

Direct Speech as a Rhetorical Style in Chantyal

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1. INTRODUCTION: Anyone who has had the experience of learning – or better yet, describing – a language other than his or her native language is quickly made to realize that languages can ‘package’ information in rather different ways. So, for example, fluent speakers of two languages, both trying to respond verbally to the same situation, might do so efficiently and yet quite differently. Indeed, bilinguals often report that they engage in different kinds of thinking when they shift languages, and these shifts in thinking can result in rather different modes of expression in the bilingual’s two languages. Putting aside purely ‘cultural’ differences in perception of events, such as imputations of motive, notions of appropriateness, and so on, and focusing instead on purely linguistic differences – difficult [or impossible] though these may be to disentangle in practice – we find that languages differ not just in the grammatical form in which descriptions of situations are packaged, but also in the amount of information and the kind of information that they contain.

This sense that speakers of different languages engage in different sorts of thought processes can be explained with Slobin’s (1987, 1996a) hypothesis of ‘thinking for speaking’, thinking generated because of the requirements of the linguistic code. In learning to express themselves within the system of a given language, speakers learn to think in terms of the categories and concepts the language encodes and that these categories and concepts differ from language to language.

In this paper, I will elaborate somewhat on Slobin’s notion of ‘thinking for speaking’ by introducing the construct of ‘rhetorical style’, by which I mean a set of related constructions employed to achieve a particular discourse effect. Just as the presence of a particular grammatical category may impel speakers to organize their thinking to meet the demands of the linguistic encoding of that category on-line, so the use of a given rhetorical style may require similar adjustments in thinking for speaking.

The goals of this paper are threefold. First I will present data, drawn primarily from narrative discourses, on the use of direct quotes in Chantyal,¹ a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. In Chantyal, direct quotes are conveyed by a set of constructions which I will refer to collectively as ‘quotatives’: quotatives always include a form of the verb ‘say’ together with a complement of ‘say’ presented as a direct quote. Second, I will argue that quotatives are used in Chantyal to affect the ‘direct speech style’, a mode of exploiting quotatives to further narrative goals that in many other languages are

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achieved by means other than quotatives. And third, I will discuss the direct speech style as a 'rhetorical style', and go on to present an overview of rhetorical styles, their uses, their status as areal features, and their diachronic developments.

The choice of Chantyal to illustrate the direct speech style is partly one of authorial convenience, as any of a number of neighboring languages would have served the purposes of this paper just as well. The choice of Chantyal is also motivated by the fact that the language has only recently borrowed as loan translations from Nepali a number of quotative constructions which support the direct speech style, with the result that these constructions have not yet undergone significant reanalysis.

Saxena (1988, 1995) and Bashir (1996) provide extensive surveys of the uses of quotatives in South Asia. In those studies, the authors approach quotatives from a sentence-level perspective and view the array of uses of quotatives as the product of grammaticalization chains where the beginning and end points may have only a diachronic relationship. This study differs from those in that it attempts to understand quotatives in one language from a discourse perspective and to find a single theme underlying all [or most] of their uses.

This paper will be organized as follows. In Section 2 I'll make a few generalizations about quotatives, and in Section 3 I'll discuss quotatives in Chantyal. In Section 4 I'll discuss the use of quotative constructions in Chantyal according to grammatical type, and in Section 5 I'll discuss the direct speech style. In Section 6 I'll discuss the place of rhetorical styles in grammar and in areal linguistics.

2. SOME PRELIMINARIES: Direct and indirect speech differ in the manner in which repeated ideas are presented. In direct speech, narrators [better: 'proximal' narrators] present repeated ideas as the words of other, 'distal' narrators; in indirect speech, repeated ideas are adjusted to fit into the spacial and temporal framework of the proximal narrator. This difference produces the familiar contrast seen in (1):

- (1) INDIRECT SPEECH
a. Floyd₁ said that he₁ came here
 DIRECT SPEECH
b. Floyd said "I went there"

A number of authors, *e.g.* Tannen (1989), Mayes (1990) and Chafe (1994), have pointed out that for the most part direct speech is the creation of the proximal speaker since many of the speech events presented as direct quotes could not possibly have been uttered at all or uttered in the form given by the people to whom they are attributed. The distinction between direct and indirect speech, therefore, is primarily a matter of how the information is presented:

DIRECT SPEECH: presented within the spacio-temporal context of the distal narrator and with the invited inference that what is thus presented are the actual words of the distal narrator.

INDIRECT SPEECH: presented within the spacio-temporal context of the proximal narrator and without an invited inference that what is thus presented are the actual words of the distal narrator.

Direct and indirect *speech* can in principle be distinguished from direct and indirect *thought* [Leech & Short 1981, Chafe 1994], though in practice it is not always possible to tell the difference between them. In some languages, for example in English, direct speech and direct thought differ in lexical choice: direct speech is found with ‘say’ and similar speech verbs, direct thought with ‘think’. In other languages, for example Chantyal, such formal differences are rarely encountered and the distinction must be inferred contextually.

Since direct speech is, for the most part, the product of the proximal speaker, it is not much of a conceptual jump to lump direct speech together with direct thought under the category of direct quotes. So, in this paper, generalizations about direct and indirect speech are meant to apply to direct and indirect thought as well, except where noted, and the term ‘direct quote’ should therefore be interpreted to mean quoted speech as well as quoted thought.

3.0 QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN CHANTYAL: In Chantyal, quotatives are constructions involving the verb **bfi-** ‘say’ with direct speech complements.² **bfi-** is glossed ‘say’ for convenience, but its sense is much broader, encompassing the sense of the English verbs ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘report’, and ‘think’. About these quotatives, and about subordination in Chantyal in general, a few facts should be noted.³

First, Chantyal shares with many languages in the Inner Asian speech area a restriction that finite subordination is possible only with complements of ‘say’. Finite clauses in Chantyal are characterized by verb complexes expressing a range of tense-aspect-mood categories through affixation and through the use of auxiliaries. [See Noonan (2001) for a list of verbal inflections.] Except as complements of ‘say’, subordinate clauses can only be non-finite, appearing either as nominalizations [Noonan 1997] or as one of a set of converbs [Noonan 1999], all of which lack the expressive power of finite verb complexes in main clauses.

Straightforward quotatives, sentences whose main thrust is the communication of a quote, can be either SIMPLE, as in (2) below,

- (2) 46 **na-sə** "fɪayn jɦətək pətəkə-ysi-wa fɦin" bɦi-i
 I-ERG be.NEG.NPST match explode-ANT-NOM be.NPST say-PERF
 ‘I said: “No, I’ve exploded a match.”’ [R46]⁴

or COMPLEX, as in (3):

- (3) 314. bura-sə "na-sə khor cɦũ-si-wa mu-wā
 old+man-ERG I-ERG trap set-ANT-NOM be-IMPF
 315. **na-sə bɦuluŋ-ra** khor cɦũ-si-wa"
 I-ERG leopard-DAT trap set-ANT-NOM
 316. bɦi-si-rə bɦi-i
 say-ANT-SEQ say-PERF

² It is also possible to present direct quotes with the hearsay particle **ro**. This interesting construction has many complexities and cannot be discussed here.

³ Ebert (1986) and Saxena (1988, 1995) discuss some aspects of quotatives in other languages of Nepal.

⁴ This and most other examples in this paper are drawn from published discourses: Noonan *et al* (1999), Noonan & Bhulanja (2001), Noonan & Bhulanja (in preparation).

'The old man, "I had been setting a trap. I set a trap for the leopard!" having said, said.'

