Speaker-predicating quotative indexes as a cross-linguistic type

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1 Quotative indexes from a typological perspective

1.1 Functional properties

The linguistic structures which accompany reported discourse have often simply been viewed as sentential expressions of a state of affairs referring to speech or cognition. In this approach, an English phrase like *he said (to me)* would be a "canonical" structure containing the following semanto-syntactic units as apparently essential components: a verbal predicate encoding a speech event, a nominal referring to the speaker, and, less required, a nominal referring to the addressee. This expectation is in stark contrast to the fact that quotes are quite often not at all accompanied by lexical elements of these types. Accordingly, it seems necessary to approach these constructions under a broader perspective. In Güldemann (2008) I have carried out an investigation of such structures in 39 African languages, based on their grammatical descriptions as well as the analysis of limited text corpora. There, I have proposed the term "quotative index" and defined it as follows:

> A quotative index is a segmentally discrete linguistic expression which is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse.

One major result of the formal analysis of more than 3200 text tokens of quotative indexes with direct quotes is that the expression type cannot be reduced conceptually to a sentence that focuses on propositional content in merely conveying a state of affairs; instead, it often turns out to represent a routinized construction with a potentially considerable degree of grammaticalization (see Güldemann (2008: §2.5) for more details).

In functional terms it is clear then that there must be another function of quotative indexes beyond plain event representation. I propose to derive this function from the very nature of reported discourse itself, which I define as follows

(note that this definition refers to the entire categorial scale between extreme direct and extreme indirect discourse and includes internal cognition and perception):

> Reported discourse is the representation of a spoken or mental text from which the reporter distances him-/herself by indicating that it is produced by a source of consciousness in a pragmatic and deictic setting that is different from that of the immediate discourse.

That is, the reporter also needs to orient her/his audience towards the presence of the quote, because this "alien" text is associated with a different pragmatic and deictic interpretation. This reorientation is in fact often achieved by markedly pointing to the quote, either by means of elements with a general deictic function like demonstratives etc. or by means of grammatical elements dedicated to signaling the presence of a quote - so-called "quotative markers". Depending on the discourse context, this grammatical function of "quote orientation" often predominates over the representation of the state of affairs, which in turn correlates with the grammatical(ized) nature of quotative indexes.

1.2 Morphosyntactic typology

Associated with the above general observation is the possibility to classify quotative indexes from a cross-linguistic perspective into basic types which differ in their morphosyntactic structure and the semantic focus they convey. I have derived the following typology from both the African sample data as well as a survey of the relevant literature on other African and non-African languages.

A first basic distinction should be made between quotative indexes which largely conform to the structure of normal verbal clauses, as the above *he said (to me)*, and those which do not. For the latter, consider (1) from Kera (Chadic, Afroasiatic):[1] this structure only consists of a noun phrase for speaker reference and a following grammaticalized quotative particle. Since it strongly deviates from a normal Kera clause based on a verbal predicate, it is called "non-clausal".

(1) kəmar kaalay ma {...}
young men Q
Die Jungen riefen nun [lit.: the young men Q]: "... (Ebert 1975: 106)

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[1] The glosses of examples have been unified for the purpose of this article (see ??? for the list of abbreviations) and thus may differ from the original source. I give, however, always the original translation. Since this does not always reflect the actual morphosyntactic structure, a more literal translation in English may be provided in square brackets.

Non-clausal quotative indexes can be subdivided into a class which involves quote orientation in line with the above central function, as (1) from Kera with a quotative particle, and another class which can be called "participant-oriented" in encoding exclusively the speaker and/or the addressee of the quote. These participant-oriented quotative indexes will be discussed in more detail from §1.3 on, with one special type being the major topic of this article.

Clausal quotative indexes can also be distinguished according to whether or not they highlight quote orientation. Those which do not, like *he said (to me)*, are simple propositions that represent a state of affairs, called here "monoclausal event-oriented"; these have often but inadequately been considered in previous typological studies to be the default pattern of quotative indexes.

The quote-oriented types of clausal quotative indexes come in three subtypes. The first one, called "monoclausal quote-oriented", is superficially comparable with the previous monoclausal event-oriented one in that its nucleus is also a simple verbal clause. Its major difference is that the verb used does not refer to speech etc. outside the construction at issue. Although such an element is often translated simply as 'say', its language internal properties qualify it as a dedicated "quotative verb". This can be conceptualized as a grammaticalized quotative marker in verbal disguise, as *cèe* in (2) from Hausa (Chadic, Afroasiatic).

(2) yaa cèe masà {...}
3M.S:PERF QV DAT:3S
il lui a dit [he has "said" to him]: "... (Gouffé 1970/1: 80)

The two other clausal quote-oriented types display quote-orienting elements separate from and in addition to a verbal predicate so that they are syntactically "bipartite". Depending on whether this quote-orienter is clause-like or not, one can further differentiate here between "biclausal bipartite" and "monoclausal bipartite". This distinction can be illustrated by the two colloquial English phrases in (3), where the quote-orienter *he says* in (3)a. after *then Peter tells him* is a clause while *like* in (3)b. is not.

(3)a. then Peter tells him, he says {...}
b. then Peter tells him like {...}

The basic semanto-syntactic typology of quotative indexes briefly represented above is summarized in Figure 1, including the associated examples given above (it goes without saying that more research might bring additional types to light).

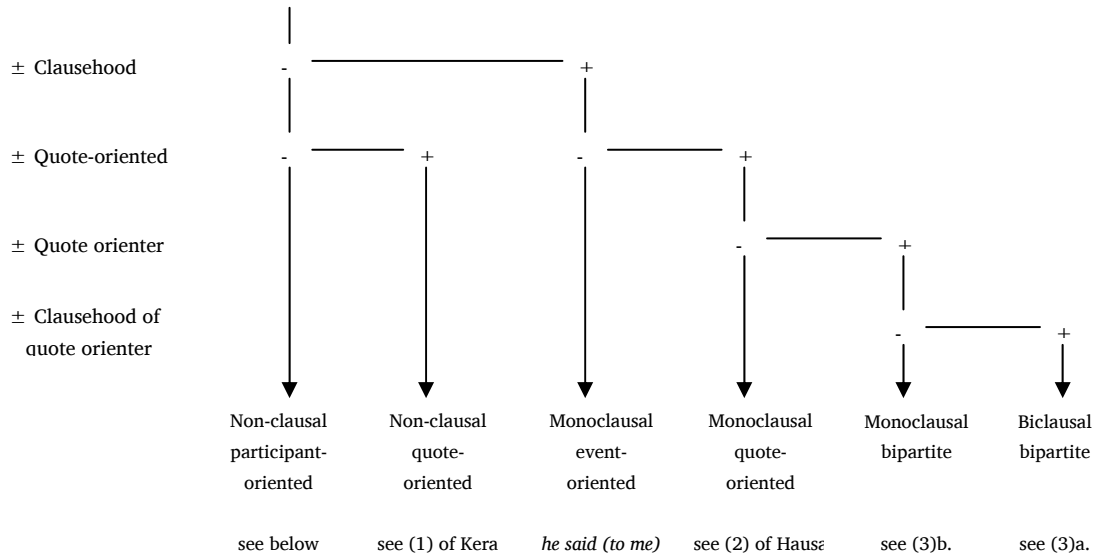

Figure 1: Basic semanto-syntactic types of quotative indexes (Güldemann 2008: 516)

