Quotative strategies in Panará

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ABSTRACT

Quotation is a central function in language and communication that has so far been largely neglected in the scientific study of many Indigenous languages. This paper addresses this for Panará, a Northern Jê language spoken by approximately 650 people in Mato Grosso and Pará. I present the properties of grammatical constructions used with a quotative function in Panará. The internal structure of quotatives in Panará is similar to that of other embedded clauses, which in turn present the same characteristics as main clauses. The context of quotatives is quite rich, with several quotatives that introduce quotations, the main one being the verb *sũn* 'say'. There is also a specific quotative used in narrative contexts, *jãri* 'tell', which is closely related to a reportative marker *tijãri*.

RESUMO

A citação é uma função central na linguagem e na comunicação, até hoje lamentavelmente negligenciada no estudo científico em numerosas línguas indígenas. Esse artigo aborda essa questão para o panará, uma língua da família jê do ramo setentrional falada por aproximadamente 650 pessoas nos estados de Mato Grosso e Pará. No artigo apresento as propriedades das construções gramaticais usadas com uma função citativa em panará. A estrutura interna das citações em panará é semelhante à de outras frases encaixadas, que por sua vez apresentam caraterísticas compartilhadas com as orações principais. O contexto das citações é diverso, com vários elementos citativos que introducem citações, sendo o principal deles o verbo *sũn* 'dizer'. Há também, um citativo específico para uso em contextos narrativos, *jãri* 'contar', que está íntimamente relacionado com o marcador reportativo *tijãri*.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a series of grammatical phenomena connected with quote constructions in Panará, a Northern Jê language spoken in central Brazil. Quote constructions encompass a wide variety of syntactic strategies that a language can use for quoting both direct and indirect speech. In the case of Panará, discussing quotation means also discussing clause type and the structure of the polysynthetic verbal complex. Unless otherwise indicated, the data presented were collected by the author over the course of several fieldwork stays among the Panará since 2014.

2 THE PANARÁ LANGUAGE

Panará is the language spoken by the members of the Indigenous nation also called Panará, from the autonym /panãra/ 'those that are'. Panará today has over 600 speakers who live in the officially demarcated Panará Indigenous Land on the Iriri and Ipiranga rivers. Today the Panará land is a territory of 500,000 hectares across the state border between Mato Grosso and Pará in central Brazil. However, until the 1970s their territory was much larger, occupying an area between the Cachimbo mountain range and the modern city of Sinop in several village clusters.

The Panará were eventually reduced to less than 10% of their population as a result of their first contact with neocolonial Brazilian society, when they contracted highly contagious diseases from the Brazilian government's contact expedition and the workers that were building the BR-163 highway, which would connect Cuiabá and Santarém, across Panará land. In 1974, the 67 survivors were forcibly removed from their land and relocated to the Xingu Indigenous Park. Twenty years later, in the 1990s, they were successful in their lengthy fight to demarcate a piece of their land that still contained Amazonian rainforest and were able to move back. Since then, they have seen a demographic and social expansion and now occupy seven different villages.

Panará was classified as a Jê language following an initial hypothesis presented by Heelas (1979) that established the correspondences between their language and a series of word lists collected from a supposedly extinct Jê group that lived further south in Brazil in the 18th and 19th centuries, called the Southern Cayapó by colonists (Giraldin 1997). Linguistic work by Rodrigues and Dourado (1993) later proved that Panará is indeed a Jê language (Davis 1966), in the Macro-Jê macro-family. Since then, Panará has been classified as a Northern Jê language alongside Apinajé, Kajkwakratxi, Kīsêdjê, Mẽbêngôkre, and the Timbira languages (Rodrigues 1999).[1]

The Panará polysynthetic verb complex presents morphological cross-reference with all kinds of arguments. For the sake of ease in examining the examples provided throughout the paper, the paradigms of argument cross-reference are included in Table 1. As the paradigms in Table 1 show, the irrealis portion of the reality status dimension of Panará presents a tripartite alignment in its argument cross-reference; rather than the ergative-absolutive pattern that argument clitics display in realis, in irrealis there is a different cross-reference for the ergative, for the transitive absolutive, and for the intransitive absolutive.

Table 1 Panará argument clitics.

