Reported speech in Botlikh

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Reported speech

Reported speech consists of a represented utterance (R) and a framing clause (M) (Spronck & Nikitina 2019)

In canonical typology: R can be direct or less direct speech based on the degree of adjustment to the current interlocutor's perspective (Evans 2013)

(1) Grev said: "I'm clearing up these typological conundrums."

(2) Grev said that he was clearing up these typological conundrums.

Reported speech in Botlikh

(3) azar-c'ida   hiƛ'-u du-qi:
     thousand-MULT say-AOR you-APUD
     [kʷat'a-basːi]=**talu**
     be_late-PROH=QUOT
     '[I] told you a thousand times: "Don't be late!"'

     (Саидова & Абусов 2012)

Reported speech in Botlikh

▶ A typical RS construction in Botlikh consists of a framing clause and a represented utterance marked with the quotative particle *talu* (optionally accompanied by two more particles: *χul* and *k'ul*)

▶ The R is rendered either as direct speech, or as non-direct speech where a reflexive pronoun functions as a logophor (other deictic elements are unchanged)

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▶ Some descriptions of other East Caucasian languages analyze such constructions as a type of complementation, e.g. Haspelmath (1996: 182–187)

Reported speech

Spronck & Nikitina (2019: 120): "Reported speech constitutes a dedicated syntactic domain, i.e. crosslinguistically it involves a number of specific/characteristic phenomena that cannot be derived from the involvement of other syntactic structures in reported speech, such as subordination."

Aim

The aim of this talk is mostly descriptive $\rightarrow$ investigate the morphosyntactic properties of reported speech in Botlikh ~~and the functional distribution and origins of the quotative particles~~.

Botlikh

- Unwritten minority language of Dagestan
- Andic < Avar-Andic < Avar-Andic-Tsezic < East Caucasian
- Spoken in three villages by ~5000–8000 people
- Threatened but still passed on to children

Botlikh

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- ► Spoken in three villages by ~5000–8000 people
- ► Threatened but still passed on to children
- ► Left-branching, ergative alignment, neutral SOV word order, non-finite strategies for clause combining (converb chaining, participial relative clauses, complements headed by participles or action nominals)

Data

- 294 examples with RS particles (353 tokens)
- Additional examples with speech clauses
- Two dictionaries (Саидова & Абусов 2012, Алексеев & Азаев 2019) (Dict1, Dict2)
- Small text corpus (~15,000 words, mostly folklore) from Gudava (1962) and Азаев (1975) (Txts1, Txts2)
- ~~Consultation with native speakers~~

R as an independent utterance

▶ R is mostly direct speech

▶ Deictic elements are not adjusted (based on limited data), except for third person pronouns (demonstratives) in the non-direct speech construction, cf. Forker (2019)

Reflexives as logophors

Direct speech

(4)   den bujχa   w-ãʔ-a   ida=**talu** hiƛ'-u
    I   Botlikh.LAT M-go-CVB COP=QUOT say-AOR
    wacːu-di
    brother-ERG
    '"I've gone to Botlikh," said the brother.'

(Gudava 1962)

Reflexives as logophors

Non-direct speech

(5)   in-du-w   wacːi   armi-łi-ku
       REFL-PL.OBL-M(GEN) brother army-IN-EL
       hi<n>ʁʷ-a=**talu**   hiλ'-u   hu-lu-di
       come<M>-AOR=QUOT say-AOR DEM-PL.OBL-ERG
       'They said that their brother came back from
       the army.'

                                              Dict2

Verbs in M

- ▶ Which verbs can introduce a *talu* construction?
- ▶ Majority of examples are with (*hi*)*ƛ'i* 'say' (183/296)
- ▶ Verbs that can logically introduce a verbalized thought: tell, inform, hear, ask, request, answer, complain, beg, call, scream, curse, think, remember, be surprised, hope

Verbs in M

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▶ Verbs that can logically introduce a verbalized thought: tell, inform, hear, ask, request, answer, complain, beg, call, scream, curse, think, remember, be surprised, hope

▶ But also non-complement taking verbs: cry (i.e. плакать :)), laugh, argue (lit. 'a conflict happened', tease, beat up, be

Verbs in M

(6) in-du-χa   artist-al
     REFL-PL.OBL-APUD.LAT artist-PL
     hi\<r\>ʁa=**talu**   r-uk'-a   hu-l
     come\<AN.PL\>=QUOT AN.PL-be-AOR DEM-PL
     'They said that [some] artists came to
     them/their place.'

