

## Reported speech in Agul

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Agul (Lezgetic, Nakh-Dagestanian) has three main strategies for reporting speech acts. The reported speech may be (a) left unmarked, (b) marked by *puna* (discourse marker, identical to the perfective converb of (*a*)*Ras* ‘say’), or (c) marked by *-Raj* (clitic, identical to the imperfective converb of (*a*)*Ras* ‘say’).

### (1) unmarked strategy

dada            pu-ne            zun    hika-se            mašin  
father (ERG)   say.PFV-PF   I    drive.IPFV-FUT   car  
*Father said he'd drive the car.*

### (2) puna-strategy

dada            haraj    q'u-ne            gada-jar-is    ma-q'a            puna  
father (ERG)   yell    do.PFV-PF   boy-PL-DAT   PROH-do.IPFV   REPORTED  
*Father yelled to the boys not to do that.*

### (3) Raj-strategy

dada            uč        bagah            quŋ<sub>w</sub>a-se-Raj  
father (ERG)   REFL   tomorrow   come.back.IPFV-FUT-REPORTED  
*Father said he'd come back tomorrow.*

First thing to note is that although *puna* in puna-strategy is identical to the converb of the lexical verb and is by no means as closely attached to the verb in the reported speech (reported verb below) as *-Raj* in Raj-strategy is, it is obviously a grammaticalized means of marking reported speech and combines with various speech production verbs in the main clause, including ‘say’, ‘call’, and even ‘sing’.

### (4) puna-strategy: evidence of grammaticalization

gadaji        meŋni        q'u-ne            uči-s        me    ruš    k:ande-a    puna  
boy (ERG)   song (ERG)   make.PFV-PF   refl-DAT   this   girl   want-PRS   REPORTED  
*The boy sang that he loved this girl.*

Having the same verb (*a*)*Ras* ‘say’ as the starting point of grammaticalization path, the two strategies are fundamentally different. Raj-strategy forbids any lexical speech production verb; the NP referring to the speaker, when present, is its own argument (coded by ergative). Puna-strategy requires external speech production verb, thus behaving as a typical converb, at least in syntactic terms. Paradoxically, it is *-Raj* marker that may have its own argument that is much more tightly attached to the reported verb in morphophonological terms.

In Raj-strategy, the *-Raj* marker, apart from being much more closely (as compared to *puna*) attached to the verb morphophonologically, is further grammaticalized from simple reported speech marker to evidential of the hearsay type, as seen in the following example where the speaker is absent:

### (5) Raj-strategy as hearsay evidential

dad    bagah        quŋ<sub>w</sub>a-se-Raj  
father   tomorrow   come.back.IPFV-FUT-REPORTED  
*Father is coming back tomorrow, they say.*

Finally, one faces unexpected problems when trying to classify the three strategies in terms of prototypical direct quoting vs. subordinated reported speech. Apparently, a plausible hypothesis would be that the first, unmarked strategy is direct quotation, while Raj- and puna-strategies are closer to the subordinating prototype (though Raj-strategy is of course problematic because the main verb is absent). At first sight, this hypothesis is confirmed by the referential behavior of locative and temporal adverbs. Cf.:

**(6) unmarked strategy**

dada            pu-ne            baw    jaša    mič    quŕ<sub>w</sub>a-se  
 father (ERG) say.PFV-PF mother today here.to come.back.IPFV-FUT  
*Father said yesterday, mother is coming.*  
 (today=the day he spoke to me, here=to the location he spoke to me at).

**(7) puna-strategy**

dada            pune            baw    jaša    mič    quŕ<sub>w</sub>a-se            puna  
 father (ERG) say.PFV-PF mother today here.to come.back.IPFV-FUT REPORTED  
*Father said yesterday, mother is coming here today*  
 (today=the day I am saying this, here=to the location we are at now).

Raj-strategy is altogether incapable of having its own locative and temporal specifiers (all the adverbs refer to the reported situation).

However, the issue proves to be much more complicated than expected, the interpretation of unmarked strategy in terms of direct quotation vs. subordinated reported speech opposition being dependent on such factors as word order. The speech production verb in the unmarked strategy may move to the final position or inside the reported speech, and this strategy then starts to behave as subordinated reported speech rather than as direct quotation, cf.:

**(8) note the reference of the adverbs**

dada            baw    jaša    mič    quŕ<sub>w</sub>a-se            pune  
 father (ERG) mother today here.to come.back.IPFV-FUT say.PFV-PF  
*Father said yesterday, mother is coming here today*  
 (today=the day I am saying this, here=to the location we are at now).

**(9) note the coreference of the reflexive with the author of the reported speech act**

dada            uči            hika-se            mašin    pu-ne  
 father (ERG) refl (ERG) drive.IPFV-FUT car say.PFV-PF  
*Father said he'd drive the car.*

Following the lines of this analysis, the paper provides a systematic account of coreference markers and morphosyntactic properties of the three strategies of reported speech in Agul.