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Differential case-marking in Ecuadorian Siona

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

Northwest Amazonia case-marking dataset

This Appendix presents the NORTHWEST AMAZONIA (NWA) case-marking dataset, underpinning the typological discussion in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Section A.1 outlines the sampling procedures and presents the structural questionnaire administered to derive this dataset. Section A.2 presents the resulting NWA case-marking dataset in full, and lays out the data gathered on a QUESTION-by-QUESTION basis.

A.1 Methodology matters

This section of the Appendix outlines the procedures followed to produce the NWA sample, which is utilized to contextualize Siona case-marking patterns in the discussion in Chapter 4. Section A.1.1 lays out the sampling protocols, including inclusion criteria for the survey, and enumerates the languages comprising the dataset. Section A.1.2 presents the NWA case-marking questionnaire which is administered to the language sample in order to develop the NWA dataset. The operational definitions and precise techniques implemented to build the dataset are spelled out for each QUESTION accordingly.

A.1.1 Presenting the NWA sample

Sampling is a central component to establishing any comparative linguistic survey, since it is necessary to consult a range of descriptive sources in order to derive an informative comparative dataset. There are two broad families of sampling techniques: (i) bottom-up sampling and (ii) top-down sampling (cf. Muysken et al. 2015; Miestamo et al. 2016). Whereas the former is primarily concerned with gathering data without a prioristic assumptions; the latter determines the appropriateness of languages based upon a predetermined set of traits, with the aim of testing and refining

the typology. Given that the NWA dataset is designed to situate several Ecuadorian Siona case-marking traits, established in Chapter 3 in this dissertation, the latter approach is deemed appropriate. This section outlines the inclusion criteria followed in assembling the sample, and identifies the languages comprising the NWA sample.

The top-down design of the NWA sample assembled in this Appendix adheres to four primary inclusion criteria (Velupillai 2012, 50-59):

- The INFORMATIVITY CRITERION simply requires that adequate descriptive materials be available for a particular language to be included in the present study. The consulted sources must provide sufficient information for the NWA questionnaire to be administered in an informative fashion.
- The GENETIC CRITERION reflects the fact that the NWA sample is designed to represent the Western and Eastern branches of the Tukanoan family in a balanced way. Nonetheless, the Eastern branch is larger, and comprises several internal groupings — see discussion in Section A.1.2 in the introductory chapter of this dissertation. The NWA dataset assembles a modest, representative sample of this larger branch, and matches this to the number of tested Western Tukanoan languages, for the present purposes.
- The AREAL CRITERION defines the geographical coverage of the NWA sample to the putative NWA region, subsuming all Tukanoan languages and the various languages spoken in their vicinity. This region corresponds roughly to the region surrounding the Napo-Putumayo-Vaupés watersheds. The areal coverage of this study extends slightly to the west, into the adjacent foothills region, to include certain languages, which have been suggested to display contact-induced convergence with Western Tukanoan groups (e.g., Quechuan languages, Barbacoan languages, Shiwiar) — cf. Bruil 2015a; Piispanen 2021; van Gijn et al. 2023.
- There are two TYPOLOGICAL CRITERIA, which constrain the language sample included in the NWA dataset. These typological criteria ensure that only those languages whose grammars are compatible with the notions of DCM, espoused in this dissertation, are included in the comparative dataset:
 - Firstly, the *core case-marking baseline* requires that a language recruits overt case-marking to encode core grammatical functions. For instance, the isolate Waorani [*auc*], spoken nearby to Western Tukanoan languages, does not display core case-marking (Fawcett 2023).
 - Secondly, the *accusative-alignment criterion* blocks inclusion of the few ergative-aligned languages spoken in the region: e.g., the Kawapanan languages of northern Peru (cf. Valenzuela 2011, 2015; Rojas-Berscia and Bourdeau 2017; Rojas-Berscia et al. 2023).

On the basis of the aforementioned inclusion criteria, the NWA dataset gathers data from a modest sample ($N=21$) in order to contextualize the Ecuadorian Siona case-marking facts put forth in Chapter 3. Table A.1 enumerates the sampled languages and indicates bibliographical information for the descriptive sources consulted for the sake of data collection. In this Appendix, and in the corresponding discussion in Chapter 4, languages are identified via their ISO codes, indicated in the table below:

Language [ISO]	Genetics	Area	Primary source(s)
*Ecuadorian Siona ^[E] <i>snn</i>	W-TUKANOAN	Foothills	Bruil 2014 [B14] ; <i>personal fieldwork</i>
Colombian Siona ^[C] <i>snn</i>	W-TUKANOAN	Foothills	Wheeler 1970 [W70], 1987 [W87],
Ecuadorian Sekoya ^[E] <i>sey</i>	W-TUKANOAN	Foothills	Johnson and Levinsohn 1990 [JL90]
Koreguaje <i>coe</i>	W-TUKANOAN	Foothills	Cook and Levinsohn 1985 [CL85] ; Cook and Criswell 1993 [CC93]
Máfhiki <i>ore</i>	W-TUKANOAN	Centre	Farmer 2015 [F15] ; Velie 2008[1975] [V08]
Kubeo <i>cub</i>	E-TUKANOAN	Vaupés	Morse and Maxwell 1999 [MM99] ; Chacon and Genetti 2019 [CG19]
Tukano <i>tuc</i>	E-TUKANOAN	Vaupés	Ramirez 2019[1997] [R19] ; Duarte and de Oliveira Lopes 2020 [DL20]
Wanano <i>gvc</i>	E-TUKANOAN	Vaupés	Stenzel 2008 [S08], 2013c [S13]
Desano <i>des</i>	E-TUKANOAN	Vaupés	Miller 1999 [M99] ; Silva 2012 [dS12]
Barasano <i>bsn</i>	E-TUKANOAN	Vaupés	Jones and Jones 1991 [JJ91]
Tanimuka <i>tnc</i>	E-TUKANOAN	Vaupés	Eraso 2015 [E15]
A'ingae <i>con</i>	<i>isolate</i>	Foothills	Fischer and Hengeveld 2023 [FH23]
Shiwiar <i>acu</i>	CHICHAM	Foothills	Kohlberger 2020 [K20]
Tena K <i>quw</i>	QUECHUAN	Foothills	Grzech 2016 [G16]
Imbabura K <i>qvi</i>	QUECHUAN	Highlands	Cole 1982 [C82] ; Jake 1983 [J83]
Awa Pit <i>kwi</i>	BARBACOAN	Foothills	Curnow 1997 [C97]
Murui <i>huu</i>	WITOTOAN	Centre	Wojtylak 2021 [W21]
Bora <i>boa</i>	BORAN	Centre	Thiesen and Weber 2012 [TW12]
Tariana <i>tae</i>	ARAWAKAN	Vaupés	Aikhenvald 2003 [A03]
Kakua <i>cbv</i>	KAKUA-NUKAK	Vaupés	Bolaños 2016 [B16]
Hup <i>jup</i>	NADAHUPAN	Vaupés	Epps 2008 [E08]
Yuhup <i>yab</i>	NADAHUPAN	Vaupés	Ospina Bozzi 2002 [O02]

Table A.1: Language specimens in NWA dataset and consulted primary sources

In addition to ISO short-hands, this Appendix and Chapter 4 utilize a series of secondary identifiers to facilitate the comparison of Tukanoan and non-Tukanoan languages included in the sample. Western Tukanoan languages are identified by the symbol $\blacklozenge$, and Eastern Tukanoan by $\blacklozenge$. Ecuadorian Siona, the standard of comparison for this typology, is additionally identified with an asterisk (*). Non-Tukanoan languages spoken within the Vaupés region (see Section 1.3.2) are identified in-text via the short-hand v. Figure A.1 plots the sampled languages geographically in a map diagram, where the Vaupés region is loosely traced with a dotted gray line. This map visually delineates the putative NWA area covered by this dataset:

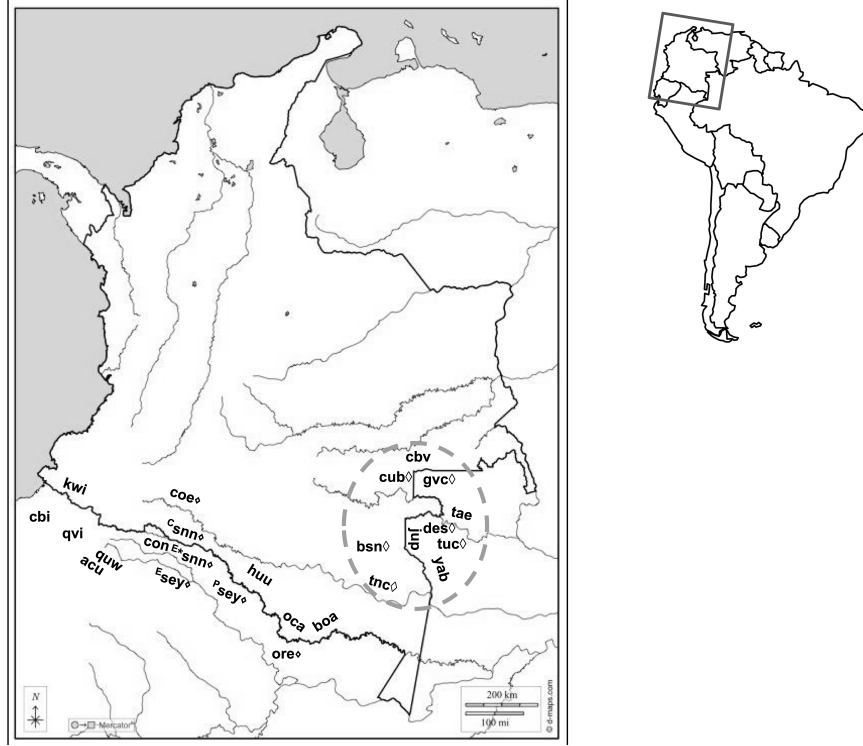


Figure A.1: Geographical distribution of languages . Map template downloaded from <https://d-maps.com> (Colombia borders, including rivers).

A.1.2 Formulating and administering the questionnaire

This section presents the NWA case-marking questionnaire, which is administered to the sample outlined in Table A.1, in order to develop the NWA dataset. The NWA case-marking questionnaire is a structural questionnaire, which is a tool often implemented in linguistic typological research (e.g., Haspelmath 2008; Krasnoukhova 2012; Birchall 2014; Janic and Haspelmath 2023). Structural questionnaires are generally organized into three levels (Birchall 2014, §2.2.2): DOMAIN > QUESTION¹ > VALUE (i.e., answer to QUESTION). DOMAINS refer to bundles of thematically-related QUESTIONS, and the researcher determines the set of suitable VALUES, which may be attributed to a particular language per QUESTION, in order to facilitate cross-linguistic comparisons.

The NWA case-marking questionnaire is developed around three DOMAINS, as inspired by the three pillars of DCM description, proposed in Chapter 2:

1. The FORMAL DOMAIN (QUESTIONS 1.1 - 1.2)
2. The FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN (QUESTIONS 2.1 - 2.7)
3. The DCM DOMAIN (QUESTIONS 3.1 - 3.5)

¹Birchall 2014 utilizes the term FEATURE, rather than QUESTION; however, I avoid this terminology given the range of meaning that *feature* has in linguistic research.

(1) spells out the NWA case-marking questionnaire in full. Accepted VALUE-types for each question are provided in gray text. The precise instructions for deriving these VALUES are laid out in the remainder of this section on a DOMAIN-by-DOMAIN basis:

- (1)
 - a. *Q1.1: How many case markers does the language have?* {1,2,3,...,n}
 - b. *Q1.2: Is multiple case-marking permitted?* {0,1}
 - c. *Q2.1: What type of **Subject-Instrument** correspondence is observed?*
 {a=identity, b=differentiation, c=mixed}
 - d. *Q2.2: What type of **Object-Recipient** correspondence is observed?*
 {a,b,c}
 - e. *Q2.3: What type of **Companion-Instrument** correspondence is observed?*
 {a,b,c}
 - f. *Q2.4: What type of **Object-Location** correspondence is observed?* {a,b,c}
 - g. *Q2.5: What type of **General Location** correspondence is observed?*
 {a,b,c}
 - h. *Q2.6: Is there case-marking for **Possessor**?* {0,1}
 - i. *Q2.7: Is there case-marking for **Temporal adjuncts**?* {0,1}
 - j. *Q3.1: Are DCM patterns observed on S?* {0,1}
 - i. *Q3.1.1: Which formal DCM pattern is observed?*
 {a=optional ($\emptyset$), b=alternating (+), c=hybrid (+ $\emptyset$)}
 - ii. *Q3.1.2: What triggers drive the observed DCM pattern?*
 {a=animacy (a), b=referentiality (r), c=discourse (d), d=other (o)}
 - k. *Q3.2: Are DCM patterns observed on P?* {0,1}
 - i. *Q3.2.1: Which formal DCM pattern is observed?*
 - ii. *Q3.2.2: What triggers drive the observed DCM pattern?*
 - l. *Q3.3: Are DCM patterns observed on R?* {0,1}
 - i. *Q3.2.1: Which formal DCM pattern is observed?*
 - ii. *Q3.2.2: What triggers drive the observed DCM pattern?*
 - m. *Q3.4: Are DCM patterns observed on L?* {0,1}
 - i. *Q3.2.1: Which formal DCM pattern is observed?*
 - ii. *Q3.2.2: What triggers drive the observed DCM pattern?*
 - n. *Q3.5: Are DCM patterns observed on G?* {0,1}
 - i. *Q3.2.1: Which formal DCM pattern is observed?*
 - ii. *Q3.2.2: What triggers drive the observed DCM pattern?*

A.1.2.1 Coding the Formal domain of the questionnaire

The FORMAL DOMAIN comprises two QUESTIONS, which pertain to the expression of morphological case-marking. The first question concerns the size of the case-marker

inventory (*Q1.1*), adopting the methodology for identifying the number of overt case-marking morphemes in *WALS (49): Number of cases* (Iggesen 2013).²

Per the working definition in Iggesen (2013), bona fide case-markers are morphemes arising on the nominal dependent, which indicate the grammatical function or the thematic role of a given nominal. Case-markers must be phonologically integrated into the nominal word, whereas independent morphemes are disregarded. This definition permits the identification of several case-markers to encode a particular FUNCTION; although, crucially, allophonic variants are not tallied separately. The determination of case-marker inventory size is exemplified for Trumai in (2):

- (2) Trumai [*tpy* — *isolate*, Brazil]: **5-member inventory** [Iggesen 2013, ex. (4)]
Absolutive: *axos* [*axos* (child)]
Ergative: *axos-ak*₁
Dative: *axos-atl*₂, *axos-ki*₃
Genitive: *axos-kate*₄
Locative: *esak-en*₅ [*esak* (hammock)]

Like Iggesen (2013), this survey counts POSSESSOR-marking in the inventory tally, corresponding to the Genitive function identified in (2). This survey excludes various controversial categories, such as the vocative, or focus- and topic-markers, from the determination of case-marker inventory size. The result is a numerical VALUE.³

The second QUESTION in the FORMAL DOMAIN (*Q1.2*), classifies languages based on whether the MULTIPLE CASE-MARKING pattern is attested or not. As such, this QUESTION accepts a binary VALUE. A given language is determined to display this pattern where more than one case-marking morpheme may co-occur on a nominal without incurring a grammatical violation. This pattern is demonstrated in (3) for Warlpiri,⁴ and a comparable instance from Tukano is provided in (4):

- (3) Warlpiri (*wvp* — PAMA-NYUNGAN)
 [Hale 1982, cited in Sadler and Nordlinger 2006, 463, ex.(3)]
ngarrka-ngku ka-rlajinta yankirri-ki luwa-rni ngapa-ngka-ku
 man-ERG PRS-3SG.DAT emu-DAT shoot-N.PST water-LOC-DAT
 ‘The man is shooting at the emu at the watering hole.’

²Other specialists have developed alternative approaches to measuring case-marker inventory size: e.g., the *University of Texas Hunter-Gatherer linguistic database* (<https://huntergatherer.la.utexas.edu/grammar>) and the *South American Indigenous Language Structures database* (SAILS — <https://sails.clld.org/>) directed by Pieter Muysken, both particular to South America.

³The coding of *Q1.1* for the NWA dataset departs from the classification in Iggesen (2013) in that the present study disregards zero-marking. Rather, the QUESTION developed here is strictly concerned with *overt* case-marking morphemes; whereas Iggesen (2013) includes zero-marking in his tally. On this basis, a language with only one overt case-marker is typed as displaying a two-member inventory (see example with Mapudungun in Iggesen 2013). In order for the results of the present questionnaire to be compatible with the *WALS (49)* dataset, totals ought to be considered as $N + 1$.

⁴The formal pattern of multiple case-marking is commonplace in the languages of Australia (cf. Dench and Evans 1988, Nordlinger 1997, *a.o.*). It is not immediately clear whether Eastern Tukanoan-type multiple case-marking is the same morphosyntactic phenomenon found in case-stacking configurations in Australian languages, East Asian languages, etc.

- (4) Tukano[◇] (*tuc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN)⁵ [R97:169, ex. (340)]
toó-pi-de *peêdu* *sí'dí-wi*
 ANA.LOC-LOC-OBJ *caxiri*_drink drink-REP.PST.VIS
 ‘I will drink *caxiri* THERE (an established location).’

The FORMAL DOMAIN in this questionnaire comprises two QUESTIONS, although several other formal properties of case-marking have been subject to typological inquiry. For instance, the affix vs. clitic status of case-markers has received attention (e.g., *WALS (51): Position of case affixes* (Dryer 2013)). However, given the non-standardized treatment of such phenomena in the descriptive sources, these properties are excluded from the NWA dataset, and reserved for future research.

A.1.2.2 Coding the Functional domain of the questionnaire

The coding of the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN comprises seven QUESTIONS, which fall into two categories: The first five QUESTIONS (*Q2.1-Q2.5*) concern case-marking correspondence, adapting *WALS (52): Comitatives and instrumentals* (Stolz et al. 2013), as outlined in what follows; whereas, the final two QUESTIONS (*Q2.6* and *Q2.7*) determine whether overt case-marking encodes particular FUNCTIONS: i.e., the POSSESSOR and TIME FUNCTIONS, corresponding to the FUNCTIONAL GAPS discussed in Section 4.2.2.2 in Chapter 4. Before outlining the instructions for addressing each of these QUESTIONS below, a word is in order regarding the establishment of CASE FUNCTIONS, which guided data collection.

The aim of establishing a set of CASE FUNCTIONS is to avoid gathering data in an ad hoc way for the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN, as much as possible. This is common practice in typological research, where conventions are established for defining and operationalizing comparative concepts (e.g., Bickel 2007, 2009; Croft 2001, 2003, 2009; Haspelmath 2005, 2007, 2008, 2010; Newmeyer 2002). For the present purposes, the aim is to establish a set of CASE FUNCTIONS, like those described for Ecuadorian Siona in Chapter 3 in this dissertation, which are compatible with other tested languages for the sake of this comparative exercise. Although it is a notoriously supple task to determine cross-linguistically valid definitions for grammatical relations, such as SUBJECT or OBJECT, other thematic roles are easier to identify across languages, e.g., the INSTRUMENT-argument.

The NWA dataset aligns with most authors listed above, by prioritizing prototypical uses of arguments with generalizable predicates to define roles as comparable CASE FUNCTIONS: For instance, this approach is taken to define the case-marking function, *Dative*, as a comparative concept par excellence, based upon the encoding of the RECIPIENT role as its prototypical thematic correlate, in the work of Haspelmath (2005, 2011), and others. The accusative-alignment condition on inclusion in the current sample allows for a similar tact to be taken to define core CASE FUNCTIONS in a valid way. For example, *the man^(s) killed the deer^(p)*, where the SUBJECT-argument is a volitional Agent and the DIRECT OBJECT-argument is an undergoer Patient. Generally, the consulted descriptive sources already postulate generalizations based on such prototypical instances, which facilitates this comparative exercise considerably.

⁵Ramirez (2019[1997]) glosses the case-markers *-de* (cognate with Siona+ *-re*) and *-pi*, REF and FOC respectively. These are semantic labels which reflect what the author determines to be the dominant TRIGGERS characterizing their usage. Alternative functional labels are used in (4) for convenience.

For the sake of coding the NWA dataset, a set of ten such CASE FUNCTIONS is established, as commonly attested in the typological record. (5) enumerates these FUNCTIONS (and short-hand labels, where relevant), along with prototypical sentences which guide the determination of which case-markers are available to each FUNCTION across the NWA sample:

- (5) a. SUBJECT (S) — e.g., *the man^(S) is sleeping*; *the man^(S) killed the deer*
 b. DIRECT OBJECT (P) — e.g., *the man killed the deer^(P)*; *he found the house^(P)*
 c. INDIRECT OBJECT (R) — e.g., *send the man^(R) a card*; *show me^(R) the money*
 d. INSTRUMENT (INST) — e.g., *the man attacked his enemy with a weapon^(INST)*
 e. COMPANION (COMP) — e.g., *the man came to the party with a friend^(COMP)*
 f. POSSESSOR (POSS) — e.g., *the man's^(POSS) friend works here*
 g. LOCATION (L) — e.g., *my house is in the town^(L)*; *he is sleeping in his canoe^(L)*
 h. GOAL (G) — e.g., *he is going to the party^(G)*; *she brought rice to the kitchen^(G)*
 i. SOURCE (SRC) — e.g., *my friend came from the jungle^(SRC)*
 j. TIME (TEMP) — e.g., *he arrives on Monday^(TEMP)*; *in summer^(TEMP) it's hot*

Next, based upon the available descriptions, case-markers are mapped onto these ten CASE FUNCTIONS, as demonstrated for Ecuadorian Siona in Table A.2, based upon the description in Chapter 3:

CASE FUNCTIONS	AVAILABLE CASE-MARKERS
SUBJECT (S)	-bi
DIRECT OBJECT (P)	-re, -ni
INDIRECT OBJECT (R)	-re, -ni, -na
INSTRUMENT (INST)	-bi
COMPANION (COMP)	-hã're
POSSESSOR (POSS)	N/A
LOCATION (L)	-re, -ni, -na
GOAL (G)	-na
SOURCE (SRC)	-bi
TIME (TEMP)	N/A

Table A.2: Ecuadorian Siona case-markers mapped onto CASE FUNCTIONS

A similar mapping exercise is completed for each included language in the NWA sample, permitting the QUESTIONS in the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN may be answered post hoc.

The first five QUESTIONS in the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN concern so-called case-marking correspondences, as developed in *WALS (52): Comitatives and instrumentals* (Stolz et al. 2013). Put simply, the authors distinguish three ‘correspondence types’ based upon the case-markers attested across these two CASE FUNCTIONS. The first two types are straightforward: The IDENTITY-type is where the exact same set of case-markers encodes both the INSTRUMENT and the COMPANION functions, as exemplified for Estonian in (6). The DIFFERENTIATION-type is where different marker(s) are attested across the concerned CASE FUNCTIONS, as shown for Finnish in (7):

- (6) Estonian (*ekk* — URALIC) [Lavotha 1973, cited in Stolz et al. 2013, ex. (2)]
- a. *ma kirjuta-n sule-ga*
1SG write-1SG pen-INST
INSTRUMENT: ‘I am writing with a pen.’
 - b. *Villem jaluta-b isa-ga*
V go_for.walk-3SG father-COM
COMPANION: ‘Villem is going for a walk with his father.’
- (7) Finnish (*fin* — URALIC) [Karlsson 1978, cited in Stolz et al. 2013, ex. (3)]
- a. *hän kirjoittaa kynä-llä*
3SG write.3SG pen-INST
INSTRUMENT: ‘S/he is writing with a pen.’
 - b. *läsnä oli V.V. vaimo-ine-en*
near be.PST.3SG V.V. wife-COM-POSS.3
COMPANION: ‘V.V. was present with his wife.’

The third type concerns the MIXED-type, shown in (8) for Hungarian. This refers to the pattern where there is some overlap regarding the sets of available case-markers across these CASE FUNCTIONS, but where these sets are not identical. In Hungarian, the same case-marker *-val*,⁶ encodes both the COMPANION and INSTRUMENT FUNCTIONS — i.e., shown in (8a) and (8b). However, the so-called *associative* marker may also be used to encode the COMPANION function, as in (8c):

- (8) Hungarian (*hun* — URALIC) [Bánhidi et al. 1975, cited in Stolz et al. 2013, ex. (4)]
- a. *tol-lal ír-ok*
pen-WITH write-1SG
INSTRUMENT: ‘(I) am writing with a pen.’
 - b. *Jan is megjelenik barát-já-val*
J also appear.3SG friend-POSS.3SG-WITH
COMPANION¹: ‘Jan too shows up with his friend.’
 - c. *csónak-há'-ak sport-és játszóter-ek vár-ják család-ostul*
boat-house-PL sport-ADJ playground-PL wait-3PL family-COM.ASSOC
gyerek-estül az ember-ek-et
child-COM.ASSOC DEF man-PL-ACC
COMPANION²: ‘Boathouses and sports grounds are waiting for the people with family and children.’

The first five QUESTIONS in the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN adapt the typological methodology in Stolz et al. (2013), and apply this three-way distinction to a handful of case-marking correspondences based upon the ten CASE FUNCTIONS laid out in (5). The tested correspondences in the NWA questionnaire, outlined below, are selected based upon a subset of those noted in Ecuadorian Siona grammar, per Table A.2. The NWA dataset contextualizes the Ecuadorian Siona correspondences enumerated below:

⁶The morpheme *-val* is realized as the allomorph *-lal* in (8a).

- *Q2.1*: SUBJECT-INSTRUMENT [Siona: IDENTITY-type.]
- *Q2.2*: OBJECT-RECIPIENT [Siona: MIXED-type.]
- *Q2.3*: COMPANION-INSTRUMENT [Siona: DIFFERENTIATION-type.]
- *Q2.4*: OBJECT-LOCATION [Siona: MIXED-type.]
- *Q2.5*: LOCATION-GOAL-SOURCE [Siona: DIFFERENTIATION-type.]

The remaining two QUESTIONS in the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN consider whether overt case-marking is attested to encode certain CASE FUNCTIONS: i.e., the POSSESSOR function (*Q2.6*) and the TIME function (*Q2.7*). According to Table 4.3, Ecuadorian Siona does not recruit case-marking to encode either of these CASE FUNCTIONS — i.e., FUNCTIONAL GAPS in Ecuadorian Siona. However, these FUNCTIONS are readily encoded via case-marking in other NWA languages, and in the broader typology. Accordingly, all QUESTIONS in the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN are designed to typologize the Ecuadorian Siona patterns in particular, in keeping with the aims of Chapter 4.