		ERG		ABS	
		SG	PL	SG	PL
REAL	1	rê	nẽ~rê	ra	ra
	2	ka	ka rê	a	rê a
	3	ti	nẽ~rê	Ø	ra

		ABS$_{TR}$		ABS$_{INTR}$	
		SG	PL	SG	PL
IRR	1	Ø	Ø	ra	ra	Ø Ø	Ø Ø
	2	ti	ti rê	a	rê a	ti a	ti rê a
	3	ti	ti	Ø	ra	ti Ø	ti Ø

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1   Note, however, that a more recent classification proposal places Panará outside of the Northern Jê languages (Nikulin 2020).

At the same time, as Table 1 shows, there is an impoverished morpheme inventory for the exponence of person features in the irrealis, with multiple exponence for intransitive absolutives, as illustrated in examples (1) to (3). To reflect the distinction between irrealis 1st person /Ø/ against 2nd + 3rd person /ti/, on the one hand, and 2nd person /a/ against 1st + 3rd person /Ø/, on the other, I gloss the irrealis ergative and intransitive absolutive clitics as SPK 'speaker' and NSPK 'non-speaker' on the left slot, and ADRE 'addressee' and NADRE 'non-addressee' on the right slot, closest to the verb.[2]

(1)   ka = Ø = py = Ø =   pôô
         IRR   SPK ITER NADRE arrive
         I will come back.

(2)   ka = ti = py = a =   pôô
         IRR   NSPK ITER ADRE arrive
         You will come back.

(3)   ka = ti = py = Ø =   pôô
         IRR   NSPK ITER NADRE arrive
         He/she will come back.

Panará presents several syntactic differences from the other Jê languages, not only in the Northern branch but also elsewhere in the family, all of which are arguably innovations (Bardagil 2018; Dourado 2001). Notably, Panará lacks the templatic Jê verb-final clause structure with fixed case positions seen in (4) for Mẽbêngôkre. Instead, in Panará the Jê verb-final clause was reanalyzed as a polysynthetic verbal complex with a series of proclitics, as can be seen in (5). Panará participant clitics present discontinuous exponence, some are omittable, and some are homophonous with free pronouns. They also present omnivorous number, with a single number morpheme controlling more than one argument, in this case the dual clitic (Bardagil 2020). Person-case restrictions are also manifested in Panará, as a ban on the co-occurrence of 1st and 2nd absolutive and dative clitics (Bardagil 2019).

(4)   *Mẽbêngôkre*
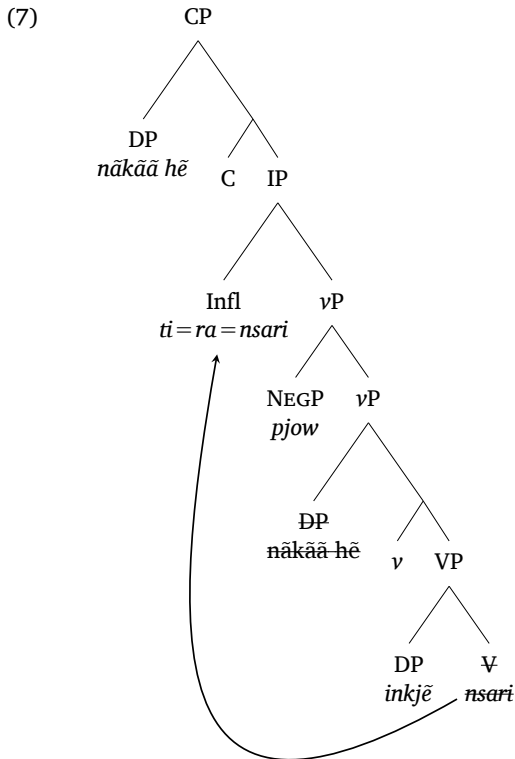   ba   nẽ   ba   ari kot i =   tẽ   mã
         1SG.TOP NFUT 1SG.NOM PL COM 1SG.ABS leave away
         I went away with them.

(5)   inkjẽ jy = py = ra = kõ = ra =   tẽ   mãra-mẽra kõ
         1SG   INTR DIR   3PL   COM   1SG.ABS leave 3SG-PL   COM
         I went away with them.

In Panará, rather than the verb remaining in a low VP-internal position as elsewhere in the family, the verb raises to Infl, which is also the cliticizing category. This results in the language's non-verb-final constituent order (6), with the syntactic derivation illustrated in (7).

