Quotative constructions in Kuikuro (Upper Xingu Carib)

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ABSTRACT

In Kuikuro, a variety of the Upper Xingu Karib Language, there are quotative constructions for both direct and indirect quoted speech. After providing a synthesis of the Kuikuro morphosyntax, I describe and analyze the main aspects of the direct quotative speech constructions, which are by far the most frequent in different speech genres. More specifically, the 'quote framers' of direct quotative are analyzed, distinguishing two possibilities: the presence of a lexical 'framer' (verb *ki-* 'to say'), a pure aspectual inflection suggesting the existence of a verb 'to say' not phonologically realized. The absence of a 'framer' is also quite frequent. The verb *ki-* also occurs in constructions of indirect quoted speech. Note that the recipient of the saying, to whom the said statement is directed, is marked by the 'perspectival' or 'about' postposition *heke*. Direct and indirect quotatives are complex constructions. The article also provides an initial approach to indirect quotatives, with its variety of syntactic strategies and types of construction. The data that exemplify generalizations as well as descriptive and analytical statements are taken from natural corpora, mainly narratives and controlled elicitations.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on direct and indirect quotative constructions in Kuikuro, a variety of the Upper Xingu Carib Language (LKAX), one of the two southern branches of the Carib family (Meira and Franchetto 2005). It is a preliminary descriptive study of these constructions in a specific language, offering new data for comparison with other Carib languages and other unrelated languages, as well as suggesting directions for theoretical approaches to analysis of quoted speech constructions.

Kuikuro confirms the cross-linguistic generalization proposed by Spronck & Nikitina (2019: 120–126) that reported speech constructions involve a dedicated syntactic relation that differs from other sentential structures, reflecting a binary or bi-clausal relation that is neither coordination nor subordination. In Kuikuro indirect quotatives are infrequent in spontaneous speech or in narratives, but relevant data can be obtained easily through contextualized elicitation.

Following this introduction, the article is organized into three sections. Section 2 introduces the Kuikuro people and provides a synthesis of Kuikuro morphosyntax. Section 3 describes and analyzes the main aspects of the direct quoted speech constructions, which are by far the most frequent types of quotatives in the language regardless of discourse genre. More specifically, the 'quote framers' of direct quotatives are analyzed, revealing three distinct possibilities: the presence of a lexical 'framer' (the intransitive verb *ki-* 'to say'); a purely aspectual inflection suggesting the existence of a null verb 'to say' that is not phonologically realized; and the absence of explicit framing.[1] We will see that the identification of the addressee of the reported speech is expressed by a postpositional phrase headed by *heke*, a postposition which I gloss as 'perspective' and which is semantically understandable as a kind of 'about' (not to be confused with a formally similar postposition used as the marker of the ergative case of the external argument of a transitive verb). The absence of any kind of quote framer is also quite frequent. Section 4 deals with the complexity of indirect quotatives. The source of the analyzed subcorpus comes from the existing digital Kuikuro corpus which results from 40 years of documentation work conducted by the author and which contains narratives, among other performed discourse genres, and elicited data contextualized whenever possible (Matthewson 2004; Sanchez-Mendes 2014). The subcorpus of quotative constructions was checked and enriched by the author in the fieldwork undertaken in July 2019.

2. THE KUIKURO PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

Kuikuro, spoken by approximately 700 people, is one of the two main varieties of the Upper Xingu Carib Language (LKAX), one of the two Southern branches of the Carib family (Meira and Franchetto 2005). The Kuikuro live in six villages in the region known as 'Upper Xingu', at the headwaters of the Xingu river, in Brazilian Southern Amazonia. The ethnonym 'Kuikuro' has become established since the first written ethnographical record by Karl von den Steinen at the end of the 19th century (Steinen 1894), and it derives from the toponym of the place where, in the middle of the 18th century, the first village (*Kuhi ikugu* 'Needle Fish Creek') of a recognized autonomous group was established inside the multilingual and multiethnic Upper Xingu regional system. The other co-varieties of LKAX are spoken by the Kalapalo, Nahukua, and Matipu local groups of the Upper Xingu Carib sub-system. Together with Kuikuro, they should be considered still vital, albeit vulnerable, languages/varieties that are distinguished mainly by different prosodic structures (Silva and Franchetto 2011).

Kuikuro is a highly agglutinative and complement-head order language (Maia et al. 2019: 85–91). The basic word order is SV (Subject Intransitive verb) and OVS (Object Transitive verb Subject); any head, be it a verb, a noun, or a postposition, constitutes a prosodic unit with its internal argument (Silva and Franchetto, 2011). It is an ergative-absolutive language in which all intransitive verbs

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1   For a definition of the term 'framer' (and 'framing'), as used in this article, see the introduction to Section 3.

are unaccusative. The external cause (agent) of a transitive verb is marked by the postposition *heke* (Franchetto 2010), as shown in examples (2b) and (2c) below. Bare nominals are underdetermined for number and definiteness.[2]

Basic word order is SV when the verb is intransitive. Nominal and pronominal absolutive arguments are in complementary distribution, as exemplified in (1a) and (1b), as well as in (2a) and (2b).[3]

(1a)   kangamuke   ünkgü-tagü   gele
       child   sleep-DUR   still
       (The/a) child/children are still sleeping.

(1b)   isünkgütagü tüngá
       is-ünkgü-tagü   t-üngá
       3-sleep-DUR   REFL-house.INE2
       She is sleeping at home.

(2a)   kangamuke onitūdagü leha
       kangamuke   oni-tuN-tagü   leha
       child   dream-VBLZ-DUR COMPL
       (The/a) child/children is/are already dreaming.

Basic word order OVS when the verb is transitive:

(2b)   kangamuke gamakilü leha utologu heke
       kangamuke   gamaki-lü   leha   u-tolo-gu   heke
       child   knock-PNCT COMPL 1-pet-POSS ERG
       My pet knocked down the child.

