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## Clause-typing and evidentiality in Ecuadorian Siona

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## Apéndice I: The Hammock

- (1) yure quëasi'i te'e bōsē yo'quë ba'ise'e.  
jude kia-si'-i            te'e bōsì            jo'-ki  
now tell-FUT-OTH.ASS one young.man do-M.PRS  
ba'-i-se'e.  
be-IMPF-NLZ.PST  
'Now I am going to tell (the story) about what a young man did.'
- (2) jaë bōsē ñocua neni dani sereni cua'coni cuenani i ñocua oyaquë  
ba'quëña.  
hā-í                        bōsì                    jōhkwa            ne-ni  
DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.M      young.man          chambira make-ss  
da-a-ni                    sede-ni                kwa'ko-ni        k'wena-ni  
come-TRS-SS                strip-ss              cook-ss            secar-ss  
í-i                            jōhkwa                oja-ki  
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M      chambira             roll-S.M.PRS  
ba-~-ki-jā.  
be-REM.PST-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS-REP  
'The young man made 'chambira,' he brought (it), stripped (it),  
cooked (it) and roled the chambira.'
- (3) oyaquëbi i jaërë ju'ani hueina yecua'i careña jaëte bōsere. aireba  
hueye bajé'ë jaërë, jaërë jejequë careña.  
oja-ki-bi                í-i                        hā-ñ-dì  
roll-NLZ.M-SBJ    DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M    hammock-CLS:MAZE  
hu'a-ni we-i-na            jehk-wa'i            ka-de-jā  
knot-SS acostar-S.M.PST-DS otro-PL        say-OTH.PST.N.ASS-REP  
ha-ih-te                    bōtsi-re                ai-deba  
DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ young.man-OBJ    big-INTENS  
we-je                        bā-hñ'ñ                hā-ñ-dì  
lie.down.in.hammock-INF NEG.COP-IMP        hammock-CLS:MAZE  
hēhē-ki                    ka-de-jā.  
get.stuck-NLZ.M            say-OTH.PST.N.ASS-REP.  
'When he rolled (the chambira), he knotted a hammock and he  
lay down in it and the others said to the young man: "Don't lie  
down in the hammock, because the hammock will get stuck,"  
they said.'

- (4) cajëna i sehuoye bæñña. bæquë jare jaërëse'e hueina tijubë careña  
 guinaëni hueye bajë'ë catojë ti sehuocaiye bæñña.  
 ka-hi-na ī-i sewo-je  
 say-PL.PRS-DS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M accept-INF  
 bā-+jā. bā-kī hā-de  
 NEG.COP-2/3M.PST.N.ASS-REP NEG.COP-NLZ.M DEM.DST-OBJ  
 hāñ-di-se'e we-ī-na  
 hammock-CLS:MAZE-just lie.down.in.hammock-S.M.PRS-DS  
 tihūbi ka-de-jā  
 again say-OTH.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 g'wina-ī-ni  
 the.one.who.does.it.again-CLS:ANIM.M-OBJ  
 we-je bā-hññ ka-to-hē  
 lie.down.in.hammock-INF NEG.COP-IMP say-CLS:PLACE-like  
 ti sewo-ka-i-je bā-ī-na.  
 AN accept-APPL-IMPF-INF NEG.COP-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'After they said that, he did not listen. He would just lie down in the hammock again and they said to him: "Don't lie down in the hammock!" but although they said that he did not listen.'
- (5) bæquëbi jaërë hueicaina jaërë së'aëña i jetena  
 bā-kī-bi hāñ-dī  
 NEG.COP-NLZ.M-SBJ hammock-CLS:MAZE  
 we-ī-kā-ī-ni  
 lie.down.in.hammock-IMPF-sleep-IMPF-S.M.PRS-DS  
 hāñ-dī sī'a-ī-jā  
 hammock-CLS:MAZE get.stuk-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 ī-i hehte-na.  
 DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M back-GOAL  
 'Not doing (that) he lay down to sleep in the hammock and the hammock got stuck to his back.'
- (6) së'aëna huësi'i cani yo'quëna jejesëquéña. sī'a jaërë huëquéña.  
 sī'a-ī-na wīh-si'-i ka-ni jo'-kī-na  
 get.stuck-S.M.PST-DS get.up-FUT-OTH.ASS say-SS do-S.M.PRS-DS  
 hēhē-sīh-kī-jā sī'a hāñ-dī  
 get.stuck-be.stuck-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP all hammock-CLS:MAZE  
 wīh-kī-jā.  
 get.up-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'After it got stuck, he wanted to get up, but it was still stuck (on his back). He got up with hammock and all.'

