

An unusual path to evidentiality: evidence from Kakataibo

Oral/poster

Evidentials grammaticalize from a number of paths including verbs, deictic and locative markers and copula constructions (Aikhenvald 2004:271). Where verbal sources are involved, reportative/indirect and visual/direct evidentials typically derive from verbs of saying and verbs of perception (to see), respectively, by the reanalysis of biclausal constructions that have one of these verbs with a complement clause (Aikhenvald 2004:272-73). Kakataibo, a Panoan language spoken in the Peruvian Amazon, shows a strikingly mirror-image pattern: Contrary to cross-linguistic expectations, in which direct evidentials are associated with visual evidentiality and indirect with reported, the verbs 'to say' *ka* and 'to see' *id* are apparently the historical sources of the direct and indirect evidentials (1), respectively. This unusual historical outcome is arguably the result of a reanalysis of performative constructions, in which 'to say' was associated with first person and 'to see' with third person (Shell 1978)¹.

(1a) Norua= \emptyset =id-a kuan-dza
Norua=S=IND.EV-3 go-PST.3
'It is said that Norua left.'

(1b) Norua= \emptyset =ka-a kuan-dza
Norua=S=DIR.EV-3 go-PST.3
'Norua left.'

This unusual path of grammaticalization, in which evidentials have arisen from performative constructions, has arguably given rise to the typologically rare synchronic behavior of these evidentials in Kakataibo (as documented in the author's fieldwork on this language). With respect to their morphosyntactic distribution, evidentials are second-position clitics that are obligatory in every main clause. Since *=ka* marks information from direct evidence as well as inferences, its use is pervasive in the language, making *=ka* the unmarked term in the evidentiality system. However, this behavior of *=ka* goes against the iconicity principle, which would predict leaving the direct evidential formally unmarked. With respect to function, the direct evidential in Kakataibo acts as a marker of quotations and inferences, whereas this task normally falls to reported/indirect evidentials cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2004).

This paper studies the evidential system in Kakataibo in both synchronic and diachronic terms. By doing so, it is shown that the Kakataibo evidential system does not fit current typologies (e.g. Aikhenvald: 2004) with regard to the functions encoded by evidentials; that is, the marking of inferences and quotations may be marked by evidentials other than indirect/reportative in a two-way evidential system. Consequently, the current typology of evidentials needs to be expanded to allow for more fine-grained distinctions such as those shown here. In addition, the Kakataibo data provides evidence for the

¹ Declarative and assertive markers have been reported to be the source of direct/visual evidentials for the Amazonian languages Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003:43) and Jarawara (Aikhenvald 2003). This grammaticalization path supports the hypothesis of a performative source of evidentials because declarative and assertive share pragmatic functions with performatives.

more general implication that unusual paths of grammaticalization can lead to unusual synchronic behavior of categories.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2003. 'Mechanisms of change in areal diffusion: new morphology and language contact', *Journal of Linguistics* 39: 1–29.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Shell, Olive. 1978. 'Los modos del Cashibo y el analisis del performativo'. In *Estudios Pano I*, p.23-62. SIL, Yarinacocha.

Valenzuela, Pilar. 2003. 'Evidentiality in Shipibo-Konibo, with a comparative overview of the category in Panoan', in Aikhenvald and Dixon (eds.) (2003: 33–62).