(2c)   isamakilü leha eheke
       i-gamaki-lü   leha   e-heke
       3-knock-PNCT COMPL 2-ERG
       You knocked him/her down.

There is no overt agreement on the verb, and a unique set of person markers is prefixed as an internal (absolutive) argument to verbs, nouns, and postpositions (see Table 1).

PREFIXED PRONOMINAL FORMS	SEMANTIC FEATURES	GLOSSES
u-	[+ego, –tu, –pl]	1
e- (a-, o-)	[–ego, +tu, –pl]	2
i-, is-, inh	[–ego, –tu, –pl]	3
tis-, tisih-, tsih-, tinh-	[+ego, –tu, +pl]	1.3
kuk-, ku-, k-	[+ego, +tu, –pl]	1.2

Table 1 Kuikuro pronominal prefixes.

2   For more on Kuikuro morphosyntax, see especially Franchetto (2006, 2010, 2015); Franchetto & Santos (2010, 2014, 2017, 2018); Franchetto & Thomas (2016); Maia et al. (2019) and Santos (2007, 2008).

3   Abbreviations: 1 1st person; 2 2nd person; 3 3rd person; 1.2 1st person dual inclusive; 1.3 1st person plural exclusive; 3DIST 3rd person distal; ABS/PERS absolutive (internal argument) pronominal prefixes; ALL allative; ANA anaphoric; ANMLZ agent nominalizer; AQU.INE inessive (liquid substance); COM comitative; COMPL completive (aspectual particle); COP copula; DDIST distal deictic; DPROX proximate deictic; DTR detransitivizer; DUR durative; EM epistemic; EMPH emphatic; ERG ergative *heke*; FUT future; INE2 inessive (inside a container); INT interrogative; ITJ interjection; LOG logophoric; NANMLZ non-agent nominalizer; NCAT low nominal categorizer; NEG1 negation *inhalü*; NEG2 negation *ahiitü*; NMLZ nominalizer; NTM nominal tense marker; O object; PL plural; PL2 plural *-ni*; PNCT punctual (aspect); POSS possessive; PRF perfect; PRIV privative; PRSP perspective *heke*; PTCP participle; Q question word; REFL reflexive 3rd person; TOP topic; VBLZ verbalizer; VCAT low verbal categorizer. The examples in this article are presented with the following structure: the first and second lines are in orthographic transcription; second and third lines show the morphological segmentation of each word and the interlinear glossing, respectively; the fourth line contains a translation that attempts to maintain fidelity to the original while taking some degree of liberty in the interest of providing a better understanding for the reader. Kuikuro (alphabetic) writing was developed by Indigenous teachers, in collaboration with the author, in the 1990s. The correspondences between 'letters' or groups of letters (including digraphs and trigraphs) and symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), when different, are as follows: ü (ɨ), j (j), g (uvular flap), ng (ŋ), nh (ɲ), nkg (ᵑg); N represents an underspecified fluctuating nasal.

Table 2 and Table 3 show the morphological structure of nominal and verbal words in Kuikuro, with positions for prefixes and suffixes before and after the root, which is a lexical morpheme not categorized for part of speech. Parenthesized morphemes are optional.

(ABS/PERS)	**Root**	NCAT	(Aspect)	(NMLZ)	(POSS)	(Number)	(FUT/NTM)	(COP)

(ABS/PERS)	(DTR)	**Root**	VCAT	VBLZ	(TR)	Mood	Aspect	(Number)	(FUT)	(COP)

Kuikuro verbs are inflected for mood and aspect, not for tense. Tense is inferred contextually from the interaction between aspects, adverbs, epistemics and deictics. The future verbal inflection (-*ingo*), which always appears after the verbal punctual aspect, could be considered as an expression of tense, but it expresses more than just a future eventuality, as far as it has also deontic modal values of possibility and commitment.[4]

Besides having rich phonologically conditioned allomorphy of bound morphemes (Franchetto 1995), five morphological classes set a complex allomorphy of many inflectional nominal and verbal suffixes (Santos 2007, 2008). Table 4 summarizes the verbal inflectional classes in which the Kuikuro verbs are distributed, for just the punctual and durative aspects, given the relevance of this phenomenon for the reported speech constructions in Kuikuro.

	1	2	3	4	5
Punctual	Ø	-nügü	-lü	-jü	-lü
Durative	-tagü	-tagü	-tagü	-tsagü	-gagü
	apüngu- Ø	ongi-nügü	agi-lü	agugi-jü	api-lü
	apünguN-tagü	ongiN-tagü	agi-tagü	agugi-tsagü	api-gagü
	'to die'	'to hide'	'to throw'	'to split'	'to hit'

The punctual aspect (PNCT) is a kind of default aspect. It expresses an eventuality conceived as instantaneous, without any inherent duration in time, "almost a thing", as the Kuikuro say. Punctual aspect is interpreted as referring to a non-present eventuality. The durative aspect (DUR) expresses an eventuality conceived as inherently having a duration in time and is used to cover past and present eventualities. There is also a perfect aspect (PRF) that refers to an eventuality completed before the topic time (TopT).

The structure of the verbal word in Table 2 shows that mood is expressed by bound morphemes immediately after the stem.[5] There is no declarative mood, or it is not phonologically realized. The overtly realized moods are imperative, hortative, imminent future, habitual and hypothetical.

3. DIRECT QUOTED SPEECH AND ITS FRAMERS

In my approach to quoted speech, I follow Spronck & Nikitina (2019: 120–126), whose main typological predictions, listed below, are relevant for Kuikuro:

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4   The suffix -*ingo* (FUT) can also be used with nominals. One example with -*ingo* as nominal inflection in a non-verbal predicate is the following:

u-nho-ingo   ekise-i
1-husband-FUT   3DIST-COP
That (man) will be my husband/is my future husband.

