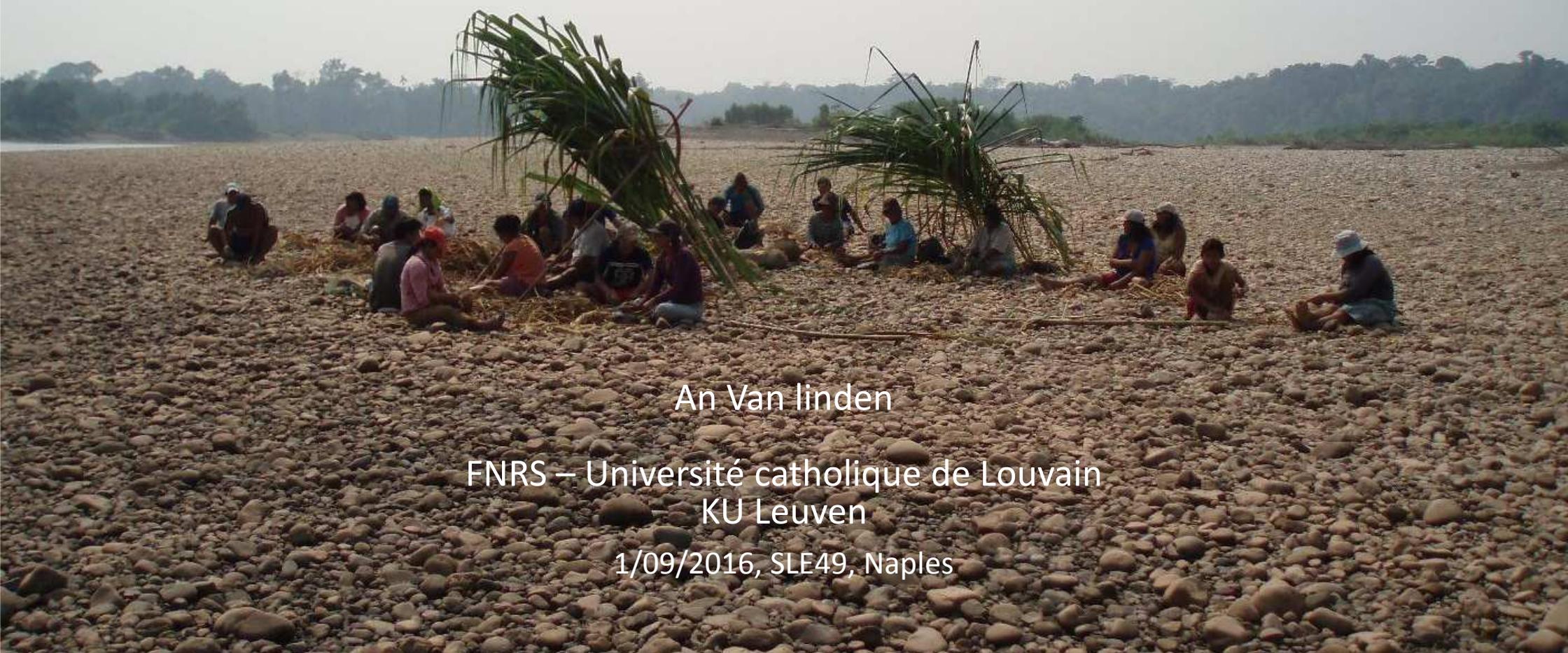


Constructional effects of non-visual evidential marking in Harakmbut



