are perhaps others that can be verbs, as well, but that have not appeared as verbs in my data. In (8a) joyejwan ‘be happy’ is used as a verb with verbal prefixes for person, number, evidentiality, and aspect. In (8b)
oyejway ‘happy’ is used with the verb ‘be’ and has no verbal prefixes. Instead it has the number suffix -ęng ‘pl’ as nouns and adjectives do.

(8a) atšbe enuta botamán tsaba intsoyejwa
    atšbe enuta botamán tsaba i-n-ts-oyejwa
    1SG-GEN friend beautiful good 3SG-EVI-PROG-happy
    ‘My beautiful friend is happy.’ (MC)

(8b) Chë maguënga chë estrella tmojáninÿe orna
    chë magu-ęnga chë estrella t-mo-j-ánninÿe orna
    DET magi-PL-EPE DET star PST-3PL-VBLZ-see when
    corente oyejuayënga imojtsemna
    corente oyejuay-ęng-a i-mo-j-ts-emna
    very happy-PL-EPE DIS-PL-VBLZ-PROG-be
    ‘When the Magi saw the star, they were very happy (overjoyed).’ (Matthew 2:10)

6.5 Present and absent referents

Adjectives agree with their referent whether or not it is present in the phrase. In (9a-b) the noun and adjective are both in the clause, and both are marked with the class marker (for round things) -be. The word order is different. In (9c) the referent chembalbe ‘tree tomato’ is not in the clause at all, but the adjective has the class marker -be to agree with it. (9d) is interesting in that the entity speaking is round (a lulo fruit) and the adjective botaman has the marker -be to agree with it. The first person singular pronoun atš is in the clause, referring to the lulo fruit.

(9a) chembalbe tamnabe indemun
    chembal-be tamna-be i-nd-emun
    tomato-CLF delicious-CLF 3SG-HAB-be
    ‘The tomato is delicious.’ (MC)

(9b) chembalbe indemun bwanganbe
    chembal-be i-nd-emun bwangan-be
    tomato-GEN 3SG-HAB-be red-CLF
    ‘The tomato is red.’ (MC)

(9c) bëtsabe indemun
    bëtsa-be i-nd-emun
    big-CLF 3SG-HAB-be
    ‘It is big’ (referring to a tomato) (MC)
(9d)  Ch mashakbe ṣonjauyan, “Atš botaman-be sën-demun!”
ch mashak-be ſō-n-j-auyan atš botaman-be sē-nd-emun
DET lulo-CLF 1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-say 1SG beautiful-CLF 1SG-HAB-be
‘The lulo fruit told me, “I am beautiful!”’ (MC)
Chapter 7
Other word classes

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the function, structure, morphology, and distribution of various word types that do not fit neatly into other word classes, i.e. words that are not nouns, verbs, or adjectives. I first discuss adverbs (7.2), including temporal adverbs (7.2.1), adverbs of manner (7.2.2), and adverbs of degree (7.2.3). In (7.2.4) I discuss some issues for the class of adverbs of degree. In (7.2) I discuss deictics of place and other words related to location (words that function as nouns, postpositions, and adjectives). Then I discuss function words and particles, (7.4), followed by negators (7.5) and quantifiers (7.6).

7.2 Adverbs

Adverbs in Kamsá can modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. They have no inflection, neither nominal inflection nor verbal inflection. There are not many adverbs in the language, although adjectives can be used adverbiaally. Many adverbs are derived from Spanish. Temporal and locative adverbs generally come first in a clause, only preceded by conjunctions and certain particles. Manner adverbs can occur in different places in a clause. In general, it seems that adverbs come at the beginning of VPs. They can precede or follow subjects; they generally precede objects; and they almost always precede verbs.

7.2.1 Temporal adverbs

Kamsá uses adverbs for time. They do not agree with nouns (thus are not adjectives); nothing can agree with them (thus they are not nouns); and they cannot be inflected for person or TAM (thus they are not verbs). The etymology of each adverb is shown in Figure 7.1. Some adverbs can also be used as postpositions.
Figure 7.1 shows common temporal adverbs in Kamsá. Some of the words are loans from Spanish; because they are used so frequently and there are no native equivalents, I include them here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamsá word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Proposed etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kachiñ</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>derived from intensifier <em>kach</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empas</td>
<td>forever, finished</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mor</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
<td>Kamsá demonstrative <em>mwa</em> + Spanish <em>ahora</em> ‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibs</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn-te</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>Kamsá demonstrative <em>mwa</em> + <em>te</em> from Spanish <em>dia</em> ‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonja-pasa-ibs</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>tonja is past of ‘go’, pasa from Spanish <em>pasado</em> or <em>pasar</em>, and ibs from Kamsá word for ‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chentšan</td>
<td>later</td>
<td>locative marker -entš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natsan</td>
<td>before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>already</td>
<td>from Spanish <em>ya</em> ‘already’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanỳ-na</td>
<td>once from kanỳe ‘one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kada=té</td>
<td>every day</td>
<td>from Spanish <em>cada</em> ‘every’ + <em>te</em> from Spanish <em>dia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betsko</td>
<td>soon</td>
<td>also means ‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndoknate</td>
<td>‘never’</td>
<td><em>nd</em> ‘negative’; related to <em>ndoka</em> ‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anteo</td>
<td>‘long ago’</td>
<td>from Spanish <em>anterior</em> ‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanỳe=té</td>
<td>‘one day’</td>
<td>from Kamsá <em>kanỳe</em> ‘one’ and <em>te</em> from Spanish <em>dia</em> ‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibsan</td>
<td>‘the next day’</td>
<td>from <em>ibs</em> ‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many adverbs are composites of two words, sometimes two Kamsá words, and
sometimes a Kamsá word and a word of Spanish origin. Several adverbs are formed from a
Kamsá word and té ‘day’, (presumably from Spanish dia ‘day’) which is a stressed clitic,
attaching to other words; the stress is always on te. For example, mnte ‘today’ is formed from the
Kamsá demonstrative mwa and té, ‘day’. Similarly, kadaté ‘every day’ and kanỳeté ‘one day’ are
formed with kada from Spanish cada ‘each’ and te, and Kamsá kanỳe ‘one’ and te. Some
adverbs are formed from the intensifier kach, including kachiñ ‘again’ kachës ‘early’ and kachor
‘instantly’ (presumably from Spanish ahora ‘now’). One interesting composite is tonjapasaibs
‘yesterday’ formed with the Kamsá word ibs ‘tomorrow’, tonja ‘he/she went’, and pasa from
Spanish pasar ‘to spend, pass’¹⁴. Some common adverbs are loan words from Spanish, such as
mor ‘now’ from Spanish ahora ‘now’ and ya ‘already’ from Spanish ya. This chart does not
include all temporal adverbs in the language.

Sentences (1a-i) show adverbs. In all of the sentences, except (1k), (1i) and (1m), the
adverb is the first element in the clause. In (1a) kachiñ ‘again’ is at the beginning of the clause.
In (1b) mor means ‘now’. In (1c) ibs ‘tomorrow’ is at the beginning of the clause, and the verb
has the future tense. Similarly in (1d) the clause begins with tonjapasaibs ‘yesterday’ for past
tense. In (1e) and (1f) the clauses start with kanỳna ‘once’ and kanỳe te ‘one day’, respectively.
In (1g) the clause starts with kadate ‘each day’. In (1h), the clause (and the story) begins with
anteo ‘long ago’. In (1i) natsan ‘before’ goes at the beginning of the NP, meaning something like
‘the gold-before-knower’, i.e. the one who knew first where the gold was. Some of these words
can also be used adverbially as seen in the following two examples with natsan ‘before’. In (1j),

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kachës</th>
<th>‘early’ ‘in the morning’</th>
<th>intensifier ka-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kachor</td>
<td>‘at that moment’ ‘instantly’</td>
<td>intensifier ka- and chor ‘then’ with or from Spanish hora ‘hour, time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mobën</td>
<td>‘soon, then’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaba</td>
<td>‘still’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.1 Common adverbs in Kamsá

¹⁴ The etymology of tonjapasaibs is strange, because one would expect it to mean ‘day after tomorrow’ rather than
‘yesterday’.
natsan is used to refer to an event that had happened earlier, that the brother had warned him about earlier. In (1k) natsan is used to mean ‘ahead’ or ‘fast’. In (1l) empas ‘forever’ is used. In (1m) ya is used, in much the same way as Spanish ya ‘already’. In (1n) the clause begins with kachor-a ‘instantly’, which is a composite of the intensifier ka-, chor, and epenthetic vowel /a/. In (1o) moben ‘soon, quickly’ is at the beginning of the clause, after the conjunction i ‘and’. In (1p) the word kaba ‘still’ is used. These words are not inflected at all and do not agree with anything in class, case, evaluative, etc.

(1a) **kachiñ** tojesan ch twamb plakofj wabwambaya orna
     kachiñ to-j-t-esan ch twamb plakofj wab-wamba-ya orna
     again 3SG-VBLZ-again-return DET chicken thin NMLZ-sell-NMLZ when
     ‘When the thin chicken seller returns again (…)’ (Chindoy 75.26)

(1b) **mor** ichansapte
     mor i-chan-sapte
     now 3SG-FUT-rain
     ‘It’s going to rain now.’ (MC)

(1c) **ibs** ch bobonts Carlos ichanjatrabraja chabe taitabtak
     ibs ch bobonts Carlos i-chan-jatrabraja cha-be taita-btak
     tomorrow DET young.man Carlos 3SG-FUT-VBLZ-work 3SG-GEN father-COM
     ‘Tomorrow the youth Carlos will work with his father.’ (MC)

(1d) **tonjapasaibs** sēnjachemb ats̈-be enuta
     tonjapasaibs sē-n-j-achemb ats̈-be enuta
     yesterday 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-call 1SG-GEN friend
     ‘I called my friend yesterday.’ (MC)

(1e) **kanyña** uta viajerata tambilloy ayata
     kanyña uta viajera-ta tambill-oy aya-ta
     once two travel-DU tambill-ALL walk-DU

     bojashango chembonokna ya ibetatan
     bo-jashango chembon-ok-na ya ibet-at-an
     DU-arrive Gritadero-LOC-TOP already night-?-?
     ‘Once, two travelers (walking to) Tambillo arrived at Gritadero to spend the night.’
     (Chindoy 2 61:1) (kanyña ‘once’ is a composite of kanye ‘one’ and =na ‘topic’)

(1f) **kanyeté** pwerte yejtsêjënya orna
     kanyeté=té pwerte ye-j-ts-ëjnëya orna
     one=day strong 3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-shine when
     ‘One day, when the sun was shining strongly…’ (Chindoy 57.6)
(1g) **kadaté** chka yechantsetjamian
kada=té chka ye-chan-ts-etjamian
every=day like.this 3SG-FUT-PROG-defecate
‘Every day like this (the horse) defecates.’ (Chindoy 74.17)

(1h) **anteo** shbway yentša inashebwanay tortolita
anteo shbway yentša i-n-ashebwanay tortolita
long.ago hunter person 3SG-EVI-hunt turtledove
‘Long ago, a hunter man hunted turtledoves …’ (Chindoy 60.1)

(1i) **wbochena** natsan wabwatma kastellan binýnoy
wbochena natsan wabwatma kastellan binýnoy
older.brother before NMLZ-know gold clearly
‘The older brother clearly knowing the gold before’ (Chindoy 66: 47)

(1j) **ndoñ** yenjokumplia nîsamo **natsan** bojabwayenaka
ndoñ ye-n-j-okumplia nîsamo [natsan bo-j-abwayena-ka]
NEG 3DIS-EVI-VBLZ-comply how [before DU-VBLZ-warn]
‘He didn’t comply as (the other brother) had warned him before.’ (Chindoy 62:22)

(1k) as **natsan** yejtsatoñ
as **natsan** ye-j-ts-atoñ
then before 3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-return
‘Then he returned fast.’ (Chindoy 65.39)

(1l) **empas** chka kausa ch tsunakwanga kamjena
empas chka kausa ch tsunakw-ang k-amjena
forever thus cause DET parrot-PL IRR-be
‘forever, because of that, parrots exist¹⁵’ (McDowell 66)

(1m) Bianganëjem ya bojwamëntša orna
Biangan-jem ya bo-jwamëntša orna
deer-EVAL already DU-be.tired when
‘When the poor deer was already tired…’
(Chindoy 2: 155.10)

(1n) **Kachora** sapnak yejontsjëna jwakmeyam
ka-chora sapna-k ye-j-ontsjëna j-wakmeya-m
immediately frog-? 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-jump VBLZ-chase-BEN
‘Immediately/suddenly the frog jumped up in order to chase (him).’ (Chindoy 2: 154.8)

(1o) i **mobën** jatëntšaŋ yejtsobiamnay.
i mobën jatëntšaŋ ye-j-ts-obiamnay
and soon swamp 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-change
‘And soon changed (it) into swamp.’ (Chindoy 56:8)

¹⁵ This story provides an explanation for why parrots exist.
This happens because the unfaithful (non-Christian) people still live there. (j-opasa-n from Spanish pasar ‘happen’; jente from Spanish gente ‘people’; The morpheme -ka on the verb j-oyna-n ‘live’ possible discourse suffix -ka. Note that -ka is also the translative marker as well as one form of the instrumental marker -ak.)

Multiple temporal adverbs can appear in a clause. In (2a) mor ‘now’ and ya ‘already’ are used together to mean something like ‘not anymore, ‘no longer’. This is like ya no ‘not anymore’ in Spanish. In (2b), (2c), and (2d) mnte ‘today’ is used with other words to add specificity. In (2b) mnte is used with jitiñ ‘afternoon’ to mean ‘this afternoon’. In (2c) mnte ‘today’ is used together with kantate ‘Thursday’ to mean ‘this Thursday’ and in (2d) mnte is used with kachës ‘morning’ to mean ‘this morning’. Note that this is common in colloquial Spanish, as well, using something like hoy tarde ‘today afternoon’ to mean ‘this afternoon’. In (2e) both chentšan ‘later’ and empasam ‘forever’ appear, but not as a compound; rather, they are separate, meaning ‘From then on, she disappeared forever’.

(2a) atše keš bëndanonña meset
     atš-be keš bënd-anonña meset
     1SG-GEN dog DU-?-look look cat

     i mor ya ndoñ kebënatonña
     i [mor ya] ndoñ ke-bë-natonña
     and [now already] NEG IRR-DU-EVI-IRR-look

     ‘My dog was looking at the cat, and now it is not looking anymore.’ (MC)

(2b) mnte jitiñ
     mnte jitiñ
today afternoon
     ‘This afternoon.’

(2c) mnte kantaté
     mnte kanta-té
today four-day (Thursday)
     ‘This Thursday’
(2d) **mnte kachës sënjwaliya librësha**

[**mnte kachës** ] së-n-j-waliya librësha
[**today morning**] 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-read book

‘This morning I read a book.’ (MC) (librësha is from Spanish *libro* ‘book’ with the suffix 
-

-ësh which is added to many loanwords.)

(2e) **chentšan empasam ch tondol welaja yejwenatjëmba**

chentšan empasam ch tondol welaja ye-j-wenatjëmba

later forever DET spirit old.woman 3DIS-VBLZ-disappear

‘From then, the old lady ghost disappeared forever.’ (Chindoy2 55.5) (*yejwenatjëmba* = <yejuenatjëmba> and *welaja* = <uelaja> in original orthography)

**7.2.2 Adverbs of manner and other Adverbs**

Kamsá has adverbs of manner, which can be defined as adverbs that tell how something is done. They have the same form as adjectives, but when they are functioning as adverbs they are not inflected, and they almost always precede the verb. In other words, when they are functioning as adverbs, they are not inflected (i.e. do not agree with anything) but when they are functioning as adjectives, they can agree with the noun in case, class, number, and/or evaluative. It is not clear if all adjectives can be used adverbially; more research is needed. Figure 7.2 summarizes the adverbs of manner in Kamsá.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamsá word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>betsko</td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wenán</td>
<td>‘slow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšabá</td>
<td>‘well’ or ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>podesk</td>
<td>‘bad, ugly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabowan</td>
<td>‘horrible’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.2 Adverbs of manner

The following sentences show adverbs of manner in clauses. In (3a) and (3b) *betsko* ‘fast’ is shown; in both examples it precedes the verb. In (3c) and (3d) *wenán* ‘slow’ is shown; in both examples it is used twice. In (3c) *wenán* precedes the verb and in (3d) *wenán* follows the verb. In (3e) and (3f) *tšabá* ‘good, well’ is shown, in (3e) meaning ‘to sing well’ and in (3f) that an action
went well. In (3g) *podesk* ‘ugly, ugily’ is used with the verb *jojwan* ‘reply’ to mean that the woman replied nastily. Finally, in (3h) and (3i) another adverb is shown: *natjëmban* ‘calmly, peacefully’. In (3h) it comes directly before the verb, and in (3i) it precedes *shufta* ‘uchuva fruit’ the object of the verb, which precedes the verb *j-as-an* ‘to eat’. The adverbs precede the VP in most examples; in (3d), however, *wenán wenán* ‘slowly’ follows the verb phrase *bo-j-ontšá. j-wastán* ‘they (two) started to follow’ and in (3e) *tšabá* ‘good, well’ comes between *ki-w-at-oben* ‘she is not able to’ and *j-abersian* ‘sing’.

(3a)  
\[
\text{ch bejay } \textbf{betsko} \text{ intsobwjën} \\
\text{ch bejay} \text{ betsko } i-n-ts-obwjën \\
\text{DET} \text{ river} \text{ fast} \text{ 3SG-EVI-PROG-run} \\
\text{The river goes fast.’} \text{ (MC)}
\]

(3b)  
\[
\text{betsko kwatay tamboy.} \\
\text{betsko kwatay} \text{ tamp-oy} \\
\text{fast} \text{ let’s go} \text{ ranch-ALL} \\
\text{‘Let’s go quickly to the ranch.’} \text{ (Chindoy 63:30)}
\]

(3c)  
\[
\text{fjabinyën inetsomñená josisiang } \textbf{wenán wenán} \text{ mojobekoná} \\
\text{fjabinyën } i-n-ets-omñe=ná \text{ josisi-ing } \textbf{wenán wenán} \text{ mo-j-obekoná} \\
\text{moonlight} \text{ 3SG-EVI-PROG-be=topaguacil-PL} \text{ slow} \text{ slow} \text{ 3PL-VBLZ-get.close} \\
\text{‘In the moonlight the aguaciles slowly, slowly got closer…’} \text{ (Chindoy 82.4)} \text{ (An alguacil is a position in the cabildo ‘indigenous meeting house’.)}
\]

(3d)  
\[
\text{nỳe bojontšá jwastán } \textbf{wenán wenán}. \\
\text{nỳe} \text{ bo-jontšá} \text{ j-wastán} \text{ wenán wenán} \\
\text{only} \text{ DU-start} \text{ VLBZ-follow} \text{ slow} \text{ slow} \\
\text{‘he just started to follow slowly.’} \text{ (Chindoy 60:3)}
\]

(3e)  
\[
\text{ch tobiaš ndoñ kiwatoben } \textbf{tšabá} \text{ jbersian} \\
\text{ch} \text{ tobiaš} \text{ ndoñ} \text{ ki-w-at-oben} \text{ tšabá} \text{ j-bersian} \\
\text{DET} \text{ girl} \text{ NEG} \text{ IRR-?-IRR-be.able} \text{ good} \text{ VBLZ-sing} \\
\text{‘The girl cannot sing well.’} \text{ (MC)}
\]

(3f)  
\[
\text{\textbf{Tšabá} yejapasa jeyam,} \\
\text{tšabá ye-japasa} \text{ j-eya-m} \\
\text{good} \text{ 3DIS-VBLZ-pasar} \text{ VBLZ-sell-BEN} \\
\text{‘(Because) it went well in the selling,’} \text{ (Chindoy 61:11)}
\]

(3g)  
\[
\text{ayekna } \textbf{podesk} \text{ bojtsjwa} \\
\text{ayekna} \text{ podesk} \text{ bo-j-ts-jwa} \\
\text{because.of.which} \text{ ugly} \text{ DU-VBLZ-PROG-reply} \\
\text{‘Because of which she replied uglily.’} \text{ (Chindoy 77:6)}
\]
(3h) mëtškwayna onỳayo tjoka
mëtškway=na onỳayo tj-ok
snake=TOP hot.place monte-LOC

natjëmban yejtsendmanán betišh bwakwashiĩ orna
natjëmban ye-ts-sendmanán beti-esh bwakwash-iĩ orna
calmly 3DIS-VBLZ-PROG-wrap tree-? root-LOC when

‘When a snake in a tropical place was calmly wrapped around a tree root…’ (Chindoy 109.1)

(3i) Kanỳna natjëmban shufta inetsasañe orna oso yejtabokna.
Kanỳna natjëmban shufta i-ne-ts-asãñe
once calm physalis.berry 3SG-EVI-PROG-eat
orna oso ye-j-t-abokna
when bear 3DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-go.out

‘Once (upon a time), when (the squirrel) was eating uchuva fruits, a bear came out (of the same place). (Chindoy 101:8) (Note: The etymology of natjëmban ‘calmly’ is unclear, but the verb j-w-enatjëmban means ‘disappear’. They probably aren’t related.)

Most things used as adverbs of manner are also adjectives. The following two examples show wabowan ‘horrible’ being used adverbially and adjectively. In (4a) wabowan goes with the verb jwabonjnwan ‘shake’ whereas in (4b) wabowan modifies the look of the demon and has the pejorative marker -ëj. When used as an adverb, a word cannot have an evaluative marker (or case, class, etc), but when used as an adjective, it must have a class marker if its referent has a class marker, and it can have an evaluative to agree with its referent. Adjectives can also have case markers if they are at the end of the NP.

(4a) Fshants wabowan yejisabonjnaye
fshants wabowan ye-j-is-abonjna-ye
earth terrible 3DIS-VBLZ-?-shake-?

i yejtsenojatanay inÿok inÿok.
i ye-j-ts-en-ojatanay inÿ=ok inÿ=ok
and 3DIS-REC-VBLZ-REC-split other=LOC other=LOC

‘The earth shook terribly and split here and there.’ (i from Spanish y ‘and’) (Chindoy 56:6)

(4b) Pero ch mëtëtšen yap wabowanëja bominỳe tejabwaño.
pero ch mëtëtšen yap wabowan-ëj bominỳe te-j-abwajo.
but DET devil very horrible-EVAL eye PST-VBLZ-have

‘But the devil had a horrible look.’ (Chindoy 79:24) (mëtëtšen from Spanish matachin)
7.2.3 Adverbs of degree

Kamsá has several adverbs of degree, which can modify adjectives, other adverbs, and/or verbs. They cannot be inflected or agree with nouns. Adverbs of degree usually directly precede the word they are modifying. The following table shows the adverbs of degree. Most can be translated as ‘very’ or ‘very much’. Yap, from Inga yapa ‘a lot’, can modify adjectives, verbs, and possibly other adverbs. Mallajt can modify adjectives and nouns, and could possibly be analyzed as a quantifier, as discussed further below. Bien from Spanish bien ‘well’ can modify adjectives and adverbs. Unlike the use of bien in Spanish, which usually goes with verbs, bien in Kamsá mainly modifies adjectives and verbs, but it can sometimes modify verbs, as well. People in southern Colombia often use bien in this way, like something is ‘bien difícil’ or ‘bien bonita’. In my corpus korent and j-abwach only modify verbs, but it is possible that they could modify other word classes, as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamsá word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
<th>What it modifies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yap</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>possibly from Inga</td>
<td>adjectives, verbs, maybe other adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mallajt</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>possibly from millones?</td>
<td>adjectives, nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bien</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>from Spanish bien</td>
<td>only adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korent</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>from Spanish</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jabwach</td>
<td>‘strongly’</td>
<td>there’s a verb j-abwach-an ‘invite’ but they probably aren’t related</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.3 Adverbs of degree

The following examples show adverbs of degree: yap, mallajt, bien, all of which mean ‘very’ and are modifying adjectives. In (5a-c), yap modifies adjectives flakwa ‘thin’ benoka ‘close’ and wabowan, ‘horrible’. (Note: In (5c), the status of wabowan isn’t clear, because wabowan ‘horrible’ is being used substantively, as the subject of the sentence.). In (5d) mallajt modifies bëts ‘big’ and in (5e) bien modifies tsbananok ‘tall’.

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(5a) tobiaš yap flakwa ijamën
tobiaš [yap flakwa] i-j-amën
girl [very thin] 3SG-EVI-be
‘The girl is very thin.’ (MC) (*flakwa* from Spanish *flaco/a* ‘thin’)

(5b) atšbe kenat indoyan yap benoka
atšbe kenat i-nd-oyan [yap benoka]
1SG-GEN sister 3SG-?live [very close]
‘My sister lives very close’ (MC)

(5c) enperno kanabaynaka šmënjaup yan yap wabownká
enperno kanabaynaka š-mē-n-j-aupan [yap wabowan-ká]
hell is.called 1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-VBLZ-say [very horrible-ka]
‘It’s called hell, the very horrible ones told me.’ (Chindoy 70.15)

(5d) ibojseitume mallajkta bēts mateba inajajonaye
i-bojseitume mallajkta bēts mateba i-na-j-ajona-yed
DIS-DU-VBLZ-hide very big jar 3SG-EVI-VBLZ-put-?
‘They hid, a very large jar was kept there.’ (*bēts* = *<btse*> in original orthography)
(McDowell 51)

(5e) ch uta tjok bien tsbananok indemun
ch uta tjok [bien tsbananok] i-nd-emun
DET two mountain [very tall-LOC] 3SG-?be
‘The two mountains are very tall.’

