Clause-typing and evidentiality in Ecuadorian Siona

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Chapter 4: Ecuadorian Siona nominal morphology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the nominal morphology in Ecuadorian Siona. This morphology is crucial to the reconstruction of the evidential and clause-typing system in the language. Some of the nominal morphemes have 'escaped from the noun phrase' into the verbal system.[91] In order to understand how these morphemes were introduced in the verbal system it is essential to understand their function and use in the noun phrase.

I describe the three main classes of nominal morphemes that exist in Ecuadorian Siona. The first class is that of nominal classifiers. In my analysis, some nominal classifiers have been reanalyzed as a set of subject agreement suffixes, which are essential for the expression of evidentiality and clause-typing in the language. In order to understand these changes, it is important to have an understanding of the Ecuadorian Siona nominal classification system. Therefore, I provide an overview of the functions and meanings of the classifiers in subsection 4.2.

The second class of nominal morphemes that I discuss in this section are the plural markers. Since plural marking is different for nouns and verbs, the nominal plural markers provide a good indication of whether a word functions in a nominal or in a verbal domain. The nominal plural morphemes indicate that a phrase is a noun phrase. I describe Ecuadorian Siona plural markers in subsection 4.3.

The third class that is addressed here is case marking. I argue in this thesis that two case markers have possibly been reanalysed as switch reference markers in Ecuadorian Siona. The description of the use of the system of case markers will provide a background for the development of switch reference forms. Subsection 4.4 provides a short sketch of the functions of various case markers in the language.

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[91] I use Epps' (2009) expression here, because it very well captures the historical process that some nominal suffixes in Ecuadorian Siona underwent. Epps uses the expression in order to describe a similar process in Hup, a Nadahup language spoken in the Vaupés area in Brazil. In this language headless relative clause markers have been reanalyzed as converbs and are currently used in main clauses as well.

4.2 Nominal classification

Many languages possess some type of nominal classification system. Well-known examples are the Indo-European gender systems and the Bantu noun class system (Grinevald, 2002; Seifart, 2010). Tukanoan languages are known to have nominal classification systems as well. These languages tend to have elaborate sets of nominal classifiers (See Barnes, 1990 for Tuyuca; Chacón, 2007 for an overview; 2012, pp. 235-257 for Kubeo; Gomez-Imbert, 1997, pp. 60-76 for Barasana; 2007b for Tatuyo; Miller, 1999 for Desano; Schwarz, 2011 for Ecuadorian Sekoya; Stenzel, 2013, pp. 98-130 for Wanano; Wheeler, 1987b, pp. 106-110 for Colombian Siona). Following Allan (1977, p. 285), I consider nominal classifiers to 'index some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers.' The Tukanoan classifiers meet this definition.

The classifier systems of Tukanoan and other Amazonian languages have been characterized as complex and challenging for the typology of nominal classification (Grinevald, 2000, pp. 82-83; Grinevald & Seifart, 2004; Senft, 2000, p. 17). This complexity is due to two properties of the systems:

1. They are used in different morphosyntactic positions.
2. The languages both have general and specific classifiers.

Classification systems with these types of properties are described for various Amazonian languages of different families: Miraña of the Bora family (Seifart, 2005) and Uitoto of the Witotoan family (Petersen de Piñeros, 2007), Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako (Aikhenvald, 2007) and Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2000) of the Arawak family and Tatuyo and Barasana amongst others (Gomez-Imbert, 2007b) of the Tukanoan family.

The Ecuadorian Siona system is not as large as some other Tukanoan systems, such as the one in Tuyuka that contains over ninety classifiers (Barnes, 1990) or the Desano classifier system that contains over a hundred (Miller, 1999, pp. 35-44). Nonetheless, it shows all the abovementioned properties that make the Amazonian systems complex. A first challenge for a typology of nominal classification is the fact that Ecuadorian Siona classifiers are used in different morphosyntactic positions. Nominal classifiers are often categorized into different types, such as numeral classifiers, noun classifiers, genitive classifiers and verbal classifiers, depending on the morphosyntactic position of the classifier (Allan, 1977, pp. 286-288; Grinevald, 2000, pp. 64-69). The Ecuadorian Siona classifiers are not restricted to a single

morphosyntactic position. The examples below show that the classifiers can be used on nouns, numerals,[92] demonstratives, adjectives and verbs:

Nouns

(1) a. mejahuë̱
meh̃a-wɨ
sand-CLS:CONTAIN
'beach'

b. jaë̱rë
hãĩ-dɨ
hammock-CLS:MAZE
'hammock'

c. uiyo
ui-jo
spear-CLS:LONG.THIN
'spear'

Numerals

(2) a. te'o
te'-o
one-CLS:ANIM.F
'one female.'

b. te'huë
te'-wɨ
one-CLS:CONTAIN
'one canoe'

c. te'rë
te'-dɨ
one-CLS:MAZE
'one knotted bag.'

Demonstratives

(3) a. jaë̱
hã-ɨ
DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.M
'he'

[92] According to my main consultant, the use of the classifiers on numerals is disappearing. Only a restricted set of classifiers, namely the gender classifiers, are still used productively on the numerals.

b. jạrẹ̈
hã-dɨ̃
DEM.DST-CLS:TIME
'back in the day'

c. iye
i-je
DEM.PRX-CLS:GEN
'this, these'

Adjectives

(4) a. a'riñë
a'di-jɨ̃
small-CLS:TREE
'small tree'

b. jaiya
hai-ja
big-CLS:RIVER
'big river, Aguarico river'

c. neabë
nea-bɨ
black-CLS:ROUND
'black round thing'

Verbs

(5) a. de'oto
de'o-to
be.good-CLS:PLACE
'good place, field around the house'

b. ñaquë
jã-kɨ
see-CLS:ANIM.M
'the man who see, shaman'

c. ba'ico
ba-'i-ko
live-IMPF-CLS:ANIM.F
'the woman/girl that lives'

As shown in the examples above, the Ecuadorian Siona classifiers can be used in various environments. Aikhenvald (2000, pp. 204-241) calls languages with this type of classification system a 'multiple classifier language.'

One of the functions that the classifiers used on numerals, demonstratives, adjectives and verbs can carry out is agreement within the noun phrase. The modifier agrees with the head of the noun phrase by means of the classifier. An example of this agreement relation is shown in example (6):

(6) si'awë ë̱newë̱
si'a-wɨ ɨ̃ne-wɨ
all-CLS:CONTAIN peach.palm-CLS:CONTAIN
'The whole peach palm bunch.' (20110807salsu001.013).

In example (6), the modifying quantifier *si'a* 'all' agrees with the head of the noun phrase *ɨ̃newɨ* 'peach palm bunch'; both words carry the classifier *-wɨ* 'container.'

Agreement within the noun phrase is also one of the possible functions of the classifiers that occur on verbs. When a verb carries a classifier, it is nominalized and can then be used to modify a noun as a relative clause. The nominalized verb agrees with the noun in these constructions, as illustrated in example (7):

(7) ëjaëmaca yequë yija aquëbi
ɨha-**ɨ**$_{i}$-mahka jehk-ɨ jiha
foreign-**CLS:ANIM.M-**DIM other-CLS:ANIM.M land
ah-**kɨ**$_{i}$-bi
COP-**CLS:ANIM.M-**SBJ
'The foreigner who is from another country'
(20100630srocr001.023).

The nominalized verb *ahkɨbi* 'who is from,' in example (7), carries a masculine classifier just as the head noun of the noun phrase *ɨhaɨmahka* 'foreigner,' and therefore, the verb agrees with the head. However, because numerals, demonstratives, adjectives and nominalized verbs in combination with a nominal classifier can be considered to be part of a noun class, they do not need to occur in combination with a nominal head. Since they are nominal, nominalized verbs can head a noun phrase themselves. This is how these forms are predominantly used. They occur mostly as the head of a noun phrase without any head noun.

