Differential case-marking in Ecuadorian Siona

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CHAPTER 3

Siona case grammar: A preliminary description

This chapter provides the *preliminary description* of Siona case-marking facts, which is intended as a reference and as the point of departure for the ensuing chapters in this dissertation. Although the essential facts are as in previous descriptions (i.e., Bruil 2014, §4.4; Case and Jeretič 2021; Case & Bruil *forthcoming*), this preliminary description has certain features that innovate with respect to them, namely the unification of argumental and spatial DCM patterns, which is retained in the remainder of this work. I also make a handful of refinements based on data assembled from my field notes and work with texts.

Siona grammar makes extensive use of case-markers to indicate the role of a given noun phrase in its clausal context. Table 3.1 adapts the case-marker inventory as presented by Bruil (2014, 157). The usage of these markers is not always straightforward. DCM effects are attested in the coding of various grammatical relations. This table indicates the baseline *formal* and *functional* aspects of Siona DCM, and also provides a first approximation of the dominant TRIGGERS for each of the attested DCM patterns.

Case-marker	Grammatical relation	Use
-bi	Subject	focus
	Instrument	obligatory
	Source location	
-re	Direct object	specific object
	Indirect object	
	Location	
-ni	Direct object	focus
	Indirect object	
-na	Goal	specific goal
-hã'ã	Path Limit	obligatory
-hã're	Comitative	obligatory

Table 3.1: The case suffixes in Ecuadorian Siona, their functions and their use, adapted from Bruil (2014, 157, Table 4.2)

There are a few important things to note in order to frame the description. Firstly, even though in the table they are lumped, this dissertation separates argumental DCM patterns from spatial DCM patterns, in order to determine how they align and how they differ. Spatial relations are identified with grayed cells in Table 3.1.

Secondly, the table above traces the distribution of particular case-markers to one or several grammatical relations. DCM arises where the *use* of the case-marker to encode that relation is conditioned by a certain (set of) factor(s) — i.e., not obligatory. Relations that are obligatorily marked by a certain case do not exhibit DCM. Thus, two (argumental) grammatical relations in the table do not exhibit DCM. This includes the COMPANION FUNCTION (labeled Comitative in Table 3.1), encoded via the dedicated case-marker *-hã're*, and the INSTRUMENT FUNCTION, which recruits the *bi*-marker.[1] The following examples illustrate this.

(1) a. *. . . jë̲jë̲ më'ë̲bi yëto më'ja̲'re basi'i*
hɨ̃hɨ̃ mɨ'ɨ̃-bi jɨɨ-to **mɨ'ɨ̃-hã're** bah-si'-i
yes 2SG-SBJ want-COND 2SG-COM be-FUT-N3S
'. . . Yes, if you want, (I) will be (there) with you.'
[NAT*: 20150207srocr003.045]

b. *yë'ëje̲ juaquëa'ë tobë̲a̲re ñocuabi*
jɨ'ɨ-hẽ hwaa-kɨ-a-'ɨ to-bɨ-ã-re
1SG-ADD weave-CL:M-COP-N3S bag-CL:RND-PL.INAN-N.SBJ
ñohkwa-bi
chambira_palm-INST
'I (M) also often weave bags (lit. I am a bag-weaver)
with chambira (fibres).' [VOL: 20230628emabi001.004]

For other grammatical relations identified in Table 3.1, the use of the corresponding case-marker(s) is determined by either 'focus' or 'specificity'. Following the terminology established in Chapter 2, the use of certain markers is driven by either a

[1] Cook and Levinsohn 1985, 97-100, explain that the cognate *-pi* is not obligatory to encode the INSTRUMENT argument in Koreguaje, such that an OPTIONAL-type DCM pattern arises.

discourse- or referentiality-related TRIGGER. This dissertation will demonstrate that multiple TRIGGERS are active in each grammatical relation with DCM. It also claims that a discourse-related STRONG TRIGGER is active for every Siona DCM RELATION, regardless of which other TRIGGERS are active.

Thirdly, if we adopt the definition for DCM established in Chapter 2 — i.e., from (2): "The phenomenon whereby not every argument bearing a given grammatical relation is encoded with the same case-marker", two types of DCM are attested in Siona grammar.

On the one hand, there is *principled* DCM, which are primarily triggered by a conspiracy of animacy-related and information structural properties of the noun phrase. Principled DCM in Siona grammar are best viewed as pairs of marking alternatives, labeled the PLAIN and PROMINENT marking-alternatives, which display a paradigmatic distribution. Table 3.2 maps case-marking alternatives onto PLAIN (often zero-marking) or PROMINENT categories across the five principled DCM RELATIONS of Siona, as based upon animacy classes. Similar analyses are suggested for related Western Tukanoan languages — including, Colombian Siona (Wheeler 1970, 172-174, 1987) and Koreguaje (Cook and Levinsohn 1985, 92):[2]

	INANIMATE		ANIMATE ($\wedge$ $^{\uparrow}$INAN)	
	PLAIN	PROMINENT	PLAIN	PROMINENT
Argumental DCM:				
SUBJECT (S)	-∅	*-bi*	-∅	*-bi*
DIRECT OBJECT (P)	-∅	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
INDIRECT OBJECT (R)	*-re*/*-na*		*-re*	*-ni*
Spatial DCM:	INANIMATE		$^{\uparrow}$INANIMATE	
STATIC LOCATION (L)	-∅	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
GOAL (G)	-∅	*-na*	*-na*	

Table 3.2: Principled DCM RELATIONS: mapping onto PLAIN-PROMINENT forms

Principled DCM alternations in Siona tend to be driven by information structure. Consider the interpretative difference between the PLAIN zero-marked SUBJECT and its PROMINENT *-bi* marked counterpart in the minimal pair presented in (2). The overt case-marking in (2b) evokes what is called the emphatic contrast reading in this dissertation, following terminology in the optional ergative-marking literature (e.g., Tournadre 1995; LaPolla 1995). Similar effects are noted for PROMINENT case-marking across the entire paradigm traced in Table 3.2:

(2) a. *yë'ë gajeo yëco saiye*
jɨ'ɨ gahe-o jɨɨ-ko sai-je
1SG friend-CL:F want-3S.F.PRS.ASS go-CL:GEN
'My friend (F) wants to go.'

[2]There are fundamental points of micro-variation in the grammars of these Western Tukanoan languages, which makes it so that the proposed paradigms are incompatible with other languages. Some of these differences are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

b. *yë'ë gajeobi yëco saiye*
jɨ'ɨ gahe-o-bi jɨɨ-ko sai-je
1SG friend-CL:F-SBJ want-3S.F.PRS.ASS go-CL:GEN
'My FRIEND (F) wants to go.'
[**Speaker comment:** This sounds like you are saying that my friend wants to go, but I do not.] [VOL/SUG: 20220623emipa002.009-012]

In addition to principled DCM, on the other hand, Siona also displays what I label *accidental* DCM. This term simply refers to any instance where more than one marking alternative is accepted to encode a particular grammatical relation, but which are not organized as discourse-driven PLAIN-PROMINENT pairs, as in (2). Accidental DCM refers to a heterogeneous class of patterns, which are not unified by a single TRIGGER. (3) demonstrates an instance where the use of either *-re* or *-na* is accepted on the spatial argument, but the interpretative effect is clearly not based upon information structure. To my mind, the flavour here is more akin to preposition selection in a language such as English:

(3) a. *iye mo'se iye ye'yahuë'ere ye'yeja'quëa'ë*
i-je mo'se **i-je** **je'ja + wɨ'e-re**
DEM.PROX-CL:GEN day DEM.PROX-CL:GEN teach + house-N.SBJ
je'je-hã'-kɨ-a'-ɨ
learn-PRP-CL:M-COP-N3S
'Today (I (M)) will study at the school.'
[**Speaker comment:** with *re*-marking a more specific location is signaled; i.e., the learning occurred in a particular room.]

b. *iye mo'se iye ye'yahuë'ena ye'yeja'quëa'ë*
i-je mo'se **i-je** **je'ja + wɨ'e-na**
DEM.PROX-CL:GEN day DEM.PROX-CL:GEN teach + house-GOAL
je'je-hã'-kɨ-a'-ɨ
learn-PRP-CL:M-COP-N3S
'Today (I (M)) will study at the school.'
[**Speaker comment:** with *na*-marking a more general location is signaled; i.e., not any particular room.]
[VOL/SUG: 20230619elupa002.016a-b]

This chapter describes both principled and accidental DCM patterns in order to provide a complete description of case-marking in Siona. Preliminary insights are provided regarding the set of TRIGGERS which drive each (type of) DCM alternation in the grammar. Whereas the majority of this dissertation focuses on analyzing the principled DCM type, targeted discussions regarding particular accidental patterns will resurface, especially in the context of the typological discussion in the next chapter.

The preliminary description in this chapter is organized as follows: Section 3.1 describes DCM patterns found with the SUBJECT-argument (S). This is followed by a description of non-SUBJECT DCM patterns in Section 3.2, beginning with argumental grammatical relations: i.e., DIRECT OBJECT (P) in Section 3.2.1, with the INDIRECT OBJECT (R) in Section 3.2.3, and certain extraneous argumental DCM patterns — i.e., as found with the EXPERIENCER, or the BENEFACTEE, are discussed in Section 3.2.4. The concept of 'promotion', introduced in Section 3.2.2, accounts for certain inanimate nouns which exceptionally pattern with animates. The recognition of these

seemingly exceptional nouns, represented by ↑ in Table 3.2, permits the extension of the noun class split, otherwise driven by semantic animacy classes, to account for similar marking splits across spatial DCM patterns. Section 3.3 lays out a description of spatial DCM. In Section 3.3.1, the STATIC LOCATION-argument (L) is discussed. Finally, the spatial GOAL-oriented DCM pattern is explored in Section 3.3.2. This chapter concludes with an interim summary in Section 3.4, motivating the targeted studies presented in the following chapters.

3.1 Subject-oriented DCM patterns

Siona exhibits a straightforward nominative-accusative alignment system. The grammatical SUBJECT (S) in any clause will exhibit the following properties:

(4) a. S is the only argument which governs verbal agreement.
b. S is the only argument which controls switch reference and dependent topical constructions.
c. S arises either with zero-marking (PLAIN alternative), or with the case-marker *-bi* (PROMINENT alternative).

Besides the two S-specific head-marking properties noted in (4a) and (4b); (4c) defines the FORMAL alternation characterizing Siona S-oriented DCM. Following the terminology in Chapter 2, this is an OPTIONAL-type DCM pattern, where PLAIN, zero-marking alternates with the overt PROMINENT case-marking alternative, *-bi*. The remainder of this section focuses on the TRIGGERS, which are found to drive the competition between these two marking-alternatives.

The PLAIN, zero-marked form arises in the bulk of instances where an overt SUBJECT-argument is present.[3] As pointed out by Bruil (2014, 158-159), S-marking is independent of the semantic role of the noun phrase. For instance, both naturalistic sentences in (5) represent the general case, where the S-argument is unmarked — i.e., neither the inanimate, Undergoer SUBJECT in (5a), nor the animate, Agent SUBJECT in (5b), receive PROMINENT *-bi* marking in either context:

(5) a. *jaiye joro aide'oji i̱ño*
hai-je **horo** ai + de'o-hi ĩhño
big-CL:GEN flower big + become-3S.M.PRS.ASS here
'Many flowers grow here.' [VOL: 20230623ejabi001.001]

b. *. . . i̱o tsia go'ose'e a̱coña*
ĩ-o tsia + go'o-se'e ãh-ko-ña
3PRO-CL:F egg + bunch-EXCL eat-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'. . . she ate the bunch of eggs, they say.'
[NAT: 20150811sfryi001.130]

PROMINENT *bi*-marking of subjects tends to occur in contexts of focus.[4] More specifically, one could evoke contrast, that is, prominent marking implicates a set of salient

[3] Per the naturalistic corpus-based analysis reported in Appendix B, and discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, roughly one-in-five overt S-arguments receive nonzero PROMINENT-marking.

