

Multiple quotatives in Turkish

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1. Introduction

Direct reported speech in narrative and non-narrative contexts has been studied extensively in many languages. However, there are no studies focusing on reported speech with conversational data for Turkish. In fact, apart from Tietze (1964), there are no extensive studies focusing on the different types of reported speech and their functions. The aim of this paper is to investigate the types of reported speech which occur in Turkish conversational narratives, focusing on the direct reported speech constructed with the quotative *de*-‘say’.

Example (1) below illustrates the unmarked way of direct reporting in Turkish, with the quotative *de*-.

- (1) Nezahat: *Sen başkasıyla buluşmaya gidiyorsun dedi.*
you other-Poss-Com meet-Nom-Dat go-Imperf-2PSg say-Past-3PSg
‘You are going to meet someone else he said’

In this example, the sentence [*Sen başkasıyla buluşmaya gidiyorsun*] ‘You are going to meet someone else’ is the original utterance which is being reported and the predicate [*dedi*] ‘he said’ is the quotative. Here, Nezahat is the reporter and a third party (it is actually Nezahat’s husband, but it is not expressed in the utterance) is the original speaker. Nezahat herself is the listener in the reported context. The interviewer is the audience in the reporting context. Thus, as you can see, although the reporting context has various elements, not all elements are expressed in every reporting/each and every element is not expressed in all reporting cases. Here, the reporter expresses only those elements which are required by the discourse, as seen in the example.

2. Data

The data of this study is composed of the transcriptions of 6 hours of audio and video recordings. 4.5 hours of the recordings involve interviews on the participants’ life stories, and 1.5 hours of the recordings consists of everyday conversations amongst peers. The reason for using both interviews and naturally occurring conversations is that these two sources provide different types of narratives.

Interviews have a more rigid structure with pre-determined conversational roles, where the interviewer asks questions in order to elicit narratives from the interviewee and the interviewee in return acts as required by the setting. Thus, especially in the case of life stories,

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the number of narratives vastly outnumbers those in conversations, since the whole point of a life story is to elicit narratives of past experiences. This configuration of roles enables the interviewee to have longer turns with minimum interference from the other participants. The result is what Schegloff calls an “academically hybridized form” (1997: 104).

Narratives within everyday conversational settings on the other hand, exhibit the features of natural conversation. In this latter type, the participants work together to build the narrative, that is they co-narrate. The speakers have shorter turns and interruptions are common. The participant roles are negotiated as the conversation is carried along.

The interviews and the conversations were transcribed in their entirety. In the transcriptions a slightly modified orthography is used reflecting the nature of conversational language.

3. Types of direct reported speech in Turkish

Direct reported speech, in a nutshell, is the reproduction of a past utterance. The reporter enacts the speech of himself or another person. The illusion with direct reported speech is that the reporter presents an exact copy of the original utterance. However, extensive research has shown that it is neither theoretically nor cognitively possible to produce an authentic reproduction of a past utterance. (Mayes 1990; Tannen 1989; Clark & Gerrig 1990)

The data of the present study indicated three different types of direct reported speech. These are direct reported speech constructed with the quotative *de-*, direct reported speech constructed with *diye* and direct reported speech constructed without any lexical quotative markers.

The most common of these three strategies is direct reported speech constructed with the quotative *de-* which is illustrated in sentence (1) above. In the following section the occurrence of *de-* will be discussed in more detail.

The second most common type of direct reported speech is that which is constructed without any lexical quotative markers. This type of direct reported speech is referred to as “free direct speech” (Leech & Short 1981), “unintroduced dialogue” (Tannen 1986), “free standing quotation” (Clark & Gerrig 1990) and “zero quotatives” (Mathis & Yule 1994) in studies concerning English. In this study, Mathis and Yule (1994)’s terminology is adopted and these constructions are referred to as zero quotatives. The extract in (2) below is an example of zero quotative construction.

- (2) Hatice: *Bazen çok hasta olurum. Hiç ayağa*
 sometimes very ill be-Aor-Past-1PSg. at all foot-Dat
kalkamazdım. Gelirlerdi, ya kalk ya
 get up-Abil-Neg-Aor-Past-1PSg come-Aor-3PPlu ya get up ya
eğlenceli değil burası kalk.
 fun Neg here get up
 ‘Sometimes I would be very ill. I couldn’t get up at all. They would come
 ‘Come on, it’s no fun here, get up.’

In this type of direct reported speech, there is no lexical quotative. The quotation is embedded directly into the matrix discourse. Certain stylistic devices such as shifts in the voice quality, signals the audience that there is a quotation.

