REPORTED DISCOURSE

A MEETING GROUND FOR DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC DOMAINS

Edited by

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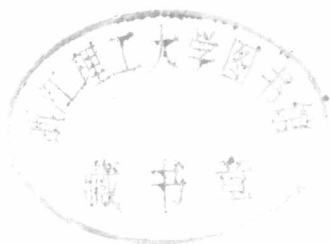
A meeting ground for different linguistic domains

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Preface

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The present collection of papers developed out of a workshop on *Function and form of reported speech* organized by the two editors and held at the 20th Annual Meeting of the German Linguistic Society (March 4–6, 1998 at Halle/Saale). In addition to selected papers presented there, further contributions from scholars involved in this research were invited for this publication in order to capture a wider genetic and geographical variety of languages and thus offer new insights in cross-linguistic similarities and differences within this linguistic domain.

For a long time, reported speech, or more generally *reported discourse,* has been a topic not only puzzling to linguists. It has also attracted philosophers interested in the distinction between *de dicto* and *de re,* in speech acts, and in the philosophy of mind, psycholinguists investigating the development of deixis, and literary critics studying the concepts of author, narrator and character (beginning with the Platonic *mimesis-diegesis* distinction). Although several contributions of this collection may well be relevant to these disciplines, they focus primarily on the narrow linguistic aspects of reported discourse in natural language.

The papers reflect the range of diverse problems which are currently under investigation in this area. A novelty of this collection compared to earlier ones is that it treats not only topics which are traditionally considered to be central problems in the study of reported discourse, but also focuses on questions which until recently played only a minor or peripheral role in the overall discussion. That is, scholars have increasingly shifted their interest toward the question of how grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic problems associated with functional and formal properties of reported discourse have repercussions in other linguistic domains of language. Several foci of interest can be identified and provide the basis for the structure of the book. Before these will be outlined, two other important aspects in this collection should be mentioned. First, almost all papers reflect a major shift away from analyzing reported discourse with the help of abstract transformational principles toward embedding it in *functional* and *pragmatic* aspects of language. The other central methodological approach pervading this collection and related to the former consists in the *discourse-oriented* examination

of reported discourse based on large corpora of coherent spoken or written texts (cf. the contributions by Golato, Kammerzell and Peust, Meyerhoff, and Wurff). This is increasingly replacing analyses of constructed de-contextualized utterances which have been prevalent in many earlier treatments.

Part I: A traditional and still central topic is the conclusive classification of the different types of reported discourse. In a general sense, reported discourse can be taken as 'speaking about speaking' or 'text within text', that is, a secondary text is reproduced or mentioned within the primary, immediately produced text. Every text is associated with a particular deictic and interactional setting (predominantly encoded by so-called *shifters*). In the course of integrating two texts with *different* communicative perspectives/orientations in the relevant domain of reported discourse certain adjustments become necessary (the minimum being that the secondary, integrated text will no longer be a token, but rather a token-type). The problem becomes more complex by the fact that the *reporter* can be assumed to use and manipulate reported discourse for his purposes in the production of the immediate text. Thus, different degrees of speaker involvement in the reproduction of a non-immediate text also come into play. The major traditional classification of different types of reported discourse is achieved according to the relation between a reported, non-immediate text and its purported original utterance in terms of structure and contents. It is this paradigmatic aspect through which the basic traditional distinction between *direct* and *indirect speech* arose. Traditionally, direct discourse is associated with minimal syntactic (and semantic) adjustments, whereas indirect discourse tends syntactically to be a part of the surrounding structure. However, these two categories do not represent a clear-cut dichotomy, but are rather extreme poles along a scalar organizational space. The two traditional categories have been supplemented by different in-between categories. The existence of such intermediate forms as *semi-direct discourse, free indirect discourse* (alias *style indirect libre* or *erlebte Rede*), and different types of logophoric constructions (cf. part III) point to an analysis whereby the different forms of reported discourse are assigned a specific position on a continuum whose end points are characterized by a minimal or maximal shift of the deictic center, respectively (cf. *Roncador* 1988). The articles in the first part are primarily concerned with distinguishing and characterizing types of reported discourse on this dimension and — due to the still prevailing binary distinction between a direct and an indirect style — often focus on intermediate categories. Subsequent questions resulting from such a classification are how the determined types possibly correlate with different formal properties and how they are exploited in natural discourse.

