

REVIEW OF *ON THIS AND OTHER WORLDS: VOICES FROM AMAZONIA* (2017)

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This bountiful volume is published as an e-book in the series Studies in Diversity Linguistics (<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/167>) under a Creative Commons license. Narratives with glosses, translations into both English and Portuguese, maps and illustrations, and linguistic and cultural analyses of the content are provided for twelve indigenous languages spoken within Brazil: Kuikuro, Kalapalo, Marubo, Trumai, Kotiria, Hup, Sakurabiat, Kĩsêdjê, Kwaza, Aikanã, Suruí-Paíter, and Ka'apor. The original narratives are available as media files (e.g. video and/or audio) on external sites (e.g. <https://zenodo.org/record/999238>). Each chapter reflects a collaborative effort within a participatory paradigm, in which indigenous researchers participate in the documentation and publication process from beginning to end.

As my own primary research interests are guided by the interplay between theoretical models of linguistic structure and empirical challenges provided by natural languages, I will largely abstract away from remarking on the fascinating cosmological perspectives that these texts reflect about conceptions of frontiers between life and death, origin stories, and tricksters, while asserting that they are a plentiful resource both for the casual reader as well as the specialist with interest in mythological structures and content. Instead I will focus on the kinds of morphosyntactic phenomena in which readers of this book can steep themselves.

While the field of Amazonian linguistics has seen a recent explosion of experimentally-guided work (as witnessed in collections such as Lima & Rothstein 2018, and Amaral, Maia, Nevins & Roeper 2018), a strong case can be made for the complementary importance of naturalistically-

collected narratives, particularly for discourse-related elements such as evidentials, switch-reference, logophoric connectives and performative modes (e.g. imperatives, hortatives, imminent future). In the interest of showcasing the kinds of empirical phenomena that each contribution offers, I have organized this review around one particular glossed example from each chapter and what it presents of interest to morphosyntactic typology, in order of the chapters. Naturally, it is a difficult exercise to choose but one example amongst numerous contenders within each chapter, and these merely provide hints of what the interested reader can find by probing deeply into these sources.

KUIKURO is a Carib language with ergative marking and occasional subject-final order, e.g. (1) below (in which OVS order predominates with transitive sentences, though SV order is largely found in intransitives). In this and all other examples, I reproduce morpheme-level glosses, which are sometimes distinct from the eventual phonologically-transformed surface form (also provided in all texts). In some cases, for the sake of what I consider to be greater transparency I have adapted the gloss abbreviations, all of which are provided at the end of this review.

- (1) *anhã itu-na tü-te-nhü-pe itaõ*
 dead place-ALL ptcp-go-NAGT.NMLZ-NOMTNS woman
 ‘The woman who went to the village of the dead’ (line 2).

In (1) we see an allative postposition on the first constituent, a nominalized verb (with a non-agentive nominalization, as indeed, the subject is not marked with ergative case), and a nominal tense marker. The existence of OVS order in Carib languages has been discussed since Derbyshire (1977) and, more recently by Kalin (2014), where the former treats it as basic (and thereby a potential challenge for X-bar theories of syntax and universals of word order) and the latter as derived. In the narrative (Franchetto, Fausto, A. Kuikuro & J. Kuikuro), a woman is taken through the village of the dead. The nominal tense marker (found on nominalizations as well) is employed in a language with only a future/non-future verbal tense system, and triggers a cessation inference more akin to aspect, largely paralleling what is known in the literature on Guaraní (Tonhauser 2007).

We may observe a quotation strategy in the following KALAPALO passage:

- (2) *etsu-ke hetsange kōhō i-haki-tomi e-heke nügü i-heke*
 debut-IMP HORT EMPH 3-reveal-PURP 2-ERG PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘He said ‘You should debut them, to reveal them (your songs)’ (line 128)

Here, the 3rd-person prefix on ‘reveal’ is referent with the object argument ‘songs’. This Carib language shows prefixes on each of the two ergative markers *heke* that refer to the ‘causer’. This narrative (Guerreiro, A. Kalapalo, J. Kalapalo & U. Kalapalo) tells how a man married a Snake Woman and learned to sing the funerary songs from his father-in-law (the matrix subject in (2)). Interestingly, the verb *etsu* means not only ‘to debut’, but to make an image of oneself (e.g. a selfie or an effigy). In debuting his songs, the protagonist also ‘makes an effigy’ of himself in offering himself to the world of the dead.