Direct reported speech constructed with *diye* is the third type I have come across in my data. *diye* is the converbial form of *de-* and is used in cases when the matrix verb cannot take direct quotation complements (Göksel & Kerslake 2005). The sentence in (3) below is an example of this type of direct reported speech.

- (3) Hatice: *Sen benim üstüme kuma mı geldin diye*
 You I-Gen top-Poss-Dat kuma Q come-Past-2PSg Quot
benim bu omzumu ısırđımı bilirim.
 I-Gen this shoulder-Poss-Acc bite-Nom-Acc know-Aor-1PSg
 'She even bit my shoulder saying "What are you, my kuma?"'

This structure is very similar to the one with *de-*, in that there is a quotation expressed from the original speaker's point of view. The difference is structural. *diye* is used with the verb *ısır-* 'bite' so that the direct quotation can be embedded in the matrix sentence.

Table 1 below shows how many sentences each structure occurs in.

Table 1. Direct reported speech strategies in Turkish

| Form | <i>de-</i> | Zero quotative | <i>Diye</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Number of Sentences | 868 (1252 tokens) | 384 | 39 |

You see that the most common strategy of direct reported speech is that with the quotative *de-*. The occurrence of *de-* with 1252 tokens, significantly outnumbers the other two strategies, direct reported speech constructed with *diye* with 39 tokens and direct reported speech constructed with zero quotative with 384 tokens. I will focus my discussion on the usage of *de-*, since it is the most widely used and the most interesting strategy.

4. *de-* as a quotative

The occurrence of *de-* is interesting, because it appears as the main verb in the sentence. It bears the TAM and person markings on it and subcategorizes for the quotation and the speaker as its internal and external arguments. However, unlike other main verbs in Turkish, *de-* can occur multiply in the sentence.

The reported sentences bear quotatives ranging from 1 to 5. Table 2 shows the frequency of direct reported speech constructed with different numbers of quotatives.

Table 2. The frequency of different numbers of quotatives

| | Number of Quotatives | Number of Sentences |
|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| Single Quotative | 1 <i>de-</i> | 740 |
| Multiple Quotative | 2 <i>de-</i> | 97 |
| | 3 <i>de-</i> | 27 |
| | 4 <i>de-</i> | 3 |
| | 5 <i>de-</i> | 1 |
| | | Total number of direct reported speech sentences with <i>de-</i> : 868 |

The most common type of multiple quotative constructions is with 2 *de*-s adding up to 97 sentences. As the number of quotatives that appears in a single sentence increases, the occurrence rate of such sentences (i.e. sentences bearing more than two quotatives) in the overall data set decreases (i.e. there is a negative correlation between the number of quotatives that occur in a single sentence and their appearance in the data set. I have come across 27 sentences with 3 quotatives, 3 sentences with 4 quotatives and only 1 sentence with 5 quotatives.

de- is somewhat less constrained than other matrix verbs. The positions in which the quotative *de-* occurs have been categorized as initial, medial and final according to the sentential positions they occur in. There are more than one slot for the “medial position” and the most favored ones are the positions following sentence initial discourse markers and vocatives, subjects (especially genitive-possessive constructions where the quotative occurs in the middle), direct objects, adjunct clauses and conjunctions.

Table 3 below shows the different positions occupied by single quotative direct reported speech. Directly following the table, the sentences in (4) illustrate how the quotative occurs in these positions.

Table 3. 1 *de-*

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Initial Position | 47 |
| <i>de- ki</i> | 19 |
| Medial Position | 219 |
| Final Position | 520 |

(4a) *de-* in final position

Aslı: “Ben *bunu* *yapıcam*” *diyorsun*.
 I this-Acc do-Fut-1PSg say-Impf-2PSg
 “You say I’m going to do this.”

(4b) *de-* in medial position

Hatice: “Anne” *diyorum* “*çoraplarımı saklıyorum*”.
 Mom say-Impf-1PSg sock-Pl-Poss-Acc keep-Impf-1PSg
 “I say, ‘Mom, I am keeping my stockings.’”

(4c) *de-* in initial position

Elif: *Dedim* "ben *Yılmaz'dan* *haber alamıyorum*".
 say-Past-1PSg I *Yılmaz-Abl* news get-Abil-Neg-Impf-1PSg
 "I said I haven't heard from Yılmaz."

There are 47 instances where the quotative *de-* occurs in sentence initial position, 219 instances where it occurs in medial position and 520 instances where it occurs in final position. As you see, the most favored position for the single quotative is sentence final. Notice that in Table 3 there is a separate category: *de- ki*. It occurs in 19 sentences. I included *de ki-* as a separate category, because this structure occurs obligatorily in sentence initial position. I have not come across *de- ki* structure in direct reported speech with multiple quotatives type.

