

Verification in Jamamadi Quotations

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ABSTRACT

The verification system is a system of suffixes in Jamamadi verbs. These suffixes obligatorily occur in all final verbs in Jamamadi. They indicate (1) how much responsibility the speaker is willing to take for the information supplied, (2) the speaker's source of information, and (3) evaluations of the material. They also help identify the addressee of a quotation and are the major criterion for distinguishing direct and indirect quotations.

Direct quotations are used almost exclusively when the quotation is given in temporal sequence. They are often used to show evaluations, to present proposals and to present events and ideas from the original speaker's viewpoint.

Indirect quotations are used almost exclusively when the quotation is taken out of temporal sequence. They are used along with direct quotations to give special emphasis to a particular point.

0. Introduction

The verification system is a system of suffixes in Jamamadi verbs.¹ It is one of the distinguishing features that separate direct and indirect quotations. Its use is by no means limited to quotations, but an explanation of its use in quotations can be easily extrapolated to all other types of speech. This system, although it does not give explicit information on participant roles, often implicitly informs the hearer who heard the quotation spoken.

In Jamamadi, quotations are more widely used than in English. This paper describes quotations and shows how and for what purpose the various types of them are used.

1. Verification in quotations

Verification suffixes obligatorily occur on all final verbs in Jamamadi.² These suffixes indicate how much responsibility the speaker is willing to take for the information supplied. They also can indicate the speaker's source of information or his evaluation of the material. There are seventeen choices possible within the system as shown in Figure 1.³ The forms in the list that follow are the realizations for the various feature combinations of figure 1. Numbers 1 and 2 are found within the content of indirect quotations. Numbers 2 to 7 are found on both direct and indirect quotation margins. Numbers 1 to 17 are all found within the content of direct quotations.

