

Notes on the grammar of Andakí

Jelien Moens

Matthias Pache

Studies in Amerindian Linguistics 2



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Preface

The history of the Andakí is that of one of the most enigmatic indigenous peoples of South America. From the beginning, their origins were wrapped in mystery. They have been described as remnants of the Precolumbian people who built the wonderful stone monuments surrounding the village of San Agustín in the upper Magdalena highlands, but also as Post-San Agustín invaders from the eastern lowland who might have welcomed the first Spanish conquistadors upon their arrival in the region. A more realistic and well-informed account of their origins is provided by the historian Juan Friede in his book *Los andakí 1538–1947: Historia de la aculturación de una tribu selvática* (México D.F., 1953). He describes the Andakí as an invasive nation who penetrated the Alto Magdalena region from the eastern Andean foothills around 1600. For two consecutive centuries they sowed fear and terror among the local Spanish settlers and their indigenous associates. The latter had been ruthlessly exploited since their incorporation in the colonial encomienda system. This treatment eventually resulted in the near disappearance of the local population, some of whom escaped to the eastern foothills and lowland, where they may have joined the ranks of Andakí fighters. From 1600 onward attacks of the Andakí obtained the character of targeted revenge actions, including nighttime abductions and the forced disappearance of entire families. Punitive expeditions organised by the colonial authorities were helpless against the guerrilla tactics of the Andakí, who had learned to use effective weaponry and refined intelligence against the *encomenderos* and their subjects. Their attacks continued throughout the 18th century, whereafter they diminished with the withdrawal of the Andakí to jungle bases on the Caquetá and Fragua rivers. Eventually, the memory of their feats slipped into oblivion, and only place names such as *Belén de los Andaquíes* in the Caquetá department are reminiscent of their former existence. The language of the Andakí has been poorly documented so far and remains unclassified. There have been no recent reports of possible surviving speakers. Consequently, the Andakí language must be considered extinct, unless evidence of the contrary is brought forward. Jélien Moens and Matthias Pache have taken up the challenge of analysing and systematising the scarce language data of Andakí that have been preserved. The present book exhibits the

Preface

result of their pioneering efforts and will stand as an indispensable contribution to our knowledge of the indigenous languages of Colombia.

Willem Adelaar

Leiden, 13 June 2025

List of abbreviations

AOR	aorist
AM	associated motion
DES	desiderative
IW	inward motion
LS	lexicalized suffix
NDES	nondesiderative
PRONPL	pronominal plural
PRONPOSS	pronominal possessive
PROP	property, ownership
RAP	rapidity
REA	realis mood
SF	stem-formative
SUB	subordination
TRANSL	translocative
UW	upward motion

1 Introduction

This book provides a first description of the grammar of Andakí (Glottocode: anda1286, ISO 639-3 code: ana), also known as Andaki, Andaqui, or Andaquí, a little-known, extinct language of southern Colombia, which is possibly an isolate. The description presented here is based on the three primary linguistic sources available for this language: two anonymous word lists from the late 18th and one from the mid-19th century. This book is organized as follows: we first provide some cultural and historical background information (Chapter 2), discuss the sources and previous works on Andakí (Chapter 3), and methodological issues in the investigation of Andakí grammar (Chapter 4). This is followed by a chapter on the phonology and spelling of Andakí (Chapter 5) and, as the main contribution of this volume, a discussion of Andakí morphosyntax: we address the grammar of nouns (Chapter 6), numerals (Chapter 7), demonstratives (Chapter 8), personal pronouns (Chapter 9), interrogative pronouns (Chapter 10), case markers and postpositions (Chapter 11), the expression of ownership/predicative possession (Chapter 12), Andakí attributive expressions, translated as adjectives and adverbs in Spanish (Chapter 13), the morphosyntax of verbs (Chapter 14) and grammatical morphemes that cannot be connected with any specific word class (Chapter 15). Since a most relevant question with respect to Andakí is whether a relationship with another language or language family of the Americas can be demonstrated, we will primarily concentrate on the discussion of individual grammatical morphemes, which in a second step await systematic comparison with their equivalents in other languages of South and Central America. The main findings of this book are discussed in the concluding summary (Chapter 16).

2 Cultural background

This chapter provides a short background of Andakí culture. An overview of Andakí history can be found, for instance, in Buenaventura Amézquita (2019). From the late 18th to the mid-19th century, the Andakí area was localized in the rainforest near the Upper Caquetá area (Friede 1948b: 121; Friede 1953: 32–33), in the present-day departments of Putumayo and Caquetá in southern Colombia (see Figure 2.1). The area was called *Provincia de los Andaquíes* or *Provincia del Andakí* by the end of the 18th century (Friede 1952: 190). According to Albis (1860–1861: 59), Andakí immaterial culture (religion, ceremonies) does not seem to have differed a lot from that of its neighbors such as the Guaque, a people speaking a Cariban language.

The Andakí were sedentary farmers (Vargas Motta 1962: 17) and cultivated corn, manioc, plantains, pineapple, squash, and sugarcane (Friede 1948a: 109–113; Albis 1860–1861: 56; Vargas Motta 1962: 17–18). In addition to farming or horticulture, the lifestyle of the Andakí was based on hunting and fishing. For hunting, they used blowpipes with darts dipped in vegetal poison (Vargas Motta 1962: 17–18).

Among the trade good specialties of the Andakí were honey, and black and white wax found in the woods (Vargas Motta 1962: 20). They also traded iron tools and silver, of which they manufactured triangular ear accessories, for animals and their skins (Albis 1860–1861: 56–61). The Andakí had access to gold provided by the Mazamurras River and mined minerals, such as amethyst (Fernández de Piedrahíta 1881: 78).

The following observations have been made with respect to Andakí material culture. They manufactured hammocks and bags from agave fibers. Their flat-stones used in grinding resembled tools used by certain Amazonian groups (Vargas Motta 1962: 16). Considering the existence of Andakí words for cotton, thread, and clothing, the Andakí were likely dressed in woven cotton clothing (Vargas Motta 1962: 15). On festive occasions, they wore necklaces, crowns of colored feathers, and used red and black plant-based makeup (Vargas Motta 1962: 15). Data from Andakí word lists also suggest that they knew pottery – compare, for instance, <guajizi> / <guajixi> ‘pot’, “olla” (M_110) or <batonafi> ‘dish’, “plato”

2 Cultural background



Figure 2.1: Map of the approximate distribution area of Andakí, created by Arjan Mossel, based on Eberhard et al. (2025)

(A_008).¹ It is interesting to see that Andakí terms for metals and items made of metal do not seem to be borrowings from Spanish: <bininto> / <binintó> ‘iron’, “hierro” (M_476), <yrajaró> ‘steel’, “acero” (M_477), <benije> (A_009), <binixi> (M_480) ‘machete’, <mifi> ‘needle’, “aguja” (M_482) – the term for ‘needle’, for instance, is often a borrowing from Spanish or Portuguese in Lowland South American languages (e.g., Pache & Urban, *forthc.*). Andakí houses had a circular shape and were distributed around what would have been the residence of the cacique or the chief of the tribe (Vargas Motta 1962: 15).

In their battles, the Andakí made use of spears, darts, clubs, and slings; their spears and clubs were made from the wood of *chonta* palms (Vargas Motta 1962: 16–17; see Friede 1953: 107–108 for a description of the Andakí inventory of arms). Like their neighbors, the Andakí had the reputation of being “exceedingly wild and warlike” (Albis 1860–1861: 59) and they regularly united with them to fight the non-indigenous invaders (Friede 1953: 91; Vargas Motta 1962: 36), resisting them for almost 250 years (Friede 1953: 11). According to Colombia’s 2018 National Population and Housing Census (CNPV 2018), there were still some 248 persons identifying themselves as Andakí at that time. Although there is no recent evidence that Andakí is still spoken – *Glottolog* (Hammarström et al. 2025) and *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2025) consider the language extinct (Glottolog) or endangered/dormant, that is, “no longer used as a first language by any remaining members of the ethnic community” (Ethnologue) – the possibility that there are still some Andakí groups or individuals speaking Andakí cannot totally be excluded.

¹The original Spanish translations from 18th- and 19th-century sources are provided wherever appropriate. For verbs, these are often cited in inflected rather than infinitive forms. However, this convention is not followed when verbs appear as inflected forms in the sources but only the root is relevant. We generally preserve the spelling found in the original sources, although in some cases it is adapted to modern Peninsular Spanish; the original spelling is always provided in the appendix. To ensure typographical consistency, individual Andakí forms in the running text are mostly cited with a lowercase initial, even though both Spanish and Andakí entries in the manuscripts consistently begin with an uppercase letter. Original capitalization is retained only in glossed examples. The use of voseo in the Spanish translations (e.g., *vení* instead of *ven* ‘come (sg)!’) has been retained. Pointed brackets indicate graphemic representations.

3 Sources and previous works on Andakí

There are three primary sources on Andakí. First, there are two nearly identical vocabulary lists which are part of a larger collection of indigenous vocabularies sent to Madrid by the scholar José Celestino Mutis (1732–1808) by order of the archbishop-viceoy of Santafé de Bogotá, Don Antonio Caballero y Góngora. The word lists were a request to Carlos III by Catherine II of Russia who wanted to document all the languages of the world. These Andakí materials sent to Madrid in 1787 by Mutis never reached the empress (Ramos 1959: 382; Ortega Ricaurte 1978: 102; Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 54) and were eventually published by the Royal Library of Madrid in 1928 (collection *Lenguas de América*). Scans of the two copies of the *Vocabulario andaquí-español*, Ms. II/2911 and Ms. II/2912, are available online at <https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/realbiblioteca/item/15059> and <https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/realbiblioteca/item/15084>. Ms. II/2911 has 13 numbered pages, while Ms. II/2912 has 18. These two manuscript lists are nearly identical: they contain mostly the same concepts, but regularly differ in spelling. They offer 772 different Andakí words and phrases, accompanied by their Spanish translations. For spelling differences between both lists, compare, for instance, ‘How is your (sg) wife?’, ‘Cómo está tu mujer?’ (M_288), transcribed as <Karupegua hszazini> in Ms. II/2911 and as <Karupegua ñszazini?> in Ms. II/2912. For further examples of different spelling conventions used in the two 18th-century lists, see (1–2).

- (1) a. <Ychuyzi kaquani?>
ychuyzi ka-qua ni?
what 2-say Q
‘What do you (sg) say?’, “Qué dices?”¹ (M_008)

¹In the second line, we use a slightly simplified transcription of Andakí, which does not reproduce diacritics.

3 Sources and previous works on Andakí

- b. <Ychuhizi caquani?>
ychuhi-zi ca-qua ni?
what 2-say Q
'What do you (SG) say?', "Qué dices?" (M_751)
- (2) a. <Ychuyzi kazini?>
ychuyzi ka-zi ni?
what 2-do Q
'What do you (SG) do?', "Qué haces?" (M_009)
- b. <Ychuhizi cazini?>
ychuhizi ca-zi ni?
what 2-do Q
'What do you (SG) do?', "Qué haces?" (M_752)

More information on spelling conventions in the different Andakí sources is provided in Section 5.

In some cases, two consecutive entries in the 18th-century lists seem to relate to each other in terms of question and answer, as in the case of (3–4).

- (3) <Bizejazini?> / <Bizefazini>
bize-jazi ni?
what-PURP Q
'What for?', "Para qué?" (M_185)
- (4) <Choyaxazé> / <Choya xaré>
choya-xaze
eat-PURP
'In order to eat', "Para comer" (M_186)

Note the variation in the rendering of the same grammatical morpheme <fazi>, <jazi>, <xaré>, <xazé> 'purposive' in the two consecutive examples.

Given that there are more corrections in Ms. II/2911 than in Ms. II/2912, it seems that the latter is of slightly later origin and a copy of Ms. II/2911. In single cases, either of both copies may contain a form that is not present in the other one: seven entries that are found in Ms. II/2911 have no counterpart in Ms. II/2912, whereas only two entries in Ms. II/2912 have no counterpart in Ms. II/2911. Therefore, it is important to consider both sources. Overall, the handwriting is quite different between the two manuscripts, and the documents may have been written by different hands. Some 400 of the 772 entries in these two 18th-century sources are at least short phrases. Gómez & Torres (2012–2013a,b) provide a transcription

of the anonymous 18th-century manuscripts, with additional comments on the sources and on some of the Spanish translations.

A second, shorter vocabulary list was composed by the Presbyter Manuel Maria Albis in 1854. This word list was part of his notes of a trip to the *Provincia de los Andaquies* (Albis 1860–1861: 53). According to the introduction by the editors, Albis' notes were delivered by a certain Dr. Manuel Antonio Bueno (Albis 1860–1861: 53). These data were first published in Spanish in 1855 in a work with the title *Los indios del Andaquí: memorias de un viajero* (Vergara y Vergara & Delgado 1855), and translated into English and published in the *Bulletin of the American Ethnological Society* (1860–1861). In his work, Albis describes the habits and language not only of the Andakí, but also of the Ingano (speakers of a Quechua variety), Koreguaje (Tucanoan language family), Guaque (Cariban language family), and Macaguaje (Tucanoan language family), who also inhabit this area. The Andakí vocabulary section of Albis contains 159 words and four phrases. Since the present work is mainly concerned with the grammar of Andakí, it is largely based on the Mutis materials from the 18th century; data from Albis (1860–1861) will be discussed primarily in the phonology chapter.

Works based on these three primary Andakí sources have been relatively few so far. The first one is a presentation of 21 Andakí lexical items from Albis' lists and a comparison with their counterparts in Koreguaje, a Tucanoan language (Latham 1862: 481). Besides presenting data in a table, however, Latham does not further comment on Andakí, or on coinciding forms in Andakí and Koreguaje. Indeed, there is no evidence for a genealogical connection between Andakí and Tucanoan languages, although there may be some single loanwords such as Andakí <paga> / <pagá> (M_499), <pagà> (A_112) 'manioc', "yuca", which is reminiscent of Proto-Tucanoan *po?ga 'manioc flour' (Waltz & Wheeler 1972: 144).

Rivet (1924), likewise based on Albis' data, is the first study to discuss Andakí grammar: the author identifies a few grammatical morphemes among which are <-guae> 'diminutive' and a prefix <ma->, <man->, <min->, attested, for instance in <min-gosoa> 'arm' (cf. the entry in A_100) and <ma-esegua> 'tail' (cf. the entry in A_097); also, Rivet (1924: 100–101) states that subject person is marked on the verb by prefixation in this language. A few grammatical morphemes are also mentioned by Friede (1952: 190), although he does not comment on their meaning.

More recently, papers on Andakí phonology (Coronas Urzúa 1994) and lexicon (Coronas Urzúa 1995) have been published, based on the two 18th-century lists (Anonymous 1701–1799[a],[b]) and on Albis (1860–1861). Coronas Urzúa's (1994) observations on Andakí phonology will be addressed in more detail in this book, in Section 5 on Andakí phonology. Apart from lexical roots, Coronas Urzúa (1994,

3 Sources and previous works on Andakí

1995) also mentions a small number of grammatical morphemes: for instance, the author argues that /-k^wa/ is a negation marker (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 85); Andakí /haa/ is interpreted as an accusative or dative marker (Coronas Urzúa 1995: 82), the suffix /-ra/ as a locative marker (Coronas Urzúa 1995: 91), /-sa/ as an imperative marker (Coronas Urzúa 1995: 92), and /-si/ as a suffix forming adjectives (Coronas Urzúa 1995: 94).

Some further insights into Andakí grammar are provided by Adelaar & Muysken (2004: 140): <ca->, for instance, marks the 2nd-person subject, as shown in (5).

- (5) <Ninga camimi>
ninga ca-mimi
I 2-love
'Do you love me?' (M_232; adapted from Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 140)

Modal categories, by contrast, are encoded by suffixes, as shown in (6); the same is true for nominalization and case (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 140).

- (6) <Fsrrajanozá>
fsrrajano-za
lie.down-IMP
'Lie down!' (M_366; adapted from Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 140)

Finally, Jolkesky (2016: 525–526) also discusses a few aspects of Andakí grammar, for instance the 2nd-person singular *ka-*, or the 2nd-person plural pronoun *rika-k^wa*.

Besides publications addressing Andakí itself, there have also been several attempts to connect this language to other languages or language families in the Americas. Some (e.g., Rivet 1924; Greenberg 1956, 1987; Swadesh 1962; Loukotka 1968) have considered Andakí to be a Chibchan or Páezan language. Rivet (1924), for instance, compares Andakí to Nasa Yuwe (also known as Páez), but also to Barbacoan languages and Chibchan languages, and considers them all to be genealogically related. The last decades, by contrast, have seen a rise of linguists proposing a different view, namely, of Andakí as a language isolate (Constenla Umaña 1981; Constenla Umaña 1991; Coronas Urzúa 1994; Coronas Urzúa 1995; Kaufman & Berlin 2007; Campbell 2012; Seifart & Hammarström 2018; Campbell 2024). Nevertheless, Adelaar and Muysken suggest that Andakí is “possibly related to *Páez*” (italics in original, Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 611), and the 2025

edition of *Ethnologue* classifies Andakí as Páezan (Eberhard et al. 2025). Similarities with Nasa Yuwe (Páez) do exist above all in the lexicon (e.g., Pache 2018a: 572–574; Pache 2024).

Andakí has also been investigated in terms of language contact and areal typology. For instance, the Andakí vowel system is characteristic of Amazonian languages in that it distinguishes between nasalized and oral vowels (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 80). The weakly developed numeral system of Andakí has likewise been argued to indicate a possible Amazonian origin of this language (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 140). In terms of loanwords, Jolkesky (2016) notes several lexical parallels with Chibchan languages, Nasa Yuwe, and Tinigua (Tinigua–Pamiguan).

4 Approach and challenges

For this book, we analyzed the language materials provided in 18th-century lists (Anonymous 1701–1799[a],[b]), sent to Spain by Mutis, and the slightly more recent word lists published in Albis (1860–1861). The first author of this book, Jelien Moens, built a database combining the available Andakí materials. The reader can consult it here: <https://sites.google.com/view/Andaki-database>.

The two anonymous 18th-century lists, Ms. II/2911 and Ms. II/2912, are both provided in the database. Their transcriptions by Gómez & Torres (2012–2013a,b) have also been added, in order to illustrate differences with our own transcriptions. A synthesis column illustrates the sometimes divergent information and transcriptions. Also, modern equivalents of the more archaic spelling of the Spanish translations were added wherever deemed helpful. Finally, every entry is assigned an ID ranging from M_001 to M_772 (M for Mutis).

As to the Albis sources (Vergara y Vergara & Delgado 1855; Albis 1860–1861), we consulted Albis' travel notes, published in Spanish in *Los indios del Andaquí: memorias de un viajero* in 1855, which is available online,¹ but is sometimes difficult to read. To solve this problem, and to stay as close to the original source as possible, the English translation of Albis (1860–1861) was consulted whenever needed.

As with the Mutis lists, a modern-day Peninsular Spanish column has been added to facilitate the process; the resulting entries range from A_001 to A_163 (A for Albis). The Albis source only contains four short sentences, while the remaining 159 entries are lexical (predominantly nouns).

In sum, the EXCEL sheet in the database contains 935 rows of linguistic material to work with. In this book and in the data shown below, all data are presented together with their IDs. The reader can thus consult the corresponding original spellings by looking up the relevant ID in the database.

As with other scarcely documented, extinct languages (see, e.g., Urban 2019), working with the Andakí materials turns out to be quite complex in several respects. For instance, there is a lot of orthographic and allophonic variation, discussed in Section 5 on phonology, and in Coronas Urzúa (1994). Also, it is not

¹<https://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000123147>

4 Approach and challenges

Lubi ninga.	Yo vengo.
Cayubi?	Viene?
Guangaquebè?	¿Está bueno?
Ricificoa.	No quiero beber.
Rafianzarca?	Porque no quieres.
Rini zimzache.	Aquí me duele.
Sajarithi.	¿Dónde?
Chuncaká.	Fado.
Yquano.	Oyá.
Nincana coaquea cuya.	Ven aquí te daré remedio.
me.	
Tahá cuncaká.	Sabá curar?
Canguché.	Cogieron?
Uchuhí caquanebè?	¿Fue cogido?
Muxunahé.	Bueno zapato.
Quabini misinabè?	¿Es bueno tu perro?
Quahi.	Bueno es.
Nrza haza?	¿Cuándo vuelves?
Bruuficani?	¿Cuándo vides?
Tanagozeza.	¿Es mañana.
Ninga gozeha.	Lo irá.
Tzapra hiti.	¿Ya es medio día.
Daxonahé.	¿Ya es tarde.
Cari nachiti.	¿Ya anocheció.
Rafatachi.	¿Ya amanece.
Bufcaba.	¿Vamonos.
Yahaza.	Si.
Nzahaza biyuro canehé?	¿Cuándo vendes?
Nangui zincaque.	¿Tienes carne?
Paza.	No tengo.
Nrazini chiquaca?	¿Como están tus hijos?

Figure 4.1: A fragment from Ms. II/2911 (Patrimonio Nacional. Real Biblioteca de Palacio, RBPR2911).

<i>Ninga nunquiza chingueca riguacu...</i>	<i>Yo os hede mirar como a hijos.</i>
<i>Ningaquí xicacoaxa nixuagua fricoxa...</i>	<i>Yo no rengo porque me deis.</i>
<i>Biszi belahā nixihichini?</i>	<i>Quantos dias hay a camino.</i>
<i>Tuguhā frachua</i>	<i>Diez dias.</i>
<i>Hachunguanca</i>	<i>No entiendo tu lengua.</i>
<i>Guaca jumcaguehē</i>	<i>Fereis canoa?</i>
<i>Casibi jumcaguehē</i>	<i>Sabeis nadar.</i>
<i>Jahā</i>	<i>Si.</i>
<i>Cogo quaminaqua</i>	<i>Me haveis a hacer Casa.</i>
<i>Ninga xini Cayazea mahaxizehē...</i>	<i>Yo quiero vivir con vosotros hā. moia.</i>
<i>Ninga xahasza ficoha</i>	<i>Yo no quiero decovarte.</i>
<i>Ninga inchua xaguazinca</i>	<i>Yo no se mentix.</i>
<i>Tnszi zotajexa</i>	<i>Vamos al monte.</i>
<i>Tnszi yahaxa nājubahā</i>	<i>vamos al río a labarnos.</i>
<i>Tnszi cogora jagua zibahā</i>	<i>vamos a Casa descansar.</i>
<i>Tubi minga</i>	<i>Yo vengo.</i>
<i>Cayubi?</i>	<i>Vienes?</i>
<i>Quancaquehē</i>	<i>Estas bueno?</i>
<i>Bizizificoa</i>	<i>No quiero beber.</i>
<i>Kafianzanca?</i>	<i>Porquē no quieres?</i>
<i>Nimi zimsache</i>	<i>Aquí me duele.</i>
<i>Szafamih?</i>	<i>Donde?</i>

Figure 4.2: A fragment from Ms. II/2912 (Patrimonio Nacional. Real Biblioteca de Palacio, RBPR2912).