The following MARUBO line (Ch. 4) exemplifies a null subject, a collectivizing plural, and the fifth level of past tense (this one, the most remote – a system that recalls the multiple levels of past tense also typologically encountered in Bantu languages; Nurse 2008).

- (3a) *rono-rasĩ kena-i-ti*
 snake-COLL call-PROG-PAST5
 ‘She called for the snakes long ago’ (line 15)
- (3b) *vana-vana-kawã-i a-vai kaya-kãi-sho*
 speak-speak-go-PROG AUX.TRANS-CONN leave-INCH-SSSA
 ‘Calling and calling, she left’ (line 16)

On the other hand, in (3b) we see an auxiliary construction, followed by a verb in the same-subject form, a kind of switch-reference marking (common in Panoan languages) used in this case to maintain discourse coherence. This text, narrated by a shaman, is called “The Teachings of the Death Path” (Cesarino, Cheropãpa Txano & R.D.D. Marubo).

The text from TRUMAI (Ch. 5: Guirardello-Damian, K. Trumai & T. Trumai), a language isolate, tells the story of the Smooth-Billed Ani, an anthropomorphic trickster bird who participates in ritual funerary lamentation.

- (4) *pookal! t'axer kuhmu pata=n ale*
 IDEOPH:throwing poor throw arrive=3ABS hearsay
 ‘The poor thing arrived throwing (her wood): pookal!’ (line 41)

In this example, we observe an ideophone specific to the action/sound of throwing, distinct from the verb for ‘throw’ itself – perhaps of interest to modeling within the demonstration semantics of Henderson (2016). We also witness a hearsay particle, an evidential marking common to find in

narratives that retell scenes at which the narrator was not actually present. Finally, the phonological inventory of Trumai is itself unique within the Xingu region, as words like *t'axer* above contain ejective consonants.

Numeral classifier constructions, typologically reminiscent of those found in East Asian languages, may be observed in the following KOTIRIA narrative (Ch. 6: Stenzel, Marques, Trindade & Cabral) about sacred cemeteries:

- (5) *tí-ró* *bukú-ro*, *~bu'dó-ku'* *phuá-du'* *~dóá-ró*
 ANAPH-SG ancestor-SG tobacco-CLF:CYLIND two-CLF:CYLIND good-SG
~yá-ri-ro *phutí-su'a-a*
 bad-NMLZ-SG blow-penetrate-ASSERT.PFV
 'That ancestor, took two good cigars and blowing them, imbued them with violence (as a wartime blessing)' (line 149)

Notably (as found in example (9) below), throughout many narratives in the volume, classifiers can be found in derivational processes, as well as inflectional ones. In (5) we also observe serialization of verb roots, morpheme-level nasalization, and high-tone spreading in this example, all generally found throughout Tukanoan languages.

The multilingualism of the Vaupés region of the Upper Rio Negro is evident in the following HUP narrative “The Deer Story” (Ch.7: Epps, Salustiano, Monteiro & Dias), in which a visiting deer spirit makes an inquiry in Tukano, the main second-language of this particular multilingual community. The narrator switches out of HUP, in the Nadahup language family, into Tukano for this instance of quoted speech (and even, as the researchers note, makes a metalinguistic aside about her delivery in Tukano).