1.3 Non-clausal speaker representation

While the representation of the speech event is cross-linguistically a frequently omissible feature of quotative indexes, there is one semantic element that is far more central, namely the reference to the speaker. Thus, my typological investigation on the form and meaning of more than 3200 tokens of quotative indexes has established the following hierarchy of statistical occurrence (3225 = 100%) of the four relevant semanto-syntactic components (Güldemann 2008: 142-6):

Speaker (92%) > Quote orientation (71%) > Event (50%) > Addressee (31%)

Note the virtually regular speaker representation against the low 50%-appearance of a verb expressing speech or cognition. Overall, speaker representation turns out to be the most central element of quotative indexes.

One reflex of this general tendency is the recurrent existence of quotative indexes which consist of nothing but some kind of participant encoding. These would normally count as non-clausal participant-oriented in the above classification. Depending on the language, they can be an occasional or a more regular phenomenon. While this strategy can also concern the addressee, the more frequent case is bare speaker representation.

Non-clausal participant-oriented quotative indexes have been reported, for example, in Turkish (Tietze 1959: 99-100), Modern Hebrew (Zuckermann 2006: 477-8), spoken Puerto Rican Spanish (Cameron 1998), and written English (Ware 1993: 163) and are thus far from unfamiliar or “exotic”. The following example is

from the Australian language Warrwa, where the speaker nominal is marked by ergative case (W. McGregor p.c.).[2]

(4) kinya-rnirl-ma {marlu jana-n-ngurndany ingan,
this-P-ERG {no where-LOC-IDEF 3MIN.NOM:be:PRS
ingan nyunu marduwarra}
3MIN.NOM:be:PRS there river}
They said [lit.: those], “He might be somewhere, perhaps down on the river.”

In my cross-African study, such quotative indexes were encountered in analyzed texts of 13 out of 39 sample languages, normally without any recognition of this strategy in the grammatical description consulted. Consider the following examples from Kunama (Isolated, “Nilo-Saharan”) and Lamang (Chadic, Afroasiatic), respectively, where the structure was an occasional phenomenon.

(5) báddi ína ṅoṅ́éna gàmba-sī {...}
then DEM frog:DET lizard-OBJ
Nun sprach der Frosch zur Eidechse [lit.: then the frog to lizard]: '... (Reinisch 1881-90,1: 172)

(6) na sə́m-à-tàŋ gùléŋ {...}
then all-POSS-3P again
All of them said [lit.: then all of them again], “... (Wolff 1994: 333)

For a cross-linguistically oriented evaluation it is irrelevant whether such participant-oriented quotative indexes are rare and arguably cases of plain “verb ellipsis” or whether they represent a recurrent grammatical routine. In both cases they comply with the above definition of a quotative index and as a type require a comparison with other types of quotative index.

A more regular use of such structures is evident in languages of the Saharan family (“Nilo-Saharan”). I observed in Güldemann (2008: 116) that in a text corpus of Kanuri 8% of about 200 quotative index tokens with direct reported discourse only displayed a reference to the speaker and/or the addressee before the quote. The morphological marking of the two nominals is as described by Hutchison (1981: 215-6) in his discussion of the so-called “agent postposition” *yè* (which is normally prominent in passive-like constructions):

> In making direct quotation, the agent/source normally occurs initially marked by the agent postposition. It may be followed by the listener marked by the indirect

[2] A similar situation is found in Miriwoong and possibly Kija, where the speaker is marked by an ablative suffix.

postposition +rò. The relevant form of the verb ngìn *say*, or whatever quotation verb is being used may then occur either before or after the direct quote.

Here are two examples from my text corpus without any verb:

(7) mai-ye {…}
king-AGT
The king asked [lit.: the king] "… (Geider n.d.)

(8) bultu-ro {…}
hyena-OBL
And she told the hyena [lit.: to the hyena] "… (Geider n.d.)

While I did not recognise such quotative indexes in Kanuri as a genuine construction type, Lukas' (1953: 177-8) description of reported discourse in closely related Tubu suggests that at least there it is a quite salient strategy:

> Sehr oft wird in der Tubusprache die direkte Rede unmittelbar, d.h. ohne ein Verb des Sagens, eingeführt. Diese Art der Einführung der direkten Rede hat etwas Lebendiges und zieht die Aufmerksamkeit auf das, was unmittelbar folgt.
>
> [Direct speech in Tubu is very often introduced immediately, that is, without a speech verb. This way of introducing direct speech has something lively to it and draws the attention to what immediately follows.]

(9) mɔlɔfúr {yɔ}
hyena {Yes}
die Hyäne sprach [lit.: the hyena]: 'Ja'

(10) adḛ́ma yi anyíma du {túsɔp!}
woman AGT man OBL {leave me!}
die Frau sprach zu dem Mann [lit.: the woman to the man]: 'entlasse mich!'

(11) maná du {yír giṇ̣s!}
gopher OBL {come and divide!}
er sprach zum Erdhörnchen [lit.: to the gopher]: 'komm und teile!'

(12) ái̯ jirkannu Dázza yi {…}
this because.of PN AGT
deshalb sagen die Dazza [lit.: therefore, the Dazza]: '…'

Lukas' examples show that the marking of the participants is the same as that in Kanuri in that the addressee is marked by the oblique postposition *du* ~ *ru* (a cognate of Kanuri *ro*), as in (10) and (11), and the speaker mostly by the so-called "subject" postposition *(y)i* (which, like the Kanuri cognate *ye*, is better analysed as marking non-topical agents), as in (10) and (12) (cf. Lukas 1953: 164-5, 158-61).

