



Semi-direct speech: Manambu and beyond

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Abstract

Every language has some way of reporting what someone else has said. To express what Jakobson [Jakobson, R., 1990. Shifters, categories, and the Russian verb. Selected writings. Word and Language. Mouton, The Hague, Paris, pp. 130–153] called ‘speech within speech’, the speaker can use their own words, recasting the original text as their own, within an ‘indirect’ speech construction. Or the other person may be quoted ‘directly’, just as they said it, or more or less so. One major difference between direct and indirect speech lies in the way person specification within the speech report is cast. In direct speech, person reference is expressed exactly as it was in the original speech report. In indirect speech, the person reference is shifted to the perspective of the speaker. There is a third option – a ‘middle ground’ situation known as ‘semi-direct’ speech – with incomplete person shift. Semi-direct speech often involves coreferentiality between the current speaker – rather than the author of the speech report – and a participant within the speech report. In Manambu, a Ndu language spoken in the New Guinea area, semi-direct speech differs from both direct and indirect speech in a few interesting ways. Further examples of semi-direct speech and its various guises come

Abbreviations: A, subject of transitive verb; ACC, accusative; ACT.FOC, action focus; ADVS, adverbializer; AUX, auxiliary; BAS.NP, basic nonpast cross-referencing; CAUS, causative; COM, comitative; COMPL, completive aspect; COMPL:SS, completed action same subject; CONF, confirmation marker; COP, copula; CS, Current Speaker; DAT, dative; DAT.SG, dative singular; DECL, declarative; DEM.DIST, distal demonstrative; DES, desiderative; DIR.SP.REP, direct speech report; du, dual; excl, exclusive; fem, feminine; FUT, future; IMPV, imperative; INCL, inclusive; IND.SP.REP, indirect speech report; IPTV, imperfective; LK, linker; LOC, locative; LOG, logophoric; masc, masculine; NEG, negative; NOM.PL, nominative plural; NP, nonpast; NR, nominalizer; O, object of a transitive verb; OBJ, object marker; OBL, oblique; OS, Original Speaker; P, past; pers, person; PERF, perfective; PERM, permissive; pl, PL, plural; POSS, possessive; PRO, pronoun; PROG, progressive; PURP.DS, purposive different subject; PURP.SS, purposive same subject; QUOT, quotative; RED, reduplication; RP, reported speech marker; S, subject of intransitive verb; SEQ, sequential; sg, singular; SS, same subject; SUB, subordinative; SUBJ, subject cross-referencing set; VOC, vocative.

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from a number of African languages, other languages from New Guinea area, and Colloquial English. The existence of a semi-direct speech construction brings an additional dimension to the typology of speech reports: the necessity of including the perspective of current speaker in the overall picture.

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1. The problem: speech reports with incomplete person shift

1.1. *Direct and indirect speech reports*

Every language has some way of reporting what someone has said. To express what Jakobson (1990, p. 130) called ‘speech within speech’, the speaker can use their own words, recasting the original text as their own, within an ‘indirect’ speech construction. Or the other person can be quoted ‘directly’, just as they said it, or more or less so. In some languages, such ‘direct’ speech is the only type of speech report. Others have an array of structures on a continuum between ‘direct’ quotation and ‘indirect’ speech. One major difference between direct and indirect speech lies in the person of participants within the speech report.

In a direct speech construction, the speech report content corresponds exactly (or more or less so), to what the ‘Original Speaker’, that is, the author of the speech report content, had said. Consider the English sentences (1a) and (1b):

- (1a) John_i said: ‘I_i saw Fred yesterday’
 (1b) John_i said: ‘He_j saw Fred yesterday’

In both examples, the direct speech report – marked with quotes in the written language – is postposed to the reporting verb ‘say’. There is no overt link between the two. In (1a), the personal pronoun ‘I’ is coreferential with the Original Speaker, ‘John’, and is used within the speech report. In (1b), the personal pronoun ‘he’ is not coreferential with the Original Speaker. The subject of the speech report is someone other than John.

Alternatively, the report may be made without using his or her exact words, cast as ‘indirect speech’. Then the person reference within a speech report is adapted to the perspective of the Current Speaker. In (2a), the original ‘I’ (used by John in (1a)) is changed to ‘he’:

- (2a) John_i said (that) he_j had seen Fred the previous day
 And in (2b) ‘he’ used by John in (1b) is preserved
 (2b) John_i said (that) he_j had seen Fred the previous day

English has no grammatical means of distinguishing different third person referents here. In contrast, languages with logophoric systems do – we return to these in Section 3.5.

Indirect speech reports in English differ from direct speech in a number of other features. Since the speech report content of (1a) and (1b) was prior to the report by John,

saw in both (2a) and (2b) is ‘back-shifted’ to the ‘past perfect’, or past with respect to the past, *had seen*. The time adverb *yesterday* is changed to *the previous day*. The optional complementizer *that* is a marker of syntactic link between the reporting clause and the speech report content. Appendix A contains a survey of features which serve to differentiate speech reports across languages. A list of points to be addressed in an analysis of speech reports in any language is given in Appendix B.

In this paper we focus on SHIFT IN PERSONAL DEIXIS, which is a major property distinguishing direct and indirect speech reports. Suffice it to say that in many languages it is indeed the only way of telling direct and indirect speech apart – examples include Hatam (Papuan area: Reesink, 1999, p. 105), Abun (Berry and Berry, 1999, p. 177), Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas, 1996, p. 6) and Babungo (Schaub, 1985, p. 1).¹ But is such person shift always straightforward? This takes us to the next section.

1.2. Person shift, and coreferentiality in speech reports

A speech report may involve:

- the Current Speaker (CS) – that is, the person who produces the speech report;
- the Original Speaker (OS), e.g. John in (1a,b) and (2a,b);
- and the participants within the speech report itself – the subject ‘I’ in (1a), ‘he’ in (1b)–(2a,b), and the object ‘Fred’ in (1a,b) and (2a,b). There can be further participants – such as the addressee, and a variety of obliques.

When a direct speech report is recast as indirect speech, and if the Original Speaker is coreferential with a Speech Act Participant within the report (that is, first person ‘I’ or second person ‘you’), a non-third person shifts to third person – compare (1a) and (2a). If there is no coreferentiality, there is no person shift – compare (1b) and (2b).

A selection of options for coreferentiality between the Original Speaker (OS) and the participants within the speech report is given in Table 1. For the sake of simplicity, at this stage, I have not included either the option for a second person for the Original Speaker, or any ungrammatical options with the lack of shift in indirect speech reports (e.g. **John_i said that Paul had seen me_i*).

This table contains a set of grammatical options. Further options would be ungrammatical in standard English. These involve person shift within a direct speech report. So, a sentence **John_i said: ‘He_i saw Paul’* where ‘he’ refers to John would be nonsensical. A sentence **John_i said: ‘Fred saw him_i’* where ‘him’ refers to John would also be impossible, if *He saw Paul* and *Fred saw him* are direct speech reports. These examples could be grammatical only if seen as a variation on an indirect speech report with *that* omitted, *John_i said he_i saw Paul* with no tense back-shift. We will see below, however, that such ‘strange’ speech reports – ‘semi-direct speech’ – are a legitimate option in some languages.

¹ Cross-linguistic statements within this paper are based on a comprehensive typological account of speech reports presented in the position paper for the Local Workshop on Direct and Indirect speech at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology in 2004 (Aikhenvald, forthcoming). The data for this paper was collected over 12 years of fieldwork, mostly with speakers of the Avatip variety of Manambu. The corpus consists of over 1500 pages of transcribed texts, notes and conversations, from over 50 speakers.

Table 1
Coreferentiality of the Original Speaker and the participants within speech reports

CS	OS	Participants within speech report		Examples	Speech report
		A/S ('SUBJECT')	O ('OBJECT')		
me	John	Fred	Paul	John said: 'Fred saw Paul'	Direct
				John said (that) Fred had seen Paul	Indirect
me	John	John	Paul	John _i said: 'I _i saw Paul'	Direct
				John _i said (that) he _i had seen Paul	Indirect
me	John	Fred	John	John _i said: 'Fred saw me _i '	Direct
				John _i said (that) Fred had seen him _i	Indirect
me	John	John	John	John _i said: 'I _i saw myself _i '	Direct
				John _i said (that) he _i had seen himself _i	Indirect

The Current Speaker (CS) may be coreferential with the Original Speaker, and/or with a participant within a speech report situation. A selection of relevant options is given in Table 2.

Here again, a number of further options would be ungrammatical in standard English. These involve person shift within direct speech reports which cast the Current Speaker (here 'me') as if the Current Speaker were also the Original Speaker when she is not, as in **John_i said: 'I_{CurrentSpeaker} saw Fred'*. This may be acceptable as an indirect speech report with *that* omitted and no tense back-shift, but not as a direct speech report.

If I am simultaneously the Current Speaker and the subject of a statement within the speech report, the option **John_i said 'She_{CurrentSpeaker} saw him_i'* would also be ungrammatical, as would be **John_i said 'I_{CurrentSpeaker} saw me_i'* (the grammatical option in both cases would be *John said 'She saw me'*). Another ungrammatical option would involve preserving the first person reference for the Current Speaker as object within a direct speech report, as in **John_i said 'I_i saw me_{CurrentSpeaker}'*.

Table 2
Coreferentiality of the Current Speaker, the Original Speaker and the participants in speech reports (the Current Speaker is feminine)

CS	OS	Participants within speech report		Examples	Speech report
		A/S ('SUBJECT')	O ('OBJECT')		
me	me	John	Fred	I _{CS} said: 'John saw Fred'	Direct
				I said (that) John had seen Fred	Indirect
me	John	me	Fred	John said 'She _{CS} saw Fred'	Direct
				John said (that) I had seen Fred	Indirect
me	John	me	John	John _i said 'She _{CS} saw me _i '	Direct
				John _i said (that) I had seen him _i	Indirect
me	John	John	me	John _i said 'I _i saw her _{CS} '	Direct
				John _i said (that) he _i had seen me _{CS}	Indirect
me	me	me	Fred	I _{CS} said 'I _{CS} saw Fred'	Direct
				I _{CS} said (that) I _{CS} had seen Fred	Indirect
me	me	Fred	me	I _{CS} said 'Fred saw me _{CS} '	Direct
				I _{CS} said (that) Fred had seen me _{CS}	Indirect
me	me	me	me	I _{CS} said: 'I _{CS} saw myself _{CS} '	Direct
				I _{CS} said (that) I _{CS} had seen myself _{CS}	Indirect

A further ungrammatical option involves casting the Current Speaker as if she were not the Original Speaker when in fact she was, as in **I_{CurrentSpeaker=OriginalSpeaker} said 'She_{CurrentSpeaker=OriginalSpeaker} saw Fred'*. It is equally impossible to say **I_{CurrentSpeaker} said 'Fred saw her_{CurrentSpeaker}'*.²

These ungrammatical starred examples can be viewed as weird instances of direct speech with unexpected person shift. The starred examples discussed after Table 1 contain what looks like 'illegitimate' shift of person of the Original Speaker. Those discussed after Table 2 contain peculiar shifts of person of the Current Speaker. The value of other persons remains the same as it was produced by the Original Speaker.

