

THE FUNCTION OF **-KI** 'SWITCH' IN KOGI

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1. Introduction.

-ki 'switch' is a phrase-final clitic which may occur on practically any constituent in the sentence in Kogi, a Chibchan language spoken by the Kogi people of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in northern Colombia. When **-ki** occurs on nouns, the basic function seems to be to mark a switch to that referent from other potential referents. When **-ki** occurs on medial verbs, it marks a switch between events of differing degrees of importance to plot development. In this paper, I will examine and illustrate the functions of **-ki**.¹

2. Functions of **-ki** 'switch'.

-ki 'switch' commonly occurs on noun phrases and on medial verbs. On noun phrases it indicates a 'switch' from some referent in the textual or the understood context. Sometimes there is an idea of contrast, contrasting the marked referent with some other potential referent. 'Switch' encompasses the 'contrastive' idea, along with other usages where the idea of contrast is not as strong. **-ki** 'switch' often occurs in topic-comment type constructions, marking a significant switch either of the local topic or of the comments made about that local topic. On medial verbs, **-ki** is a spacer, separating information of differing importance. Normally it serves to highlight the event(s) of the following clause(s) as significant either in the immediate or the overall context of the story, depending on the style of the speaker. It is also used in focus-presupposition constructions, however, where the highlighted (non-given) material occurs first.

-ki 'switch' resembles **-ri** 'contrastive topic' in Ika (a related language), as described by Paul Frank (1990). Frank cites an earlier work on Ika by Tracy and Levinsohn (1977) that lists three functions of **-ri**: 1) a signal of progression, occurring last in a non-final clause and marking the action of the following clauses as progression along the backbone of the story, 2) a signal of contrast on adjectives, and 3) a signal of thematic participant of the paragraph. Frank examines these usages and concludes that each is an instance of contrastive topicalization, at a local level (1990: 124-128). While Kogi **-ki** 'switch' is similar in several of its usages, it does not exclusively mark topics, and therefore I have not chosen to follow Frank's lead in using the gloss 'contrastive topic'.

In the following sections, I will describe in more detail the specific occurrences of **-ki** 'switch'. First will be the description of **-ki** on noun phrases, and then on medial verbs.

3. -ki 'switch' on noun phrases.

When **-ki** occurs on noun phrases, it switches to and highlights that constituent, in order to make a comment about its referent instead of some other potential referent. That potential referent may be named in the context (so that the switch is overt), may be present on stage but unnamed, or may be part of the understood or real world context. The basis for the switch may be counter-expectation, making a comment about some referent other than what might be expected. When **-ki** is used in conjunction with the first person singular pronoun (fronted), it refers to 'my' opinion, in contrast to what anyone else may think. **-ki** may indicate a narrowing of focus, from a group of participants to individuals within that group.

-ki may be used to mark local topics (especially as a temporary switch from continuing overall topics), and is a device which enables the thematic participant to continue as grammatical subject while the actual topic of the sentence is some other minor participant. When such local topics continue in successive sentences, they are reestablished in each one by **-ki** on the noun phrase. Topic-**ki** also occurs frequently in lists where each member of the list (presumably all part of some larger group) has a comment made about it.

-ki 'switch' may be used in a topic-comment type construction, with **-ki** as a spacer after the topic (which is usually fronted). This construction is predominant in descriptive texts, which tend to consist of a series of parallel topic-comment statements; the continuing topic is marked with **-ki**, as a switch is made to each new comment.

A specialized usage of **-ki** as a marker of topic occurs when the constituent it marks refers to the topic of a quote or a report. Lastly, **-ki** can mark a modification or repair of what the speaker has just said.

3.1. Switch of reference.

In 1, the reference switch is readily found in the immediate context: it switches from 'you' in 'you did not hear it' to 'I' in 'I did' ².

- (1) má ekí dúlda nukkažá
 má ekí dúlda núkka-Ga-žá
 you that.way message hear-FRM-NEG
- makkunquákke ekí ná
 ma-gúw-Ngu-ák-ke ekí ná
 2SG.S-do-PST-CON-LINK that.way with

náski	nukkánug	nakldá.
nás- <u>ki</u>	núkkA-Oa-ne-uge	na náLD
I-SW	hear-PFV-PST-ISG.S	SA be

'You did not hear that story and so that is the way I heard it.' (T.68)

Similarly, in 2, a switch is made from 'yesterday' to 'today' (marked with **-ki**).

(2)	Mebák	ulditší	guánuge	
	mebák	u-nitšíK-Oa	gúw-Oa-ne-uge	
	yesterday	DIR-ascend-PFV	do-PFV-PST-ISG.S	
	naldé	ná	káigaki	mókue zabí.
	náLD-é	ná	káiga- <u>ki</u>	mókue zabíH-Oa
	be-CON	with	today-SW	again descend-PFV

'Yesterday I having taken them up, today (I) came back down.' (T.35)

Often the participant being switched from is a continuing or 'thematic' participant and therefore not specified in the immediate context. In 3 the thematic participant is 'Mauricio', identified seven sentences earlier in the text. Sentence 3 itself introduces a minor character, who then is referred to in the subject position marked with **-ki** 'switch'; such marking indicates that the action of the verb is true only of this minor character and not of the main character.