Non-clausal participant-oriented quotative indexes can become highly grammaticalized in the sense that they achieve the status of a fixed construction, which was the case in 2 of the 13 relevant African languages. One such language is Tikar (Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo), where the essential element of one type of quotative index is a special pronoun called "anaphoric particle" (Stanley 1982: 32), which cross-references 3rd-person speakers.[3] The quotative index in (13) lacks other possible elements entirely; it consists only of what I would call a "quotative pronoun" - another type of quotative marker, this time in pronominal disguise.[4]

(13) nũ {nũ tšiâ byɛbi}
s/he:Q {s/he did badly}
He (said) he has acted badly. (Jackson 1987: 105)

In the remainder of this article I will deal with a type of, mostly non-clausal, participant-oriented quotative index which is formally more circumscribed: the speaker is encoded by way of a construction which in the given language is canonically used for identifying or presenting nominal referents. It can be translated into English most closely as something like 'it/this/that/(t)here is X'. In the sense that such a structure asserts the identity and/or presence of a referent it is a non-verbal predication. I will, accordingly, call the type henceforth "speaker-predicating" quotative index. (A non-verbal predication may be called a "clause", even if lacking a verb like English *be*. Nothing in this article hinges on this terminological detail, so that I will continue here to use "non-clausal" in the sense of "non-verbal".)

2 Speaker-predicating quotative indexes: the data

2.1 Historical cases

Speaker-predicating quotative indexes have so far been largely neglected in the literature. Ironically, in my own cross-linguistic study of quotative indexes (Güldemann 2008) and subsequent research they first called my attention from a diachronic rather than synchronic perspective. I will start accordingly with these historical cases.

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[3] See Van de Velde (2008: 142-4) for another such case in Eton (Bantu, Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo).

[4] The quotative pronoun is recruited from a functionally versatile paradigm series which also serves to express a logophoric subject in the quote. This is the reason why example (13) displays a sequence of the same pronoun form.

Güldemann (forthcoming) tries to tackle the history of the quotative marker *j(n)* in Egyptian, which is attested in some form throughout most of its history, undergoing drastic changes in the course of time. In its earliest stage *j(n)* is best characterized as a defective quotative verb stem which prototypically precedes a full noun phrase referring to the speaker, as shown in the following example.

(14) {m twt n-f} **jn psḏ-(tj) wr-t ᶜ3-t**
{who resemble:PAP for-3M.S} Q:PST PN-F.D be.great:PAP-F be.great:PAP-F
"Who is like him?" said the Two Great and Powerful Enneads. (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 302)

J(n) must be characterized as a defective verb because it does not conjugate regularly but is part of a paradigm of three suppletive stems; these all serve as default bases of quotative indexes and are commonly distinguished according to different values for tense-aspect-modality. Table 1 shows these stems together with their basic semantic and syntactic characteristics; the last element, stative *j*, is commonly thought to be related to the form *jn* but occurs only later in history - hence the notation *j(n)* in the present article.

Form	**TAM value**	**Syntactic distribution**
k3-	Future	before "suffixal" pronoun
ḫr(-)	Present	before noun and "suffixal" pronoun
jn(-)	Preterite	before noun and plural "suffixal" pronoun
j-	Stative	before singular "suffixal" pronoun

Table 1: The quotative verb paradigm in Earlier Egyptian

The frequency of the simple quotative pattern in (14) decreases in later stages of Egyptian, being replaced by what I have introduced above as a bipartite quotative index which employs both [*j(n)* SPEAKER] and phrase with a verb, notably *ḏd* 'say'. Consider (15) in which the first part of the quote is preceded by *nw rf ḏdnk Rᶜ(w)* 'this is just what you, Re, have said' and followed by *jt ṯw Rᶜ(w)* - an instance of the *j(n)*-construction at issue.

(15) wjj Rᶜ(w) nw rf ḏd-n-k Rᶜ(w) {ḥwj z3(j)}
EXCL PN DEM ANA say:REL-PST-2M.S PN {be it that my son}
O Re, this is just what you, Re, have said: "Be it that my son",
j-t ṯw Rᶜ(w) {b3j sḫmj w3šj}
Q:STAT-2M.S 2M.S PN {is besouled, is mighty, is strong}
so you, Re, say, "is besouled, is mighty, and is strong!" (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 302)

Moreover, *j(n)* itself is in later stages more often used with a following pronominal element rather than a lexical noun, as in (15). Since most conjugated verbs are normally followed by a pronoun, *j(n)* looks more verb-like than originally.

The major argument developed in Güldemann (forthcoming) is that the properties of *j(n)* as a verb lexeme are, however, only apparent and/or acquired secondarily. The reasoning behind this idea is that Egyptian possesses another element *jn*, which can be shown to be originally a predicative element that establishes an identificational/presentational clause of the type 'it/this/that/there is X'. This also became grammaticalized within more complex syntactic structures, for example, in cleft sentences, as illustrated in (16).

(16) **jn-m** j.jr n-k
ID-who act:PAP for-2M.S
Who is the one who acts for you? (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 303)

The conclusion from this is that the predicative function of *jn* can be assumed to also underlie the earlier quotative pattern [*jn* SPEAKER] - it would represent a non-verbal speaker-predicating quotative index at issue here. This account is largely compatible with the empirical facts observed for the diachronic development of *jn* as a quotative marker. The earliest stage [*jn* NOUN] would be a plain speaker-oriented quotative index, quite parallel to those exemplified in §1.3; the only difference is that the speaker nominal is explicitly foregrounded by the predicator *jn*. As long as no other material (e.g., a true speech predicate) elaborates the nuclear *jn*-constituent, even tokens deviating from the original [*jn* NOUN] are still comparable to purely participant-oriented examples presented in §1.3. Thus, (17) from Later Egyptian with a pronominal speaker representation after *jn* could be interpreted as '(it's) me to her' rather than 'I said to her' and, disregarding differences in constituent order with respect to the quote, would so turn out to be essentially the same as (5) from Kunama and (10) from Tubu.

(17) {...} **jn-j** n-s
Q-1M.S OBL-3F.S
{...} ich zu ihr [I to her] (Jordan 2009: 13)

The interpretation of *jn* as a verb would have occurred over time by analogy to other truly clausal quotative indexes. In Egyptian this "verbification" was facilitated by the fact that a simple constituent [VERB.STEM-*(n)*-(PRO)NOUN] is part of the overall conjugation pattern, called '*sḏm-(n)-f* form' in Egyptian philology. Since the presence vs. absence of *n* with canonical verbs conveys a tense-aspect difference, the original quotative pattern in *jn* could have been interpreted as an *n*-

preterite, triggering the later emergence of a stative quotative counterpart *j* without final *n*. The entire historical change can be sketched as follows:

jn 'it is ...' > quotative marker *jn* ... > quotative verb *j(n)*-

Egyptologists have found it hard to distinguish the latest stage of *j(n)* from a normal speech-verb lexeme, which motivates its common philological analysis as 'say';[5] at this point, the most salient indication of a quite unusual history is its suppletive relation to other equally defective verbs in the quotative paradigm.