Speech report constructions with such 'incomplete' person shift, also known as 'semi-direct' speech, are in fact a legitimate option in a number of languages, many of them spoken in the Highlands of New Guinea. In some, semi-direct speech is obligatory.³

In summary, such semi-direct speech reports can be:

Type I. Original-Speaker-Oriented which correspond to the options discussed after Table 1

Type II. Current-Speaker-Oriented which correspond to the options discussed after Table 2

We start with a brief outline of speech reports in Manambu, a Ndu language from the Papuan area, which has both options for semi-direct speech (Section 2). In Section 3 we consider further examples of semi-direct speech documented in the literature, and the conditions under which it is used. There, we also discuss the possibility of semi-direct speech constructions in English. The last section (Section 4) contains brief conclusions.

2. Speech report constructions in Manambu

2.1. Background

Manambu belongs to the Ndu family, and is spoken by about 2000 people in five villages in the Ambunti region of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. It is a highly synthetic, predominantly suffixing and agglutinating language, with a strong tendency towards verb-final constituent order. Its morphological structure is quite complex (Aikhenvald, 2008). Manambu has contrastive word stress, and no tones.

Nouns distinguish two genders, three numbers and nine case forms. Verbs have an array of grammatical categories, including several modalities, aspects and tenses fused with person, number and gender marking; a complex system of negation; and clause-chaining. Only declarative verbs are fully inflected: they can cross-reference two participants (the subject and another topical argument or oblique) and take a full array of aspect

² Other ungrammatical examples which involve lack of shift in indirect speech reports, such as **John_i said that he_i had seen her_{CS}* are not included, for the sake of simplicity.

³ Whether any language has indirect speech reports similar to **John_i said that he_i had seen her_{CS}* is an open question. In addition, if one reports speech by someone else – as in, for instance, *Paul said: 'John said: "I saw Fred yesterday"'* – both Paul and John will be 'original speakers'. For the sake of simplicity, we restrict most of our discussion to the situation with one original speaker.

markers. Desideratives and some subject purposives do not take any person inflection. The different subject purposive cross-references just the subject.

The imperative has its own paradigm of subject marking. Importantly, there is one verb form for second person singular, dual and plural imperative. The exact reference is distinguished by using free personal pronouns: *a-wuk* (IMPV.2pers-listen) may mean ‘you (singular) listen!’ or ‘you (dual) listen!’, or ‘you (plural) listen’. To disambiguate these, one can say *mən a-wuk* (you.masc IMPV.2pers-listen) ‘you (masculine) listen!’, *nən a-wuk* (you.fem IMPV.2pers-listen) ‘you (feminine) listen!’, *bər a-wuk* (you.du IMPV.2pers-listen) ‘you two listen!’, *gur a-wuk* (you.pl IMPV.2pers-listen) ‘you many listen!’

Direct speech reports in Manambu are highly frequent, and semantically versatile. Any speech act – statement, question or command – can be cast as a direct speech report. In contrast, indirect speech reports are restricted to reported commands, and are less semantically versatile. In Section 2.2, we address the differences between direct and indirect speech reports. ‘Semi-direct’ speech with incomplete person shift along the lines of Section 1.2 is considered in Section 2.3.

2.2. Distinguishing direct and indirect speech reports

Speech reports in Manambu are multiclausal. They are by far the most frequent clause type in Manambu discourse of all genres. An overwhelming majority of speech reports are direct speech. These aim at reproducing what has been said without any shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis. Direct speech reports are often quotations. And, more often than not, they convey not just the words, but the intonation, the look, the gestures, the particular tone of voice and so on – depending on the ‘theatrical effect’ the speaker wants to produce. A direct speech report can be separated from the reporting clause by a short pause.

Direct speech reports in Manambu cover statements, reported commands and reported questions. Indirect speech reports exclusively cover reported commands. The distinguishing properties of direct and indirect speech reports are listed in Table 3. Most of these

Table 3
Direct and indirect speech reports in Manambu: a comparison

Properties of speech report	Direct speech reports	Indirect speech reports
1. Shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis	none (3), (5), (6), (7)	yes (14), (15), (16)
2. Co-extensive with a clause	not necessarily (3), (5)	yes (14), (15), (16)
3. Speech report introducer <i>ata</i> ‘then, thus’	yes (3), (4), (5), (6), (8)	no
4. A pause between reporting verb and the speech report	optional (3)	no
5. Vocatives and exclamations	yes (4)	no
6. Discontinuous speech report	possible (5)	no
7. Speech report can precede or follow the reporting clause	yes (3)–(5)	always precedes (14), (15), (16)
8. Types of speech act reported	statement (4)–(5), question (9), command (3)	only command (14), (15), (16)
9. Can be conventionalized	yes (8)	no
10. Speech report implies a speech event	not necessarily (10)–(13)	always
11. Different forms of verb in speech reports mark involvement of the Original Speaker in performing activity	no	possible (15), (16)

properties are mentioned in [Appendix A](#) as potentially criterial for distinguishing direct and indirect speech reports cross-linguistically.

The numbers of examples from Manambu which illustrate the points in the [Table 3](#) are given in brackets.

2.2.1. Direct speech reports, and their properties in Manambu

As expected, a direct speech report does not display any shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis to fit in with the perspective of the reporter. This is illustrated in (3). Here, the locative *kələm* ‘here’ reflects the location of the female addressee’s ‘staying’. (We can recall, from [Section 2.1](#), that the second person imperative does not distinguish gender and number of the addressee: this is why the second person imperative form *adək* is used.) A direct speech report is typically introduced with the demonstrative adverb *ata* ‘then, thus’ within the reporting clause with the verb *wa-* ‘say, speak’. There is an optional pause between the speech report and the reporting verb. (Here and throughout the paper, clauses are in square brackets. Speech reports are in italics.)

- (3) [*n̄ən* *kətə kələm adək*] [PAUSE] [ata wa-bər lə-kə-k]
 you.fem.sg now here stay:IMPV.2pers PAUSE then say-3dusubj.p she-LK-DAT
 ‘‘You stay here now,’’ thus they said to her’’

A direct speech report can be co-extensive with a clause, or a sentence. It may contain part of a clause, for instance, just a vocative, as in (4). Or it may consist of several sentences and be discontinuous, as in (5). Such discontinuity only occurs on clause boundaries.

- (4) [*gra-n*] [*ata wa-na*] [*wun-a-də mam-eee*]
 cry-SEQ then say-ACT.FOC+3fem.sgsubj.np I-LK-masc.sg older.sibling-voc
 ‘‘She said crying: ‘‘Oh my older brother!’!’’’

- (5) [*də-kə-k və ma:*] [*wun warya-u*]
 he-OBL-DAT see:NEG NEG I fight-1sgperm

[*ata wa-də-di*]
 then say-3masc.sgsubj.p-3pobj.p

[*də-kə-wa kətə warya-k yi-na-dəwun-ək*]
 he-OBL-COM now fight-PURP.SS go-ACT.FOC-1masc.sgsubj.p-conf
 ‘‘‘‘She is not to see him, let me fight,’’ thus he said to them, ‘‘I am going to fight with him now’’’’

Speech reports can precede or follow the framing clause containing the speech verb, with a slight preference for the former. (In the corpus about 70% of direct speech reports precede the framing clause.)

Direct speech covers all speech acts. A statement was illustrated in (5), while (6) features a command. Direct speech reports are preferred in reported commands if the Original Speaker chooses to preserve the exact wording of the command.

If a command is part of a larger speech report which contains a justification for the command, a direct speech report is a preferred strategy. The reported command in (6) was accompanied by an explanation in (7): the older brother felt he ought to be killed by the enemy before they killed his younger sibling:

(6) [kə təpa:m wun-a:k a-vi] [ata wa:d]
 this village+LK+LOC I-LK+DAT IMPV-hit/kill then say+3masc.sgSUBJ.P
 ‘“Kill me in this village,” thus he said’

(7) [wun kiya-u ta:y] [wun ma:m]
 I die-1sg.PERM first I older.sibling
 ‘Let me die first, I am the older brother’

A conventional greeting which has the form of a command is always cast as a direct speech report:

(8) [yara ma:y] [ata wa:l]
 well go then say+3fem.sgSUBJ.P
 ‘“Good-bye (lit. you go well),” she said’

A question within a direct speech report is illustrated in (9).

(9) [[nə kas] wa-ku] [bassa:d]
 sun how.much say-COMPL.SS ask+3masc.sgSUBJ.P
 ‘He asked what time it is (lit. He asked saying “What time is it?”)’

This example illustrates an additional point: the verb *wa-* ‘say, speak’ is the only speech verb which consistently introduces speech reports.⁴ Other verbs referring to speech acts (e.g. ‘ask’ in (9), and ‘cry’ in (4)) can only occur with a speech report if they are preceded by a dependent medial clause containing the verb *wa-* which, in its turn, introduces the speech report, as in (9). In such cases the direct speech report introducer *ata* ‘then, thus’ can be omitted: it is indeed omitted in (9), but not in (4).

Direct speech reports in Manambu are extremely versatile: besides reporting an actual speech event, they are employed to express internal speech and thought, desire and intention of third person, warning, reason and purpose. In these cases, *ata* is often omitted.

Example (10) is cast as a direct speech report. It did not involve any actual speech act. As I was coming downstairs with a loaded camera (without saying anything, but with a

⁴ Manambu has three verbs of speech – *bla-* (allomorph *bəl-*) ‘say/tell (something)’, *yi-* ‘say X, speak (a language)’, and *wa-* ‘say, tell’. Of these, only the verb *wa-* occurs with speech reports of any kind. This is in contrast to those languages where the choice of reporting verb may differentiate speech reports (see Appendix A). The verb *yi-* occurs with just a few interjections as speech reports, as in *ay yi-da-d* (INTERJECTION say-3plSUBJ.NP-3masc.sgOBJ.NP) ‘they shouted’ (lit. they said ay), and with a noun phrase object, e.g. *yarək yi-da-d* (news say-3plSUBJ.NP-3masc.sgOBJ.NP) ‘they told the news’. The verb *bla-* can take a limited number of noun phrase objects, including *kudi* ‘language’, *ma:j* ‘talk’, *yanu* ‘witchcraft’ (e.g. *naura kudi bla-* (Iatmul language speak-) ‘to speak Iatmul language’).

clear intention to take pictures, as requested prior to that), my adopted sister said to make sure the girls were ready for me to take their picture.

- (10) [kayik kurək] [wa-na]
 picture/image do/get+PURP.SS say-ACT.FOC+3fem.sgsUBJ.NP
 ‘She wants or intends to take pictures (lit. She says “(I) am intending to take pictures”)’

One day a duckling was brought inside the house. The cat did not dare touch him, but its desires were clear from the way it looked at the bird. (11) – a comment on this – could not have referred to an actual speech act: cats do not talk.

