

What is a quotative evidential, and does it exist?

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Evidentiality

Evidentiality specifies *access* to information about X

Three main categories

- ▶ Direct / personal experience
- ▶ Inference
- ▶ Verbal report

Verbal report

Table 1: The subdomain of verbal report in typology

Willett 1988	Aikhenvald 2004	de Haan 2005	Plungian 2010
Folklore Thirdhand	Reported	Quotative	Reported (with subtypes)
Secondhand	Quotative		

NB: The value reported is often referred to as hearsay.

Semantic domain of evidentiality

Table 2: The reported subdomain

Verbal report	Reported	Secondhand* Thirdhand* Folklore**
	Quotative	

*Only in Mamaindê (Nambikwara) (Eberhard 2018: 350)

**Only in Tonkawa (Athabaskan) (Hoijer 1933: 105–106)

Reported and quotative

HEARSAY / REPORTED, for reported information with *no reference* to who it was reported by

→ 'It is said that X'

QUOTATIVE, for reported information with an *overt reference* to the authorship of the quoted source

→ 'X said Y'

(Aikhenvald 2004: 327), (Aikhenvald 2018: 12)

Reported and quotative

However, as pointed out by [Holvoet \(2018: 244–245\)](#), Aikhenvald also employs a second definition of quotative:

QUOTATIVE: verbal form or a particle introducing a verbatim quotation of what someone else has said

([Aikhenvald 2004: 394](#)), ([Aikhenvald 2018: 43](#))

Reported and quotative

- It remains unclear whether the first and second definition describe different types of linguistic items

Reported and quotative

- ▶ It remains unclear whether the first and second definition describe different types of linguistic items
- ▶ According to some authors, forms marking verbatim quotations are not evidentials ([Holvoet 2018](#)), ([Boye 2012](#): 32)
- ▶ But what about forms used to mark information that comes from an overtly referenced source?

Outline

So what is a quotative evidential, and does it exist?

- ▶ The quotative marker in Botlikh
- ▶ Quotative and reported marking in East Caucasian
- ▶ Quotatives in Cora
- ▶ Non-literal quotation
- ▶ Summary

Reported and quotative in Botlikh

- (1) zini hiǎ'a b-ukɿu=χ^wata
cow down N-fall.AOR=REP
'A cow fell down, *it is said*.'
(Fieldwork 2018) Botlikh (East Caucasian)
- (2) [in.šɿu-č'u arsi guč'i]=talu hiǎ'u
REFL.M-CONT money COP.NEG=QUOT say.AOR
'[He] said that he has no money.'
(Saidova & Abusov 2012) Botlikh (East Caucasian)

Botlikh quotative

- (3) [ilu-χi mas-as:i]=**tal**u hiλ'u
mother-APUD tell-PROH=QUOT say.AOR
di-qi
1SG-APUD
“Don't tell your mother!” I was told.’

(Saidova & Abusov 2012)

Botlikh (East Caucasian)

Botlikh quotative

- (4) di ãha [w-eč'uχa ima
1SG.DAT hear.AOR M-big father
hi<n>ɸ^{wa}]=talɯ
come<HUM.SG>.AOR=QUOT
'I heard that grandfather came.'

(Saidova & Abusov 2012)

Botlikh (East Caucasian)

Botlikh quotative

- ▶ *talū* introduces a complement clause
- ▶ Used with a limited subset of complement-taking verbs
- ▶ Including ‘say’, ‘yell’, ‘ask’
- ▶ But also ‘complain’, ‘hear’, ‘hope’

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- ▶ But also ‘complain’, ‘hear’, ‘hope’
- ▶ Overt reference to a source is not necessary

Direct vs. indirect speech

- ▶ Reported speech constructions are traditionally grouped in direct and indirect speech
- ▶ Direct speech reproduces the original utterance
- ▶ Indirect speech adjusts the utterance to the current speaker's perspective, including deictic markers

Direct vs. indirect speech

- (5) Grev said: “I’m clearing up these typological conundrums.”
- (6) Grev said that he was clearing up these typological conundrums.