'The old man told [him]: "I had been setting a trap. I set a trap for the leopard!" [P314-6]

[In the examples in this paper, when there are four lines, the third line is a literal translation, and the fourth, given in italics, a more idiomatic one.⁵ The quote is in boldface type.] (2), which illustrates the simple construction, contains the matrix subject and verb, together with a finite complement embedded between them. The complex construction in (3) contains in addition the sequential converb of 'say' preceding main verb 'say', literally 'having said, said'.

In the complex construction, it is the embedded verb 'say', the sequential converb in (3), which is the complement-taking predicate. In the complex construction, the finite verb is used to express the manner of speaking or the speaker's intent in speaking; as the finite verb in the complex construction, 'say' is best translated by 'tell', as in (3). When the sense of a speech-act predicate other than 'say' is intended, the complex construction is obligatory. In (4), the matrix predicate is 'ask', so the complex construction is employed with 'say' as a sequential converb and 'ask' as the finite verb:

- (4) n̄hi-i bəw-ra "nūwa-sə t̄hem-əŋ khawa la-si-rə pucə
 WE-GEN father-DAT YOU-ERG house-LOC how do-ANT-SEQ worship
 la-m-ē" b̄hi-si-rə surə-ma io
 do-NPST-Q say-ANT-SEQ ask-IMPF HEARSAY
 '[The Whiteman] was asking our father, having said: "How do you worship in the house?"'
 '[The Whiteman] was asking our father: "How do you worship in the house?"' [O52]

In the complex construction, the grammatical form taken by 'say' can change depending on sense. In (4), 'say' is a sequential converb; in (5), 'say' is a progressive converb:

- (5) thyadiri-sə "cə m̄are-ye b̄annu tala khelə-wa p̄ari-wā
 eldest.sister-ERG that other-gen gun why play-NOM happen-IMPF
 rə" b̄hi-gəy kara-i
 and say-PROG cry-PERF
 'Eldest sister cried, saying: "Why did you have to play with another's gun?"'
 'Eldest sister cried: "Why did you have to play with another's gun?"' [R92]

Notice that reversing the grammatical hierarchy – making 'say' the finite verb and, say, 'cry' the converb in (5) – is not possible: 'say' must always take the finite clause as its complement.

Second, Chantyal does not permit indirect discourse. Even with the verb 'say' as the complement-taking predicate, there can be no deictic shift in finite subordinate clauses from the perspective of the distal narrator to that of the proximal narrator. So, example (6)

- (6) "na-ra s̄əjəy pinə-wa mu" b̄hi-i
 I-DAT punishment give-NOM be.NPST say-PERF

can only mean (7a), and not (7b):⁶

- (7) a. '[He_i] said, "I_i will be punished"'

⁵ The idiomatic translation is the one often provided spontaneously by speakers fluent in English.

⁶ (6) can also mean '[He] said to me "[She] will be punished"', where **na-ra** is interpreted as a constituent of the matrix and not the subordinate clause. This sense would be accompanied by a different intonational contour, one involving a slight pause after **na-ra**.

b. '[He_i] said that I_j will be punished"' [i ≠ j]

In a corpus of over 6,000 clauses, I have found only one case which requires an indirect discourse interpretation, and this was uttered by a man who had lived many years in the US and spoke English fluently.⁷

Internally, quoted clauses do not display any formal marks of subordination. All tense, aspect, and mood distinctions available in main clauses are possible, as is the full array of discourse particles, though, as one might expect, the latter tend to be used sparingly, except in extended quotes.

Examples (2) and (3) exemplify the typical construction types for quotes when the subject of 'say' is overt, namely that the subject, expressed by an ergative-marked NP precedes the quote and 'say' follows. Examples involving many clauses are not uncommon:

- (8) 67. **bhuluj-sə hñ "na-h kfi-ra təy pəni a-la-m**
 leopard-ERG uh I-ERG you-DAT nothing also NEG-DO-NPST
 'the leopard said: "I will do nothing to you." [na-sə?]
68. **na-ra pir-si pin-o**
 I-DAT let+loose-ANT give-IMP
 'Let me loose!'
69. **na nə-i khyam nə-i khyam-ri fya-m**
 I I-GEN way I-GEN way-LOC go-NPST
 'I will go on my way.'
70. **na kfi-ra cāy kfi bura cāy na-sə**
 I you-DAT aforementioned you old.man aforementioned I-ERG
təy a-la-m
 nothing NEG-DO-NPST
 'I, I won't do anything to you, you old man.'
71. **na-sə fia-jfi-m**
 I-ERG NEG-bite-NPST
 'I won't bite you.'
72. **na-ra jəsto la-si-rə fin-la-i**
 I-DAT like do-ANT-SEQ be-RC
 'Whatever it is you do to me,'
73. **cu khor-gəm cāy bən ta-si-wa khor-gəm**
 this trap-ABL aforementioned closed become-ANT-NOM trap-ABL
na phiri pir-si pin-o"

⁷ The example is reproduced below:

- (a) 59. **kyata-sə bhūy-ri yəwta dula yā-si-rə**
 boy-ERG ground-LOC one hole find-ANT-SEQ
 'The boy, having found a hole in the ground,'
60. **"khi-ye bfiyakuta cə-nhari wō-la ki"**
 he-GEN toad that-INES go.in-PERF.Q OR
 "'Did his toad go into that?'"
61. **bfi-si-rə kərə-gəy mu**
 say-ANT-SEQ shout-PROG be.NPST
 'he is shouting.' [Y59-61]

In the second line, [60], the character to whom the quote is attributed, a boy looking for his pet toad, would have said, "Did *my* toad go into that?", the shift from **nə-ye** 'my' to **khi-ye** 'his' representing the sort of deictic shift characteristic of indirect speech.

- I outside let.loose-ANT give-IMP
'let me out from this trap that you closed.'"
74. bfi-si-rə
say-ANT-SEQ
'having said,'
75. cə bhuluŋ-sə bfi-i
that leopard-ERG say-PERF
'that leopard said.' [P67-75]

In (8), the subject of 'say' is introduced in the first clause before the onset of the quote. Such subjects are given a characteristic intonational profile involving a rising intonation followed by a pause. Notice that in this examples, after the extended quote, the subject is reintroduced in the final clause before finite 'say', no doubt to help the hearer keep track of who the speaker is. Such reintroduced subjects, however, are not commonly attested even with fairly long quotes.

In the examples given so far, the primary thrust of the clause containing the quotative would appear to be the simple presentation of information as a direct quote. Many instances of quotatives, however, appear to have rather different goals. A couple of illustrations of the sorts of uses to which these constructions can be put are in order. First, consider (9):

- (9) "kadmandu-ri h̄ya-to" bfi-wa mən kha-si-wa mu-ō
Kathmandu-LOC go-OPT say-NOM desire come-ANT-NOM be-IMPF
'The desire saying "[I] want to go to Kathmandu" had come.'
'[She] had wanted to go to Kathmandu.'

In (9), a phrase headed by a nominalized form of 'say' is used to modify 'desire': as discussed in Noonan (1997), nominalized verbals can have an adnominal function in Chantyal. The complement of 'say' is an example of direct speech, as discussed above. The optative verbal affix **-to** implies a first person singular interpretation in this context.⁸ Note that arguments need not be expressed if their sense is contextually identifiable, so the argument which translates the English subject, could be any animate referent which the context would support. The main thrust of (2) could also be expressed without a quotative, as in (10):

- (10) kadmandu-ri h̄ya-wa mən kha-si-wa mu-ō
Kathmandu-LOC go-NOM desire come-ANT-NOM be-IMPF
'The going-to-Kathmandu desire had come.'
'[She] had wanted to go to Kathmandu.'