[4] See Cook and Levinsohn 1985 for discussion of similar effects in the related language Koreguaje.

alternative referents and then excludes those alternatives from the interpretation, as is claimed for optional ergative in Tibetan (e.g., Tournadre 1995, LaPolla 1995). This is illustrated in the sentences in (6). Note how the usage of PROMINENT *-bi* aligns with the prosodic focus in the suggested English translations.

(6) a. *më'bi yë'ni ñañe bahuë*
mɨ'ĩ-bi jɨ'ɨ-ni ñaa-ñe bãã-wɨ
2SG-SBJ 1SG-N.SBJ2 see-CL:GEN NEG.AUX-N3S.PST.ASS
'YOU didn't see ME (i.e., not vice versa).'
[NAT: 20140925salsu001.032]

b. *io nëcaco ñacona yequëbi dani hue'ecaquëña io do'rohuë*
ĩ-o$_i$ nɨhka-ko ñaa-ko-na **jehk-ɨ-bi**$_k$
3PRO-CL:F stand-S.F.PRS.DEP look-S.F.PRS.DEP-DS other-CL:M-SBJ
daa-ni we'e-kah-kɨ-ña ĩ-o do'ro-wɨ
come-SS carry-BEN-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP 3PRO-CL:F basket-CLS:CONT
'She$_i$ stood (there) and watched as the OTHER one (M)$_k$ came and brought her basket.' [NAT: 20100907slicr001.006]

Both instances presented in (6) contain a PROMINENT-marked S-nominal whose referent contrasts with other explicitly mentioned alternatives in their respective contexts. Like in other languages with similar emphatic contrast-type DCM patterns, it is also possible for a contrastive reading to arise where alternatives are not explicitly mentioned, but rather are tacitly understood in context. Such instances are relevant to the corpus-based study reported in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, but they are set aside in this preliminary description.

In addition to the emphatic contrast reading evoked by PROMINENT S-marking, shown in (6), PROMINENT-marking is also implicated in case-matching effects under particular question-answer pair configurations (henceforth Q-A). Some well-documented DCM languages — e.g., Spanish and Romanian, recently discussed in Irimia (2020, 430) — are also described as displaying such Q-A marking patterns. A similar pattern is recently described for the Kakataibo language of the southwestern Amazon (Valle 2014, 61-65). These patterns are relevant to establishing the PLAIN-PROMINENT conception of Siona DCM.

The Q-A case-matching pattern of Siona is shown for S-oriented DCM in (7). The WH-item *quei-**bi*** (who) in (7a) displays obligatory PROMINENT-marking with *-bi*; this, in turn, forces PROMINENT-marking on the focalized S-argument in the answer *yë' gajeo-**bi*** (my friend (F)). Failure to utilize PROMINENT-marking in either the question or the answer turn is judged as illicit by all speakers:

(7) a. QUESTION: *queibi saiye yëquë ?*
ke-ɨ *(-bi) sai-je jɨɨ-kɨ
WH-CL:M-SBJ go-CL:GEN want-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS
'Who wants to go (somewhere)?'

b. ANSWER: *yë'ë gajeobi yëco saiye*
jɨ'ɨ gahe-o #(-bi) jɨɨ-ko sai-je
1SG friend-CL:F-SBJ want-3S.F.PRS.ASS go-CL:GEN
'My FRIEND (F) wants to go.' [VOL: 20220623emipa002.008-009]

The case-matching patterns presented in (7) fall under the umbrella of Q-A congruence effects (cf. Schwarzschild 1999; Selkirk 2008; Rochemont 1998, 2013; *inter alia*). As

indicated in the suggested translation, English has a similar focus-matching requirement, expressed prosodically on the focal element in the answer in (7b). These stable Q-A congruence patterns distinguish PLAIN- from PROMINENT-marking alternatives across all principled argumental and spatial DCM patterns in the Siona language.

Although focus-driven patterns of PROMINENT *-bi* marking on the S-argument are rigid in instances like (7), this does not account for *all* instances of PROMINENT-marking. In practice, a degree of variation is observed regarding DCM patterns on non-focal S-arguments. For instance, *-bi* marking is used to flag the argument *wãñuhmi-**bi*** (anaconda) in (8), although no salient alternatives are understood in this context:[5]

(8) *. . . yë'ë a'yëmacare huañumibi aja'i*
ji'i a'-ji-mahka-re **wãñuhmi-bi** ã-ha'i
1SG younger_sibling-CL:M-DIM.SG-N.SBJ anaconda-SBJ eat-3S.M.PST.ASS
'. . . The anaconda ate my brother!' [NAT: 20100907slicr002.014]

One class of non-focal PROMINENT-marking examples concerns those instances where *-bi* appears to execute a disambiguation function (Bruil 2014, 160).[6] For instance, elicited examples like (9) demonstrate how *-bi* is naturally utilized to distinguish atypicial S-arguments, which may be confused with surrounding verebal elements in the sentence, in order to maximize communicative efficiency (Kurumada and Jaeger 2015). In these particular instances, case-marking is strongly favoured, although failure to mark the noun phrase does not necessarily render the sentence ungrammatical. For this reason the absence of *-bi* marking is glossed as degraded — i.e., '?' in (9):

(9) a. *iye hui'yocobi hui'yocoa siocore*
i-je **wi'jo-ko** **?(-bi)** wi'jo-ko-a sĩõ-ko-re
DEM.PROX-CL:GEN open-CL:F-SBJ open-CL:F-COP.3S.F shut-CL:F-N.SBJ
'This key (∼*opener*) opens the door (lit. is the opener to the *shutter*).'
[VOL: 20230623ejabi001.004a]

b. *jëaye yo'yebi ca'raye tëtosaiji*
hɨa-je **jo'-je** **?(-bi)** ka'ra-je tɨhto + sai-hi
be_hard-CL:GEN do-CL:GEN-SBJ fear-CL:GEN strike + go-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'Bravery (lit. doing (things) with vigour) overcomes fear.'
[VOL: 20241112ejabi002.011]

To summarize, most overt S-arguments arise in the zero-marked, PLAIN form; PROMINENT *-bi* marking typically arises in one of two focus-related contexts — i.e., either of the emphatic contrast type, shown in (6), or in Q-A pair contexts, as in (7). In non-focal contexts, *-bi* often serves an amibiguity avoidance function. This appears to be a WEAK TRIGGER for S-oriented DCM whose impact on the distribution of PROMINENT *-bi* marking is not entirely clear. Whereas this dimension of the pattern is largely set aside for future research, the evidence discussed throughout this dissertation helps to

[5] Martine Bruil notes that this may be an instance of *-bi* emphasizing the whole sentence, indicating a shift of attention. This is a promising direction for research; however, it is not clear that this can be generalized, or why the PROMINENT-marking should be expected to arise on the S-argument, for that matter. Future research will establish the merit of such an analysis.

[6] Some authors would reserve the term 'disambiguation' to refer narrowly to uses of DCM where the two core arguments of the transitive clause may be confused — e.g., 'the man saw the woman' (potentially ambiguous) vs. 'the man saw the rock' (unambiguous).

disentangle these effects from other factors affecting the distribution of *-bi* marking in Siona speech.

3.2 Non-Subject-oriented DCM patterns

Siona exhibits a pattern of case marking that partly merges several non-subject functions: P-argument displays similar encoding properties to the INDIRECT OBJECT (R) and to a handful of fringe thematic roles, such as the Experiencer and the Benefactee. This division is a typical property of Tukanoan languages (cf. Barnes 1999, 2006; Gomez-Imbert 2011; Stenzel 2013d). Table 3.3 summarizes the form of P- and R-marking, and contrasts them to S-marking.

	INANIMATE		ANIMATE ($\wedge$ $^{\uparrow}$INAN)	
	PLAIN	PROMINENT	PLAIN	PROMINENT
SUBJECT (S)	*-∅*	*-bi*	*-∅*	*-bi*
DIRECT OBJECT (P)	*-∅*	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
INDIRECT OBJECT (R)	*-re/-na*		*-re*	*-ni*

Table 3.3: Mapping PLAIN- and PROMINENT-alternatives across (non-)SUBJECT DCM

On the one hand, besides zero-marking, no formal case-marking alternatives are shared in S-oriented and non-SUBJECT-oriented DCM RELATIONS. On the other hand, P-marking and R-marking are nearly identical, excepting the *accidental -re* vs. *-na* DCM pattern found on inanimate R-arguments — i.e., the gray shading in the corresponding cell indicates that no principled PLAIN-PROMINENT alternation is tenable for this case-marking pair. These facts are explored in detail below.

Another fundamental distinction regards how the determination of PLAIN and PROMINENT forms is conditioned by an animacy-based noun class split for *all* non-SUBJECT-oriented DCM. For instance, although the PLAIN-PROMINENT distinction is suppressed for the inanimate R category, it survives in the principled PLAIN *-re* vs. PROMINENT *-ni* alternation for the animate R category. This particular case-marking pair is found across all animate non-SUBJECT grammatical relations, inspiring the glossing conventions utilized here: *-re* (N.SBJ), *-ni* (N.SBJ2). On this basis, animacy is treated as a STRONG TRIGGER for non-SUBJECT DCM patterns, and this TRIGGER has morphological implications — i.e., establishing which alternatives are to be treated as PLAIN or PROMINENT for a given noun class. This animacy condition interacts with a focus TRIGGER, similar to that described for S-oriented DCM above. Focus effects determine the selection of the PROMINENT case-marker, which is deemed appropriate for the noun class of the noun phrase in question.

The discussion below begins with a consideration of case-marking patterns on the DIRECT OBJECT (P) in Section 3.2.1. This is followed by a description of DCM patterns in the encoding of the INDIRECT OBJECT, the R-argument, in Section 3.2.3. Other non-SUBJECT argumental case-marking patterns are outlined in Section 3.2.4.

3.2.1 Direct object-oriented DCM patterns

Three case-marking alternatives are attested to encode the P-argument: zero-marking, *-re* marking, and *-ni* marking. For this reason, elsewhere we have labeled this a 'tripartite differential object marking' system (Case and Jeretič 2021; Case & Bruil, *forthcoming*). This constitutes a HYBRID-type DCM pattern as conceived in Chapter 2. However, given any particular argument, not all three marking alternatives are possible; rather, the appropriate forms are determined by an animacy-based noun class split, reiterated in Table 3.4:

	INANIMATE		ANIMATE	
	PLAIN	PROMINENT	PLAIN	PROMINENT
DIRECT OBJECT (P)	*-∅*	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*

Table 3.4: Mapping PLAIN and PROMINENT marking alternatives for the P-argument

Following the distribution of forms suggested in Table 3.4, this dissertation maintains that *-re* ought to be analyzed as both the PROMINENT alternative for inanimate P-arguments, and as the PLAIN alternative for animate P-arguments (henceforth, this is referred to as the SPLIT *-re* HYPOTHESIS). The sentences in (10) illustrate the PLAIN- and PROMINENT-alternatives for inanimate P and for animate P accordingly.