- (11) [pusi væn tə-na-d]
 cat see+SEQ keep-ACT.FOC-3masc.sgsUBJ.NP
 [papər kə-kə-tua] [wa-na-d]
 later eat-FUT-1sgSUBJ.NP+3fem.sgoBJ.NP say-ACT.FOC-3masc.sgsUBJ.NP
 ‘The cat keeps looking (at the duckling), he wants to eat her later (lit. He says “I will eat her later”)’

Direct speech reports are the only way of expressing someone’s intention – Manambu has no other way of expressing the notion of ‘intending’, or ‘wanting’. They can also express reason, as in (12):

- (12) [[asayik] wa-ku] gra-na
 father+DAT say-COMPL.SS cry-ACT.FOC+3fem.sgsUBJ.NP
 ‘She is crying because of her father’ (lit. ‘Having said “because of father” she is crying’)

This was said about a baby who was crying because her father had gone off to a meeting, leaving her. The baby could not talk, so there was no actual speech act involved. Similarly, in (13), a speech report is a way of expressing the end result of counting: this was a question to a mother about the age of her toddler:

- (13) [nabi kas] wa-na-d
 year how.many say-ACT.FOC-3masc.sgsUBJ.NP
 ‘How old is he? (lit. ‘How many years does he say?’)’

Internal speech and thought are also cast as direct speech reports, using the same verb *wa-* ‘say’ whose meaning can be viewed as far more general than simply reporting a speech act.

Such versatility is hardly unusual. Multifunctional speech reports are a feature Manambu shares with a number of other Papuan and Austronesian languages. Direct speech reports express thinking, desire, intention and cognition in Maybrat (Dol, 1999, pp. 228–230), and also purpose in Tauya (MacDonald, 1990a), in Korowai (van Enk and de Vries, 1997, pp. 104–105), in Kombai (see de Vries, 1990), and also in a number of Western Austronesian languages (Klamer, 2000). Lower Grand Valley Dani also employs direct speech reports to express the speaker’s intention (Bromley, 1981, p. 245). Thought

Example (18) contains reported speech within reported speech. This example, like further instances below, comes from a story told by a narrator. However, the narrator's identity as a 'Current Speaker' is of no relevance to person shift. The Original Speaker (i.e. the girl) in (18) is the 'second level' reporter, which can be considered a 'surrogate' Current Speaker.

The speech report in (18) is an example of Type I semi-direct speech. The speech report contains a token of direct speech report: the second person imperative form of the verb. This is exactly what the brothers had said to the girl, in (17) in the direct speech report (hence the note *DIR.SP.REP* in the gloss). On the other hand, the speech report in (18) contains one feature of indirect speech: the free pronoun has been shifted to first person 'I', to fit in with the perspective of the 'surrogate' Current Speaker, that is, the girl (hence the note *IND.SP.REP* in the gloss). The token of indirect speech is coreferential with the Original Speakers – the two brothers.

The differences and similarities between a direct speech report in (17) and a semi-direct report in (18) are summarised in Scheme 1.

Scheme 1. Differences between direct and semi-direct speech reports in Manambu (17–18)

DIFFERENT FROM DIRECT SPEECH REPORT:	change of pronoun <i>n̄ən</i> 'you' to <i>wun</i> 'I'
SAME AS DIRECT SPEECH REPORT:	imperative verb form <i>adəkʷ</i>

Semi-direct speech reports found in the corpus do not always contain commands. They can be declarative statements. A mother (who has recently died but keeps an eye on her orphaned children) tells her son that the things belonging to him and his sister are here:

- (19) [*bər-a-di ja:p kədiya taka-tua-di*] [ata wa:l]
 you.du-LK-pl thing this.pl.here put-1sgSUBJ.P-3plSUBJ.P then say+3fem.sgOBJ.P
 'She said thus: "The things belonging to you two I put here"'

The son then reports to his sister what the mother had said:

- (20) [*an-a-di ja:p kədiya taka-tua-di*]
 we.two-LK-pl:IND.SP.REP thing this.pl.here put-1sgSUBJ.P-3plOBJ.P:DIR.SP.REP
 [ata wa:l]
 then say+3fem.sgSUBJ.P
 'She_i said thus: "The things belonging to **us two** I_i put here"'

Just as in (18), the person shift within the speech report is incomplete. The first person singular cross-referencing on the verb is exactly the same as in the original speech, in (19), and thus can be considered a token of direct speech (*DIR.SP.REP* in the gloss). The possessive pronoun ('belonging to us two') is 'adjusted' to the Original Speaker's (that is, the son's) perspective, and can thus be considered a token of an indirect speech report (*IND.SP.REP* in the gloss). The spatial deixis has not been 'shifted' – the form 'here' is the same in both (19) (what the mother had said) and in (20) (her speech reported by her son). This is another example of semi-direct speech of Type I: the person reference of the subject of the speech report has been partially adjusted to the perspective of the Original Speaker (the boy).

A speech report with incomplete person shift may contain an uninflected verb – a desiderative form with no person cross-referencing, in (21). A man says to two sisters, in an attempt to frighten them:

- (21) [wun kə-kə-tua-digur-ək] [wun kəta bra:m kə-kər]
 I eat-FUT-1sgSUBJ.NP-2plOBJ.NP-CONF I now you.two+LK+OBJ eat-DES
 ‘I will eat you up, I want to eat you two’

The younger sister is scared, and says (22) to her older sister, recasting the man’s speech as follows:

- (22) [lə-kə mamək ata wa-lə-l]
 she-LK+fem.sg elder.sibling+LK+DAT then say-3fem.sgSUBJ.P-3fem.sgOBJ.P
 [a-də du [pause] [wun kəta
 DEM.DIST-masc.sg man [pause] I:DIR.SP.REP now
 an-a:m kə-kər] [ata wa-na-d]
 1du-LK+OBJ:IND.SP.REP eat-DES thus say-ACT.FOC-3masc.sgSUBJ.NP
 ‘She said to her elder sister thus: “That man_i: ‘I_i want to eat **us** now’ (he_i) said’

The girl did not quote the man’s speech exactly – she partly recast it, transforming it into a semi-direct speech report. The subject reference (‘I’) is not adjusted to her, that is, the ‘Original Speaker’s’ perspective. This is a token of direct speech report, and is exactly the same as in the man’s original speech in (21). So is the temporal deictic, *kəta* ‘now’. In contrast, the object referent (‘us two’) is adjusted to the perspective of the girl as the Original Speaker, and is a token of indirect speech. This is another example of semi-direct speech report of Type I.

Examples (17)–(22) come from traditional stories, told by a story-teller. As mentioned above, for each of (18), (20) and (22), one can postulate two sets of ‘Original Speakers’, if the story-teller is to be considered a Current Speaker. For instance, in (18) brothers are the ‘primary’ Original Speakers whose speech appears in (17), and the girl who is reporting their speech can be treated as a ‘secondary’ Original Speaker. The secondary Original Speaker can be considered, for all effects, a ‘surrogate’ Current Speaker, since the perspective of the story-teller appears to be irrelevant for person shifts. The reference within the speech report is shifted to that of this Current Speaker – the girl in (18), ‘us two’ in (20), and in (22).

Similar constructions are used in spontaneous conversations where there is no speech report within a speech report. A mother told her child to listen to the care-taker:

- (23) [sa! mən lə-kə-k a-wuk]
 hey! you.masc she-OBL-DAT IMPV.2pers-listen
 ‘Hey! You listen to her!’

Later on, the care-taker grumbled at the child, reminding the child of what the mother had said, and using the same imperative intonation and the same interjection *sa* ‘Hey!’ as the one in (23):

- (24) [sa! mən wun-a:k a-wuk]
 hey! you.masc I-LK+DAT:IND.SP.REP IMPV.2pers-listen:DIR.SP.REP
 [ata wa-na] [mən ma: wa:k]
 then say-ACT.FOC+3fem.sgSUBJ.NP you.masc NEG listen+NEG
 ‘“Hey! You listen to **me**!” she_j thus said, you are not listening!’

As in the examples (18), (20) and (22) above, the semi-direct speech report in (24) has features of both direct and indirect speech: second person imperative is a token of direct speech report, and the form of the addressee, ‘me’, is a token of indirect speech (the mother had said ‘her’, in (23)). The interjection *sa!* ‘Hey!’ is another token of direct speech in (24). However, (24) differs from the other examples of semi-direct speech discussed so far in that the token of indirect speech reflects the perspective of the real Current Speaker (the care-taker), and not that of the Original Speaker (the mother). (24) is an example of a semi-direct speech report of Type II: the person shift is done here in agreement with the person of the Current Speaker: the Current Speaker – coreferential with the addressee in (24) – is expressed as ‘me’.

The Current Speaker (that is, the narrator of the story) was of no relevance for person marking in (18), (20) and (22). So, the person of a participant within a speech report was shifted, to mark coreferentiality with the secondary Original Speaker, a ‘surrogate’ Current Speaker.

The imperative intonation of (17) and of (23) was preserved in the semi-direct speech reports in (18) and (24). This ‘mimicking’ effect is a feature of direct, and not of indirect, speech reports both in Manambu (see Table 3), and cross-linguistically (see Wierzbicka, 1974; Clark and Gerrig, 1990).

Within a semi-direct speech report, free pronouns shift to fit in with the perspective of the Original Speaker (tokens of semi-direct speech of Type I, exemplified in (18), (20), and (22)) or with that of the Current Speaker (tokens of semi-direct speech of Type II, exemplified in (24)). Tokens of direct speech can be free pronouns, or bound forms of pronominal cross-referencing.

All the instances of semi-direct speech always imply an actual speech event. This is in contrast to direct speech reports which have a plethora of other meanings, to do with intention, reason and counting – see (10–13) above. The speech report introducer *ata* is optional (see (22)). These features bring semi-direct speech reports closer to indirect than to direct speech. Semi-direct speech reports of Type I and Type II do not show any differences between themselves with respect to any of these features.

Table 4 features a comparison between semi-direct, direct, and indirect speech reports, in terms of the defining properties outlined in Table 3 above.

The person shift in semi-direct speech is partly shared with direct speech, and partly with indirect speech. Of the further 10 properties differentiating direct and indirect speech reports, semi-direct speech reports share four with direct speech, and four with indirect speech. Semi-direct speech reports occur only in statements and commands (but not in questions), while indirect speech is limited to commands, and direct speech may contain commands, questions, or statements (property 8). Discontinuous semi-direct speech reports have not been attested (property 6). That is, semi-direct speech reports indeed occupy a ‘middle ground’ between direct and indirect speech.

Semi-direct speech is recognizable through the shifts in personal deixis, rather than in spatial or temporal deixis. The conditions under which semi-direct speech occurs in Manambu provide a partial explanation.