In (10), a nominalization of 'go' modifies 'desire' directly and could be translated as the 'going-to-Kathmandu desire' or the 'desire that I go to Kathmandu'.

As another example, consider (11):

- (11) naku-sə "kəlo ca-wa" bfi-si-rə t̄him-n̄hari wō-i
dog-ERG dog.food eat-NOM say-ANT-SEQ house-INES enter-PERF

⁸ The optative means 'I want X', where X is the event or state described by the rest of the clause. In the absence of a specified subject of that clause, and where the context does not strongly support another interpretation, the subject is taken to be first person singular.

'The dog, having said "I will eat dog food!", went into the house.'

'In order to eat dog food, the dog went into the house.'

Here, 'say' is expressed as a sequential converb. The verb within the complement is in the form of a nominalization, which, when it occurs as a main clause verb, has a mirative sense. The intonation that would accompany the quoted material **kəlo ca-wa** is appropriate for main clause uses of the mirative. The main thrust of (11) could also be expressed without resort to a quotative, as in (12):

(12) naku kəlo ca-wa-ri tɸim-nɸari wõ-i
dog dog.food eat-NOM-LOC house-INES enter-PERF
'In order to eat dog food, the dog went into the house'

(12) uses a dedicated purpose construction consisting of a nominalized verb in the locative case; (11) depends on inference to express the dog's purpose. Since dogs, presumably, do not speak, the quote in (11) must be interpreted as an internal monologue expressing the dog's intention, an example of 'direct thought'.⁹

The pairs of sentences (9-10) and (11-12) illustrate the point that, as long as the main thrust of the sentence containing the quotative is not the presentation of an actual quote, the basic meaning of the quotative can often be expressed by other constructions, often involving the removal of 'say' and a change from finite to appropriate non-finite form for the verbal within quotative complement. As we will see below, in Chantyal quotatives used for purposes other than the expression of an actual quote are commonly encountered.

4.0 FORM AND USE IN QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS: In quotative constructions generally the verb 'say' may appear in any of five grammatical forms: as a finite verb, as a sequential converb, as a progressive converb, as a nominalization, and as a conditional converb. In this section, we will examine each of these forms of 'say' and the uses to which they can be put. It should be noted at the beginning that the uses to which quotative constructions can be put is generally predictable from the grammatical form of 'say' in the quotative; that is, a quotative with 'say' in the form of a sequential converb has the same potential range of uses as any other sequential converb, a fact which, if true in other languages, as I suspect it is, is often overlooked in discussions of the uses of quotatives.

Before beginning this discussion, I would like to issue three caveats. First, I have not investigated in any systematic way the manner in which intonation varies with the uses to which quotatives can be put. I fully appreciate the relevance of intonation in the study of the issues I'll be discussing, however, and a few informal comments on intonation are scattered throughout the text.

Second, subordinate clauses in Chantyal are relatively underdetermined semantically, as discussed in detail in Noonan (1997) and Noonan (1999). Many of the exam

⁹ In (11), 'dog' is ergative because it is the subject of transitive 'say'; in (12) 'dog' is absolutive because it is the subject of intransitive 'enter'. (11) could also be rendered with 'dog' in the absolutive, *i.e.* interpreted as the subject of 'enter': this is a feature of converbal constructions and is independent of the fact that (11) contains a quotative.

ples discussed in this paper could potentially have a number of interpretations, though the ones given are the ones that are contextually appropriate for the discourses in which they were uttered and have been checked with native speakers.

Third, I am interpreting all instances of quotatives as defined above as containing direct quotes. My reasons for doing this rest on my contention that speakers of Chan-tyal exploit the possibilities of direct quotes to create a rhetorical style which is used for a variety of discourse purposes but which can nonetheless be characterized in terms of its general discourse 'effect'.

4.1 FINITE VERBS: Finite forms of 'say' are used exclusively in sentences whose primary thrust is the reporting of quoted material. A number of examples were provided above, e.g. (2), (3), and (8).

4.2 SEQUENTIAL CONVERBS: Sequential converbs of 'say' can also be used for the expression of simple quotes, even when, as in the example below, they are best considered direct thought rather than direct speech:

- (13) 19. syal nə "ləw abə bʰalu-ra ca-la yā-wa ta-i"
 Jackal FOCUS OK now Bear-DAT eat-COND find-NOM become-PERF
 bʰi-si-rə
 say-ANT-SEQ
 'Jackal having said, "Wow, I have the opportunity to eat Bear," and'
 20. rəmə-gəy bʰalu-muwari hɣa-wa-khi nə
 be.happy-PROG Bear-ADES go-NOM-COTEMP FOCUS
 'while happily going up to Bear,'
 21. bʰalu nə puli-puli la-wa ro
 Bear FOCUS wiggling do-NOM INFERENCE
 'Bear wiggled!' [L19-21]

However, sequential converbs of 'say' are frequently used in contexts where the primary intent would appear to be the expression of other discourse functions. These converbs are used to convey a cluster of interpretations involving reason & causation, purpose & motivation, intention, and attendant circumstance. The examples given below represent an informal arrangement; many examples could just as well be placed under another heading. As noted, the interpretations sequential converbs of 'say' in quotative constructions are also available to other sequential converbs, as documented in Noonan (1999).

(i) reason & causation

With the sequential converb, quotatives are often used to express relations of reason and cause. A number of examples follow. Consider first (14):

- (14) 391. **phəlpʰul-ra ni məstəy thɰan-si-rə**
 fruit-DAT little a+lot store-ANT-SEQ
 "Having stored the fruit a little longer,"
 392. **pari-wa pəri-m" bʰi-si-rə**
 make.happen-NOM happen-NPST say-ANT-SEQ
 '[we] must make [raksi] happen," having said,'
 393. nʰi-sə ənnə-bʰənda phəlpʰul ce məstəy səmmə thɰana-m

we-ERG grain-COMP fruit little a+lot until store-NPST
 'we store the fruit a little longer than grain.'

'Because we need to ferment the fruit a little longer in order to make raksi, we keep the fruit a little longer than grain.' [Q391-3]

This example is taken from a monologue about the preparation of food. The information presented as a direct quote has no obvious source other than the speaker herself, likely as a representative of her community, hence the 'we' in the translation. In the following example, the quoted material is a gnomic generalization, attributable perhaps to the speaker, but also to anyone with experience of paper:

- (15) 88. ...əhã... **abə** "kagər tɕiya-m"
 uh now paper wear.out-NPST
 89. bɕi-si-rə
 say-ANT-SEQ
 90. thəwā-ye kam nə pəkka ɕin
 they-GEN work FOCUS high.quality be.NPST
 'Uh, now, "Paper wears out," having said, their work is high quality.'
 'Because paper wears out, their work is high quality.' [K88-90]

This example is taken from a discussion about a copper plate on which was inscribed the patent granted to the Chantyal by the King of Nepal permitting the Chantyal to mine copper. The implication is that because the inscription was made on copper, it survived, whereas paper would not have survived.

In (14), the basic sense – the relationship between the material given in the complement of 'say' and the main clause – could be expressed without 'say' by having the main verb of the complement appear as a sequential converb: **pəri-si-rə** instead of **pəri-m bɕi-si-rə** as given in (14). In (15), this would not be an option since the converb **tɕiya-si-rə** would have to receive an interpretation of anteriority relative to line [90] and not the generic interpretation that finite **tɕiya-m** receives. In fact, one benefit of the quotative in (15) is that the quotative complement occurs with a finite verb and thus the construction permits in line [88] the non-past tense which is used to make generalizations.

