Manner deictics as quotative indexes in Finno-Ugric
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4. Summary and Conclusions
1.1. Reported discourse (RD) and quotative indexes (QIs)

- *Reported discourse (RD)* 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 immediate discourse” (Güldemann 2008: 6; bold is mine, DT);

- RD “is not restricted to real instances of speech”, “includes texts that were never actually uttered like so-called ‘internal speech’, or in general any representation of cognitive acts or states” (ibid.: 7).
Reported discourse (RD) and quotative indexes (QIs)

- **Quotative index (QI)** 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” (ibid.: 11):

(1) **I said to him** “your party won’t be pleased about this” (dailymail.co.uk).

- **New/innovative quotatives** are lexical material with non-reportative semantics that is used as an instrument introducing reported discourse (cf. Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012):

(2) **and he goes** *I am the police bitch and starts touching the register I’m like oh this* *mf’er didn’t just do that* (twitter.com).
Reported discourse (RD) and quotative indexes (QIs)

- Demonstrative deictics in QI function (from the Table 1 (New) quotatives and their semantic sources in Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: XIV):

Afrikaans *soos* ‘so + as’, Czech *na to* ‘on this’, Danish *sådan* ‘such + like + this’, Dutch *zo* ‘so’, Estonian *nii et* ‘so that’, London English *this/here is NP*, German *so* ‘so’, Hebrew *kaze* ‘like + this’, Croatian *ono* ‘that’, *ono kao* ‘that + like’, (Brazilian) Portuguese *tipo + assim* ‘(type+) so’, Russian *takoj* ‘such + like + this/that’, Spanish *asi* ‘so’, Norwegian *sånn* ‘such + like + this/that’, Swedish *såhär (sär)* ‘such + like + this/that’
Reported discourse (RD) and quotative indexes (QIs)

• Besides a number of European languages, also in Finno-Ugric, cf. (3a,b,c):

(3a) Hungarian

\[ A \text{ citált idézet így hangzik: } \text{"Urunk, Édesanyád járjon} \]
\[ \text{DEF cited quote so sound.PRS.3SG lord.1PL mother.2SG walk.IMP3SG} \]
\[ közben értünk" \]
\[ \text{in.between CAUS.1PL} \]

‘The cited quote sounds like this: “Lord, your mother shall plead for us”’

(emmausz.blog.hu).
Reported discourse (RD) and quotative indexes (QIs)

(3b) Finnish
...

thus
silleen,  et  sori  vaan,  ei  mun  tarvi  venyä
thus  COMP  sorry  just  NEG  1SG.GEN  need.CN  reach.INF
siihen
DEM.ILL

‘[Then luckily now in such cases one can always explain that when I am not interested in men,] thus that sorry I don’t need to get involved into this’
(Arola 2008: 78).

(3c) Udmurt

Press-slужба  soje  taţi  valektiz:  “Pet’a  d’eputat
press.office  DEM.ACC  so  explain.PST.3SG  PN  PM
luiz  ke...
become.PST.3SG  COND

‘The press-office explained this so: “If Petya becomes a PM...”’
(vk.com/udmurtyos).
1.2. General overview of the research

- Aims: description and comparison of the contemporary use of quotative indexes in three different areas of Finno-Ugric languages:
  (i) Finnic (Finnish and Estonian);
  (ii) Permic (Komi and Udmurt);
  (iii) Hungarian;
General overview of the research

Figure 1. Map of Uralic language branches (languagesgulper.com)
1.3. Language-specific features in quotative systems and beyond

- Finnish and Estonian have developed spoken register with rich new quotative strategies (e.g., similative markers, manner deictics, quantifiers, complementizers, and motion verbs);

- Komi and Udmurt:
  - exhaustive dominance of Russian in all the spheres of language use (Kuznetsov 2010, Edygarova 2013);
  - diglossia and unidirectional bilingualism – main sociolinguistic characteristics of Komi and Udmurt speakers (Leinonen 2006; Salánki 2007);
    - matter and pattern replication to a certain extent in quotative strategies of both languages (Udmurt – more frequently and in greater amount, Komi – less frequently and only in some strategies);
Language-specific features in quotative systems and beyond