An Van linden

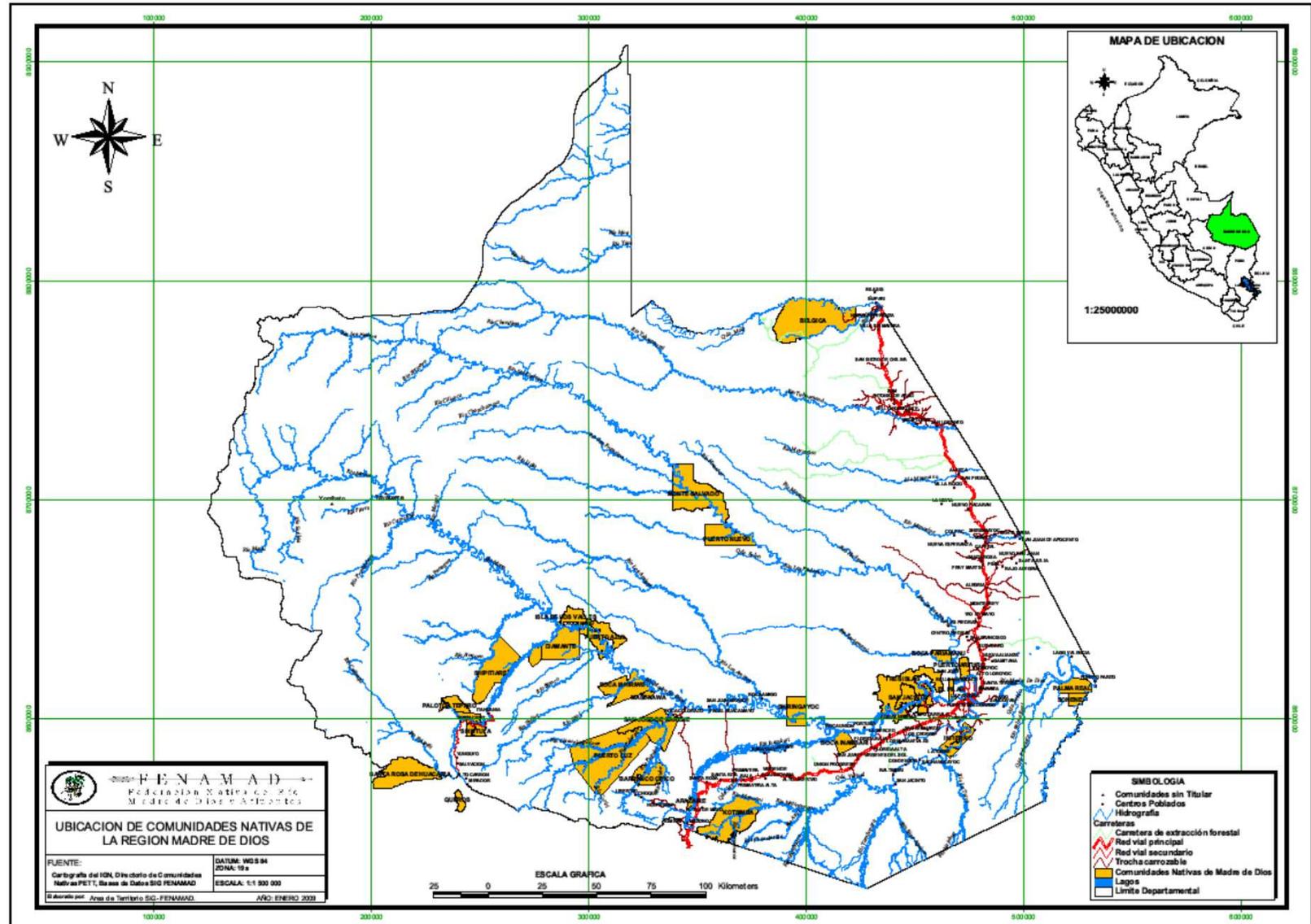
FNRS – Université catholique de Louvain
KU Leuven

