

On the functions of quotative constructions in Tibeto-Burman: A case study of Monsang

Linda Konnerth
 Hebrew University of Jerusalem and University of Oregon

Examples (from Monsang unless indicated otherwise)

- (1) Meitei (Saxena 1988: 379)
ima na [[aibo thabak-tu tou-de]hāi-ba-gi] šao-rammi
 mother my I work-CLF do-NEGsay-PTCP angry-PST
 ‘my mother was angry **because** I didn’t do the work’
- (2) Chantyal (Noonan 2006:8)
naku-sə [kəlo ca-wa] bhi-si-rə thim-nhari wō-i
 dog-ERG dog.food eat-NMLZ say-ANT-SEQ house-INESenter-PFV
 ‘**in order to** eat dog food, the dog went into the house’
- (3) Chantyal (Noonan 2006:8)
naku [kəlo ca-wa-ri] thim-nhari wō-i
 dog dog.food eat-NMLZ-LOC house-INESenter-PFV
 ‘in order to eat dog food, the dog went into the house’
- (4) →¹‘then, I kept two teachers, one Monsang from Monsang Pantha and one Anal from Chandel till June...’

[...] [[in^wú=hə átè áthárk^hi? kín-t^hápá? m-nè]
 3PL=PROX now again 1PL.EXCL-work(<Mtl) exist-IPFV:INTR:3

á-té-tá:nàt[ɪŋ] [...]
 3-say-SUBORD
 ‘since they said they have work....’ (lit., ‘...since they said, “we have work (/our work exists)”...’)

 →‘...afterwards I kept two Moyon from Heigrutampak’ (school 038)
- (5) *ámá á:-ŋ^wú-nà [[i-t^hé:ŋ-k^hò:=tʃʃ=k^hà=g=ó]*
 3SG 3-behind-LOC NMLZ-arrive-surprisingly=2SG=DM=COP=STANCE

[skúl ŋk^hè? rán kí-tú=gè] [stúden=tʃ^wù]
 school(<Eng) one run(<Eng) 1SG-do-COP student(<Eng)=DM

dʒ^wú:-nt^wú:-p^hwù-ŋ] [ŋn^wú-t^hó:-tʃ-ìŋ tápó? tónlǎ t^hémin
 DOWN:CIS-meet-good.for-NF 3PL-with-DIST-OBL a.little speaking story

¹ Here and elsewhere, I use this arrow to indicate the context that precedes and/or follows the intonation unit shown in the example.

tòŋ-té-n^{wú}-vè í-ním-pá? ñn^{wú}=dʒé hàró-vá-té-hè]
 speak-2-PL-if NMLZ-be.plenty-EMPH 3PL=ADD be.happy(<Mtl)-FUT:3-AUX-PL

té-gè] dʒèksá-ŋ skúl-tè á-ró-hè
 say-NF NAME-ERG school(<Eng)-all 3-take.along-PL

‘later on, Jeksha mentioned the school she runs and told her that since she is here, if she comes to meet the students and talk with them, they would be very happy and so, took her there’

(lit. ‘later on, “you have come!...I run a school...meeting the students, if you guys talk to them a little bit, they will be very happy” having said, Jeksha took them to the school’)
 (grammar project 006)

- (6) *ámá-h-ìŋ... pésár-tí-h-ìŋ [[ámá-hó-bè s^{wùr} tʃè:-má:-n-ìŋ]*
 3SG-PROX-ERG man-DIM-PROX-ERG 3SG-PROX-DM catch succeed-NEG-IPFV-1SG

té-gè...] *[ámá á-k^hár-t^hó? n-ró-ŋ] [á-útti*
 say-nf 3sg 3-think(<Mtl)-with DETRANS-take.along-ADV 3-dog

rò-gé] áamá á-í:n-tè... á-í:n-tè húŋ-sè
 take.along-NF 3SG 3-house-ALL 3-house-ALL come-PFV

lit. ‘the small boy thought, <I won’t be able to catch the frog>, **and thinking such**, he took the dog and returned home’

or ‘because the small boy thought that he wouldn’t be able to catch the frog, with that thought in mind, he took the dog and returned home’ (frog story 014)