Akkadian, geographically and historically closely related to the earlier stages of Egyptian, is another case for a language with a quotative index that likely started out originally as a speaker-predicating structure. In its earliest chronolect, Early Old Babylonian, the relevant pattern was a self-contained structure of the form [*enma* SPEAKER (*ana* ADRESSEE)], used with direct reported discourse, as in (18):

(18) **enma PN_1** ana PN_2 {ašmama ahtadu} **enma** **anāku-ma** {...}
Q PN to PN {I heard it and was happy} Q I-EMPH
This is what PN_1 says to PN_2: I heard (his letter) and was happy (about it). (And now) this is what I say (i.e. answer): "..." [more narrow translation: PN_1 (says) to PN_2 {...} I (say) {...}] (Deutscher 2000: 69)

There is no good language-internal structural evidence for deriving the crucial element *enma* from a verb and/or a lexeme referring semantically to speech (cf. Deutscher's (2000: 69-70) extensive discussion in footnote 25). Hence, the pattern in the above example is comparable to such non-clausal participant-oriented quotative indexes as (5) from Kunama, (10) from Tubu, and (17) form Egyptian.

Apart from the particle's change in form to *umma*, the quotative index as a whole underwent considerable structural restructuring in later stages of the language, as outlined in detail by Deutscher (2000: 66-87). First of all, from Early Old Babylonian on but fully established in Later Old Babylonian, the nuclear constituent follows a speech verb, as 'say' in (19). According to the above typology this qualifies as a monoclausal bipartite quotative index, in which, however, the non-verbal quote orienter *umma šunuma* is complex and co-varies somewhat tautologically with the speaker.

(19) pīqat nappāhū iqabbû-kum **umma** **šunu-ma** {...}
perhaps smiths they.say-to.you Q they-EMPH
perhaps the smiths might say to you "... (Deutscher 2000: 77)

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[5] See, however, Chetveruchin (1988) for a diverting hypothesis that on an abstract level proposes a directionality which is similar to that proposed here.

The latest stage is characterized by further grammaticalization of this innovative pattern: it encroaches on contexts of indirect reported discourse, *umma* itself developing to a function word. One formal aspect of this process is that the originally obligatory speaker reference after *umma* is no longer necessary, as in (20) from Neo-Babylonian.

(20) ašāl-šu **umma** {...}
I.asked-him Q
I asked him "... (Deutscher 2000: 83)

Even more clearly than in Egyptian *j(n)* one can diagnose a historical trajectory from a non-clausal quotative index towards a monoclausal bipartite one by means of increasing co-occurrence with a preceding speech predicate.

As opposed to Egyptian *j(n)*, the etymological discussion of Akkadian *enma/umma* has in fact entertained a scenario comparable to that proposed here. Two of three hypotheses, namely that it is related to the Hebrew noun *n'um* 'speech' (Baumgartner 1974) or some unidentified speech verb (Deutscher 2000: 70, footnote 25), are apparently motivated by nothing but the default assumption that semantically opaque quotatives should originate in elements that display utterance semantics – an idea which, as mentioned in §1, is actually not borne out by cross-linguistic data. Accordingly, I argue in Güldemann (2008: 364-5, forthcoming) in favor of Soden's (1965-81, vol.1: 218) original hypothesis which focuses on sound family-internal comparative evidence. This author proposed that the original *enma* is bimorphemic whereby *en* is a 'presentative' focus marker and *ma* is an emphatic enclitic which can also occur after the speaker nominal itself, as in (18) and (19) above.[6] In other words, Soden proposes that [*enma* SPEAKER] is nothing but a presentational structure 'there/it is X'. Compared to the two previous hypotheses, this reconstruction is more viable for two crucial reasons: first, it ties in with the typological data that is presented here; second, it has robust comparative support in that a number of other Semitic languages have likely cognates of *en* which are also used as both presentational markers and quotatives-complementizers. This in turn means that early Semitic languages as a whole are implicated in the phenomenon described here.

A third case for a speaker-predicating quotative index is Tonga-Inhambane as analyzed by Güldemann (2008: 67-8, 365-7; forthcoming). Here the possible reconstruction arises first of all out of internal evidence (supplemented by some

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[6] The change from *enma* to later *umma* remains unexplained by all hypotheses.

comparative data) in the sense that the different evolutionary stages outlined above for Egyptian *j(n)* are encountered in the synchronic structure of the language. Consider in this respect the following examples.

(21) {nyinguhongola} **kha Rasi**
{I am going} Q PN
"I am going" says Rasi (Lanham 1955: 140)

(22) **kh**-iso {khumani ahipalago}
Q-8PRO {who is it that defeats us?}
They [animals] said, "Who is it that defeats us ..." (Lanham 1955: 140)

(23) si-rengo si-ngu-**kh-iso** {...}
8-animal 8-PRS-QV-8PRO
the animals say, "... (Lanham 1955: 139)

Example (21) is a case of a non-clausal quotative index with a particle *kha* preceding the speaker noun; *khiso* in (22) arguably involves the same quotative element *kh-* (< *kha) which has fused with a pronominal speaker representation (here of agreement class 8) and thereby changed its *a*-vowel through assimilation and analogy; (23) displays the same form *khiso* but now with canonical verb prefixes making it a prototypical instance of a morphologically irregular quotative verb (hence glossed as QV), because normal verbs have entirely different suffix morphology. I argue that these different types of quotative indexes should be related to each other in historical terms as follows:

quotative marker *kha* > speaker-inflected quotative *kh-* > quotative verb *-kh-*

The two first non-verbal patterns in this development can be plausibly derived historically from an identificational structure [*kha* (PRO)NOUN] 'it is X'. Apart from supporting comparative data in other Bantu languages (see §3) this can still be discerned in Tonga-Inhambane itself from the fact that the person-inflected quotative paradigm is the same as that for identificational pronominals; thus, *khiso* of (22) alone can also mean 'it is them' referring to a class-8 noun.[7]

There are several other similarities of Tonga-Inhambane *(-)khV-* with Egyptian *j(n)* and Akkadian *enma/umma*, supporting the hypothesis about a similar history. First, the speaker-inflected quotative *kh-* illustrated in (22) has developed to

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[7] The situation, especially with nouns, is more complex, though, because the reconstructed vowel *a changed in the pronominal paradigm to *u* or *i*, which arguably was transferred to contexts with lexical nouns in the more frequent identificational but not in the quotative structure; hence quotative [*kha* Noun] vs. identificational [*khu* Noun].

a general quotative~complementizer which is also used as a quote orienter in bipartite quotative indexes, as in (24); this can be recruited for both direct and indirect reported discourse.

