

THE FORMS AND MEANINGS OF A'INGAE DERIVED NOUNS

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1 OVERVIEW I describe and analyze the phonological form and historical trajectory of nominal derivatives in A'ingae (ISO 639-3: con), an underdocumented Amazonian isolate (Dąbkowski, 2021). Some words historically derived with otherwise preglottalized nominalizers have no glottalization today. I propose that these “exceptions” are reflexes of originally glottalized words, which underwent semantic shift and lost glottalization due to contamination from the plain (i.e. non-glottalized) majority. **SIGNIFICANCE:** The paper documents a rare case where non-productive morphological patterns are the innovation, not retention. All the data were collected by the author.

2 BACKGROUND A'ingae syllable structure is (C)V(V)(?), with contrastive coda glottalization (1a-b). Most simplex nouns do not have /ʔ/ (2), but some do (3). -ʔCV suffixes (1d,f)¹ often contrast minimally with -CV suffixes (1c,e).

(1) CONTRASTIVE GLOTTALIZATION (Dąbkowski, 2023)

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|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| a. <i>chandi</i> | b. <i>chaʔndi</i> | c. <i>tsa</i> =ma | d. <i>tsa</i> =ʔma | e. <i>seʔje</i> =pa | f. <i>seje</i> -ʔpa |
| be clear | be cold | ANA =ACC | ANA =FRST | cure =SS | cure -N |

(2) PLAIN NOUNS

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| a. <i>pindu</i> | b. <i>kuse</i> | c. <i>tsunsina</i> | d. <i>chanange</i> | e. <i>anjampa</i> |
| hawk | night | ear | lowland paca | blood |

(3) GLOTTALIZED NOUNS

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| a. <i>theʔthu</i> | b. <i>umaʔndu</i> | c. <i>bansaʔmu</i> | d. <i>anaeʔma</i> | e. <i>kukiuʔchu</i> |
| tooth | macaw | balsam | hammock | mountain cocoa |

3 DESCRIPTION A'ingae has a large set of nominalizers, which productively derive nouns from both verbs (4a-b,5) and other nouns (4c-d,6). Many (5-6), though not all (4), nominalizers, are preglottalized. Furthermore, there are some apparent derivatives whose meaning is not compositional. A subset of them lacks glottalization, even if the nominalizer is preglottalized in its compositional uses. E.g., subject nouns derived with -ʔsi SN always show glottalization (7). However, the same morpheme also appears in non-subject-nouns as either -ʔsi (8a-b) or -si (8c-e).

(4) PLAIN NOMINALIZERS ON VERBAL ROOTS AND ON NOMINAL ROOTS

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|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| a. <i>athe</i> -mbi | b. <i>kati</i> -khi | c. <i>mapha</i> -inte | d. <i>tava</i> -jiun |
| see -NIN | throw -BND | wash -PRD | cotton -LRG |
| “blind” | “trash can” | “washing season” | “silk-cotton tree” |

(5) GLOTTALIZED NOMINALIZERS ON VERBAL ROOTS

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|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. <i>shejechu</i> -ʔpa | b. <i>panza</i> -ʔsi | c. <i>akhii</i> -ʔkhu | d. <i>akhepa</i> -ʔsi |
| fry -N | hunt -SN | lever -ANG | forget -BRs |
| “fried foods” | “hunter” | “lever” | “forgetting plant” |

(6) GLOTTALIZED NOMINALIZERS ON NOMINAL ROOTS

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. <i>tsandie</i> -ʔthi | b. <i>tsampi</i> -ʔki | c. <i>khake</i> -ʔchu | d. <i>umandu</i> -ʔki |
| man -PLC | forest -PATH | leaf -RND | macaw -DRN |
| “men’s place” | “forest trail” | “leaf bundle” | “macaw day” |

(7) SEMANTICALLY TRANSPARENT PRODUCTIVE DERIVATIVES WITH -ʔsi SN

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| a. <i>panza</i> -ʔsi | b. <i>atesian</i> -ʔsi | c. <i>pishe</i> -ʔsi | d. <i>injan</i> -ʔsi | e. <i>bithu</i> -ʔsi |
| hunt -SN | teach -SN | marry.woman -SN | want -SN | run -SN |
| “hunter” | “teacher” | “woman-marrier” | “wanter” | “runner” |

(8) SEMANTICALLY OPAQUE LEXICALLY STORED ITEMS WITH -(ʔ)si SN

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| a. <i>anaen</i> -ʔsi | b. <i>akhii</i> -ʔsi | c. <i>pishe</i> -si | d. <i>injan</i> -si | e. <i>fae</i> -si |
| make.sleep -SN | row -SN | marry.woman -SN | want -SN | one -SN |
| “be sleepy” | “stroke” | “woman” | “cautious” | “other” |

The “round” nominalizer *-ʔchu* RND is often (though not always) used for fruit/small/round objects. Productive derivatives with various context-dependent interpretations show *-ʔchu* (9). Lexicalized derivatives show either *-ʔchu* (10a-b) or *-chu* (10c-e). MAIN GENERALIZATION: Semantically transparent nouns derived with ʔ-initial nominalizers always have glottalization (7,9). Opaque nouns (historically) derived with the same suffixes are either plain or glottalized (8,10).