Although not all adverbs of degree can modify adjectives, all adverbs of degree can modify verbs. As with adverbs of degree modifying adjectives, adverbs of degree generally precede the verb they are modifying, although not always as seen in (6b) where *mallajt* ‘very’ follows the verb *j-abshatajo* ‘move’. In (6a) *yap* ‘very’ modifies the verb *jatrabaja* ‘work’. In (6c) *korent* modifies a verb, *j-wakan-an* ‘chastise’. Similarly, *jabwach* modifies a verb in (6d) *j-abochembw-an* ‘shout at someone’

(6a) atšbe enuta yap indetrabaja
atš-be enuta [yap i-nd-etrabaja]
1SG-GEN friend [very 3SG-?work]
‘My friend works a lot.’

(6b) ijabshatajo mallajt bejayná tsachaján ndetšbenga
[i-ja-bshatajo mallajt] bejayná tsachaján ndetšbe-ng
[3SG-VBLZ-move very] river-TOP shore rock-PL
y betišënga lemp yejtsejatsaka;  
y betiš-ëng lemp ye-j-tsejatsa-ka  
and tree-PL all 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-shoot-?  

‘(The avalanche) advanced very much, shooting out all (the) trees and rocks (of the) riverbank.’ (Chindoy 66:50)  
(Another analysis is that mallajt here is a quantifier going with the trees and rocks from the river bank, rather than going with the verb).

(6c) korente bojisakakán ndoñ kondoyeunam chabe konsejo,  
[korente bo-j-is-akakán] ndoñ ko-nd-oyeuna-m cha-be konsejo  
[strongly DU-VBLZ-?-chastise] NEG Irr-Evi-listen-BEN 3SG-GEN advice  
‘He chastised him strongly for not listening to his advice.’ (Chindoy 65:39)  
jwakakanan ‘reprender’

(6d) chiyeka cha jabwache tojanchembo:  
chiyeka cha [jabwache to-j-anchembo]  
therefore 3SG [strongly 3SG-VBLZ-shout]  
‘Because of that, he shouted strongly:’ (Matthew 14:30)  
(In original orthography: chiyeka = chiyeca and jabwache = jabuache)  
jabochembwan ‘shout at someone’

It is important to note that bien in Kamsá is more limited than bien in Spanish. In Spanish, bien usually means well, like ella canta bien ‘she sings well.’ In Kamsá, however, bien means ‘very’ and modifies adjectives or adverbs. Generally, you cannot say that someone sings bien; you have to say someone sings bien tšaba ‘very good’. There are exceptions, however, and sometimes bien modifies a verb as in (7) where bien modifies j-owen ‘hear, understand’.

(7) ndoñ bien yenjowen ndayam boyá betjsatsëtsnayam,  
[ndoñ bien ye-n-j-owen] ndayam boyá be-t-j-satsëtsnaya=m  
[neg well 3DIS-EVI-VBLZ-hear] what man DU-again-VBLZ-say=BEN  
‘(Because the woman was drunk) she didn’t understand well what the an was saying.’  
(Chindoy 77:6)

7.2.4 Issues for adverbs of degree

The class of adverbs of degree is complicated for several reasons. First, the distribution is varied: yap and mallajkt can modify both adjectives and verbs, whereas jabwach and korent seem only to go with verbs. Bien mostly goes with adjectives, despite its primary use in Spanish to mean ‘well’, with verbs. yap and mallajkt, which seem to be able to modify the most words classes, can also go with nouns or nominalized verbs. In (8a) yap is modifying a nominalized verb, meaning ‘the ones not having drunk a lot’. In (8b) mallajkt is modifying a noun, twamb
‘hen’, to mean ‘many hens’. Section 7.6 about quantifiers discusses the possibility of *mallajkt* being a quantifier.

(8a) Bobontsënga ndoñ *yap* mondëbtëmanënganá shëntsënga mnetsomñe.

Bobonts-ëng [ndoñ *yap* mo-nd-ëbtëman-ëng-ná] shënts-ëng mn-ts-omñe

young.man-PL [NEG very 3PL-?-drink-PL-TOP] sober-PL 3PL-PROG-be

‘The young men, not having drunk much, were sober.’ (Chindoy 78:13)

(8b) bainte indemen sëndabomn *mallajkt* twambëng

bainte i-nd-emen së-nd-abomn [mallajkt twamb-ëng]

past 1SG-?-be 1SG-?-have [much hen-PL]

‘In the past, I had many hens.’ (Note: I don’t know where *bainte* comes from)

7.3 **Deictics of place / locative adverbs**

Deictics of place morphologically are like nouns (or adjectives?). They take limited case markers. They can take one of two locative markers: *-ok* or *-entšë*; the allative marker *-oy*; and the ablative marker *-an*. Not all deictics of place take all markers, however. Many deictics of place can also have the intensifier prefix *ka-*.

Many deictics can have the topic marker *=na*, without a change in meaning (as far as I can tell). It’s possible that more forms exist than the ones I provide below.

There are two forms for ‘here’: *mwentš* and *moka*, but it is not clear what the difference in meaning is. It is possible one is ‘here’ (static, no movement) and the other is locative ‘towards here’ but more research is needed. There are also two forms for ‘there’: *chentšë* and *choka*, with *choka* meaning ‘there, farther away’. When the deictics have the ablative marker, it means motion from, and when there is a allative marker, it means motion toward. There doesn’t seem to be a allative form of either *mwentš* or *moka*, however; just the usual form is used.

Figure 7.4 (on the following page) details locative adverbs in Kamsá.
In (9a-9c) are seen three sentences, with where, here, and there. All have the locative markers.

(9a) \textit{ndayentš} shem in-ts-emn
\textit{ndayentš} shem \textit{i-n-ts-emn}
where-LOC woman 3SG-EVI-PROG-be
‘Where is the woman?’

(9b) shem \textit{mwentše} in-ts-emn
shem \textit{mw-entše} \textit{i-n-ts-emn}
woman here-LOC 3SG-EVI-PROG-be
‘The woman is here.’

(9c) shem \textit{chok} intsemn.
shem \textit{chok} \textit{i-n-ts-emn}
woman there 3SG-EVI-PROG-be
‘The woman is there.’

### 7.3.1 \textit{mwentš} and \textit{moka} ‘here’

Examples of \textit{mwentš} and \textit{moka} are shown below. In (10a) and (10b) \textit{mwentš} ‘here’ has a locative marker. Example (10c) shows \textit{moka} ‘here’. There is not enough data to determine the difference between \textit{mwentš} and \textit{moka}, both of which have locative markers -\textit{entš} and -\textit{ok}, but it is possible that \textit{moka} involves more motion toward the location.
(10a) **mwentš** sēnsjotebem
    mwentš  sē-n-s-jotebem
    here 1SG-EVI-PROG-sit
    ‘I’m sitting here.’

(10b) Atš **mwentše** ūmëntjofja;
    atš mwentše  š-më-n-tjofja
    1sg here 1SG-IMP-EVI-invite
    ‘Invite me here!’
    jofjan: invitar (Chindoy 93:1)

(10c) Yajtashjango **moka** orna yejabsenobošachna (...)
    Yajtashjango moka orna ye-ja-be-ts-en-oboshachna (...)
    3DIS-arrive here when 3SG.DIS-?-?-PROG-REFL-cry
    ‘When he arrived here, he cried.’ (Chindoy 65:40)

**7.3.2 chentš and choka ‘there’**

Examples of *chentše* and *choka* are shown below. In (11a) and (11b) *chentše* means ‘there’ and is at the beginning of the clause. In (11c) and (11d) *choka* is shown. In both (11c) and (11d) the location is farther; in (11c) the hunter is in a faraway place hunting deer, and in (11d) the sentence itself means ‘There is far.’ In both (11c) and (11d) *choka* is marked with the topic marker *-na*.

(11a) **Chentše** bendicion chjêbtsachentše tšengatabiama.
    chentše  bendicion  ch-j-êbtsachentše  tšengafta=biam
    there mass  FUT-VBLZ-celebrate  2PL=BEN
    ‘There I will celebrate the mass for you (pl).’ (Chindoy2 115:4)

(11b) **chentše** shlobšetemang motsomën
    chentše  shlobšê-tem-ang  mo-ts-omën
    there  bird-DIM-PL  3PL-PROG-be
    ‘The birds are there’ (closer)

(11c) **Chokna** ndoñ bënënskosna bojawabinŷna inŷe mongoj.
    chok=na ndoñ bënënskos=na bo-j-awabinŷna inŷe mongoj
    there=TOP  NEG  delay=TOP  DU-VBLZ-spot  other deer
    ‘He wasn’t there long before he spotted another deer.’ (Chindoy 60:3)
    jwabinŷnan ‘divisar’
Chokna bënok ktsomëñ,
chok=na bënok k-tstsomëñ
there=TOP far-LOC IRR-PROG-be
‘As for there, it’s far.’ (Chindoy 62:18)

7.3.3 Other cases: allative and ablative

choka ‘there’ can have the allative marker -oy to show motion toward. In (12) choka becomes choy to show motion-toward, the people fell into there (a giant hole in the earth).

(12) Yentşang choy mojatkëkjanëngna empas mojwenatjëmba.
yentš-ang ch-oy mo-j-atkëkjan-ëng=na empas mo-j-wenatjëmba
person-PL there-ALL 3PL-VBLZ-fall-PL=TOP forever 3PL-VBLZ-disappear
‘The people fell into there and disappeared forever.’ (Chindoy 56:7)

Many deictics take the ablative, to mean motion from. In (13a) chentše ‘there’ has the ablative -an to mean ‘from there’ with the motion word jabetsbon ‘come’ (with other morphology). In (13b) choka ‘there’ has the ablative -an to mean ‘from there’ with the motion verb jisongwefjwa ‘fly from a place’.

(13a) Chentšana ch mongojna yejabetsboñe
chentš-ana ch mongoj=na ye-j-abetsboñe
there-ABL DET deer=TOP 3DIS-VBLZ-come
‘From there, the deer came.’
(Chindoy2 116:16)

(13b) i chokan yojisonguefjwa gabilanka.
i chok-an yo-j-is-onguefjwa gabilan=ka
and there-ABL DIS-VBLZ-?-fly gavilan=TRANSL
‘And from there, he flew as a sparrow hawk.’ (Chindoy 95:16)

7.3.4 Intensifiers with deictics

Deictics can have the intensifying prefix ka-. In (14a) mwentše ‘here’ has the intensifier prefix ka- to mean ‘right here’. In (14b) chentše has the intensifier ka- to mean ‘right there’ and in (14c) choka has the prefix ka- to mean ‘right there (farther away)’. In addition, deictics with case markers can have the intensifier ka- as seen in (14d) in which choy has the prefix ka- to mean ‘right there’ in a sentence with a motion word: jan ‘go’.

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(14a) A ver chkasë nỳetesë kamwentšë mochjenefjna.
   a.ver chkasë nỳetesë ka-mwentšë mo-ch-j-enefjna
   well thus noon INTS-here 3PL-FUT-VBLZ-meet
   ‘Thus we’ll see each other right here at noon.’ (Chindoy2 161:10)

(14b) i kachentšë yejoban.
   i ka-chentšë ye-j-oban
   and INT-there 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-die
   ‘and right there he died.’

(14c) jetiñoy bochanjashjango i kachoka bochanjatay.
   jetiñ-oy bo-chan-j-ashjango i ka-choka bo-chan-jatay
   afternoon- ALL DU-FUT-VBLZ-arrive and INT-there-LOC DU-FUT-spend.night
   ‘We will arrive in the afternoon and we will spend the night right there.’ (Chindoy 62:18)

(14d) Kebuntjá jenokwedam kachoy?”
   ke-bu-n-tjá j-en-okwed-am ka-ch-oy
   IRR-DU-EVI-go VBLZ-REFL-feed-BEN INT-there-ALL
   ‘Would you go and eat right there?’ (Chindoy 103:1)

7.3.5 Other locative words

There are other words related to location in Kamsá that do not fit neatly into any category. They can be nouns, adjectives, postpositions, and maybe adverbs. Some examples are: bënok ‘far’, bekon ‘close’, tsjwan ‘above’, and stonoy ‘below’. Figure 7.5 shows these words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamsá word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bënok</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekon</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsjwan</td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stonoy</td>
<td>‘below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jashenoye</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stëtsoyka</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natsan</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsëntsak</td>
<td>‘middle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In (15) bënok ‘far’ is used in three different forms: bënok, bën=oy and bënënoka. In (15a) and (15b) bën-ok is used with the ‘to be’ verb jamnan, to mean that ‘it’s far’. In (15c) bënok is used with jan ‘to go’ to mean ‘when they went far’ or ‘once they reached the farther place’. In (15d) bënok has the allative marker -oy and is used in a command telling someone to go far away. Finally, in (15e) there is an extra morpheme -ēn, the function of which is unclear.

(15a) Chokna bënok ktsomëñ,
chok=na bën-ok k-ts-omëñ
there=TOP far-LOC IRR-PROG-be
‘there is far.’ (Chindoy 62:18) (repeated from (11b) above)

(15b) Bënoka komna, pero šmojëtspagas=na stja jakam.
[bënok] ko-mna pero šmo-j-ts-pagas=ná stja j-ak=am
[far] IRR-be but 2PL-VBLZ-PROG-pay=TOP -go VBLZ-bring=BEN
‘It’s far, but if you (pl) pay me I will go to bring it.’ (Chindoy 2 73:3)

(15c) Bënoka mojtsajna orna mojenebianwá chë tobiaš
[bën-ok] mo-j-ts-ajna orna mo-j-en-ebiajwá ch tobiaš
[far-LOC] 3PL-VBLZ-PROG-go when 3PL-VBLZ-REFL-laugh DET girl
‘When they got far (away) they laughed at the girl.’ (Chindoy 82:7)

(15d) Sobrenafna nÿa bënoy motsafjä.
sobrenaf=na nÿa [bën=oy] mo-tsafja
nephew=TOP PART? [far=ALL] IMP-?
‘Nephew, go far away (from here)!’ (Chindoy 102:18)
In (16) examples with **bekon** ‘close’ are shown. In (16a) **bekon** is used adverbially as well as in (16b). In (16b), however, **bekon** has extra morphology: **bekonan**. It is not clear why. In (16c), **bekonan** is a postposition, part of a postpositional phrase: ‘close to the waterfall’. Similarly, in (16d) **bekonan** is a postposition. It is not clear why the NP in (16d) has the genitive marker =be while the NP in (16c) does not.

(16a) Chbayjënga nỳe chora mojacheta **bekoñ**.
  ch bayj-ëng nỳe chora mo-j-acheta [bekoñ]
  DET beast-PL just then 3PL-VBLZ-flee [close]
  The beasts only fled nearby (i.e. they didn’t flee far away) (Chindoy 107:4)

(16b) Nỳos yebun jajebwam inamën **bekonan**.
  nỳos yebun j-ajebw=am i-n-amën [bekon-an]
  god house VBLZ-build=BEN 3SG-EVI-be [close-?] ‘(the place) to build God’s house was close.’ (Chindoy 57:10)

(16b) Yejtsashjajwan chorer **bekonán** orna
  ye-j-ts-ashjajwan [chorer bekon-án] orna
  3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-arrive waterfall close-? when
  ‘When he arrived close to the waterfall.’ (Chindoy 66:48) (chorer from Spanish *chorrera* ‘spout, stream’)

(16c) chabe **bekonan**
  [cha=be bekon-an]
  [3SG=GEN close-?] 'close to her' (Chindoy 69.10)

In (17a-17c) **tsëntsa** ‘middle’ is shown with different morphology. In (17a) it has the locative marker =ok; in (17b) it has -jan and in (17c) it has =an, =ok and =na. I don’t know what any of the morphology means, especially in (17c) with three suffixes.

(17a) wabowan bëtsëkna tsa **tsëntsak** jakena
  wabowan bëtsëk=na [tsa tsënts=ak] jakena
  horrible arrogant=TOP [room middle=LOC] seated
  ‘A horrible arrogant one seated in the middle of the room…’ (Chindoy 68:6)
(17b) Chatbe tsēntsajan bejay bewatajwán kastellan.

[chat=be tsēntsa-jan] bejay be-watajwán kastellan
[3DU=GEN middle-?] water DU-flow gold
‘Between the two, water flowed with gold.’ (Chindoy 60:6) jotjajwan ‘correr agua’

(17c) Tsēntsañokna kojontše jatëshenÿnán.

tsēntsa=ñ=ok=na ko-j-ontše j-atëshenÿnán
middle=LOC=TOP IRR-VBLZ-begin VBLZ-shine
‘(arriving) at the middle, the sun would begin to shine.’ (Chindoy 70:14)

In the following examples, other words that can commonly be used as adverbs or postpositions are shown. In (18a) tsjwan ‘above’ is used without an NP. In (18b) jashenoy is used (as a postposition?) with two nouns: fshants ‘earth’ and bejay ‘water’. In (18c) and (18d) stētsoyk ‘behind’ is shown. In (18c) it does not take an NP whereas in (18d) it is a postposition, following the NP bēšaša ‘door’ to mean ‘behind the door’. The word natsan ‘before’ is often used for time as seen above but can be used for space, as well, as seen in (18e) where natsan means ‘before, in front of’. Note that natsan has a case marker =oyka.

(18a) Ndoká monjapasangna mojtsacheta tsjwan
ndoká mo-n-j-apasangna mo-j-ts-acheta [tsjwan]
nothing 3PL-EVI-VBLZ-happen 3PL-VBLZ-PROG-flee [above]
‘The ones to whom nothing happened to fled above.’ (meaning to the high part of the valley) (Chindoy 57:10)

(18b) i anỳengna fshantsa jashenoye bejaye jashenoye
i anỳeng=na fshantsa jashen-oy bejaye jashen-oy
and other-PL=TOP earth under-ALL water under-ALL
‘And others lived under the earth, under the water.’ (McDowell 75)

(18c) Katšatna nỳets uta kukwatš stētšoyk enaná
katšat=na nỳets uta kukwatš stētšoyk enaná
younger.brother=TOP all two hand behind tied
‘the younger brother with both hands tied behind…’ (Chindoy 65:43)

(18d) bēšaša stētšoyka te-jotsay
bēšaša stētšoyka te-j-otsay
doors behind 1SG.PST-VBLZ-stand
‘I stood behind the door.’
(18e)  chë altarentša natsanoyka
       DET altar before-ALL=DISC
       ‘before the altar’ (Matthew 5:24) (natsanoyka = <natsanoica> in original orthography)

Similar to the deictics for ‘here’ and ‘there’ are the words for ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, tsok and shjok, respectively. They both end with the locative marker -ok and can also have the allative -oy (tsoy, shjoy) and the ablative -an. They can also be postpositions, unlike the deictics. In (19a) tsok ‘inside’ is used without other case markers, and without any NP. In (19b) tsok has the allative marker to become tsoy because the dog is entering the inside area. Similarly, in (19c) tsok has the allative marker -oy because the item is being brought to the inside. Also note that in this sentence, tsoy ‘to inside’ is used to mean ‘to the house’. In (19d) shjok has the ablative marker =an and means ‘from outside’.

(19a)  Tambo tsokna mojenyena ch kapuchin bachnena obantá yejtsatsjajona.
       tambo  tsok=na   mo-j-enyena
       hut     inside=TOP  3PL-VBLZ-find
       ch      kapuchin    bachnena    obantá    yejtsatsjajona
       DET     capuchin   priest    dead     ?
       ‘Inside the hut they found the dead capuchin priest.’

(19b)  keš tontamesëng tsoy
       keš  to-n-tamasëng     ts-oy
       dog   3SG.PST-EVI-enter inside-ALL
       ‘The dog entered inside’ (MC)

(19c)  As tsoy yejuyamba
       as    ts-oy      ye-juyamba
       then inside-ALL  3SG.DIS-bring
       ‘Later he brought it to the house (lit ‘inside’) (Chindoy 61:9)

(19d)  i shjokan wangwefjosh jawenatjëmban.”
       i    shjok=an      wangwefjosh  jawenatjëmban
       and  outside-ABL  fly   disappear
       ‘And from outside, he flies like a bird to disappear.’  17 (Chindoy 94:9)

Like other adjectives, these words can sometimes be used substantively. In (20) tsok ‘inside’ has the plural marker -ëng and is used substantively as the object of the verb.

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16 This morpheme could be either ka which is perhaps a discourse particle or -k for locative followed by an epenthetic vowel.

17 wangwefjosh is perhaps a nominalization from the verb jongweffwan ‘fly’.

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Chorna tsokënga yejabwayená:
chor=na tsok-ëng ye-j-abwayená
then=TOP inside-PL 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-tell
‘Then he told the ones inside:’ (Chindoy 78:1)

7.4 Other function words and particles

Kamsá has many function words that appear to have no precise or easy translation. First, I discuss four words that seem related etymologically: *nỳe*, *nỳa*, *nỳets*, and *nỳetsá*. Then I discuss other particles and function words including: *chor* ‘then, thus’; *chka* ‘in this way, like this’; *mëntså* ‘in this way, like this’; and *aiñ* ‘yes’ when being used as an intensifier. Figure 7.6 presents function words and particles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamsá word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nỳe</em></td>
<td>‘not only, only, but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nỳa</em></td>
<td>‘hopefully, but, therefore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chor</em></td>
<td>‘then, thus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chka</em></td>
<td>‘in this way, like this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mëntså</em></td>
<td>‘in this way, like this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aiñ</em></td>
<td>‘yes’, intensifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.6 Function words and particles

7.4.1 The function word *nỳe* ‘only’

The word *nỳe* is extremely common. It has three uses. It can be used in parallel structures; it can be used alone to mean ‘only’; and it can strengthen words/phrases.

In (29a-c), *nỳe* is used to create parallel structures. In (29a) the first clause has the subordinator *=as* and has a concessive meaning, and the second clause has the conjunction *pero* ‘but’. In (29b), *nỳe* is used to convey ‘not only, but also…’; the first clause has an inflected verb *jamnan* ‘be’ while the second clause has an uninflected verb marked with the benefactive clitic =*am*. Also note that *jamnan* ‘be’ in the first clause has the emphatic marker *kwa*-. In (29c) *nỳe* is...
used twice to create parallel structures within a single clause, first before a list of nouns and then before lempé ‘all’.

(29a) **nỳe** botaman labran bobach kondbonnas
    nỳe  botaman  labran  bobach  ko-nd-bomn=as
    just  beautiful  patterned  skin  2SG-?nd-have=SUB
    ‘You have beautiful, patterned skin.’

    pero akbe wayantšañá **nỳe** yentšang obanay benen kondomna
    pero  ak-be  wayantšañá  nỳe  yentšang  obanay benen ko-nd-omna
    but 2SG=GEN mouth PART? people deadly venom 2SG-?nd-have
    ‘but your mouth has people-killing venom.’ (Chindoy 110.9)

The following examples show **nỳe** meaning ‘only’. In these examples **nỳe** is used just once, unlike the examples in (29) where it is used twice to create parallel structures. Even when it is only used once, nỳe shows a contrast. In (30a) **nỳe** modifies ‘three days’, to contrast with another person (who stayed in hell for longer than three days). In (30b) **nỳe** modifies shloftšëngbe mëntšen ‘meat of birds’ to mean it is the only thing that he eats. In (30c) **nỳe** modifies uta shloftsë to mean ‘only two birds’, i.e. he didn’t hunt more than two birds. As in the example above where **nỳe** is used twice to create parallel structures, when it is used only once it creates a contrast. In (30d) **nỳe** is used with the verb phrase ‘start to follow’.

(30a) Kanỳe yentšá bojadesmaya chnungwan te parej ibetak.
    kanỳe  yentšá  bo-ja-desmaya  chnungwan  te  parej  ibeta=k
    one  person  DU-VBLZ-faint  six  day  with  night=INST
    ‘One person fainted for six days with their respective nights.’

    Inỳan=ak ka-chká ye-j-ats-pasa
    other=INST like-that 3DIS-PROG-happen
    ‘To another person, the same happened,’

    pero chana **nỳe** unga te parej ibetak.
    pero  cha-na  [nỳe  unga  te  parej  ibeta=k]
    but 3SG=TOP [only? three day together.with night-INSTR]
    ‘but he (stayed) only three days and their nights.’ (Chindoy 67:1)
(30b) Atśbe mantensionna komna nye shloftšëngbe mëntšena.

atś=be mantension-na ko-mna nye shloftšëng=be mëntšen
1SG=GEN maintenance-top IRR=be only(?) bird-PL=POSS meat

‘My maintenance is only bird meat.’ (Chindoy 93:1)

(30c) Unga tianoyná yejtashjango nye uta shloftsëka.

unga ti-an-oy=nā ye-j-t-ashjango nye uta shloftsë-ka
three day-=ALL=TOP 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-arrive only two bird- DISC?

‘The third day, he arrived with only two birds.’ (Chindoy 94:6)

(30d) nye bo-jontšá jwastán wenán wenán.

nỳe bo-j-ontšá j-wastán wenán wenán
PART? DU-VBLZ-start VBLZ-follow slow slow

(He didn’t shoot with the arrow) ‘he just started to follow slowly.’ (Chindoy 60:3)

In (31) nỳe gives emphasis to the tears the narrator had while relating his tale.

(31) Chentšán nỳe shachbuyek inaparlay

chentšán nỳe shachbuye-k i-n-aparlay
later PART? tear-INST 3SG-EVI-tell

‘Then he told with tears…’ (Chindoy 70:15)

7.4.2 The function word nỳa ‘hope, would that’

nỳa is a function word that can express several things: ‘hope, would that’; ‘concessive’; and ‘thus’.