(24) nyamayi adi-wujisa **kh-uye** {...}
woman.1 1:PST-ask Q-1PRO
The woman asked saying, "... (Lanham 1955: 140)

Second, Tonga-Inhambane **khV* has developed a polyfunctionality pattern that is similar to Egyptian *jn* in yet another respect: it not only involves functions in non-verbal predication and reported discourse but also serves as a marker of syntactically peripheral participants, among them the agent in passives (cf. Lanham 1955: 141, footnote 1; 212-3).

In Güldemann (2008: 368-9) I have proposed another potential case of a reconstructable speaker-predicating pattern, namely the Hausa quotative index based on *cee*. Synchronically, *cee* is a typical case of a quotative verb in the sense that it is virtually restricted to reported discourse and displays various conjugational irregularities. The normal pattern of a quotative index with *cee* has already been illustrated in (2) above. As in the previous cases, the verb (in its nominalized form *ceèwaa*) has developed to a complementizer in a bipartite structure that is virtually restricted to indirect reported discourse.

(25) sai ya tàmbàyee ni **ceèwaa** {...}
then 3M.S:PFV ask 1S COMP
dann fragte er mich [then he asked me]: "... (Wolff 1993: 516)

The main reason for the idea that the verb might have a similar origin to the previous quotatives is the observation that *cee* and its dialectal variants *tane, cane, cene* show a clear formal relation to some gender-sensitive identificational and presentational markers of Hausa. For example, *cee* is segmentally identical to the feminine form of the paradigm of postposed identificational markers: *nee* (M.S), *cee* (F.S), *nee* (P) (cf. Wolff 1993: 494-5; Newman 2000: 161, 545-7); thus consider (26).

(26)a. mootàa **cee**
car.F.S F.S.ID
es ist ein Auto [it is a car]
b. wannàn mootàa **cee**
this.F.S car.F.S F.S.ID
dies ist ein Auto [this is a car] (Wolff 1993: 494)

The present hypothesis implies several changes in the morphosyntax of the element, such as gender neutralization towards the feminine form and increasing

verbification to a quotative verb, as it no longer immediately follows the speaker nominal but instead an inflectional complex typical for verbal clauses. Whether this scenario is feasible needs to be clarified by more detailed historical research, though.

Summarizing the above information, there is robust evidence from several languages for the hypothesis that identificational and/or presentational structures with scope over a nominal referring to the source of a reported text have been recruited as a regular quotative index for direct reported discourse. Since these cases have heretofore evaded recognition, certain properties of the nucleus of these constructions should be considered as important heuristics for the detection of an unusual history, namely its non-verbal behavior or at least defective verbal character and/or its marked morphosyntax, notably possible pronominal co-variation with the speaker referent other than canonical subject-verb agreement. In those cases where the acquisition of verbal features by the earlier non-verbal predicator can be diagnosed - namely Egyptian, Tonga-Inhambane, and probably Hausa - one can speak of LEXICALIZATION, more specifically what I have called “verbification”. That is, the element in question, assumed to originate in a grammatical particle, acquires morphosyntactic and semantic properties which are typical for an open part-of-speech class, namely verb lexemes. This “becoming-a-(like)-verb” is associated with the gradual category shift of the construction as a whole, namely from a non-clausal to a monoclausal quotative index.

Another common denominator of these cases emerges from their history of GRAMMATICALIZATION, namely the employment of the structure in a bipartite quotative index in conjunction with a verbal predicate, thus expanding into contexts of indirect reported discourse. This development is sketched in Figure 2 by the four constructional stages (only Akkadian and Hausa have reached the last stage).

1	[	(QUOTE)	[**PRES/ID SPEAKER**]	(QUOTE)]
2	[[SPEAKER + SPEECH.CLAUSE]	(QUOTE)	[**PRES/ID SPEAKER**]	(QUOTE)]
3	[[SPEAKER + SPEECH.CLAUSE]		[**Q∼COMP SPEAKER**]	QUOTE]
4	[[SPEAKER + SPEECH.CLAUSE]		**Q∼COMP**	QUOTE]

Figure 2: Simplified historical development from non-clausal to monoclausal bipartite quotative indexes across the historical cases

Lexicalization and grammaticalization, although in principle different and independent, can have in these cases one important point in common: an earlier non-clausal quotative index of the speaker-predicating type becomes disguised as a canonical verbal form, either as the nucleus of a monoclausal structure or as the verb-like quote orienter of a biclausal bipartite structure.

2.2 Modern cases

The historical scenario reconstructed above receives support from the fact that the assumed original structure of a nominal predication of identification or presentation is also attested as a quotative index in modern languages. The cases that have come to my attention will be briefly presented below.

One such case, the colloquial English construction [*this is* SPEAKER] observed in the language of adolescents in London (Cheshire and Fox 2007), is treated in more detail in this volume so that it is sufficient to only highlight here some important points for the present discussion. The use of this quotative index is reported by the authors to be restricted to direct reported discourse, and is strongly preferred by female speakers in conversational self-reporting narratives in the historic present. With respect to formal characteristics, consider first the following examples:

(27) **This is my mum** {what are you doing? I was in the queue before you}

(28) **This is them** {what area are you from . what part?} **This is me** {I'm from (inner London)}

The speaker nominal after the identificational predicate can be recruited from a wide range of types but pronouns seem to occur more frequently. The authors call this nominal "subject", but it is clear from word order and case marking (cf. (28) with non-subject pronouns) that this characterization is inadequate. In view of the previously used term "non-clausal" in the sense of verbal and the cases discussed in §2.1, this English pattern is different, because it is based besides the demonstrative identifier *this* on the equational verb *be*; I will postpone the discussion of this point to §3. Another interesting point from a more general perspective is the apparent existence of another just slightly different English quotative structure already documented by Milroy and Milroy (1977: 54-6, so cited by Cheshire and Fox), namely [*here is/was* SPEAKER] based on the presentational deictic adverb *here*. This implies that one and the same language can potentially recruit nominal predications of both the identificational and the presentational type.