- Hungarian:
  - without a contact with closely related languages for centuries;
  - a national language with developed spoken register;
  - predominantly uses autochthonous quotative strategies or those that derive from autochthonous ones;
1.4. Methodology and data

• Qualitative analysis of written data available in free access on the internet;

• observation of comments and discussions – look for quotations in general and comments about previous publications;
Methodology and data

- Finnish: independently collected material (on-line forums, blogs, comment lines);
- Estonian:
  - New media corpus: [http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/uusmeedia](http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/uusmeedia);
  - independently collected material (on-line blogs, forums, comment lines);
- Udmurt:
  - independently collected material (vk.com);
  - Blog subcorpora of Udmurt corpus [http://webcorpora.net/UdmurtCorpus](http://webcorpora.net/UdmurtCorpus);
- Komi: independently collected material (vk.com, blogspot.com);
- Hungarian:
  - independently collected material (on-line blogs, forums, comment lines);
  - Personal subcorpus of Hungarian national corpus [http://corpus.nytud.hu/mnsz/index_eng.html](http://corpus.nytud.hu/mnsz/index_eng.html)
1.5. Central research questions

1. What are the functions of manner deictics in the quotative constructions of the languages in focus?

2. In what types of RD-constructions do they appear? What types of RD do they present? Are there similarities/differences in their distribution according to their functions?
2. Results

2.1. The manner deictic *sillee(n)* as a QI in Finnish

- Fin. *sillee(n)* ‘in a way’, ‘thus’, ‘as such’, ‘like this’ (kielitoimistonsanakirja.fi; September 1, 2017);

(4) *Asiaa ei voi jättää silleen*  
\[ \text{thing.PTV NEG.3SG can.PRS.CN leave.INF such} \]  
‘This cannot be left like this’ (kielitoimistonsanakirja.fi).

- in colloquial speech also idiomatic meaning *olla sillee(n)* ‘be in a sexual contact’ (urbaanisananakirja.com; September 1, 2017);
The manner deictic *sillee(n)* as a QI in Finnish

- discourse markers with the hedging function:

(5)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PN</th>
<th>be.PRS.3SG</th>
<th>by.the.way</th>
<th>only</th>
<th>social media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#IRC</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>muuten</td>
<td>ainoa</td>
<td>sosiaalinen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>in.a.way</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>really</td>
<td>follow.PRS.1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jota</em></td>
<td><em>silleen</em></td>
<td><em>niinkuin</em></td>
<td><em>oikeesti</em></td>
<td><em>seuraan.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘By the way, #IRC is the only social media which I am in a way kind of really follow’ (twitter.com).
The manner deictic *sillee(n)* as a QI in Finnish

- in the quotative domain, *sillee(n)* collocates with SP- and non-SP-verbs:

(6) ...*sanoin sillee et joo mulki on 42 pitkä*

say.PST.1SG thus COMP yes 1SG.ADE.PTCL be.PRS.3SG NUM long

‘I said thus that yes, mine is also 42 (cm) long’ (keskustelu.suomi24.fi).

(7) *Ajattelin sillee et yhtäkkii joku päivä vaa sä oot*

think.PST.1SG thus COMP suddenly some day only 2SG be.PRS.2SG

pregnant.ESS

‘I thought thus that suddenly some day you are pregnant...’ (demi.fi).
The manner deictic *sillee(n)* as a QI in Finnish

(8) *Sit se oli silleen et ou jou, ja minä* 
    then DEM be.PST.3SG thus COMP oh no and 1SG 
    *olin sillee tyyliin, onks pakko...* 
    be.PST.1SG thus like be.PRS.3SG.QP obligatory 
    ‘Then (s)he was thus that oh, no, and I was thus like is it obligatory...’ 
    (lansi-uusimaa.fi).