(32a) Tayt sobren nỳa ndayá kenokwedán?

tayt.sobren nỳa ndayá k-en-okwedán
nephew PART? what 2SG-REFL-eat

‘Nephew, what are you eating? (Chindoy 101:8)

(32b) Sobrenafna nỳa bënoy motsafja.

sobren-af=na nỳa bën=oy mo-tsaʃʃaj18
nephew- PEJ=TOP PART? far=ALL IMP-?

‘Nephew, go far away from here!’ (Chindoy 102:18)

(32c) Atšna yap lastem tsjisepasas

Atš=na yap lastem ts-j-is-epas=as
1SG=TOP very poor 1SG-VBLZ-?-happen=SUB

---

18 The meaning of motsafja is unclear but it is perhaps related to the verb for ‘fly’.

182
n̄ya šmanatse jawabwatmanám (the place of the gold)
n̄ya š-m-anatse j-awabwatman=ám
PART 1SG.OBJ-IMP-bring VBLZ-know=BEN
‘I’m very poor, bring me to know the place of gold.’ (Chindoy 62:15) (lástem ‘poor’ from Spanish lástima ‘pity, shame’; japasan ‘happen to someone’ from Spanish pasar ‘to happen’)

(32d) n̄ya ndoká aka grillofja keškatatsma.
PART? nothing 2SG cricket-PEJ IRR-1SG.OBJ-2SG-IRR-do
‘You will do nothing to me.’ (Chindoy2 160:5)

(32e) Ah, n̄ya bëtsá ktsemnama aka mas kochatabowanas,
Ah  n̄ya bëtsá k-ts-emna-ma ak mas ko-cha-ta-bowan=as
‘Ah, just because you are big, you are more terrible/scary.’ (Chindoy2 160:6)

(32f) Mandadna n̄ya yejtsof enasná bojojwá:
Mandad=na n̄ya ye-j-ts-ofšen=as=ná bo-j-ojwá
governor=TOP PART? 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-surprise=SUB=TOP DU-VBLZ-reply
‘The governor, surprised, replied:’ (Chindoy2 116:21)

(32g) waften yejtsetkëkjan n̄ya shuftaká;
waften ye-j-ts-etkëkjan n̄ya shufta-ká
rain 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-fall PART? uchuva-TRANSL
‘The rain fell just like uchuva fruit.’(Chindoy 64:31)

(32h) N̄ya ndayent n̄yet n̄yetša kastellán tëktsen̄yen;
n̄ya ndayentš n̄yetša kastellán tê-k-ts-en̄yen
PART where such gold PST-2SG-PROG-find
‘Where did you find so much gold?’

n̄ya klarë šmen̄yan̄yie.
n̄ya klarë šm-en̄yan̄yie
PART? clear 2PL-show
‘Show us clearly.’ (Chindoy 64:36)

7.4.3 The function word chor ‘then, thus’

Another function word is chor. It means something like ‘then, thus’. It is extremely common in narratives, where many sentences begin with chká or chor. It often has -na which is perhaps the topic marker =na or -a but I have not determined a difference in meaning between chor, chorna, and chora. It always comes at the beginning of a clause. In (35a) chorna is at the
beginning of a clause that begins a dialogue. In (35b) and (35c) *chorna* is at the beginning of an action. In (35d) *chora* is used in the same way that *chorna* is used in (35a), at the beginning of a sentence that begins dialogue.

(35a) **Chorna** ch dweña yejayán:
chorna ch dweña ye-jayán
then DET owner 3SG.DIS-say
‘Then the owner said…’ (Chindoy 89:12)

(35b) **Chorna** yejenbokna shajbe inabinynoka.
chorna ye-jenbokna shajbe i-na-binynoka
then 3SG.DIS-go.back cucumber 3SG-EVI-find
‘Then he went to the place where cucumbers are found.’ (Chindoy 102:15)

(35c) **Chorna** tersiadëjaka mojetsëtsjanja bestaś
chorna tersiadëj-ak mo-je-tsëtsjanja bestaś
then machete-INST 3PL-VBLZ-PROG-hit head
‘Then they hit him in the head with a machete.’ (Chindoy 96:21)

(35d) **Chora** grillo bojowá: "Atśna sëndëtsbamñe katśatanga…"
chora grillo bo-j-owá atś=na së-nd-ëtsbamñe katśat-ang
then cricket DU-VBLZ-reply 1SG=TOP 1SG-?ND-have brother-PL
‘Then the cricket replied: ‘I (too) have brothers,’ (Chindoy2 160:8)

7.4.4 The function word *chka* ‘in this way, like this’

Another important function word is *chka* ‘in this way, like this’ and, like *chor*, it is very common in narratives. In (36a) a new line, and new clause, begins with *chka*. In (36b), a short dialogue between two characters in a text is shown, where one asks the other ‘Can you like that?’ and the other responds, ‘I can like that.’ (referring to tilling soil with her feet). As with (36a), chka precedes the verb. Because *chka* is used frequently in narratives, it often starts the clause or line, but it doesn’t necessarily have to. But it must precede the verb. In (36c) *chka* follows the subject *oso* ‘bear’ and precedes the verb *j-atoyeunay* ‘heed’ and in (36d) *chka* follows the subject *yendon* ‘squirrel’ and precedes the verb *jamnan* ‘to be’. Like many word classes, *chka* can take the intensifying prefix ka- as shown in (36e).
(36a) **Chká inawabobayna shuftá.**
    chká  i-n-awabobayna  shuftá
    like.that  3SG-EVI-call  uchuva
    ‘In this way, he called the *uchuva* fruit.’\(^1\) (Chindoy 102:9)

(36b) **chká koben?**
    chka  k-oben
    like.that  2SG-be.able
    ‘Like that you can?’

**chká-sa tsoben.**
    chkasa  ts-oben
    like.that=?sa  1SG-be.able
    ‘Like that I can.’ (Chindoy 89.6)

(36c) **Oso obëjemna chká bojatoeyunay**
    oso  obë-jem-na  chká  bo-j-atoeyunay
    bear  stupid-EVAL=TOP  like.that  DU-VBLZ-heed
    ‘The stupid bear heeded (the suggestion).’ (Chindoy 102:10)

(36d) **Serto chë yendon chka ondebiayá inetsomñe,**
    serto  chë  yendon  **chká**  ondebiayá  i-ne-ts-omñe
    certainly  DET  squirrel  like.that  thief  3SG-EVI-PROG-be
    ‘Certainly/truly the squirrel was a thief like that.’ (Chindoy 101:7)

(36e) **Inÿanak kachká yejatspasa**
    inÿa-n-ak  ka-chká  ye-j-atspasa
    another-?-COMM  INT-like.this  3SG-VBLZ-happen
    ‘To another person, the very same happened …’ (Chindoy 67:1)

7.4.5 **The function word mëntšá ‘like this, like that, in this way’**

A similar function word is *mëntšá* which also means something like ‘in this way, like this’. It is similar to *chka* (7.4.6), and I have not been able to determine a difference. In both (37a) and (37b) *mëntša* precedes the verb phrases: *j-amm-an* ‘be’ and *j-onšan j-aparl-an* ‘start to tell’, respectively.

(37a) **atš mëntša maytrë sëndëmën**
    atš  mëntša  maytrë  së-nd-ëmën
    1SG  like.this  master  1SG-?ND-be
    ‘Like this, I am the master.’ (Chindoy 72.3)

---
\(^1\) *Uchuva*, also known as *uvilla*, is a golden colored fruit that looks like a grape.
(37b) As mëntšá yejontšá japatlan.
         as mëntšá ye-j-ontšá j-apartlan.
thus like this 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-start VBLZ-tell
        ‘Thus, here is how he started to tell (it):’ (Chindoy 68:2) (j-aparl-an ‘tell’ from older
        Spanish)

7.4.6 aiñ as an intensifier

dañ ‘yes’ can also be used as an intensifier. In both (38a) and (38b) aiñ precedes the main
verb.

(38a) Choka škenëngna aiñ mojontšabwameñ.
         Chok šken-ëng=na aiñ mo-j-ontšabwameñ
there white.people-PL=TOP yes 3PL-VBLZ-buy
        ‘There the white people indeed bought it.’ (Chindoy 61:10)

(38b) Aiñ bōjašbwachená jwanatsam.
         aiñ bo-j-ašbwachená j-wanats=am
yes DU-VBLZ-du-agree VBLZ-bring=BEN
        ‘Indeed he agreed to bring (him).’ (Chindoy 61:12)

7.5 Negators

There are two main negators in Kamsá: ndoñ and tonday. They are also discussed in
section 9.3 on negation. ndoñ means ‘no’ and can precede words: verbs, nouns, adjectives as
well as be the answer to a yes/no question. Generally, ndoñ precedes the thing it is negating, as
seen in (39a) in which it precedes a verb; in (39b) in which it precedes an NP; (39c) in which it
precedes chka ‘in this way’; (39d) in which it precedes mas ‘more’; and in (39e) in which it
precedes and adjective: tšaba ‘good’.

(39a) Atšna jenanufja ndoñ kešnatajaboto.
         atš=na jenanu-fja [ndoñ ke-š-n-ata-jaboto]
1SG=TOP stick-CL [NEG IRR-1SG-EVI-IRR-need]
        ‘I don’t need a digging stick.’ (Chindoy 88:5)
(39b) Mwana ndoñ tobiaš yentšá kwandmënas,

mwa-na [ndoñ tobiaš yentšá]kwa-ndmën-as

DET=TOP [NEG girl human] EMPH-be=SUB

‘This girl not being a human person…’ (Chindoy 89:12)

(39c) fshantsokna ndoñ chka kenatopasan.
fshants=ok=na [ndoñ chka] ke-n-at-opasan

floor=LOC=TOP [NEG like.that] IRR-EVI-IRR-spend

‘On the floor like that, I do not.’ (Chindoy 104:7)

(39d) morna ndoñe mas buyesh
mor=na [ndoñe mas] buyesh

now=TOP [NEG more] water

‘No more water now.’ (McDowell 135)

(39e) before adjective
ch bayujeman ndoñe tšabaka
ch bayu-jem-an [ndoñe tšaba=ka]

DET beast-EVAL-? [NEG good=KA?]

‘This little beast is not good.’ (McDowell 200)

Although ndoñ generally precedes words it is negating, it can follow them, as well. This seems to add more emphasis. In (40a) ndoñ follows wabwanán ‘cooked’, and in (40b) ndoñ follows mas ‘more’ to mean ‘no more’ (or ‘more, no’).

(40a) Jatan tsëtšakna ndoñ ntsambayán, wabwanán ndoñ,

Jatan tsëtša-k-na ndoñ ntsambayán [wabwanán ndoñ]
fiambre aji-INST=TOP NEG bring [cooked NEG]

nÿe šmen janÿetšna sin tamok.
nÿe šmen janÿetšna sin tamo-k

only toasted.corn corn.flour without salt=INST

‘Don’t bring fiambre with aji, nor cooked food, only toasted corn flour without salt.’ (Chindoy 62:17)

(40b) mas ndoñ
mas ndoñ

more NEG

‘Not more’ (lit ‘more no’) (Chindoy 64.33)

Another negator is tonday. It precedes the noun it is negating. (41a) tonday negates shlofiš ‘bird’ and in (41b) tonday negates yentšang ‘people’ and in (41c) tonday negates waskwatšijwa ‘tail’. I have found no examples of clauses with both ndoñ and tonday.
There are several quantifiers in Kamsá. They often precede the noun they are quantifying. They are: ena ‘pure’; mallajk(ta) ‘very, much’; lempe ‘all’; batatem ‘little’, nÿets ‘all’ and nÿetšá ‘all, completely’. Figure 7.7 shows these quantifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamsá word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ena</td>
<td>‘pure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mallajk(ta)</td>
<td>‘very, much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lempe</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batatem</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nÿets</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nÿetšá</td>
<td>‘all, completely’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.7 Quantifiers

The following examples show ena ‘pure’ modifying different nouns to mean ‘only’ or ‘a lot’.
**ena** is translated as ‘pure’ but it is a common quantifier meaning ‘only’ or ‘many’.

(42a)  
Kada utsjanján **ena** chispëjënga jisajkëshayán.  
Kada utsjanján [**ena** chispëj-ëng] j-is-ajkëshayán  
each rod [pure spark-PL] VBLZ-?-scatter  
‘Each rod scattering pure chispas.’ (Chindoy 69:7)

(42b)  
ch lware ch imba shem-ang-a **ena** shem-ang-a  
ch lware ch imba shem-ang [**ena** shem-ang]  
DET place DET heathen woman-PL [pure woman-PL]  
‘In that place (there were) heathen women, only women.’ (McDowell 59) (**ena** = <ina> in original orthography)

**Mallajta** ‘many, very’ can quantify a noun as seen in (43a) where it precedes **langostëng**  
‘lobsters’. It can also quantify uncountable nouns, as seen in (43b) where it quantifies **bejay**  
‘water’.

(43a)  
kem lwar [**mallajt** langostënga] mojabsashjajna  
kem lwar **mallajt** langost-ëng mo-j-abetsashjajna  
DET place many lobster-PL 3PL-VBLZ-arrive  
‘Lots of lobsters arrived to this place.’

(43b)  
de la warda [bejaye **mallajta**] i-n-ämna  
de.la.warda [bejaye **mallajt**] i-n-amna  
heaven.forbid [water much] 3SG-EVI-be  
‘Heaven forbid, there was much water.’ (McDowell 61)

l**emp** means ‘all’. In (44a) **lemp** follows the third person pronoun **chëng** to mean ‘all of them’ or ‘they all’. In (44b) it is used substantively, without any NP, and is the subject of the sentence.  
Note that the verb is marked as plural. In (44c) **lemp** goes with **wabt̂-s̄anga** ‘brothers’ to mean ‘all my brothers’. In (44d) **lemp** is used adverbially to mean ‘completely’.

(44a)  
Chënga **lemp** atš=be pavor šmēntjašbwachená.  
[chëng **lemp**] atš=be pavor š-më-n-t-j-ašbwachená  
[3PL all] 1SG=GEN favor 1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-again-VBLZ-agree  
‘All of them will be at my favor’ (Chindoy2 160:7)

(44b)  
i chka **lemp** imojtrashjajna  
i chka **lemp** i-mo-j-t-ashjajna  
and like.that all DIS-3PL-VBLZ-again-arrive  
‘And like that they all arrived.’ (McDowell 66)
(44c) atšbe changa wabtšanga lempe bayá tojtsañika lempe impas
   atš-be chëng wabtšang lemp bayá to-j-ts-ani=ka lemp impas
   1sg-GEN 3PL brothers-PL all beast 3SG-PST-VBLZ-PROG-eat=ka? all forever
   ‘My brothers and sisters were all eaten by a beast, completely, forever.’ (McDowell 65)

(44d) akabe tayta lempe ainungaka
   ak=be tayta lemp ain-ung=ka
   2SG=GEN father all alive-PL=ka?
   ‘Your father is completely alive.’ (McDowell 65)

batatem means ‘little’ and generally precedes the noun it is quantifying. Note that -tem is a
diminutive in the language, but that to be a quantifier, the word has to be batatem, not bata. In
(45) batatem precedes kastellan ‘gold’.

(45) Bastoy yejabokën orna yejwamba batatem kastellan.
   Bastoy ye-j-abokën orna ye-j-wamba [batatem kastellan]
   pasto-ALL 3DIS-VBLZ-go when 3DIS-VBLZ-bring [little gold]
   ‘When he went to Pasto, he brought a little gold.’ (Chindoy 61:10)

Another possible quantifier is nỳe, ‘only’. The other uses of nỳe are discussed above.

(46) nỳe šësonga kanỳanyenga tojanỳenësna
   nỳe šësong kany-any-eng to-j-anỳen=ës=na
   only baby-PL alone-REDUP-PL 3G.PST-VBLZ-find(?)=SUB=TOP
   ‘(when) she found only babies alone …’ (Chindoy2: 55:3)

Sometimes ena ‘pure, purely’ can be used with other quantifiers, as seen in (47) where nỳe and
ena are used together.

(47) nỳe ena kastellan yejokedá.
   [nỳe ena kastellan] ye-j-okedá
   [only pure gold] 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-stay
   ‘in which only gold remained.’ (Chindoy 63:28)

   The word nỳets is used to show quantity, often to mean ‘all’ or ‘much’. It modifies nouns,
to make phrases like ‘all day’ as seen in (48a) and in (48b) it is used twice, both with bnëte ‘day’
and ibet ‘night’ to mean ‘all day and all night’. In (48c) it modifies kwashbiá kastellán ‘totuma
of gold’ and in (48d) it modifies uta kukwatši ‘two hands’ to mean ‘both hands’. In all of these
examples, it precedes the noun it is modifying/quantifying.
(48a) Tsbananok atša tswatma nỳets bnëte tšaba jtsamanam,
tsbanan=ok atš-na ts-watma [nỳets bënéte] tšaba j-ts-aman=am
tall=LOC 1SG=TOP 1sg-know [all of day] good VBLZ-PROG-sleep=BEN
‘I’m used to living in the tall part to sleep well all day.’ (Chindoy 104:7)

(48b) nỳets bnëte i nỳets ibet.
[nỳets bnëte] i [nỳets ibet]
[all of day] and [all night]
‘all day and all night’ (Chindoy 66:45)

(48c) Ndwawenanan nỳets kwashbiá kastellán yejtsayambañ Bastok jetsabweyam.
nd-wawena=ná [nỳets kwashbiá kastellán] ye-j-ts-ayambañ Bastok j-etsabwey-am
NEG-listen=TOP [all totuma gold] 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-PROG-bring Pasto VBLZ-sell=BEN
‘Not listening (to his older brother) he brought all the totuma ‘gourd’ of gold to Pasto to sell.’ (Chindoy 64:34)

(48d) Katšatna nỳets uta kukwatš stëtsoyk enaná
Katš=atna [nỳets uta kukwatš] stëtsoyk enaná
younger.brother=TOP [all two hand] behind tied
‘the younger brother with both hands tied behind…’ (Chindoy 65:43)

Another word is nỳetšá. It is maybe a quantifier. In (49a) nỳetšá precedes botamán
‘beautiful’ to mean very or completely. (49b) is ambiguous; it isn’t clear if nỳetšá should refer to
the agent or to the screaming, whether the sentence means ‘they all screamed’ or ‘they screamed
a lot’. In (49c) the lobsters kept eating the food until the earth was completely empty. It isn’t
clear where the ‘empty’ meaning comes from. In (49d) nỳetšá modifies kastellán ‘gold’ to mean
‘such a quantity of gold, so much gold’.

(49a) asta nỳetšá botamán binynoy empasam jetsashjangwam.
asta nỳetšá botamán binyn-oy empasam je-ts-ashjangw=am
until PART? beautiful clear-ALL forever VBLZ-PROG-arrive=BEN
‘Until arriving at the (place) always most beautiful and clear’ (describing heaven)
(Chindoy 71:16) (Note: it’s not clear if empasan ‘forever’ means arriving forever at the
place, or if the place is forever beautiful and clear)

(49b) i nỳetšá jisendëntjanáñ lastementšे.
i nỳetšá j-is-nd-ëntjanán lastementšе.
and PART? VBLZ-?-?-scream pitifully
‘And they screamed pitifully.’ (Chindoy 68:5)
‘until they made the earth completely empty.’ (the lobsters ate everything until the land was empty) (Chindoy 108:6)

‘Where did you find so much gold?’

‘Show us clearly.’ (Chindoy 64:36)
Chapter 8
Phrase-level syntax

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses phrase-level syntax in Kamsá. A phrase may be considered a set of one or more words functioning together as a syntactic unit, a unit usually smaller than (or a constituent of) a clause. A phrase consists minimally of a single word, but more often contains multiple words. In Kamsá, there are noun phrases (8.2), verb phrases (8.3), postpositional phrases (9.4), and prepositional phrases (8.5). Although prepositional phrases only occur with Spanish loan words, they are very common in the language. There are some phrase-level clitics, including the topic marker =na which occurs at the end of a noun phrase (8.2.3.2) and case marking clitics at the end of noun phrases (8.2.3.1). Case marking is discussed further in (3.3.3).

8.2 Noun phrases

A noun phrase consists minimally of a noun (common or proper), pronoun (personal or indefinite), substantive determiner (demonstrative: ch ‘the’; kem ‘that’; mwa ‘that’ or inýë ‘other’, all functioning as a noun ) or substantive numeral (number functioning as a noun). Noun phrases can include other constituents, such as determiners, adjectives, and prenominal numerals. They also have case markers, which tend to go on the noun but can also occur at the end of the entire NP or on multiple constituents in the NP, namely the noun and an adjective that agrees with the noun. Some constituents of an NP can exhibit overt agreement with the head noun, indexing the same semantic case and noun class or reflecting the same evaluative suffix as the noun. Adjectives have class suffixes that agree with their nouns. Additionally, determiners, some pronouns, and numerals in certain environments bear class suffixes that agree with the classes of their referents, namely when they follow the noun or when they are in a different NP from the noun that they agree with, as discussed in 6.3. Furthermore, a number of NP constituents are marked with evaluative suffixes when they follow or are used substantively: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, determiners, and numerals, both within a noun phrase or across noun phrases (see
3.3.2 for evaluatives). Sometimes these constituents will have evaluative suffixes when they precede a noun, but generally not.

Determiners and numerals always precede the heads of noun phrases, with determiners preceding numerals. Adjectives generally follow the noun, but due to the free word order of Kamsá they can sometimes precede the noun. There seems to be no appreciable difference in meaning. Possessors always precede the noun.

Thus, the order of constituents in a NP is as follows:

[determiner] [possessor] [numeral] [adjective] [noun] [adjective] [adjective]

8.2.1 Heads of noun phrases

The head of a noun phrase is often a noun, but can also be a non-archetypical nominal, such as substantive adjectives, personal pronouns, numerals, and determiners (used substantively). Numbers and determiners always precede the noun, whereas adjectives can precede or follow the noun.

If a personal pronoun is the head of the noun phrase, then no other constituents are permitted. However, the pronoun can exhibit case marking and/or bear an evaluative suffix, with the case marking always at the end of the noun phrase. Because indefinite pronouns do not show up frequently in my corpus it is not clear if there can be other constituents in a noun phrase headed by an indefinite pronoun or what suffixes and clitics can be marked. Two determiners, the demonstrative kem ‘this, that’ and inỳe ‘other’ can also be heads of NPs when used substantively. The definite article ch can also stand alone as an NP, but it is more common for the third person singular pronoun cha, to serve as the entire NP, (8.2.1.2). Determiners are discussed in 5.4 but here are simply defined as words that show definiteness and/or specificity and precede the noun (as opposed to adjectives which can precede or follow the noun).

The following subsections detail the use of various word categories as heads of NPs.
8.2.1.1 Noun as head of an NP

Unsurprisingly, the head of a noun phrase is often a noun, as seen in (1a-c), in which three individual nouns occur without determiners or adjectives, and without any extra morphology.

(1a) Yendon bojauyán...
    Yendon    bo-j-ayán
    squirrel  DU-VBLZ-say
    ‘The squirrel said to him …’ (Chindoy 100:1)

(1b) mashakbe šonjatchwa
    [mashak-be] šo-n-j-atchwa
    [lulo-CL] 1SG-EVI-VERB-greet
    ‘The lulo fruit greeted me.’ (MC)

(1c) atš sënsabo tsëbomnan šošon.
    atš së-n-s-aboš tsë-bomnan [šošon]
    1SG 1SG-EVI-PROG-want 1SG-have [baby]
    ‘I want to have a baby.’ (MC)

A noun can be preceded by a determiner, including the indefinite determiner kanýe21 ‘one’ (2a), the definite article ch (2b), the demonstrative kem ‘that’ (2c), and the determiner inýe ‘other’ (2d). Nouns can also be preceded by numerals (2e). Determiners and numerals always precede the noun.

(2a) Bëtachjañ kanýe yentšá bojobetše.
    Bëtachjañ [kanýe yentšá] bo-jobetšë
    camino [one person] DU-encontrar
    ‘In the path he ran into a person.’ (Chindoy 56:5)

(2b) Ch bobonts intsabwana mëntšen.
    [ch bobonts] in-ts-abwana mëntšën
    [DET young.man] 3SG-PROG-cook meat
    ‘The young man is cooking meat.’ (MC)

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20 As discussed in Chapter 4, the prefix bo- is used for the dual and for transitive verbs when there is an animate A and an animate O. More research is needed to determine if this is the same morpheme if it is polysemy.

21 kanýe is the numeral ‘one’ and can be used as an indefinite determiner, but it is not obligatory. There can be no article at all.
(2c) Nda kem boyabasa yomna?
   nda [kem boyabasa] yo-mna
   who DEM man D.PST-be
   ‘Who was that man?’ (kem = <quem> in original orthography) (Matthew 8:27)

(2d) inyé yendon
   [inyé yendon]
   [other squirrel]
   ‘(an)other squirrel’ (Chindoy 101.3)

(2e) Ch uta tjok bien tsbananok indêmën
   [ch uta tj-ok] bien tsbanan-ok i-nd-êmên
   [DET two mountain-LOC] very tall-LOC 3SG-HAB-be
   ‘The two mountains are very tall.’ (bien ‘very’ < Spanish bien ‘well’) (MC)

Nouns can sometimes combine with other nouns without extra morphology (i.e. genitive marking or derivational marking) In (3a) dweñ ‘owner’ (< Spanish dueño ‘owner’) combines with koway ‘horse’ (ultimately < Spanish caballo ‘horse’) to give the meaning ‘horse owner’ and in (3b) tobiaš ‘girl’ combines with yentšá ‘person’.

