

Reče: An emerging quotative marker in Macedonian

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- Natural speech data reveal an interesting property about the speech verb *reče*: it is being used as a marker of reported speech.
 - This quotative use is a property of narratives and oral speech, hence has not been well described in grammars and studies based on the literary language.
- What can natural data reveal about a language, and more generally, about the of quotative markers?

The speech verb *reče* 'said' in Macedonian is in the initial stages of grammaticalization towards a quotative clitic.

- Syntactically:
 - 1 tends to follow the first phonological word within a discourse report
 - 2 occurs multiple times within discourse report
 - 3 occurs together with other speech verbs
- Morphologically: loses inflection
- Phonetically: reduced pronunciation (*eče* ['ɛtʃɛ], *rče* ['ɾtʃɛ] or *če* [tʃɛ])

Background

- Eastern South Slavic
- 1,713,880 speakers (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2021)
- SVO word order (but a lot of IS-based variation possible)
- Three main dialect groups (Marković 2007; Vidoeski, Savicka, and Topolińska 2003)
 - 1 Western
 - 2 Southeastern
 - 3 Northern



THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
and adjacent territory

Quotative markers: **definition**

QUOTATIVE MARKER: A grammaticalized function word which is normally adjacent to the quote. (Güldemann 2008, p. 14)

Quoative markers: **properties**

Common cross-linguistic properties of quoative markers (Deutscher 2011; Güldemann 2008; Nikitina, Aplonova, and Contreras Roa 2021):

- often grammaticalized from speech verbs
- can get repeated multiple times throughout a discourse report
- in the case of clitics: often occur following the first phonological word
- can co-occur with speech verbs
- invariant form
- mono- or disyllabic

Quotative markers: **examples**

Repeated multiple times in discourse report

- (1) es t-et man-[a] t-et
2SG QV-PRS.3SG 1SG.OBL-ACC/DAT QV-PRS.3SG
pitar-s[a] lar-t t-et.
bury-CV.COORD sit-CAUS QV-PRS.3SG
'You, he says, hide, he says, me, he says.' Chuvash (Turkic)
(Nikitina, Aplonova, and Contreras Roa 2021, p. 7)

Co-occurs with speech verbs

- (2) Da prepa fen, "Sira rua kaduk."
3:SG say FEN 3:PL two arrive
'She said, "The two of them came".'
Buru (Austronesian) (Klamer 2000, p. 76)

- Recordings of female speaker in Western-Central dialect annotated in ELAN CorpA (Chanard 2015) using the Speechreporting template (Nikitina, Hantgan, and Chanard 2019)
- Total length of 31 minutes and 04 seconds
- Recorded in Skopje, speaker originally from Sekirci, near Prilep
- Three stories: *Prosti* 'Simpletons' (abb. Simple), *Siljan Štrkot* 'Siljan the Stork' (abb. Stork) and *Role i Rolejca* 'Role and Rolejca (his wife)' (abb. R&R)
- Additional data from corpora: Pangloss Collection (Michailovsky et al. 2014) and recordings from the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences (MANU) (Vidoeski 2000)

The data

Speech verbs in the corpus

- The most common speech verbs in our corpus were *vika* 'imperfective say' and *reče* 'perfective say'.
- The standard imperfective counterpart of *reče*, *veli*, did not occur at all.

Examples: *vika*

reported discourse is in *italics*, speech verbs are in **bold**

- (3) na sestra =mu **vika**
to sister =POSS.3SG say.IPFV.PRS.3SG
đerdan-če-to *kaj=* *ti=* *je?*
necklace-DIM-DEF.N where= 2SG.DAT= be.PRS.3SG
'To his sister, he says: "Where is your necklace?"' Stork

Veli most frequently occurs before the discourse report.

Examples: *reče*

- (4) *daj-te reče vamū edn-a kanta*
give.IMP.PL say.PFV.3SG here one-F bin
“Give me,” he said, “a bin.”

Simple

Reče most frequently occurs after the first phonological word of the discourse report.

Frequency and position of speech verbs in the corpus

	<i>vika</i>	<i>reče</i>
before DR	13	5
second in DR	6	31
medial in DR	4	9
after DR	2	10
total	25	55

Table: Position of *vika* and *reče*.

- (6) *mu=* ***vika*** *na žena-ta* *sea*
3SG.M.DAT= say.IPFV.PRS.3SG to wife-DET.F now
reče *cekaj* *ja* *ke= mu=*
say.PFV.3SG wait.IMP.SG 1SG.NOM FUT 3SG.M.DAT
kaza-m *niv* *reče* *drug pat.*
tell.PFV-PRS.1SG 3PL.DAT say.PFV.3SG other time
'and he told his wife: "Now, wait," he said "I will show
them!'"