(10) a. *yë'ë oco ucusi' cayë*
ji'i **ohko** ũhku-si'-i kaa-ji
1SG water drink-FUT-N3S say-N3S.PRS.ASS
'I want to drink water.' [VOL: 20230623ejabi001.024]

b. *mamajëbi ga'yoyë ëcabëre*
mama-hi-bi ga'jo-ji **ihka-bi-re**
child-CL:GEN-SBJ play-N3S.PRS.ASS plastic-CL:RND-N.SBJ
'The children are playing soccer (lit. (with) a/the plastic ball).'
[NAT: 20230628emabi001.023a]

c. *bayë jaibai a'yëbaire*
baa-ji **hai-bãi** **a'j-i-bãi-re**
have-N3S.PRS.ASS many-PL.AN older_sibling-CL:M-PL.AN-N.SBJ
'(I/we/they) have
many (older) siblings.' [VOL: 20230622ejabi001.011b]

d. *më'bi yë'ni ñañe bahuë*
mi'i-bi **ji'i-ni** ñaa-ñe bãã-wi
2SG-SBJ 1SG-N.SBJ2 see-CL:GEN NEG.AUX-N3S.PST.ASS
' "YOU didn't see ME (i.e., not vice versa)." '
[NAT: 20140925salsu001.032]

The use of noun class-inappropriate alternatives is rejected outright. Consider the elicited sentence in (11), where *-re* is naturally produced on the P-argument *mihchi-**re*** (cat). When asked whether it is possible to drop this case-marker, as in (11a), this is considered to be a grammatical error.

(11) *huë'e bayë michire*
wɨ'e baa-jɨ **mihchi-re**
house have-N3S.PRS.ASS cat-N.SBJ
'(I) have a cat at home.'
a. * *huë'e bayë michi* (Intended: '(I) have a cat at home.')
[VOL/SUG: 20230629elupa001.002e-f]

Likewise, the marker *-ni* is not permitted with inanimate nouns in Ecuadorian Siona, or in related languages, such as Colombian Siona (Wheeler 1970, 1987), Ecuadorian Sekoya (Johnson and Levinsohn 1990), and Koreguaje (Cook and Levinsohn 1985; Cook and Criswell 1993). The animacy condition on *-ni* marking is demonstrated in the elicited sentences in (12), lifted from Bruil (2014, 167, ex. (64)).

(12) *nocare a̱ë'ë̱*
nohka-re ã-ɨ'ɨ
banana-N.SBJ eat-N3S.PST.ASS
'(I) ate a/the baNAna.'
a. * *noca-**ni** a̱ë'ë̱* (Intended: '(I) ate a/the banana.')
[NAT/SUG: 20120912slicr001.036-037]

The minimal pair in (12) represents the general case, where *-ni* is unavailable to inanimate nouns. Section 3.2.2 discusses a class of apparent exceptions to this generalization. Nonetheless, these exceptions are found to be systematic, applying to a class of inanimate nominalizations, labeled the *promoted* noun class in this discussion.[7]

The remainder of this section turns to focus-triggered DCM effects, setting aside animacy effects. Like in S-oriented DCM, PROMINENT-alternatives are selected in focus contexts. Instances where *-ni* and *-re* evoke the emphatic contrast reading, for animate and inanimate P respectively, are parallel with those shown for *-bi* marking on the S-argument. For instance, *-ni* is shown to trigger this prominent reading in (10d) above. As for PROMINENT *-re* marking on inanimate P, consider sentence (13), which takes (10a), where the non-focal, inanimate P has PLAIN zero-marking, and fits this argument with PROMINENT *-re*; i.e., *ohko-**re*** (water). The expected emphatic contrast reading emerges in this context:

(13) [**Context**: A boy comes into the house to find coffee and tea on the table.]
yë'ë ocore u̱cusi'i cayë
jɨ'ɨ **ohko #(-re)** ũhku-si'-i kaa-jɨ
1SG water-N.SBJ drink-FUT-N3S say-N3S.PRS.ASS
'I want to drink wAter (i.e., not some other beverage).'
a. # *yë'ë oco u̱cusi'i cayë* ('I want to drink water.' — i.e., (10a))
[VOL/SUG: 20230623ejabi001.024-025]

In addition to triggering the emphatic contrast reading, as in (13), PROMINENT-marking arises in the expected way across Q-A pairs. Consider (14), which demonstrates how *-ni* is required on the animate-presupposing WH-item *ke~~ɨ~~-**ni*** (who/ what

[7] In addition, as is often found cross-linguistically (cf. Corbett 1991), in Siona a handful of inanimate nouns referring to celestial bodies pattern with animate nouns: e.g., *ẽ~~s~~ɨ* (sun), *ñañɨ* (moon), *ma'ñoko* (star), *da'ñame* (rainbow). A few other examples are noted, e.g., *jaheo* (prepared ayahuasca). Bruil 2014, 148, describes a few other such items.

(ANIM)) in (14a) and on the focal animate P argument *ja'wɨ-**ni*** (peccary) in the answer in (14b). As anticipated, the case-marker *-re* is simply unavailable to either of these arguments in such Q-A configurations:

(14) a. QUESTION: *queini huare'ne ?*
ke-ɨ-ni wa-re-'ne
WH-CL:M-N.SBJ2 kill-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS-Q
'What (animate) did you (PL) hunt?'
i. * *quei-re huare'ne ?* (Intended: 'What did you (PL) hunt?')

b. ANSWER: *ya'huëni huaë'ë*
ja'wɨ-ni wa-ɨ'ɨ
peccary-N.SBJ2 kill-N3S.PST.ASS
'(We) hunted PECCary.'
i. # *ya'huë-re huaë'ë* (Intended: 'We hunted PECCARY.' [answers (14a)])
[VOL/SUG: 20230619elupa002.001a-b]

The same pattern of obligatory PROMINENT-marking is observed in inanimate-oriented Q-A constructions, as shown in (15). For both the WH-item *kee-**re*** (what.INAN) in (15a) and the focal P-argument *jowɨ-**re*** (canoe) in the answer in (15b), zero-marking is considered ungrammatical:

(15) a. QUESTION: *quere huero'ne go'ye mo'se ?*
ke-e-re wero-o-'ne go'je + mo'se
WH-CL:GEN-N.SBJ buy-2/3S.F.PST.NASS-Q before + day
'What did you (F) buy yesterday?'
i. * *que huero'ne go'ye mo'se ?*
(Intended: 'What did you (F) buy yesterday?')

b. ANSWER: *yohuëre huerohuë*
jo-wɨ-re wero-wɨ
canoe-CL:CONT-N.SBJ buy-N3S.PST.ASS
'(I) bought a caNOE.'
i. # *yohuë huerohuë* (Intended: '(I) bought a canoe.' [answers (15a)])
[VOL: 20230617eyopa001.003a-b]

On the basis of examples (13) through (15), I maintain that information focus-effects are active for P-oriented DCM, just as they are shown to be for S-marking. The main distinction between these patterns concerns the marking split based upon animacy. However, there is another relevant distinction between S- and non-SUBJECT-marking: i.e., non-SUBJECT pronouns require overt case-markers. Compare the P-marking pattern in (16), with the corresponding S-marking pattern shown in (16b):

(16) a. *go'ye mo'se icua'ire huerohuë*
go'je mo'se **ih-ko-wa'i-re** wero-wɨ
yesterday DEM.PROX-CL:F-PL.AN-N.SBJ buy-N3S.PST.N.ASS
'I bought them (i.e., several cows) yesterday.'
i. # *go'ye mo'se icua'i-**ni** huerohuë* (Emphatic contrast reading)
ii. * *go'ye mo'se icua'i huerohuë* (Intended: I bought them yesterday.)

b. *i̱cua'i bëayë sa'nahuëna*
ih-ko-wa'i bɨa-jɨ̈ sa'nawɨ-na
DEM.PROX-CL:F-PL.AN stay-N3S.PRS.ASS inside-GOAL
'<u>They</u> (i.e., several cows) are staying inside.'

i. # *i̱cua'i-**bi** bëayë sa'nahuëna* (Emphatic contrast reading)
[VOL: 20230629elupa001.024a-e]

The case-marking patterns shown in (16) are not surprising, given that the concerned pronouns are deictic pronouns with animate referents. These patterns would equally hold for animate full nouns. However, the following naturalistic instance in (17), adapted from Bruil (2014, 349, ex. (22)), contains several instances of the deictic pronoun *hãõ* (that one) referring to individual coconuts in this context. Where this pronoun arises as the S-argument, zero-marking and *-bi* marking are attested; however, the animate PROMINENT-marker *-ni* is selected on the instance where it is the P-argument. Speakers confirm that zero-marking is impossible where this pronoun is the P-argument:

(17) [**Context:** A spirit, born out of the protagonist's hammock, orders him to go to the forest and gather coconuts — emphasizing a particular one]
. . . j̱a̱o̱ ai yequë jubë jai jubë j̱a̱o̱bi aiyo j̱a̱o̱ni huatotoj̱ë'ë̱ caoña
↑**hã-o**$_{(S)}$ ai jehk-ɨ hubɨ hai hubɨ ↑**hã-o-bi**$_{(S)}$
DEM.MED-CL:F very other-CL:M bunch big bunch DEM.MED-CL:F-SBJ
ai-o ↑**hã-o-ni**$_{(P)}$ wahtoto-hɨ̃'ɨ̃
big-3S.F.ASS DEM.MED-CL:F-N.SBJ2 take_down-IMPER
kaa-o-ña
say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'. . . "<u>THAT one</u>$_{(S)}$, the other bunch, the big bunch, <u>that one</u>$_{(S)}$ is ripe — take <u>THAT one</u>$_{(P)}$ down," (she) said (so they say).'
[NAT: 20100907slicr001.022]

The instances in sentence (17) demonstrate that non-SUBJECT pronouns exhibit obligatory case-marking, appropriate for their grammatical relation. This is a general fact of Tukanoan languages, i.e., including those which do not exhibit animacy-triggered DCM (Barnes 1999, 2006; Stenzel 2008, 2013d; Gomez-Imbert 2011; etc.). For many of these Tukanoanists, this fact falls out naturally from the analysis of *-re* as a specificity marker, banking on the implicational relation between specific and pronominalized referents. In previous corpus-based work, we found that a specificity-based analysis for *-re* is untenable for Ecuadorian Siona DCM (Case & Bruil, *forthcoming*), a finding which is complemented by the corpus-based investigation reported in Chapter 5 of the present dissertation. I set aside the question of the status of putative, referentiality-related TRIGGERS for P-oriented DCM for the remainder of this chapter.

Returning to the example in (17), this dissertation suggests an alternative analysis: the pronoun *hãõ* (that one), despite being referentially inanimate, patterns with the animate noun class for case-marking purposes. Such pronouns are one of several sub-classes of noun phrases, denoting inanimate entities, which align with animate nominals in this way. I refer to this as the class of *promoted nominals*, identified here by the upward arrow shorthand (↑). Membership in this class is entirely predictable from morphological considerations. The following subsection unpacks the mechanisms

which underlie the productive noun-class shifting operation of 'promotion', accounting for a handful of case-marking splits across argumental and spatial DCM in the language.