Direct reported speech with two quotatives can have four different configurations, as seen in table (4) below.

Table 4. 2 *de-*

| Position of Quotatives | Number of Sentences |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| Initial – Final | 22 |
| Initial – Medial | 7 |
| Medial – Final | 53 |
| Medial – Medial | 15 |

The four logically possible configurations are all represented in my data. There are 22 sentences with initial-final configuration, 7 sentences with initial-medial configuration, 53 sentences with medial-final configuration and 15 sentences with medial-medial configuration. The frequency of direct reported speech with three quotatives is given in Table 5.

Table 5. 3 *de-*

| Position of Quotatives | Number of Sentences |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Initial – Medial – Final | 4 |
| Medial – Medial – Final | 22 |

There are four different configurations which are possible, but only two of these are present in my data: 4 sentences where the quotatives are in the initial-medial-final positions and 22 sentences where the quotatives are in medial-medial-final positions.

As I have pointed out, direct reported speech with four and five quotatives are rare. There are three sentences with four quotatives and only one sentence with five quotatives. These sentences have similar configurations where there is one quotative in the final position and the rest are in medial positions. Sentence (5) is an example with four quotatives.

(5) Elif: "Annem zaten" *dedi* "kayınvalidem" *dedi*
 mother-Poss anyway say-Past mother-in-law-Poss say-Past
 "bakıyo" *dedi* "eve" *dedi*.
 take care-Impf say-Past house-Dat say-Past
 "He said my mother, my mother-in-law takes care of the household."

5. Structural implications of *de*-’s distribution

As you see, the data reveals systematic usage of multiple quotatives. In direct reported speech, the quotative verb *de-* is the main verb, subcategorizing for an internal argument (i.e. the quotation) and external argument (i.e. the reported speaker). The quotative verb bears agreement markers that match with the Φ features of the reported speaker. However, a main verb occurring multiple times (except for repairs and reduplications) or occurring inside their argument or adjunct phrases is very strange and has significant structural implications.

One significant difference separating direct reported speech with *de-* from other types of sentences is the prosody of the former. In Turkish sentences with regular predicates, focus and topic positions are preverbal. Postverbal position is limited to background information. Focus and topic are also expressed via sentential stress, focused information bearing heavy stress and topicalized information bearing secondary stress. Background information in the postverbal position, on the other hand, is never stressed (Erguvanlı 1984, Göksel and Kerslake 2005). However, in direct reported speech with *de-*, this is not the case. It is also possible for the constituents in the postverbal domain to receive stress. Thus, the relative position of the constituents according to *de-* does not affect their role in the information structure like it does with other verbs.

| | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| (6)Elif: <i>Dedim</i> | <i>“kocama</i> | <i>SORMAM</i> | <i>lazım”.</i> | | |
| say-Past-1PSg | husband-Poss-Dat | ask-Nom-1PSg | necessary | | |
| <i>Sordum.</i> | | | | | |
| ask-Past-1PSg | | | | | |
| <i>“E ÜÇ</i> | <i>günlükse</i> | <i>gönderirim</i> | <i>ama</i> | <i>DEVAMLİ</i> | |
| Well three | days-Cond | send-Aor-1Psg | but | continuously | |
| <i>çalışamazsın”</i> | | <i>dedi</i> | <i>bana.</i> | | |
| work-Abil-Neg-Aor-2PSg | | say-Past | I-Dat | | |
| “I said I have to ask my husband. I asked. He said well if it’s for three days I’ll allow you to go but you cannot have a regular job.” | | | | | |

Here the quotative is in initial position, which renders Elif’s quotation in the postverbal domain. The primary stress is on [*sormam*] “my asking”. If these sentences were not DRS sentences but other types of finite complements, the postverbal constituent would not bear stress.

Another interesting point regarding *de*-’s distribution is related to the thematic structure of the sentence. In sentences with multiple *de*-s, if each token is taken as a separate verb, that is, if we assume that there is a single quote for multiple *de*-s, there will either be thematic roles which are left unassigned or arguments which are assigned more than one thematic role depending on the number of tokens. However, the fact that these sentences are grammatical shows that there is no problem regarding the assignment of thematic roles. The function expressed by *de-* in the structure has multiple exponence, i.e. rather than each token assigning separate thematic roles, there is one thematic role assigned by the multiple quotatives.