Gachagua, Relámpago.	Mandisi, Sal.
Gaguano, Algodón.	Mandona, Nalgas.
Guaguajá, Hilo.	Mandugnaso, Platano
Guapic, Olla.	Mansa, Tortola grande.
Guajiji, Olleta.	Mamá, Sardinata.
Guajiro, Guadua.	Maméaga, Ardiá.
Guajó, Ají.	Mamó, Hija.
Guansuche, Barro.	Mansa, Tortola pequeña.
Guariji, codo.	Mchigua, Piezo pequeño.
Guasó, Huevo.	Miguac, Tigülo.
Guatiyó, Piedra.	Mijaa, Tierra.
Guayojó, Lanza.	Mijaa, Tigr.
	Mugocagaa, camisa.
Iju, Hamaca.	Mugosoa, Bazo.
Icojó, Badoquera.	Mta, Luna.
Incl, Vainos.	Mtajó, cielo.
Inbina, Plata.	Musoa, B. cachico.
Indai, Paujil.	
Jiji, Agua.	Namamaca, cera blanca.
Jiconoá, Viento.	Namagaá, Venao.
Jifi, candela.	Nandimero, Totuma.
Jiánatò, Hgado.	Napa, Baco.
Jijoc, Raya (insecto.)	Nanana, Viene.
Jinar, Negro.	
Josaca, calzon.	Nanquise, carne
Josó, Flauta.	Ochegua, Anzuelo.
Juanafé, Hombro.	Ocheji, canasto.
Lacayojó, cacao.	Paá, Yuca.
Maesegua, Rabo.	Paguachi, Sapallo.
Mandéji, coco.	Pa, Hraano.
Maja, Mama.	
Majanae, camarana.	Quinaja, cabello.
Munayae, Loro.	Quinaji, cabeza.
Mandenaé, cafuche.	Quifi, Nariz.
Mandeguae, Murcielago.	
Mandufe, calabazo.	Rayae, caiman.
	Riquii, Mamita.

Figure 4.3: English translation of Albis' original notes translated to English in *American Ethnological Society* published in 1860–1861.

Fianasari, Beads.	Masojo, Leaf.
Fieracuarejia, Take.	Mensesai, Small turtle dove.
Fiansome, I love thee.	Michiguia, <i>Span.</i> , <i>Picudo pequeño</i> .
Fisanamá, Black Wax.	Miguac, A small tiger.
Fisoñá, Star.	Mijina, Earth.
Fiyuchi, <i>Span.</i> , <i>Chirides</i> .	Mijinae, Tiger.
Gii, Devil.	Mingocaguasa, Shirt.
Guacajo, Canoe.	Mingosoa, Arm.
Guachagua, Lightning.	Mitac, Moon.
Guaguana, Cotton.	Mitajo, Sky.
Guaguejafi, Thread.	Musoe, <i>Span.</i> , <i>Bosachico</i> , a fish.
Guajije, A round earthen pot.	Namanamana, White wax.
Guajiji, A small round earthen pot.	Nampaguana, Poison.
Guajero, Bamboo.	Nandinero, <i>Span.</i> , <i>Totuma</i> : a small gourd
Guajo, Dwarf red pepper.	Nagua, Good.
Guansuche, Clay.	Nindana, He comes.
Guariji, Elbow.	Nanquise, Meat.
Guaso, Egg.	Ochegua, Fishhook.
Guatiye, Stone.	Ochiji, Basket.
Guayoyo, Lance.	Pagá, Yuca.
Iju, Hammock.	Paguachi, Pumpkin.
Icojó, A mould for making pellets.	Pii, Brother.
Ince, Let us go.	Quinaja, Tresses.
Imbina, Silver.	Quinaji, Head.
Indai, Vulture.	Quifi, Nose.
Jiji, Water.	Rapae, Alligator.
Jiconoja, Wind.	Riquii, (diminutive) of Mamma.
Jifi, Candle.	Rumená, <i>Span.</i> <i>Juansoca</i> .
Jifinató, Liver.	Sacaá, Hand.
Jijoe, <i>Span.</i> , <i>Raya</i> ; an insect.	Sacanaji, Knee.
Jinae, Black.	Sacanifi, A forked stick.
Josaesa, Drawers.	Sacca, Cane, reed.
Joso, Flute.	Sana, Finger.
Juanafe, Shoulder.	Sachi, Aguacate.
Lacayojó, Cocoa.	Sambená, Instep.
Maesegua, Tail.	Sanguaca, Neck.
Maindejo, Coconut.	Sanjecacá, Agave Americana.
Maja, Mamá.	Sanagó, Sardine.
Majanae, <i>Span.</i> , <i>Camarana</i> .	Sapallajó, Papaaya.
Manayac, Parrot.	Saraguañae, Hen.
Mandena, Wild hog.	Sasaguana, Shin-bone.
Mandeguae, Bat.	Socara, Gold.
Mandinifi, Gourd.	Seguaya, Flying monkey.
Mandisi, Salt.	Sensejoe, Relative.
Mandona, Buttocks.	Sicoga, Teeth.
Mandugaso, Plantain.	Sicoji, Big-toothed.
Mansesai, Large turtle dove.	Sifi, Eyes.
Manue, <i>Span.</i> , <i>Sardinata</i> ; a small fish.	Sifijo, Eyebrows.
Masanchaguai, Squirrel.	Sijofí, Hat.

Figure 4.4: Albis' original notes as published in *Los indios del Andaquí: memorias de un viajero* in 1855.

4 Approach and challenges

always easy to identify word and morpheme boundaries in the 18th-century data, and spacing may appear inconsistent. For instance, the original orthography in (1) suggests that the element *zi* is interpreted as a prefix by the anonymous author.

- (1) <Nanqui zincaque?> / <Nañquizincaque>
nanqui z-inca que
meat ?-PROP be
'Do you have meat?', "Tenéis carne?" (M_284)

Yet, elsewhere in the 18th-century lists, we find <nanguize> 'meat', "carne" (M_094) or <ñanquise> 'meat', "carne" (A_108), suggesting that *z(i)* in (1) belongs in fact to the preceding root. Due to such orthographic irregularities, the interpretation of Andakí morphemes as suffixes, prefixes, clitics, or unbound forms must sometimes remain tentative. As a solution, we have interpreted such elements, which in the majority of cases are orthographically represented as prefixes or suffixes in the sources (that is, preceding the root or following the root and forming a word together with it), as prefixes or suffixes, respectively. In glossing, both affix and clitic boundaries are indicated by a hyphen.

(1) illustrates another challenge in the context of Andakí: the Spanish variety used in the manuscript seems to make ample use of *voseo*. This can lead to ambiguities in certain cases and it is impossible to decide whether a form such as Spanish *tenéis* in (1) refers to a 2nd-person singular or plural. In these instances, we intentionally left the English pronoun *you* ambiguous with respect to number as well and did not specify whether it refers to a 2nd-person singular or plural. Andakí itself hardly seems to differentiate between singular and plural with 1st- and 2nd-person subjects or objects anyway (for discussion, see Section 15.1).

The translations provided in the word lists pose another challenge. In a number of cases, they appear partially inaccurate from the perspective of gloss-based translations. An example of this is given in (2–6). In (2–3), there is no identifiable predicative possessive construction, yet, the examples are translated as such; additionally, in (2), 'I do not have a house', there is no term for 'house' identifiable.

- (2) <Ringa pacahá>
ringa paca-ha
I NEG-REA
'I do not have a house', "Yo no tengo casa" (M_770)

- (3) <Ninga pajaha> / <Ninga pajahá>
ninga paja-ha
I NEG-REA
‘I do not have’, “Yo no tengo” (M_228)

In (4–5), the translation implies a 2nd-person possessor which is not overtly expressed in the original Andakí sentence.

- (4) <Quarajea cogora>
qua-ra-je-a cogo-ra
2.IMP-CAUS-go-IMP house-ALL
‘Bring (SG) me to your house!’, “Llévame a tu casa” (M_771)

- (5) <Nszazini chiguaca?>
nszazi ni chiguaca?
how/where Q children
‘How are your (SG) children?’, “Cómo están tus hijos?” (M_286)

In such cases, the missing element must have been recoverable from the original context. Finally, (6) is translated as a prohibition, but upon closer inspection, the literal translation of the Andakí sentence is a question, namely ‘Why are you (SG) mean?’.

- (6) <Yhiza vmaniquini>
yhiza vmani qui ni
why mean COP Q
‘Do not be (SG, M) mean/stingy!’, “No seas mezquino” (M_748)

That said, in such a case, the translation is probably accurate in the sense that the original author wanted to provide a good translation, not necessarily a transparent one (Jean-Christophe Verstraete, p.c.). Also, contextual information is missing in the available language data, which makes the adequacy of the translations difficult to assess. In sum, the translations used in this book are made by the hand of Albis and the anonymous author or authors of the 18th-century word lists, and they are not necessarily literal translations.

Another obstacle in analyzing the morphosyntax of Andakí is the scarcity of the data and the limited variation of constructions. For instance, as the reader can see in the database, there are many examples of orders and prohibitions in the word lists: roughly half of the phrases in the data are orders. This is probably due to the missionary context in which the data were collected and one cannot know

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with certainty whether a particular phenomenon is absent from Andakí itself, or merely absent from the available language data. This book therefore by no means aims to provide an exhaustive description of Andakí grammar: linguistic examples and claims presented do not cover all aspects of Andakí grammar and are representative of a tendency in the limited dataset only.

5 Phonology

This chapter provides a sketch of Andakí phonology, based largely on a paper dedicated to this topic (Coronas Urzúa 1994). An overview of Andakí phonology must take into account the limited availability of data and hence of minimal pairs, and the fact that we rely on data that are some 180 to 230 years old. The graphemes and grapheme combinations used in these sources do not necessarily represent phonemes, and their use is often quite variable. Variation in the orthography may have its origin, for instance, in spelling inconsistencies; in other instances, it may reflect alternation or free variation of sounds. An example of this variation is given in (1), where the root ‘to eat’ is given as <chiya> and <choya> and the purposive marker as <-jazi>, <-jaze>, <-xaré>, and <-xazé>.

- (1) a. <Chiya jaze>
chiya-jaze
eat-PURP
‘In order to eat’, “Para comer” (M_147)
- b. <Choyaxazé> / <Choya xaré>
choya-xaze
eat-PURP
‘In order to eat’, “Para comer” (M_186)

In a number of cases, forms provided in Albis (1860–1861) can be quite different from those found in the 18th-century lists, as shown in the case of <condefui> (A_039) in the 19th-century list and the related <szuntijohé> (M_656) in the 18th-century list, both ‘tapir’, “danta”. Given that these differences in spelling are not always systematic, it is not easy to determine to what extent such differences between the 18th and 19th-century sources reflect dialectal differences, distinct ways to represent Andakí sounds or, in the case of the ‘tapir’ term, a reference to different species. Neither for the 18th-century nor for the 19th-century materials, is there explicit information on how Andakí sounds were pronounced and on how exactly the data were gathered. Finally, there are several homographs in the data, suggesting that Andakí may have had many homophonous forms, unless tone, which is not represented in the spelling, played a role. According to Coronas

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Urzúa's (1995: 87) analysis of Andakí phonology, /k^wa/, for instance, can have the meanings 'to kill', 'to cook', 'to do', and 'to say', among others. Another example of Andakí homophony is <minzará> 'sand', "arena" (M_695) versus <minzará> a tree, *Genipa americana*, "jagua" (M_696).

5.1 Phonotactics, syllable and root structure

The Andakí basic syllable structure is CV, as in <rica> / <ricá> 'you', "tú" (M_013). A syllable structure V or VC is attested only in exceptional cases such as in <acai> 'lemon', "limón" (A_001) or in <ypchize> 'what?', "qué" (M_303; M_304). If a word starts with a vowel, it is mostly *a* followed by <n>, as in <antazá> 'up (SG)!, raise (SG) it!', "alza" (M_380); <andagu> 'fast', "presto" (M_550) – compare <dacoze> 'fast', "presto" (M_549), which seems to contain a related root *dako – or <anduzo> 'banana', "plátano" (M_113) – compare <duazo> 'banana', "plátano" (M_054). There are different interpretations possible for this phenomenon, and we tentatively propose here that the *a* is epenthetic before a prenasalized stop in word-initial position (pace Coronas Urzúa 1994). If nasal consonants occur in the syllable coda in other environments, they indicate nasality of the preceding vowel, for instance, in <ringa> 'I, "yo" (M_011), /rĩka/ (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 74–75). CVC syllables do not occur in Andakí. Consonant clusters in intervocalic position do not seem to exist either, except in single cases such as <ypchize> 'what?', "qué" (M_303; M_304). Consonant clusters in the onset of a syllable are exceedingly rare if they exist. We found a few potential examples which include a nasal consonant /n/ and a sibilant, as in <nszajini?> / <nszājini> 'where are they?', "dónde están?" (M_176); elsewhere, we find the respective forms without initial <n>: <sxaxini> 'where is she/he/it?', "dónde está?" (M_067). Similar clusters involving <n> and grapheme combinations referring to sibilants are attested in <nszazincaha> / <nszāzincahá> 'because I (M) was sick', "porque estuve enfermo" (M_326) or <nszazincake?> / <nszazincaque?> 'are you (SG, (M) sick?', "estás enfermo?" (M_321). The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that we are not dealing with consonant clusters in onset position in these cases, but that <n> in these examples refers to a syllabic nasal consonant, as proposed by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 95). In other cases, grapheme combinations – like <sz>, <fsrr>, or <jx>, as in <jxiizá> / <jxizá> 'walk (SG)!', "camina" (M_365) – seem to refer to single sounds such as sibilants (in the case of <sz> and <fsrr>) or to a laryngeal fricative (in the case of <jx>), not to consonant clusters (for discussion, see Section 5.2).

Sequences of same and distinct vowels both occur. Sequences of same vowels are discussed below, in Section 5.2.6. Among the sequences of distinct vow-

els, <ea> or <ae> are among the most frequently attested; the sequence <oa> is less common in Andakí, <ao> does not exist at all in the available sources; an overview of the exact frequencies of particular combinations is provided in Coronas Urzúa (1994: 79–80). Some of these sequences, such as <oa>, may also be interpreted as a sequence of a glide plus a syllabic vowel. In single instances, sequences of up to three vowels are attested: compare <janszeaezá> ‘get brave (SG, M)!’, “hazte bravo” (M_412).

Most Andakí roots have the structure CVCV, as, for instance, <chisi> ‘to urinate’ (cf. M_389). Monosyllabic roots are infrequent – for instance, <bi> ‘to carry’ (cf. M_378) or <ko> ‘to blow’ (cf. M_381) (cf. Coronas Urzúa 1995). Grammatical morphemes often have the structure CV, such as <-ni> ‘locative’ or <ra-> ‘causative’ (see Section 11 and Section 14); only a few polysyllabic grammatical elements have been identified here, such as non-desiderative <ficoa> (see Section 14.6.2).

5.2 Vowels and suprasegmentals

The Andakí vowel inventory has been argued to contain six vowels: /a/, /i/, /u/, and their nasal counterparts /ã/, /ĩ/, /ũ/ (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 85); it is shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Vowel phoneme inventory of Andakí as established by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 80) and translated into English

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, ĩ		u, ũ
Non-high		a, ã	

There is little evidence for the existence of a high central vowel *i*, *ĩ*, which is frequently found in Lowland South American languages (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999: 8); if there was one in Andakí, it would probably be represented by <y>, which also seems to substitute <i> or <u> in some instances, as in <symquarahá> / <sumquarahá> ‘smoke’,¹ “humo” (M_531) and <ynszi> / <ynszi> ‘let us go away!’, “vámonos” (M_313), <inszi> ‘hortative; let us go!’, “vamos” (M_129).

Mid vowels from loanwords are represented as such in the orthography of the Andakí sources: <e> is found in <buytreni> ‘vulture’ (M_606, from Spanish *buitre*

¹The boldfacing in Andakí examples discussed in this and other sections is not in the original, but has been added by the authors.

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‘vulture’), <e> and <o> occur in <ovejani> ‘sheep’ (M_097, from Spanish *oveja* ‘sheep’) where they may have been pronounced as mid vowels by Andakí speakers. By contrast, Spanish /e/ seems to have been adapted to <i> [i] in <parini> ‘priest’ (M_560), which might be a loan from Spanish (*padre* ‘priest’).

5.2.1 Suprasegmentals

Little is known about Andakí suprasegmentals. There is no direct evidence for tone, although the high frequency of homographs in the Andakí sources suggests that lexical tone may have existed in this language. Acute or grave accent is nearly always found in word-final position and may indicate stress, for instance, in <Ypchize canahá quine?> / <Ypchizé canahá quiné?> ‘What did you (sg) bring?’, “Qué has traído?” (M_303); there are no indications for stress being a contrastive feature in Andakí (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 97).

5.2.2 Vowel nasality

The sequence of a vowel and <n> or <m> has been interpreted as representing a nasal vowel (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 74–75); in a few instances, nasality has also been argued to be represented by a circumflex on the vowel or by a postposed <ñ> (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 74–75). Among the few sets suggesting a phonemic distinction between a nasal and an oral vowel in Andakí is <ricaxa> ‘to you (sg)’, “a vos, a ti” (M_017) versus <rincaxa> ‘to me’ (cf. M_105). The orthography used in the different sources is not always consistent, and sometimes, a vowel seems to have been nasal in one case and oral in another case. This is illustrated by <shuntahé> ‘deer’, “venado” (M_657) with a nasal *ũ* versus <shotajihí> ‘deer’ with non-nasal *o*, as it occurs in <mixinchi shotajihí> / <mixinehi shotajihí> ‘jaguar’, “tigre” (M_659) – compare <mixenehi> / <mixinehi> ‘dog’, “perro” (M_065).

5.2.3 /i/, /ĩ/

In the available Andakí data, <i> seems to appear in free variation with <e> when these letters refer to a syllabic vowel, as in <nanquizi> (M_451) versus <nanguize> / <nañguize> (M_094), both ‘meat’, “carne”, in <cantijuchi> (M_504) versus <cantejoche> / <cantejoché> (M_505), both ‘pineapple’, “piña” (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 73), or in <inca> (M_284) versus <enca> / <encá> (M_173), both ‘ownership’ (see Section 12). There is no minimal pair suggesting a phonemic distinction between *i* and *e*; the contrast between <guajije> ‘pot’, “olla” (A_056) versus <guajiji> ‘small pot’, “olleta” (A_057) rather reflects sound symbolism. In some

instances, the Andakí forms in the 18th century lists have <i> where they have <e> (sometimes <a>) in the 19th century list, as in <guahizi> / <guajixi> (M_110) versus <guajije> (A_056), both ‘pot’, ‘olla’, or in <bisinguay> / <bintiguay> (M_647) versus <mandeguae> (A_084), both ‘bat’, ‘murciélago’. Both in the 18th-century and 19th-century lists, <i> is more frequent than <e> (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 74). The factors conditioning the choice of <i> or <e> are not yet understood; in vowel sequences, if preceded by <a>, <e> occurs more frequently than <i>, both in the 18th- and 19th-century sources (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 79).

Among the few minimal pairs opposing <i> to <a> is <nanquizi> ‘meat’, ‘carne’ (M_451) and <nānquazi> / <nanquazi> ‘beautiful’, ‘bonito’ (M_724) (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 74), and <quinaji> ‘head’, ‘cabeza’ (A_117) versus <quinaja> ‘hair of the head’, ‘cabello’ (A_116). A near-minimal pair opposing Andakí /i/ to /u/ is <chincahi> ‘brother-in-law’, ‘cuñado’ (M_573) versus <chunchahá> ‘all’, ‘todo’ (M_263). Non-syllabic /i/ is represented by <y> in intervocalic position, as in <chiyazi> ‘food’, ‘comida’ (M_041) and in <guatiye> ‘stone’, ‘piedra’ (A_062), or in final position, as in <bisinguay> / <bintiguay> ‘bat’, ‘murciélago’ (M_647).

5.2.4 /u/, /ũ/

In the available Andakí sources, <u> seems to appear in free variation with <o>, as in <bujeaba> (M_281) versus <boxeaba>, both ‘let us go away!’, ‘vámonos’ (M_085). Possible factors that determine the choice of <u> or <o> in the available language materials remain unknown. In several cases, <u> in the 18th-century list corresponds to <o> in the 19th-century lists, as in <fuchigua> (M_580) versus <ochegua> (A_110), both ‘hook’, ‘anzuelo’. Indeed, the grapheme <u> occurs more frequently than <o> in the 18th-century sources, whereas <o> is slightly more frequent than <u> in the 19th-century list (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 73). There are some instances where /u/ is represented by <v>, as in <vntahe> / <untahé> ‘moon’, ‘luna’ (M_464) or in <taraunhé> / <taravnhé> ‘chicken’, ‘galina’ (M_098). We found no minimal pair suggesting an opposition between *u* and *o* in this language.

5.2.5 /a/, /ã/

The third vowel to be discussed here is /a/ <a>. Among the (near-)minimal pairs opposing /a/ <a> to /i/ <e> are <sacahá> ‘hands’, ‘manos’ (M_431) versus <szecahá> ‘foot, leg’, ‘pie, pierna’ (M_428), <antazá> ‘up (SG)!, raise (SG) it!’, ‘alza’ (M_380) versus <antezá> ‘shout (SG)!, ‘grita’ (M_375), and, possibly, <mansesai> ‘large turtledove’, ‘tórtola grande’ (A_090) versus <mensesai>

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‘small turtledove’, “tórtola pequeña” (A_094).² A minimal pair opposing /a/ <a> to /u/ <o> is <kagá> ‘sweet potato’, “batata” (M_500) versus <cogo> ‘farm’, “casa, rancho” (M_512). Additionally, it has been observed that Andakí /a/ is realized as a back vowel in some cases, for instance, in <anduzo> ‘banana’, “plátano” (M_144) versus <anduzo> ‘bananas’, “plátanos” (M_227) (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 74). In other cases, /a/ may have been realized as a high front vowel, for instance, in the case of <naqui> (M_002) versus <naqua> (M_003), both ‘who?’, “quién”. The determining factors remain unknown.

5.2.6 Sequences of identical vowels

Sequences of identical vowels are widely found in the available Andakí data (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 79). That we are dealing with vowel sequences, not with long vowels, is supported by the observation that in several of these cases, one of the vowels carries an acute accent and the other does not, as in <Kariszina aqueé?> ‘Do you use to drink?’, “Sabéis beber?” (M_152). Sequences of identical vowels occur much less frequently in the Albis (1860–1861) list than in the two Mutis lists (Anonymous 1701–1799[a],[b]), and they are split by <h> in most cases in the latter source, although there are exceptions such as <guuhe> / <guuhé> ‘other’, “otro” (M_016) (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 77–78). It is not yet clear what intervocalic <h> indicates if it occurs between two identical vowels, and whether it may refer, for instance, to voicelessness or aspiration.³

Sequences of identical vowels that are split by <h> must be carefully distinguished from cases where a suffix *-hV* is attached to a word or morpheme that ends in the same vowel as the suffix vowel. In Andakí <quihi> ‘I came’, “vine” (M_733), for instance, final <-hi> must not be confused with the realis mood marker <-hi> (see Section 14.5.1), because <hi> is also present in Andakí <quihiza> ‘come (sg)!’, “vení” (M_127), which contains an imperative mood suffix <-za>. Although in this particular example the matter is clear, this is not always the case.