3.2.2 Promotion and noun class mobility patterns

What I call *promotion* is a language-specific descriptive notion, which signals a group of noun phrases which have inanimate referents but which pattern with the animate noun class for the sake of case-marking. This builds upon the metaphor that inanimate nouns low on the animacy scale, as in (18), 'move up' the scale to join the animate classes under the appropriate conditions:[8]

(18) **Animacy hierarchy:** (Siewierska 2004, 149)
(i) Human < (ii) Animal < (iii) Inanimate < (iv) Abstract

Consider how the inanimate instrument nominalization in (19) arises with PROMINENT *-ni* under the conditions of the Q-A heuristic, which is generally unavailable to inanimate nouns:

(19) a. QUESTION: *quere huero'ne go'ye mo'se ?*
ke-e-re wero-o-'ne go'je + mo'se
WH-CL:GEN-N.SBJ buy-2/3S.F.PST.NASS-Q before + day
'What did you (F) buy yesterday?'

b. *huerohuë coca caconi*
wero-wɨ ↑[**kohka + kaa-ko *(-ni)**]
buy-N3S.PST.ASS word + say-CL:F-N.SBJ2
'(I) bought a CELLphone (lit. a 'speaking-device')'

i. # *huerohuë coca caco**re***
(Intended: '(I) bought a cellphone.') [answers (19a)]

ii. * *huerohuë coca caco* [VOL: 20230617eyopa001.005a-b]

Promoted nominals, such as ↑*kohka kaako* (cellphone) in (19), are easily identifiable on the basis of their morphological composition. As a condition of membership, all promoted nominals contain the nominalizer suffix *-ko*, or its reduced counterpart *-o*, which is indistinguishable from the feminine gender classifier (see Bruil 2019 for a thorough discussion of nominalization strategies). As such, promoted nouns form a morphological noun class (Corbett 1991, 33-43), which deviates from the otherwise transparent animacy-based noun class system in the language. This pattern is not unlike how diminutive nouns in German are assigned neuter gender, trumping their baseline gender class assignment: e.g., *der Bär* (the bear, masculine) → *das Bärchen* (the little bear, neuter).

This dissertation recognizes three types of promoted nominals, all unified by their usage of the morpheme *-ko* (or *-o*):

[8] Many variations on the basic hierarchy suggested by Silverstein (1986) exist in the literature, some of which conflate animacy status with other notions such as pronominality or person distinctions. For our purposes, the basic animacy hiearchy adapted from the discussion in Siewierska 2004 will suffice. Siona treats animal- and human-denoting nouns alike, such that animate classes (i) and (ii) may be collapsed (i.e., a VITALIST split system per terminology in Ortmann 1998).

1. Lexicalized deverbal nominalizations (shown in (19));
2. Post-nominal reduced relative clause nominalizations;
3. Pronouns (shown in (17)).

Before exploring each of these types in greater detail, it should be noted that promotion is subject to a *singularity condition*. Nominalizations formed with *-ko* (or *-o*) are *always* singular in number, whereas the corresponding plural (and mass-denoting) nouns are formed via the generic classifier *-je* (or its nasal allomorph *-ñe*), and simply pattern with inanimate nominals.[9] (20) illustrates the singular and plural forms for the lexicalized deverbal nominalization ↑*kohka kaako* (cellphone):

(20) a. ↑*kohka kaa-ko* (cellphone, lit. 'speaking-device')
b. *kohka kaa-je* (cellphones, lit. 'speaking-devices')

The implications of the singularity condition on promotion are demonstrated in the Q-A sequence in (21). Here another promoted nominal of the lexicalized deverbal nominalization-type is found: ↑*tojako-**ni*** (pen, lit. 'writing-device'). The correct PROMINENT form is *-ni* with the singular nominalization in (21b), but *-re* with the plural nominalization in (21c).

(21) a. QUESTION: *quere co'eco'ne ?*
ke-e-re ko'e-ko-'ne
WH-CL:GEN-N.SBJ look_for-2/3S.F.PRS.NASS-Q
'What are you (F) looking for?'

b. ANSWER: *toyaconi co'eyë*
↑**toja-ko-ni** ko'e-jɨ
write-CL:F-N.SBJ2 look_for-N3S.PRS.ASS
'(I) am looking for a PEN (lit. a 'writing-device').'
i. # *toyaco-re co'eyë*
(Intended: '(I) am looking for a PEN.' [answers (21a)])

c. ANSWER': *toyayere co'eyë*
toja-je-re ko'e-jɨ
write-CL:GEN-N.SBJ look_for-N3S.PRS.ASS
'(I) am looking for PENS (lit. 'writing-devices').'
i. * *toyaye-ni co'eyë*
(Intended: '(I) am looking for PENS.' [answers (21a)])

[VOL: 20230703ejabi001.004]

The two examples considered thus far, i.e., (19) and (21), concern the lexicalized deverbal nominalization sub-type, and fall into two semantic classes, for which I suggest the following labels: (i) INSTRUMENT NOMINALIZATIONS, and (ii) EPISODE NOMINALIZATIONS. The two examples above illustrate the former class, whereas the latter class refers (abstractly) to a particular instance of the denoted activity. Several examples of each type of nominalization are provided from my fieldnotes in (22) and (23) respectively for the sake of illustration. This is a productive procedure which ought to be considered a common lexico-genetic strategy in this variety of Siona:[10]

[9] A similar observation regarding the usage of the generic classifier with inanimate plural demonstratives, numerals, classifiers and adjectives is noted in Bruil (2014, 154-155).

[10] Note that several of many naturalistic occurrences of these nominalizations contain the

(22) Instrument nominalizations:
a. ↑*chaokɨ̃ɨ̃-ko*[11] (shovel)
[*kɨ̃ɨ̃-* (dig)] ;
b. ↑*wi'jo-ko* (key)
[*wi'jo-* (open)] ;
c. ↑*sĩõ-ko* (door)
[*sĩõ-* (shut)]

(23) Episode nominalizations:
a. ↑*sẽĩ̃-ko* (question)
[*sẽĩ̃-* (ask)] ;
b. ↑*hɨ̃hɨ̃-ko* (song)
[*hɨ̃hɨ̃-* (sing)] ;
c. ↑*je'je-ko* (lesson)
[*je'je-* (learn)]

The second type of promoted noun phrase, namely noun phrases with post-nominal relative clauses, is not altogether different from the lexicalized nominalizations outlined above. Siona exhibits two nominal modification strategies: (i) the pre-nominal modification strategy — i.e., juxtaposition modifier-head; and (ii) the post-nominal modification strategy — i.e., (head)-reduced relative clause. The second strategy implicates promotion of the complex noun phrase, where the head noun is a singular, inanimate argument. The modifier in this strategy is treated as a headless relative clause structure in apposition within the complex noun phrase, given that these 'modifiers' may freely arise without an overt head nominal.[12]

Compare the noun phrases in (24) and (25). In the case of (24), the pre-nominal modification, shown in (24a), does not trigger promotion; which is set against the post-nominal alternative in (24b), where promotion arises as expected. Neither modification strategy triggers promotion for the plural counterpart shown in (25):

(24) a. *nea toayohuë*[13]
nea toa + jo-wɨ
black fire + canoe-CL:CONT
'a/the black car'
b. ↑*toayohuë neaco*
toa + jo-wɨ nea-ko
fire + canoe-CL:CONT black-CL:F
'a/the car that is black'

(25) a. *nea toayohuë̲a̲*
nea toa + jo-wɨ-ã
black fire + canoe-CL:CONT-PL.INAN
'black cars'
b. *toayohuë̲a̲ neañe*
toa + jo-wɨ-ã nea-ñe
fire + canoe-CL:CONT-PL.INAN black-CL:GEN
'cars that are black'

resultative morpheme *-sih* — e.g., *sẽĩ̃-sih-ko* (∼that which had been asked), a possible translation for 'question'. I have not reported instances like these for the sake of simplicity; however, this morpheme, and the purposive marker (*-hã'*), and the affixal negator (*-ma'*), may freely arise within nominalizations like those presented in (22) and (23).

[11]The nominalization *chaokɨ̃ɨ̃-ko* was naturally produced with a serialization involving the aspectual verb *chao-* (finish). This is an interesting case which points to the lexical character of many of these nominalizations.

[12]A similar analysis is proposed in Epps (2008, 181,828-853) for the corresponding structure in the Hup language.

[13]The compound *toa + jo-wɨ* (lit. fire canoe) is used to refer to motorized vehicles.

The promotion status of a given noun phrase determines the PROMINENT-alternative which is appropriate under Q-A conditions. (26) demonstrates the two alternatives in (24) as focalized P-arguments in a Q-A configuration. Despite differences in case-marking, the two answers in (26b) and (26c) ought to be viewed as synonymous.[14]

(26) a. QUESTION: *quere baquë ?*
ke-e-re baa-kɨ
WH-CL:GEN-N.SBJ have-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS
'What does (he) (M) have?'

b. ANSWER: *jaë baji nea toayohuërе*
hã-ɨ baa-hi [**nea toa + jo-wɨ #(-re)**]
DEM.MED-CL:M have-3S.M.PRS.ASS black fire + canoe-CL:CONT
'He has a black CAR.'

c. ANSWER': *jaë baji toayohuë neaconi*
hã-ɨ baa-hi ↑[**toa + jo-wɨ**
DEM.MED-CL:M have-3S.M.PRS.ASS fire + canoe-CL:CONT
nea-ko *(-ni)/(#-re)]
black-CL:F-N.SBJ(2)
'He has a black CAR.' [VOL/SUG: 20230614erebi001.014a-b]

A complementary, naturalistic instance of promotion arising on a nominal with the appropriate post-nominal modification strategy is provided in (27), lifted from the narrative sample analyzed in Chapter 5:

(27) [**Context:** The children cover several items in the room on the bed and flee in order to fool an impostor (jaguar demon) who has taken the form of their grandmother.]
. . . sa'saji'soe tsiubë nesiconi cunijoña jaoreta'a
↑[**sã'sahĩ'soe + tsĩũ-bɨ nee-sih-ko-ni**] kũni
mate_tea + cover-CL:RND make-COMP-CL:F-N.SBJ2 bite
+ hoo-o-ña hã-o-re-tã'ã
+ cut-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP DEM.MED-CL:F-N.SBJ-CNT.EXP
'. . . (she) bit and tore at that (lit., her), at the covered mate TEA bundle they had made !' [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.065]

Clearly, considering naturalistic instances like (27), promotion is a stable component of Siona DCM. This morphological noun class accounts for the bulk of 'exceptionally'-marked inanimate nouns in work with texts. Nonetheless, instances such as (27) are not particularly frequent in narratives even if promoted pronouns are ubiquitous.

The class of promoted pronouns with singular inanimate reference consists of two demonstratives: namely, *ihko* (this one) and *hão* (that one).[15] They are both morphologically feminine. Consider two naturalistic instances lifted from texts. (28) replicates (17) containing a P-instance of the medial demonstrative pronoun ***hãõ-ni***, which refers to an individual coconut. The sentence in (29) is lifted from the narrative sample in Chapter 5, where ***ihko-ni*** is used, deictically, to refer to a piece of charcoal:

[14]The scope possibilities for these focus effects are explored in greater detail in Chapter 6.
[15]I have also come across a few instances of the personal pronoun *ĩõ* (she) used with inanimate singular referents in my corpus work. More work is needed to check its usage and acceptability.

