Indexicals and "expressive" implementations of ideophones in narrative genres

Riassunto
Gli strumenti linguistici accessibili ai parlanti di ogni lingua, come i deittici, le interiezioni, ma anche, per le lingue in cui siano presenti, gli evidenziali e gli ideofoni, possono svolgere funzioni indessicali diverse. Possono convogliare, in modalità diverse, tanto l'atteggiamento del parlante in relazione ai contenuti espressi (ad. es. con gli evidenziali), come la sua prospettiva sulla relazione fra questi e la situazione comunicativa (gli ascoltatori, la situazione extra-linguistica e il tipo di testualità, dialogica o narrativa che sia). Gli ideofoni, ma in parte anche le interiezioni, adempiono la funzione, genericamente denominata "espressiva", di ridurre l'intrinseca e necessaria distanza fra i contenuti dell'enunciazione ed il "vissuto", o i referenti espressi. In tale prospettiva gli ideofoni svolgono il ruolo di rafforzare o parzialmente ripristinare dimensioni esperienziali dell'indessicalità necessariamente "raffreddate" o "sbiadite" dalla resa linguistica. In questo lavoro si presenta tale prospettiva a partire da alcuni esempi di narrazioni shuar e achuar (alta Amazzonia).

Abstract
The language tools available to any speaker, such as deictics, interjections, as well as, when present, evidentials and ideophones, can play variable indexical functions. They can index either speaker's stance in relation to the reliability of the contents s/he expresses (as for evidential), or her/his perspective on the relations holding between contents and the communicative situation (including the audience, the extra-linguistic context, and the dialogical, or narrative, textuality). Ideophones, and in part interjections as well, play a central role in the "expressive" function, reducing somewhat the intrinsic and necessary distance ("displacement") holding between the linguistic performance and its contents. Under this perspective ideophones play the indexical role of strengthening or partially build *ex novo* some dimensions of indexicality to reach expressive effects depicting the described situation. In this paper, some examples of the above perspective are provided from Shuar and Achuar (upper Amazon) narratives.

Parole chiave: indessicalità; ideofoni; lingue amazzoniche; narrazioni.

1. Core and extended indexicality, and deixis

In this paper, I first explore the scale composed, on the one hand, of values and implementations associated with the general term 'indexicality' and, on the other, of values and implementations associated with the more specific term 'deixis'. I argue that, far from expressing a dichotomy, these two terms are best understood as representing conceptual values distributed along a continuum. At one end of this scale, we find the 'core' indexical information a speaker/utterer provides about her/himself, purely because s/he speaks, while at the other end we expect to find the information and/or references s/he provides about the parties to, and location and time of, the speech situation. The first type of information covers conceptual/referential areas that are often 'blind spots' in terms of the strictly linguistic tools of most languages. It follows that 'core' indexical information is frequently communicated via an array of cues of varying "thickness", or informative richness, which are not linguistic forms as such (and hence are not listed in grammars or +dictionaries), but are rather conveyed via dimensions such as voice quality, or

rhythm and volume of speech.

Thus, much of the 'core' indexical information that a speaker provides about her/himself (gender, age, geographical or social origin, etc.), is 'invisible" from a strictly linguistic point of view. Unless explicit reference is made to the self (as in the utterances: I am male, I am 50 years old, I was born in…. etc.), core data is transmitted via cues that are often beyond the speaker's conscious control (such as voice quality, speech phonology, prosody, etc.). What is more, again without being fully aware of it, speakers use a further array of morphological, lexical, stylistic tools to, more or less implicitly, give their audience much additional information about themselves, such as their social roles, and/or their individual characteristics/personalities. Hence, within 'core' indexicality we may distinguish between at least two levels, without being fully aware of doing so and without deliberately aiming to produce particularly vivid or expressive speech. We might safely say that the first level of 'core' indexicality is found in all speech, independently of the language spoken. In relation to the second level, however, languages differ greatly in terms of how and to what extent they allow or constrain a speaker to pass on certain information that is inherently coded into their phonological, morphological, syntactical and socio-cultural components. Thus, the Romance languages, which demand the use of gender-specific morphological endings to reference oneself as male or female, or languages such as Japanese with institutionalized gendered lexical differences, or many other languages which enable/oblige speakers to make careful use of stylistic and/or polite forms, are all examples of how, and to what degree, speakers can (or must) convey second level 'core' indexical information about themselves.

If we reflect on the continuum that extends from 'core' indexical information to deictic information, we soon find that, while the former may be wholly new, or even unexpected, to the audience, the latter, which mainly relates to the speech context, is often shared, or at least to some degree 'anticipated' by the parties to a given speech situation. This is especially the case when language is used in face-to-face interaction (and not, say, via a technical device allowing communication at distance, such as the telephone). Thus, the blind spot of deixis, the 'I', 'here' and 'now' is assumed by speakers in face-to-face interaction. From this perspective, while 'core' indexicality (at both levels outlined above) seems to provide rich and significant information, deictic information may be thought of, and perceived as, somewhat redundant, though remaining a key and necessary 'anchor' for any speech act. Deictics, which may be listed in dictionaries and grammars, are a group of forms including both independent words and grammatical morphemes

that do not constitute a word class, but rather span different word classes, such as demonstrative and personal pronouns, adverbs of space and time, verb morphemes marking person and tense, and so on. These forms, or at least some subclasses of them, are necessarily present in any possible language.