The following two examples illustrate much the same situation: the complement in both contains a nominalized verb, which, as noted, in main clauses [and in quotatives] has a mirative sense, unavailable to a nominalization which is not functioning as the main verb:

- (16) 57. naku-sə "cə əriŋgal-ye ɕɕar-ra dɕo-wa" bɕi-si-rə
 dog-ERG that hornet-GEN nest-DAT meet-NOM say-ANT-SEQ
 58. buruk buruk wuphri-kəy mu
 jump jump.up-PROG be.NPST
 '"[I] will get that hornet's nest!" the dog having said, he is jumping up and down.'
 'Because the dog wants to get to that hornet's nest, he is jumping up and down.' [Y57-8]
- (17) "gay palo myala-nɕari wō-wa" bɕi-si-rə tipatip pari-i
 cow as.a.result field-INES go.in-NOM say-ANT-SEQ hurry make.happen-
 PERF

'''The cow will go in the field!" having said, it made [me] hurry.'
 'Because the cow wanted to get into the field, it made me hurry.'

In (16), the quotative permits the mirative sense of the nominalization as main verb, and hence conveys the excitement of the dog in this Frog Story narration [Berman & Slobin 1994]. In (17), the direct quote – another instance of direct thought – establishes cause for the event described by the final clause **tipatip pari-i** ‘made me hurry’ and does this with a quotative containing the mirative, which helps convey the urgency felt by the speaker.

(ii) *purpose & motivation*

Quotatives can also be used to express the related senses of purpose and motivation. In (18) and (19), the quote is attributed to the speaker:

- (18) na-sə "ca-wa" bfi-si-rə kan hō-i
 I-ERG eat-NOM say-ANT-SEQ rice toast-PERF
 ‘Having said, “I will eat!” I toasted rice.’
 ‘I toasted rice in order to eat it.’

In (18), the quotative establishes the motivation for toasting the rice; the basic sense could be communicated with a dedicated purpose construction – **ca-wa-ri** ‘in order to eat’ in place of the quotative "**ca-wa**" **bfi-si-rə**.

- (19) 21. cu cu ta-ē a-ta-ē
 this this become-NPST.Q NEG-become-NPST.Q
 ‘Will this, this happen; will this not happen?’
 22. cə kuro thaa a-ta-m
 that thing knowledge NEG-become-NPST
 ‘[I] don’t know about that.’
 23. "ajəy ta-wa fin"
 still become-NOM be.PRES
 ‘‘Still, it will be fine [if it happens],’’
 24. bfi-si-rə
 say-ANT-SEQ
 ‘having said’
 25. kosis la-kəy mu
 effort do-PROG be+NPST
 ‘[I]’m making an effort.’

‘This may or may not happen. I don’t know about that. Still, it would be fine if it did; therefore, I’m making an effort.’ [S23-5]

In (19), the speaker is musing about whether or not she’ll pass the eighth grade: she started school at age nine and the school is a two-hour walk along a difficult trail from her village. The quoted material in line [23] provides the justification for making an effort to pass the eighth grade. In this example, ‘say’ in line [24] could have been eliminated and the basic sense preserved. However, in (20), the quotative is required because **pəri-i** ‘happen/must’ could not be expressed as the sequential converb because the sense doesn’t permit sequencing.

- (20) 67. "nun-pani la-si-rə
 salt-water do-ANT-SEQ
 ‘‘Having made a salt-water solution,’’
 68. chyapi-wa pəri-i"
 dab-NOM happen-PERF

69. ' [I] must dab [it] on, "
 bfi-si-rə
 say-ANT-SEQ
 'having said,'
 70. kfa-si-wa fin
 bring-ANT-NOM be-NPST
 '[he] brought [it].'

'Having made a salt-water solution which must be dabbed on, he brought it.' [L67-70]

Here again, the complement of 'say' is presented as an interior monologue and provides a motivation for the action in the last clause.

(iii) *intention*

Quotatives with the sequential converb can also be used to communicate intention. In the following three examples, the quotatives are instances of direct thought. (21) is a first person narrative in which the narrator, again using the mirative, announces his intention to live in the forest:

- (21) "għyanj lagi-wa" bfi-si-rə dugri-i
 forest follow-NOM say-ANT-SEQ run-PERF
 "'I will follow the forest!" having said, I ran.'
 'Determined to live in the forest, I ran.' [R56-7]

(22) and (23) are third person narratives:

- (22) cater nə "bħfuluŋ-sə cə bura-ra ca-wa" bfi-si-rə
 afterwards FOCUS leopard-ERG that old.man-DAT eat-NOM say-ANT-SEQ
 āti-si-wa mu-wā
 intend-ANT-SEQ be-IMPF
 'Afterwards, the leopard, having said, "I will eat that old man," intended
 [to do it].'
 'Afterwards, the leopard was prepared to eat that old man.' [P100]

In (23), the quotative in [139] establishes the intention of the toad in this Frog Story narration to accompany the boy back to his house:

- (23) 139. canə "khi-siŋ fya-wa" bfi-si-rə
 then he-COM go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ
 'Then, having said, "[I] will go with him!,"'
 140. ni tor ləmmyakkə la-si-rə
 little upward extended do-ANT-SEQ
 'having extended [himself] a little upward,'
 141. ni tor ləmmyakkə ta-si-rə
 little upward extended become-ANT-SEQ
 'having become extended upward,'
 142. lfāpo ta-si-rə
 long become-ANT-SEQ
 'having stretched out,'
 143. fya-wa la-si-m khi-ye cāy bħyakuta khi-i
 go-NOM do-ANT-NPST he-GEN aforementioned toad he-GEN
 cari-wa bħyakuta
 look.for-NOM toad
 '[he] has begun to go, his very own toad, the toad that he searched for.'

'Then he determined to go with him, and having extended himself a little upward, having become extended upward, having stretched out, he began to go, his toad, his searched-for toad.' [X139-143]

(iv) attendant circumstance

The last set of examples in our informal survey of the uses of 'say' as a sequential con-verb concern constructions used to express attendant circumstance. The first example could also be taken as an example of intention:

- (24) 1. Bini-ri baŋ-gəm-sə na-ye tələb tʃur-si-rə
Beni-LOC bank-ABL I-GEN money REMOVE-ANT-SEQ
'In Beni, having withdrawn my money from the bank,'
2. tʃiem-əŋ pəthə-i
home-LOC send-PERF
'[I] sent it home.'
3. na-siŋ jəmmə dwi səye ruṗəyā mu-ō ki ta
I-COM total two hundred rupee be-IMPF or what
'I had maybe a total of two hundred rupees.'
4. "gāw-ri-wa pərdʃan rə ʃitman bʃiyanā-ru
village-LOC-NOM mayor and Hitman brother.in.law-COM
Kadmandu-ri ʃya-wa" bʃi-si-rə pʃara-i
Kathmandu-LOC go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ walk-PERF
'Having said, "[I] will go to Kathmandu with the village mayor and brother-in-law Hitman!" [we] walked.'
5. dwi din ligam Pwakhəra-ri tʃio kʰa-si-rə
two day after Pokhara-LOC arrive COME-ANT-SEQ
'After two days, having arrived in Pokhara,'
6. capa ca-i
meal eat-PERF
'[we] ate a meal.'
- 'In Beni, I withdrew my money from the bank and sent it home. I had maybe a total of two hundred rupees. I decided to go to Kathmandu with the village mayor and fellow villager Hitman, and we walked together. After two days, we arrived in Pokhara and had a meal.'* [G1-6]

In (24), line [4] contains the quotative, in which the narrator introduces his traveling companions and his destination. In the quote, we again find the verb expressed as a nominalization with a mirative sense: the narrator explained later that he encountered his traveling companions by accident in the town of Beni, a day's walk from his village, and that the idea of traveling with them only occurred to him there, hence his use of the mirative to express his surprise at this turn of events. In the next example, (25), the narrator is describing the size of a carcass of a mountain goat he's found on a trail. The quotative in line [82] is presented as a bit of internal monologue performed at the time he was examining the carcass, but in the context of this narration the quoted material serves to relate the information in [81] – that the goat is large because it is a 'real bull goat' – with the information in [83-4], which implies that the goat appears even larger because the neck has swollen.