A second indication of the complexity of the nominal classification system in Ecuadorian Siona is that it consists of both general and specific classifiers. General classifiers mark broad heterogeneous noun classes, such as animate, inanimate and gender

classes. The specific classifiers mark semantically restricted noun classes that are constructed around a function, shape or some other characteristic that most of the nouns in the class have in common (Gomez-Imbert, 2007b; Grinevald, 2007, pp. 99-100). Ecuadorian Siona has a small set of general classifiers: *-o/-ko* 'animate, feminine,' *-ɨ/-kɨ*, 'animate, masculine' and *-je/-e* 'neutral.' These classifiers are found throughout the grammar of the language. They occur as suffixes on nouns, adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, question words and verbs. When the classifiers are suffixed to verbs, their function is to nominalize the verb. Additionally, the general classifiers are found in the finite verb paradigms as a result of a process of reanalysis. (This reanalysis process is treated in chapter 8 of this dissertation). There are two other classifiers that have an extensive use as well: *-do/-to* 'place' and *-dɨ̃* 'time'. However, they are not used on finite verbs.

Ecuadorian Siona has a larger set of specific classifiers. These classifiers mark a class of a specific shape, such as the classifiers *-bɨ* 'round object,' *-me* 'filiform object,' *-do* 'concave object,' or some other characteristic, such as *-jɨ̃* 'tree, plant' and *-ja* 'river.' These classifiers have a more restricted use than the general classifiers. They are only found on nouns, adjectives and to a minor extent on numerals. When the nouns that are marked with specific classifiers are combined with a demonstrative, the demonstrative carries one of the general classifiers, as in example (8):

(8) yeque jachowa
jehk-e hahcho-wa
other-CLS:GEN weapon-CLS:CONTOUR
'Another weapon.' (20100701swicr001.014).

The demonstrative *jehke* 'other' in example (8), carries the general classifier *-e* despite the fact that it is headed by a noun that contains the specific classifier *-wa* 'an object with a contour.'[93]

A further indication of the complexity of the nominal classification system in Ecuadorian Siona is that the nominal classifiers in Ecuadorian Siona have different grammatical functions. A function that was shown above is agreement. Another function is that the classifiers are used to derive new words, as illustrated in the examples below:

[93] I am using the definition of the classifier *-wa* that was presented by Schwarz (2011) the same classifier in Ecuadorian Sekoya.

(9) a. mejạ
meha
'sand'
b. mejạhuẹ̈
meha-wɨ
sand-CLS:CONTAIN
'beach'

(10) a. guẹ̈na
gɨ̃nã
'stone, metal, something brilliant'[94]
b. guẹ̈naro
gɨ̃na-do
brilliant.material-CLS:POT
'metal pot'
c. guẹ̈nahuẹ̈
gɨ̃na-wɨ
brilliant.material-CLS:CONTAIN
'sky'

(11) a. hua'jo
wa'ho
'type of palm'
b. hua'jo-ñë
wa'ho-jɨ̃
type.of.palm-CLS:TREE
'type of palm tree'
c. hua'joyo
wa'ho-jo
type.of.palm-CLS:LONG.THIN.RIGID
'arrow'

Examples (9-11) show the derivational function of the nominal classifiers. Various nouns can be created from one root using the classifiers.

Another important function of the classifiers is individuation. Mass nouns and other non-individuated nouns need to undergo this process in order for them to refer to single countable referents (Seifart, 2009, p. 2). When speakers refer to a non-specific concept, they can use

[94] This last translation was taken from Wheeler's dictionary on Colombian Siona (Wheeler, 1987a, p. 30).

an unclassified noun. For instance, a woman in a story from the corpus suggests to a man that they go to the forest to collect some coconuts. Because she is not talking about a specific coconut or a specific bunch of coconuts, she uses the unclassified form *behto*, in example (12):

(12) airo sani beto hua'quejañu'ṵ caoña.
ai-do sa-ni behto wa'ke-ha-jũ'ũ
big-CLS:PLACE go-SS coco tear.off-go-HORT
ka-o-jã.
say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'"Let's go to the forest and tear off some coconut," she said, it is said.' (20100913slicr001.017).

However, in the next sentence when the man arrives to a specific tree, the speaker uses a classifier in order to refer to a single tree:

(13) (...) saiquëbi tḭ'ạë̱ña betoñë.
sa-i-kɨ-bi tĩ'ã-ɨ̃-jã
go-IMPF-CLS:ANIM.M-SBJ arrive-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
behto-jɨ̃.
coco-CLS:TREE
'The one who went arrived to a coconut palm.' (20100913slicr001.018).

The classifier *-jɨ̃* in example (13) has two functions in this context. It is used to derive the word 'coconut palm' from the word *behto* 'coco.' The second function of the suffix is essential in this context as well. Without the classifier, the speaker would not be able to single out a tree. In summary, the classifiers in Ecuadorian Siona have multiple functions: agreement, derivation and individuation.

An overview of the nominal classifiers in Ecuadorian Siona, including both the specific and general classifiers, is presented in the table below:

Table 4.1: The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-bã	wall	tẹ̈tẹ̈bạ tɨ̃htɨ̃-bã shore-CLS:WALL 'river bank' neabạ nẽa-bã black-CLS:WALL 'black wall'
-be	mass / piece	hui'yabe wi'ja-be grease-CLS:MASS 'grease' tëcabe tɨhka-be cut-CLS:MASS 'straight piece of land'
-bɨ / -hɨ	animate collective[95]	aibë ai-bɨ big-CLS:COL 'the elders' huasibë wahsi-bɨ worm-CLS:COL 'worms' mamajẹ̈ mama-hɨ̃ child- CLS:COL 'children'

[95] A cognate of the animate collective classifier with a similar function is found in many Tukanoan languages (Gomez-Imbert, 2007b, p. 424).

Table 4.1 (Continuation): The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-bɨ	round:	tsi̱u̱bë zĩũ-bɨ head-CLS:ROUND 'head' guë̱nabë gɨ̃nã-bɨ brilliant.material-CLS:ROUND 'rock'
-bo	enclosed area	yeo'-bo jeo'-bo mouth-CLS:ENCLOSED.AREA 'mouth' nocabo nõhka-bo banana-CLS:ENCLOSED.AREA 'banana plantation'
-da	lake	jaira hai-da big-CLS:LAKE 'big lake' so̱'cora sõ'ko-da type.of .tree-CLS:LAKE 'Zancudococha'[96]

[96] Zancudococha is a lake in Sucumbios, close to Cuyabeno river. The consultant was not certain about the translation of 'sõ'ko.'

Table 4.1 (Continuation): The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-dɨ̰	maze	jạ̰rë hãḭ̃-dɨ̰ hammock-CLS:MAZE 'hammock' te'rë te'-dɨ̰ one-CLS:MAZE 'one knotted bag, one hammock'
-dḭ̃	time	omerḛ̈ ome-dḭ̃ stay-CLS:TIME 'summer' jãrḛ̈ hã-dḭ̃ DEM.DIST-CLS:TIME 'back then, in the past.'
-do	flat round	sotoro sohto-do clay-CLS:FLAT.ROUND 'clay pot' ạo̰so'coro ãõ-so'ko-do cassava-bread-CLS:FLAT.ROUND 'cassava bread'

Table 4.1 (Continuation): The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-do / -to	place	airo ai-do big-CLS:PLACE 'forest' ja̱ro hã-do DEM.DIST-CLS:PLACE 'there' jeto heh-to DEM-CLS:PLACE 'there'
-ja	river	bi̱'a̱ña bĩ'ã-jã bird-CLS:RIVER 'Bird river, Siona village' sëokë'iya s~~ɨ~~o-k~~ɨ~~'i-ja pile-have-CLS:RIVER 'The river that has piles (of leaves), the Cuyabeno river'

Table 4.1 (Continuation): The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-je / -e	collective inanimate / general	iye i-je DEM.PRX-CLS:GEN 'this, these' yeque jehk-e other-CLS:GEN 'other' neañe nea-je black-CLS:GEN 'black things' cayaye kaja-je two-CLS:GEN 'two things'
-jɨ̃	tree	so̱quëñë sohkɨ-jɨ̃ tree-CLS:TREE 'tree' yëiñë jɨi-jɨ̃ cotton-CLS:TREE 'cotton plant, kapok tree'
-jo	long, thin and rigid	uiyo ui-jo spear-CLS:LONG.THIN 'spear' hua'joyo wa'ho-jo type.of.palm-CLS:LONG.THIN 'arrow'