- (7) *mî-ŋ á:p^{hwú} tú-ké-hé [kí-bú:m-tèhúŋ-s^{wú}:-má:-rèsə] té-gè...*
 person-ERG 3-noisedo-NF-PL 1SG-near-ALL CIS=emerge-NEG-JUSS say-NF
 lit. ‘they made noise thinking, <may (the elephants) not come near me>...’
 or ‘they made noise so (the elephants) wouldn’t come near them’ (Flora fauna 117)

- (8) Galo (Post 2013:123)
ʔabó-taníi togúu=əm zùr-lapə əm-nám=ə bìi
 NAME RITUAL=ACC perform.ritual-INTENT say-NMLZ:EV=TOP 3SG
 ‘Abo Tanii...having resolved to perform the *Togu* ceremony, he...(went about making preparations).’ (MK, TT 038)

- (9) *sá-níŋ kí-té-ná?*
 eat:I-DESID 1SG-AUX-IPFV:TR
 ‘I want to eat’

- (10) *sá-váŋ kí-té*
 eat:I-FUT 1SG-AUX
 ‘I will eat’

- (11) *sá-róŋ* *kí-té-ná?*
eat:I-IMMED.FUT 1SG-AUX-IPFV:TR
'I'm about to eat'
- (12) (a) *sa-niŋ kitená?* 'I want to eat' (desiderative)
(b) *sa-vaŋ kite* 'I will eat' (general future)
(c) *sa-roŋ kitená?* 'I am about to eat' (immediate future)
(d) *sa-kite atena?* 'he says/thinks, <I will eat>' or 'he wants to eat' (rep. intentionality)
(e) *sa-kite* 'let me eat' or 'I'll eat right now' (cohortative immediate future)
- (13) *ámá=ŋ* *[[sá-kí-té]* *á-té-ná?]*
3SG=ERG eat:I-1SG-COHORT.FUT 3SG-say-IPFV:TR
'he says, "I will eat"/"let me eat"' or 'he says he will eat'
'he thinks, "I will eat"/"let me eat"' or 'he thinks he will eat'
'he wants to eat'
- (14) *[ámátŋiŋ* *[átè* *tò-gé-tè]* *té-dʒó-nó]*
and.then now cut:I-1SG-COHORT.FUT say-ADD-FUT:3
'and even if people want to cut (it)...' (lit., 'even if people say, "let me cut (it)"') (two trees 046)
- (15) 'I want to eat' *sá-niŋ kí-té-ná?*
'you want to eat' *sá-niŋ ná-té-ná?*
'he wants to eat' *sá-niŋ á-té-ná?*
- (16) (a) *[sá-niŋ]* *á-té-ná?*
eat:I-DESID 3SG-AUX-IPFV:TR
'he wants to eat'
- (b) *[sá-gé-té]* *á-té-ná?*
eat:I-1SG-COHORT.FUT 3SG-say-IPFV:TR
'he wants to eat' / '...says (that)...' / '...thinks (that)...'
- (17) *sí-n-iŋ*
go-IPFV:ITR-1SG
'I'm going'
- (18) *tʰé:-n-iŋ=bè* *á-kú:ŋ=hò* *vá-pé-ŋ-gè-tè*
kill-IPFV-1SG=if 3-waist=PROX TRANS-give:I-FUT-1SG-AUX
'if I (will) kill (a deer), I will give (him) the waist portion' (friendship 037)
- (19) *bìn-má:-n-iŋ*
beat-NEG-IPFV-1SG
'I will not beat (him/her)'

- (20) (a) **[sá-n-íŋ] á-té-ná?*
 [eat:I-FUT-1SG] 3SG-say-IPFV:TR
 ‘he said, <I will eat>’ / ‘he thinks, <I will eat>’ / ‘he wants to eat’
- (b) *[sá-gé-té] á-té-ná?*
 eat:I-1SG-COHORT.FUT 3SG-say/say-IPFV:TR
 ‘he wants to eat’ / ‘...says (that)...’ / ‘...thinks (that)...’
- (21) (a) *sá-nín n-té-ná?* (b) *sá-nún n-té-ná?*
 eat:I-DESID 3PL-AUX-IPFV eat:I-DESID:PL 3PL-AUX-IPFV
 ‘they want to eat’ ‘id.’
- (22) Burmese (Wheatley 2003:205)
θwà-mə-ló (can t’à-tɛ)
 go-IRR-QUOT intend put-RL
 ‘(I) intend to go’
- (23) Karbi (Konnerth 2014: 558)
adapprang netum thurlo Hongkram Chomangkan dunji pu
 [a-dapprang ne-tūm thùr-lò] [Hongkrām Chomangkán dùn-jí pu]
 POSS-dawn 1EXCL:POSS-PL get.up-RL PN PN join-IRR2 QUOT
 ‘we got up early in the morning, we wanted to join the Chomangkan in Hongkram’ [SH, CSM 001]
- (24) Wadu Pumi (Daudey 2014: 389)
[qwéj=ʂú] ɛ̀ì=qàw kʰi
 cry=VOL:SG think=IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL
 ‘(She) almost cried.’, lit. ‘She thinks ‘I want to cry.’ (CV09.63.2)