(3a) Ch koway dweñna bojojwá …
   [Ch koway dweñ-na] bo-jojwá
   [DET horse owner-top] DÜ-answer
   ‘The horse owner answered …’ (Chindoy 73:11)

(3b) Mwana ndoñ tobiaš yentšá kwandmënás
   mwa=na ndoñ [tobiaš yentšá] kwando-mën-as
   DEM=top NEG [girl person] EMPH-EVI-be-PROG
   ‘This one is not being a human girl …’ (Chindoy 88.12)

NPs with nouns as their head often also contain adjectives. In (4a) the noun bobonts ‘young man’ is modified by the adjective sêchbon ‘lazy’. The adjective precedes the noun in (4a), but adjectives can also follow nouns as seen in (4b), in which botaman ‘beautiful’ precedes the head noun of the NP kwento ‘story’ (< Spanish cuento ‘story’).

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22 Plural marking on the verb is optional. For this sentence we would expect mondêmën as the verb rather than indêmën, with mo- being the 3rd plural prefix.
23 This sentence is from a text where the family discovers that the girl living with them isn’t actually a human, but rather is a sparrow pretending to be a human in order to marry the son of the family.
(4a) Gabilan sēchbon bobontse inamna.
gabilan [sēchbon bobonts] i-n-amna
hawk [lazy young.man] D.PST-EV-be
‘The sparrowhawk was a lazy young man.’ (Chindoy 93:1) (gabilan < Spanish gavilán ‘hawk’)

(4b) Atš chanjakwenta atšbe enutá botaman kwento.
atš chan-jakwenta atš-be enutá botamana kwento
1SG 1SG.FUT-tell 1SG-GEN friend beautiful story
‘I’m going to tell my friend a beautiful story.’ (MC)

Note that (4b) above can only be interpreted as containing the phrase ‘beautiful story’
(and not ‘beautiful friend’) since the final –a of the adjective botamana is apocopated (adjectives
lose their final vowel if and only if they precede the noun they modify). If the sentence were
instead atš chanjakwenta atšbe enuta botamana kwento, then it would mean ‘I’m going to tell
my beautiful friend a story.’

Noun phrases may also indicate possession. In Kamsá, the possessor (a pronoun or noun
marked by the genitive suffix -be) precedes the possessee (the head noun of the phrase). In (5)
mēntšena ‘meat’ is modified by the genitive-marked noun shloftšëng-be ‘bird-GEN and
mantension ‘maintenance’ is modified by the genitive-marked first person singular pronoun atš-
be ‘my’.

(5) Atšbe mantensionna komna nỳe shloftšëngbe mēntšena.
[atš-be mantension-na] ko-mnanỳe [shloftš-ëng-be mēntšen-a]
[1SG-GEN support-TOP] IRR-be only [bird-PL-GEN meat-epe]
‘My support is only bird meat.’ (mantension < Spanish mantención ‘support’) (Chindoy
93:1)

In noun phrases, multiple dependent constituents can co-occur along with the head noun.
Noun phrases containing both an adjective and determiner (as well as the head noun) are
common. In (6) the noun entšanga ‘people’ occurs with an adjective bakna ‘bad’ and the
demonstrative kem. The adverb puerte ‘really’ (derived from Spanish fuerte ‘strong’) is
modifying the adjective.

(6) Kem puerte bakna entšanga.
kem puerte bakna entšanga
dem really bad person-PL
‘Those really bad people’ (kem = quem, bakna = bacna in original orthography)
(Matthew 12:39)
In (7) the noun ángel ‘angel’ (< Spanish ángel) is preceded by the indefinite article kanųe ‘one’ and the genitive-marked noun Bętsa ‘God’.

(7) kanųe Bęngbe Bętsabe ángel
kanųe bęng-be bętsa-be ángel
one 1PL-GEN god-GEN angel
‘an angel of God’ (kanųe = canųe in original orthography) (Matthew 1:20)

In (8) the comitative-marked noun shembásaftaka ‘with (the) woman’ follows both the determiner ch and inųe ‘other’ (in that order).

(8) ch inųe shembásaftaka
ch inųe shem-bása-flak-a
DET other woman-little-COM-EPE
‘with the other woman’ (shembásaftaka = <shembásaftaca>, ch = <chë> in original orthography) (Matthew 5:28)

In (9) the noun soy ‘thing’ is marked as plural (i.e., contains the suffix -ēng) and is the head of an NP that also has the determiners chë and inųe and the adjective tšabe ‘good’.

(9) ch inųe tšabe soyēnga
ch inųe tšabe soyēnga
DET other good thing-PL-EPE
‘the other good things’ (ch = chë in original orthography) (Matthew 23:23)

Proper nouns can be heads of noun phrases as well, as seen in (10a). Although it is rare for proper nouns to head phrases containing determiners or other constituents, it is nevertheless possible, as seen in (10b), in which inųe ‘other’ modifies the proper noun Mary.

(10a) Carmen intsabwana wameshnen.
Carmen i-n-ts-abwana wameshnen
Carmen 3SG-EVI-PROG-cook mote
‘Carmen is cooking mote (hominy soup).’ (MC)

(10b) ch inųe Mariyna
ch inųe mariy=na
DET other mary=TOP
‘the other Mary’ (ch = chë in original orthography) (Matthew 27:61)
8.2.1.2 Pronoun as head of an NP

Pronouns can be heads of noun phrases. Often they are not marked in any way morphologically—as seen in (11a)—but they can also appear with the topic marker =na (11b) or with an evaluative (11c) where ak ‘you’ has the evaluative -jem. There are no known examples of NPs headed by pronouns that contain adjectives.

(11a) tonjapasaibs atš sonja jabwacham atšbe enuta
yesterday [1SG] 1SG-EVI-go VERB-visit-BEN 1SG-GEN friend
‘Yesterday I went to visit my friend.’

(11b) atšna katšatanga sëndëtsbamñe
[atš=na] katšat-ang-a së-nd-ëts-bamñe
[1SG=TOP] sibling-PL-EPE 1SG-EVI-PROG-have
'I have siblings…'
(Chindoy2 160:6)

(11c) Akajem kochatoben atš jtsakmenán.
[aka-jem] ko-ch-at-oben atš j-tsakmenán
[2sg-EVAL] 2SG-FUT-IRR-be.able 1SG VERB-chase.
'You are not able to follow/chase/catch me.' (Chindoy 2: 154.4)

Note that although the determiner ch cannot go with a pronoun, it can precede a noun when it is functioning as a relativizer (discussed more in Chapter 11 on subordination), as seen in (12). Here, ch does not belong to the NP headed by the first person singular pronoun atš; rather, it is functioning as a relativizer.

(12) i tšëngaftanga, ch atš šmëstonëngna
i tšëngaftang-a ch atš šmëstonëngna
and 2PL-EPE DET 1SG 2PL-follow
‘and you who have followed me …’ (ch = <chë>, atš = <atšë> in original orthography; i < Spanish y ‘and’) (Matthew 19:28)

8.2.1.3 Determiner as head of an NP

In addition to modifying other heads of noun phrases, determiners (when functioning as substantives) can serve as heads of noun phrases. In (13a), repeated from above, mwa ‘this, that’ is the head of a noun phrase. In (13b) inŷe ‘other’ is the head of the NP with the determiner ch
preceding it. It has the class marker -be to agree with its referent ndëtšbe ‘rock’. For discussion of the various demonstratives and determiners in Kamsá, see Chapter 5.

(13a) **Mwana** ndoñ tobiaš yentšá kwandmēnas
    mwa-na ndoñ tobiaš yentšá kwa-nd-mēn-as
    DEM-TOP NEG girl human EMP-EVI-be-PART
    ‘This (one) not being a human girl …’ (Chindoy 88:12)

(13b) kem ndëtšbe mas intsewut ch inỳebe
    kem ndëtš-be mas i-n-ts-ewut [ch inỳe-be]
    DEM rock-CL more 3SG-EVI-PROG-heavy [DET other-CL]
    ‘This rock is heavier than the other one.’ (MC) (mas from Spanish más ‘more’)

### 8.2.1.4 Numeral as head of an NP

Noun phrases with numerals as the heads can have determiners, as seen in (14), where *esconēfta bnētsana* ‘ninety nine’ (referring to sheep) is marked with both the article *ch* and *inỳe* ‘other’.

(14) ch inỳe esconēfta bnētsana
    ch inỳe esconēfta bnétsana
    DET other nine ninety
    ‘the other ninety nine (sheep)’ (ch = <chê> in original orthography) (Matthew 18:12)

### 8.2.1.5 Adjective as head of an NP

Adjectives, when used substantively, can serve as head of an NP. In (15), *bwangan* ‘red’ is used substantively to mean ‘the red (one)’, here referring to a feather. It has the suffix -jwa to agree in class marking with *plumubjwa* ‘feather’, which is not present here. (Note plumu- < Spanish *pluma* ‘feather’)

(15) Wabwanganabjwa yotsetsebwana-ka.
    wa-bwangana-bjwa yo-tsetsebwana-ka
    CL-red-CL 3DIS.PST-catch-EMPH
    ‘A red one was caught.’ (McDowell 49.)
8.2.2 Noun phrase agreement

Other elements of an NP can agree with a noun in class, number, case, and evaluative. Often they will agree with a noun that is not present in the NP, indexing the noun by bearing morphemes that agree with the missing noun in class, number, case, and/or evaluative (anaphorically) to indicate they are tracking a noun mentioned earlier but not repeated later in the discourse.

As discussed in (3.2) on noun class, adjectives in a noun phrase must agree with the noun they modify (unless the adjective precedes the head noun). In (16a), the adjective bën ‘long’ agrees with bichaj ‘tongue’ in class, with the suffix -j. In (16b) the adjectives botaman ‘beautiful’ and bseng ‘black’ both agree in class with wasniya ‘poncho’, in that they are marked with the prefix wa- and the suffix -iya, both of which are found on the noun. For nouns that do not have the prefix wa- but for which adjectives agreeing with them have wa- see section 3.2.

(16a) ch mëtškway indobmën bënëj bichaj
   ch  mëtškway  i-nンド-obmën  bënë-j  bicha-j
   DET  snake  3SG-HAB-have long-CL  tongue-CL
   ‘The snake has a long tongue.’ (MC 33)

(16b) Ch wasnaniya wabotamaniya indowamën i wabsengiya.
   ch  wa-snän-iyä  wa-botamän-iyä  i-nド-o-wä-mën  i  wa-bseng-iyä
   DET  CL-poncho-CL  CL-beautiful-CL  3SG-HAB-??-be  and  CL-black-CL
   ‘The poncho is beautiful and black.’ (i < Spanish y ‘and’)

Numerals and determiners are not generally marked in any way to agree with the head noun of their NP. This may be so because these parts of speech always precede the noun. However, when a numeral is a head of its own NP, it must agree in class with its (implied but absent) referent. In (17a), the numeral unga ‘three’ is marked with the classifier -be to agree with mashakbe ‘lulo fruit’, even though this noun occurs in a separate phrase. Similarly, in (17b), inyëe ‘other’ has the class marker -jwa to agree with yentšiiya ‘cloth’. (See 3.2 for why the class marker is -jwa instead of -ya.)

(17a) Kananye mashakbe indoben joyebambayan i ungabe ndoñ.
   kananye  mashak-be  ind-õben  j-oyebambayan  i  unga-be  ndoñ
   one  lulo-CL  3SG-be.able  VERB-talk.INF  and  three-CL  NEG
   ‘One lulo fruit can talk and three cannot.’ (i < Spanish y ‘and’)
(17b) Kem yentšiya indewann wabchendujwa i inyējwa wabwanganjwa.

kem yentši-ya indewann wa-bchendu-jwa i inyē-jwa wa-bwangan-jwa
DEM cloth-CL 3SG-be CL-blue-CL and other-CL CL-red-cl
‘One cloth is blue and the other is red.’ (y < Spanish)

8.2.3 Phrase-level clitics

There are at least two phrase level clitics that occur at the end of NPs. These include case marking clitics and the topic marker =na. If =na is present in an NP it is always the last element of the NP.

8.2.3.1 NPs with case-marking clitics

NPs can have case marking. Usually, case marking is a clitic attached to the last element of the NP, after the class marker, as discussed in 3.1.12. In (18), bwangan ‘red’ has the morphemes wa- and -ya to agree with wasnaniya ‘poncho’. In addition, it has the case marker -k for the instrumental. As discussed in 3.1.12, case marking clitics come after the suffixes on nouns including the suffixes for class, number, and evaluatives.

(18) suntatbonja šešon wasnaniya wabwanganiyak
su-ntatbonja šešon [wasnani-ya wa-bwangani-ya-k]
1SG-cover baby [blanket-CL CL-red-CL-INST]
‘I covered the baby with the red blanket.’ (MC)

8.2.3.2 NPs with topic marker =na

The topic marker =na, which is particularly common in narratives, often cliticizes to NPs, usually the last element in the noun phrase. In (19a), yendon ‘squirrel’ exhibits the clitic =na,. It can attach to pronouns, as well, as seen in (19b). The topic marker =na is always the last element of the NP: in (19c) =na comes after the locative marker =ok. Similarly, in (19d), =na cliticizes to the second element in the NP, coming after the evaluative -jem. In (19e) =na also cliticizes to the second element in the NP tsbanan ‘tall’ and comes after the allative case marker -oy.
(19a) **Yendonna** bojojwa.

yendon=na bo-jojwa
squirrel=TOP DU-VERB-answer
‘The squirrel answered (him).’ (i.e., ‘As for the squirrel, he answered.’) (Chindoy 102.9)

(19b) **Atšna** jenanufja ndoñ kešnatajaboto.

atš=na jenanu-fja ndoñ ke-š-n-at-ajaboto.
1SG=TOP chaquin-CL NEG IRR-1SG.OBJ-EVI-IRR-need
‘I don’t need a *chaquín* (digging stick).’ (Chindoy 88:5)

(19c) **fshantsokna** ndoñ chka kenatepasan.

fshants-ok=na ndoñ chka ke-n-at-opasan
[earth-LOC=TOP] NEG like.that IRR-EVI-IRR-happen
‘It didn’t occur like that on the ground.’ (Chindoy 104:7)

(19d) **Oso obëjemna** chká bojatoyeunay

[oso obë-jem=na] chká bo-j-atoyeunay
[bear stupid-EVAL=TOP] like.that DU-VBLZ-heed
‘The stupid bear heeded the suggestion.’ (Chindoy 102:10) (*oso* < Spanish *oso* ‘bear’)
joyeunayan ‘hacer caso’

(19e) **Sklerëśa tsbananoyná** korente binýniñ sëntsonyá.

[sklerëśa tsbanan-oy=ná] korente binýniñ së-n-ts-onyá
[stairs tall-ALL=TOP] very clarity ISG-EVI-PROG-see
‘Up to the tall stairs, I saw very beautiful things.’ (*sklerëśa*. < Spanish *escalera* ‘stairs’)

**8.3 Verb phrases**

A verb phrase in Kamsá consists minimally of a verb (8.3.1), but can, alternatively, consist of a verb and its direct object (8.3.2), a verb and an oblique object (8.3.3), a verb and two objects (ditransitive verbal constructions) (8.3.4), a verb, a direct object, and an oblique object (8.3.5), a verb and an adverb (8.3.6), and a verb and a verbal complement (8.3.7), among other possible combinations. Some (semantically) transitive verbs have within their argument structure an object marked with an oblique case (8.3.8). There are also other possible pairings not discussed here.
8.3.1 VPs consisting entirely of a single verb

A verb phrase can consist of just a verb (without any other constituents) as seen in (20a), where the verb jwenatjëmban ‘disappear’ is marked for person, number, and TAM. The prefix tën- ‘3SG’ indexes the third person singular subject washëntsayá ‘sower’. There is no object, oblique, adverb, or postposition within the VP. In (20a), the verb phrase contains nothing but a verb, and the object of the verb that is not present as a full noun is indicated by a cross-referencing prefix on the verb (k- ‘2SG’). The prefix b- (which follows the object marker) indexes a first person singular subject; and the prefix at- marks the mood of the verb as irrealis.

(20a) Ndayek tën-jwenatjëmba ch washëntsayá?

why 3SG.R.PST-VERB-disappear DET sower
‘Why did the sower disappear?’ (Chindoy 88.9)

(20b) Aiñ kbatjwanáts.

yes 2SG-1SG-IRR-VERB-bring
‘Yes I will bring you.’ (Chindoy 62:16)

8.3.2 VPs with a direct object

Verb phrases can have expressed direct objects. As there is no case marking on any nominals (including pronouns) to indicate their role as subject or (direct) object in Kamsá, there is no morphological difference between subjects and objects. Also, because the word order in Kamsá is very free, it is generally not possible to use word order to discern which NP is the subject and which is the object in a transitive clause. In (21), there is no expressed subject; the NP mongoj ‘deer’ is the direct object of the verb. There is no extra morphology on mongoj to indicate what its role in the sentence is.

(21) Bojashbwá mongoj.

du-PAST-hunt deer
‘He hunted a deer.’ (Chindoy 60:2)
Pronouns can also serve as objects in a verb phrase. They are not marked any differently from full NP direct objects. In (22a), the object is *atś ‘1SG’. Note that the verb agrees with *atś in person and number. The noun *ndët-*be ‘rock’ is marked with an instrumental case marker. In (2b), the subject is the first person singular pronoun *atś. When comparing of (22b) in which *atś ‘1SG’ is the subject of a transitive clause with (22a) in which *atś ‘1SG’ is the object, it can be seen that the form of the pronoun is the same regardless of whether it is serving as subject or as object. In (22c), *atś ‘1SG’ is the subject of the sentence and has the topic marker -*na. When a pronoun is the direct object of a verb, it does not have to be expressed, as seen in example (20b) above, in which the verbal prefix *k- ‘2SG’ shows that the object is second person singular.

(22a) Ch basatem *atś šonjapega base ndëtšibemak.
ch basa-tem *atś š-ó-n-j-apega base ndëtš-be-mak
DET boy-DIM 1SG 1SG-R.PST-EV-verb-hit small rock-CL-INS
‘The boy hit me with a small rock.’

(22b) *Atś sëntsabwana mëntšen.
*atś sëntsabwana mëntšen
1SG 1SG-EV-PROG-cook meat
‘I am cooking meat.’

(22c) Kochjotjajo i *atś-na kbochwakmie.
ko-ch-jotjajo i *atś-na k-bo-ch-wakmie
2SG-FUT-run.fast and 1SG-TOP 2SG-1SG-FUT-follow
‘You run fast and I will follow you.’ (*i < Spanish *y ‘and’) (Chindoy2 154:3)

Some other parts of speech can also serve as objects within VPs. In (23), the demonstrative *mwa is the object of the imperative form of the verb *jolempia ‘clean’ (from Spanish *limpiar ‘clean’) and the numeral *kanỳe ‘one’ is the object of the verb *jasan ‘eat’.

(23) Mwata molempia *kanỳaná kochjase.
mwa-ta mo-lempia *kanỳa=ná ko-ch-jase
DET-DU IMP-clean one=TOP 2SG-FUT-eat
‘Clean these two, and you will eat one of the them.’ (Chindoy 93:6) (*lempia < Spanish *limpiar ‘clean’)
8.3.3 VPs with obliques

Verb phrases can also contain obliques—that is, NPs that are marked with case-marked suffixes but do not play the role of core arguments (subject, object, or object of a distransitive) of the verb. In (24a) bobonts ‘young man’ bears the allative marker -bioy. In (24b), ndweñang ‘owners’ has the benefactive marker. (Note that ndeñ ‘owner’ is from Spanish dueño ‘owner’; the initial alveolar stop is prenasalized, following the phonology of Kamsá, imposed by some speakers on Spanish loan words as well). In (24c), bata ‘aunt’ has the locative marker -bioka. None of these verb phrases has an expressed direct object.

(24a) Ch kaserna bojatjay bobonts-bioy:
   Ch    kaser-na    bo-jatjay    bobonts-bioy
   DET landlord-TOP DU-ask youth-ALL
   ‘The owner asked the young man:’  (kaser < Spanish casero ‘owner’) (Chindoy 93:2)

(24b) Pero kochantsareparan ndweñangbiama!
    pero ko-chan-ts-areparan    ndweñ-ang-biam-a
   but 2PL-FUT-PROG-be.careful owner-PL-BEN-EPE
   ‘Be careful of the owners!’  (pero < Spanish ndeñ < Spanish dueño) (Chindoy 101:4)

(24c) Yejaysashjango batabioka orna …
    ye-j-ay-sashjango    bata-bioka    orna
   3SG.D.PST-VERB-?-arrive aunt-LOC when
   ‘When she arrived to the aunt’s (house) …’  (orna < Spanish hora ‘hour’) (Chindoy 89:9)

In (25), the verb jatrabaja ‘work’ (< Spanish trabajar ‘to work’) has two oblique objects, jajan ‘chagra (small farm)’ marked as locative (jajan loses the final n and becomes jaja + -ok, then jajok) and taita ‘father’ marked as comitative.

(25) Atś sënja-trabajajok atśbe taitabtak mats sënjasëntan.
    atś    sē-n-j-atrabaja    jaj-ok    atś-be    taita-btak
   1SG 1SG.R.PST-EVI-VERB-work chagra-LOC 1SG-GEN father-GEN

   mats sē-n-j-wasëntan
   corn 1SG.R.PST-EVI-VERB-plant
   ‘I worked in the chagra (small farm) with my father sowing corn.’
   JWashentsan ‘sembrar’
8.3.4 VPs with two objects

Verbs can sometimes be ditransitive and take two objects without marking either object as an oblique. In (26), neither twamb ‘hen’ nor wabem ‘sister’ is marked for case.

(26) Tonjopasaibs ch bata tbojtam kanłye twamb24 atšbe waben.

yesterday DET aunt R.PST-DU-sell one hen ISG-GEN sister

‘Yesterday the woman sold a hen to my sister.’

Similarly, when a verb has two objects and one of the objects is a pronoun, the pronoun is not marked as an oblique. In (27a) neither kwento ‘story’ nor atš ‘1SG’ is marked, compared with (27b) where the first person singular pronoun atš has a benefactive clitic.

(27a) Atš šo-chanjakwenta taita mandat kanłye kwent.

1SG 1SG-FUT-tell governor one story

‘The governor will tell me a story.’ (MC) (mandat < Spanish mandar ‘to command’, kwento < Spanish cuanto ‘story’)

(27b) ch tobiaš tonjwabwa wameshnen atšbiam

DET girl 3SG.PST-EVI-cook mote ISG-ANI-BEN

‘The girl cooked mote for me.’ (MC)

8.3.5 VPs with one direct object and one oblique

Verbs can also have a direct object and an oblique. In (28a) the direct object is wameshnen ‘mote’ and the first singular plural pronoun bēng is marked with the benefactive clitic =bi-am. In (28b) the direct object is also wameshnen ‘mote’ and the NP atšbe wampnan taita ‘my father-in-law’ is marked with the locative clitic =bi-ok25 to mean ‘at my father-in-law’s (place)’, or donde mi suegro ‘(lit) where my father-in-law’ in Spanish.

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24 twamb ‘hen’ is probably borrowed from Quechua, atawalpa ‘chicken’, typically shortened to just walpa, and then widely borrowed from one indigenous language to the next.

25 -bi is used for case marking on animate nouns.
(28a) Ch tobias̈ tonjwabwa wameshnen bëngbiam.
    ch tobias̈ to-n-j-wabwa wameshnen bëng-bi-am
    DET girl 3SG-PST-EVI-VBLZ-cook mote 1PL-ANI-BEN
    ‘The girl cooked mote (hominy soup) for us.’

(28b) Carmen intsabwana wameshnen atš-be wampnan taitabiok.
    Carmen i-n-ts-abwana wameshnen atš-be wampnan.taita-bi-ok
    Carmen 3SG-PROG-cook mote 1SG-GEN father.in.law-ANI-LOC
    ‘Carmen is cooking mote (hominy soup) at my father-in-law’s.’

8.3.6 VPs with adverbs and deictics

Adverbs and deictics often precede verbs. Adverbs are discussed in greater detail in
Section 7. In (29a), the adverb kachentše ‘right there/right then’ precedes the verb jobanan ‘die’.
Similarly, in (29b) kachor ‘right away’ precede the verb jan ‘go’.

(29a) I kachentše yejoban.
    i ka-chentše ye-joban
    and INT-there D.PST-die
    ‘And right there he died.’ (I < Spanish y ‘and’)

(29b) Kachor yejá washëntsrayoy.
    kachor ye-já washënts-ray-oy
    right.away 3SG-go sowing.place-ALL
    ‘Right away, she went to the field.’

    Often the adverb or deictic occurs between the object and the verb, as seen in (30), where
mwentše ‘here’ occurs after the object atš ‘1SG’ and before the verb jofjan ‘invite’. Word order in
Kamsá is very free, however, so these words could go in any order, as discussed in 9.2.

(30) Atš mwentše šmëntjoja.
    Atš mwentše š-më-no-tjoja
    1SG here 1SG-IMPER-EV-invite
    ‘Invite me here!’

8.3.7 VPs with verbal complements

All verbs can have non-finite verbs as complements. These non-finite-verb complements
are not inflected for person or number, and often they have the suffix -n (this latter suffix appears
on citation forms of verbs) or the suffix -m (which is of the same form as the benefactive marker that appears on nouns). When the verb has the suffix -m it often shows purpose. In (31a), the verb yejontsá ‘begin’ is inflected for third person singular distant past and has the complement japarlan ‘to tell’ (derived from Spanish parlar ‘to talk’). The complement japarlan has the suffix -n.