(28) [**Context:** A spirit, born out of the protagonist's hammock, orders him to go to the forest and collect coconuts.]
. . . ja̲o̲ ai yequë jubë jai jubë ja̲o̲bi aiyo ja̲o̲ni huatotojë'ë̲ caoña
hã-o ai jehk-ɨ hubɨ hai hubɨ hã-o-bi
DEM.MED-CL:F very other-CL:M bunch big bunch DEM.MED-CL:F-SBJ
ai-o ↑**hã-o-ni** wahtoto-hɨ̃'ɾ̃ɨ
big-3S.F.ASS DEM.MED-CL:F-N.SBJ2 take_down-IMPER
kaa-o-ña
say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'. . . "THAT one, the other bunch, the big bunch, that one is ripe — take THAT one down !" (she) said (so they say).' [NAT: 20100907slicr001.022]

(29) [**Context:** A mother helps her pregnant daughter who has fallen ill.]
. . . yo'quëna i̲o̲ bëca'co̲je̲ caoña iconi gu̲i̲jë'ë̲. caoña. neo garabëre
jo'-ki-na ĩ-o bika'-ko-hẽ kaa-o-ña
do-S.M.PRS.DEP-DS 3PRO-CL:F parent-CL:F-ADD say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
↑**ih-ko-ni** gũĩ-hɨ̃'ɾ̃ɨ kaa-o-ña
DEM.PROX-CL:F-N.SBJ2 bite-IMPER say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
nee-o gara-bi-re
make-3S.F.PST.ASS charcoal-CL:RND-N.SBJ
'When (he) did this, her mother said, "bite into THIS!", she had prepared charcoal.' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.092-093]

In summary, recognizing the morphological noun class of promoted nouns and pronouns accounts for several apparent exceptions to the otherwise transparent animacy-based noun class system relevant to non-SUBJECT-oriented DCM. Although promoted nominals have inanimate referents, the fact that they are fitted with the feminine classifier morpheme, *-ko* (or *-o*), at least where their referent is singular, has implications for case-marker selection, making them behave as animates.

3.2.3 Indirect object-oriented DCM patterns

This section describes DCM patterns as attested for the INDIRECT OBJECT. Table 3.5 summarizes the distribution of case-markers for this DCM RELATION.

	INANIMATE		ANIMATE	
	PLAIN	PROMINENT	PLAIN	PROMINENT
INDIRECT OBJECT (R)	*-re* / *-na*		*-re*	*-ni*

Table 3.5: Mapping PLAIN and PROMINENT marking alternatives for the R-argument

On the one hand, Table 3.5 demonstrates that R-oriented DCM is indistinguishable from P-oriented DCM, as concerns the alternations observed for animate arguments. On the other hand, inanimate R-marking is distinct in several respects. Firstly, all R-arguments must bear case-marking, regardless of noun class. In other words, Siona R-marking displays ALTERNATING-type DCM. Additionally, inanimate R does occur with two different case-markers, namely *-re* and *-na*; although, these markers do not

display a principled PLAIN-PROMINENT alternation, including the expected information structure effects. As such, inanimate R is conceived as displaying accidental DCM.

Like animate P, all animate R-arguments must arise with overt case-marking. The PLAIN-alternative *-re* competes with the PROMINENT-marker, *-ni*. The two naturalistic instances in (30) and (31) illustrate these alternatives.

(30) *. . . cua'coni ñatasi' mo'se neahuẽ'ñareba i̲o̲re o̲cuaoña neco*
kwa'ko-ni ñahta-si + mo'se nea-wẽ'ña-reba
cook-SS dawn-COMP + day black-LOC.DERIV-INTENS
ĩ-o-re õhkwa-o-ña nehko
DEM.PROX-CL:F-N.SBJ give_to_drink-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP *neco*_drink
'. . . after cooking (it), the next day (she) gave her *neco*[16] to drink, right at dawn.' [NAT: 20110328slicr001.023]

(31) [**Context:** A family is arguing over who gets to eat the eggs they found.]
si'a tsiago'o i̲sijẽ'ẽ̲ yẽ'ni caoña
si'a tsia + go'o ĩhsi-hĩ'ĩ **ji̵'i̵-ni** kaa-o-ña
all egg + bundle give-IMPER 1SG-N.SBJ2 say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
' "Give the whole bundle of eggs to ME !", (she) said (so they say).'
[NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.121]

Note how the usage of PROMINENT *-ni* in (31) evokes the emphatic contrast reading, as anticipated. More specifically, the character is indicating the bundle of eggs be given to her, and not to another member of the family in this context.

Applying the Q-A heuristic, the expected pattern is attested. Namely, the PROMINENT-alternative *-ni* is obligatorily realized on the WH-item and the corresponding focalized R-argument in the answer, as reported in (32):

(32) a. QUESTION: *queini i̲sija̲'quë'ne te'huë ocohuë ?*
ke-i̵ *(-ni) ĩhsi-hã'-ki̵-a-'ne te'-wi̵ ohko-wi̵
WH-CL:M-N.SBJ2 give-PRP-CL:M-COP-Q one-CL:CONT water-CL:CONT
'Who are (you (M)) going to give a water bottle to?'

b. ANSWER: *Suteni i̲sija̲'quëa'ë ocohuë*
Suhte *(-ni) ĩhsi-hã'-ki̵-a-'i̵ ohko-wi̵
S-N.SBJ2 give-PRP-CL:M-COP-N3S water-CL:CONT
'(I) am going to give a bottle to SUte (nickname).'

i. *# Sute-re i̲sija̲'quëa'ë ocohuë*
(Intended: '(I) am going to give a bottle to Sute.' [answers (32a)])
[VOL: 20220621eerpa001.005a-b]

On the basis of these examples, for all intents and purposes animate R-marking is isomorphic to the P-oriented DCM pattern. However, R-oriented DCM of inanimate R displays a markedly different pattern. This is illustrated in the elicited sentences in (33), where inanimate R accepts both *-re* marking and marking with *-na*, which is generally reserved for the spatial GOAL-argument. The case-marker *-ni* is unavailable as anticipated. In addition, unlike P-oriented DCM (but like with animate R-oriented DCM, zero-marking is rejected on the inanimate R-argument:

[16] *Neco* refers to an anti-anemic agent brewed from locally cultivated plants.

(33) a. *yëquë i̲siye yëyë yijatoayohuë ba̲i̲daribëre*
jɨhkɨ ĩhsi-je jɨɨ-jɨ jiha + toa + jo-wɨ
1PL.EXCL give-CL:GEN want-N3S.PRS.ASS land + fire + canoe-CL:CONT
bãĩ + dari-bɨ *(-re)
people.COL + community-CL:COL-N.SBJ
'We want to give a bus to the community.'

b. ✓ *yëquë i̲siye yëyë yijatoayohuë ba̲i̲daribë-na*
(no noted change in meaning)

c. * *yëquë i̲siye yëyë yijatoayohuë ba̲i̲daribë-ni*
(*-ni* unavailable on inanimate)

d. * *yëquë i̲siye yëyë yijatoayohuë ba̲i̲daribë* (zero-marking unavailable on R)
[VOL/SUG: 20220621eerpa001.016a-e]

Admittedly, more work is needed to fully unpack the interpretative implications of *re-* and *-na* marking on the inanimate R-argument; however, as concerns (33), speakers did not report a difference. More importantly for the present purposes, the usage of *-re* and *-na* does not adhere to a PLAIN-PROMINENT alternation pattern, and is not considered a principled DCM pattern on this basis. This is one of a few instances that I have come across in my fieldwork where *-re* and *-na* may be used interchangeably on non-core inanimate arguments. For instance, (34) demonstrates this same accidental DCM alternation arising with the predicate *choi-* (invite somebody to X) — again no meaning difference is reported in this instance:

(34) a. *Pedro chojo'i i̲ gajeiba̲i̲re fiestare*
Pedro cho-ho'i ĩ-ɨ gahei-bãĩ-re **fiesta-re**
P invite-3S.M.PST.ASS 3PRO-CL:M friend-PL.ANIM-N.SBJ party-N.SBJ
'Pedro invited his friends to the party.'

b. ✓ *Pedro chojo'i i̲ gajeiba̲i̲re fiesta-na* (no change in meaning)
[VOL: 20230626eyopa001.007b]

Just as *-ni* is unavailable to (non-promoted) inanimate noun phrases, the case-marker *-na* is *never* found on animate noun phrases in Ecuadorian Siona. Whereas the animacy condition for *-ni* holds across several related Western Tukanoan varieties (i.e., at least Colombian Siona, Sekoya, and Koreguaje), the noted animacy restriction for *-na* marking in the variety described in this dissertation is not found for Colombian Siona (Wheeler 1970, 174; 1987, 126-127) or for Ecuadorian Sekoya (Johnson and Levinsohn 1990, 47-48). In those varieties, *-na* is readily attested on both animate and inanimate R-arguments. Further comparative details are provided in Chapter 4.

In summary, given that the R-argument is prototypically animate, it appears at first glance that P- and R-oriented DCM are identical. However, upon further inspection, crucial differences arise where inanimate R is concerned. Case-marking is obligatory on the R-argument, not due to animacy-related noun class conditions, but as a mandatory component of encoding this grammatical relation. It is also the case that spatial GOAL-marking with *-na* seeps into the argumental case-marking domain. Some other non-prototypical uses of *-na* are identified in Section 3.3.3.

3.2.4 Other non-Subject DCM patterns

The preceding sub-sections have demonstrated that it is possible to postulate a single, principled, non-SUBJECT DCM pattern for animate arguments, based upon a con-

sideration of P- and R-marking facts. Peripheral participants receiving at least two other thematic roles (Experiencers and the Benefactees) display the same PLAIN *-re* vs. PROMINENT *-ni* alternation. It is relevant to note that these roles also display obligatory *-re* marking across all Eastern Tukanoan languages (Barnes 1999, 2006; Gomez-Imbert 2011; Stenzel 2013d; etc.), patterning with the R-argument.[17]

Firstly, consider the case-marking on the Experiencer-argument. This role arises in impersonal constructions of the type *uu-* (be hot, burn) in the applicative desiderative construction with *-ɨa* (want to), which we discuss in van Gijn et al. 2023, and in modal constructions, discussed in Chapter 6. (35) replicates the example from Bruil (2014, 163, ex. (56)), demonstrating PLAIN *-re* marking with the impersonal predicate *uu-* 'be hot'. When a similar predicateb such as *sɨhsɨ-* (be cold), is tested against the Q-A heuristic, as reported in (36), PROMINENT *-ni* marking arises on the WH-item in the question, and on the focalized element in the answer, as anticipated:

(35) *yë're uji*
jɨ'ɨ-re uu-hi
1SG-N.SBJ be_hot-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'I'm hot (lit. it's hot to me).' [VOL: 20110302elicr001.013]

(36) a. QUESTION: *queini sësëquë ?*
ke-ɨ *(-ni) sɨhsɨ-kɨ
WH-CL:M-N.SBJ2 be_cold-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS
'Who is cold?'

b. ANSWER: *Palomani sësëji*
Paloma *(-ni)/(#-re) sɨhsɨ-hi
P-N.SBJ(2) be_cold-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'PaLOma (female name) is cold.' [VOL: 20230617elupa001.018a-b]

The identicial pattern is noted for the coding of the Benefactee-argument, introduced via the applicative head *-ka(i)*, presented in **boldface** in the examples below. In (37), the PLAIN *re*-marker is used; whereas PROMINENT *-ni* marking is implicated in the related Q-A construction in (38), in the expected way:

(37) *yë'ë më're goamaña necaija'quëa'ë*
jɨ'ɨ **mɨ'ɨ̃ *(-re)** goa-mahña + nee-**kai**-hã'-kɨ-a-'ɨ
1SG 2SG-N.SBJ thing-DIM.PL + do-APPL.BEN-PRP-CL:M-COP-N3S
'I am going to work for you.' [VOL/SUG: 20241112ejaba001.009a-b]

(38) a. QUESTION: *queini goamaña necaijacoa'ne më'ë ?*
ke-ɨ *(-ni)/(#-re) goa-mahña + nee-**kai**-hã'-ko-a-'ne mɨ'ɨ̃
WH-CL:M-N.SBJ(2) thing-DIM.PL + do-APPL.BEN-PRP-CL:F-COP-Q 2SG
'Who are you (F) going to work for?'

