

#### The syntax of reported speech: A typological approach

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  - importance of **integration** of corpus work with typological insight

# The grammar of reported speech: Insights from typology

- Special behavior of indexicals
- Special categories
- Special lexical inventories
- Means for demarcating the quote

# Special indexicality patterns

- Indexicals acquire unusual interpretations in the context of reported speech (Schlenker 1999, 2003; Nikitina 2012a; Spronck & Nikitina forthc.)
- 1st, 2nd person = current speaker and listener

The waiter<sub>i</sub> told  $me_j$  that  $he_i$  would bring  $me_j$  more water.

1st person ≠ current speaker; 2nd person ≠ current listener

<u>The waiter<sub>i</sub> told me<sub>j</sub>: "I<sub>i</sub>'ll bring you<sub>j</sub> more water".</u>

1st, 2nd person = current speaker and listener

**OR** 1st person ≠ current speaker; 2nd person ≠ current listener (Havyaka Kannada, Dravidian)

en-na ello:ru-de hogaļuttavu he:ļi ra:ju enna-tre me-ACC all-ЕМРН praise that Raju me-with he:ļiddã

tell.perf

- 'Raju<sub>i</sub> has told me<sub>j</sub>, Everybody praises me<sub>i</sub>.'
- 'Raju<sub>i</sub> has told me<sub>j</sub> that everybody praises me<sub>j</sub>.' (Bhat 2007: 58) *ni:nu be:ga bar-ekku he:li avu hariya-tre he:liddavu* you early come-must that they Hari-with tell.PERF 'They have told Hari<sub>i</sub>, You<sub>i</sub> must come early.'

'They have told Hari<sub>i</sub> (asked him<sub>i</sub> to tell you<sub>j</sub>) that you<sub>j</sub> must go early.' (Bhat 2007: 58)

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1st person = current speaker; 2nd person ≠ current listener (Adioukrou, Kwa, Côte d'Ivoire)

- *li dad wel nene* ony *ùsr* 3sg said.accm them this 2pl.report build.imper
- ir el
- 3sg.obj house
- 'She<sub>i</sub> said to them<sub>j</sub>: You<sub>j</sub> build me<sub>i</sub> a house (lit., you build her a house).' (Hill 1995: 91)
  - ow'n εsε in εkn'ŋ DISJ.REPORT said.ACCM 3SG.REPORT saw.ACCM.2SG.OBJ yogŋ there
  - 'He<sub>i</sub> said, I<sub>i</sub> saw you there (lit., he saw you there).' (Hill 1995

# Special indexicality patterns

- Indexicals acquire unusual interpretations in the context of reported speech (Schlenker 1999, 2003; Nikitina 2012a; Spronck & Nikitina forthc.)
- Specialized types of indexicals are used in reported speech (Hagège 1974; Boyeldieu 2004; Nikitina 2012b).

#### Specialized indexicals

Wan (Mande; Côte d'Ivoire; Nikitina 2012b)

a. bé à nỳ gé bã bé gōmō then 3sG wife said LOG.SG that understood 'And his wife<sub>i</sub> said she<sub>i</sub> understood that.'
b. bé à nỳ gé è gā then 3sG wife said 3sG went 'And his wife said he left.'

#### Specialized indexicals

• Reported speaker = LOG; reported listener = 2<sup>nd</sup> (Wan)

 $\hat{e}$   $g\hat{e}$   $z\hat{o}$   $b\hat{e}$   $l\bar{a}$   $b\bar{a}$   $p\hat{o}l\hat{i}$ 3sg said come then 2sg Log.sg wash 'She<sub>i</sub> said: come and (you) wash her<sub>i</sub>.'

• Reported speaker = LOG.SP; reported listener = LOG.ADR (Goemai)

*k'wal yin* gwa *goe tu* ji talk say SG.M.LOG.ADR OBLIG kill SG.M.LOG.SP '(He<sub>i</sub>) said that he<sub>j</sub> should kill him<sub>i</sub>.' or 'He said: "You should kill me".' (Hellwig 2006: 219)

# Special indexicality patterns

- Indexicals acquire unusual interpretations in the context of reported speech (Schlenker 1999, 2003; Nikitina 2012a; Spronck & Nikitina forthc.)
- Specialized types of indexicals are used in reported speech (Hagège 1974; Boyeldieu 2004; Nikitina 2012b).
- Person mismatches in subject-verb agreement.