1/09/2016, SLE49, Naples

1. Introduction

- Harakmbut is a language from the Peruvian Amazon, spoken in ‘native communities’ in the departments of Madre de Dios and Cusco
- Genetic affiliation:
 - Formerly classified as an **Arawakan** or **Maipuran** language by McQuown (1955) (see Hart 1963: 6) and Matteson (1972); but this has found little acceptance (Adelaar 2007: 39).
 - Wise (1999: 307) states that Harakmbut is commonly accepted to be a (single language) **isolate/unclassified** language (cf. Fonseca 2002; Vergara 2007; WALS)
 - Adelaar (2000, 2007) proposes that it is genetically related to the Brazilian **Katukina** family (included in Guaporé-Mamoré linguistic area), which may be further linked to Macro-Ge
- Areality:
 - Some grammatical features are shared with Maipuran Arawak languages, and others with Tacanan languages like Ese Eja (Pozzi-Escot 1998: 93) and Cavineña (Van linden in prep); the latter are proposed to belong to the **Guaporé-Mamoré** linguistic area in southwest Brazil and eastern Bolivia, close to the border with Peru (Crevels & van der Voort 2008)

- Harakmbut live in 'native communities': patches of land entitled to them by the government
- subtropical climate
- around tributaries of the Madre de Dios River, which eventually flows into the Amazon River;



1. Introduction

- Dialectal varieties (mutually intelligible): Amarakaeri, Watipaeri, Arasaeri, Pukirieri, Sapiteri, Kisambaeri and Toyoeri
- Previous linguistic work: focus on Amarakaeri dialect (Hart 1963; Helberg 1984, 1990; Tripp 1976ab, 1995)
- Own work: audio recording during 3 fieldwork stays in Puerto Luz, San José and Shintuya in Jul-Aug 2010, Aug-Sept 2011, Aug 2016: all Amarakaeri informants
- Orthographic conventions: <’>: glottal stop; <¨>: nasal vowel; underlined sounds carry word stress
- today's TOPIC: **Two types of constructional effects of non-visual evidential marking**
- both types originate in clash in interpretation: use of non-visual marking indicates a shift away from the speaker, while events referred to ('normally') are clearly visible

Outline

1. Introduction
2. The Harakmbut finite verb form and evidentiality
3. Effect 1: NVIS + 1st person Agent → involuntary action
4. Effect 2: NVIS + impers. pred. → completion
5. Conclusion

2. Harakmbut finite verb form and evidentiality

- Table 1: verbal plural marker (VPL) and a set of adverbial prefixes are positionally flexible, entertaining scopal relations with fixed-position prefixes.

Pf1	Pf2	Pf3	Pf4	Pf5	Verb stem
mood+agr	BEN (appl)	POSS (appl)	CLF/INCORP.N	SOC (appl)	
obligatory					obligatory

Table 1: The prefix (Pf) string of Harakmbut finite verb forms

Verb stem	Sf1	Sf2	Sf3	Sf4	Sf5	Sf6	Sf7
	Asp1	TRVR	Asp2/AM	ANA	Asp3	Tense	mood+agr; mod; evid
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Table 2: The suffix (Sf) string of Harakmbut finite verb forms (cf. Tripp 1976a)

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2. Harakmbut finite verb form and evidentiality

- **Experiential** type of evidentiality: indicating whether the speaker witnessed the event denoted by the verb form (VISual) or not (NonVISual)
- restricted to declarative contexts (but see below)
- Sf7: EVID in complementary distribution with mood+agreement suffixes and epistemic suffixes :

(1) *on-a i-ma-ning-to-wa-me-te(*-ne) wa-knda ken-tewapa*

2SG-NOM 2SG-VPL-BEN-SOC-go-REC-NVIS(*-IND) NMLZ-egg 3-BEN

‘You (sg) took along eggs for them.’ (speaker did not see it happen)

2. Harakmbut finite verb form and evidentiality

- Sf6: tense slot → distinction between (cf. Tripp 1976a, 1995: 221-222; *pace* Helberg 1984: 277):
 - present (zero-marked)
 - future (-*apo*)
 - recent past (-*me*) (cf. (1), (2))
 - distant past tense (-*uy*) (cf. (3))
- **past forms:** obligatorily marked for experiential evidentiality:
 - visual (zero-marked, cf. (2))
 - non-visual (marked by *-(a)te* suffixed to *-me* (1) and *-uy* (3), or by portmanteau *-tuy* (5))