- (25) 81. cə sādde bir thar ʃin-si-m nu
that true mature.male goat be-ANT-NPST REMINDER
'That was a real bull goat, remember.'
82. aʃā, "ʃʰən a-ta" bʃi-si-rə

- ahh, more NEG-become-PERF say-ANT-SEQ
 'Ahh, having said, "It didn't become more,"'
83. cə bhuluŋ-sə kha-ra nə jfi-si-rə
 that leopard-ERG neck-DAT FOCUS bite-ANT-SEQ
 'that leopard having bitten the neck'
84. sāra-ysi-wa
 swell-ANT-NOM
 'it swelled!'
 'Remember, that was a real bull goat. Ahh, as if that weren't enough, that leopard bit the neck and
 it swelled!' [I81-4]

4.3 PROGRESSIVE CONVERBS: In all the examples in my database, progressive converbs of 'say' are used straightforwardly in the narration of genuine quotes. (5) is an example, as is (26):

- (26) 41. Kədi-ye bəw bh yana-sə "Ato rə polo ca-to,
 Kadi-GEN father brother-in-law-ERG grits and nettle eat-OPT
khəre limpa ta-to" bfi-gəy
 how.much tastiness become-OPT say-PROG
 how much tastiness become-OPT say-PROG
42. chəntyal ghos piri-si-rə
 Chantyal song let.loose-ANT-SEQ
 Chantyal song let loose-ANT-SEQ
43. mənchi-ma jəmməy nerə-wa
 person-PL all laugh-NOM
 person-PL all laugh-NOM
 'Kadi's father, my brother-in-law, having sung a Chantyal song saying "I want to eat
 grits and nettle, I want so much tastiness!", everyone laughed!'
 'Kadi's father, my brother-in-law, having sung in Chantyal, "I want to eat
 grits and nettle, I want so much tastiness!", everyone laughed!' [O41-3]

This is one of the few genuine examples of verbatim quoting in my database.

4.4 NOMINALIZATIONS: Nominalizations of 'say', like Chantyal nominalizations generally [Noonan 1997], can function either nominally or adnominally. Nominalizations also figure in verb complexes in finite clauses, but we will consider these to be a species of finite verb 'say' and will thus not consider such cases here.

In their nominal uses, nominalizations of 'say', like other nominalizations, can function as core arguments, as appositives, and as items in lists. In the following, the *say*-nominalization is a subject:

- (27) 85. cəŋ nə na nə "abə khawa la-si-rə tfiem-əŋ fya-wa nfi"
 then FOCUS I FOCUS NOW HOW DO-ANT-SEQ house-LOC GO-NOM BE.NPST.Q
 then FOCUS I FOCUS NOW HOW DO-ANT-SEQ house-LOC GO-NOM BE.NPST.Q
86. bfi-wa gəjjə ta-i
 say-NOM only become-PERF
 say-NOM only become-PERF
 'Then only my saying "Now, how, having done this, am I to go home?" happened.'
 'Then the only thing I thought was: "Now how can I go home?"' [R85-6]

In the next example, the *say*-nominalization is a direct object. There are two verbs 'say' in this example: the main verb **bfi-m** and the nominalization **bfi-wa**, which is the direct object of **buji-wa** 'understand'.

- (28) 34. rə "kam cāy chərəwa fin-si-m" bfi-wa tñāy
 and work aforementioned this.way-NOM BE-ANT-NPST say-NOM nowadays
 tñāy abə jəmməy buji-wa pəri-wa bfi-m
 tñāy abə jəmməy buji-wa pəri-wa bfi-m

nowadays now all understand-NOM happen-NOM say-NPST
 'and [we] say, "[we] must understand nowadays, nowadays the saying 'That work
 has been the same.'"
 'and we say that we must understand nowadays, nowadays that that work in
 particular has been the same.' [V34]

The quotative permits a finite complement for 'understand'. In (29), the *say*-nominalization is a subjective complement in a copular construction:

- (29) 17. "phum-gəmsə cəlla a-tfō nə səð
 egg-ABL chick NEG-go.OUT-PERF FOCUS until
 'Until the chicks leave the eggs,'
 18. nfiaka jfiya-wa a-ta-m" bfi-wa
 chicken COUNT-NOM NEG-become-NPST say-NOM
 'chicken counting doesn't happen,'
 19. cə nə fin
 that FOCUS be.NPST
 'that is the saying.'
 'That is to say, you shouldn't count the chickens until the chicks leave the eggs.' [M17-9]

Say-nominalizations may also function as obliques with case marking:

- (30) 81. pəyle-wa nyasə "cittoro-ye pəlaw-ma mənchi-ð-ye
 yesterday-NOM evening barberry-GEN young.leaf-PL person-PL-GEN
 myala-ð-mar-wa kəlla-ma ca-wa pəri-i"
 field-PL-CIRC-NOM pea-PL eat-NOM happen-PERF
 82. bfi-wa-thōy ta-ma
 say-NOM-ESS become-IMPF
 'Yesterday evening, it was turning out like I was saying "I must eat young barberry
 leaves and the peas from someone's field." [R81-2]
 'Yesterday evening, I had a vague plan to eat young barberry leaves and the peas from
 someone's field.' [R81-2]

As core arguments, such *say*-nominalizations almost always serve to express straight-forward quotes, and often correspond to finite complement clauses in languages like English, as noted in our discussion of (28).

Say-nominalizations may also be used in listing, as we see in the following example:

- (31) 299. cyaw pəni ni thəri thəri ta-m
 mushroom also little kind kind become-NPST
 'There are also a few kinds of mushrooms.'
 300. yewta rato cyaw ta-m
 one red mushroom become-NPST
 'One is a red mushroom.'
 301. seto cyaw ta-m
 white mushroom become-NPST
 'One is a white mushroom.'
 302. "nəmre cyaw bhūre cyaw" bfi-wa
 claw mushroom pot-bellied mushroom say-NOM
 'Saying "claw mushrooms and pot-bellied mushrooms,"'
 303. "camre cyaw" bfi-wa
 tough mushroom say-NOM
 'saying "tough mushrooms,"'
 304. "ciple cyaw" bfi-wa
 smooth mushroom say-NOM

305. 'saying "smooth mushrooms,"
"mane cyaw" bfi-wa
 mana-pot mushroom say-NOM
 'saying "mana-pot mushrooms":'
306. fiə-sər-wa bibhinnə kisim-ri-wa cyaw-ma ta-m
 that-manner-NOM various kind-LOC-NOM mushroom-PL become-NPST
 'so, there are various kinds of mushrooms,'
307. rə fiə-jə cyaw-ma nfi-sə ca-m
 and that-that mushroom-PL we-ERG eat-NPST
 'and those mushrooms we eat.'