Most frequently, same-vowel sequences in one source do not correspond to same-vowel sequences in the other source – as in <sonjuhu> ‘netbag’, “mochila de red” (M_628) versus <suju> ‘netbag’, “mochila” (A_154). Only in a few instances does a vowel sequence of the 18th-century source correspond to a vowel sequence in the 19th-century source, as in <sacahá> (M_431) ‘hands’, “manos”

²This pair, however, like the pair <guajije> ‘pot’, “olla” (A_056) versus <guajiji> ‘small pot’, “olleta” (A_057), discussed above, may rather reflect a widespread pattern of sound symbolism, with the high front vowel *i* associated with smallness (e.g., Jespersen 1933).

³An anonymous reviewer suggests that <h> may have referred to a glottal stop.

versus <sacaà> ‘hand’, “mano” (A_121) (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 78), or in <jihi> ‘spirit’, “demonio” (M_461) versus <gii> ‘spirit’, “diablo” (A_050). A minimal pair that seems to oppose <ihi> to <i> is <quihi> ‘to come’ (cf. M_410) versus <qui> copula ‘to be’ (cf. M_762).

In most but not all cases, sequences of identical vowels occur in word-final position (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 78). There are hardly any minimal pairs opposing a sequence of identical vowels to a singleton vowel – an exception is the (near-)minimal pair <sacaà> ‘hand’, “mano” (A_121) versus <sacca> ‘reed’, “caña” (A_124).

5.3 Consonants

The Andakí consonant inventory proposed by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 96) and adapted in the present work is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Consonant phoneme inventory of Andakí as adapted from Coronas Urzúa (1994: 96)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Prepalatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Laryngeal
Voiceless stops	p	t [t, d, ⁿ d]		k [k, g, ⁿ k]	k ^w [k ^w , g ^w , w]	
Voiced stop	b [b, φ, β]		(j) ⁴			
Affricate			tʃ			
Voiceless fricatives		s [s, ʃ]		x [x, h] ⁵		h [h, x, φ]
Nasals	m [m, b]	n				
Trill		r [r, n, h]				

The historical phonology of Andakí still leaves many open questions, yet is beyond the scope of this book. In several instances, forms seem to be etymologically related, yet the sound changes leading to the distinct forms are difficult to trace; one of these cases is <nansizhisze> ‘two’, “dos” (M_625), which seems to contain an element <zihi>, related to <szifi> ‘eyes’, “ojos” (M_423) (see Section 7). Andakí <szifi> ‘eye’, in turn, may be related to <chipi> as attested in <chipina> ‘face’, “rostro” (M_425). As illustrated below, there is considerable variation in the graphemes used in the manuscript; variation seems to be particularly frequent before <i>.

⁴Proposed as represented by <y> in Coronas Urzúa (1994: 88); there are no minimal pairs suggesting that <y> refers to a phoneme that is distinct from /i/.

⁵This phoneme is tentatively proposed in the present contribution; it is not proposed by Coronas Urzúa (1994).

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5.3.1 /p/

Three bilabial consonant phonemes have been postulated for Andakí by Coronas Urzúa (1994): /p/, /b/, and /m/. The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is represented by <p> in the orthography of the available sources and frequently occurs before /a/ or /ã/, less frequently before front vowels and hardly before back vowels. It does not occur in complementary distribution with other bilabial consonants but in the same environments (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 81).

(Near-)minimal pairs suggesting a phonemic distinction between Andakí /p/ and /b/ or /m/ are <piszihi> ‘rooster’, “gallo” (M_595) versus <biszica> ‘man’, “hombre” (M_732) and <muizihi> / <miszihi> ‘man’, “hombre” (M_459).⁶ Andakí /p/ <p> is opposed to /b/ in augmentative <-pi> ~ <-pihi> versus diminutive <-bi> ~ <-bihi> (see Section 15.5; sound symbolism may play a role in this context). A minimal pair opposing /p/ <p> to /k/ <k> is <paga> / <pagá> ‘manioc’, “yuca” (M_499) versus <kagá> ‘sweet potato’, “batata” (M_500).

5.3.2 /b/

The phoneme /b/ has been argued to be represented by and <v> (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 87–88). The grapheme <v>, probably representing a voiced bilabial fricative allophone of /b/ – mostly in 19th-century Andakí – occurs only before <e> or <i> – compare <vegaè> (A_163) and <bicahi> (M_630), both ‘bream’, “dorado”. Additionally, we suggest that there may have been a voiceless bilabial fricative variant of /b/ in 18th- and 19th-century Andakí alike, represented by <f> – this is suggested by the occurrence of forms such as <biza> / <bizá> ‘what?’, “qué” (M_063), and its variant <fiza> (cf. M_035). We tentatively propose that <v> and <f> refer to bilabial fricatives rather than to labiodental fricatives. Another fricative variant of /b/ may have been represented by <h> or zero, as suggested, for instance, by the variants <-(a)ba> and <-(a)ha> of the imperative₁ marker (see Section 14.5.2) and by <biza> / <bizá> (M_063), alternating with <yza> ‘what?’ (cf. M_146). In some single instances, we found evidence for variation between and <m>, as this is possibly the case in <biszica> (cf. M_732) and <muizihi> / <miszihi> (M_459), both ‘man’, “hombre”. In two further cases, there are some *b* : *m* correspondences between the data provided by Mutis (Anonymous 1701–1799[a],[b]) and Albis (1860–1861): compare <majihi> ‘macao’, “guacamayo” (M_599) versus <bafé> ‘macao’, “guacamaya” (A_004) and <bisinguay> / <bintiguay> (M_647) versus <mandeguae> (A_084), both ‘bat’, “murciélago”. The ‘bat’ term

⁶It is impossible to know whether the underlying phoneme is /b/ or /m/ in the Andakí term for ‘man’ (cf. also Coronas Urzúa 1994: 94).

suggests that there may have been nasalization of *b* if it is followed by a nasal vowel, similar to what can incidentally be observed for *r* (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 87–88).

5.3.3 /m/

An Andakí phoneme /m/ has been argued to be represented by <m> (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 94–95). The documentation of the two forms <muizihí> / <miszihi> ‘man’ (M_459), suggests that *w* is inserted between *m* and *i* in some cases.⁷ A possible variation between *b* and *m* in Andakí has been briefly discussed in the previous paragraph and by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 87–88).

In other cases, /b/ <f> and /m/ <m> are distinct phonemes: a minimal pair identified in the available Andakí data, opposing /b/ to /m/ is <mifi> /mibi/ ‘needle’, “aguja” (M_482) versus <fifi> / <fifi> /bibi/ ‘to call’ (cf. M_357).

5.3.4 /t/

Only one oral alveolar stop is postulated for Andakí by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 82): /t/. The non-existence of /d/ in Coronas Urzúa’s (1994) consonant inventory of Andakí is a remarkable gap; yet, there are no minimal pairs suggesting an opposition of Andakí *t* and *d*. In most cases where we find <d>, it occurs in the 19th-century word lists after a nasal vowel and corresponds to a <t> in the 18th-century word lists: compare <bisinguay> / <bintiguay> (M_647) versus <mandeguae> (A_084), both ‘bat’, “murciélago”, <szuntijohé> (M_656) versus <condefui> (A_039), both ‘tapir’, “danta” or <shuntahé> (M_657) versus <sondai> both ‘deer’, “venado” (A_152). That is, /t/ was probably realized as [d] in 19th-century Andakí after nasal vowels. In a few cases, a similar variation is found within the 18th-century materials, as in <antagoni> ‘quickly’, “aprisa” (M_555) versus <andagu> ‘quickly’, “presto” (M_550). That is, after a nasal vowel, and in a few cases, Andakí /t/ could facultatively be realized as [d] in the Andakí variety documented in the 18th century as well (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 82).

Elsewhere, <d> appears only in word-initial position before <i>; in the case of <dingá> / <dinga> ‘I’ (M_012), it represents an allophone of /r/ (see Section 9); in

⁷A similar phenomenon is attested in Muisca, an extinct Chibchan language of Central Colombia, where a non-syllabic element *w* is inserted if a labial consonant is followed by *i*, as in /miska/ [m^wiska] ‘human being’ (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 84). Whether the terms for ‘human being’ in Andakí and Muisca are related or not remains to be established. Borrowing of a term for ‘man’ or ‘human being’ is also attested in other cases in South America, for instance, in Quechua *runa* (Rosat Pontacti 2004: 949) versus Cholón *nun* ‘man, male person’ (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 363, 525).

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the cases of <difiacai> ‘sling’, “honda” (A_041) and <discaza> / <discazá> ‘ribbon’, “cinta” (M_614), the phoneme represented by <d> remains unclear; it is probably not /t/, since <t> also occurs in word-initial position followed by <i>, for instance, in <tiffi> ‘a plant, *Macleania rupestris*’, “uva camarona” (M_719) and in <tijitiana> ‘forehead’, “frente” (A_157) (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 82). A possible explanation is that <difiacai> ‘sling’, “honda” (A_041) and <discaza> / <discazá> ‘ribbon’, “cinta” (M_614) are borrowings. Alternatively, the distribution of <t> and <d> is just not perfectly complementary and we are dealing with unknown reasons of variation.

We found a (near-)minimal pair opposing /t/ <t> to /f/ <ch>: <tiffi> ‘a plant, *Macleania rupestris*’, “uva camarona” (M_719) versus <chifi> ‘penis’, “*membrum v.*” (M_454).

5.3.5 /s/

A voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ has been proposed by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 89–92). It is represented by <s>, <z>, <sh>, <sz>, <ch> before <i>, and also by <sc>, and occasionally by <ch> and <x> in the 18th-century materials; <ch> and <x> may refer to a retroflex and/or palatalized allophone of /s/ (cf. Coronas Urzúa 1994: 89–91). There is no minimal pair opposing *s* and *f* in Andakí. The use of different graphemes referring to a sibilant phoneme is illustrated in <siyozá> ‘grind (SG)!', “muele” (M_414), <ziyozá quifi> ‘grind (SG) corn!', “muele maíz” (M_214), <nisinxé> / <nizinxé> ‘it is already raining’, “ya llueve” (M_218), <ynszi> / <ynschi> ‘let us go away!', “vámonos” (M_313), <minsziguaxo> ‘weapon, fork’ “arma, cuchara” (M_584), <minchinaxo> ‘fork’, “cuchara” (M_112), and possibly also <juatuxa> / <juatuxá> (M_295), <juatus-za> / <juatuszá> (M_345), both ‘straight’, “derecho”. The sequences <fs>, <fsr>, and <fsrr> are attested only in the 18th-century materials and have been argued to represent another allophone of /s/, probably with a retroflex realization (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 90–91). The sequence <fsrr> is illustrated in (2–3).

- (2) <Cafsrriaxi?>
ca-**fsrr**iaxi?
2-forget
‘Did you (SG) forget?’, “Te olvidaste?” (M_117)
- (3) <Nifsrrajiqua> / <Nifsrrajigua>
ni-**fsrr**aji-qua
PROH-forget-PROH
‘Do not forget (SG)!', “No te olvides” (M_118)

By contrast, in the Albis (1860–1861) lists, only <s> is found as a symbol representing a sibilant, no further letters or letter combinations are used (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 81).

A minimal pair distinguishing between /s/ [s] <s> or [ʃ] <sz> on the one hand and /tʃ/ <ch> on the other hand is <sifi> (A_138), <szifi> (M_423), both ‘eyes’, “ojos”, versus <chifi> ‘penis’, “*membrum v.*” (M_454), another such minimal pair is <szinasza> ‘eyelash’, “pestaña” (M_436) versus <chinaszá> ‘mouth’, “boca” (M_439) (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 83). A (near-)minimal pair opposing /s/ [ʃ] <sh> to /tʃ/ <ch> is <shunguaxe> ‘broth’, “caldo” (M_138) versus <chunguaxe> / <chunguahé> ‘ears’, “orejas” (M_424). Finally, a (near-)minimal pair opposing /s/ <s> to /r/ <r> is <sasaguana> ‘bobbin’, “canilla” (A_133) versus <saraguañae> ‘chicken’, “gallina” (A_132).

5.3.6 /n/

Another alveolar consonant phoneme proposed by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 94–95) is the nasal stop /n/ <n>. The grapheme <n> may also represent an allophone of /r/ before a nasal vowel, as illustrated in Section 5.3.7. In syllable coda, the grapheme <n> is used to indicate nasality of the preceding vowels (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 74–75).

Among the near-minimal pairs that have been identified in this context are <nisinxé> / <nizinxé> ‘it is already raining’, “ya llueve” (M_218) versus <riszizá> ‘drink (SG)!’, “bebe” (M_364), <naszuhe> / <naszuhé> ‘rheumatism’, “romadizo” (M_638) versus <mashu> / <mashú> ‘ripe banana’, “plátano maduro” (M_495) (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 95).

5.3.7 /r/

One liquid consonant has been postulated for Andakí: the rhotic /r/ (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 95). In some cases, there seems to be free variation between <r>, <d>, and <n>, as in <ringa> (M_011), <dingá> / <dinga> (M_012), and <ninga> (M_010) ‘I’, “yo”. The fact that we find both <r> and <d> in this form suggests that <r> may have represented a tap [r] here, rather than a trill (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 82, 95). Note that the vowel that follows the rhotic phoneme is nasal in these examples, which may account for the occurrence of <n> in <ninga> (M_010) ‘I’, “yo” (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 95). This may also be compared with the observation of <r> in <rumpaguaza> (M_619) and <n> in <nampaguana> (A_106),⁸ both ‘poi-

⁸The apparent lowering of <um> to <am> in this form and of <in> to <an> in the term for ‘bat’, <bisinguay> / <bintiguay> (M_647) versus <mandeguae> (A_084), is discussed by Coronas Urzúa (1994: 77).

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son’, “veneno”, that is, of <r> before a nasal vowel in the 18th-century list item and of <n> in the 19th-century list item. There are further examples of variation in the case of Andakí <r>: compare, for instance, the different forms of the causative marker, <ra-> (M_194), <za-> (M_757), <naha-> (M_303), <na-> / <ná-> / <na-/ (M_202), or <nan-> [nã-] (M_289). Variation of <r> and <z> occurs in the context of the allative marker <-ra> or <-za> in <Ynszi yahara nâjubahá> versus <Ynszi yahaza nâjubahá> ‘Let us go to the river to wash ourselves!’, “Vamos al río a lavarnos” (M_254), in the imperative₂ marker <-ra> or <-za> (Section 14.5.3), and in the truncated negation marker <ra-> / <za->, illustrated in Section 15. In these cases, variation may have occurred between the rhotic and a voiced sibilant [ʒ] or [z]; the conditioning factors are yet unknown. In the unbound negation marker /para/ <pará> (M_049), variation is attested between <r>, <x>, and <g>: compare the negation markers <paxa> / <paxá> (M_143) and <paga> / <pagá> (M_310). Another possible case of variation occurs in the case of <r> and <h>, as in <ficora> (M_323) versus <ficoha> (M_251), both ‘non-desiderative’; the last examples of variation to be mentioned here occur in the different forms of the purpose marker /-hari/ (see Section 11.5): <xaré> / <-xazé> (M_186), <-fanxe> / <-janxe> (M_728), <-jachi> (M_077), <-jahe> / <-jahé> (M_204), <-jaxi> (M_078), <jaze> (M_147), <-jazo> (M_114).

A minimal pair opposing /r/ and /ʃ/ is <rini> ‘here’, “aquí” (M_553) versus <chini> ‘there’, “allí” (M_554); a minimal pair opposing /r/ and /n/ is <-ra> ‘allative’ (see Section 11.4) versus <-na> ‘pronominal genitive’ (see Section 11.2).

5.3.8 /ʃ/

Coronas Urzúa (1994) postulates the existence of a prepalatal voiceless affricate /ʃ/ <ch>. We found no evidence for allophonic variation in the case of /ʃ/ or for a representation of /ʃ/ by a letter or letter combination other than <ch>.

A near-minimal pair opposing /ʃ/ to /h/ is <guachixicá> / <guachixizá> ‘enter (sg)!’, “entra” (M_407) versus <guajixi> ‘pot’, “olla” (M_518); a near-minimal pair opposing /ʃ/ to /t/ is <guachixicá> / <guachixizá> ‘enter (sg)!’, “entra” (M_407) versus <guatihi> ‘gourd cup’, “mate” (M_519). For minimal pairs opposing /s/ to /ʃ/ see Section 5.3.5.

5.3.9 /k/

There is also a voiceless velar stop /k/ in Andakí (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 83–85). It is represented by <k> (mostly before <a>, and only in the 18th-century lists), <qu> (before <i> and <e>) or <c> (elsewhere) and often appears in variation with

<g> word-internally and after nasal vowel, as in <nancohe> / <nancohé> (M_601) versus <nangohe> / <nangohé> (M_102), both ‘turkey’, “pava”. The distribution of <c>, <k>, and <g> is similar to that of <t> and <d> in that <g> is more frequent after nasal vowels (cf. Coronas Urzúa 1994: 84). Although it is less common for <g> to occur word-initially (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 84), this occurs with the 2nd-person subject/agent marker <ka->, <ga->, illustrated in <gaqui> (M_122) and <kaqui> (M_133), both ‘you are’, “eres”.

As to minimal pairs, we found a set opposing /k/ <qu> to /h/ or /x/ <x>, <j> in <quifi> ‘corn’, “maíz” (M_214) versus <xifi> ‘candle’, “candela” (M_075), and, in the 19th-century materials, in <quifi> ‘nose’, “nariz” (A_115) versus <jifi> ‘candle’, “candela” (A_070).

5.3.10 /k^w/

A labialized velar /k^w/ has been postulated as an Andakí phoneme (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 85–86). It can be represented by sequences such as <hu>, <gu>, <qu>, <co>, and is most frequently followed by <a> (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 85–86). The sequence <qu> or <gu> may indeed have referred to a labialized velar /k^w/ rather than a sequence /ku/, since <qua> occurs quite frequently, but <pu>, <bu>, <tu>, followed by a vowel are not attested at all; <dua> exceptionally occurs in <duazo> (M_054), <anduazo> (M_113) and related forms for ‘banana’, “plátano” (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 86). The sequence /k^wa/ is also transcribed as <coba> and possibly realized as [koba] in a few cases:⁹ compare the 2nd-person imperative marker illustrated in (4), as opposed to (5–6).

- (4) <Firajiquichaza cobaquea rincaxahá>
 firaji qui-chaza **coba**-que-a rinca-xaha
 hungry COP-SUB 2.IMP-come-IMP I-OBL
 ‘When hungry, come (SG) to me!’, “En teniendo hambre ven a mí” (M_762)
- (5) <Cohagea juatuxa> / <Cohajea juatuxá>
coha-je-a juatuxa
 2.IMP-go-IMP straight
 ‘Walk (SG) straight!’, “Anda derecho” (M_295)
- (6) <Cohagea andagu>
coha-ge-a andagu
 2.IMP-go-IMP quickly
 ‘Go (SG) quickly!’, “Anda presto” (M_296)

⁹A similar development occurred in Buglere, a Chibchan language from Panama, see Pache (2018a: 275).

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The Andakí sequence <gua> [g^wa] seems to alternate with <ba> [ba] in <guatihi> (M_204) versus <batihi> (M_111), both ‘gourd cup’, “mate”; [k^wa] or [g^wa] may also alternate with [ka] in several cases, as illustrated by <coaya> / <coayá> (M_088) versus <cayazá> (M_376), both ‘sit down (SG)!’, “siéntate” or in the case of <figua> (M_049) versus <fica> (M_206) ‘non-desiderative’ (see Section 14.6.2).

The only minimal pair available in the context of Andakí /k^w/ is <chatagua> ‘hill’, “loma” (M_508) versus <chataya> ‘big river’, “río grande” (M_543).

5.3.11 /x/

In contrast with Coronas Urzúa (1994), we tentatively propose the existence of a voiceless velar fricative /x/ in Andakí. It can be represented by <x>, rarely <h>, and is attested in the noun class marker <-xe> ~ <-xi> ~ <-he> ~ <-hi> ‘liquid’, which occurs in <jexe> / <jexé> ‘water’, “agua” (M_074), <bacoxe>, ‘corn-based beverage’, “chicha” (M_032), <cahixi> ‘corn-based beverage’, “mazamorra” (M_541), <vnanszaxi> / <unanszaxi> ‘spirits’, “aguardiente” (M_563); this noun class marker is represented by <-hi> only in a few cases, for instance, in <szajihhi> ‘lake’, “laguna” (M_710). By contrast, Andakí has a realis mood marker /-hi/, discussed in Section 14.5.1, which is represented only by <-he> or <-hi>, but never by *<-xe> or *<-xi>. This suggests that <x> and <h> may, in some cases, have referred to different phonemes, /x/ and /h/. This distinction may have existed only in the Andakí variety documented in the 18th-century materials; Albis (1860–1861) writes <j> throughout.

5.3.12 /h/

The voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/ is represented by <j>, <g>, <x>, <f>, and <h>. The symbols <h> and <x> occur in the 18th-century materials only. Representing allophones or variants of /h/, the symbols <g>, <x>, and <f> exclusively or almost exclusively occur before <i> (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 81, 92–94). Some of the orthographic variation in the context of Andakí /h/ is illustrated by the examples <hijya> (M_159) versus <jijya> / <jijyâ> (M_019), both ‘who knows?’, “quién sabe”, or by <bujeaba> (M_281) versus <boxeaba> (M_085), both ‘let us go away!’, “vámonos”. The grapheme <h> hardly occurs in word-initial position, but it does occur in morpheme-initial position in the 18th-century lists. The use of <g> as representing Andakí /h/ is illustrated by <majixi> versus <magixi> ‘food’, “comida” (M_115), the use of <x>, <j>, <f>, and <ff> for /h/ is illustrated by <xizi> (M_076), <jizi> / <fizi> (M_142) ‘firewood’, “leña”, and by <micaffi>

‘roasted corn’, “maíz tostado” (M_539), <finticahé> ‘empty corn cob’, “tusa de maíz” (M_540), and <cahixi> a corn-based beverage, “mazamorra” (M_541). The labial allophone or variant of Andakí /h/, represented by <f>, also occurs before /a/ in a few cases, as in <szafani> / <szajani> ‘where?’, “dónde?” (M_551), or in <bizefazini?> / <bizejazini?> ‘what for?’, “para qué?” (M_185).¹⁰ Another symbol representing /h/ seems to be <ch> in <niyuhe?> / <niyuče?> ‘does she/he/it come?; has she/he/it come?’, “viene?; ha venido?” (M_024). In the 19th-century variant of Andakí documented by Albis (1860–1861), /h/ may have been realized as zero in some cases, as suggested by the forms <fuchigua> (M_580), from the 18th century, versus <ochegua> (A_110), both ‘hook’ “anzuelo” (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 94). These forms may also reflect dialectal differences between the two Andakí varieties documented in the 18th and 19th centuries, or a diachronic development.