(3)	Guatšák	ézua	apébu	ná
	gúw-Ga-atših-ák	ézua	a-pébu	ná
	do-FRM-CIR-CON	one	3SG.PSS-friend	with
	nalgué,	ézua	apébuki	
	náLD-Ŋgu-é	ézua	a-pébu- <u>ki</u>	
	be-PST-CON	one	3SG.PSS-friend-SW	
	kába	guáne	nalgué,	"hínak
	kabáK-Oa	gúw-Oa-ne	náLD-Ŋgu-é	hínak
	sleep-PFV	do-PFS-PST	be-PST-CON	why
	ekí	kabakká?"	maldé	hángua
	ekí	kabáK-xa	maldé	hánguw-Oa
	that.way	sleep-PRES	long	think-PFV

'And (Mauricio) being with one friend, (that) one friend having gone to sleep, "why is he (the friend) a sleeper like that?" (Mauricio) thought a long time.' (T.39)

The switch may be from someone or something in the understood common ground of knowledge which the speaker assumes he/she shares with the hearer. 4 is the first sentences of a text in which it is understood that the story will be about an Ika child that was taken by a mountain lion. This is a familiar story in the culture, and the speaker had just heard someone else's version, in which the mother of the child was also mentioned. So when he refers to the Ika in his first sentence, he clarifies the referent by saying 'her husband' (actually 'his/her-spouse'), marked with **-ki** 'switch'; the switch is made from the understood participants (the child and the mother) to the new referent (the husband).

- (4) Ubán kásakke pébu asewáki
 ubán kása-ák-ke pébu a-sewá-ki
 immediately foot-CON-LINK Ika 3SG.PSS-spouse-SW
- siná méngual ně
 siná mén-guw-al něY-Oa
 grass cut-CAUS-PURP go-PFV

'In the beginnig, the Ika, her husband, went to cut grass.' (T.53)

Sometimes the switch is from something else in the shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer, outside of the context of the story itself. 5 is the summary statement of a text about a lion that was killed. The text was recorded while the speaker was away from his home area, so when he refers to his home as the setting for the events he has spoken about, it is marked with **-ki** 'switch' (the reference switching from the actual place of the recording, which was the location of the speaker and hearer at the time, to the location of the events being recounted).

- (5) Nauwĩhúldĩki nábbi
 nauwĩ-hú-ni-ki nábbi
 1PL.PSS-house-LOC-SW feline
- ekí atšíxa, bákka záxa,
 ekí atšíh-xa bákka zu-gáH-xa
 that.way act-PRES cow INTRZR-eat-PRES
- kakldabé axež úkka
 kakldabé ak-a-i-nóK-xa
 mt.lion 3SG.02-RECP-3SG.03-be-PRES
- ižugáldi zé yǒ.
 i-nóK-xa-áldi záLD-é yǒ
 3SG.03-be-PRES-LOC be-CON be

'In our home (country) lions who do that, who are eaters of cows, who are called mountain lions, over there is where they live.' (T.39)

3. 2. Counter-expectation.

Sometimes the switch may be indicated because of a certain counterexpectation. In 6, the brother-in-law is presented as the owner of the slain pig, but it is a man named Mauricio (rather the brother-in-law) who takes action and kills the lion. As such, **-ki** 'switch' occurs on the noun phrase introducing Mauricio, marking a switch from the brother-in-law (who is already present in the context and would be the expected referent) to this new, unexpected referent.

(6)	Ézua	naldómatši	nalgué	
	ézua	na-nóma-tši	náLD-N̄gu-é	
	one	1SG.PSS-in.law-POSS	be-PST-CON	
	mítu	nábbi	kakldabéhã	gá.
	mítu	nábbi	kakldabé-hã	gáH-Oa
	pig	feline	mt.lion-AGT	eat-PFV
	Guáne	nalgué,	guáne	nalgué,
	gúw-Oa-ne	náLD-N̄gu-é	gúw-Oa-ne	náLD-N̄gu-é
	do-PFV-PST	be-PST-CON	do-PFV-PST	be-PST-CON
	Mauldísiu	axež úkkahan̄ki		
	Mauldísiu	ak-a-i-nóK-xa-hã-ki		
	Mauricio	3SG.02-RECP-3SG.03-be-PRES-AGT-SW		
	guáxa	na guṅgú.		
	guák-Oa	na gúw-N̄gu		
	kill-PFV	SA do-PST		

'One (pig) belonging to my brother-in-law, (that) pig, a mountain lion ate. Being done, being done, the one named Mauricio killed it.' (T.39)

In 7 the speaker seems to expect the hearer to agree with his perspective that a lot of activity at night is counterexpected; when speaking of such activity at night, he uses **-ki** 'switch' to mark a switch from daytime (the expected time of activity).

(7)	Sésin̄ki	ámagga	atábaxa
	sé-sin̄-ki	ámak-ga	a-tába-xa
	night-full-SW	same-REF	3.SG.PSS-side-LOC
	mantáxaldeldi	uteyá	
	mánta-xalda-ni	u-téy-Oa	
	plantain-place-LOC	DIR-throw-PFV	

'At night the same way to the side in the plantain patch, they threw them.' (T.36)

3.3. -ki on the first person pronoun.

Sometimes when **-ki** 'switch' occurs on a fronted first person singular pronoun, it does more than just switch to 'I' as fronted topic; this construction can be used to set the rest of the sentences off as 'my' thoughts, a switch from what anyone else might think. Such is the meaning conveyed in 8.