Clauses [302-5] continue the listing of kinds of mushrooms, which had begun in [300] with a finite clause. Nominalizations of 'say' accompany items in the list, effectively translating English 'for example'.

Say-nominalizations can also be used adnominally, as in the following example:

- (32) 10. əð fiə-sərə-wa ta-si-rə
 Yeah that-manner-NOM become-ANT-SEQ
 11. thəwə "abə p̄ir-ye; ta-i" bfi-wa
 they now leave-HOR become-PERF say-NOM
 12. əbəstha-ri t̄hə-si-wa mu-ō
 situation-LOC arrive-ANT-NOM be-IMPF
 'Yeah, having turned out that way, they had arrived at a situation where they said:
 "Now, let's leave; it's enough."
 'Yeah, because things turned out that way, they arrived at a situation where they said: "Now,
 let's
 leave; it's enough.'" [K10-2]

Here, the clause headed by **bfi-wa** 'say-NOM' modifies **əbəstha** 'situation'. In the next three examples, **bfi-wa** 'say-NOM' modifies **mən** 'desire' [cf. (9)]:

- (33) 220. "gāw jhən gārawa ta" bfi-wa mən mu nə-ye
 village more good become-HYP say-NOM desire be.NPST I-GEN
 'There is a desire saying "The village could become better" — my [desire].'
 'There is a desire for the village to become better, my desire.' [U220]
- (34) 6. a:: "cə-war hya-wa p̄əri-i ley::"
 ah that-CIRC go-NOM happen-PERF SURPRISE
 6a. bfi-wa mən ta-si-rə
 say-NOM desire become-ANT-SEQ
 'Ah, the desire saying, "[I] actually must go around there" came over [me], and'
 'The desire actually to go around there occurred to me, and' [I6]
- (35) 17. "cu ath kəkchya p̄əni pas ta-lanə
 this 8 class also pass become-COND
 18. ta-wa fin də" bfi-wa
 become-NOM be.NPST FACT say-NOM
 19. cu mən-ri bhawəna ta-m
 this desire-LOC thinking become-NPST
 '[My] thinking comes to this desire, which says "If I pass this eighth grade class, it would
 be fine."
 'If I pass the eighth grade, it would be fine; that's what I think.' [S17-19]

In the final example, the *say*-nominalization modifies **kuro** 'thing':

- (36) 76. cə gwara-sə "mənchi-ma ərkəy rəŋ-ri-wa ərkəy
 that Whiteman-ERG person-PL different color-LOC-NOM different

- boli boli-wa khənə-ri-wa nfi khənə-ri-wa fin-la-i**
 speech talk-NOM which-LOC-NOM be.NPST.Q which-LOC-NOM be-RC
 77. **nfi-thōy nə mənchi fin-si-m" bfi-wa**
 we-ESS FOCUS person be-ANT-NPST say-NOM
 78. **kuro sikəy-ji**
 thing teach-PERF
 'That Whiteman taught [me] the thing which said "Whatever their color, whatever
 their speech, people have been like us."
 'That Whiteman taught me that whatever their color, whatever their speech, people are like us.'
 or
 'That Whiteman taught me: "Whatever their color, whatever their speech, people are like us."
 [O76-8]

4.5 CONDITIONAL VERBS: The protasis of a conditional construction in Chantyal is expressed with one of a set of conditional converbs; the apodosis is expressed with an ordinary finite verb. Conditional converbs of 'say' can almost always be omitted: one could convey pretty much the same objective content without 'say' by placing the finite complement of 'say' in the conditional. As we have seen with other quotative constructions, however, one use of 'say' in conditionals is to allow the protasis of a conditional the full range of TAM categories and discourse particles: the conditional converbs do not code TAM distinctions, and take their TAM interpretation contextually.

Say-conditionals have the same range of interpretations as ordinary conditionals: they may be used simply as protases of conditionals and they may be given temporal interpretations. In (37), we have an example of a simple quotative with a conditional sense:

- (37) 5. **"kfiyar yā-i"** bfi-lanə
 work find-PERF say-COND
 6. **kadmandu-ri ci-wa pəri-i tə**
 Kathmandu-LOC sit-NOM happen-PERF FACT
 'If [I] say, "[I] will find work," [I] must stay in Kathmandu.'
 'If I find work, I will stay in Kathmandu.' [H5-6]

The conditional of 'say' in [5] could be replaced by **kfiyar yā-lanə** 'if I find a job' with the core meaning intact.

(38) and (39) illustrate temporal interpretations of the conditional.

- (38) 41. **"bərkhā lagi-i"** bfi-lanə
 monsoon follow-PERF say-COND
 42. **tipar kha-m**
 leech come-NPST
 43. **"fiyūdə lagi-i"** bfi-lanə
 winter follow-PERF say-COND
 44. **khiliŋ kha-m**
 snow come-NPST
 'If [I] say, "The monsoon will start," the leeches come. If I say, "The winter will start," the snow comes.'
 'When the monsoon starts, the leeches come. When winter arrives, the snow comes.' [S41-4]
- (39) 45. **"cə-rasə yek pəltə kfiap-ji"** bfi-lanə
 that-TEMP one time COVER-PERF say-COND
 46. **paki-m**

cook-NPST

'At that time, if [we] say, "[We] will cover it one time," it cooks.'

'Afterward, once we cover the pot, it cooks.' [Q45-6]

The temporal senses illustrated here are available for all conditionals, and not just 'say'-conditionals, so, again, the basic senses of (38) and (39) could have been communicated without 'say', though as noted the presence of 'say' allows free expression of TAM. This possibility is exploited in the next example, (40), in which the hortative mood is found in the complement of 'say'. The example provides two instances of 'say' as a conditional, though neither has a strong conditional sense since the two complements of the 'say'-conditionals seem to be presented simply as alternatives, with the choice between the two given in the final clause [73]. In both cases the complement clause of conditional 'say' contains main verb 'say' in the hortative mood.

- (40) 71. la-wa-khiri, "pəyle-wa bura-ō batha bfi-ye" ta bfi-lanə,
do-NOM-COTEMP before-NOM old.man-PL smart say-HOR what say-COND
72. "lata bfi-ye" bfi-lanə
stupid say-HOR say-COND
73. təyla-wa bura-ō nɦin kha-wa batha
yesterday-NOM old.men-PL fear come-NOM smart
'When we do [this], if [we] say, "Let's say the old men of the past were smart;" if [we] say, "Let's say they were stupid." Yesterday's old men were frightfully smart.'
'As a result, let's say the men of the past were clever, or let's say they were stupid: they were frightfully smart.' [K71-3]

As we've see elsewhere, the basic sense could have been communicated without the 'say'-conditional.

In sum, direct quotes are often used in Chantyal in contexts where idiomatic English would likely not use direct quotes, and even in Chantyal such direct quotes can usually be replaced with non-quotatives without changing the core meaning.

5.0 THE DIRECT SPEECH STYLE: At this point, a bit of summary would be useful. So far, we've seen that quotative constructions in Chantyal:

- (41) • can occur only as complements to **bfi-** 'say',
• are the only means by which finite subordination is possible,
• always involve direct speech,
• and have a wide range of discourse functions [though consistent with those available to the grammatical category in which 'say' is coded.

A few other facts about quotatives are now in order. First, quotatives in Chantyal are of relatively high frequency. In the narrative discourses that form the bulk of my discourse database, over 2.3% of the total word count [about one word in 43] is the verb **bfi-** 'say': 336 out of 14,415 words in one large database. Not all of these tokens represent a distinct quotative – the complex construction 'having said, said' involves two instances of 'say' but only one quotative – but most do. In order to make this figure meaningful, it would be necessary to compare similar texts from Chantyal and some other language(s), but this I haven't yet done. Frog Stories [Berman & Slobin 1994] might be a useful place to start.