According to Dejan Matic (p.c.), to whom I owe all the following information, colloquial Serbo-Croatian is another case where a presentational clause can also be employed as a consistently preposed construction with direct reported discourse, as illustrated in (29).

(29) i **evo** (ti) **njega** {...}
and here (2S:DAT) 3M.S:GEN
And there he says [lit.: and here (for you) of him], "...

Example (30) demonstrates that this quotative index is identical with a canonical presentational construction.

(30) evo (ti) Petr-a (or eto (ti) Petra with the distal deictic 'there')
here (2S:DAT) PN-GEN
(T)here is Peter (for you)!

As in previous cases, the speaker referent is not encoded in the typical form for subjects; here it is in the genitive case. Another specialty of the Serbo-Croatian pattern is the optional occurrence of the clitic form *ti* of the so-called "ethical dative", which in general expresses a special interest felt by the person indicated, in (29) the audience of the reporter who utters the reported discourse construction (the non-clitic alternative *tebi* or even a form other than 2nd-person singular is not possible). Finally, quotative indexes as in (29) are also preceded repeatedly by a particle *kad*, which normally means 'when' but apparently does not perform this function in the context at issue.

With respect to the discourse features of this quotative pattern, too, it is comparable with the English case in that its typical genre is spoken colloquial narratives. It occurs especially in contexts where the reporter wants to vividly perform a dynamic intercourse between narrative characters, in particular involving quote content that is unexpected and remarkable before the background of the previously available information.

I assume that more in-depth studies in other languages will reveal cases in addition to English and Serbo-Croatian. Just to give a further example, the following structure is, although arguably an occasional ad-hoc formation, a possible quotative index in colloquial Portuguese; it is based on the deictic adverb *aí* 'there' followed by the speaker nominal:

(31) **aí** **os** **gajos** {...}
there the guys
the guys were/said like, "...

While the previous examples are all from European languages, it can be expected that similar structures are also employed outside Europe. A case in point is the Polynesian language Tongan. According to Broschart (1994: 64) the following reported discourse construction in which the quote precedes the quotative index is attested in the spoken language:

(32) {alu atu!} **ko** **Sione**
{go away!} Q PN
"Go away!" said John. [lit.: it is John] (Jürgen Broschart p.c.)

The central element *ko* of this quotative index is a highly versatile element which has received quite some attention in grammatical descriptions of the language, although its quotative use is not described in the sources available to me except for Broschart's short mention. While *ko* is commonly treated as a polyfunctional preposition, it emerges from studies like Churchward (1953: 100-5), Broschart (1994: 49-50, 57-61, 66-70, 74-94), and Custis (2004: 18-47, 124-63) that its overall functional profile is in fact quite comparable to that of Egyptian *jn* and Tonga-Inhambane *kha~khV-*. One use of *ko* can be characterized as the syntactic nucleus in nominal predication. This function, which I would assume to be the original one, can motivate its occurrence in complex bipartite cleft-like structures (among them those with focus function), as a marker of peripheral participant roles (e.g., essive 'as/being X'), and also, as opposed to the elements of Egyptian and Tonga-Inhambane, as an essential element in equational clauses. In (33) *ko* is illustrated in the context most relevant for the present discussion, namely as the predicator of a clause which according to the translation can be both identificational and presentational.

(33) ko e tamasi'i
ID/PRES DET boy
es/da ist ein Junge [it/there is a boy] (Broschart 1994: 58)

Summarizing the findings regarding the modern cases of speaker-predicating quotative indexes, the following points can be made. First, they all are restricted to direct reported discourse and pertain to the domain of colloquial and spontaneous oral language use, which presumably is the reason that they are normally not described in grammatical descriptions. From those cases which have received more detailed linguistic reflection it can also be concluded that they are pragmatically marked, having a particularly vivid and highlighting flavor, and are partly in competition with other similarly marked strategies.

3 Speaker-predicating quotative indexes as a cross-linguistic type

In the following, I try to relate the historical cases discussed in §2.1 with the modern cases of §2.2. In spite of the very different status of these two groups in the grammar of the relevant languages I would venture that a quite robust common pattern emerges. After outlining this common ground I conclude that one can speak of a unitary cross-linguistic type of what I call speaker-predicating quotative index.

One first shared point concerns in fact their linguistic treatment in the past in the sense that until recently they have been quite elusive. For the historical cases, the present reconstructed scenario had not been entertained before (Tonga-Inhambane, Hausa) or had not found its way into the typological discussion on quotative indexes (Egyptian, Akkadian). With the modern cases the research dedicated to them was very limited or even non-existing; moreover, the first closer attention to them came out of sociolinguistic and discourse-oriented rather than morphosyntactic research on the relevant languages. The net result is that grammatical descriptions would mostly not reveal the very existence of these structures. I think that, although the elusiveness of the historical and modern cases is different in nature, the reason for it is the same, namely the strong tendency in typologically oriented research to simplistically see the essence of a quotative index in a monoclausal event-oriented pattern of the type [SPEAKER SPEECH.VERB] and thus overlook structures which deviate from it. That this is a misleading approach to the formal design of reported discourse is, however, increasingly recognized - the present volume is one telling example for this important point (cf. also several contributions in Güldemann and Roncador (eds.) 2002).

The structures presented above also seem to share considerable formal similarities, even though the empirical data for both the modern and historical cases are still partly unclear or simply insufficient. Most importantly all the structures presented above share that they are nominal predications with a focusing function with scope over a nominal that refers to the source, aka speaker, of an associated direct quote – hence the term “speaker-predicating” introduced here. Recall from §1.2 that there exist other non-clausal quotative indexes with a similar foregrounding function, namely those which are semanto-syntactically more oriented to the quote itself. Consider, for example, such foregrounding and often non-clausal structures in European languages as with English *like*, German *so* ‘like this’ (Golato 2000), and Swedish *ba* ‘just’ (Eriksson 1995), which partly have been intensively studied by now and are also treated again in this volume.

It is, of course, necessary to determine whether a foregrounding device in a quotative index is oriented to the speaker or the quote. Depending on the overall structure of an individual language, this is not always a trivial issue. A good diagnostic is at least the presence vs. absence of covariation with the speaker category. Such a distinction, if subtle, can be shown to be relevant in Shona. This language uses two relevant markers, presentational *ha-* and identificational *ndi-*, in a

context that is intimately related to direct reported discourse (see further below), namely for the introduction of ideophones. Consider the following two examples.