(Evans 2013: 68)

Botlikh quotative complements

- ▶ Botlikh quotative complements render direct speech
- ▶ Verb inflection as in the original
- ▶ Personal pronouns too, except:

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- ▶ Verb inflection as in the original
- ▶ Personal pronouns too, except:
- ▶ A reflexive pronoun replaces the third person if it is co-referent with the subject of the speech verb, cf. example (2)

Botlikh quotative

Can occur without a matrix verb

- (7) huš:u-di haʔi-χa ik:u ida
DEM-ERG DEM-APUD.LAT give.CVB COP.PRS
bežun: min=da ʔamd-i azdahu
needle you=EMPH eat-INF dragon
ʔʷaʔa-k'o-riudi, min di-č'u ha-b bežun
come-KO-TEMP you I-CONT DEM-N needle
qind-a=**tal**u
prick-IMP=QUOT

'He gave her the needle: "If the dragon comes to eat you, prick me with this needle."

(**Gudava 1962**)

Botlikh (East Caucasian)

Botlikh quotative

Is not obligatory

- (8) “ina=la w-ãʔa=**tal**u mac’:-ala, čana
where=Q M-go.AOR=QUOT ask-COND hunt
w-ãʔa=**tal**u hiʃ’-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)
- (Gudava 1962) Botlikh (East Caucasian)

Botlikh

- (9) gaš'u-di hiλ'u ida ʕabdal wac'u-χi:
DEM-ERG say.CVB COP.PRS dumb brother-APUD:
ehel den iš-qe=la w-iβu, gaλ:a
today I home-APUD=ADD M-stay.CVB there
hinc'u-č'u w-esqe w-aqaš:i ida,
door-CONT M-behind M-hide-INF COP.PRS,
kurt'a=la kwãdu b-ikku
hammer=ADD in_hands N-grab.CVB
'He said to the dumb brother: "Today I will stay
at home and hide behind the door holding a
hammer."
(Gudava 1962) Botlikh (East Caucasian)

East Caucasian quotatives

- ▶ Quotative particles and clitics marking speech complements are **common** in East Caucasian
- ▶ Dedicated reported/hearsay markers less so, though this could be a descriptive gap
- ▶ Quotatives and reported markers can be diachronically connected

East Caucasian quotatives

- (10) holco načalniki-ya niso-na gey
that.OBL chief-OBL.ERG say-PFV.CVB be.PRS
ali-qa hõs-coy-s öžö dibo gey,
Ali-POSS one-DISTR-GEN1 boy 1SG.GEN1 be.PRS
hõs-coy-s öžö dil
one-DISTR-GEN1 boy(I) 1SG.DAT
Ø-aqa-s-**λo** niso-na
I-become-FUT-QUOT say-PFV.CVB
‘The chief said to Ali, “You have one of the boys,
and I will have another boy.”’
(**Khalilova 2011**: 43) Bezhta (East Caucasian)

East Caucasian quotatives

- (11) **niso-s**, maxačkalali? bežł'a-γa hōs wodo
say-PRS Makhachkala.IN Bezhta-near one day
äydää q'urban wodo y-o:-s-**ło**
early Kurban day(IV) IV-do-PRS=QUOT
niso-na
say-PFV.CVB
‘[*They*] say, the Kurban holiday is celebrated in
Makhachkala one day earlier than in Bezhta.’

(**Khalilova 2011**: 44)

Bezhta (East Caucasian)

East Caucasian quotatives

- (12) hugi biłoγa Ø-ěλ'-eyo-λo
he house.near I-go-PST.W-QUOT
'He went home, *they said*.'

(Khalilova 2011: 44)

Bezhta (East Caucasian)

Quotatives with hearsay function

- ▶ According to **Boye (2010)**, if a morpheme has both quotative and reported uses, the two functions can always be distinguished in context

Quotatives with hearsay function

- ▶ According to **Boye (2010)**, if a morpheme has both quotative and reported uses, the two functions can always be distinguished in context
- ▶ Evidentials scope over *propositions* and indicate the speaker's access (in the case of reported markers through hearsay)
- ▶ They cannot be used with e.g. imperatives
- ▶ Quotatives indicate that an utterance (which can be a proposition, a command, a word, or even a sound) is a quotation
- ▶ They do not specify the speaker's access per se

Reported markers with quotative function

“In most cases evidentiality is limited to declarative and, with certain restrictions, interrogative sentences. Declaratives and interrogatives are related in the sense that both are concerned with the transmission of information. They contrast with basic illocutions that are concerned with influencing behaviour, such as imperatives and hortatives. **Reportativity** allows the combination with both of these types of basic illocution.” (Hengeveld & Hattner 2015: 488–489)