¹⁰A realization of /h/ as a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] also occurs in other languages of the Isthmo-Colombian Area such as Cabécar (Chibchan) of Costa Rica (Margery Peña 1989: xxxix).

6 Nouns

Most single-word entries in the Andakí language materials are nouns, that is, forms that belong to an open class of items. They may refer to concrete entities, function as the argument of a predicate and as the head of a noun phrase, and take specific derivational morphemes, case markers, or specific plural markers (see, e.g., Dixon 2010: 39, 50). Nouns are particularly prominent in Albis' (1860–1861) list, which almost exclusively contains nouns. In the available Andakí language materials, nouns include basic vocabulary items, such as <ynquifi> 'nose', "nariz" (M_447), <sacaà> 'hand', "mano" (A_121), or <sacanaji> 'knee', "rodilla" (A_122). Others belong to cultural vocabulary, for instance, <batonafi> 'plate', "plato" (A_008) or <bujucahá> (M_479), <bojoca> (A_010), both 'ax', "hacha".

Many Andakí nouns contain a final element <hi>, <he>, or <e> (cf. Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 140), which we tentatively interpret as a stem formative. It occurs, for instance, in <mixinehi> 'dog', "perro" (M_099), <shuntahé> 'deer', "venado" (M_657), <batihi> 'gourd', "mate" (M_111), <muizihi> / <miszihi> 'man, human being', "hombre" (M_459), <kaquihi> 'sun', "sol" (M_463), <chiguae> 'son', "hijo" (A_032), but not in forms with female referents (see Table 6.1 below). This final element has the same shape as the realis mood morpheme <-hi> and its variants (see Section 14.5.1), but is probably not identical with it, as shown in (1), where we find <-hi> 'realis mood' co-occurring with the presumed stem formative <-he> in the same sentence (albeit in distinct syntactic units).¹ Given the uncertain status of this element, we prefer not to gloss it separately.

- (1) <Quahini mijinahé?>
qua-hi ni mijinahe?
good-REA Q dog
'Is your (SG) good?', "Es bueno tu perro?" (M_271)

In other nouns, there seems to be an element <-na>, which may have referred to longish shape originally.² It occurs in forms such as <sana> 'finger', "dedo"

¹An anonymous reviewer suspects that the nominal element <-he> and its allomorphs have structural significance and observes that in Tinigua a similar element *-he* functions as a verbal suffix, though its precise role remains unclear.

²An anonymous reviewer points out the similarity between the Andakí shape-related element *-na* and many Amazonian languages which also use *-na* as a classifier for elongated referents.

(A_127) (compare the slightly different form <safsrí> / <safsri> ‘finger’, “dedo” in the 18th-century materials, M_448), <chipina> ‘face’, “rostro” (M_425, possibly related to Andakí <szifi> ‘eyes’, “ojos”, M_423, and Nasa Yuwe *dʰiʔp* ‘face’, Gerdel 2023), <szixaná> ‘chest’, “pecho” (M_437). Note that the actual shape of the entity referred to by the root and the shape originally referred to by the classifying morpheme do not necessarily always coincide in a language (see, e.g., Pache 2016). A stem-formative originally referring to roundish entities may be <-fi>, as attested in <szifi> ‘eye’, “ojos” (M_423), or <chimbusi> ‘navel’, “omblogo” (M_446), and possibly <szitafi> ‘hill’, “cerro” (M_467) – a root related to <szita> occurs in <chitachini> ‘above’, “arriba” (M_569). Finally, <-xe> occurs in several nouns referring to liquids, for instance, <bacoxe> ‘chicha’ (M_032), <vnanszaxi>, <unanszaxi> ‘spirits’, “aguardiente” (M_563), or <jixe> ‘water’, “agua” (M_031). None of these stem formatives/classifying morphemes is glossed in this book, given that the meaning of the root is often unknown (for instance, the meaning of <baco> in <bacoxe> ‘chicha’).

Gender marking does not occur in Andakí pronouns, and it is marginal in Andakí nouns. Certain female kinship terms or person designations take a derivational suffix <-gua> (or a variant of it), whereas their male counterparts take <-he> or <-che>, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Derivational gender marking in Andakí nouns with male and female referents.

Female	Male
<cachinigua> ‘granddaughter’, “nieta” (M_491)	<cachinehe> / <cachineche> ‘grandson’, “nieto” (M_490)
<szasejagua> ‘cousin (female)’, “prima” (M_493)	<szasejahe> / <szasejahé> ‘cousin (male)’, “primo” (M_492)
<chiguacoa> ‘girl’, “muchacha” (M_702)	<chiguahe> ‘boy’, “muchacho” (M_701)

A suffix <-ni>, <-ne>, or <-re> with an unknown meaning occurs in Spanish loanwords in Andakí. Examples are <buytre-ni> ‘vulture’ (M_606, from Spanish *buitre* ‘vulture’), <oveja-ni> ‘sheep’ (M_097, from Spanish *oveja* ‘sheep’), and, possibly, <pari-ni> ‘priest’ (M_560, possibly from Spanish *padre* ‘priest’). A variant of <-ni> might be <-re>, attested in <guacaré> ‘cow’ (M_096, from Spanish *vaca* ‘cow’). Andakí nouns of non-Spanish origin do not seem to carry this morpheme. If Andakí <-ni> (and related forms) is indeed a classifying morpheme, it

is remarkable in that its use does not seem to be linked to semantics but to the loanword status of the nominal root to which it is attached. It does not occur with borrowed verbal roots, as illustrated by (2). The root <reza> is borrowed from Spanish (*rezar* ‘to pray’).

- (2) <Inszi rezara> / <Inszirezara>
 inszi reza-ra
 let.us.go pray-ALL
 ‘Let us pray!’, “Vamos a rezar” (M_129)

There are also several other, apparently derivational morphemes in Andakí nouns which have an unknown meaning – compare, for instance, <sacaà> ‘hand’, “mano” (A_121) versus <sacanifi> ‘forked stick’, “horqueta (palo bifurcado)” (A_123); the meaning of <nifi> remains unknown for the moment. Another case is <-jo>, illustrated in Table 6.2. Note the different position of <-jo> with respect to the presumed stem formative/classifying morphemes in Sets 1 and 2 (<-jo> plus <-hé>), Set 3 (<-fi> plus <-jo>), and Set 4 (<-jo> replaces <-he> / <-hé>).

Table 6.2: The derivational suffix <-jo>

Form 1	Form 2
1 <shuntahé> ‘deer’, “venado” (M_657)	<szuntijohé> ‘tapir’, “danta” (M_656)
2 <szahé> ‘worm’, “gusano” (M_645)	<szajohé> ‘dragonfly’, “chapul” (M_644)
3 <szifi> ‘eyes’, “ojos” (A_138)	<sifijo> ‘eyebrows’, “cejas” (A_139)
4 <chunguahe> / <chunguahé> ‘ears’, “orejas” (M_424)	<sunguajo> ‘ear’, “oreja” (A_155)

Finally, in some cases, there are specific word families in Andakí, for instance, nouns derived from a root <chigua> by a range of unknown suffixes: <chiguae> ‘son, offspring’, “hijo” (A_032), <chiguaco> ‘child’, “niño” (A_028), <chiguana> ‘chest’ (A_029), <chiguagua> ‘cousin’, “primo” (A_030), <chiguagus> ‘grand-child’, “nieto” (A_031).

In a few cases, the lefthand morpheme of a compound or derived form remains unknown, such as in <jorapahi> ‘caiman’, “caimán” (M_634), which is obviously related to <rapae> ‘caiman’, “caimán” (A_118),³ or in the case of <szajihi> ‘lake’,

³Compare, in Chicham languages, the formally similar terms Aguaruna *dapi* ‘snake’, *nampif* ‘worm’ (Wipio Deicat & Ritchie 2023), Huambisa *napi* ‘snake’, *nampif* ‘worm’ (Jakway 2008: 66–67).

6 Nouns

“laguna” (M_710), composed of <jixe> ‘water’, “agua” (M_031), and an unknown element <sza->. As first observed by Rivet (1924: 101), some Andakí nouns may carry a prefix <m(V)-> of unknown meaning, illustrated in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Andakí nouns with a prefix <m(V)->

Andakí noun with <i>m(V)</i> -prefix	Andakí noun without <i>m(V)</i> -prefix
<manduguaso> ‘banana’, “plátano” (A_089)	<duazo> (M_054) and <anduazo> ‘banana’, “plátano” (M_113)
<mijina> ‘earth’, “tierra” (A_097)	<jixena> ‘earth’, “tierra” (M_338)
<micaffi> ‘roasted corn’, “maíz tostado” (M_539)	<cahixi> ‘corn porridge’, “mazamorra”, (M_541), <finticahe> ‘empty corn cob’, “tusa de maíz” (M_540)

Like most other derivational morphemes discussed above, the prefix *m(V)*- is not frequently attested in the available Andakí materials. It may have a variant *(V)m*- or *(V)n*-: compare <mitae> (A_101) versus <vntahe> / <untahé> (M_464) ‘moon’, “luna”, <quifi> (A_115) versus <ynquifi> (M_447) ‘nose’, “nariz”, and <bihina> (M_693) versus <imbina> (A_066), ‘silver’, “plata” (cf. Coronas Urzúa 1994: 77).

7 Numerals

Only a few numerals have been documented for Andakí. They are presented and discussed in the present chapter. The numerals are shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Andakí numerals

Andakí numeral	English, Spanish
<guhigo>	‘one’, “uno” (M_624)
<nanszihisze>	‘two’, “dos” (M_625)
<nanszihisze haniguhe> / <nanszihisze haniguhé>	‘three’, “tres” (M_626)
<saquan cuacho aqua> / <saquan cuachoaqua>	‘five’, “cinco” (M_627)

These numerals are all morphologically complex: <guhigo> ‘one’ contains a morpheme that is probably related to <guuhe> / <guuhé> ‘other’, “otro” (M_016) and an unknown ending <-go>. A similar case of colexification of ‘one’ and ‘other’ occurs in Totoro (Barbacoan) and Ika (Chibchan) (Rzymiski et al. 2019), two languages that are likewise spoken in northwestern South America.

The element <szihí> in the term for ‘two’, <nanszihisze>, may be compared to <szifi> ‘eye’, “ojos” (M_423). A similar case of ‘two’ derived from ‘eye’ is found in some Nadahup languages (cf. Epps 2006), likewise from northwestern South America.

The numeral <nanszihisze haniguhe> ‘three’ is built on <nanszihisze> ‘two’ and an element <haniguhe>, which is probably analyzable as <hani-guhe> and may contain the root for ‘other’ or ‘one’, <guuhe>.

Note the absence of a numeral ‘four’ in the available Andakí materials. The numeral ‘four’ can have a particular position in South American counting systems (for details, see, e.g., Epps 2006; Pache 2018b).

Finally, <saquan cuacho aqua> or <saquan cuachoaqua> ‘five’ may contain a morpheme that is related to or identical with <sacahá> ‘hands’, “manos” (M_431), <sacahá> ‘hand’, “mano” (A_121).

8 Demonstratives: <ri-> ‘proximate’, <chi-> ‘distal’

Andakí demonstratives encode at least a two-way contrast. The demonstrative adverb <rini> (M_553) or <rimi> (M_261) is translated as ‘here’, “aquí”. The pronominal equivalent is <rihizi> ‘this’, “este” (M_014). Its use is illustrated in (1).

- (1) <Rajiza rihizi>
ra-ji-za rihizi
CAUS-go-IMP this
‘Take (SG) this!’, “Lleva a este” (M_194)

The distant demonstrative adverbs are <chinta> / <chintá> ‘there’, “allá” (M_177; M_552) and <chini> ‘there’, “allí” (M_554). Their pronominal equivalent is <chihi> or <chichi> / <chihi> ‘that’, “aquel” (M_015). This suggests that <-ni> in <rini> ‘here’ and <chini> ‘there’ has a locative meaning (see Section 11.3).¹ There are no examples that would illustrate the use of Andakí demonstratives as pronominal modifiers.

¹The demonstrative morphemes <ri-> ‘proximate’ and <chi-> ‘distal’ are reminiscent of Nasa Yuwe *na* ‘DEM.PROX’ and *txã, txa* ‘DEM.DIST’ (see Díaz Montenegro 2019: 276, 295, 764). For a further possible instance of Andakí *r* and *i* corresponding with Nasa Yuwe *n* and *a*, see see Footnote 6 (page 60).

9 Personal pronouns: <ninga> ‘I’, <rica> ‘you (SG)’, <ricacua> ‘you (PL)’

The data in the word lists contain Andakí 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns, but no 3rd-person pronouns. The 1st-person singular pronoun has several variants, among which are <ninga> (M_010), <ningua> (M_239), <ringa> (M_011), or <dingá> / <dinga> (M_012). There are no examples of 1st-person plural pronouns. Accordingly, we do not know whether Andakí made a distinction between the 1st-person plural inclusive and exclusive.

The 2nd-person singular personal pronoun is <rica> / <ricá> (M_013) and has a variant <recá> (M_050). The 2nd-person plural pronoun is derived from the singular form by the plural marker <-coa> ~ <-qua>, as shown in (1).

- (1) <Ninga yubi ricacoaxa fsrrane janora joazajuexa riguanto ajaze> /
<Ninga yubi rica coaxa fsr-rane janora joazajuexa ringuanto ajaze>¹ /
ninga yu-bi rica-coa-xa fsrranejano-ra joazajue-xa riguanto
I come-REA you-PRONPL-OBL teach-ALL God-OBL believe
ajaze
PURP
‘I come to teach you (PL) the law of God so that you may believe in him’,
“Vengo a enseñaros la ley de Dios para que creáis en él” (M_135)

The plural morpheme <-coa> ~ <-qua> occurs only with pronouns, not with nouns. The element <ri> as attested in <ringa> ‘I’, “yo” (M_011) and <rica> / <ricá> ‘you’, “tú” (M_013) is probably identical with the element <ri> that occurs in <rini> ‘here’, “aquí” (M_553) or <rihizi> ‘this’, “este” (M_014) (see Section 8).

In several instances, the use of personal pronouns appears to be optional in Andakí. In (2) the 1st-person subject is not overtly expressed at all.

- (2) <Quihi>
quihi
come
‘I came’, “vine” (M_733)

¹The hyphen is due to a line break in the manuscript.

9 *Personal pronouns*: <ninga> ‘I’, <rica> ‘you (SG)’, <ricacua> ‘you (PL)’

In (3), the 2nd-person subject is expressed by a prefix or proclitic only.

- (3) <Cachiya?> / <Cachiyá?>
ca-chiya?
2-eat
‘Have you eaten?’, “Habéis comido?” (M_043)

With imperative constructions, there is usually no pronoun (see 4).

- (4) <Quexiha> / <Quexihá>
que-xi-ha
2.IMP-go-IMP
‘Go (SG)!’, “Anda” (M_039)

Yet, we found one instance in the data of an imperative construction with a 2nd-person pronoun, which follows the verb (5).

- (5) <Quaxiha Rica> / <Quaxihá Ricá>
qua-xi-ha rica
2.IMP-go-IMP you
‘You (SG) go!’, “Anda vos” (M_051)

The Spanish translation suggests that in (5), the pronoun is added for emphasis. As a general rule, personal pronouns may precede or follow a verb in Andakí. In (6–7), subject person is expressed by a pronoun that precedes the verb.

- (6) <Ningaqui>
ninga qui
I come
‘I have already come’, “Ya yo vine” (M_311)
- (7) <Rica cachiya?> / <Rica cachiyá?>
rica ca-chiya?
you 2-eat
‘Have you (SG) eaten?’, “Vos habéis comido?” (M_044)

In (8–9), subject person is expressed by a pronoun that follows the verb.

- (8) <Yubi ninga>
yu-bi ninga
come-REA I
‘I come’, “Yo vengo” (M_256)

- (9) <Careszerecá?>
ca-resze reca?
2-drink you
'Did you (SG) drink yet?', "Ya bebiste?" (M_050)

While the personal pronoun refers to an intransitive subject in, for instance, (6), it expresses object person in (10).

- (10) <Ninga ca-mimi?>
ninga ca-mimi?
I 2-love
'Do you love me?', "Me queréis?" (M_232)

Note that there is no oblique case marker attached to the pronoun in (10). In (11), by contrast, the personal pronoun referring to the direct object carries an oblique case marker <-xa>. The oblique case marker is discussed in detail in Section 11.1.

- (11) <Ricaxa fifihe> / <Ricaxa fifihé>
rica-xa fifi-he
you-OBL call-REA
'It is you (SG) she/he/it calls', "A vos te llama" (M_193)

Data are too scarce to determine the reasons underlying the pattern of object marking illustrated in (10–11). Note that the word order in the Spanish translation of (11) is highly marked.

10 Interrogative pronouns

Several interrogative pronouns can be found in the available Andakí materials. In order to convey an interrogative meaning, the respective pronoun is combined with <ni> or <ne>, an apparently unbound interrogative morpheme, which will be discussed in Section 15.3. The formal similarities between most interrogation words suggests that they are etymologically related and derive from a common base.

The Andakí forms <biza> / <bizá> (M_063) and <fizi> (M_072) are translated as ‘what?’, “qué”. Other forms translated with ‘what?’, “qué” are: <yguhizi> (M_751), <yguhizi> (M_007), <yffize> (M_164), <ypchize> / <ypchizé> (M_303), <yguize> / <ypchize> (M_304); <yguhi> / <yguhichi> (M_269). The use of some of the forms mentioned above is illustrated in (1–3).

- (1) <Fizini?>
fizi ni
what Q
‘What is it?’, “Qué es?” (M_072)
- (2) a. <Yguhizi Kaquani>
yguhizi ka-qua ni
what 2-say Q
‘What do you (SG) say?’, “Qué dices?” (M_008)
- b. <Yguhizi caquani?>
yguhizi ca-qua ni?
what 2-say Q
‘What do you (SG) say?’, “Qué dices?” (M_751)
- (3) <Ypchize canahá quine?> / <Ypchizé canahá quiné?>
ypchize ca-naha-qui ne?
what 2-CAUS-go Q
‘What have you (SG) brought?’, “Qué has traído?” (M_303)

10 Interrogative pronouns

There is no dedicated object marker identifiable in (2–3). Andakí <biza> and <fizi> ‘what?’ recur in <fizajaqui=¹> / <fizajaquini> (M_035) and in <bizefazi>, <bizejazi> (M_185) ‘what for?’, “para qué”, which is illustrated in (4).

- (4) <Bizefazini?> / <Bizejazini?>
bize-fazi ni?
what-PURP Q
‘What for?’, “Para qué?” (M_185)

The second morpheme in Andakí <bizefazi>, <bizejazi> is the purposive ending <-fazi> or <-jazi>, which is discussed in Section 11.5. The interpretation of <bizejazi> and related elements as compound forms is also in line with the original orthography in (5), where the two morphemes are separated by a blank space.

- (5) <Yza jazini?>
yza-jazi ni?
what-PURP Q
‘What for?’, “Para qué?” (M_146)

The interrogative <bizazi> ‘how much?’, “qué tanto?” (M_183), is attested only once in the data, and likewise seems to contain the morpheme <biza> ‘what?’ plus a morpheme <-zi>;² it is shown in (6).

- (6) <Bizazini?>
biza-zi ni?
what-LS Q
‘How much?’, “Qué tanto?” (M_183)

A question word <bisci> / <biszi> ‘how many?’, “cuántos” seems to occur in two further constructions (M_175; M_243), which contain, however, further material that is not analyzable.

Finally, Andakí <biza> / <bizá> (M_063) ‘what?’ is formally reminiscent of <hiza> (M_037), <yhiza> (M_169), and <hihiza> (M_297) ‘why?’, “por qué”. The use of <hiza> is shown in (7).

¹The symbol <=> appears at times in the manuscript without an evident function. It occurs exclusively after an Andakí form, never before. It is more frequently found in the earlier portions of the list, especially in Ms. II/2911 where it appears only in the first half, and is found only twice in Ms. II/2912.

²The Andakí compound interrogative word <bizazi> ‘how much?’ relates to <biza> ‘what?’ in a way which is reminiscent of how Nasa Yuwe <maz> ‘how many?’ relates to the Nasa Yuwe interrogative element <m> (cf. Díaz Montenegro 2019: 284–286).

- (7) <Hizani>
 hiza ni
 why Q
 ‘Why?’, “Por qué?” (M_037)

The interrogative pronoun <nszaji> / <nszāji> (M_176) and its variants – <sxaxi> (M_067), <nszazi> (M_286), <hszazi> / <ñszazi> (M_288), and <sazi> (M_308) – are either translated as ‘where?’, as in (8–9), or as ‘how?’, as in (10).

- (8) <Sxaxini?>
 sxaxi ni?
 how/where Q
 ‘Where is she/he/it?’, “Dónde está?” (M_067)

- (9) <Nszajini?>
 nszaji ni?
 how/where Q
 ‘Where are they?’, “Dónde están?” (M_176)

- (10) <Sazi cayuni?>
 sazi ca-yu ni?
 how/where 2-come Q
 ‘How have you (SG) come?’, “Cómo has venido?” (M_308)

(8–10) seem to illustrate the colexification of ‘where?’ and ‘how?’ in Andakí, which is not an unusual phenomenon in South American indigenous languages. It is also found, for instance, in Guahibo (Guahiboan), Itonama (isolate), Lengua-Mascoy languages, Trinitario (Arawakan), and in Waimaja (Tucanoan) (Rzymski et al. 2019).

The interrogative root <szaja> (M_178, M_188) or <szafa> (M_551), by contrast, is always translated as ‘where?’ in the available Andakí data; its use is illustrated in (11).

- (11) <Szajani?>
 szaja ni?
 where Q
 ‘Where?’, “Dónde?” (M_188)

A recurrent element in several Andakí interrogatives is final <ze> or <zi>, for instance, in <ypchize> ‘what?’ (3) and <sazi> ‘how/where?’ (10). It seems to be fossilized and it remains to be established whether it can be related to <-zi> as it

10 Interrogative pronouns

occurs in <rihizi> ‘this’ (see Section 8) and to the productive relativizing suffix <-zi> discussed in Section 13, which deals with Andakí expressions translated as adjectives and adverbs.

Lastly, Andakí <qua> (M_003) is translated as ‘who?’; its variant <qui> is illustrated in (12).

- (12) <Naquini>
na-qui ni
COP-who Q
‘Who?’, “Quién” (M_002)

Interrogative constructions comprising Andakí <qua> or <qui> ‘who?’ are quite different from the interrogative constructions discussed above: Andakí <naqua> or <naqui>, as illustrated in (12), is morphologically complex; we tentatively interpret <na-> as a copular prefix. This construction occurs in cleft sentences like those shown in (13–14), where <na-qua> ‘COP-who’ is not followed by the interrogative marker <ni>.