(2) *o'-wa-me-ne* *sabado-ta'* *äni-jö* *wë-ük-yo*
1PL.INCL-go-REC.VIS-IND Saturday(Sp)-LOC FILLER-LOC river-hot-LOC
'We went to this place, eh, Aguas Calientes ('hot springs') on Saturday.' (speaker participated in the action) [spontaneous speech]

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- (3) *hak-'udn-ya* *o-ti-kot-uy-ate* *wëy-pa'-a*
 house-upper.back-LOC 3SG.IND-UP-fall-DIST.PST-NVIS tree-CLF:rod-NOM
 'A branch fell on the roof long ago.' (speaker did not see it happen)
- (4) *O'-wek-tuy* *keme*
 3SG.IND-pierce-DIST.PST.NVIS tapir
 'He pierced a tapir (long time ago).' (speaker did not see it happen)

3. Constructional effect of NVIS: involuntary action

(6) nong-pa-nda-ning=pi' o'-ka-**te**
other-manner-NDA-SIM=INDET 1PL-do-NVIS
'I think we made a mistake.' (Lit.: We did it the other/wrong way without realizing it)
[spontaneous speech]

- NVIS extremely infrequent in interrogative sentences; yet (7) with 2SG subject:

(7) menpa i'-ë'-**ate**?
how 2SG-be-NVIS
'What happened to you?' (Lit.: How are you (NVIS)?)

(8) menpa i'-ë'-∅?
how 2SG-be-DUB
'How are you?'

- Subject in (7)-(8): thematic role of Theme rather than Agent
- NVIS in (7) again leads to an interpretation of **reduced control** on the part of the subject participant

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parallel with **egophoricity** systems:
cxnal effect only available to cnxs with
informant = subject:
in Q, first-hand knowledge resides with H;
with NVIS, Sp anticipates that H may not
have full knowledge (esp. of stages
leading up to present situation)

3. Constructional effect of NVIS: completion

(9) o'-sik-**ate**

3SG.IND-black-NVIS

'It has become dark.' Alternatively (post-contact meaning): 'Good evening!'

- temporal verbs referring to the **cycle of the sun** (often subsumed under meteorological predications, e.g. in Malchukov & Siewierska 2011) sometimes (NOT always) carry non-visual evidential marking
- however, the events referred to are clearly visible to the speaker → why?
- effect explained in terms of **endpoint emphasis** by DeLancey (1985): evidential marking that shifts away from the speaker implies that knowledge about the phases leading up to the endpoint of the event is not accessible, in contrast to knowledge about resultant state
→ emphasis on **completion** of event

(Note that completive aspect marking is also found to signal involuntary action in a number of languages, e.g. Kannada, Bengali, Japanese, Korean, Burmese, cf. Fauconnier 2012, 2013)

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- also completion in terms of discourse/chain of actions:
 - as a castellanized greeting: a return greeting is expected (also *o'sikate*), but nothing else
 - as an observation: does not form startingpoint for subsequent action, unlike semantically similar form in *-nde*:

(10) o'-sik-**nde**

3SG.IND-black-ALREADY

an-mba-kudn

2PL.IMP-VPL-enter

hak-yo

house-LOC

'It has become dark already; enter (you all) into your house.'

4. Conclusion

- Constructional effects of non-visual evidential marking in Harakmbut:
 - Effect 1: NVIS + 1st person Agent → involuntary action
 - Effect 2: NVIS + impers. pred. → completion
- Origin in clash in interpretation: use of non-visual marking marks a shift away from the speaker, while events referred to ('normally') are clearly visible
- effects explained in terms of **endpoint emphasis** by DeLancey (1985): evidential marking that shifts away from the speaker implies that knowledge about the phases leading up to the endpoint of the event is not accessible, in contrast to knowledge about resultant state
 - Effect 1: extension of evidentiality to semantic domain of **volitionality** (event-related) (operates on an egophoric basis; deictic vs. cognitive perspective)
 - Effect 2: extension of evidentiality to the **aspectual** domain

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