- (7) huëni ɿ ai quëquëña. yë'ë me nejä'quëa'ne yure caquëna yecua'i  
 aibë ñani jaŋe yo'maquë cani cajñe bajë'ë jaŋerë cajëna sehuoye  
 basiquë careña.

wi-ni      ɿ-ɿ                        ai      kiki-i-jä  
 get.up-ss DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M big be.scared-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 jude      ji'-i      me      ne-hä'-ki-a-'ne      ka-ki-na  
 now      1S      how      do-PRP-NLZ.M-COP-Q      say-S.M.PRS-DS  
 jehk-wa'i      ai-bi      jä-ni      hä-hë  
 other-PL      big-CLS:COL      see-SS      DEM.DST-like  
 jo'-ma-ki      ka-ni      kä-i-je      bã-h̃t̃  
 do-NEG-NLZ.M see-SS      sleep-IMPF-INF      NEG.COP-IMP  
 hä̃-d̃i      ka-hi-na      sewo-je  
 hammock-CLS:MAZE      say-PL.PRS-DS      accept-INF  
 bã-sih-ki      ka-de-jä.  
 NEG.COP-CMPL-NLZ.M      say-OTH.PST.N.ASS-REP

'When got up he was really scared. "What I am going to do?" he said and the elders said: "See, we said that you should that, "don't sleep in the hammock," we said, but you didn't listen."

- (8) carena ɿ ba'iquëbi airo sai si'a jaŋerë hue'equë saquëña ɿ bõsë.  
 ka-de-na      ɿ-ɿ                        ba'-i-ki-bi  
 say-PL.PST-DS      DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M      be-IMPF-NLZ.M-SBJ  
 ai-do      sa-i-ɿ      si'a      hä̃-d̃i  
 big-CLS:PLACE      go-IMPF-S.M.PRS      all      hammock-CLS:MAZE  
 we'e-ki      sah-ki-jä      ɿ-ɿ                        bõsi.  
 carry-S.M.PRS      go-2/3S.M.PST-REP      DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M      young.man.  
 'After they had said that, some time passed and the young man went to the forest carrying the hammock and all around.'

- (9) sani daisiquëbi guyaquë si'a jaŋerë gajeni guyaeña.  
 sa-ni      da-i-sih-ki-bi                        guja-ki      si'a  
 go-ss      come-IMPF-CMPL-NLZ.M-SBJ      bathe-S.M.PRS      all  
 hä̃-d̃i      gahe-ni      guja-i-jä.  
 hammock-CLS:MAZE      go.down-ss      bathe-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'He went and came back and he would bathe and he would go down to bathe with hammock and all.'

- (10) guyani tumani ja'ruquëna yureta'a jaērē iose'e joyeni  
 hueiña.  
 guja-ni tuma-ni ha'du-ki-na jude-tā'ã  
 bathe-ss go.up-SS sit.down-S.M.PRS-DS now-CNTEXP  
 ha-mahka hāñ-di ī-o-se'e  
 DEM.DST-DIM hammock-CLS:MAZE DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F-just  
 hoje-ni we-i-jā.  
 open-SS tie.up-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'After he had come up after bathing and he said down and the  
 hammock opened and tied up by itself.'
- (11) ibi ja'ruquëna tsoe huesico baquëña.  
 ī-i-bi ha'ru-ki-na zoe we-sih-ko  
 DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M-SBJ sit.down-S.M.PRS-DS time tie.up-CMPL-NLZ.F  
 bah-ki-jā.  
 be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'When he sat down it was already tied up.'
- (12) huëina ja're iose'e joyeni jete huequëña.  
 wi-i-i-na hā-de ī-o-se'e  
 get.up-IMPF-S.M.PRS-DS DEM.DST-OBJ DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F  
 hoje-ni hehte weh-ki-jā.  
 open-SS back tie.up-2/3S.M.PST-REP  
 'When he would get up it would tie up on his back by itself.'