(34) **imbwá héyo** {pikú nyáma mu-mbá washu
9.dog PRES:9.DEM {IDEO:snatch meat INE-house IDEO:run.off
toro}
IDEO:disappear
There is the dog taking the meat from the house, running off and disappearing (Fortune 1971: 250)

(35) **imbwá ndi-ye** {nyama pikú mu-mbá so-muridzi}
9.dog ID-PRO {meat IDEO:snatch INE-house ESS-owner
As for the dog, it is a taking of the meat from the house as its owner; viz. The dog took the meat from inside the house as if it were its owner (Fortune 1971: 250)

While in both sentences the initial agent noun *imbwá* 'dog' is linked to the event-encoding ideophone phrase based on *pikú* 'snap' by means of a non-verbal predicator only the presentational *ha*-form in (34) agrees in person, gender, and number with its preceding noun. The pronominal *ye* suffixed to identificational *ndi*- in (35) is invariable, which suggests strongly that this construction rather foregrounds the following ideophone phrase (or alternatively its initial noun *nyama*?). Only this non-agreeing form *ndiye* is mentioned by Fortune to be used also with direct reported discourse, as in (36).

(36) **ndi-ye** {sárái}
ID-PRO {stay! = goodbye!}
and he said, Goodbye; [contextual meaning:] and he died (Fortune 1971: 252)

Therefore, I conclude for Shona that the *ndiye* construction is evidence for a non-clausal identificational quotative index but that it does not refer to a specific speaker referent and is thus not of the speaker-predicating type. Note, however, that the Shona presentational marker *ha*- is a likely cognate of the identificational-quotative marker *kha*~*khV*- of Tonga-Inhambane discussed in §2.1 (cf. Güldemann 1996: 202-7), so that a more abstract functional pattern emerges here.

From the comparison of the predicative bases of the above quotative indexes one must diagnose a certain amount of diversity. As pointed out, normally the structure displays a non-verbal predicator. This, however, varies in being either presentational (English - *here*-type, Serbo-Croatian, Portuguese) or identificational (English - *this*-type).

In the historical cases its specific nature remains unclear, because the earliest meaning or function of a given element which was the input for the quotative use need not be the same as that inferred from its other/later functions. Note in this respect that all four cases, Egyptian, Akkadian, Tonga-Inhambane, and Hausa, involve comparative evidence according to which the element in question can be argued to both display presentational and identificational uses within the respective family. The clarification of this question is compounded by the fact that even synchronically the distinction between these two functions may be difficult to make in individual languages, as the above case of Tongan *ko* in (33) with both an identificational and presentational reading seems to suggest.

As is clear from the existence of the English pattern [*this/here is* SPEAKER] based on *be*, non-verbal predicators are not the only option in speaker-predicating quotative indexes implying that they are not necessarily "non-clausal".

In spite of all these morphosyntactic differences regarding the nature of the predication, I would, nevertheless, identify a common structural denominator. In an unmarked event-oriented monoclausal quotative index 'X said' the speaker is normally encoded as the topical subject about which the verb predicates an event; it is thus a categorical, as opposed to thetic, statement in the sense of Sasse (1987). This is clearly opposed to the speaker-predicating structures at issue: here, the speaker nominal is in pragmatic and syntactic terms not treated as a topical participant to be elaborated by further information; this gives this structure its thetic character.[8] This marked detopicalization of the speaker~agent in turn seems to be related to the phenomenon observed by Matras and Sasse (eds., 1995) and Güldemann (2008: 63-4) that some languages display thetic devices even in quotative indexes which display a verbal clause.

Another conclusion regarding formal properties of speaker-predicating quotative indexes is that they are in principle free with respect to their order vis-à-vis the quote. While most cases are preposed to the quote, Egyptian and Tongan (also) display the postposed and/or intraposed patterns. It is an issue of future research to investigate whether it is coincidence that exactly these two languages are the ones with basic VSO clause order (the other languages are all SVO except for Akkadian, which is SOV, presumably innovated due to language contact). Note in

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[8] The status of the speaker as a non-topical agent can even hold for non-grammaticalized cases of participant-oriented quotative indexes, as shown in §1.3 by the Saharan languages which encode the speaker nominal by the marker *yè* which has precisely this function.

this respect that I have so far not come across postposed quotative indexes with exclusive participant reference, whether grammaticalized or not, in head-final SOV languages (cf. (5) and (7)-(12) in §1.3 as relevant non-grammaticalized cases from Kunama and Saharan, respectively). Due to the limited data and the fact that the order of quotative index and quote is a far more complex matter (see Güldemann (2008: §3.2) for more extensive discussion), typological generalizations regarding non-clausal participant-oriented quotative indexes in general and speaker-predicating ones in particular must await further research on a wider data base.

Despite the limited amount of data at hand, one can also discern properties which the eight cases share in functional terms. One first point is that they are quite "canonical" in this respect, even though their form is definitely not a normal one. I refer to my above typological generalization that the most central ingredient of quotative indexes is speaker representation. Moreover, this role is not just fulfilled by the structure at issue; it is its only semantic content and this is even made more salient in pragmatic terms. This salience of the speaker as a non-topical agent is clearly reflected in its marked syntactic exposition and, if relevant, the accompanying morphology. In this sense speaker-predicating quotative indexes are actually good representatives of their expression type. They should not be treated as exceptional but rather as representing a specific variant of a more universal theme: like a number of other structural types without semantically specific verbs of speech, cognition etc., they background the implied state of affairs in invoking it only indirectly.

Another functional commonality of the language-specific structures is that they are originally restricted to direct reported discourse. This is particularly clear in the modern cases but also holds for the reconstructed historical cases of Egyptian and Akkadian in their earliest attestation. The expansion into indirect reported discourse is clearly associated with increasing grammaticalization – a phenomenon which applies to most other types of quotative indexes with an initial bias to direct quotes. Moreover, the cases which are better characterized in terms of their discourse properties, namely English and Serbo-Croation, seem to indicate that the respective quote representation has a particularly high degree of pragmatic salience and stylistic expressivity. As one should expect, this property is also observed in more elaborate descriptions of non-grammaticalized cases of participant-oriented quotative indexes (cf. the quote by Lukas (1953: 177) on the relevant strategy in the Saharan language Tubu in §1.3).