## Person mismatches: Donno So (Dogon)

- Logophoric pronoun agrees with the 1<sup>st</sup> person on the verb;
- 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun subjects agree with a neutral person (normally 3<sup>rd</sup> person) verb.
- a. Oumar [inyeme jembo paza bolum] min tagi Oumar LOG sack.DEF drop left.1sG 1sG.OBJ informed 'Oumar<sub>i</sub> told me<sub>j</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> had left without the sack.' (Culy 1994a: 123)
- b. Oumar [ma jembo paza boli] min tagi Oumar 1sG.SUBJ sack.DEF drop left 1sG.OBJ informed 'Oumar<sub>i</sub> told me<sub>j</sub> that  $I_j$  had left without the sack.' (Culy 1994a: 123)

#### Person mismatches: Golin (Papua New Guinea)

you 1sG.OBJ hit-1sG.SUBJ-REP-DIST say-2SUBJ-ASSERT-PROX 'You said you hit me (lit., you "I hit me" you-said).' (Loughnane 2005: 146, glosses from Evans 2005: 114)

- *yal kane* [*ininna si-ra-bin-w-a*] man many us hit-IRR-1PL.SUBJ-REP-DIST *di-n-g-w-e*
- say-3-Assert-3-prox
- 'They say they will hit us (lit., they "we hit us" they-said).'

#### Person mismatches

- a. Karimojong (Eastern Nilotic; Uganda)
  àbù papà tolim ɛbè àlózì iŋèz morotó
  AUX father say that 1sG.go.NPST 3sG Moroto
  'The father said that he was going to Moroto.' (Novelli 1985 531, quoted from Curnow 2002: 9)
- b. Lotuko (Eastern Nilotic; Sudan)

*aati 'daŋ xul ojori 'tɔ jojo* ɛra isi *a* people all REL say PART COMP 1PL.be they PART *xobwok* 

kings

'those who say that they are kings' (Muratori 1938, quoted from von Roncador 1992: 172)

# Special grammatical categories

• Verbal

Selkup (Urmanchieva p.c.): *quotative, reportative, renarrative...* 

Nominal

Nivkh (Nedjalkov & Otaina 2013): *reported nominative* Tu+tulf Muzgun-yan mirn+vo-rox this+winter Muzgun-RNOM we:INCL+village-DAT/ADD layi-na-vu-r it-nt. visit-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND 'They say (that) this winter Muzgun will visit our village.'

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#### Special lexical inventories

• "Ancient Wan" in the discourse of animals, ancestors, supernatural beings:

['They have finished crossing the river, then they said: Have you all finished?'] bé à gé èēē <à gè pó wò lé yò> then 3PL say yes < ANCIENT WAN > 'And they answered: Yes, <we have done it>.'

• "Spirit language" in the narrator's exchanges with the audience

# Means for demarcating the quote

- Quotative markers:
  - occur before or after the quote;
  - may distinguish speech by a character from the narrator's speech (Michael 2014; Lionnet 2017; Voll in progr.);
- prosody (pitch, intensity);
- phonation (creaky voice, whispering), articulation (lisp, syllable insertion);
- facial expression and changes in posture (Quer 2011, Lillo-Martin 2012, Khristoforova & Kimmelman 2018)

# The challenges of studying reported speech

- Discourse phenomena are hard to study based on elicitation
- need for large-scale data collection in natural settings, different genres;
- data analysis must be typologically-informed.

#### From an Adioukrou text collection:

"l'exemple suivant est extrait de la version enregistrée et non corrigée du conte <...>; il illustre **un usage curieux (et non isolé) des personnels de l'énonciation libre**, les premières personnes deviennent des troisième personnes comme on s'y attend, mais les deuxièmes personnes restent ce qu'elles sont <...> La **version revue et corrigée, jugée plus correcte par notre informateur principal bien que le maintien des 2ème personnes soit tout à fait acceptable**, transpose les deuxièmes personnes à la troisième et ce sans aucune ambiguïté de référence..." (Hérault 1978: 171-3)

# Reported speech in African languages: How we study it

- ELAN-CorpoA : a version developed at LLACAN (Chanard 2015)
- Annotation tiers:

