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Direct Quotation and Switch Reference in Zuni

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This paper will discuss the interaction between switch reference (hereafter SR) and direct quotation in Zuni, spoken in New Mexico. SR is marked fairly regularly in Zuni except in sentences containing direct quotation. The analysis of SR marking in relation to direct quotation in Zuni will provide evidence bearing on the question of whether direct quotation is syntactically integrated into its matrix sentence. Furthermore, it will be shown that traditional representations of structure are not adequate to express the relationship of direct quotation to its matrix sentence in Zuni.

Switch reference refers to the marking of clauses as to whether (the referent of) the subject of the following clause is the same or different from the subject of the preceding clause. Zuni uses two SR markers, -nanna (common variants -n, -nan) and -ppa (common variant -p). -nanna marks the subjects of two adjacent clauses as the same; -ppa marks the subjects as different. The SR marker is suffixed to the verb, and word order is SOV.

Following is an example of a Zuni sentence containing SR marking (Zuni data from Bunzel(1933)).

(1) an lelonal-kwin $\theta_i$ te'ci-nan lelo-nan $\theta_i$ kwato-p
    his box-at arrive-SS box-inside enter-DS

$\theta_j$ an-ařt-u-nan $\theta_j$ iteh-k'alia-kae.
    indirective-be closed-causative-SS throw-river-past

He$_i$ came to where the box was lying; he$_j$ entered the box and he$_j$ (the other) closed it for him$_i$ and threw it into the river.

Note then the following sentences, in which the SR markers do not seem to properly index same or different subject reference. In (2), -nan appears although the adjacent subjects are different. -p appears in (3) although (the referents of) the adjacent subjects are the same.

(2) $\theta_i$ u:-kwato-nan hom a:taču hom a:ctita hom čawe
    pl.subj.-enter-SS my father my mother my children

ko'na t'on$_j$ t'ewan an a:-tea-iyè?
   how you(pl.subj) daily intrans.pl.subj-live-past

As they$_j$ entered (they said), "My fathers, my mothers, my children, how have you$_j$ lived these days?"
(3) hom luk auwa-ka θi le'-kwa-p hayi ho'na:wan ča'leί me this find-past thus-say-DS our child
kwa la:k'i-ma t'oί a:šukwa le'-an-kae neg. today-excl. you go-neg.nonpast condit. thus-indir-say

"This one found me," hej said. "Haiyi! Our childi. This very day youi may not go," they said to himi.

Note that these examples contain directly quoted speech. It is the combination of SR marking and direct quotation that is responsible for these seemingly deviant uses of SR. To see this, the structure of direct quotation in Zuni must be analyzed.

Directly quoted speech occurs in Zuni preceded and followed by the verb ikwa 'say' plus the markers les- or le'-: lesikwa 'this (the following) X says', le'ikwa 'thus (the preceding) X says'. This pattern, shown in (4), is referred to by Kendall(1975) as a frame.

(4) isk'on piłaciwan:ií les-kwa-n kwa t'onj ak:ae near there bow priest this-say-SS neg you(subj) neg
ču:wa kolehol ce'm-šukwa someone something think-neg.nonpast conditional
le'-an-ak'ae-n:a thus-indirective-say-nonpast conditional

So the bow priesti would say,"Therefore let none of youj think anything of it,"heί would say.

Although direct quotation may be framed in this way, it is not obligatory that both verbs of the frame appear overtly. As the following examples show, the frame verb ikwa 'say' may be deleted following the quote (5), preceding the quote (6), or deleted both preceding and following the quote (7). Although not marked by frame verbs, (7) is undoubtedly direct quotation as well, as shown by transparent pronoun reference and tense. The verbs ikwa 'say' that precede and follow a quote will be referred to as frame verbs. ikwa preceding the quote is the frame-initial verb, ikwa following the quote is the frame-final verb.

(5) laθ θi les-a:wan-ikwa-nan kwap t'oí a:wan ča'le? then this-indirective-say-SS what you(subj) whose child

Then heί said to them, "Whose child are youj?"