- (8) Náski mátsa naldagálde, tákbi né.
 nás-**ki** mátsa náLD-Ga-gá-ne tákbi náLD-é
 I-SW lizard be-FRM-not.yet-PST snake be-CON

'I (think) it was not a lizard, maybe a snake.' (T.22)

The combination **nás-ki** 'I-switch' is conventionalized, so that no further quote margin is needed. As such, it is similar to the usage of **-hã** 'agent' (which does not occur on first and second person pronouns) on third person nouns, with the noun being fronted to stand for an otherwise unstated quote margin.³

This third person construction is seen in 9, in which a quote is signalled by the occurrence of **-hã** on 'father'.

- (9) Ē ahátehã , "sakí atšihĩki
 ě a-háte-hã sakí atših-i-ki
 3SG 3SG.02.PSS-father-AGT how act-PROG-SW
- égatse yóxa miyatšé?"
 é ak-ga-záLD-é yók-Oa miN-atših-é
 it 3SG.02-BEN-be-CON burn-PFV 2PL.S-act-CON

'He, his father (said), "How (are you) acting, that you burn it that way?"' (T.71)

3.4. Narrowing of focus.

The switch marked by **-ki** may involve a modification of the group on stage, switching from the group as a whole to a sub-group. In 10 a group of men (including the speaker) are on stage as the thematic participants (sometimes narrowing to the speaker alone as the central character). Here, the brother-in-law is identified as the agent of an action in which others of the group do not participate; the switch is made from the entire group to the subgroup consisting of the brother-in-law.

- (10) Guatšák ézua naldóma
 gúw-Ga-atših-ák ézua na-nóma
 do-FRM-CIR-CON one 1SG.PSS-in.law

nexaldíxa	nalgué
nekK-aldíxa	naLD-Ńgu-é
become-FUT	be-PST-CON

áihañki	ižgaldákša.
ái-hã-ki	ižK-ga-nákK-ših-Oa
3SG-AGT-SW	REFL.02-BEN-come-CAUS-PFV

'And being one who would become my brother-in-law, he raised it up.' (T.39)

In 11 a group is referred to, and then the reference switches to a subgroup of three, again marked by **-ki** 'switch'.

- (11) Kággabakkuẽhã anúnka máiguañki nãuwa
 kággaba-kkuẽ-hã anúnka máiguã-ki nãuwa
 person-PL-AGT about three-SW somewhat

axabéngua	axabéngua	sé
ak-a-men-guw-Oa	ak-a-mén-guw-Oa	sáldi
3SG.02-RECP-cut-CAUS-PFV	3SG.02-RECP-cut-CAUS-PFV	all

awaldẽ.
 u-aO-nẽY-Oa
 DIR-3PL.S-go-PFV

'People, about three of them cut a little off, cut it off, they took it all away.' (T.39)

3. 5. Establishing of a local topic.

-ki 'switch' may also be used in conjunction with a local (clause) topic (normally fronted), particularly when that topic is not thematic but is restricted in its occurrence. As such, it constitutes a switch from the overall topic to a temporary local one. In 12 a woman has been the topic of this section of the story, but a switch is made in this sentence to make a comment about her child. Note that the woman remains the grammatical subject of the sentence, as is the norm for thematic participants; **-ki** enables a comment to be made about some other constituent than the subject of the clause.

- (12) Súkkuaki ámaggaba žakuá
 sukkuá-ki ámak-gaba žakuá
 child-SW name-only clothes

akbakualdagálde	ákša,
ak-makuáLD-Ga-gá-ne	ak-gekuáLD-Oa
3SG.02-cover-FRM-not.yet-PST	3SG.02-lay-PFV

túbagatse	ákša	néne
túba ak-ga-záLD-é	ak-gekuáLD-Oa	nēY-Oa-ne
clear 3SG.02-BEN-be-CON	3SG.02-lay-PFV	go-PFV-PST

'As for the child, in just the same way, (the mother) carried him unwrapped in clothes, she had gone carrying him naked.' (T.36)

This switch to a local topic may be repeated, where more than one comment is made about the local topic before moving on. The text from which 13 is taken is about women, and how they should live. Since 'women' is the overall topic, it is coded as the subject of most of the sentences with zero anaphora. The section represented in 13 switches to men as the local (non-subject) topic, talking about different things that they need women (the continued subject) to do for them. As long as 'men' remains the local topic of the different comments, it is marked with **-ki** 'switch'. In the final sentences of 13 the topic returns solely to 'women' (with zero anaphora), and further mention of 'men' goes unmarked. Notice that the first sentence marks 'single women' as the overall local topic of discussion (as a switch from women in general), and this referent remains the subject throughout the section.