However, in between 'core' indexicality and deixis, that is to say, in between the information conveyed by the speaker about her/himself, despite the scanty, or inexistent, linguistic tools available, and the information codified by morphological or lexical deictic forms, I identify another 'intermediate' level, which I term 'extended indexicality'. Similarly, to the two levels at the extremes of the continuum, this level too may be conveyed via an array of strategies, which often involve using the voice in a particular way or exploiting particular linguistic forms. At this level, a speaker may provide still further information about her/himself to 'complement' the 'core' information s/he is (unavoidably) already conveying. As such, it is much more available to the speaker's awareness, is (at least partially) under her/his control, and is the manifestation of her/his expressivity and ability to use language in particularly lively or communicative ways. Usually a hearer perceives that this level is being implemented, when the speaker provides vivid supplementary information about her/his personality, emotions and involvement. Nonetheless, it is already present in even the 'flattest' speech, in which a speaker does not set out to communicate anything more than the plain referential meaning of the words and morphemes s/he is using.

This 'intermediate', but still fully indexical type of information, may be conveyed via a broad range of 'discretional' or 'facultative' tools, ranging from the speaker's use of her/his voice (e.g., intentional modifications to the phonology and prosody of her/his speech) to the implementation of fully linguistic tools that might be listed in a grammar or a dictionary, such as exclamations, interjections, onomatopoeias and ideophones,

Ideophones (which I distinguish from the 'onomatopoeias' of the grammatical tradition) are "verbal gestures" often produced with a specific prosodic contour, a special quality and intensity of voice: whispered, falsetto. They require special phonic-corporeal expressive tension. Ideophones convey sensorial perceptions which may be acoustic in nature (as in onomatopoeias), but are usually a sort of synaesthetic 'package', or 'mix', conveying other sensorial perceptions, whether visual, olfactory, or climatic, as well as – or instead of – sound (GNERRE 2004). We often find ideophones that convey the 'idea' of different ways of walking or moving on different types of surfaces, such as hard or muddy ones for example, or

movements producing different sounds in dry leaves or water. In other cases, ideophones convey feelings or perceptions of speed or slowness, and noises associated with these movements. Still other ideophones convey feelings such as a tickling/ crawling of the skin, or repulsion. Ideophones, as already stated, may be placed in several different syntactic positions within discourse, and are not subject to morphological constraints, but are governed by language-specific phonological rules.

The following is a possible implicational scale, representing the range of semantic areas that may be covered by ideophones within a language, based on the (currently limited) corpus of available data: colour > smell > shape (static configuration) > texture of soundless movement > an unidentifiable sound (of unknown origin) > an identifiable sound. This scale suggests that languages which have ideophones for color (such as Waorani, another Amazonian language spoken in Ecuador, and documented in the current work of Connie Dickinson) will also have ideophones for smell, shape (static configuration), texture, and soon.

Ideophones may be viewed as elements of the predicate in an utterance, and more specifically as part (albeit marginal) of an adjective-adverb-converb continuum. Usually, a specific syntactic feature of ideophones is that they not only "intervene freely" in the syntactic order, but can even contribute to scrambling it, to some degree.

However, ideophones are not only predicative but, as I claim in this paper, self-predicative tools, in that they are produced by a speaker as marked expressive choices relying on semi-words that are usually free of morphological and syntactic constraint. In sum, they are indexical tools that speakers can implement to provide, in most cases, a strong signal of their expressivity and communicative energy, as well as conferring additional vividness upon their discourse, or narrative.

Depending, once again, on what tools the language spoken, and the style of speech adopted, make available to speakers' creativity and expressivity. In Jakobsonian terms, interjections/exclamations belong to the emotive, or 'expressive' function, whereas ideophones come under the poetic function. While the former category has been widely studied in many languages (for instance, for Italian, POGGI 1981), ideophones, as part of the poetic function, have not (MIONI 1990, VOELTZ & KILIAN-HATZ 2001). For a start, similarly to some other linguistic tools, ideophones are not equally prevalent in all languages. Thus, to date little light has been shed on their indexical (albeit 'extended' indexical) function. In this paper, I discuss some aspects

of this currently neglected function of ideophones. Similar issues of neglect, however, could be claimed for another key dimension present in most languages albeit under different forms, namely that of 'evidentiality' (AIKHENVALD 2004). While ideophones are mostly lexical, evidentials are mainly, but not exclusively, morphological (often forming part of verb morphology), although the use of voice plays a key role in the implementation of both.

The term *indexicality* is defined by HANKS (1999:124) as referring

> to the pervasive context-dependency of natural language utterances, including such varied phenomena as regional accent (indexing speaker's identity), indicators of verbal etiquette (marking deference and demeanor), the referential use of pronouns (I, you, we, he, etc.), demonstratives (this, that), deictic adverbs (here, there, n ow, then), and tense. In all of these cases, the interpretation of the indexical form depends strictly on the context in which it is uttered. To say that any linguistic form is 'indexical' is to say that it stands for its object neither by resemblance to it, nor by sheer convention, but by contiguity with it. As Charles Peirce put it (1895 [1966]), an indexical sign stands in a relation of 'dynamical coexistence' with its object. In other words, the indexical and what it stands for are in a sense co-present in the context of utterance.

I only share this definition in part, mainly accepting its opening claims concerning "regional accent (indexing speaker's identity)" and "verbal etiquette (marking deference and demeanor)".When it comes, however, to the concepts of "contiguity" and "co-presence", I view ideophones as bearing a particularly high indexical load, and consequently as particularly effective forms, not so much in terms of their referentiality, but as tools that contribute both to 'anchoring' spoken discourse to the world 'out there' and to enhancing the speaker's performativity. Differently from the above definition, I argue that the only necessary co-presence is that of the utterer her/him-self and her/his utterance. This is the physical/corporeal dimension of all utterances, possible only as the product of a specific co-presence between an utterer and an utterance, the necessary, sufficient, and inseparable *origo* of any possible utterance which, regardless of the specific contents uttered, can convey meanings ranging from highly context-dependent, to more or less decoupled from the context. The *origo* (i.e. the utterer/utterance co-presence) necessarily contributes indexical contents to any possible conveyed meaning and somehow adds 'flavor' to it.