(6) t'om ho'isana'-kae hom cita le'-an-ikwa-kae you(obj) I carry-past my mother thus-indirective-say-past

"I was carrying you at the time," my mother said to me.
(7) a:wokae hom ai-yaʁenap-kae. kwa ho'
women me indirect.-ask-past neg. I
aiyu'ya:-nam:e-a. yam ho' cita ai-yaʁa-kae
know-neg-pres own I mother indirect.-ask-past

The women asked me. "I don't know anything about it." So I asked my mother.

A similar pattern of 'say' behavior is attested for Gahuiku, a language of New Guinea (Deibler(1971)), as well as for many American Indian languages.

One may ask whether ikwa is actually present at some level of deep structure and then deleted, or whether the occurrence of ikwa in one or both positions is simply optional. It will be argued here that the former is the case: that the complete lesikwa----le'iikwa frame occurs at some level of deep structure and one or both occurrences is deleted. Furthermore, it will be argued that SR marking occurs before any of the frame verbs are deleted.¹ This conclusion will have direct bearing on the interpretation of the behavior of SR in (2) and (3). To the extent that frame deletion is able to account for the seemingly deviant behavior of SR, its accurateness as an analysis will be substantiated.

It is a fact of Zuni grammar that 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person dual subjects are marked with pronouns, while a 3rd person subject other than dual is marked by the lack of any pronoun, i.e. a verb alone signals 3rd person. Consequently, deletion of a 3rd person frame verb ikwa 'say' is deletion of a 3rd person subject as well. When frame verb deletion is referred to, it should be understood that deletion of a 3rd person subject is directly implied; recall that it is subjects that are relevant to the discussion of SR.

The cases of SR that seem deviant always concern verbs that immediately precede a direct quote. The following discussion will show that such verbs can be divided into two categories: frame-initial ikwa 'say' vs. all other verbs. This distinction is necessary since the unexpected SR markings for the two types of verbs have different causes.

Non-frame verbs will be dealt with first. SR appears to be incorrectly marked in view of the subjects that are adjacent in surface structure. In (2), repeated here, Same Subject (SS) is marked with -nan although the adjacent subjects are different: they₁ / my fathers₂ etc.

(2) Ṣi u:-kwato-nan hom a:taču hom a:ciita hom čawe
pl.subj.-enter-SS my father my mother my children
ko'na t'onj t'ewanan a:-tea-iye?
how you(pl.subj) daily intrans.pl.subj-live-past

As they₁ entered (they said), "My fathers, my mothers, my children, how have you₂ lived these days?"
In (3), also repeated here, Different Subject(DS) is marked with \(-p\) although (the referents of) the adjacent subjects are the same: he\(_i\) / our child\(_i\).

(3) hom luk auwa-ka \(\theta\) le'-kwa-p hayi ho'na:wan \(\mathcal{C}a'\)le\(_i\) me this find-past thus-say-DS our child

kwa la:k'i-ma t'o\(_i\) a:-\(\dot{\mathcal{S}}\)ukwa le'-an-kae
neg. today-excl. you go-neg.nonpast condit. thus-indir-say

"This one found me," he\(_i\) said. "Haiyi! Our child\(_i\). This very day you\(_i\) may not go," they said to him\(_j\).

In both (2) and (3) a verb precedes the quote that is not a frame initial ikwa 'say' (i.e., lesikwa 'this-say'). Consider the proposal, then, that at some level the structure of these sentences is as in (2') and (3') below, based on sentences like (4): (4) suggests that the quote's frame should appear complete at some level of structure for all direct quotation. These representations explain the behavior of the SR markers in (2) and (3). In (2'), when SR is marked the subjects that are referred to are the subject of u:-kwato 'plural subject-enter' and the subject of the immediately following verb [lesanikwa] 'this-plural subject-say'. Hence Same Subject marking on kwatonan. In (3'), the subjects referred to when SR is marked are the subject of le'kwa 'this-say' (=he) and the subject of [lesanikwa] 'plural subject-this-say' (=they). Therefore le'kwap is marked for different subject.