2.3.2. *How to use a semi-direct speech report in Manambu: a summary*

All the instances of semi-direct speech in Manambu fall into two types, in agreement with Section 1.2 above:

Table 4
Semi-direct, direct and indirect speech reports in Manambu: a comparison

Properties of speech report	Direct speech	Semi-direct	Indirect speech
1. Shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis	no	partial: shift in free pronouns	yes
2. Co-extensive with a clause		not necessarily	yes
3. Speech report introducer <i>ata</i> 'then, thus'		yes (as in (22))	no
4. A pause between reporting verb and the speech report		optional	no
5. Vocatives and exclamations		yes	no
6. Discontinuous speech report	possible	not attested	no
7. Speech report can precede or follow the reporting clause	yes		always precedes
8. Types of speech acts reported	statements, questions and commands	statements and commands	only commands
9. Can be conventionalized	yes		no
10. Implies a speech event	not necessarily		always
11. Different forms of verb in speech reports mark involvement of the Original Speaker in performing activity	no		possible

Type I. The secondary Original Speaker – or the surrogate Current Speaker – is involved in the speech report, as the subject of an intransitive verb (18), as the possessor (20), or as the object (22). The 'real' Current Speaker (that is, the narrator of the story) is of no relevance in the person shift.

Type II. The Current Speaker is involved in the speech report, as the object (24).

In all the examples, the tokens of indirect speech are free pronouns, while the tokens of direct speech can be free or bound.

The use of semi-direct speech as an alternative to either direct or indirect report is not obligatory. Rather, it has a pragmatic effect: it occurs in situations when the speaker is under stress and particularly focussed on their own well-being. In (18), the girl is about to be kidnapped by a stranger. In (20), the two orphaned children are being robbed of their things by their nasty cousins, which makes them concerned about their things and where they are. In (22), the girl is afraid of being devoured by a man. And in (24), the care-taker is desperate because the naughty child would not listen. Examples (18)–(22) come from the climactic parts of narratives each of which is crucial for the rest of the story. Semi-direct speech is a stylistic device; it does not have the function of disambiguating who did what to whom.

That is, semi-direct speech can thus be considered a strategy for marking the involvement of the Original Speaker or of the Current Speaker in a situation which affects them (note that either one or the other is marked as a first person). The function of semi-direct speech reports is to allow the Current Speaker or the narrator to simultaneously 'index' two speech events: the current one and the former one. This tends to happen when the former speech event is relevant to the current situation, or is the climactic part of the story, or when it is appropriate to highlight the relevance of the participants in the speech event. This may be why semi-direct speech is focussed on person shift, rather than on shifts in time and space.⁶

⁶ I am grateful to Carol Genetti for suggesting this idea.

3. Beyond Manambu: semi-direct speech world-wide

Semi-direct speech can be a stylistic, or a discourse-organizing option, as in Manambu and in a number of languages from Africa and from the New Guinea area (Section 3.1). Or it can be obligatory, under certain conditions (Section 3.2).

3.1. *Optional semi-direct speech*

The phenomenon of semi-direct speech as an alternative to direct and indirect speech was first described for African languages. While in indirect speech reports the person reference must ‘shift’ to the perspective of the narrator, there is no such shift in direct speech reports and in quotations. And in semi-direct speech, the reference for some participants is shifted, while for others it is not (see Hedinger, 1984; Jackson, 1987; Noss, 1988; and Wiesemann, 1990).

We first discuss semi-direct speech of Type I, whereby person marking within a semi-direct speech report can be shifted to the perspective of the Original Speaker. We then consider semi-direct speech of Type II, whereby the person reference is shifted to the perspective of the Current Speaker.

3.1.1. *Semi-direct speech of Type I: Person shift to the perspective of the Original Speaker*

An oft-quoted example of semi-direct speech comes from Akɔɔse (a Bantu language from Cameroon: Hedinger, 1984, pp. 91–92). (25) illustrates direct speech, and (26) contains a straightforward indirect speech report. Note that in Akɔɔse any speech report is preceded by a reporting particle (*bán* in (25) and (26)) which distinguishes person and number of the Original Speaker. The direct speech report contains a vocative phrase: this is a typical feature of direct speech, but not of indirect speech reports:

Akɔɔse

(25) [Bé-lángé bó nén bán] [à-mwéé bán sê-də́ɔ nyí à-wóɔŋ]
 they-told them this RP:pl voc-friends RP:pl we-like you to-marry
 ‘They said to them, “Friends, we would like to marry you”’

(26) [éčê ɲòndédè é-kwénténé bán] [bé-'wón bə̀]
 those girls they-agreed RP:pl they-will.marry them
 ‘Those girls agreed to marry them’ (Lit. Those girls agreed (saying that) they will marry them)

Another option is a semi-direct speech report (called ‘combined speech’ by Hedinger, 1984, p. 92), shown in (27). The Original Speaker is referred to with a third person pronoun. Had it been direct speech, first person would be expected. This is thus a token of indirect speech. The addressee is referred to with a second pronoun, just as in the original speech. This is a token of a direct speech report. In the first clause of the speech report, the complex pronoun (‘you and she’) combines a token of direct speech report (‘you’) and that

of an indirect speech report ('she'). The second person plural agreement on the verb is a token of direct speech, and so is the vocative form of 'husband'.

(27)	[mwàád	à-lângè	ñjóm	ǎ]	[à-ñjóm	
	wife	she-tells	husband	RP:3sg	voc-husband(DIR.SP.REP)	
	ngánè		nyî – dyē		nén ...	
	you(DIR.SP.REP)+she(IND.SP.REP)			2pl:DIR.SP.REP-stay	"like.this"...	
	ǎ	mbwé'é	má-'wéé	ǎ		
	RP:3sg	day.when	she'll-die:IND.SP.REP	RP:3sg		
	é-kè	é-lógéd		mé	á	son tē]
	you-go:DIR.SP.REP	you-leave:DIR.SP.REP	her:IND.SP.REP	locative	grave	in

'The wife said to her husband, "Husband, since we have stayed like this ... the day when I die, go and put me in a grave"' (lit. 'Husband, since you and she you-plural-have stayed like this, the day when she dies, you go and you put her in a grave')

Vocative phrases can occur in semi-direct speech reports in Akɔɔse, just as they do in direct speech. This is hardly surprising, since vocatives 'refer' to the addressee, whose marking is the same in direct and in semi-direct reports.⁷ Whether semi-direct speech shares any further features – such as temporal, spatial and deictic reference – with direct and/or with indirect speech reports remains an open question (as noted by Hedinger, 1984, p. 94).

Using a semi-direct speech report in lieu of indirect or direct speech in Akɔɔse, Gbaya (Noss, 1988, pp. 105, 111) and other African languages (Wiesemann, 1990, pp. 77–78) is the speaker's choice. As Noss (1988, pp. 110–111) observed for Gbaya narratives, the interplay of direct, indirect and semi-direct ('combined') discourse is a literary device used by the performer 'to develop his plot'. In Wiesemann's (1990, p. 78) words, this reflects 'a manner of speaking current in conversation' – as a stylistic option.

The use of tokens of direct and of indirect speech in Akɔɔse is similar to Manambu in that free pronouns appear as tokens of indirect speech, while bound pronouns are tokens of direct speech. The complex free pronoun ('you and she' in (27)) combines both.

A significant difference between choice of tokens of direct and indirect speech reports in Akɔɔse and Manambu lies in the treatment of the Original Speaker in Type I of

⁷ Additional complications to do with logophoricity in Akɔɔse – largely independent of semi-direct speech – are discussed in Hedinger (1981, 1984). Some languages, such as Goemai (Chadic: Hellwig, 2006, forthcoming), have a special kind of speech report construction with a special set of logophoric pronouns in the speech report; their choice depends on coreferentiality between the subject of the reporting clause and that of speech complement. Such constructions combine properties of indirect speech (the use of logophoric, rather than independent pronouns) and of direct speech (lack of shift of any deictic categories other than person). A speech report can contain vocatives and interjections, and can even mimic the original author – this makes it similar to what we expect 'direct speech' to be. Such speech reports are different from semi-direct speech reports discussed here in that they involve logophoric markers. In addition, Goemai also has indirect speech reports (a subtype of complement clauses), and emerging direct speech reports, as an innovation widespread in the speech of young speakers of this language.

semi-direct speech. In Manambu, the Original Speaker is cast as first person, while in Akɔɔse this is cast as third person.⁸

3.1.2. Semi-direct speech of Type II: Person shift to the perspective of the Current Speaker

Semi-direct speech as an optional choice has been documented for a number of languages from the Papuan area (many of them from the Highland regions of New Guinea). Unlike Manambu and the African languages, all these Papuan languages typically have just direct speech reports, and no indirect speech report as an alternative option.

In all semi-direct speech report constructions the Current Speaker is involved in the speech report. The reference to the Current Speaker is shifted to their perspective (and not to that of the Original Speaker).

Consider (28), from Usan (Numugenan family, Madang-Adalbert range: Reesink, 1993, p. 220). The Current Speaker ('I') is the addressee within the speech report; it is expressed with a token of indirect speech report ('to me') fused with the imperative

⁸ This goes hand-in-hand with the statement by Donald Webster, about Abidji (Kwa, Ivory Coast): 'Any reference to the speaker of a quotation inside the quotation is made by indirect reference, and any reference to the person spoken to is made by direct reference' (Grimes, 1975, p. 321). Similar examples have been reported by Hyman (1978), for Aghem, by Perrin (1974), for Mambila, by Hill (1995) for Adiokrou, and by Jackson (1987) for Tikar.

Instances of optional semi-direct speech occur in other languages. An example is found in Old Russian (Fennell and Obolensky, 1969, p. 33), in the *Tale about Boris and Gleb* (c. early 1200):

- (i) Se slyshavshi, Novgorodcy re:ša Yaroslav-u,
 this+neuter.ACC having.heard Novgorodians.NOM.PL said Yaroslav-DAT.SG
 [jako zautra perevezemsja na nj]
 that next.day go.across+1pl.FUT:DIR.SP.REP onto him:IND.SP.REP
 'Having heard this, Novgorodians said to Yaroslav, (that) the next day we would go across onto you' (lit. 'that we will go across onto him')

To what extent such semi-direct speech structures were common in Old Russian is an open question. They are not mentioned in the existing grammars where speech reports are discussed only very briefly (see Vlasto, 1986, pp. 203–205, Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, 1965, p. 525; and Matthews, 1960, pp. 222–223). I am grateful to Jonathan Clarke for drawing my attention to this example, and to Noel Brackney and Ian Press for commenting on it.