(6)   nãkãã hẽ   ti =   ra =   nsari pjow inkjẽ
         snake ERG 3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS bite   NEG   1SG
         The snake didn't bite me.

(7)

Unlike in the other nine Jê languages, Panará arguments always receive ergative-absolutive case marking. This has a direct connection with clause typology in the languages of the Jê family. In main clauses, the Jê verb typically appears in a short form and the case marking is nominative-accusative—with a further split intransitive distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs. In order to build subordinate clauses, however, Jê languages require a nominalized verb, in which the case marking switches to ergative-absolutive. This is exemplified in (8) for Kĩsêdjê.

(8)   *Kĩsêdjê*
      hẽn   Ø   [i=   nã   {re/ra /*Ø} Ø=   khuru] khãm s=   õmu
      FACT 3SG.NOM 1SG.NOM mother ERG   NOM 3SG.ABS eat.LG   INES 3SG.ABS see.SH
      He/she saw my mother eating. (Nonato 2014: 104)

Just like in the other Jê languages, Panará subordinate clauses are head-internal. In contrast to the classic Jê pattern, however, they show all the properties of finite main clauses with respect to their argument marking, modal morphology, case marking alignment, and available left periphery (9).

(9)   [Patty hẽ   ti=   Ø=   pĩra swasĩrã] rê=   Ø=   ku= krẽ
       Patty ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS kill peccary 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS chew= eat
      I ate the peccary that Patty killed.

In sister languages to Panará in the Northern Jê branch, embedded clauses are characterized for the lack of finiteness and an unavailability of clausal positions higher than Infl (Bardagil 2018; Bardagil & Groothuis 2023; Salanova 2007). This is not the case for Panará, which can have its anchoring TAME category, i.e., reality status or mood, manifestly present in embedded contexts, such as relative and dependent clauses, denoted by square brackets through examples, including (10–11).[3]

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3   The *jy* morpheme in (10) is a modal clitic that indicates realis in intransitive verbs; its transitive equivalent is null. Even though it is glossed as INTR, it also serves as an exponent of realis mood.

(10) rê=   s=   anpun [ippẽ   jy= Ø=   pẽẽ]
      1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS see   non-Indigenous INTR 3SG.ABS speak
      I saw the white man who spoke.

(11) rê=   s=   anpun [ippẽ   ka= ti= Ø=   pẽẽ]
      1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS see   non-indigenous IRR   NSPK NADRE speak
      I saw the white man who will speak.

Relativization is available to all argument types (12–13). Relativization, and clause embedding more generally, is not sensitive to constraints on classes of arguments, such as syntactic ergativity, and all types of arguments can head an embedded clause.

(12) Intransitive absolutive
      jy= Ø=   sõti [inkjêê jy= Ø=   pôô]
      INTR 3SG.ABS sleep   woman INTR 3SG.ABS come
      The woman that arrived is sleeping.

(13) Ergative
      [toopytun hẽ   ti=   Ø=   pĩri swasĩra] inkjẽ junpjâ hẽ
        old-man   ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS kill peccary 1SG   father ERG
      The old man that killed a peccary is my father.

(14) Transitive absolutive
      [ka   hẽ   ka=   Ø=   pĩri swasĩra ka   sipjâ mã] nãsisi
        2SG ERG 2SG.ERG 3SG.ABS kill peccary 2SG wife   DAT sweet
      The peccary you killed for your wife was tasty.

The same properties seen for relative clauses hold for complement clauses. The case marking is ergative-absolutive, the constituent order is free, and both the pre- and postverbal positions inside the clause are available (15).

(15) rê=   s=   anpun [joopy hẽ   ti=   Ø=   pĩri kôôtita]
      1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS see   jaguar ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS kill chicken
      I saw the jaguar killing a chicken.

Having established the relevant morphosyntactic characteristics of Panará, the rest of this article is devoted to Panará quotation strategies.

3 PANARÁ QUOTATION STRATEGIES

Panará employs a wide range of syntactic strategies to indicate quotation. This section presents Panará direct and indirect quotes, and also a particular type of quotes that appear in narration contexts, which I call here narrative quotes. In what follows I describe each type of quote and the grammatical cues that signal the different types.