## **ELAN-CorpA**

è	gé	zà	Ô	zò	бā	á	gà	lé	
3sg.su	ubj say	today	prt	today	log	сор	go	prog	
						l.		1	
prn	V	adv	prt.fin	adv	prn	pred	V	prt.asp	
says: today oh today I will go.									
Discou	urse Repor	ti  Discour	Discourse Report						
		Statement							
DR Event + Quote									
		Other		Other	RS				

# Reported speech in African languages: How we study it

- ELAN-CorpoA : a version developed at LLACAN (Chanard 2015)
- Annotation tiers:
  - parts of speech reporting constructions (Discourse Reporting Event vs. Discourse Report);
  - type of Discourse Report (question, statement, interjection...);
  - construction type (DR Event + Quote, Quotative marker + Quote, Bare quote...);
  - interpretation of indexicals (person).

# What we learn from corpora: A case study

## Case study: Logophoricity as a speech reporting strategy

Wan (Mande)

a. bé à nỳ gé bã bé gōmō then 3sG wife said LOG.SG that understood 'And his wife<sub>i</sub> said she<sub>i</sub> understood that.'
b. bé à nỳ gé è gā then 3sG wife said 3sG went 'And his wife said he left.'

# The logophoric strategy

- The distinction between direct and indirect speech does not capture the crosslinguistic diversity of speech reporting strategies (Coulmas 1986; Aikhenvald 2008, inter alia).
- Prominent typological approaches to speech reporting are still grounded in the same distinction, cf. approaches based on a direct-indirect continuum (Güldemann & Roncador 2002; Güldemann 2008; Evans 2013).
- Continuum approaches treat non-European strategies as deviations from the direct and indirect ideals.
- The continuum approach treats the logophoric strategy as an intermediate type:
  - semi-direct (Aikhenvald 2008),
  - semi-indirect (Thomas 1978),
  - combined or neutralized (Boyeldieu 2004),
  - bi-perspectival (Evans 2013)...

# The Eurocentric approach

- "The typology of quoted speech has long been a disorderly and unsatisfying area because of the huge number of ways that languages can deviate from the traditional ideals of 'direct' and 'indirect' speech." (Evans 2013: 67)
- "In keeping with Roncador (1988), Roeck (1994) and others, I will conceive of RD [Reported Discourse]-categories as constituting a cross-linguistic domain with a scalar organization between two idealized polar opposites, DRD [Direct Reported Discourse] and "maximal" IRD [Indirect Reported Discourse]" (Güldemann 2008: 9)

# The Eurocentric approach

• Aikhenvald (2008: 416):

"To account for such **intermediate** cases, we suggest that the difference between speech reports, from verbatim quote to indirect speech, be considered as a **continuum**"

direct quote	indirect speech
(1a,b, 33a, 53)	(2a,b, 33b, 50a,b)

'direct speech report' (54)

## Logophoricity: little-explored syntactic properties (Nikitina & Bugaeva in prog.)

- lexical restrictions (licensing by specific verbs);
- restrictions on ordering parts of the reporting construction;
- extrasentential elements within the report;
- multiple strategies within the report.

#### Logophoricity: Lexical restrictions

 Indirect speech is licensed by a restricted set of predicates, direct speech is normally not:

Everyone noticed his "I don't care" gesture.

?Everyone noticed his gesture that he didn't care.

 Logophoric speech need not be licensed by a specific predicate, just like direct speech:

#### Lexical restrictions: Wan

- Indirect speech proper is very rare, always introduced by the verb gé 'say'
- Both direct and logophoric speech are licensed by a very wide range of predicates, and they need not be introduced by any special predicate:
- (6) élì kónā wéŋ à gè bóŋglò é blà é mō yīí-yīí-yīí, day started in.clear.light 3sG POSS head DEF watch DEF at.that.time INTJ ÈÈÈ bāá bāā né tē má à?
  INTJ LOG:INDEP LOG:POSS child killed FOC EXCL
  'When the daybreak shone at his head: Yi-yi-yi! Did I kill my own child?'