5   I define 'stem' as the base that receives inflectional morphology (verbal or nominal) and is composed of one or more non-categorized roots and their categorizers, whether phonologically realized or not (Franchetto 2006; Franchetto & Santos 2017, 2018; Santos 2007).

i.   Reported speech involves a single type of syntactic relation, here called a *framing relation*.

ii. Reported speech constructions involve a binary, but neither subordinating nor coordinating, semantic structure (M:R) expressed through a bi-clausal morphosyntactic construction.

iii. The reported speech ("R") may be a full clause, a subclause, or a multi-clausal structure.

iv. The matrix or the framer/framing part ("M") identifies the reported speaker. M may be expressed as a morpheme, or may not be expressed at all.

The sentence in (3) exemplifies the (here sub-clausal) R and M components of a direct quoted speech construction in Kuikuro:

(3)   R   M
         ekü   Ongokugu kilü tühitsü heke
         ekü   Ongokugu kil-ü   tü-hi-tsü   heke
         INTJ   Ongokugu say-PNCT REFL-wife-POSS PRSP
         "Hello!", Ongokugu said to his own wife.

3.1 THE VERB 'TO SAY'

The intransitive verb *ki-* ('to say') can be used as the main verb of the framing part of the quotative construction.[6] The sentence in (4) shows that the addresser 'I' is identified by the (unmarked) absolutive internal argument of this verb. I also call the reader's attention to the morphosyntactic expression of the addressee 'you all' by the postpositional phrase headed by the perspectival marker *heke*.

(4)   üle atehe hüle egea ukita ehekeni
         üle atehe hüle ege-a   u-ki-ta   e-heke-ni
         LOG CAUS CNTR DDIST-SIM 1-say-DUR 2-PRSP-PL
         Because of that I'm saying to you all

The element *heke* can mark an 'about' meaning, a perspective, and the external cause of a transitive eventuality. *Heke* is cognate to genetically related forms in other Carib languages. The proto-form can be reconstructed as **pôkô*, an abstract notion approximately translatable as 'about' (Meira & Franchetto 2005).

In Franchetto (2010: 134–140), I proposed a continuum of its different contexts of occurrence and an extension of a specific notion of 'perspective' from the field of spatial relations to the quantification or individuation and actualization of a potential member within a set, and finally, to the external cause of a transitive verb. I gloss *heke* as PRSP (perspective/perspectival) when it is not the head of a DP external argument of a transitive verb (i.e., its subject), reserving the gloss ERG for this latter function. I illustrate the contrast between these two uses of *heke* in (5) and (6). In (5), the postpositional phrase *tüngisão ingilü heke* identifies the specific condition of the intransitive verb *anügü*, while in (6) *iheke* is the pronominal external cause (the agent) of the transitive verb *ingilü*.

(5)   tüngisão ingilü heke anügü (Franchetto 2010: 136, ex. (44))
         tü$_i$-ngisão   ingi-lü   heke a$_i$-nügü
         REFL-grandparents   see-PNCT PRSP 3.stay-PNCT
         He went to see his own grandparents.
         (lit. he stayed concerning with the seeing of his own grandparents/from the perspective of the seeing of his own grandparents)

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6   The immediately post-VP clitic *kilü* indicates remote past and, at the same time, has the epistemic value of a weak certainty from external evidence, a kind of hearsay. Kuikuro speakers deny that it has any relation to the inflected form of the 'say' verb *ki*.

(6)   tüngisão ingilü iheke
      tü$_i$-ngisão   ingi-lü   i-heke
      REFL-grandparents   see-PNCT   3-ERG
      He saw his own grandparents.

Perspectival *heke* is also used with the intransitive verb *ki-* 'to say' in contexts where it is not a reported speech framer, as shown in (7) and (8).

(7)   egehungu heke tsüngapaha **ekitagü** egei
      ege-hungu   heke   tsü=ngapa=ha   e-ki-tagü   ege-i
      D.DIST-SIM1   PRSP   CR2=EM=TOP   2-say-DUR   D.DIST-COP
      Maybe that is what you intend to say.

(8)   itseke **kukilüha** ngiko heke kukengeni heke
      itseke   ku-ki-lü=ha   ngiko heke   kuk-enge-ni   heke
      itseke   1.2-say-PNCT=TOP   thing   ERG   1.2-eat-ANMLZ   PRSP
      We say *itseke* (for) something which devours/terrifies us.

In Kuikuro, as well as in many Amerindian languages, direct quoted speech is by far more frequent than indirect quoted speech, not just in narratives, but also in other kinds of genres, and even in ordinary speech. In narrative texts, direct quoted speech accounts for between 20 and 40 percent of the whole text.[7] Direct quotes contain verbs inflected by performative moods, interjections, ideophones and an abundance of epistemic markers. These modulate and vivify the atitudes and communicative intentions of the interacting characters, as well as expressing their inner thoughts.

Like other framers, *ki-* follows the quoted speech, as exemplified by (9) and (10):

(9)   *túhagu inkgete* anha **kitagü** üngahingo **kitagü**
      túhagu iN-kete   anha **ki-tagü** üngahi-ngo   **ki-tagü**
      sieve   bring-IMP.CTP   dead say-DUR   circle.houses-NMLZ   say-DUR
      "Bring *túhagu* (sieve)!", the dead is/was saying, the one of the other house is/was saying.[8]

(10)   *eitaginhukopeha opokinetiie* Makaigi kagaiha-gü **kilü**ha ngikogo heke
      e-itaginhu-ko-pe=ha   *opokine-tiie* Makaigi kagaiha-gü   **ki-lü**=ha
      2-speech-PL1-NTM=TOP   leave-IMP.PL Bakairi   white.people-POSS   say-PNCT=TOP
      ngikogo   heke
      Indian   PRSP
      "Leave your language!", the white people of Bakairi said to the Indians.

Observe in (10) that the addressee *ngikogo* 'Indian' follows the verb *ki*, inflected with the punctual aspect, and is expressed by the postpositional phrase headed by the 'perspectival' *heke* as described above.