- (13) <Naqua fifiquani?>
na-qua fifi qua ni?
COP-who call who Q
‘Who calls you (SG)?’, “Quién te llama?” (M_003)
- (14) <Naqua naquiquani> / <Náqua náquiguani?>
na-qua na-qui qua ni?
COP-who CAUS-come who Q
‘Who brought you (SG)?’, “Quién te trajo?” (M_202)

In a number of cases, the interrogative suffix <ni> follows <na-qua> ‘COP-who’ and occurs in both clauses of the cleft sentence. This is illustrated in (15–17).

- (15) <Naqua niuquani?>
na-qua ni u qua ni?
COP-who Q cook who Q
‘Who cooks?’, “Quién cocina?” (M_004)
- (16) <Naqua nimaquani?>
na-qua ni ma qua ni?
COP-who Q die who Q
‘Who dies?’, “Quién muere?” (M_005)

- (17) <Naqua niquaquani?>
na-qua ni qua qua ni?
COP-who Q kill who Q
'Who kills?', "Quién mata?" (M_006)

It is difficult to know to what extent the use of <ni> expresses information structure and whether the focus of the question is different in (13–14) and (15–17), directed at the action in (13–14) and at the person in (15–17). Andakí <na-qua> and <na-qui> 'COP-who' is found only in subject position and never in object position in the available Andakí data.

11 Case markers and postpositions

The present chapter is dedicated to Andakí case markers and postpositions. Although we transcribe all these grammatical morphemes with a hyphen, there is not always sufficient information that would allow us to clearly determine their status as suffixes, enclitics, or free forms. In Section 11.1, we suggest an interpretation of <-xa> ~ <-ja> as an oblique case marker. Section 11.2 will argue in favor of <-na>, <-uza>, and <-ahé> as genitive markers. In Section 11.3, we discuss locative <-ni>, in Section 11.4, allative <-ra>, and in Section 11.5, purposive <-xaré> ~ <-jazi>. The character of these elements as bound or unbound morphemes is not always easy to determine.

11.1 Oblique: <-xa> ~ <-ja>

The oblique marker <-xa> ~ <-ja> can be attached to personal pronouns and nouns alike. Its use with personal pronouns is illustrated in (1–3). Its use might add emphasis, as suggested by the Spanish translations in (2) and (3).

- (1) <Ricaxa>
rica-xa
you-OBL
'To you (SG)', "A vos, o a ti" (M_017)
- (2) <Ningaxa riguantoza>
ninga-xa riguanto-za
I-OBL believe-IMP
'Believe (PL) me!/It is me you (PL) should believe', "Creedme a mí" (M_348)
- (3) <Ricaxa fifihe> / <Ricaxa fifihé>
rica-xa fifi-he
you-OBL call-REA
'It is you (SG) she/he/it calls', "A vos te llama" (M_193)

There seems to be differential object marking depending on the animacy of the referent: <-xa> attaches only to animate patients. In (4–5), the animate patients <verayue> 'rabbit' and <nunszue> 'fish' are marked as direct objects.

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- (4) <Nunquiza verayueja> / <Nunquizá veraýueja>
nunqui-za verayue-ja
look-IMP rabbit-OBL
'Look (SG) at the rabbit!', "Mira el conejo" (M_191)
- (5) <Nunquiza nunszueja>
nunqui-za nunszue-ja
look-IMP fish-OBL
'Look (SG) at the fish!', "Mira el pez" (M_192)

Interrogative pronouns referring to inanimate entities (6) and nouns referring to inanimate entities such as food (7), drinks (8), and clothes (9), do not appear to receive the morpheme <-xa> ~ <-ja> in object position.

- (6) <Ychuize camine?> / <Ypchize caminé?>
ypchize ca-mi ne?
what 2-want Q
'What do you (SG) want?', "Qué quieres?" (M_304)
- (7) <Chiya nenguihi=> / <Chiya nênguihi>
chiya nenguihi
eat fish
'I want to eat fish', "Quiero comer pescado" (M_082)
- (8) <Andagu biguaza bacoze> / <Andagu biquaza bacozé>
andagu bi-gua-za bacoze
quickly RAP-make-IMP chicha
'Make (SG) *chicha* quickly!', "Haz presto chicha" (M_150)
- (9) <Quanca jehá sasza> / <Quanajeha sasza>
quan-caje-ha sasza
2.IMP-wash-IMP clothes
'Wash (SG) the clothes!', "Lava la ropa" (M_210)

Compare the direct object 'fish' in (5) and (7) above: in (5), the term for fish refers to a living entity and receives object marking, whereas in (7), it refers to fish in terms of food and the noun in object position does not carry any object marking. In some cases, however, <-xa> seems to be missing with animate direct objects, too; that is, the use of this direct object marker does not seem to be obligatory, at least with pronouns. This is illustrated in (10).

- (10) <Ninga ca-mimi?>
ninga ca-mimi?
I 2-like
‘Do you love me?’, ‘Me queréis?’ (M_232)

It seems that <-xa> ~ <-ja> also has other functions than marking the direct object: with the verb <caya> ‘to sit; to live’ and its variants, for instance, it appears to express a comitative meaning (‘with’), as in (11–12).

- (11) <Cafianzuhi ningaxa ca-yasesza?>¹ / <Cafianzuhi ningaxá cayasesza?>
ca-fianzu-hi ninga-xa caya-sesza?
2-like-REA I-OBL live-DES
‘Do you (SG) want to live with me?’, ‘Quieres vivir conmigo?’ (M_353)
- (12) <Nincaxa coaya>
nincaxa coaya
I-OBL live.IMP
‘Live (SG) with me!’, ‘Vive conmigo’² (M_223)

The morpheme <-xa> is translated as ‘about’, “de” in (13), and may also have been used to convey meanings such as conversation topic.

- (13) <Nszazi raguayani xin-gaxá?>³ / <Nszâzi raguayani xingaxá?>
nszazi ra-gua-ya ni xinga-xa?
how/where AOR-say-PL Q I-OBL
‘What do they say about me?’, ‘Qué dicen de mí?’ (M_758)

Usually, terms that refer to feelings seem to take an unmarked subject; note that there are only examples of such constructions with a 1st-person subject. Two cases are illustrated in (14–15).

- (14) <Ninga firajichi>
ninga firajichi
I hungry
‘I am hungry’, ‘Yo tengo hambre’ (M_029)

¹Hyphenation is due to a line break in the manuscript.

²(12) is tentatively interpreted as an imperative construction, given that we also find the single form of <coaya> / <coayá> ‘sit down (SG)!’, “siéntate” (M_088). Yet, neither the Spanish translation nor the Andakí forms allow it to clearly distinguish this construction from a construction involving a 3rd-person subject and indicative mood.

³The hyphen is due to a line break in the manuscript.

11 Case markers and postpositions

- (15) <Ninga finajuče>
ninga finajuče
I thirsty
'I am thirsty', "Yo tengo sed"⁴ (M_030)

There is also one instance in the data, however, where the experiencer, <ninga> 'I' once more carries the oblique marker <-xa> ~ <-ja> in such a construction (16).

- (16) <Najanszichi ningaxa>
najanszichi ninga-xa
angry I-OBL
'I (M) am furious', "Yo estoy rabioso" (M_333)

The use of oblique <-xa> in (16) remains unexplained; as a difference from (14) and (15), the pronoun referring to the experiencer follows the verb in (16), whereas it precedes it in (14) and (15); the use of <-xa> in (16) might be related to this different word order.

11.2 Genitive: <-na>, <-azu>, <-ahe>

Used with pronouns, the Andakí morpheme <-na> functions as a genitive or possessive marker. This is shown in (17).

- (17) <Nszajini jixena ricaná?>
nszaji ni jixena rica-na?
how/where Q land you-PRONPOSS
'What is your (SG) land?', "Cuál es tu tierra?" (M_339)

In (18), the 1st-person pronoun is followed both by the genitive marker <-na> and the allative morpheme <-ra>.

- (18) <Ynszi jixena ninganara>
ynszi jixena ninga-na-ra
let.us.go land I-PRONPOSS-ALL
'Let us go to my land!', "Vamos a mi tierra" (M_338)

⁴The terms for 'thirsty' and 'hungry' are almost certainly polymorphemic. For instance, the element <juche> in <finajuče> 'thirsty' may have a counterpart <xuchi> in <rúxuchi-hi> / <ruxuhi-hi> 'I am cold', "tengo frío" (M_140; hyphenation added by the authors). The ending <-che> or <-chi> recurs in forms referring to emotions and to hunger, thirst, cold and similar feelings and is not further analyzed here.

The genitive marker <-na> seems to occur in possessive pronouns only. To what extent it is related to the locative nominalizer <-na> (see the introduction of Section 14) remains to be established.

We found two examples in the data with a regular noun referring to the possessor. Here as well, the form referring to the possessor follows the noun referring to the possessed entity — yet, the possessor is marked by <-azu> in (19).

- (19) <Guasu nosehazu>
 guasu noseh-azu
 egg louse-GEN
 ‘Nits’, “Liendres” (M_689)

The term for ‘chicken egg’, “huevo de gallina” is given elsewhere as <huasho> (M_674), obviously the same term as <guasu> in (19), the term for ‘lice’, “piojos” is <nozihí> (M_688). In (20), no genitive marker can be securely identified. The separate entry for ‘cow’ is <guacaré> (M_096), from Spanish “vaca” plus an unknown, possibly lexicalized suffix <-re>; glossing is tentative in (20).

- (20) <Chiguahé guacarahe> / <Chiguahé guacarahé>
 chiguahe guaca-r-ahe
 offspring COW-LS-GEN
 ‘Calf’, “Becerrito” (M_655)

We tentatively interpret the final element <-ahe> in <guacarahé> ‘of the cow’ as a genitive marker. In all these possessive constructions, the noun referring to the possessed entity precedes the noun or pronoun that refers to the possessor.

11.3 Locative: <-ni>

In Section 8, it was suggested that <-ni> in <rini> ‘here’, “aquí” (M_553) and <chini> ‘there’, “allí” (M_554) has a locative meaning. The use of <rini> and <chini> is illustrated in (21–22). To what extent the use of <-ni> ‘locative’ is restricted to these demonstratives or was productive in 18th- and 19th-century Andakí is impossible to determine for lack of data. Note the different position of <rini> and <chini> in the two examples.

- (21) <Coayaza rini> / <Coyazarini>
 coaya-za ri-ni
 sit-IMP PROX-LOC
 ‘Sit (sg) here!’, “Siéntate aquí” (M_189)

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- (22) <Chini caxini>
chi-ni ca-xi ni
DIST-LOC 2-go Q
'Which way are you (SG) going?', "Por dónde vas?" (M_092)

In (23), the adverb <chinta> / <chintá> 'there', "allá" (M_177; M_552) seems to take a variant <-ne> of this locative marker.

- (23) <Chinta nechayaya> / <Chinta nhayaya>
chinta-ne haya-ya
that-LOC live-PL
'There they live', "Allá viven"⁵ (M_331)

11.4 Allative: <-ra>

A frequently attested Andakí grammatical morpheme is <-ra> 'allative'. It is formally similar to Nasa Yuwe allative *-na* (see Díaz Montenegro 2019: 496).⁶ This morpheme marks the complement of the verb 'to go' and may be attached to nouns and verbs alike, as shown in (24–26), which suggests a clitic status of this morpheme.

- (24) <Jibi yahara> / <Jibi yahàra>
ji-bi yaha-ra
go-REA river-ALL
'I am going to the river', "Me voy al río" (M_292)
- (25) <Jihiza chiyara> / <Jihiza chiyará>
jihi-za chiya-ra
go-IMP eat-ALL
'Go (SG) eat!', "Anda come" (M_317)
- (26) <Jibi chihizerá> / <Jibi chihizera>
ji-bi chihize-ra
go-REA urinate-ALL
'I am going to urinate', "Voy a orinar" (M_753)

⁵We have no explanation for the form <haya> as a variant of <caya> 'to live'. In entry (M_764), we find the variant <aya> 'to live' (3, Section 15.1), and in entry (M_754), we find <zaya> 'to remain'.

⁶For a correspondence of Andakí <r>: Nasa Yuwe /n/, compare also Andakí <ri-> 'proximate demonstrative' and Nasa Yuwe *na* 'proximate demonstrative'; see Section 8.

Since grammaticalization from allative to complementizer is quite widespread (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 37), Andakí <-ra> is discussed here, in the chapter dealing with case markers and postpositions, even if it also occurs with verbs, as in (25–26). Besides to the complements of <ji> ~ <jihi> ‘to go’, as in (24–26), <-ra> is also attached to the complements of other motion verbs such as <buji> ‘to go away’ and <raje> ‘to bring’, both containing the root <ji> ‘to go’. These cases are shown in (27–28).

- (27) <Ninga bujibi cogora>
 ninga bu-ji-bi cogo-ra
 I TRANSL-GO-REA house-ALL
 ‘I want to go home’, “Yo quiero irme a casa” (M_291)
- (28) <Quarajea cogora>
 qua-ra-je-a cogo-ra
 2.IMP-CAUS-GO-IMP house-ALL
 ‘Bring (SG) me to your (SG) house!’, “Llévame a tu casa” (M_771)

Allative <-ra> also follows the complement of <ynszi> ‘let us go’, as shown in (29–30).

- (29) <Inszijicora>
 inszi jico-ra
 let.us.go church-ALL
 ‘Let us go to the church!’, “Vamos a la iglesia” (M_128)
- (30) <Inszizazara> / <Inszirezara>
 inszi reza-ra
 let.us.go pray-ALL
 ‘Let us pray!’, “Vamos a rezar” (M_129)

Allative <-ra> might also be present in forms like <junquera> ‘upwards’, “arriba” (M_568) and <canara> ‘downwards’, “abajo” (M_570). In the previous examples illustrating the uses of allative <-ra>, the verb always precedes the allative complement. This order is not fixed, however, as shown in (31).

- (31) <Fichanara rajihi> / <Fichanará rajichi>
 ficha-na-ra ra-ji-hi
 brush-LOC-ALL AOR-go-REA
 ‘She/he/it left for the field’, “Se fue a la chagra” (M_161)

11.5 Purpose: <-xare> ~

Andakí has a purpose marker <-xare> or <-jazi>, which is attested, in one case, after an interrogative pronoun (32).

- (32) <Bizejazini?> / <Bizefazini?>
 bize-jazi ni?
 what-PURP Q
 ‘What for?’, “Para qué?” (M_185)

In all other cases discussed here, the purpose marker is attached to a verb and it may therefore have a clitic status. It is notwithstanding discussed in the chapter on case markers and postpositions, since purpose markers often derive from them (for instance, from benefactive markers, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 335). Andakí <-jazi> has several variants, for instance, <-fanxe> / <-janxe> (M_728), <-jachi> (M_077), <-jahe> / <-jahé> (M_204), <-jaxi> (M_078), <jaze> (M_147), <-jazo> (M_114), <-xaré> / <-xazé> (M_186). The underlying phonological form is difficult to determine; it may have been /-hare/ or /-xare/. Some of the variants mentioned above are shown in (33–36).

- (33) a. <Chiya jaze>
 chiya-jaze
 eat-PURP
 ‘In order to eat’, “Para comer” (M_147)
- b. <Choya xaré> / <Choyaxazé>
 choya-xare
 eat-PURP
 ‘In order to eat’, “Para comer” (M_186)
- (34) <Risizifanxe> / <Risizijanxe>
 riszi-fanxe
 drink-PURP
 ‘In order to drink’, “Para beber” (M_728)
- (35) <Quananqueha bacuchirisizijachi> / <Quananquehá Bacuchirisizijachi>
 qua-nan-que-ha bacuchi riszi-jachi
 2.IMP-CAUS-COME-IMP *mazato* drink-PURP
 ‘Bring (SG) *mazato* in order to drink!’, “Trae *mazato* para beber” (M_077)

- (36) <Bacoxe quananquehá riszijaxi> / <Bacoxe quananqueha riszijaxi.=>
 bacoxe qua-nan-que-ha riszi-jaxi
chicha 2.IMP-CAUS-come-IMP drink-PURP
 ‘Bring (SG) *chicha* in order to drink!’, “Trae *chicha* para beber” (M_078)

The purposive construction stands at the end of the utterance in (35–36), yet the order of verb and object varies in the main clause: VO in (35) and OV in (36).

Finally, the purposive marker does not only indicate purpose, as in (33–36) but also has a nominalizing function in some contexts, deriving the word ‘beverage’, as shown in (37).

- (37) <Riszfaxi> / <Riszijaxi>
 riszi-faxi
 drink-PURP
 ‘Beverage’, “Bebida” (M_116)

In Andakí <chiyazi> ‘food’, “comida” (M_041), derived from <chiya> ‘to eat’, “comer” (M_082), <-yazi> is reduced to <-zi>, probably in order to avoid a sequence *iaia* in this case.

12 Ownership: <inca>

The morpheme <inca> with variants <enca>, <ka>, <naa>, and <nca> is used in predicative possession. This is among the few grammatical morphemes in Andakí with an initial vowel (see Section 5.1). Andakí <inca> may best be interpreted as a morpheme that derives a noun phrase referring to a person who has a relation of ownership with the referent of the base, similar to Quechuan *-juq* (see Adelaar 1977: 226–227). The resulting construction is shown in (1).

- (1) <Jahá chanca enca> / <Jahá chanca encá>
jaha chanca enca
yes husband PROP
'Yes, I have a husband', "Sí, tengo marido" (M_173)

Note that in (1) and elsewhere in the available Andakí examples, the possessor is not explicitly expressed.

The morpheme <inca> occurs in both statements and questions. Specifically, we have only examples of interrogative clauses involving a 2nd-person possessor ('Do you have...?') and declarative clauses involving a 1st-person possessor ('I have...') in the available Andakí materials. The morpheme in question, <inca> and related forms, always follows the noun referring to the possessed entity. In questions, it precedes the copula, as in (2–5).

- (2) <Nanqui zincaque> / <Nañquizincaque>
nanquiz inca que
meat PROP COP
'Do you have meat?', "Tenéis carne?" (M_284)
- (3) <Néngui en caque?> / <Neñgui encaqué?>
nengui enca que?
fish PROP COP
'Do you have fish?', "Tenéis pescado?"¹ (M_079)

¹Note the formal similarity between the Andakí terms for 'meat' in (2) and for 'fish' in (3).

12 *Ownership: <inca>*

- (4) <Chigua cancaqué?>
chiguaca nca que?
children PROP COP
'Do you have children?', "Tenéis hijos?" (M_174)
- (5) <Chanca encaquehé?>
chanca enca que-he?
husband PROP COP-REA
'Do you have a husband?', "Tenéis marido?" (M_172)

Note that in (2–5) there is no interrogative marker <ni> (see Section 15.3).

13 Adjectives and adverbs

The present chapter discusses those Andakí expressions that are translated as adjectives and adverbs in the available sources. There are more examples of adverbs in attributive function than adjectives. In attributive function, adverbials are attested as modifiers of verbs in Andakí. They may precede or follow the verb, as shown in (1–2).

- (1) <Andagu buxiza>
andagu bu-xi-za
quickly TRANSL-go-IMP
'Leave (SG) soon!', "Vete breve" (M_023)
- (2) <Bujiza andagu> / <Bujizá andagu>
bu-ji-za andagu
TRANSL-go-IMP quickly
'Go (SG) quickly!', "Anda presto" (M_190)

Andakí attributive expressions often carry morphemes such as <na-> or <nan->, <-gu>, or <-zi>. The morphemes <na-> ~ <nan->, and <-gu> will be discussed further below. We find final <-zi> or <-ze>, for instance, in <dacoze> 'quickly', "presto" (compare <andagu> 'quickly', "presto" in 1 above), or in color terms such as <guachuarazi> 'yellow', "amarillo" (M_713), <jisimizi> 'blue', "azul" (M_714), or <fitizi> 'red', "colorado" (M_715), but also in <jinszizi> 'dirty', "sucio" (M_123) and other forms translated with Spanish adjectives and interrogative pronouns (see Section 10). The use of <-zi>, but also of <na-> ~ <nan->, and <-gu>, seems to follow specific rules. For instance, the Andakí modifier <qua> 'good' carries <-zi> when in attributive function, as shown in (3–4), and we tentatively interpret <-zi> as forming (headless) relative clauses (cf. Gil 2013).

- (3) <Quazi mimi>
qua-zi mimi
good-REL love
'I love you (PL) very much', "Mucho os quiero."¹ (M_222)

¹The translation, in Ms. II/2911, but not in Ms. II/2912, is "mucho os quiere" 'she/he/it loves you very much' with a 3rd-person subject. Also, in Ms. II/2911, <quazi mimi> seems to be followed by a sequence which is difficult to decipher and is probably <rr>.

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- (4) <Quazira chiyaya>
qua-zi ra-chiya-ya
good-REL AOR-eat-PL
'They have eaten everything', "Todo han comido" (M_168)

By contrast, in (5–7), Andakí <qua> or <quan> 'good' is used predicatively, as an argument in copula complement function, and does not carry <-zi> 'relative'.

- (5) <Quancaquehé>
quan ca-que-he
good 2-COP-REA
'Are you (SG, M) good?', "Estás bueno?" (M_258; M_267)
- (6) <Quahini mijinahé?>
qua-hi ni mijinahe?
good-REA Q dog
'Is your (SG) dog good?', "Es bueno tu perro?" (M_271)
- (7) <Quahi>
qua-hi
good-REA
'It is good', "Bueno es" (M_272)

Attributively used adjectives and relative clauses are not collapsed in all instances in Andakí, however. The morpheme <qua> 'good', shown in (3–7) above, also appears to be present in <nanquazi> 'beautiful', "bonito" (M_724); yet, the form with final <-zi> appears only when listed as a separate entry in the 18th-century Andakí materials. As illustrated below, unlike <qua> 'good', <nan-qua> 'COP-good' and its variant <nin-qua> appear without final <-zi> not only in those examples where they have a predicative function (8), but also where they have an attributive function (9). Andakí <na-> ~ <nan-> ~ <nin-> is tentatively interpreted as a copular prefix here. It is also found in certain Andakí interrogative cleft-constructions (see Section 10). First, an example of <nanqua> in predicative function is shown in (8).

- (8) <Nanqua gaqui>
nan-qua ga-qui
COP-good 2-COP
'You (SG, FEM) are beautiful', "Eres bonita" (M_122)

Second, (9), likewise of a cleft construction, illustrates <nin-qua> 'COP-good' in attributive function.

- (9) <Ninquaca guabi>²
 nin-qua ca-gua-bi
 COP-good 2-say-REA
 ‘You (SG) say very well’, “Muy bien dice” (M_209)

Andakí <-cu>, by contrast, attested in the isolated entry <yazicu> ‘ugly’, “feo” (M_650) or <yaseco> ‘bad’, “malo” (A_162), seems to have a distribution that can be compared to that of Andakí <-zi> ‘relativizer’ in <nanquazi> ‘beautiful’. As an isolated entry in the word lists, the form in question appears with final <-gu> ~ <-co>, and it occurs without final <-gu> ~ <-co> both in predicative and in attributive function, as shown in (10) and (11), respectively.