3.1 DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUOTATIONS

Before looking at the properties of the quote constructions present in Panará, I will lay out the basic characteristics of the two types of quotations, direct and indirect. Quotations are a grammatical mechanism to convey in a conversation an illocution that someone has said previously, or that someone will say in the future. Direct quotations are a type of demonstration (Clark & Gerrig 1990: 756), the linguistic version of the way in which one would depict any action being demonstrated, whether linguistic or not, as in (16).

(16)   a.   And she went "Bye, I'm leaving!"
       b.   And she went <waving hand gesture>.

This distinguishes direct quotations from indirect quotations, which are not demonstrations but descriptions (Clark & Gerrig 1990: 764), as presented by the speaker from their perspective , as in (17).

(17)   And she said that she was leaving.

In Panará, a direct quotation is a demonstration of an illocutive act that was or will be said. It is typically the complement of a verb of saying, as in (18), but it can also be introduced elliptically by just indicating the speaker, such as the ergative argument in (19).

(18) mãra hẽ ti=   Ø=   sũn *prẽ jy= Ø=   too*
      3SG   ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say who INTR 3SG.ABS fly
      He said "Who left?"

(19) *ka=   mẽ= ho= s=   anpun pjyankjâ* Pânpaa hẽ
      2SG.ERG DU   INS 3SG.ABS see   trail   Pânpaa ERG
      "Let's go see the trail", Pânpaa [said].

An indirect quotation is the description of an illocutive act, rather than a demonstration of what was said. As seen in (20), indirect quotation shifts the perspective to that of the speaker.

(20) *ti=   Ø=   wa= too sõpâri*   ti=   Ø=   sũn Sykiã hẽ
      3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS CAUS leave witchcraft 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say Sykjã ERG
      "He_i is going to remove witchcraft", said Sykjã_i.

The fact that an indirect quotation is conveyed from the speaker's perspective causes the main grammatical differences between direct and indirect quotations. The following two examples illustrate that. First, the person features change from what would have been a first or second person (21a, 22a) to a third person (21b, 22b). Second, there is also indexical shift in indirect quotations. Deictic elements that would display proximate features in direct quotation, such as *mãja* 'this' (21a) and *jahã* 'here' (22a), are instead realized by a non-proximate deictic element in (21b) and (22b).

(21) a. *ka= Ø=   kuri **mãja** pakwa* mãra hẽ   ti=   Ø=   sũn
          IRR SPK.IRR eat this banana 3SG   ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say
          "I will eat this banana", he said.

      b. mãra hẽ   ti=   Ø=   sũn ka= ti= Ø=   kuri **mãmã** pakwa
          3SG   ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say IRR NSPK NADRE eat that   banana
          He said that he will eat that banana.

(22) a. *ka= Ø=   wajãri issy **jahã*** mãra hẽ   ti=   Ø=   sũn
          IRR 1SG.IRR eat   this banana   3SG   ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say
          "I will make a fire here", he said.

      b. mãra hẽ   ti=   Ø=   sũn ka= ti= Ø=   wajãri issy **ũwãhã**
          3SG   ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say IRR NSPK NADRE make   fire there
          He said that he will make a fire there.

Indirect quotes also appear to be restricted to the deictic perspective established in the matrix clause, seen in the choice of realis for a future-oriented event (23), which would otherwise be realized with irrealis marking.

(23) Toopytun hẽ   ti=   Ø=   sũn, jy= Ø=   kwy jy Ø=   pjow.
      old.man ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say INTR 3SG.ABS go INTR 3SG.ABS NEG
      The old man said he won't go.

There can be multiple levels of quotative embedding. In (24) the informant recounts a story from his childhood before contact, in which his grandfather Kâkjori gave him advice. We can see that there is a quotation introduced in the story by Kâkjori with *sũn*, inside of the first level of quotation, introduced with the narrative quote *tijãri*.

(24) *ka= Ø=   kân=   Ø=   sũn, ja Ka=   ra=   nĩri   pjow inkj-ara*
      IRR NSPK   2SG.DAT 3SG.ABS say this 2sg.erg 3pl.abs have.sex NEG woman-PL
      inkjown ti=   Ø=   jãri
      NEG   3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS tell
      "I will say this to you: Don't have sex. No women". he said.

It is worth stressing that quotation is not restricted to reporting speech events that took place in the past but can also extend to speech events that will take place in the future (25).

(25)   I bet that they will all say "Wow, that's so strange!"