(2') \(\theta\) u:kwato-nan [\(\theta\) lesanikwanan] hom a:taču hom a:cita hom they enter-SS [this-pl.subj.-say-SS]
čawe ko'na t'on\(_j\) t'ewanana a:teiye? [le'anikwa]
[thus-pl.subj-say]
As they\(_i\) entered [they\(_j\) said], "My fathers, my mothers, my children, how have you\(_j\) lived these days?" [they said].

(3') hom luk auwaka \(\theta\) le'kwa-p [\(\theta\) lesanikwanan] hayi ho'na:wan thus-say-DS [this-plur.subj-say-SS]
ča'le\(_i\) kwa la:k'i-ma t'o\(_i\) a:-\(\dot{\mathcal{S}}\)ukwa le'anakae
thus-plur.subj.-say-past
"This one found me," he\(_i\) said. [They\(_j\) said] "Haiyi! Our child\(_i\), this very day you\(_j\) may not go," they said to him.

Since frame-initial [lesikwan] and [lesanikwanan] are then deleted and do not appear in the surface structure (shown by (2) and (3)), SR marking is opaque.

In addition to the distribution possibilities of ikwa 'say', which provides motivation for positing an underlying frame-initial verb ((5)-
(7)), SR marking in cases like (2) and (3) also provides evidence for that frame-initial verb.

In sentences where a frame-initial *ikwa* 'say' is present, SR again appears to be marked incorrectly in view of adjacent subjects in surface structure. In (4) and (5), repeated here, Same Subject is marked with *nan* although the adjacent subjects are different: bow priest$_i$ / you$_j$, and θ$_i$ (he$_i$) / you$_j$.

(4) isk'on pi'raciwan:i$_i$ les-kwa-n kwa t'onj$_i$ ak:ae
near there bow priest this-say-SS neg you(subj) neg

ču:wa kolehol ce'm-šukwa
someone something think-neg.nonpast conditional

le'-an-ak'a:e-n:a
thus-indirective-say-nonpast conditional

So the bow priest$_i$ would say,"Therefore let none of you$_j$ think anything of it,"he$_i$ would say.

(5) lař θ$_i$ les-a:wan-ikwa-nan kwap t'o:$j$ a:wan ča'le?
then this-indirective-say-SS what you(subj) whose child

Then he$_i$ said to them, "Whose child are you$_j$?"

According to the analysis being presented, the structure of (5) is as in (5') at some level of structure.

(5')lař θ$_i$ lesa:wanikwanan kwap t'o:$j$ a:wan ča'le [θ$_i$ le'a:wanikwa].
this-indir-say-SS [thus-indirective-say]

Then he$_i$ said to them, "Whose child are you$_j$?" [he$_i$ said]

The SR mechanism is not referencing adjacent subjects in (4) and (5'). SR marking of the frame verb *ikwa* 'say' preceding the quote skips over the quoted material and references the subject of the frame verb that follows the quote. Note that since the subjects of the two frame verbs will always be the same, a frame-initial *ikwa* 'say' appearing in surface structure will always bear Same Subject marking. This prediction is borne out by the data. As in (5), a frame-final *ikwa* 'say' may be deleted after SR is marked. There are two factors, then, that are responsible for the opacity of SR marking on frame-initial *ikwa*: subjects contained in a quote are ignored for purposes of SR marking, and the frame verb that follows the quote may be deleted after SR marking.

Example (8) shows that Same Subject marking is indeed referencing a deleted frame verb's subject and not the next subject that follows the quote. The subjects that are available for SR marking in the surface structure of (8) are different, papa$_i$/suwe$_j$, yet *ikwa* receives Same Subject marking.
The elder brother said, "Ouch! That's enough!" The younger brother said, "Wait! once more."

That the interaction of SR and quotation is unusual in some languages has been noted by Kendall (1975). Kendall's data for Yavapai shows that -k(Same Subject), never -m(Different Subject), always precedes quotation. Note that in (9) the adjacent subjects are different: Savakyuva₁ / Tokatokaj₁.