Galo (Tibeto-Burman: Post, 2007) displays a similar structure: the object pronoun, '3-ACC', is a token of indirect speech, while the 'self-directed' imperative form (which can be roughly translated as 'cut-me-off') is a token of direct speech:

- (ii) [b̥i-əm ĩi=əm
 3-ACC:IND.SP.REP stone=ACC
 pá-pàk-láa-ku-ka]
 chop-OFF-IPTV.SELF/SPEAKER.DIRECTED:DIR.SP.REP-COMPL-ADVS
 əm-düu-ku na = na
 tell-IPFV-COMPL DECL = DECL
 'She_i told them [to cut her_i free from the rock, see]'

MacDonald (1990a, p. 35) mentions semi-direct speech in Tauya (Brahman family, Papua New Guinea); however, the examples are difficult to interpret. Semi-direct speech is not mentioned in her reference grammar of the language (MacDonald, 1990b). Logophoric pronouns in some Daghestanian languages occur in structures similar to semi-direct speech (cf. Kibrik, 1977, pp. 238; 316–317 on Archi; Kalinina, 2001, pp. 550–551; Ljutikova, 2001, pp. 652–658, on Bagvalal).

form. The free pronoun within the speech report is a token of direct speech – it reflects what ‘he’ (the Original Speaker, different from the Current Speaker, ‘me’) had actually said:

Usan

- (28) [Wo_i eng ba di] [ye_j yeis-ib_i]
 he this take come:up I:DIR.SP.REP give:me:IND.SP.REP-sg:FUT:SS
 qamb_i] [ba di-arei]
 say:SS take come:up-3sgFAR.PAST
 ‘He_i brought this up in order to give to me_j’ (lit. ‘he brought this up saying:
 I = Original Speaker_i will give it to me = Current Speaker_j’)

In (29), also from Usan (Reesink, 1987, pp. 258–259), the first person ‘refers to a group of children of which the Current Speaker is a part, and the third person plural refers to the children’s parents’:

- (29) wuri [wau qei ini-nob ir-i]
 they child some us-with:IND.SP.REP ascend-CAUS
 in-wâgâr]
 us:IND.SP.REP-leave.pl.IMPV:DIR.SP.REP
 [qâmb] [maribig-umir eng Boui ne Memind]
 say.SS appoint-3persFAR.PAST the Boui and Memind
 ‘They (parents) appointed Boui and Memind saying “May the children (that is,
 Boui and Memind) leave us (=a group which includes the Current Speaker)”’

The token of indirect speech, ‘us’, is coreferential with the group which includes the Current Speaker (not the Original Speaker) and is expressed as an argument of a postposition, and also a bound pronoun on the verb. The token of direct speech is expressed in the imperative form of the verb itself.

Similar examples come from Lower Grand Valley Dani (Dani family, Papuan area: Bromley, 1981, p. 244). The Current Speaker, ‘I’, is the object of the speech report.

Lower Grand Valley Dani

- (30) [*n-asuwok*]-olvk-at
 me:IND.SP.REP-let’s.kill.later:DIR.SP.REP-having.said-PREDICATE
 ykhy-lakoukwha]
 saying-they:were:FAR.PAST
 ‘They used to make plans to kill me’ (lit. They_i (= Original Speaker) were saying
 having said ‘Let’s kill me_j (= Current Speaker) later’)

The token of indirect speech is coreferential with the Current Speaker, ‘I’, and is expressed as a bound pronoun on the verb. The token of direct speech is expressed in the imperative form of the verb ‘kill’ within the speech report.

In (31), from the same language, the Current Speaker, ‘I’, is the addressee within the direct speech report, and is cast as ‘me’ (rather than as ‘him/her’ or ‘you’ as was said in the original speech). The subject of the speech report is also ‘I’. Both tokens of direct

speech ('I') and of indirect speech reports ('me') are expressed as bound pronouns on the verb (Bromley, 1981, p. 245):

- (31) [wo'nesik-y/vk] [eken?]
 move-let.me.transfer.it.to.me:DIR.SP.IND.SP having.said.did.you(sg).say
 'Did you_i say that you_i were planning to give it to me_j?' (Lit. did you_i (=Original speaker) say 'I_i am planning to give (i.e. move.let.transfer) it to me_j (=Current Speaker)?')

In the descriptions of Usan and Lower Grand Valley Dani, semi-direct speech reports are presented as occasional alternatives to the usual direct speech reports.⁹ There is no information as to how semi-direct speech compares to direct speech, in terms of the use of vocatives, 'mimicking effect', pauses, or any other potentially criterial features (as was described for Manambu, in Table 4 above). The exact conditions under which semi-direct reports are preferred are equally unknown, and require further investigation for these languages. The feature they share is overt marking of the Current Speaker's role in a speech report quoted by them.

We can recall, from the discussion following Table 2, that speech report constructions with incomplete person shift such as **John said 'I_{CurrentSpeaker} saw Fred'* or **I_{CurrentSpeaker} said 'She_{CurrentSpeaker} saw Fred'* are unacceptable in English. (They would be fine if understood as indirect speech reports with the linker *that* omitted.) However, these constructions – analogous to the semi-direct speech attested in Papuan languages – do occur in imperative constructions.

Consider the following example, from colloquial British English. The Current Speaker is talking about an administrator who has told the Current Speaker to come and see him.

- (32) I_{CS} rang up Paul_i, and Paul_i said 'Come_{CS} and see him_i'

What Paul had said was *Come and see me* (see (33a)). In the speech report construction in (32) the second person imperative form *come* is kept just as Paul might have uttered it. The Current Speaker ('I') is the addressee. This lack of shift of person is a token of direct speech. But the free pronominal form of the addressee, *me*, has been changed to *him* to fit in with the perspective of the Current Speaker. This is a token of indirect speech.

Straightforward direct and indirect speech report constructions corresponding to (32) are given in (33a) and (33b-c) respectively, for comparison. These are considered grammatical English, while the construction in (32) – albeit used – is rejected by many as an 'ungrammatical slip of the tongue'.¹⁰

⁹ In Bromley's words, 'the person reference of any personal object-marking prefixes is interpreted from the standpoint of the speaker in all cases, so that in this construction, and only here, there occur verb forms which have first person object markers, referring to the speaker or the speaker with others, and also first person subject markers, where these refer to the addressee or any other non-speaker, since the marked subject person category is not interpreted from the standpoint of the speaker but of the subject of the superordinate verb' (1981, p. 244).

¹⁰ I have recorded half-a-dozen instances of such uses, from native or near-native speakers of British and Australian English. No such examples have been located in the existing web-based corpora.

- (33a) I rang up Paul, and Paul said: ‘*Come and see me*’
 (33b) I rang Paul, and Paul said that I should come and see him
 (33c) I rang Paul, and Paul told me to come and see him
 (33d) I rang Paul, and Paul said to come and see him

The speech report in (32) shares another feature with direct speech reports – its ‘theatrical effect’. As Clark and Gerrig (1990, p. 772) put it, quotations are ‘demonstrations’, and they often convey not just the words, but the intonation, the look, the gestures and so on; ‘the internal structure of quotation is really the structure of what is being depicted, and that can range from the raging of a person to the racket of a machine’. In (33a) the Original Speaker mimicked the administrator’s high-pitched voice and his broad Australian accent. This mimicking is perfectly possible with direct speech reports – as in (33a) – but not with indirect speech – as in (33b) and (33c). Along similar lines, the administrator’s high-pitched voice was mimicked in (32). This is a major reason why (32) cannot be considered an instance of indirect speech report with *to* omitted.

A similar example of a command directed at the Current Speaker and cast as a semi-direct speech report is (34). The speaker had broken her contact lenses, the doctor was alarmed and told her to make an appointment as soon as possible. What the doctor actually had said was *Make an appointment with me*. The speaker reports this as:

- (34) And she_i said, [*make*_{CS=ADDRESSEE} an appointment with her_i as soon as possible]

The speech report in (34) is similar to that in (32) in that the imperative form of the verb, *make*, is identical to what had actually been said and can be seen as a token of direct speech report. The free pronoun, *her*, has been changed to fit in with the perspective of the Current Speaker, and is a token of indirect speech.

A somewhat different example was recorded in the speech of a toddler. Sam was at the time 2 years 9 months old, and quite fluent for his age. His mother was trying to show us what he could say, and kept asking him: ‘And what does Daddy say to you?’ ‘G’day, mate’. ‘And what does Granny say to you?’ ‘Hello, dear’. ‘And what does Mummy say to you? Sam, wash your hands?’ To this last question Sam replied:

- (35) Mummy says: ‘*Sam*_{CS}, *wash*_{CS=ADDRESSEE} *my*_{CS} *hands*’

Just like in (32) and (34), the imperative, *wash*, appears within the speech report in exactly the same form as Mummy had used it. It is a token of direct speech. But the possessive *my* is changed according to the perspective of Sam, the Current Speaker (rather than the Original Speaker’s, Mummy), and is a token of indirect speech.¹¹

All the instances in English which contain shift to the Current Speaker’s perspective involve commands. Just like direct speech reports, these semi-direct speech constructions can contain vocatives, and mimic what has been said. The functions of these constructions and the pragmatic implications require further investigation. Examples (32), (34) and (35) illustrate that the inclusion of Current Speaker in speech report – resulting in the emergence of marginal semi-direct speech constructions – is a reality in everyday varieties of English.

We now turn to the few instances whereby semi-direct speech is obligatory.

¹¹ Note that Sam has never been a pronoun-reversing child (in the sense of Chiat, 1982, 1986; cf. Hanson, 2000): he did not used to employ ‘I’ instead of ‘you’ or ‘you’ instead of ‘I’. The relevance of ‘semi-direct’ speech for child language acquisition deserves further study.

In (38), the addressee of ‘open’ (Deibler, 1971, p. 110) is coreferential with the Current Speaker. A few further, similar examples are in Deibler (1976, p. 115).

- (38) [gapa hamagokoq gahe segelatove] [loko]
 road only.one door I’ll.open.for.us saying
DIR.SP.REP.IND.SP.REP
 [amuza nomolako]
 strength as.you.are.putting
 ‘...As you are striving to open the door of a single way for us...’ (Lit. ‘as you_i are putting strength saying “I_i will open the door of a single way for us_{CS}”)

Along similar lines, in Dom (Tida, 2006, p. 219) semi-direct speech is obligatorily used when the Current Speaker is the object or the addressee of the speech report. In (39), the free pronoun is a token of direct speech report, and the bound pronoun (‘me’) is a token of indirect speech, from the perspective of the Current Speaker. The ‘reporter’ is expressed as a token of indirect speech – this is similar to Manambu.

- (39) [ʔta ʔna kar-Val] ʔd ʔu-na-ga
 a I(excl):**DIR.SP.REP** see-FUT.1sg:**IND.SP.REP** QUOT come-FUT-2sgSUB
 ‘(One) of you_i who would come (here) saying “I_i will see him_{CS}(= Current Speaker)”
 (lit. ‘I_i (=Original Speaker: **IND.SP.REP**) will see me_{CS} (= Current Speaker:
DIR.SP.REP)’¹³

In all other circumstances, straightforward direct speech reports are used. Note that, unlike other New Guinea languages mentioned here, Dom employs a special quotative marker to introduce any speech report.

3.3. Parameters of variation in semi-direct speech reports

Semi-direct speech reports can be an option; or they can be obligatory. They appear to coexist with direct and with indirect speech reports in just two languages where a semi-direct speech report is an optional choice: Manambu and Akɔɔse. ‘Original-Speaker-oriented’ semi-direct speech of Type I has been attested in Manambu and Akɔɔse. ‘Current-Speaker-oriented’ semi-direct speech of Type II has been attested in Usan, Lower Grand Valley Dani, Manambu, Gahuku,¹⁴ and Dom. Manambu differs from other languages discussed here in that it combines the two types of semi-direct speech. English has semi-direct speech constructions of Type II, limited to commands. Tokens of direct and indirect speech can be encoded by free pronouns, bound pronouns, or both. In Colloquial English, the imperative verb is a token of direct speech, and the free pronoun is a token of indirect speech.

The parameters of variation in semi-direct speech constructions of two types are summarized in Table 5.

¹³ ʔ, V, / are tone marks (Tida, 2006).