In (31b) and (31c) the uninflected verbs show purpose and have the suffix -m, which is the same as the benefactive clitic for nouns. In (31b) the verb japroba is inflected to index a third person singular subject and contains a complement jonguefjwan ‘to fly’, which contains its own complement, jtsacha-m ‘to escape’. In (31c), the verb bojašwachen ‘agree’ is inflected for person and TAM with the third person dual past prefix bo- and has the complement jwashëntsam ‘to plant corn’. In (31d) the noun shajwan ‘fruit’ has the benefactive marker -m.

(31a) As mëntšá yejontsá japarlan:
as mëntšá ye-jontsá j-aparlan
thus like.this D.PST-start VERB-to.tell
‘Thus, he started to tell (it) like this:’ (Chindoy 68:2)

(31b) Yejaproba jonguefjwan jtsacham.
ye-j-aproba j-onguefjwan j-ts-acha-m
D.PST-try VBLZ-fly VBLZ-PROG-escape-BEN
‘He tried to fly to escape.’ (japroba < Spanish probar ‘try’)

(31c) Chë tobiašajatemna yejobojinŷenas bojašwachen jwashëntsam.
ch tobiaš-a=tem=na ye-jobojinŷen-as bo-j-ašwachen j-washëntsa-m
DET girl-EVAL-DIM=TOP DIS-enthusiastic-PTCP DU-VBLZ-agree VBLZ-plant(corn)-BEN
‘The girl, being enthusiastic, agreed to plant corn.’ (Chindoy 88:3)

(31d) Aa bakó shajwanam kwatêkjabo?
aa bakó shajwan-am kwa-tê-k-jabo
ah uncle fruit-BEN INT-PST-2SG-come
‘Uncle, did you come for fruit?’ (Chindoy 102:15)

When there is a verb that has a verbal complement which has a direct object, the direct object tends to precede the complement verb, both when the object is a noun (32a) and when it is a pronoun (32b). This is not always the case, however, as seen in (32c), where the object soy ‘thing’ precedes the subject, main verb, and complement verb. Also note that the verbal complement jatrabajan ‘work’ precedes the modal verb jobenan ‘be able’.
8.3.8 Verbs that take case-marked objects

Some verbs, which on semantic grounds seem very much to be transitive, nevertheless co-occur with nouns (i.e., objects) marked by an oblique case. Such verbs could perhaps be analyzed as intransitive, but with an argument structure that includes an oblique-marked nominal argument. Alternatively, they can be analyzed as transitive, but with a (lexically determined) stipulated selectional restriction that their direct-object arguments must be marked as oblique NPs. The verb jwajabwachan ‘help’, for example, takes a allative-marked NP as its object. In (33), the object of jwajabwachan ‘help’ is patronang ‘owners’, here marked with the allative suffix -bi-oy.

(33)  Shbwaya inaujabwachan patronangbioy kotš jotbayam jatshok.
shbwaya  i-n-au-jawachan patron-ang-bi-oy kotš jotbaya-m jatsh-ok
hunter.dog 3SG-EVI?-help owner-PL-ANI-ALL pig catch-BEN swamp-LOC
‘A hunting dog helped its owners catch a pig in the swamp.’ (Chindoy 55:1) (patron < Spanish patrón ‘owner’); kotš < Spanish coche ‘pig’)

8.4 Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases in Kamsá consist of a noun followed by a postposition. Often case markers are also present: case markers can occur on the postposition itself, on the noun, or on both the postposition and the noun. In (34a), the postposition tsëntsa ‘middle’ follows the noun tsa ‘room’ and tsëntsa has the locative marker -k. Similarly, in (34b) tsëntsa has the case marker...
-\(k\) and the NP preceding it, \(\text{chëng} \ ‘3PL’\), has the genitive marker \(-be\). In (34c) the third person singular pronoun \(\text{cha}\) has the genitive marker \(-be\) when it precedes \(\text{bekonan} \ ‘close’\). An alternative analysis is that these are not postpositions, but rather nouns. In (34d) the \(\text{tsëntsak}\) is used nominally without any other noun (i.e. just ‘in the middle’ not ‘in the middle of the room’). Another analysis is that these are compound nouns, not postpositions.

\[(34a) \quad \text{wabowan bëtsëkna tsa } \text{tsëntsak jakena}\]
\[(34b) \quad \text{chëngbe tsëntsaka}\]
\[(34c) \quad \text{chabe bekonan}\]
\[(34d) \quad \text{Tsëntsaⁿokna kojontĕ jatëshenynán.}\]

8.5 Prepositional phrases

Although Kamsá normally employs postpositions, it has borrowed some prepositions from Spanish. There are no native prepositions in the language (only postpositions), but the Spanish prepositions are very common now. In (35a), the preposition \(\text{sin} \ ‘without’\) (from Spanish \(\text{sin} \ ‘without’\)) precedes the noun \(\text{tamo} \ ‘salt’\). Nouns governed by the loan preposition \(\text{sin}\) take the instrumental case marker \(-k\), as does \(\text{tamo} \ ‘salt’\) below. If the preposition \(\text{sin}\) were not present in this sentence, then the phrase would mean ‘with salt’, as illustrated in (35b).

It is interesting to note that the language has postpositions, and that all subordinators go at the end of clauses, such as the general subordinator \(-\text{as}\) and \(\text{ora} \ ‘when’\), but that it has started borrowing prepositions, and subordinators that go at the beginning of clauses (like \(\text{ante} \ ‘before’\), so now you can have a mix of things going at the end of phrases and clauses and at the beginning.
of verbs and clauses. Furthermore, it is possible that adpositions and subordinators borrowed
from Spanish earlier (maybe several centuries ago) became postpositions or clause final
subordinators, such as ora ‘when’ from Spanish hora ‘time, hour’, whereas recent borrowings
became prepositions or clause initial subordinators.

(35a)  nỳe šmen janỳetšna sin tamok
       only toasted corn corn.fLOUR  [without salt-INS]
         ‘only toasted corn flour without salt’ (Chindoy 62:17)

(35b)  wameshnen tamok
       wameshnen  [tamo=k]
       mote  [salt=INS]
         ‘mote (hominy soup) with salt’

In (36a) another common preposition. asta ‘until’ (from Spanish hasta ‘until’), precedes
bastok ‘Pasto (a city near Sibundoy)’. This preposition can have a noun or an infinitive object;
when it takes an infinitive, it is always an uninflected. In (36a) asta bastok means ‘until Pasto’. It
is unclear whether there is case marking on bastok because, like many place names, the
unmarked form is already locative (such as bogotok ‘Bogotá’; tabanok ‘Sibundoy’ and chatjok
‘Mocoa’). In (36b) asta ‘until’ is the preposition and the infinitive belongs to the prepositional
phrase. The verb jwenatjëmb ‘disappear’ is not inflected for person, number, or TAM. In (36c)
asta precedes shachna ‘five’, which is used substantively and has the plural marker -ëng.

(36a)  ch benach indëmën chatjokan asta bastok.
       DET  path 3SG-?-be mocoa=ABL  [until pasto]
         ‘The road is from Mocoa to Pasto’ (MC)

(36b)  asta ch shem jwenatjëmb nỳetså
       until DET  woman  VBLZ-disappear all
         ‘Until the woman disappeared completely’ (Chindoy 69:9)

(36c)  Kada te mojontša otšanan kanỳa, utat, asta shachnënga
       each day 3PL-start lost one two  [until five-PL]
         ‘Each day, they started getting lost: one, two, then five.’ (Chindoy 94:7)
Another preposition, also derived from Spanish, is *parej* ‘together with’ presumably from *parejo* ‘similar, equal, close, next to’. It is interesting because its meaning has shifted from the Spanish meaning mostly as an adjective to become a preposition. Its noun has a case marker: comitative for animate nouns and instrumental for inanimate nouns. In (37a) *parej enuntëngaftaka* means ‘together with (her) friends’ where *enuntëng* ‘friends’ has the comitative marker -aftak. In (37b) *parej twambianak* means ‘together with that of the hen’ (meaning the brother discarded the chili along with the piece of hen). Note that in (37b) the noun has the ablative marker to show source; it does not have -bi even though it’s an animal (and living animals are animate) because in this sense it is food; and it does not show any object marking.

(37a) nỳe šëšetem jtsabmuchtkoyám parej enuntëngaftaka.
      nỳešš-tem j-ts-ab-mu-ch-tkoyám parej enunt-ëng-aftaka
      PART corn-DIM VBLZ-PROG-?-PL-FUT-bite together friend-PL-COM
      ‘She was also going to eat it together with her friends.’ (Chindoy 90:14)

(37b) Wabentsá tsëtša wayatmá bojongmia bojisantšautšenam tboy,
      wabentsá tsëtša wayatmá bojongmia bojisantšautšen-ám tb-oy
      brother chili lover DU-worry DU-discard-BEN abyss-ALL
      parej twamb-ian-ak.
      [parej twamb-ian-ak]
      together chicken-ABL-INSTR
      ‘The younger brother, a lover of chili, was upset by his throwing (it) into the abyss, along
      with that of the chicken (i.e. piece of the chicken).’ (Chindoy 63:23)
Chapter 9
Simple clauses (monoclausal sentences)

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of clause-level syntax in Kamsá, a clause being minimally a verb and a subject (expressed or not expressed). Because verbs are marked for person and number, a noun or pronoun is not obligatory, thus a clause could be simply a verb. First I discuss clauses (9.2) including intransitive (9.2.1), predicative (9.2.2), then transitive clauses (9.2.3) and clauses with complements (9.2.4). In (9.2.5) I discuss clauses with obliques and in (9.2.6) I discuss ditransitive clauses. In (9.3) I discuss negation and in (9.4) I discuss comparatives and superlatives. (9.5) covers imperatives and (9.6) describes interrogatives.

Indexing on the verb clearly shows that the system is nominative-accusative: subjects of transitive verbs have the same morphemes as subjects of intransitives, both contrasting with the marking of objects of transitives. NPs and personal pronouns are not marked in any way for Agent or Patient (see 3.3.3 on noun cases). As seen in the following examples, although the nouns and pronouns do not have any morphology for case, the verbal morphology is nominative/accusative.

(1a) ch bobonts tonjachemb tobias
    ch bobonts to-n-j-achemb tobias
    DET boy 3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-call girl
‘The boy called the girl.’

(1b) ch bobonts snjachemb (ataš)
    ch bobonts šo-n-j-achemb atš
    DET boy 1OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-call 1SG
‘The boy called me.’

(1c) atš sēnjachemb bobonts
    atš sē-n-j-achemb bobonts
    1SG 1SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-call boy
‘I called the boy.’
(1d) ch bobonts tonja
ch bobont to-n-j-a
DET boy 3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-go
‘The boy went.’

(1e) atš sēnja
atš sē-n-j-a
1SG 1SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-go
‘I went.’

9.2 Clauses

The following sections cover intransitive clauses (9.2.1), predicative clauses (9.2.2), transitive clauses (9.2.3), clauses with complements (9.2.4), clauses with obliques (9.2.5), and ditransitive clauses (9.2.6).

9.2.1 Intransitive clauses

In intransitive sentences, the word order is almost always SV, whether the subject is a pronoun or a noun. In (2a) the verb *j-ashjajna* ‘arrive’ is preceded by *bobonts-ēnga* ‘young men’. In (2b) *j-abokna* ‘leave’ is preceded by *oso* ‘bear’. In (2c) *j-abostero* ‘lie’ is preceded by the first person singular pronoun *atš* whereas in (2d) *j-amanan* ‘sleep’ doesn’t have any overt subject, but the prefix *sē-* on the verb shows that it is first person singular. In (2e) *j-asapten* ‘rain’ is inflected as third person singular. Although the subject usually precedes the verb, in (2f) the subject *kanŷe bakā wabon* ‘one horrible spirit’ follows the verb *jashjango* ‘arrive’. It is possible that in intransitive sentences the subject is more likely to follow the verb if it is heavier as in (2f) in which the subject is *kanŷe bakā wabon bachnaj kapuchinkā pormanā* ‘one horrible spirit dressed as a priest’, but more research is needed.

(2a) ch bobontsēnga mojashjajna
ch bobont-ēnga mo-j-ashjajna
DET young.man-PL 3PL-VBLZ-arrive
‘The young men arrived.’ (Chindoy 78:16)²⁶

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²⁶ There seems to be a lexical difference between *j-ashjango* ‘arrive (one person)’ *j-ashjajna* ‘arrive (multiple people). It doesn’t seem to be explicable by morphology, especially considering that -ng- is a plural marker, not a singular marker.
(2b) oso yejtabokna
    oso ye-t-abokna
    bear 3SG-DIS-VBLZ-again-leave
    ‘A bear went out again.’
    (Chindoy 101:8)

(2c) atš sēnjabostero
    atš sē-n-j-abostero
    1SG 1SG-EVI-VBLZ-lie
    ‘I lied.’ (MC:40)

(2d) bien tsëntsamana
    bien t-sē-n-ts-amana
    well PST-1SG-EVI-PROG-sleep
    ‘I slept well.’ (MC)

(2e) mor ichansapte
    mor i-chan-sapte
    now 3SG-FUT-rain
    ‘It will rain now (MC)

(2f) yejashjango kanỳe baká wabon bachnaj kapuchinká pormaná.
    ye-j-ashjango kanỳe baká wabon bachnaj kapuchin-ká porma-ná
    3DIS-VBLZ-arrive one horrible spirit priest capuchin-TRANSL dressed-TOP
    ‘A horrible spirit, dressed as a capuchin priest, arrived.’ (Chindoy)

9.2.2 Predicative with jamnan ‘be’

Predicative clauses are formed with j-amn-an ‘be’. It is inflected in the same way as other Kamsá verbs. The word order is flexible. In (3a) tsbwanach ‘leaf’ is bëts ‘big’. Note that the adjective agrees with the class of the noun. In (3b) santopes ‘centipede’ is a botaman shembasa ‘beautiful woman’. In (3c) j-amn-an ‘be’ is used for location yebën-entš ‘in the house’. Similarly in (3d) jamnan is used for location chentiš ‘there’ and is marked with the third person plural prefix mo- to agree with the plural subject. In (3d-f) other persons are shown. In (3g) the personal pronoun is not used, but the verbal inflection shows that it is second person plural, indicated by šmo-.

The verb j-amn-an is inflected for TAM in addition to person and number. In (3a) it has the marker nd- to show a habitual state, whereas in (3b) it is distant past because it is in a traditional story. In addition, the adjectives agree with the nouns or pronouns. In (3a) the
adjective agrees with the class of the noun and in (3f) and (3g) wayan ‘hated’ agrees with ‘you all’ and ‘we’ in number, shown by the plural marker -ëng.

(3a) kem tswbanach bëtsich **indemën**
      kem tswbana-ch bëts-ich i-nd-emën
      this leaf-CLF big-CLF 3SG-HAB-be
      ‘This leaf is big.’

(3b) santopes-na **i-n-amna** botaman shembasa
      santopes=na  in-amna botaman shembasa
centipede=TOP DIS-be beautiful woman
      'The centipede was a beautiful woman.' (Chindoy 105.1)

(3c) mor yebënentš **intsomën** bata Josef
      mor yebën-entš i-n-ts-omën bata josef
      now house-LOC 3SG-EVI-PROG-be Aunt Josefa
      ‘Aunt Josefa is home now.’ (MC)

(3d) chentš shlobše-tem-ang **motsomën**
      chentš shlobše-tem-ang mo-ts-omën
      there bird-DIM-PL 3PL-PROG-be
      ‘The birds are there.’ (MC)

(3e) atš mëntša maytré **sëndëmën**
      atš mëntša maytré së-nd-ëmën
      1SG thus master 1SG-HAB-be
      ‘I am the master.’ (Chindoy 72.3)

(3f) bëng sešong nỳe lempe wayanëng **bsëndmëna**
      bëng sešo-ng nỳe lempe wayan-ëng bs-ënd-mëna
      1PL child-PL just all hate-PL 1PL-HAB-be
      'All of us descendants are completely hated.' (Chindoy 110.6)

(3g) wayanënga šmondmëna
      wayan-ënga šmo-nd-mëna
      hate-PL 2PL-HAB-be
      ‘You all are hated.’ (Chindoy 110.7)

9.2.3 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have very free word order, so much so that some have asserted that Kamsá has no dominant word order (Fabre 2001). In his typological sketch of Kamsá, Fabre says
that out of one hundred instances he found a slight predominance of VERB + PATIENT (56%). Most AGENT NPs appear first, but the inverse order is not rare either (Fabre 2001).

The following examples show various options for word order. In (4a) and (4b) the word order is SVO and in (4c) and (4d) it is SOV.

(4a)  
ch bobonts tojashwa shlobtš  
ch bobonts to-j-ashwa shlobtš  
DET youth 3SG.PST-VBLZ-hunt bird  
‘The young man hunted birds.’ (MC)

(4b)  
mënte kachës ch bobonts tonjwaliya librësha  
mënte kachës ch bobonts to-n-j-waliya librësha  
today morning DET youth 3SG-EVI-VBLZ-read book  
‘This morning the young man read a book.’ (MC) (librësha from Spanish libro ‘book’)

(4c)  
ch bobonts shlobtš tojashwa  
ch bobonts shlobtš to-j-ashwa  
DET youth bird 3SG.PST-VBLZ-hunt  
‘The young man hunted birds.’ (MC)

(4d)  
Carmen kanÿe mashakbe tonjobuayán.  
carmen kanÿe mashak-be to-n-j-obuayán  
Carmen one lulo-CLF 3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-choose  
‘Carmen chose a lulo fruit.’

9.2.4 Clauses with complements

Clauses where the verb has a complement tend to have the following word order:

subject - verb - complement.

If the complement has an object, that object precedes the verbal complement. In (5a) the verb j-ontšá ‘begin’ has the complement j-akwentan ‘tell’. The oblique shachbuyek ‘with tears’ precedes both the verb and the complement. In (5b) and (5c), intransitive verbs have verbal complements. In (5d) j-oben ‘be able to’ has a complement, and in (5e) j-anPOCHOKÁ ‘stop’. The word order in (5e) is different, perhaps because it is part of a subordinate clause. The verbs j-ontšá ‘begin’, j-oben ‘be able to’ and j-anPOCHOKÁ ‘stop’ all commonly take complements. The verb in the complement is almost always non-finite, nominal in form.
Obliques are very common in Kamsá and Kamsá has a robust case system (as discussed in 3.3.3). Both transitive and intransitive sentences can have obliques.

The following examples are clauses with obliques. In (6a) the clause is intransitive and in (6b) it is transitive. In (6c) the oblique is perhaps the object of the complement.

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27 The benefactive suffix -am on the verb shows the purpose of the verb, not that it is a benefactive.
9.2.6 Ditransitive clauses

Some verbs take two objects. In these constructions, neither object is marked as an oblique. All three nouns (i.e. Agent, Theme, and Goal) are unmarked. Some examples of these verbs are: *jeyan* ‘sell’, *jakwenta* ‘tell’ and *j-atšetay* ‘give’.

9.2.6.1 Ditransitives with nouns

In (7a) *waben* ‘sister’ is not marked, nor is *tobiaš* ‘girl’ in (7b). Note that in (7a) the Goal is at the end of the sentence whereas in (7b) the Theme *tsjan* ‘guinea pig’ is the last element in the cause. Sometimes, however, the Goal has an allative marker as seen in (7c) with *boya* ‘man’. Perhaps the allative has a different semantic connotation.

(7a)  
*tonjopasaibs* ch *bata* *tbojeyam* *kanỳe* *twamb* *atšbe* *waben*  
*yesterday* DET aunt PST-DU-sell one hen [1SG-GEN sister]  
‘Yesterday the woman sold a hen to my sister.’ (MC)

(7b)  
*ibs* ch *bobonts* bochanjatšetay ch *tobiaš* *kanỳe* *tsjan*.  
*tomorrow* DET youth DU-FUT-VBLZ-give [DET girl] one guinea.pig  
‘Tomorrow the young man will give the girl a guinea pig.’ (MC 40)
(7c) Ungatianoy boyabioy lempe mojakwenta
unga-ti-an-oy boya-bioy lempe mo-j-akwenta
three-day-ADJ-ALL man-ALL all 3PL-VBLZ-tell
‘On the third day, they told the man everything.’ (Chindoy 80:33)

9.2.6.2 Ditransitives with pronouns

When the Goal is first or second person in a ditransitive, it is marked on the verb. If the pronoun appears in the clause, which is optional, it does not have any special marking. In (8a), the verb *j-akwenta* ‘tell’ is marked with *s̈o-* , the first person object marker. (8b) is repeated from above to show comparison with *j-achemb* ‘call’ marked with *s̈o-* to agree with the object. In both (8a) and (8b) the first person singular pronoun *atši* is not marked.

(8a) Atš *s̈o-chanjakwenta kanỳe kwent* taita mandat.
    atš *s̈o-* chan-jakwenta kanỳe kwent* taita.mandat
    1SG 1SG-FUT-tell one story governor
‘The governor will tell me a story.’ (*kwenta* < Spanish *cuenta* ‘tells’, *mandat* < Spanish *mandar* ‘to command, direct’, *kwent* < Spanish *cuento* ‘story’)

(8b) ch bobonts *šonjachemb (atši)*
    ch bobonts *šo-n-j-achemb* atši
    DET boy 1OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-call 1SG
‘The boy called me.’

9.3 Negation

Negation is shown by the negator word *ndoñ*, negative indefinite pronouns, and/or verbal morphology. The language does not allow double negatives, meaning that either the negator word *ndoñ* is used or a negative indefinite pronoun, but never both at the same time. The language can have, however, negative verbal morphology and the negator *ndoñ* in the same clause. When the verb is negative, the negator *ndoñ* is usually there but sometimes negation can be shown by verbal morphology without the negator. Similarly, although the verb usually has negative morphology, sometimes negation can be shown with *ndoñ* without any special morphology on the verb. The verbal morphology of negation is discussed in 4.9. Here I discuss the syntax of such constructions.
9.3.1 Negator words *ndoñ* and *tonday* in predicative constructions

There are two negator words in Kamsa. The negator word in Kamsa is *ndoñ* and it can negate any word class and *tonday* means ‘there isn’t’ and negates nouns. In the following examples, there is no verb. In predicative constructions, a copula is not necessary. In (9a) *ndoñ* negates the adjective *tšaba* ‘good’ and in (9b) it negates *mas* ‘more’. Neither clause has a verb. In (9c) and (9d) *tonday* ‘there is not’ is used, to show the nonexistence of *shloftsťšunga* ‘birds’ and *begong* ‘fish’.

(9a) ch bayujeman ndoñe tšabaka
    ch   bayu-jem-an   ndoñe   tšaba-ka
    DET   beast-EVAL-?   NEG   good=?
    ‘This little beast is not good.’ (McDowell 200)

(9b) morna ndoñe mas buyesh
    morna   ndoñe   mas   buyesh
    now=TOP   NEG-EPE   more   water
    ‘No more water now.’ (McDowell 135)

(9c) ndayak tonday shloftsťšunga tonday
    ndayak   tonday   shloftsť-unga   tonday
    why   NEG   bird-PL   NEG
    ‘Why are there no birds, none/nothing?’ (McDowell 103)

(9d) bejain tonday begong
    beja-in   tonday   begong
    river-LOC   NEG   fish-PL
    ‘There are no fish in the river’. (MC)

9.3.2 Negating verbs

The following two examples provide a review of the negative verbal morphology discussed in 4.9. The verb *j-obenan* ‘be able to’ appears in the first person singular present. In (10a), the verb has no extra morphology. In (10b) *ndoñ* precedes the verb, and the verb has both the prefix *ke*- and the additional prefix *at*- closer to the verb stem.
(10a) chkasa tsoben
    chkasa ts-oben
    thus 1SG-be.able
    ‘Thus I can.’ (Chindoy 89.6)

(10b) ndoñ ketsatoben
    ndoñ ke-ts-at-oben
    NEG IRR-1SG-NEG-be.able
    ‘I can’t.’ (Chindoy 91.6)

9.3.3 *tonday* ‘there is not’

Another common word used for negation is *tonday* ‘there isn’t’. In (11a) *tonday* precedes vida ‘life’ (from Spanish *vida* ‘life’) to mean ‘no life’, spoken by a dead person. In (11b) *tonday* precedes *bien* ‘good, well’ to mean nothing good, only reeds. In (11c) it precedes *mas defensa* ‘more defense’ and in (11d) it has the topic marker =*na* to mean ‘there wasn’t anyone.’

(11a) atšna ya *tonday* vida ketsatsbomna
    atš=na ya *tonday* vida ke-ts-at-s-bomna
    1SG=TOP already NEG life IRR-1SG-NEG-?-have
    ‘I now have no life.’

(11b) inyuwasha *tonday* bien ena inyuwashaka
    inyuwasha *tonday* bien ena inyuwashaka
    reed NEG well pure reed-?
    ‘Reeds, nothing good, pure reeds.’ (McDowell 82) (*bien* from Spanish *bien* ‘well’)

(11c) *tonday* mas *defensa* ñye jwesanša
    *tonday* mas *defensa* ñye jwesanša
    NEG more defense only blow.gun
    ‘With no other defense than a blow gun’ (McDowell 97)

(11d) *tonday*ana yendomunaka
    *tonday*ana ye-nd-omuna-ka
    NEG=TOP DIS-NEG-be-?
    ‘Nobody was there.’
9.3.4 Neither/nor

Neither/nor constructions are formed with *ni* from Spanish *ni* ‘neither, nor’. When *ni* is used, *ndoñ* is used as well. In (12a) and (12b) *ni* is used to show neither one NP nor the other. In (12c) it is used to mean ‘not even’.