[17] Most authors describing Western Tukanoan languages which have the case-marker *-ni* do not discuss *-ni* marking on these relations. However, it is likely that this marker is available to encode, say, the EXPERIENCER-argument, since it is also available for R-marking in these languages. This remains an open question at present.

b. ANSWER: *goamaña necaijɑ̨coa'ë më' gajeini*
goa-mahña + nee-**kai**-hã'-ko-a'-**ɨ** **mɨ'ɨ̃**
thing-DIM.PL + do-APPL.BEN-PRP-CL:F-COP-N3S 2SG
+ gahe-ɨ *(-ni)/(#-re)
+ friend-CL:M-N.SBJ(2)
'(I) am going to work <u>for your FRIEND</u>.'
[VOL/SUG: 20241112ejaba001.012a-d]

The examples in (35) through (38) reinforce the idea that a single, animate non-SUBJECT DCM pattern occurs in Siona grammar, extending beyond P- and R-oriented DCM to the non-canonical Experiencer participant and the Benefactee participant.

3.3 Spatial DCM patterns

Siona grammar recruits case-marking to encode a range of spatial relations, many of which are the same markers which encode the argumental grammatical relations outlined above. These are represented in the shaded cells in Table 3.6, repeated from the opening of this chapter.

Case-marker	Grammatical relation	Use
-bi	Subject	focus
	Instrument	obligatory
	Source location	
-re	Direct object	specific object
	Indirect object	
	Location	
-ni	Direct object	focus
	Indirect object	
-na	Goal	specific goal
-hã'ã	Path	obligatory
	Limit	
-hã're	Comitative	obligatory

Table 3.6: The case suffixes in Ecuadorian Siona, their function and their use (Bruil 2014, 157, Table 4.2)

Siona exhibits a typologically common set of spatial CASE FUNCTIONS (cf. Creissels 2009; Stolz et al. 2014; Haspelmath 2019, among many others): i.e., STATIC LOCATION (L), GOAL (G), SOURCE, and PATH/LIMIT. More specific spatial relations are encoded via spatial nouns — e.g., *jɨ'oka* (below, under), *sa'niwɨ* (inside), etc., which do not concern us here.

Of the four spatial relations listed above, two display obligatory case-marking. The Source-argument is always marked with *-bi*, and speakers reject zero-marking, as demonstrated by in (39). Additionally, two instances of *-hã'ã* marking are lifted from the narrative sample analyzed in Chapter 5: (40) provides an instance where it encodes the Path-argument, and (41) the Limit-argument, respectively:[18]

[18]I have also noted a handful of argumental uses of the PATH-marking *hã'ã*. For instance,

(39) *yë'ë baⁿñë Ecuadorbi daiye*
ji'i bãã-ñi **Ecuador *(-bi)** dai-ye
1SG NEG.AUX-N3S.PRS.ASS E-SRC come-CL:GEN
'I am not from Ecuador.' [VOL/SUG: 20230526ejabi002.010a-b]

(40) *. . . daoco i airo daoquë hua'i nesi ma'aja'a oni dojaioña*
dao-ko **ĩ-i** **ai-ro** **dao-ki** **wa'i**
wander-S.F.PRS.DEP 3PRO-CL:M big-CL:LOC wander-S.M.PRS.DEP meat
nee-si **+ ma'ã-hã'ã** oni + dohai-o-ña
make-COMP + path-PATH cry + wander-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'. . . (she) wandered along the path where he would wander to hunt, crying as (she) wandered.' [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.013-015]

(41) *. . . sai airo saquëña huao huë'equë'roja'a*
sai-i ai-ro sah-ki-ña **wa-o**
go-S.M.DEP.PST big-CL:LOC go-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP parent_in_law-CL:F
wi'e-ki'ro-hã'ã
house-LOC.DERIV-PATH
'. . . going to the jungle (to hunt), (he) went up to his mother-in-law's house.' [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.009]

Setting aside these obligatory case-marking patterns, spatial DCM patterns arise for both the L-argument and for the G-argument. This pattern is in keeping with the extensive typology of spatial DCM (Stolz et al. 2014; Haspelmath 2019), which establishes that relations further to the left on the hierarchy laid out in (42) are more likely to permit zero-marking than those to their right:

(42) GOAL > (STATIC) LOCATION > SOURCE (Haspelmath 2019, 324-325)

The Siona spatial DCM patterns are not strictly of the OPTIONAL-type (i.e., zero- vs. a single overt case-marker). In fact, this is one of several ways that argumental and spatial DCM align in the language. Table 3.7 maps case-marking forms to the two spatial DCM patterns, and sets these against the argumental patterns:

this case-marker is utilized to encode the VEHICLE-argument — e.g., 'go X by canoe' (. . . *tsiaja jowi-**hã'ã***). Elsewhere, the marker encodes what I label the INDIRECT INSTRUMENT function: e.g., 'call X on a phone' (. . . *kohka kaako-**hã'ã***) ∼ 'via the telephone'. It is conceivable that these are extensions of the prototypical spatial use of this case-marker.

	INANIMATE		ANIMATE (∧ ↑INAN)	
	PLAIN	PROMINENT	PLAIN	PROMINENT
Argumental DCM:				
SUBJECT (S)	*-∅*	*-bi*	*-∅*	*-bi*
DIRECT OBJECT (P)	*-∅*	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
INDIRECT OBJECT, e.g., (R)	*-re* (*-na*)		*-re*	*-ni*
Spatial DCM:	INANIMATE		↑INANIMATE	
LOCATION (L)	*-∅*	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
GOAL (G)	*-∅*	*-na*	*-na*	

Table 3.7: Mapping PLAIN- and PROMINENT-alternatives for all DCM RELATIONS, including spatial relations

Table 3.7 shows, firstly, that the inanimate-animate split is relevant for spatial DCM if the class of promoted inanimates is taken into account. This fact further reinforces the claim that Siona exhibits a SUBJECT vs. non-SUBJECT DCM system, since *all* animate non-SUBJECT arguments must bear overt case-marking of one form or another. In what follows, it will also be demonstrated that Q-A heuristics equally hold across spatial DCM patterns, such that the principled PLAIN-PROMINENT alternation, characteristic of Siona DCM, can be maintained across L- and G-oriented DCM patterns. The remainder of this section treats each of these patterns in turn.

3.3.1 Static location-oriented DCM patterns

According to the distribution of case-marking alternatives laid out in Table 3.7, P- and L-oriented DCM patterns are formally indistinguishable. Given that spatial arguments are typically inanimate, the general L-marking pattern is such that PLAIN zero-marking alternates with PROMINENT *-re* marking. (43) illustrates a typical instance with zero-marking in the basic locative construction, with the predicate *bai-* (to be). As shown in (44), PROMINENT *-re* marking evokes the emphatic contrast reading in an out-of-the-blue context, which is absent for PLAIN zero-marking:

(43) *te'i ë̃më huë'e ba'iji*
te'-ɨ ɨ̃mɨ **wɨ'e** ba'i-hi
one-CL:M man house be-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'The man is alone in the house.' [VOL: 20230525ejabi002.007]

(44) a. *yë' yo'jei Canadare ba'iji*
jɨ'ɨ jo'he-ɨ **Canada #(-re)** ba'i-hi
1SG younger_sibling-CL:M C-N.SBJ live-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'My younger brother lives in CAnada (i.e., not some other place).'

b. *yë' yo'jei Canada ba'iji*
jɨ'ɨ jo'he-ɨ **Canada (#-re)** ba'i-hi
1SG younger_sibling-CL:M C-N.SBJ live-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'My younger brother lives in Canada.'
[VOL/SUG: 20230619elupa002.011a-b]

In addition to displaying the expected emphatic contrast reading, as in (44a), spatial DCM displays rigid case-matching patterns as a matter of Q-A congruence effects. The Q-A heuristic is demonstrated for the L-argument in (45), where the WH-item *hero-**re*** (where) requires PROMINENT *-re* marking, and forces PROMINENT-marking on the corresponding focalized location in the answer:

(45) a. QUESTION: *jerore ba'iquëa'ne ?*
he-ro *(-re) ba'i-ki-a-'ne
WH-CL:LOC-N.SBJ live-CL:M-COP-Q
'Where do (you (M)) live?'

b. ANSWER: *yë'ë ba'iquëa'ë Canadare*
jɨ'ɨ ba'i-kɨ-a-'ɨ **Canada #(-re)**
1SG live-CL:M-COP-N3S C-N.SBJ
'I live in CAnada.' [VOL: 20230526ejabi002.005-006]

The examples considered thus far show that L-oriented DCM is identical to the P-oriented DCM patterns with nouns of the inanimate noun class. Like most languages (e.g., Stolz et al. 2014), conceptually animate referents are incompatible with spatial meanings. However, it is in fact possible for spatial nouns to undergo promotion and to behave like animate nouns for the sake of DCM.[19] Under the appropriate conditions — i.e., those laid out in Section 3.2.2; the promoted L-argument displays the PLAIN *-re* marking vs. PROMINENT *-ni* marking alternation. Zero-marking is thus prohibited. (46) reports elicited instances where the expected case-marking patterns arise on the singular, promoted argument, which displays the post-nominal modification strategy. (47) confirms that promotion does not arise where the argument is plural:

(46) [**Suggested context:** There are several houses in this part of town, you live in the house your grandparents built, and not, e.g., the one your uncles built.]
ba'iyë yë'ë ñicuëbaɨ huë'e nesiconi
ba'i-jɨ ↑[**jɨ'ɨ ñihkw-ɨ-bãĩ wɨ'e**
live-N3S.PRS.ASS 1SG grandparent-CL:M-PL.AN house
nee-sih-ko-ni]
make-PERF-CL:F-N.SBJ2
'(I/we) live in the house that my GRANDparents built.'

a. # *ba'iyë yë'ë ñicuëbaɨ huë'e nesico-re* (no contrastive reading)
b. * *ba'iyë yë'ë ñicuëbaɨ huë'e nesico*
(zero-marking unavailable on ↑inanimate)

[19] In addition to this, Siona recruits several nominalizers to derive a spatial argument from nouns which are otherwise incompatible (Bruil 2019): i.e., *-kɨ'ro* and *-wẽ'ña*. The derivational device *-kɨ'ro* is compatible with both a Place-of-Residence readings as in (i), or with a so-called *vicinal* reading (i.e., next to X, where X is (currently) located):

(i) *ioquë'rore hueagono neni a'rimaña toani ...*
ĩ-o-kɨ'ro-re wea + gõno nee-ni a'ri-mahña toa-ni
3PRO-CL:F-LOC.DERIV-LOC corn + chicha make-SS small-DIM.PL grind-SS
'(They) ground up and made a little corn chicha at her place ...'
[NAT*: 20151112orapi001.137]

In the general case, *-kɨ'ro* is used with individuals, and *-wẽ'ña* with concepts or in deverbal nominalizations. However, further attention is warranted in order to unpack their differences.