Table 4.1 (Continuation): The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-ka	grain	hueaca wea-ka corn-CLS:GRAIN 'grain of corn'
-kɨ /-ɨ	animate masculine	bë'ka'kë bɨ'ka'-kɨ parent-CLS:ANIM.M 'father' ye'yaquë je'ja-kɨ teach-CLS:ANIM.M 'teacher' jo̱taë hõhta-ɨ nephew-CLS:ANIM.M 'nephew'
-ko /-o	animate feminine	baco ba-ko spouse- CLS:ANIM.F 'wife' toyaco toja-ko write-CLS:ANIM.F 'writer (F)' yo'jeo jo'he-o younger.sibling-CLS:ANIM.F 'younger sister'

Table 4.1 (Continuation): The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-me	filiform	tame ta-me excrements-CLS:FILIFORM 'intestines' ñocuame jõhk^{w}a-me chambira-CLS:FILIFORM 'a twisted string made of the fibers of Astrocaryum chambira, palm sp.
-mo	cylindrical and flexible	nocamo nohka-mo banana-CLS:CYL.FLEX 'banana' mëtomo mɨhto-mo tobacco-CLS:CYL.FLEX 'traditional cigar'
-tu'u	bag	tatu'u ta-tu'u excrements-CLS:BAG 'stomach' gua̱je̱tu'u g^{w}ãhẽ-tu'u male.genitals-CLS:BAG 'male genitals'
-wa	having a contour	yaji-hua jahi-wa sweet.potato-CLS:CONTOUR 'sweet potato' jachohua hahcho-wa weapon-CLS:CONTOUR 'weapon'

Table 4.1 (Continuation): The nominal classifiers, their meaning and examples

Classifier	Meaning	Examples
-wɨ	container	yohuë jo-wɨ canoe-CLS:CONTAIN 'canoe' do'rohuë do'do-wɨ basket-CLS:CONTAIN 'basket'

There is a split between animate and inanimate nouns in Ecuadorian Siona. Animate nouns are largely marked by the feminine and masculine feminine classifiers *-o / -ko* and *-ɨ / -kɨ*.[97] The animate class also includes entities such as the thunder, the stars, spirits and 'yaje.'[98] Inanimate nouns are either unmarked or have a specific classifier that categorizes the objects into a class with a characteristic that the noun possesses. Examples of unmarked nouns are: *gohe* 'hole,' *mo'se* 'day,' *ma'a* 'path' and *tohto* 'board.'

In summary, different types of classifiers have different behaviours: general classifiers are found throughout the grammar, whereas specific classifiers only have a restricted use. The specific classifiers that are used with inanimate nouns are found on nouns and adjectives. There seem to be two types of nouns: animate and inanimate nouns. The difference between the two types is that the animate nouns carry the general gender classifiers, whereas the inanimate classifiers either carry a specific classifier or they are unclassified. The general

[97] Animal names seem to constitute an intermediate class. Some animal names behave as other nouns that refer to other animate entities. Examples are *ho'jaɨ* 'dog' and *ho'jao* 'bitch.' Other animal names are unmarked: *bahku* 'pomfret, fish sp.', *ma* 'ara' and *mie* 'anteater.' There is possible phonological evidence that there is a third group of animal names. This set of animal names are all trimoraic, such as *jãmedo* 'type of big bees' *naodo* 'type of toad' and *tahkado* 'hawk,' *suada* 'Prochilodus magdalenae, fish sp,' *i:di* 'small parrot sp.', *pe:di* 'cockroach,' *pɨ'pɨdi* 'condor,' *tudi* 'mouse,' *mimi* 'hummingbird,' *wãjũmi* 'anaconda,' *zimi* 'catfish' and *jãnami* 'stingray.' Since stems are regularly bimoraic, these animal names seem to consist of a stem and a suffix. The forms *-do*, *-di* and *-mi* may therefore be frozen noun classifiers.

[98] *Yaje* is the hallucinogenic drink that the shamans in the lowlands of Ecuador drink in order to have visions.

classifiers are the set of morphemes that play a crucial role in the emergence of grammaticalized evidentiality and clause-typing in Ecuadorian Siona.

4.3 Plural marking

The second class of nominal morphology that is discussed in this chapter is plural marking. The split between animate and inanimate nouns is even more apparent in the domain of plural morphology. Animate and inanimate nouns carry distinct plural suffixes. There are two different animate plural suffixes: *-wa'i*[99] and *-dowɨ*. The use of the first animate plural marker is more generalized. It is used on nouns, numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives and nominalized verbs, as exemplified in (14-18):

(14) huatiohua'i
wahti-o-wa'i
spirit-CLS:ANIM.F-PL
'Spirits'

(15) cayahua'i
kaja-wa'i
two-PL
'Two (animate beings)'

(16) si'ahua'i
si'a-wa'i
all-PL
'Everyone'

(17) jąẽhua'i
hã-ɨ-wa'i
DEM.DIST-CLS:ANIM.M-PL
'They'

[99] This plural suffix is identical to the word *wa'i* 'meat, animal, fish.' It is likely that there is a relation to the two. The word *wa'i* is a mass noun and can therefore easily be used for a group of animals or other animate beings. Schwarz (2011) makes this same connection between the plural marker *-wa'i* and the word for meat *wa'i* in Ecuadorian Sekoya.

(18) u̱cucua'i
ũhku-ko-wa'i
drink-CLS:ANIM.F-PL
'The people who drink, the shamans'

The plural marker *-wa'i* mostly follows a gender class marker, as shown in example (14), (17) and (18). The gender class marker does not refer to the gender of all the members in the set. The words *wahtiowa'i* and *ũhkukʷa'i* do not refer to a set with only female members. It is possible that none of them is female as well. The same is true for the demonstrative *hãɨ̃wa'i* 'they.' This demonstrative can but need not refer to a group consisting of only female members. Not all words that refer to an animate plural set need a classifier. When the plural marker *-wa'i* occurs on a numeral or quantifier, speakers do not use a gender class before it, as illustrated in (15) and (16).

The plural suffix *-dowɨ* has a much more restricted use than the plural suffix *-wa'i*. It is mostly used for the pluralization of nouns of the class of family members.[100] This is illustrated in the examples below:

(19) cuë̱dohuë
kʷɨ̃-dowɨ
uncle-PL
'uncles, uncle and aunt'

(20) huaredohuë
ware-dowɨ
child-PL
'children'

The plural marker *-dowɨ* can occur both with or without a gender class marker. In examples (19) and (20) above the suffix is used without adding a gender class marker. It is illustrated in example (21), that it is possible to either use or not use the gender class marker in combination with *-dowɨ*, but that there is a difference in meaning:

[100] This suffix is used only once in the corpus on the quantifier *si'a* 'all.' The word *si'adowɨre* (20110227salsu001.153) refers to two sisters that were both taken away.

(21) a. jo̯tadohuë
hõhta-dowɨ
nephew-PL
'nieces and nephews'
b. jo̯taëdohuë
hõhta-ɨ-dowɨ
nephew-CLS:ANIM:M-PL
'nephews'

The difference between the two plural nouns in example (21) is that the noun in (21a) that does not contain a gender class marker refers to a set of people that belong together and that are either male or female. The noun in (21b) that contains the masculine gender marker *-ɨ* refers to a set with only male members.

A possible semantic analysis of the plural marker *-dowɨ* is that it is a associative plural marker, as described by Moravcsik (2003). An important cross-linguistic feature of associative plurals is that they mark "a spatially or conceptually coherent group" (Moravcsik, 2003, p. 471). This holds for the groups that are marked with Ecuadorian Siona plural marker *-dowɨ*. It needs to be explored in future research whether *-dowɨ* functions in all respects like associative plurals in other languages.

Some plural animate nouns do not contain a plural marker. Their plural quality is expressed by the collective animate class marker *-bɨ / -hɨ*.[101] The cases in which this collective marker occurs are provided in the examples below:

(22) aibë
ai-bɨ
big-CLS:COL
'the elders'

(23) huasibë
wahsi-bɨ
worm-CLS:COL
'worms'

[101] It is likely that there is a diachronic reason for the existence of the two allomorphs *-bɨ / -hɨ*. However, there do not seem to be any synchronic conditions under which one form or the other is used.

