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ON QUOTES

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How should direct and (so-called) indirect quotations be represented in underlying structure? Before attempting to answer that question, we will review some of the obvious ways in which these two kinds of quotations differ. Perhaps most important pragmatically is the lack of responsibility of a speaker to give a verbatim report of the indirectly quoted speech, though he is expected to "keep the facts straight."¹ A more interesting difference, from the linguistic point of view, between direct and indirect quotes is the change in person reference in the former and constancy of person reference in the latter. By this I mean that a speaker still refers to himself as first person ('I') and to his addressee(s) as second person ('you') in an indirect quote, but in a direct quote first person refers to the quoted speaker (Wise and Lowe 1972). In fact, direct quotes are a whole new ball game: a different set of referents is established or assumed to be established for the addressee(s) of the quoted speaker; there is a new and different accumulation of presuppositions; tenses are in reference to the time of the quoted speech directionals are chosen in reference to place of the quoted speaker during the quoted speech, etc. In short, a direct quote is, internally, linguistically indistinguishable from an 'original' speech act.

It might be objected that a direct quote is simply an 'object', the nature of which linguistics need not be concerned about, treating it as a constant, just as it must also treat names as constants. But direct quotes may establish discourse referents and convey information about those referents which can later be used by the actual (quoting) speaker in what he has to say

to his addressee. For example, consider the following portion of discourse:

'Harry's exact words were, "John was driving an old jalopy, which he had just bought, downtown yesterday at 5 PM, and clipped a little old lady at 4th and Main." When he had heard Harry's accusation, John denied it all; but what he didn't know was that I saw him driving the old jalopy about the time Harry indicated the accident took place.'

Note the speaker's reference to the old jalopy in the last sentence. Here he assumes that a referent has been established for his addressee, as evident in his use of the definite article, and he identifies this referent by repeating information (that it's a jalopy and that it is old) about it that is given only in the quotation from Harry. The same is true of the speaker's reference to the accident.

Given the fact that direct quotes are internally indistinguishable from original speech acts, and tentatively accepting Ross' (1970) performative hypothesis that all utterances are complements of a performative predicate (verb) of declaration, interrogation, or command, it seems the obvious solution is to say that direct quotes are in some sense a 'new' performance, albeit a reenactment of an earlier one,² and differ from indirect quotes by presence of an additional performative predicate. (In saying that the embedded predicate is a performative we are obviously doing away with the original meaning of the term 'performative' (Austin 1962); nevertheless, retention of the term seems preferable to coinage of a new one.) Thus the underlying logical structure (LS) for (1) would be (1'), and the LS for (2) would be (2'):³

(1) 'Agnes told me, "I'm sick".'

(2) 'Agnes told me (that) she was sick.'

There would seem to be two important reasons for positing another performative in the LS of a direct quote. First of all, there has to be some way to distinguish the two kinds of quotes in LS. Indirect quotes cannot be derived from direct quotes.⁴ If indirect quotes were to be derived from direct

quotes, this would seem to require that the indirect quote have exactly the same content as the direct quote it reports, whereas this is clearly not necessarily so. E.g., suppose person A asks (3) of person B, and B answers 'No.' Person A

(3) Do you want to go home?

(4) B said he didn't want to go home.

(5) B said, 'I don't want to go home.'

can then report this to person C in the form of (4). But A could not truthfully report his conversation with B as (5), which, it would seem, would have to be the source of (4) if we attempted to derive indirect quotes from direct quotes.

Also, if we try to derive indirect quotes from direct quotes we run into problems of reference assignment; i.e. it is not always clear what referents of the matrix discourse are coreferential with referents of the direct quote, nor even what person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) would be assigned to a referent in the indirect discourse to be derived. E.g., what is the indirect quote corresponding to (6)? Compare (6) with (7).⁵

(6) Yesterday Virgil was heard to say, 'We spoke to your mothers yesterday.'

(7) Yesterday Virgil was heard to say that he and ? spoke to the mothers of ?.

Note also that tense distinctions would often be irrecoverably lost in converting a direct quote to an indirect one.⁶ Would (9) or (10) be the source of (8)?