     Dict1

Position of M

▶ M can be a finite or a non-finite clause (converbal anterior clause or a relative clause)
▶ Finite clauses can precede the quote or follow it
▶ Non-finite clauses always follow the quote
▶ Sometimes there are 2 M's

2 M's?

(7) go-šːu-χi   hiƛ'-u   ida: ella=**k'ul**   min
     DEM-M.OBL-APUD say-CVB COP why=QUOT you
     di-j   hark'ːu-χa di-b   jabluq
     I-F(GEN) wife-APUD I-N(GEN) handkerchief
     kː-i-č'a=**talu**   hiƛ'-u
     give-IS-NEG.AOR=QUOT say-CVB
     '[He] said to him: "*Why* didn't you give my
     handkerchief to my wife?"'

Obligatoriness of M

Not all represented utterances are accompanied by M:

(8)   "ina=la   w-ãʔa=**talu**   mac'ː-ala, čana
        where=Q M-go.AOR=QUOT ask-COND hunt
        w-ãʔa=**talu**   hiƛ'-a!"
        M-go.AOR=QUOT say-IMP
        'If [they] ask where I went, tell them I went
        hunting!' (One character addressing another in
        a story)

<div align="right">Texts1</div>

Obligatoriness of *talu*

talu is not obligatory either

(9)   hena hark'ːu-di hiƛ-u   ida
now wife-ERG say-CVB COP
aznaj-bahaduri-χi: hena di-b   ih-i
Aznaj-Bahadur-APUD now I-N(GEN) do-INF
nahar χu-č'i
thing INAN.COP-NEG
'Now [his] wife said to Aznaj-Bahadur: "There's
nothing I can do now (to help you)."

<div align="right">Texts1</div>

Particles

At least in conjunction with a finite clause, non-finite clauses could be an exception

(10) eχːa ga-ɫːi-di   ara ʁ-oba,   ara
      after DEM-NM-ERG here come-IMP here
      ʁ-oba=**talu**=la   hiλ'-u   mac'ː-u
      come-IMP=QUOT=ADD say-CVB ask-AOR
      e-b=χula   du-j   buλ-u=**talu**
      what-N=INAN.Q you.SG-DAT happen-AOR=QUOT
      'After she had said "come here, come here", she asked: "what happened to you?"'

                                                        Texts1

Particles

This only applies to reported speech (not regular transitive constructions)

(11) ga-l=la   hiƛ'-u   nart-al ʁundy
      DEM-N=ADD say-CVB nart-PL sleep
      iš-qa   n-aʔ-a
      home-APUD.LAT AN.PL-go-AOR
      'Having said that, the narts went home to sleep.'

Position of *talu*

Botlikh has ~~two~~ three more quotative particles:
k'ul, χul, łil (only attested in the texts)

talu	k'ul	χul	łil
299	45	7	2

Other particles

- ▶ *k'ul* attaches to a focused constituent, while *talu* marks the right-most edge of the quote

Other particles

(12) rohob b-ih-u   ida: bišti=**k'ul**   di-w
curse N-put-CVB COP you.PL=QUOT I-M(GEN)
kunt'a=la   q'er-o   ih-a-b   na
husband=ADD hurt-AOR do-PST.PTCP-N thing
e-b=χula=**talu**   hiƛ'-u
what-N=INAN.Q=QUOT say-CVB
'[she] cursed: "YOU, what were you doing
hurting my husband?!"'

Other particles

- ▶ *k'ul* attaches to a focused constituent, while *talu* marks the right-most edge of the quote
- ▶ *k'ul* can also immediately precede *talu*
- ▶ Examples with *χul* were few and unclear
- ▶ In one example with all three particles stacked, the order is *=χul=k'ul=talu*

Other particles

(13) imu-di   hiƛ'-u-da   nusa-šːu-χi:
      father-ERG say-CVB-COP son.in.law-M.OBL-APUD
      heč'i q'ʷar-i-χa-m   na   ʔumuru-łi
      most need-IS-INAN.PRS.PTCP-N thing life-IN
      hinu   rehin-łi
      inside marriage-GEN
      taliħ=**χul**=**k'ul**=**talu**
      happiness=QUOT=QUOT=QUOT
      'The father said to the son-in-law: "the most
      important thing in life is a happy marriage."'