- (13)
- | | | | |
|------|------------|-----------|------|
| Sigí | naldakí | saméya | zá |
| sigí | náLD-Ga-kí | saméya | zá |
| man | be-FRM-NEG | unmarried | only |
-
- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| kuékkuē <u>ki</u> , | sigí <u>ki</u> |
| kuáLD-é-kkuē- <u>ki</u> | sigí- <u>ki</u> |
| exist-CON-PL-SW | man-SW |
-
- | | | |
|---------|------------------------|-----------------|
| žakuá | axaggáuwa | sigí <u>ki</u> |
| žakuá | ak-ak-gáuw-Oa | sigí- <u>ki</u> |
| clothes | 3SG.02-3SG.02-make-PFV | man-SW |
-
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| axazúxa, | sigí <u>ki</u> | žakuá |
| ak-a-zu-núk-Oa | sigí- <u>ki</u> | žakuá |
| 3SG.02-RECP-INTRZR-cook-PFV | man-SW | clothes |
-
- | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|--------|
| hiža, | aggahuéška, | sugamé |
| hižík-Oa | ak-ga-huéž-xa | sugamé |
| wash-PFV | 3SG.02-BEN-separate-PRES | bag |
-
- | | | |
|-----------------|--------|-----------------|
| aggáuwa, | sugamé | sigí <u>ki</u> |
| ak-gáuw-Oa | sugamé | sigí- <u>ki</u> |
| 3SG.02-make-PFV | bag | man-SW |
-
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| aggahuéška | Henkí | nákna |
| ak-ga-huéž-xa | h-ē-ki | náLD-ák ná |
| 3SG.02-BEN-separate-PRES | PROX-3SG-SW | be-CON with |

sigí	ná	kualdasĩŋ
sigí	ná	kuáLD-Ga-sĩŋ
man	with	exist-FRM-NEG.VOL

akzekkákkueĩ.

ak-zékK-xa-kkuẽ

3SG.02-occur-PRES-PL

'About the ones who live only unmarried, without a man, the men (need) their clothes made for them, the men (need) cooked for them, the men need clothes washed, bags made for them, bags the men need. Being this way and so they (the women) are ones who do not want to live with men.' (T.26)

Another instance of **-ki** associated with topic occurs in 14. In this example an isolated statement is quoted, and the topic within the quote is marked with **-ki** 'switch', indicating a switch of local topics.

- (14) Guatšák "aldimédiuki
 gúw-Ga-atših-ák aldimédiu-**ki**
 do-FRN-CIR-CON medicine-SW
- | | | |
|-------|-------|---------------------------|
| abrĩl | sĩŋku | miggegakualdíxa |
| abrĩl | sĩŋku | mik-géK-Ga-ku-aldíxa |
| April | five | 2SG.02-give-FRN-1PL.S-FUT |
- | | | |
|---------|----------|------------------------|
| nžá", | ekí | nagaběhi |
| ni náLD | ekí | nak-aO-měy-i |
| SA be | that.way | 1SG.02-3PL.S-tell-PROG |
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| nagaxegagáŋga | nžók. |
| nak-aO-géK-Ga-gáŋga | ni nóK |
| 1SG.02-3PL.S-give-FRM-still.not.yet | SA be |

'And "the medicine we will give you the fifth of April", that is what they say to me (but) they have not yet given it to me.' (T.57)

-ki 'switch' may mark each of the constituents in a list, distinguishing each from the others. This is particularly true when a comment is made about each one, yielding a topic-comment type construction. The switch here seems to be from one overall group to various subgroups as local topics. In 15, **-ki** helps to distinguish between the different groups of people who left, who scattered to different areas of the mountains; it presupposes an original group who lived in one place, a switch being made to each subgroup with their distinct destinations.

- (15) *Neŋkákkuẽki* Don Diégo sáldi aldẽ,
nẽY-xa-kkuẽ-ki Don Diégo sáldi aO-nẽY-Oa
 go-PRES-PL-SW Don Diego all 3PL.S-go-PFV
- neŋkákkuẽki* Mamaldóngo,
nẽY-xa-kkuẽ-ki Mamaldóngo
 go-PRES-PL-SW Mamarongo
- neŋkákkuẽki* San Antonio aldẽhi.
nẽY-xa-kkuẽ-ki San Antonio aO-nẽY-i
 go-PRES-PL-SW San Antonio 3PL.S-go-PROG

‘(Some of) those who went all went to Don Diego, (some of) those who went (went to) Mamarongo, (some of) those who went (to) San Antonio going.’ (T.54)

3. 6. Topic-comment constructions in descriptive texts.

In descriptive texts, a parallel structure is used, with a string of stative sentences (with final verbs). The topic of the text is stated in practically every sentence, each time marked with **-ki** ‘switch’. The consistent usage of **-ki** may be motivated simply by the parallel structure of the text, or it may mark a switch from other possible topics for the text. It is more likely, however, that the switch idea comes from switching to new comments. As each new comment (distinct from the previous comments) is given, the topic is reestablished, even though it is the same. 6 shows the first three sentences of a text describing mountain lions. Notice that the second sentence contains two clauses, where the contents of the comments are sufficiently similar that no switch is indicated-the topic is not even renamed, much less marked with **-ki**. But between each sentences, the comments are discontinuous enough to motivate the use of **-ki**.

- (16) *Nábbiki* kaldéldi kué nakldá.
nábbi-ki kaldá-ni kuáLD-é na náLD
 feline-SW plants-LOC exist-CON SA be
- Nábbiki* mítu gáxa
nábbi-ki mítu gáH-xa
 feline-SW pig eat-PRES
- ŋggi* hiyágga gáxaga nakldá.
ŋggi hiyágga gáH-xa-ga na náLD
 deer also eat-PRES-REF SA be

Nábbiki	saldínga	ʒitšénšixa	nakldá.
nábbi- <u>ki</u>	sáldi-ga	zu-žé-N-ših-xa	na náLD
feline-SW	all-REF	INTRZR-live-CAUS-PRES	SA be

(Mountain) lions live in the woods. Lions are eaters if pigs, also eaters of deer. Lions are scarers of everything.' (T.47)

3.7 Topic of a report.

-ki 'switch' may be used in conjunction with a noun to establish the topic of a conversation or report. In 17, 'my older brother' is the topic of the story her mother told her (which the text goes on to tell).

