

Reported speech in Botlikh

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20.11.2020

XVII Конференция по Типологии и Грамматике для Молодых
Исследователей
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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 says: “I am clearing up these typological conundrums”
- (2) Grev said that he was clearing up these typological conundrums

Reported speech in Botlikh

- (3) azar-c'ida hiǰ'-u du-qi:
 thousand-MULT say-AOR you-APUD
 [k^wat'a-bas:i]=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 *talū* (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 → 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

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- ▶ Spoken in three villages by ~5000–8000 people
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- ▶ 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** hiʕ'-u
I Botlikh.LAT M-go-CVB COP=QUOT say-AOR
wacɪu-di
brother-ERG
“I’ve gone to Botlikh,” said the brother.’

(**Gudava 1962**)

Reflexives as logophors

Non-direct speech

- (5) in-du-w waci armi-ɬi-ku
REFL-PL.OBL-M(GEN) brother army-IN-EL
hi<n>ɸ^w-a=talu hiʃ'-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 *tal* construction?
- ▶ Majority of examples are with *(hi)ʒ'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

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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>ka=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-š:u-χi hiλ'-u ida: **ella=k'ul** **min**
DEM-M.OBL-APUD say-CVB COP why=QUOT you
di-j **hark':u-χa** **di-b** **jabluq**
I-F(GEN) wife-APUD I-N(GEN) handkerchief
k-i-č'a=talu hiλ'-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-ã?a=talu** mac’:-ala, **čana**
where=Q M-go.AOR=QUOT ask-COND hunt
w-ã?a=talu hiλ’-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)

Texts₁

Obligatoriness of *talu*

talu is not obligatory either

- (9) hena hark'ru-di hiλ-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)."

Texts₁

Particles

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

- (10) eχ:a ga-ɬi-di ara ɤ-oba, ara
after DEM-NM-ERG here come-IMP here
ɤ-oba=talu=la hiɬ'-u mac':-u
come-IMP=QUOT=ADD say-CVB ask-AOR
e-b=χula du-j buɬ-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 hiʕ'-u nart-al Ɂundy
 DEM-N=ADD say-CVB nart-PL sleep
 iʃ-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*, *ɬil* (only attested in the texts)

talu	k'ul	χul	ɬil
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 hiǎ’-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 $=\chi ul=k'ul=talu$

Other particles

- (13) imu-di hiŋ'-u-da nusa-š'u-χi:
father-ERG say-CVB-COP son.in.law-M.OBL-APUD
heč'i q'war-i-χa-m na ʔumuru-ŋi
most need-IS-INAN.PRS.PTCP-N thing life-IN
hinu rehin-ŋi
inside marriage-GEN
taliḥ=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: *ʔo-ʁo-dʔu* (w. aorist) and *ʁo-dʔu* (all other tenses)
- ▶ Particles can optionally split in two: (*ʔo*)*ʁo* marks focus within R, while *dʔu* continues to mark the boundary of R

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- ▶ Particles can optionally split in two: (*ʔo*)*ʔo* marks focus within R, while *dʔu* continues to mark the boundary of R
- ▶ In Botlikh the two “parts” do not necessarily co-occur
- ▶ *χul* and *kʔul* do not show a correlation with tense

Other particles

Contrastive focus?

- (14) ha-ɬi-di mas-ida: nartaw žavhara-ɬi
 DEM-NM.OBL tell-PRF nart pearl-GEN
 ʁ'ir-e-ku=k'ul w-aʔ-a jaq'uta-ɬi
 bridge-SUP-EL=QUOT M-go-AOR ruby-GEN
 ʁ'ir-e-ku=ɬil ɣ-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** š'-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** ǎ'-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 FUNCTIONAL

2 translations with QUOTATIVE

2 translations with a SIMILATIVE ATTRIBUTIVIZER

Simulation

(16) mak'i k'waha~~l~~=**fun** w-i~~k~~-ata ida
child sick=FUNC M-stop-PROG.CVB COP
'The child is pretending to be sick.'
(+ 14 | - 10)

(17) mak'i k'waha~~l~~=**tal**u w-i~~k~~-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

ADD	additive 21, 22, 25
AN	animate 16, 22
AOR	aorist 3, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 30
APUD	apud locative 3, 16, 18, 20, 22, 27
COND	conditional 19
COP	copula 12, 18, 20, 25, 27, 34
CVB	converb 12, 18, 20–22, 25, 27, 34
DAT	dative 21
DEM	demonstrative 13, 16, 18, 21, 22, 30
EL	elative 13, 30
ERG	ergative 12, 13, 20, 21, 27
F	feminine 18
FUNC	functive 34
GEN	genitive 13, 18, 20, 25, 27, 30
IMP	imperative 19, 21, 30
IN	in locative 13, 27
INAN	inanimate 20, 21, 25, 27
INF	infinitive 20
IS	infinitive stem 18, 27
LAT	lative 12, 16, 22
M	masculine 12, 13, 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 34

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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