A.1.2.3 Coding the DCM domain of the questionnaire

The final DOMAIN of the NWA questionnaire is most directly concerned with comparing DCM patterns. First and foremost, this DOMAIN is designed around five QUESTIONS (*Q3.1-Q3.5*), which test whether the five attested DCM patterns, described for Ecuadorian Siona in Chapter 3, arise in the languages included in the NWA sample:

- (9) a. Q3.1: Are DCM patterns observed on S? $\{0,1\}$
b. Q3.2: Are DCM patterns observed on P? $\{0,1\}$
c. Q3.3: Are DCM patterns observed on R? $\{0,1\}$
d. Q3.4: Are DCM patterns observed on L? $\{0,1\}$
e. Q3.5: Are DCM patterns observed on G? $\{0,1\}$

Wherever a DCM pattern is observed, two SUB-QUESTIONS are addressed to flesh out the comparative typology, as in (10). The first SUB-QUESTION determines the formal-type of the observed DCM pattern, following terminology and definitions established in Section 2.2.1 in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. The second concerns the set of active MACRO-TRIGGERS (i.e., Section 2.2.3), which drive the observed alternation:

- (10) Q3.1: Are DCM patterns observed on *S*? {0,1}
- a. Q3.1.1: Which formal DCM pattern is observed?
{a=optional, b=alternating, c=hybrid}
- b. Q3.1.2: What triggers drive the observed DCM pattern?
{a=animacy (*a*), b=referentiality (*r*), c=discourse (*d*), d=other (*o*)}

As pertains to the first SUB-QUESTION, (10a), this dissertation recognizes three formal DCM types. The first two are well-established in the literature: i.e., the OPTIONAL-type, where an overt case-marker alternates with zero-marking, shown in (11); and the ALTERNATING-type, where more than one case-marker may encode a particular FUNCTION, as shown in (12):

- (11) Persian (*fas* — INDO-IRANIAN)
[Lazard 1994, cited in Chappell and Verstraete 2019, 5, ex.(5)]

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. <i>ketâb-râ xând-am</i>
book-ACC read.PST-1SG
'I read <u>the book</u> .' | b. <i>ketâb xând-am</i>
book read.PST-1SG
'I read <u>a book/books</u> .' |
|---|--|

- (12) Evenki (*evn* — TUNGUSIC)⁷
[Nedjalkov 1997, cited in Chappell and Verstraete 2019, 9, ex.(11)]

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. <i>oron-mo java-kal</i>
reindeer-ACC1 take-PRS.IMP.2SG
'Catch <u>that reindeer</u> .' | b. <i>min-du ulle-ye kolobo-yo by:-kel</i>
1SG-DAT meat-ACC2 bread-ACC2 give-PRS.IMP.2SG
'Give me <u>(some) meat and (some) bread</u> .' |
|--|--|

The third type recognized in this dissertation, and the NWA questionnaire, is the HYBRID-type, proposed in Section 2.2.1. This refers to the pattern where multiple case-markers alternate with zero-marking, as demonstrated for Colombian Siona SUBJECT-marking in (13):

- (13) Colombian Siona[♦] (*snn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)⁸
[W70:47]

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. <i>yí'í-ga saí-yí</i>
1SG-SBJ2 go-N3S.PRS.ASS
'And I, <u>I</u> am going.' | b. <i>ča'kádi-wa'-na-bi bá-gi-na gahe-ni</i>
fire.ant-ANIM-PL-SBJ1 PRO.HUM-CL:M-GOAL go_down-SS
<i>sí'á-wi</i>
attach-N3S.PST.ASS
' <u>The fire ants</u> came down to him and latched on.' |
| c. <i>'okó ka'ní-hi</i>
rain gather-3S.M.PRS.ASS
' <u>The rain</u> is gathering.' | |

In addition to comparing formal DCM types, the second SUB-QUESTION, (10b), identifies which TRIGGERS are active for each attested DCM pattern. The tested families of TRIGGERS align with those laid out in Section 2.2.3. Drawing inspiration from the *differential object-marking* survey in Sinnemäki (2014), this questionnaire types DCM patterns on the basis of MACRO-TRIGGERS, collapsing families of related TRIGGERS,

⁷Note that the author utilizes the glosses DEF.ACC for ACC1, and INDEF.ACC for ACC2 respectively in the original work. Note that for the present purposes, this sub-question is strictly formal in nature.

⁸As in the case of the Evenki example in (12), the suggested glosses here opt for a numbering system: e.g., SBJ1, SBJ2. However, Wheeler uses the gloss SBJ for the case-marker *-bi*, and the gloss SBJ.EMPH for *-ga* — i.e., the emphatic subject marker per his analysis.

which are commonly attested in the literature. Table A.3 enumerates the MACRO-TRIGGER labels used in this study and indicates some corresponding descriptive notions, which are commonly found in the consulted sources:

MACRO-TRIGGER LABEL	Descriptive notions
[a]	animacy : also, e.g., <i>humanness, empathy</i>
[r]	referentiality : also, e.g., <i>definiteness, specificity, pronoun</i>
[d]	discourse : also, e.g., <i>topic, focus, emphasis</i>
[o]	other : e.g., <i>predicate/clausal effects, proximity to speaker</i>

Table A.3: Macro-trigger labels used in this comparative survey

Given the fact that many DCM patterns are multi-dimensional (cf. Klein and de Swart 2011), several patterns exhibit multiple MACRO-TRIGGERS for a given DCM pattern. A determination is made, where possible, as to whether a particular TRIGGER is a STRONG TRIGGER — e.g., animates are marked one way, and inanimates another; or as a WEAK TRIGGER, which more reflects a marking tendency. WEAK TRIGGERS are identified within parentheses as a matter of convenience.

The relevant Ecuadorian Siona DCM facts, which are typologized in the DCM DOMAIN of the NWA dataset, are outlined in Table A.4:

CASE FUNCTIONS	FORMAL TYPE	AVAILABLE FORMS	MACRO-TRIGGERS
SUBJECT (S)	OPTIONAL	<i>-bi</i> ($-\emptyset$)	[d]
DIRECT OBJECT (P)	HYBRID	<i>-re, -ni</i> ($-\emptyset$)	[a, d, (r)]
INDIRECT OBJECT (R)	ALTERNATING	<i>-re, -ni, -na</i>	[a, d]
LOCATION (L)	HYBRID	<i>-re, -ni, -na</i> ($-\emptyset$)	[d, (r), o_{PRED}]
GOAL (G)	OPTIONAL	<i>-na</i> ($-\emptyset$)	[d, (r)]

Table A.4: Ecuadorian Siona DCM patterns

In summary, the DCM DOMAIN in the questionnaire is designed to typologize three aspects of Ecuadorian Siona DCM. Firstly, it checks which languages exhibit which of the five DCM patterns described in Chapter 3. Secondly, it sorts each of the attested DCM patterns on the basis of formal types. Finally, it compares the set of active TRIGGERS found across these DCM patterns. This methodology facilitates the comparison of various DCM facts across the NWA sample.

A.2 Presenting the NWA dataset

Table A.5 spells out the full NWA case-marking dataset. This presentation of the full dataset is followed by a detailed presentation of the VALUES extracted across the sample as divided based on domains. The FORMAL DOMAIN is explored in A.2.1, followed by a discussion of the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN results in A.2.2, and finally by the DCM DOMAIN results in A.2.3:

	(N)	multiple	S=INST	P=R	COMP=INST	P=L	GENLOG	POSS	TEMP	S	P	R	L	G	
*Siona (E) ♦	(6)	X	a	c	b	c	b	X	X	∅✓[d]	+∅✓[a,r,d]	+✓[a,d]	+∅✓[d(r,o)]	∅✓[d(r)]	[ⁿ smn] ♦
Siona (C) ♦	(6)	X	a	c	b	c	b	X	X	+∅✓[d]	+∅✓[a,r,d]	+✓[d(o)]	+∅✓[d(r,o)]	∅✓[r]	[^c smn] ♦
Koreguaje ♦	(4)	X	a	a	b	c	b	X	X	∅✓[d]	+∅✓[a,r,d]	+✓[d(a)]	+∅✓[d,r(o)]	∅✓[r,d]	[coe] ♦
Máfhiki ♦	(2)	X	b	a	a	b	b	X	X	-∅	∅✓[a,r]	N/A	-∅	-∅	[one] ♦
Kubeo ♦	(5)	✓	b	a	a	c	a	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[r,d(a,o)]	N/A	+✓[r(d)]	+✓[r(d)]	[cub] ♦
Tanimuka ♦	(7)	X	b	a	b	c	c	✓	X	∅✓[a]	∅✓[a(d)]	N/A	N/A	N/A	[tnc] ♦
Tukano ♦	(4)	✓	b	a	a	c	a	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[r(d)]	N/A	+∅✓[r(d)]	+∅✓[r(d)]	[tuc] ♦
Desano ♦	(4)	✓	b	a	a	c	a	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[r,d]	N/A	+∅✓[r(d)]	+∅✓[r(d)]	[des] ♦
Barasano ♦	(4)	X	b	a	a	c	a	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[r,d]	N/A	∅✓[r(d)]	∅✓[r(d)]	[bsn] ♦
Wanano ♦	(4)	✓	b	a	a	c	a	X	✓	-∅	∅✓[r,d]	N/A	+✓[r(o)]	+✓[r]	[gvc] ♦
A'ingae	(9)	X	b	b	a	b	c	X	X	-∅	+✓[o]	N/A	N/A	N/A	[con]
Murui	(6)	X	b	b	a	b	c	X	✓	∅✓[d]	∅✓[r,d]	∅✓[d]	+∅✓[o]	+∅✓[o]	[hau]
Bora	(5)	X	b	c	b	b	b	X	X	-∅	+∅✓[a(o)]	N/A	N/A	N/A	[boa]
T-Kichwa	(8)	X	b	c	a	b	b	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[o]	+✓[o]	+✓[o]	N/A	[quw]
I-Kichwa	(7)	X	b	c	a	b	b	✓	✓	-∅	N/A	N/A	N/A	+✓[o]	[qvi]
Shiwar	(5)	X	b	a	a	b	c	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[r]	N/A	+✓[r,o]	+✓[r,o]	[acu]
Awa Pit	(9)	X	b	a	a	c	c	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[a,r]	N/A	+✓[o]	+✓[o]	[kwi]
Kakua ^v	(4)	✓	b	a	a	b	a	✓	X	-∅	∅✓[a,r]	N/A	N/A	N/A	[cbv] ^v
Tariana ^v	(5)	✓	a	a	a	b	a	X	✓	∅✓[d]	+∅✓[r,d]	+✓[r]	∅✓[o]	∅✓[o]	[tae] ^v
Hup ^v	(4)	X	b	a	c	c	c	✓	✓	-∅	∅✓[a,r]	N/A	+✓[d(o)]	N/A	[jup] ^v
Yuhup ^v	(7)	X	b	a	b	b	a	✓	X	-∅	∅✓[r(a)]	N/A	+✓[o]	+✓[o]	[gab] ^v
FORMAL															
FUNCTIONAL										DCM					
a (IDENT) — b (DIFF) — c (MIXED)										-∅ (no attested case-marking); N/A (obligatory case-marking)					

Table A.5: Results: NWA case-marking dataset

♦(West-Tukanoan); ◇(East-Tukanoan); v (Vaupés sub-area)

A.2.1 The dataset: The Formal domain

Table A.6 identifies all case-markers used to determine the case-marker inventory size (*Q1.1*) along with the glosses suggested in the original sources. All included, bona fide case-markers are presented in black text, following the operational definition laid out in Section A.1.2.1. Morphemes which do not meet these criteria, but which execute a case-like function, are labelled ‘pseudo-case-markers’, and are excluded from the calculation of the numerical VALUE for this question. ‘Pseudo-case-markers’ are identified with gray text, and with an asterisk (*), in this table.

A few instances of attested ‘pseudo-case-markers’ in the sample are provided below. (14) illustrates the independent comitative particle *-jã'me* in Koreguaje [*coe*]. Similar particles are described for encoding the PATH and COMPANION FUNCTIONS in Colombian Siona, as shown in (15). Another example concerns the so-called *terminative*-marker in Kakua [*cbv*], expressing a LIMIT-like FUNCTION, which is encoded by a non-integrated preposition per Bolaños (2016, §6.4.3), as shown in (16):

- (14) Koreguaje[♦] (*coe* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [CC93:51]
- a. *rañawahĩ jai nik^ha-mĩ rĩjo-na jã'me*
 Siona healer be-standing-M.SG wife-GOAL COM
 ‘The Siona healer is standing with his wife.’
- b. *i-na-re jã'me pa-sa jũ-mĩ jĩ'i*
 this-PL.ANIM-N.SBJ COM live-DES.SG want-M.SG 1SG
 ‘(I (M)) want to live with them.’
- (15) Colombian Siona[♦] (*c-snn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [W70:76]
- a. *Pedro wi'e-se'e-ga tiká saí-yi*
 P house-EXCL-GA PATH go-N3S.PRS.ASS
 ‘(I) am going only toward Pedro's house.’
- b. *wa'i maú-si'-kĩ nakóni koká ká-wi*
 fish catch-COMP-CL:M COM word say-N3S.PST.ASS
 ‘(I) conversed with the one who had caught the fish.’
- (16) Kakua^v (*cbv* — KAKUA-NUKAK) [B16:210, ex. (87)]
- pĩ joà'-tak=jũb pu'ba*
 TERM front_yard-middle=EMPH EMPHZ.TAG
 'ã=t-hĩw'=wit=hĩ
 3SG=EVID-come=REP.EVID=RMT.PST
 ‘(He) came up right to the middle of the front yard (it is said).’

Language ^[iso]	(N)	Inventory (original gloss)
*E-Siona [♦] ^{[snn]_i}	(6)	-re (N.SBJ); -ni (N.SBJ2); -bi (SBJ,INST,SRC); -na (GOAL); -ja'g (PATH); -ja're (COM)
C-Siona [♦] ^{[snn]_i}	(5)	-re (OBJ.FOC); -ni (OBJ.EMPH.FOC); -bi (SBJ.FOC,INST,SRC); -ga (SBJ.EMPH.FOC); -na (GOAL(.EMPH).FOC); -ja'an (along) — *naconi (COM); *tēca (PATH) [W62,W70]
Koreguaje [♦] ^[coe]	(4)	-re (ESP≈specific); -pi (FUEN≈source); -ni (PAC≈patient); -na (META≈goal) — *ja'me (COM); *jatēca (LIM) [CC93]
Máfhiki [♦] ^[ore]	(2)	-re (NON.SUBJ); -jānū (COM/INST) [F15]
Kubeo [♦] ^[cub]	(5)	-re (NNOM); -i (POS,LOC); -rā (FOC.LOC); -ke (INST/COM); -ta (PATH) [CG19, MM99]
Tukano [♦] ^[tuc]	(4)	-re (REF); -pū (FOC); +bē'da (COM); +yaá (POSS) [R97]
Wanano [♦] ^[gvc]	(4)	+re (OBJ); +i (LOC1); -pū (LOC2); ≈be're (COM/INST) [S13]
Desano [♦] ^[des]	(4)	-re (REF); =ya (POSS); ~beda (COM/INST); -ge (LOC) [DS12]
Barasano [♦] ^[bsn]	(4)	-re (O); rāka (with); -hū (place,time); -ya (GEN) [JJ91]
Tanimuka [♦] ^[tnc]	(7)	-té (DEIC1); -re'ká (LOC); -phi (INST,ABL); ~rá (ALL); -a'ká (COM); -ri'ká (GEN); -ro'sí (BEN) [E15]
A'ingae ^[con]	(9)	=ma (ACC.REAL); =ve/=me (ACC.IRR); =nga (DAT); =i'khū (INS); =ni (LOC); =ye/=ñe (ELAT); =pi (LIM); =ngae (MN/PTH (manner/path)); =ne (SO (source)); =mbe (BEN) [FH23]
Shiwiari ^[acu]	(5)	=n'a (OBJ); =h'āi (COM); =n'ama~i (LOC); =ja (ABL); =tin (TEMP) [K20]
T-Kichwa ^[quw]	(8)	-ta (ACC); -ma (DAT); -manda (ABL); -wa (INSTR); -pa (GEN); -pi (LOC); -gama (LAT (lative ≈PATH)); -k (BEN) [G16]
I-Kichwa ^[qvi]	(7)	-ta (ACC); -man (to); -manda (from); -wan (with); -paj (possessive,benefactive); -pi (in); -kaman (up to) [C82]
Awa Pit ^[kwi]	(9)	=ta (ACC,in); =kasa (with); =pas (from); =pa (in(approx)); =mal (LOC); =ki (at); =kima (until); =pa~wa (POSS); =ma (TEMP) [C97]
Murui ^[huu]	(6)	=di (S/A.TOP); -na (N.S/A.TOP); -mo (LOC,TEMP); -mona (ABL); -do (INS); -ri (TRANS≈PATH) — *-nino (PRV≈without) [W21]
Bora ^[boa]	(5)	-k ^h è (OBJ.AN); -βù (GOAL); -t ^h ù (SOU(source)); -rì (OBL.IN); -ma (with) [TW12]
Tariana ^v ^[tae]	(5)	-n(h)e (FOC.A/S); -na (OBJ); -nuku (TOP.NON.A/S); -se (on,to,from); -ne (COM,INS) [A03]
Kakua ^v ^[cbv]	(4)	=di' (OBJ); =bū (LOC); =hī' (INST,COM); =i' (POSS) — *pī (TERM≈LIM) [B16]
Hup ^v ^[jup]	(4)	-ān (OBJ); -an (DIR); -Vt (OBL); nīh (POSS) [E08]
Yuhup ^v ^[yab]	(7)	-dih (accusatif); -Vt (PRED); -kūj (comitatif); -dèh (déterminatif de possession); -bāh (distance proche); -'āh (distance moyenne); 'āhà (distance lointaine) [O02]

Table A.6: Case-marker inventory sizes and members across NWA sample, including original glossing conventions from source material

Table A.7 sorts languages in the NWA sample on the basis of whether the multiple case-marking pattern is attested or not (*Q1.2*):

ATTESTED (6)	NOT ATTESTED (15)
<i>cub</i> [◇] <i>tuc</i> [◇] <i>des</i> [◇] <i>gvc</i> [◇] <i>cbv</i> [▽] <i>tae</i> [▽]	<i>*e-snn</i> [◆] <i>c-snn</i> [◆] <i>coe</i> [◆] <i>ore</i> [◆] <i>tnc</i> [◇] <i>bsn</i> [◇] <i>con</i> <i>huu</i> <i>boa</i> <i>quw</i> <i>qvi</i> <i>acu</i> <i>kwi</i> <i>jup</i> [▽] <i>yab</i> [▽]

Table A.7: Attestation types for multiple case-marking across sample

Where this pattern is attested, it typically arises within the spatial domain. For instance, Kubeo [*cub*] encodes the PATH relation via the obligatory combination of a locative marker, which may arise on its own, and a dedicated PATH-marker, as demonstrated in (17). Other instances of spatial multiple case-marking are shown for Desano [*des*] in (18), for Tukano [*tuc*] in (19), and for Tariana [*tae*] in (20). These instances typically implicate the co-occurrence of the non-SUBJECT-marker (e.g., Tukanoan *-re*) and a locative marker:

- (17) Kubeo[◇] (*cub* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [MM99:122, ex. (392)]
ke te-Rĩ ape-ki ĩbĩ 'bA-ki-RE
 like_that do-GER other-CL:M man be-NMLZ.N.FUT.M.SG-N.SBJ
xaro-RExa-Ibã-jA boa-I-Rõ-I-ta
 send-RMT.PST-3PL-REP kill-I-NMLZ.SG.INAN-LOC-PATH
 ‘Doing it so, so they say, a long time ago they sent another man, who has died since then, up to that killing spot.’
- (18) Desano[◇] (*des* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [M99:32, ex. (119)]
ero-ge-re gia áĩ-bĩ
 there-LOC-OBJ 1PL.EXCL be-N3.PST
 ‘We were there, at that place.’
- (19) Tukano[◇] (*tuc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [R97:169, ex. (340)]
toó-pi-de peêdu sĩ'dĩ-wĩ
 ANA.LOC-FOC-OBJ caxiri_drink drink-REP.PST.VIS
 ‘I will drink *caxiri* THERE (an established location).’
- (20) Tariana[▽] (*tae* — ARAWAKAN) [A03:159, ex. (7.78)]
nu-ñha nu-dia nhua nu-ya-dapana-se-nuku
 1SG-eat 1SG-return 1SG 1SG-POSS-CL:HAB-LOC-N.SBJ.TOP
 ‘I’ll go back to eat (my catch) in my very house.’

In certain Vaupés languages, multiple case-marking is also found on (non-spatial) oblique arguments, as demonstrated for Kakua [*cbv*] in (21):

- (21) Kakua[▽] (*cbv* — KAKUA-NUKAK) [B16:206, exx. (71)-(72)]
 a. *webit 'ĩ'=hĩ'=dĩ'* *bũ'jup=dĩ'* *mâw=na=ka*
 child blow_gun=INST=N.SBJ hummingbird=N.SBJ kill=DECL=ASS
'ĩ=tfãhãp
 3PL=PROG
 ‘The children are killing hummingbirds with the blow gun.’

- b. *hiw* *'ã=ñap=na=be* *nin=bũ=di'=hé'*
 jaguar 3S.M=jump=DECL=REC.PST this=LOC=N.SBJ=INTENS
 'The jaguar jumped right here.'

A.2.2 The dataset: The Functional domain

The first five QUESTIONS in the FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN type languages on the basis of three correspondence categories identified in Section A.1.2.2. The full typology for each correspondence is provided in what follows, along with illustrative examples for these types for each QUESTION in turn.

Table A.8 categorizes languages in the sample on the basis of SUBJECT-INSTRUMENT correspondence type (Q2.1):

IDENTITY (3)	DIFFERENTIATION (17)	MIXED (1)
<i>e-snn</i> ♦ <i>coe</i> ♦ <i>tae</i> ^v	<i>ore</i> ♦ <i>cub</i> ♦ <i>tnc</i> ♦ <i>tuc</i> ♦ <i>des</i> ♦ <i>bsn</i> ♦ <i>gvc</i> ♦ <i>con</i> <i>hvu</i> <i>boa</i> <i>quw</i> <i>qvi</i> <i>acu</i> <i>kwi</i> <i>cbv</i> ^v <i>jup</i> ^v <i>yab</i> ^v	<i>c-snn</i> ♦

Table A.8: Correspondence types for SUBJECT-INSTRUMENT

The IDENTITY type is displayed for Koreguaje [*coe*] in (22) and Tariana [*tae*] in (23):

- (22) Koreguaje ♦ (*coe* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [CC93:47-48]
- a. *ǰǰi-ǰi* *ǰo'o-ra*
 1SG-SBJ do-DES.SG
 'I (M) (i.e., nobody else) will do (it).'
- b. *wa't^hi-pi* *ǰo'o-mi* *ǰǰi*
 knife-INST do-M.SG 1SG-SBJ
 'I (M) will do (it) with a knife.'
- (23) Tariana ^v (*tae* — ARAWAKAN) [A03:141, 152, exx. (7.4), (7.50)]
- a. *kiya-ku* *hiniri* *di-wha-ka* *di-ka* *di-niwa*
 strong-PERS ukuki fruit 3S.N.FUT-fall-SUB 3S.N.FUT-see 3S.N.FUT-collect
di-wake-ta *di-yã-nhi-pidana* *diha*
 3S.N.FUT-join+CAUS1-CAUS2 3S.N.FUT-stay-ANT-RMT.PST.REP ART
nawiki-ne
 man-SBJ.FOC
 'The man saw that the ukukí fruit was falling down a lot (and) he was collecting (them) ...'
- b. *di-wapa* *mawipi-ne_i* *diha* *pupawa* *di-sue-ta-nipe-ne_{ii}*
 3S.F-wait hook-COM ART poison 3S.F-lay+CAUS1-CAUS2-NMLZ-COM
 'He (the Makú man) was waiting (for the demon) with the stick_i (and) with the poison which he had prepared_{ii}.'

The dominant type in the region is the DIFFERENTIATION-type, since most sampled languages lack overt s-marking altogether. However, two DIFFERENTIATION-type

languages do display overt s-marking, which does not coincide with INSTRUMENT-marking: i.e., Tanimuka [*tnc*] shown in (24), and Murui [*huu*] shown in (24b):

- (24) Tanimuka[◇] (*tnc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [O02: 230, 28: exx. (176b), (260a)]
- a. *φo'i~baha-ré jai-á ~háa-re'ka*
people-DEIC1 jaguar-N kill-RMT.PST
'The people killed a jaguar.'
- b. *~aúá-φí biá ji-túté-ba'a-jú*
cassava-INST aji-pepper 1SG-SPREAD-EAT-PRS
'I eat aji, by dipping it with cassava.'
- (25) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN) [W21: 247, 281: exx. (8.15), (12.9)]
- a. [*nai-e jiko=dí*] *jai une-gí bai-t-e*
ANA-CL:GEN dog=SBJ.TOP already bee-CL:OVAL.BIGGER find-LK-3
'That dog found a bee.'
- b. *nai-mie da-ma abi fa-t-e yoe-fai-do*
ANA-CL:M one-CL:M SELF kill-LK-3 metal-CL:SHORT.THICK-INST
'He killed himself with a machete.'

Finally, Colombian Siona [^c*snn*] is the only language coded as displaying the MIXED-type, given that s-marking is complex in the language, shown in (13) above. Conversely, the INSTRUMENT FUNCTION is strictly encoded with *-bi*, as in other Siona+ languages, such as Koreguaje [*coe*] in (22b).

Table A.9 spells out the distribution of DIRECT OBJECT-INDIRECT OBJECT (i.e., P-R) correspondence types (*Q2.2*) in the sample:

IDENTITY (13)	DIFFERENTIATION (3)	MIXED (5)
<i>ore</i> [◆] <i>cub</i> [◇] <i>tnc</i> [◇] <i>tuc</i> [◇] <i>des</i> [◇] <i>bsn</i> [◇] <i>gvc</i> [◇] <i>acu</i> <i>kwi</i> <i>tae</i> [▽] <i>cbv</i> [▽] <i>jup</i> [▽] <i>yab</i> [▽]	<i>con huu qvi</i>	<i>e-snn</i> [◆] <i>c-snn</i> [◆] <i>coe</i> [◆] <i>quw</i> <i>boa</i>

Table A.9: Correspondence types for P-R functions

The dominant pattern is one where the DIRECT OBJECTS and INDIRECT OBJECTS of the ditransitive clause recruit the same overt case markers — i.e., IDENTITY is the most commonly attested type. The following examples from Wanano [*gvc*] (26), Tukano [*tuc*] (27), Kakua [*cbv*] (28), Hup [*jup*] (29), and Shiwiari [*acu*] (30) illustrate this type:⁹

⁹Birchall (2014, §8.3) arrives at a similar conclusion in his survey for the corresponding Western Amazonia region. In his methodology and terminology, he finds that these languages (incl. Tukanoan languages and other languages of the Vaupés) display *marked neutral case-marking*, where P and R receive the same case-marking.

- (26) Wanano[◇] (*gvc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [S13:336, ex. (54)]
 ~ *bichá-ré tí-kó-ró hó-ré_(P) ~bak-ú~dá-ká-ré_(R)*
 today-N.SBJ ANA-CL:F-SG banana-N.SBJ child-CL:M-DIM-PL-N.SBJ
wá-ré
 give-VIS.PERF.2/3
 ‘Today she gave the little boys_(R) banana(s)_(P).’
- (27) Tukano[◇] (*tuc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN)¹⁰ [R97:166, ex. (330)]
mĩ’ĩ ba’ã-dĩ + dĩ’ĩ-do-de_(P) kã’dó ã’dĩ-de_(R) suã
 2SG eat-NMLZ.INAN.SG + meat-CL:LOC-N.SBJ a.little 3PRO.M-N.SBJ peel.off
+ o’o-ya
+ give-IMPER
 ‘Give a little of your piece of meat_(P) to him_(R)!’
- (28) Kakua^v (*cbv* — KAKUA-NUKAK) [B16: 189, ex. (15)]
Hãmu=di’_(R) ma=nim=di’_(P) ma=wĩ-ĩ
 H=OBJ 2SG-daughter=OBJ 2SG=give-IMPER
 ‘Give Hamu_(R) your daughter_(P)!’
- (29) Hup^v (*jup* — NADAHUPAN) [E08:170, ex. (21)]
núp hõp-ãn_(P) ’ãn no’-’ũh-’áy hãm
 DEM.PROX fish-OBJ 1SG.OBJ give-APPL-VENT.IMPER go.IMPER
pawdína-ãn_(R)
 P-OBJ
 ‘Go give this fish_(P) to Paulina_(R) for me!’
- (30) Shiwiari (*acu* — CHICHAM) [K20:250, ex. (7.169)]
tfuí + muukĩ=n_(P) nu nũwĩ=n_(R) su-sa-r-i
 monkey + head=OBJ ANA wife=OBJ give-PFV-PL-3S+DECL
 ‘They gave his wife_(R) the head of the monkey_(P).’