• also with mimetic expression (quasi-quotative):

(9) *Mä olin silleen et 0.o??* 
    1SG be.PST.1SG thus COMP MIM:MIR 
    ‘I was like that 0.o??’ (demi.fi).
The manner deictic *sillee(n)* as a QI in Finnish

- Hypothetical (similative meaning, cf. (4), allows such a use; enact a fictive discourse for dramatical purposes, while describing the situation):

(10) ...*laittaa*  
*put.PRS.3SG*  
*kavereille*  
*friend.PL.ALL*  
*viestin*  
*message.GEN*  
*sillee*  
*thus*  
*et*  
*COMP*  
*by the way*  
*by.the.way*

*mulle*  
*1SG.ALL*  
*synty*  
*be.born.PST.3SG*  
*viime*  
*last*  
*yönä*  
*night.ESS*  
*tyttö/ poika*  
*girl*  
*boy*

*mitoilla*  
*measure.PL.ADE*  
*se*  
*DEM*  
*ja*  
*and*  
*se*  
*DEM*  
*jne.*  
*etc.*

‘[if she gets to her labour,] (I could) **send the message** to the friends **in a way that by the way last night** I gave birth to a girl/boy with measures this and that, etc.’ (kaksplus.fi).
3.2. The manner deictic *nii* (*et*) as a QI in Estonian

- as a preposed QI, adjacent to the quote → cataphoric use: points at the following stretches of RD [reported discourse], both direct (DRD) and indirect (IRD);
- possible without the complementizer *et*, but only collocating with speech or mental verbs and only with direct RD, cf. (11a), (12).
The manner deictic *nii (et)* as a QI in Estonian

- with SP-verbs (both DRD and IRD):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(11a)</th>
<th>Ta</th>
<th>ütles</th>
<th>nii et</th>
<th>“mul”</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>vist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>say.PST.3SG</td>
<td>so.COMP</td>
<td>1SG.ADE</td>
<td>be.PRS.3SG</td>
<td>probably</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rohkem</td>
<td>närvid</td>
<td>läbi</td>
<td>kui</td>
<td>sul’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more nerve.PL</td>
<td>through</td>
<td>than 2SG.ADE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(S)he *said so that/thus* “My nerves are probably more shot than yours”’ (w3.ee).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(11b)</th>
<th>üiks</th>
<th>dvd</th>
<th>kutt</th>
<th>ütles</th>
<th>nii et</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>DVD</td>
<td>chap</td>
<td>say.PST.3SG</td>
<td>so.COMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>rääkis</td>
<td>stuudiovendadega</td>
<td>ning</td>
<td>nood...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>talk.PST.3SG</td>
<td>studio.brother.PL.GEN</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>DEM.PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘One dvd guy *said so that/thus* he talked with buddies from the studio and they...’ (forumcinemas.ee).
The manner deictic *nii (et)* as a QI in Estonian

- with non-SP-verbs:

(12) *Ma mõtlesin nii et mina võtan*

1SG think.PST.1SG so.COMP 1SG take.PRS.1SG
*laenu aga koos maksame tagasi*
credit.GEN but together pay.PRS.1PL back

‘I thought so that/thus I take the credit, but we pay it back together’

(foorum.hinnavaatlus.ee).
The manner deictic *nii (et)* as a QI in Estonian

- among non-SP-verbs, also equational verb *olema* ‘to be’ (less/further neutralized constructions):

(13a)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>father</th>
<th>be.PST.3SG</th>
<th>nearby</th>
<th>so.COMP</th>
<th>like</th>
<th>what</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>isa</td>
<td>oli</td>
<td>kõrval</td>
<td>nii et</td>
<td>nagu</td>
<td>mis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘father was next to me *so that/thus like* why are you still rushing...’ (New media corpus).