Reported markers with quotative function

- ▶ Hengeveld & Hattner (2015) argue that reported markers belong to a different “layer” of grammar than other evidentials (within the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar)
- ▶ Their argument is based on examples of reported markers from various languages of Brazil that can be used as quotatives

Reported markers with quotative function

- (13) tih=tæⁿhʔín-ǎn=mah tih máh-ǎⁿh
3SG=child.mother-OBJ=REP 3SG hit-DECL
'He beat his wife, *it is said*.'
(Epps 2008: 167) Hup (Naduhup)

Reported markers with quotative function

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3SG=child.mother-OBJ=REP 3SG hit-DECL
'He beat his wife, *it is said*.'
(Epps 2008: 167) Hup (Naduhup)
- (14) $nǎn=mah!$
come=REP
'Come here, she said!'
(Epps 2008: 656) Hup (Naduhup)

East Caucasian quotatives

- ▶ Quotatives commonly originate from speech verbs
- ▶ In East Caucasian and Turkic it often concerns a converbal form
- ▶ Possibly, such quotative complementizers from converbs are a kind of areal feature (Kehayov & Boye 2016: 830–833)
- ▶ Some languages use a ‘say’-converb as a quotative particle, e.g. Sanzhi Dargwa (Forker 2019)

East Caucasian quotatives

- ▶ Attested reported markers look similar to quotatives, suggesting a diachronic relationship
- ▶ Avar has a reported marker *ila* and a quotative *ilan* (and two more similar markers, see Forker (2018))
- ▶ Andi has quotative morphemes *ƙodɯ* and *ƭoƙodɯ*, and reported morphemes *ƭodi* and *ƙodi* (Maisak 2017)
- ▶ The origins of χ^wata and *talɯ* in Botlikh remain unclear (though χ^w-ata is probably a converbal form)

Reported and quotative

- (15) y-én peh yéé wa-híhwa m^wáa,
here-top you:SUBR QUOT COMPL-yell you:SG
yáa pú nú'u hí
PROCOMP SBJ REP SEQ
t^{yí}-r-aa-ta-hée
DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PF-tell
'[[“From right up on top here, you will call out
loud and clear”,]_{QUOTE} that is what she called on
him to do.]_{REP}
(Casad 1992: 152) Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Also cited in Aikhenvald (2004: 57).

Cora quotative

- ▶ *yee* can introduce a speech complement
- ▶ Compatibility with other types of verbs is unclear
- ▶ But often there is no matrix clause or subject
- ▶ The source seems to be retrieved from context (as in Hup, see example (14))
- ▶ *yee* also originates from a speech verb diachronically

Cora quotative

- (16) n^yé-'ik^wa yée ín^yaa
 I-hunger QUOT I
 “I am hungry,” you said.

(Casad 1992: 169)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Cora quotative

A particle *tikin* marks speech complements

- (17) ti'ih=nú'u=hí ayán
CNJ=REP=SEQ thus
t^yí-wa'-u-tá-'i-ša tikin
DISTR-them-COMPL-REFL-towards-say QUOT
[pu'u-rí 'i-ku]
SBJ:PS-now be-EV
‘Then, they say, he thus spoke to them, “Clearly,
it’s all over now.”’
(Casad 1984: 177) Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Cora quotative

yee can be used in an analogous construction:

- (18) ka=mú nú'u ra-a-tá-'išaa yée
 NEG=they REP DISTR:SG-COMPL-PF-tell QUOT
 Húumpi, tʸán=tú ra-a-hé'ika-ta
 Man! we=we DISTR:SG-kill-CAUS
 'They did not tell him, "Man, we are going to kill
 it."

(Casad 1992: 170)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Cora quotative

Conversely, *tikin* can occur without a matrix clause

- (19) **tikin** n^ye-t^yí-hí'i-k^wi'i n^yá'u
 QUOT I-DISTR-NARR-be_sick well
 'He said, "I'm sick, that's all."