They need not even be introduced by any overt predicate:

àŝà (7) èè kέ cóò -gé sīē bé **bāá** WÒ yā ē? è á 3sg said 3sg+3sg another give INTJ eh! make Fochow Q then LOG 'And she said he should give back another one. - Eh! But how shall I do it?'

## Ordering restrictions

"Pure" indirect speech imposes ordering restrictions:
 *"I don't like it," -- he said. He said: "I don't like it."*

He said that he didn't like it. ??That he didn't like it, he said.

• Logophoric reports don't:

## Ordering restrictions: Wan

- Indirect speech is very rare, the report always follows the verb gé 'say'
- Direct and logophoric reports have more flexible ordering:
- (12) nàà né ē yí tè nè è gé lèỳ lā gōō nè pí wà ō 1sg:poss child IMPER sleep kill there 3sg said to 2sg leave+3sg place more NEG PRT My child, sleep there, hyena told him, don't you leave from here no more.'
- (13) bāā né ē yî tè nè è gé lèŋ lā gōō nè pí wà ō LOG:POSS child IMPER sleep kill there 3sG said to 2sG leave+3sG place more NEG PRT My child, sleep there, hyena told him, don't you leave from here no more.' (elicited)

#### Extrasentential elements

• "Pure" indirect speech does not integrate extrasentential elements, such as interjections and vocatives:

He said: Hey, brother, I don't like it. He said that he didn't like it. ?? He said that hey, brother, he didn't like it.

• Logophoric reports do not show this restriction:

#### Extraclausal elements: interjections

bé è gé àà èèè bā yí kū gē ō... [Wan]
then 3sG said ah! eh! LOG dream caught PRT PRT
'And he said: "Ah, well, I saw a dream..."'

#### Extraclausal elements: address terms

bé è gé îì **bā dè** bā zòỳ pà-ỳ à lé wà
then 3sg said INTJ LOG father LOG PROSP be.able-PROSP 3sg at NEG
'And he said: no, my father, I won't be able to do it.'

## Combining multiple strategies

- "Pure" direct and indirect speech do not combine: He said: "I don't like it, I'll do it better." He said that he didn't like it, that he would do it better.
  ?? He said "I don't like it", that he would do it better.
  ?? He said that he didn't like it, "I'll do it better."
- Logophoric strategies combine freely with direct speech (even within the same clause!):

#### Combining multiple strategies

bé è gé ēé! bāā kē é, lā nònì-á j mì
then 3SG said yeah LOG.EMPH that DEF 2SG lose-STAT.PERF 1SG at
'Then he said: yeah, as for myself, you won't be able to recognize me.'

## Summary of syntactic evidence

	DIRECT	INDIRECT	LOGOPHORIC
lexical restrictions		licensed by specific predicates	
ordering restrictions		fixed with respect to the matrix clause	
extrasentential elements	interjections, vocatives		interjections, vocatives
multiple strategies within the same report/sentence	with logophoric		with direct

## Summary of syntactic evidence

	DIRECT = SPECIAL KIND OF SYNTACTIC INTEGRATION	INDIRECT = SYNTACTICALLY SUBORDINATE	LOGOPHORIC = SPECIAL KIND OF SYNTACTIC INTEGRATION
lexical restrictions		licensed by specific predicates	
ordering restrictions		fixed with respect to the matrix clause	
extrasentential elements	interjections, vocatives		interjections, vocatives
multiple strategies within the same report/sentence	with logophoric		with direct

#### Toward a syntactic account

- The difference between the ideal types of "direct" and "indirect" speech does not boil down to a difference in *perspective*:
  - radically different syntactic properties,
  - different kinds of syntactic integration.
- Many properties described in terms of perspective fall out of the syntactic difference:
  - deictic expressions are anchored to different reference points (those of the matrix clause in indirect reports, independent ones in direct and logophoric reports);
  - different kinds of intonational integration.
- European "indirect" speech is not a good starting point for a crosslinguistic comparison.