This is especially noteworthy for Panará. Panará socialization places a great importance on addressing explicitly what will be said at a given situation. In the following exchange, which I wrote down in my notebook after the conversation took place, a Panará elder was asking me about my impending trip back home and my future arrival at my parents' house, and wanted to know what I would say to them. I started with (26a), and she continued with (26b), to which I replied (26c). As is usually the case, she looked satisfied with the small exchange.

(26)   a. *jy=   ra=   pôô   puuahã Brasil pêê* ka= Ø= sũn inkjẽ hẽ
            INTR 1SG.ABS arrive far   Brazil ABL IRR SPK say 1SG ERG
            "I have arrived from Brazil, far away" I will say.

       b. *a jy= a=   pôô   inkin?* ka nãpjâ   hẽ
           Q INTR 2SG.ABS arrive good   2SG mother ERG
           "Did you arrive well?" your mother [will say].

       c. *paa jy=   ra=   pôô   inkin pytinsi*
           yes INTR 1SG.ABS arrive good very
           "Yes, I arrived very well."

It is an open issue to what extent such exchanges are genuine enquiries or conventionalized, but they make future-oriented quotatives far from uncommon in the Panará language.

3.2 PANARÁ QUOTE CONSTRUCTIONS

The most unmarked and widely attested quote construction in Panará uses the verb *sũn* 'say'. It is a transitive verb that takes one ergative and one absolutive argument. The absolutive, the internal argument, can be a DP such as a pronoun (27) or a noun phrase (28).

(27)   **ja**   rê=   kân=   Ø=   sũn
        this 1SG.ERG 2SG.DAT 3SG.ABS say
        I said this to you.

(28)   **swankjara jõ   inpe** ka= Ø=   sũn inkjẽ hẽ
        ancient   POSS true IRR 3SG.ABS say 1SG   ERG
        I will tell something real of the ancients.

In its quotative role, *sũn* has a quotation as its internal argument. This can be a direct quotation, as seen in (29–30).

(29)   mãra hẽ ti=   Ø=   sũn *prẽ jy= Ø=   too*
        3SG ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say who INTR 3SG.ABS fly
        He said "who left?"

(30)   *a jy= py= a=   pôô   inkin* ka= ti= kân=   Ø=   sũn
        Q INTR DIR 2SG.ABS come good   IRR NSPK 2SG.DAT 3SG.ABS say
        "Did you arrive well?" she will say to you.

The verb *sũn* can also introduce indirect quotations, which take the form of complement clauses, as in (31–32).

(31)   Kuupêri hẽ ti=   Ø=   sũn **inkin pjow inkô-rãnkjo**
        Kuupêri ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say good NEG water-black
        Kuupêri said that he doesn't like coffee.

(32) inpy hẽ ti =   ra =   sũn **rê =**   **tõ =**   **Ø =**   **pyri pjow atõ-sy**
      man ERG 3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS say 1SG.ERG EMPH 3SG.ABS take NEG gun-grain
      The man said to me that I didn't bring any ammunition.

A second verb that introduces quotations is the verb *jãri~inkjãri* 'to tell' or 'to call', illustrated in (33) in its use as a conventional transitive verb.

(33) *pju*   *jya* rê =   mã =   Ø =   **jãri**
      measure long 3PL.ERG 3SG.DAT 3SG.ABS tell
      We called them "long [hair]".

As a quote construction, the saying verb *jãri* can introduce both direct (34a, b) and indirect quotations (35), as seen in the following examples from a Panará myth where several bird species compete to see which one is fast enough to steal the black vulture's fire.

(34) a. rê =   Ø =   sê = sũn ankwa tomãsã *sê* *pjow* rê =   Ø =   **nkjãri**
          3PL.ERG 3SG.ABS fast say aim   curassow fast NEG 3PL.ERG 3SG.ABS tell
          They picked a curassow. "[It's] not fast" they said.

      b. rê =   Ø =   sê = sũn ankwa prete   *sê*   *ra =*   *sê*   *pjow* ti =
          3PL.ERG 3SG.ABS fast say aim   trumpeter fast 1SG.ABS fast NEG 3PL.ERG
          Ø =   **jãri** prete   hẽ
          3SG.ABS tell trumpeter ERG
          They picked the trumpeter. "I am not fast", said the trumpeter.