(Casad 1984: 178)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Cora Quotative

- ▶ Cora also has a reported marker *nú'u* (shown in example (15))
- ▶ *yee* in constructions without a matrix verb occupies the same (second) position as *nú'u*
- ▶ In its complementizer use, it is in the same position as *tikin*
- ▶ *nú'u* also appears to have quotative use

Cora quotative

- (20) n^yah nú'u
I:SUBR REP
w-ii-rá-h-ra'a-n^yi
inside-trajectory-facing-vertical-leave-FUT
n^y-eyúh-na t^yásta'a
I-inside-PREV cave
'He says that I should get out of this cave.'
(Casad 1984: 255) Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Cora Quotative

Casad (1992) identifies “instructive” use as the source construction for quotative *yée*

- (21) ta-yá'u yée
 our-father QUOT
 ‘Say this word: “our father”’

(Casad 1992: 163)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

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(Casad 1992: 163)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

→ Imperatives are minimally marked in Cora

Cora Quotative

Further it obtained “interpretive” use

- (22) nye-t^yé-m^waarih-ré'e
 I-middle-turtle-exude

A: ‘I smell musty as a tortoise.’

- (23) awíi yée n^yá-m^wa-t^yá-m^waari-n
 well QUOT I-you-middle-visit-PRTC

A: ‘Well, that just means, “I’m coming to visit you.”’

(Casad 1992: 165)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Cora quotative

According to Casad (1992: 169–170), *yée* presents an utterance from the speaker's point of view. It introduces a “hypothetical” utterance, while *tikin* by comparison is a “factual” quotative complementizer (Ibid.: 174).

Cora quotative

- (24) pé-na'ac-á yée ka'in kái yée náa
you-laugh-PRTC QUOT or NEG QUOT well
n-aa-tá'a
me-COMPL-give
“Whether you're laughing or not, get me out of
this mess!” I said.'

(Casad 1992: 169)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Quotatives

(25) She goes, “Mom wants to talk to you.” It’s LIKE,
“Hah, hah. You’re about to get in trouble.”

(Romaine & Lange 1991: 238)

Quotatives

- ▶ According to Romaine & Lange (1991)
- ▶ *say* is the default option to explicitly mark quotation
- ▶ *go* suggests that the quote is not quite literal (*I swear she said that*)
- ▶ *like* conveys the speaker's interpretation; often introduces thoughts, hypothetical utterances

Quotatives

- ▶ **Plungian (2008)** argued that *mol* in Russian indicates a non-literal quote, including thoughts, or utterances that **could** have been spoken in a certain situation

Quotatives

- **Plungian (2008)** argued that *mol* in Russian indicates a non-literal quote, including thoughts, or utterances that **could** have been spoken in a certain situation

Пока я шёл к журавлю-колодцу, во все окошки смотрели на меня люди: что это, мол, за человек идёт? [Юрий Коваль. Чистый Дор (1970)]

Quotatives

- ▶ Holvoet (2018: 248) describes three types of marking: hearsay, quotative, echoic
- ▶ Echoic marks utterances that could have been uttered, but which do not presuppose an underlying utterance

Quotatives

- (26) On sdela-l ošibk-u, a ja za
he make-PST.M.SG mistake-ACC and I for
nego otvečaj.
him.ACC answer.IMP.2SG
'He made a mistake and I am expected to
answer for it!'

(Holvoet 2018: 246)

Russian

Quotatives

- ▶ Quotative and echoic marking form a continuum (note that **Holvoet (2018)** also considers *mol* an echoic marker)
- ▶ One marker can fulfill hearsay, quotative, and echoic functions (the particle *atseit* in Lithuanian)

Similative

- (27) puéere yée mít^yu
 appears QUOT cat
 ‘He looks like a cat’ (i.e. because of his beard)

(Casad 1992: 171)

Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

Similative?

- (28) k'wahal=talu w-iɣ-i
sick=QUOT M-become-INF
'pretend to be sick'

(Alekseev & Azaev 2019)

Botlikh (East Caucasian)

Further extensions

- ▶ Similatives can turn into quotatives and vice versa (Heine & Kuteva 2004)
- ▶ No other examples of a quotative used in a simulative manner from East Caucasian

Further extensions

- ▶ Similatives can turn into quotatives and vice versa (Heine & Kuteva 2004)
- ▶ No other examples of a quotative used in a simulative manner from East Caucasian
- ▶ Quotatives can also develop into markers of purpose and reason clauses in East Caucasian (Forker 2019)
- ▶ And cross-linguistically (Heine & Kuteva 2004)

Reason

- (29) deč-li b-učɿ-ij
 drinking-ERG HPL-drink.IPFV-INF
 haʔ-ib-le
 say.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ka-b-iž-ib-te
 down-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-ATTR.PL
 b-iχ^w-ij heštɿu, aχɿu dam
 HPL-be.PFV-INF here not.know 1SG.DAT
 ‘They probably sit down in order to drink here, I
 do not know.’
 (Forker 2019) Sanzhi Dargwa (East Caucasian)