### Dimensions of speech reporting

• How the report is integrated syntactically with the matrix clause:

Subordination	Special universal relation (Spronck & Nikitina under review)
European indirect speech	European direct speech
Indirect speech in Ainu	logophoric speech

• Cross-linguistic differences in the inventories of **indexical elements**:

some languages have pronouns referring to additional participants of a speech situation, such as reported speaker (Schlenker 2003, Nikitina 2012b), or to additional discourse roles, such as (Non-)narrator

=> logophoric pronouns used in otherwise "direct" constructions

#### Implications of the case study

- Continuum approaches to reported speech provide a useful methodological tool and a **first approximation** to a typology.
- Yet they are **not sufficient** for the study of "exotic" categories.
- Many phenomena attributed to perspective are rooted in **syntax**.
- Differences interpreted in terms of perspective may reflect:
  - differences in syntactic integration of speech constructions,
  - differences in the **inventories and meanings of deictic elements**.
- Logophoric reports in Wan (and several other languages) are syntactically "direct", but feature a pronoun lacking in European languages: a pronoun marking non-coreference with the Narrator.

#### Interim summary

- **Typology** helps us identify phenomena of cross-linguistic relevance
- Corpus methods help us explore these phenomena and construct theories
- Reported speech is **underexplored** in both senses, because it needs to be studied in the discourse context.
- New annotation methods are required to make new steps.

#### Reported speech in European languages: Outstanding issues

#### Means for demarcating the quote

• A variety of little-explored constructions (Cichosz 2018):

(1) I was like, 'But I won't' (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 493)
(2) this is me 'what...what's your ... what's your problem?' (Cheshire & Fox 2008)

Cheshire & Secova (2018): il fait "ouais < rire> hmm bonne nuit" (Lilianne)

on dirait des gamins genre "non j'ai pas deux ans" (Letitia)

et moi **en mode** euh "ouais vas-y je tombe enceinte" <imitation> (Livia) et ils **font style** (.) "oh là là c'est trop simple ils ont des massages des masques

#### Means for demarcating the quote

- Quotative inversion constructions (Collins & Branigan 1997; Bruening 2016; Cichosz 2018):
- 'The safety record at Stansted is first class,' he said. (NEWS) 'Konrad Schneider is the only one who matters,' Reinhold had answered. (FICT) There's so much to living that I did not know before, Jackie had told her happily. (FICT)

- Attested across European languages (Suñer 2000):
  - No es menester que lo digas añadía Daniel. (EJ178) not is necessary that it.Acc say.2s – added Daniel
    "It is not necessary that you say it", Daniel added.
  - ¡Me encanta el mar! exclama Simonetta con la me.Acc pleases the sea! exclaims Simonetta with the boca llena. (Son107)
    mouth full
    "I love the sea!" Simonetta exclaims with a full mouth.

• Optional in some (English), obligatory in others (Russian):

Ne	xodi	tuda,	predupredila	ona.		
not	go:IMPER	there	warned	she		
'Don't go there' – <b>she warned</b> .						

- Preferences defined by factors involving **information load** (Quirk et al. 1985):
  - preferred with NPs over pronouns;
  - preferred with verbs with low information value (*say*).

• Verbs that follow the quote differ from verbs that precede it. Bonami & Godard (2008):

> "Maintenant, je me transforme en boule de feu", imagina Paul. "Now I transform into a fireball", Paul imagined. "Paul imagina : "Maintenant je me transforme en boule de feu." Paul imagined: "Now I transform into a fireball."

"Je n'en peux plus", hoqueta Marie. "I can't stand it anymore", Marie gasped. \*Marie hoqueta : "Je n'en peux plus." Marie gasped: "I can't stand it anymore."

• Spreads to non-European languages through contact:

*«Min kil-er-men», — ti-ne Äxmät.* [Bashkir, Nikitina 2018]
I come-POT-1sG say-PST A.
'I will come, -- said Ahmed.'

«Unaŋ at-a nisek?» — hora-na-m min qart hunarsa-nan. that.gen name-p.3 how ask-pst-1sg I old hunter-ABL 'What is his name? — I asked the old hunter.'

• The innovation starts with the most frequent verbs of speaking.