Only three tested languages display the DIFFERENTIATION-type in the NWA dataset. A’ingae [*con*] has a dedicated DATIVE-marker, shown in (31). Murui [*huu*] assigns the LOCATIVE-marker to encode the INDIRECT OBJECT-argument (R), as in (32), which is unavailable to the DIRECT OBJECT-argument (P):

- (31) A’ingae (*con* — *Isolate*) [FH23:80, 103; ex. (42), (138)]
- rande kuri-fi’ndi=ma=ngi_(P) ke=nga=ja_(R) afe*
 big gold-CL:BITS=ACC.REAL=1 2SG=DAT=CNTR.TOP give
 ‘I gave you_(R) a large bill_(P) (lit. big money).’
 - chhi~chhi=pa phiña=mba api=nga si’nge=nga utsian*
 slice~REP=SS put=SS pot=DAT fire=DAT put.on
 ‘Having sliced (it), (she) put (it) in the pot and set (it) on the fire.’

¹⁰For Ramirez (2019[1997], §8.12), the non-SUBJECT-marker, *-re*, is presented as *-de* in the underlying representation, but as *-re* in the orthography. Similar claims are made for other Tukanoan languages, including regarding the Western Tukanoan language, Koreguaje, where a *-re* ~ *-t^he* alternation is noted, particularly among older speakers (Cook and Criswell 1993, 47). These are all cognates of the same *-re* marker, found in Ecuadorian Siona and all other Tukanoan languages.

- (32) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN) [W21:270,273; exx. (8.99),(8.110)]
- a. **aros-na**_(P) **kue-mo**_(R) *akata*
 rice-N.SBJ.TOP 1SG-LOC show.IMPER
 ‘Show ME_(R) the rice_(P) !’ (abrupt reading)
- b. *bi-rui-yai-do* **nofiko-mo** *i-ti-kue*
 this.CTS-CL:DAY-PL-INST La-Chorrera-LOC exist-LK-1SG
 ‘Nowadays I live in La Chorrera.’

Five languages in the sample display the MIXED-type as defined here. In the Siona+ languages, the same markers are available to P as to R; however, the R-argument may also accept *-na* — see Section 4.2.2.1 in the discussion in Chapter 4 regarding points of micro-variation across the Siona+ grouping. A highly similar pattern is shown for Tena Kichwa [*quw*] in (33), and a similar pattern is also noted in Bora [*boa*] in (34):

- (33) Tena Kichwa (*quw* — QUECHUAN) [G16:103, ex. (2.107)]
- Pablo* **sis-guna-ta**_(P) *kuya-n* **Maria-ma/Maria-ta**_(R)
 P flower-PL-ACC give-3 M-DAT/ACC
 ‘Pedro gave flowers_(P) to Maria_(R).’
- (34) Bora (*boa* — BORAN)¹¹ [WT12:271,279; exx. (640),(663)]
- a. *muha* **dú-bye-ke** *mé ájtyumá-hi*
 1PL DEM.MED-M.S-OBJ SAP see-<t>
 ‘We saw him.’
- b. *tsiiju* **í tsiiiméne-ke**_(R) *ajcu-ì* **majchó-vu**_(P)
 mother SELF child-OBJ give-<t> food-GOAL
 ‘The mother gave food_(P) to her baby_(R).’

Table A.10 spells out the distribution of INSTRUMENT-COMPANION correspondence types (Q2.3) in the sample. This table includes the distribution of types in the WALS-52 sample (Stolz et al. 2013), spanning 322 language specimens from around the world, for context. No MIXED type languages are found in this sample:

	IDENTITY (15)	DIFFERENTIATION (6)	MIXED (0)
	<i>ore</i> [♦] <i>cub</i> [◇] <i>tuc</i> [◇] <i>des</i> [◇] <i>bsn</i> [◇] <i>e-snn</i> [♦] <i>c-snn</i> [♦] <i>coe</i> [♦] <i>tnc</i> [◇]		N/A
	<i>gvc</i> [◇] <i>con</i> <i>huu</i> <i>quw</i> <i>qvi</i> <i>acu</i> <i>boa</i> <i>yab</i> ^v		
	<i>kwi</i> <i>tae</i> ^v <i>cbv</i> ^v <i>jup</i> ^v		
WALS (52)	76 (23.6%)	213 (66.15%)	33 (10.25%)

Table A.10: Correspondence types for INSTRUMENT-COMPANION functions

The dominant pattern in the NWA sample is the IDENTITY-type. Examples are provided below for Kubeo [*cub*] (35), Barasano [*bsn*] (36), Tariana [*tae*] (37), Hup [*jup*] (38), Imbabura Kichwa [*qvi*] (39), and for Shiwiari [*acu*] in (40):

¹¹Bora displays a pattern where *-ke* (glossed OBJAN in Thiesen and Weber 2012) is used to flag the (animate) P-argument in transitive contexts, but the R-argument in ditransitive ones. The P-argument in the double-object construction, however, takes the marker *-vu* (glossed THM by Thiesen and Weber 2012).

- (35) Kubeo[◇] (*cub* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [MM99:119, exx. (383b)-(383c)]
- a. *ape-ki iḃĩ tota-ta-RExa-Abẽ õpõ-jĩ-ke*
 other-CL:M man hit-ITER-RMT.PST-3M.SG explode-CL:FUNNEL-INST
 'ĩ-RE
 he-N.SBJ
 'Another man hit him several times with a rifle.'
- b. *aru dõ-I xi ki-E-RE toroxi-wi jĩ*
 and DEM.MED-LOC my be-NMLZ.PL.INAN-N.SBJ be.happy-N3S 1SG
 'xi-bã-Rã-ke
 my-child-PL.AN-INST
 'And when I am there, I am (being) happy with my children.'
- (36) Barasano[◇] (*bsn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [JJ91:68-69, exx. (189)-(190)]
- a. *bĩsi-bedo-rãka gate buto asi bahi-ro-dẽ hũa-ko-aka-hu*
 vine-ring-INST toast very.much hot be-NMLZ-SPCR crisp-FF-MOT-PST-3
 ti
 3PRO.PL
 'Toasting (leaves) with a vine-ring, when they are very hot they become
 crisp.'
- b. *yũ-rãka wa-rũa-be-a-ti bu*
 1SG-COM move-DES-NEG-PRS-Q 2SG
 'Don't you (SG) want to come with me?'
- (37) Tariana[∇] (*tae* — ARAWAKAN) [A03:152, exx. (7.49)-(7.50)]
- a. *di-wapa mawipĩ-ne_i diha pupawa di-sue-ta-nipe-ne_{ii}*
 3S.F-wait hook-COM ART poison 3S.F-lay+CAUS1-CAUS2-NMLZ-COM
 'He (the Makú man) was waiting (for the demon) with the stick_i (and)
with the poison which he had prepared_{ii}.'
- b. *diha naha na-ketfi-ni-ne di-ema-ka-pidana*
 3PRO.M ART.PL 3PL-relative-CL:M-COM 3S.F-stand-SUB-RMT.PST.REP
 'While he stood together with their relatives (at the port).'
- (38) Hup[∇] (*jup* — NADAHUPAN) [E08:185, 186, ex. (77), (81)]
- a. *m'ãc-ãt pĩd hĩd bib'-ní-h dẽh=teg-éh*
 mud-OBL DIST 3PRO.PL close-INFR2-DECL water=tree-DECL
 'They would stop it up again with mud, the water tree.'
- b. *'ãh='ip-ĩt 'ãh ni-'e'-ní-h*
 1SG=father-OBL 1SG be-PERF-INFR2-DECL
 'I lived with my father.'
- (39) Imbabura Kichwa (*qvi* — QUECHUAN) [C82:114, exx. (448),(450)]
- a. *pamba-pi yunda-wan yapu-ni*
 field-LOC pair_of_oxen-INST plow-1SG
 '(I) plow in the field with a pair of oxen.'

- b. *ñuka wawki-wan kawsa-ni*
 1SG brother-COM live-1SG
 ‘(I) live with my brother.’
- (40) Shiwiar (*acu* — CHICHAM) [K20:263-264, exx. (7.220),(7.223)]
- a. *nukútsəí-rú wíi tsuwír=hʲǎĩ*
 grandmother-1SG.P+VOC 1SG hot-COM
i-mʲa-i-hmĩ
 CAUS-bather-PFV-1SG.S>2SG.O+DECL
 ‘Grandmother, I just bathed you with the hot (water).’
- b. *wíi win-i-tʲát-ha-i hurĩhuri=hʲǎĩ*
 1SG come-PFV-FUT-1SG.S-DECL cannibal-COM
 ‘I will come with the cannibals.’

The DIFFERENTIATION-type is found in all remaining languages in the NWA sample — i.e., no MIXED-type is attested for this particular correspondence. The DIFFERENTIATION-type is attested in all Siona+ languages, as demonstrated for Koreguaje [*coe*] in (41), although this language uses a ‘pseudo-case-marker’ to encode the COMPANION function as in (41b). The fact that INSTRUMENT-marking, shown in (41a), is distinct from COMPANION-marking in (41b). Similar patterns are shown for Tanimuka [*tnc*] in (42) and for Yuhup [*yab*] in (43):

- (41) Koreguaje[♦] (*coe* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [CC93:47-48]
- a. *waʹtʰi-pi ʝoʹo-mi ʝĩʹi*
 knife-INST do-M.SG 1SG-SBJ
 ‘(I (M)) will do (it) with a knife.’
- b. *i-na-re ʝáʹme pa-sa ʝii-mi ʝĩʹi*
 this-PL.ANIM-N.SBJ COM live-DES.SG want-M.SG 1SG
 ‘(I (M)) want to live with them.’
- (42) Tanimuka[◇] (*tnc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [E15:280,178, ex. (260),(91a)]
- a. *ǎvá-phi biá ʝi-túté-baʹa-ʝú*
 cassava-INST aji-pepper 1SG-spread-eat-PRS
 ‘I eat aji pepper, spreading it with cassava.’
- b. *iʹ-kó wã-rũ-kó Juan-ʹka*
 3PRO-CL:F study-FUT-F J-COM
 ‘She is studying with Juan.’
- (43) Yuhup[∇] (*yab* — NADAHUPAN)¹² [O02:158,161, exx. (30b), (36b)]
- a. *põh-ót ʝâp wédʰí*
 hand-PRED 3PRO eat
 ‘He eats with his hands.’

¹²For the sake of coding the NWA dataset, I lift the gloss PRED (originally *prédicatif*) from Ospina Bozzi 2002. This refers to a morpheme which may arise on both nouns and verbs, and displaying a predicativizing function, and, crucially, a case-marking function, particularly on certain oblique CASE FUNCTIONS, including INSTRUMENT-marking as shown in (43a). For the present purposes, this meets all the criteria for being an overt, bona fide case-marker (*id*, 137, 159-161).

- b. *táh báb^m-kúj jìdǎh wǎdnèdⁿí*
 3PRO companion-COM 3PRO.PL arrive
 ‘They arrived with their companion.’

Table A.11 spells out the distribution of correspondence types regarding the DIRECT OBJECT (P) and the STATIC LOCATION (L) in the sample, i.e., *Q2.4*. No IDENTITY-type languages arise in the NWA sample:

IDENTITY (0)	DIFFERENTIATION (10)	MIXED (11)
N/A	<i>ore[♦] con huu boa quw qvi</i> <i>acu cbv^v tae^v yab^v</i>	<i>e-snn[♦] c-snn[♦] coe[♦] cub[♦]</i> <i>tnc[♦] tuc[♦] des[♦] bsn[♦] gvc[♦]</i> <i>kwi jup^v</i>

Table A.11: Correspondence types for P-L functions

Máíhĩkì is the only Tukanoan language which does not display the MIXED-type since the L-argument is strictly zero-marked in the language, as shown in (44), compared with overt *re*-marking available to the P-argument (Farmer 2015, §3.3), shown in (44a):

- (44) Máíhĩkì[♦] (*ore* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)
 a. *tóyá-tíkà bioto bai-jì*
 write-CL:STICK bag be-3S.M.PRS
 ‘The pencil is in the bag.’ (Neveu 2012b, ex. (11b))
 b. *ñíò-re há só-bì*
 3S.F.PRO-N.SBJ shoot-1PL.PST.DECL
 ‘(We) shot her (the tapir).’ [F15:30; ex. (13a)]

Other DIFFERENTIATION-type patterns are commonplace in the sample, as demonstrated for A’ingae [*con*] (45) and Tariana [*tae*] (46):

- (45) A’ingae (*con* — *Isolate*) [FH23:93,107; exx. (95), (159)]
 a. *Santa Rosa=ni=ja tsa=’ka=mbi=’ya*
 SR=LOC=CNTR.TOP ANA=SIM=NEG=ASS
 ‘It is not like that in SANTA ROSA.’
 b. *matichi=ve=ta=ti=ki in’jan=’fa*
 machete=ACC.IRR=NEW.TOP=INT=2 want=SBJ.PL
 ‘Do you want machetes?’
 (46) Tariana^v (*tae* — ARAWAKAN) [A03:143,149; ex. (7.9),(7.41)]
 a. *puale-se nehpani-pida*
 elsewhere-LOC 3PL+work-REP
 ‘They worked in a different place.’

- b. *nhuaniri nu-na di:ta di-eme-ta*
 1SG+father 1SG-N.SBJ 3S.N.FUT+lock 3SG.N.FUT-stay+CAU1-CAUS2
hiperi-ne
 parí-INST
 ‘My father locked me with parí (a type of wood).’

Turning to the MIXED-type in the NWA sample, Table A.12 displays the distribution of case-markers across the P and the L FUNCTIONS accordingly. This is the pattern found in all Tukanoan languages in the sample, excepting Máíhikì [ore], where *-re* (or cognates thereof) are distributed in both the argument and spatial domains:

LANGUAGE	P	L
*Ecuadorian Siona [♦] [^E <i>snn</i>]	<u>-re</u> , <u>-ni</u>	<u>-re</u> , <u>-ni</u> , <i>-na</i>
Colombian Siona [♦] [^C <i>snn</i>]	<u>-re</u> , <u>-ni</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-na</i>
Koreguaje [♦] [<i>coe</i>]	<u>-re</u> , <u>-ni</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-na</i>
Kubeo [◇] [<i>cub</i>]	<u>-re</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-i</i> , <i>-rã</i>
Tanimuka [◇] [<i>tnc</i>]	<u>-re</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-re'ká</i>
Tukano [◇] [<i>tuc</i>]	<u>-re</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-i</i> , <i>-pu</i>
Desano [◇] [<i>des</i>]	<u>-re</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-ge</i>
Barasano [◇] [<i>bsn</i>]	<u>-re</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-hu</i>
Wanano [◇] [<i>gvc</i>]	<u>-re</u>	<u>-re</u> , <i>-i</i> , <i>-pu</i>
Awa Pit [<i>kwi</i>]	<u>=ta</u>	<u>=ta</u> , <i>=pa</i> , <i>=mal</i> , <i>=ki</i>
Hup ^v [<i>jup</i>]	<u>-ãn</u>	<u>-an</u> , <i>-ýt</i> , <i>-có</i>

Table A.12: Forms distributed to P and L functions, MIXED-type

The Siona+ pattern is discussed in various places in Chapter 4, including Section 4.2.2.1 and Section 4.2.3.4. As found in the case of the P-R correspondence in (Q2.2), the crucial factor is the presence of *-na* on certain L-arguments, but never on P. This is displayed for Colombian Siona [^C*snn*] in (47). A similar pattern where L-marking is richer than P-marking, although there is some overlap, is shown in the series of Awa Pit [*kwi*] sentences in (48):

- (47) Colombian Siona[♦] (*snn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [W70:62]
- a. *yógu-na kãí-hi daí-ma-té*
 canoe-GOAL sleep-PL.PRS.DEP come-RMT.PST-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS
 ‘(We) came as (we) slept in the canoe.’
- b. *yógu-té yũ'í-hi*
 canoe-N.SBJ be.seated-3S.M.PRS.ASS
 ‘(He) is seated in the canoe.’
- c. *wi'é-de ba'í-hi*
 house-N.SBJ be-3S.M.PRS.ASS
 ‘(He) is in the house.’

- (48) Awa Pit (*kwi* — BARBACOAN) [C97:73,135,137,139; exx. (65),(213),(225),(235)]
- a. *Camilo=na Santos=ta pala kwin-ti-zi*
C=TOP S=ACC plantain give-PST-NON.LOCUT
'Camilo gave Santos a plantain.'
- b. *wisha payl=ta=yñ ayna-t ku-m*
1PL.EXCL pot=in=REST cook-SV eat-ADJZR
'(We) cooked and ate in clay pots.'
- c. *añ=pa awa su paa-ma-ti*
here=in(approx) person earth become-COMP-TERM
'Around here (this side of the river) it's become cultivated.'
- d. *Dolores Pueblo Viejo=mal tu=ma ka ki ?*
D PV=LOC be.in.place=inter be.permanently Q
'Is Dolores in Pueblo Viejo?'

Table A.13 spells out the distribution of the 'generalized spatial-marking' pattern, discussed in Section 4.2.2.1, namely where L, G, and SOURCE arguments are encoded in using the same set of case-markers (*Q2.5*). Given that Máfhikì does not have spatial case-marking, this language is identified in gray text:

IDENTITY (9)				DIFFERENTIATION (3)	MIXED (9)			
<i>cub</i> [◇]	<i>tuc</i> [◇]	<i>des</i> [◇]	<i>bsn</i> [◇]	<i>tnc</i> [◇]	<i>boa</i>	<i>qvi</i>	<i>e-snn</i> [◆]	<i>c-snn</i> [◆]
<i>gvc</i> [◇]	<i>cbv</i> [∇]	<i>tac</i> [∇]	<i>yab</i> [∇]	<i>ore</i> [◆]			<i>coe</i> [◆]	<i>con</i>
							<i>huu</i>	<i>acu quw kwi jup</i> [∇]

Table A.13: Correspondence types for GENERALIZED SPATIAL MARKING

The IDENTITY-type is the dominant type found within the Vaupés region, which includes all Eastern Tukanoan languages (excl. Tanimuka [*tnc*]). The 'generalized spatial marking' pattern is shown for Desano [*des*] (49), for Kakua [*cbv*] (50), and for Tariana [*tac*] (51):

- (49) Desano[◇] (*des* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [M99:59-61, ex. (241),(245),(254)]
- a. *gia yoa-ri-bohe ári-bi ero-ge-re iri*
1PL.EXCL be.long-DBV-time be-N3.PST there-LOC-OBJ DEM.PROX
bākā-ge-re
town-LOC-OBJ
'We were a long time there in this town.'
- b. *gia ō-re_i era pi'ri bu'a-bi pare finka-ge_{ii}*
1PL.EXCL here-N.SBJ arrive after go.down-N3.PST finally farm-LOC
'We arrived here_i, after which we went down to a farm_{ii}.'
- c. *gahi-rā-ge ari-biri-bā*
other-AN.P-LOC come-NEG-3PL
'(People) did not come from other places.'

- (50) Kakua^v (*cbv* — KAKUA-NUKAK) [B16:248,206-207, ex. (27),(75),(76)]
- a. **victor-ĩ** **mĩ=bũ=hĩ** *fĩ=him-ip=hĩ*
V-POSS house=LOC=RMT.PST 1PL=exist-PST=RMT.PST
mik-wě'e=na fĩ=tfãhãp=hĩ
REFL-chat=DECL 1PL=PROG=RMT.PST
‘We were at Victor’s house.’
- b. **Mitú=bũ** *fĩ=beh-ep=hĩ*
M=LOC 1PL=go-PST=RMT.PST
‘We left to Mitú.’
- c. **tfena=bũ** *kan=ná wãt-jũ'-nĩ'-ip*
both=LOC 3SG=DECL big_flower_blossom-toss-stop-PST
‘(It) blossomed from both sides.’
- (51) Tariana^v (*tae* — ARAWAKAN) [A03:148-149, ex. (7.41),(7.33),(7.36)]
- a. **puale-se** *nehpani-pida*
elsewhere-LOC 3PL+work-REP
‘They worked in a different place.’
- b. *na-pidana* **uni-se**
3PL+go-RMT.PST.REP water-LOC
‘They (the women’s hair) went into the water.’
- c. *hĩ* **wyaka-se** *ka-nu-karu dhuma-naka*
DEM.ANIM far-LOC REL-come-PST.REL.F 3SG.F+hear-PRS.VIS
waku-nuku
1PL+speech-TOP.N.A/S
‘She who came from far away understands our speech.’

Table A.14 lays out all available case-marking forms across the primary spatial functions for languages of the IDENTITY-type:

LANGUAGE	L	G	SRC
Kubeo [◇] [<i>cub</i>]	-re , <i>-ĩ</i> , <i>-rã</i>	-re , <i>-ĩ</i> , <i>-rã</i>	-re , <i>-ĩ</i> , <i>-rã</i>
Tukano [◇] [<i>tuc</i>]	-re , <i>-ĩ</i> , <i>-pu</i>	-re , <i>-ĩ</i> , <i>-pu</i>	-re , <i>-ĩ</i> , <i>-pu</i>
Desano [◇] [<i>des</i>]	-re , <i>-ge</i>	-re , <i>-ge</i>	-re , <i>-ge</i>
Barasano [◇] [<i>bsn</i>]	-re , <i>-hu</i>	-re , <i>-hu</i>	-re , <i>-hu</i>
Wanano [◇] [<i>gvc</i>]	+re , <i>+ĩ</i> , <i>-pu</i>	+re , <i>+ĩ</i> , <i>-pu</i>	+re , <i>+ĩ</i> , <i>-pu</i>
Kakua ^v [<i>cbv</i>]	=bũ	=bũ	=bũ
Tariana ^v [<i>tae</i>]	-se	-se	-se
Yuhup ^v [<i>yab</i>]	<i>-bah</i> , <i>-’ãh</i> , <i>’áhà</i>	<i>-bah</i> , <i>-’ãh</i> , <i>’áhà</i>	<i>-bah</i> , <i>-’ãh</i> , <i>’áhà</i>

Table A.14: Forms across primary spatial functions, IDENTITY type (*Q2.5*)

Turning to the three languages which display the DIFFERENTIATION-type, a similar table to the above is provided in Table A.15:

LANGUAGE	L	G	SRC
Tanimuka [◇] [<i>tnc</i>]	-re , -re' <i>ká</i>	<i>-rã</i>	<i>-phi</i>
Bora [<i>boa</i>]	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-vu</i>	<i>-tu</i>
Imbabura Kichwa [<i>qvi</i>]	<i>-pi</i>	<i>-man</i> , <i>-ta</i>	<i>-manta</i>

Table A.15: Forms across primary spatial functions, DIFFERENTIATION-type (*Q2.5*)

The minimal series presented in (52) displays the DIFFERENTIATION-type as attested in Tanimuka [*tnc*]:

- (52) Tanimuka[◇] (*tnc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN)
[E15:210-211, ex. (151a)-(151c)]
- a. ***wi'í-a-re'*ká** *ji-ibé*
maloca_house-N-LOC 1SG-COP
‘I am in the maloca house.’
- b. ***wi'í-a-~rá*** *ji-káka-jú*
maloca_house-N-GOAL 1SG-enter-PRS
‘I am entering the maloca house.’
- c. ***wi'í-a-phi*** *ji-phi-jú*
maloca_house-N-SRC 1SG-leave-PRS
‘I am leaving from the maloca house.’

Finally, the MIXED-type accounts for the Siona+ languages, and a handful of sampled non-Tukanoan languages, as demonstrated in Table A.16:

LANGUAGE	L	G	SRC
*Ecuadorian Siona [◆] [^E <i>snn</i>]	-re , <i>-ni</i> , <i>-na</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-bi</i>
Colombian Siona [◆] [^C <i>snn</i>]	-re , <i>-na</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-bi</i>
Koreguaje [◆] [<i>coe</i>]	-re , <i>-na</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-pi</i>
A'ingae [<i>con</i>]	<i>=ni</i>	<i>=ni</i>	<i>=ne</i>
Murui [<i>huu</i>]	<i>-mo</i>	<i>-mo</i>	-mona
Shiwiari [<i>acu</i>]	<i>=nyuma</i>	<i>=nyuma</i>	<i>=njuja</i>
Tena Kichwa [<i>quw</i>]	<i>-pi</i> , <i>-ma</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-manta</i>
Awa Pit [<i>kwi</i>]	<i>-ta</i> , <i>-pa</i> , <i>-mal</i> , <i>-ki</i>	<i>-ta</i> , <i>-pa</i> , <i>-mal</i>	-tas , -pas
Hup ^v [<i>jup</i>]	<i>-Vt</i> , <i>-an</i> , <i>có</i>	<i>-Vt</i> , <i>-an</i>	<i>-an</i>

Table A.16: Forms across primary spatial functions, MIXED type (*Q2.5*)

The Siona+ DIFFERENTIATION-type pattern is discussed in various places in Section 4.2.2.1 in Chapter 4. The basic pattern is one where the GOAL-marker, *-na*, arises on the L-argument arising with certain predicates. The Koreguaje [*coe*] pattern in (53) illustrates the broader Siona+ pattern. Highly similar patterns are found in Tena Kichwa [*quw*], as reported in (54):

- (53) Koreguaje (*coe* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [CC93:48-49]
- a. *wi'e-re* *pa'i-mo repa-o*
house-N.SBJ be-F.SG that-F.SG
‘She is in the house.’ [Ella está en la casa]
- b. *wi'e-na* *k^hāi-me jĩi*
house-GOAL sleep-PL children
‘The children are sleeping
in the house.’ [Los niños duermen en la casa]
- (54) Tena Kichwa (*qww* — QUECHUAN) [G16:62-68, exx. (2.47),(2.28),(2.29),(2.30)]
- a. *Maria kaspi-wa wajta-n Juan-ta wasi-pi*
M stick-INST hit-3 J-ACC house-LOC
‘Maria hits Juan with a stick in the house.’
- b. *Maria chagra-ma traba-nga ra-w-n*
M field-DAT work-FUT make-PROG-3
‘Maria will work in the field.’
- c. *Pablo ista-ma shamu-n*
P party-DAT come-3
‘Pablo came to the party.’
- d. ... *kay* *awa luma-manda*
DEM.PROX high hill-SRC
‘... from here above, from the hill.’

The MIXED-type is also shown for Murui [*huu*] in (55), where the same case-marking for L and G FUNCTIONS, but separate marking is recruited for the SOURCE FUNCTION:

- (55) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN) [W21:256 (§8.1.1.3)]
- a. *bi-rui-yai-do* *nofiko-mo* *i-ti-kue*
this.CTS-CL:DAY-PL-INST La-Chorrera-LOC exist-LK-1SG
‘Nowadays I live in La Chorrera.’
- b. *nai-mie* *rii-tai-ya-no* *eraĩ-mo* *jai* *jaai-d-e*
ANA-CL:PR.M angry-BECOME-E.NMLZ-SEQ estuary-LOC already go-LK-3
‘After becoming angry, (he) left for El Encanto (lit. estuary).’
- c. *Ikato-mona* *duaibi-ti-kue*
El.Encanto-SRC chew.coca.VENT-LK-1SG
‘I came from El Encanto to chew coca.’