Reported speech contructions framed with the verb *ki* are not limited to the narrative genre, but are also found in another genre of Kuikuro verbal-musical art. Among the Kuikuro, *tolo* is a feast or ritual where dances and songs are executed exclusively by women, and that form a ritual and musical complex. It contrasts with the *kagutu* flutes, a complementary masculine domain that is prohibited to women. *Tolo* means 'bird' as *tolo* songs are made to fly. The word also means 'pet', as the possessed form of *tolo* refers also to one's lover.[9]

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7   *Akinha* is the Kuikuro word for the genre that can be roughly translated as 'narrative'.

8   From the narrative 'Anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ' (A/The woman's journey to the dead's village'), told by Ájahi Kuikuro and recorded by the author and Carlos Fausto on 23 November, 2004, in Ipatse, the main Kuikuro village. In the inside-out world of the dead, another Kuikuro variety is spoken with different words. For example, to refer to a sieve the dead use the word *túhagu*, while the living use the word *manage*.

9   For a detailed description and analysis of *tolo* songs—a fixed repertoire composed of ten suites, all in all around 400 pieces—see Franchetto & Montagnani (2011, 2012, 2014) and Franchetto (2018).

Many *tolo* songs show quotatives recursive structures. This is characteristic of a large part of Amerindian poetical echolalia, where speeches of others (humans, dead persons, dead enemies) are made present by the voice of a singer or a shaman. In many *tolo* songs, the expression *uhisü kilü uheke* 'my younger brother said to me' is the quotative framer of embedded quotes. The example in (11) is the transcription and translation of the song *auga imitoho* 'for the tuvira fish to wake up at dawn'. The terms *hisü* 'younger brother' and *tühününhü* 'the one who is missing' are paradigmatically used in framing expressions as poetic parallelistic play.

(11)	kigefa uake keteha uake	go with me, come with me
	kigeha uake **uhisü kilü uheke**	go with me, **my sweet love told to me**
	tühününhü kilü uheke	**the precious told me**
	uhisü kilü(ni) uheke	**my sweet love told me**
	keteha uake kigeha uake	come with me, go with me
	keteha uake	come with me
	uhisü heke ukilü	**I told to my sweet love**
	tühününhü heke ukilü	**I told to the precious man**
	uhisü kilü(ni) uheke	**my sweet love told me**
	ukilü egei	**I said**
	keteha uake	come with me
	kigeha uake	go with me
	keteha uake kigeha	come with me, come
	uhisü kilü uheke	**I told to my sweet love**
	tühününhü kilü uheke	**I told to the precious**
	ukilü egei	**I said**

The lovers will go toward each other, since the place of the encounter was previously agreed. These images are frozen in quotative recursive structures, embedded, in turn, in parallelisms with minor variations (substitution, inversion). There is, in each *tolo*, a repeated core of meanings that often ends up with the mark of a reported speech: *uhisü kilü uheke* 'my sweet love told to me'; *tühününhü kilü uheke* 'the one who is missing told to me'; *tühününhü heke ukilü* 'I told to the one who is missing'; *ukilü* 'I said'. The woman singing performs a speech/song that was made to fly (*tolotelü*) in the past by another woman or a man addressing her or his lover.

3.2 THE SILENT VERB AS FRAMER

In narratives, particularly interesting is the frequent use of the forms *ta(gü)* and *nü(gü)* as quote framers (12), either immediately after the reported speech, even when it is an inner thought (13), or inside it after a constituent, in most cases, a vocative or an interjection (14).[10] *Ta(gü)* and *nü(gü)* are the durative and the punctual aspectual inflectional morphemes of Class 2, the major morphological class of Kuikuro verbs. The addresse is always a 3rd person pronominal form prefixed to the perspectival postposition *heke*. My analysis is that we are facing a transitive verb 'to say' that is not phonologically realized, although their inflectional class markers do at least partially appear. The short form of these aspectual morphemes *-ta* and *-nü* followed by the 3rd person addressee marked by the perspectival *heke* are frequently reduced to a single phonological unit, *taʲheke, nüʲheke*, spoken in a voice so low as to be almost inaudible.

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10   In her grammar of Kalapalo, another variety of the Upper Xingu Carib Language, Basso (2019: 245–48) deals briefly with direct quotatives in this language, based mainly on data from narratives. A good part of her statements are valid also for Kuikuro: "Verbs that reference types of speech-acts and quotatives are somewhat unusual in several ways. First is that the quotatives, commonly used, have no roots, only used with a very limited number of aspect suffixes. They are also restricted as to the pronominal prefixes they may take." The author mentions three quotatives: *-nïgï* (Kuikuro *nügü*), an aspectual marker or nominalizer; *-ta,* an aspectual continous indicative marker; and *ki-,* a "neutral" speech act verb that simply means 'utter' or 'speak', used in contexts that are less conversational and more 'declarative' in feeling. Basso says that "the first two 'say to', and 'tell to' only occur in third person and usually with quoted speech from the ancient or historical past…. The third quotative is used with recent speech involving the speaker or listener, so it only occurs in first or second person. Intransitive speech act verbs may have their valence increased by the use of the ergative case marker on the target" (Basso 2019: 245). As we will see, my analysis of quotative constructions departs from Basso's description in several respects.

(12)   *túhagu inkgkete* **ta^jheke**
        túhagu iN-kete   **Ø-ta(gü)** i-heke
        sieve   bring-IMP.CTP SAY-DUR 3-PRSP
        "Bring *túhagu*!", (she) was saying to her.

(13)   *tüïbeki ekisei* **nü^jheke**
        tüï=beki ekise-i   **Ø-nü(gü)** i-heke
        Q=EM   3.DIST-COP SAY-PNCT 3-PRSP
        "Who can be that person?", she said to her(self).

(14)   *üile hata ah* **nü^jheke** *ukugesube*
        üile   *hata*   *ah* **Ø-nü(gü)** i-heke *ukuge=sube*
        LOG   TEMP3 ITJ SAY-PNCT 3-PRSP people=EM
        Meanwhile: "Ah!", (she) said to him/her, "is it people?"