(24) mamaję̈
mama-hɨ̶
child-CLS:COL
'children'

The nouns in examples (22-24) can only be pluralized by means of the collective suffix *-bɨ̶ / -hɨ̶* and they are not found with the plural markers *-wa'i* or *-dowɨ̶*.

Inanimate nouns have different plural markers. The nouns that never carry any noun class marking are pluralized by the suffix *-jã*:

(25) mo'seña
mo'se-jã
day-PL
'days'

(26) cocaña
kohka-jã
word-PL
'words'

(27) joro-ña
hodo-jã
flower-PL
'flowers'

The plural suffix *–jã* replaces the final vowel or syllable of the noun in some cases. The examples below illustrate this:

(28)	a.	ma'a ma'a path 'path'	b.	ma'ña ma'-jã path-PL 'paths'
(29)	a.	huë'e wɨ'e house 'house'	b.	huë'ña wɨ'e-jã house-PL 'houses'

(30)	a.	toto tohto board 'board'	b.	toña toh-jã board-PL 'boards'
(31)	a.	jë̱të hɨ̃htɨ hand 'hand'	b.	jë̱ña hɨ̃h-jã hand-PL 'hands'

In examples (28b) and (29b), the final vowel is dropped due to the suffixation of the plural suffix *-jã*. In (30b) and (31b), the final syllable is dropped.

Inanimate nouns that belong to a specific noun class have a slightly different plural marker: *-ã*. These nouns need to bear their noun class marker in order for it to be pluralized,[102] as illustrated in the examples below:

(32) a. toa
toa
fire
'fire'

b. toab̰oa̱
toa-bo-ã
fire-CLS:ENCLOSED.AREA-PL
'fires, fireplaces'

(33) a. noca
nohka
banana
'banana'

[102] The plural marker *–jã* for inanimate nouns without a specific noun class marker is probably a cognate form of the plural marker *–ã* that is used for inanimate nouns that belong to a specific noun class. One possibility is that the *j* in the suffix *–jã* is a trace of the general classifier *–je* that was used on nouns that did not belong to a specific noun class. If this is correct than the nouns that belong to a specific class also needed to carry a noun class marker when it was pluralized. Although this analysis provides more unity in the system, it is just speculation at this point. More supportive evidence is necessary in order to make this claim.

b. nocamoa
nohka-mo-ã
banana-CLS:CYL.FLEX-PL
'bananas'

c. nocahuë̱a̱
nõhka-wɨ-ã
banana-CLS:CONTAIN-PL
'bunches of bananas'

d. nocañëa
nohka-jĩ-ã
banana-CLS:TREE-PL
'banana trees'

(34) a. i̱'si
ĩ'si
pine.apple
'pine apple'

b. i̱'sibë̱a̱
ĩ'si-bɨ-ã
pine.apple-CLS:ROUND-PL
'pine apples'

c. i̱'siñëa
ĩ'si-jĩ-ã
pine.apple-CLS:TREE-PL
'pine apple plants'

Examples (32-34) show that all plural inanimate nouns that belong to a specific noun class carry a noun class marker. It is ungrammatical to pluralize a noun without marking it for its noun class.[103] A noun needs to be individualized by the noun class marker before it can be pluralized.

The plural suffixes *-jã* and *-ã* can only be used on nouns. When demonstratives, numerals, classifiers or adjectives refer to inanimate plural entities, they carry the general classifier *-je*:

(35) iye
i-je
DEM.PRX-CLS:GEN
'these'

[103] A similar observation was made by Schwarz (2011) for Ecuadorian Sekoya: in this variety nouns need to carry a noun class marker as well before they can be pluralized.

(36) toasǫñe
toasõ-jẽ
three-CLS:GEN
'three'

(37) si'aye
si'a-je
all-CLS:GEN
'all things'

(38) neañe
nea-je
black-CLS:GEN
'black things'

The inanimate plural suffixes *-jã* and *-ã* are not used on word classes such as demonstratives, numerals, classifiers and adjectives, as shown in (35-38). The general classifier *-je* is used to express agreement with plural inanimate nouns.

In summary, there is a clear split between animate and inanimate nouns in Ecuadorian Siona with respect to plural marking. The plural suffixes are distinct for these two types of nouns. The plural markers for animate nouns are the disyllabic suffixes *-wa'i* and *-dowɨ*. The animate plural marker *-wa'i* is found in any type of word class that is found in the noun phrase, whereas the use of the suffix *-dowɨ* is mostly restricted to nouns that refer to family members. The inanimate plural markers *-ã* and *-jã* are found, respectively, on nouns of a specific noun class and on nouns that do not belong to a specific noun class. The use of these suffixes is restricted to nouns. Other word classes are marked with the general class marker *-je* when they refer to an inanimate plural set. Individuation of nouns by means of a noun class marker is important for both a group of animate and inanimate nouns. Many nouns are first assigned to a noun class by means of a noun class marker and are then pluralized.

The animate plural morpheme *-wa'i* and the animate collective classifier are used in combination with verbs as well. The suffix *-wa'i* is only used with nominalized forms. The classifier *-bɨ / -hɨ* has been integrated into the verbal morphology to a higher degree. It now forms part of the subordinate verb morphology (see Chapter 5, section 5.3).

4.4 Case marking

The case markers are the third class of nominal domain suffixes that I discuss in this chapter. There is a set of suffixes that is used to mark grammatical relations in Ecuadorian Siona. This set consists of the following morphemes: *-bi*, *-de* / *-te*, *-ni*, *-na*, *-hã'ã* and *-hã'de*. The suffixes occur on most word classes within the nominal domain: they are attested on nouns, demonstratives, question words, pronouns, adjectives and nominalized verbs.

Although the case suffixes can be found on different word classes, they do not appear on every noun phrase. The use of these case markers seems to depend on pragmatic factors such as specificity and focus. For instance, in the story about a man who is not able to catch any animal, his wife asks him why he is not able to do so. Since she is asking about animals in general and not any specific animal, the object *wa'i* 'meat / animal' is not marked for case:

(39) me yo'quë më'ë hua'i neñe ba̱quë?
me jo'-kɨ mɨ'ɨ [wa'i]$_O$ ne-je
how do-S.M.PRS 2S [meat]$_O$ make-INF
bã-kɨ?
NEC.COP-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS
'Why don't you catch any animals?' (20100913slicr002.004).

Example (39) shows that not all noun phrases are marked for case. It depends on the syntactic function of the noun phrase in the sentence what factors are involved.

Another peculiarity of the system is that it is in not always the noun within the noun phrase that is marked. There are many examples in the corpus in which the demonstrative or the adjective is marked for case but the noun is not. This is illustrated in the examples below, in which the nouns *haida* 'lake' in (40) and *wãjũmi* in (41) are not marked but the other elements in the noun phrase are:

(40) iye mo'seña mai i̱o̱te jaira ñajë̱ ba'iyë.
i-je mo'se-jã mai
DEM.PRX-CLS:GEN day-PL 1PL.INCL
[ĩ-oh-te hai-da]$_O$ jã-hɨ
[DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F-OBJ lake-CLS:LAKE]$_O$ see-PL.PRS
ba-'i-jɨ.
live-IMPF-OTH.PRS.ASS
'Nowadays we still live off this lake.' (20100630srocr001.79).

(41) yureta̱'a̱ ñareña i̱te jaiquëre wa̱ñumi aire
jude-tã'ã jã-de-jã [ĩ-ɨh-te
now-CNTEXP see-OTH.PST.N.ASS [DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ
hai-kɨ-de wãjũmi]$_0$ ai-ɨ-de
big-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ anaconda]$_0$ big-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ
'Now they saw this big anaconda, a huge one.'
(20100907slicr002.024).

The demonstrative *ĩohte* 'this' in (40), the demonstrative *ĩhte* 'this', and the adjective *haikɨde* 'big' in (41) are all marked for case whereas the head nouns in the noun phrases are not. There is no pause between the two nouns and the other elements. Therefore, the demonstratives and the adjective do not seem to be appositions and it is more likely that the elements form a single noun phrase in which the noun is the head.