- (13) ja<sub>je</sub> yo'quëna yureta'<sub>a</sub> airo sai si'a ja<sub>er</sub>ë saisiquëbi yureta'<sub>a</sub>  
 jamaca io caoña ja<sub>er</sub>ëbi. airo sani ñocua neñu'<sub>u</sub> caoña.  
 hā-hē                jo'-ki-na                jude-tā'ā  
 DEM.DST-like     do-S.M.PST.DS     now-CNTEXP  
 ai-do                sa-i-<sub>i</sub>                si'a hā-<sub>i</sub>-dī  
 big-CLS:PLACE     go-IMPF-S.M.PRS     all     hammock-CLS:MAZE  
 sa-i-sih-ki-bi        jude-tā'ā        hā-mahka  
 go-IMPF-CMPL-NLZ.M-SBJ     now-CNTEXP     DEM.DST-DIM  
 ī-o                ka-o-jā  
 DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F     say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 hā-<sub>i</sub>-dī-bi        ai-do        sa-ni jōhk<sup>w</sup>a        ne-jū'ū  
 hammock-CLS:MAZE-SBJ     big-CLS:PLACE     go-SS chambira     do-HORT  
 ka-o-jā.  
 say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'It was doing like that and when he went to the forest he would go with his hammock and all and then the hammock started talking. "Let's go to the forest to make 'chambira,'" she said.'
- (14) caona ī sani ñocua nequë ba'quëña.  
 ka-o-na                ī-<sub>i</sub>                sa-ni jōhk<sup>w</sup>a        ne-ki  
 say-S.F.PST-DS     DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M     go-SS chambira     do-S.M.PRS  
 ba-~'-ki-jā.  
 be-REM.PST-2/3S.M.PSTN.ASS-REP  
 'When she would say that, he would go to make chambira.'
- (15) není go'ini sereña.  
 ne-ní     go'i-ní        sede-i-jā.  
 do-ss     return-ss        strip-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'After making (chambira) he would go back and strip (it).'

- (16) sereni cu'a'coni oyaquë si'a jaërë huei oyaquë yo'quëbi yureta'a i  
 tijübë caoña io.  
 sede-ni kwa'ko-ni oja-kì si'a häǟ-dì  
 strip-SS cook-ss roll-S.M.PRS all hammock-CLS:MAZE  
 we-i-ì oja-kì jo'-kì-bi  
 lie.down.in.a.hammock-IMPF-S.M.PRS roll-S.M.PRS do-NLZ.M-SBJ  
 jude-tä'ä ì-ì tihübi ka-o-jä  
 now-CNTEXP DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M again say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 ì-o.  
 DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F  
 'First he stripped (it), then he cooked (it) and he rolled it, he  
 rolled lying in the hammock and then she said: "Again."
- (17) airo sani beto hua'quejañu'u caoña.  
 ai-do sa-ni behto wa'ke-ha-jü'ü  
 big-CLS:PLACE go-SS coco tear.off-go-HORT  
 ka-o-jä.  
 say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 "Let's go to the forest and tear off some coconut," she said, it is  
 said.'
- (18) caona i jaë' cani saiquëbi ti'aëña betoñë.  
 ka-o-na ì-ì haï' ka-ni  
 say-S.F.PST-DS DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.M OK say-SS  
 sa-i-kì-bi ti'ä-ì-jä behto-ÿj.  
 go-IMPF-CLS:ANIM.M-SBJ arrive-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP coco-CLS:TREE  
 'When she said that he said: "Ok," and the one who went arrived  
 to a coconut palm.'
- (19) ti'aëna io jaërë ba'isijkota'a baiño de'oña.  
 ti'ä-ì-na ì-o häǟ-dì  
 arrive-S.M.PST-DS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F hammock-CLS:MAZE  
 ba'-i-sih-ko-tä'ä bäǟ-o  
 be-IMPF-CMPL-NLZ.F-CNTEXP person-CLS:ANIM.F  
 de'o-o-jä.  
 become-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'When he had found (it), she, who first was a hammock, became  
 a woman.'