(12a) akna ndoñ bonshana ke-k-at-smēn
you=TOP NEG admirable IRR-2SG-NEG-be

yentšangbiam ni tjañ ajnēngbyam
person-PL-BEN NEG country living-PL-BEN

‘You are not admirable for people or the animals in the countryside.’ (Chindoy 110:5)

(12b) ch lwarna ndoñ yendopoden tbako jwakwakwayán;
det place=TOP NEG 3.DIS-NEG-be.able tobacco VBLZ-smoke

ni juyamban jatán tsētšaka ni sebollēšeka.
NEG VBLZBring fiambre chilli-INST nor onion-INST

‘In that place, one cannot smoke tobacco or bring fiambre with chilli sauce or onion.’
(Chindoy 66:44)

(12c) ndoñe ni japalankan
ndoñe ni j-apalankan

NEG-EPE NEG VBLZ-lift

‘They couldn’t even lift him.’ (McDowell 80)

9.3.5 Other negative words

Negation can be shown by negative pronouns without the use of *ndoñ* or *tonday*. Two examples are *ndoká* ‘nothing’ and *ndokena* ‘no one’. In (13a) *ndoká* ‘nothing’ is used with the verb *jayan* which is marked with *n-* to show that it is negative, meaning ‘saying nothing’. In (13b) it is used with *nja* for emphasis in the command. In (13c) the verb *j-amnan* ‘to be’ has negative morphology. In (13d) *ndokna* ‘no one’ shows that there was nothing left of two images. It has the dual marker -*ta* because it is of the two images and it isn’t clear why it is *ndokna* ‘no one’ instead of *ndoká* ‘nothing’.
Inyéná nye ndoká njayanká yejajwaboy:
inýe=ná nye ndoká n-j-ayan-ká ye-j-ajwaboy
other=TOP PART nothing NEG-VLBZ-say? 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-think
‘The other one, saying nothing, thought.’ (Chindoy 77:4)

Kachk akaťja nýa ndoká šmatatsana,
kachk aka-fja nýa ndoká šm-at-atsana
INTENS 2SG-EVAL PART nothing 1SG.OBJ-IMP-NEG-walk
‘Don’t walk toward me.’ (Chindoy2 160:4)

Ndokena mwentsé kenatsmuna
ndokena mwentše ke-n-at-s-muna
no.one here IRR-EVI-NEG-? be
‘He is not here.’ (McDowell 78)

San pedre-be imajen i gabilan-be imajen ndok-na-ta
san pedre-be imajen i gabilan-be imajen ndokna-ta
san pedro-GEN image and sparrow.hawk-GEN image nothing=TOP-DU
‘The image of San Pedro and of the sparrowhawk are no more.’ (Chindoy 66.51) (i = <y> in original orthography)

9.3.6 Word order: ndoñ

ndoñ usually goes directly before the verb, as in most of the examples above. It tends to go at the beginning of the verb phrase. Objects come after ndoñ and before the verb, as seen in (14a) where tsēšey ‘yellow’ is the object of the verb. Note that tsēšey has the class marker -be for round things to agree with egg, which is implied by the verb. In (14b) the adjective bëts ‘big’ precedes the verb, with ndoñ preceding it. In (14c) ndoñ precedes the adverb bien ‘well’ and in (14d) ndoñ precedes the adverb chka ‘like that’. Although ndoñ usually comes before the verb phrase, it can follow the verb as well, as seen in (14e). In (14f), there is a common expression, with ndoñ at the end of the phrase.

ndoñ tsēšeybe yenjoshma
ndoñ tsēšey-be ye-n-j-oshma
NEG yellow-CLF 3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-lay.eggs
‘It didn’t lay yellow (eggs).’ (Chindoy 74.22)
(14b) Chêngna ndoñ bëtsëtsanga monjobemas
    chêngna      ndoñ     bëts-ëts-anga mo-n-j-jobemas
    3PL-TOP    NEG    big-?-PL     3PL-NEG-VBLZ-become
‘They didn’t get big.’ (Chindoy 74.23)

(14c) ndoñ bien yenjowen
    ndoñ    bien    ye-n-j-owen
    NEG   well    3SG.DIS-NEG-VBLZ-hear
‘She didn’t hear (him) well.’ (Chindoy 77.6)

(14d) fshantokna ndoñ chka kenatopasan.
    fshants-ok=na    ndoñ    chka    ke-n-at-opasan
    earth-LOC=TOP    NEG    like.that    IRR-EVI-NEG-happen
‘It doesn’t happen like that on the ground’ (Chindoy 104:7)

(14e) imbangoye jtetana ndoñ
    imbang-o ye     j-t-tetana    ndoñ
    heathen-ALL    VBLZ-AGAIN-go    NEG
‘He never returned to the heathens.’ (McDowell 63)

(14f) Pero mor ndoñ
    pero    mor    ndoñ
    but    now    NEG
‘But now, no/not anymore.’

9.4 Comparatives and superlatives

Comparatives are formed with mas (from Spanish más ‘more’) followed the adjective. The word being compared is marked with the benefactive -am for inanimate nouns and -byam for animate nouns. Comparatives for phrases are similarly formed with mas and the phrase. There are no irregular comparatives; all comparatives are formed with mas + adjective. One interesting phenomenon, however, is that for better sometimes the language uses mas + tšaba ‘good’ and sometimes mas + mejor. Similarly, worse is often mas + peor. Superlatives are formed with mas and the adjective. The noun has no special marking.

In (15a) the adjective bna ‘tall’ is preceded by mas and tobiaš ‘girl’ is marked with the benefactive byam, while bobonts ‘young man’ is not marked. In (15b) wamaná ‘above’ is preceded by mas and bwatëmbaya ‘teacher’ is marked with the benefactive biam. In the second part of (15b) wamaná ‘above’ is preceded by mas and ndwiñ ‘owner’ (from Spanish dueño) is marked with benefactive -byam. In (15c), there is a phrase being compared, obenana bomná
‘power-having’. In all examples, *mas* precedes the adjective. In (15d) *más* ‘more’ and *tšabá* ‘good’ mean ‘better’.

(15a) ch bobonts ya **mas bna** ch tobiašbyam

ch bobonts ya mas bna ch tobiašbyam

DEM boy already more tall DET girl=GEN

‘The boy is (already) taller than the girl.’ (MC)

(15b) Ni kanÿe watsjendayá chabe bwatëmbayabiama más wamaná ntsemnana,

Ni kanÿe watsjendayá cha=be [bwatëmbaya=biama más wamaná] n-ts-emnana

neither one student 3SG=GEN [teacher=GEN more above] NEG-PROG-be

ni chë oservená chabe nduiñbiama **más wamaná**.

ni chë oservená cha=be [ndwiñ-bi-ama más wamaná]

nor DET servant 3SG=GEN [owner-ANIM-BEN more above]

‘The student is not above the teacher, nor a servant above his master.’ (Matthew 9:24) (*kanÿe* = <canÿe>, *watsjendayá* = <uatsjendayá>, *ndwiñbiama* = <nduiñbiama>, *bwatëmbayabiama* = <buatëmbayabiama>, *wamaná* = <uamaná> in original orthography; *ni* from Spanish *ni* ‘neither, nor’ and *nduiñ* from Spanish *dueño* ‘owner’).

(15c) Pero chë atšbe ústonoye echanjabá,

pero chë atšbe ústonoye e-cha-n-j-abá

but DET 1SG=GEN after 3SG-FUT-EVI-VBLZ-come

atšbiama **más** obenana bomná komna

atšbiama más obenana bomná k-omna

1SG=GEN more power have IRR-be

‘But after me comes one who is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry.’ (Matthew 3:11) (*komna* = <comna> in original orthography)

(15d) Más tšabá tšëngaftangbiama entsemna…

más tšabá tšëngaftangbiama e-n-ts-emna

more good 2PL=GEN 3SG-EVI-PROG-be

‘It is better for you.’ (Matthew 6:20)

Superlatives are formed with *mas* and the adjective, as seen below.

(16a) mwentš indëmën **mas** tšabá sanatem

mwentš i-nd-ëmën mas tšabá sana-tem

here 3SG-HAB-be more good food-DIM

bishantem matsanatem tsunbek y bishak

bishan-tem mats-an-atem tsunbe-k i bisha-k

soup-DIM corn-ADJ-DIM bean-INST and collard-INST

‘Here (in Sibundoy) the best food is corn soup with beans and collard greens.’ (MC)
(16b)  i chë Bëngbe Bëtsabe bëts yebnentše chë más tsbanánoka tbojanatsá
and DET our lorr=GEN big house-LOC DET more tall stand
‘(Then the devil took him to the holy city) and had him stand on the highest point of the
temple.’ (Matthew 4:5) (tsbanánoka = <tsbanánoca>, i = <y> in original orthography)

To form ‘worse’, mas is used with peor from Spanish peor ‘worse’. Note that to convey
worse, mas is not used with the Kamsá word for bad, only with Spanish peor.

(17a)  mas peor yejopasa.
more worse 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-happen
‘(Something) worse happened.’ (Chindoy 56:7)

9.5  Imperatives

There are two types of imperatives in Kamsá: morphological imperatives with m- and
future as imperative.

9.5.1  Morphological imperatives

Imperatives are formed with m- before the verb root. There is no other morphology. In
(18a) jabo ‘come’ has m- as does j-olempia ‘clean’ (from Spanish limpiar ‘clean’) in (18b).

(18a)  mabo
mabo
‘Come!’ (MC)

(18b)  Mwata molempia. Kanýaná kochjase,
DET-DU IMP-clean one=TOP 2SG-FUT-eat
‘Clean these two, and eat one of the them.’ (Chindoy 94:6)

9.5.2  Future as imperative

Another common way to make a command is by using the future. In (19a) the verb j-
areparan ‘watch’ is marked with the second singular marker ko- followed by the future prefix
ch- as in (19b) with jatbana ‘collect’. (19c) is repeated from above and shows both strategies of command: the morphological imperative mo-lempia ‘Clean!’ and the future as imperative with kochjase ‘Eat!’.

(19a) Pero kochantsareparan ndweñangbiama.
    pero ko-ch-an-ts-areparan ndweñ-ang-biama
    ‘But watch the owners!’ (Chindoy 101:4)

(19b) Akna tsbwanach kochjatbana bien jwashabwayam
    akna tsbwanach ko-ch-j-atbana bien jwashabwayam
    ‘Collect the leaves to cover (the house) well.’ (Chindoy 104:5)

(19c) Mwata molempia. Kanÿaná kochjase,
    mwa-ta mo-lempia kanÿa-ná ko-ch-jase
    ‘Clean these two, and eat one of the them.’ (Chindoy 94:6)

9.6 Interrogatives

Word order in Kamsa is very free. Yes/no questions can have any word order. WH questions, however, generally have the question word first with other constituents following the question word. Adverbs can precede the question word. Sometimes the evidentiality is different with only j- and not n-, the marker for things the speaker has seen or experienced. The verb jamnan ‘be’ often has the prefix yo- in questions, but I have not determined the use of this prefix.

9.6.1 Yes/no

Yes/no questions can have any order. They often end with the tag aiñe o ndoñ ‘yes or no?’ In (20a) the clause is verb final, whereas in (20b) the main verb jan ‘go’ is first with the complement jenokwedam ‘eat together’ and the deictic ‘to there’ following it. In (20c) the verb jan ‘go’ shows different morphology than the usual affirmative tonja for the third singular past. Also, the question ends with the tag aiñe o ndoñ. In (20d) the word order is OSV and the question ends with the particle ka. (20e) shows a longer yes/no question with an embedded clause.
(20a) Aa bako shajwanam kwatēkjabo?
   aa bako shajwanam kwa-tē-k-jabo
   ah uncle fruit-BEN EMPH-PST-2SG-come
   ‘Uncle, did you come for fruits?’ (Chindoy 102:15)

(20b) Kebuntjá jenokwedam kachoy?”
   ke-bu-nt-já j-en-okwedam ka-ch-oy
   IRR-DU-NEG-go VBLZ-REC-eat EMPH-there-ALL
   ‘Would you go with me to eat together there?’ (Chindoy 103:1) (j-en-okwedan ‘serve oneself, serve together, feed oneself, eat together’ from Spanish cuidar ‘take care of’)

(20c) tojatoñ tabanoy, aiñe o ndoñ?
   to-j-atoñ taban-oy aiñe o ndoñ
   3SG.PST-VBLZ-go town-ALL yes or no
   ‘Did he go to town, yes or no?’ (MC)

(20d) más atśe aka kbochjwabaye ka?
   mas atśe aka k-bo-ch-j-wabaye ka
   more 1SG 2SG 2SG-1SG-FUT-VBLZ-come PART
   ‘Do you come to me?’ (Matthew 3:14) (aka = <aca>, kbochjwabaye = <cbochjuabaye>, and ka = <ca> in original orthography)

(20e) Ndoñe šmondwalya y šmondētāsēmbo
   ndoñe šmo-nd-walya y šmo-nd-ētāsēmbo
   NEG 2PL-NEG-walya and 2PL-NEG-know

   ndayá David y chabe enutēnga tmojanmama,
   ndayá David y cha-be enutēnga t-mo-j-anmama
   what david and 3SG-GEN friend-PL PST-3PL-VBLZ-?

   shēntsēca imojtsemna ora?
   shēntsē-ka i-mo-j-ts-emna ora
   hungry-TRANSL DIS-3PL-VBLZ-?-be when
   ‘Haven't you all read and don't you all know what David and his friends did when they were hungry?’ (Matthew 12:3) (šmondwalya = <šmēndualía>, shēntsēca = <shēntsēca> in original orthography)

9.6.2 WH questions

Although word order in Kamsá is quite free, question words are always at the start of the clause when WH questions are formed. The only words that can precede question word are adverbs. Subjects, objects, and verbs always come after the question word. The remaining
constituents of the clause can be in any word order. Figure 9.1 shows the question words in Kamsá.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nda</td>
<td>‘who?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndabtak</td>
<td>‘with whom?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndabyam</td>
<td>‘for whom?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndayá</td>
<td>‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndayam</td>
<td>‘for what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndayentš</td>
<td>‘(at) where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndémoy (or ndmoy)</td>
<td>‘to where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndémoykan (or ndmoykan)</td>
<td>‘from where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndayek</td>
<td>‘why?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nšam(o)</td>
<td>‘how?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntsachetsá</td>
<td>‘how much?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntseko</td>
<td>‘when?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.1 Question words

The following examples are all WH questions. In each one, the clause starts with the WH word. (21a) shows ndayá ‘what’ in three questions, where it is the object. (21b) and (21c) show nda ‘who’ in intransitive questions. (21d) and (21e) show ndmoy ‘to where’ in intransitive sentences. In (21d) the subject is not realized, whereas in (21e) it is and the verb is the last word in the question. (21f) and (21g) both have questions with ndayek ‘why’ and have different word orders: in (21f) it is verb then subject and in (21g) there is no verb. In (21i) the question word ndémwanỳe modifies boyabasa ‘man’.

(21a) Ndayá mochjase? o ¿Ndayá mochjofšiye?
   ndayá  mo-ch-j-ase   o       ndayá  mo-ch-j-ofšiye
   what   PL-FUT-VBLZ-eat or   what   PL-FUT-VBLZ-drink
What will we eat? or What will we drink? or What will we wear?' (Matthew 6: 31)

(21b) Nda atšbe mamá yomna?
da atš-be mamá yo-mna
who 1SG-GEN mother ?-be
‘Who is my mother?’ (Matthew 12:48)

(21c) Nda kem boyabása yomna?
da kem boyabása yo-mna
who that man ?-be
‘Who is that man?’ (Matthew 8:27) (kem = <quem> in original orthography)

(21d) ndmoy tojaton
ndmoy to-j-aton
where 3SG-VBLZ-go
‘Where did (he) go?’ (Chindoy 65.37)

(21e) ndmoy tšëngaftang šmochjabokan?
dmoy tšëngaftang šmochjabokan
where 2PL 2PL-FUT-VBLZ-go.out
‘Where are you all going to go?’ (NCJ 11:9) (jabokan ‘salir’)

(21f) Ndayek mojtsotšan chubta bolletëng
ndayek mo-j-ts-otšan chubta bolletëng
why 3PL-VBLZ-?-lose quantity chicken-PL
‘Why are so many chickens lost?’

(21g) Ndáyeka akbe watsjéndayënga ndo̱ñe chka ka?
dáyeka ak-be watsjénday-ënga ndoñe chka ka
why 2SG-GEN disciple-PL NEG thus PART
‘Why do your disciples not (do) (it) like that?’ (Matthew 9:14) (ndáyeaka = <ndáyeca>, akbe = <acbe>, watsjéndayënga= <uatsjéndayënga>, chka = <chca>, ka = < ca> in original orthography)

(21h) Asna ntsamo kamana jatrabajam?
ntsamo ka-mana j-atrabaj-am
then how 2SG-know VBLZ-work-BEN
‘Then, how are you used to working?’ (Chindoy 2: 80:3)

(21i) Ndëmuanye boyabása tšëngaftanguentšá,
ndëmuáye boyabása tšëngaftang-uentšá
which man 2PL-?
‘Which of you, if your son asks for bread, will give him a stone?’ (Matthew 7:9)

It is maybe possible to have double WH questions, as seen in (22) which is asking both *ndayá* ‘what?’ and *ndoy* ‘where?’

(22) *ndayá jinỳama chë entšanga ndoyena lwaroye šmojánbokana?*  
*ndayá j-inỳama chë entšanga ndoyena lwaroye šmo-ji-ánbokana*  
‘What did you people go to what place to see?’ (Matthew 11:7) (lwaroye = <luaroye>, šmojánbokana = <šmojánbocana> in original orthography)
Chapter 10
Sentences and multi-clausal constructions

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine Kamsá sentences that are composed of more than one clause (in addition to considering the coordination of multiple elements within a single clause). Two (or more) clauses may be combined in Kamsá, either through coordination or through subordination. When two clauses are coordinated, they maintain an equal grammatical status. A subordinate clause, on the other hand, is dependent upon another (main) clause. Both coordination and subordination can be signalled (in part) through the use of a class of words called conjunctions.

First I discuss coordination (10.2), including conjunctive coordination (10.2.1), disjunctive coordination (10.2.2), adversative coordination (10.2.3), and correlatives (10.2.4). In (10.3) I discuss subordination strategies, and (10.4) is dedicated to indirect discourse.

Kamsá has several conjunctions, including both coordinators and subordinators. Many of the coordinators, which can connect words or phrases as well as entire clauses, are derived from Spanish. Figure 10.1 shows the most commonly used conjunctions in Kamsá, providing basic glosses and etymologies (where known).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>from Spanish <em>y</em> ‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o</em></td>
<td>‘or’</td>
<td>from Spanish <em>o</em> ‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pero</em></td>
<td>‘but’</td>
<td>from Spanish <em>pero</em> ‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maske</em></td>
<td>‘although’</td>
<td>from Spanish <em>más que</em> ‘more than’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ayekna</em></td>
<td>‘thus, because of which’</td>
<td>unclear etymology, but related to <em>chiyekna</em> (below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chiyekna</em></td>
<td>‘thus, because of which’</td>
<td>unclear etymology, but related to <em>ayekna</em> (above), maybe containing the determiner <em>ch</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
as | ‘so, then’ | probably from Spanish así ‘thus, therefore, so, like that, in this way’. Maybe related to subordinating clitic =as, which appears at the end of clauses

mas nỳe | ‘instead’ | from Spanish más ‘more’ and Kamsá nỳe ‘only’

ni | ‘neither, nor’ | from Spanish ni ‘neither, nor, not even’

porke | ‘because’ | from Spanish porque ‘because’

nỳe | correlative, ‘just’ |

Figure 10.1 Conjunctions

The following sections provide illustrations of clause combinations. First, coordination is considered, both at the phrase level and at the clause level (10.2). Then I examine how subordination works in Kamsá (10.3).

10.2 Coordination

Coordination is typically signaled by the placement of a conjunction (coordinator) between the constituents being connected. The following sections discuss three types of coordination in Kamsá: conjunctive (‘and’) coordination (10.2.1), disjunctive (‘or’) coordination (10.2.2), and adversative (‘but’) coordination (10.2.3). All three coordinating conjunctions in Kamsá are loans from Spanish; there are no known indigenous coordinators.

10.2.1 Conjunctive coordination

 Conjunctive coordination is shown with the conjunction i ‘and’, which has been borrowed from Spanish y ‘and’. When the conjunction i ‘and’ is placed between two elements, the two are joined syntactically, with neither element receiving special status or grammatical
marking. When two or more NPs are obliques, they can all have the oblique marker (seen in 1f) or sometimes only the second NP will have the oblique marker.

The conjunction *i* ‘and’ can be used to connect phrases within a clause as well as to connect clauses within a sentence. In (1a), it connects two NPs, each consisting of a single common noun: *boyabasetemënga* ‘boys’ and *shembas*temënga ‘girls’. In (1b), the conjunction *i* ‘and’ connects *natjëmban* ‘peace’ and *silentsio* ‘silence’, two NPs used adverbially. In (1c), it connects two VPs: *škotabe* ‘I pull it out for you’ and *kbochjwebutśen* ‘I’ll throw it to you’. In (1d), two clauses are connected: *akna benchetema* ‘you (are) small’ and *atšna bëtsá* ‘I (am) big’. There is no verb, however, because the copula can be dropped. In (1e) two clauses are connected. In (1f) there is coordination between NPs that are marked for case, with the benefactive -*am*.

(1a) *boyabasetemënga* i *shembas*temënga
    boya-base-tem-ēng i shem-base-tem-ēng
    male-small-DIM-PL and woman-small-DIM-PL
    ‘boys and girls’ (Chindoy 69:10) (*i* = <y> in original orthography)

(1b) Chokna *natjëmban* i *silentsio* jtsyenam.
    chok=na natjëmban i silentsio j-ts-yenam
    there=TOP peace and silence VBLZ-PROG-live
    ‘There one lives peacefully and silently.’ (Chindoy 104:6) (*jtsyenam* = <jtsienam> in original orthography, from *joyen* ‘live’; *i* = <y> in original orthography; *silentsio* < Spanish *silencio* ‘silence’)

(1c) Atš *škotabe* i *kbochjwebutśen*.
    atš š-k-o-tabe i k-bo-ch-j-webutśen
    1sg 1SG-2SG-pluck and 2SG-1SG-FUT-VBLZ-throw
    ‘I’ll pluck (it) for you and throw (it) to you.’ (Chindoy 102:17) (*i* = <y> in original orthography)

(1d) *Akna benchetema* i atšna bëtsá.
    ak=na benche-tem i atš=na bëtsá
    2SG=TOP small-DIM and 1SG=TOP big
    ‘You are small and I am big.’ (*i* = <y> in original orthography)

(1e) *šjaumashëngo* tsoy i bëšaša stëšoyka tejotsay
    š-j-au-mashëngo tsoy i bëšaša stëš-oyka te-jotsay
    1SG.OBJ-VBLZ-?-enter inside and door behind-LOC 1SG.PST-stand
    ‘He made me go inside and I stood behind a door.’ (Chindoy 68:4) (*i* = <y> in original orthography)
(1f)  šmochsepronťay pwesto popayejëngbiam,
šmo-ch-ts-eprontay pwesto popayej-ëng-bi-am
2PL-FUT-PROG-prepare spot popayan-PL-ANI-BEN

pastusengbiam, bogotillëngbiam y onỳayoykëngbiam
pastus-ëng-bi-am bogotill-ëng-bi-am y onỳay-oyk-ëng-bi-am
pasto-PL-ANI-BEN bogota-PL-ANI-BEN and hot-LOC-PL-ANI-BEN
‘Prepare spots for the people from Popayán, Pasto and Bogotá, and those from the hot
places.’ (Chindoy 68:6)

As seen in (1a), the conjunction i ‘and’ may be used, in a sense, to add an NP participant
to a clause. Another means of accomplishing this is with the preposition parej ‘together with’.
Unlike i ‘and’, the word parej ‘together with’ does not conjoin two NPs equally; rather, the
second element is marked with either the instrumental suffix -ak for inanimate nouns or the
comitative suffix -byak for animate ones. Although this isn’t a conjunction (it’s a preposition) it
semantically achieves a similar thing.

Thus, although clearly derived from the Spanish noun parejo ‘equal (to), ‘equivalent
(with), ‘on a par with, ‘at the same level (with), ‘even’, ‘identical’, the Kamsá word parej
‘together with’ functions as a preposition. In (2a), parej is used twice. In the first instance, it
connects chnungwan te ‘six days’ with ibet ‘night’, meaning ‘six days and (six) nights’; the
second instance functions similarly to express the notion of ‘three days and nights’. In (2b), the
first element of the coordination is not expressed (it is understood to be the 3PL pronoun chëng
‘they’); only the element after parej is overt: the object of the preposition enuta ‘friend’.

(2a)  Kanÿe yentšá bojadesmaya chnungwan te parej ibetak.
kanÿe yentšá bo-jàdesmaya chnungwan te parej ibeta-ak
one person DU-VBLZ-faint six day with night=INST
‘One person fainted for six days with (their respective) nights.’

Inÿanak kachká yejatspasa,
inÿan=ak ka=chká ye-jàts-pasa
other=INST like.that 3DIS-PROG-happen
‘To another person, the same happened,’ (pasa < Spanish pasar ‘happen’)  

pero chana nÿe unga te parej ibetak.
pero cha-na nÿe unga te parej ibeta-ak
but 3SG=TOP just three day with night-INST
‘but he (stayed) only three days with (their respective) nights.’ (pero < Spanish pero
‘but’) (Chindoy 67:1)
(2b) nye šësetem jtsabmuchtayám parej enuntëngaftaka.
just corn-DIM VBLZ-PROG-?PL-peck-BEN 'but also they pecked the corn together with friends.' (Chindoy 90:14)

10.2.2 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination in Kamsá is signaled by either the conjunction o ‘or’ (in positive polarity) or by the conjunction ni ‘neither, nor’ (in negative polarity). Both words are transparently loans from Spanish.