Naming

East Caucasian quotatives are also used in naming constructions

- (30) kurze=**du** urus:iš-di ruḷ-ija-l
kurze=QUOT Russian-ERG say-PTCP-PL
χink'ilol
khinkal.PL

‘The khinkal which Russians call “kurze”’

(Fieldwork corpus)

Zilo Andi (East Caucasian)

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Zilo Andi (East Caucasian)

→ Cora uses the complementizer *tikin* for this purpose

Summary

- ▶ *yee* in Cora seems to be a regular quotative that reproduces real or imagined utterances
- ▶ Perhaps leaning towards echoic use
- ▶ It can also be used as a quotative complementizer, introducing a quotation embedded to a speech verb and similar matrix verbs
- ▶ It renders a less “factual” quote than the quotative complementizer *tikin*
- ▶ *yee* originates from a speech verb, likely an imperative form

Summary

- ▶ Botlikh *tal* seems more like a quotative complementizer
- ▶ Though on occasion the quotative can be omitted, or it can be used without a matrix clause
- ▶ Its origins remain unclear

Summary

- ▶ Neither type of marker obligatorily carries an overt reference to a source (i.e. an original interlocutor)
- ▶ They mark an utterance as being a quotation, the source is often left implicit
- ▶ The main difference between *yee* and *tal* seems to be that *yee* usually does not require a matrix clause, while *tal* rarely lacks it

Summary

- ▶ East Caucasian quotatives seem typical examples of forms that mark a verbatim quotation
- ▶ Though a lot remains unclear about the functional range and division of labor for reported speech markers in East Caucasian

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- ▶ How are echoic meanings expressed?

Summary

- ▶ East Caucasian quotatives seem typical examples of forms that mark a verbatim quotation
- ▶ Though a lot remains unclear about the functional range and division of labor for reported speech markers in East Caucasian
- ▶ How are echoic meanings expressed?
- ▶ Unclear whether *yee* or other alleged quotative evidentials have syntactic or semantic properties that distinguish them from other quotatives

Abbreviations I

1	first person 11, 12, 23, 58
2	second person 52
3	third person 30, 31
ACC	accusative 52
ADD	additive 21
AOR	aorist 10–12, 20
APUD	apud locative 11, 19, 21
ATTR	attributive 58
CAUS	causative 38
CNJ	conjunction 37
COMPL	completive 34, 37, 38, 46
COND	conditional 20
CONT	cont locative 10, 19, 21
COP	copula 10, 19, 21
CVB	converb 19, 21, 23, 24, 58
DAT	dative 12, 23, 58
DECL	declarative 30, 31
DEM	demonstrative 19, 21
DISTR	distributive 23, 34, 37–39
EMPH	emphatic 19
ERG	ergative 19, 21, 23, 58–60

Abbreviations II

EV	evidential 37
FUT	future 23, 41
GEN	genitive 23
HPL	human plural 58
HUM	human 12
I	i noun class 23, 25
IMP	imperative 19, 20, 52
IN	in locative 24
INF	infinitive 19, 21, 55, 58
IPFV	imperfective 58
IV	iv noun class 24
LAT	lative 19
M	masculine 10, 12, 20, 21, 52, 55
N	neuter 10, 19, 21
NARR	narr 39
NEG	negative 10, 38, 46
OBJ	object 30, 31
OBL	oblique 23
PF	perfect 34, 38
PFV	perfective 23, 24, 58

Abbreviations III

PL	plural 58–60
POSS	possessive 23
PRET	preterite 58
PREV	prev 41
PROCOMP	procomplement 34
PROH	prohibitive 11
PRS	present 19, 21, 23, 24
PRTC	particle 44, 46
PS	ps 37
PST	past 25, 52
PTCP	participle 59, 60
Q	question particle 20
QUOT	quotative 10–12, 19, 20, 23–25, 34, 36–39, 42–44, 46, 54, 55, 59, 60
REFL	reflexive 10, 37
REP	reported 10, 30, 31, 34, 37, 38, 41
SBJ	subject 34, 37
SEQ	sequence 34, 37
SG	singular 11, 12, 23, 30, 31, 34, 38, 52, 58
SUBR	subordinator 34, 41
TEMP	temporal converb 19
W	witnessed 25

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