It is not always straightforward to categorize and label these suffixes. For instance, the case marker *-bi* is used to mark subjects, instruments and source locations. A complication for the object suffixes *-de* and *-ni* is that they have overlapping functions. The oblique markers *-na*, *-hã'ã* and *-hã'de* are more straightforward. In table 4.2, there is an overview of the case suffixes in Ecuadorian Siona and their functions.

Table 4.2: The case suffixes in Ecuadorian Siona their function and their use

Case marker	Grammatical relation	Use
-bi	subject	focus
	instrument	obligatory
	source location	
-de / -te	direct object	specific object
	indirect object	
	location	
-ni	direct object	focus
	indirect object	
-na	goal	specific goal
-hã'ã	path	obligatory
	limit	
-hã'de	comitative	obligatory

The case suffixes will be discussed in the following subsections. In 4.4.1 I describe the functions of the case marker *-bi*, in 4.4.2, I address the object markers *-de* and *-ni* and in 4.4.3 I discuss the oblique case

markers *-na*, *-hã'ã* and *-hã'de*. I provide a short summary of the case marking system in 4.4.4.

4.4.1 The case suffix *-bi*

The case suffix *-bi* can mark subjects, instruments, and source locations in a sentence. An example in which the suffix is both used to mark a subject and an instrument is presented below:

(42) i̱o̱bi i̱te së'bobi tëtojoña i̱re.
[ĩ-o-bi]$_{S}$ ĩ-ɨh-te [sɨ'bo-bi]$_{INST}$
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F-SBJ DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ axe-INST
tɨhto-ho-o-jã ĩ-ɨ-de.
cut-kill-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ
'She killed him with the axe.' (20101123slicr001.065)

In example (42), both the subject *ĩobi* 'she' and the instrument *sɨ'bobi* 'with the axe' are marked with the same case marker.

I assume that the uses of this suffix to mark the subject, the instrumentative, and the source represent three functions of a single suffix, but I will gloss the suffix according to its function in the sentence: -SBJ for its occurrence on subjects, -INST for its occurrence on instruments and -SRC for its occurrence on source locations. Although I assume these three functions to synchronically belong to a single case suffix, the suffix *-bi* may have a different origin than the instrumentative and source marker *-bi*. One reason to believe this is that the first marker behaves different from the other two. This remains, however, for future study.

The first function of *-bi* that I will discuss is its use as subject marker. This case marker is both used for agents, as shown in example (43), and for experiencer subjects, as shown in example (44):

(43) yë'-a'yëmacare hua̱ñumibi a̱ja̱'i̱
jɨ-a'jɨ-mahka-de [wãjũmi-bi]$_{S}$
1S-older.brother-DIM-OBJ [anaconda-SBJ]$_{S}$
ã-ha'i.
eat-3S.M.PST.ASS
'The anaconda ate my poor older brother.'
(20100907slicr002.014).

(44) jạ̈ërëbi gạ'nehuesëni…
hãɨ̃-dɨ-bi gã'-ne-wehsɨ-ni…
hammock-CLS:MAZE-SBJ skin-make-be.forever-SS
'The hammock became entangled…' (20100913slicr001.025).

The subject *wãjũmibi* 'the anaconda' in example (43) is an agentive subject of a transitive verb, whereas the subject *hãɨ̃rɨbi* 'the hammock' in example (44) is an experiencer subject of an intransitive verb. These examples show that the suffix *-bi* can be used to mark the grammatical subject irrespective of its semantic role.

Noun phrases that function as subject are not necessarily marked with the suffix *-bi* in Ecuadorian Siona. There are also subjects that do not carry this suffix. An example of an unmarked subject is presented in (45):

(45) ạ̱ina dë̱jọ̱ quere ạ̱iquë'ne guachaoña.
ã-i-ɨ-na [dɨ̃hõ]$_S$ ke-de
eat-IMPF-S.M.PRS-DS [wife]$_S$ what-OBJ
ãĩ-kɨ-'ne g^{w}ahcha-o-jã.
eat-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-Q think-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'While he was eating, the wife thought: "What is he eating?"' (20101123slicr001.015).

The subject *dɨ̃hõ* 'wife' in example (45) is not marked for case. Unmarked subjects are very common in the language and it seems that the use of the case suffix *-bi* is only used in specific cases.

The cognate of the suffix *-bi* in Koreguaje, *-pi* / *-ji* is used in similar way as in Ecuadorian Siona to mark subjects. According to Cook & Levinsohn (1985, pp. 92-100), the Koreguaje suffix is a focus marker that marks subjects. Focus sometimes seems to be a motivation in Ecuadorian Siona as well for the use of the suffix *-bi*. For instance, it is used in contrastive focus, as illustrated in example (46):

(46) bạ̱ni më'cato bạ̱jë̱'ë̱ yë'bi ị̱ọ̱re basi'i.
bã-ni, mɨ'-kato bã-hɨ̃'ɨ̃ [jɨ'-bi]$_S$
NEG.COP-SS 2S-FOC NEG.COP-IMP [1S-SBJ]$_S$
ĩ-o-de ba-si-'i.
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F-OBJ have-FUT-OTH.ASS
'"No, you won't, I'll have her."' (20101202slicr001.018).

Example (46) is from a story in which two men fight for a woman. One of the two men says that he is going to have the woman and not the other man. The speaker contrasts himself with the other man. In this example it is clear that the subject 'I' is in focus. It is not always straightforward in Ecuadorian Siona, however, that the subject is focused when it is marked by *-bi*. An alternative analysis of the use of the suffix *-bi* to mark subjects is that it is used to disambiguate the function of the argument. Various languages in the wider area seem to have subject case markers that are only used when the grammatical function of the argument in the sentence is ambiguous. These markers are used to clarify the function of the argument. Languages with this type of optional subject case markers[104] are Eighteenth Century Cholón (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2005, pp. 146-148), Shiwilu (Valenzuela, 2011, pp. 104-107) and Ika (Frank, 1990, pp. 36-37).[105]

The second function of the case marker *-bi* is the instrumentative. This function is illustrated in the following examples:

(47) sani uje gẽ̱jẹ̱bë naso juteña jëohuëbi.
sa-ni uhe gĩ̱hebɨ̱ nahso huh-te-jã
go-SS guan curassow wooly.monkey shoot-OTH.PST.N.ASS-REP
[hɨo-wɨ-bi]$_{INST}$.
[blow.gun-CLS:CONTAIN-INST]$_{INST}$
'They went and killed some guan, curassow[106] and brown wooly monkey with a blowgun.' (20100907slicr002.006).

[104] With optional I do not mean that the meaning does not change when the subject marker is left out. I use the term optional to refer to the fact that subjects are not necessarily marked with the subject case marker. The presence of the case marker in many of the mentioned languages is dependent on discourse-pragmatic factors.

[105] These case markers in these languages do not have exactly the same function as in Ecuadorian Siona. The case markers *-tu-p* in Eighteenth Century Cholón (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2005, pp. 146-148), *=ler* in Shiwilu (Valenzuela, 2011, pp. 104-107) and *-seʔ* in Ika (Frank, 1990, pp. 36-37) seem to only mark the subject of a transitive sentence. The markers in Shiwilu and Ika are, therefore, analyzed as ergative case markers. There is no such restriction in Ecuadorian Siona: all grammatical subjects can be marked with the suffix *-bi.*

[106] The guan and the curassow are types of birds. In the case of the guan, the speaker was probably referring to the dusky-legged guan, sp. *Penelope obscura*.

(48) hua'tibi jëoyë.
[wa'ti-bi]$_{INST}$ hɨo-jɨ.
[machete-INST]$_{INST}$ clear-OTH.PRS.ASS
'I am clearing (the field) with a machete.'
(20120920elicr001.052).

The noun phrases *hɨowɨbi* 'with a blowgun' in (47) and *wa'tibi* 'with a machete' in (48) are both instruments in the examples. This use of the case suffix *-bi* is less problematic. That is, all instruments are marked with this suffix, and focus does not play a role in the use of the suffix in this function.