R&R

- (7) *kako reče* *nie* *nie* *sme*
how say.PFV.PRS.3SG 1PL.NOM 1PL.NOM be.PRS.PL
reče *štrk-oi-te* *šo gi=*
say.PFV.PRS.3SG stork-PL-DEF.PL that 3PL.ACC
ima *na plemna-ta tvoja*.
have.IPFV.PRS.3SG on barn 2SG.POSS.F
“What,” he said, “we, we, are, ” he said, “the storks that
live on your barn.” Stork

verbs	frequency
<i>vika+vika</i>	1
<i>reče+reče</i>	1
<i>reče+vika</i>	4
<i>2reče+vika</i>	2
total	8

Table: Co-occurrence of *vika* and *reče*.

vika+vika example in the Appendix

Co-occurrence with other verbs

- (8) petel-ot **odgovara** *pa neka umre*
rooster-DEF.M answer.IPFV.PRS.3SG well OPT die.PFV.PRS.3SG
reče *da= mu= ja=*
say.PFV.3SG SBJ= 3SG.M.DAT= 3SG.F.ACC=
eba-m majka-ta.
fuck.IPFV-PRS.1SG mother-DEF.F
'The rooster answers: "Well, let him die," he said, "fuck it."
Šiševo (Vidoeski 2000)
- (9) sretnuva =go i mu=
meet.IPFV.PRS.3SG =3SG.M.ACC and 3SG.M.DAT=
kažuva reče čovek ja ke= ti=
tell.IPFV.PRS.3SG say.PFV.3SG person 1SG FUT= 2SG.DAT=
ja= zema-m duša-ta
3SG.F.ACC= take.PFV-PRS.1SG soul-DEF.F
'He meets him and tells him, he said: "Human, I will take your
soul."
Bučište (Vidoeski 2000)

Loss of inflection

- When used as a quotative, *reče* remains invariant (third person singular).
 - If the subject is plural, this creates a mismatch.
 - The verb *reče* is inherently perfective.
 - When used with an imperfective verb, this creates a mismatch.
- The agreement features are no longer relevant, because the singular form is the most frequent.

(Mis)matching number marking

- (10) go= sretna-l-e na pat-ot i
3SG.M.ACC= meet-AOR.LPTCP-PL on road-DEF.M and
mu= rek-l-e kaj si=
3SG.M.DAT= say-AOR.LPTCP-PL where REFL=
trgna-l *Role?*
set.off-AOR.LPTCP.M Role
'They met him on the road and said to him: "Where are
you headed to, Role?"' **R&R match**
- (11) mu= otiš-l-e sea reče
3SG.M.DAT= go-AOR.LPTCP-PL now say.PFV.3SG
mama-ta *negov-a!*
mother-DEF.F POSS.3SG-F
'They went to him, "Now," he said, "He's done!"'
R&R **mismatch**

Variation in the production of *reče*

- In our corpus, combined with the MANU corpus, we found that *reče* can be pronounced in different ways.
- This variation in production is evidence that *reče* is being grammaticalized.

Variation in the production of *reče*

form	frequency
<i>reče</i>	44
<i>(r)eče</i>	11
<i>(re)če</i>	5
<i>r(e)če</i>	2
<i>reč(e)</i>	1
<i>rečiš</i>	1
<i>rekle</i>	4
<i>rekla</i>	5
<i>rekol</i>	10
total	78
of which reduced	19

Table: Different realizations of *reče*.

<https://www.leonardocontrerasroa.com/post/rece/>

Figures made in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2018) with the script *create_pictures-with-tiers* (Evara García 2017).

Whole audio files from MANU in the Appendix.

Discussion

Syllable reduction as grammaticalization

The future clitic *ke* comes from the Proto-Slavic verb *xotěti* 'to want' (Tomić 2004):

- (13) **Xoščet** počiti moj brat.
will.3SG die.INF my brother
'My brother will die.' 14th Century,
as cited in Koneski 1965, p. 204
- (14) **Ke** umre moj-ot brat.
FUT die.PFV-PRS.3SG POSS.1SG-DEF.M brother
'My brother will die.' Modern Macedonian

Reduction of stressed syllables?

- Usually unstressed syllables are dropped
- For example, Russian quotative *grit* comes from *govorít*
- However, reduction of stressed syllables is also possible, cf. Serbo-Croatian full verb *hóće* 'wants' and auxiliary, *će* 'will'
- Clitics in Macedonian are inherently unstressed
- *Reče* is adopting the morphophonological features of clitics in Macedonian.

Variation in production

reče is in early stages of grammaticalization:

- 1 There is still a high degree of variation in how it is pronounced.
 - 2 Syntactically and morphologically, *reče* only sometimes behaves as a quotative, while sometimes it still behaves as a prototypical speech verb.
- Is this one verb with special properties, or does it have two different meanings?

Speaker-variation

- For the speakers in the studies in Mushin (1997, 2000) both the verbs *veli* and *reče* can get repeated within a discourse report.
- In the Pangloss Collection (Michailovsky et al. 2014) with data from Southeastern dialects, both *veli* and *reče* occur, but *veli* is more quotative-like than *reče*, as it is frequently repeated within discourse reports, while *reče* isn't.
- It seems that **if** speakers have *veli*, then *veli* has quotative properties, but not all speakers have *veli*.
- Speaker variation or dialectal variation?