The remainder of this section considers certain FUNCTIONAL GAPS — i.e., FUNCTIONS, for which case-markers are not recruited in Ecuadorian Siona, although they are attested elsewhere in the sample. Firstly, Table A.17 types sampled languages based on the presence of overt POSSESSOR-marking (*Q2.6*) — i.e., whether something like a *genitive*-case exists in a given language. Where such a case-marker is attested, it is explicitly identified in the table:

ATTESTED (12)	NOT ATTESTED (9)
<i>cub</i> [◇] (-i)	* <i>e-snn</i> [◇]
<i>tnc</i> [◇] (-ri'ká)	<i>c-snn</i> [◇]
<i>tuc</i> [◇] (+yaá)	<i>coe</i> [◇]
<i>des</i> [◇] (=ya)	<i>ore</i> [◇]
<i>bsn</i> [◇] (-ya)	<i>gvc</i> [◇]
<i>quw</i> (-pa)	<i>con</i>
<i>qvi</i> (-paj)	<i>huu</i>
<i>acu</i> (=n/=n ^y a)	<i>boa</i>
<i>kwi</i> (=pa)	^v <i>tæ</i>
<i>cbv</i> ^v (-i')	
<i>jup</i> ^v (=n ^{ih})	
<i>yab</i> ^v (-~dèh)	

Table A.17: Attestation of overt POSSESSOR-marking (Q2.6)

Overt POSSESSOR-marking is illustrated for Desano [*des*] (56), Tukano [*tuc*] (57), Hup [*jup*] (58), Yuhup [*yab*] (59), and for Awa Pit [*kwi*] in (60):

- (56) Desano[◇] (*des* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [DS12:162, exx. (95)-(96)]
- a. ***gi-a-ya*** *wi'i*
1PL.EXCL-POSS house'
'our (EXCL) house.'
- b. ***yi'i-ya*** *bāleta*
1SG-POSS suitcase'
'my suitcase.'
- (57) Tukano[◇] (*tuc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [R97:§12.4,242-244]
- a. ***Pédudu-yaá*** + *wi'i*
P-POSS + house
'Pedro's house.'
- b. ***wiô-gi-yaá*** + *wese*
chief-CL:M-POSS + farm
'The chief's farm.'
- (58) Hup^v (*jup* — NADAHUPAN) [E08:225-226, exx. (34a)-(34b)]
- a. ***pedú=níh*** *cug'æt*
P=POSS book
'Pedro's book.'
- b. *cug'æt* ***pedú=níh***
book P=POSS
'Pedro's book.'
- (59) Yuhup^v (*yab* — NADAHUPAN) [O02:243, ex. (101e)]
- diðⁿ-dðh*** *ûjh*
woman-POSS bag
'The woman's bag.'

- (60) Awa Pit (
- kwi*
- BARBACOAN) [Curnow 1997, 106, (131)]

a. <i>katsa=wa</i> <i>kwizha</i>	b. <i>Santos=pa</i> <i>pimpul</i>
big=POSS dog	S=POSS leg
‘ <u>The big person’s</u> dog.’	‘ <u>Santos’s</u> leg.’

According to the analysis in Stenzel (2013b, 374-375), the Wanano [*gvc*] marker *-ya-* is a head-marker, despite its cognacy with several Eastern Tukanoan languages in Table A.17. This does not meet the dependent-marking criterion adopted in this study, following Iggesen (2013), so this language is coded as not displaying POSSESSOR-marking:

- (61) Wanano[◇] (*gvc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [Stenzel 2013b, 374]
Koitiria *ya~baka-ri*
 K POSS-village-PL.INAN
 ‘(the) Koitiria’s villages.’

For all languages where overt POSSESSOR-marking is not attested, a POSSESSOR-POSSESSUM juxtaposition strategy, in that order, is described. This is the pattern found in Ecuadorian Siona, shown in (62), and also shown for Bora [*boa*] in (63) and Murui [*huu*] in (64):

- (62) Ecuadorian Siona[◆] (*e-snn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)
yě’ě gaje-i *yo-huě*
 1SG friend-CL:M canoe-CL:CONT
 ‘My friend’s canoe.’
- (63) Bora (*boa* — BORAN) [Thiesen and Weber 2012, 253-254, exx. (58b)-(58c)]
- | |
|--|
| a. <i>kpà’áró</i> <i>mɛ:ní-mù</i> |
| mother pig-PL.ANIM |
| ‘(<u>my</u>) <u>mother’s</u> pigs.’ |
| b. <i>kpà’áró-múts^hí</i> <i>mɛ:ní-mù</i> <i>hà</i> |
| mother-DUAL.KIN pig-PL.ANIM house |
| ‘(<u>my</u>) <u>parent’s</u> <u>pigs</u> ’ house.’ |
- (64) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN) [Stenzel 2013b, 8, ex. (1.7)]
- Lusio*** *yoe-fai*
 L metal-CL:SHORT.THICK
 ‘Lucio’s machete.’

Table A.18 categorizes languages on the basis of whether or not case-marking is recruited to encode the TIME function (Q2.7). As described in Chapter 3, and confirmed in the corpus-based investigation in Chapter 5, Ecuadorian Siona does not employ case-markers to encode temporal nouns. Where such case-markers are attested, they are explicitly identified in the table:

ATTESTED (12)	NOT ATTESTED (9)
<i>cub</i> [◇] (-i, -rã, -re)	* <i>e-snn</i> [◇]
<i>tuc</i> [◇] (-pi, -re)	<i>c-snn</i> [◇]
<i>des</i> [◇] (-ge, -re)	<i>coe</i> [◇]
<i>bsn</i> [◇] (-hũ, -re)	<i>ore</i> [◇]
<i>gvc</i> [◇] (-pu, -re)	<i>tnC</i> [◇]
<i>huu</i> (-na)	<i>con</i>
<i>quw</i> (-pi)	<i>boa</i>
<i>qvi</i> (-ta, -pi)	^v <i>cbv</i>
<i>acu</i> (=tin)	^v <i>yab</i>
<i>kwi</i> (=ta, =pa, =mal, =ma)	
<i>tae</i> ^v (-se)	
<i>jup</i> ^v (-ŵt, -cô)	

Table A.18: Attestation of overt TIME-marking (Q2.7)

Per Table A.18, most Eastern Tukanoan languages recruit spatial case-markers, including *-re*, to encode TIME nominals. This is demonstrated for Tukano [*tuc*] in (65) and for Kubeo [*cub*] in (66):

- (65) Tukano[◇] (*tuc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [R97:237, ex. (580)]
dĩ'ká-de bu'ê-dã
 today-N.SBJ study-IMPER
 'Let's study TODAY!'
- (66) Kubeo[◇] (*cub* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [MM99:114,118; exx. (361b),(378)]
 a. *xãrãwi-RE*
 day-N.SBJ
 'by day, in the daytime, during the day...'
 b. *oko-Rãbĩ-A-RE*
 water-CL:TEMP-PL.INAN-N.SBJ
 'in the rainy season...'
 c. *ke te-Rĩ ape-xãrãwi-I dĩ-karã ...*
 like.that do-GER other-CL:DAY-LOC go-1PL.EXCL
 'So we went another day...'

Overt TIME-marking is also exemplified for Murui [*huu*] in (67), for Awa Pit [*kwi*] in (68), and for Shiwiar [*acu*] in (69):

- (67) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN) [W21:259, ex. (8.57)]
ua jari-re-na kasi naio-na mei kai zai-ta-d-e
 really quick-ATT-N.S/A.TOP almost night-N.S/A.TOP so 1PL step-CAUS-LK-3
 'It was very quick, (they) almost stepped on us at night.'
- (68) Awa Pit (*kwi* — BARBACOAN) [C97:139, ex. (234)]
verano=wa=na ii ki-mtu-s
 summer=in(approx)=TOP be.hot be.hot-IMP.F.LOCUT
 'In summer it is hot (to us).'

- (69) Shiwiar (*acu* — CHICHAM) [K20:265, ex. (7.225)]
*uwih ik-^N-tai kin^ta=**tin***
 hand sit-NS.NMLZ day=TEMP
 ‘in five days...’

Other languages in the sample display zero-marked TIME nominals, like Ecuadorian Siona, as demonstrated for Yuhup [*yab*] in (70), and for A’ingae [*con*] in (71):

- (70) Yuhup^V (*yab* — NADAHUPAN) [O02:159, ex. (31a)]
jíhtóh ã kéjép tí
 nowadays 1PL watch *yuruparí*
 ‘Nowadays we are watching *yuruparí*.’
- (71) A’ingae (*con* — *Isolate*) [FH23:96, ex. (103)]
túⁱ t^hú~t^hú-’ngi-ye
 tomorrow fell~ITER-AM:GO&DO-INF
 ‘Tomorrow we’ll come to fell (it).’

A.2.3 The dataset: The DCM domain

Table A.19 identifies the DCM patterns on the SUBJECT (S) attested in the NWA sample (*Q3.1*). The bulk of languages do not display these patterns (i.e., $N=15$), since they simply do not encode the s-argument via a case-marking strategy. For those languages which do display s-oriented DCM, all available case-marking alternatives, including zero-marking, are identified so that the formal DCM-type may be discerned. The described active MACRO-TRIGGERS are also identified in the table:

LANGUAGE	FORMS	MACRO-TRIGGERS			
		ANIM	REF	DISC	OTHER
*Ecuadorian Siona [♦] [^E <i>snn</i>]	∅✓ ^[d]				✓ _{FOC}
Colombian Siona [♦] [^C <i>snn</i>]	+∅✓ ^[d]				✓ _{FOC}
Koreguaje [♦] [<i>coe</i>]	∅✓ ^[d]				✓ _{CONTR}
Tanimuka [◊] [<i>tnc</i>]	∅✓ ^[a]				
Witotoan [<i>huu</i>]	∅✓ ^[d]	✓ _{HUM}			✓ _{TOP}
Tariana ^V [<i>tae</i>]	∅✓ ^[d]				✓ _{TOP}
NO DCM ON S (−∅): Máfhiki [♦] [<i>ore</i>]; Kubeo [◊] [<i>cub</i>]; Tukano [◊] [<i>tuc</i>]; Desano [◊] [<i>des</i>]; Barasano [◊] [<i>bsn</i>]; Wanano [◊] [<i>gvc</i>]; A’ingae [<i>con</i>]; Bora [<i>boa</i>]; Tena Kichwa [<i>quw</i>]; Imbabura Kichwa [<i>qvi</i>]; Shiwiar [<i>acu</i>]; Awa Pit [<i>kwi</i>]; Kakua ^V [<i>cbv</i>]; Hup ^V [<i>jup</i>]; Yuhup ^V [<i>yab</i>]					

Table A.19: s-oriented DCM patterns (*Q3.1*)

Focusing firstly on the formal typology of the six attested s-oriented DCM patterns, no ALTERNATING-type is attested. The dominant pattern is the OPTIONAL-type (∅), described for Ecuadorian Siona in Chapter 3, as illustrated for Murui [*huu*] in (72):

- (72) Murui (
- huu*
- WITOTOAN) [W21:249 (§8.1.1.2)]

- a. ***Kata=di bi-ya***
 K=SBJ.TOP come-E.NMLZ
 ‘Kata (not anybody else) came back.’
- b. ***Kata jaai-ya***
 K go-E.NMLZ
 ‘Kata went away.’

The only HYBRID-type (+ $\emptyset$) attested in the sample concerns Colombian Siona [^c*snn*], as demonstrated in the sentences in (73). This language permits zero-marking, in alternation with two overt case-markers, *-bi* and *-ga* (Wheeler 1970, 173-176; 1987, 131):

- (73) Colombian Siona
- [♦]
- (
- snn*
- WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [W70:47]

- a. ***yi'i-ga saí-yi***
 1SG-SBJ.EMPH go-N3S.PRS.ASS
 ‘And I, I am going.’
- b. ***ča'kádi-wa'-na-bi bá-gi-na gahe-ni***
 fire.ant-ANIM-PL-SBJ PRO.HUM-CL:M-GOAL go_down-SS
si'á-wi
 attach-N3S.PST.ASS
 ‘The fire ants came down to him and latched on.’
- c. ***'okó ka'ní-hi***
 rain gather-3S.M.PRS.ASS
 ‘The rain is gathering.’

Turning now to the set of attested MACRO-TRIGGERS, per Table A.19, all languages, except for Tanimuka [*tnc*], display discourse-triggered DCM patterns. These patterns are illustrated for Koreguaje [*coe*] in (74) and for Tariana [*tae*] in (75):

- (74) Koreguaje
- [♦]
- (
- coe*
- WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [CC93:47]

- ǰǰ'i-pi ǰo'o-ra***
 1SG-SBJ do-DES.SG
 ‘I (M) (i.e., not anyone else) will do (it).’ [*Yo (en contraste con otros) lo haré*]

- (75) Tariana (
- tae*
- ARAWAKAN) [A03:141, ex. (7.4)]

- [The s-argument is contrasted with another referent in this narrative episode.]
kiya-ku hiniri di-wha-ka di-ka di-niwa
 strong-PERS ukuki_fruit 3S.N.FUT-fall-SUB 3S.N.FUT-see 3S.N.FUT-collect
di-wake-ta di-yá-nhi-pidana diha
 3S.N.FUT-join+CAUS1-CAUS2 3S.N.FUT-stay-ANT-RMT.PST.REP ART
nawiki-ne
 man-SBJ.FOC
 ‘The man saw that the ukukí fruit was falling down a lot (and) he was collecting (them) (while the evil spirit was trying to steal the fruit).’

The Tanimuka [*tnc*] pattern demonstrated in (76) is exceptional, since it is the only animacy-triggered S-oriented DCM pattern in the sample. Here the human S-argument in (76a) is obligatorily marked with *-re*, whereas other S-arguments are zero-marked across-the-board, e.g., the animal S-argument in (76b):

- (76) Tanimuka[◇] (*tnc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [E15:230,233; exx. (176b),(183a)]
- a. *φo'i~baha-ré jaí-á ~háa-re'ka*
 people-N.SBJ jaguar-N kill-PST.RMT
 'The people killed a jaguar.'
- b. *jaí-à kára-ká ~háá-ko'ó*
 jaguar-N chicken-N kill-PST.REC
 'The jaguar killed the chicken.'

Table A.20 details the P-oriented DCM patterns in the NWA sample. Every sampled language specimen exhibits such a pattern, except for Imbabura Kichwa [*qvi*]. Many of the attested patterns implicate multi-dimensional DCM. All formal types and semantic TRIGGERS are encountered at least once in the dataset:

LANGUAGE	FORMS		TRIGGERS			
			ANIM	REF	DISC	OTHER
*Ecuadorian Siona $\diamond^{\text{E}} [snn]$	$+\emptyset \checkmark [a, r, d]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re, -ni\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, (SPEC)	$\checkmark$ FOC, (TOP)	$\checkmark$ COORD
Colombian Siona $\diamond^{\text{C}} [snn]$	$+\emptyset \checkmark [a, r, d]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re, -ni\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, (SPEC)	$\checkmark$ FOC, (TOP)	
Koreguaje $\diamond [coe]$	$+\emptyset \checkmark [a, r, d]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re, -ni\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, (SPEC)	$\checkmark$ FOC, (TOP)	
Máthiki $\diamond [ore]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [a, r]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ (SPEC)		
Kubeo $\diamond [cub]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r, d(a, o)]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, (REF)	$\checkmark$ (TOP)	$\checkmark$ COORD
Tanimuka $\diamond [tnc]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [a(d)]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re\}$	$\checkmark$ (HUM)		$\checkmark$ (CONTR)	
Tukano $\diamond [tuc]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r(a)]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, DEF		
Desano $\diamond [des]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r, d]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, SPEC		
Barasano $\diamond [bsn]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r, d]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, DEF		
Wanano $\diamond [gnc]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r, o]$	$\{-\emptyset, -re\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, REF		$\checkmark$ POSITION
A'ingae $[con]$	$+\checkmark [o]$	$\{=ma, =ve \sim =me\}$				$\checkmark$ REALIS
Murui $[huu]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r, d]$	$\{-\emptyset, -na\}$		$\checkmark$ (SPEC)	$\checkmark$ TOP	$\checkmark$ POSITION
Bora $[boa]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [a(o)]$	$\{-\emptyset, -ke\}$	$\checkmark$ (ANIM)			$\checkmark$ TLD
Tena Kichwa $[quw]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [o]$	$\{-\emptyset, -ta\}$				$\checkmark$ GLOB
Shiwar $[acu]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r]$	$\{-\emptyset, -n^y a\}$		$\checkmark$ (REF)		
Awa Pit $[kwi]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [a, r]$	$\{-\emptyset, =ta\}$	$\checkmark$ (HUM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, (REF)		
Kakua ^v $[cbv]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [a, r]$	$\{-\emptyset, =dih\}$	$\checkmark$ (HUM)	$\checkmark$ (DEF)	$\checkmark$ (DISC)	
Tariana ^v $[tae]$	$+\emptyset \checkmark [r, d]$	$\{-\emptyset, -na, -nuku\}$		$\checkmark$ PRO	$\checkmark$ TOP	
Hup ^v $[jup]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [a, r]$	$\{-\emptyset, -an\}$	$\checkmark$ (HUM)	$\checkmark$ PRO, (REF)		$\checkmark$ PL
Yuhup ^v $[yab]$	$\emptyset \checkmark [r(a)]$	$\{-\emptyset, -dih\}$	$\checkmark$ (HUM)	$\checkmark$ (DEF)		$\checkmark$ GLOB

No DCM ON P: IMBABURA KICHWA $[qvi]$ $(-ta)$ Table A.20: p-oriented DCM patterns (*Q3.2*)

Beginning with the distribution of formal types, the dominant P-oriented DCM type in the sample is the OPTIONAL-type ($\emptyset$). This pattern is demonstrated in the pair of Máfhĩkì [ore] sentences presented in (77), reflecting the zero-marking vs. *re*-marking pattern also described for all Eastern Tukanoan languages:

(77) Máfhĩkì (ore — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [F15:30,198; ex. (13a), (225)]

- a. *ñiò-re* *hásó-bi*
 3PRO.F-N.SBJ shoot-1PL.PST.DECL
 ‘(We) shot her (the tapir).’
- b. *hòyà* *báá-má-yi*
 domestic_animals have-NEG-1SG.PRS.DECL
 ‘(I) don’t have domestic animals.’

One tested language displays the ALTERNATING-type (+), i.e., A’ingae [con]. One of two overt P-markers is selected as based upon the reality status of the clause (Fischer and Hengeveld 2023) — i.e., the irrealis accusative marker =*ve* (with predictable allomorph =*me*), shown in (78a), alternates with the realis marker =*ma* in (78b):

(78) A’ingae (con — Isolate) [FH23:93, exx. (95),(97)]

- a. *matichi=ve=ta=ti=ki* *in’jan=’fa*
 machete=ACC.IRR=NEW.TOP=INT=2 want=SBJ.PL
 ‘Do you want machetes?’
- b. *sumbu-en=jan* *ain-fa=’u=ma*
 emerge-CAUS-IMP dog-CL:LAT=AUG=ACC.REAL
 ‘Get the dog out.’

The HYBRID-type (+ $\emptyset$), described for Ecuadorian Siona in Chapter 3, is formally identical to those described for other Siona+ languages. The corresponding Colombian Siona pattern is illustrated in (79). The Siona+ case-marker *-ni* is strictly available to animate P-arguments — e.g., (79c). A similar pattern is described for Tariana [tae], shown in (80), where the marker *-na* is strictly available to pronominal P-arguments, and a zero-marking vs. *-nuku* marking alternation characterizes the pattern for full nouns:

(79) Colombian Siona (snn — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [W70:43-44]

- a. *jó’ó* *yo’ó-wi*
 work do_work-N3S.PST.ASS
 ‘(I) did the work.’
- b. *’ãõ-de* *k^wa’kú-yi*
 food-N.SBJ cook.TRS-N3S.PRS.ASS
 ‘(I) am cooking food.’
- c. *ya’ó-ni* *hu-í’i* *’áidu-na*
 peccary-N.SBJ2 kill-N3S.PST.ASS forest-GOAL
 ‘(I) shot a peccary in the woods.’

- (80) Tariana^v (*tae* — ARAWAKAN) [A03:143-146 ex. (7.9), (7.19), (7.23)]
- a. *a:si na: na-ñha du-na*
 pepper 3PL+give 3PL-eat 3S.F-N.SBJ
 ‘They giver her pepper to eat.’
- b. *di-hẽ-ta-pidana diha pa:ku-nuku*
 3S.N.FUT-see+CAUS1-CAUS2-RMT.PST.REP ART gold-N.SBJ.TOP
 ‘He (the Makú gold miner) showed the gold (to the master about to kill him).’
- c. *nhuaniri nu-na di:ta di-eme-ta*
 1SG+father 1SG-N.SBJ 3S.N.FUT+lock 3SG.N.FUT-stay+CAU1-CAUS2
hiperi-ne
 parí-INST
 ‘My father locked me with parí (a type of wood).’

Turning to the active MICRO-TRIGGERS shown in Table A.20, there is a considerable amount of variation within the sample. Most languages display multi-dimensionality to a certain extent. Firstly, considering animacy-related TRIGGERS, several languages are described as having obligatory-marking on human-denoting p-arguments, e.g., Kakua [*cbv*] (Bolaños 2016, 193-196), as shown in (81). Similar patterns are shown for Máfhiki [*ore*], except where humans and high animals require *re*-marking, but low animals and inanimates do not (Farmer 2015, 97) illustrated in (82). These are still animacy-driven DCM patterns, although with different ‘cut-off points’ in the sense of Bossong (1985), Aissen (1999, 2003), and others:

- (81) Kaku^v (cbv — KAKUA-NUKAK)
[B16:195-196,200-202; exx. (33),(38),(49),(57),(60)]
- a. *kāk-wā=di'* 'ĩ=t-maw-hēm'-ep=wit=hĩ
person-PL=N.SBJ 3PL=EVID-kill-eat-PST=REP.EVID=RMT.PST
'(They) killed and ate people (it is said).'
- b. *'ĩ=nim=di'* w~ēj kēt beh-w~ēj
3PL=daughter=N.SBJ coddle 3PRO.PL go-coddle
'They coddle their daughter.'
- c. i. *webit mīhiw=di'* 'ā=māw=na=ka
child dog=N.SBJ 3S.M=kill-DECL=ASS
'The child hits the dog.'
- ii. *webit mīhiw* 'ā=māw=na=ka
child dog 3S.M=kill-DECL=ASS
'The child hits the dog.'
- d. i. *tī=di'* māw-a=ka
firewood=n.sbj hit-IMPER=ASS
'Pick up the firewood.'
- ii. *kān' tī* būd=na=ka mi=tjāhap
3PRO.F firewood cut=DECL=ASS 3S.F=PROG
'She is cutting firewood.'

- (82) Máhĩki[♦] (*ore* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)¹³
 [F15:94-95; exx. (105b),(103a-b),(106b),(109)]
- a. *násó-rè* *áí-yí* *násó-rè*
 wolly_monkey-N.SBJ eat-1PL.PRS.DECL wolly_monkey-N.SBJ
 ‘(We (EXCL)) would eat wolly monkey.’
- b. i. *gĩi-re* *húá-má-yí*
 louse-N.SBJ locate-1SG.PST.DECL
 ‘I found a louse.’
- ii. *gĩi* *báá-mà-kò* *hátò ?*
 louse have-NEG-3S.F.PRS.INTERR niece
 ‘Don’t you have lice, niece?’
- c. i. *ĩi* *wèè-rè* *gósá-rè* *sá-kì*
 3SG.M.PRO house-N.SBJ think-SS.SEQ go.PST.NI-3SG.M.PST.DECL
 ‘He thought of his house and went (there).’
- ii. *yóù* *íí-bí*
 canoe borrow-1PL.PST.DECL
 ‘We borrowed a canoe.’

A similar pattern is described for Hup [*jup*], which requires case-marking on human-denoting P-arguments. This language also displays the typologically rare STRONG TRIGGER of plurality (Epps 2008, 177-178) — i.e., classified as an OTHER type TRIGGER, where *all* plurals require overt case-marking via the overt form, =*n’ǎn*, shown in (83d):

- (83) Hup^v (*jup* — NADAHUPAN) [E08:174-178, exx. (36), (41), (43), (47), (51)]
- a. *’ayũp=’ĩh-ǎn* *’ǎh kény-éy* *j’ũg-ǎn*
 one=CL:M-N.SBJ 1SG see-DYNM forest-N.SBJ
 ‘I saw a man in the forest.’
- b. i. *hohóh=mah tih* *’ey-yohóy-óh*
 frog=REP 3PRO call-search-DECL
 ‘He was calling and searching for the frog.’
- ii. *tinĩh* *cápu-ǎn=yí’* *tih* *’éy-cud’ũhníy*
 3.SG.POSS frog(Pt)-N.SBJ=TEL 3PRO call-INFR.2.maybe
 ‘He’s apparently calling for his frog.’
- c. *yikán* *mǒy hid* *bi’-píd-ĩh* *póg*
 over_there house 3PRO.PL make-DIST-DECL big
 ‘There they built a house, (it was) big!’
- d. *’ǎh cug’ǎt=n’ǎn* *pũhũt-d’ǎh-hi-yí’-íy*
 1SG leaf=N.SBJ.PL blow-send-descend-TEL-DYNM
 ‘I blew the papers down.’

Other languages display a WEAK ANIMACY TRIGGER for P-oriented DCM, as is shown for Kubeo [*cut*] in (84) — “animate nouns are more often marked by *-re* than inanimate ones” (Chacon and Genetti 2019, 412; cf. Morse and Maxwell 1999, 111):

¹³Note that Farmer (2015, 95) uses the scientific, Latinate name for the wolly monkey in (82a), *Lagothrix lagothricha*.

- (84) Kubeo (*cub* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [MM99:111-113, exx. (350), (351)]
- a. *'xã-bi tibi-re*
see-M.SG otter-OBJ
'(He) recently saw an otter.'
- b. *dõ-I ea-karã kũĩ'dã-kĩ ãjã ...*
DEM.MED-LOC find-1PL.EXCL one-M.SG snake
'There we found a snake...'
- c. *'ke-Rõ-RA 'kari bue-I-jãbĩ-A*
like.that-NMLZ.INAN.SG-EXCL IN teach-I-CL:BUILD-PL.INAN
ja-RExa-Ibã
make-RMT.PST-3PL
'(They) built schools a long time ago now.'

Turning to the referentiality MACRO-TRIGGER, note that a similar claim is made for Kubeo [*cub*], as suggested regarding the animacy TRIGGER — i.e., “[d]efinite and referential P [...] are marked by *-re* more often than those that are indefinite, generic, or non-referential” (Chacon and Genetti 2019, 412), as exemplified by the following near-minimal pair:

- (85) Kubeo[◇] (*cub* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [CG19: 412, ex. (18)]
- a. *oko ãkũ-rĩ biaha-yĩ*
water drink-CVB finish-NMLZ.MSC
'After you are done drinking some (unspecified amount of) water.'
- b. *oko-re ãkũ-rĩ hebe-kobe*
water-NNOM drink-CVB finish-INFRR.3FEM
'She drank all the water (i.e., a specified amount of water).'

In other Eastern Tukanoan languages, referentiality-related STRONG TRIGGERS are described. For instance, the Barasano [*gvc*] pattern displayed in (86) demonstrates how the use of *-re* is unavailable on generic P-arguments. Similar rigid marking patterns are shown for Tukano [*tuc*] in (87):

- (86) Barasano (*bsn* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [JJ91:65-66, exx. (175)-(176)]
- a. *bũ-re sĩa-gũ-bĩ yai* b. *rãse-a sĩa-to bãdi*
2SG-N.SBJ kill-CL:M-3S.M wildcat toucan-PL.AN kill-HORT 1PL.INCL
'The wildcat will probably kill 'Let's kill toucans!
you.'

- (87) Tukano[◇] (*tuc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [DL20:30-31, exx. (33)-(34),(38)-(40)]
- a. i. *ni'ká wi'i da'rê-gi' wee-mí*
one house make-SS.M.SG do-PRS.VIS.3S.M
'(He) is making a house.'
- ii. **ni'ká wi'i-re da'rê-gi' wee-mí*
one house-N.SBJ make-SS.M.SG do-PRS.VIS.3S.M
Intended: '(He) is making a house.'

- b. i. *ohô* *ba'â-ya*
 banana eat-IMPER
 'Eat (some) banana!'
- ii. *ohô-poro-re* *ba'â-ya*
 banana-CL:OBLS-N.SBJ eat-IMPER
 'Eat the banana!'
- iii. **ohô-re* *tiá-yi*
 banana-N.SBJ eat-IMPER
 Intended: 'Eat some/the banana!'