To sum up my argument so far, I claim that the meta-linguistic terms

'indexicality' and 'deixis', although partially overlapping in current usage, actually express different segments of a continuum. Thus, we should take advantage of both labels, using them strategically to compare and contrast the underlying concepts.

As outlined above, the first term should be used with the specific meaning of 'the information that any speaker/utterer conveys to the audience about her/himself'. Within this, we may distinguish between 'core' and 'extended' indexicality. To some extent, indexicality, as defined here, overlaps with "social deixis", a concept used by some authors (e.g., HANKS 1999). Our own second term, deixis, should be understood as "all contextual references" encoded by "dedicated" deictic forms usually found in grammars and dictionaries, and attributed to different word classes, such as pronouns and space/time adverbs. Honing in now on the area of indexicality, this part of the continuum encompasses numerous forms that are not intrinsically deictic, but may be implemented in discourse to fulfill a variety of indexical functions. This usually involves interaction between information structures and background grammatical shapes.

To complement these basic observations, we may also identify different levels of 'necessity' within indexicality, which is both constructed via the deictic (and non-deictic) tools provided by a given language and culturally shaped by different degrees of intentionality, personal expressivity, or involvement on the part of the speaker, in other words, by her/his culturally- shaped personality. The use of 'dedicated' deictic forms found in grammars, but often attributed to different word classes such as adverbs of space and time or pronouns, can be highly variable. Following HANKS (2005), I assume that deixis is a key resource through which "participants display to one another their sense of the current situation, the relevancy structure they are assuming, and their current relation to their own speech." Margins of variability in referential load are evident, for example in the use of personal pronouns. This has been shown by URBAN (1987), GNERRE (2007) in relation to the different indexicalities of "I" implemented in different discourse styles assuming different modes of "audience" involvement, such as the explicit "I" used in autobiographical narrative. In the case of Shuar/Achuar shamanic singing, "I" often does not refer to the speaker/performer, but rather to his master spirit/power. In Western societies, the use of "We" with a non-plural meaning is usually reserved for a small number of privileged figures, such as royalty (SIEWIERSKA 2004). We find many examples of this kind, just as in space deictics, we observe many uses of "here". For instance, Huave authorities produce apparently contradictory ("anti-deictic") ritual formulas in which they say: "Perhaps we are here..." to convey to

those present that their position of authority is negotiable.

Both necessary/unconscious and cultural/conscious types of indexicality – the former being mainly its 'core', and the latter its 'extension'- provide different cues about the speaker/utterer and her/his stance towards the audience. This is particularly the case wherever face-to-face interaction is the main, or even the exclusive, mode of communication.

In some languages, – or, more precisely, in particular speaking styles implemented within these languages, as well as in speech communities whose coherence partly depends on their use of languages – indexicality, both 'core' and'extended',ismorepervasiveandloadedwithmeaning,thaninothers.As a response to an intrinsic demand arising from the social construction of discourse, or imposed by social control, the dimension of indexicality can be (and often is) as much a necessity as Peirce's famous example of smoke as an index of fire. In the Romance languages, the earlier mentioned grammatical gender, as well as certain dimensions of politeness, index the speaker's gender and her/his stand towards the audience. In many other languages, while gender marking is absent or rare, formal/polite/impolite forms abound.

It should thus be clear that the continuum from 'core'/'extended' indexicality to deixis varies greatly from one language to another, displaying modes of internal organization and properties that, to some degree, may be interpreted as arbitrary. The role and presence of the self and its public exhibition in discourse, or communicative performance, can vary hugely as a function of gender, age, social group, caste or class. Ultimately, personhood is also (or mainly?) constructed via core and extended indexicality.

2. Sound symbolism and "ideophones" as predicative and self-predicative tools

All languages feature aspects of acoustic symbolism, or phonosymbolism. Ideophones can involve phonosymbolism, but this is not their core characteristic; rather, they occupy an intermediate position between a "full" word and a phonosymbolic sound, or sequence of sounds. Furthermore, their occurrence in discourse is typically not bound by specific syntactic rules.

Ideophones may be defined as 'words' (or rather 'semi-words'), and predicative and self-predicative forms, which stand out from other 'verbal gestures'in that they allow the speaker/utterer to convey in one or two syllables, thick, or dense, information about the referent(s) s/he is discussing. Through the implementation of

ideophones in discourse, a speaker/utterer becomes a 'performer' in terms of her/his involvement, expressivity and 'stance' in relation to her/his audience. In other words, as earlier argued in relation to 'extended indexicality', ideophones, together with other linguistic tools (such as interjections, rhythmic and rhymed speech), or extra-linguistic strategies (such as voice quality and volume), facilitate an exhibition of self, which is often fully conscious, and which in any case greatly 'extends' 'core indexicality'.

Prototypically, ideophones convey the "idea" of a movement, or way of acting (more or less strongly associated with a particular noise), or alternatively a material consistency, a texture, a temperature, or a color, often concomitant with a sound. In several languages around the world, ideophones play a major role in everyday communication. NUCKOLLS (1996, 2010),to mention a case from the same area in which the languages I discuss below are spoken, has described in detail and interpreted the use of expressive forms in Amazonian Quichua (Eastern Ecuador, Pastaza River). Other authors (LEGUEN 2010, LEGUEN & BALAM 2011) have focused on similar expressive functions in the Yukatec Maya of Southern Mexico, in which ideophones are used with grammatical functions not far removed from those fulfilled by adjectives and even adverbs. This last phenomenon has prompted linguists to adopt the concept of "expressive morphology", which in some cases borders on that of "evaluative morphology". TUFVESSON (2011), in referring to the use of similar devices in Semai (Mon-Khmer), drew on the concept of "expressive templates".