The same holds for the third use of the case suffix *-bi*. When *-bi* is used to indicate a location, it expresses the source location of the event. The use of the suffix is obligatory in such source contexts, just as in instrumentative contexts. The examples below show the use of the suffix *-bi* to mark source location:

(49) më'ë jerobi daco'ne?
mɨ'ɨ [he-do-bi]$_{SRC}$ dah-ko-'ne?
2S [what-CLS:PLACE-SRC]$_{SRC}$ come-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-Q
'Where did you come from?' (20101202slicr001.010).

(50) a̱ijë̱ tutuje̱na yeo'cabi tsiayabi ño'cuedëchoëña ja̱o̱hua'i do̱mitsi̱re.
ã-i-hɨ tuhtu-hɨ-na [jeo'ka-bi]$_{SRC}$
eat-IMPF-PL.PRS sit.on.top.PL-PL.PRS-DS [below-SRC]$_{SRC}$
[zia-ja-bi]$_{SRC}$ jõ'k^{w}e-dɨhcho-ɨ-jã
[river-CLS:RIVER-SRC]$_{SRC}$ move-make.fall-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
hã-o-wa'i dõmi-tsĩ-de.
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F-PL woman-children-OBJ
'They were sitting up there eating and from the river below (something) moved and made the girls fall.' (20100913slicr003.009).

The question word *hedobi* 'from where' in (49) and the nouns *jeo'kabi* 'from below' and *ziajabi* 'from the river' refer to the source location of the action expressed in the sentence.

In conclusion, the question remains what the relation is between these three functions of the suffix *-bi*. Wheeler (Wheeler, 1967) analyzed these three functions of the cognate suffix *-bi* in Colombian Siona as three uses of a single suffix that marks the source of the action as its

core function. Although this is an interesting approach, it does not explain the differences in behavior that *-bi* has in its distinct functions. The subject use of the suffix *-bi* is not always present, whereas the suffix is obligatorily used in instrumentative and source contexts. Another difference is that the verb agrees with the subjects marked with *-bi*, but that it does not do so with the two oblique arguments. Both diachronic and synchronic research may provide answers to the question of the exact relation between these three uses of *-bi*.

4.4.2 The object markers *-de* and *-ni*

Objects can be marked in three ways in Ecuadorian Siona. There are two object markers in Ecuadorian Siona: *-de* and *-ni*. Another possibility is that objects are unmarked as shown in the introduction of this section, in example (39). Unmarked objects are often non-specific or non-referential. A similar phenomenon occurs in Eastern Tukanoan languages as well (Stenzel, 2008b). The fact that Ecuadorian Siona has three ways to mark objects can be referred to as differential object marking.

The two case markers *-de* and *-ni* have similar functions: they are both found on direct and indirect objects. Examples (51) and (52) illustrate the use of *-de* and *-ni* with direct objects, and examples (53) and (54) with indirect objects:

Direct object marked by *-de*

(51) go'ini hua'ire sajë̱'ë̱ më' bacoquë'ro

go'i-ni [wa'i-de]$_{DO}$ sa-hɨ̃'ɨ̃ mɨ'
return-SS [fish-OBJ]$_{DO}$ take-IMP 2S
ba-ko-kɨ'-do.
have-CLS:ANIM.F-POS-CLS:PLACE
'When you go back, take the fish to your wife.' (20100913slicr002.021).

Direct object marked by *-ni*

(52) yë' jo̱ta̱o̱ni quërëdasi'i cani daë'ë.

jɨ' [hõhtã-õ-ni]$_{DO}$ kɨrɨ-dah-si-'i
1S [niece-CLS:ANIM.F-OBJ]$_{DO}$ take-come-FUT-OTH.ASS
ka-ni da-ɨ'ɨ.
say-SS come-OTH.PST.ASS
'I came to take away my niece.' (20110328slicr002.015).

Indirect object marked by *-de*

(53) dani i̱hua'ire i̱siña bë'caquëre.
da-ni ĩ-wa'i-de ĩsi-ɨ-jã
come-SS DEM.PROX-PL-OBJ give-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
[bɨ'ka-kɨ-de]$_{IO}$.
[parent-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ]$_{IO}$
'When he came he gave them back to the father.' (20100913slicr003.027).

Indirect object marked by *-ni*

(54) tsoe yë' mamaquëni i̱sihuë.
zoe jɨ' [mama-kɨ-ni]$_{IO}$ ĩsi-wɨ.
time 1S [child- CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ]$_{IO}$ give-OTH.PST.ASS
'I already gave (her) to my son.' (20110228slicr002.016).

The examples (51-54) show that direct and indirect objects can be marked by both object markers, *-de* and *-ni*. However, although the case markers have overlapping functions, there are considerable differences as well, which will be discussed in the following subsections. I will describe the use of the suffix *-de* in 4.4.2.1 and the use of *-ni* in 4.4.2.2.

4.4.2.1 The specific object marker *-de*

The suffix *-de* has three types of uses. As shown previously, it can be used to mark a direct or indirect object. This indirect object marking by means of the suffix *-de* includes the marking of experience objects. Some impersonal verbs, such as the verbs *ɨaje* 'to want' and *uje* 'to be hot,' do have an overt subject and they take an experiencer object as their complement. This use of this case marker is illustrated in (55) and (56):

(55) aireba a̱i̱ëaji yë're.
ai-deba ãĩ-ɨa-hi [jɨ'-de]$_{OBJ}$.
big-INTENS eat-want-3S.M.PRS.ASS [1S-OBJ]$_{OBJ}$
'I am very hungry.' (20101123slicr001.048).

(56) yë're uji.
[jɨ'-de]$_{OBJ}$ u-hi.
[1S-OBJ]$_{OBJ}$ be.hot-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'I am hot.' (20110302elicr001.013).

In both examples (55) and (56) *jɨ'de* 'to me' is the experiencer object of the verb. The verbs *ãĩɨahi* in example (55) and *uhi* in example (56) display third person masculine subject agreement that is found on other impersonal verbs as well. This means that the experiencer in this type of contexts is the object and not the subject. Experiencer objects are generally marked with the object suffix *-de*.

The third type of use of the suffix *-de* is to mark locations where an event takes place. Two examples of this use are presented below:

(57) go'ini ñajẽna yohuë hue'sere huahuaëña.
go'i-ni jã-hɨ-na jo-wɨ
return-SS see-PL.PRS-DS canoe-CLS:CONTAIN
[we'se-de]$_{LOC}$ wawa-ɨ-jã.
[outside-OBJ]$_{LOC}$ float-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS-REP
'When they had gone back they saw that the canoe was floating outside (of the port).' (20100907slicr002.008).

(58) airo saisiquëbi go'iquëna a'ritsiayare i̱o̱ bacoña te'e do̱mio.
ai-do sa-i-sih-kɨ-bi go'i-kɨ-na
big-CLS:PLACE go-IMPF-CMPL-NOM.M-SBJ return-S.M.PRS-DS
[a'di-zia-ja-de]$_{LOC}$ ĩ-o
[small-river-CLS:PLACE-OBJ]$_{LOC}$ DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F
bah-ko-jã te'e dõmi-o.
be-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP one woman-CLS:ANIM.F
'When the one who had gone to the forest returned, there was a woman sitting in the small creek.' (20101202slicr001.008).

The nouns *we'sede* 'outside' in (57) and *a'diziajade* 'in the small creek' in (58), marked with the case suffix *-de,* indicate the locations where the events described in the examples occurred. The three types of use of the marker *-de* are all typical non-subject functions. For the sake of simplicity, I gloss the suffix *-de* as object marker 'OBJ.'

However, as mentioned above, not all objects are marked with *-de* or the other object marker *-ni*. The absence of these markers is often an indication that the object is non-specific. The example below about the activities of the Siona people shows three unmarked objects that all refer to non-specific objects:

(59) jạjẹ̱ yo'jë si'ahua'i bạị̱ yure huë'ña ja'o huë'ña nejẹ̱ tina ạọ̱ sëojẹ̱ nejẹ̱ curiso'coromaca bayë bạị̱.

hã-hẽ	jo'-hɨ	si'a-wa'i	bãĩ	yude
DEM.DST-like	do-PL.PRS	all-PL	people	now
[wɨ'-jã	ha'o	wɨ'-jã]$_O$	[ne-hɨ]$_V$	ti-na
[house-PL	leaf	house-PL]$_O$	[make-PL.PRS]$_V$	ANPH-GOAL
[ãõ]$_O$	[sɨo-hɨ]$_V$	ne-hɨ		
[cassava]$_O$	[roast-PL.PRS]$_V$	make-PL.PRS		
[kudi-so'ko-do-mahka]$_O$		[ba-jɨ]$_V$		
[money-coin-CLS:FLAT.ROUND-DIM]$_O$		[have-OTH.PRS.ASS]$_V$		
bãĩ.				
people				

'They do like this, all the Siona people make houses, leaf houses now and there they make cassava bread and because of that the people have a little money.' (20100925slicr003.002).