(13b)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>basically</th>
<th>PN.INE</th>
<th>be.PRS.3SG</th>
<th>so.COMP</th>
<th>sorry</th>
<th>but</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tegelt</td>
<td>pärnus</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>nii et</td>
<td>vabandust</td>
<td>aga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>forget.PST.1SG</th>
<th>own</th>
<th>ticket.PTV</th>
<th>home.ILL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>unustasin</td>
<td>oma</td>
<td>pileti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Basically in Pärnu *it’s so that/thus* sorry, but I forgot my ticket at home’ (New media corpus).
The manner deictic nii (et) as a QI in Estonian

- as a single QI:

Hypothetical quote
(14) Mitte nii et = saan isa süles
    NEG so.COMP can.PRS.1SG father.GEN lap.INE
    pühapäeviti külateel sõita.
    on.Sundays village road.ADE ride.INF

‘Not so that/thus I get to drive on the village road on Sundays (sitting) on my father’s lap’ (New media corpus).
3.3. Manner deictics in Permic

3.3.1. The manner deictic *tadž(i)* in Komi quotative constructions

- less frequently used in quotative constructions (only 3 matches in corpus);
- only one manner deictic appears in quotative constructions, despite the presence of the distal counterpart *sidž* ‘like that, thus’;
- used both cataphorically (15a, b) and anaphorically (16) with DRD only (RD is syntactically not embedded into QI-clause introducing it):
  - cataphoric use is more natural (autochthonous) for this manner deictic (evidence from Udmurt), anaphoric – Russian influence(?), i.e., in Russian only *tak* ‘so’ is used in quotative constructions without distal (*sjak*) or contrastive counterparts (*etak*) in similar constructions;
The manner deictic *tadž(i)* in Komi quotative constructions

• in cataphoric use, focuses audience on the presence of the quote:

(15a) *Kydž*  
*undžyk*  
*jözys,*  
*mövpyšti*  
*tadž:*  
how  
and  
more  
people.3SG  
think.PST.1SG  
so  

“*Metög*  
*na*  
*udžalyšjas*  
*šuröny...*”  
1SG.ABE  
PTCL  
worker.PL  
get.found.PRS.3PL  

‘Like most of the people, I **thought so:** “the workers will be found without me...”’ (tuvsovja.blogspot.com).

(15b) *A*  
*zavod’itčö*  
*tadži:*  
„*Sövetsköj*  
and  
begin.PRS.3SG  
so  
Soviet  

*obščestvennost*  
*posledoatel’nöja*  
*razoblačajtö...*”  
community  
consequenly.ADV  
denounce.PRS.3SG  

‘And it **begins so:** “The Soviet community denounces consequently...”’ (vk.com/biarmian).
The manner deictic *tadž*(i) in Komi quotative constructions

- anaphorically refers to the just produced quote:

(16) “*Nevažno v kakom krutom vuze*

```
unimportant.ADV in which.LOC cool.LOC university.LOC
ty učiš’sa, važno sumet’ sebja
2SG study.PRS.2SG important.ADV manage.INF self.ACC
realizovat’” 11-öd klassyn velödčigön tadj
fulfill.INF 11-ORD class.INE study.CV.INSTR thus
menym vištalis gimnazijasa radejtana velödyşjasyś
ten.PST.3SG gymnasiu.ADJ favorite teacher.PL.ELA
öṭi Alla Aľeksandrovna Taskajeva.
one PN PN PN
```

“It isn’t important what kind of cool university you are studying in, it is important to manage to fulfill yourself” **thus told** me when I learned in 11th class one of the gymnasium’s favorite teachers one Alla Aleksandrovna Taskayeva’ (tusjuk.blogspot.com).
3.3.2. The manner deictics taźy and oźy in Udmurt quotative constructions

- Udmurt taźy ‘like this, so’ / oźy ‘like that, thus’:

(17a) \[\begin{array}{l}
\text{Veraśke} \quad \text{taźy} \quad \text{čömyś:} \quad \text{“Esli} \quad \text{ty} \quad \text{ñe} \quad \text{na} \\
\text{say.PRS.3SG} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{often} \quad \text{if} \quad 2\text{SG} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{on} \\
\text{Internete} \quad \text{togda} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{budu} \quad \text{poigrat’”} \\
\text{internet.PREP} \quad \text{then} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad \text{FUT.AUX.1SG} \quad \text{play.INF} \\
\text{‘He often says so: “If you are not on the internet, then I will play””} \\
\text{\text{(vk.com/udm_ept).}}
\end{array}\]