Like the conjunctive coordinator i ‘and’, the disjunctive coordinator o ‘or’ can be used to join two phrases, as in (3a), where it occurs between the numerals unga ‘three’ and kanta ‘four’. In (3b), the conjunction o ‘or’ joins two NPs (place names), Tëtknaiyay and Chitjianëjay. Note that only the second place has the locative suffix/clitic. In (3c), it connects two VPs: j-ojandwon-áy-an ‘roll around’ and j-en-obwast-an ‘scratch oneself’.

(3a) ayekna mobën unga o kanta jajañ jtsepochokayán.
thus soon [three or four] field VBLZ-PROG-finish
‘Thus they finished three or four fields.’ (Chindoy 108:5)

(3b) Ch bachna yejabanënya kabëng Tëtknaiyay o Chitjianëjayoka.
DET priest 3SG.DIS-VBLZ-find INT-1PL [Tëtknaiyay o Chitjianëjay=OK]
‘The priest found us in Tëtknaiyay or Chitjianëjay.’ (Chindoy2 115:2)

(3c) Saká chte nda natsan
well DET=day who before
chaojtsëtjajandwoná o chaojtsenobwasto
[IRR-VBLZ-PROG-IRR-roll.around or IRR-VBLZ-PROG-REFL-scratch]
‘That day we’ll see who will be the first to roll around or scratch himself.’ (Chindoy2 161:11)

28 The word kabëng (the first plural pronoun with the intensifier ka-) is used to refer to indigenous people, often Kamsás and Ingas, as opposed to other people. One can say someone is ‘kabëng’ to mean that he or she is Kamsá/Inga” but you wouldn’t use ka-bëng to talk about you and your friends to do something, unless you’re emphasizing that the group is indigenous. Thus, this sentence means the priest found the indigenous people there.
In negative polarity, the disjunctive coordinator \textit{ni} ‘nor’ from Spanish \textit{ni} ‘neither, nor, not even’ is used. It can be between NPs (nouns and pronouns) as seen in (4a) in which it is between three nouns, and in (4b) between two nouns. It can also be used to connect VPs, as in (4c). In addition to appearing between conjoined elements, \textit{ni} ‘nor’ may also (as in Spanish usage) occur before the first element as well. In such instances (as in 4a), it is means \textit{neither … nor}.

(4a) Atš ndoň kintsatbom \textit{ni} kenatënga \textit{ni} wabtšënga \textit{ni} katšatang
atš ndoň ki-n-ts-at-bom \textit{ni} kenat-ëng \textit{ni} wabtšënga \textit{ni} katšatang
1SG NEG IRR-EVI-PROG-IRR-have nor sister-PL nor brother-PL nor brother-PL
‘I don’t have brothers or sisters or brothers.’ Or ‘I have neither men’s brothers, nor sisters, nor women’s brothers’

(4b) O kach akafja \textit{ni} katštatafjënga keštatoservia
O kach ak-fja \textit{ni} katštata-fj-ëng ke-š-tat-oservia
oh INT 2SG-PEJ nor brother-PEJ-PL IRR-1SG-IRR-do
‘Oh! Not even you nor your (bad) brothers will do anything to me.’ (Chindoy2 160:9)

(4c) Ch lwarna ndoň yendopeden tbako jwakwakwayán;
ch lwar=na ndoň ye-nd-opoden tbako j-wakwakwayán
DET place=TOP NEG 3SG.DIS-ND?-be.able tobacco VBLZ-smoke

\textit{ni} juyamban jatán tsëtšaka \textit{ni} sebollëšeka.
\textit{ni} juyamban jatán tsëtš=aka \textit{ni} sebollëš=eka
nor bring cold.cut chilli=INST nor onion=INST
‘This place doesn’t allow smoking tobacco, nor bringing cold cuts with chili sauce nor with onion.’ (Chindoy 66:44) (tbako from Spanish tabaco ‘tobacco’, sebollëš from Spanish cebolla ‘onion’)

10.2.3 Adversative coordination

The adversative coordinator \textit{pero} ‘but’ is also a Spanish word. Although it may connect elements within a single clause (as in 5d), it most commonly conjoins two main clauses. As such, it appears between two clauses. In (5a) it introduces a new clause. In (5b) \textit{pero} also introduces a new clause, and the word \textit{nÿe} is also used. As discussed further in 10.2.4 \textit{nÿe} ‘just, only’ also has a correlative function. In (5c) \textit{pero} creates a contrast.

(5a) yejshenÿe škenëngbe yentšayá lachabëfjungaká (...)
ye-j-shenÿe šken-ëng-be yentšayá lachabë-fj-ung-a-ká (...)
3SG.DIS-VBLZ-see white.person-PL=GEN person clothes-PEJ-PL-?ka
‘He saw the clothes of the white people, but they and his brother had disappeared.’ (Chindoy 66:48) (*i* = <y> in original orthography)

‘The worker thought to trap the deer,’

‘but the deer, without fear, began to go away peacefully.’ (Chindoy 2 115:10) (trabajaya from Spanish *trabajar* ‘work’ *jojowan* ‘retirarse’)

‘The girl knows how to speak Kamsá but not Inga.’ (MC)

The word *maske* ‘although’, which serves a semantically similar (concessive) function, is discussed below in the section on subordination (11.3.6).

**10.2.4 Correlative *n̄ye***

Sometimes *n̄ye* ‘just’ is used with both elements to make a parallel structure. In (29a), *n̄ye* is used to convey ‘not only, but also’ and is in both clauses. The first clause has an inflected verb *jamnan* ‘be’ while the second clause has an uninflected verb marked with the benefactive clitic *=am*. Also note that *jamnan* ‘be’ in the first clause has the emphatic marker *kwa-* . In (29b) *n̄ye* is used twice to create parallel structures within a single clause, first before a list of nouns and then before *lempe* ‘all’.

(6a) Chana *n̄ye* tobiašajatem obiamnayá kwanmëna, cha=na n̄ye tobiaša-ja-tem obiamnayá kwa-nmëna 3sg=TOP PART? girl-EVAL-DIM pretender KWA-be
‘Not only is the poor girl a pretender, but also they pecked the corn together with her friends.’ (Chindoy 90:14)

‘So much so that the bears, lions, tigers, foxes, wolves, and tigers all fled rolling in terror.’ (Chindoy2 162:26)

10.3 Subordination

Kamsá has several strategies for connecting a dependent clause to a main clause—that is, for marking subordination. Most often, subordinate clauses are indicated by free words (subordinating conjunctions or subordinators) that occur at the beginning of the subordinate clause. Alternatively, a few such subordinators occur at the end of their respective subordinating clause. There is also one subordinating clitic, =as, that appears at the end of the subordinate clause.

Figure 10.2 (on the following page) lists the major Kamsá subordinators, providing basic glosses and indicating where in the clause they are located—that is, whether at the beginning or at the end of the subordinate clause.
As seen in the table above, subordinate clauses that formed with *ch* ‘that’, or the question words *ntšamo* ‘how’, *ndayentš* ‘where’, *nda* ‘who’, or *ndayá* ‘what’ always begin with the subordinator, whereas in temporal subordinate clauses with *ora* ‘when’ or in causal subordinate clauses with *kaus* ‘because’, the subordinator comes at the end of its clause. Furthermore, subordinate clauses with *ch*, *ntšamo*, and question words tend to follow the main clause, whereas temporal and causal subordinate clauses can either follow or precede the main clause.

### 10.3.1 Subordinate clauses with *ntšamo* ‘how, what happened’

A common subordinator is *ntšamo* ‘how’, which (in such constructions) is used much like the English word ‘what’. To see how *ntšamo* is used in questions, see 9.6.2. In (7a), *ntšamo* ‘how’ subordinates the clause ‘horrible [things] happened’ to the main clause ‘the older brother … returned to see’. In (7b), *ntšamo* ‘how’ is used for ‘how it happened’. In (7c), it is in a subordinate clause following the main verb *montsetašëmbo* ‘they (didn’t) know’ with an
infinitive *j-tsenojwanan* ‘get rid of’. The verb in this subordinate clause *j-tsenojwanan* ‘get rid of’ is not inflected.

(7a) Wbochená natsán wabwatmá kastellan binýnoy, yejobaye ora,
brother before knower gold place 3DIS-VBLZ-approach when
yejischumo kachoy jtsetatsëmbwan
ye-j-is-chumo ka-choy jtsetatsëmbwan
yejischumo kachoy jtsetatsëmbwan
3DIS-VBLZ?-return? INTENS-there ?

**ntšamo** wabowanká yejopasan.
[ntšamo wabowan-ká ye-j-opasan]
[how horrible?-? 3DIS-VBLZ-happen]
‘The older brother, the one who knew the place of the gold before, returned there to see
(?) what horrible (thing) had happened.’ (Chindoy 66:47)

(7b) Tayteko, **ntšamo** yechapasay, aburido tokjëbtseboknas,.
tayteko [ntšamo ye-ch-apasay ] aburido to-k-j-ëbtsebokn=as
father [how 3DIS-COND-happen] bored PST-?-VBLZ-leave=SUB

kachkanak motsëston jenÿam. Kem tersiadëj metsaka.
kachkanak m-otsëston j-ený-am kem tersiadëj m-etsaka
INTENS IMP-follow VBLZ-see-BEN DET machete IMP-bring
‘Oh god, what happened (was); she, leaving bored, follow (her) to watch (her). Bring that
machete.’ (*japasar* from Spanish *pasar* ‘happen’; *aburido* from Spanish *aburrido*
‘bored’)

(7c) I ndoñe montsetatšëmblo **ntšamo** ch baiinga jtsenojwanan.
i ndoñe mo-n-ts-etašëmblo [ntšamo ch bai-nga j-tsenojwanan]
and NEG 3PL-EVI-PROG-know [how DET beast-PL VBLZ-get.rid]
‘And they didn’t know how to get rid of the beasts (insects).’ (Chindoy2 162:22) (*i* = <y>
in original orthography.

Thus, while **ntšamo** ‘how’ is a question word and—as such—functions much like the
other question words that an act as subordinators (11.3.3), it is treated separately here since it
fills a number of roles and expresses a number of meanings not seen with the other question
words.
10.3.2 Subordinate clauses with other question words

In addition to *ntšamo* ‘how’, other question words can be used to form subordinate clauses. These include *nda* ‘who’, *ndayentš* ‘where’, *ndayek* ‘why’, and *ndaya* ‘what’. These subordinators are identical in form to their respective interrogatives (9.6.2). They always come at the beginning of the clause. (8) shows a sentence with several subordinate clauses, including the question words *ndayek* ‘why’, *ndayentš* ‘where’, and *nda* ‘who’, and *ntšamo* ‘how’.

(8) Shbwayabe kompañera yejauyan tjanaingbiyo,
shbwaya-be kompañera ye-j-a-uyan tj-an-ai-ing-bi-o-y
hunter-GEN wife DIS-VBLZ-tell questioner-PL-ANI-ALL

*ndayeka* i *ndayentš*e kojanÿenán ch tsjanga
*ndayeka* i *ndayentš*e ko-j-anÿenán ch tsja-nga
why and where IRR-VBLZ-find DET guinea.pig-PL

i *nda* kojëbtsenán otjenayoka,
i *nda* ko-j-ëb-ts-enán otjenayoka
and who IRR-VBLZ-? dream-LOC

ch animalotemënga sasnënga bemnán,
ch animalo-tem-ënga sasn-ënga be-mnán
DET animal-DIM-PL food-PL SBVJ-be

*ntšamo* jtsëmnán ka bëngbe tšabiam.
*ntšamo* j-tšëm-nán ka bëng-be tšabi-am
how VBLZ-be PART 1PL-GEN good-BEN
‘The hunter’s wife told them why and where the guinea pig is found and who had dreamed that the animals are food (and) how they should be for our good (benefit).’

(Chindoy2 68:16) (*kompañera* = *<compañera>* in original orthography, from Spanish *companion* ‘companion, partner, wife’, *i* = *<y>* in original orthography, *animalotem* from Spanish *animal* ‘animal’; *tjan-ai-ng-bioy* from *tjanaya* ‘questioner’ from *jatjayan* ‘ask’)

The following sentence (9) provides an example of several subordinate clauses, including a number of question words. The main verb *j-obwambay* ‘tell, advise’ is inflected for third singular distant past. Each of the following subordinate clauses starts with a question word. In the first two (with *ndayentš* ‘where’ and *ndayá* ‘what’), the verb is marked with *bi-*, which is perhaps a subjunctive marker. In the third subordinate clause, *ntšamo* is followed by the infinitive *j-oshacheñán* ‘find’. The fourth subordinate clause is really two clauses, ‘what would happen/how it would happen’ and ‘when they collect (the) gold’. The first begins with *ntšamo*
‘how’ and the verb is inflected; the second (which is actually itself embedded within the first—that is, it is subordinated to the subordinate clause beginning with ntšamo ‘how’) ends with the temporal subordinator ora ‘when’ (see 11.3.4).

(9) Chë obëjemna lempe yejobwambay
    chë obë-jem-na lempe ye-j-obwambay
    DET stupid-EVAL-TOP all 3DIS-VLBZ-tell

    ndayentš chë kastellán bebinýnán;
    [ndayentš chë kastellán be-b-inýnán]
    [where DET gold SBVJ?-?-find]

    ndayá choka biatsanán;
    [ndayá choka bi-atsanán]
    [what there SBJV?-stand]

    ntšamo joshacheñán chorerentše
    [ntšamo j-oshacheñán] chorer-entše
    [how VLBZ-collect waterfall-LOC

    i ntšamo choka inopasanán kastellán tkojoshacheñ ora.
    i [ntšamo choka i-n-opasanán] kastellán [t-ko-j-oshacheñ ora]
    and [how there DIS?-?-happen] gold [?-?-collect when]
    ‘The stupid (one) told (them) everything: where the gold could be found, what there could be; how to get the (gold) in the waterfall; and what would happen there when getting the gold.’ (Chindoy 64:37) (kastellán from Spanish castellano ‘Castilian’), chorer from Spanish chorro ‘gushing water, water jet’

10.3.2.1 Subordinate clauses with ndayá ‘what’

The question word ndayá ‘what’ is used to form subordinate clauses, especially in indirect discourse or indirect questions. (10a) is repeated from (6) above and shows a subordinate clause that starts with ndayá ‘what’. (10b) has ndaya-m. It is not clear why ndaya ‘what’ has the benefactive marker -m in this example but it is possible that it is required for complements of certain verbs. In (10c), ndayá ‘what’ is used together with the noun pago ‘payment’.

(10a) ndayá choka biatsanán;
    [ndayá choka bi-atsanán]
    [what there SBJV?-?-stand]
    ‘What could be there …’
(10b) ndoñ bien yenjowen ndayam boyá betjsëtsëtsnayam, 
ndoñ bien ye-n-j-owen [ndaya=m boyá be-t-j-sëtsëtsnaya=m] 
NEG well 3DIS-EVI-VBLZ-hear [what-BEN man DU-again-VBLZ-say=BEN] 
‘(Because the woman was drunk) she didn’t understand well what the man was saying.’
(Chindoy 77:6) (bien from Spanish bien ‘well’)

(10c) i mojatjay ndayá pago kochtsayñe 
i mo-j-atjay ndayá pago ko-ch-tsaye 
and 3PL-VBLZ-ask what payment IRR-FUT-ask.for? 
‘And they asked what payment they would request.’
(Chindoy 2 73:5) (i = <y> in original orthography; pago from Spanish pago ‘payment’)

10.3.2.2 Subordinate clauses with ndayents ‘where’

The question word ndayents ‘where’ is used to form subordinate clauses as well. In (11a), it is used to form a subordinate clause meaning ‘where the cathedral is now’. In (11b), it is negated by the negator ndoka to mean ‘there is nowhere…’, perhaps an existential matrix clause with null copula: “(there was) not [where he could be]” In (11c), the people are talking about where to shoot the hawk who has been hunting their chickens and they say to aim for ‘where he breathes’.

(11a) Chiyekna primer nyoš yebuna tojëbtsojebo 
chiyekna primer nyoš yebuna to-j-ëbtsojebo 
thus first god house PST-VBLZ-build

ndayentsë morska catedral yendtsoseorañentse. 
[ndayentsë morska catedral ye-nd-tsoseorañents]
[where now cathedral DIS-HAB?-?-put]
‘Thus they build the first church where the cathedral is now.’ (Chindoy2 117:26) (primer from Spanish primer ‘first’, nyoš from Spanish dios ‘god’, morska Spanish hora ‘hour, time’, catedral from Spanish catedral ‘cathedral’)

(11b) ndoka ndayentsë yojtsëmena 
ndoka [ndayentsë yo-j-ts-emna] 
NEG [where DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-be] 
‘There was nowhere he could be.’ (McDowell 99)

(11c) Nye ndayentsëna chabwaboshache ch bolletëng ambrentëja. 
nye ndayentsë=na cha-bwa-boshache ch bollet-ëng ambrent-ëja.
only where=TOP COND?-?-breath DET chicken-PL hungry-EVAL
‘Just where the one hungry for chickens breathes.’ (Chindoy 95:18) (bollet from Spanish pollo ‘chicken’ or pollito ‘chick’)
10.3.2.3 Subordinate clauses with *nda* ‘who’

Finally, the question *nda* ‘who’ may be used as a subordinator as well, as seen in (12a) (repeated from 3c above).

(12a) Saká chte *nda* natsan
saká ch=te *nda* natsan
well DET=day who before

chaojisëtjajandwoná o chaojtsenobwasto
chao-j-ts-ët-jajandwoná  o  chao-j-ts-en-obwasto
IRR-VBLZ-PROG-IRR-roll.around or  IRR-VBLZ-PROG-REFL-scratch
‘That day (we’ll see) who will be the first to roll around or scratch himself.’ (Chindoy2 161:11)

10.3.3 Temporal subordinate clauses with *ora* ‘when’

Temporal clauses may use the subordinator *ora* ‘when’, which derives from Spanish *hora* ‘hour, time, term’. Unlike the question words discussed in the previous sections (which come at the beginning of the clause), the subordinator *ora* comes at the end of the clause. In (13a), *ora* is the final element of the subordinate clause ‘when the field-owner didn’t see her’. In (13b), this word comes at the end of the clause ‘when the deer was tired’. Sometimes the forms *or*, *gor*, or *orna* may be used instead of *ora* (note *orna* in 13b, *gor* in 13c and 13d). (13d) shows a simultaneous action in the past. Temporal clauses with *ora* can either precede the main clause (as in 13a, 13b, and 13c) or follow the main clause (as in 13d); the order is flexible.

(13a) Ch jaja dweñna bojetše *ora* yejenojwaboy:
ch jaja dweñ=na bo-jetše *ora* ye-j-en-ojwaboy
DET field owner=TOP DU-VBLZ-not.see when DIS-VBLZ-REC-think
‘When the sowing-ground owner lost sight (of her), she thought to herself:’
(Chindoy 89:8) (*dweñna* from Spanish *dueña* ‘mistress, owner’)
jetšan ‘perder de vista’

(13b) Bianganëjem ya bojwamëntša *orna* yejetsótbema jochnam.
bianganë-jem ya bo-j-wamëntša *orna* ye-j-ets-ótbema j-ochn-am
deer=EVAL already DU-VBLZ-tired when DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-sit VBLZ-rest-BEN
‘When the poor deer was already tired, he sat down to rest.’ (Chindoy2 155:10) (*ya* from Spanish *ya* ‘already’)

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(13c) Atsʰ chaijatson bastoy gor chantsaman jasam wameshnen.
   Atsʰ chaijatson bast-o-y gor chan-tsaman j-asam wameshnen
   1SG COND-go Pasto-ALL when FUT-miss VBLZ-eat mote
   ‘When I go to Pasto, I will miss eating mote (hомiny soup).’ (MC)

(13d) Tonjopasiabs sundengwa meset ensaftena gor.
tonjopasiabs su-n-d-engwa meset ensaftena gor
yesterday 1SG-HAB-seek cat rain when
‘Yesterday I was looking for (the) cat when it was raining.’ (MC)

10.3.4 Subordinate clauses with =as

A common strategy for subordinate clauses is employing the clitic =as, which comes at the end of the subordinate clause. It tends to attach to the verb, but it can attach to the end of the VP. It is possibly a clause level clitic, related to the word as ‘then’ which may derive from Spanish así ‘thus, therefore, so, like that, in this way’. The word as, however, comes at the beginning of clauses, whereas the clitic =as comes at the end of the clause. Semantically, =as seems to be like the Greek participle where one does not know if it is causal, concessive, temporal, etc. It can be used for past, present and future.

In (14a) =as is on the verb j-apasan ‘happen’ (which can also mean ‘be’) and has a causal meaning. In (14b), =as is on j-obobekon ‘get close’ for a temporal meaning, for two things happening simultaneously. In (14c) it is on j-obebi-an ‘bathe’ for a temporal meaning, as well. In (14d) it is on the verb j-aterisi-an ‘drape’ and has a temporal meaning. In (14e) it is on two verbs before the main verb j-atsëntse ‘push’. In (14f) the adversative clause has the subordinator =as in kondbonnas ‘you having’. It is strange in that it uses pero, or that pero can be used redundantly with =as.

(14a) Atsʰna yap lastem tsjisepasas
   [atsʰ-na yap lastem ts-j-is-epas=as]
   [1SG=TOP very poor 1SG-VBLZ-?-happen=SUB]
   nųa š-manatse jawabwatmanám (the place of the gold)
   nųa š-m-anatse j-awabwatman=ám
   PART 1SG.OBJ-IMP-bring VBLZ-know= BEN
   ‘Because I am very poor, bring me to know (the place of gold).’ (Chindoy 62:15) (lastem from Spanish lástima ‘pity, shame’; japasan from Spanish pasar ‘happen’)

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(14b) Chiekna *mojobobekonas* mojtsetjanay …  
chiekna  [mo-j-obobekon=as] mo-j-ts-etjanay  
thus  [3PL-VBLZ-surround=SUB] 3PL-VBLZ-PROG-ask  
‘Therefore while surrounding (him) they asked ….’ (Chindoy 64: 36)

(14c) Jam te tshenýán *kochjisobebiás* bochjá.  
ja-m  te  [tshenýán ko-ch-j-is-obebi=as]  bo-ch-já  
go-BEN  day  [morning 2SG-FUT-VBLZ-?-bathe=SUB]  DU-FUT-VBLZ-go  
‘The departure day, you bathing early, we’ll go.’ (Chindoy 62:18)

(14d) Chorna ch kompañerná betiá *yejtatersiás*  
chorna  ch  kompañer=ná  [betiá ye-j-t-atersi=as]  
then  DET  wife=TOP  [cloth 3.DIS-VBLZ-AGAIN-drape.sideways=SUB]  
kanýá  yejont  [s̈á lantsayán mne-tsobwertañëngbe tsëntsaján.  
alone  3.DIS-VBLZ-begin  dance  3PLPROG-spin-PL-GEN middle  
‘Then, after the wife put the cloth diagonally, she began to dance alone in the middle of  
the ones spinning.’ (Chindoy 78:10)

(14e) Chokna kachat *tsonjenás*  
chok=na  kach-atš-be  tsonjená  [to-n-j-en=as]  
there=TOP  INTS-1SG-GEN belt  branch-LOC  3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-REC-go=SUB  
inýoyka  sebiachek  šonjabejëngwenás  fshantsoy šontsatsëntše.  
iný-oyka  sebia-chëk  šo-n-j-abejëngen=as  
other-LOC side=?  1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-tie.neck=SUB  
fshants-oy  šo-n-ts-atsëntše  
earth-ALL  1SG.OBJ-EVI-PROG-push  
‘There, he tied my very own belt to the branch, and to the other side he tied my neck, and  
pushed me to the ground.’ (Chindoy 79:23)

(14f) nye botaman labran bobach kondbomnas,  
nyë  botaman  labran  bobach  ko-nd-bomn=as  
just  beautiful  patterned  skin  2SG-?nd-have=SUB  
‘You have beautiful, patterned skin.’ (Chindoy 110.9)

**pero** akbe wayantšaňa nye yentšang obanay benen kondomna  
**pero** ak-be  wayantšaňa  nye  yentšang  obanay benen ko-nd-omna  
but  2SG=GEN mouth  just  people  deadly venom 2SG-HAB-have  
‘but your mouth has people-killing venom.’ (Chindoy 110.9)

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29 *chorna* is possibly from determiner *ch* and subordinator *or* ‘when’. Interestingly, it is always at the beginning of clauses whereas *or* is always at the end of clauses.
Sentence (15) shows =as being used for contrast with two examples of the copular verb mën ‘be’.

(15) Mwana ndoñ yentšá kwandmënås, baij kwantsomënå.
mwa=na ndoñ yentšá kwa-nd-mën=as baij kwa-nt-ts-omënå.

‘This one isn’t a person, but a beast.’ (Chindoy 77:4)

The subordinator =as does not necessarily immediately follow a verb; rather, it attaches to the end of a verb phrase (which may end with something other than a verb). In (16), the subordinator =as cliticizes to the end of the VP, immediately following the oblique phrase plechufjw-ak ‘with (an) arrow’, following the instrumental suffix -ak. Here, =as seems to have adversative force (‘but rather’). Given that it is following the oblique, it seems to be a phrase level clitic rather than a phrasal clitic.