(35) *sâ*   *mẽ* *kjẽnsâja*   *mẽ* *sê* *pjoo*, rê =   Ø =   **inkjãri**
      eagle and sparrowhawk and fast NEG 3PL.ERG 3SG.ABS tell
      The eagle and the sparrowhawk were not fast, they said.

However, *jãri* is more marked than *sũn*. The form *jãri* is used almost exclusively as a saying verb instead of *sũn* in narratives, not only mythological but also heavily in oral texts belonging to recent history or personal events. The narrative dimension of *jãri* is discussed in the next section.

3.3 NARRATIVE QUOTES AND REPORTATIVES

The Panará verb *jãri* 'say/tell' is a quote marker that, just like *sũn*, introduces both direct and indirect quotations. But whereas *sũn* appears as an unmarked saying verb when introducing quotes, in its quotative use *jãri* is a more marked verb, heavily associated with reporting speech in the context of narratives. That includes the retelling of personal anecdotes and more generally narration of oral history and mythological texts. In these genres of speech, the quotative expression *tijãri*, as in (36), is very common.

(36) *a* *ka =* *rê =* *Ø =*   *npari rõ*   *atõ* **tijãri**
      Q 2.ERG 2PL 3SG.ABS hear NEG gun 3SG.tell
      "Didn't you hear the shots?" he said.

In fact, *tijãri* corresponds to a conventionalized or lexicalized use of the verb *jãri~inkjãri* (37) discussed in Section 3.2.

(37) ti =   Ø =   jãri
      3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS tell
      He/she told.

Panará narrative quotes sit in a semantic area that also covers a reportative function (38). Also known as hearsay evidentiality, reportatives indicate that the information conveyed was aquired by the speaker from a source, rather than knowing the event directly or by inferrence. In the rest of the paper, *tijãri* will be glossed accordingly as a reportative in the examples.

(38) pãpã jy =   tã =   su = ra =   mõri **tijãri** panará
      all INTR DIR FIN 3PL.ABS go.PLAC REP Panará
      They all went to look for it, the Panará.

Reportatives should not be confused with strict quotatives. Even though the two categories are conceptually adjacent, reportative evidentials have scope over propositions, whereas quotative markers have scope over illocutions (Boye 2012: 32).

The reportative aspect of narrative quotes is further shown in (39), which reproduces a fragment from a telling of the Panará myth of how the guan stole the fire from the black vulture. As can be seen in the example sentences, no direct or indirect speech is introduced by *tijãri*. This suggests that it is reportative in function, although not a quote.

(39)   a.   puuahã ti＝   pêê＝ tã＝ Ø＝   kjãren **tijãri**
            far   3SG.ERG MAL   DIR 3SG.ABS tell   REP
            From far away he [the guan] spoke:

       b.   *rê＝   pêê＝ issê＝ jââ＝   pyri*
            1SG.ERG   MAL   fire   fire.stick take
            "I stole the fire!"

       c.   puuahã kõ   tã＝ Ø＝   pjâri   **tijãri** nãnsôw
            far   PER DIR 3SG.ABS follow REP   black.vulture
            Far away the black vulture went after him.

       d.   puuahã jy＝ pêê ho＝ Ø＝   too **tijãri**
            far   INTR   DIR 3SG.ABS run REP
            Far away [the guan] ran with it.

The fact that the reportative use of *tijãri* is not identical to its quotative use can be seen in examples like (40), where it co-occurs with the properly verbal form of *jãri*. Here, *jãri* is a transitive verb that depicts the event of a group of animals giving instructions to the guan, and *tijãri* is used to indicate a reported source of information.

(40)   rê＝   mã＝   Ø＝   jãri **tijãri** sõkrampjyâ mã
       3PL.ERG 3SG.DAT 3SG.ABS tell REP   guan   DAT
       And so they said it to the guan.

There is also a first-person idiomatic counterpart to *tijãri*: *rêjãri* (41). It is used to stress the commitment of the speaker towards the veracity of what they are saying (42).

(41)   rê＝   Ø＝   jãri
       1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say
       I say it.

(42)   nãsisi inpe ikkjyti, **rêjãri**
       sweet true tapir   *rêjãri*
       Man, tapir meat is very tasty!

4 PROPERTIES OF PANARÁ QUOTES

Since in Panará all subordinate clauses are internally headed, the syntactic shape of both direct and indirect quotations is identical to main clauses. Clausal position, case marking and argument cross-reference morphology are not particular to quotations, direct or indirect, as can be seen across the examples in (43–45).