Ideophones and exclamations/interjections may be classified, at least in part, as varieties of "verbal, or phonic gestures", while onomatopoeias usually cannot. Similarly to physical gestures, ideophones and exclamations "spring" from verbal textuality, and emphasize certain segments of it. Both include some referential content, carrying, at the same time, an interactive- indexical value. However, the numerous differences in indexicality and syntactic distribution between the two types of word suggest drawing a clear distinction between them.

3. 'Extended' and 'expressive' indexicality

One possible function of 'core/extended' indexicality as we have defined it, is that of regulating the role of the speaker in relation to the audience, by either "magnifying" or diminishing it. Speakers can use indexical tools to signal their position and 'stance' in the communicative situation (which includes both the audience, and the dialogical, or narrative, textuality). These tools go beyond the use

of proper 'dedicated' deictics (such as "I") to include many alternative forms and constructions that speakers may implement, together with performance features, such as the use of voice and/or gestures. Some authors have characterized the use of exclamations, interjections, ideophones and, to a minor degree, onomatopoeias as part of a strategy deployed by speakers to implement 'expressive language', or even 'expressive morphology'. I would prefer, however, to describe such a strategy as "expressive" phono-syntax, because it seems to me that the use of these devices affects the phonetic (in the broad sense including voice, prosody, volume, etc.) and syntactic levels more than the morphological one. On the other hand, if the notion of an "expressive" use of language implies that of a "non-expressive" use, I am not at all convinced that it is possible to make a clear-cut distinction between these two concepts: by "non-expressive" do we mean mainly "referential"? Again, it is more helpful to think in terms of a continuum!

Sorting out, and identifying, the types of "expressive" strategies and forms implemented by speakers of different languages requires in-depth analysis of their verbal performances in different discourse genres, which in turn will involve different emphases on address and reference.

As proposed above, ideophones are usually implemented as part of "expressive language", and may usefully be analyzed in relation to two main frameworks for viewing the semiotic specificity of deixis: namely, what HANKS (2005) has labelled as the "spatialist" and "interactive" dimensions. Each is implicated to different degrees in the actual usage of both "dedicated" deictic forms and indexical implementations of intrinsically non-deictic forms. Again, there is a continuum running from fully "spatialist" to fully "interactive" usage.

The first dimension concerns the power of indexical elements to simultaneously provide meanings associated with two or more sensory experiences, which may be auditory and visual, but also olfactory or climatic (temperature). Many languages have ideophones for referring to particular forms of movement, associated with specific sounds and other kinds of perceptions, such as the Yucatec Maya *ta-tak'xiimbal* 'walking with sticky feet' (with a reduplication of *tak'* 'to stick, to adhere'), or *tus tuvyana* 'to break something causing a spill or a splash' (such as when a fresh egg is broken clumsily). These complex multi-sensorial meanings provide rich sensory experiences implying enhanced perception. More often than not, the use of ideophones characterizes a careful performance, or a high degree of involvement on the part of the speaker. In this way ideophones contribute to "expanding"thespeaker-performer's "interactive" presence and, consequently, her/his indexicality. Using

ideophones is an act of the "communicating" speaker, who seeks to induce full "understanding" of, or even full involvement in, her/his expressive performance on the part of the audience.

Speakers can exploit the interactive value of ideophones while performing different narrative genres. One useful distinction that may be drawn is between 'other-centered and 'self-centered', or 'autobiographical', narratives: different levels of involvement on the part of the speaker correspond to different levels of exploitation of the indexical role of ideophones.

To obtain a fuller understanding of the indexical usage of forms that in themselves are not intrinsically deictic, we should observe language use from an interactive perspective, which means taking into account how the meaning of utterances is continuously negotiated among co-engaged parties. A key dimension here is that of "reciprocity", in the sense that "there is a broader 'reciprocity of perspectives' whereby each party assumes that the other has a perspective", and that "the perceptual field of the [interacting] parties is reciprocal" (HANKS 2005:196). From this perspective, spoken 'textuality', discourse, and live interaction are always "in progress", and deixis is a primary resource through which "participants display to one another their sense of the current situation, the relevancy structure they are assuming, and their current relation to their own speech". Through indexicality and deixis, speakers can also signal their position in the communicative situation (which includes the audience and the dialogical or narrative textuality). Although they are not usually included in the relatively limited inventory of "dedicated" deictic forms, many linguistic forms and constructions, and several features of performance (such as voice) are implemented by the speakers of many (or most?) languages to indexically signal their position in the communicative situation.

Among such forms, a basic distinction should be drawn between onomatopoeias, which are closer to phonic iconicism and "depict","natural"or "human" sounds (GNERRE 2004), and ideophones, which are far more abstract, and phonically provide the "idea" of a movement, of a way of acting, or even of a material consistency and texture, a temperature or a color, often concomitant with a sound. While ideophonic expressions commonly contain synaesthesias, the same is not true of onomatopoeias.

Similarly to gestures, ideophones and exclamations bear both referential content and interactive-deictic value. In terms of expressive energy, they may be defined as intense phonic gestures. Quite often, both expressive devices are accompanied by a gesture complementing the visual part of the narrator's

performance. With regard to voice, both ideophones and exclamations are often delivered using different vocal qualities, intensities (such as whispering and falsetto) or intonations vis-à-vis the preceding and following utterances.

Other "expressive" devices available to speakers are reduplications and parallelisms. These devices may be applied to ideophones, and are quite frequently drawn on to enhance expressive strength, with implications for "aspectual" values, such as those conveying different degrees of instantaneousness or duration of an event.