The objects *wɨ'jã ha'o wɨ'jã* 'houses, leaf houses,' *ãõ* 'cassava bread' and *kudiso'kodomahka* 'a little money' in (59) all refer to non-specific objects. The speaker describes the general activities of the Siona in Puerto Bolívar. She is talking about the activities of leaf house making of cassava bread making and having money.

When speakers use the object marker -*de*, they mostly refer to a specific object. They either have a specific object in mind or have introduced it earlier in the discourse. The example below illustrates the latter option:

(60) ba'iquëbi hua'i moni hua'i daëna dẹ̱jọ̱ ja'reni cua'cocona goa quëojaida'ka cua'cumaca ị̱ hua'ire mani sotore'huana ñoni…

ba'i-kɨ-bi	[wa'i]$_O$	mo-ni	[wa'i]$_O$	
live-NOM.M-SBJ	[animal]$_O$	fish-SS	[animal]$_O$	
da-ɨ-nã	dĩho	ha'de-ni	k^{w}a'ko-ko-na	goa
bring-S.M.PST-DS	wife	gut-SS	cook-S.F.PRS-DS	just
kɨo-hai-da'ka	k^{w}a'ku-mahka	ĩ-ɨ		
warm-VBL-CLS:WATER	be.cooked-DIM	DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M		
[wa'i-de]$_O$	ma-ni	sohto-de'wa-na	jõ-ni…	
[animal-OBJ]$_O$	take.out-SS	clay-CLS:PLATE-GOAL	put-SS	

'The one who lived caught some fish, brought fish home, and his wife gutted and cooked (it), but when it was only half cooked, he took the fish out and put (it) on a plate…' (20101123slicr001.017).

In example (60), the speaker first introduces the object *wa'i* 'fish' as the object of *moni* 'he fished' and *daɨna* 'he brought.' The speaker does not use an object marker because it is not a specific fish that she is referring to. However, later on the speaker again refers to the fish that the man had fished and brought. In this instance, she uses the object marker *-de* with the object *wa'ide* 'the fish,' because she is referring to the specific fish that she introduced earlier.

The object marker *-de* or its cognates in other Tukanoan languages have also been analyzed as specificity markers (Aikhenvald, 2002, pp. 101-102; Barnes, 1999, pp. 219-220; Cook & Levinsohn, 1985). This object marker exists in all of the Tukanoan languages, and in many of the languages it has a similar use as in Ecuadorian Siona. A correlation between specificity marking and case marking is typologically not uncommon. Blake (1994, pp. 120-121) mentions various examples of languages in which non-specific objects are unmarked. For instance, in Turkish non-specific direct objects do not receive accusative case marking.

The specificity of the object also seems to play role in the use of the object marker *-de* in Ecuadorian Siona. However, some cases are not as straightforward as the example presented above, and more research is needed on this topic.

4.4.2.2 The animate object marker *-ni*

Although the object marker *-ni* can occur in similar contexts as the object marker *-de*, its use is more restricted. For instance, it does not represent a locative function in the corpus. Another restriction of the object marker *-ni* with regard to the object marker *-de* is that it is generally only used with animate objects.[107] For instance, the suffix *-de* is always used in 'what object questions' and the suffix *-ni* in 'who object questions':

(61) quere a̱i̱quë'ne?
ke-e-de ã-i-kɨ-'ne?
what-CLS:GEN-OBJ eat-IMPF-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS-Q
'What is he eating?' (20101123slicr001.015).

[107] I found two examples in the corpus in which the object marker *–nĩ* is used with an inanimate object. In both examples, the objects did not consist of a noun. The inanimate objects that were marked by *–nĩ* were a demonstrative and a nominalized verb. The marking of inanimate nouns by this object marker was considered ungrammatical by the main consultant, as shown in this section.

(62) queini sëyoë'ne
ke-ɨ-ni sɨyo-ɨ-'ne
what-CLS:ANIM:M-OBJ roast-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-Q
'Whom did he roast?'(20101123slicr001.041).

In example (61), the speaker is asking about an inanimate object. In this example, the question word *ke* 'what' is marked with the object marker *-de*. In example (62) from a story about a cannibal, the speaker has gone with her husband to the forest and has just found the skull of a person. Then she sees the remains of a fire and a traditional type of grill. At that moment the speaker understands that her husband roasted someone and ate him or her. So she asks herself whom he roasted. The question word refers in this example to an animate object and is therefore marked with the object marker *-ni*.

Another indication that *-ni* marks only animate objects is that its use with inanimate objects is considered to be ungrammatical by Siona speakers:

(63) a. ocore ñañë.
ohko-de jã-jɨ.
water-OBJ see-OTH.PRS.ASS
'I see water.' (20120912slicr001.014).
b. *oconi ñañë.
*ohko-ni jã-jɨ.
water-OBJ see-OTH.PRS.ASS
Intended: 'I see water.' (20120912slicr001.015).

(64) a. nocare ạë'ẹ̈.
nohka-de ã-ɨ'ɨ.
banana-OBJ eat-OTH.PST.ASS
'I ate the banana.' (20120912slicr001.036).
b. *nocani ạë'ẹ̈.
*nohka-ni ã-ɨ'ɨ.
banana-OBJ eat-OTH.PST.ASS
Intended: 'I ate the banana.' (20120912slicr001.037).

When the inanimate objects *ohko* 'water' and *nohka* 'banana' are marked with the object marker *-de* in (63a) and (64a), the sentence is considered grammatical by the speakers. When the object marker *-de* is replaced by the object marker *-ni*, as shown in example (63b) and (64b) the sentences become ungrammatical.

The fact that the case suffix *-ni* is almost exclusively found with animate objects, and that it is considered ungrammatical to use the suffix with inanimate objects, suggests that this object marker is an animate object marker. However, the use of *-de* and *-ni* still overlaps despite of this specification of the use of the suffix *-ni*. Both case suffixes are used to mark animate objects. A similar observation has been made for the cognate case suffixes in Colombian Siona and in Koreguaje. According Wheeler (1967), the suffix *-de* is used in Colombian Siona when speakers add a 'normal focus' to the animate object and *-ni* is used when speakers add 'emphatic focus' to the animate object. Cook and Levinsohn (1985) have a similar analysis of the use of the case suffixes with animate objects. The only difference is that, according to the authors, Koreguaje speakers use *-de* for specific animate objects and *-ni* for focused animate objects.

It is possible that the use of the case suffix *-ni* in Ecuadorian Siona involves information structure as well. One indication for a similar difference in use between the suffixes *-de* and *-ni* is the switch between them. Speakers sometimes use *-ni* when they first refer to the object and then they switch to *-de* when they want to clarify who they are referring to. Two examples of this switch are presented below:

(65) yureta̱'a̱ ja̱maca i̱ sani hua'i moni a̱o̱ma'ë̱ goa i̱hua'ini mamajë̱mañare të'cajo'ani sëyoni i̱ a̱kë̱ña.
jude-tã'ã hã-mahka ĩ-ɨ sa-ni
now-CNTEXP DEM.DST-DIM DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:M go-SS
wa'i mo-ni ãõ-ma'-ɨ goa
animal fish-SS feed-NEG-S.M.PRS just
[ĩ-ɨ-wa'i-ni]$_O$ [mama-hɨ-mah-jã-de]$_O$
[DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:M-PL-OBJ]$_O$ [child-CLS:ANIM.COL-DIM-PL-OBJ]$_O$
tɨ'ka-ho'a-ni sɨjo-ni ĩ-ɨ
beat-split-SS roast-SS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:M
ãh-kɨ-jã.
eat-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
'Then he left, but instead of fishing fish and feeding (his children) he killed them, the poor children, roasted (them) and he ate (them). '(20101123slicr001.025).