(17)	Nattuwé <u>ki</u>	nahábahã	nakbēyá
	na-duwé- <u>ki</u>	na-hába-hã	nak-mēy-Oa
	1SG.PSS-brother-SW	1SG.PSS-mother-AGT	1SG.02-tell-PFV

'About my older brother, my mother told me.' (T.56)

In 18 the noun to which -ki is attached establishes the mountain lion as the topic of the reports that the man has heard

.(18)	Kákl da beki	nukkaldatsákke
	kakldabé- <u>ki</u>	núka-Ga-na-atsih-ák-ke
	mt.lion-SW	hear-FRM-1SG.S-CIR-COM-LINK

zé	maldé	nakzukkuá
zé	maldé	nak-zúkkuw-Oa
fear	long	1SG.02-hurt-PFV

'When I heard (the reports) about the mountain lion, I was very scared (literally): fear hurt me a lot).' (T.59)

In the text from which 18 is taken, the sentences which immediately follow it elaborate on the speaker's fear. Then, six sentences later, another statement is made about mountain lions, in the form of a descriptive sentence. The descriptive nature of the sentence, seen in 19, dictates marking the topic with -ki 'switch', while the return to the topic after a lapse of several sentences seems to dictate the additional marking of -ga 'co-referent'.

(19)	Kákl da begaki	makkákue
	kakldabé-ga- <u>ki</u>	ma-gáH-Ga-ákue
	mt.lion-REF-SW	2SG.O-eat-FRM-IMPS

nžá,	akuákka
ni náLD	aO-guákK-xa
SA be	3PL.S-speak-PRES

'Those same mountain lions eat you, they say.' (T.59)

3.8 Repair.

-ki 'switch' may be used to mark a 'repair' or modification of a statement. In 20 the speaker first says that five people went, but then he repairs the statement to say that, along with the lion-killer (**-ki**), there were six that went.

(20)	Hanúnka	hatšíwa	iž gápa,
	h-anúnka	hatšíwa	šíK-ga-pá-Oa
	PROX-about	five	REFL.02-BEN-lay-PFV

guáxane	nánki
guák-Oa-ne	ná-ki
kill-PFV-PST	with-SW

hanúnka	težuma	iž gápa	ñě
h-anúnka	težuma	isK-ga-pá-Oa	ñěY-Oa
PROX-about	six	REFL.02-BEN-lay-PFV	go-PFV

'About five together, whit the one who killed it, about six together went.' (T.39)

4. **-ki** 'switch' on medial verbs.

In connected text, clauses may be strung together using medial verbs, which indicate the type of semantic connection (chronological or logical) between them. **-ki** 'switch' may be added to these medial verbs as a spacer, and as an indicator of a switch between events of differing levels of importance.

4.1. String of new information and **-ki**.

In a string of clauses where each one relays new information, a medial verb marked with **-ki** 'switch' highlights the event(s) of the following clause(s). **-ki** is restricted to medial verbs which employ the connecting affixes **-éni** 'loose sequence' and **-éñ** 'simultaneous', which in themselves imply a moving forward in the events of the story. When these connecting affixes coocurs with **-ki** (within the context of a series of new events), the following event is marked as a significant development in the backbone of the story line; an extract of those clauses which follow **-ki** in such a construction would provide a

synopsis of the important points of the story, according to the perspective of the speaker.

In 21, **-ki** 'switch' cooccurs with **-éni** 'loose sequence' on the second medial verb, highlighting the following clause as prominent in the overall plot structure of the story. This prominent clause describes the climax of the story-the failure of the search.

- (21) Tunguákke nábbi nenalguámak
 tũW-gu-Ŋgu-ák-ke nábbi nēY-Oa-náLD-Ŋgu-ámak
 see-PST-CON-LINK feline go-PFV-ANT-PST-same

nēyatogguéniki nábbitši
 nēY-Ga-nók-Ŋgu-éni-ki nábbi-tši
 go-FRM-CONT-PST-CON-SW feline-POSS

kása itšuiž á na guá
 kása iž-tštuiz K-Oa na gúw-a
 foot REFL.03-lose-PFV SA do-PST

'He saw it and so the same way the mountain lion had gone he continued going and then the mountain lion's footprints got lost.' (T.53)

The cooccurrence of **-ki** with the connecting affix **-éŋ** 'simultaneous' also highlights the following clause in regard to the overall story. In 22 the highlighted clause following **-ki** is the point in the story where a conflict is established-the child calls to say the house is burning.

- (22) Maldú málđa guŋgukuéni
 maldú málđah-Oa gúw-Ŋgu-ku-éni
 banana cut.grass-PFV do-PST-1SG.S-CON

ái maldú ménguaxan
 ái maldú mén-guw-axaŋ
 3SG banana cut-CAUS-PRIOR

atšatoggukuéniki
 atših-Ga-nók-Ŋgu-ku-éŋ-ki
 act-FRM-CONT-PST-1SG.S-CON-SW

nahĩ nasukkuá káulda
 na-hĩ na-sukkuá káuld-Oa
 1SG.PSS-thing 1SG.PSS-child call-PFV

'I cut the grass around the bananas and then, while I continued preparing to cut those bananas, then my, my son called.' (T.71)

Perhaps of note in both of these examples is the occurrence of **-nók** 'continuous'. Its cooccurrence with **-énj** naturally flows from their semantic similarity, 'continuous' and 'simultaneous'. However, **-nók** also tends to cooccur with **-éni** 'loose sequence' when the verb is marked with **-ki**. Perhaps the cooccurrence is coincidental to the build-up preceding a highlighted event, with both affixes contributing to the same effect; **-nók** draws out the action or setting, building up suspense in anticipation of the next event, and **-ki** highlights that next event by switching to it as more important material.