4. Ideophones in Achuar and Shuar narratives

Let me now provide some examples of ideophones implemented by two speakers/performers of two Upper Amazon languages pertaining to the Jivaroan language family: Achuar and Shuar, spoken south and west of the Quichua-speaking area where Nuckolls conducted her research. My purpose is to show that by 'adding' ideophones to their narratives, the two performers (a woman and a man) 'magnify' their own verbal ability, that is to say, they emphasize their own indexicality and expand their presence as performers, far beyond the confines of necessary (and unavoidable) 'core' indexicality.

As previously documented (GNERRE 1986), both the Shuar and Achuar are brilliant performers, and in the past their lives were punctuated by ceremonial speeches and mythological narratives, taking place at different times of the day or night. Their creativity is vividly expressed in their verbal art in general, and is virtually boundless when it comes to the performance of magical songs (GNERRE 2007, 2009).

> A wide range of observable facts shows how Jivaroan language ideology is tightly connected to the representation of the communicating self. Each individual is the expression of a "nuclear" self-understanding, with a multiple-faced existential agency (*kakáram* 'strength', 'strong', 'powerful') different from that of anyone else. Such a self-representation reflects on many ways of behaving, as well as on each individual use of language. […]. A related dimension of Shuar language ideology is revealed by the constantly manifested need to provide spoken words with 'emphasis'. Speakers search for ways to enhance the enunciative power of words and to validate sentences in many circumstances, from everyday interactions to careful performances of mythological narratives (GNERRE 2009: 300-301).

Thus, the implementation of ideophones must be understood as part of this quest for expressivity and uniqueness by many (or most) speakers.

NUCKOLLS (1996), while providing a highly comprehensive account of the usage of ideophones in Pastaza Quechua, did not explore their indexical usages and implementations (infact, she did not even allude to this dimension). It is possible that she did not find among the speakers of Pastaza Quechua a language ideology and a quest for individual expressivity suggesting such a dimension.

The intrinsically indexical value of the ideophones used by Jivaroan speakers in their narratives lies in their power to "magnify" the performing self from speaker to full-blown "performer" and competent self-indexer.

In different narrative genres, ideophones can be implemented and "performed" by speakers in different ways: not only in a basically "referential" usage, aiming at providing the best possible "description" of the action referred to, but also in an indexical "interactive" way, building her/his own position as a performer, and rhetorically indexing the audience via reinforced, or strengthened descriptive reference. This last action may be construed as meaning "I care for my audience, in that I wish to offer as lively an account as possible of the described action".

Textuality, which is built minute by minute in the ongoing oral performance, is necessarily also constructed through the indexicality of face- to-face interaction. One of its dimensions is that of "magnifying" speaker- audience interaction and reciprocal engagement. The use of voice, ideophones, onomatopoeias, reduplications and parallelisms are all part, together with other devices, of the repertoire of forms implemented in constructing textuality.

Shuar and Achuar speech genres represent a vast topic, given that from the most ritualized ways of speaking (such as ritual interactions performed by the Achuar during visits, to mythological and non-mythological narratives) down to minute everyday communication, lexical, syntactic and prosodic contours vary widely, contributing to different soundscapes of male and female human voices, which in turn continuously mix with the (once) rich natura l rainforest soundscape. The women's voices are strikingly lively, and may be heard in the forest, even from far away, as the women work in their gardens, sing and laugh at shared jokes and gossip. Singing, especially *ánent* or 'magical singing' which is usually performed in solitude in places where the individual feels particularly in connection with her/his spirits (mostly the *Arutam*), requires an extremely rich and creative control of language, because sung words are individually created as much as possible. Our

knowledge about this vast expressive world which is now fading away, is very scanty, given the limited amount of research that has been conducted to date and the objective difficulties associated with recording and transcribing these different forms of performance (a basic bibliography would include: TAYLOR & CHAU 1983, 1986, SALIVAS 2003, GNERRE 2003, GNERRE 2009, JUNCOSA 2009). Each genre is characterized by different degrees of deixis and indexicality, depending on the speaker's level of direct engagement with the audience and the type of address/reference involved. Of course, with the slow transition of some forms of spoken language (mostly referential/expositive) towards written forms, ideophones disappear almost entirely.

Currently, we do not know very much about the use of ideophones in naturally occurring discourse. What we know is that they are mostly used in narratives of various kinds, and probably in (rarely recorded) expressive genres as well, such as jokes and gossip (often with, not necessarily explicit, sexual content). I have long claimed (GNERRE 1986) that Shuar and Achuar narratives have an intrinsically "dialogistic" structure, and now, in focusing on the role of ideophones, I further argue that they bear a high indexical load.

In the following section, I will illustrate some uses of ideophones (as well as concomitant, or combined reiterations, let alone voice quality) in narrative performances by a speaker of Achuar (4.1.), and a speaker of Shuar (4.2.).

2.1. Achuar

It is only by observing ideophones as they are implemented in speech and discourse that we can reach an understanding of their role and function that goes beyond the mere 'lexicalist' view. The ideophones implemented in the segments of Achuar narratives provided below are 'verbal gestures' that express both movement and noise. In the narrative-interactive action context, they acquire further expressive strength and efficacy, activating interactive valences and 'extending' indexicality, that is to say, pointing up the speaker as a 'performer'.

The segments provided here were selected from an autobiographical, highly emotional, narrative performed by an Achuar woman (Tseremp, 45 years old), concerning her experience of being kidnapped:

(1) *Tu shutukmakin,* **serét, serét;** *winimia* **serét serét.**

Sorowing **noise of gliding**; was coming **noise of gliding.**

(2) *Tumanush   yawá yawámakurmamiaji.*
  So   that alsodogdog   revealed our presence.