Besides the Eastern Tukanoan languages, referentiality-triggered P-oriented DCM is relatively rare in the sample. One such pattern is described for Kakua [*cbv*], where definiteness is described as a secondary factor — i.e., a WEAK TRIGGER, exemplified in (88):

- (88) Kakua^v (*cbv* — KAKUA-NUKAK) [B16:202, exx. (60), (57)]
- a. *kân' tš* *bûd=na=ka* *mi=tjāhap*
 3SG.F firewood cut=DECL=ASS 3SG.F=PROG
 'She is cutting firewood.'
- b. *tš-di'* *mâw-a=ka*
 firewood=OBJ hit-IMP=ASS
 'Pick up the firewood!'

Another relevant referentiality-related TRIGGER concerns pronominality. All Tukanoan languages require case-marking, typically *-re*, on pronominal P-arguments (Barnes 1999, 2006; Zúñiga 2007; Stenzel 2008, 2013d). This is demonstrated with personal pronouns in Barasano [*bsn*] in (89) and in Kotiria, a variety which is highly related to Wanano [*gvc*], in (90):

- (89) Barasano[◇] (*bsn* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [JJ91:65, ex. (175)]
- bš-re* *sîa-gu-bî* *yai*
 2SG-N.SBJ kill-CL:M-3S.M wildcat
 'The wildcat will probably kill you.'
- (90) Kotiria[◇] (*gvc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [S08:156, ex. (4)]
- ~bŋ'ŋ ~sa-re* *~ba'yo-re*
 2SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ lie-VIS.PERF.2/3
 'You (SG) lied to us (EXCL).'

A similar pattern is described for certain Vaupés languages, e.g., Hup [*jup*], Epps (2008, 170), shown in (91), and Yuhup [*yab*], as shown in (92):

- (91) Hup^v (*jup* — NADAHUPAN) [E08: 167, ex. (6)]
- híd-ăn* *g'əç-tuk-yó'=mah*
 3PL-OBJ bite-want-SEQ=REP
 'Having tried to bite them, it's said....'

- (92) Yuhup^v (*yab* — NADAHUPAN) [O02: 143-144, ex. (12c), (10c)]
 a. *ǰǰdǰh-~dih tǰh* *ihkéjǰ*
 3PL-OBJ 3SG greet
 ‘He greets them.’
 b. *tǰǰǰ’ ~úb^mǰ ~ǰab^mbǰh*
 man hit dog
 ‘The man hits the dog.’

Turning now to the discourse MACRO-TRIGGER, these TRIGGERS are commonly attested for P-oriented patterns in the NWA sample. Compatible patterns with discourse-related STRONG TRIGGERS are described for all Siona+ languages, for Murui [*huu*] (Wojtylak 2021, 245-258), and for Tariana [*tae*] (Aikhenvald 2003, 145).¹⁴ The Kakua [*cbv*] pattern is described such that discourse-related properties have a secondary status (Bolaños 2016, 203-205) — i.e., coded. as a WEAK TRIGGER for the present purposes.

The Murui [*huu*] instance presented in (93) aligns neatly with contrastive DCM in Koreguaje [*coe*], shown in (94), and in Siona, as shown in (95), lifted from Chapter 6 in this dissertation:

- (93) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN) [W21:256,267 (§8.1.1.3)]
aros atǰ-ñe-ǰǰ-ǰ *asukar-na atǰ-ǰǰ-ǰ*
 rice bring-NEG-FUT.LK-2SG sugar-N.SBJ.TOP bring-FUT.LK-2SG
 ‘(You) won’t bring rice. (You) will bring the SUGAR.’
- (94) Koreguaje[♦] (*coe* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [CC93:49, ex. (201)]
k^hura-wa’-ǰ-ǰ *k^hu’e-mo ǰǰǰ*
 chickens-creature-M.SG-N.SBJ2 look.for-F.SG 1SG
 ‘I (F) am looking for a chicken (a particular one, not just any).’
- (95) Ecuadorian Siona[♦] (*°snn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)
bǰhuē yohuē hueroye te’e guēnarore huerohuē
bǰǰ-wǰ jo-wǰ wero-ǰe te’e
 NEG.AUX-N3S.PST.ASS canoe-CL:CONT buy-CL:GEN one-CL:GEN
ǰǰna-ro-re wero-wǰ
 metal-CL:RECIP-N.SBJ buy-N3S.PST.ASS
 ‘I didn’t buy a BOAT, (I) bought a COOKing pot.’
 [VOL: 20230623ejepa001.013]

Besides the MACRO-TRIGGERS outlined above, certain OTHER-type TRIGGERS are noted.¹⁵ In addition to plurality-driven DCM in Hup [*ǰup*], shown in (83), two OTHER

¹⁴Following Aikhenvald (2003), Wojtylak (2021) utilizes the term *topical* to refer to a range of discourse-related notions: “The term *topical* refers to [s] and [p] arguments that are topical in discourse; to be marked with a topical marker, the constituent has to: (i) be the topic of the narrative; (ii) be referential (that is, treated as existing within the universe of discourse); and (iii) be important (but not necessarily contrastive)”.

¹⁵I set aside Tena Kichwa [*quw*], given that the active TRIGGERS remain an open question at this time. As Grzech (2016, 61) puts it: “In elicitation context and in careful speech, [P is] always marked with the *accusative* suffix [-*ta*]. However, in more spontaneous speech the marker is often omitted. Preliminary observation suggests that these omissions are not associated with a given semantic type of verb, or properties of direct objects, including number, animacy, or semantic role in a given clause.”

TRIGGERS are described in the relevant sources: namely positional effects and coordination effects.

Turning firstly to positional effects, Stenzel (2008) demonstrates in (96) that DCM is restricted to P-arguments arising in their canonical, immediately pre-verbal position in Wanano [gvc]. She goes on to claim that similar restrictions are found in Tukano [tuc], Barasano [bsn] and Kubeo [cub] (Stenzel 2013c, §10.3). Other observations regarding positional constraints are made in passing regarding Murui [huu] (Wojtylak, 2021, 258):

- (96) Wanano[◇] (gvc — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [S08:8-9, exx. (23a)-(23b)]
- a. *hi-piti-ro chña ~da-ta-ra*
COP-COL-SG food get-come-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
'Everyone brings food.'
- b. *ti~da ~da~sa'a chña-re chñ yoa-ra*
ANA-PL get-MOV.inside food-OBJ eat make-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
'They take the food inside and eat (it).'

Another pattern is described for Kubeo [cub], such that *-re* may (optionally) arise on the first internal constituent in a coordinated P (Morse and Maxwell 1999, 111-113). This pattern is shown in (97). A similar restriction is noted for Ecuadorian Siona, as demonstrated in (98), lifted from the discussion in Chapter 5, where the regular requirement for animate P to be case-marked is suspended under coordination:

- (97) Kubeo[◇] (cub — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [MM99:112-113, ex. (353)]
- boa-'bI jupari-Ri-re ape-ko dēĩdoki-ko warĩ-ko*
kill-3S.M rabo_colorado-CL:3D-OBJ other-CL:F ñacundá-CL:F jacha-CL:F
pidubã-ko boa-'bI ã biki-ki
tucunaré-CL:F kill-3S.M 3PRO.S.M old-CL:M
'The elderly man recently caught a rabo colorado, (and also) a ñacundá,
a jacha, and a tucunaré (guan).'
- (98) Ecuadorian Siona[◆] (snn — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)
- ...yo'oque sai uye naso huasaiya baquẽ ...*
jo'o-ki sai-i uje nahso wa + sai-a
do-S.M.PRS.DEF go-S.M.PRS.DEF turkey woolly_monkey kill + go-NEG
bah-ki
be-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS
'...doing (this), (he) went out to hunt turkey, monkey(, etc.).'
[NAT*: 20151023orocr001.324]

Table A.21 outlines the DCM patterns for the INDIRECT OBJECT (R) in the NWA sample (Q3.3). A small subset of languages display these patterns ($N=6$), whereas the majority of the sample displays obligatory R-marking. The corresponding case-markers are identified in the table accordingly:

LANGUAGE	FORMS	MACRO-TRIGGERS			
		ANIM	REF	DISC	OTHER
*Ecuadorian Siona $\blacklozenge^{\text{E}} [snn]$	$+\checkmark^{[a,d]}$	$\checkmark^{\text{ANIM}}$		$\checkmark^{\text{FOG}}$	
Colombian Siona $\blacklozenge^{\text{C}} [snn]$	$+\checkmark^{[d(a)]}$	$\checkmark^{(\text{ANIM})}$		$\checkmark^{\text{FOG}}$	
Koreguaje $\blacklozenge [coe]$	$+\checkmark^{[d(a)]}$	$\checkmark^{(\text{ANIM})}$		$\checkmark^{\text{CONTR}}$	
Murui $[huu]$	$\emptyset \checkmark^{[d]}$		$\checkmark^{\text{PRO}}$	$\checkmark^{\text{CONTR}}$	
Tena Kichwa $[quw]$	$+\checkmark^{[o]}$				$\checkmark^{\text{TBD}}$
Tariana ^v $[tae]$	$+\checkmark^{[r]}$		$\checkmark^{\text{PRO}}$		
OBLIGATORY MARKING ON R:					
Máíhĩkĩ $\blacklozenge [ore]$	$(-re)$	Kubeo $\diamond [cub]$	$(-re)$	Tanimuka $\diamond [tnc]$	$(-re)$
Tukano $\diamond [tuc]$	$(-re)$	Desano $\diamond [des]$	$(-re)$	Barasano $\diamond [bsn]$	$(-re)$
Wanano $\diamond [gvc]$	$(-re)$	A'ingae $[con]$	$(=nga)$	Imbabura Kichwa $[qwi]$	
$(-man)$	Bora $[boa]$	$(-vu)$	Shiwiar $[acu]$	$(=n^y a)$	Awa Pit $[kwi]$
Kakua ^v $[cbv]$	$(=di')$	Hup ^v $[jup]$	$(=ān)$	Yuhup ^v $[yab]$	$(-dih)$

Table A.21: R-oriented DCM patterns (Q3.3)

Most languages in the sample display obligatory case-marking on the R-argument, including all Eastern Tukanoan languages, and Máfhikì (Barnes 1999, 2006; Stenzel 2013d). Among those languages which do exhibit R-oriented DCM, the dominant pattern is the ALTERNATING-type (+), where various overt case-markers are accepted. This is demonstrated for the included Quechuan languages, where Cole (1982, 104–105) claims that “[t]he use of dative [-*man*] for [R] is obligatory in [Imbabura Kichwa *[qvi]*, unlike other Quechuan languages]”, as shown in (99). In contrast, (100) displays the dominant Quechuan pattern from Tena Kichwa [*quw*] where both -*ta* (glossed ACC) and -*ma* (glossed ALL) are acceptable on the R-argument (Grzech, 2016, 103–104):

- (99) Imbabura Kichwa (*qvi* — QUECHUAN) [C82:104, ex. (418b),(419)]
*mama-ka Juzi-man/*Juzi-ta^(R) muti-ta^(P) kara-rka*
 mother-TOP J-DAT/ACC boiled.corn-ACC give-3.PST
 ‘Mother served boiled corn^(P) to José^(R).’
- (100) Tena Kichwa (*quw* — QUECHUAN) [G16:103, ex. (2.107)]
Pablo sisa-guna-ta^(P) kuya-n Maria-ma/Maria-ta^(R)
 P flower-PL-ACC give-3 M-DAT/ACC
 ‘Pedro gave flowers^(P) to Maria^(R).’

Similar ALTERNATING formal type is also attested across the Siona+ continuum — R-oriented DCM is described in detail in Section 3.2.3 in the *preliminary description* (Chapter 3). Although -*na* is strictly available on inanimate R in Ecuadorian Siona; this marker is available to encode all types of R-arguments in Colombian Siona [^c*snn*], as in (101):

- (101) Colombian Siona[♦] (*c-snn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [W87:127–128]
- a. *ja’yě-na do’rohuě-re insi-jě’ěn*
 older_brother-GOAL basket-OBJ give-IMPER
 ‘Give (your) older brother the basket!’
- b. *yě’ě ma’yě-re coca quěa-huě*
 1SG older_brother-OBJ word tell-1SG.PST
 ‘I gave the information to my older brother.’

The only language displaying the OPTIONAL-type (+) for R-oriented DCM is Murui [*huu*], as shown in (102). In this language, personal names and pronouns permit zero-marking, in alternation with the *locative*-marker, -*mo*, which is otherwise obligatory on the R-argument:

- (102) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN) [W21:269, exx. (8.95),(8.96)]
- a. *dio-kai kue ine*
 tobacco-CL:STEM 1SG give.IMPER
 ‘Give me a cigarette! (normal reading)’
- b. *dio-kai kue-mo ine*
 tobacco-CL:STEM 1SG-LOC give.IMPER
 ‘Give ME a cigarette! (abrupt reading, brusque)’

As concerns the attested MACRO-TRIGGERS for R-oriented DCM in the NWA, these fall into two categories. On the one hand, there are those TRIGGERS, which restrict the distribution of particular alternatives: e.g., *-na* is restricted to inanimate R in Ecuadorian Siona, whereas only animates can be marked with *-ni* in all Siona+ languages. A similar pattern is noted in Tariana [*tae*], where *-na* is restricted to pronouns, and in Murui [*huu*] where *-mo* is only optional on personal names and pronouns. Setting aside these class-based restrictions, the dominant pattern is discourse-triggered, mirroring the facts presented for S-oriented DCM addressed in *Q3.1*.

Table A.22 collapses the presentation of L- and G-oriented DCM patterns in the NWA sample (*Q3.4* and *Q3.5*). Where languages display independent DCM patterns for each spatial function, separate rows are provided in the table, otherwise these are presented as a single row:¹⁶

¹⁶Note that the animacy-related MACRO-TRIGGER is eliminated from this discussion given that this dimension is generally semantically incompatible with spatial functions. Some authors do describe such fringe spatial arguments — i.e., see Stolz et al. 2014 and Haspelmath 2019 in particular. However, no comparable generalizations can be gleaned from the NWA sources at this time.

	FORM(S)	MACRO-TRIGGERS		
		REF	DISC	OTHER
*Ecuadorian Siona [♦] [E <i>smn</i>]	L + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[d(r,o)] G $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[d(r)]	✓ (PRO, SPEC) ✓ (PRO, SPEC)	✓ FOC ✓ FOC	✓ (PRED) ✓ (PRED)
Colombian Siona [♦] [C <i>smn</i>]	L + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[d(r,o)] G $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[r]	✓ (PRO, (SPEC)) ✓ (PRO, (SPEC))	✓ TOP ✓ TOP	✓ (PRED) ✓ (PRED)
Koreguaje [♦] [coe]	L + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[d,r(o)] G $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[r,d]	✓ SPEC ✓ SPEC	✓ TOP ✓ TOP	✓ (PRED) ✓ (PRED)
Kubeo [♦] [cub]	L=G ⁺ + ✓ ^[r(d)]	✓ SPEC	✓ (FOC)	✓ (FOC)
Tukano [♦] [tuc]	L=G ⁺ + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[r(d)]	✓ SPEC	✓ (TOP)	✓ (TOP)
Desano [♦] [des]	L=G ⁺ + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[r(d)]	✓ SPEC	✓ (FOC)	✓ (PROTO)
Barasano [♦] [bsn]	L=G ⁺ + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[r(o)]	✓ (SPEC)	✓ (FOC)	✓ (FOC)
Wanano [♦] [gvc]	L G ⁺ + ✓ ^[r]	✓ REF ✓ (SPEC)	✓ (DIST) ✓ (SPEC)	✓ (DIST) ✓ (SPEC)
Murui [huu]	L=G + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[(r,o)]	✓ (PRO)	✓ (PROTO)	✓ (PROTO)
Tena Kichwa [quw]	L + ✓ ^[(o)]	✓ (PRO)	✓ (PRED)	✓ (PRED)
Imbabura Kichwa [qvn]	G + ✓ ^[(o)]		✓ TID	✓ TID
Shiwiari [acu]	L=G + $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[r,o]	✓ PRO	✓ PROTO	✓ PROTO
Awa Pit [kwi]	L + ✓ ^[o]		✓ DIST	✓ DIST
Tariana ^v [tae]	G + ✓ ^[o]		✓ DIST	✓ DIST
Hup ^v [jup]	L=G $\emptyset$ ✓ ^[(o)]			✓ (PROTO)
Yuhup ^v [yab]	L + ✓ ^[d(o)] L=G ⁺ + ✓ ^[o]		✓ CONTR	✓ (PRED) ✓ DIST
No SPATIAL CASE-MARKERS:		Máñhikì [♦] [ore] (- $\emptyset_{(u,G)}$)		
OBLIGATORY CASE-MARKERS:		Tanimuka [♦] [tna] (-re'ká _(u) ; -rã _(G)); A'ingae [con] (=ni _(u,G)); Bora [boa] (-ri _(u) ; -vu _(G)); Tena Kichwa [quw] (-ma _(G)); Imbabura Kichwa [qvn] (-pi _(u)); Kakua ^v [cbu] (=bã _(u,G)); Hup ^v [jup] (-an _(G))		

Table A.22: Spatial DCM patterns (Q3.4 and Q3.5)

Firstly, considering the formal types of spatial DCM in the sample, certain languages are described as displaying ALTERNATING DCM (+). This is demonstrated in (103) for Kubeo [*cub*] and for Desano [*des*] in (104), each of which displays the ‘generalized spatial-marking’ pattern (Q2.5):

- (103) Kubeo[◇] (*cub* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [CG19:413, exx. (21a)-(21c)]
- a. *kĩrãmi tāibi-rã eda-rĩ õ-re upa-rĩ wãĩ-ne*
 house yard-F.LOC arrive-CVB she-N.SBJ dance-N.SBJ spin-N.SBJ
da-ĩma=da
 make-TAEM.II.3PL=REP
 ‘They arrived in the house yard and made her dance, spinning.’
- b. *yo-i kĩaĩmi-i eda-ma*
 here-LOC house-LOC arrive-3PL.ANIM
 ‘They arrived at the house.’
- c. *yãrãdawi obe-be=wi yo-re eda-rãma*
 white.man be-many-NEG=CL:COL here-N.SBJ arrive-INFRR.3PL.ANIM
 ‘A few whites have arrived here.’
- (104) Desano[◇] (*des* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [M99:60, ex. (245)]
- gia õ-re era pi’ri bu’a-bi pare finka-ge*
 1PL.EXCL here-N.SBJ arrive after go-down-N3.PST finally farm-LOC
 ‘We arrived here, after which (we) went down to a farm (our final destination).’

A similar spatial DCM pattern is found in Tukano [*tuc*], shown in (105), which also permits zero-marking — i.e., demonstrating the HYBRID-type (+∅):

- (105) Tukano[◇] (*tuc* — EASTERN-TUKANOAN) [R97:168-170,237; exx. (339),(580),(340)]
- a. *a’tó kãrigĩ dũ-á-pi*
 here sleep-NOM.M.SG be-REC.PST-1SG
 ‘I usually sleep here.’
- b. *a’tó-de dõ’ó-pi kãdí-gĩ dũ-a-ti*
 here-N.SBJ where-FOC sleep-NOM.M.SG be-REC.PST-Q
 ‘Here, where did you (M) sleep? (here in the city, where did you sleep?)’
- c. *a’tó-pi a’ti-a*
 here-FOC come-IMPER
 ‘Come HERE!’
- d. *toó-pi-de peêdu sĩ’dí-wi*
 ANA.LOC-FOC-N.SBJ caxiri.drink drink-REP.PST.VIS
 ‘I will drink *caxiri* THERE (an established location).’

Spatial DCM patterns are slightly more complex in Siona+ languages, which encodes the L-argument distinctly from the G-argument. For instance, Siona+ languages display OPTIONAL-type G-oriented DCM, where *na*-marking alternates with zero-marking, as shown for Koreguaje [*coe*] in (106):

(106) Koreguaje[♦] (*coe* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)

[CL85:111, ex. (45i)-(45iii)]

- a. *kee ja'o-cha coñ sai-na'-me chukuna*
 DEM.MED leaf-CL:RIV turtle go-PRP-N3S 1PL.EXCL
 'We (EXCL) go to the Caquetá River for turtles ...'
- b. *meja-huñ-na coñ mai-na'-me*
 sand-CL:CONT-GOAL turtle come-PRP-N3S
 '... the turtles come up on the beach ...'
- c. *jainuko meja-huñ coñ mai-me*
 many.PL.ANIM sand-CL:CONT turtle come-N3S
 '... many are the turtles which come up on the beach.'

Turning to the TRIGGERS which drive the observed spatial DCM patterns, Tukanoan languages tend to display overlap with argumental MACRO-TRIGGERS — i.e., referentiality-related TRIGGERS are especially common in Eastern Tukanoan, and discourse-related TRIGGERS take precedence in Western Tukanoan. An instance of the former is demonstrated in the Tukano [*tuc*] examples in (105), where, for instance, the usage of spatial *-re* is similar to that found for its argumental functions. These examples also incorporate the latter category of TRIGGERS. In the Koreguaje [*coe*] sentences displayed in (106), Cook and Levinsohn (1985) claim that the usage of *-na* is constrained by the topicality status of the location in the unfolding discourse.

Considering the non-Tukanoan sample, spatial DCM is generally not triggered by the same MACRO-TRIGGERS as noted in the argumental domain. One dominant pattern across non-Tukanoan languages in the sample concerned the restriction of spatial DCM to prototypical spatial arguments — i.e., labeled PROTO in Table A.22. This pattern is described for Murui [*huu*] in (107) and for Shiwiar [*acu*] in (108):

(107) Murui (*huu* — WITOTOAN)

[W21:273,276, exx. (8.110)-(8.117),(8.123)-(8.124)]

- a. i. *bi-rui-yai-do nofiko-mo i-ti-kue*
 this.CTS-CL:DAY-PL-INST La.Chorrera-LOC exist-LK-1SG
 'Nowadays, I live in La Chorrera.'
- ii. *kue ai iyí jaai-d-e*
 1SG wife jungle.garden go-LK-3
 'My wife went to the jungle garden.'
- b. i. *beno-mo i-ti-kai*
 here-LOC exist-LK-1PL
 'We live here (in this specific place, e.g., in this village).'
- ii. *beno-na i-ti-kai*
 here-N.SBJ.TOP exist-LK-1PL
 'We are here (passing through this place, e.g., in the jungle).'
- iii. *jaai-ño-kai-ñe-no bu-e beno ñee~ñee-di-o*
 go-?-RAPID-NEG-SEQ Q1-CL:GEN here do~RED-LK-2SG
 'You didn't go, what are you doing (and doing) here?'

- (108) Shiwiar (
- acu*
- CHICHAM) [K20:258, exx. (7.201)-(8.124)]

- a. *wí=n^ja nukú-r=ka hujuin^jtsá=nam*
 1SG=OBJ mother-1SG.P=TOP J=LOC
puhú=it^j-a-i
 live+S.NMLZ=COP-3SG-DECL
 ‘My mother lives in Juyuintsa.’
- b. *ik^jám minka-ká-mia-ji*
 forest disappear-PFV-DIST.PST-3SG+DECL
 ‘He disappeared in the forest.’ NB: non-spatial *ik^jám* (forest)
- c. *turá amí=n^ja nukú-utsi-rmí=s tu=í puh-á-wa*
 so 2SG=OBJ mother-DIM-2SG.P=FOC where-LOC live-IMIPFV-3SG
 ‘So where does your mother live?’

Another commonly-described spatial-specific DCM TRIGGER found in the NWA sample concerns deictic distance (i.e., DIST). In some languages, case-marking distinctions encode distance from the speaker, in the domain of L- and G-oriented DCM patterns. This is shown for Yuhup [*yab*] in (109), and for Awa Pit [*kwi*], as illustrated in (110):

- (109) Yuhup
- ^v
- (
- yab*
- NADAHUPAN) [O02:160-161, exx. (34a)-(34c), (36a)]

- a. *jáb^mběh óhí tējgⁿhōd-bāh*
 dog sleep entryway-LOC.PROX
 ‘The dog sleeps close to the entryway.’
- b. *tējgⁿhōd-’áh bōk díí*
 entryway-LOC.MED cooking-pot be
 ‘The cooking pot is beside the entryway (i.e., moderately distant).’
- c. *dó’jāp péb^mí tējgⁿhōd-’áhà*
 child be_seated entryway-LOC.DIST
 ‘The child is sitting beside the entryway (i.e., distant from speaker).’

- (110) Awa Pit (
- kwi*
- BARBACOAN) [O02:135-140, exx. (215),(225),(235),(239)]

- a. *Nulpe Media=ta tu-y profesor=na*
 NM=in be.in_place-NON.LOCUT teacher=TOP
 ‘The teacher is in Nulpe Medio.’
- b. *añ=pa awa su paa-ma-ti un=pa*
 here=in(APPROX) person earth become-COMP-TERM there=in(APPROX)
inkal i
 mountain be.NON.LOCUT
 ‘Around here (this side of the river) it’s become cultivated. Over there (the other side of the river) it’s bush.’
- c. *Dolores Pueblo Viejo=mal tu=ma ka ki*
 D PV=LOC be.in_place=INTER be_permanently Q
 ‘Is Dolores in Pueblo Viejo?’
- d. *paas [pala kwal=ki] pana-y*
 two plantain trunk=at be_standing-NON.LOCUT
 ‘The two [people] are standing at (beside) the trunk of the plantain tree.’

- (111) Hup^v (*jup* — NADAHUPAN) [E08:174,187,189,367; exx. (36),(85),(95a),(108)]
- a. *hohtěg dēh-an tih j'id-íy*
canoe water-LOC 3PRO wash-DYNM
'He washes the canoe at the water (i.e., the port).'
- b. *'āh yamhidó'-óh cāw-yucé-ét*
1SG sing-DECL São_José-OBL
'I sang at São José village.'
- c. *cāw-ān yāwāc-yí' n'i-có'=b'ay tōk-có*
other-N.SBJ meet-TEL that-LOC=AGAIN belly-LOC
'(She) had already gotten another (child), there, in the belly.'

The final strictly spatial TRIGGER concerns certain patterns, determined by the predicate (i.e., PRED). For instance, this pattern is found in Siona+ languages, where *-na* is found on certain L-arguments, in place of the dominant L-marker, *-re* (see details in Section 3.3). The pair of Koreguaje [*coe*] sentences presented in (112) presents the general pattern. In this case, *-na* is selected with the predicate *k^hāi-* (sleep), as it is in Siona and Sekoya varieties:

- (112) Koreguaje[♦] (*coe* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN) [CC93:48-49]
- a. *wi'e-re pa'i-mo repa-o*
house-N.SBJ be-F.SG that-F.SG
'She is in the house.'
- b. *wi'e-na k^hāi-me jñi*
house-GOAL sleep-PL children
'The children are sleeping in the house.'

This same pattern is demonstrated in the Tena Kichwa [*quw*] examples in (113). Here the *dative*-marker, *-ma*, is selected with the predicate *traba-* (work). The related Ecuadorian Siona predicate, *goamahña nee-* (do tasks, work), also requires *na*-marking where the location of work is expressed. Some similar instances have been described for Hup [*jup*] (Epps 2008, 367-369):

- (113) Tena Kichwa (*quw* — QUECHUAN) [G16:68,62; exx. (2.47),(2.29)]
- a. *Maria kaspi-wa wajta-n Juan-ta wasi-pi*
M stick-INST hit-3 J-ACC house-LOC
'Maria hits John with a stick in the house.'
- b. *Maria chagra-ma traba-nga ra-w-n*
M field-DAT work-FUT make-PROG-3
'Maria will work in the field.'

- (114) Ecuadorian Siona[♦] (*snn* — WESTERN-TUKANOAN)
- iye ye'yahuē'ese'na goamaña neñë*
i-je je'ja + wi'e-se'e-na goa-mahña nee-nñi
DEM.PROX-CL:GEN teach + house-EXCL-GOAL task-DIM.PL make-N3S.PRS.ASS
'(I) work (lit. do little tasks)
only at this school.' [VOL: 20230626eyopa001.021]
[Speaker comment: The case-marker *-re* cannot be used on *school* in this sentence.]