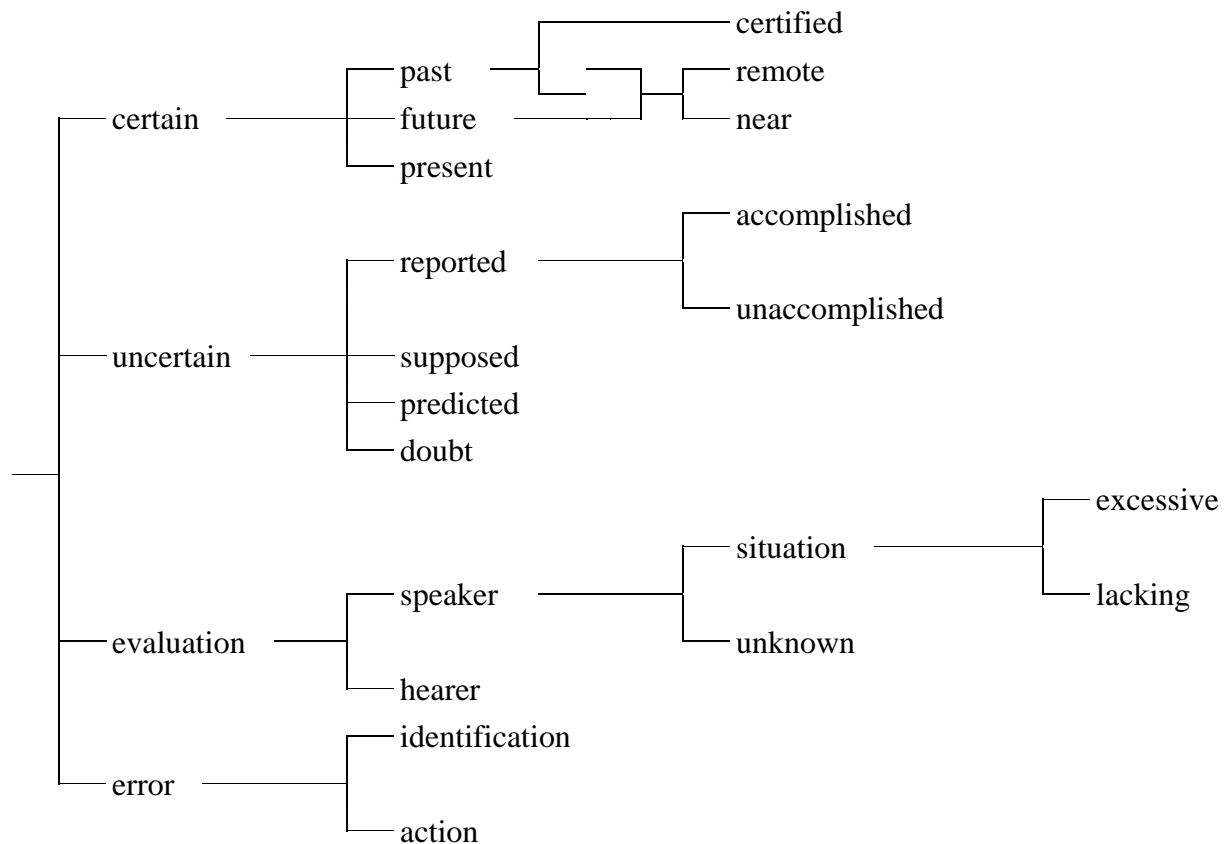


Figure 1. Semantic distinctions in the verification system.

When two alternate forms appear with one gloss the first is the feminine form and the second is the masculine form.

1.	-bone~-bona	'uncertain+reported+unaccomplished'
2.	-mone~-mona	'uncertain+reported+accomplished'
3.	-ro~-ri	'certain+past+near'
4.	-maro~-mari	'certain+past+remote'
5.	-mete~-mata	'uncertain+supposed'
6.	-awi	'uncertain+doubt'
7.	-#	'certain+present'
8.	-ne~-nao	'certain+past+certified'
9.	-bana~-bane	'certain+future+near'
10.	-ba	'certain+future+remote'
11.	-baka~-bake	'uncertain+predicted'
12.	-nika~-naka	'error+identification'
13.	-mako	'error+action'
14.	-barama	'evaluation+speaker+situation+lacking'
15.	-baya	'evaluation+speaker+unknown'
16.	-nirama	'evaluation+speaker+situation+excessive'
17.	-raniha	'evaluation+hearer'

Certain indicates that the speaker has first hand information that what he says is true. In the case of present or past this normally indicates that he was an eyewitness when the action occurred. In the future it indicates that the speaker controls the situation and will see that the thing is accomplished.

Past, present, and future indicate time in relation to the time of the reporting of the speech act.

Certified indicates that although the speaker was not present at the action referred to he has seen evidence that proves to him that the action did occur.

Remote qualifies past and future time. When applied to past, it normally refers to anytime in the speakers lifetime except the preceding year. When applied to future it shows that something else must occur first.

Near qualifies past and future time. When applied to past, it indicates a time between one week and one year previous. When applied to the future, it indicates nothing major will precede it.

Uncertain indicates that the speaker has no first hand information that what he reports is true.

Reported indicates that the speaker received his information from someone else, usually someone who was there when the action or speech took place.

Accomplished and unaccomplished refer to the status of the event at the time of the original speech.

Supposed indicates the speaker has no specific basis but is making a guess.

Predicted indicates what is expected on the basis of past experience.

Doubt indicates the speaker does not believe the event will happen.

Evaluation indicates the speaker's feelings regarding a situation, or asks for the hearer's feelings in questions. The four suffixes that fit in this category are distinct from those in the rest of the verification system in that they never are followed by a suffix from the perspective class. They are, however, mutually exclusive with other members of the verification system,

Speaker indicates that the speaker makes the evaluations.

Hearer indicates that the addressee must supply the proper verification. This occurs only on a question.

Situation indicates that the speaker is evaluating a situation as opposed to a person.

Excessive and lacking qualify the situation to show how it is wrong.

Unknown indicates that the speaker really hasn't a clue how to evaluate the statement,

Error + identification is discussed in a separate section.