(17b) \[\begin{array}{l}
\text{Vyny} \quad \text{tužo} \quad \text{maly} \quad \text{ke,} \quad \text{oźy} \quad \text{šuiz:} \quad \text{“Oh,} \\
\text{younger.brother.1SG} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{why} \quad \text{INDEF} \quad \text{thus} \quad \text{say.PST.3SG} \quad \text{INTERJ} \\
\text{mar} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{tuž} \quad \text{kurdyt...”} \\
\text{what} \quad \text{INDEF} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{scary} \\
\text{‘My younger brother also for some reason said thus: “Wow, somewhat she’s very scary...””} \text{\text{(Blog subcorpus).}}
\end{array}\]
The manner deictics *taży* and *oży* in Udmurt quotative constructions

- *taży* is associated with new information, stays in pre-focused position;
- *oży* refers to already known or previously mentioned information, also appears in several idiomatic constructions (e.g., anaphoric *vot oży* ‘so it is’) and as a confirmative particle, meaning ‘yes’ (Edygarova, p.c.).
The manner deictics taży and oży in Udmurt quotative constructions

• Research question: What is the difference between the use of distal (oży) and proximal (taży) manner deictics in QI-clauses?

• Hypotheses:
  o the use of the proximal deictic can be associated with higher accuracy of a quote and speaker’s epistemic commitment, while the distal marks the quote as produced approximately;
  o the distribution of the markers can also change among the speakers either under the influence of dominant Russian (tak skazal ‘said so’), or as an outcome of a decrease in linguistic intuition of the speakers of Udmurt under the same influence;
The manner deictics *taźy* and *oży* in Udmurt quotative constructions

- *Taźy* ‘like this, so’:

- in quotative constructions, *taźy* mainly as a cataphoric marker, preceding the quote:

(17a) **Veraśke** *taźy* čömyś: “Esli ty ňe na Internete togda ja budu poigrat’”

‘He often *says so*: “*If you are not on the internet, then I will play*”’

(vk.com/udm_ept).
The manner deictics taży and oży in Udmurt quotative constructions

• anaphoric use: QI-clause with taży follows a (hypothetical) quote – can hardly be associated with exactness, if used with hypothetical quotes (observed also in the bigger part of Udmurt corpus);

(18) “Anaj, nu ješče čut’-čut’, i mon sulto, pukty požalujsta čajnik” – taży šuysal
dyr mon... get.up.FUT.1SG put.IMP2SG please kettle so say.COND.1SG

“Mom, give me a bit of time and I will get up, put a kettle on the stove, please” – so I would say maybe [if I was at home]” (vk.com/udm_ept).
The manner deictics *taży* and *oży* in Udmurt quotative constructions

- some speakers (e.g., the blogger of *vk.com/udm_ept*) use manner deictics less systematically, e.g., *taży* in constructions where typically *oży* would be expected (e.g., *vot taży pro vot oży*):

(19) **mon** jebašil **školae** 11 **ar** i **taży**
    1SG go.PST.M school.ILL 11 year and so

**mon** otmečaju **soje** **bydtemme!???
    1SG celebrate.PRS.1SG DEM.ACC end.PTCP.ACC1SG

‘I was fucking going to the school 11 years and **thus** I celebrate it, my graduation!???’ (vk.com/udm_ept).
The manner deictics taży and oży in Udmurt quotative constructions

• oży is used mainly as an anaphoric quotative marker (20a); outside the quotative domain, also refers to the previously produced utterance/sentence/VP, etc. (20b):

(20a) “Mon pićiges!” – aciz śaryś oży vera.
1SG small.CMPR self.3SG about thus say.PRS.3SG
“I am smaller!” – about herself thus she says.’ (Blog subcorpora).

(20b) Ug todyśky maly so oży šue.
NEG.1SG know.PRS.CN why DEM thus say.PRS.3SG
[“Tyś-dydyś” – this is the Udmurt language”, – says my classmate.] I don’t know why he says thus.’ (udmurto4ka.blogspot.com).
The manner deictics *taży* and *oży* in Udmurt quotative constructions

- Separately, the collocation *oży ik* ‘thus.PTCL’ is used in quotative constructions to present RD already mentioned in different form in discourse; can be used cataphorically:

(21a) *Oży ik šuizy:* “*Myn tatyś!*”

thus PTCL say.PST.3PL go.IMP2SG here.ELA

‘Thus they did say: “Go away from here!”’ (vk.com/yumshan57).