(3) *Yawá, yawá jintiumkin, kanu ushúshawamtai*
  Dog, dog jumping out, canoe getting closer
  tsékenki nant*jinkimiai*
  spring   jumped out

(4) *timiai   nanam,   tseka   **takar***
  there far away on that side, I don't know how, **vertical movement**

  timiajai

  there far

(5) ***takar****,   Juwá pujutai.*
  vertical movement Juwa longhouse.

  […]

(6) *Tura   nuka   iikia   nuka   nuwinkia*
  So being that same we ourselves that same that there
  nuka
  that same

(7) ***serét****,   **takét takét** nekaska shuarka*
  noise of gliding trac!trac!really   the Shuar
  juka   tsara
  these same loaded (with weapons)

(8) *wajas,   juwi matsatmanum nekás shuarnum.*
   staying, here where we were indeed among the Shuar.

(9) *kanuka   **takét takét** itiakar; achimsanak jinkin,*
   canoe itself **trac! trac!** carrying; grabbing   going out,
   juní   ekemsan,
   on here (while) I was sitting

(10) *ataksha; "Enkémata" takui,   **tárat***
   again also; "Come in!" when saying, **trac!**
   *enkémamtai;   **kuchát kuchát** ijiuk*
   while I was entering; **plac! plac!**   banging

(11) *juní   **séreasérea**   kanu **júsank***
   on here **noise of gliding** canoe **zac(centrifugal)**

   seréet

   noise of gliding

(12) *juní   ayantanam na   wainchi   **júsank***
   on here   on a side   that whirlpool   **ac(centrifugal)**

   ***púsut** ijiuk,*

   plac! banging

(13) ***seréeeet**   nekás shuar   tsúta*
   noise of gliding really the Shuar loaded (with   weapons)

   wajas   matsatmanum,

   staying where we were

(14) *juka   **kucháat** ushushkamiaja ninki*
   this same **plac!** I became one by myself (with)

   na entsa

   that river

'So, we were rowing and getting closer. At that point it was the dog that revealed our presence, by suddenly jumping out of the canoe as we were getting closer to the bank. It started running up towards Juwa's longhouse'

[…]

'The noise of the canoe sliding on the water allowed the Shuar, loaded with weapons, to grab and drag me, and tell me: "Come in (to the long house)'.

I jumped down (from the canoe) avoiding a whirlpool, but I disappeared into the waters of the river.'

These segments of Tseremp's narrative contain seventeen occurrences of eight ideophones (*serét/sérea, tsékenki, takét, takar, tárat, kuchát, júsank, púsut*), either produced singly or reduplicated, and, in two cases, displaying concomitant vowel lengthening. The first of these ideophones (*serét/sérea*) expresses a noise associated with an idea of duration, and as such it is more an onomatopoeia than an ideophone, while all the others convey the idea of an instantaneous and energetic burst of action, in some, but not in all, cases associated with a sound. Thus, most of these ideophones express a momentary aspect. All of them "spring out" from the verbal narrative sequence, not only interrupting, but even scrambling the syntactic sequence. One obvious effect is that of triggering repetitions of verbs, including in different forms ,as in line 3, in which the verb expressing the dog's 'jumping out' (of the canoe), is repeated twice, in two different forms: *jin-tium-kin* 'jumping out' (a subordinate gerundive form) and *jin-ki-m-ia-i* 'jumped out' (a finite form in the pasttense).

It is obvious that this narrative performance would not be "the same" without these seventeen occurrences of expressive ideophones (and one onomatopoeia),and that the narrator herself would no tbe "the same". Without these forms, once abstracted from its oral performance, the spoken text would constitute a ready-made written text. In fact, such expressive forms are often removed from transcripts of narratives with a view to "cleaning them up" and making them into printable text (GNERRE 1997). We would find it hard to imagine the above transcript without any of the ideophones: taking them out would mean 'editing' the narrative to give it a written form. This is what actually happens in many cases in which speech is 'reduced' to 'literate language'.

As should be clear by now,the role of the ideophones in this autobiographical account is to enrich the ongoing textuality with intrinsically indexical clues to the narrator's stance and emotional involvement in relation to the narrated events, to herself as an active performer, and finally to her audience, which she is doing her utmost to engage in her story.

4.2 Shuar

Shuar also features many ideophones, although if we bring a socio-historical perspective to bear on changes in discourse it becomes clear that half a century of generalized schooling and Shuar language radio broadcasting have led to the spread of more grammar-oriented and moderately less expressive ways of speaking. These

changes have affected the use and frequency of ideophones in discourse, as one symptom of increased control over expressivity that manifests itself in multiple ways. In interpreting recorded texts or narratives, many Shuar are able to provide quite sophisticated explanations of them (either in their own language, or in Spanish), because their meta-linguistic awareness has grown thanks to their school training and exposure to radio broadcasting. It may be that higher levels of schooling and radio-induced meta-linguistic awareness go hand in hand with a decrease of speech expressivity and 'extended'indexicality.

Some examples of Shuar ideophones implemented in discourse are found in the following extract from a narrative performance characterized by considerable extended indexicality on the part of the speaker. The narrator is a Shuar elder, Pakunt, who is reciting a mythological narrative about a hero hunting monkeys. It is worth mentioning here that some Shuar narratives produced with very rich vocal features and abounding in ideophones have been recorded as samples of "ethno-musicological" narrative, as in the work by PIERRE SALIVAS (2003), a French ethnomusicologist who has collected recordings of (mostly women's) myth-telling performances.