The data presented above, in Section A.2 of this Appendix comprises the NWA dataset. This dataset underpins the typological discussion put forth in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Many of the data points laid out above merit further and more targeted investigation; however, this dataset is sufficient to facilitate the typologization of the Ecuadorian Siona facts, characterized in Chapter 3, on the basis of other patterns in the Tukanoan language family, and related patterns throughout the putative NWA area. Although this dataset is the result of a comparative study, outlined in Section A.1.2, several insights herein lay the groundwork for inquiry into diachronic aspects of Siona case-marking.

APPENDIX B

Siona DCM narrative dataset (supplement)

This Appendix complements the analysis of the Siona narrative dataset discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. The dataset is composed by the folktale narrations identified in Table B.1, which corresponds to Table 5.1 in the content chapter:¹

STORY TITLE (Story code)	TIME (HH:MM:SS)	WORD COUNT	NOMINAL TOKENS <i>N</i> (%)
<i>Siona Genesis story</i> (20151023orocr001)	21:33	1714	376 (21.94%)
<i>The demon kwěẽwahi</i> (20151112oespa001)	15:48	1291	327 (25.33%)
<i>The mother of jaguars</i> (20151001oolpi001)	14:12	981	251 (25.59%)
<i>The mother of the moon</i> (20151112orapi001)	16:16	1350	331 (24.52%)
<i>The children of Baina</i> (20150811sfryi001/2)	33:25	2742	629 (22.94%)
POOLED TOTAL	1:41:04	8078	1914 (23.69%)

Table B.1: Composition of the Siona narrative dataset

¹Consulted materials are all gathered from Bruil 2012 (Project ID IPF0211SG0067 [<https://www.elararchive.org/dk0184>]); archived as multimedia bundles, analyzed via the ELAN (EUDICO linguistic annotator) tool: ELAN (Version 6.9) [Computer software]. (2024). Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive. Retrieved from <https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan>.

In parallel fashion to the discussion in Chapter 5, English titles are attributed to each story in the dataset as a matter of convenience. The statistical models developed in this analysis strictly concern the full set of tokens in the pooled sample. Section 5.1 provides further details regarding the creation of the corpus for this analysis.

This Appendix is broken into two parts: Section B.1 spells out the annotation guidelines used to code the nominal tokens extracted from the dataset for the purposes of statistical analysis. Section B.2 provides full reports for the *varbrul* models produced in this quantitative analysis — i.e., for the S-marking sub-sample, the P-marking sub-sample, and for the L-marking sub-sample respectively. Each statistical model is accompanied by a series of illustrative examples for each tested grammatical relation.

B.1 Token-by-token annotation protocols

Section 5.2 of Chapter 5 presents in broad strokes the variationist methodology undertaken in order to tokenize the noun phrases arising in the Siona narrative dataset in Table B.1. The ultimate goal is to establish a token-based dataset against which the *varbrul* statistical technique may be implemented — see Section 5.2.2.

On the one hand, Chapter 5 indicates how the *dependent variable* is ascertained for nominal tokens (i.e., PROMINENT-marking status), which coincides with the descriptive facts laid out in the *preliminary description* in Chapter 3. Section 5.2.1 also motivates the set of *independent variables* selected for this analysis (i.e., TRIGGER CANDIDATES), based upon plausible TRIGGER for DCM identified in the literature.² As in Chapter 5, *independent variables* are sorted conceptually into FACTOR GROUPS by convention: (i) sentence-level factors, (ii) referential token-level factors, and (iii) information structural token-level factors. In what follows, the annotation protocols are made explicit for each FACTOR GROUP in turn.

B.1.1 Annotating sentence-level factors

This analysis tests for two sentence-level FACTORS: WORD ORDER and THEMATIC STATUS. They pertain to properties of nominal tokens which are determined by other elements in the sentence, rather than by properties of the nominal token or its referent per se. Section 2.2.3 briefly surveys this class of TRIGGERS as noted in the broader DCM literature.

The coding of WORD ORDER consists in identifying overt nominal tokens and the main verbal word in a given clause. The main verbal word is defined as the word within the clause which is inflected for tense, for clause type, and for SUBJECT-agreement (Bruil 2014, §5). A binary opposition is ascertained as to whether a given nominal token arises before the main verbal word (i.e., coded as *pre-verbal*), or after it (i.e., coded as *post-verbal*). (1) illustrates the application of this coding procedure:

²In variationist parlance, the crucial step of systematic annotation of FACTORS on a token-based dataset is often referred to as ‘*circumscribing the variables*’ (Tagliamonte 2006, 2012).

- (1) a. *icato sa'nahuēbi etaē ?* [SENTENTIAL WORD ORDER: SXV]
ī-i=kato< pre-verbal s > **sa'niwi-bi**< pre-verbal SOURCE >
 PRO3-CL:M=TOP inside-SRC
 ehta-i
 go_out-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS
 'Did he come out from inside (there)?' [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.039]
- b. *bačoña jare guēnahuēre debao* [SENTENTIAL WORD ORDER: VXS]
 bah-ko-ña hāre **gina-wi-re**< post-verbal L >
 live-3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP like_that hard-CL:CONT-N.SBJ
debaō< post-verbal s >
 turkey_vulture
 'The Debaō (vulture *spec*) was in the sky.'
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.243]

Although this technique permits the determination of sentential word order for each clause in the narrations, as shown in (1); it should be borne in mind that it is the coding of the WORD ORDER status of the nominal tokens themselves which concerns the present analysis. Accordingly, both tokens in (1a) are coded as *pre-verbal*, and those in (1b) as *post-verbal*. This design masks distinctions such as SOV vs. OSV in the resulting dataset.³

The second sentence-level FACTOR coded in this analysis concerns THEMATIC STATUS. The coding protocols adopted here are inspired by the corpus-based investigation of affectedness effects in Spanish *differential object marking* by von Heusinger and Kaiser (2011). The technique is adapted in this study such that it may be applied to the S-, P-, and L-tokens accordingly: As concerns S-marking, the *agentivity status* of a given token is ascertained; for P-marking, *affectedness status* is determined; whereas, for L-marking, the *subcategorization status* of each token is determined — i.e., classifying L-tokens by whether they are selectionally implicated by their predicate, or adjunctive in nature. Each of these types of THEMATIC STATUS is coded as a binary FACTOR, as laid out below.

Firstly, the predicate is recorded alongside the tokens for which it defines the semantic role. In this way, the THEMATIC STATUS of a given nominal token may be 'read off' the corresponding predicate in post hoc fashion. Following von Heusinger and Kaiser (2011), predicates are set against the typology proposed in Tsunoda (1985, 388), where certain predicate types select for, e.g., *agentive* or *non-agentive* S-arguments accordingly. The predicate typology assumed in this analysis is displayed in Table B.2, which is utilized to determine THEMATIC STATUS for S- and for P-tokens — note that [±affected] indicates that this is determined on a case-by-case basis:

³Table B.9 in the following section assembles baseline information about sentential word order in the sample, which is referenced at certain points in the discussion in Chapter 5 accordingly.

Predicate type	(e.g., Siona predicate)	S-status	P-status
0 (Copula, posture)	<i>ba'i-</i> (be, live)	[-agent]	
1 (Activity, motion)	<i>sai-</i> (go), <i>kohko-</i> (cough)	[±agent]	
1a (Effective action, +result)	<i>wai-</i> (kill)	[+agent]	[+affected]
1b (Effective action, -result)	<i>hahcho-</i> (shoot)	[+agent]	[±affected]
2 (Perception, ±attained)	<i>ahcha-</i> (listen to, hear)	[+agent]	[-affected]
3 (Knowledge, conception)	<i>gwahcha-</i> (know, think)	[-agent]	[-affected]
4 (Experience, undergoer)	<i>hüi-</i> (be sick, die)	[-agent]	[-affected]
5 (Possessive, stative)	<i>baa-</i> (have), <i>soa</i> (tall)	[-agent]	[-affected]

Table B.2: Predicate classes for corpus study and coding thematic status

A similar technique is applied to derive a binary variable for the *subcategorization status* for L-tokens. It is well-established that certain spatial arguments are naturally implicated by certain predicates, but are strictly adjunctive in other instances. For instance, the English sentences in (2) distinguish what Andrews (2007, 9) labels the *inner* and *outer* location respectively:

- (2) a. Kangaroos inhabit these lands [Inner location → < Subcategorized >]
b. The boy was born in Scotland [Outer location → < Non-Subcategorized >]

In this study, *subcategorized* L-tokens are found with the basic spatial predicate, *ba'i-* (be, live), and with posture predicates, e.g., *ñu'i-* (be seated);⁴ whereas other predicate types are classified as recruiting *non-subcategorized* L-arguments.

B.1.2 Annotating referential token-level factors

This analysis codes for two referent-level properties, which correspond to the best-attested DCM TRIGGERS in the literature (Aissen 2003; Sinnemäki 2014 — see extensive discussion in Chapter 2): namely, (i) SPECIFICITY STATUS, and (ii) ANIMACY STATUS. For the coding of each of these TRIGGER CANDIDATES, a two-part coding procedure is undertaken: Firstly, a more fine-grained categorial classification is performed. Secondly, these categories are converted into broader, FACTOR categories is performed for the sake of statistical analysis. This technique is intended to avoid ad hoc classifications and to promote systematicity and replicability of coding.

Beginning with SPECIFICITY STATUS, Table B.3 enumerates the available categories for coding tokens as a matter of corpus annotation, and the corresponding categories for the sake of statistical analysis:

⁴Although it is certainly possible to express posture without expressing location. However, given that this is a property of the L-token itself, this distinction is irrelevant to the present study. Postural predicates strictly reject *-na* marking, whereas *change-of-posture* predicates — e.g., *ha'ru-* (sit down), are coded as G-arguments. This is the original inspiration for this coding practice.

Annotated specificity status (Category attributed to token)	Statistical specificity status (Valuation used in <i>varbrul</i>)
< Definite >	[+specific]
< Specific >	
< Non-specific >	[-specific]
< Generic >	
< Pronoun >	

Table B.3: Specificity status taxonomy for sorting noun tokens in corpus study

At this stage a point of clarification is in order: The *varbrul* technique does not strictly accept binary variables, such that categorical variables are freely admitted (Tagliamonte 2006, 2012). Nonetheless best practices dictate that the smallest number of informative, and non-redundant, categories ought to be used as input for the application of the *varbrul* statistical technique.

Per Table B.3, pronominal tokens are separated from full noun tokens. Pronominal tokens refer to classes of independent reduced nominal expressions — e.g., *ĩõ* (she), *hãõ* (that (F), there), *to* (there). Full noun tokens are subsequently categorized on the basis of a binary *specific* vs. *non-specific* divide.

SPECIFICITY STATUS on full noun tokens is a context-sensitive property, which may shift from one mention to another for a given referent. (3) illustrates this fact with the two G-tokens lifted from the *Siona Genesis tale*. Although these tokens are surface-indistinguishable, *bêhẽtubi-na* (fallen trunk); the first-mention token in (3a) is coded as *non-specific*, whereas the later mention in (3a) is coded as *specific*:

- (3) a. *bejetubẽna mẽnituquẽ ba'quẽña*
bêhẽ-tubi-na < Non-Specific > *mini + tui-ki*
be_fallen-CL:STICK-GOAL go_up + sit_on.something-CL:M
ba-~'-ki-ña
be-RMT.PST-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
‘(He) climbed onto a fallen trunk and
sat.’ [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.021]
- b. ... *bejetubẽna ya'o jenaquẽ ba'quẽña*
bêhẽ-tubi-na < Specific > *ja'o hẽna-ki*
be_fallen-CL:STICK-GOAL mud stick-CL:M
ba-~'-ki-ña
be-RMT.PST-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
‘(He) stuck mud
to the fallen tree trunk.’ [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.061]

The (non-)specificity of a tokens as in (3) is determined by a careful reading of the tales and, where applicable, by specificity cues in the translations (originally in Spanish). Since Siona grammar does not have (in)definite articles, often a value judgment must be made on a mention-by-mention basis.

Despite the lack of grammaticalized articles in Siona, this study recognizes a *definite* category for nominal tokens, borrowing a convention from the corpus-based investigation Paraguayan Guaraní *differential object marking* (Shain and Tonhauser

- A final non-pronominal *generic* category is recognized in Table B.3, which subsumes noun tokens that refer to masses or substances. Such an instance is shown in (5) from *The mother of jaguars* tale. These tokens are treated as a sub-type of non-specific token for the present purposes:

- A similar two-step procedure is implemented for the sake of coding the ANIMACY STATUS of nominal tokens. Unlike SPECIFICITY STATUS, this FACTOR is context-independent, and may be ‘read off’ of the nominal token once its referent is identified. It is crucial to note that this is *not* the same as *grammatical* animacy status, in light of the grammatical process of promotion, outlined in Section 3.2.2 of the *preliminary description*.⁵ Table B.4 enumerates the annotated animacy categories and indicates their conversion into statistical categories:

⁵Such a discrepancy between notional ANIMACY STATUS and grammatical animacy status arises with certain lexical items, such as celestial bodies: e.g., *ñañaĩ* (moon).

Annotated animacy status (Category attributed to token)	Binary animacy status (Valuation used in <i>varbrul</i>)
< Human >	
< High animal >	[+animate]
< Low animal >	
< Inanimate (count) >	
< Inanimate (mass) >	[-animate]
< Abstract >	
< Location noun >	
< Temporal noun >	

Table B.4: Animacy status taxonomy for sorting noun tokens in corpus study

Firstly, a higher-level classification is performed, where spatiotemporal nominal tokens are distinguished from argumental nominal tokens. Notional animacy is conceptually incompatible with the former class, and eliminated as a FACTOR for the L-marking *varbrul* model reported in Section B.2.3. Secondly, the initial fine-grained classification of argumental tokens is undertaken as in Table B.4. Unlike specificity, *notional* animacy status may be determined based upon the referent of each noun token. Therefore, the class of promoted nominals, described in Section 3.2.2, is coded as *inanimate* tokens for the present purposes. The sentences lifted in (6) demonstrate instances of each of the fine-grained annotated animacy categories enumerated in Table B.4:

- (6) a. *jamacarebacato baquēña te'i*
hāmahka-reba=kato^{< Time >} bah-ki-ña **te'-i**^{< Human >}
 then-INTENS=TOP be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP one-CL:M
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a man (lit. there was one (M)).’
- b. *... yaje ucuquē ba'iquēbi ñaēña*
jahe^{< Mass >} ūhku-ki **ba'i-ki-bi**^{< Human >} ñaa-i-ña
 ayahuasca drink-CL:M live-CL:M-SBJ see-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘(He) lived on (lit. the one who lived (M)), drinking jahe and having
 visions.’ [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.003-004]
- c. *cani jamaca nasobi mēco'ē tsi gajaco ioje ...*
 kaa-ni hāmahka **nahso-bi**^{< High animal >} mih-ko'i
 say-SS then wolly_monkey-SBJ climb-3S.F.PST.ASS
tsñ^{< Human >} gaha-ko **ĩ-o-hē**^{< Human >}
 child put_down-3S.F.PRS.ASS PRO3.F-CL:F-ADD
 ‘(She) said “then the monkey climbed (up there)”, then she put down
 her child too.’ [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.102]
- d. *jaro utibēbi tomeji huare ja utibi to'teji caoña*
hā-ro^{< Location >} **uhti-bi-bi**^{< Count >} tōme-hi ware hā
 DEM.MED-CL:LOC wasp-CL:RND-SBJ fall-3S.M.PRS.ASS child DISC.PART
uhti-bi^{< Low animal >} to'te-hi kaa-o-ña
 wasp(spec)-SBJ sting-3S.M.PRS.ASS say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘“The wasp nest is falling there. Careful, child, (this) wasp stings!”’,
 (she) said.’ [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.132]

No meaningful grammar differences are expected across these sub-categories on the basis of the *preliminary description* in Chapter 3. The initial fine-grained classification is preformed to ensure systematicity in the annotations.

B.1.3 Annotating information structural properties

This analysis codes for three information structural token-level properties: (i) CONTRASTIVITY STATUS, (ii) LOOK-BACK TOPICALITY STATUS, and (iii) LOOK-AHEAD TOPICALITY STATUS. The annotation protocols are outlined for each of these in turn.

Several techniques exist for coding CONTRASTIVITY STATUS in corpus-based research — see Vallduví (2016, §23.5) for a recent discussion. This analysis follows the operational definition of *contrastivity* established Myhill and Xing (1996, as implemented more recently in Vallejos Yopán 2009). For the authors, a nominal token is contrastive where the referent (or the concept) that it denotes belongs to an explicit or an implicit discourse set, comprising alternative entities (or concepts).^{6,7} The relevant set of alternatives must be interpreted as activated in the common ground, at the point of the mention at hand.

Consider the S-tokens identified in (7), lifted from the *Mother of the moon* tale, where two referents are explicitly contrasted. An instance of implicit contrast is exemplified by the L-token in (8) from *The demon kwē̃wahti* narrative:

- (7) [Context: Two personified birds are out hunting and checking their traps for food.]⁸
- a. *pě'pěri ba'iji ñnore mēabecato ba'i ñabi — yo'ni jamaca iomaca ba'iona ...*
pi'piri_i ba'i-hi [ihño-re miabe=kato] ba'i-i
 vulture be-3S.M.PRS.ASS here-N.SBJ above=TOP be-S.M.PRS.DEP
 ñaa-bi — jo'ni hāmahka **ĩ-o-mahka**_i ba'i-o-na
 see-3S.M.PST.ASS — do-SS then 3PRO-CL:F-DIM.SG be-S.F.PST.DEP-DS
 'The VULTURE_i was up HERE, looking out. Doing this, as she_i was (there)...'
- b. ... *jare tacarobi ña baco — ñani nēcadojaiyo*
 hāre **tahkaro-bi**_j ñaa-a bah-ko — ñaa-ni
 like_that black_vulture-SBJ see-NEG be-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS — look-SS
 nihka + dohai-o
 be_standing + wander-S.F.PST.DEP
 '... likewise the black VULTURE_j was looking out. She wandered on foot (i.e., on the ground) to go on the look out ...'

[NAT*: 20151112orapi001.174-176]

⁶Myhill and Xing (1996, 310-312) identify seven different types of *discourse* sets: (i) complementary, (ii) organizational, (iii) proximate, (iv) hierarchical, (v) rhetorical, (vi) conjoined, (vii) analogical; while also recognizing other types of conventionalized or implicit sets. This study disregards their parameter of *lists*, which does not seem to be applicable to the data considered here.

⁷Note that by *concept* contrast I refer to kind-level readings of the type “X wants FISH” (i.e., not another kind of food). Such semantic type-flexibility is often tacitly assumed in these works focused on matters of implementation.

⁸In (7), the first token, *pihpiri* (vulture), is treated as non-contrastive; whereas the other two token, *ĩomahka* (she (DIM)) and *tahkaro-bi* (black vulture), are coded as contrastive with respect to one another. Therefore, only the *closest* mention to its referential competitor is coded as contrastive.

- (8) [**Context:** The demon *kwēēwahti* is chasing the protagonist, and he goes from tree to tree to find a new place to hide. After sitting up on a branch, it breaks...]
 ...jēyequē neni ja'obi pē'pēni ja'ruña — ja'runi jarore tuquēña
 hi-je-ki nee-ni ha'o-bi pi~pi-ni
 break.INTR-S.M.PRS.DEP make-SS leaf-INST pile~REDUP-SS
 ha'ru-i-ña ha'ru-ni **hā-ro-re**
 sit_down-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP sit_down-SS DEM.MED-CL:LOC-N.SBJ
 tuh-ki-ña
 sit_atop-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '... (it) broke and so (he) took leaves and covered (himself) and sat down.
 (He) sat down and was sitting at THAT spot.'
 [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.097]

To complement the instances *contrastive* noun tokens identified above, (29) illustrates two instances of *non-contrastive* inanimate P-tokens. In the case of (9a), the token *gō'no* (chicha)⁹ displays PLAIN zero-marking; whereas the token, *biada'ca-re* (soup, lit. ají pepper broth) bears PROMINENT *-re* marking in (9b). These demonstrate how the determination for CONTRASTIVITY STATUS is made independently from case-marking:

- (9) a. [**Context:** God sends the squirrel-person to search for active watering holes. He is given chicha to sustain himself. This drink is not contrasted with alternatives.]
 ...saiquēbi jare tres to'to sani ja'runi i beojeña gō'no ucuchaoquē
 bə'quēña
 sai-ki-bi hāre tres to'to sani + ha'ru-ni i-i
 go-CL:M-SBJ like.that three watering.hole go + sit_down-SS 3PRO-CL:M
 beo + hēō-i-ña **gō'no** ūhku + chao-ki
 NEG.EXIS + leave_behind-3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP chicha drink + finish-CL:M
 ba~'-ki-ña
 be-RMT.PST-3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '... (he) (lit. the going one (M)) went on to three watering holes and sat down and had none left. He finished drinking the chicha.'
 [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.280]
- b. [**Context:** The man wants to eat the stew, which he does not realize contains the remains of his children. This meal is not contrasted with another.]
 ...ñajēna yē'ē biada'care cusi'i caēña
 ñaa-hi-na ji'i **bia** + **da'ka-re** ūhku-si'-i
 see-PL.PRS.DEP-DS 1S ají-pepper + liquid-N.SBJ drink-FUT-N3S
 kaa-i-ña
 say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '... (they) watched (him) as (he) said "I will take (some) soup".'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.264]

In general, this analysis adopts a conservative coding approach for CONTRASTIVITY STATUS, where only instances with a clear, local contrast meet the coding threshold.

⁹ *Chicha* is a commonly consumed fermented beverage, which is typical of various indigenous communities across the NWA area.

Borderline instances are coded as *non-contrastive* by default, so as to avoid over-representation of controversial tokens and to focus on the case-marking patterns found on clearly contrastive tokens.

Turning to the coding protocols for LOOK-BACK TOPICALITY STATUS, the basic idea is that tokens which refer to entities which are more recently mentioned are more topical. This analysis adopts the referential distance metric, as applied by Shain and Tonhauser (2010) in their study of topicality effects in *differential object marking* in Paraguayan Guaraní. This metric is calculated specifically for the sample under scrutiny. As the stories are coded, each referent is given an arbitrary referent ID number, which is attributed to referential nominal tokens accordingly.¹⁰ Each main clause in the narration is given a clause number in sequence, such that the number of intervening clauses between mentions may be tallied post hoc — i.e., its *referential distance* value.

A binary *look-back topical* vs. *look-back non-topical* distinction is ascertained via a two-step process: Firstly, the mean referential distance is calculated in the sample, thereby fixing the topicality threshold.¹¹ Secondly, nominal tokens are categorized as *look-back topical* if its referential distance is at or below the topicality threshold, or as *look-back non-topical* where its referential distance surpasses the threshold. Table B.5 presents the topicality thresholds developed for s- and p-marking sub-samples in the Siona narrative dataset, formatted as *mean referential distance* (token count):¹²

STORY TITLE	S-DISTANCE	P-DISTANCE
<i>Siona Genesis story</i>	7.78 (141)	7.028 (36)
<i>The demon kwěewahti</i>	5.393 (117)	8.5 (42)
<i>The mother of jaguars</i>	5.169 (77)	2.967 (30)
<i>The mother of the moon</i>	6.546 (99)	6.897 (39)
<i>Children of Baina</i>	5.431 (223)	5.221 (131)
Pooled narrations	6.065 (657)	5.942 (278)
Excl. non-referential tokens	80	204

Table B.5: Referential distance thresholds for look-back topicality status

Based upon Table B.5, a threshold of 6 clauses is maintained for all DCM relations in the sample. Accordingly, tokens are coded as follows: (i) *look-back topical* ≤ 6 intervening clauses between mentions, vs. (ii) *look-back non-topical* > 6 intervening clauses.¹³

Turning to what is labelled LOOK-AHEAD TOPICALITY STATUS, on conceptual grounds, this FACTORS refers to the persistence of a nominal token's referent(s) in unfolding discourse.¹⁴ This study adapts the methodology employed by Chiriacescu

¹⁰Note that a referent index is not appropriate for non-referential noun tokens, such as those coded as *abstract* (e.g., *ohko* (water)). These are coded as *look-back non-topical* by default.

¹¹The term *topicality threshold* does not arise in Shain and Tonhauser (2010).

¹²Whereas Shain and Tonhauser (2010) observe a mean referential distance for objects at 15 contiguous main clauses, the mean distance was lower in the Siona data.

¹³An example of the implementation of this technique is provided in (25) in what follows.

¹⁴Several languages are argued to exhibit more local topicality effects in their DCM patterns: e.g., in *differential object marking* effects in Romanian (Chiriacescu and von Heusinger 2010);

and von Heusinger (2010) to categorize *look-ahead topical* and *look-ahead non-topical* nominal tokens in the sample. The former value is attributed to tokens whose referent (or the concept that they denote) is maintained as an at-issue argument in the ensuing two main clauses. This referent need not be overtly expressed in these continuations.

The narrative episode in (10) is from *The mother of the moon* tale. Both of the noun tokens in (10a) are coded as *look-ahead topical*, given that their referents (i.e., identified as *i* and *k* for convenience) are implicated in the clause following its mention, although the *k*-token is not fitted with an overt noun phrase in (10b). Conversely, the P-token, *jahe* (ayahuasca), in (10b), is coded as *look-ahead non-topical* since it does not persist in the immediately following lines of narration:

- (10) a. *baconã iō dēbaocato – jamacarebacato ějěre baconã baconã ...*
 bah-ko-ñã [ĩ-o dēbao=kato]_i < Look-ahead topical >
 be-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP 3PRO-CL:F vulture(spec)=TOP
 hāmahka-reba=kato ĩhĩ-re_k < Look-ahead topical >
 then-INTENS=TOP husband-N.SBJ
 baa-o-ñã bah-ko-na
 have-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP live-S.F.PST.DEP-DS
 ‘There was her_i, the Dēbao_i. Then, (she_i) lived on and had a husband_k
 ...’
- b. ... *yaje cuquē si’ahua’ire ñaquē ba’quēñā: se’sē, yahue, huequē, si’abaire*
ñaquē
jahe < Local non-topical > ũhku-ki si’a-wa’i-re ñaa-ki
 yaje drink-S.M.PRS.DEP all-PL.AN-N.SBJ know-CL:M
 ba-~’-ki-ñã sē’sē yawi wēhki
 be-RMT.PST-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP boar collared_peccary tapir
 si’a-bai-re ñaa-ki
 every-PL.ANIM-N.SBJ know-CL:M
 ‘... (he_k) drank yaje and got to know everybody – (he_k) knew the boars,
 the peccaries, the tapirs, everybody ...’
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.005-009]

The same coding protocol is applied to spatial tokens.

B.2 Results: Statistics and illustrative data

This section supplements the presentation of the quantitative analysis in Section 5.3, by supplying two types of data. Firstly, illustrative examples of tokens are lifted from the Siona narrative dataset, to accompany this more targeted discussion in Chapter 5. Secondly, full statistical reports are spelled out for the *varbrul* models developed for each fully tested sub-sample in this analysis — including the s-marking sub-sample (B.2.1), the p-marking sub-sample (B.2.2), and the l-marking sub-sample (B.2.3) respectively. Illustrative examples for coded categories are organized on a grammatical

in, e.g., Evenki (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011); and many other (unrelated) languages (Iemmolo 2010); and in the domain of *differential agent marking* in a number of Australian, Austronesian and Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g., Chappell and Verstraete 2019, Dunn and Meakins 2023, Riesberg 2018).

relation-by-relation basis in what follows. Section B.2.4 assembles miscellaneous examples from the sample, which pertain to patterns that do not concern these three fully tested grammatical relations.