                                              Texts2

Complex particles in Andi

▶ Pair of complex quotative particles: *ɬo-ʁo-dːu* (w. aorist) and *ʁo-dːu* (all other tenses)

▶ Particles can optionally split in two: (*ɬo*)*ʁo* marks focus within R, while *dːu* continues to mark the boundary of R

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▶ Particles can optionally split in two: (*ɬo*)*ʁo* marks focus within R, while *dːu* continues to mark the boundary of R

▶ In Botlikh the two "parts" do not necessarily co-occur

▶ *χul* and *k'ul* do not show a correlation with tense

Other particles

Contrastive focus?

(14) ha-ɬ:i-di   mas-ida: nartaw žavhara-ɬi
      DEM-NM.OBL tell-PRF   nart   pearl-GEN
      ƛ'ir-e-ku=**k'ul**   w-aʕ-a   jaq'uta-ɬi
      bridge-SUP-EL=QUOT M-go-AOR ruby-GEN
      ƛ'ir-e-ku=**ɬil**   ʁ-i=**talu**
      bridge-SUP-EL=QUOT come-IMP=QUOT
      'She said: "The nart (giant from the Caucasus)
      went over the pearl bridge, so come over the
      ruby bridge."'

                                                  Texts2

Other functions of *talu*

▶ Naming

(15) hadžibe=**talu** λ'-a-b mus-e
      hadžibe=QUOT say-PST.PTCP-N place-SUP
      'In the place called "Hadzhibe"

Other functions of *talu*

▶ Naming

    (15)   **hadžibe**=**talu**   ƛ'-a-b   mus-e
                  hadžibe=QUOT say-PST.PTCP-N place-SUP
                  'In the place called "Hadzhibe"

▶ Simulation → This is significant, because to my
knowledge it is unattested in other languages of
the family (as opposed to e.g. purposive
constructions)

Simulation

Elicitation: "The child is pretending to be sick."

Total 12 speakers
8 translations with FUNCTIVE
2 translations with QUOTATIVE
2 translations with a SIMILATIVE ATTRIBUTIVIZER

Simulation

(16) mak'i k'ʷaħal=**łun** w-iʁ-ata   ida
      child sick=FUNC M-stop-PROG.CVB COP
      'The child is pretending to be sick.'

                                              (+14 | -10)

(17) mak'i k'ʷaħal=**talu** w-iʁ-ata   ida
      child sick=QUOT M-stop-PROG.CVB COP
      'The child is pretending to be sick.'

                                              (+24 | -5)

17 preferred (16), 25 preferred (17)

Discussion

- ▶ Reported speech in Botlikh is a distinct syntactic domain where R is a relatively independent utterance that mostly conveys direct speech
- ▶ It does not look like a type of complementation
- ▶ Neither M nor the quotative particle are obligatory to introduce R
- ▶ Constructions with a non-finite M seem to be more rigid in terms of the presence of the particle as well as the order of R + M
- ▶ More (field) data is needed

Discussion

► If the quotative particle is optional, is there a functional difference between + particle / - particle?

► The etymology of the Botlikh particle(s) remains unclear; in other languages they derive from speech verbs, perhaps the function of simulation in Botlikh is a clue?

► The distribution of the non-final particles also remains largely unclear: in closely related languages (Andi, Godoberi) analogous items mark an unusual type of "tense concord", but this analysis does not work for Botlikh

Abbreviations I

Abbreviations II

MULT	multiplicative numeral	3
N	neuter	18, 20–22, 25, 27, 31, 32
NEG	negative	18, 20
NM	non-masculine	21, 30
OBL	oblique	13, 16, 18, 27, 30
PL	plural	13, 16, 22, 25
PRF	perfect	30
PROG	progressive	34
PROH	prohibitive	3
PRS	present	27
PST	past	25, 31, 32
PTCP	participle	25, 27, 31, 32
Q	question particle	19, 21, 25
QUOT	quotative	3, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 25, 27, 30–32, 34
REFL	reflexive	13, 16
SG	singular	21
SUP	super locative	30–32

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