- (10) <Yazin Kaqui>
 yazin ka-qui
 bad 2-COP
 ‘You (SG, FEM) are ugly’, “Eres fea” (M_133)
- (11) <Andagu quagua yazi fi-rajichi>³ / <Andagu quagua yazi firajichi>
 andagu qua-gua yazi firajichi
 quickly 2.IMP-cook bad hungry
 ‘Cook (SG) quickly, I am hungry’, “Cocina presto, que tengo hambre” (M_151)

Thus, it seems that <yazicu> / <yazeco> ‘ugly’, ‘bad’ and <nanquazi> ‘beautiful’ only carry the relativizing suffixes <-cu> and <-zi> if they are elicited in isolation, and occur without them in predicative and in attributive function in the available Andakí examples.

A few Andakí adverbs do not seem to occur with a final suffix <-zi> or <-cu>. This is the case for <juatuxa> ‘straight’, “derecho” (M_670). In attributive function, this modifier appears without any further morphology, as shown in (12). There is no corresponding predicative construction in the available Andakí data.

- (12) <Cohagea juatuxa> / <Cohajea juatuxá>
 coha-ge-a juatuxa
 2.IMP-go-IMP straight
 ‘Walk (SG) straight!’, “Anda derecho” (M_295)

²In Ms. II/2911, the original form is <ninquaqua guabi>, final <qua> is crossed out and <ca> is placed above it.

³Hyphenation is due to a line break in the manuscript.

13 Adjectives and adverbs

To what extent the uses of the copula prefix and of the relativizing suffixes are also governed by semantic and pragmatic principles is difficult to glean from the available materials. In the neighboring Nasa Yuwe language, there is a suffix *-sa*, possibly a counterpart of Andakí <-zi> ‘relative’, which derives headless relative clauses and can be attached to color terms or verbs in this language (e.g., Jung 2008: 144–145; Díaz Montenegro 2019: 261). The use of Nasa Yuwe *-sa*, for instance with a color term, has been argued to add emphasis, compared with the use of the color term without *-sa* (Jung 2008: 148).

14 Verbs

In this chapter, we will discuss the grammar of the Andakí verb and particular phenomena of the verbal domain. First, we will discuss those features that are expressed by prefixes and proclitics: causative marking (Section 14.1), the marking of spatial notions (Section 14.2), aspect/aspectual notions (Section 14.3), and verbal person marking (Section 14.4). This is followed by a discussion of those bound and unbound grammatical elements that follow the verbal root and mark mood (Section 14.5) and modality (Section 14.6). This chapter also comprises a discussion of verbal root suppletion (Section 14.7) and the copula in Andakí (Section 14.8).

The Andakí word lists – in particular those from the 18th century – contain several verbs, that is, forms that typically occur as heads of a predicate, refer to actions, and take specific morphology such as markers of tense, aspect, and modality (see, e.g., Dixon 2010: 39, 52–53). In the anonymous 18th-century Andakí materials, individually listed verbs are easily identifiable in that they carry <-za>, which marks imperative mood. In a few cases, the verbal root and its nominal counterpart are nearly identical and seem to be etymologically related. This is the case with <shungua> ‘to hear’ (cf. M_731) and the corresponding noun <chunguahe> / <chunguahé> ‘ears’, “orejas” (M_424), which carries a stem formative <-he> ~ <-hé> (see Section 6). In other cases, the verb is fundamentally distinct from and probably etymologically unrelated to the corresponding noun, as is the case with <zega> ‘urine’, “orines” (M_021) and <chisi> ‘to urinate’ (cf. M_389). Overall, verbs are less frequently found in the available Andakí lists than nouns.

The verb tends to occur at the end of an Andakí utterance in transitive and intransitive constructions alike. All intransitive and most transitive constructions have S or A expressed by a pronoun in the available Andakí materials, not by a noun. In intransitive constructions, in which S is expressed by a pronoun, SV is the most frequently attested constituent order, shown in (1), although VS also occurs, shown in (2).

14 Verbs

- (1) <Ninga buxibi>
ninga bu-xi-bi
I TRANSL-go-REA
'I go away', "Yo me voy" (M_320)
- (2) <Yubi ninga>
yu-bi ninga
come-REA I
'I come', "Yo vengo" (M_256)

There are only a few transitive constructions. A construction with AOV constituent order in which the transitive subject (A) is expressed by a personal pronoun is shown in (3).¹

- (3) <Ninga chatize guabi>
ninga chatize gua-bi
I truth say-REA
'I tell the truth', "Yo digo verdad" (M_349)

In (4), a question in which the agent is expressed by a regular noun, the object follows the verbal predicate, and the constituent order is AVO.

- (4) <Cabiyara chiyaya quique?> / <Cabiyara chiyayá quique?>
cabi-ya ra-chiya-ya quique?
parrot-PL AOR-eat-PL corn
'Have the parrots eaten the corn?', "Han comido el maíz los loros?"
(M_166)

Given the very limited data available and given the unusual constituent order in the Spanish translation, it is difficult to state how representative (4) is for Andakí constituent order in transitive clauses. In imperative constructions such as those shown in (5–8), the verbal predicate is likewise followed by the object and the order is VO.

- (5) <Quanunqueha Xifi=> / <Quanunqueha Xifi>
qua-nan-que-ha xifi
2.IMP-CAUS-come-IMP candle
'Bring (SG) a candle!', "Trae candela" (M_075)

¹An anonymous reviewer suggests that, alternatively, <chatize> in (3) functions as an adverbial modifier, not as an object.

- (6) a. <Quananqueha Xizi. => / <Quananqueha Xizi>
 qua-nan-que-ha xizi
 2.IMP-CAUS-come-IMP firewood
 ‘Bring (SG) firewood!’, “Trae leña”² (M_076)
- b. <Quananquea jizi> / <Guananquea fizi>
 qua-nan-que-a jizi
 2.IMP-CAUS-come-IMP firewood
 ‘Bring (SG) firewood!’, “Trae leña” (M_142)
- (7) <Quananqueha Jexe. => / <Quananqueha Jexé>
 qua-nan-que-ha jexe
 2.IMP-CAUS-come-IMP water
 ‘Bring (SG) water!’, “Trae agua” (M_074)
- (8) <Andagu biguaza bacoze> / <Andagu biquaza bacoze>
 andagu bi-gua-za bacoze
 quickly RAP-make-IMP *chicha*
 ‘Make (SG) *chicha* quickly!’, “Haz presto *chicha*” (M_150)

Cases where the object precedes the verbal predicate in imperative constructions (OV order) seem to occur somewhat less frequently; two such instances are illustrated in (9–10). The translation of (9) is the same as that of (7) above.

- (9) <Jixe nanqueza>
 jixe nan-que-za
 water CAUS-come-IMP
 ‘Bring (SG) water!’, “Trae agua” (M_031)
- (10) <Bacoze quananqueha riszijaxi.=> / <Bacoze quananquehá riszijaxi>
 bacoze qua-nan-que-ha riszi-jaxi
chicha 2.IMP-CAUS-come-IMP drink-PURP
 ‘Bring (SG) *chicha* in order to drink’, “Trae *chicha* para beber” (M_078)

Constituent order in the Andakí imperative constructions (5–10) may be governed by information structure.

As to the arrangement and ordering of grammatical morphemes in the verb or verb phrase, valency changes, spatial and aspectual notions, and mostly also verbal person (2nd-person subject) are marked by prefixes or proclitics, whereas

²It remains to be established whether or not the terms for candle <xifi> and firewood <xizi> are etymologically related.

mood and modality are marked by bound or unbound grammatical elements that follow the verb.

Given the incomplete nature of the available Andakí materials, several domains of the grammar of the verb must remain open, because evidence for them is found only in single examples. Among these topics are subordination and nominalization. Besides the relativizer <-ze> discussed above, in Section 13, a possible subordinating ending in Andakí is <-chaza>. Its use is illustrated in (11).

- (11) <Firajiquichaza cobaquea rincaxahá>
 firaji qui-chaza coba-que-a rinca-xaha
 hungry COP-SUB 2.IMP-come-IMP I-OBL
 ‘When hungry, come (SG) to me!’, “En teniendo hambre ven a mí” (M_762)

A suffix <-na> seems to function as a locative nominalizer, as shown in (12), where it derives the term for ‘field’ <fichana> (M_161) from the verb ‘to brush’ <ficha> (cf. M_162).

- (12) <Fichanara rajihi> / <Fichanará rajichi>
 ficha-na-ra ra-ji-hi
 brush-LOC-ALL AOR-go-REA
 ‘She/he/it went to the field’, “Se fue a la chagra” (M_161)

Besides suffixation and prefixation, reduplication may be a marginal morphological device in Andakí; the only example of this is the case of <mi> ‘to want’ (cf. M_304) and <mimi> ‘to love’ (cf. M_232), where reduplication seems to indicate intensity.

In what follows, we give an overview of those grammatical morphemes in the verbal domain for which we could find more substantial evidence.

14.1 Causative: <ra->

There is little information on verbal derivational morphology in Andakí. A derivational prefix which is attested with a range of verbs is the causative marker <ra-> (M_194), <za-> (M_757), <naha-> (M_303), <na-> [na-] (M_202), or <nan-> [nã-] (M_289). For instance, it derives the verb ‘to bring, to carry’ from the verb ‘to go’, as illustrated in (13–14).

14.2 Spatial notions: <bu-> ‘translocative’, <chi-> ‘inward’, <fiqui-> ‘upward’

- (13) <Rica Kazaxihi>³
rica ka-za-xihi
you 2-CAUS-go
‘You (SG) brought’, “Tú llevaste” (M_757)⁴
- (14) <Rajiza rihizi>
ra-ji-za rihizi
CAUS-go-IMP this
‘Take (SG) this!’, “Lleva a este” (M_194)

Causative <ra-> has the variant <na-> and <naha->, illustrated in (15) and (16), respectively.

- (15) <Naqua naquiquani?> / <Náqua náquiguani?>
na-qua na-qui qua ní?
COP-who CAUS-come who Q
‘Who brought you (SG)?’, “Quién te trajo?” (M_202)
- (16) <Ypchize canahá quine?> / <Ypchizé canahá quiné?>
ypchize ca-naha-qui ne?
what 2-CAUS-come Q
‘What did you (SG) bring?’, “Qué has traído?” (M_303)

In other cases, changes in verbal valency are lexically encoded in Andakí, for instance, in <qua> ‘to kill’ (cf. M_006) versus <ma> ‘to die’ (cf. M_005).

14.2 Spatial notions: <bu-> ‘translocative’, <chi-> ‘inward’, <fiqui-> ‘upward’

Andakí has some grammatical morphemes expressing spatial notions or associated motion on verbs. The prefix <bu->, for instance, may encode a translocative meaning, as suggested by the pairs <ji> ‘to go’ (cf. M_039, M_753) versus <buji> ‘to go away’ (cf. M_190). The prefix <bo-> or <bu-> may also express associated motion with non-motion verbs, as suggested by <daza> ‘sleep! (SG)’, “dormí” (M_356) versus <bondaza> ‘(go and) sleep! (SG)’, “dormí” (M_355) and <bunta> ‘go and sleep’ illustrated in (17).⁵

³It is not clear whether or not final <-hi> belongs to the root or is a realis mood suffix.

⁴This example is attested in Ms. II/2911 only.

⁵As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, associated motion is a common category among languages of western South America; it occurs, for instance, in Mosestén (isolate), Pano-Tacanan and Quechuan (e.g., Ross 2021).

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- (17) <Quabuntahá>
qua-bu-nta-ha
2.IMP-AM-sleep-IMP
'Go and sleep (SG)!', "Anda duerme" (M_318)

Inward motion is probably expressed by the prefix <chi->, illustrated in (18).

- (18) <Guachijiza andagu>
gua-chi-ji-za andagu
2.IMP-IW-go-IMP quickly
'Enter (SG) quickly!', "Entra presto" (M_141)

A prefix <fiqui> or <fiji>, shown in (19–20), is tentatively glossed as 'upward motion'.

- (19) <Fiquijizá>
fiqui-ji-za
UW-go-IMP
'Stand up (SG)!', "Levántate" (M_372)
- (20) <Quafixi Jea> / <Quafixijea>
qua-fixi-je-a
2.IMP-UW-go-IMP
'Stand up (SG)!', "Levántate" (M_089)

14.3 Aspectual notions: <ra-> 'aorist', <bi-> 'rapid'

We found no specific markers for imperfective aspect and related notions in the available Andakí data. There are two examples with 3rd-person subjects translated with a progressive meaning. These examples do not bear any obvious aspectual morphology, as illustrated in (21–22).

- (21) <Fichahe> / <Fichahé>
ficha-he
brush-REA
'She/he/it is brushing', "Está rozando" (M_162)
- (22) <Zancahaya>
zancaha-ya
talk-PL
'They are talking', "Están hablando" (M_125)

14.3 Aspectual notions: <ra-> ‘aorist’, <bi-> ‘rapid’

We tentatively suggest that the aorist (past tense with perfective aspect) is marked by a prefix <ra->. We found instances of this prefix only in clauses with a 3rd-person subject, as illustrated by (23–25); that is, this prefix may have been used exclusively with non-speech act participants.

- (23) <Canchihi raquahi>
 canchihi ra-qua-hi
 lightning AOR-kill-REA
 ‘The lightning killed him/it’, “Lo mató el rayo” (M_220)
- (24) <Ramahi>
 ra-ma-hi
 AOR-die-REA
 ‘She/he/it died’, “Murió” (M_322)
- (25) <Naqua Raguaquani?> / <Naqua raguauani?>
 na-qua ra-gua qua ni?
 COP-who AOR-say who Q
 ‘Who told you (SG)?’, “Quién te dijo?” (M_730)

In a few instances, <ra-> occurs in examples that are translated with the Spanish perfect, as in (26).

- (26) <Cabiyara chiyaya quique?> / <Cabiyara chiyayá quique?>
 cabi-ya ra-chiya-ya quique?
 parrot-PL AOR-eat-PL corn
 ‘Have the parrots eaten the corn?’, “Han comido el maíz los loros?”
 (M_166)

There is also one sentence containing <ra-> which is translated, however, with the Spanish present tense (27).

- (27) <Nszazi raguayani xin-gaxá?>⁶ / <Nszâzi raguayani xingaxá?>
 nszazi ra-gua-ya ni xinga-xa?
 how/where AOR-say-PL Q I-OBL
 ‘What do they say about me?’, “Qué dicen de mí?” (M_758)

The aorist-marking prefix <ra-> seems to have a variant <na->, illustrated in (28).

⁶The hyphen is due to a line break in the manuscript.

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- (28) <Ninquihi chazajahi na-ranquihi> / <Ninquihi chazajahi naranquihi>
ninqui-hi chazajahi na-ran-quihi
I-REA brother AOR-CAUS-come
'My brother brought me', "Mi hermano me trajó." (M_203)

Another aspectual notion is likewise expressed by the prefix <bi->, which expresses rapidity, as in (29–30).

- (29) <Bijiza>
bi-ji-za
RAP-go-IMP
'Run (sg)!', "Corre" (M_120)
- (30) <Andagu biguaza bacoze> / <Andagu biquaza bacoze>
andagu bi-gua-za bacoze
quickly RAP-make-IMP *chicha*
'Make (sg) *chicha* quickly!', "Haz presto *chicha*" (M_150)

14.4 Verbal person marking

Only a few person-marking morphemes can be identified on Andakí verbs. There is no evidence in the data for any dedicated 1st-person subject affix.⁷ The 1st-person subject/agent usually seems to be indicated by a zero morpheme or the absence of any verbal prefix, as shown in (31–32).

- (31) <Jahá najizequi> / <Jaha najizequi>
jaha najize qui
yes yesterday come
'Yes, I came yesterday', "Sí, ayer vine" (M_108)
- (32) <Quihi>
quihi
come
'I came', "Vine" (M_733)

In some cases, a 1st-person pronoun is used to refer to the participant involved in the event referred to, as shown in (33–34).

⁷1st-person subject marking in Andakí requires further investigation. Prefixes occurring in constructions with a 1st-person agent (transitive subject) are <ha-> in (M_245) or <cho-> in (M_081); however, this information is not sufficient to identify any 1st-person marking prefix in Andakí.

- (33) <Ringa shungua>
 ringa shungua
 I hear/understand
 ‘I heard it/him’, “Yo lo oí” (M_731)
- (34) <Ninga buxibi>
 ninga bu-xi-bi
 I TRANSL-go-REA
 ‘I go away’, “Yo me voy” (M_320)

In imperative (hortative) mood, there is no dedicated verbal person marker for the 1st-person singular or plural subject either, as shown in (35) (1st-person singular) and (36) (1st-person plural).

- (35) <Quananquea chiguaca nunqueaha> / <Quananquea chiguaca nunqueahá>
 qua-nan-que-a chiguaca nunque-aha
 2.IMP-CAUS-COME-IMP children look-IMP
 ‘Bring me your (SG) children, I want to see them’, “Tráeme a tus hijos, que quiero verlos” (M_289)
- (36) <Chiyaba gunfigo>
 chiya-ba gunfigo
 eat-IMP one
 ‘Let us eat together!’, “Comamos juntos” (M_293)⁸

In the indicative mood, the morpheme <ca-> marks the 2nd-person subject; this element recurs in <rica>, the 2nd-person pronoun (see Section 9). Andakí <ca-> is used to refer exclusively to a 2nd-person transitive or intransitive subject, not to a 2nd-person object. Two examples illustrating the use of <ca-> are shown in (37–38).

- (37) <Kacó?> / <Kacô?>
 ka-co?
 2-blow
 ‘Did you (SG) blow?’, “Soplaste?” (M_196)

⁸The grammaticalization path from ‘one’ to ‘together’, suggested by the translation of (36), is common in languages around the world (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 225).

- (38) <Kariszi?>
 ka-riszi?
 2-drink
 ‘Did you drink?’, “Bebisteis?” (M_727)

Note that we do not have examples of 2nd-person declarative constructions with lexical verbs. With lexical verbs, we found only interrogative constructions. In declarative constructions with a 2nd-person subject, we found only the copula, as shown in (39).

- (39) <Rica vchanagaquehi> / <Rica vcha naga quehi>
 rica vchana ga-que-hi
 you brave 2-COP-REA
 ‘You (SG) are brave’, “Tú eres valiente” (M_738)

Whereas the use of a personal pronoun is optional with the 2nd person (cf. Section 9), the use of <ca-> ‘2nd-person subject’ (or one of its variants) seems obligatory, as illustrated in (40–41).

- (40) a. <Rica bayagaquihi> / <Rica bayaga quihi>
 rica baya ga-qui-hi
 you lazy 2-COP-REA
 ‘You (SG, M) are lazy’, “Tú eres flojo” (M_739)
- b. <Bajoa-gaquihi>⁹ / <Bajoagaquihi>
 bajoa ga-qui-hi
 lazy 2-COP-REA
 ‘You (SG, M) are lazy’, “Tú eres flojo” (M_740)
- (41) a. <Rica cachiya?> / <Rica cachiyá?>
 rica ca-chiya?
 you 2-eat
 ‘Have you (SG) eaten?’, “Vos habéis comido?” (M_044)
- b. <Cachiya?> / <Cachiyá?>
 ca-chiya?
 2-eat
 ‘Have you eaten?’, “Habéis comido?” (M_043)

⁹Hyphenation is due to a line break in the manuscript.

We tentatively consider <ca-> to be a verbal prefix or proclitic, since it occurs in preverbal position. In one single case, however, we found evidence that might challenge this interpretation. This case is shown in (42), where the 2nd-person subject marker follows the verb.

- (42) <Chiyaga?> / <Chiyagâ?>
 chiya ga?
 eat 2
 ‘Do you want to eat?’, “Queréis comer?” (M_760)

Alternatively, final <ga> / <gâ> in (42) is a truncated, postposed 2nd-person pronoun – compare <rica> / <ricá> ‘you’, “tú” (M_013).

In what we call ‘imperative₁’ of Andakí (discussed in Section 14.5.2), the 2nd-person marker is <coba->, <coha->, <coa->, or a related form, the underlying form of which is /k^wa-/. An example of the 2nd-person imperative prefix is given in (43).

- (43) <Quabuntahá>
 qua-bu-nta-ha
 2.IMP-AM-sleep-IMP
 ‘Go and sleep (SG)!’, “Anda duerme” (M_318)

Finally, there is no dedicated 3rd-person subject marking affix on Andakí verbs, as illustrated in (44–45).

- (44) <Naqua fifiquani?>
 na-qua fifi qua ni?
 COP-who call who Q
 ‘Who calls you (SG)?’, “Quién te llama?” (M_003)
- (45) <Naqua naquiquani?> / <Náqua náquiguani?>
 na-qua na-qui qua ni?
 COP-who CAUS-come who Q
 ‘Who brought you (SG)?’ “Quién te trajo?” (M_202)

There is no example of a 3rd-person intransitive subject with a lexical verb in the available Andakí materials. However, since the aorist marker <ra->, discussed in Section 14.3, has been found only in constructions with a 3rd-person subject, this morpheme might be interpreted as a portmanteau morpheme which expresses both aorist and 3rd-person subject.

14.5 Mood

We found evidence for different morphemes marking realis mood (Section 14.5.1), imperative mood (Section 14.5.2–Section 14.5.4), and related notions such as the prohibitive (Section 14.5.5). The hortative expression <y_nsci> is discussed in Section 15.4. In sum, there are several ways to mark directive speech acts on the Andakí verb. The morphemes in question are relatively well documented in the available language materials. The existence of several different imperatives in Andakí might be an areal feature: in Tucanoan languages, a neighboring language family, up to eleven imperatives have been identified (Aikhenvald 2010: 7).

14.5.1 Realis mood: <-hi>

The morpheme <-hi> is tentatively interpreted here as a realis mood marker; it has the variants <-bi> (mostly used with speech-act-participant subjects), <-xi>, and <-ha>. The realis mood marker occurs in statements and questions. Its use is shown in (46–47).

(46) <Yubi ninga>

yu-bi ninga

come-REA I

‘I come’, “Yo vengo” (M_256)

(47) <Ricaxa fifihe> / <Ricaxa fifihé>

rica-xa fifi-he

you-OBL call-REA

‘It is you (SG) she/he/it calls’, “A vos te llama” (M_193)

(48) and possibly also (49) suggest that realis mood <-hi> may combine with the copula.

(48) <Rica vchanagaquehi> / <Rica vcha naga quehi>

rica vchana ga-que-hi

you brave 2-COP-REA

‘You (SG) are brave’, “Tú eres valiente” (M_738)

(49) <Quancaquehe?> / <Quancaquehé?>

quan ca-que-he?

good 2-COP-REA

‘How have you (SG) been?’, “Cómo te ha ido?” (M_026)

When there is no copula, the realis mood marker directly attaches to the predicatively used adjective in constructions such as (50–51).

- (50) <Quahini mijinahé?>
 qua-hi ni mijinahe?
 good-REA Q dog
 ‘Is your (SG) dog good?’, “Es bueno tu perro?” (M_271)
- (51) <Quahi>
 qua-hi
 good-REA
 ‘He/it is good’, “Bueno es” (M_272)

The same phenomenon is attested in (52–56) below. Realis mood <-hi> seems to have a variant <-bi>, which is mostly used when the subject person is a speech-act participant, specifically with 1st-person subjects in declarative clauses and with 2nd-person subjects in interrogative clauses.