Note that if both the addresser and addressee are explicit, both are marked by *heke*, as in (15), an example of direct quoted speech in everyday colloquial interaction: the 'perspectival' *heke* marks the addressee, while the ergative *heke* marks the addresser.

(15)   *inhalïi ügïi ihipütelïi eheke* **ta^jheke uheke**
        inhalïi ügïi   *ihipüte-lïi-i*   *e-heke* **Ø-ta(gü)** **i-heke** **u-heke**
        NEG1 fish.hook buy-PNCT-COP 2-ERG   say-DUR 3-ERG 1-PRSP
        "You didn't buy fish hooks", he was saying to me.

Example (16) shows co-occurence of frames in a parallelistic repetition which allows the identification of the addresser.

(16)   *ahütïi kutale uheke ahati hüngüngü tingüdila* **nü^jheke Ihũbe kilü**
        ahütïi kutale u-heke a-hati   *hüngüngü t-inguN-ti-la*   **Ø-nü(gü)** **i-heke**
        NEG2 EM   1-ERG 2-niece lack.of   ANA-endure-PTCP-PRIV say-PNCT 3-PRSP
        Ihũbe   **ki-lü**
        Ihumbe say-PNCT
        "I can not stand the lack of your niece", (he said) to her/him, Ihũbe said.

The co-occurence of frames is also found in ordinary speech, as in (17), where the direct quotation is enclosed between a pre-framer and a reduced post-framer.

(17)   **ekise kilü uheke** *uinegetũdagïi ahijaũ ata utelïi heke* **nü^jheke uheke**
        ekise **ki-lü**   **u-heke** *u-inegetuN-tagïi ahijaũ ata u-te-lïi*   *heke* **Ø-nügü**
        3DIST say-PNCT 1-PRSP 1-be.afraid-DUR plane LOC 1-go-PNCT ERG   say-PNCT
        i-heke u-heke
        3-ERG 1-PRSP
        He told me: "I'm afraid to go by plane", he said to me.

In example (18) we see that the quote framers *ta(gü)* and *nü(gü)* can be completely elided, leaving only the addressee (marked by *heke*) explicit.

(18)   *haki atsange tahaĩke ilá eteke* tüïhitsü heke
        haki atsange at-ahaĩ-ke   *ila e-te-ke* tü-hi-tsü   heke
        far   EMPH2 2.DTR-move.away-IMP there 2-go-IMP REFL-wife-POSS PRSP
        "Move away, go there!", (he said) to his own wife.

Looking at the Kuikuro facts exemplified in this section, the possibility of a non phonologically realized 'say' verb is corroborated by a phonologically realized aspectual inflection (-*nügïi*, -*tagïi*). Kuikuro is a case of the phenomenon that Spronck & Nikitina (2019: 126–129) call "defenestration": in many languages the realization of M, the framing clause of a directly reported speech construction, is often reduced or even absent, as an optional element. Cross-linguistically, meanings associated with M do not always receive structural expression, and 'framing' clauses that are M-less clauses are 'defenestrated'. Examples (12) to (18) show increasing degrees of defenestration, that is, of M-less clauses. The 'defenestration' phenomenon in Kuikuro reaches its maximum manifestation when direct reported speech occurs without any frame, as we will see in Section 3.3.

3.3 WHEN DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH OCCURS WITHOUT ANY FRAME

As mentioned, Kuikuro exhibits the phenomenon that Spronck & Nikitina (2019: 126–129) call *defenestration*: the framing clause or less-than-a-clause of a directly reported speech construction can be completely absent. According to Spronck & Nikitina, the absence of an explicit framer does not present a semantic lacuna, since it can always be recovered thanks to the use of interjections, ideophones, epistemics, kinship terms, vocatives, among other clues. During the execution of a narrative, the brief questions posed by the *itüinhi*—the story-teller's formal interlocutor or 'what-sayer'—can provide this function of recoverability, when it is beyond the storyteller's *itüinhi* immediate understanding of who is talking to whom.

The absence of any quoted speech frame (M) is by far the most frequent case in Kuikuro narratives. Expressive prosody, the context, and, above all, the prior and shared knowledge of the narrative, knowledge from which the non-native researcher is excluded, provide the clues for the recovery of addresser and addressee referents. The mastery of unframed quoted speech is a salient characteristic of the performance of an experienced story-teller, introducing dramatic movements and passages that distinguish between scenes and characters.

Example (19) presents one of the blocks in parallel sequence from the narrative *itaõ kuẽgü etĩkipügü* 'the transformation of hyper-women'. It illustrates the way inner thoughts are realized as direct quotatives. In this case, the narrator is hidden in the forest during a fishing trip, and is watching the transformation of men into hyper-peccaris.[11]

(19)   *mmm igia agage sokuniküle itsagü ekisei*
         mmm igia   agage sokuniküle i-tsagü   ekise-i
         ITJ   like.this SIM3   INT.EM   3.be-DUR 3.DIST-COP
         "Hum, it is like this they are becoming?"

         apajuko
         apaju-ko
         father-PL
         "Are they the fathers?"

         igia sokukinhi itsagüiko igei
         igia   sokukinhi i-tsagü-ko   ige-i
         like.this   INT.EM   3.be-DUR-PL   DPROX-COP
         "It's like this, I saw them, it seems to be true, it is like this that they are becoming here."

         igehungu sokukinhi tinghangamitagüi
         ige-hungu   sokukinhi ti-ng-hangami-tagü-i
         DPROX-SIM1   INT.EM   1.3-O-wait-DUR-COP
         "They are beings like this, I saw them, it seems to be true, those we are awaiting."

         amanhuko akeni
         amanhu-ko ake-ni
         mother-PL COM-PL2
         "With our mothers?"

From the same narrative, the same scene depicted in the above example is repeated, but now as the unframed direct quoted speech of the same character who reports what he just saw in the forest to his mother in the village.