Second, it's clear that, in comparing Chantyal with, say, English, Chantyal speakers use direct quotes in environments where English speakers would likely not. There is, of course, a good deal of overlap. In situations like the following, the use of direct quotes is quite unproblematic from the perspective of English:

- (42) 43. cəŋ nə Kədi-i bəw bhyana-sə "əy kancha
 then FOCUS Kadi-GEN father brother.in.law-ERG hey youngest.brother
kfi bənnu pətkə-la rə-i bfi-gəy
 you gun explode-PERF.Q really-even say-PROG
 'Then Kadi's father, my brother-in-law, was saying: "You, youngest brother, did you fire the rifle?"'
44. bhar-ri-wa bənnu thur-si-rə
 rack-LOC-NOM gun take.out-ANT-SEQ
 'while he took the gun from the rack, and'
45. sfiya-i
 look.at-PERF
 'looked at it.'
46. na-sə "fiayn jhətək pətkə-ysi-wa fin" bfi-i
 I-ERG be.NEG.NPST match explode-ANT-NOM be.NPST say-PERF
 'I said: "No, I've exploded a match."
47. khi-sə "ləw ləw phiri pətkə-o" bfi-wa-khir nə
 he-ERG come.on again explode-IMP say-NOM-COTEMP FOCUS
 'While he was saying, "Come on, explode it again!,"'
48. na-sə "thokhor nə chin-ji" bfi-i
 I-ERG right.now FOCUS finish-PERF say-PERF
 'I said: "Right now, I've finished."' [R43-8]

The speaker uses the direct quotes in lines [43], [46], [47], and [48] as a way of advancing his narrative, giving voices to characters in the narrative, and bringing a sense of immediacy of experience to it, uses of direct quotes which are quite unexceptional from an English perspective.

However, many instances of direct quotes in Chantyal are rather more exceptional from an English perspective. This is especially true when 'say' appears as a sequential converb or as a nominalization. Many examples have been given already, for instance (9), repeated below:

- (9) "kadmandu-ri fiya-to" bfi-wa mən kha-si-wa mu-ō
 Kathmandu-LOC go-OPT say-NOM desire come-ANT-NOM be-IMPF
 'The desire saying "[I] want to go to Kathmandu" had come.'
 '[She] had wanted to go to Kathmandu.'

The effect of the direct quote here is clear enough: to convey a quality of immediacy that would be lacking if the basic sense were to be expressed without the direct quote, as in (10):

- (10) kadmandu-ri fiya-wa mən kha-si-wa mu-ō
 Kathmandu-LOC go-NOM desire come-ANT-NOM be-IMPF
 'The going-to-Kathmandu desire had come.'
 '[She] had wanted to go to Kathmandu.'

This stylistic preference for achieving immediacy through the use of verbatim language of the distal speaker is evident in (43), a first person narration:

- (43) 55. "cə wonə-wa cə dwita phale-ye chala tara-wa" bfi-si

- that front-NOM that two leg-GEN skin extract-NOM say-ANT
 cə gyēri-wa la-wa-khi
 that cut.around-NOM do-NOM-COTEMP
 56. aay! kattay talay tha-i nə a-tha-wa tane
 gosh no.matter.what cut-ANT FOCUS NEG-cut-NOM CONFIRMATION
 'Having said, "[I] will extract the skin of those two front legs!" when I tried to cut
 around them – aay! – having cut no matter what, it wouldn't cut!
 'When I was trying to cut around and peel off the skin of the two front legs – aay! –
 no matter what it wouldn't even cut!' [I55-6]

The predicate in the direct quote in line [55] is a nominalization, which, since it is functioning as a main clause verb, has a mirative sense. As we have seen in other examples, miratives are often found in first person narrations and add to the emotive quality of the narration. Here the speaker, who has been describing the terrible time he had in dealing with a wild goat carcass he had found, exploits the possibilities that the direct quote, with its mirative sense, affords him.

Many of the instances where Chantyal would have a direct quote and English would not are cases of direct thought. (9) and (42) are good examples of this. Direct thought is found not only in first person narrations like (42), but also in third person narrations, as in (13), a rendition of a folktale:

- (13) 19. syal nə "ləw abə bħalu-ra ca-la yā-wa ta-i"
 Jackal FOCUS OK NOW Bear-DAT eat-COND find-NOM become-PERF
 bħi-si-rə
 say-ANT-SEQ
 'Jackal having said, "Wow, I have the opportunity to eat Bear," and'
 20. rəmə-gəy bħalu-muwari fya-wa-khi nə
 be.happy-PROG Bear-ADES go-NOM-COTEMP FOCUS
 'while happily going up to Bear,'
 21. bħalu nə puli-puli la-wa ro
 Bear FOCUS wiggling do-NOM INFERENCE
 'Bear wiggled!' [L19-21]

The next example, (23), is from a Frog Story narration:

- (23) 139. canə "khi-siŋ fya-wa" bħi-si-rə
 then he-COM go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ
 'Then, having said, "[I] will go with him!,"'
 140. ni tor ləmmyakkə la-si-rə
 little upward extended do-ANT-SEQ
 'having extended [himself] a little upward,'
 141. ni tor ləmmyakkə ta-si-rə
 little upward extended become-ANT-SEQ
 'having become extended upward,'
 142. lfħāpo ta-si-rə
 long become-ANT-SEQ
 'having stretched out,'
 143. fya-wa la-si-m khi-ye cāy bħiyakuta khi-i
 go-NOM do-ANT-NPST he-GEN aforementioned toad he-GEN
 cari-wa bħiyakuta
 look.for-NOM toad
 '[he] has begun to go, his very own toad, the toad that he searched for.'
 'Then he determined to go with him, and having extended himself a little upward, having

become extended upward, having stretched out, he began to go, his toad, his searched-for toad. [X139-143]

Chantyal does not commonly use an overt marker to distinguish between direct speech and direct thought analogous to the English distinction between 'say' and 'think'. Presumably in the social context in which these utterances are produced, it is not considered necessary to indicate whether the quoted material reflects something that was actually said or something that the distal speaker might have said to reflect his/her presumed attitude toward the situation being discussed.

Third, to speak of quotatives as a class is as much to speak of the effect they produce as any structural similarities they possess. The effect of quotatives is produced by the use of the device of the direct quote – text presented within the spacio-temporal context of the distal narrator pretending to be verbatim wording. This device is used to express attitudes and desires, to report the making of a decision, and to elicit support for a decision. These uses of direct quotes have the effect of increasing the emotive quality of narrations and of heightening immediacy and involvement, as pointed out by Chafe (1994). Further, direct quotes are, of course, expressed as finite clauses and finite clauses in Chantyal utilize a large number of TAM categories unavailable to non-finite verbals. The result is that, where a quotative and a non-quotative can be used to express the same basic idea, the quotative allows greater expressiveness; this, in turn, further enhances the emotive quality and heightened immediacy and involvement of quotatives. So, the effect produced by quotatives derives both from their being direct quotes and from the expressiveness permitted only to finite clauses.