(43)   Main clause
       rê＝   k＝   anpun inkjẽ hẽ ka
       1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS see   1SG   ERG 2SG
       I know you [I saw you].

(44)   Direct quotation
       rê＝   k＝   anpun inkjẽ hẽ   ka ti＝   Ø＝   sũn
       1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS see   1SG   ERG 2SG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say
       "I know you," he said.

(45)   Indirect quotation
ti=	*s=*	*anpun*	*mãra*	*hẽ*	*mãmã*	ja	ti=	Ø=	sũn
3SG.ERG	3SG.ABS	see	3SG	ERG	that	this	3SG.ERG	3SG.ABS	say

He knew him, he said.

The very free constituent order of the Panará clause means that the position of the quotation relative to the quote construction is not fixed. Quotations can both precede or follow the quotative marker and can appear on either edge of the clause (46–47).

(46) | jy= | tã= | su= | ra= | mõri | **tijãri** | panãra |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| INTR | DIR | PURP | 3PL.ABS | go.PLAC | REP | people |

The people went to get it [the fire].

(47) | rê= | mã= | Ø= | sõri | sõkrepakoko | mã | jââ | **tijãri** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.ERG | 3SG.DAT | 3SG.ABS | give | guan | | DAT | fire REP |

They gave the fire to the guan.

Prosodically, direct quotations are signaled by a raise in pitch, regardless of whether the person or character uttering the frame utterance would have been using a high- or low-pitched voice.

In (48) we can see the context for what is happening in the story from which example (49) is drawn. When compared to the framing narration in (49a), the direct quotation in (49b) is both realized with a falsetto voice and with a higher pitch, which can be seen in Figure 1.

(48)   While the black vulture was fishing, the other birds sent the guan to steal its fire. The guan then teases him.

(49)   a. | puuahã | ti= | pêê= | tã= | Ø= | kjãren | tijãri |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| far | 3SG.ERG | MAL | DIR | 3SG.ABS | tell | REP |

From far away he [the guan] spoke:

b. | *rê=* | *pêê=* | *issê=* | *jââ=* | *pyri* |
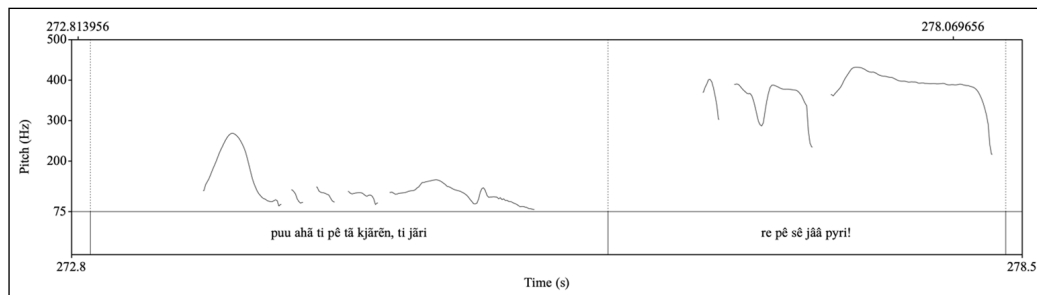|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.ERG | MAL | fire | fire.stick | take |

"I stole your fire!"

Figure 1 Pitch contour for the utterances in (49).

Similarly, the onomatopoeic call of the marmoset in (50) is said with a higher pitch than the rest of the sentence, and in a falsetto voice, as shown in Figure 2.

(50) | rê= | Ø= | pari | totoka | mãmã | hẽ | *nõkô-nõkô-nõkô-nõko* | mãmã |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.ERG | 3SG.ABS | kill.PLAC | marmoset | this | ERG | <animal call> | this |