(20)   *ama igehungu makina kunghangamitagüikoi apajukoi*
         ama   ige-hungu   makina ku-ng-hangami-tagü-ko-i apaju-ko-i
         mother DPROX-SIM1   EM   1.2-O-wait-DUR-PL-COP   father-PL-COP
         mother, believe me, they are beings like this that we are waiting, they are the fathers

         igehungu uengehotagü solaka ihekeni
         ige-hungu   u-enge-ho-tagü solaka i-heke-ni
         DPROX-SIM1   1-eat-HYP-DUR EM   3-ERG-PL2
         even so they wanted to feed me

---

11   For a detailed analysis of this narrative, see Franchetto (2003).

uengehotagü leha ihekeni leha
u-enge-ho-tagü   leha   i-heke-ni   leha
1-eat-HYP-DUR COMPL 3-ERG-PL2 COMPL
they wanted to feed me

apadjuko heke
apadju-ko heke
father-PL ERG
fathers

ilá sotümakigei apadjuko itsagü igei
ilá   sotümaki=ige-i   apadju-ko i-tsagü   ige-i
there   EM=DPROX-COP father-PL be-DUR DPROX-COP
there, it is true, believe me, fathers are transforming themselves, now

isigüko ihatigagü
is-i-gü-ko   ihati-gagü
3-tooth-POSS-PL exit-DUR
it was their teeth sticking out

ipuguko leha isaeni leha
ipu-gu-ko   leha   i-gae-ni   leha
3.hair-POSS-PL COMPL 3-on-PL2 COMPL
their hair on them

itsuponi leha ipuguko leha
i-tupo-ni   leha   ipu-gu-ko   leha
3-on.back-PL COMPL 3.hair-POSS-PL COMPL
on their back, their hair

4. DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUOTED SPEECH

Despite the undeniable predominance of direct quotations in Kuikuro discourse, it is possible to find indirect quotative constructions in recordings of everyday interactions as well as in controlled elicitations. In this section I present a brief description of the indirect speech constructions found in my corpus, focusing on some of their syntactic and semantic aspects. It must be said that the picture of the constructions used for what I identify as indirect speech quoted in Kuikuro is still unclear and needs further investigation.

4.1 INDIRECT QUOTED SPEECH: THE PRONOMINAL STRATEGY

The pronominal strategy is the main clue for the recovering of conjoint or disjoint reference between the subjects of a main clause and a dependent clause. However, this is true only when a 3rd person is involved. If a non-3rd person is the pronominal absolutive argument, its prefixed phonological exponent is always obligatorily present in the dependent verb, as shown in (21), where the dependent clause is an adverbial headed by the morpheme *-tomi*.

(21)   osi ama kilü leha uheke utetomi uitangūdomi
        osi ama   ki-lü   leha   u-heke u-te-**tomi** u-itanguN-**tomi**
        yes mother say-PNCT COMPL 1-PRSP 1-go-FIN   1-play-FIN
        Ok, my mother said to me that I could go to play.

The situation is different with 3rd person clauses. Having no subordinative conjunction, Kuikuro mobilizes what could be called a pronominal strategy in indirect quotatives, as well as in other complex constructions, to encode coincident (SS, same subject) or distinct (DS, different subject) cross-reference relations between the arguments of the matrix clause and a 3rd person in the dependent clause. Compare the paired direct (a) vs. indirect (b) quotes in each of the following examples.

Direct quote:

(22a)   umukugu kilü uheke konige *Canaranana utelüiti uitsagü*
         u-muku-gu ki-lü   u-heke konige *Canarana-na   u-te-lü-ti   u-i-tsagü*
         1-son-POSS say-PNCT 1-PRSP yesterday Canarana-ALL 1-go-PNCT-DES 1-be-DUR
         My son said to me yesterday: "I want to go to Canarana".

Indirect quote SS:

(22b) umukugu kilü konige uheke **tütelüti** itsagü Canaranana
    u-muku-gu   *ki-lü*   *konige*   *uheke*   *tü-te-lü-ti*   *i-tsagü*   *Canarana-na*
    1-son-POSS$_i$ say-PNCT yesterday 1-PRSP REFL$_i$-go-PNCT-DES 3.be-DUR Canarana-ALL
    My son$_i$ said yesterday to me that he$_i$ wants to go to Canarana.

Direct quote:

(23a) umukugu kilü uheke konige *Canaranana etelüti itsagü*
    u-muku-gu   ki-lü   u-heke   konige   *Canarana-na*   *e-te-lü-ti*   *i-tsagü*
    1-son-POSS$_i$ say-PNCT 1-PRSP yesterday Canarana-ALL 3$_k$-go-PNCT-DES 3.be-DUR
    My son$_i$ said to me yesterday: "He$_k$ wants to go to Canarana".

Indirect quote DS:

(23b) umukugu kilü konige uheke etelüti itsagü Canaranana
    u-muku-gu   ki-lü   konige   uheke   e-te-lü-ti   i-tsagü   Canarana-na
    1-son-POSS$_i$ say-PNCT yesterday 1-PRSP 3-go-PNCT-DES$_i$ 3$_k$.be-DUR Canarana-ALL
    My son$_i$ said yesterday to me that he$_k$ wants to go to Canarana.

In these examples the SS (same subject) pronominal form in the dependent verb indicates whether we are hearing a direct or an indirect quotation. The sentence (22b) is a clear example of SS cross-reference, where the reflexive 3rd person morpheme *t-/tü-* indicates that the subject of the dependent verb (*-telü*) is coreferent with the subject of the matrix clause. However, when we face a DS (different subject or disjoint reference) construction, as in (23b), there is no difference between direct and indirect quotative constructions, leading to an ambiguous interpretation. This problem doesn't arise when the disjoint reference is between a non-3rd person subject of the main clause and the subject of the embedded clause, as in (24b).