(21b) *Oży ik malpaj, kine ke todytek*

thus PTCL think.PST.1SG who.ACC INDEF know.PTCP:CAR

*kel’ti šuysa*

miss.PST.1SG COMP

‘Thus I did think that *whom I missed without knowing*’ (vk.com/yumshan57).
The manner deictics taźy and oży in Udmurt quotative constructions

- In (17b = 22), oży might refer to either previously produced identical utterance (‘my brother said as somebody else did’) by another speaker (context does not really show), or less systematic use of the markers and more free substitution of one by another (appears also among several other speakers):

(22) Vyňy tuţo maly ke, oży šuiz: “Oh, mar ke so tuţ kurdyt...”
what INDEF DEM very INTERJ

‘My younger brother also for some reason said thus: “Wow, somewhat she’s very scary...”’ (Blog subcorpus).
The manner deictics *taży* and *oży* in Udmurt quotative constructions

- **Intermediate summary:**
  - in contemporary Udmurt, two different distributions of *taży* can be observed:
    - as a cataphoric marker, referring to the following quote and focusing attention of the audience on its presence;
    - as an anaphoric marker due to a decrease in linguistic intuition of the speakers (mainly under the influence of Russian that does not show variation in the use of different markers in anaphoric and cataphoric use) (less frequent use);
  - the distal *oży* is mainly used anaphorically following the quote; several less systematic uses can be observed where the marker is used cataphorically referring to the stretches of following discourse (among several speakers, less frequent use);
    - cataphoric use is quite natural in collocations *oży ik*, making a reference to an event previously described in discourse;
3.3. Manner deictics in Hungarian

- Hung. így ‘like this, so’ / úgy ‘like that, thus’:

(23a) Így szólt: “Ember, bűneid bocsánatot nyertek.”

‘He spoke so: “Human, your sins were forgiven”’ (emmausz.blog.hu).

(23b) ...úgy mondtá: látom nagyon istenfélők vagytok...

‘...said it thus: I see that you are very God-fearing...’ (MNSz).
Manner deictics in Hungarian

- What is the difference between the use of distal (úgy) and proximal (így) manner deictics in QI-clauses like in (23a) – (23b)?

- **Hypothesis:** the proximal így expresses epistemic commitment towards the accuracy of the quote, while the distal úgy marks the quote as produced approximately?

  - Kiefer (2015: 83, italics are mine, DT): “If the *exact wording* of the reported utterance is at stake, the reported utterance is repeated but the reporting clause contains the adverbial particle így ‘so, thus’”;

  - Körtvély (2016: 607): “[n]ative speakers of Hungarian estimate both versions [with and without úgy] as quasi equivalent in their meaning; however, some of the contents of the úgy-type as less certain”;

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3.4.1. The manner deictic így in quotative constructions

• in contemporary Hungarian, the use of így in the quotative domain is interconnected with the use of the marker with mimetic expressions, as in (24):

(24) Így csinálom: {demonstration}
so do.PRS.1SG:DEF
‘I do it like this: {demonstration}’ (Gyuris, p.c.).

• in the quotative domain, így with direct RD only:

(25) a rapper rövid beszédében így mutatta
DEF rapper short talk.3SG.INE so show.PRS.3SG.DEF
be magát: "cigány vagyok, zsidó vagyok,
into self.ACC Gypsy be.PRS.1SG Jew be.PRS.1SG
árja vagyok, magyar vagyok"
Arian be.PRS.1SG Hungarian be.PRS.1SG

‘The rapper introduced himself in his short talk like this: “I am Gypsy, I am Jew, I am Arian, I am Hungarian”’ (MNSz).
The manner deictic így in quotative constructions

- also with mimetic expressions (that could be read as quasi-quotations):

