Reported Speech in Matses: Obligatory Perspective Shift with Syntactic Transparency

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Several Amerindian languages have been reported to lack indirect speech: Matses (Panoan) Fleck (2003, 2006), Nez Perce (Penutian) Aoki (1970), and Nanti (Arawakan) Michaels (2008). In this talk, we present new data from Matses reported speech to argue that the direct/indirect speech distinction is not applicable to Matses: Matses requires a perspective shift affecting all indexical elements to the perspective of the speaker of the reported speech, but in other respects behaves like indirect speech.

Direct vs. Indirect Speech European languages distinguish direct and indirect speech in several ways. In English, specifically, the following five properties are prominent: *perspective rigidity* (personal pronouns and other indexicals must be interpreted from the utterance speakers perspective in indirect speech, embedded third person pronouns permit *de se* construals) as in (1a), *sequence of tense* (tenses agree with the tense of the embedding speech report verb in indirect speech) as in all of (1), literal report requirement (a direct speech report must be literally identical to the speech reported) which indirect speech is not subject to as in (1b), de re construals (predicates in indirect speech can be interpreted relative to a possible world other than that of the speech report) illustrated in (1c), and the possibility of extraction from indirect speech in (1d).

(1) a. He said: "I live here" — He said that he lived there.
b. He said: "My sister is coming." — He said that his relative was coming.
c. He said: "#My boat is longer than it is" — He said his boat was longer than it was.
d. *What$_i$ did he say: "I like t$_i$"? — What did he say he liked?

However, embedded speech exhibits substantial typological variation outside of Europe with respect to perspective rigidity and sequence of tense. This has recently attracted the attention of semanticists. Japanese and other languages do not have sequence of tense (Ogihara, 1996). Several languages including Amharic (Afro-Asiatic), Slavey (Na-Dene), and Dimli/Zazaki (Indo-European) allow 1st and 2nd personal pronouns to be used from the perspective of the speaker (Schlenker, 2003; Anand, 2006).

Data In Matses, indexicals in reported speech must be interpreted from the perspective of the speaker of the reported speech act. For example, if Deshe uttered *uste bunebi* (I want to sleep). This could only be reported as in (2a) with the use of embedded 1st Person, not with 3rd Person as in (2b). The 3rd Person form in (2b) must refer to someone other than Deshe.

(2) a. Deshe [ushte bune-bi] ke-o-sh
Deshe sleep.INF want.NONPAST-1 say-PAST-3
b. Deshe [ushte bune-?] ke-o-sh
Deshe sleep.INF want.NONPAST-3 say-PAST-3
'Deshe said "(S)he wants to sleep"'

Indexical rigidity holds independently of the argument position of the indexical in the embedded clause and extends to spatial and temporal indexicals as shown by (3):

(3) ushë utsin Roberto badiadash choebi kiosh
other day Roberto tomorrow come-nonpast-1abs say-past-3
'Robert said yesterday that he would come today.'

However, Matses speech reports also differ from English direct speech. Fleck (2003) reports that reported speech sometimes isn't verbatim in Matses, which we confirmed. In addition, we found that *de re*-readings in (4) and extraction in (5) are acceptable.

(4) Debi-n mechodo-bi shuinte ne-e-k ka-o-sh
Davy-ERG termite.nest-EMPH sloth be-NONPAST-3 say-PAST-3
'Davy said that the termite nest was a sloth.'

(5) Atoda Roberto bë-e-mbi ke-o-sh
what Roberto bring-NONPAST-1ERG say-PAST-3
'What did Roberto say he was bringing t?'

Data Confirmation Based on the initial elicitation data, we tested 16 instances of reported speech with 20 native speakers of Matses, followed up with further in depth elicitation. We furthermore conducted Spanish-Matses translation data from bilingual speakers. Overall, the experimental data corroborate our generalizations and even show speaker uniformity on obligatory indexical shift and extraction.

Analysis To explain the mismatch between direct and indirect speech properties, Matses combines indirect speech with obligatory shift of all indexicals. Technically, this can be stated within the Kaplan (1977) analysis of context in two different ways. Recall that Kaplan assumes that both an utterance contact $c_0 = (w_0, x_0, t_0)$ and an evaluation context $c = (w, x, t)$ are parameters of the compositional interpretation procedure. The interpretation of indexicals in English is determined by the utterance index which usually says constant during the evaluation of a sentence. We posit that the two Matses speech report verb (*ke* and *ka*) obligatorily change the utterance index as well as the evaluation index for the interpretation of their complement:

$[\![\text{ke P}]\!]^{(w_0,x_0,t_0),(w,x,t)}$(y) is true iff. in all contexts (w', x', t') that are compatible with what y said at time t in world w, $[\![\text{P}]\!]^{(w_0,x',t'),(w',x',t')}$ holds.

Because the world argument component of the utterance context is not changed, *de re* interpretations are predicted to be possible.

Further Support: An Unshifted Indexical Our experiments confirmed that in the 'Mythical Past' tense, in (6), indexicals are interpreted as unshifted. While this is not strictly reported speech - the speaker is not reporting a speech act they once heard - it is nonetheless a speech verb with unshifted indexicals.

(6) Matses-n kun tita bed-pa-ak ka-dennek
Matses-ERG 1GEN mother grab-COMMENT-NARR.PAST say-REM.PAST-INDIC
'They used to tell that my mother was kidnapped by Matses'

Conclusion Our results argue that Matses speech reports could be either analyzed as indirect speech with obligatory shift of all indexicals or as direct speech that is transparent to extraction and not interpreted as quotative. Given that Matses can be readily described in current theories of speech reports which reject Kaplan's 'Monster prohibition', languages like Matses are predicted to be possible. Indeed, Deal (2009) argues that Nez Perce reported speech behaves similar to Matses.

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