Error + action indicates that the addressee made an error. It is unique in that it can occur on both nouns and verbs. When used on a verb it indicates the subject did something he was not supposed to do, or failed to do something he was supposed to do. When used on a noun it indicates an unbecoming comparison, as in:

made-mako-ni hiyama me de hasi-ne-#-ni-nihi, di Nawadi
ati-na-ro-ke.

(child-error+action-perspective=comment wild-pig plural you=plural escape-stem=closure-certain+present-perspective=reason, the Nawadi said-stem=closure-certain+past+near-perspective=narrative.) '

"You are just children because you let the wild pigs escape," Nawadi said.⁴

1.1 A further use of verification in quotations.

Although the primary uses of the verification suffixes are (1) to indicate how much responsibility the speaker is willing to take for the information supplied and, (2) to indicate his source of information or his evaluation of the material, it has other uses as well.

Another use is to supply the identity of the addressee of a quotation. Although the identity of the addressee is usually not overtly expressed, the verification system gives indirect clues as to who it is. For example, the narrator has to have heard a conversation in order to use the subsystem certain on the quotation margin with which he reports the conversation. The narrator is presumed to be the addressee of the conversation he reports when subsystem certain is used unless otherwise specified. When -mone 'uncertain+reported+accomplished' is used, the narrator did not hear the conversation, but the subject of the indirect quotation did hear it and is presumed to be the addressee unless otherwise stated.

In the following example -mone 'uncertain+reported+accomplished' implies that the narrator was not present when the original utterance was made. It also implies that the participants me 'they' of the second quotation margin were present at the original utterance. The -# 'certain+present' on the final quotation margin implies that the narrator was present when the subsequent report of the original utterance was made. A full gloss would then read: 'They tell me that Andre said to them "...'.

... di Ahadere ati-ne-mona me ati-na-_-ni

(... the Andre said-stem=closure-uncertain=reported+accomplished they say-stem=closure-certain+present-perspective=comment)

'They say that Andre said "...'

1.2 Verification on mistakes

There is one verification suffix -nika 'error+ identification' that does not follow Lowe's Theorem (1969) for embedding of quotations. This is the only case where the verification within the direct quotation content is supplied as a kind of aside by the narrator. This verification suffix occurs only when a mistake was made and later recognized, as in:

o-ka yibote ama-naka-ni Dareni ati-ne-#-ni Yaimi-ra. wara-to-na

(I-possessive spouse error+identification perspective=comment Darlene say-stem=closure-certain+present-perspective=comment Jim-object grab-away-stem=closure)

"'It is my husband (erroneously thought)," Darlene said and grabbed hold of Jim.'

The speaker asserts that the content of what Darlene said turned out to be a misconception, though at the time she said it she thought it was true.

bade tao-o-ka-ni-ne-nika-ni yara bidi ati-ne

(deer shoot-I-instrument-?-error+identification-perspective outsider youngster say-stem=closure)

"'I shot a deer (erroneously thought)," the outsider boy said.'

(The boy thought he had shot a deer, whereas the narrator reports the statement, he knows that the boy had shot a man.)

In each case the verification suffix -nika 'error+identification' indicates that the statement is false even though the person who is said to have uttered it had no way of knowing this at the time. -nika is additional information supplied by the narrator at the time of telling.

aba rekene yana-na naka-ni, o-na

(fish wave walk-stem=closure-error+identification-perspective=comment, I-say)

'The ripple is coming (erroneously thought)," I said.'

As in the above example, it is usually the one who makes a mistake who later states that it was a mistake. Furthermore, in all occurrences thus far recorded the quotation itself is probably only the thought attributed to the actor rather than an actual speech. Jamamadi speakers normally make no distinction between reported thought and reported speech. Apparently the narrator uses such a quotation in order to explain the actions of the person involved.

2. Defining quotations

For Jamamadi a quotation is a report of any speech or thought that has a stated content and some verb of saying or thinking. The identification of the speaker or thinker is usually given immediately following the speech content.

A direct quotation normally is a verbatim repetition of what someone said. However, there are two exceptions to this:

- (1) when the narrator is quoting someone who spoke another language the approximate translation is given in the form of a direct quotation. In this case the narrator uses the verification suffix which he feels the one he is quoting would use in these circumstances.
- (2) when the original statement was in error, (see section 1.2 Verification in mistakes). In this case only the verification is changed to show that it is an error.