(26) ...és azt mondtá, hogy: München,
    and DEM.ACC say.PST.3SG.DEF COMP PN
mutatott az ujjával, és DEM DEF finger.3SG.COM and DEF
show.PST.3SG DEF
kezével így mutatta, hogy hand.3SG.COM so COMP ha
nem, akkor ez a táška
NEG then DEM DEF bag

bumm
ONOM
‘...and said that: München, showed with his finger, and with his hand showed like
this that if not, then this bag will boom’ (MNSz).
The manner deictic *így* in quotative constructions

- the use of *így* should be rather associated with directness than with exactness, as (27) shows:

Hypothetical

(27) “Nagy pénz, kis foci.” — vagy
big money small football or
mégsem így mondtat volna Puskás?
still.NEG so say.PST.3SG.DEF be.COND.3SG PN

“Big money, small football” — or *wouldn’t have* Puskás *said so*?” (MNSz).
Allegedly the original quote by Puskás: “Big money – big football, small money – small football”.

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The manner deictic így in quotative constructions

- Syntactically, QI-clauses with így are not restricted to cataphoric uses (preposed to a quote, cf. (25) – (26)), but can be also observed in anaphoric use (27) – both postposed, cf. (28a), or intraposed, cf. (28b);

- in colloquial speech, both types (intraposed and postposed QIs with így) are encountered in QI-clauses with elliptic predicate (only for quotations of real speech events, unlike in Finnish or Estonian with the equational verb):

(28a) **De egy tehénnel tette. - így a riporter.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>De</th>
<th>egy</th>
<th>tehénnel</th>
<th>tette.</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>így</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>riporter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>cow.COM</td>
<td>do.PRS.3SG.DEF</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>reporter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘But he did it with a cow, – **so the reporter**’ (MNSz).

(28b) **Á nem, (így ō), hisz mi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Á</th>
<th>nem,</th>
<th>(így ō),</th>
<th>hisz</th>
<th>mi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>thus</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>believe.PRS.3SG 1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**immár kétezer évé imádkozunk Jeruzsálemért.**
| immár | kétezer | évé | imádkozunk | Jeruzsálemért. |
| now | two.thousand | year.3SG | pray.PRS.1PL | Jerusalem.CAUS |

‘**Ah no, (he’s like), we pray for Jerusalem already for two thousand years.**’

(MNSz).
3.4.2. The manner deictic úgy in quotative constructions

- Distal úgy is used to present the content of the proposition (expressed as a quote) – “[w]hile direct speech both reports and demonstrates what has been uttered, indirect speech renounces this demonstration (...) [Indirect speech is] the consequence of the fact that the author has understood the utterance and based on this, he reformulates its content” (Dömötör 2001: 338):

(29) Úgy mondtad, hogy kell neki a száz forint...
thus say.PRS.3SG.DEF COMP need.PRS.3SG DAT.3SG DEF 100 forint

‘Thus said that he needs the one hundred forints...’ (nepmese.hu).
Hypothetical original utterance: ‘I need the one hundred forints’, ‘Give me, please, the one hundred forints’, etc.
The manner deictic úgy in quotative constructions

- also in comparative constructions, where mimetic így cannot be used, and vice versa:

(30a) \[ Látod \text{ most } jó \text{ vagyok, } én \text{ is } úgy \]

look.PRS.2SG.DEF now good be.PRS.1SG 1SG also thus
csinálom \textbf{mint} Te!!!!!
do.PRS.1SG.DEF like 2SG

‘You see, now I am good, I also do like You!!!!’ (bloki.hu)

(30b) \[ Persze \text{ nem } így \text{ mondtam, } hogy \text{ voks, } én \]
sure NEG so say.PST.3SG.DEF COMP vote 1SG
se \textbf{mondtam} úgy akkor
also.NEG say.PST.1SG thus then

‘Of course, she did not say like that that vote, I did not say then like that either’ (inaplo.hu).
The manner deictic úgy in quotative constructions

• this leads to several syntactic differences:

  o úgy appears both with direct (23b = 31a) and indirect quotes (31b) (így – only direct(!)); hence, it is quite natural that indirect quotes can be associated with less exactness, than direct ones;

(31a) ...úgy mondtá: látom nagyon istenfélők vagytok
  thus say.PST.3SG.DEF see.PRS.1SG very God.fearing.PL be.PRS.2PL
  ‘...said it thus: I see that you are very God-fearing...’ (MNSz).