- (20) nēcaco ñaoña. ñaco de'oco bojai dañaquë'yo bacoña io.  
 nihka-ko jā-o-jā. jā-ko de'o-ko  
 stand-S.F.PRS see-S.F.PST-DS see-S.F.PRS be.good-S.F.PRS  
 bohai dajā -ki'i-o bah-ko-jā ī-o.  
 white hair-have-S.F.PRS be-2/3S.M.N.ASS-REP DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F  
 'She stood there watching. She was watching and had beautiful  
 blond hair.'
- (21) ba'icobi jaqo beto jubē jaqo cato juñao ocua'ë caoña.  
 ba'-i-ko-bi hā-o behto-hubī  
 be-IMPF-NLZ.F-SBJ DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.F coconut-bunch  
 hā-o ka-to hūñ-a-o  
 DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.F say-CLS:PLACE green-COP-3S.F.ASS  
 ohko-a-'i ka-o-jā.  
 water-COP-OTH.ASS say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'She said: "This bunch is still green, they (the coconuts) are just  
 water."
- (22) jaqo ai yequë jubē jai jubē jaqobi aiyo jaqoni huatotojë'ë caoña.  
 hā-o ai jehk-i hubī  
 DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.F more other-CLS:ANIM.M bunch  
 hai hubī hā-o-bi ai-o  
 big bunch DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.F-SBJ big-3S.F.ASS  
 hā-o-ni wahtoto-hñ'ñ ka-o-jā.  
 DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.F-OBJ take.down-IMP say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS  
 "That one, the other bunch, the big bunch is ripe, take that one  
 down," she said.'

- (23) caona i mëni cuya'se'kewë nesicore mëani i daëquëna ai jéaye  
daëjë'ë caona i jéaye daëquëna i ñama'ë daëquëna io ye'oca  
nëcasicobi io beto jubë tomeja'co ëmëje'ë ye'ocare nëcaoña.  
ka-o-na                      i-i                      mi-ni                      kʷã'sek̩i-wi  
say-S.F.PST-DS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M go.up-SS      hook-CLS:CONTAIN  
ne-sih-ko-de                mi-a-ni                i-i  
do-CMPL-NLZ.F-OBJ go.up-TRS-SS      DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M  
dai-ki-na                    ai                        hia-je                      dai-h̩f̩  
pull-S.M.PRS-DS more be.hard-INF              pull-IMP  
ka-o-na                      i-i                        hia-je                      dai-ki-na  
say-S.F.PST-DS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M be.hard-INF pull-S.M.PRS-DS  
i-i                            jã-ma'-i                dai-ki-na  
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M see-NEG-S.M.PRS pull-S.M.PRS-DS  
i-o                            je'oka                    nihka-sih-ko-bi  
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F below stand-CMPL-NLZ.F-SBJ  
i-o                            behto-hubi              tome-hã'-ko      imi-hẽ  
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F coco-bunch fall-PRP-NLZ.F above-like  
je'oka-de                    nihka-o-jã.  
below-OBJ stand-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP  
'When she had said that he went up and he took up a hook he  
had made when he pulled (it) she said: "Pull harder," and he  
pulled harder, he pulled without watching toward where she  
stood below and then the bunch of coconuts was going to fall  
and she stood there.'
- (24) nëcacona i daë huatotoquëna io beto jubëre su'cuayë caco io  
jaëré de'oni io beto jubëna gã'nehueseoña.  
nihka-ko-na                i-i                        dai-wahtotõ-ki-na  
stand-S.F.PRS-DS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M pull-make.fall-S.M.PST-DS  
i-o                            behto-hubi-de            su'kwa-jí  
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F coco-bunch-OBJ catch-OTH.PRS.ASS  
ka-ko                        i-o                        hãi-dí                      de'o-ni  
say-S.F.PRS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F hammock-CLS:MAZE become-SS  
i-o                            behto-hubi-na  
DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F coco-bunch-GOAL  
gã'ne-wesi-o-jã.  
become.entangled-for.ever-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP  
'She stood (there). While she stood (there) he pulled down and  
dropped the coconut bunch while she said: "I am catching (it),"  
and she became a hammock again and she got entangled.'