An indirect quotation is an approximate repetition of what someone said. The narrator changes the verification suffix, the person referents, and referents to time and spatial setting to conform to his present situation.

In the case of direct quotations the speaker is occasionally not overtly identified, but the context makes the identity of the speaker unambiguous. The subject of the clause preceding the quotation content is the speaker.

An indirect quotation differs from a direct quotation by three criteria which taken together make any indirect quotation distinguishable from a direct quotation.

1. If only -mona 'uncertain+reported+accomplished' or -bona 'uncertain+reported+unaccomplished' are used as verification suffixes in the quotation content, the quotation is normally indirect. If any other verification suffix is used either singly or with these, the quotation is always direct. Applying the first criterion distinguishes 95% of the indirect quotations.

2. If a pronoun is used within the quotation content, the relationship of the pronoun to the subject of the verb -ati 'say' shows whether the quotation is direct or indirect. If o- 'I' is

used in the quotation content and refers to the same person as the subject of the verb 'say' then the quotation is direct. If o- 'I' refers to anyone else the quotation is indirect. If ti- 'you' is used in the quotation content and refers to the addressee of the verb 'say' then the quotation may be direct. If ti- 'you' refers to anyone else it is always indirect. If #- '3rd singular' is used in the quotation content and refers to the subject of the verb 'say' the quotation is always indirect. If #- '3rd singular' refers to anyone else it may be direct.

3. The perspective suffix that occurs verb final is also helpful in that it is usually present in direct quotations and usually absent in indirect quotations.

2.1 Assignment of pronouns and responsibility for verification in quotations

In both direct and indirect quotations the person assignments of the pronouns are taken from the performative of the nearest verb of saying that dominates the direct quotation. For a fuller discussion of this see Perrin (1975).

This principle can also be applied to the verification suffixes in Jamamadi. First, it is the subject of the verb of saying in direct quotations, whose judgment is reflected by the verification inside the direct quotation content. In the following example, -# 'certain+present' is the verification used by John as subject of 'say' in what he says about the snake, while -mari 'certain+past+remote' is the speaker's verification about the fact that John said something.

maka iti-#-ni di Oyari ati-ne-mari-ka

(snake sit-certain+present-perspective=comment the John say-stem=closure-certain+past+remote-perspective=narrative)

"There is a snake." John said,'

Second, it is the subject of the verb of saying in direct quotations that neutralizes the verification within the content of any included direct quotation. He then takes no responsibility for the truthfulness of the content of the included indirect quotation.

In the next example, -ro 'certain+past+near' on 'say' indicates that Mano himself heard Waldemara's speech and therefore knows she said it. -mona 'uncertain+reported+ accomplished' indicates that Mano has only heard from Waldemara that Bidi has a big nose and he is reporting it as her opinion. He is neither affirming nor denying it.

Bidi widi nafi-tee-mona a-ati-ro-mani Mano ati-ne-#-ra

(Bidi nose big-customarily-uncertain+ reported+accomplished reduplication-say-certain+ past+near-perspective=declarative, Mano say-stem=closure-certain+present-perspective=emphatic)

'Mano said, "She (Waldemara) said that Bidi has a big nose." '

3. Neutralization of verification

In direct quotations the whole range of verification is possible within the content of the quotation. When indirect quotations are used, however, there are only two choices, -mone 'reported+accomplished' or -bone 'reported+unaccomplished'.

It should be noted here that not all direct quotations are transformable to indirect quotations. Any direct quotation having a suffix from the subsystem 'certain' transforms readily to an indirect quotation. Any direct quotation that has a suffix from the subsystem 'uncertain' may be transformed to indirect, but is more often left as direct. Any direct quotation from the subsystems 'evaluation' and 'error' are non-transformable.

In the following example, since the quotation is indirect the verification suffix is -bone 'reported+unaccomplished'. The original speaker might have used the suffix -bana 'certain+future+near' or -ba 'certain+future+remote' or -awi 'doubt' in an independent clause. The exact intention of the original speaker is blurred, or more exactly neutralized, when the quotation is made indirect.