(31b) ...és úgy gondolta, hogy az
  and thus think.PST.3SG.DEF COMP DEF
  adott emberrel is szórakozhat
  given person.COM also have.fun.POT.3SG
  ‘...and (s)he thought thus that (s)he can also have fun with the person in question’ (MNSz).
The manner deictic úgy in quotative constructions

- previously was used in any position, frequently intraposed, which leads to the appearance of the particalized merge of úgy with the speech verb mond ‘say.PRS.3SG’ → úgymond ‘so to say/speak’ that is still used as a quotative particle (cf. Dömötör 2001, 2008a);

- in contemporary Hung., it appears (only) as a part of a preposed QI-clause (cataphoric use only); as a result, does not appear with elliptic predicates (ungrammatical or remains unclear to the speakers);

(32) Na, akkor is úgy gondoltam, hogy most minden meg fog változni. PRE FUT.PRS.3SG change.INF ‘Well, then I also thought thus that now everything will change’ (MNSz).
Manner deictics in Hungarian

• Intermediate summary:
  ◦ the hypothesis was not confirmed – the difference between the distal and proximal manner deictics lies in types of RD (direct vs. indirect) they present and the functions they fulfill as extra elements of a QI-clause:
    ▪ ∧gy cataphorically indicates the presence of a quote and depicts the content of the proposition expressed as a quote; association with less-exactness might appear through the use of the marker in this function, should be further tested;
    ▪ így is used as a mimetic marker, presenting direct quotes only, both syntactically embedded and not; furthermore, it can appear in a neutralized QI-clause (with elliptic predicate) and in different positions to the quote (pre-, intra- and post-posed);
4. Summary

- Fin. *siλlee(n)* ‘like that, thus’ and Est. *nii et* ‘so that, thus’ are used as cataphoric markers signaling about the presence of the following stretches of RD;
  - used as QIs in various structural complexities;
  - Finnish and Estonian manner deictics less systematically, but still can present hypothetical quotes, usually not attributed to a concrete speaker;

- Komi *tadž* – as both anaphoric and cataphoric marker (possibly under the Russian influence);
  - might fulfill extra epistemic upgrading function – points to a close or (almost) exact correspondence between a reported and an original utterance or thought (with DRD only); however, lower distribution in the internet communications, requires further studies on the basis of bigger corpus to check this hypothesis;
Summary

• In Udmurt, the distribution of functions between proximal taźy and distal oźy happens the following way:
  ■ the proximal manner deictic taźy is used mainly as a cataphoric marker, while distal oźy is predominantly used anaphorically;
  ■ less systematic use can be observed among some speakers – an outcome of the decrease in linguistic competence of the Udmurt speakers under the influence of Russian;
  ■ the collocation of oźy with the particle ik allows the cataphoric use of the QI-clause, since it mainly refers to the events already described in the context;
Summary

- In Hungarian, the distribution follows different considerations:
  - proximal *így* is used as a mimetic marker presenting the quote, while distal *úgy* is used as an element, depicting the content of the quote;
  - *így* is used only with DRD, while *úgy* allows both types of RD;
  - *így* appears in different position to the quote, and can be used also in neutralized quotative construction where the predicate is elliptic, while *úgy* remains bounded to the preposed position to the quote with obligatory presence of a verb;
Conclusions

- Manner deictics as QI:
  - as cataphoric markers (Finnish and Estonian);
  - as both cataphoric and anaphoric markers (Komi);
  - distribution according to reference: proximal manner deictic points to new information and is used predominantly as a cataphoric marker; distal refers to already known information and is used predominantly as an anaphoric marker (Udmurt);
  - distribution according to functions and types of RD: proximal manner deictic – as a mimetic marker with direct RD only; distal – depicts context of both direct and indirect RD (Hungarian);
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Kiitos!
Aitäh!
Тау!
Аттьö!
Köszönöm szépen!