4.2 Tail-head linkage and **-ki**.

Connected speech may include tail-head linkage between sentences; the second sentence begins with a medial clause which repeats the concluding lexical verb of the previous sentence. When **-ki** attaches to this medial clause, it is the following clause which is highlighted as important, the same as with the examples in the previous section.

Tail-head linkage is a common occurrence in Kogi texts, seemingly with no restriction as to the actual connector used on the medial verb. As we have seen, when that connector is **-éni** 'loose sequence' or **-énj** 'simultaneous', the verb may be marked with **-ki** 'switch' to highlight the following clause. But these same connector, or others, may also be used in tail-head linkage without the cooccurrence of **-ki**. In such constructions we see the effects of the tail-head repetition itself.

Tail-head lexical repetition may be used, when **-ki** is not employed, to slow down a story without highlighting any one prominent event. In 23, tail-head linkage occurs as the story approaches the climatic episode, slowing it down to build suspense. The actual events are not critical to the story, so no **-ki** occurs.

- (23)
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----|--------|
| Guṅguákke | pébu | zabí | na | guá. |
| gúw-Ŋgu-ák-ke | pébu | zabíH-Oa | na | gúw-a |
| do-PST-CON-LINK | Ika | descend-PFV | SA | do-PST |
|
Zabíhinga |
ahúxa |
aggataná | | |
| zabíH-i-ga | a-hú-xa | ak-ga-tán-Oa | | |
| descend-PROG-REF | 3SG.PSS-house-LOC | 3SG.02-BEN-step-PFV | | |
|
Ahúxa |
aggataná |
guéni | | |
| a-hú-xa | ak-ga-tán-Oa | gúw-éni | | |
| 3SG.PSS-house-LOC | 3SG.02-BEN-step-PFV | do-CON | | |
|
ekí |
asewák |
akbéyá | | |
| ekí | a-sewá-k | ak-měy-Oa | | |
| that.way | 3SG.PSS-spouse-SCOPE | 3SG.02-tell-PFV | | |

'And so the Ika went down. Still going down (he) arrived down at his house. He arrived down at his house and then (he) said this to his wife.' (T.53)

Simple repetition of lexical verbs is used to convey continuing or drawn out action. It is often used with motion verbs to indicate the length of the journey or different points of the journey. In 24 the verb **nitšik** 'ascend' is repeated in different forms in five consecutive clauses, giving the idea that the man went up a long way. The repetition also contributes to the buildup of suspense, in anticipation of the final clause of the second sentence.

- (24) Mókue múnšak tuál nitší.
 mókue muŋší-ák tũW-al nitšíK-Oa
 again bright-CON see-PURP ascend-PFV

Nitšigguéni
 nitšíK-Ŋgu-éni
 ascend-PST-CON

nitšigaté nitšíŋga
 nitšínK-Ga-nók-Oa nitšíK-Oa-ga
 ascend-FRM-CONT-PFV ascend-PFV-REF

nitšigatogguéniki nábbi
 nitšíK-Ga-nók-Ŋgu-éni-ki nábbi
 ascend-FRM-CONT-PST-CON-SW feline

kábanen tũ na guá.
 kabáK-Oa-ne-én tũW-Oa na gúw-a
 sleep-PFV-PST-CON see-PFV SA do-PST

'Again at daybreak (he) went up to see. He went up and then continuing to go up, still going up, he continued to go up and then he saw the place where the mountain lion had slept.' (T.53)

Notice that the last **nitšíK** of the series is inflected as a medial verb marked with **-ki** 'switch', indicating that the following clause is prominent in the story. The spotting of where the lion had slept is significant in the chief's search, lending hope that he will succeed. In this passage, the combined effect of repetition and **-ki** lends double emphasis to the final clause.

In 25 there is tail-head linkage between the sentences, with a repetition of the motion verb **nákK** 'come'. It could be argued that the two verbs represent two different points of the journey, the first being when the subject started to come back and the second being when she actually arrived. Even so, the lexical repetition seems to build suspense and indicate that something important is about to happen. The presence of **-ki** in the first clause of the first sentence seems to point forward to the climactic clause after the tail-head linkage, where the child has disappeared (the motivation for the plot of the story). So again, lexical repetition and **-ki** seem to combine forces to mark prominence.

- (25) Ní maldéngaba gugguéniki
 ní maldé-gaba gúk-Ŋgu-éni-ki
 water long-only get-PST-CON-SW
- mókue nák.
 mókue nákK-Oa
 again come-PFV
- Mókue húk naggatšák
 mókue hú-k nákK-Ga-atših-ák
 again house-LOC come-FRM-CIR-CON
- somá íte tuaž á
 somá i-nóK-Oa tũW-Ga-žá
 baby 3SG.03-be-PFV see-FRM-NEG

'She quickly got water and then came back. When she came back to the house (she) did not see the baby sitting.' (T.53)

In 26 the lexical verb of the first sentence is repeated in the first clause of the second sentence. **-ki** occurs at the end of this first clause, highlighting the clause which follows. In the section of the story from which 26 is taken, the man had been debating whether to come down out of the three or not, for fear that the mountain lion was still alive. The highlighted clause comes at the point where he is able to see for himself whether the danger exists.