¹⁴ In Deibler’s (1971, p. 109) words, ‘A verb-affix pronominal form in the quoted speech whose referent is the person or persons who are doing the quoting [that is, the speaker – A.A.] is a first-person pronoun instead of a second person as would have been used by the original speaker’.

Table 5
Parameters of variation in semi-direct speech constructions

Parameters for semi-direct speech		Example languages
Original-speaker-oriented: Type I		Manambu, Akɔɔse
Current-speaker-oriented: Type II		Usan, Lower Grand Valley Dani, Colloquial English, Gahuku, Dom
Obligatory or optional	stylistic option	Manambu, Akɔɔse, Usan, Lower Grand Valley Dani, Colloquial English
	obligatory	Gahuku, Dom
Existence of indirect speech as a special speech report	yes	Manambu, Akɔɔse, Colloquial English
	no	Usan, Lower Grand Valley Dani, Gahuku, Dom
Form of the token of indirect speech	free pronoun	Manambu, Akɔɔse, Dom, Colloquial English
	bound pronoun	Lower Grand Valley Dani, Usan, Gahuku

The existence of Current-Speaker-oriented semi-direct speech constructions confirms the importance of the Current Speaker for a comprehensive typology of speech reports – despite the fact that for some languages, such as English (exemplified in Section 1.2), marking coreferentiality with the Current Speaker appears superfluous.

We will now compare the two types of semi-direct speech reports with instances which look superficially similar: ‘mixed’ speech reports, and the phenomenon of ‘logophoricity’.

3.4. *Semi-direct speech and ‘mixed’ speech reports*

Semi-direct speech reports containing tokens of direct and indirect speech are reminiscent of ‘mixed’ direct and indirect speech (see Mittwoch, 1985, pp. 140–142; called ‘mixed direct and indirect quotations’ by Partee, 1973). Consider the following examples, all from written sources. Dixon describes how the Jamamadí people of Southern Amazonia came to be converted to Christianity by the Campbells, a missionary team (Dixon, forthcoming). The mixed direct and indirect speech is in bold.

- (40) An intruding Branco had been shot by the Jamamadí at the end of the airstrip. But he was such an evil fellow that they really did fear his spirit. **The Campbells said [that Jesus is all powerful]**_{INDIRECT SPEECH REPORT} **and [only he can protect you – better convert double quick!]**_{DIRECT SPEECH REPORT}

The direct speech report here is unlikely to be a verbatim quotation, but it has all the trappings of direct speech: lack of person shift and imperative form. Some authors put direct speech report inserts within quotes, as in (41) (Mittwoch, 1985, p. 140) and (42) (*Weekend Australian Magazine*, March 17–18, 2007, p. 14):

- (41) He_i assures the reader that during the journey he_i wrote down ‘in the evening what during the day I_i had seen...’

- (42) Noxon started doing his research ‘in order to understand myself’.

Such ‘mixed’ constructions are used to achieve a stylistic effect – making the narrative more vivid. These occur predominantly in written style. Unlike semi-direct speech of Type

I described above, the identity between the Original Speaker and a participant within the speech report is optional. Unlike semi-direct speech reports of Type II, the Current Speaker's perspective is irrelevant.

3.5. *Semi-direct speech and logophoricity*

The phenomenon of logophoricity (identified in numerous African languages, and first introduced by Hagege, 1974) involves a special set of forms reserved for indirect speech clauses. They indicate that one of the referents of the embedded speech clause (often, but not always, the subject) is coreferential with one of the participants in the reporting ('matrix') clause. That is, examples such as (2a) and (2b) from English would be explicitly differentiated by different forms of 'he' – one coreferential with the Original Speaker, as in (2a), and one not, as in (2b).

Consider logophoric pronouns in Donno So, a Dogon language from Burkina Faso (Culy, 1994a) (underlined). In (43), the referent of 'he' is neither Anta nor Oumar. In (44) 'he' is Oumar.¹⁵

Donno So

- (43) Oumar [Anta wo-ñ waa be] gi
 Oumar Anta 3sg-OBJ seen AUX said
 'Oumar_i said that Anta_j had seen him_k'
- (44) Oumar [Anta inyeme-ñ waa be] gi
 Oumar Anta LOG-OBJ seen AUX said
 'Oumar_i said that Anta_j had seen him_i'

As pointed out by Wieseemann (1990, pp. 78–79), logophoric reference is primarily employed in a situation where 'third person identification refers to any participant other than the speaker of the original speech act'. The instances of semi-direct speech of Type I and Type II discussed above do not – and cannot – serve the function of differentiating referents. They mark coreferentiality of a participant within the speech report with the Original Speaker, or with the Current Speaker. Note that current-speaker-oriented semi-direct speech differs from 'classical' logophoricity – which concerns a third-person speaker and a participant within the speech report – in that it includes marking of the Current Speaker.

An additional difference between semi-direct speech of Type II and logophoricity lies in the syntactic functions of the speech report participant coreferential (or not) with the Original Speaker. Logophoric pronouns are typically tied to the function of subject, or object. In contrast, reference to 'Current Speaker' in optional semi-direct speech of Type II spans a variety of participants (O in (24) from Manambu, in (30) from Lower Grand Valley Dani and in (39) from Dom; addressee in (28) from Usan, (31) from Lower Grand Valley Dani and (32) from English; possessor in (35) from English).

¹⁵ Alternatively, logophoricity can be expressed with verbal cross-referencing, or with a clitic (see Hyman and Comrie, 1981, p. 24; and an overview by Curnow, 2002a,b). This phenomenon is not confined to Africa (see LaPolla, 2003, p. 50 on a logophoric pronoun in Qiang, a Tibeto-Burman language; a so-called conjunct-disjunct person marking in Tibeto-Burman and Barbacoan languages has essentially the same function: Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 133–134).

Obligatory semi-direct speech of Type II is closer to logophoricity in that the Current Speaker has to be in the addressee or direct object function within the speech report (see (36)–(38) from Gahuku; and (39) from Dom). That is, semi-direct speech can be seen as a marker of coreferentiality between the Current Speaker and a particular participant within the speech report.

3.6. *Semi-direct speech and ‘first-person logophoricity’*

An analogy can be drawn between semi-direct speech of Type II and so-called ‘first person logophoricity’. In some African languages with logophoric pronouns, if the Original Speaker is the subject of the speech report, first person marking may appear in the speech report. This is illustrated with (45), also from Donno So (Culy, 1994b, p. 123). The person of the possessor is cast as if it were an indirect speech report (with a logophoric pronoun indicating the identity of Oumar and ‘he’, the possessor). First person marking on the verb is coreferential with the Original Speaker, Oumar, and reflects what one would expect in a direct speech report.

- (45) Oumar [{*minne inyeme*} *mõ gendezem* gi
 Oumar field LOG:IND.SP.REP POSS regard:PROG:1sg:DIR.SP.REP said
 ‘Oumar said that he_i will look at his_i field’ (lit. Oumar said ‘I-will-look at his field’)

This ‘first person logophoricity’ (Curnow, 2002b, pp. 3–5) serves the same function as a logophoric pronoun – it indicates that an argument (often subject, but sometimes also an object) within a speech report is coreferential with the Original Speaker. It is indeed reminiscent of Type I of semi-direct speech.¹⁶

A similar instance of first person-only logophoricity has been documented for Central and East Hokkaido dialects of Ainu (Bugueva, forthcoming, Section 2.3). If the Original Speaker is identical to the subject of the direct speech report, the inclusive pronoun ‘I and you’ is used, rather than the singular pronoun. The verb appears in the plural form:

- (46) ne eper ene Ø=itak i, [*anokay. . . kamuy mosir ine*
 this bear like.this 3S=sayNR INCL god land to
paye=an] sekor Ø=Ø-ne
 GO.PL=INCLS QUOT 3S=3O-COP
 ‘The bear said: “I shall go to the land of gods (=die)”’ (lit. The bear said: “We (I+you+s/he/they) shall go to the land of gods”)

This is comparable to what Wiesemann (1990, p. 78) refers to as ‘direct reporting of the use of third person to refer to first or second person as a manner of speaking, such as [. . .] *Somebody is hungry around here* meaning ‘I am hungry’ *Somebody has not finished his work* meaning ‘you didn’t finish’. The difference lies in the fact that in examples like (46) from Ainu the inclusive pronoun is an obligatory choice and not a stylistic option.

There is thus a superficial similarity between first-person logophoricity in (45)–(46) and the semi-direct speech of Type I. But there are also two major differences.

¹⁶ This is also reminiscent of conjunct–disjunct person marking (see Curnow, 2002c; Hale, 1980; and the summary in Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 123–128).

Firstly, semi-direct speech of Type I is optional – in all the instances surveyed it is a stylistic option used to mark the Original Speaker’s involvement in the event (see Section 2.3.2, for Manambu).

Secondly, the choice of a logophoric pronoun correlates with a syntactic function of the participant within the speech report coreferential with the Original Speaker (that is, the choice of a logophoric pronoun is determined by whether it is the subject or the object). In contrast, in languages with semi-direct speech of Type I the Original Speaker can have a plethora of syntactic functions within a speech report, including:

- (i) S (intransitive subject), as in (18), from Manambu;
- (ii) O, as in (27), from Akɔɔse, and (22), from Manambu; and
- (iii) possessor, as in (20), from Manambu.

In addition, as can be seen from the analysis of Manambu (Section 2.3.1), semi-direct speech can be considered a separate speech report which shares some features with direct, and some with indirect speech. Semi-direct speech of Type I is a means of marking the Original Speaker’s involvement. For languages with logophoricity this has been described as an obligatory mechanism, which has no such discourse functions. Whether or not once semi-direct speech becomes obligatory, it acquires additional, logophoric, functions remains an open question.¹⁷

4. To conclude

A major difference between direct and indirect speech lies in the way the person of the author of the original speech is cast. In direct speech, the person is expressed exactly as it was in the original speech report. In indirect speech, the person reference is shifted to the perspective of the Current Speaker. There is a third option – a ‘middle ground’ situation known as ‘semi-direct’ speech – with incomplete person shift.

Speech report constructions with incomplete person shift can be of two types. Type I, which tends to be optional, indicates the involvement of the Original Speaker in the speech report. There appear to be hardly any restrictions on the syntactic functions of the participant – coreferential with the Original Speaker – within the speech report: this is what distinguishes semi-direct speech from classical logophoric constructions.

Type II, which may be optional or obligatory, indicates coreferentiality of the Current Speaker – rather than the Original Speaker – with a participant within the speech report. This brings an additional dimension to the typology of speech report constructions: the necessity of including the perspective of Current Speaker as a parameter for classification and analysis of speech reports. Such constructions occur in English – albeit marginally (in English they are restricted to commands).

Semi-direct speech of Type II may be compared to first-person logophoricity, in that the two do a similar job, but with respect to different participants. While logophoricity indicates that an argument within a speech report is coreferential with the Original

¹⁷ Semi-direct speech reports may be obligatory under additional circumstances, independently of person value of the reporter. Slave (Athabaskan: Rice, 1986, 1989, pp. 1273–1289) has a class of ‘direct discourse determining verbs’ reminiscent of semi-direct speech: with these, ‘Simon says that you hit him’ translates as ‘Simon says you hit me’.