## Quotative inversion and quote-final quotative markers

... serve the same function:

- only occurs with direct speech
- occurs primarily or exclusively after quotes;
- associated with most general quotative meaning (say);
- evidence for grammaticalization, increasing type frequency (in some languages);

#### Increasing type frequency: English (Cichosz 2018)

 Table 12. Reporting verbs attracted to the parenthetical reporting construction in LModE

Reporting verb	Parenthetical uses	Total frequency	CollStr	
say	665	4,175	115.22	
cry	71	317	15.62	
quoth	12	18	9.21	
reply	43	285	4.62	
add	42	413	1.31	

#### Diachronic change in Russian

- Speech introducing verbs always precede the quote in the earliest sources; other positions occur in later sources (Vlasova 2014).
- Quotative inversion is obligatory at present; was optional in the past (XIX c.):

— Зачем же ты, матушка, не все апостольско-то правило вычитала? — тихо и скромно **он молвил**. — Тебе бы уж все прочитать... [П. И. Мельников-Печерский. В лесах. Книга вторая (1871-1874)]

'Why didn't you, mother, read the entire apostle's rule? – **quietly and discreetly he** said. – You should have read all of it.

Поклонившись на все стороны, с словами: «За хлеб, за соль благодарствую, православные», — он отвечал старухе: «И вестимо, бабушка![Н. А. Полевой. Клятва при гробе Господнем (1832)] Having bowed in all directions, with the words "For bread and salt I thank you, orthodox people" — he replied to the old woman: "Certainly, grandmother".

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- occurs primarily or exclusively after quotes;
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- evidence for grammaticalization, increasing type frequency (in some languages);
- evidence for fossilization:

It's your plant,' **says I**. I gave it to you. (COCA, 1997, *Literary Review*, Philip Davidson)

associated primarily with styles with special emphasis on speech reports (news reports).

#### Strong stylistic effects: Russian

• Quotative inversion is obligatory in Russian, but not in poetry:

«Барин, ты меня не трогай, — Он сказал, дрожа как лист, — Я иду своей дорогой. Ф. К. Сологуб. Спутник (1905)

А сейчас голова загудела.

- Минус сто, он сказал,
- плохо дело. —

Свежесть мысли прошла. Б. А. Слуцкий. Очки (1971-1977) Mylord, do not touch me. --**He said**, trembling like a leaf, --I am going my own way. F. K. Sologub, 1905

And now the head was buzzing.

Minus 100, -- he said, -- too bad. -The freshness of thought has passed.
B. A. Slutsky. 1971-1977 52

#### Strong stylistic effects: Russian

- Quotative inversion is obligatory in Russian, but not in poetry.
- Possible explanation: contribution of rhythm; non-inversion especially common:
  - in the beginning of lines;
  - after a caesura.

«Барин, ты меня не трогай, —	S w	Sw	S w	S w
<b>Он сказал</b> , дрожа как лист, — Я иду своей дорогой.	<b>w w</b> S w	S w S w	S w S w	S S w
А сейчас голова загудела.	w w S	ww	Swv	v S w
— Минус сто, — <b>он сказал</b> , — плохо дело. Свежесть мысли прошла.	w w S w w S		<b>S</b> w v	vS w

## Quotative inversion and quote-final quotative markers

... serve the same function:

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- evidence for grammaticalization, increasing type frequency (in some languages);
- evidence for fossilization:

It's your plant,' says I. I gave it to you. (COCA, 1997, *Literary Review*, Philip Davidson)

- associated primarily with styles with special emphasis on speech reports (news reports).
- => marking the end of a quote (and attributing it to a character)

## Quotative inversion and quote-final quotative markers

... mark the end of a quote

Other strategies used to introduce reported speech share properties with quote-initial quotative markers:

(1) I was like, 'But I won't' (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 493)
(2) this is me 'what...what's your ... what's your problem?' (Cheshire & Fox 2008)

Ajaemu:Ničegomneuženenado...andI:NOM him:DATnothing:NOM me:DAT alreadynotneeded'And I [say] to him: I no longer need anything...'

... attribute the following quote to a speaker

#### Conclusion

- Reported speech: poorly understood even in the best studied languages (factors in the choice between direct vs. indirect speech, the syntax of the constructions...);
- needs to be studied in specially annotated corpora (sensitive to discourse variables, highly sensitive to style and genre);
- corpus annotation schemes are informed by typological observations (same factors can be expected to play a role in functionally similar variation across languages: genre, information value of different parts of the construction, type of syntactic integration...)





#### \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*



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# Reported Discourse across Languages and CulturesVillejuif (Paris), May 22-23 2019Second Second Second



**Doctoral student / Research assistant position** in the project "Discourse reporting in African storytelling" Applications due on December 9