Direct quote:

(24a) uonitu umukugu kingalü uheke *utehesuingo tsügü Canaranana*
    u-onituN-Ø   u-muku-gu   ki-nga-lü   u-heke   *u-tehesu-ingo*   *tsügü*   *Canarana-na*
    1$_i$-dream-PNCT 1-son-POSS$_k$ say-HAB-PNCT 1-PRSP 3$_k$-travel-FUT UNCR Canarana-ALL
    I dreamed that my son repeatedly told me: "I will travel to Canarana".

Indirect quote:

(24b) uonitu umukugu kingalü uheke itsehesuingo tsügü Canaranana
    u-onituN-Ø   u-muku-gu   ki-nga-lü   u-heke   i-tehesu-ingo   tsügü   Canarana-na
    1$_i$-dream-PNCT 1-son-POSS$_k$ say-HAB-PNCT 1-PRSP 3$_k$-travel-FUT UNCR Canarana-ALL
    I dreamed that my son repeatedly told me that he would travel to Canarana

In (25a) and (25b), the pronominal strategy is at work not only in the contrast between the 1st person and the 3rd person ergative arguments of the verb in the quoted sentence, but also through another deictic: the person markers of a possessed nominal in the direct and indirect quotatives. Here, the distinction between the dual inclusive (*kuk-*) and the 1st plural exclusive (*tis-*) is at stake. Moreover, different emphatic morphemes, *atsange* and *akatsange*, are used. Finally, there is a difference between the simple ego-centered proximal locative adverb *ãde* in the indirect quotative (25b) and the double ego-centered proximal locative adverbs *ãde* and *ĩde* in the direct quotative (25a).

Direct quote:

(25a) itaõ kilü uheke *ãde atsange ĩde kukengikogu ongitepügü uheke*
    itaõ   ki-lü   u-heke   *ãde*   *atsange*   *ĩde*   *kuk-engiko-gu*   *ongite-pügü*   *u-heke*
    woman say-PNCT 1-ERG here EMPH2 here 1.2-thing-POSS hide-PERF 1-ERG
    The woman said to me: "I hid our belongings here".

Indirect quote:

(25b) itaõ kilü uheke ãde akatsange tisengikogu ongitepügü iheke
    itaõ   ki-lü   u-heke ãde akatsange tis-engiko-gu   ongite-pügü i-heke
    woman say-PNCT 1-ERG   here EMPH3   1.3-thing-POSS hide-PERF   3-ERG
    The woman said to me that she hid our belongings here.

4.2 INDIRECT QUOTED SPEECH: PERSPECTIVAL 'ABOUT' AGAIN

We saw in Section 2.1, the use of the perspectival or 'about' *heke*P for the identification of the addressee in the framing part of a direct quote construction. This postpositional phrase is once more in use when the indirect quoted speech contain a transitive verb. Compare the direct (a) and indirect speech (b) forms of the sentences below: in the indirect quote constructions, *kanga engelü heke iheke* in (26b) and *eingilü heke iheke* in (27b) are the 'about' postpositional phrases that specify the content of the quotation.[12]

Direct quote:

(26a) Leijalu kilüha egei *kanga engelü uheke*
    Leijalu ki-lü=ha   ege-i   *kanga* *enge-lü*   *u-heke*
    Leijalu say-PNCT=TOP DDIST-COP fish   eat-PNCT 1-ERG
    It was Leijalu who said: "I ate fish".

Indirect quote:

(26b) Leijalu kilüha egei **kanga engelü heke iheke**
    Leijalu$_i$ ki-lü=ha   ege-i   kanga enge-lü   heke i$_{i/k}$-heke
    Leijalu say-PNCT=TOP DDIST-COP fish   eat-PNCT PRSP 3-ERG
    It was Leijalu who said that she ate fish (Leijalu or other).
    (lit.: It was Leijalu who said about her eating of fish.)

Direct quote:

(27a) Bruna kilüha egei *eingilü uheke*
    Bruna ki-lü=ha   ege-i   *e-ingi-lü*   *u-heke*
    Bruna say-PNCT=TOP DDIST-COP 2-see-PNCT 1-ERG
    It was Bruna who said: "I saw you".

Indirect quote:

(27b) Bruna kilüha egei **eingilü heke iheke**
    Bruna$_i$ ki-lü=ha   ege-i   e-ingi-lü   heke i$_{i/k}$-heke
    Bruna say-PNCT=TOP DDIST-COP 2-see-PNCT PRSP 3-ERG
    It was Bruna who said (that) she (Bruna or other) saw you.
    (lit.: It was Bruna who said about her seeing you.)

4.3 MORE ON INDIRECT QUOTATIVES

Sometimes indirect quoted speech is introduced by the verb *-ki* ('to say'). However the data currently available show that another *verbum dicendi—iha-* ('to point at, to show')—is preferred when the reported speech act is indirect. Compare the direct quotation in (28a) with the indirect quotation in (28b):

(28a) Leijalu kilü egei konige *uteliiingo eiingati kogetsi*
    Leijalu ki-lü   ege-i   konige *u-te-lü-ingo*   *e-üngati*   *kogetsi*
    Leijalu say-PNCT DDIST-COP yesterday 1-go-PNCT-FUT 2-house.ALL tomorrow
    It was Leijalu who said yesterday: "I'll go to your house tomorrow".

---

12   The syntactic mapping of information structure in Kuikuro grammar is also relevant for understanding examples (26) and (27) (Franchetto & Santos 2010). Both examples have a focussed constituent in the left periphery, whose right edge is marked by the topic clitic *ha*, followed by the distal demonstrative *ege* suffixed by the non-verbal copula *-i*. In the these sentences, the focussed constituent is the VP containing the *say*-verb *kilü*; the direct or indirect quoted speech is the second part of this biclausal construction.