Part II: Closely related to the above classification of types of reported discourse is a sub-domain of adjusting the orientation of the non-immediate text. As such verbal categories like tense, aspect and mode have shifter-properties they have been playing an important role in the study of reported discourse. The paper of Sakita

contributes to this longstanding discussion in connection with the special use of certain verb forms in the domain of reported discourse. Another perspective is discussed by Haßler: She investigates reported discourse as a manifestation of one category of evidentiality (not in the sense of philosophical epistemology) and the evaluation of experience. The continuation of this discussion now prominent for some time (cf. *Hill and Irvine* (eds.) 1993) is important, because one of the major tasks in this area is to determine the place of reported discourse within the different functional domains of language (cf. also the papers by Golato and Huang).

Part III: An inherent characteristic of reported discourse is its close association with the expression and manipulation of interclausal relations in the syntagmatic organization of the immediate text. This relates in particular to the domain of reference tracking and the possible differentiation of pronominal categories. The papers in the third section by Culy and Huang investigate special pronoun marking within the reported text, so-called logophoric devices (cf. also Suzuki's contribution). The investigation of narrow logophoricity in reported discourse, and its comparison to mechanisms of marking *co-reference* and *switch-reference* in other domains leads to an interesting question: Which of the two alternatives, that is, continuity or discontinuity of the referent, is the marked one in a given context? In reported discourse the indication is that it is the co-reference of participants between the speech-introducing clause and the reported text that is more marked.

Part IV: The way reported discourse is integrated formally in its discourse environment is associated with another important area of discussion. Many languages employ specialized quotative constructions for signaling the presence of reported discourse and setting it off from the co-text. It has been observed again and again that these constructions as a whole or individual parts thereof are also employed in many other linguistic domains. The extreme functional versatility of relevant elements must be explained and plausible historical scenarios developed as to how a particular synchronic picture has emerged. The discussion on grammaticalization processes in this domain is thus another focus of the publication. The literature on this topic is already quite extensive, but has probably focused too much on the purported historical development of speech verbs, as some of the present contributions indicate. What can be stated so far is that the relation of quotative constructions to grammatical marking in other linguistic domains is to a large extent a function of the meaning of the elements that became a part of marking devices of reported discourse and these can be more diverse than has heretofore been expected (cf. also Boeder's contribution).

Part V: The book is closed by a comprehensive bibliography on reported discourse and related fields mentioned above. It is hoped to serve as a useful reference tool for future research in this area. It also contains all relevant references cited by contributors in their articles. Since these do not occur again in the bibliography following an individual article, they are marked in the text by italics.

Abbreviations and symbols

ACC	accusative	D	dual
ADDR	logophoric addressee pronoun	DAT	dative
		DEF	definite (article)
ADE	adessive	DEI	deictic
ADJR	adjectivizer	DEM	demonstrative
ADMIR	admirative	DEP	dependent verb form
ADV	adverbial (case)	DET	determiner
AGR	subject-verb agreement	DETER	determinative pronoun
ANA	anaphoric reference	DIM	diminutive
ANP	adnominal participle	DIR	directional
ANT	anterior taxis	DISP	displacement
AOR	aorist	DO	direct object
ART	article	E	exclusive
ASP	aspect	EMPH	emphasis
ASS	associative	ERG	ergative
ATTR	attributive linker	EVID	evidential
AUG	augmentative	EXAG	exaggeration
AUTOBEN	autobenefactive	EXCL	exclamation
AUX	auxiliary	EXP	experiential
BEN	benefactive	F	feminine (gender)
C	common (gender)	FACT	factitive
CAUS	causative	FOC	focus
CF	conjunctive form	FUT	future
CNJ	conjunction	GEN	genitive
COP	copula	HAB	habitual
COM	comitative	HORT	hortative
COMP	complementizer	HS	hearsay
COND	conditional	I	inclusive
CONS	consecutive	IA	inanimate
CONT	continuous	IAP	imperfective active participle
CONV	converb		
CPL	complement	IDEF	indefinite (article)
CTR	controlled complement clause	IDEO	ideophone
		IDEOR	ideophonizer