- (26) Akhiéna. Akhiéna
 ak-hién-Oa ak-hién-Oa
 3SG.02-go.down-PFV 3SG.02-go.down-PFV
- gunguéniki sáldi tũ.
 gúw-Ŋgu-éni-ki sáldi tũW-Oa
 do-PST-CON-SW all see-PFV

'(He) came down. He came down and then (he) looked all around.' (T.39)

Where tail-head linkage is involved, the scope of the highlighting—that is, whether the highlighted clause is considered significant in the overall context of the story or only in the immediate context—depends on the style of the speaker. In the text from which 26 is taken, **-éni-ki** 'loose sequence-switch' occurs following tail-head linkage to indicate that the event of the following clause has local prominence; in 26 the climax of the section involves what was seen, but that is not very important in regard to the overall development of the story. To mark significance in regard to the overall plot structure, this particular text employs **-éni zinákke** 'loose sequence, in particular' (an even stronger switch marker used instead of **-ki**) without tail-head linkage.

In another text, **-éni-ki** following tail-head linkage marks prominence in regard to the overall text. This is illustrated in 27, in which the highlighted clause refers to a significant development in the overall plot structure of the text; from this point of spotting the lion's footprints, the rest of the story details the following of those footprints.

- (27) Guṅguákke kása ṭṭiyaldá na guá.
 gúw-Ṇgu-ák-ke kása i-ṇy-aldá na gúw-a
 do-PST-CON-LINK foot 3SG.03-hunt-INCEP SA do-PST

Kása ṭṭiyatogguénki
 kása i-ṇy-Ga-nóK-Ṇgu-éṇ-ki
 foot 3SG.03-hunt-FRM-CONT-PST-CON-SW

nábbitši kása zá tũ na guá. tuažá
 nábbi-tši kása zá tũW-Oa na gúw-a
 feline-POSS foot only see-PFV SA do-PST

'And so he started looking for footprints. While he was looking for footprints, then he saw only a mountain lion's footprints.' (T.53)

In this particular text, **-nóK** 'continuous' is also associated with tail-head linkage, adding the idea of continuing the action. It may be the combination of tail-head linkage, **-nók** and **-ki** which indicates that the marked significance applies to the overall text rather than just to the local context.

To summarize, tail-head linkage in itself can build suspense, while **-ki** points to the event(s) of the following clause(s) as prominent (either locally or in the overall text). When the who devices cooccur, event greater prominence is given to that event.

4.3. -ki 'switch' in focus-presupposition sentences.

Tail-head linkage is one form of lexical verb repetition; another is found in focus-presupposition sentences. In such sentences, the first clause conveys new (focussed) information, and the second clause repeats the lexical verb of the previous sentences (conveying given, or 'presupposed', information). **-ki** 'switch' occurs on the medial verb as a spacer, marking a switch between information of varying degrees of importance (in this instance, from more important to less important).

Focus-presupposition sentences amplify the information supplied in the previous sentences. In 28, the first and the last clauses are essentially the same. The intervening (focus) clause supplies additional information, and thus the second sentence is an amplification of the first. Notice the occurrence of **-ki** on the focus clause, 'set the baby down alone', highlighting this new information.

- (28) Ahába ní gúxal nẽ.
 a-hába ní gúk-al nẽY-Oa
 3SG.PSS-mother water get-PURP go-PFV
- Somá zá íte guṅguéniki
 somá zá í-nákK gúw-ṅgu-éni-ki
 baby only 3SG.03-come-PFV do-PST-CON-SW
- ní gúxal nẽ.
 ní gúk-al nẽY-Oa
 water get-PURP go-PFV

'His mother went to get water. She set the baby down alone and then (she) went to get water.' (T.53)

The connector **-éni** 'loose sequence' in the focus clause indicates that the amplification refers to an event prior to that of the presupposition clause. A translation of the focus-presupposition sentence could be, 'It was after she set the baby down alone that she went to get water'.

The effect of such a construction is to mark the event of the focus clause as significant to the plot. The plot is not moving forward at this point; rather, there is backtracking to convey information about an important prior event-one upon which the significant developments of the story will build. The frame of lexical repetition slows the story down so as to build anticipation; **-ki** marks the new information as significant.. In 28 the mention of the child in the focus clause is significant, because it is the child's subsequent disappearance that motivates the plot of the story. In 29, the prior event in focus is the thinking of the chief-his plans for further action. This is an important basis for the further development of the story, that he is not giving up his search entirely.

- (29) Mókue zabí na guá.
 mókue zabíH-Oa na gúw-a
 again descend-PFV SA do-PST
- "Niũwižín mókue nĩyaldíkue nžá"
 niũwižín mókue nĩy-aldíxa-ku ni náLD
 tomorrow again hunt-FUT-1SG.S SA be
- haṅguṅguéniki zabí na guá.
 háṅguw-ṅgu-éni-ki zabíH-Oa na gúw-a
 think-PST-CON-SW descend-PFV SA do-PST

'Again he went down. "Tomorrow again I will look for it" he thought, and then he went down.' (or 'It was after he thought, "Tomorrow again I will look for it", that he went

down,') (T.53)

Focus-presupposition sentences of this type have only limited occurrence in my data. Perhaps it is a style used only by certain speakers. Nevertheless, it is consistent with other forms of amplification, in that there is a repetition of lexical verbs, with the additional information inserted between the two (as part of the second clause or sentence). 30 is an example of two sentences (without medial verbs between them) where the second is an amplification of the first. Notice that both sentences end with the lexical verb **nák** 'come', with the additional information in between.