Admittedly the data presented here are limited indeed. I would dare to venture, however, that the functional properties identified last are systematic rather than coincidental. Under this hypothesis, the place of these structures in the overall domain of reported discourse can be determined more precisely. This is related to a more comprehensive, though so far less common approach to reported discourse as a whole proposed by Güldemann (2008). One important aspect of this approach (developed in detail, e.g., by Roncador 1988) is that reported discourse is viewed as a scalar domain between the opposite poles of maximally direct and maximally indirect reported discourse; the different focal categories on this scale are determined by a specific kind and degree of interference by the reporter perspective. The direct end of the categorial scale, which is relevant here, can be characterized by the least amount of reporter interference – relevant expressions pretend to reproduce/perform the reported part as close to the alleged original as possible.

Viewed from this perspective, I have proposed in Güldemann (2008: §4.4), to which the reader is referred for more details, that direct reported discourse, so viewed primarily as the enactment of linguistic behaviour, pertains to a wider linguistic domain that also includes expressions unrelated to reported discourse, such as iconic representational gestures, non-linguistic sound imitations (mostly by means of the speech organs), as well as ideophones and related lexical signs. I call this domain "mimesis" and define it with respect to its relevance in modern human languages as follows:

> Mimesis in language is a second mode of representing states of affairs in addition to the descriptive mode with canonical linguistic signs; it evokes for both speaker and hearer a sensory perception rather than a mental representation - this by expressive, iconic means like sound symbolism, suprasegmental speech modulation and representational gestures.

Mimesis as such is not a purely linguistic phenomenon but a far more general cognitive capacity of humans that can be argued to have preceded language itself. Donald (1998: 49) writes:

> Mimesis is a non-verbal representational skill rooted in kinematic imagination - that is, in an ability to model the whole body, including all its voluntary action-systems, in three-dimensional space. This ability underlies a variety of distinctively human capabilities, including imitation, pantomime, iconic gesture, imaginative play and the rehearsal of skills. My hypothesis is that mimesis led to the first fully intentional representations early in hominid evolution, and set the stage for the later evolution of language.

The specific nature of mimesis in language is its relation to the unmarked linguistic expression of propositional content by means of "normal" verbal signs, whereby the performance character of mimesis is not only associated with a distinct kind of representation but also tends to have typical discourse properties, in particular to increase the involvement of speaker and hearer within communication. This is clearly related to the previous characterization of the opposition between (extreme) direct and indirect reported discourse. Direct reported discourse can thus be modeled as a true intersection of the two domains mentioned, whereby each has some categories not shared with the other domain, that is, non-mimetic (e.g., extreme indirect) reported discourse on the one hand and non-reporting mimesis like gesture etc. on the other hand. This is schematized in Figure 3.

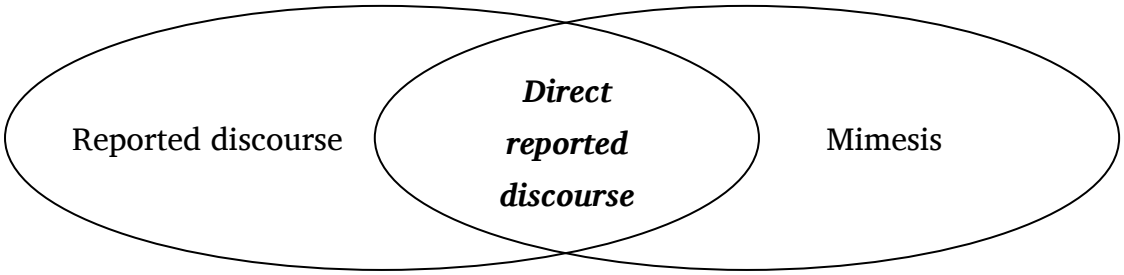

Figure 3: Direct reported discourse as an intersection of two domains

The mimetic character of direct reported discourse can be expected to entail certain implications for its formal expression, one aspect being the structure of the quotative index. In particular, I present evidence in Güldemann (2008) that structures which are propositionally truncated and involve a foregrounding of the quote and its source are overall typical for the more mimetic types of reported discourse. The strong pragmatic sensitivity of mimesis also leads me to assume that it is the reported discourse structures associated with it that are the most subject to linguistic innovation and feed historical change in the overall encoding system.

The speaker-predicating quotative indexes at issue here seem to fall precisely in this range, both in terms of the type of quote representation (direct aka mimetic) and, as far as this can be discerned, the discourse properties (salient information). These properties are reflected in their form: the linguistic material involved is semantically reduced to the speaker reference, but pragmatically employs foregrounding devices. The possible expectation that such thetic nominal predications are suitable for mimetic expressions in general is indeed borne out by some empirical data in that they are also employed for mimesis other than direct reported discourse; one such example has been briefly presented above with the case of Shona, exemplified in (34) and (35), in which both presentational and

identificational clauses, which in other languages index direct quotes, are recruited also for the introduction of ideophones.

Before the background of my hypothesis that speaker-predicating quotative indexes are designed for mimetic direct reported discourse an important problem arises, however, regarding the data at hand. Apart from their overall limited amount, they clearly involve a kind of "empirical gap" (provided, of course, that at least some of my reconstructions in §2.1 are adequate). On the one hand, there are the historical cases, which hardly reflect the supposedly inherent pragmatic features and whose grammaticalization history implies a high degree of previous routinization. On the other hand, there are the very young colloquial instances which are apparently in competition with equally innovative alternative strategies.

Obviously, languages differ greatly as to what type of linguistic expression is subject to increasing conventionalization; what in one language becomes a default structure remains in another language idiosyncratic, unstable and/or substandard. Nevertheless, one would wish to find cases which are in between the two extremes attested in the data of this article. This could throw light on the question under what structural and sociolinguistic conditions such a pattern develops towards a default quotative index, even to the extent that, under my analysis in §2.1, it becomes structurally "streamlined" according to the form of a normal event-referring verbal clause. Obviously, the future study of speaker-predicating quotative indexes promises to be an interesting field for both morphosyntactic and sociolinguistic research.

Abbreviations

AGT agent, ANA anaphoric, COMP complementizer, D dual, DAT dative, DEM demonstrative, DET determiner, EMPH emphatic, ERG ergative, ESS essive, EXCL exclamation, F feminine, GEN genitive, ID identification, IDEF indefinite, IDEO ideophone, INE inessive, LOC locative, M masculine, MIN minimal number, NOM nominative, OBJ object, OBL oblique, P plural, PAP perfect(ive) active participle, PERF perfect, PFV perfective, PN personal name, POSS possessive, PRES presentational, PRO pronoun, PRS present, PST past, Q quotative, QV quotative verb, REL relative, S singular

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