IMP	imperative		PQ	polar question
IND	indicative		PREP	preposition
INE	inessive		PRET	preterite
INF	infinitive		PREV	preverb
INIT	initiative		PRO	pronoun
INSTR	instrument		PROG	progressive
INTJ	interjection		PROH	prohibitive
IO	indirect object		PROP	proper name
IP	impersonal		PRS	present
IPERF	imperfect		PST	past
IPFV	imperfective		PTCL	particle
IPP	imperfective passive participle		Q	question
			QUAN	quantity
IRR	irrealis		QUOT	quotative
ITR	intransitive		RDP	reduplication
JUS	jussive		RECP	reciprocal
LOC	locative		REFL	reflexive
LOG	logophoric (pronoun)		REL	relative (clause)
M	masculine (gender)		REM	remote
MOD	modality		RV	resultative verb
N	neuter (gender)		S	singular
NEG	negation		SBJ	subject
NOM	nominative		SEQ	sequential taxis
NUM	numeral		SPEC	specificity
OBJ	object		SIM	simultaneous taxis
OBL	oblique		SIML	similative
ONOM	onomatopoeia		STAT	stative
P	plural		SUBJ	subjunctive
PAP	perfect(ive) active participle		TOP	topic
			TR	transitive
PART	participle		VN	verbal noun
PASS	passive		VOC	vocative
PERF	perfect		1, 2, 3	person categories
PFV	perfective		=	clitic boundary
POSS	possession/possessive			
POSTP	postposition			
POT	potential			
PPP	perfect(ive) passive participle			

Author citations in italics refer to the general bibliography

Contents

Categories of reported discourse and their use

CHAPTER 1

Speech and thought representation in the Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages*

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The South Caucasian language family, also called "Kartvelian" after its dominant member (*kartvel-* 'Georgian'), comprises Svan, Georgian, Mingrelian and Laz. These languages are spoken in an area reaching from the Black Sea in the West to Turkic-speaking Azerbaijan and to Armenia in the Southeast. Both genetically and structurally, the Kartvelian languages are closely related to each other. Most speakers of Mingrelian and Svan can speak Georgian, the language of instruction in school, and use it as their literary language, while most Laz speakers live in Northeast Turkey and use Turkish as their official language.

The general characteristics of Kartvelian "speech-reporting" are more or less well described in the linguistic literature.[1] But there are a few details and problems that have been neglected or insufficiently understood so far, e.g. the variation between direct and indirect speech, complete and partial "indirectness", and use and absence of conjunction with direct speech; and in particular the history of quotatives and some aspects of Svan speech reporting. In the following survey, I will begin with some basic facts of Old Georgian, the language of a vast corpus of texts beginning with the 5th century AD (1.). A cursory assessment of the modern variants of Georgian (and of Mingrelian and Laz) leads to an overall picture of the historical development in this form of Kartvelian (2.). The Svan language spoken in the mountainous parts of the Western Caucasus is generally considered to be a very archaic form of Kartvelian. It is formally rather remote from its related languages; its various forms of reported speech deserve particular attention, and I will discuss at least some of its details (3.). In the last section (4.), some conclusions are drawn.

One of the main characteristics of reported speech is reference shift: in direct speech, the reference of person, time, etc is typically not orientated towards the speech situation of the reporting clause, and in this sense, it is not in the indirect speech that their reference "shifts", but rather in the direct speech, in which an "I" is not necessarily the reporter-speaker, a present is not the speech time etc.[2] However, I will follow the practice of school grammar and describe "indirect speech" as the result of a "shift" of person, time, etc. which adapts them to their

reference in the matrix clause,[3] without, however, implying that indirect speech should be derived from direct speech in any theoretical framework. In particular, I use the term "shift" because Svan "semi-indirect" speech is easier to understand if we start from direct speech and describe the indirect variant as derivative.

Before entering into the details of Georgian, a simplified outline of some features of Kartvelian is in order that may help the reader to understand the data. The verbal system of both Georgian and Svan consists of at least three groups of tenses and moods, and these groups are characterised by specific alignments of relational coding: the subject of transitive verbs is in the nominative with the present-stem group (present, imperfect, imperfective subjunctive I and the corresponding perfective forms: future, conditional and perfective subjunctive I), in the ergative with aorist-stem verb forms (aorist and optative = subjunctive II), and in the dative with perfect-stem verbs (perfect, pluperfect and subjunctive III). The direct object is in the dative with present-stem verbs and in the nominative with aorist and perfect stem verbs. The indirect object is in the dative with present and aorist stem verbs, and is a demoted prepositional phrase ("for" + NP) with perfect stem verbs. Verbs of having, wanting, fearing, etc. have a dative subject (as with perfect-stem verb forms) and a nominative object.

In one of its meanings, the Georgian perfect is the evidential (indirective) counterpart of the aorist (or present in some contexts), indicating "hearsay" and "inference" or "surprise" (*Boeder* 2000). Mingrelian and Svan have a more elaborated system: in addition to the evidential perfect, they have for example evidential counterparts of the imperfect (suffix -(i/u)*na* and circumfix *ləm-___-wn(e)/ne* in the Upper Bal dialect of Svan).[4] These evidential forms belong to the characteristics of Svan reported speech.