B.2.1 The results for s-oriented DCM

This section supplements the discussion of DCM patterns in the s-marking sub-sample in Section 5.3.2. Table B.6 reports the full results for the *varbrul* analysis, which represents a very good fit for the dataset (i.e., Input = 0.393);¹⁵ on this basis, strong statistical evidence is produced for each of the effects reported in this table:

¹⁵In statistical parlance the *goodness of fit* metric determines how informative the significance and factor weight measures are for a given linear regression model (i.e., *varbrul*-analysis). Both the number of included tokens and the degree of variation determine the goodness of fit for resulting statistical model. This metric produces a number between 0 and 1, and a value closer to 0 than to 1 is indicative of a strong fit for the dataset.

N = 727			* p = < 0.001	
Input: 0.393			! p = > 0.05	
	FACTOR	WEIGHT	% PROMINENT	N
*Contrastivity				
	Contrastive s	0.93	95.18%	83
	Non-contrastive s	0.07	11.6%	644
	Range	86		
*Specificity				
	Pronominal s	0.7	17.6%	346
	Specific non-pro s	0.42	26.4%	273
	Non-specific s	0.37	19.4%	108
	Range	33		
*Word order				
	Post-verbal s	0.62	12.1%	173
	Pre-verbal s	0.38	24%	554
	Range	24		
Non-significant Factors				
! Look-ahead topic (persistence)				
	Look-ahead topical s		22.67%	375
	Look-ahead topical s		19.6%	352
! Agentivity				
	Agentive s		23.88%	448
	Non-agentive s		16.85%	279
! Animacy				
	Animate s		21.7%	599
	Inanimate s		18.75%	128
! Look-back topic (distance)				
	Look-back topical s		20.74%	351
	Look-back topical s		21.18%	376

Table B.6: Full *varbrul* report: s-marking sub-sample

The remainder of this section lifts illustrative tokens for each tested factors in the analysis, presented in the order in which they arise in Section 5.3.2. An illustrative instance of a *contrastive* s-token is provided in (7) above.

ANIMACY STATUS does not have a significant effect on the PROMINENT-marking rate s-marking in the sample. (11) provides an instance of super-token, where both an *animate* and an *inanimate* s-token arises in the same line with PROMINENT -bi:

- (11) *jaro utibēbi tomeji huare ja utibi to'teji caoña*
hā-ro **uhti-bi-bi**^{< Inanimate >} tōme-hi ware hā
DEM.MED-CL:LOC wasp-CL:RND-SBJ fall-3S.M.PRS.ASS child DISC.PART
uhti-bi^{< Animate >} to'te-hi kaa-o-ña
wasp (spec)-SBJ sting-3S.M.PRS.ASS say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
‘ “The wasp nest is falling there. Watch out, child, (this) wasp stings!” , she
said.’ [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.132]

Likewise AGENTIVITY STATUS does not impact the selection of PROMINENT-marking in the S-marking sub-sample. (12) illustrates instances of both PROMINENT- and PLAIN-marking arising on *agentive* S-tokens. (13) lifts instances of PROMINENT- and PLAIN-marking arising on *non-agentive* S-tokens respectively:

- (12) a. *ja gñabi cuju'i caēña*
 hã **ãña-bi** kũ-hu'i kaa-i-ña
 DISC.PART snake-SBJ bite-3S.M.PST.ASS say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ' "Oh no, a snake bit (me)!" (he) said.'
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.234]
- b. [**Context:** A tapir character is helping the children of Baina get fruit down from a tree. He tells them to go find cover.]
...yo'jēna iñona titouña i huequēje
 jo'-hi-na ihño-na tihto-i-ña **ĩ-i**
 do-PL.PRS.DEP-DS here-GOAL kick-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP 3PRO-CL:M
wēhki-hē
 tapir-ADD
 '... (they) did so and the tapir kicked (the tree) right here.'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.479-480]
- (13) a. *saina u'ubi baquēña*
 sai-i-na **u'u-bi** bah-ki-ña
 go-S.M.PST.DP-DS sloth-SBJ be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '(He) left and there was a sloth.'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.307-308]
- b. [**Context:** After the children of Baina kill their mother, a jaguar, they take her teeth to a shaman.]
yai cuji gachoquēje ju'ñe ba'ēña
jai kũhĩ gahcho-ki-hē hũĩ-ñe
 jaguar tooth remove-CL:M-ADD die-CL:GEN
 ba-~'-i-ña
 be-RMT.PST-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 'The one who removed the jaguar's tooth died.'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.479-480]

Concerning WORD ORDER, (14) demonstrates instances of PROMINENT *-bi* marking and PLAIN zero-marking arising on *pre-verbal* S-tokens. (15) lifts instances containing *post-verbal* PROMINENT *-bi* marking, which is relatively rare, and *post-verbal* PLAIN zero-marking:

- (14) a. *...huaēna tsimacabi goeo goeo goeo caēña*
 wai-i-na **tsĩ-mahka-bi** kwē kwē kwē
 kill-3S.M.PRS.DEP-DS child-DIM.SG-SBJ " "
 kaa-i-ña
 say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '(He) killed (him), and the child screamed "kwē kwē kwē!"'
 [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.022-023]

- b. [**Context:** The demon *cuehuati* only found one of the two men hiding in the village.]
io ñañe bao
ĩ-o ñaa-ñe bää-o
 3PRO-CL:F see-CL:GEN NEG.AUX-3S.F.PST.ASS
 ‘She didn’t see (him).’ [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.029]
- (15) a. *dēmēquē baquēña jamubi*
 dimi-ki ba-~-ki-ña **hāmu-bi**
 emerge_from_water-CL:M be-RMT.PST-3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP armadillo-SBJ
 ‘An armadillo emerged.’ [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.038]
- b. *bacoña jare guēnahuēre debao*
 bah-ko-ña hāre gina-wi-re **deba**
 live-3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP like_that hard-CL:CONT-N.SBJ turkey_vulture
 ‘The Deba (vulture spec) was in the sky.’ [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.243]

Turning to instances of the various SPECIFICITY STATUS categories, the instances in (16) serve to demonstrate instances of PROMINENT *-bi* and PLAIN zero-marking on *pronominal* s-tokens. Corresponding PROMINENT-marking and PLAIN-marking s-tokens are provided for *specific* tokens in (17), and *non-specific* tokens in (18):

- (16) a. [**Context:** The demon *kwēēwahti* maliciously imitates a human man.]
io ějē cañeje caoña iobi
 ĩ-o ĩhĩ kaa-je-hē kaa-o-ña
 3PRO-CL:F husband say-CL:GEN-ADD say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
ĩ-o-bi
 3PRO-CL:F-SBJ
 ‘She (i.e., the *cuehuati* demon) spoke like her husband speaks.’ [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.170]
- b. [**Context:** The children of Baina are speaking to the father from inside the womb of their mother, telling him to follow them.]
... cajē saijēna be’tēna i
 kaa-hĩ sai-hi-na be’tē-i-ña
 say-PL.PRS.DEP say-PL.PRS.DEP-DS follow-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
ĩ-i
 3PRO-CL:M
 ‘... (they) said this and went on and he followed (them).’ [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.108]
- (17) a. [**Context:** The mother of the attacked children asks the grandmother if she has seen the children, she says ‘no’.]
... canĩ jamacā io tsĩ bē’cacobi sanĩ ñagña
 kaa-ni hāmaha [ĩ-o tsĩ bi’ka-ko-bi] sanĩ
 say-SS then 3PRO-CL:F child parent-CL:F-SBJ go
 + ñaa-o-ña
 + see-2/3S.F.PRS.N.ASS-REP
 ‘... (she) said (this) then the mother went out to see.’ [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.042]

- b. [**Context:** Shaman protagonist scares away the demon *kwēēwahti* with his newfound magical abilities. She leaves behind an ax.]
... go'ini iə tsē'bo baēña – baquēna i dējo bacoña
 go'i-ni [ĩ-o tsi'bo] baa-i-ña
 return-SS 3PRO-CL:F ax have-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 baa-ki-na ĩ-i dīhō bah-ko-ña
 have-S.M.PRS.DEP-DS 3PRO-CL:M wife be-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 'He went back and had her ax – he had it when his wife was (there, at the house).' [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.159]
- (18) a. *dēmēquē baquēña jamubi*
 dimi-ki ba-~ki-ña hāmu-bi
 emerge_from_water-CL:M be-RMT.PST-3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP armadillo-SBJ
 'An armadillo emerged.' [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.038]
- b. [**Context:** one of Baina's children kills the man who is taking care of them. Then moves onto their next victim.]
... huani saquēña – a'ritsiaya baquēña
 wani + sah-ki-ña a'ri + tsia-ja
 kill + go-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP small + river-CL:RIV
 bah-ki-ña
 be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '... (he) killed (him) and left – there was a stream.' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.418-419]

Other coded categories of s-tokens are not clearly illustrated by lifted tokens as the above-noted categories.

B.2.2 The results for P-oriented DCM

This section supplements the discussion of DCM patterns in the P-marking sub-sample in Section 5.3.3. Table B.7 reports the full results for the *varbrul* analysis, which represents a moderate fit for the dataset (i.e., Input = 0.606); on this basis, fairly strong statistical evidence is produced for each of the effects reported in this table:

N = 478		* p = < 0.001		
Input: 0.606		! p = > 0.05		
		Factor weight	% prominent	N
*Contrastivity				
	Contrastive P	0.86	87.9%	33
	Non-contrastive P	0.14	19.6%	445
	Range	72		
*Look-ahead topic (persistence)				
	Look-ahead topical P	0.67	51.1%	45
	Local non-topical P	0.33	21.5%	433
	Range	34		
*Specificity				
	Specific P	0.64	32.7%	165
	Pronominal P	0.46	20.2%	109
	Non-specific P	0.40	19.6%	204
	Range	24		
Word order				
	Pre-verbal P	0.60	26%	382
	Post-verbal P	0.40	19.7%	86
	Range	20		
Animacy				
	Inanimate P	0.58	27.2%	290
	Animate P	0.42	19.7%	188
	Range	16		
! Affectedness				
	Affected P		25.09%	291
	Non-affected P		22.99%	157
! Look-back topic (distance)				
	Look-back topical P		23.65%	148
	Non-agentive s		24.55%	330

Table B.7: Full *varbrul* report: P-marking sub-sample

The remainder of this section lifts illustrative tokens for each tested factors in the analysis, presented in the order in which they arise in Section 5.3.3.

As is established in Section 5.3.3, this analysis is based upon the PLAIN-PROMINENT distinction, which corresponds to PLAIN zero-marking and PROMINENT *-re* marking for inanimate P-tokens, and to PLAIN *-re* and PROMINENT *-ni* marking for promoted and animate P-tokens. In what follows, illustrative examples are provided for each of these sub-patterns for the sake of reference, although surface case-marking is irrelevant for the statistics reported in Table B.7. To open the discussion, canonical instances of PROMINENT and PLAIN marking alternatives are provided for *animate* and *inanimate*

- The analysis reported in Table B.7 detects no statistical effect on the basis of AFFECTEDNESS STATUS. Firstly, strictly concerning animate P-tokens, PLAIN and PROMINENT-marking is freely found on both *affected* P-token, lifted in (21), and *non-affected* P-tokens, as shown in (22):

- (21) a. *jaje yo'co aco'ë tsidohuëre yureta'a quëaja'cua'ia'ë ja'quëre careña*
 hähë jo'-ko äh-ko'i **tsñ-dowi-re**
 like_that do-S.F.PRS.DEP eat-3S.F.PST.ASS child.COL-PL.AN-N.SBJ
jure-tä'ä kia-hä'-ko-wa'i-a'-i ha'-ki-re
 now-CNT.EXP tell-PRP-CL:F-PL.AN-COP-N3S parent-CL:M-N.SBJ
kaa-re-ña
 say-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘“(She) did this and ate the children, now we will tell father”, (they)
 said.’ [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.067]
- b. *... turini cha'cani huasi'i cani yë'ë yo'huë jeguaye jo'na yë're quëaye*
caoña
turi-ni cha'ka-ni wah-si'-i kaa-ni ji'i jo'-huë hewaye
 mouse-N.SBJ2 jump-SS kill-FUT-N3S say-SS 1S do-N3S.PST.ASS when
jo'-o-na ji'i-re kia-je kaa-o-ña
 do-S.F.PST.DEP-DS 1S-N.SBJ tell-CL:GEN say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘“I want to pounce on the rats and kill (them). I didn't do all of this so
 (they) tell on me,” (she) said.’ [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.070]
- (22) a. [**Context:** Speaking of the husband of the *Mother of the moon* who has
 just died at the beginning of the tale.]
ba'iquëbi juquëna yureta'a mamajëre cayabare baëña ëmë
*ba'i-ki-bi hüh-ki-na jure-tä'ä **mama-hi-re***
 live-CL:M-SBJ die-S.M.PST.DEP-DS now-CNT-EXP child-CL:COL-N.SBJ
kaja-ba-re baa-i-ña ñmi
 two-AN-N.SBJ have-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP man
 ‘(He) lived on and died, at that time (he) had two children, sons...’
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.011-013]
- b. [**Context:** The mother of the children of Baina has a final meal before
 having the eggs which will contain his children.]
... anichaojëna tsiare baoña io
*äni + chao-hi-na **tsia-re** baa-o-ña*
 eat + finish-PL.PRS.DEP-DS egg-N.SBJ have-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ñ-o
 3PRO-CL:F
 ‘Once (they) finished eating, she had eggs.’
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.112]

In a similar vein to the above, both PLAIN zero-marking and PROMINENT *-re* marking are readily observed on *affected* and *non-affected* inanimate P-tokens in the sample. The former category is exemplified in (23), and the latter category in (24):

- (23) a. *ñacona yureta'a io ñocuare oyaco ñu'icobi huare aijë'ë hua'i bani caoña*
 ñaa-ko-na jure-tã'ã ñ-o **ñohkwa-re**
 see-S.F.PRS.DEF-DS now-CNT.EXP 3PRO-CL:F chambira-N.SBJ
oja-ko ñu'i-ko-bi ware ãi-hĩ'i wa'i baa-ni
 press-S.F.PRS.DEF be_seated-CL:F-SBJ child.VOC eat-IMPER meat have-SS
 kaa-o-ña
 say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '(She) saw that she was sitting there, pressing chambira (lit. the sitting
 one (F) pressed chambira) – "(My) child, eat!", (she) held meat and said
 (this).' [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.043]
- b. *... ñataquëna ñocua oyaja'coa'ë cacona jotsi ga'yojë bani bëajë'ë caoña*
 ñahta-ki-na **ñohkwa** oja-hã'-ko-a'-i
 dawn-S.M.PRS.DEF-DS chambira press-PRP-CL:F-COP-N3S
kaa-ko-na hotsi gã'jo-hi bani + bia-hĩ'i
 say-S.F.PRS.DEF-DS grandchild.COL play-PL.PRS.DEF be + stay-IMPER
 kaa-o-ña
 say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 'When (the day) dawns, (she) wants to press chambira. (The
 grandmother) said, "grandkids, stay here and play!" ' [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.055]
- (24) a. [**Context:** God has saved one man after the flood and makes his
 destroyed house reappear from thin air.]
ñajë'ë më'ë huë'e canì ñaquëna jaojë huë'e
 ñaa-hĩ'i **mĩ'i wĩ'e** kaa-ni ñaa-ki-na hã-o-hẽ
 see-IMPER 2SG house say-SS see-S.M.PRS.DEF-DS DEM.MED-CL:F-ADD
 wĩ'e
 house
 ' "See your house," (he) said and (he) look and the house (was there)
 too.' [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.133]
- b. [**Context:** The mother of the children of Baina has just had eggs and
 she goes into the trees to find fruit. Somebody is approaching to take the
 eggs so she goes to talk to them (in their eggs).]
të'caëna yureta'a gachani yëquëni ñaja'co canì yureta'a io co'rere
 ti'ka-i-na jure-tã'ã gachcha-ni **jihki-ni**
 dry_up-S.M.PST.DEF-DS now-CNT.EXP bring_down-SS 1PL.EXCL-N.SBJ2
 ñaa-hã'-ko kaa-ni jure-tã'ã ñ-o ko're-re
 see-PRP-CL:F say-SS now-CNT.EXP 3PRO-CL:F louse-N.SBJ
 'Once (it) dried up, then he took (them) down – "(she) will see us", she
 said to the lice.' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.089-090]

The coded property of LOOK-BACK TOPICALITY, based upon the referential distance metric outlined in Section B.1.3, is not visible on the token. Contrast the *non-topical* instance in (25a), which displays 33 intervening main clauses between it and its previous mention in the tale, and the *topical* coreferential token, which arises in the following line in (25b) — i.e., a single intervening clause makes this highly topical on the basis of this metric:

- (25) a. *i jamu ti ja'o dasiquē jare sa'nahuēna bēaē ?*
 [ī-i hāmu ti ha'o daa-sih-ki] hāre sa'niwi-na
 3PRO-CL:M armadillo ANA mud bring-COMP-CL:M like_that inside-GOAL
 bia-i
 stay-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS
 'Did the armadillo that brought the mud stay inside (there)?'
 [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.098]
- b. *jamucato jare beouña – nehuesēñā*¹⁶
 hāmu=kato hāre beo-i-ñā
 armadillo=TOP like_that not.be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 neewesi-i-ñā
 do_forever-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 'As for the armadillo, (he) was not around, he went away.'
 [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.099]

Next, turning to CONTRASTIVITY STATUS, (26) provides instances of *contrastive* animate and inanimate P-tokens. Instances containing *non-contrastive* animate and inanimate P-tokens are laid out in (27) and (29) respectively:

- (26) a. [Context: A recently deceased husband transforms into a wasp to bring his family to the Upper World to join him in the afterlife.]
... ja ñacona – ja ñoni jēasi'i canī hua jēconī jēasi'i canī yo'quēna ...
 ñaa-ko-na hā ī-o-ni hia-si'-i
 see-S.F.PRS.DEP-DS DISC.PART 3PRO-CL:F-N.SBJ2 bring_across-FUT-N3S
 kaa-ni wahi-ko-ni hia-si'-i kaa-ni yo'-ki-na
 say-SS alive-CL:F-N.SBJ2 bring_across-FUT-N3S say-SS do-S.M.PRS.DEP-DS
 '... when (she) saw (this), oh, (he) wanted to bring HER,
 the living woman, (to the other side). (He) did (this) and then...'
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.081-082]
- b. [Context: In order to ascend and rejoin their father in the sky, the children of Baina must drink yage.]
... hueo yē'cato soquētene hua'ire aicoa'ē caco jaēhwa'ini ... iocato goeye
baco
 wee-o ji'i=kato sōhkitene + wa'i-re
 lie_in_hammock-S.F.PST.DEP 1S=TOP catfish(spec) + meat-N.SBJ
 āi-ko-a'-i kaa-ko hā-i-wa'i-ni
 eat-PRP-CL:F-COP.3S.F say-S.F.PRS.DEP DEM.MED-CL:M-PL.AN-N.SBJ2
 ī-o=kato gwee-je bāā-ko
 3PRO-CL:F=TOP not_want-CL:GEN NEG.AUX-S.F.PRS.DEP
 '... (she) lay (there, in the hammock) and said to them, "As for ME, I eat
 (only) CATfish meat". She didn't want (i.e., yage).'
 [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.065]

¹⁶It remains to be seen whether the presence of the contrastive topic marker =*kato* is conditioned by the high degree of (global) topicality associated with the P-argument in (25b).

- (27) a. [**Context:** The jaguar demon talks to herself as she watches the grandchildren flee. She uses the term *turi* (mouse) to refer to the human children.]
... turini cha'cani huasi'i cani yě'ě yo'huě jeguaye jo'na yě're quěaye caoña
turi-ni cha'ka-ni wah-si'-i kaa-ni ji'i jo'-huě hewaye
 mouse-N.SBJ2 jump-SS kill-FUT-N3S say-SS 1S do-N3S.PST.ASS when
 jo'-o-na ji'i-re kia-je kaa-o-ña
 do-S.F.PST.DEP-DS 1S-N.SBJ tell-CL:GEN say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘ “I want to pounce on the mice and kill (them). I didn't do all of this so (they) tell on me,” (she) said.’ [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.070]
- b. [**Context:** The children of Baina were born from the saliva of Baina on the ground in the form of lice. He sees a human woman and warns them.]
... tē'caēna yureta'a gachani yěquēni ñaja'coa cani yureta'a i co'rere ...
 ti'ka-i-na jure-tā'ā gahcha-ni **yihki-ni**
 dry-up-S.M.PST.DEP-DS now-CNT.EXP go.down-SS 1PL.EXCL-SS
 ñaa-hā'-ko-a kaa-ni jure-tā'ā i-i ko're-re
 see-PRP-CL:F-COP.3S.F say-SS now-CNT.EXP 3PRO-CL:M louse-N.SBJ
 ‘... once (his saliva) dried up, (he) came down and told the lice, “(she) will see us”...’ [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.089-090]
- (28) [**Context:** The demon *kwēēwahti* tracks the shaman protagonist in a tree. She calls him *nahso* (wolly monkey), as many demons call humans in Siona narratives.]
ñu'ijē'ě nasore cuēni aija'cua'ia'ě caoña mamaquēre
 ñu'ĩ-hĩ'ĩ **nahso-re** kwēē-ni
 be.seated-IMPER wolly_monkey-N.SBJ get.down-SS
 āi-hā'-ko-wa'i-a'-i kaa-o-ña mama-ki-re
 eat-PRP-CL:F-PL.AN-COP-N3S say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP child-CL:M-n.sbj
 ‘ “(Stay) sitting down! (We) will get the monkey down and eat (him)”, (she) said to (her) son.’ [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.106-107]
- (29) a. [**Context:** God sends the squirrel-person to search for active watering holes in the newly formed land. He is given chicha to sustain himself.]
... saiquēbi jare tres to'to sani ja'runi i beojeoña go'no ucuchaoquē ba'quēña
 sai-ki-bi hāre tres to'to sani + ha'ru-ni i-i
 go-CL:M-SBJ like_that three watering.hole go + sit_down-SS 3PRO-CL:M
 beo + hēō-i-ña **gō'no** ũhku + chao-ki
 NEG.EXIS + leave_behind-3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP chicha drink + finish-CL:M
 ba-~'-ki-ña
 be-RMT.PST-3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘... (he) (lit. the going one (M)) went on to three watering holes and sat down and had none left. He finished drinking the chicha.’
 [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.280]

- b. [Context: The man wants to eat the stew, which he does not realize contains the remains of his children. This meal is not contrasted with another.]
 ... *ñajëna yë'ë biada'care cusi'i caëña*
 ñaa-hi-na ji'i **bia** + **da'ka-re** ūhku-si'-i
 see-PL.PRS.DEP-DS 1S aji_pepper + liquid-N.SBJ drink-FUT-N3S
 kaa-i-ña
 say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '... (they) watched (him) as (he) said "I will take (some) soup".'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.264]

As concerns LOOK-AHEAD TOPICALITY (persistence or (re)activation), two PLAIN-marked tokens are shown in (10) above. This example demonstrates an instance of PLAIN *-re* marking on an animate *topical* token, and PLAIN zero-marking on an inanimate *non-topical* accordingly. Another clear instance of the latter is shown in (30) below:

- (30) a. *huajoturubë sasiquëbi huajo dutani jëyonì te'ja'a wani jëosi'i canì*
huahuegëña ...
 waho + turu-bë saa-sih-ki-bi **waho** duhta-ni hi-jo-ni
 arrow + bag-CL:RND take-COMP-CL:M-SBJ arrow remove-SS break.TRS-SS
 te'e-hã'ã wani + hëö-si'-i kaa-ni
 one-PATH kill + leave_behind-FUT-N3S say-SS
 + wëã-i-ña
 + leave_behind.TRS-2/3s.m.pst.n.ass-rep
 'Since he was carrying a quiver of arrows – he took out one arrow and broke (it). He wanted to kill (the animal with it), so he killed (it).'
- b. ... *huaëna tsimacabi goëo goëo goëo caëña*
 wai-i-na tsii-mahka-bi kwë kwë kwë
 kill-3S.M.PRS.DEP-DS child-DIM.SG-SBJ " "
 kaa-i-ña
 say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '(He) killed (him), and the (animal) child screamed "kwë kwë kwë!"'
 [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.022-023]

A corresponding instance of PLAIN *-re* marking arises on the *non-topical* animate P-token lifted in (31):

- (31) [Context: In *Mother of the moon* the narrator mention how the protagonist's husband dies, but he has sons, then the narrator's attention turns back to the wife.]
- a. *ba'iquëbi juquëna yureta'a mamajëre cayabare baëña ëmë*
 ba'i-ki-bi hũh-ki-na jure-tã'ã **mama-hi-re**
 live-CL:M-SBJ die-S.M.PST.DEP-DS now-CNT-EXP child-CL:COL-N.SBJ
caya-ba-re baa-i-ña ïmi
 two-AN-N.SBJ have-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP man
 '(He) lived on and died, at that time he had two children, sons ...'