References

- Aaron, Uche E. 1996. “Grammaticization of the Verb ‘say’ to Future Tense in Obolo.” *Journal of West African Languages* 26 (2): 87–93.
- Andvik, Erik. 2003. “Tshangla.” In *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, edited by Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla, 439–55. London: Routledge.
- Botne, Robert. 1998. “The Evolution of Future Tenses from Serial ‘Say’ Constructions in Central Eastern Bantu.” *Diachronica* 15 (2): 207–30.
- Bradley, David. 2003. “Lisu.” In *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, edited by Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla, 222–35. London: Routledge.
- Daudey, Henriette. 2014. “A Grammar of Wadu Pumi.” Ph.D. dissertation, Melbourne, Australia: La Trobe University.

- DeLancey, Scott. 2013. "Creolization in the Divergence of Tibeto-Burman." In *Trans-Himalayan Linguistics: Historical and Descriptive Linguistics of the Himalayan Area*, edited by Nathan Hill and Thomas Owen-Smith, 41–70. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 2015. "The Historical Dynamics of Morphological Complexity in Trans-Himalayan." *Linguistic Discovery* 13 (2): 60–79.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2008. *Quotative Indexes in African Languages: A Synchronic and Diachronic Survey*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Klaiman, M. H. 1977. "Bengali Syntax: Possible Dravidian Influence." *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 4 (2).
- Konnerth, Linda. 2014. "A Grammar of Karbi." Ph.D. dissertation, Eugene, OR: University of Oregon.
- Kuiper, F. B. J. 1974. "The Genesis of a Linguistic Area." *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 3 (4): 135–53.
- Matisoff, James A. 1986. "Hearts and Minds in South-East Asian Languages and English: An Essay in the Comparative Lexical Semantics of Psycho-Collocations." *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale* 15 (1): 5–57.
- . 2003. *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Noonan, Michael. 2006. "Direct Speech as a Rhetorical Style in Chantyal." *Himalayan Linguistics Journal*, no. 6: 1–32.
- Post, Mark W. 2011. "Prosody and Typological Drift in Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman: Against 'Sinosphere' and 'Indosphere.'" In *Austroasiatic Studies: Papers from ICAAL4. Mon-Khmer Studies Special Issue No. 3*, edited by Sophana Srichampa, Paul Sidwell, and Kenneth J. Gregerson, 198–221. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- . 2013. "Person-Sensitive TAME Marking in Galo: Historical Origins and Functional Motivation." In *Functional-Historical Approaches to Explanation: In Honor of Scott DeLancey*, edited by Tim Thornes, Joana Jansen, Erik Andvik, and Gwendolyn Hyslop, 107–30. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Reesink, Ger P. 1993. "'Inner Speech' in Papuan Languages." *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 24 (2): 217–25.
- Saxena, Anju. 1988. "On Syntactic Convergence: The Case of the Verb 'Say' in Tibeto-Burman." In *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 14:375–88. Berkeley, CA.
- . 1995. "Unidirectional Grammaticalization: Diachronic and Cross-Linguistic Evidence." *STUF-Language Typology and Universals* 48 (4): 350–72.
- Van der Voort, Hein. 2009. "Reduplication and Repetition of Person Markers in Guaporé Isolates." *Morphology* 19: 263–86.
- Wheatley, Julian K. 2003. "Burmese." In *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, edited by Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla, 195–207. London: Routledge.
- Widmer, Manuel, and Marius Zemp. 2017. "The Epistemization of Person Markers in Reported Speech." *Studies in Language* 41 (1): 33–75.