(16) Chana ndoñ bonjajwesa plechufjwakas.
cha=na [ndoñ bo-n-ajwesa plechufjw-ak=as]
3SG=TOP [NEG DU-NEG-VBLZ-shoot arrow-INST=SUB]

nya bo-jontšá jwastán wenán wenán.
nya bo-jontšá j-wastán wenán wenán
just DU-start VBLZ-follow slow slow

‘He didn't shoot with an arrow, but rather he just started to follow slowly.’ (Chindoy 60:3) (plechufjwa from Spanish flecha ‘arrow’, with the classifier -jwa)

Sometimes the subordinator =as be followed by the topic marking clitic =na, as seen in (17a). In (17b), =as follows the VP of the clause, on the complement, and has =na after it.

(17a) Mandadna nña yejtsofšenasná bojowjá:
mandad=na nña ye-jtsofšen=asná bo-jojwá
governor=TOP just 3DIS-surprise=SUB=TOP DU-VBLZ-say
‘The governor, surprised, answered:’ (Chindoy2 116:21)

(17b) y batá mamá tkojabokna jwajabwachamasna laora bochjáma.
y batá mamá tk-ojabokna j-wajabwacham=as=na laora bo-ch-jáma
and aunt mother ?-come VBLZ-help=SUB=TOP soon DU-FUT-do

‘and if Aunty also helps, we will finish soon.’ (Chindoy 88:3)

30 This tk- prefix is peculiar. I only have it in a few examples, mostly in conditional sentences.
10.3.5 Causal clauses

To encode the cause of an event or state as a dependent clause, there are two options in Kamsá: either the subordinator *kaus* ‘because’ (which is clause-final) or the subordinator *porke* ‘because’ (which is clause-initial) may be used. Both are loan words from Spanish: *kaus* ‘because’ derives from *causa* ‘cause’ and *porke* ‘because’ derives from *porque* ‘because’.

Whereas *porke* has the same grammatical function as its Spanish equivalent, *kaus* has a different grammatical function: it is a subordinator in Kamsá (as opposed to a noun, as is its Spanish equivalent).

### 10.3.5.1 The subordinator *kaus* ‘because’

The subordinator *kaus*, which can also be *kausa* or *kausna*, may be used to show the cause of an event or state. In (18a), *kausa* comes at the very end of the clause, after the verb. The verb is fully inflected for person and number. In (18b), it is at the end of a clause, with the verb being inflected and marked as a subjunctive. In (18c), it also comes at the end of a clause. For comparison, (18d) shows *kausa* as a postposition which follows an NP, creating the phrase ‘because of the wind’. Postpositions are discussed in 8.4. It is possible that the subordinator *kaus* is clause final because of its use as a postposition.

(18a) Oknayan i šojtsebubwa *kausna* ndoñ chiyatobena jtan.

Oknayan i šo-j-tsebubwa [kausna] ndoñ chiyatobena j-t-an

tired and 1SG-VBLZ-drunk cause]

NEG COND-NEG-be.able VBLZ-AGAIN-go

‘Because I was drunk and tired, I couldn’t return.’ (Chindoy 80.30) (i = <y> in original orthography.)

(18b) Ibojtsabote murselako betsemen *kausa*.

i-bo-j-tsbote [murselako be-ts-emen *kausa*]

DIS-DU-VBLZ-reject [bat SBVJ-PROG-be SUB]

‘They rejected him because he was a bat.’ (*murselako* from Spanish *murciélago* ‘bat’.)

(18c) Tšēngaftanga tša batšatema ošbuáchiyana bomna *kausa*.

[tšēngaftanga tša batšatema ošbuáchiyana bomna *kausa*]

[2PL much little hope have because]
ndegombre ṣkuayana:

really 1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB-tell

‘Because you have so little faith, truly I tell you:’ (Matthew 17:21) (Note: batšatem is a variant of batatem. The diminutive suffix -tem is lexical; bata means ‘aunt’.) (kausa = <causa> and s̈kuayana = <škuayana> in original orthography.)

(18d) Ch binýeay kausa joshbwañama nدونة tšabaka.
[DET wind SUB] VBLZ-hunt NEG good-?

‘Because of that wind, they could not hunt well.’ (McDowell 119)

10.3.5.2 The subordinator porke ‘because’

The subordinating conjunction porke ‘because’ from Spanish porque ‘because’ is common in Kamsá. It is used to connect clauses, always occurring as the first element of the subordinate clause, as in (20). The ‘because’ clause seems always to be the second clause.

(20) Chka jtsopasanan
chka j-ts-opasan
like.this VBLZ-PROG-happen

porke choyna kaba yemba jente kamoyenaka
[porke choyna kaba yemba jente ka-mo-oyna-ka]
[because there=TOP still infidel people INTS?-3PL-live-DISC]

‘This happens because the unfaithful (non-Christian) people still live there.’

(j-opasa-n from Spanish pasar ‘happen’; jente from Spanish gente ‘people’. The morpheme -ka on the verb j-oyna-n ‘live’ is possibly the discourse marker suffix -ka. Note that -ka is also the transitive marker as well as one form of the instrumental marker -ak.)

10.4 Indirect speech

Indirect speech is encoded in Kamsá with a verb of speaking, followed by the thing being told (without any subordinators). Some common verbs used for introducing indirect discourse are:

j-ayanan ‘say’
j-ayanan ‘say’
j-atjayan ‘ask’
The following two examples show the verbs *jojwan* ‘answer’ and *jatjayan* ‘ask’, each having an object of the VP: in (21a) *kanýe palabra* ‘one word’ and in (21b) *kanýe soy* ‘one thing’.

(21a) Chora ndokná tonjanobená ni mo *kanýe palabra* **jojwana**.  
chora ndocná to-n-j-anobená ni mo *kanýe palabra* **j-ojwana**  
then no one 3SG.PST-EVI-VBLZ-can not maybe one word VBLZ-answer  
‘Then no one could answer even one word.’ (Matthew 22:46) (*ndokná* = <ndocná>, *kanýe* = <kanýe>, *jojwana* = <jojuana> in original orthography; *palabra* from Spanish *palabra* ‘word’)

(21b) Aẗnaka *kanýe soy* s̈ë́ntsebomna tšëngafortaŋa **jatjayama**.  
*aẗ=na-ka kanýe soy s̈ë-n-ts-ebomna tšëngafortaŋa j-atjayama*  
1SG=TOP-? one thing 1SG-EVI-PROG-have 2PL VBLZ-ask-VEN  
‘I have one thing to ask you all.’ (Matthew 21:24) (*Aẗnaka* = <Aẗnaca> and *kanýe* = <kanýe> in original orthography)

When the one being told or asked something is first or second person, this participant is marked in the object marking slot of the verb. In (22), the verb *j-awentan* ‘tell’ is marked with the first person object marker *šo*. *šo* is the marker for first person objects in transitive sentences or the goal in ditransitive sentences.

(22) Aẗ ŋonjakwenta tonjapasaibs *kanýe kwent* aẗbe taita.  
*aẗ šo-n-j-akwenta tonjapasaibs kanýe kwent aẗ-be taita*  
1SG 1SG.OBJ-EVI-VBLZ-tell yesterday one story 1SG-GEN father  
‘My father told me a story yesterday.’ (*kwent* from Spanish *cuento* ‘story’.)

Sometimes the verb of speaking is marked with the dual marker *bo-*, as seen in (23a), but not always, as seen in (23b), where it is marked with the third person singular distant past prefix *ye-*.  

(23a) Osna **bojojwá**:  
*os=na bo-j-ojwá*  
bear=TOP DU-VBLZ-answer
"Ko šjeshëntsenajem kausna tejabo shajbe jongwangwam."
Ko š-šjeshëntsenajem kausna te-jabo shajbe j-ongwangw-am
then 1SG-hungry because 1SG.PST-come cucumber VBLZ-seek-BEN
'The bear answered: “Because I was hungry, I came to look for cucumbers.”' (Chindoy 102:16) (os from Spanish oso ‘bear’.)

(23b) Bwenoká yejojwa shien: “Asna rat ibet chanjaka.”
bwenoká yejojwa shien asna rat ibet chan-jaka
well DIS-answer rat thus soon night FUT-go
‘Well then the rat answered: “Then we will go soon tonight.”’ (Chindoy 73:8) (rat from Spanish rato ‘while, a bit’. Note that rat is also another word for ‘rat’ from Spanish rata which is confusing here because the sentence happens to be spoken by a rat, but the Kamsá word shien ‘rat’ is used. bwenoka from Spanish bueno ‘good’ with clitic ka)

With the verbs jayanan ‘say’ or jauyanan ‘say’, the person hearing (if designated) is marked with a allative suffix. The word order is flexible: the hearer can come before the verb, as seen in (24a), or after the verb, as seen in (24b).

(24a) Kaserna bojauyan bobontsbiyo:
kaser=na bo-jauyan bobonts-biyo
owner=TOP DU-say youth-ALL
‘The owner said to the young man:’

“Bëngna kadate ba bolletënga bsëntsbwetšan.”
bëng=na kadate ba bollet-ënga bsë-n-ts-bwe-tšan
1PL=TOP each.day lot chicken-PL 1PL-EVI-PROG?-?-lose
‘The owner said to the young man: “We have been losing a lot of chickens each day.”’ (Chindoy 95:13) (kaser from Spanish casero ‘landlord’, kadate from Spanish cada día ‘each day’, bollet from Spanish pollo ‘chicken’ or pollito ‘chick’.)

(24b) Shembasabioy bojauyan:
Shembasa-biyo bo-j-auyan
woman-ALL DU-VBLZ-say
‘To the woman he said:’

“Mwata molempia. Kanÿaná kochjase.”
mwa-ta m-olempia kanÿa=ná ko-ch-ja-se
DET-DU IMP-clean one=TOP 2SG-FUT-eat-SUB
‘The woman said, “Clean these two, and you will eat one of the them.”’ (Chindoy 102:15) (j-olempia from Spanish limpiar ‘clean’)

31 Chindoy lists two forms: j-auyan ‘say to someone’ and j-ayan ‘say’. It is not clear whether the u in the second form is morphological or lexical.
There are a few strategies for encoding reported speech discussed in the following sections.

### 10.4.1 Paratactic reported speech

One strategy for encoding reported speech is to have the verb of speaking followed by that which is said, without any subordinators or other indicators that two clauses are being linked. In (25a), the verb *j-ayana* ‘say’ is followed by the clause detailing that which is said.

(25a) **Chanjayana cha atšbe entšá yomna ka.**

*Chanjayana cha atšbe entšá yo-mna ka*

- **FUT**-say 3SG 1SG-GEN person 3SG-be 32**PART**

‘I will say he is my people.’ (i.e. ‘I will acknowledge him.’) (Matthew 10:32-33) (*ka* = `<ca>` in original orthography.)

### 10.4.2 Reported speech using subordinators

Reported speech can be encoded with the subordinator *ntsamo* ‘how’, as well as with other question words. In (26a) the reported speech is shown with *ntsamo* ‘how’ followed by the verb *j-apasan* ‘happen’. In (26b) the reported speech is also shown with *ntsamo* but the verb is an infinitive. In (26c) there are two clauses of reported speech. *ntsamo* is also discussed in 10.3 on subordination and 9.6.2 on questions.

(26a) **Ibsana ch viajeratna bojakwentá kaserbioy**

*ibs-ana ch byajer-at=na bo-j-akwentá kaser-bi-oy*

- day-ABL DET traveler-DU=TOP DU-VBLZ-tell owner-ANIM-ALL

*ntsamo* bojapasatana.

*ntsamo* bo-j-apas-ata-na

how DU-VBLZ-happen-DU-?

‘The next day, the (two) travelers told the owner what had happened.’ (Chindoy2: 61:11)

(*bojakwentá* = `<bojacuentá>` in original orthography; *byajer* from Spanish *viajero* ‘traveler’, *jakwent* from Spanish *contar* ‘tell’, *kaser* from Spanish *casero* ‘landlord’, *japasatana* from Spanish *pasar* ‘happen’.)

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32 The prefix yo on the verb is unusual
(26b) Ch sapna entre kachënga kachora
Ch  sap=na    entre    ka-chënga    ka-chora
DET  toad=TOP  among  INTENS-PL  INTENS-then

yejoyaunaye chëngbe palabra
ye-joyauna-ye  chëng-be  palabra-ka
3.DIS-speak-?  3PL-GEN  word-INST

ntšamo jamamës ch biangan jebganam.
ntšamo  jamam-ës   ch  biangan  je-b-ganam
how  prepare-SUB  DET  deer  VBLZ-DU-win
‘The toad with others like it then spoke in their language (about) how to beat the deer.’
(Chindoy 2: 154.3) (entre from Spanish entre ‘among’, palabra from Spanish palabra
‘word’, ganam from Spanish ganar ‘win’)

(26c) Yajtashjango moka orna
ya-j-t-ashjango  moka  orna
?-VBLZ-AGAIN-arrive  here  when

yejabetsonobošachna jabwaches yejobwambay shembeñe
ye-j-abe-ts-en-ob-ōšachna  jabwach-es  ye-jobwambay  shem-beñe
DIS-VBLS-?-REC-?-cry  strong-SUB  3DIS-VBLZ--talk  woman-?

ntšamo wabentsá yejochjwangwan Bastok
ntšamo  wabentsá  ye-j-ochjwangwan  bast-ok
how  brother  3DIS-VBLZ-do.bad  pasto-LOC

i ntšamo mejabwachjangwan chë kastellan mojtsabokës.
i       ntšamo  me-jabwachjangwan  chë  kastellan  mojtsabok-ës
and  how  3PL-do.bad  DET  gold  3PL-approach-SUB
‘When he arrived here again, crying bitterly, he told the woman how his brother had done
wrong in Pasto and how they (the white people) would do bad and find the gold.’
(Chindoy 65:40) (i = <y> in original orthography; kastellan from Spanish castellano
‘Castilian’.)

10.4.3 Indirect questions (embedded questions)

Indirect questions are formed with the question word followed by the verb. The verb
often has the evidential marker j- that indicates unknown. The comparison can be shown
between (27a) and (27b) where the verb j-amnan ‘be’ in (27a) is marked with the unkown
evidential marker j- in the indirect question and in (27b) is marked with n-, the known evidential
marker, for the response.
(27a) Andrea šonjatja tsekor ejtsemñ
andrea šo-n-jatja tsek-or e-j-ts-emñ
Andrea 1SG.OBJ-EVI-ask how.much-hour 3SG-EVI-PROG-be
‘Andrea asked me what time it was.’ (MC) (or from Spanish hora ‘hour’.)

(27b) Së-n-jojwa kanye or intsemn.
së-n-jojwa kanye or i-n-ts-emn
1SG.-EVI-answer one hour 3SG-EVI-PROG-be
‘I answered that it was one o’clock.’ (MC) (or from Spanish hora ‘hour’.)

(27c) Chora Herodes iytëcana chë maguënga tojánachembo
chora herodes iytëcana chë magu-ënga to-jánachembo
then Herod hiding DET magus-PL 3SG.PST-call
i kedádoka tojanatjá ntseco ora chë estrella tmojáninýama.
i kedádoka to-janatjá ntseco ora chë estrella t-mojáninýama.
and ? 3SG.PST-ask how.much hour DET star PST-see/appear
‘Then Herod called the magi secretly and asked them when the star had appeared.’
(Matthew 2:7) (i = <y> and kedádoka = <cuedádoca> in original orthography; magu
from Spanish mago ‘magus’; ora from Spanish hour ‘hour’.)

10.5 Causative constructions

Causatives are formed morphologically. They are formed by adding the object pronoun
prefix to the verb. A causative meaning is formed by putting an object pronoun marker on the
verb, thus, increasing valency, going from ‘she cried’ vs. ‘she cried me’ = increase valency of
‘cry’ by 1, meaning it now takes a direct object, and therefore, since ‘cry’ is semantically
inherently intransitive, with the object the sense is a verb with both a subject and an object,
hence causative. As far as I know, there is no analytic version, i.e. no multiword construction
like ‘make someone do something’ composed of some independent ‘make’-like auxiliary or verb
plus another verb. In (28a) there is an intransitive sentence with the verb j-ošachn ‘cry’. It is
marked with to- to show past and third singular subject. In causative (28b) j-ošachn ‘cry’ is
marked with the direct object pronominal prefix šo-. In (28c) the verb is marked with the dual
bo-. In (28d) only the first person subject is marked with te-, an alternate past form for the first
person singular. The function of j- is unclear. In (28c) the bo- shows that there is an animate
subject and an animate object, while in (28d) the verbal prefix (28d) just marks first person
singular subject and past tense. In (28e-f) a causative with a transitive verb jasan ‘eat’ is shown.
(28a) Alena tontsoşachn
   alena  to-n-ts-oşachn
   alena  3SG.PST-EVI-PROG-cry
   ‘Alena cried.’ (CT)

(28b) cha šontseşachn
   cha     šo-n-ts-eşachn
   3SG    1SG.OBJ-EVI-PROG-cry
   ‘She made me cry.’ (CT)

(28c) ch bobonts tbontseşachn
   ch     bobonts       t-bo-n-ts-eşachn
   DET    young.man     PST-DU-EVI-PROG-cry
   ‘The young man made her cry.’ (CT)

(28d) Atš tejseşachn ch bobonts.
   atš    te-j-ts-eşachn       ch     bobonts.
   1SG    1SG.PST-VBLZ-PROG-cry DET    young.man
   ‘I made the young man cry.’ (CT)

(28e) tonjapaśaibs sonjas wameshnen
   tonjapaśaibs  so-n-jas       wameshnen
   yesterday    1SG.PST-EVI-eat mote
   ‘Yesterday I ate mote (traditional corn soup).’ (MC)

(28f) cha šontsesasa bayëng
   cha     šo-n-ts-esasa   bay-ëng
   3SG    1SG.OBJ-EVI-PROG-eat   beast-PL
   ‘She made me eat worms.’ (CT)

Sometimes the causative construction used with the negator can mean ‘didn’t let’ as seen in (29), where the negator ndone precedes j-waprobe ‘try, taste’ (from Spanish probar ‘try, taste’) to mean ‘he didn’t let me taste’

(29)    ko atšebe patrona ndone ch šmunjwaprobe mntšenaka
   ko    atš-ebe    patrona ndone ch    š-mu-n-j-waprobe    mntšenaka-ka
   thus  1SG-GEN owner      NEG DET  1SG.OBJ-3PL-EVI-VBLZ-try meat-DISC
   ‘My owner didn't let me taste any meat.’ (McDowell 152)

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33 bayë ‘beast, creature’ is frequently used instead of naming the exact creature.
10.6 Nominalization as an equivalent to relative clauses

Constructions equivalent to relative clause are formed by nominalizing the verb. More research is needed to determine if there are relative clauses in the language.

One strategy to form a structure semantically similar to a relative clause is nominalizing the verb in the modifying clause by removing prefixes. In (30a) the verb *ja-bomn-an* ‘have’ does not have any verbal morphology, and it has the plural marker -ëng (usually used for nouns) as well as the negation marker *nd*-. In (30b) the verb *ja-boś-an* ‘want’ and *j-oban-an* ‘die’ do not have any verbal morphology (no tense, aspect, mood, person agreement, etc) and have the plural suffix -ëng. In (30c) there are several examples of these nominalizations. In (30d) there is a lot of morphology on the verb: *t-c-mo-ʃ-ts-ababʌnɣeŝan-ënga*, showing past tense, second person singular object, third person plural subject. It also has the plural suffix ȇng.

(30a) y tojanmandá lempe jtsëbáyama base boyabásetemënga
    y to-j-anmandá lempe j-ts-ëbáya-ma base boyabáse-tem-ënga
    and PST-VBLZ-order all VBLZ-?-kill-BEN small boy-DIM-PL

    uta uata bomnënga y cabá uta uata ndbomnënga,
    uta uata bomn-ënga y cabá uta uata nd-bomn-ënga
    two year have-PL and still two year NEG-not.have-PL
    ‘and he gave orders to kill all the boys (in Bethlehem and its vicinity) who were two years old and under.’ (Matthew 2:16) (Literally equivalent to ‘… small boys having two years and still not having two years’)

(30b) Motsbaná, chë şešonatema y chabe mamá mesëbiatšë y Israeloye kochtá.
    mo-tsbaná chë şešona-tema y cha-be mamá me-sëbiatšë y Israel-o-yé ko-ch-tá
    IMP-get.up DET baby-DIM and 3SG-GEN mother IMP-take? and israel-ALL 2SG-FUT-go

    Chë şešonatema jóbama bošënga ya obanënga montsemna ka.
    chë şešona-tema jóbama boś-ënga ya oban-ënga mo-ntsemna ka
    DET baby-DIM kill want-PL already dead-PL 3PL-be PART
    ‘Get up, take the child and his mother and go to the land of Israel, for those who were wanting to take the child’s life are dead.’ (Matthew 2:20) (*kochtá* = <cochtá>, *ka* = <ca> in original orthography) (Literally equivalent to ‘… the [ones] wanting to kill [the] baby are already dead …’

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(30c) As entšanga nỳetska šokana bomnënga Jesúsbiyoje imojtsënachaye:
As entš-anga nỳetska šoka-na bomn-ënga Jesús-bi-oye i-mo-foisëna-bona na Jesús-bi-oye imojtsënachaye
thus person-PL all sick-TOP have-PL Jesus-ANIM-ALL DIS-3PL-?

šokënga y tsétšanana bomnënga,
šok-ënga y tsétšanana bomn-ënga
sick-PL and have-PL

bacna bayëjbe juabna wambayënga,
bacna bay-ej-be juabna wambay-ënga
evil creature-EVAL-GEN thought carry-PL

ataque osháchichanënga y jama ndobenënga.
ataque osháchichan-ënga y ja-ma nd-oben-ënga
attack be.sick-PL and go-BEN NEG-able-PL

Jesús nỳetskanga yojánashnaye.
Jesús nỳetsk-angya yo-j-án-ashnaye
Jesus all-PL DIS-VBLZ?-cure
‘News about him spread all over Syria, and people brought to him all who were ill with various diseases, those suffering severe pain, the demon-possessed, those having seizures, and the paralyzed, and he healed them.’
(nỳetska = <nỳetsca>, šokana = <šocana>, šokënga = <šoquënga>, wambayënga = <uambayënga>, and nỳetscanga = <nỳetscanga> in original orthography).

(30d) Tšëngafa tanga nỳe chë tšëngafa tanga t-c-mo-j-ts-ababuányeshan-ënga
tšëngafa tanga nỳe chë tšëngafa tanga t-c-mo-j-ts-ababuányeshan-ënga
2PL just DET 2PL PST-2SG.OBJ-3PL.SUJ-BVLZ-PROG-love-PL

šmoj-ts-ababuányesh-ëse,
šmo-j-ts-ababuányesh-ëse
2PL-VLZ-PROG-love-SUB

Bëngbe Bëtsábiocana nduyá šmojchuacaná?
bëngbe.bëtsá-bioc-ana nduyá šmo-ch-j-ucaná
god-LOC-ABL what 2PL-FUT-receive
‘If you love those who love you, what reward will you get?’ (Matthew 5:46)

Sometimes these nominalized verbs bear other morphology, such as case markers. In (30e) ja-bomn-an ‘have’ has the benefactive marker -am preceded by the marker bi- that precedes case markers on animate nouns. In (30f) w-a-jabotán34 ‘need’ is missing the verbalizing j- and is modified by a genitive bëndat-be ‘our (dual)’.

34 More research is needed to determine if w- and a- are morphological or lexical.
(30e) Chka kastigo inamēn inyē lwar kem bidentše
charga bastigo i-n-amēn inyē lwar kem bide-ntše
thus punishment 3SG-EVI-be other place DEM life-AD

ndmwanye shembasa today šešon bomnabiam.
ndmwanye shemhit todays šešon bomna-bi-am
whatever woman NEG child have-ANIM-BEN
‘The punishment in the afterlife (that other place life) for whatever woman didn’t have
children.’ (Chindoy 70:12)

(30f) Morkokaye tbënjihtshacheñ bëndatbe wajabotán,
mor-kokaye tbë-n-j-ëb-ts-shacheñ bëndat-be wajabotán
now-? 1PL-EVI-VBLZ-?-PROG-collect 1DU-GEN need

betsko kwatay tamboy.
betsko kwa-tay tamb-oy
fast EMPH-go ranch-ALL
‘Now that we’ve collected what we need, let’s go fast to the ranch.’ (Chindoy 63:30)
This section provides a sample Kamsá text. I am currently in the process of preparing more texts to be available soon.

In this text, Yamile, a younger woman asks Yolanda, an older woman, what marriages were like long ago and how they are now. Yamile asks in Spanish, and Yolanda answers in Kamsá.

Yamile:

¿Cómo eran los matrimonios antes y cómo los ve usted ahora?
‘How were marriages before and how do you see them now?’

Yolanda:

antes nẽ=bien bë-t-aman en-j-anêmën matrimonio muchanjašjango…
antes nẽ=well DU=be 3SG-EVI-VBLZ-?-walk marriage 3PL-FUT-VBLZ-arrive

wakiña taita-ptaka bepti…
wakiña father-PL ?

mamaptak le mucha gent kwentabëtaman.
mama-part many people story DU=be

y yas no como j-ayana-ng, como voluntad kasun chan-j-ayan.
y and now as VBLZ-say-PL as volition marriage FUT-say

y yas bësani chan-jayan ke aiyiñe o ndoñe. j-ontš-am…
y and now yes or no VBLZ-begin-BEN…

la pareja tbojen kwentakas. semna………..
l the couple PST-DU-VBLZ-?-story-INST=SUB be

y morska bobontsëng ner ya ndoña…
y and now-GEN young.man-PL no already NEG=PART
Before, well, the marriage—the son arrived with the father and the mother, and there were many people. And now, they don’t (do) as (they) say. It’s volitional: the couple decide, and now the young men don’t anymore—thus, they see now what they think.
REFERENCES