1.   Old Georgian

1.1   Direct speech in Old Georgian

Old Georgian[5] is a highly standardised literary language which must have been under strong stylistic pressure from contemporary Byzantine Greek. Yet, there is no reason to believe that the forms of direct speech in the following passage from the first long non-translated text, the "Life of Grigol of Khanzta" by Giorgi Merchule (10th century), deviate from the "ordinary Georgian" of the time:[6]

(1)   (a) mašin iḳitxa neṭar-man Grigol, (b) vitarmed "sada ars q̇rma-j Basili."
(c) da auc̣q̇es ʒma-ta sen-i mis-i. (d) da man brʒana c̣odeba-j: (e) xolo
ma-t hrkues (f) "ver ʒaluc mislva-j." (g) mašin hrkua ma-t (h) "čem
mier arkut, (i) vitarmed "giçess šen mama-j Grigol" "(GrX LXI 4–8)

(a) then he.asked blessed-ERG Grigol, (b) CNJ "where he.is youth-NOM Basil". (c) and they.informed(AOR).him brother-P.OBL illness-NOM his-NOM. (d) and he.ERG he.commanded(AOR).it calling(VN)-NOM: (e) but he-P.OBL they.told(AOR).him (f) "IMPOSS force.he.has(PRS).it going-NOM." (g) then he.told(AOR).them he-P.OBL: (h) "me from tell(AOR.IMP).him, (i) CNJ "he.calls(PRS).you you father-NOM Grigol"."

'(a) Then the blessed Grigol asked: (b) Where is the young man Basil? (c) And the brethren informed him about his illness (= told him that he was ill). (d) And he told them to call him. (e) But they told him: (f) He is unable to go. (g) Then he said to them: (h) Tell him from me, (i) Father Grigol asks you to come.'

As in many other languages of the region (e.g. Greek and Armenian[7]), direct speech can, but need not, be introduced by a conjunction, *vitarmed*; compare (1b) and (1i) with (1f). Direct speech abounds in this text, while indirect speech is extremely rare.

The following passage from the oldest Georgian prose text (5th cent.) shows that the early authors were well familiar with the naturalistic "liveliness" of direct speech:

(2)   da unda rajta-mca hrkua, tu "mṭkice-d deg!" da tual-i hḳida
      (Ṗiṭiaxš-man, sxua-j ver-ɣa ra-j scalda siṭqua-d, esten oden hrkua:
      "mṭki . . ." da dadumna xolo (Šušaniḳis çameba IX 2–5)
      and he.wanted.it CNJ-OPT he.said.to.her, CNJ "fast-ADV stand!" and eye-NOM he.fixed.it.on.him Pitiashkh-ERG, other-NOM IMPOSS-PTCL something-NOM he.had.the.time.for.it saying(VN)-ADV, so only he.said.to.her: "sta . . ." and he.became.silent only.
      '[St. Shushanik was taken from her palace to prison, her husband came behind her, cursing; her deacon stood near her way] and wanted to say: "Stand fast!", when the Pitiashkh cast his eye on him. So he could say nothing but "sta . . .", and became just silent.'

1.2 The syntactic status of reported speech in Old Georgian

But what is the syntactic status of direct speech in Old Georgian? There is no doubt that "to say" is a morphologically transitive verb in Georgian. It is true that direct speech is not normally marked for case, although it can be, if it is conceptualised as a repeatable entity:[8]

(3)   cisḳr-ad *"neṭar arian"-n-i* da galoba-n-i çartkunian (GrX XVII 42)
      dawn-ADV *"Blessed they.are"-P-NOM* and song-P-NOM
      they.said(AOR.habitual).them
      'At dawn, they used to recite the psalm "Blessed are" and songs.'

But direct object pronouns also refer to reported speech and behave like nominal direct objects (in the nominative):

(4) ȝma-ta hrkues: ". . . ." *esē* raj tkues . . . . (GrX LXXII 51)
brother-P.OBL they.said.to.him: ". . . ." *this.NOM* when they.said . . . .
'The brethren said to him: ". . . ." When they said *this*, . . .'

In this, reference to direct speech is not different from pronouns referring to embedded complement clauses:

(5) *esē* aɣmitkwit, *romel* čemda siḳudidmdē ara ganhmravldet adgil-sa ama-s šina (GrX VI 95)
this.NOM promise(AOR.IMP).me, CNJ my.ADV death.until not that.you.multiply(SUBJ.II) place-DAT this-DAT in
'This I ask you to promise me: that you do not let your community become larger in this place until I die.'