Fourth, at various points in this paper, I've pointed out that there exist in Chantyal alternative ways to express the 'core meaning' of sentences containing quotatives. This is, of course, a very informal, and potentially misleading, way of talking about meanings, since the point of an utterance may be precisely the expression of that part of its meaning which would be excluded from the 'core' meaning. The only reason for bringing the matter up in this context is just to point out that it would be possible to translate an English discourse into Chantyal which would be fully grammatical and which would use direct quotes only as frequently and in the same contexts as English would. While such a discourse would be fully grammatical, it would not be typical. Part of being a fluent speaker of Chantyal involves knowing how and when to use quotatives. Quotatives constitute part of the 'flavor' or 'style' of the language, even though, with a few exceptions, their use is not strictly necessary to make oneself understood. So, while speakers of Chantyal use quotatives because they want the effect these constructions produce, the extensive use of quotatives sets the language apart from languages spoken in other speech areas where quotatives are not used with the same frequency.

So, it is with these points in mind that we can speak of the 'direct speech style' [DSS] that speakers of Chantyal employ and which sets their speech apart from that of speakers of some other languages. This style is produced by a set of constructions related in form [quotatives, as defined] and function [heightened immediacy and involvement]. The mere presence of quotatives of any sort in discourse doesn't mean that

speakers are utilizing the DSS: rather, it's the use of quotatives where the primary thrust of the sentence is not the simple reporting of a quote that constitutes employment of the DSS.

6.0 RHETORICAL STYLES: So, what *is* the 'direct speech style'? Up to this point, I've tried to describe the form and function of constructions that further the DSS together with the effect that the DSS produces. Now it's time to consider the nature of the DSS itself.

The DSS should be viewed as an exemplar of a class of analytical constructs I'll refer to as 'rhetorical styles'. A 'rhetorical style' is defined as a set of related constructions which together produce an effect in discourse.

Rhetorical styles can characterize specific genres, languages, and whole speech areas. The use of a rhetorical style requires an associated mode of thinking, a conceptualization of situations so as to conform to the categories and concepts encoded within that rhetorical style, a mode of thinking for speaking.

Since rhetorical styles are produced by a relatively small set of constructions producing a given effect, and since any language uses a large number of constructions, a number of rhetorical styles can be identified in any one language and can be used together in the same discourse, even the same sentence.

A few other identifiable rhetorical styles include the 'zero-anaphora' ['parsimonious' anaphora] style of Sino-Tibetan and other languages of East Asia and the 'copious' anaphora style of the languages of western Eurasia; the honorific styles found in Japanese, Malay, Nepali, and many other languages; 'dative subject' [experiencer as goal] syntax; the 'topic prominence' style, *i.e.* loose integration of argument and predicate, [*e.g.* in Sino-Tibetan] and the 'subject prominent' style of tight integration of argument and predicate [*e.g.* in Indo-European] as described by Li & Thompson (1976), Bickel (to appear); and the copious expression of trajectory found in northern Eurasian languages identified by Slobin (1996b).¹⁰

Below are some further characteristics of rhetorical styles.

(i) 'effects'

The effects that rhetorical styles produce are ultimately social and interactional in origin and not specifically grammatical, though in the end grammatical structure may be affected as the employment of the rhetorical style becomes routine. The effects may be employed locally or globally; that is, they may be used only in some speech styles or genres, or they may be used in all speech styles and genres. In adopting a rhetorical style, speakers must adopt a mode of thinking for speaking appropriate to that rhetorical style. This entails adjusting the conceptualization of the event so as to permit the linguistic encoding of the associated effect. In employing the DSS, that means interpreting people's intentions, motivations, and so on as direct quotes, even when the

¹⁰ Slobin would like to link this to the fact that these languages are 'satellite framing', as opposed to the southern Eurasian languages, which are 'verb framing' in Leonard Talmy's (1985, 1991) typology. The issues Slobin raises are beyond the scope of this paper.

proximal narrator could not possibly have been privy to anything said, much less thought, by the distal narrator.

(ii) rhetorical styles in time and space

Grammars develop around frequently employed rhetorical styles: structures may develop to facilitate the production of the effect of the style; conversely, the morphology used to affect the style may undergo reanalysis, obscuring the semantic-pragmatic import of the style.

Rhetorical styles can easily be borrowed and tend to be relatively stable over time, coming to define speech areas. Within speech areas, bilingualism facilitates the spread of linguistic features through loan translations and grammatical calques, often unidirectionally from the local centers of prestige and power. The borrowing of a rhetorical style does not entail the borrowing of any lexical material and consequently can be affected relatively quickly without widespread bilingualism, though obviously widespread bilingualism can speed up the process.

Many languages of South and Central Asia employ the DSS in one form or another [Meenakshi 1983, Tikkanen 1988, Bashir 1996], though in many languages the constructions supporting the DSS have undergone reanalysis, resulting in the loss of transparency of the supporting constructions and consequently of the loss of the effect the style produces and, therefore, the loss of the style itself. Of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, not all employ the DSS or show traces of ever having employed it. Saxena (1988, 1995) has pointed out that Tibeto-Burman languages seem to have acquired grammaticalized functions of the verb 'say' from Indic languages, and indeed this is borne out within within the Tamangic languages, the Bodic subgroup to which Chantyal belongs. Chantyal, the Tamangic language which has been most influenced by Indic Nepali, makes extensive use of the DSS, as we have seen. Nar-Phu, a Tamangic language spoken within the Tibetosphere, has not been much influenced by Nepali and also makes little use of the DSS.

(iii) rhetorical styles in grammatical description

Grammatical descriptions have traditionally said very little about rhetorical styles except where these have consequences for clause-level grammar such that ungrammatical or highly unnatural sentences will be produced if the style is not observed. This neglect has likely come about because, on the one hand, we lack the vocabulary and attendant conceptual framework to say much about rhetorical styles and, on the other hand, they are not always noticed. So, for example, Dan Slobin's discovery (1996b) of a striking difference in the expression of path between English and Spanish is all the more remarkable because English and Spanish are so well described. Discourse-level features like rhetorical styles have been approached primarily from the perspective of clause-level syntax, or not at all.

(iv) rhetorical styles in grammar

As defined, rhetorical styles are related sets of constructions employed by speakers to produce an effect. The constructions are related through shared components, though their primary relation is through the effect they create. Rhetorical styles are analytic constructs. They are not 'in' the grammar; rather, the constructions that produce the rhetorical styles are in the grammar and the effects that they combine to produce become part of the background of event conceptualization, part of the thinking that a speaker engages in for speaking.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS: Dan Slobin has proposed the creation of a field of 'rhetorical typology', a field that would examine rhetorical styles across languages. I hope this paper will be a small contribution to that endeavor, to which a number of people in the audience have already made significant contributions.

Rhetorical typology could have several goals. The most basic would simply be the development of a taxonomy of rhetorical styles. Another basic goal would be Slobin's goal of linking features of the typology of grammar with the typology of rhetorical styles, as in his proposal that lexicalization patterns are linked to rhetorical strategies in the expression of path. Still another would be the investigation of the relation between the discourse effects associated with a rhetorical style and the form of the constructions used to produce the effect. Another line of inquiry would be the study of the relation between rhetorical styles and specific genres. Finally, rhetorical typology would also be concerned with the spread and historical evolution of rhetorical styles.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative case	IMPF	imperfective
ADES	adessive case	INES	inessive case
ANT	anterior	LOC	locative case
CIRC	circumlative case	NEG	negative
COM	comitative case	NOM	nominalizer
COMP	comparative case	NPST	non-past
COND	conditional	OPT	optative
COTEMP	cotemporal	PERF	perfective
DAT	dative case	PL	plural
ERG	ergative case	PROG	progressive converb
ESS	essive case	Q	interrogative
GEN	genitive case	RC	remote conditional
HOR	hortative	SEQ	sequential converb
IMP	imperative		

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