- (25) *gã'nehuesëni guicona meñe ñaquëna baiño ba'isicotä'a tsoe jaërëbi gã'nehuesëni guico memecona i esaëmaca gajeni i huëhuëña.*
- |  |                    |                          |
|--|--------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>gã'ne-wesi-ni</i>   | <i>gwi-ko-na</i>   |                          |
| be.entangled-for.ever-SS   | scream-S.F.PRS-DS  |                          |
| <i>me-je</i>   | <i>jã-kì-na</i>    | <i>bã-o</i>              |
| move.head.down-SS  | see-S.M.PRS-DS     | people-CLS:ANIM.F        |
| <i>ba-'i-sih-ko-tã'ã</i>   | <i>zoe</i>         | <i>hã-di-bi</i>          |
| be-IMPF-CMPL-NLZ.F-CNTEXP  | time               | hammock-CLS:MAZE-SBJ     |
| <i>gã'ne-wesi-ni</i>   | <i>gwi-ko</i>      |                          |
| be.entangled-for.ever-SS   | schreeuwen-S.F.PRS |                          |
| <i>meme-ko-na</i>  | <i>i-í</i>         | <i>esa-i-mahka</i>       |
| be.afraid-S.F.PRS-DS   | DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M | quick-M-DIM              |
| <i>gahe-ni</i>   | <i>i-í</i>         | <i>wiwi-i-ja.</i>        |
| go.down-SS   | DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M | run-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP |
| 'Entangled she was screaming and then he looked down the woman who had already become a hammock entangled (in the coconut bunch) and she was screaming scared and he climbed down quickly and run away.' |                    |                          |
- (26) *go'iña*  
*go'i-i-jã.*  
 return-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 'He returned.'
- (27) *go'ini i quëaëña yecua'ire.*  
*go'i-ni i-í kia-i-jã*  
 return-SS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M tell-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 jehk-wa'i-de.  
 other-PL-OBJ  
 'When he got back he told the others.'

- (28) *io yure më' jaérë cajëna tsoe io quea'ne betojubëna  
 ga'nehuesëona jeogoni daë'ë caquë i memequëna güjnaobi dasio  
 kani yohuë ayamëni yequë ti'huina i jeni cäquëña.*
- ĩ-o                        jude mi hää-di                        ka-hi-na  
 DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F now 2s hammock-CLS:MAZE say-PL.PRS-DS  
 zoe ĩ-o                        ke-a'-ne                        behto-hubi-na  
 time DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.F what-COP-Q coconut-bunch-GOAL  
 gä'ne-wesi-o-na                hëõgõ-ni  
 be.entangled-for.ever-S.F.PST-SS leave.behind-ss  
 da-ĩ'i                        ka-kí                        ĩ-i  
 come-OTH.PST.ASS say-S.M.PRS DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M  
 meme-ki-na                        gwina-o-bi  
 be.afraid-S.M.PRS-DS the.one.who.does.it.again-CLS:ANIM.F-SBJ  
 dah-si-o                        ka-ni                        aja-mi-ni  
 come-FUT-3S.F.ASS say-ss canoe-CLS:CONTAIN fill-go.down-ss  
 jehk-i                                ti'wi-na                        ĩ-i                hë-ni  
 other-CLS:ANIM.M side-GOAL DEM.PRX-CLS:ANIM.M cross-ss  
 käh-kí-jä.  
 sleep-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP  
 "And your hammock," they said and he said: "She got entangled  
 in a bunch of coconuts, and I left (her) behind," and he (added)  
 afraid: "She will come back," so he went down into the canoe and  
 he slept on the other side.'
- (28) *jare jaoja'a i yo'se'e carajaja'i.*  
 hää-de                        hää-o-hää                        ĩ-i  
 DEM.DST-OBJ DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.F-LIM DEM.DST-CLS:ANIM.M  
 jo'-se'e                        kada-ha-ha'i.  
 do-NLZ.PST end-go-3S.M.PST.ASS  
 "This is (until) where the story ends.'

(20100907slicr001).

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