However, it is much less clear if for instance (1f) is a direct object constituent clause of the reporting clause (1e). Notice that direct speech is normally referred to by modal pronominals like *ēšrēt* 'thus' (like ancient Greek *hōs*), *vitar-ca* 'as' or even *ēšrēt saxe-d* 'thus shape-ADV' (= 'in the following manner' = 'as follows'):

(6) tkua *esrēt* "upal-o, [. . .]" (GrX XLVII 15)
he.said.it *thus* "Lord-VOC, [. . .]"
'He spoke *thus*: O Lord [. . .].'

(7) *vitarca* iṭqwis mocikul-i "mouḳlebel-ad ilocvedit-o" (GrX I 14)
as he.says(PRS).it apostle-NOM "incessant-ADV pray-QUOT"
'*As* the apostle says: Pray without ceasing.'

where the pronoun is cataphoric and refers to the subsequent direct speech, or rather: to one of its aspects that has still to be determined (- is it its propositional content or rather its locutionary aspect, "how s/he put it"?). Notice that although "to say" is "intransitive" or "semi-transitive" in many languages (*Munro* 1982), the use of "so" cannot be taken as a criterion of intransitivity (*Roeck* 1994: 336) in the case of Georgian: a Georgian verb form is either transitive or intransitive, and I think that (6) can only be interpreted as "he said *something (specific)* thus" — whatever the meaning of "thus" is.

The use of "thus" must be old. It is in accordance with the origin of the conjunction *vitar-med* in (1b) and (1i), which is an enlarged form of *vitar* 'how?'. As so many wh-words in the Indoeuropean languages, *vitarmed* became a conjunction by its coalescence with the subsequent "answer"-sentence it asks for (Boeder 1993/94: 36): besides (a) "X said (it) thus (*ēšrēt*): "Y" ", we may posit (b) "X said (it) how (*vitar(med)*) ? "Y" ". As a result of reanalysis we get: (c) "X said *vitar(med)* "Y" ", where *vitar(med)* marks the dependence of the direct speech

sentence. It is less clear, however, if *vitarmed* is a constituent of the direct speech sentence or rather of the preceding reporting clause (see below 2.2 and 3.2).

After *vitar(med)* had become a conjunction, *esrēt* 'thus', which had been in complementary distribution with *vitar* 'how?' at stage (a)–(b), may co-occur with the latter:

(8) da uǩuetu vinme gǩitxvides: "rajsa-twis aɣhqsnit?" *esrē* (E esre, C esret)
     arkut, *vitarmed*: "upal-sa uqms ege" (Luke 19,31)
     and if somebody he.may.ask.you: "what-for you.loosed.it?" *thus*
     say.to.him: CNJ "Lord-DAT him.needs.it this.NOM"
     'And if any man ask you, Why do ye loose him? *thus* shall ye say unto him, (*that*) The Lord hath need of him.'

Finally, the *vitarmed*-sentence could be reanalysed as a clausal constituent of the preceding sentence, i.e. embedded:[9]

(9) (a) vitar cna, (b) *vitarmed* ma-s dɣe-sa saerto-d igi sačmel-i ara ǭopil ars,
     (c) mašin romel-i igi mimeɣo, (d) špot-it dastxia [. . .] (GrX LXXXVI 8)
     as he.understood(AOR).it, CNJ that-DAT day-DAT common-ADV
     that.NOM meal-NOM not been it.is,[10] then which-NOM PTCL
     I.had.taken.it, fury-INSTR he.poured.it.out
     'When he understood: (*that*) "This has not been the common meal", he then in agitation poured out what I had taken (to him).'

The internal position of (b) suggests its status as an embedded constituent. But most direct speech occurs on the periphery of the sentence, in particular in final position. In these cases, there is no reason to believe that the direct speech is embedded in the reporting clause. While anaphoric pronouns referring to an independent direct speech antecedent are direct objects, it is not at all sure if *everything* "which was said represented the complement of the clause of saying" (Harris and Campbell 1995: 69), if complement clauses are understood as embedded. Similarly, it is rather doubtful if direct speech after cataphoric *esrēt* etc. is a complement, because, as far as I can see, complements cannot be referred to by "so", and there is no indication that sentences like (1f) are complements in Old Georgian; rather, they could be thought of as "adjoined" (in the sense introduced by Hale 1975).

1.3 Indirect speech in Old Georgian

It is generally believed that indirect speech is embedded. "Indirect speech" *in a broad sense* does occur in Old Georgian side by side with "direct speech", and some authors (e.g. 3i3iguri 1965) insist on its "naturalness" and its occurrence in the oldest texts. Indeed the following passage shows person shift (*Hewitt and Crisp* 1986: 126):