- (52) <Ninga chatize guabi>
 ninga chatize gua-bi
 I truth say-REA
 ‘I tell the truth’, “Yo digo verdad” (M_349)
- (53) <Ninga buxibi>
 ninga bu-xi-bi
 I TRANSL-go-REA
 ‘I go away’, “Yo me voy” (M_320)
- (54) <Ninga buji-bi cogora>
 ninga bu-ji-bi cogo-ra
 I TRANSL-go-REA house-ALL
 ‘I want to go home’, “Yo quiero irme a casa” (M_291)
- (55) <Ynchua guabi>
 ynchua gua-bi
 lie say-REA
 ‘I tell a lie’, “Digo mentira/hablo yanga” (M_352)
- (56) <Kabujibi?>
 ka-bu-ji-bi?
 2-TRANSL-go-REA
 ‘Are you (SG) leaving already?’, “Ya te vas?” (M_735)

To what extent this distribution of <-bi> – in 1st-person subject statements and 2nd-person subject questions – can be linked to egophoric person marking, a relatively widespread feature in several languages of northwestern South America (e.g., Knuchel 2015; San Roque et al. 2018), is not easy to establish, given the lack of data and the variability of transcriptions. Also, in a few cases, <-hi> occurs with a 2nd-person subject in an interrogative clause (57), and in a few instances, <-bi> occurs with a 3rd-person subject (58). These cases, however, are exceptions in the available Andakí materials.

- (57) <Cafianzuhi ningaxa ca-yasesza?>¹⁰ / <Cafianzuhi ningaxá cayasesza?>
 ca-fianzu-hi ninga-xa caya-sesza?
 2-like-REA I-OBL live-DES
 ‘Do you (sg) want to live with me?’, “Quieres vivir conmigo?” (M_353)
- (58) <Raxinachibi> / <Raxinachihic>
 ra-xi nachi-bi
 CAUS-go night-REA
 ‘Night fell’, “Anocheció” (M_124)¹¹

Realis mood <-hi> seems to have the variants <-ha>, <-fa>, and <-a>. The use of <-ha> and <-fa> with nouns in predicative function is illustrated in (59–60).

- (59) <Bacoxe hane?>
 bacoxe-ha ne
 chicha-REA Q
 ‘Is there *chicha*?’, “Hay chicha?” (M_046)
- (60) <Noszuefane?> / <Noszuefané?>
 noszue-fa ne
 fish-REA Q
 ‘Is there fish?’, “Hay pescado?” (M_324)

In (61–65), we only tentatively interpret final <-ha> as a realis mood marker. In (61–62), we present some examples containing the negation marker <para> and related forms.

- (61) <Ninga pajaha> / <Ninga pajahá>
 ninga paja-ha
 I NEG-REA
 ‘I do not have’, “Yo no tengo” (M_228)

¹⁰Hyphenation is due to a line break in the manuscript.

¹¹This interpretation of <raxi> in (58) as ‘to cause to go, to bring’ is preliminary.

- (62) a. <Psajaha> / <Pajaá>
 psaja-ha
 NEG-REA
 ‘I do not have; there is not’, “Yo no tengo; no hay” (M_229)
- b. <Pacahá>
 paca-ha
 NEG-REA
 ‘I do not have; there is not’, “No tengo; no hay” (M_231)

The negation marker may also occur without the realis mood marker, as illustrated by <pagá> ‘I do not have; there is not’, “no tengo; no hay” (M_230). (63–65) show further instances of the presumed realis mood marker <-ha> ~ <-há>.

- (63) <Kachiyaha> / <Kachiyahá>
 ka-chiya-ha
 2-eat-REA
 ‘Did you (SG) already eat?’, “Ya comiste?” (M_734)
- (64) <Raguayahá>
 ra-gua-ya-ha
 AOR-say-PL-REA
 ‘They said’, “Dijeron” (M_729)
- (65) <Nanquaha> / <Nanquahá>
 nan-qua-ha
 COP-good-REA
 ‘He/it is good’, “Bueno está” (M_725)

14.5.2 Imperative₁: <-(a)ba>

There are different markers of the imperative mood in Andakí which, for practical purposes, will be called imperative₁, imperative₂, and imperative₃ here. The pragmatics of these different markers cannot be determined due to the nature of the available Andakí data. In the case of imperative₁ we find different forms for the 1st and 2nd person, discussed in Section 14.5.2.1 and Section 14.5.2.2, respectively.

14.5.2.1 First person imperative₁: <Ø-...-(a)ba>

What we tentatively label imperative₁ in this work is marked by a morpheme <-ba>. Whereas in imperative mood, the 2nd person is marked by a dedicated prefix, the 1st person (hortative) is not. This is illustrated in (66).

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- (66) <Chiyaba gunfigo>
chiya-ba gunfigo
eat-IMP one
'Let us eat together!,' "Comamos juntos" (M_293)

As in the indicative mood, a zero morpheme (\emptyset -*chiya-ba* 'let us eat!') may be postulated as a 1st-person subject marker.

Imperative <-ba> has a variant represented by <-aba>, which seems to occur only with the verb <buxi> (and variants) 'to go away', as illustrated in (67–68).

- (67) <Nahachi boxeaba => / <Nahachi boxeaba>
nahachi bo-xe-aba
night TRANSL-go-IMP
'Let us go away, it is late!,' "Vámonos, que es tarde" (M_087)
- (68) a. <Boxeaba => / <Boxeaba>
bo-xe-aba
TRANSL-go-IMP
'Let us go away!,' "Vámonos" (M_085)
- b. <Bujeaba>
bu-je-aba
TRANSL-go-IMP
'Let us go away!,' "Vámonos" (M_281)

Another variant of the imperative suffix is represented by <-aha>; its use with a 1st-person singular subject being illustrated in (69).

- (69) <Quananquea chiguaca nunqueaha> / Quananquea chiguaca
nunqueahá>
qua-nan-que-a chiguaca nunque-aha
2.IMP-CAUS-COME-IMP children look-IMP
'Bring me your (SG) children, I want to see them', "Tráeme a tus hijos, que quiero verlos" (M_289)

14.5.2.2 Second person imperative₁: <qua-...-ba>

With the imperative marked by <-ba> or a variant of it, 2nd-person subjects are marked by a prefix <qua->, <coba->, <coha->, or <coa->. Some examples are shown in (70–75).

- (70) <Firajiquichaza cobaquea rincaxahá>
 firaji qui-chaza coba-que-a rinca-xaha
 hungry COP-SUB 2.IMP-come-IMP I-OBL
 ‘When hungry, come (SG) to me!’, “En teniendo hambre ven a mí” (M_762)
- (71) <Cohagea andagu>
 coha-ge-a andagu
 2.IMP-go-IMP quickly
 ‘Go (SG) quickly!’, “Anda presto” (M_296)
- (72) <Coagua anduazo>
 coa-gua anduazo
 2.IMP-cook banana
 ‘Cook (SG) bananas!’, “Cocina plátanos” (M_227)
- (73) <Quanca jehá sasza> / <Quanjeha sasza>
 quan-caje-ha sasza
 2.IMP-wash-IMP clothes
 ‘Wash (SG) the clothes!’, “Lava la ropa” (M_210)
- (74) <Quarichá>
 qua-ri-cha
 2.IMP-drink-IMP
 ‘Drink (SG)!’, “Bebe”¹² (M_047)
- (75) <Quaxeba => / <Quaxeba>
 qua-xe-ba
 2.IMP-go-IMP
 ‘Go (SG)!’, “Anda” (M_083)

The following case (76) is the only example where a personal pronoun occurs in an imperative construction of the kind discussed here.

- (76) <Quaxiha Rica> / <Quaxihá Ricá>
 qua-xi-ha rica
 2.IMP-go-IMP you
 ‘You (SG) go!’, “Anda vos” (M_051)

In this kind of construction, the personal pronoun might be used for emphasis (see Section 9). Similar constructions without the personal pronoun are shown in (75) above and in (77).

¹²That <ch> can refer to an allophone of the phoneme referred to by <h> is in line with pairs such as <cachinehe> / <cachineche> ‘grandson’, “nieto” (M_490).

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- (77) <Quexiha => / <Quexiha>
que-xi-ha
2.IMP-go-IMP
'Go (SG)!', "Anda" (M_039)

14.5.3 Imperative₂: <-ra> ~ <-za>

In single entries, verbs are presented with a suffix <-ra> or <-za> in the 18th-century lists; these forms are translated as imperatives in Spanish. This is illustrated in (78–80).

- (78) <Chiyazá>
chiya-za
eat-IMP
'Eat (SG)!', "Come" (M_354)
- (79) <Finszuzá>
finszu-za
clean-IMP
'Clean (SG)!', "Limpia" (M_370)
- (80) <Cayaza>
caya-za
sit-IMP
'Sit down (SG)!', "Siéntate" (M_376)

Andakí <-za> is glossed here as an imperative marker. It may also occur with a 2nd-person plural subject, as illustrated in (81).

- (81) <Chuhuaza> / <Chuhuazá>
chuhua-za
hear-IMP
'Hear (PL)!', "Oíd" (M_362)

Andakí <-za> is also found with a 1st-person subject in (82). Note that the subject person is expressed by a pronoun in this case.

- (82) <Ninga nunquiza chin-queca riguacu>¹³ / <Ninga nunquiza chinqueca riguacu>
ninga nunqui-za chinqueca riguacu
I look-IMP children you.PL
‘I have to look upon you (PL) as children’, “Yo os he de mirar como a hijos” (M_241)

A possible use of <-za> with a 3rd-person subject is shown in (83), which, however, may also address a 2nd-person subject: given that in polite commands Spanish uses the 3rd-person subjunctive, this form is ambiguous.

- (83) <Quihizá>
quihi-za
come-IMP
‘Let him/her/it come; may she/he/it come; come (SG)!’, “Que venga” (M_410)

It is unclear to what extent the different imperatives, called imperative₁ and imperative₂ here for practical purposes, differ in illocutionary force and politeness. Judging from the Spanish translations provided in the available language materials, the imperative constructions in the present section (imperative₂) seem to have the same meaning as those with <-(a)ba> and variants (imperative₁), illustrated in the previous section. This is also suggested by the translations shown in (84–87), illustrating the two different imperative markers with the verb ‘to come’ (84–85) and with the verb ‘to bring’ (86–87).

- (84) <Quaḻiha => / <Quaquiha>
qua-qui-ha
2.IMP-come-IMP
‘Come (SG)!’ “Vení” (M_038)
- (85) <Quihizá>
quihi-za
come-IMP
‘Come (SG)!’, “Ven” (M_419)

¹³The hyphen is due to a line break in the manuscript. The form <riguacu> ‘you.PL’ is unattested elsewhere in the available Andakí data.

- (86) <Quananqueha Jexe. => / <Quananqueha Jexé>

qua-nan-que-ha jexe
2.IMP-CAUS-come-IMP water

‘Bring (SG) water!’, “Trae agua” (M_074)

- (87) <Jixe nanqueza>

jixe nan-que-za
water CAUS-come-IMP

‘Bring (SG) water!’, “Trae agua” (M_031)

Note that the object (‘water’) follows the imperative verb in (86) and precedes it in (87). In some instances, there is a variant <-ra> of the imperative suffix, illustrated in (88–89); once more, it is not entirely clear whether the utterances address a 2nd or a 3rd person.

- (88) <Quijra>

quij-ra
come-IMP

‘Let him/her/it come; may she/he/it come; come (SG)!’, “Que venga” (M_160)

- (89) <Andagu quira> / <Andaguquira>

andagu qui-ra
quickly come-IMP

‘Let him/her/it come; may she/he/it come quickly; come quickly (SG)!’, “Que venga presto” (M_155)

In one instance, we found <-ca> as a variant of imperative <-za>; this is illustrated in (90).

- (90) <Raxicá> / <Racizá>

ra-xi-ca
CAUS-go-IMP

‘Carry (SG)!’, “Lleva” (M_379)

The graphemic variation in the context of imperative₂ needs further investigation; since the underlying rules are not yet understood. Despite its more frequent occurrence as <-za>, we suggest in Section 5.3 that the underlying, phonemic form of the Andakí imperative₁ suffix is /-ra/.

14.5.4 Imperative₃: <-ni>

The word lists also provide us with imperative constructions that seem to contain a suffix or enclitic <-ni>, such as <sani> ‘wait (SG)!’, “espera” (M_066), <szuzini> ‘stay (PL) here!’, “estaos quedo” (M_236), <fsatani> / <fsâtani> ‘shut up, do not talk (SG)!’, “calla, no hables” (M_238). We have not been able to identify the verbal roots in question in other entries, which makes it difficult to interpret <-ni> as an imperative marker, except in the cases of (91–92); Andakí <qua> ‘to make’ is also attested elsewhere, for instance, in (8) and (30) above.

- (91) <Quani nanqua cogo>
 qua-ni nan-qua cogo
 make-IMP COP-good house
 ‘Make (PL) a good ranch; they should make a good ranch!’, “Hagan buen rancho” (M_215)
- (92) <Cogo quani naqua>
 cogo qua-ni na-qua
 house make-IMP COP-good
 ‘You have to make me a house!’, “Me habéis de hacer casa” (M_249)

Note the different word order and translations in (91) and (92).¹⁴ The element <-ni> occurs not only with verbs, but also with adverbials, as illustrated in (93).¹⁵

- (93) <Quixarani>
 quixara-ni
 far-IMP
 ‘Let us go far away!’, “Vamos lejos” (M_736)

The adverbial expression ‘far’, “lejos” is documented elsewhere as <quejara> (M_557). Finally, a suffix <-no> may express imperative mood in <yquano> / <yguano> ‘listen (SG)!’, “oiga” (M_264). The root <yqua> / <ygua> may be related to <shungua> ‘to hear, understand’ (cf. M_731), but it is unclear how <-no> relates to <-ni>.

¹⁴An anonymous reviewer observes that the translation does not reflect all elements of the original text in (92). As mentioned in Section 4 above, this happens in several cases in the available Andakí data.

¹⁵An anonymous reviewer observes that (93) looks like a rare case of verb root ellipsis.

14.5.5 Prohibitive: <ni-...-qua>

The prohibitive is marked by a circumfix <ni-...-qua>. For illustrative purposes, we juxtapose an imperative and a prohibitive form in (94–95). The imperative form is shown in (94), the prohibitive form in (95).

- (94) <Quaquaha> / <Quaquahá>
 qua-qua-ha
 2.IMP-fight-IMP
 ‘Go fight (SG)!’, “Anda pelea” (M_300)
- (95) <Niquaquaha> / <Niquaquahá>
 ni-qua-quaha
 PROH-fight-PROH
 ‘Do not fight!’, “No peleéis” (M_301)

The prohibitive suffix has several variants, among which are also <-qua> and <-coha>, illustrated in (96) and (97), respectively.¹⁶

- (96) <Ninaquá> (M_197), <Ninaqua> (M_237)
 ni-na-qua
 PROH-cry-PROH
 ‘Do not cry (SG)!’, “No llores” (M_197; M_237)¹⁷
- (97) <Nibugicoha> / <Nibujicohá>
 ni-bu-ji-coha
 PROH-TRANSL-go-PROH
 ‘Do not go away (SG)!’, “No te vayas” (M_314)

A remarkable phenomenon in Andakí is that the verb ‘to give’, illustrated in (98–101), looks like a prohibitive construction; the respective parts are highlighted in bold. However, the Spanish translations suggest otherwise and it has not been possible to analyze the constructions in question in more detail. The remarkable combination of letters <fsrr> probably refers to a sibilant (Coronas Urzúa 1994: 90–91; see also Section 5.3.5).

¹⁶An anonymous reviewer suggests that the suffix <-qua> and its variants may also be analyzed as the 2nd-person imperative marker. The fact that all provided examples involve 2nd-person referents suggests this as a possible interpretation.

¹⁷In another context, the root ‘to cry’ appears in a slightly different form: <naha> – compare *naha-za* ‘cry!’, “llora” (M_384).

- (98) <Nifsrquahá>
nifsrquaha
 give
 ‘You will give’, “Daréis” (M_726)
- (99) <Nifsrquazá>
nifsrquaza-za
 give-IMP
 ‘Give (SG) me!’, “Dame” (M_415)
- (100) <Bacoza nifsrquaza>
 bacoza **nifsrquaza-za**
 mazato give-IMP
 ‘Give (SG) me *mazato!*’, “Dame mazato” (M_309)
- (101) <Bacoxe nifsr => / <Bacoxe nifsrânquaza>
 bacoxe **nifsrquaza-za**
 chicha give-IMP
 ‘Give (SG) me *chicha!*’, “Dame chicha” (M_032)

The two forms shown in (101), <nifsr => and <nifsrânquaza>, each attested in a different version of Mutis’ Andakí materials, suggest that final <qua> in <nifsrquaza> is indeed a separate morpheme.¹⁸

14.6 Modality

There are several markers of modality in Andakí, that is, morphemes that express inner states and attitudes of a speaker and indicate irrealis/counterfactual notions of will, obligation, necessity, or ability. This section will discuss the expression of desiderative (Section 14.6.1) and non-desiderative (Section 14.6.2) modality in Andakí.

14.6.1 Desiderative: <-zea>

The morpheme <-zea> and its variants <-cea> and <-seza> encode a desiderative or volitive meaning. Their use is illustrated in (102–103).

¹⁸The formal similarity of <nifsr => / <nifsrquaza> ‘to give’ with the construction <nifsrquahá> ‘do not stumble!’, “no tropieces” (M_750) is remarkable.

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- (102) <Ningua coayazea rica co-axa>¹⁹ / <Ningua coayazea ricacoaxa>
ningua coaya-zea rica-coa-xa
I live-DES you-PRONPL-OBL
'I want to live with you (PL)' / "Yo quiero vivir con vosotros" (M_239)
- (103) <Cafianzuihi ningaxa ca-yasesza?>²⁰ / <Cafianzuihi ningaxá cayasesza?>
ca-fianzu-hi ninga-xa caya-sesza?
2-like-REA I-OBL live-DES
'Do you (SG) want to live with me?', "Quieres vivir conmigo?" (M_353)

Note that unlike (102), (103) additionally contains the element <fianzu> 'like'. Yet not every construction translated as a wish contains a desiderative marker, as shown in (104), where desiderative modality is not explicitly marked and found only in the Spanish translation.

- (104) <Chiya nenguihi => / <Chiya nênguihi>
chiya nenguihi
eat fish
'I want to eat fish', "Quiero comer pescado" (M_082)

Another case is shown in (105).

- (105) <Quananquea chiguaca nunqueaha> / Quananquea chiguaca
nunqueahá>
qua-nan-que-a chiguaca nunque-aha
2.IMP-CAUS-COME-IMP children look-HORT
'Bring your (SG) children to me, I want to see them', "Tráeme a tus hijos, que quiero verlos" (M_289)

Here, a 1st-person imperative/hortative construction is translated with a desiderative meaning in Spanish.

14.6.2 Non-desiderative: <ficoa>

In Andakí, non-desiderative or non-volitive meaning is expressed by an element <ficoa> or one of its variants <fica> (M_206), <ficoha> (M_251), <figua> (M_049), or <ficora> (M_323). This grammatical element is frequently but not always combined with a negation marker. Although its length suggests that it consists

¹⁹The hyphenation of <ricaco-axa> is due to a line break in the source.

²⁰The hyphenation of <ca-yasesza> is due to a line break in the manuscript.

of several morphemes, so far it has been impossible to analyze it in more detail. The non-desiderative marker is frequently attested in the 18th-century Andakí materials. In (106–107), <ficoha> and <ficora> occur together with the negative prefix <ra->.

- (106) <Ninga rahasza ficoha>
ninga ra-hasza ficoha
I NEG-leave NDES
‘I do not want to leave you (SG)’, “Yo no quiero dejarte” (M_251)
- (107) <Ramaficora>²¹
ra-ma ficora
NEG-die NDES
‘Do not die!’, “No muráis” (M_323)

In (108), the non-desiderative marker occurs in combination with the unbound negation marker <para>.

- (108) <Pará riszifigua>
para riszi figua
NEG drink NDES
‘I do not want do drink’, “No quiero beber” (M_049)

In (109), it occurs alone, without further negation markers, in a construction that has the same translation as (108).

- (109) <Riscificoa>
risci ficoa
drink NDES
‘I do not want do drink’, “No quiero beber” (M_259)

The non-desiderative morpheme can also occur in preverbal position, as shown in (110). Note that unlike in the other examples discussed in this subsection, the verb in (110) is in the prohibitive mood.

- (110) <Ficaca neaszacoha> / <Ficaca neaszacohá>
fica ca ne-asza-coha
NDES YOU PROH-leave-PROH
‘Do not leave (SG) me alone!’, “No me dejes solo” (M_206)

²¹Attested in Ms. II/2912 only. This entry follows the form <ramahi> ‘she/he/it died’, “murió”.

Whether or not the prohibitive marker <-coha> as attested in <neaszacoha> is etymologically related to <coa> or <coha> as in <ficoa>, <ficoha>, and the related forms illustrated above, remains to be established. In (110) we interpret <ca> as a truncated form of the 2nd-person singular pronoun; prohibitive <ni-> does not seem to occur together with <ca->; compare Section 14.5.5.

14.7 Suppletion: <yu> and <qui> ‘to come’

Andakí has two suppletive roots with the meaning ‘to come’: <yu> and <qui>. The root <qui> ‘to come’ is used in forms translated with the Spanish *indefinido* (preterite/aorist), as well as with the imperative; <yu> ‘to come’ is used in all other contexts. The use of <qui> with forms translated with the Spanish *indefinido* is shown in (111–114).

- (111) <Canafizecaque?> / <Canafizecaquí?>
 canafize ca-que?
 yesterday 2-come
 ‘Did you (SG) come yesterday?’; “Ayer viniste?” (M_107)²²
- (112) <Jahá najizequi> / <Jaha najizequi>
 jaha najize qui
 yes yesterday come
 ‘Yes, I came yesterday’, “Sí, ayer vine” (M_108)
- (113) <Ningaqui>
 ninga qui
 I come
 ‘I came’, “Vine” (M_311)
- (114) <Quihi>
 quihi
 come
 ‘I came’, “Vine” (M_733)

In some cases, <qui> is used in constructions that are translated with the Spanish perfect tense, as in (115).²³

²²The function and meaning of <ca> in <canafize> are unknown; however, it is probably not a truncated version of <rica> ‘you’. Compare <najize> ‘yesterday’ in (112) and in the isolated entry <canajisexa> ‘yesterday’, “ayer” (M_470).

²³Another example seems to be (M_240), which contains, however, language material that cannot be analyzed yet.

- (115) <Ypchize canahá quine?> / <Ypchizé canahá quiné?>
 ypchize ca-naha-qui ne?
 what 2-CAUS-come Q
 ‘What have you brought?’, “Qué has traído?” (M_303)

In some exceptional cases, <yu> ‘to come’ is also used in constructions translated with the Spanish perfect, as shown in (116).