Di Aoda, di Nene, me na me kama-ke-bone, me ati-na-
mone-ni, ... me ati-na-ni

(the Alda, the Nene, they also they come-here-reported+ unaccomplished-
perspective, ...they say-stem=closure-perspective)

'They say that Alda and Nene say that they are coming here.'

Since the exact intention of the original speaker is blurred or neutralized in indirect quotations, direct quotations are used much more often than indirect when the original's verification is not easily deduced from the context. For example, a man just returned from a hunting trip normally talks about his experience in the present tense as an eyewitness. Another person immediately reporting his speech could use indirect quotations without serious loss of information to the hearer as the original speaker's eyewitness verification could be assumed if the hearer saw the arrival of the one being quoted.

4. When to use direct quotations

Direct quotations are used in narrative to show evaluations by persons other than the narrator. In the following example Nawadi tells the narrator and another man that they did something wrong. She goes on to make a comparison between them and Manerino:

bore-mako-ni hiyama me de hasi-ne-ni-nihi si-siba-mari
Manerino hiyama me-ra tao-ne-mata ohariri hi-ka hiyama
me abo-i me iso-hi-nade-marora. Nawadi ati-na-ro-ke

"You are immature error+action since you let the wild pigs escape. Manerino is all right certain+past+remote; he shot uncertain+supposed the pigs by himself.

They made a whole pile certain+past+remote of his pigs," Nawadi said
certain+past+near.'

Direct quotations are also used in narrative to give a plan of action, proposal, or desire such as "let's go fishing". The proposal is then confirmed either by an affirmative response or by a statement of the action itself:

aba bidi me ai waka-na-mata-hi aba bidi me oda waka-
na-marora

' "Let's catch some little fish," we caught some little fish.'

The proposal here is given in a direct quotation without mentioning the verb of saying or the speaker, but immediately followed by the statement of the action itself.

Direct quotations are also used to present events and ideas from the original speaker's standpoint. The content of a quotation can be very long and sometimes is an entire discourse. In a long quotation the narrator may insert an occasional parenthesis giving his own thoughts or telling the events from his standpoint.

In the next example the first part of the story is told from Afo's standpoint. In this case it is not apparent until late in the story that the story is a direct quotation. The hearer assumes that the narrator is the actor because he uses the verification suffixes that show certainty, but when the quotation margin, near the end of the story informs the hearer that all that preceded applies to the subject of the verb 'say', rather than the narrator, the cast of characters becomes clear. After identifying the original speaker the rest of the text is given from the narrator's standpoint

'You listen to me. Listen to me, you swimmers: a water boa is very scary.'

"I was throwing bits of fruit into the water. I was standing beside the stream throwing bits of fruit into the water (in order to attract some fish). I made a blind and stood behind it and what appeared to be fish ripples, but wasn't, started coming. I thought, 'That is a fish ripple coming, but it wasn't.' Quickly I picked up an arrow but what should have been a fish was a water boa coming along the edge and I watched. I thought, 'Should I shoot it?' But, 'It is just one snake', I said mistakenly. Later another one's ripple came along, the water boa came along after the other one. Right where the first one came, the other followed and went upstream. Then another started, came by, and went upstream. I stood there and later another started after and went upstream. I was scared as I stood there beside the water. 'That may be all,' I thought. I stood there, I trembled as another water boa's ripple started after the others. It came along the edge. It had an injured tail. It came along the edge and I started running off. I ran and I ran. I went up the hill and came out at the mouth of Black Creek, there I sat down and took snuff. 'I wanted to shoot some fish but the water boa ran me off,'" Afo said.

'So Afo took snuff, then went down the creek and shot a weasel. He shot a weasel in a pool of water (not the stream). He shot the weasel and followed it. The weasel didn't die, it dived into Black Creek. "Well! I shot it, but it didn't die. To my surprise, it got away," Afo said,' So he got mad and came back.'