- (30) Mókue nák *Ái nahúk
 mókue nákK-Oa ái na-hú-k
 again come-PFV place 1SG.PSS-house-LOC

kuíbulduk nák.
 kuíbuldu-k nákK-Oa
 village-LOC come-PFV

'(I) again came. There to my house in the village (I) came.' (T.39)

The effect is to slow down the story, but the absence of **-ki** indicates that no new event or piece of information is highlighted.

In my data, I have one other instance in which the additional information is supplied in an intervening clause, but without **-ki** on the medial verb. In this instance, seen in 31, the medial verb contain **-atih-ák** 'circumstantial-logical'; this intervening clause provides amplification by explaining the cause or provoking circumstance of the event of the original (repeated) statement. Note that although the medial verb is not marked with **-ki**, the adverb **ekí** 'that way' is; perhaps this is a focus-presupposition sentence in which the focus is shifted away from the verb 'hear' and onto the complement of the verb ('... It was that news, when I heard it, that (was the occasion for) my fear').

- (31) Maldé zé nákzeg. Dúlda
 maldé zé nak-zékK-Oa dúlda
 long fear 1SG.02-occur-PFV message

ekíki nukkaldaťák maldé
 ekí-ki núkkA-na-atših-ák maldé
 that.way-SW hear-1SG.S-CIR-CON long

žé nákzeg
 žé nak-zékK-Oa
 fear 1SG.02-occur-PFV

'I was very afraid. When I heard news like that, I was very afraid (literally: long time fear occurred to me.)' (T.59)

In these last two examples, we have seen lexical verbs repeated, with intervening material providing amplification. When the intervening material is a clause marked with **-ki**, there is not only amplification, but also a focus on this new information, marking it as significant in the ensuing development of events.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed three functions of **-ki** 'switch'. When it occurs on nouns, the basic function is to mark a switch to that referent from other potential referents. There may be a strong idea of contrast, or it may mark a local topic (or comment) switch, mark the topic of a speech act, or cooccur with the first person singular pronoun to refer to 'my' opinion. When **-ki** occurs on medial verbs, it marks a switch between events of differing degrees of importance to plot development. Normally, it is the following clause which is highlighted as prominent; the scope of that prominence may be local or pertain to the overall text, depending on the style of the speaker. Tail-head constructions marked with **-ki** are one instance of the following clause being highlighted. In focus-presupposition constructions, it is the new information (the **-ki**-marked clause) rather than the following clause which is highlighted.

Abbreviations

1	first person	PFV	perfective
2	second person	PL	plural
3	third person	POSS	possessive
AGT	agent	PRES	present
ANT	anterior	PRIOR	prior time
BEN	benefactive	PROG	progressive
CAUS	causative	PROX	proximate
CIR	circumstantial	PSS	possessive prefix
CON	connector	PST	past
DIR	directional	PURP	purpose
FRM	formative	RECP	reciprocal
FUT	future	REF	co-referent
IMPS	impersonal	REFL	reflexive
INCEP	inceptive	S	subject
INTRZR	intransitivizer	SA	speech act
LINK	link (close connection)	SCOPE	scope (source or goal)
		SG	singular

LOC	locative	SW	switch
NEG	negative	VOL	volitional
0	object		
02	secondary object		
03	tertiary object		

NOTES

1. The phonemes of Kogi are /p, t, k, b, d, g, ʔ, s, ʃ, x, z, ʒ, m, n, ŋ, l, w, y, h, i, ɪ, e, ẽ, ɛ, ɨ, ɦ, ʌ, a, ǣ, u, ũ, o/. Stress /' / is phonemic. (See Gawthorne and Hensarling 1982 for more details.) /s/ and /ʃ/ are alveopalatal sibilants. ʔ/ is contrastive phonemically, but does not seem to require a separate orthographic symbol; I have not distinguished it from /a/ in the examples in this paper. /p/ and /o/ are infrequent, and /ʔ/ occurs word medially in just a handful of words. /x/ (velar fricative) occurs only after vowels and preceding non-high vowels. /l/ does not occur word initially; intervocalically it is realized as (d1). /ŋ/ occurs only syllable finally. /y/, /w/, and /h/ are semi-consonants. Nasalization spreads forward in a word from a phonemically nasal vowel, nasalizing all following vowels and semi-consonants until a consonant other than /h/, /w/, or /y/ occurs.

2. The first line of examples gives the phonemic form of the word, the second line the underlying forms, and the third line the glosses. Capital letters at the end of verb roots indicate that there is truncation when followed by the -Oa 'perfective' suffix. Other capital letters indicate morphophonemes that influence their morphophonemic environment but that appear on the surface only in certain circumstances. O as part of a morphophonemic representation indicates that there is morphophonemic conditioning by some element that never appears on the surface.

3. Note that no equivalent construction conveys this idea for second person, presumably because of the rarity of quoting the thoughts or words of an addressee.

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