(8) Last week Eugene said that he saw daylight ahead.

(9) Last week Eugene said, 'I see daylight ahead'.

(10) Last week Eugene said, 'I saw daylight ahead'.

Finally, because a quote can be in another language, any attempt to derive indirect quotes from direct quotes would have to deal with the full range of problems of translation (e.g., distinctions made in one language but not another), and many of these require reference to non-linguistic information.

The second reason for positing a performative in the LS of direct quotes is that it enables us to uniformly define 1st and 2nd person at any given point in a discourse as Agent and Goal of the next highest predicate used performatively. Thus the argument of SICK in (1) is seen to be coreferential with the Agent of the next higher ("commanding") performative DECLARE. And of course this Agent of the performative must be coreferential with the Agent of the emotive predicate TELL; thus the surface shift of person category for Agnes from third person in the matrix sentence to first person in the quotation is mediated by the embedded abstract performative of (1).

In the unlikely event that anyone should doubt that such an analysis is called for in non-Indo-European languages, we briefly illustrate with data from Cashibo⁷ that the same phenomena which led us to posit a performative verb for English direct quotes are extant in Cashibo; and, in addition, another phenomenon of Cashibo is explained by the proposed analysis.

- (11) Jorgenen ca 'e caxa [min camina 'en lapiz tsasia quixun].'

Geo.-ts decl me say-past you decl my pencil break-past close quote
'George said to me, "You broke my pencil".'

- (12) Jorgenen ca 'e caxa ['en isna ain lapiz tsasia quixun].

Geo.-ts. decl. me say-3 I report.his pencil broke cl. quote
'George said to me that I broke his pencil.'

Comparing (11) and (12), we find they differ primarily in that the bracketed part of (11) is a direct quote, while the bracketed part of (12) is an

indirect quote. Both have the overt quote-closer quixun, but differ in the 'modal' which appears. The modal camina is analyzed by Shell 1972 as the overt realization of the abstract performative verb SAY, and can occur only in independent clauses or direct quotes. More precisely, ca- is the realization of SAY (note that it is phonologically identical to the transitive root ca- 'say', seen in both (11) and (12) as part of the transitive verb caxa 'he said') and the -mina suffix is a result of an agreement rule: modals are marked to agree in person with the subject of the following verb. The reportive modal is- seen in (12) (with agreement suffix -na) is obligatorily inserted in sentences which are complements of non-performative emotive verbs. Thus the contrast in modals (ca- vs. is-) distinguishes direct quotes from indirect quotes in Cashibo. And knowing whether a quote is direct or indirect, we know whether person categories remain constant, as in (12), or shift, with the mediation of the embedded performative, as in (11). So we see that for Cashibo the performative analysis for declarative sentences and the performative analysis for direct quotes support each other in that together they account for the distribution of modals.

NOTES

¹See Zwicky 1971 for an interesting discussion of requirements on a "satisfactory report" of speech and their implications for linguistic theory.

²Of course not all 'direct quotes' are quotes of actual speech acts, for they may be of imagined or foreseen (predicted) speech acts (e.g. 'I wish Helen would come up to me and say "I love you, George."', or 'I plan to tell my boss, "You give me a raise or I'll quit."'')

³The LS is represented by a labeled, north-west oriented tree. Within the tree, PROP abbreviates proposition, P = predicate (an action, property, or

relation), AG = agent, G = goal, O = object; lower case letters are referential indices. Nothing in this paper hinges on the correctness of the role labels (AG, G, O), nor even on their status as categories.

⁴This would be the 'quotative analysis' referred to by Ross 1970.

⁵Of course, it is possible to say that the indirect quote derived from (6) would be 'Yesterday Virgil was heard to say that he and one or more other persons spoke to the mothers of those to whom he was speaking.'; but the complexity of such a derivation seems to mitigate the intuition that led to the "quotative analysis" in the first place.

⁶Of course, this is also true of other derivations; nominalizations, e.g., may exhibit the same tense neutralization.

⁷Cashibo is a language of the Pano family in southeastern Peru. Cashibo data are from Shell 1972--for a fuller exposition of the data, see that paper. [In glosses, ts = subject of a transitive verb.]

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