In other texts the original speaker is mentioned frequently, making the text a string of shorter quotations. In this case the narrator is free to add comments from his standpoint between the quotations as he sees fit.

4.1 Ideophones

Ideophones are similar in form to direct quotations. Direct quotations are usually followed by the verb 'say' and its subject, and ideophones may be. Unlike the usual speech quotation, ideophones are always preceded by a clause introducing the source of the ideophone

and containing a verb that relates to the ideophone. Ideophones have no affixation. Sometimes the ideophones violate the normal phonological patterns.

fai awi yome me moa-ka-na-marom kobobo bio bio bio
bio hao hao hao wao wao yome me ati-na-maroke

(so tapir dog plural awake-instrument-stem=closure-certain+past+remote
sound=of=dogs=barking, dog plural say-stem=closure-certain+ past+remote-
perspective=narrative)

'So the dogs woke the tapir up, "Bow wow wow," the dogs said.'

The relationship between the verb moa 'awake' and the sound of the dogs barking is that the narrator asserts that the tapir awoke on the evidence that he heard the dogs barking.

5. When to use indirect quotations

Anywhere that temporal sequence is irrelevant, if a quotation is used it will normally be indirect. When the speech is reported out of temporal sequence, an indirect quotation is used. In the following example, the narrator is giving a blow-by-blow description of an argument between Waldemara and Mano. The quotations are given in the sequence in which they occurred, therefore, each quotation is direct. What Mano reports Waldemara as saying, however, is drawn from a statement made several weeks before and so is given as an indirect quotation. Mano is not reporting a series of events of which Waldemara's speech was one.

fai di Bidi Wademara bide-ra idi-basa-bone ati-na-
toha-ro-ho Mano ati-na-#-ne

(so the Bidi Waldemara daughter-object pick=up-separate-uncertain+reported+
unaccomplished said-stem=closure-have-certain+past+near-perspective Mano
said-stem=closure-certain+present-perspective=comment)

'Mano said, "Waldemara said that she would take her daughter away from Bidi."'

To show that the content has special importance to the narrator a quotation may be given twice, indirect followed by direct:

Siko me-ra ati na-fana-tee-mona-ra; 'Me o-na-fana-ya,
Bida o-na-fana, Tameribi o-na-fana, me-ka yibote me
eye me wina-tee-ba-m' Sikinaso ati-nihi-tee-mona ati-
na-ra

(Chico they-object say cause-marry-custom-uncertain+ reported+accomplished-
perspective 'They I-cause marry-temporal, Bidama I-cause-marry, Tameribi I-
cause-marry,' they-possessive spouse they with they live-customarily-
certain+future+ remote-perspective' Chico said-perspective-custom-
uncertain+reported+accomplished say-stem=closure-perspective,)

'Chico said that he would cause them to marry: "When I cause them to marry, I'll make Bidama marry and I'll make Tamelibi marry: but will they live with their husbands?" (Waldemara) said that Chico said.'

For most of the argument the narrator, Raimundo, reported each event only once. In this case, however, the girls referred to are his daughters, and his repetition implies 'please note what they said about my daughters'. At another point in the argument his son is referred to and he repeats that quotation also.

The most common use of indirect quotations is in conversation in response to 'What was said?'. In this case the one responding is taking the original speaker's words out of the sequence of events which is the basic reason for indirect.

eme ti-ni-ti? ti-kama-bone o-na-#-ni.

(What you-say-question? you-come-uncertain+ reported+unaccomplished I say-certain+present-perspective=comment)

"What did you say?" "I said that you should come."