(47) [**Suggested context:** Same as in (46), except the speaker's family lives in several houses, all built by their grandparents.]
ba'iyë yë'ë ñicuëbai huë'ña nese'ere[20]
ba'i-jɨ [**jɨ'ɨ ñihk^{w}-ɨ-bãĩ wɨ'-ña**
live-N3S.PRS.ASS 1SG grandparent-CL:M-PL.AN house-PL.INAN
nee-sih-je-re]
make-PERF-CL:GEN-N.SBJ
'(We) live in the HOUSes that my grandparents built.'

a. # *ba'iyë yë'ë ñicuëbai huë'ña nese'e* (no contrastive reading)
b. * *ba'iyë yë'ë ñicuëbai huë'ña nese'e-ni*
(*-ni* marking unavailable on inanimate)
[VOL/SUG: 20241003ejabi001.003a-b]

Although instances such as those put forth above are not particularly common in semi-spontaneous speech, again, promoted pronominals are commonplace in Siona narration. There are two classes of spatial pronouns, which are used almost interchangeably in the language: (i) inherent spatial pronouns, and (ii) promoted spatial pronouns. In fact, the latter class are the exact same pronominals *borrowed* from the feminine-singular paradigm in the argumental domain:

(48) a. **Inherent spatial pronouns:**
ĩhño/ĩñe (here), *hã-ro* (there), *heh-to* (over there, or its reduced form *to*)
b. **Promoted spatial pronouns:**
$^{\uparrow}$*ih-ko* (this one (F) ≃ here), $^{\uparrow}$*hã-o* (that one (F) ≃ there)

In addition to these spatial pronouns, the category of spatial pronouns also contains demonstrative pronominals derived with the spatial classifier *-ro/-to*. Any element derived with this morpheme behaves as inanimate, as with the interrogative pronoun *hero* (where). A handful of naturalistic instances of spatial L-pronouns are illustrated in (49), demonstrating the available PLAIN- and PROMINENT-alternatives accordingly. Firstly, inherent spatial pronouns are shown in (49), and then promoted pronouns are shown in (50):

(49) a. *ñadojai ñaëña jero cani ñatoje — tocato jare soquëñëa beoëña*
ñaa + dohai ñaa-ɨ-ña he-ro kaa-ni
see + wander see-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP INTER-CL:LOC say-SS
ñaa-to-hẽ **to=kato** hãre sõhkɨ-ñɨ-ã
see-COND-ADD ANA.LOC=TOP like_that wood-CL:TREE-PL.INAN
beo-ɨ-ña
NEG.AUX-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
'. . . (he) took a look around, seeing where (he) was speaking of — when (he) looked, there were no trees there.'
[NAT*: 20151023orocr001.108]

[20]This dissertation advocates for the commonly found resultative nominalization *-se'e* (Bruil 2019) to be treated as underlyingly formed of the perfective *-si(h)* and the generic classifier *-je*. Recall that *-je* is used with both plural- and mass-denoting concepts, hence its wider distribution.

b. [**Context:** The speaker is asked about a blanket beside him.]
iñorebare uiji
ihño-reba-re ũi-hi
here-INTENS-N.SBJ be_lying-3S.M.PRS.ASS
'(It) is lying right HERE.' [NAT: 20140805serpi003.093]

(50) a. *... ba'ina jaore saniti'ani abita mëni ocuereña*
ba'i-i-na ↑**hã-o-re** sani + tĩ'ã-ni abita
be-S.M.PST.DEP-DS DEM.MED-CL:F-N.SBJ go + find-SS abita_fruit
mɨni + õhkwe-re-ña
go_up + slurp-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS-REP
'... (it, the fruit) was up there, so (they) climbed up (there) to find the *abita* fruit and to eat (it) up.' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.450-452]

b. *... iconi ja'që baquë caëña jamaca*
↑**ih-ko-ni** ha'-kɨ bah-kɨ
DEM.PROX-CL:F-N.SBJ2 parent-CL:M be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS
kaa-ɨ-ña hãmahka
say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP then
'... then (he) said, "Dad was HERE." ' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi002.666]

A final naturalistic data point is provided in (51) to round off the present discussion regarding L-oriented DCM. The pair of sentences in (51) is lifted from the narrative sample in Chapter 5, where a naturalistic Q-A pair arises in dialogue. In his answer turn in (51b), the protagonist uses the promoted spatial pronoun ↑*ihko-**ni*** (this one (F) ≃ here), as expected:

(51) a. *jerore baquë më' huë'e ?*
he-ro-re bah-kɨ mɨ'ɨ̃ wɨ'e
WH-CL:LOC-N.SBJ be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS 2SG house
'Where was your house?'

b. *iconi baja'i huë'e, jemacare huë'e baisihko beo*
↑**ih-ko-ni** ba-ha'i wɨ'e hẽ-mahka-re
DEM.PROX-CL:F-N.SBJ2 be-3S.M.PST.ASS house DEM.DIST-DIM.SG-N.SBJ
↑[wɨ'e ba'i-sih-ko] beo-ɨ
house be-COMP-CL:F NEG.EXIS-S.M.PRS.DEP
'The house was HERE, (and now) the house that was there is gone.'
[NAT*: 20151023orocr001.127-128]

The data considered in this section has demonstrated that, once promotion is taken into account, P- and L-oriented DCM patterns display a full formal syncretism. It is also the case that a focus-related STRONG TRIGGER may be maintained for L-oriented DCM, as it is shown to arise in argumental DCM. The latter pattern also holds as concerns G-oriented DCM, discussed in what follows.

3.3.2 Goal-oriented DCM patterns

Like all other principled DCM patterns concerning inanimate arguments, G-oriented DCM displays an OPTIONAL-type DCM pattern where PLAIN zero-marking alternates with overt PROMINENT-marking, namely the case-marker *-na*. The G-argument refers

to the target location in directed motion predicates, e.g., *sai-* (go somewhere),[21] also found with change-of-posture predicates, e.g., *hã̄'ru-* (sit down somewhere). Additionally, certain three-argument predicates implicate a G-argument — e.g., *aja-* (fill X into Y); *saa-* (bring X to Y). Two prototypical instances of G-arguments are lifted from the sample in Chapter 5 in (52), illustrating both marking alternatives:

(52) a. *ja̱ë̱hua'iquë'ro saco'ë*
hã̄-ɨ-wa'i-kɨ'ro sah-ko'ɨ
DEM.MED-CL:M-PL.AN-LOC.DERIV go-3.S.F.PST.ASS
'(She) went to where they were.' [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.164]

b. *yëiñëquë'rona sanëca bã̄'quëña*
jɨi-ñɨ-kɨ'ro-na saa + nɨhka-a
cotton-CL:TREE-LOC.DERIV-GOAL bring + stand-NEG
bah-kɨ
be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS
'... (he) brought (them) to the kapok tree and stood (there).'
[NAT*: 20151023orocr001.237]

Although it is not clear from the sentences in (52), the emphatic contrast reading is associated with PROMINENT-marking, as expected, on the basis of elicited examples as in (53). In this context of a CONTEXT-CONJURING task (e.g., van der Wal 2016), the speaker provides a context in which PROMINENT-marking is deemed appropriate where the particular location contrasts with another alternative location:

(53) [**Suggested context:** A child is in trouble and is going to lie in the hammock. The mother does not want them to lie there, she instructs them to sit next to her.]
ja'rujë'ë̱ iñona !
ha'ru-hɨ̃'ɨ̃ **ihño-na**
sit_down-IMPER here-GOAL
'Sit HERE (i.e., not anywhere else) !'

a. *# ja'rujë'ë̱ iño !*
('Sit here !' ; no contrastive reading) [VOL: 20230530ejabi001.002a-b]

As a definitional component of any principled DCM pattern in the language, obligatory PROMINENT-marking is found on both the WH-item, and the focalized G-argument in the answer of a Q-A pair configuration:

(54) a. QUESTION: *jerona maibi saiye ?*
he-ro *(-na) mai-bi sai-je
WH-CL:LOC-GOAL 1PL.INCL-SBJ go-N2/3S.PRS.N.ASS
'Where are we (INCL) going?'

b. ANSWER: *saiyë ye'yahuë'ena*
sai-jɨ **je'ja + wɨ'e #(-na)**
go-N3S.PRS.ASS learn + house-GOAL
'(We) are going to the SCHOOL (lit. teaching house).'
[VOL: 20230619elupa002.018a-b]

[21] In Siona, manner-of-motion predicates have the same argument structure as plain directed motion predicates: e.g., *wɨ'wɨ-* (run), *tõme-* (fall).

The data considered thus far demonstrates that G-oriented DCM displays the principled PLAIN-PROMINENT alternation, characteristic of principled DCM patterns in the language. However, when considering the class of promoted nominals, DCM alternations are suppressed. Rather, promoted G-arguments display obligatory *-na* marking. This fact fits neatly into the analysis developed in this chapter, since animate, non-SUBJECT nouns require overt case-marking; however, crucially, the case-marker *-na* simply lacks a PROMINENT counterpart (i.e., unlike *-re*, which alternates with *-ni*).

The obligatory *-na* marking hypothesis for promoted G-arguments is borne out empirically. Firstly, consider the naturalistic instance of (obligatorily) *na*-marked promoted spatial pronouns in (55) as a preliminary illustration. No unmarked promoted spatial nominals are attested in my textual research. Next, consider the elicited instance reported in (56) — related to (46) in the previous section, which confirms the ungrammaticality of zero-marking on the promoted modified nominal via elicitation:

(55) [**Context:** The demon *cu̲ehuati* smells the protagonist hiding in the tree.]
. . . ja̲o̲na dahuë'huësicobi gu̲inaobi se go'ico ñacona ja̲ icona mëco'ë naso caoña
↑hã-o-na daa + wɨ'wɨ-sih-ko-bi
DEM.MED-CL:F-GOAL bring + run-COMP-CL:F-SBJ
gwĩna-o-bi se go'i-ko
the_one_who_does_it_again-CL:F-SBJ SE return-S.F.PRS.DEP
ñaa-ko-na hã **↑ih-ko-na** mɨh-ko'ɨ
see-S.F.PRS.DEP-DS DISC.PART DEM.PROX-CL:F-GOAL go_up-3S.F.PST.ASS
nahso kaa-o-ña
wooly_monkey say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
'. . . (she) came back running to there — (she) returned and looked around, "aha! the monkey climbed up HERE", (she) said.'
[NAT*: 20151112oespa001.101]

(56) *saiyë yë' ñicuëba̲i huë'e nesicona*
sai-jɨ **↑[jɨ'ɨ ñihk^{w}-ɨ-bãĩ wɨ'e nee-sih-ko *(-na)**]
go-N3S.PRS.ASS 1SG grandparent-CL:M-PL.AN house make-PERF-CL:F-GOAL
'(I/we) am going to the house (or HOUSE) that my grandparents built.'

a. # *saiyë yë'ë ñicuëba̲i huë'e nesico-**re*** (L-marking is inappropriate here)

b. * *saiyë yë'ë ñicuëba̲i huë'e nesico*
(zero-marking unavailable on ↑inanimate)

[VOL/SUG: 20241003ejabi001.006a-b]

Given that, unlike *-re* and *-ni*, the marker *-na* does not alternate with a formally distinct PROMINENT-alternative, *-na* obligatorily marks the promoted G argument in (56). On the paradigmatic view espoused in this dissertation, inanimate and animate (i.e., promoted) G arguments display case-marker syncretism. This is demonstrated in Table 3.8:

	INANIMATE		↑INANIMATE	
	PLAIN	PROMINENT	PLAIN	PROMINENT
LOCATION (L)	-∅	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
GOAL (G)	-∅	*-na*	*-na*	

Table 3.8: Mapping PLAIN and PROMINENT marking alternatives for the R-argument

On the basis of Table 3.8, once promotion is adequately considered, the generalization that non-SUBJECT arguments of the animate class require overt case-marking is maintained. Spatial DCM patterns display the same conspiracy of animacy status and information structure STRONG TRIGGERS outlined for (non-SUBJECT) argumental DCM above.