hẽ	Ø=	jãri
ERG	3SG.ABS	tell

I hunted marmosets. It goes "nõko-nõko-nõko-nõko," this one says that.
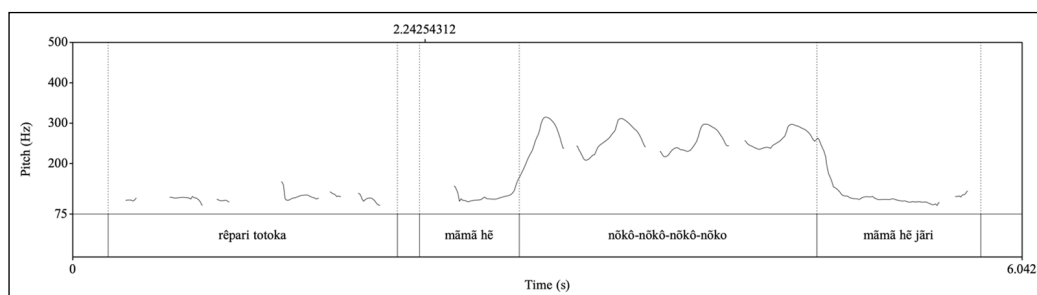

Figure 2 Pitch contour for the utterances in (50).

There is also a comma pause indicating the quote boundary (marked with # in the following two examples). Unlike high pitch, which is exclusive to direct quotations, the prosodic break can be present in both direct and indirect quotations.

(51)   *ka*= Ø= *kuri māja pakwa* # mãra hẽ ti=   Ø=   *sūn*
       IRR   SPK eat this banana   3SG ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say
       "I will eat this banana", he said.

(52)   *sâ*   *mẽ* *kjẽnsâja*   *mẽ sê pjoo* # *rê*=   Ø=   *inkjãri*
       eagle and sparrowhawk and fast NEG   3PL.ERG 3SG.ABS tell
       The eagle and the sparrowhawk were not fast, they said.

As for the constituency of quotes, a single quote, direct or indirect, can host more than one clause (53–54).

(53)   *toopytun* hẽ ti=   Ø=   *sūn* jy=   py= Ø=   *kwy* jy= Ø=
       old-man   ERG 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS say INTR DIR DIR   3SG.ABS go   INTR 3SG.ABS
       nto- kâ-   ti
       eye- skin- heavy
       The old man said he's leaving, he's sleepy.

(54)   *ju rin issy prẽ hẽ* ti=   ra=   *pêê*= Ø=   *pyri* *tijãri*
       Q   LOC fire who ERG 3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS MAL   3SG.ABS take take
       "Where is the fire? Who took it from me?" he said.

5 CONCLUSION

The Panará people make extensive use of quotation in their daily lives, and their language provides them with several grammatical strategies for doing so. These are summarized in Table 2.

	DIRECT	INDIRECT
Full clause	yes	yes
Smaller than clause	yes	yes
Bigger than clause	yes	yes
Indexical shift	no	yes
Acute pitch	yes	no
Comma break	yes	yes
Questioned	yes	yes
Negated	yes	yes

Table 2 Properties of direct and indirect quotation in Panará.

As we have seen, quotes are similar to phrases or full clauses in Panará in terms of their morphosyntax. In particular, they present no properties that would not be expected from complement clauses: a full verbal complex, ergative-absolutive case marking, and pre- and postverbal clausal positions. Panará has several quotatives to introduce quotations without the need of a dedicated framer, all of which are verbs—and the verb itself can sometimes undergo elision. The narrative quote has a degree of lexicalization and coexists with a closely related reportative. If a hearer is introduced, it does so as a dative participant.

Direct and indirect quotations are not entirely identical. However, as it stands, there is no clear syntactic or morphological diagnostic to tell them apart. One of the key differences is indexical shift, observed only in indirect quotations. The second diagnostic is prosodic, namely the presence of a high pitch assigned to a direct quotation.

The information brought up in this paper points towards avenues of future research on the topic of quotation in Panará and, more generally, the distinction between different types of embedded clauses. One phenomenon that did not become clear during research on this topic was the matter of extraction from quotations. It is quite clear that indirect quotes allow for extraction of an argument to the matrix clause, but the picture is not clear for direct quotes. The status of *tijãri*

as a narrative-dedicated quotation marker and as a reportative is also an issue that needs further research, as it is one of the few grammatical elements in Panará with evidential semantics. The potential use of both *tijãri* and *rêjãri* as discourse elements that target elements of the speech act, and to what extent they contribute discourse-related information, is also a matter for further research. As an exceptional Jê language, this study of quotation in Panará also raises a diachronic question regarding the status of Panará within the Jê family. Future research will be necessary to provide information about the degree of retention and innovation of Panará concerning the grammatical properties of Jê quotation strategies.

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COMPETING INTERESTS

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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