Examples from Mushin (1997)

- (15) Taa mu= rek-l-a nevesta-ta "Aren e"
3SG.NOM 3SG.DAT= say.PFV-LPTCP-F bride-DEF.F good.M be.PRS.3SG
reće, "Ama vnatre kako žila po-stana. Ne=
say.PFV.3SG but inside how tendon PFV-become.AOR.3SG NEG=
do-peče-n."
PFV-bake-PTCP.M
'She said, the bride, "It is good." She said, "But it became like a tendon
inside. Not fully baked."' (Mushin 2000, p. 943)
- (16) I **veli** "Tatko =mi beše posle na kraj-ot"
but say.IPFV-PRS.3SG father =1SG.POSS be.IMPV.3SG after on end-DEF.M
veli "A listatsija-ta počna od pet ilijadi.
say.IPFV-PRS.3SG and auction-DEF.F start.PFV.AOR.3SG from five thousand
I nagore" **veli** "krena-vme do kaj sedum"
and upward say.IPFV-PRS.3SG raise.PFV-AOR.1PL until at seven
veli "i pol ilijadi" **veli**.
say.IPFV-PRS.3SG and half thousand say.IPFV-PRS.3SG
'And she says, "My father was last in the end." She says, "and the auction
started from \$5000 and up" she says. "We raised (it) to seven," she says,
"and a half thousand." she says. (Mushin 2000, p. 950)

Example from Pangloss (Michailovsky et al. 2014)

Southeastern dialect (Recorded by Georges Drettas in 1976 in Voden, Greece).

- (17) i čorbičkata mu **velə** se a
and soup-DIM-DEF.F 3SG.DAT say.3SG all 3SG.F.ACC
isərkax i prikazničkata mu
PFV-scoop-AOR.1SG and story-DIM-DEF.F 3SG.DAT
velə sakam da se a
say.3SG want.IPFV-PRS.1SG SBJ all 3SG.F.ACC
čuam mu **velə**
hear-PRS.1SG 3SG.DAT say.3SG
'The soup, I've eaten it all,' he said, 'and I also want to
hear the tale to the end.' trois_pommes_S117

Property of narratives

- Quotative use of *reče* very informal/colloquial, does not occur in all settings.
- Maybe this is dictated by the needs of oral narration → You need some filler while you think about the rest of the discourse report.
- Is this what catalyzes the grammaticalization process?

- (18) Toj beše vo Skopje – odnosno
3SG.NOM be.IMPF.2SG in Skopje actually
bil, ne go vidov.
be.AOR.LPTCP.M NEG 3SG.ACC.M see.AOR.1SG
'He was in Skopje, or actually he was (supposedly), I didn't
see him.' (Lunt 1952, p. 93)

- The l-participle form, *bil* in (18), is used to mark reported speech, dubitativity and mirativity (Friedman 2003).
- This form is also used in narratives, as these described non-witnessed events (Mushin 1997; Tomić 2006).

Evidentiality and quotatives in the Balkan Sprachbund

- Other Balkan Sprachbund languages with evidentiality and grammaticalized quotative markers: Bulgarian, Banat dialect (*kaj* < *kája* 'say'), Albanian (*gjoja* < Persian *gū* 'say', through Turkish *güya/gûya*), Turkish (*diye* < *demek* 'say') (Friedman 1998; Makartsev 2012; Özyıldız, Major, and Maier 2018)
- Is the development of quotative markers influenced by evidential marking?
- The I-participle is used to mark both reported speech and narratives, but cannot be used to mark reported speech in narratives: new strategy needed → quotative marker.

We have presented the following arguments that the perfective speech verb *reče* is in early stages of grammaticalization towards a quotative clitic:

- 1 It can be repeated twice within a discourse report.
- 2 It can co-occur with other speech verbs.
- 3 It most frequently occurs after the first phonological word of the discourse report.
- 4 It can remain invariant.
- 5 It can be phonetically reduced to *eče*, *rče* or *če*.

Thank you! Vi blagodarime!

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Appendix A: *vika+vika* example

- (19) **na žena-ta** **mu** **kaj ti** **e**
to wife-DEF.F POSS.M.3SG at 2SG.DAT be.PRES.3SG
vika **tebe** **corap-ot**
say.IPFV.PRES.3SG 2SG.DAT sock-DEF.M
vika **so igli-te**
say.IPFV.PRES.3SG with needle.PL-DEF.PL
'To his wife, "where," he says, "is your sock with the
needles?'"

Stork

Appendix B: Audiofiles from the MANU corpus

<http://damj.manu.edu.mk/audio/mp3/24-AudioTrack-24.mp3>

<http://damj.manu.edu.mk/audio/mp3/06-AudioTrack-06.mp3>

<http://damj.manu.edu.mk/audio/mp3/02-AudioTrack-02.mp3>

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