- b. ... *daoco i airo daoquē hua'i nesi ma'aja'a onidojaioña*
dao-ko ã-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) along the path where he would go to hunt, crying as (she)
wandered.’ [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.011-015]

Unlike the instances above, PROMINENT-marking is also attested on *non-topical* P-tokens, although at a relatively lower frequency. (32) demonstrates an instance of PROMINENT *-re* marking on the *non-topical* inanimate P. A similar instance with PROMINENT *-ni* marking on a *non-topical* animate P-token is provided in (33):

- (32) a. *ñacona yureta'a io ñocuare oyaco ñu'icobi – huare aijë'ë hua'i bani caoña*
ña-a-ko-na jure-tã'ã ã-o ñohkwa-re
see-S.F.PRS.DEP-DS now-CNT.EXP 3PRO-CL:F chambira-N.SBJ
oja-ko ñu'i-ko-bi ware ãi-hĩĩ wa'i baa-ni
press-S.F.PRS.DEP be_seated-CL:F-SBJ child.VOC eat-IMPER meat have-SS
kaa-o-ña
say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
‘(She) saw that she was sitting there, pressing chambira (lit. the sitting one (F) pressed chambira) – “(My) child, eat!”, (she) held meat and said (this).’
b. ... *caona hua'i mani qsi'i cani comeco ñaona io aibë ba'idë soquëperubë nesicobi*
kaa-o-na wa'i maa-ni ãh-si'-i kaa-ni kōme-ko
say-S.F.PST.DEP-DS meat take-SS eat-FUT-N3S say-SS serve-S.F.PRS.DEP
ña-a-ko-na ã-o ai-bi ba'i-dĩ †[sōhki
see-S.F.PRS.DEP-DS 3PRO-CL:F ancestor-CL:COL be-CL:TEMP wood
+ peru-bi nee-sih-ko-bi]
+ instrument-CL:RND make-COMP-CL:F-INST
‘... when (she) said (this), she (i.e., the mother) wanted to serve herself from soup using a wooden ladel, the type that the ancestors used at that time, as (the other) watched.’ [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.043-044]
- (33) a. *jaoni huatojeoni sani yo'ni saquëña i...*
hã-o-ni wahto + hẽõ-ni sai-i jo'-ni
DEM.MED-CL:F-NSBJ2 separate + leave_behind-SS go-S.M.PRS.DEP do-SS
sah-ki-ña ã-i
go-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP 3PRO-CL:M
‘He left her behind and went on ...’
b. ... *sai hua'i sasëyotëoquë saquëña jobo airona*
sai-i wa'i saa + sijo + tio-ki
go-S.M.PRS.DEP meat bring + smoke + put-S.M.PRS.DEP
sah-ki-ña hobo ai-ro-na
go-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP middle big-CL:LOC-GOAL
‘... he went on and brought smoked meat and put (it) in the middle of the forest.’ [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.030-032)]

In order to round off the discussion of LOOK-AHEAD TOPICALITY, (34) provides an instance of PLAIN zero-marking arising on a *topical* inanimate P-token:

- (34) a. [**Context:** The children of Baina (jaguar-people) have killed their human mother and are bringing her teeth to be enchanted by a shaman.]
a'ri cujimaña isiña isijē'ē cani saquēña yaije ...
a'ri kūhī-mahña īhsi-hī'ĩ kaa-ni sah-ki-ña
 small tooth-DIM.PL give-IMPER say-SS go-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 jai-hē
 jaguar-ADD
 '(He) handed over the little teeth. (He) said "give (them)!" and then the jaguar left ...'
- b. ... *me caquē sēquē duñera achasi'i caēña jare i tēijani achacuēna*
huahuario cujimañare sēquē sēquē sēquē baiñobi caco uñño
 mee kaa-ki sii-ki duñe-reba
 how say-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS enchant-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS better-INTENS
 ahcha-si'-i kaa-i-ña hāre ī-i
 understand-FUT-N3S say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP like_that 3PRO-CL:M
 tiiha-ni ahcha-ki-na wawaro + kūhī-mahña-re
 turn_over.TRS-SS listen-S.M.PRS.DEP-DS cockroach + tooth-DIM.PL-N.SBJ
 sihki sihki bāi-o-bi kaa-ko ũi-o
 " " person-CL:F-SBJ say-S.F.PRS.DEP be_lying-S.F.PRS.DEP
 '... (he) wanted better understand how to do this enchantment. So (he) turned around and listened as the woman lying there said *sēquē sēquē* *sēquē* over the cockroach teeth.' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.316-324]

The next factor, which is discussed in Section 5.3.3 concerns SPECIFICITY STATUS. Firstly, as concerns pronominal P-tokens, all anticipated PLAIN and PROMINENT case-markers are attested. (35) demonstrates instances of PROMINENT *-ni* marking and PLAIN *-re* marking on promoted inanimate pronominal tokens. Similarly marked animate personal pronoun tokens are lifted in (36):

- (35) a. [**Context:** The mother of the children of Baina is starting to become ill, when Baina himself flies away to the Upper World.]
... yo'quēna iō bē'cacoje caoña iconi guijē'ē caoña – neo garabēre
 jo'-ki-na ī-o bi'ka-ko-hē
 do-S.M.PRS.DEP-DS 3PRO-CL:F parent-CL:F-ADD
 kaa-o-ña ↑**ih-ko-ni** gūi-hī'ĩ
 say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP DEM.PROX-CL:F-N.SBJ2 bite-IMPER
 kaa-o-ña nee-o gara-bi-re
 say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP make-3S.F.PST.ASS charcoal-CL:RND-N.SBJ
 'When (he) did this, her mother said, "bite into this!", she had made charcoal.' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.092-093]

- b. [**Context:** All of the animals in the forest are coming to take down a great tree.]
icore cueni jəoñu'u cueni jəouna jaobi taitota'a tsiaya ba'ija'coa
 ↑**ih-ko-re** kwēē-ni hēō-ñu'ũ kwēē-ni
 DEM.PROX-CL:F-N.SBJ take_down-SS leave_behind-HORT take_down-SS
 hēō-i-na ↑hā-o-bi t̃ai-to-t̃ā'ā
 leave_behind-S.M.PST.DEP-DS DEM.MED-CL:F-SBJ fall-COND-CNT.EXP
 tsia-ja ba'i-hā'-ko-a'
 river-CL:RIV be-PRP-CL:F-COP.3S.F
 'Let's take it (i.e., the tree) down, when (it) comes down, we will leave (it) and it (lit. she) will become the river.'
 [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.251-253]

- (36) a. [**Context:** The husband of a lady from Earth dies and wants to bring his family with him to the Upper World.]
... cani daijē'ē canī sañu'u mēsaruni caquē daajē'ē si'a tsēcabēre
 kaa-ni dai-hĩ'ĩ kaa-ni saa-ñu'ũ **mīhsaru-ni** kaa-ki
 say-SS come-IMPER say-SS bring-HORT 2PL-N.SBJ2 say-S.M.PRS.DEP
 daa-hĩ'ĩ si'a tsihka-bi-re
 bring-IMPER all family-CL:COL-N.SBJ
 '... (he) said "come! (I) want to bring you (PL). The whole family!"'
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.028-029]
- b. [**Context:** The jaguar people, children of Baina, have just killed their human step-mother, now they want to kill the rest of their human family.]
sahuē'huē mēareña yaibaicato iohua'ire cūcujəñu'u cani ...
 sawi'wi + mia-re-ña jai + bāĩ=kato
 fly + go_up-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS-REP jaguar + person.COL=TOP
ĩ-o-wa'i-re kūh~kū + hōā-ñu'ũ kaa-ni
 3PRO-CL:F-PL.AN-N.SBJ bite~REDUP + slash-HORT say-SS
 'As for the jaguar people, they flew up above and wanted to attack them (lit. (they) said "let's bite and slash them").'
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.028-029]

Regarding non-pronominal tokens, PROMINENT *-re* marking is displayed both for a specific P-token in (37), whereas an instance with PLAIN zero-marking is shown in (5) above. A PROMINENT *-re* marked non-specific token is found in (38):

- (37) *ĩ coriyore dutani baquēbi aide'huani i dējore...*
ĩ-ĩ kori-jo-re duhta-ni baa-ki-bi aide'wa-ni
 3PRO-CL:M rib-CL:LONG-N.SBJ remove-SS have-CL:M-SBJ make_grow-SS
ĩ-ĩ dīhō-re
 3PRO-CL:M wife-N.SBJ
 '... (he) took out his rib and, having (it), created (lit. grew) his wife.'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.004]

- (38) [**Context:** The protagonist is in the Upper World and some cricket creatures find her and bring her to the *Debao*. They have something for her to drink.]
 ...*jaēhua'ibi gonosēbē tī'tese're dahuē*.
 hā-i-wa'i-bi [gōno + sihbi tī'te-sih-je-re]
 DEM.MED-CL:M-PL.AN-SBJ chicha + flask bring-along-COMP-CL:GEN-N.SBJ
 daa-wi
 bring-N3S.PST.ASS
 '... they brought (her) some flasks of chicha they had brought along.'
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.106-109]

Similar patterns to the above are shown for animate P-tokens. An instance of PROMINENT -*ni* marking on a specific animate P-token in (39). Instances of PLAIN -*re* marking and PROMINENT -*ni* marking on animate P-tokens are illustrated in (40):

- (39) Example of PROMINENT-marked definite animate P:
jerorana saquē ja'quē cani yureta'a bē'caquēni co'ehuēoni sareña
 he-ro-reba-na sah-ki ha'-ki kaa-ni
 WH-CL:LOC-INTENS-GOAL go-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS parent-CL:M say-SS
 jure-tā'ā **bi'ka-ki-ni** ko'e + wio-ni
 now-CNT.EXP parent-CL:M-N.SBJ2 look_for + begin-SS
 saa-re-ña
 bring-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '“Where exactly did father go?” they said, and then they brought (the others) to start looking for (their) father.’ [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.444]
- (40) a. *baconā iō dēbaocato – jamacarebacato ējēre baconā...*
 bah-ko-ña ã-o dēbao=kato –
 be-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP 3PRO-CL:F vulture(spec)=TOP –
 hāmahka-reba=kato **ihĩ-re** baa-o-ña
 then-INTENS=TOP husband-N.SBJ have-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 'There was *the Debao*. At that time (she) lived on and had a husband...' [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.005-006]
- b. [**Context:** The protagonist goes to catch an electric eel, his son's favourite meat, but he can't find one.]
 ...*yo'jujani huañumini huareje caquēni da baquē*
 jo'-huha-ni **wañumi-ni** ware-hē kaa-ki-ni daa-a
 do-FRUST-SS anaconda-N.SBJ2 child-ADD say-CL:M-N.SBJ2 bring-NEG
 bah-ki
 be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS
 '... (he) couldn't do (that), so (he) brought an anaconda to (his) son, who asked him (to bring the eel).' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.444]

As concerns WORD ORDER, the dominant pattern is such that P-tokens arise in *pre-verbal* position. Both of the sentences in (40) above display *pre-verbal* P-tokens. (41) displays instances of PLAIN -*re* and PROMINENT -*ni* on *post-verbal* animate P-tokens:

- (41) a. *yureta'a iohua'i ga'yojẽ quẽohuẽ nesiconi chojẽna ti'a baquẽ ...*
 jure-tã'ã ã-o-wa'i gã'jo-hi ↑[**kio-wi**
 now-CNT.EXP 3PRO-CL:F-PL.AN play-PL.PRS.DEP crush-CL:CONT
nee-sih-ko-ni cho-hi-na tĩ'ã-a
 make-COMP-CL:F-N.SBJ2 laugh-PL.PRS.DEP-DS arrive-NEG
 bah-ki
 be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS
 'Now they were playing (with) the trap they had made (lit. the crusher)
 and laughing when (he) arrived ...' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.368]
- b. *... tsoe ja quẽojẽyouna jaona huaquẽña te'ire*
 tsoe hã kio + hi-jo-i-na
 already DISC.PART crush + break.INTR-S.M.PST.DEP-DS
 hã-o-na wah-ki-ña **te'-i-re**
 DEM.MED-CL:F-GOAL kill-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP one-CL:M-N.SBJ
 '(The trap) already crushed (him) and it broke and he killed one (M) (of
 them) right there.' [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.380-381]

B.2.3 The results for L-oriented DCM

Table B.8 reports the results of the full *varbrul* model for the L-oriented sub-sample. The FACTOR of ANIMACY STATUS is eliminated from the coding of this spatial DCM pattern. The eight coded *look-ahead topical* L-token invariably display PROMINENT-marking. In addition, on the basis of the small set of L-tokens, and, most likely, the generally higher proportion of PROMINENT-marking, this model is not a strong fit for the data (i.e., Input = 0.738) — just as is disclaimed in Chapter 5, the statistical findings reported below are to be taken with a grain of salt:

N = 152		* p = < 0.01	
Input: 0.738		! p = > 0.05	
	Factor weight	% prominent	N
*Contrastivity			
Contrastive L	0.79	90%	20
Non-contrastive L	0.21	47%	132
Range	58		
Specificity			
Specific non-pro L	0.66	62.7%	67
Pronoun L	0.43	46.2%	65
Non-specific L	0.40	40%	20
Range	26		
Non-significant Factors			
◊ Look-ahead topic (persistence)		◊ INVARIABLE	
Look-ahead topical L		100%	8
Local non-topical L		50%	144
! Word order			
Pre-verbal L		54.95%	111
Post-verbal L		46.34%	91
! Subcategorization			
Subcategorized L		55.68%	88
Non-subcategorized L		48.44%	64
! Look-back topic (distance)			
Look-back topical L		64.52%	31
Global non-topical L		49.59%	121

Table B.8: Varbrul results: factors conditioning PROMINENT L-marking

In light of the relevance of promotion to the determination of PLAIN- and PROMINENT-marking forms, the PROMINENT-marking status is established on a token-by-token basis. (42) demonstrates an instance of promoted L-tokens as arise with PLAIN *-re* marking, and with PROMINENT *-ni* marking accordingly:

- (42) a. [**Context:** The children see fruit up in the trees so they go up to get it.]
 ... *ba'ina jaore saniti'ani abita mēni ocuereña*
 ba'i-i-na [↑]*hā-o-re* sani + ti'ā-ni abita
 be-S.M.PST.DEP-DS DEM.MED-CL:F-N.SBJ go + find-SS abita_fruit
 mini + ōhkwe-re-ña
 go-up + slurp-N2/3S.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '...since there was (fruit), (they) climbed up there to find and to eat (it)
 up.'
[NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.450-452]

- b. *tsiaya ba'isiconi yureta'a ja tuina ti tubēje yureta'a jēatubē de'ouña*
[↑][**tsia-ja** **ba'i-sih-ko-ni**] jure-tā'ā hā
river-CL:RIV be-COMP-CL:F-N.SBJ2 now-CNT.EXP DISC.PART
tui-i-na [ti tu-bi-hē] jure-tā'ā
sit_on_something-S.M.PRS.DEP-DS ANA trunk-CL:RND-ADD now-CNT.EXP
hia + tu-bi de'o-i-ña
hard + trunk-CL:RND become-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
‘(He) sat where there was a river. That tree trunk had now hardened
too.’ [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.092]

Section 5.3.4 considers an additional formal complexity, concerning the usage of *-na* with the L-tokens arising with particular predicates. On the basis, under conditions of promotion, *-na* marking is obligatory, and the corresponding invariable tokens are excluded. (43) lifts two such instances from the sample:

- (43) a. ... *sa'nihuē jai cua'coro tsiusiconi aide'ouña*
[↑][**sa'niwi hai kwa'ko-ro** **tsiū-sih-ko-na**] ai
inside big cook-CL:RECEP cover-COMP-CL:F-GOAL big
+ de'o-i-ña
+ become-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
‘... (they) grew inside the big covered pot.’
[NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.147]
- b. ... *go'ini caquē ba'quēña baja'i tsiaya – jaona jaēhua'i guya-yē*
go'i-ni kaa-ki ba-~'-ki-ña
return-SS say-S.M.PRS.DEP be-RMT.PST-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
ba-ha'i tsia-ja [↑]**hā-o-na**
be-3S.M.PST.ASS river-CL:RIV DEM.MED-CL:F-GOAL
hā-i-wa'i guja-ji
DEM.MED-CL:M-PL.AN bathe-N3S.PRS.ASS
‘... (he) came back and said, “There is a river. They are bathing there.”’
[NAT*: 20151023orocr001.240-242]

The role of CONTRASTIVITY STATUS is evident on the basis of examples such as (44), where PROMINENT *-re* marking arises:

- (44) [Context: The demon *kwēēwahti* is chasing the protagonist, and he goes from tree to tree to find a new place to hide. After sitting up on a branch, it breaks...]
... *jēyequē neni ja'obi pē'pēni ja'ruña – ja'runi jarore tuquēña*
hije-ki nee-ni ha'o-bi pi~pi-ni
break.INTR-S.M.PRS.DEP make-SS leaf-INST pile~REDUP-SS
ha'ru-i-ña ha'ru-ni **hā-ro-re**
sit_down-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP sit_down-SS DEM.MED-CL:LOC-N.SBJ
tuh-ki-ña
sit_atop-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
‘... (it) broke and so (he) took leaves and covered (himself) and sat down.
(He) sat down and was sitting at THAT spot.’
[NAT*: 20151112oespa001.097]

As regards the WORD ORDER, this does not appear to factor into L-marking. (45) lifts two typical instances of PROMINENT *-re* on both *pre-verbal* and *post-verbal* L-tokens:

- (45) a. *ĩñore ba'ico cani sanisãẽña ...*
ihño-re ba'i-ko kaa-ni sani + saa-i-ña
 here-N.SBJ live-3S.F.PRS.ASS say-SS go + bring-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘“(She) lives HERE” (he) said and (he) brought (her there)...’
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.450]
- b. [**Context:** Baina helps his pregnant wife retrieve arari fruit from the trees]
... ñacona arari darẽse'e baquẽña ma'gre
 ñaa-ko-na arari da'ri-si-je
 see-S.F.PRS.DEP-DS arari_fruit fall_to_ground-COMP-CL:GEN
 bah-ki-ña **ma'ã-re**
 be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP path-N.SBJ
 ‘... (she) saw the arari fruits that had fallen, (they) were on the path.’
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.073]

As regards SPECIFICITY STATUS, PROMINENT-marking freely arises on both *specific* and *non-specific* L-tokens. Instances PLAIN zero-marking and PROMINENT *-re* marking are shown in (46):

- (46) a. [**Context:** After her husband passes away, the protagonist searches for his spirit in the forest.]
... caona achani ja beohue'ña ba'isiquẽta'a
 kaa-o-na ahcha-ni hã **beo-wẽ'ña**
 say-S.M.PST.DEP-DS listen-SS DISC.PART NEG.EXIS-LOC.DERIV
 ba'i-sih-ki-tã'ã
 be-COMP-CL:M-CNT.EXP
 ‘... after (she) said (that), (her son) listened but (his father) was nowhere.’
 [NAT*: 20151112orapi001.022]
- b. [**Context:** the shaman protagonist knows to stay still inside as the demon *cuehuati* eats another man at the house.]
... bëani jarẽre huecaquẽña cãina io huẽ'ena tĩ'tani anijeõña ire
 bia-ni **hã-ri-re** wee
 stay-SS hammock-CL:MAIZE-N.SBJ be_lying
 + kãh-ki-ña kãi-i-na ã-o
 + sleep-N2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP sleep-S.M.PRS.DEP-DS 3PRO-CL:F
 wi'e-na tĩ'tã-ni ãni + hẽõ-o-ña
 house-GOAL arrive-SS eat + leave_behind-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ã-i-re
 3PRO-CL:M-N.SBJ
 ‘... (he) stayed there, lying and sleeping in a hammock when she arrived at the house to eat him up.’
 [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.020]

B.2.4 Miscellaneous examples for discussion

This section lays out a selection of examples to supplement the discussion in Chapter 5, which do not concern the S-marking, the P-marking, or the L-marking sub-samples

- b. ... *sai airo saquēña huao huē'equē'roja'a*
 sai-i ai-ro sah-ki-ña **wa-o**
 go-S.M.PST.DEF big-CL:LOC go-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP parent.in-law-CL:F
 + **wi'e-ki'ro-hā'ā**
 + house-LOC.DERIV-PATH
 '...going to the jungle (to hunt), (he) went past his mother-in-law's
house.' [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.009]

The next mentioned category concerns Point-of-Contact tokens ($N=28$). These are described as *pseudo-spatial* argument in Section 3.2.4 in the *preliminary description* in this dissertation. The bulk of these tokens bear *-na* marking, which is generally the obligatory marking pattern — as exemplified in (49). Two outliers tokens, which deviate from this pattern are lifted in (50) and (51): The former arises with *-hā'ā* (LIMIT) marking, which has a compatible spatial meaning; and the latter example is an instance of exceptional zero-marking, as noted with the spatial pronoun, *to*:

- (49) *cacani ire sa'nahuē ahuēna to'tehueña ba'ē ire yi'yebi*
 kahka-ni i-i-re + sa'nawi **a-wi-na**
 enter-SS DEM.PROX-CL:M-N.SBJ + inside heart-CL:CONT-GOAL
 to'te + wēā-a ba-i'i i-i-re ji'je-bi
 sting + kill-NEG be-N3S.PST.ASS DEM.PROX-CL:M-N.SBJ wasp(spec)-SBJ
 '(He) entered inside him, and the wasp stung him on the heart.'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.541]
- (50) *anijeoni yureta'a tsiubēja'a titotēani ...*
 āni + hēō-ni jure-tā'ā **tsiū-bi-hā'ā** tihto + tia-ni
 eat + leave_behind-SS now-CNT.EXP head-CL:RND-PATH cut + set Aside-SS
 '(She) ate (him) and cut (him) up to (his) head, setting (it) aside ...'
 [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.035]
- (51) *guēbe irecato cuēa baquē tsiubēna ñacuana to tē'caēña*
 gwēbe i-i-re=kato kwii-a bah-ki
 be.drunk 3PRO-CL:M-N.SBJ=TOP swim-NEG be-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS
 tsiū-bi-na ñahkwa-na **to** ti'ka-i-ña
 head-CL:RND-GOAL eye-GOAL ANA.LOC hit-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 '(He) swam up to him like a madman and hit him [on the head, there, by the eye].'
 [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.568]

Section 5.3.1 briefly considers the case-marking properties found with temporal noun tokens in the sample. The dominant pattern is one where temporal nominals are zero-marked, and this discussion also discussed temporal Start-Point and End-Point tokens. A few tokens are found where the temporal token is marked with *-na*, as in the lifted example in (52). At present it is not clear what the function of *-na* is in such instances:

- (52) *huaredohuē cāijē'ē esa caoña gosa ga'yoyē ñocua oyasi'i cacona neatona ioje*
bēani uñño yo'co caoña
 ware-dowi kãĩ-hĩ'i ehsa kaa-o-ña gōhsa
 child-PL.AN sleep-IMPER fast say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP ungrahua
 gā'jo-ji ñohkwa oja-si'-i kaa-ko-na
 play-N3S.PRS.ASS chambira.palm press-FUT-N3S say-S.F.PRS.DEP-DS

nea-to-na ï-o-hẽ bia-ni ã-no
 be_dark-CL:LOC-GOAL 3PRO-CL:F-ADD stay-SS be_lying-S.F.PST.DEP
 jo'-ko kaa-o-ña
 do-S.F.PRS.DEP say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘ “Go to sleep, children! Quickly!” (she) said. They are playing with the
 ungurahua leaves, (she) wanted to press chambira very early the next day
 (~at dawn), she said (this) as she remained lying there.’
 [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.053-054]

The next grammatical relation concerns in Section 5.3.1 concerns GOAL (G) tokens — this spatial grammatical relation displays a bona DCM pattern, described in Section 3.3.2. The pattern found on canonical, non-promoted, G-tokens is exemplified by the derived spatial nouns in (53): PLAIN zero-marking is shown in (53a), and PROMINENT *-na* marking in (53b):

- (53) a. [**Context:** The children of Baina are ready to drink yage and ascend to be with their father. One of the sisters does not want to drink any.]
me basiconi sai ja'cua'ia ? ja'quẽquẽ'ro ti'aja'cua'ia'ẽ caẽña
 me baa-sih-ko-ni sai-hã-ko-wa'i-a'
 how have-COMP-CL:F-N.SBJ2 go-PRP-CL:F-PL.AN-COP.N.ASS
ha'-ki-ki'ro ti'a-hã'-ko-wa'i-a'-i
 parent-CL:M-DERIV.LOC arrive-PRP-CL:F-PL.AN-COP-N3S
 kaa-i-ña
 say-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘ “How will we go because of HER (lit. the one who was (there))? We will arrive where father is”, (he) said.’ [NAT*: 20150811sfryi002.279]
- b. [**Context:** The great tree has come down and now the creature-people can bathe in the newly formed river. God tells the hummingbird to bring his family there.]
... sanëcajai ba'quẽña mimi – yẽĩñquẽ'rona sanëcajaquẽña
 saa + nihka-hai-i ba-~'-ki-ña
 bring + stand-VBLZ-CL:M be-RMT.PST-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP
 mimi **jii-ñi-ki'ro-na** saa
 hummingbird cotton-CL:TREE-DERIV.LOC-GOAL bring
 + nihka-hai-ki-ña
 + stand-VBLZ-2/3S.M.PRS.N.ASS-REP
 ‘... the hummingbird brought (his family). (He) brought (them) to the kapok tree and stands (there).’
 [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.236-237]

Word order in the narrative sample

Table B.9 indicates the order of main clausal arguments relative to the main verbal word — i.e., the verbal element in the main clause which bears inflectional morphology. Following conventions established elsewhere in this dissertation: s refers to the clausal SUBJECT, p to the DIRECT OBJECT, r to the INDIRECT OBJECT, whereas x refers to any remaining grammatical relations recorded in the narrative sample, including spatial arguments — consult Table 5.5 in Chapter 5 for an enumeration of these categories. For s, p, and r; the large capital refers to the proportion of overt

tokens (e.g., SV — refers to an overt, pre-verbal s-argument), whereas the small capital refers to covert arguments of that category (e.g., sV indicates that there is no overt s-argument in this clause):

	N	%	%SV	%VS	%sV	%PV	%VP	%pV	%RV	%VR	%RV	%XV	%VX
Intransitive	746	(41.51)	35.79	11.53	52.68							73.29	26.71
Transitive	999	(55.59)	17.82	8.51	73.67	54.15	14.61	31.23				77.14	22.86
Ditransitive	52	(2.89)	9.62	11.54	78.85	40.38	3.85	55.77	44.23	42.31	13.46		
Total	1797		25.04	9.85	65.11	53.47	13.89	32.45				74.46	25.54

Table B.9: Descriptive overview: Word order and argument dropping patterns in corpus sample (main clauses)

Nominal discourse markers in narrative sample

Table B.10 reports the distribution of the discourse markers as found in the narrative sample, which include the following four nominal morphemes, discussed in detail in Section 6.4.2: the exclusive marker *-se'e* (only), the additive marker *-hẽ* (also), the counter-expectative marker *-tã'ã* (even), and the contrastive topic clitic, *=kato* (as for...). As indicated in Section 5.3.2.1, *=kato* marking is a criterion for excluding tokens in the s-marking sub-sample — (54) lifts a few tokens with *=kato*:

CASE-MARKER/ROLE	<i>-se'e</i> (EXCL)	<i>-hẽ</i> (ADD)	<i>-tã'ã</i> (CNT.EXP)	<i>=kato</i> (TOP)
ZERO-MARKING	43	44	48	76
s	23 (53.49%)	32 (72.73%)	5 (10.42%)	52 (68.42%)
P	17 (39.53%)	8 (18.18%)	0	3 (3.95%)
L	2 (4.65%)	2 (4.55%)	0	5 (6.58%)
G	1 (2.33%)	2 (4.55%)	0	2 (2.63%)
TIME	0	0	43 (89.58%)	14 (18.42%)
re-MARKING (P)	5	2	3	5
bi-MARKING (S)	3	0	0	0
TOTAL (<i>N</i> = 229)	51	46	51	81

Table B.10: Distribution of discourse markers in Siona narrative dataset

Table B.10 demonstrates that there are a total of 229 nominal tokens bearing a discourse marker — i.e., 11.96% of the total 1914 tokens in the sample. These nominal markers are less frequent than case-marking, which arises on 44.1% of nominal tokens in the Siona narrative dataset, as shown in Table 5.5.

- (54) a. *io neato ñami ti'ani aísicobi ani chaoni irecato gcoña ...*
 ã-o nea-to ñahmi tĩ'ã-ni ãĩ-sih-ko-bi ãni + chao-ni
 3PRO-CL:F dark-COND night arrive-SS eat-COMP-CL:F-SBJ eat + finish-SS
ĩ-i-re=kato ãh-ko-ña
 3PRO-CL:M-N.SBJ=TOP eat-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘...she came later in the night, the one who was eating (him) came back to finish eat HIM (i.e., not the shaman).’
 [NAT*: 20151112oespa001.025]
- b. *ja susi jecabi sěyěja'coa'ẽ jecarebacato bañẽ yě'ẽ sěyěye caoña*
 hã suhsi + hehka-bi siji-hã'-ko-a'-i
 DEM.MED carachama.palm + firewood-INST dry_out-PRP-CL:F-COP-N3S
hehka-reba=kato bãã-ñi jĩ'i siji-je
 firewood-INTENS=TOP NEG.AUX-N3S.PRS.ASS 1SG dry_out-CL:GEN
 kaa-o-ña
 say-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP
 ‘...“(I) must dry (it) out with the carachama firewood. I cannot dry out the WOOD (we have now)”, (she) said.’ [NAT*: 20150811sfryi001.623]

- c. [**Context:** The demon *cuehuati* left the half-eaten corpse of a man when she terrorized the village. There is another man, the shaman protagonist, who is in the village hiding.]

iō neato ñami tĩ'ani aĩsicobi anichaoni irecato aconña
 ĩ-o neato ñami tĩ'ã-ni ãĩ-sih-ko-bi ãni + chao-ni
 PRO3-CL:F later night arrive-SS eat-COMP-CL:F-SBJ eat + finish-SS

ĩ-i-re=kato ãh-ko-ña

3PRO-CL:M-N.SBJ=TOP eat-2/3S.F.PST.N.ASS-REP

‘She arrived later in the night, and she (lit. the one who had eaten) finished eating him.’ [NAT*: 20151001oolpi001.092-093]

- d. [**Context:** The water from the flood finally subsides and the surviving man, the protagonist, begins to explore the world.]

ñadojai ñaěña jero cani ñatoje – tocatō jare soquěñěa beoěña

ña-a + dohai-i ñaa-i-ña he-ro

see + wander-S.M.PST.DEP see-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP INTER-CL:LOC

kaa-ni ñaa-to-hě **to=kato** hãre sōhki-ñi-ã

say-SS see-COND-ADD ANA.LOC=TOP like_that wood-CL:TREE-PL.INAN

beo-i-ña

NEG.AUX-2/3S.M.PST.N.ASS-REP

‘He took a look around, seeing where (he) was speaking of – there were no trees there.’ [NAT*: 20151023orocr001.108]

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