(66) a'riquëni tsi̱tu're hueoco...
[a'di-kɨ-ni]$_O$ [zĩ-tu'-de]$_O$
[small-CLS:ANIM.MSC-OBJ]$_O$ [children-CLS:BAG-OBJ]$_O$
weo-ko...
have.lying.in.hammock-S.F.PRS…
'She had a little one, a baby, lying in the hammock.'
(20110227salsu001.087).

The first objects in (65) and (66), *ĩwa'ini* 'them' and *a'dikɨni* 'a little one,' are marked with the object marker *–ni;* and the second ones, *mamahɨmahjãde* 'the poor children' and *zĩtu'de* 'a baby', are marked with *-de*. Example (65) is from a story about a cannibal who eats his children. In the example, the speaker emphasizes that the cannibal ate 'them' and then clarifies that 'them' refers to his children. The different marking of the two objects indicates that their function is slightly different. The object *ĩwa'ini* 'them' is in focus and the object *mamahɨmahjãde* is backgrounded clarifying information.

A similar analysis can be provided for the two objects in example (66). The speaker introduces the object *a'dikɨni* 'the little one' first and then clarifies it with the second object *zĩtu'de* 'a baby.' The first object seems to be focused and the second one represents background information. So there are some indications that there is a relation between the information structure of a sentence and the use of the object markers *-de* and *-ni*. However, the exact analysis of this relation must remain for further study.

4.4.3 The oblique markers

The use of the oblique case markers in Ecuadorian Siona is less complex. The oblique case suffixes *-na*, *-hã'ã*, and *-hã'de* are used to express specific grammatical relations. The first oblique case suffix discussed here, *-na*, expresses the spatial relation of goal. In the examples below the subject carries out an action in the direction of the object marked with *-na*:

(67) baquëbi jaërë huei caina jaërë së'aëña i jetena.
bã-kɨ-bi hãĩ-dɨ
NEG.COP-NOM.M-SBJ hammock-CLS:MAZE
we-i-ɨ kã-i-ɨ-na
lie.in.hammock-IMPF-S.M.PRS sleep-IMPF-S.M.PRS-DS
hãĩ-dɨ sɨ'a-ɨ-jã
hammock-CLS:MAZE stick-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
[ĩ-ɨ hehte-na]$_{GOAL}$.
[DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:M back-GOAL]$_{GOAL}$
'The one who did not (listen) was lying down and sleeping in the hammock and the hammock stuck onto his back.'
(20100913slicr001.005).

(68) yohuë ayamëni yequë ti'huina i jeni caquëña.
jo-wɨ aja-mɨ-ni jehk-ɨ
canoe-CLS:CONTAIN fill-go.down-SS other-CLS:ANIM:M
[ti'wi-na]$_{GOAL}$ ĩ-ɨ hẽ-ni
[other.side-GOAL]$_{GOAL}$ DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:M cross-SS
kãh-kɨ-jã.
sleep-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
'He went down into the canoe, he crossed to the other side and slept.' (20100913slicr001.028).

(69) i huañumi iote hua'i yohuëna ayaëna quërëmeo aio bacoña.
ĩ-ɨ wãjũmi ĩ-oh-te wa'i
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:M anaconda DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:F-OBJ fish
[jo-wɨ-na]$_{GOAL}$ aja-ɨ-na
[canoe-CLS:CONTAIN-GOAL]$_{GOAL}$ fill-S.M.PST-DS
kɨrɨ-me-o ã-i-o bah-ko-jã.
take-go.down-S.F.PRS eat-IMPF-S.F.PRS be-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'The anaconda would put fish in the canoe and she would get it and eat it.' (20100913slicr003.034).

In the examples (67-69) the case suffix *-na* is used to mark the goal of the action.

The 'goal' suffix *-na* is not used on every constituent that refers to the goal of the action. Similarly to the object case marker *-de*, the suffix *-na* seems to be mostly used to mark specific goals. When a non-specific goal is presented in a sentence, the case marker *-na* is often not used. This is illustrated in example (70):

(70) airo sañu'u
ai-do sa-jũ'ũ
big-CLS:PLACE go-HORT
'Let's go to the forest.' (20100913slicr002.004).

The goal *aido* 'forest' in (70) does not show any case marking. Most instances of this word that are used as a goal are not marked with the case marker. This word does not refer to one specific location. The Siona people are surrounded by forest, and therefore this term encompasses many different specific locations. Because of the absence of the case marker *-na* in (70), this construction can best be analyzed as the event of 'forest-going.'

Another oblique case found in Ecuadorian Siona is *-hã'ã*. This suffix marks objects that express either a path or a limit. I assume here that this is a single suffix with two different uses, but in order to show the different functions I will gloss the two uses differently: -PATH for path and -LIM for limit. An example of both uses is presented below:

Path
(71) i̱o̱ ma'a yequë ma'aja̱'a̱ go'ico nehuesëo.
ĩ-o ma'a jehk-ɨ ma'a-hã'ã
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:F path other-CLS:ANIM:M path-PATH
go'i-ko ne-wehsɨ-o.
return-S.F.PRS make-do.forever-3S.F.PRS.ASS
'She returned along a path, another path and she got lost.'
(20100907slicr001.007).

Limit
(72) nëcasi̱'cubërebaja̱'a̱ yë're a̱iji̱.
nɨhka-sĩ'ku-bɨ-deba-hã'ã jɨ'-de ã-i-hi.
stand-joint-CLS:ROUND-INTENS-LIM 1S-OBJ eat-IMPF-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'He is eating me up to my knees.' (20100907slicr002.012).

In example (71), the suffix *-hã'ã* is used to mark the path along which the event takes place: *jehkɨ ma'ahã'ã* 'along the other path.' In example (72), the same suffix is used to mark the limit of the action: *nɨhkasĩ'kubɨdebahã'ã* 'up until the knees.' Both functions of the suffix *-hã'ã* are spatial relations that delimit the space in which the event takes place. In case of the 'path' function it is a specific route that the suffix delimits and in the case of the 'limit' it delimits the end location of the event. Because of these similarities between the functions of the

suffix, it is not surprising that these two functions are expressed by one and the same suffix.[108]

The final oblique case marker discussed here is the comitative *-hã'de*. The use of this suffix is illustrated in the two examples below:

(73) caëna i̱o̱ sacoña i̱ja̱'re ëjëja̱'re.
ka-ɨ-na ĩ-o sah-ko-jã
say-S.M.PST-DS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:F go-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
ĩ-ɨ-hã'de ɨ̃hɨ̃-hã'de.
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM:M-COM husband-COM
'After he had said (that), she went with him, with her husband.' (20101123slicr001.034).

(74) ja'o tëo̱huë̱ Martinaja̱'re.
ha'o tɨ̃õ-wɨ Martina-hã'de.
leaf weave-OTH.PST.ASS Martina-COM
'We wove leaves with Martina.' (20100925slicr003.002).

Examples (73) and (74) show that the suffix *-hã'de* marks accompaniment. In example (73), the subject carries out the action of 'going' accompanied by her husband; and in (74) the subject carries out the action of weaving leaves in the company of the author. This is a typical comitative function, which is the only function that this case suffix portrays.

4.4.4 Case marking, a summary

Ecuadorian Siona marks case by means of a set of suffixes that are not always obligatory. Both specificity and information structure seem to play a role in the use of the case markers. The functions of the case markers include marking grammatical relations and spatial relations. An interesting peculiarity of the case marking system in the language is that the object marker *-ni* and the goal marker *-na* may have given rise to dependent verb morphology. The tentative reanalysis that led to this development will be described in chapter 7.

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[108] The three suffixes *–bi* 'source,' *–re* 'location,' *–nã* 'goal' and *–hã'ã* 'limit, path' form the case system that is used to express spatial relations in Ecuadorian Siona. More complex spatial relations are expressed by spatial nouns, such as *jeo'ka* 'under,' *ɨ̃mɨ̃hẽ'ẽ* 'above' and *hobo* 'the middle.'