Speaker, semi-direct speech of Type II indicates that an argument within a speech report is coreferential with the Current Speaker.

The Manambu data are particularly instructive: they indicate that optional semi-direct speech reports of Type I and Type II may be significantly different from both direct and indirect speech. Semi-direct speech in this language can be considered a strategy for marking Original Speaker's, or Current Speaker's, involvement in a situation which affects them.

To what extent this also applies to other languages with optional semi-direct speech constructions remains an open question. Most languages with optional semi-direct speech have just direct speech reports. The existing grammars provide no information on how semi-direct speech compares to direct speech in terms of the potential 'mimicking' effect, semantic extensions not directly presupposing a speech event, and further properties.

A further question relates to the development and spread of semi-direct speech constructions. Like many other categories, speech report constructions are easily diffused. Logophoricity is an areal, rather than a genetic, property spread across unrelated African languages (as demonstrated by [Güldemann, 2001, 2002, 2003](#); see [Frajzyngier, 1985](#) on Chadic languages). Further examples of areally diffused speech reports abound. The emergence of indirect speech reports in Maale is the result of influence from Amharic; traditional Maale has only direct speech report constructions ([Amha, 2001, pp. 199–200](#)). In Evenki, clauses with indirect speech reports had to be nominalized; under Russian influence, Evenki allows the use of verbal indicative forms in indirect speech ([Nedjalkov, 1997, pp. 1–3](#)). And Modern Goemai has developed direct speech reports under influence from Hausa ([Hellwig, forthcoming](#)).

Both Gahuku and languages of the Chimbu family (which include Dom and Golin), where semi-direct speech of Type II is obligatory, are spoken in the New Guinea Highlands. Does this shared feature reflect a diffusional pattern? And can shared semi-direct speech patterns in Manambu (from the Sepik area), Lower Grand Valley Dani (spoken further west in West Papua), and Usan (spoken in Madang Province, bordering on the Sepik area) be attributed to a contact-induced change? These questions remain open until further studies become available.

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Appendix A. Distinguishing direct and indirect speech reports in cross-linguistic perspective

'Direct' and 'indirect' speech reports differ in a variety of ways, including the expression of tense, intonation patterns, syntactic function of the speech report and many more. Speech report constructions can be multiclausal or monoclausal.

Monoclausal speech reports can be of three kinds: (a) construction with a reported or a quotative evidential (see a brief overview in Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 68–85); (b) construction with double person marking (as in Kwaza: van der Voort, 2000, pp. 291–296); and (c) free indirect discourse (see Quirk et al., 1985; Landeweerd and Vet, 1996, for French). Monoclausal speech reports often originate from reanalysis of multiclausal reports (see discussion in Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 68–85, and Travis, 2006). Interactions between these and further intermediate phenomena are discussed at some length in Aikhenvald (forthcoming).

Within a multiclausal construction, a reporting marker can be a verb of speech, an expression ‘be like’ or ‘do like’ (see Romaine and Lange, 1998), or a combination of both. An intonation break, a pause, or a complementizer, typically mark the link between the reporting marker and the speech report.

Most languages of the world distinguish two multiclausal speech report constructions: direct and indirect speech. Direct speech (also called quote clause; or quote content) lacks the adjustment of personal, temporal and spatial deixis to the Original Speaker’s perspective. It is expected to have all, or most, properties of a main clause. An indirect speech report is typically a kind of embedded complement clause.

Direct speech aims at close, if not fully verbatim, reproduction, of what has been said; ‘direct discourse is “show” as well as speech, indirect discourse is speech only’ (Wierzbicka, 1974, p. 272; and also see Partee, 1973). This is the basis for functional differences between direct and indirect speech. A quote can be of more than one clause; or it can consist of just one word, or one morpheme, or not contain any speech as such – just a gesture (Partee, 1973). See Li (1986, pp. 30–31) and Partee (1973), on the rejection of an earlier transformationalist claim that all indirect speech should be derived from direct speech. Further discussion on how to differentiate between direct and indirect speech reports can be found in Coulmas (1986), Güldemann (2001), and Güldemann and von Roncador (2002).

The distinguishing features of direct and indirect speech are discussed as follows

(i) SHIFT IN PERSONAL DEIXIS, to fit in with the perspective of the Original Speaker is a major defining property of indirect speech report constructions (see Section 1.1 above). An indirect speech report construction may require a simple person shift in pronouns – as in (2a) where the original ‘I’ of the direct speech (in (1a)) has been shifted to ‘he’. A language can employ logophoric (see Section 3.5 above), reflexive or emphatic pronouns for marking coreference between the subject of the reporting clause and the subject of the indirect speech report (Culy, 1994a, p. 1055; Carlson, 1994, pp. 444–445 on Supyire).¹⁸

Person shift is the most prominent feature for distinguishing direct and indirect speech. All other features can be considered concomitant to it.

(ii) SHIFT IN SPATIAL AND IN TEMPORAL DEIXIS.

Indirect speech report constructions may also involve change in SPATIAL DEIXIS. In Lango (Noonan, 1992, p. 227), the direct speech report in (47) employs a proximal locative ‘here’. If the statement is framed as indirect speech, the deictic changes: what was ‘here’ for the author of the speech report, is ‘there’ for the Current Speaker in (48).

¹⁸ See further references and discussion in Güldemann (2003), Dimmendaal (2001).

Lango

- (47) òkòbò nî [àkétò pàlà kân]
 3sg+say+PERF COMPL 1sg+put+PERF knife here
 ‘He said, “I put the knife here”’
- (48) òkòbò nî [èkétò pàlà kŪnŪ]
 3sg+say+PERF COMPL 3sg+put+PERF knife there
 ‘He said that **he** put the knife **there**’

In English, an indirect speech report requires changing a time adverb – as in (2a,b) above – and also spatial and other deictics, to fit in with the perspective of the Current Speaker. ‘Here’ and ‘this’ in direct speech (49) become ‘there’ and ‘that’ in an indirect speech report, and ‘come’ becomes ‘go’ (50a,b), due to a switch in the ‘deictic orientation’ from that of the Original Speaker (‘John’ in (49)), to that of the Current Speaker (Li, 1986; Wiesemann, 1990). The Current Speaker’s perspective may be different from that in the speech report content, as in (50a,b). (50a) and (50b) are alternatives (see further discussion in Leech and Svartvik, 1975, pp. 149–150).

- (49) John told Paul, ‘**Come here** and take care of **this** mess’
- (50a) John told Paul **to go there** and take care of **that** mess
- (50b) John told Paul **that he should go there** and take care of **that** mess

In English – but not in Lango and many more languages – what was past in a direct quote changes to ‘past in the past’ in indirect speech as shown in (2a,b) above and (48). Such rules of TENSE SHIFT, also known as back-shifting, are prominent in many European languages. (Dixon, 2005, pp. 223–225 gives an instructive outline of the rules of back-shifting in English. An overview of back-shift in other European languages is in Janssen and van der Wurff, 1996b; also see Sakita, 2002 on how these rules apply in spoken English, and Sulkala and Karjalainen, 1992, p. 2, on Finnish).

Indirect speech can be marked with a special verb form: this is how conditional (Konjunktiv) is used in German and jussive in Estonian (ten Cate, 1996, p. 202; Erelt, 2002). Or the meaning of tenses may be different in indirect speech reports, and in direct speech reports and main clauses. In Finnish, the present tense in indirect speech may indicate that the action is continuous. In Rumanian (Malinson, 1986, p. 3), the use of conditional in indirect speech implies no responsibility for the truth of the report (‘say that V-indicative’ means ‘say that V’ and ‘say that V-conditional’ means ‘allege that V’); no such connotations are found elsewhere in the language.

(iii) SPECIAL MARKING OF REPORTED COMMANDS. The occurrence of IMPERATIVE is likely to be restricted to direct speech and main clauses in general, and an alternative construction used in indirect speech: (49) and (50a, b) show how a *to*-infinitive and a *that+should* construction in indirect speech replace an imperative in direct speech (also see McGregor, 1994, p. 73). In Hdi (Frajzyngier, 2002, p. 451) a simple verb form in the indirect speech report corresponds to the imperative in the direct speech report; and in Finnish conditional is used in reported commands. In Taba (Western Austronesian: Bowden, 2001, pp. 390–391), the equivalent of an imperative in direct speech reports is a resultative form of the verb. It is not uncommon to employ a different construction type for an indirect speech report of a statement and of a command, as is the case in English, and in Gulf Ara-

bic (here a complementizer marks an indirect speech report unless it is a reported command – then it is omitted: Holes, 1990, p. 2).

(iv) REPORTED QUESTIONS ('indirect questions') may take special complementizers when they occur in indirect speech reports (such as *whether* or *if* in English and their equivalents in Taba). There may be differences in constituent orders – a question in a main clause and in a direct speech report in English requires the inversion of subject and verb, while no such inversion is required if a question occurs in indirect speech. No tag questions occur in indirect speech in English (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1032).

(v) OVERT MARKER OF SYNTACTIC LINK between the reporting expression and the speech report may be required for indirect speech, but not for direct speech. In (2a,b), from English, the optional COMPLEMENTIZER *that* differentiates statements in indirect speech from direct speech. All types of complement clause in English can mark indirect speech, in line with the fact that, cross-linguistically, indirect speech reports are often a subtype of complement clause (Dixon, 2005). In Manambu (see Table 3), a speech introducer may occur with direct speech reports, but not with indirect ones.

A complementizer may be used with both direct and indirect speech reports in Lango (see (47) and (48) above), Nkore-Kiga (Bantu: Taylor, 1985, p. 5), Lele (Frajzyngier, 2001, p. 374) and Koromfe (Rennison, 1997). Or neither can include a complementizer of any sort, as in Gooniyandi and Taba (McGregor, 1994; Bowden, 2001, pp. 390–391). In Ndyuka, a complementizer is equally optional with both (Huttar and Huttar, 1994, pp. 1–3).

If both direct and indirect speech reports occur with a complementizer, the difference between the two may lie in its frequency. In Supyire a complementizer is rarer with direct speech than with indirect speech (Carlson, 1994, p. 447), while in Tikar (Jackson, 1987, p. 100) it is the other way round. And in Ainu (Bugaeva, forthcoming; Tamura, 2000) different complementizers are used with direct, and with indirect speech reports. This takes us to our next point:

(vi) PRESENCE AND TYPE OF REPORTING VERB OR MARKER often differentiates direct and indirect speech reports. A direct speech report – but not indirect speech – may occur without a framing clause of speech, as in Modern Hebrew (Zuckermann, 2006), Gooniyandi, Tuvaluan (Besnier, 2000, p. 3), Paumari (Chapman and Derbyshire, 1991, pp. 242–243) and Urubu-Kaapor (Kakumasu, 1986, p. 338). In Maori, many more verbs of speech introduce indirect reports than direct reports (Bauer et al., 1993, p. 1). In Ainu, it is the opposite (Bugaeva, forthcoming). In many cases if a verb can occur with a direct speech report it can occur with an indirect one. There are exceptions – in colloquial English *go* and (*be*) *like* only occur with direct speech reports (see Buchstaller, 2005, 2006 on their functions, and attitudes to them in modern British and American Englishes). Modern Hebrew employs the verb 'do' as a marker of direct speech reports (Zuckermann, 2006, p. 475). Verbs which do not normally refer to speech acts often introduce direct speech reports (but are not employed for indirect speech); examples include Vinitiri (Oceanic, Austronesian: Van Der Mark, 2007) *lari* 'be like', Aguaruna (Jivaroan: Overall, 2007) *wahát* 'stop; call' and Dyirbal (Australian: Dixon, 1972, p.c.) *yalama-yll* 'do like this'; also see Golato (2000) on *so* 'so' as a speech report introducer in colloquial German.