(28b)   konigeha egei Leijalu heke tütelü ihanügü
          konige=ha   ege-i   Leijalu heke tü-te-lü   iha-nügü   e-üngati   kogetsi
          yesterday=TOP DDIST-COP Leijalu, ERG REFL,-ir-PNCT show-PNCT 2-house.all tomorrow
          It was yesterday that Leijalu said that she (Leijalu) will go tomorrow to your house.
          (lit.: her own going to your house…)

The above sentences are bi-clausal focus constructions. They again show the pronominal strategy
at work for distinguishing SS from DS, with the reflexive prefix on the dependent verb marking SS,
as also exemplified in (29a).

(29a)   SS
          tinegetũdatühügü ihata(gü)ha egei iheke ahijaũ ata
          t-inegetũ-ta-tühügü   iha-ta(gü)=ha   ege-i   i-heke ahijaũ ata
          REFL,-be.afraid-DUR-PERF   show-DUR=TOP DDIST-COP 3,-ERG plane INE2
          He, was telling that he, is afraid (to go) in a plane.

(29b)   DS
          inegetũdatühügü ihata(gü)ha egei iheke ahijaũ ata
          inegetũ-ta-tühügü   ihata(gü)=ha   ege-i   i-heke ahijaũ ata
          3,.be.afraid-DUR-PERF   show-DUR=TOP DDIST-COP 3,-ERG plane INE2
          He, was telling that he, is afraid (to go) in a plane.

The verb *iha-* is the only possible option in complex constructions like (30), where a full sentence
is the internal argument of *iha-*, and in recursive constructions like (31).

(30)   [[haindene heke eke api-lü]ihanügü iheke]
          haindene heke eke   api-lü   iha-nügü   i-heke
          old   ERG snake beat-PNCT show-PNCT 3-ERG
          He said that the old man killed the snake.

(31)   [[[ekise itaõ heke tuahi hanügü uh-nügü] ihanügü umukugu heke] ihanügü kagaiha heke]
          ekise   itaõ   heke tuahi ha-nügü   uhu-nügü iha-nügü   u-muku-gu heke
          3.DIST woman ERG mat   make-PNCT know-PNCT show-PNCT 1-son-POSS ERG
          iha-nügü   kagaiha heke
          show-PNCT white   ERG
          The White said my son said that woman knows how to make a mat.

The verb *iha-* is also the only possible option in interrogative constructions, as in the examples
below, from (32) to (34).

(32)   tü eke apinii **inhihanümi**
          tü eke   apini-i   **i-ng-iha-nümi**
          Q snake beat-ANMLZ-COP 3-O-show-PNCT.COP
          Who did he say killed the snake?
          (lit.: who was the killer of the snake he told about?)

(33)   tünile egei Ekege **ngihanümi** ungengepügüi
          tü=nile ege-i   Ekege **ng-iha-nümi**   u-ng-enge-pügü-i
          Q=EM   DDIST-COP Ekege O-say-PNCT.COP 1-O-eat-PERF-COP
          What did Ekege say I ate?

(34)   tünile egei Ekege **ngihanümi tü**ngengepügüi
          tü=nile ege-i   Ekege **ng-iha-nümi**   **tü**-ng-enge-pügü-i
          Q=EM   DDIST-COP Ekege, O-show-PNCT.COP REFL,-O-eat-PRF-COP
          What did Ekege say he (Ekege) ate?

(32), (33), and (34) are examples of interrogatives where the questioned argument is the object
of a transitive verb like *iha* ('to point at/say'): the object marker *ng-* prefixed to the verb is
coindexed with the question particle *tü,* always in sentence-initial position, and the inflectional
suffix *-nümi* is, in fact, the exponent of a fusion of the Punctual aspect short form (*-nü-*) and non-
verbal copula *-i.*

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Data from different types of Kuikuro discourse, from traditional narratives to everyday speech and controlled elicitations, corroborate the main typological predictions on reported speech forms stated by Spronck & Nikitina (2019). Direct quotatives are used much more than indirect quotatives, in any genre of discourse, from the most colloquial to the most formal, as in the verbal arts represented by narratives and even in chanted speeches and songs. The art of the story-teller depends on an ability to maintain the narrative path (*enga* 'base') coming and going across its deviations (*ikungu* 'arm'), weaving the movement marked by dialogue between the different characters. A direct quote can include more than one sentence, with expressive interjections, epistemics, spatial and temporal deictics, and ideophones.

There are three ways of framing direct quotes: (1) use of the intransitive verb *ki-* 'to say', a lexical framer, with its aspectual inflection, after the quote; (2) pure aspectual inflection, which leads me to postulate a null *say*-verb, also after the quote; or (3) no framer at all. The use of explicit framers is not compulsory and their simple omission is quite frequent. Quotative constructions framed with a reduced lexical form or even absence of any explicit framing part are highly frequent in all genres of Kuikuro speech, a phenomenon noted in Spronck & Nikitina's (2019) typological survey and called by the authors 'defenestrated' syntactic structures.

The Kuikuro language can be typologically characterized as an ergative-unaccusative language. The agent or, better, the external cause of a transitive verb, is marked by the postposition *heke*. This postposition has a non-trivial semantics that departs from the ordinary conception of agentivity (Franchetto 2010). The behavior of the *say*-verb *ki-* is also notable. It is an intransitive verb that seems to take the 'sayer' as its unmarked absolutive internal argument. However, when the addressee is explicit, it is marked by the perspectival *heke,* the 'about' of the addresser's saying.

Indirect quotatives are less frequently used than direct ones, but even so they are found in everyday speech and are easily documented in controlled and contextualized elicitation. Kuikuro indirect quoted speech constructions deserve much more investigation and new data. Especially for indirect quotatives, some questions for future research are (i) the importance of the so-called pronominal strategy for establishing coreferences between the subject of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause; (ii) the possible relevance of the distinction between transitivity and intransitivity, with their argumental structure; (iii) the motivations and contexts for use of the perspectival postpostional phrase *heke*P and the shift from the *say*-verb *ki-* to another *verbum dicendi*: *iha-* 'to show, to point at' in indirect speech constructions.

COMPETING INTERESTS

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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