- (6) *wòh=ʔĩh=sud* *ʔ~uhníy*. [*Marĩ põ'ra* *karĩ-rã?*]
 river.indian=MASC=INFER1 maybe. [1PL children sleep-PL]
nó-óy=mah.
 say-DYNAM=REPET
 'He was apparently a River Indian, perhaps. [In Tukano: “Are our children asleep?”] he said'. (line 26)

In Ch.7 (Galucio, M.G. Sakyrabiar, M.F. Sakyrabiar, R.G. Sakyrabiar & O.F. Sakyrabiar), the

origin of maize is recounted, as a mythical shaman named Kōtkōra ‘cicada’ brings edible crops to the SAKURABIAT, a Tupi group. The following counterfactual construction makes this point, using the grammatical strategy of sentence-final hypothetical particles.

- (7) *kōtkōra-rop=na arop-ō te asisi naat eteet*
 cicada-NEG=VBLZ thing-NEG FOC corn COP HYP
 ‘If not for Kōtkōra, there would be nothing, no corn.’ (line 50)

Such particles may indeed be complementizers, of course requiring a larger investigation of head-finality in the language; see Seki & Nevins (2018) for discussion.

The chapter on the Jê language KĪSÊDJÊ (Ch. 8: Nonato, K. Suyá, J. Suyá & K. Suyá) has switch-reference marking on conjunctions, as shown below:

- (8) *tê khajkhwa=jndo=mã kátpy=ra khatxi kumên=nhy*
 oops, sky=end=to monster=NOM be.numerous be.intense=&.DS
aj-i-pãm-jê=ra s-arê-n=ndo pa
 PL-1-father-PL=NOM 3-talk.about-NMLZ=with stay.PL
 ‘I mean, towards the west there were many monsters, and our forefathers kept on telling us so’ (line 8)

We observe the different-subject marker before the second conjoined clause (which ends with a verb form suppletive for plural subjects; see Veselinova 2006 for discussion). Recent years have witnessed a renaissance in switch-reference research on indigenous languages of the Americas (see McKenzie 2015, van Gijn & Hammond 2016), to which texts of this sort contribute additional datapoints.

A similar switch-reference strategy is found in the narrative ‘Grandfather Fox’, told in the highly endangered isolate KWAZA (Ch. 10: van der Voort, E. Kwaza, Z. Kwaza & M. Kwaza), which also adopts a switch-reference mood:

- (9) *hariki orite watxile kui-di ai-hĩ dariya-xwa-wã*
 now arrive.there finally drink-CAUS that-NMLZ fox-CLF:man-ANIM.OBJ
cwa-si isi-tsi-nãixwa-dĩ-ta
 INDEF.SUB-SRM die-GER-SIMUL-DS-COSUB
 ‘Now, when they finally arrived, they gave Fox that drink, and he seemed drunk’ (line 36)

This example is also notable for its use of causatives, classifiers, and perhaps most impressively, a cosubordinate mood that used throughout every line of the story until the very last line, a matrix declarative – essentially rendering the entire narrative as one long sentence.

A related version of the Fox story is told by the AIKANÃ, an unrelated language isolate also found in the Rondonia, Brazil (Ch. 11: Birchall, van der Voort, L. Aikanã & C. Aikanã), in which future-marked tenses are always accompanied by 1st-person marking as a kind of perspective-taking:

- (10) *eruera urume-ka-re-pü hameri wãedi te-he hiku te-he*
fox transform-1SG-FUT-SS already tail have-3SG other have-3SG
kyã-'i-'apa'i
speak-NMLZ-ACT.NMLZ
‘One would transform into a fox and already had a tail, the other had a tail,
that’s what the story says’ (line 97)

While there is no overt coordination marker between the two verb phrases headed by *te-he*, the audio track reveals the kind of comma-like intonational coordination indicated in the translation above. I cannot recommend enough the added prosodic dimensions afforded by listening in parallel to the recordings provided (or indeed, taking in gestural prosody where available in the videos, as a potential marker of information structure and emotional content; see for example Swerts & Kraemer 2010).