(15) Tuma chinchípin **atsúr,**
So doing vines **movement-noise of tearing off**,

ta   nu

arriving that

(16) amánarin: "Ujákchajmek?   Waittiá"
at the chief monkey: "Did I not advise you?Resist!"
tsurapút
grabbing-movement noise

*(17) japíanak, nantárma***tapít***achíkiar,   jawát*

dragging, resurrect **zac!** Grabbing, **wide movement**

ukátrar:

spilling over:

(18)*"Um'*   *awetuktá,chimíniam"*   *tutai,*   *itíprin* "Air-cane,
  putit,   into his anus" so saying, his kilt ***kuat***

  action of raising

(19) ***sháut:***   *"Ja amana…*
  sst! (action of threading): "He chief of the monkeys

 najánaru"   *tímiaja.*

 should be done!" said.

 'Going back to the vines he had torn off, the hunter dragged the head monkeyroughly along, telling him: "Didn't I warn you that I would make you suffer?" At this point, all the dead monkeys came back to life. They jumped on him and, at a signal from their chief, raised his kilt and threaded the air-cane into his anus, as though it were a tail, and said: "He should become the head of the monkeys!'

In this short segment, we find six occurrences of the same number of ideophones, conveying either meanings of combined action-noise (visible- audible: *atsúr*, *tsurapút, tapít*), or of action alone (visible: *jawát, kuat, sháut*). This is a mythological account with a very different status to the Achuar narrative, which is an autobiographical account. However, both texts convey dramatic contents. We could scarcely imagine either narrative without the strength provided by the narrators through their performative "poetic" energy. **In this mythological narrative, the ideophone , to the extent that at two points in the story, *atsúr* (line 15) and *kuat* (line 18), the ideophones act as verbal forms which was never the case in the Achuar narrative.**

     The verb form *timiaja* 'said' closing the segment above, is an occurrence of the *t-i/a/u-* verb root which plays a very important role (already discussed in earlier works of my own, such as GNERRE1986a, b). Although in the above form, *timiaja* refers only to the speech reported in the sentence it closes, in Shuar mythological narratives some forms from the same root are used as quotatives in paragraph-final position, as in:

(20) *Wesa Nunkuinua*   *pujàrnunam,*   *nua* Going
  Nunkui woman whereshewas,   women *jujajàitium*

> *ajamunam   jeà.*
> letting out laughter where they were she arrived.
>
> 'Going,shearrivedwhereNunkuiwas,wherethe   women were letting outbursts of laughter'

(21) Tsekeàrkuta   jeà: -màanku, winiàsha Running a little
she arrived: -My sister with me also *mama   ajàrnprusia!*
manioc share!

'She came to them almost running: "Mysisters,share   the manioc with me too!'

(22) Tu   tai: -nu   màmachua   tepà
Thus saying: -That one which is not manioc lying there

jurùmkikia!-

take!-

'Thus saying: "Take that one (the girl) lying there which is not manioc!"'

(23) *Tutai,   jùkin   timiai.* Thus saying,
that she took her, it wassaid. 'Thus saying, she took
her, it was said'

From PELLIZZARO (1971: 11-12)

The function of these forms in the narrative is either to legitimize the knowledge being transmitted, or to express the fact that the narrator is distancing her/himself from the narrative content. In any case, this is another means by which the speaker/utterer can 'extend' indexicality by providing additional information about her/himself. The two meanings could converge upon the following message: "It is not I who is saying this, somebody else (more reliable, more knowledgeable than me) related this." This could be interpreted as an "evidential", but I would argue for an additional interpretation, that of enhanced indexical load. With the use of the *t-i/a/u-* forms, mythological narrative becomes embedded into a temporal/aspectual frame of reference: "it was said, they used to say." At the same time, it becomes an indexical performance about the narrator her/himself.

This embedding into an indefinite past increases the distance between the narrator (in his function as "informant") and the narrative content in that it is affirmed that somebody (or everybody) once said or used to say that. It is possible that consciousness of the fact that a traditional story is being told outside of its normal context (i. e., for a researcher) plays a role in triggering the use of the *t-i/a/u-* forms.

A final observation concerns the different kind of personal involvement we find in the above examples. In the first, the narrator's emotional involvement in her autobiographical account is evident. In the second, in contrast, the narrator appears to be intent on implementing stylistic devices to express the contents of his mythological narrative more effectively.

5. Diachrony in audible and visible indexicality

The examples of narratives provided above are from very small speech communities, where verbal interaction is mostly performed face-to-face and is centered far more on the addresser-addressee relation than on referential contents.

The socio-cultural conditions in which languages are used are paramount to understanding diachronic changes in speech and language. Most of these changes may be ascribed to complex machineries of socio-historical factors, often difficult to identify. Such factors include, for example, the changing relations between speakers (or a speaking community) and the language(s) they speak (or even write). This claim leads us into issues of language ideology, a vast, and often neglected, field of research and interpretation (KROSKITY 1989, 2004).

As for indexical tools, I suggest that their presence should be, both quantitatively and qualitatively, very relevant in the speech of small communities, where individual performance and the addresser-addressee relation is highly valued, often more that the referential content of the messages a speaker intends to convey.

In other words, where and when the individual *sphragís* (the Homeric 'seal') is highly valued, and often subtly calibrated by speaker, such a communicative attitude favors the use of deictic forms, which together with – though differently to – indexicality (as understood here), provide extra- linguistic anchorage to contents expressed in speech, and shared and enacted by a community of speakers sharing a high level of cohesion. Where there are not institutions and tool warranting the knowledge of the world, this is built and made reliable through discourse and interaction, in face-to-face communication. It is under these conditions that in many languages, or better, in many speech communities specific "warranting" morphemes of forms (usually known as "evidentials") emerged.