3.3.3 Extended uses of the Goal-marker, -na

In the spirit of completing the *preliminary description* of Siona case-marking in this chapter, a brief discussion is in order regarding certain non-canonical uses of *-na* marking. These observations complement the recognition of certain restricted uses of *-na* on inanimate R-arguments, a component of the accidental DCM pattern outlined in Section 3.2.3. This subsection discusses two patterns in turn, atypical spatial *-na* marking, and what I label pseudo-spatial *-na* marking.

As concerns atypicial *-na* marking in the spatial domain, it is observed that some spatial nouns, which thematically align with the STATIC LOCATION-argument (i.e., L), accept *-na*. The distribution of *-na* on L-arguments is constrained by the predicate at hand. For instance, certain predicates, such as *je'je-* (learn, study), shown in (57), permit *-re* and *-na* on the place of study. Speakers report subtle meaning differences, as shown below; however, more work is required to fully unpack the meaning difference and the range of predicates which display this pattern. For the present purposes these are conceived as an accidental DCM alternation:[22]

(57) a. *iye mo'se iye ye'yahuë'ere ye'yeja'quëa'ë* [23]
i-je mo'se **i-je** **je'ja + wɨ'e-re**
DEM.PROX-CL:GEN day DEM.PROX-CL:GEN teach + house-N.SBJ
je'je-hã'-kɨ-a'-ɨ
learn-PRP-CL:M-COP-N3S
'Today (I (M)) will study at the school.'
[**Speaker comment:** with *re*-marking a more specific location is signaled; i.e., the learning occurred in a particular room.]

[22] Martine Bruil suggests that *-na* may be acceptable here due to the purposive morpheme, *-hã'-*, which contributes the future-oriented reading to the examples in (57). However, *-na* is available in other temporal conjugation patterns.

[23] Note that this is not the same type of *specificity* suggested for the marker *-re* elsewhere. Rather specificity as a trigger for DCM alternations is suggested to be relevant to both *-re* on L and *-na* on G equally, see Table 3.6.

b. *iye mo'se iye ye'yahuë'ena ye'yeja'quëa'ë*
i-je mo'se **i-je** **je'ja + wɨ'e-na**
DEM.PROX-CL:GEN day DEM.PROX-CL:GEN teach + house-GOAL
je'je-hã'-kɨ-a'-ɨ
learn-PRP-CL:M-COP-N3S
'Today (I (M)) will study at the school.'
[**Speaker comment:** with *na*-marking a more general location is signaled; i.e., not any particular room.]

c. ✓ *iye mo'se iye ye'yahuë'e ye'yeja'quëa'ë*
[VOL/SUG: 20230619elupa002.016a-c]

Whereas some predicates allow either *-re* or *-na*, with a subtle semantic effect, as in (57), a second set of predicates select *-na* more rigidly on their L-like arguments. This holds for a heterogeneous class of predicates — e.g., *gãjo-* (play), *guja-* (bathe), *ai de'o-* (grow), *bɨa-* (stay), *goa nee-* (work), *kã-* (sleep),[24] which systematically disfavour *re*-marking on the L-argument. Illustrative corpus examples with the predicate *bɨa-* (stay) and *ai de'o-* (grow) are provided in (58) and (59) accordingly. The latter instance involves a promoted nominal, such that *-na* marking ought to be considered obligatory, for the reasons signaled above:

(58) *ĩ jamu ti ja'o dasiquë jare sa'nihuëna bëaëña*
ĩ-ɨ hãmu ti ha'o daa-sih-kɨ hãre **sa'niwɨ-na**
3PRO-CL:M armadillo ANA mud bring-COMP-CL:M like_that inside-GOAL
bɨa-ɨ-ña
stay-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
'The armadillo, who brought the mud, stayed inside (the river) (so they say).'
[NAT*: 20151023orocr001.098]

(59) *. . . sa'nihuë jai cua'coro sɨũsicona aide'ouña*
↑[**sa'niwɨ hai kwa'ko-ro** **sĩũ-sih-ko-na**] ai
inside big cook-CL:RECEP cover-COMP-CL:F-GOAL big
+ de'o-ɨ-ña
+ become-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
'. . . (they (i.e., referring to eggs)) grew inside the big covered pot.'
[NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.147]

In order to confirm that the usage of *-na* is forced by the predicate in such instances, consider the Q-A pair presented in (60). In this instance the predicate *bɨa-* (stay) is used, and, as such, PROMINENT *-na* marking is required on both the WH-item and the focalized L-argument in the answer:

(60) a. QUESTION: *jerona mësarubi bëaye iye ñami ?*
he-ro *(-na) mɨhsaru-bi bɨa-je i-je
WH-CL:LOC-GOAL 2PL-SBJ stay-N2/3S.PRS.N.ASS DEM.PROX-CL:GEN
ñahmi
night
'Where are you (PL) staying tonight?'

[24] A similar list is mentioned in an end-note regarding Koreguaje [*coe*], by Cook and Levinsohn (1985, end-note 10): i.e., they mention 'sleep', 'dawn', 'rest', and 'cook', and indicate that there are others.

i. * *jero-**re** mësarubi bëaye iye ñami ?*
(Intended: 'Where are you (PL) staying tonight?')

b. ANSWER: *mai bëayë më' gajei huë'ena*
mai bɨa-jɨ [**mɨ'ɨ̃ gahe-ɨ wɨ'e *(-na)**]
1PL.INCL stay-N3S.PRS.ASS 2SG friend-CL:M house-GOAL
'We (INCL) are staying <u>at your friend's house</u>.'

i. * *mai bëayë më' gajei huë'e-**re***
(Intended: 'We are staying at your friend's house.' [answers (54a)])
[VOL: 20230619elupa002.031a-c]

To summarize, it can be stated that certain L-arguments are encoded as G-arguments, as determined by the selectional properties of the predicate at hand. More work is needed to determine the exact set of predicates which display this atypical spatial case-marking; however, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4, other languages in the region display similar patterns, based upon a similar set of predicates. Ultimately, this quirk is treated as an accidental sub-pattern of L-oriented DCM.

The final case-marking pattern which concerns this *preliminary description*, regards so-called pseudo-spatial uses of *-na* marking. This refers to certain thematic roles which are obligatorily case-marked via the case-marker *-na*: i.e., (i) the Place-of-Putting argument, and (ii) the Point-of-Contact argument. A natural instance of the former is presented in (61), which displays the predicate *hẽña-* (stick X <u>to Y</u>) in (61). The latter is presented in (62), with the predicate *to'te-* (sting X <u>on the Y</u>):[25]

(61) *<u>i</u>o <u>b</u>ejetubëna ja'o je<u>ñ</u>aquë ba<u>'</u>quëña*
ĩ-o **bẽhẽ-tubɨ-na** ha'o hẽña-kɨ
DEM.PROX-CL:F trunk-CL:BRANCH-GOAL clay stick-CL:M
ba-∼'-kɨ-ña
be-RMT.PST-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
'He stuck clay <u>onto the tree trunk</u>.' [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.061]

(62) [**Context:** an evil child spirit turns into a wasp in order to kill a tapir.]
cacani <u>i</u>re sa'nahuë ahuëna to'tehueaña ba<u>'</u>ë <u>i</u>re yi'yebi
kahka-ni ĩ-ɨ-re + sa'nawɨ **a-wɨ-na**
enter-SS DEM.PROX-CL:M-N.SBJ + inside heart-CL:CONT-GOAL
to'te + wẽã-a ba-ɨ'ɨ ĩ-ɨ-re ji'je-bi
sting + kill-NEG be-N3S.PST.ASS DEM.PROX-CL:M-N.SBJ wasp.species-SBJ
'(He) entered inside him, and the wasp stung him <u>on the heart</u>.'
[NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.541]

These patterns are noted for the sake of descriptive completeness in the present chapter. However, the pseudo-spatial instances of *-na* marking cannot be treated as an extension of the G-oriented DCM patterns — i.e., unlike the atypical L-marking patterns above, since the case-marker is obligatory on the relevant arguments in instances such as (61) and (62). Ultimately, certain uses of the case-marker *-na* are attested beyond strict spatial GOAL-marking. Similar extended uses of this marker and its cognates are attested across Western Tukanoan languages, as will be shown in the next chapter.

[25] We provide a more elaborate of some of these complex predicates in van Gijn et al. 2023, in a comparative perspective.

3.4 Interim summary: Siona DCM as a paradigm

The *preliminary description* laid out in this chapter primes the reader for the more targeted studies reported in the ensuing chapters of this dissertation. Table 3.9 schematizes the primary DCM facts outlined in this chapter, including the mapping of PLAIN- and PROMINENT-alternatives across all principled DCM patterns, and the SUBJECT vs. non-SUBJECT split, which underpins the animacy-based marking split:

	INANIMATE		ANIMATE (∧ ↑INAN)	
	PLAIN	PROMINENT	PLAIN	PROMINENT
Argumental DCM:				
SUBJECT (S)	*-∅*	*-bi*	*-∅*	*-bi*
DIRECT OBJECT (P)	*-∅*	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
INDIRECT OBJECT (R)	*-re/-na*		*-re*	*-ni*
Obligatory case-marking:	*-bi* (Instrument); *-hã're* (Companion)			
Spatial DCM:	INANIMATE		↑INANIMATE	
LOCATION (L)	*-∅*	*-re*	*-re*	*-ni*
[*some L] GOAL (G)	*-∅*	*-na*	*-na*	
Obligatory case-marking:	*-bi* (Source); *-hã'ã* (Path, Limit)			

Table 3.9: Siona case-inventory, incl. (principled) DCM patterns

The remainder of this dissertation addresses several components of the complex case-marking system described here, such that each chapter applies different methodologies to further the description. Though the primary objective is descriptive, theoretical insights are postulated where appropriate.

Chapter 4 takes the *preliminary description* established in the present chapter, and situates several of these case-marking properties among the case-marking patterns observed in other Tukanoan languages and in other languages across the putative NWA area (defined in Section 1.3.2). This chapter discusses the results of a comparative survey comprising a modest number of languages in the region, as developed via the implementation of a typological questionnaire, presented in full in Appendix A. This chapter provides various insights into the diachronic development of Siona DCM.

Chapter 5 (along with Appendix B) reports a corpus-based investigation regarding the distribution of case-marking alternatives in a sample of Siona narratives. In addition to establishing the marking-rate for S-, P-, and L-oriented DCM patterns in a naturalistic sample, a series of *variable-rule* analyses are performed on a pool of nominal tokens. These analyses contribute to the determination (and ranking) of TRIGGERS for the concerned DCM patterns. This is an important contribution to the characterization of various plausible TRIGGER candidates, necessary for a complete description of multidimensional Siona DCM.

Finally, Chapter 6 reports the findings of an elicitation-driven research program, exploring the focus effects identified in this chapter in greater detail. Given that focus-encoding varies considerably from language-to-language (Büring 2009; van der

Wal 2011, 2015, 2016, 2022; Kratzer and Selkirk 2020; etc.), this chapter contributes considerably to the description of focus-triggered DCM patterns in Siona. Of course, in light of patterns like Q-A heuristics, a proper understanding of focus effects has implications for the development of an adequate formal account of focal DCM patterns. Together these types of novel evidence achieve a holistic description of Siona DCM.