(9) SEMANTICALLY TRANSPARENT PRODUCTIVE DERIVATIVES WITH *-ʔCHU* RND

a. <i>khaya -ʔchu</i>	b. <i>naen -ʔchu</i>	c. <i>bithu -ʔchu</i>	d. <i>kini -ʔchu</i>	e. <i>ansange -ʔchu</i>
swim -RND	river -RND	run -RND	tree -RND	be shy -RND
i. “raft”	i. “river fruit”	i. “round	i. “cane”	i. “shame”
ii. “floating	ii. “river water	footprint”	ii. “(rotten)	ii. “bullying”
animal/	cupped	ii. “fruit for	tree trunk”	iii. “fruit that
object”	in leaves”	running”		makes shy”

(10) SEMANTICALLY OPAQUE LEXICALLY STORED ITEMS WITH *-(ʔ)CHU* RND

a. <i>disi -ʔchu</i>	b. <i>tsitha -ʔchu</i>	c. <i>teta -chu</i>	d. <i>bumbu -chu</i>	e. <i>añunu -chu</i>
conceive -RND	bone -RND	flower -RND	pambil -RND	siren -RND
“egg”	“knee” (not just	“fruit” (not just	“pambil fruit”	“handicraft
	any “small/	any “small/		beads”
	round bone”)	round flower”)		

4 ANALYSIS I propose that the oft-preglottalized nominalizers were originally glottalized in all words. Some derivatives underwent a semantic shift, becoming reanalyzed as monomorphemic. Most simplex nouns do not have glottalization, which leads to contamination of the newly non-compositional nouns, making some of them conform with the non-glottalized majority. This contamination is further aided by phonetically ambiguous contexts where glottals are neutralized: In rapid speech, glottal stops can be realized as creaky voice, entirely dropped, and additionally obscured by general phrase-final creakiness (Repetti-Ludlow et al., 2019). E.g., according to the proposal, *añunuchu* “handicraft beads” (10e) started as **añunuʔchu* (lit. “siren fruit”) and was realized, among others, as **[añunuchʰ]*, **[añunuchʰ]*, and **[añunʉʔchʰ]*, which led to hypo-/hypercorrection: */añunuchʰ/*. CAPTURED FACTS: The loss of glottalization is attributed to lexically specific contamination, so it’s unpredictable. Productive derivatives synchronically contain the preglottalized nominalizer, so they never lose glottalization.

5 REJECTED ALTERNATIVE The opposite trajectory, where glottalization in derivatives is innovative (i.e. **-si*, **-chu*, ... > *-ʔsi*, *-ʔchu*, ...), is untenable. There is no phonetic motivation for ʔ-insertion, or evidence that (many) simplex nouns were ever glottalized. As such, innovative glottalization cannot be due to contamination. Furthermore, nominalizer preglottalization is contrastive (4 vs. 5-6), so the ʔ-insertion would have to be unpredictable.

6 DISCUSSION Morphological exceptions are usually vestiges of previously productive patterns. I demonstrate that the A’ingae exceptionally plain derivatives do not conform to this generalization, as they are innovative—once reanalyzed as morphologically simple, they arise from a pressure to conform to the more general pattern, which is that simple nouns lack glottal stops.

Dąbkowski, M. (2021). “A’ingae (Ecuador and Colombia) – Language snapshot.” In: *Language Documentation and Description* 20, pp. 1–12. DOI: [10.25894/ldd28](https://doi.org/10.25894/ldd28). Dąbkowski, M. (2023). “Two grammars of A’ingae glottalization: A case for Cophonologies by Phase.” In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 42.2, pp. 437–491. ISSN: 1573-0859. DOI: [10.1007/s11049-023-09574-5](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-023-09574-5). Repetti-Ludlow, C. et al. (2019). “A’ingae (Cofán).” In: *Journal of the International Phonetic Association: Illustrations of the IPA*, pp. 1–14. DOI: [10.1017/S0025100319000082](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025100319000082).

1 The following glossing abbreviations have been used: ACC = accusative, ANA = anaphora, ANG = angular, BND = bounded, BRS = bristly, DRN = diurnal, FRST = frustrative, LRG = large, N = nominalizer, NIN = negative individual nominalizer, PATH = path, PLC = place, PRD = periodic, RND = round, SN = subject nominalizer, SS = same subject.