5.1 Indirect quotations of intention

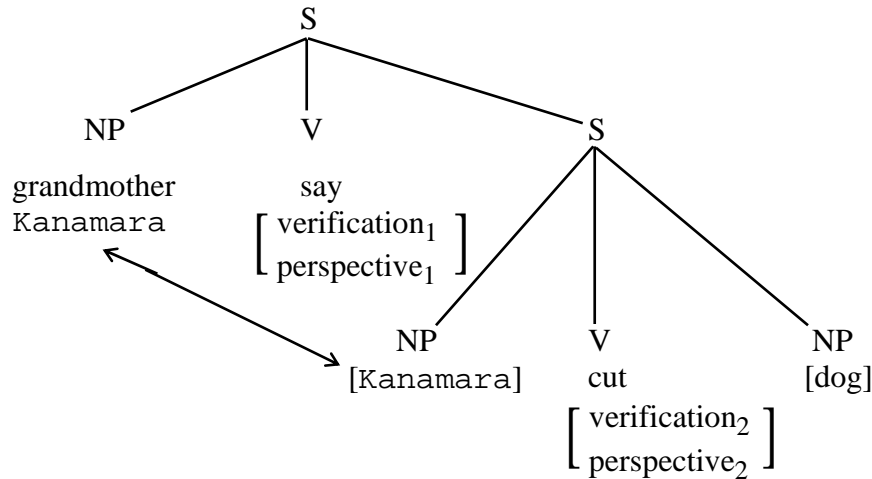
There is a type of indirect quotation in which the speaker of the quotation and the subject of the quotation content are obligatorily the same. There is no affixation on the verb ati 'say'. Instead the verb ati 'say' comes immediately preceding the main verb. The tense of the verb is past but the action may be past or future in relation to the time when the quotation was made. In the example, the action kaa 'cut' was future at the time of the utterance denoted by 'say', but the tense of the intended action 'cut' and its verification are those appropriate to 'say'.

fai hina-ka aki Kanamara ati kaa-na-mone-ni

(so he-possessive grandmother Kanamara say-cut-stem=closure-uncertain+reported+unaccomplished-perspective=comment)

'His grandmother, Kanamara, said she would cut (the dog).'

This may also be described as follows. The full statement without ellipsis would read: 'His grandmother, Kanamara, said-uncertain+reported+accomplished that she, Kanamara, would cut-uncertain+reported+unaccomplished the dog.' Since the subjects of both clauses are co-referential, the second is deleted. The affixation on the verb kaa 'cut' in the complement clause is deleted and the verb stem kaa 'cut' is raised to the main verb phrase. The affixation of ati 'say' is now on the verb phrase ati kaa 'say cut', while the affixation of kaa 'cut' is deleted. The noun phrase 'dog' is deleted as it was introduced earlier as topic and hence is not repeated.



FOOTNOTES

1. Jamamadi is an Arawan language spoken by an unknown number of people along the Purus River in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. The dialect under study consists of about 100 speakers located above the town of Lábrea. Data were gathered during field trips from 1963 to 1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in accordance with a contract with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro and by permission of the Fundação Nacional do Índio. I wish to thank Joseph E. Grimes and Robert A. Dooley for their valuable advice given in a field workshop at Porto Velho, Rondonia, Brazil.

2. Necessary to this discussion is the distinction between independent and dependent clauses and also final and non-final verbs. The distinction between independent and dependent is that of coordinate versus subordinate. A non-final verb normally can not occur sentence final. A final verb usually occurs sentence final, but may be followed by another final verb in a coordinate relationship or by an explanation clause in a subordinate relationship. Any non-final verb may be changed to a final by adding a suffix from the verification system and a suffix showing perspective if applicable.

3. -nete and -kaba seem to belong to the verification system, probably under the subgroup of evaluations, but I am not sure exactly where they fit, nor am I certain that there are no other rare members yet unidentified.

4. The phonemes of Jamamadi are vowels a e i o, voiceless stops t k, preglottalized voiced stops b d, fricatives f s, nasals, m n h (the latter frequently dropping from an unstressed syllable leaving only nasalization), resonants w r y. The phoneme /s/ is [ts] word initially, /f/ is [p̥], and /r/ is [l] initially and before front vocoids and [ř] elsewhere. Vowels following nasals /m/ /n/, and /h/ are nasalized. Stress alternates on every other syllable starting with the first. Sentence stress falls on the verb root and modifies the alternating stress pattern in some words.

Sentence final intonation is a downglide, symbolized as a period (.). Sentence medial intonation is an upglide, symbolized as a comma (,).

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