Although it is not possible to formulate a general rule, there appears to be a pattern correlating the demographic size of speech communities to their members' implementation and use of speech and language. We might hypothesize that shifts away from indexical tools – pervasively present in the speech of small societies, in which they

play an important role - are a consequence of changes in social and ideological cohesion, as well as the emergence of "warranting" tools (such as literacy, schooling, institutions having authority not only on actions, but on knowledge as well). Such a shift is found everywhere in the world, when it is possible to observe changes taking place in local speech, and only marginally in written language, along generations. In fact, if literacy is adopted or accepted by the élites of a specific society, its role is understood as that of a "warranty" in relation to statements and beliefs (say, religious, legal, property) and some degree of conservative attitude is implicit in its same adoption.

Transitions from small communities, with little internal economic gaps and no standardized forms of language use, but with a high level of shared knowledge, to larger social groups developing, or assuming, dramatic changes in relations to nature and knowledge underpin changes in speech ideology and implemented language forms. Changes in socioeconomic conditions, ideology of self, together with the appearance of literacy and linguistic standardization, as well as differentiated management of knowledge, are all interwoven factors contributing to modify the use a community makes of its speech and, consequently reflecting on the forms its language assumes, generation after generation.

Under this perspective, writing and literacy, even if factors playing for sure a main role in ideology of self and speech, are only part of more general and encompassing ideological changes.

As should be obvious, in societies in which language is not usually mediated by writing, or by reference to written (religious, literary or scientific) texts, the role of indexicality is particularly important.

Even after being introduced into illiterate societies, a technique such as writing can be irrelevant for a long while in strictly linguistic terms, but not so as for knowledge management and allocation. Literacy works quite effectively, and quickly, towards an erosion of local ideological cohesion, changing in this way the ongoing margins of "negotiation" among speakers.

Without suggesting any kind of dichotomy, while all this takes place, communities grow both in demographic and in institutional terms (with, say, the concomitant introduction of schooling), as well as in their internal economic diversity, we may forecast the emergence of increasingly stronger "referential" uses of speech and language, which reduce the amount and the weight, or the relevance of the 'individuality' that speakers can signal in face- to-face interaction, via both 'core' and 'extended' indexicality.

So, one key way in which speech communities differ can be found in the amount of individual cues a speaker is required, or 'encouraged', to convey in her/his utterances. Using the name already suggested above, we can be facing a decrease of individual *sphragís*. The amount and quality of these cues is necessarily subject to diachronic change, reflecting socio-economic-ideological ideological changes. Diessel (1999) hypothesized that increased sociocultural complexity in speech communities is related to the reduction, or weakening, of demonstrative systems, on which he focused his research. These changes are necessarily related, however, to other changes in language, such as the emergence of "new" word classes or reshaping meanings of "sensitive" verbal forms, as the "modal" verbs. Through history each society, a continuous sequence and net of speech communities, reflects, or signal, in its own ways its internal changes into the shapes of its language. So, when we puzzle about the emergence of articles in the Romance languages, or about the complex history of modal forms in English, such as *can, may, be able*, and so on, or the expression of formality/informality (Gnerre & Fabrizio 2010). we should not hope to explain these changes on the ground of mere "internal" language history.

The demographic growth of speech communities, and other socio- cultural changes, such as literacy, schooling and media, including radio or television, usually influence language ideologies and language use, prompting a transition from more "focused" to more "diffused" usages (to draw on a conceptual contrast proposed by Le Page & Tabouret Keller 1987). It is in light of these varying ideological contexts that a speaker's personal indexical 'exposure' through her/his speech must be understood. Furthermore, as is well known, social control over individual members of a speech community, exerted by the majority of adult members, is much stronger in small human groups than in larger societies. In small human groups, almost every speaker has her/his own "style" of speaking and performing, signaling an individuality (what I refer to as the *sphragís*) that is not only tolerated, but even valued.

Written language implies much more than a transition from 'audible' to 'visible' implementation of language. In fact, it poses different challenges, because it does not convey voice quality, prosody and so on, even when still bearing persistent hints of indexicality, revealing some of the writer/author's personhood and personality, whether it is in the form of a hand-written shopping list, or a printed poem. Indeed, deciphering such hints is part of the work of a graphologist, a philologist or a student of literature.

The well-known concepts of "poetic" and "expressive" functions were developed by Roman Jakobson (1964, although the latter had already been introduced to the study

of language use by KARL BÜHLER, 1934). The first was conceived as being "centered" on the message, or the quality of the discourse, and the second as having more to do with the speaker. In JAKOBSON's (1964) classic schema, "expressivity" is the relationship between the Speaker and her/his utterance itself, in terms of anger, surprise, exasperation, pain, affection, and so on, which may be flagged at any level of linguistic structure from morphology and phonology to lexical choice and style.

What I propose here is a sort of inextricably interwoven connection between the two functions, given that they are two dimensions of one and the same indexicality, both pointing to the speaker by means of her/his own tool: performance. The interpretation of indexical content and function that I propose in this paper, and centered on the speaker's self-indexing and/or self- representation to her/his"audience", is the combined output of both the 'poetic' and 'expressive' Jakobsonian functions.

The two functions converge, from different sides, one centered on the message and its content, the other on the speaker and his/her own personal emotional attitude. Although in many cases, these two functions may be fulfilled via different sets of linguistic and non-linguistic tools, when ideophones and other expressive tools are implemented, both functions come into play.

This combination is what we might term the expressivity or interactional force of the utterance in the context in which it is produced. By "expressivity", I mean the foregrounding of subjective relations between the speaker and elements of the utterance context. It is in this frame that ideophones' functions are particularly effective and even necessary, at least under the socio-cultural conditions of language use outlined above.

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