6. Implications regarding direct reporting

The occurrence of multiple quotatives is very interesting in terms of the notion of direct reported speech, in that at first glance it seems to work against it. The reason is that, what differentiates direct reported speech from other types of reported speech is accepted to be a seemingly reduced manipulation on the part of the reporter (if not a complete absence of interference). The reporter, assumingly without any sort of interference, reproduces a past utterance from his/her point of view for the consideration of the audience. We can say that at least grammatically, direct reported speech allows the reporter to present the original speaker as separate from the matrix discourse, as opposed to indirect reported speech for example, where the original speaker's voice is blended into the reporter's. Thus, direct reported speech is associated with mimetic discourse (acting out, showing, and demonstrating) and indirect reported speech is associated with diegetic discourse (telling, giving an account). Multiple quotatives, on the other hand, render a fragmented structure, constantly broken by the verb *de-*'say' bearing the Tense-Aspect-Modality and person markers on them. The multiple copies of the quotative verb disrupt the mimetic nature of the direct reported speech and pull it towards the diegetic zone. Although they do not cause any deictic shift, which is an essential difference between direct reported speech and indirect reported speech, they render continuous reporter interference, by reminding the existence of the reporter as the one who is speaking to the audience. The repetitious usage of the speech verb *de-*'say' conveys to the listener that the reporter is not demonstrating or reenacting a previous utterance, but is re-telling and/or talking about it.

7. The discourse functions of direct reported speech with multiple quotatives

What motivates the occurrence of multiple quotatives instead of the unmarked single quotative construction? The data reveals that these two constructions are systematically used for different discourse functions. Multiple quotative constructions, rather than furthering the plot, directly work towards positioning and relational identity construction. These constructions give us information about the original speakers' character, and how the speakers are positioned vis-à-vis the reporters and the other narrative characters. The contexts where we see multiple quotative direct reported speech are typically sub-narratives placed within the mega narratives (i.e. life stories) and when we consider the content of these narratives it becomes clear that these are instances in which the narrator either positions herself as a character or makes claims about the characters and their relationship by representing them in a particular way. The reporter using direct reported speech with multiple quotatives provides the listener with a seemingly faithful reproduction of the speaker's original utterance and at the same time, by overtly stating his/her existence, keeps reminding him/her that the speaker as an agent with a purpose produced these words, which the reporter as an agent with a purpose reproduces. Thus, each token reinforces the existence of the original speaker as a narrative character.

- (7) *Karı* *derdi* *daha* *mi* *tatlı* *geliyo*
 wife say-Aorist-Past-3rdPSg more Q sweet come-Prog-3rdPSg
derdi *ama* *derdi* *anayı*
 say-Aorist-Past-3rdPSg but say-Aorist-Past-3rdPSg mother-Acc
bulamazsın *derdi* *ona.*
 find-Abil-Neg-Aorist-2PSg say-Aorist-Past-3rdPSg him-Dat
 ‘‘Does wife seem sweeter to you?’’ She would say. ‘But you cannot find the
 mother’ she would say to him.’’

This excerpt is actually from Selma’s narrative of her relationship with her brothers. Selma has very loose ties with her family. She does not visit her mother regularly and she has no contact with her brothers. Throughout her story, she works to render her loss of contact well justified. One argument she posits is that the brothers abandoned their responsibilities for the family once they got married. While narrating this story, she uses a saying she has heard from her mother-in-law and she immediately switches to an embedded narrative of how her mother-in-law continuously referred to that saying. Although on the surface the function of the narrative is to elaborate on the saying [*karı daha tatlı oluyo*] ‘‘wife is sweeter’’ the true function is to tell about the characters of and the relations among her mother-in-law, her husband and herself. During the whole interview, she has been telling how her husband’s family was the only problem in their marriage. Here we see how Selma represents the mother as affecting her son and turning him against his wife. Thus, in this narrative which Selma embeds in her life story, she positions her mother-in-law as a demanding and selfish person who does not want to give up on her control over her son. The husband in turn is positioned as a meek mother’s boy who lives under his mother’s influence. When it comes to Selma, she positions herself as a relationally positive character that has put up with all the maltreatment and indifference from her husband and his family, even justifying her ‘‘bad language’’ holding them responsible.

8. Conclusion

This study aims to investigate the distribution of the three direct reporting strategies, namely the quotative *de-*, the quotative *diye*, and the zero quotative constructions within the context of conversational narratives. The occurrence of direct reported speech with *de-* in particular is discussed in detail and it is argued that although the multiple quotatives look like fully inflected finite verbs, functionally their usage is highly restricted and syntactically they have different distribution than other matrix verbs (which cannot have multiple copies in the sentence, or occur in positions these quotatives do). Therefore, multiple usage of the quotative *de-* functions more like a discourse marker with quotative function rather than a quotative verb. The discourse function motivating the use of multiple quotatives is that of positioning and identity construction.

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