- (116) <Sazi cayuni?>
 sazi ca-yu ni?
 how/where 2-come Q
 ‘How have you (SG) come?’, “Cómo has venido?” (M_308)

The root <qui> is also used in the context of imperatives, as shown in (117–118).

- (117) a. <Quaquiha> / <Quaқиha =>
 qua-qui-ha
 2.IMP-come-IMP
 ‘Come (SG)!’, “Vení” (M_038)
 b. <Quaque hà> / <Quacuoha =>²⁴
 qua-que-ha
 2.IMP-come-IMP
 ‘Come (SG)!’, “Ven” (Ms. II/2911) / “Vení” (Ms. II/2912) (M_084)
- (118) <Quihiza>
 quihi-za
 come-IMP
 ‘Come (SG)!’, “Vení” (M_127)

Andakí <qui> ‘to come’ has a counterpart in Nasa Yuwe. The Nasa Yuwe form in question is /kih/ ‘to reach from above’, “llegar desde arriba” (Díaz Montenegro 2019: 392), ‘to go down’, “descender” (Díaz Montenegro 2019: 401).

In all other contexts, that is, except with the aorist and the imperative, Andakí <yu> ‘to come’ is used. The root <yu> resembles Nasa Yuwe /ju/- ‘to come’ (cf. Díaz Montenegro 2019: 136; Pache 2024). The Andakí root in question is illustrated in (119–121).

²⁴There is a stroke on the <o> in the manuscript, which is difficult to interpret.

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- (119) <Yubi ninga>
yu-bi ninga
come-REA I
'I come', "Yo vengo" (M_256)
- (120) <Cayubi?>
ca-yu-bi?
2-come-REA
'Do you (SG) come?', "Vienes?" (M_257)
- (121) <Niyuhe?> / <Niyuche?>
ni yu-he?
Q come-REA
'Does she/he/it come?'; 'Has she/he/it come?', "Viene?"; "Ha venido?"
(M_024)

As an exception, in (122), we also found <yu> to be used in an aoristic context.

- (122) <Rica cayuhe>
rica ca-yu-he
you 2-come-REA
'Did you (SG) already come?', "Tú ya viniste?" (M_312)

Notwithstanding single cases that are not yet fully understood, it seems that Andakí has at least one case of verb suppletion depending on aspectual/tense notions (aoristic or not) and mood (imperative or not).

14.8 Copula: <qui>

While the copular prefix <na-> or <nan-> appears to be limited to cleft constructions (see Section 10 and Section 13), Andakí also makes use of a copula <qui> or <que>, which is found across a broader range of constructions, including statements (123), questions (124), and subordinate constructions (125).²⁵ Its use is illustrated in (123–125). Note that in (123) the use of the copula seems to be optional, given that it is found only in Ms. II/2912, which seems to be by and large a copy of Ms. II/2911.

²⁵An anonymous reviewer notes the formal similarity with the verb 'to come'.

- (123) <Rica chajañuca> / <Rica chajanûca quihi>
 rica chajanuca qui-hi
 you relative COP-REA
 ‘You (SG) are my relative’, “Tú eres mi pariente” (M_745)²⁶
- (124) <Vnajaquehé?>
 vnaja ga-que-he?
 rich 2-COP-REA
 ‘Are you (SG, M) rich?’, “Eres rico?” (M_741)
- (125) <Firajiquichaza cobaquea rincaxahá>
 firaji qui-chaza coba-que-a rinca-xaha
 hungry COP-SUB 2.IMP-come-IMP I-OBL
 ‘When hungry, come (SG) to me!’, “En teniendo hambre ven a mí”
 (M_762)

The copula also occurs in predicative possessive constructions, as in (126–130). The number of the addressee is impossible to determine in (126–130), given the existence of verbal *voseo* in the Spanish variety used in the 18th-century Andakí materials. The addressee in (130) may possibly be a 2nd-person singular, given that ‘Yes, I have a husband’, “Sí, tengo marido” (1, Section 12), seems to be the answer to ‘Do you have a husband?’, “Tenéis marido?” shown in (130).

- (126) <Chigua cancaqué?>
 chiguaca nca que?
 children PROP be
 ‘Do you have children?’, “Tenéis hijos?” (M_174)
- (127) <Taranguehé Kaque?>
 taranguehe ka que?
 chicken PROP COP
 ‘Do you have chickens?’, “Tenéis gallinas?” (M_226)
- (128) <Anduozo Kaquij>
 anduozo ka qui-j?
 banana PROP COP-REA
 ‘Do you have bananas?’, “Tenéis plátanos?” (M_144)

²⁶The prefix <ca-> ‘2nd-person subject’ may have been omitted on <quihi> in order to avoid a sequence <caca>.

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- (129) <Guaca juncaquehe?> / <Guaca juncaquehé>
guacaju nca que-he?
canoe PROP COP-REA
'Do you have canoes?', "Tenéis canoas?"²⁷ (M_246)
- (130) <Chanca encaquehé?> / <Chanca encaquehé?>
chanca enca que-he?
husband PROP COP-REA
'Do you have a husband?', "Tenéis marido?" (M_172)

Note that we only have access to examples with 2nd-person subjects in the context of the Andakí copula, which limits the possible generalizations that can be made.

²⁷In Ms. II/2911, the Spanish translation says: "Tenéis cañas?"

15 Further grammatical morphemes and features

In this chapter, we will consider grammatical elements that cannot clearly be linked to the parts of speech discussed so far. They either occur with elements pertaining to different word classes, such as the plural clitic <-ya>, which can be attached to verbs and nouns, but not to pronouns (Section 15.1), or they are unbound forms such as the negation marker <para> (Section 15.2), the interrogative marker <ni> (Section 15.3), and the hortative expression <ynsi> (Section 15.4). Augmentative, diminutive, and related notions are discussed in Section 15.5. The absence of dedicated tense markers in Andakí is discussed in Section 15.6.

15.1 Plural: <-ya>

Plural number is marked by a clitic <-ya>. This morpheme can be attached to verbs and nouns alike, yet not to pronouns. In verbs, there is no evidence that Andakí <-ya> also pluralizes 1st- and 2nd-person subjects, and it seems that plural number is overtly marked by <-ya> only with a 3rd-person subject. The morpheme <-ya> marks plural number of human referents, as in (1).

- (1) <Chinta nehayaya> / <Chinta nchayaya>
chinta-ne haya-ya
there-LOC live-PL
'There they live', "Allá viven" (M_331)

Non-human, animate plural subjects also receive <-ya>. In (2), plural number is marked on both the subject and the verb.

- (2) <Cabiyara chiyaya quique?> / <Cabiyara chiyayá quique?>
cabi-ya ra-chiya-ya quique?
parrot-PL AOR-eat-PL corn
'Have the parrots eaten the corn?', "Han comido el maíz los loros?"
(M_166)

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The morpheme <-ya> also attaches to <juanti> ‘big, a lot’, which in (3) has a human referent.

- (3) <Juantiya neayaya?> / <Juantiya neayayá?>
juanti-ya ne aya-ya?
big/a.lot-PL Q live-PL
‘Are there many people in your land?’, “Hay mucha gente en tu tierra?”
(M_764)

It is difficult to determine whether the marking of plurality with <-ya> depends on the degree of animacy or of agency of the 3rd-person plural referent. Inanimate referents are rarely agents of an action expressed by a lexical verb, which is in line with the observation that there are no examples, in the available Andakí data, of pluralized nouns referring to inanimate entities.

15.2 Negation: <para>, <ra-...-nca>

There are several ways to express negation in Andakí (see also Section 14.5.5 on the prohibitive and Section 14.6.2 on the non-desiderative). The most widespread negative morpheme used with both nouns and verbs is a preposed element <para> that is always represented as an unbound form in the manuscripts. In several cases, it seems to have grammaticalized and to have given rise to a negation-marking prefix or proclitic which only seems to occur with verbs, however.

The unbound negation marker <para> has several variants, among which are <paxa> / <paxá> (M_143) and <paga> / <pagá> (M_310). Its use with nouns in negative nominal predicates is illustrated in (4) and (5), respectively.

- (4) <Paxa jizi> / <Paxá fizi>
paxa jizi
NEG firewood
‘There is no firewood’, “No hay leña” (M_143)
- (5) <Sisza pagaha>
sisza paga-ha
name NEG-REA
‘I have no name’, “No tengo nombre” (M_307)

Although in most cases, <para> or one of its variants precedes the negated entity, as in (4), in a few instances it follows it, as illustrated in (5). The negation marker <para> and variants may also occur alone, and constitute a single utterance, as shown in (6).

- (6) <paja>; <paga> / <pajá>; <pagá>
 paja
 NEG
 ‘I do not have; there is not’, “No tengo; no hay” (M_149)

In verbal negation, Andakí <para> and variants occur together with other negative morphemes, as shown in (7–8).

- (7) <Pará nanqueanca> / <Pará nanquetanca>¹
 para nan-que-anca
 NEG CAUS-GO-NEG
 ‘I bring nothing’, “Nada traigo” (M_737)

- (8) <Para riszifigua>
 para riszi figua
 NEG drink NDES
 ‘I do not want to drink’, “No quiero beber” (M_049)

In most cases, however, a truncated form, <ra->, occurs as a negative prefix or proclitic. Its use is shown in (9–10).

- (9) <Ragua chanca>
 ra-guacha-nca
 NEG-find-NEG
 ‘I have not found anything’, “Nada he topado” (M_165)
- (10) <Ninga rahasza ficoha>
 ninga ra-hasza ficoha
 I NEG-leave NDES
 ‘I do not want to leave you (sg)’, “Yo no quiero dejarte” (M_251)

As in the case of <para> and its variants, negation of a verb with <ra-> entails the use of a negation marker <ficoa> or <-anca>. The use of the negative suffix <-anca> or <-nca> is shown, for instance, in (7) and (9) above, and in (11) below.

¹We have no explanation for <t> in this form; it may have an antihatic function here or be an error.

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- (11) <Ninga januzira guanca> / <Ninga janûzira guanca>
ninga janu-zi ra-gua-nca
I big/a.lot-REL NEG-say-NEG
'I do not ask you (SG) for much', "Yo no te pido harto" (M_181)

The use of <-anca> and variants appears to be mutually exclusive with the use of non-desiderative <ficoa> and related forms, the use of which is illustrated, for instance, in (12).

- (12) <Ramaficora>
ra-ma ficora
NEG-die NDES
'Do not die', "No muráis" (M_323)²

The prefix <ra-> has a variant <za->, illustrated in (13); note also the variant <-yanca> of the negative suffix, with <y> introduced possibly for antihyphic reasons, like <t> in (7) above.

- (13) <Buxibi firajichiza chiya yanca> / <Buxibi firajichiza chiyayanca>
bu-xi-bi firajichi za-chiya-yanca
TRANSL-go-REA hungry NEG-eat-NEG
'I am going to eat, I am hungry', "Voy a comer, que tengo hambre"
(M_028)

In (14), <ca-> is probably a negation marker and a variant of <ra->.

- (14) <Cachiyanca> / <Cachiyancá>
ca-chiya-nca
NEG-eat-NEG
'I have not eaten', "No he comido" (M_045)

The interaction between negative <ra-> and the 2nd-person subject marker <ca-> are not yet fully understood; <ca-> and <ra-> do not seem to co-occur on the same word as separate prefixes, as shown in (15–16).

- (15) <Rafianzanca?>
ra-fianz-anca?
NEG-like-NEG
'Why do you (SG) not want to?', "Por qué no quieres?" (M_260)³

²Attested in Ms. II/2912 only. This form follows the form <ramahi> 'she/he/it died', "murió".

³Note that there is no interrogative pronoun 'why?' in the Andakí example.

- (16) <Yhiza raqueanquini?>
 yhiza ra-que-anqui ni?
 why NEG-come-NEG Q
 ‘Why do you (SG) not come?’, “Por qué no vienes?” (M_325)

In the last example, <-anqui> is interpreted as a variant of <-anca>; final <i> remains unexplained but might reflect assimilation to the high front vowel in the following interrogative morpheme <ni>.

Finally, if it is attached to a noun, the negation prefix seems to occur without any further negation suffix, as in (17).

- (17) <Rashunguahé>
 ra-shunguahe
 NEG-ear
 ‘Stupid (M)’, “Tonto” (M_649)

15.3 Interrogative: <ni>

Questions in Andakí often contain an unbound interrogative morpheme <ni>. It occurs both in polar questions and in content questions. Its use in polar questions is illustrated in (18).

- (18) <Quahini mijinahé?>
 qua-hi ni mijinahe?
 good-REA Q dog
 ‘Is your (SG) dog good?’, “Es bueno tu perro?” (M_271)

It is also used in content questions, as shown in (19).

- (19) <Fizini?> / <Fizini.=>
 fizi ni?
 what Q
 ‘What is she/he/it?’, “Qué es?” (M_072)

In (18–19), the interrogative marker follows the predicate. If the construction contains only a verb, <ni> seems to occur only in initial position, as shown in (20a–20b).

15 Further grammatical morphemes and features

- (20) a. <Niyuhe?>
ni yu-he?
Q come-REA
'Does she/he/it come?; Has she/he/it come?', "Viene?; Ha venido?"
(M_156)
- b. <Niyuhe?> / <Niyuche?>
ni yu-he?
Q come-REA
'Does she/he/it come?; Has she/he/it come?', "Viene?; Ha venido?"
(M_024)

In constructions that contain both a question word and a verb, <ni> seems to occur only in final position, as shown in (21–23).

- (21) <Ychuize camine?> / <Ypchize caminé?>
ychuize ca-mi ne?
what 2-want Q
'What do you (SG) want?', "Qué quieres?" (M_304)
- (22) <Ychuyzi Kazini?>
ychuyzi ka-zi ni?
what 2-do Q
'What do you (SG) do?', "Qué haces?" (M_009)
- (23) <Sazi ca-yu-ni?>
sazi ca-yu ni?
how/where 2-come Q
'How have you (SG) come?', "Cómo has venido?" (M_308)

In a number of questions, however, we find no use of <ni> at all, as illustrated in (24–25).

- (24) <Rafianzanca?>
ra-fianz-anca?
NEG-like-NEG
'Why do you (SG) not want to?', "Por qué no quieres?" (M_260)
- (25) <Cafsriixi?>
ca-fsriixi?
2-forget
'Did you (SG) forget?', "Te olvidaste?" (M_117)

Note that in (24), which is a content question, there is no interrogative pronoun.

15.4 Hortative: <ynszi>

An Andakí hortative expression is <ynszi> / <ynszi> (M_313), <inci> (A_067), <inszi> (M_129). These forms are translated as ‘let us go!’, “vamos” and ‘let us go away’, “vámonos”. They often occur without further morphemes, as in (26a–26b).

- (26) a. <Ynszi> / <Ynszi>
 ynszi
 let.us.go
 ‘Let us go away!’, “Vámonos” (M_313)
- b. <Inci>
 inci
 let.us.go
 ‘Let us go!’, “Vamos” (A_067)

In a few cases, the imperative marker <-za> is attached to <ynszi> ‘let us go!’, as shown in (27).

- (27) <Ynsziza>
 ynszi-za
 let.us.go-IMP
 ‘Let us go!’, “Vamos” (M_022)

The most frequent construction in the data is <ynszi> ‘let us go!’ + verb/noun + <-ra> ‘allative’. The form glossed as ‘let us go!’ always occupies the first position in the sentence. In (28), the complement is a verb, while in (29), the complement is a noun.

- (28) <Ynszi fichara> / <Ynszi fichará>
 ynszi ficha-ra
 let.us.go brush-ALL
 ‘Let us go brush!’, “Vamos a rozar” (M_328)
- (29) <Ynszi zota jera> / <Ynszi zotajera>
 ynszi zotaje-ra
 let.us.go mountain-ALL
 ‘Let us go to the forest!’, “Vamos al monte” (M_253)

15 Further grammatical morphemes and features

<Ynszi> (and variants) and the imperative with *-(a)ba* may also occur in a single (complex) sentence, as shown in (30), where they are found in two separate syntactic units.

- (30) <Ynszi yahara nâjubahá>
ynszi yaha-ra naju-baha
let.us.go river-ALL wash-HORT
'Let us go to the river to wash ourselves!' / 'Let us go to the river, let us wash!', "Vamos al río a lavarnos" (M_254)

15.5 Augmentative, diminutive, and related notions

Among the grammatical morphemes that may tentatively be identified in Andakí adjectives and nouns are those expressing augmentative, diminutive, and related notions. A suffix <-pi>, <-pihi>, or <-nipihi> and variants may have an augmentative meaning, and occur in forms such as <jushuampihi> / <jushuanipihi> 'big', "gordo" (M_700), <cupihi> 'major', "mayor" (M_698), <acozinipihi> 'wicked', "bellaco" (M_582), <quasinimpihi> 'good', "bueno" (M_583),⁴ but also in nouns such as <chupihi> 'grandfather', "abuelo" (M_488).

The diminutive counterpart <-bi> or <-bihi> may be attested in forms such as <chibihi> 'minor', "menor" (M_699)⁵ and in nouns such as <cabihi> 'parrot', "loro" (M_600) and <rimbihi> 'turtledove', "tortola" (M_607).

15.6 Tense

There is no evidence for either verbal tense or nominal tense marking in the available Andakí data, and it is difficult to know how notions of nominal or verbal tense were indicated at all. For instance, (31) is translated with past tense (*indefinido*) in Spanish, although there is no dedicated past tense marker; the only identifiable grammatical morphemes in (31) are <ca-> '2nd-person subject' and <-he> 'realis mood'.

- (31) <Caxihe?> / <Caxihé?>
ca-xi-he?
2-go-REA
'Did you go?', "Fuisteis?" (M_040)

⁴This form contains an element <qua> or <quasi> 'good', discussed further above.

⁵Attested in Ms. II/2912 only.

A form which is unmarked for tense, however, does not necessarily imply a past action or event, as shown in (32).

- (32) <Ynszaxa caxini>
 ynszaxa ca-xi ni
 where 2-go Q
 ‘Where do you (sg) go?’, “Dónde vas” (M_059)

In some cases, time reference may be expressed by adverbials. For instance, (33), which contains the term for ‘tomorrow’, is translated with future tense in Spanish.

- (33) <Ninga gozeha> / <Ninga gohezá>
 ninga gozeha
 I tomorrow
 ‘I will go’, “Yo iré” (M_276)⁶

Note that it is the verb ‘to go’ which is omitted in (33), similar to what happens in (93) in Section 14 above, repeated here as (34).

- (34) <Quixarani>
 quixara-ni
 far-IMP
 ‘Let us go far away!’, “Vamos lejos” (M_736)

We suggest that verb ellipsis is pragmatically licensed in (33) and (34), and that the missing element could originally be inferred from the context. Verb root ellipsis is an infrequent phenomenon in the languages of the world. In South America, it has been observed to occur in Kwaza, a language isolate of Brazil (see Comrie & Zamponi 2019).

⁶Compare the element <gozeha> ‘tomorrow’, “mañana” in (33) with the single entry <nagosexa> ‘tomorrow’, “mañana” (M_472). An unidentified prefix is also attested in the single entry <canajisexa> ‘yesterday’, “ayer” (M_470), as opposed to <najize> ‘yesterday’, “ayer” (M_108).

16 Concluding summary

Andakí is an extinct language formerly spoken in southern Colombia, with no known surviving speakers. While its genealogical affiliation remains uncertain, Andakí exhibits several lexical, morphological, and typological features that it shares with neighboring languages. These include vowel nasality and the use of prefixes or proclitics for verbal person marking. The strongest lexical parallels are found in Nasa Yuwe, suggesting some degree of areal influence or contact.

There are two primary sources of data on Andakí: a late 18th-century list (in two versions) containing sentences and isolated lexical items, and a word list from the early 19th century. These sources show significant orthographic – and likely allophonic – variation, complicating consistent interpretation. An additional challenge is that many of the sentence translations are not strictly literal, limiting the reliability of grammatical analysis.

The available material is heavily skewed toward imperatives and prohibitions – approximately half of the recorded phrases are commands – likely reflecting the missionary context in which the data were collected. Little to no information is available on other grammatical features such as tense marking. It remains unclear whether such features were absent from Andakí itself or simply not attested in the surviving data. As such, this book does not attempt a comprehensive grammatical description, but instead outlines tendencies based on a limited and fragmentary dataset.

The Andakí vowel inventory consists of three oral and three nasal vowels: /a/, /i/, /u/, and their nasal counterparts. The Andakí inventory of stop consonants is asymmetrical in that it contains a series of four voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /k^w/, but only one voiced stop, /b/. Besides a voiceless affricate /tʃ/ and voiceless fricatives (/s/, /h/, and possibly /x/), there are two nasal consonants, /m/ and /n/, and one rhotic /r/. Stress appears to have fallen on the final vowel of a word. Root structure is generally straightforward, typically following a CVCV pattern.

Andakí demonstratives distinguish at least a two-way contrast. Interrogative constructions involving ‘who’ take the form of cleft sentences, though such structures are not attested with other interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns appear to be optional, and may occur either before or after the verb.

16 Concluding summary

Nouns in Andakí may carry classifiers related to shape and liquid consistency, as well as derivational gender markers. The numeral system appears to be etymologically transparent: the term for ‘two’ seems to derive from ‘eye’; ‘three’ builds on ‘one’ and ‘two’; and ‘five’ is related to ‘hand’.

Andakí features an oblique case marker with a wide range of functions, including marking the direct object, comitative, and topic of conversation. Genitive markers vary depending on whether they are used with pronouns or full nouns. The allative and purposive marker may attach to both nouns and verbs.

In Andakí, expressions corresponding to adjectives and adverbs in Spanish are commonly realized as headless relative clauses or are embedded in cleft constructions.

Verbal morphology in Andakí is complex, involving prefixes or proclitics as well as suffixes. Prefixes may indicate direction or associated motion. Evidence for verbal person marking is limited to the 2nd person, with no reliable data for the 1st or 3rd persons. The language shows multiple strategies for expressing imperative meaning, including various morphemes (prefixes, proclitics, and suffixes). There are marginal instances of suppletion and reduplication in the verbal domain. Copular constructions involve a free morpheme or a prefix; the use of the copula prefix seems to be restricted to cleft constructions. In the verbal domain, negation is expressed through a combination of a proclitic and a suffix, or via a free morpheme placed after the verb.

The available Andakí data include examples of predicative possession. Andakí also appears to feature verbal ellipsis, a typologically rare phenomenon. In intransitive constructions with pronominal subjects, *SV* order is the most common, though *VS* order also occurs. Imperative constructions in Andakí allow both *VO* and *OV* word orders, with *VO* appearing to be the more common pattern.

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Notes on the grammar of Andakí

This book presents the first grammatical description of Andakí, an extinct language and presumed isolate once spoken in southern Colombia. Written in an accessible style, this book is valuable to both linguists and scholars of South American indigenous cultures. Although Andakí was documented to some extent in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, its grammar has never been systematically analyzed until now. Drawing on sometimes fragmentary data, all made available in an online database, the book offers the most complete grammatical description of Andakí to date and highlights connections to neighboring languages where relevant. This study provides essential groundwork for future comparative research and contributes to preserving the linguistic heritage of one of the world's most linguistically diverse regions.