(vii) POSITION OF THE SPEECH REPORT IN THE SENTENCE differentiates direct and indirect speech reports in Evenki (Nedjalkov, 1997, pp. 1–3) where indirect speech reports follow the reporting verb while direct speech reports may follow or precede it. Direct speech in Awtuw (Feldman, 1986, pp. 160–161, 169) follows a speech verb preceded by an adverb meaning 'thus', and indirect speech reports can occur clause-medially. And in Turkish

(Kornfilt, 1997, p. 3) indirect speech reports may occur anywhere in the sentence, while direct speech reports may occur only to the immediate left of the report verb ‘say’. In Gooniyandi the reporting marker may precede or follow a direct speech report, and always precedes an indirect speech report.

This is directly linked to:

(viii) SPECIFIC CONSTITUENT ORDER WITHIN THE SENTENCE WITH SPEECH REPORT. In Russian (a language with relatively free constituent order), if a direct speech complement precedes the reporting verb, the subject obligatorily follows the verb (see Clarke, 2005, and further references there; and Malinson, 1986, pp. 1–2, for a similar tendency in Rumanian). The direct speech report in English can be placed before or after the reporting clause – as shown in (51). The reporting clause may interrupt the speech report. This is characteristic of the written language (but not so much of the spoken language).

- (51) ‘Please,’ John said, ‘don’t do this’
 ‘Please,’ said John, ‘don’t do this’
 John said, ‘Please, don’t do this’
 ‘Please, don’t do this,’ said John
 ‘Please, don’t do this,’ John said
 Said John, ‘Please, don’t do this’

The subject in a direct speech report is often placed after the reporting verb – unless it is a personal pronoun:

- (52) ‘I need more money,’ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John exclaimed} \\ \text{exclaimed John} \\ \text{he exclaimed} \end{array} \right.$
 *exclaimed he (Leech and Svartvik, 1975, p. 117)

The starred option would have been fine if the verb of speech were *say*: ‘*I need more money,*’ *said he*.

(ix) SPECIAL INTONATION CONTOUR for direct speech report – different from that of an independent clause and an indirect report – has been described for Maltese (Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997, pp. 1–3) and Cairene Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (Gary and Gamal-Eldin, 1984, p. 3).¹⁹ A sentence containing a direct speech report in Modern Greek has an intonational break before the start of the direct speech itself, unlike other sentence types including indirect speech (Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton, 1987, p. 3).

(x) VOCATIVES AND EXCLAMATIONS occur only in direct speech reports, and not in indirect speech in most languages.²⁰ This is in line with ‘mimetic’, or ‘theatrical’ character of direct speech reports pointed out by Clark and Gerrig (1990), and by Wierzbicka (1974).

FURTHER MARKERS OF DIRECT SPEECH REPORTS include the use of quotative or reported evidentials. An evidential particle in Tamil occurs only with direct speech reports (Asher, 1985, pp. 1–3). In Japanese both direct and indirect speech reports can contain one of several quotative particles; according to Hinds (1986, pp. 4–5), only in indirect speech may a quotative particle be replaced by a qualifying phrase, meaning ‘something like’ or ‘like’. In many

¹⁹ Similar examples are Nunggubuyu (Heath, 1984, p. 559), Tuvaluan (Besnier, 2000, p. 5), Ndyuka (Huttar and Huttar, 1994, p. 7) and Maybrat (Dol, 1999, pp. 222–223).

²⁰ Further similar examples include Korean, Finnish, Nunggubuyu and Tuvaluan (Sohn, 1994, p. 13; Sulkala and Karjalainen, 1992, p. 1; Heath, 1984, p. 559; Besnier, 2000, p. 5).

languages the direct – but not the indirect – speech report may be discontinuous: this applies to English, Modern Hebrew (Zuckermann, 2006), Gooniyandi and Ungarinjin (McGregor, 1994, p. 74; Rumsey, 1982, p. 164).²¹ This property is far from universal: Colloquial Russian (Clarke, 2005, p. 380) allows both direct and indirect speech reports to be discontinuous.

There may be further, language specific, differences between direct and indirect speech. In Korean, honorific forms are typical of independent clauses and direct speech reports; in indirect speech they are replaced with neutral forms (Sohn, 1994, p. 11). In Hungarian (Kiefer, 1986), if the verb ‘say’ takes the headless proximal demonstrative *ez* as its object, it can only be followed by a direct speech report. In contrast, the distal demonstrative in the same function requires an indirect speech report introduced by the complementizer *hogy* ‘that, how’. Direct speech reports in Awtuw cannot take case-marking – unlike indirect speech reports (Feldman, 1986). And we saw in Section 2.2.2 that indirect speech reports in Manambu are never introduced with a cataphoric *ata* ‘thus’, while direct speech reports always are.

We saw in (iii) and (iv) above that speech act distinctions (commands, and questions) appear in direct speech reports just as in any other main clause. In contrast, when used in indirect speech reports, both commands and questions are often replaced with other clause types. We saw in Section 2.2.2 that in some languages reported commands are the only instance of indirect speech.

And last, but not least: an indirect speech report is typically a full clause, while a direct speech report may be less than a clause, or may consist of several sentences.²²

So far, we have identified a number of properties which should allow us to unambiguously distinguish between the two varieties of speech reports.

This distinction is irrelevant for those languages which have just one multiclausal speech report construction – a direct speech report. This is the case in numerous Australian languages, e.g. Dyirbal, Ngalakan (Merlan, 1983, pp. 151–152) and Mangarayi (Merlan, 1982, pp. 1–4), and also many Amazonian languages (e.g. Urubu-Kaapor (Tupí-Guaraní: Kakumasu, 1986), Matses (Panoan: Fleck, forthcoming), in Chamling (Tibeto-Burman) and Nepali (Indic) (Ebert, 1986)). Then the direct speech report accompanies the verb of speech which can precede or follow it, depending on the language. A direct speech report can be accompanied by the quotative evidential in Kombai (de Vries, 1990) and a number of Uto-Aztecan languages (Munro, 1978).

And in some languages indirect speech reports are employed only for certain clause types (reported commands), while direct speech reports are predominant in others. This is the case in Manambu – see Section 2.2 above.

But are ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ speech reports always clear-cut? The answer is ‘no’.

Direct speech reports often vary as to how ‘faithful’ to the original they are. This takes us to a potential difference between direct quotation and direct speech reports. Let’s take a couple of naturally occurring examples (with names changed). On a Saturday, John said: ‘I

²¹ If a direct speech report can be discontinuous, can it be placed between any constituents, or between parts of one phrasal constituent? This requires further study.

²² Direct and indirect speech reports can also differ in terms of their syntactic status. Indirect speech reports are usually a type of complement clause, while direct speech reports may share similarities with complement clauses (see, for instance, Genetti, 2006), but may have a special syntactic status (further discussion is in Aikhenvald, forthcoming).

direct and indirect speech interpretations are possible (the quotation marks make it clear). In the spoken language, the intonation may help, but only partly. In an isolating language, like Thai, with extensive ellipsis, difficulties in distinguishing direct and indirect speech may be even greater (Stephen Morey p.c.). Since there is no grammatical marking of person (and personal pronouns are frequently omitted), even ‘person shift’ is hard to rely upon as an ultimate criterion. Instances where no criterion is strictly applicable fall into a general category of speech reports of indeterminate type whose exact interpretation depends on the context.

Appendix B. Points to be addressed when investigating speech reports in a language

The following are among the main questions to be addressed when analyzing speech reports in a language. These will be of use to fieldworkers, working on previously undescribed or poorly described languages, and also to those scholars who are working on better-known languages.

(1) General properties of speech report constructions

What are the *constructions* employed for reporting speech? How many multiclausal and/or monoclausal speech report constructions does the language have?

If the language has a distinction between indirect and direct speech reports, what are their distinguishing features in terms of:

- (i) shift in person deixis (with particular attention to coreference and disambiguation of third person referents);
- (ii) shift in spatial and temporal deixis (and in tense on verbs);
- (iii) changes in mood and modality;
- (iv) report of commands (also known as indirect commands);
- (v) report of questions (also known as indirect questions);
- (vi) presence or absence of a complementizer.

Additional distinctions may include: intonational differences; different use of interjections and exclamations; differences in constituent order; differences in behaviour of demonstratives, and perhaps more.

Can a direct speech report be discontinuous? If so, are there any rules or tendencies as to how it is placed with respect to other constituents? Can it intervene between parts of a constituent? Can a direct speech report be longer or shorter than a clause?

Are there any instances of semi-direct speech (Type I, Original-Speaker-oriented, or Type II, Current-speaker-oriented)? How do semi-direct speech reports compare to speech reports of other kinds (direct and indirect)? Are semi-direct speech reports obligatory or optional?

What kind of monoclausal speech report construction does the language have (if any); frequent possibilities include an evidential, or free indirect speech.

(2) Syntactic role of speech report content

(2.1) Provide a statement of transitivity of reporting verb(s) and speech report constructions

(2.2) If the language has indirect speech, is it similar to a complement clause, or is it a separate clause type? If the language does not have complement clauses as a special type, is another clause type, or complementation strategy, co-opted as a functional equivalent of indirect speech?

What is the syntactic status of direct speech? Can a speech report be questioned, or referred to with an anaphoric pronoun? What is the position of a reporting verb or a quote framer within the sentence?

(2.3) Are reporting verbs or quote framers obligatory? Which verbs or other, non-verbal, expressions, can be used as quote framers? How do they differ from each other? Can they differentiate direct and indirect speech constructions?

(3) Polysemous patterns for reporting verb and quote framers

Are speech report constructions used for the expression of reported thought, intention and/or purpose, wish, cognition and perception, dubious information, comparative or causative marker? Are speech report constructions obligatorily employed for introducing onomatopoeia?

(4) Can you say anything about the grammaticalization patterns of the reporting verb and of quote framer(s) and/or the speech report construction?

(5) Functional, stylistic and discourse implications of speech report constructions

If a language has a choice between several speech report constructions, what are the conditioning factors for the preferential choice of one over the other? For instance, are there any differences in degree of commitment to the veracity of the statement, or correlations with the person of the narrator, or information structure? Are direct or indirect speech reports, or any other speech report construction, a feature of any particular style (e.g. historical narrative)?

(6) Have any of the speech report constructions in the language been influenced by a neighbouring language, or have arisen as the result of areal diffusion and language contact?

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