Recursive quotation (the outermost with a witnessed evidential, as told by the grandson of the original narrator) is found in the following SURUÍ-PAÍTER (a Tupi group) narrative of an ancestor’s revenge on a neighboring tribe, where each respective narrator uses ‘my father’ (with an inalienable possessor prefix):

- (11) *eebo o-ya o-kãyna o-sade-eeka sona*
so 1SG-NWIT 1SG-grow 1SG-PROG.SIMULT-TEMP.SUBORD often
o-sob-wepika sona a o-sob-ya o-sob-de
1SG-father-avenge often SFM 1SG-father-NWIT 1SG-father-WIT
‘“So as I was growing up, I often avenged my father’, said my father”,
witnessed my father.’ (line 4)

Reportative evidentials are thus employed in order to track whether the quotation is the narrator’s father (who witnessed the grandfather’s speech) or the grandfather himself (who experienced the

events directly) and potentially can contribute to the semantic typology of such markers (e.g. Faller 2007, Murray 2016).

The final chapter, on the Tupi-Guaraní language KA'APOR (Ch. 13: Godoy & W. Ka'apor), is a scurrilous tale of an ancient assassin ritual, the authors opting for greater emphasis on anthropological context than grammatical analysis. In this version, an old woman flatulates upon a sleeping boy, and his brother makes him an arrow to take revenge. The following line narrates this moment with a hearsay reportative particle, and an SOV order with a postverbal beneficiary:

- (12) *pe i-mu uʔi raʔir mujã i-pe je, uʔi sepetu, ʔirapar raʔir*
 so 3SG-brother arrow small make 3-DAT HRSY arrow spit bow small
 ‘Then, his brother made him a small arrow, it is said, a wood-tipped arrow
 and a small bow’ (line 14)

As the authors note, the theme of this tale is found across Amazonia, at times more serious while at others intentionally uproarious, and with parametric differences in the kinship relation between the elder and the younger protagonists – the comparison of which certainly invite a wealth of hoary structuralist correspondences and cross-comparative work across these languages (as was explicitly possible in the juxtaposition of the Kwaza and Aikanã Fox tales) – whether or not that is in fashion or not these days in Amazonian anthropology.

The contributions herein demonstrate that narratives in particular are an excellent way to observe the rich range of resources employed for quotation, evidentials, ideophones and remote tenses that would not necessarily be found in elicitation alone. Indeed, the research strategies of traditional elicitation, experimental fieldwork, and naturalistic genres such as narratives are all complementary in developing the full picture of the form and function of morphosyntactic and discourse devices.

In closing, there is no doubt that these data reveal a wealth of morphosyntactic and semantic phenomena ripe for continued theoretical developments in cartography, binding theory, tense representations, evidential typologies, and nominal structure – and surely all the more exciting to study alongside deer spirits, monsters, trickster foxes, cicada shamans, and the world of the dead.

List of gloss abbreviations

While certain English translations have been lightly adapted above, the glosses are reproduced entirely faithfully from the lines cited, although in some cases, for the sake of what I consider to be greater transparency I have adapted the gloss abbreviations, listed as follows:

ABS	absolute	MASC	masculine
ACT	action	NAGT	non-agent
ALL	allative	NMLZ	nominalizer
ANAPH	anaphoric	NOM	nominative
ANIM	animate object	NOMTNS	nominal tense
ASSERT	assertative	NWIT	non-witnessed
AUX	auxiliary	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	PAST5	past tense (fifth-level)
CLF	classifier	PFV	perfective
COLL	collective	PROG	progressive
CONN	connective	PTCP	participle
COP	copula	PUNCT	punctual
COSUB	cosubordinative	PURP	purposive
CYLIND	cylindrical	REPET	repetitive
DAT	dative	SIMUL	simulative
DS	different subject	SIMULT	simultaneous
DYNAM	dynamic	SFM	sentence-final marker
EMPH	emphatic	SG	singular
ERG	ergative	SRM	switch-reference mood
FOC	focus	SS	same subject
FUT	future	SSSA	same subject, simultaneous
GER	gerundive		action
HRSY	hearsay	SUBORD	subordinator
HORT	hortative	TEMP	temporal
HYP	hypothetical	TRANS	transitive
IDEOPH	ideophone	VBLZ	verbalizer
IMP	imperative	WIT	witnessed
INCH	inchoative		
INFER	inferential		

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