(9) savakyuva-č i-k tokatoka-č kyu:₁-kem i-kiň
    Savakyuva-subj say-SS Tokatoka-subj long-incompl say-compl

Savakyuva said, "Tokatoka is tall."

Kendall accounts for this atypical SR marking by appealing to a special semantic category of non-factive verbs. All non-factive verbs, those which do not presuppose the truth of their complement, are marked with the -k suffix. Verbs that introduce quotation (say, ask, tell) are considered to be non-factive verbs. In the case of direct quotation, the person saying the quote is responsible for its truth value, hence the Same Subject marking. Kendall thus accounts for SR marking preceding quotation through the semantics of SR rather than its syntax.

Adopting the analysis that quoted material is ignored by SR marking may explain the irregularities of SR marking noted by Kendall. The data she cites, including the following

(10) 'ña-č Θala '−cikwikwi-k 'ińek i'í o-m-cikyat-o
    1-subj Thala 1-ask-SS 1-conj wood 1obj-2subj-chop-benefactive

    '−i-kiň
    1-say-compl

I asked Thala to cut wood for me.

(11) ma-č n-kinav-k hma:n-nu
    2-subj [2subj1obj]-tell-SS children-those

    pa:-m-ma:o m-i-kiň
    pl.obj-2-eat-applicative 2-say-compl

You told me to feed the children.
shows that Yavapai quotes, like those in Zuni, are preceded as well as followed by a frame verb.

Although the category of non-factive verbs may be needed elsewhere in Yavapai to explain -k marking, I propose that at least direct quotation marking with -k not be attributed to the non-factive verb. Kendall's non-factive category covers perhaps too wide a range of phenomena, and the above evidence shows that verbs that frame quotation do not need non-factiveness to account for their behavior. I do concede, however, that the Yavapai case may differ from that of Zuni since sentences such as (12), where the last verb in the quote is SR-marked, never occur in Zuni (see below for more discussion on this point).

(12) kopica- ı-k i-ımek ıala- i-k ımek 'na '-hme-m
    Gopicha-subj say-SS conj Thala-subj say-SS conj 1 1-son-assoc

    hwak-k kwe-ne:h-a i-k i-ıkiñ
    two-SS thing-hunt-tns say-SS say-sompl

Gopicha said that Thala said that she would take my son hunting.

It is not clear from the translation given by Kendall whether (12) is indirect or direct quotation, and this may have some bearing on the analysis to be preferred. Judging from pronoun opacity, (12) seems to be indirect quotation. I see no reason to treat indirect and direct quotation as the same phenomenon, especially since Yavapai sentences containing direct quotation conform to the analysis of direct quotation suggested here for Zuni.

Partee (1973) and Munro (1982) raise the question of the syntactic relationship of quotation to its matrix sentence. A common assumption prior to their analyses was that a quoted segment bore the grammatical relation of direct object of the verb 'say' (Rosenbaum (1967), Munro (1978)).

![Figure 1](image)

Munro (1982) presents data from a number of languages to suggest, however, that 'say' has intransitive properties in these languages. For such languages an alternative to the treatment of quotation as a direct object must be found. Partee suggests an analysis for English quotation, furthermore, in which quoted speech is not syntactically or semantically integrated into its matrix sentence.
The preceding discussion on SR and direct quotation reveals the degree to which quotation is syntactically integrated into its matrix sentence in Zuni. The Zuni evidence supports Partee's analysis since SR marking on a frame-initial 'say' ignores the quoted material and references the subject of the frame verb 'say' that follows the quote. There is additional evidence of this sort, involving the general pattern of SR marking. Within an utterance every verb but the final one bears SR marking. However, no verb that is the final verb of quoted material ever bears SR marking even though directly followed by another clause. Note that in (3), (4) and (6) that although the quote-final verbs a:sukwa, ce’msukwa, and isana’kae are all followed by another subject and verb, none bears SR marking.

The evidence suggests that quoted material is ignored in two ways:
i) Subjects within a quote are overlooked when SR is marked on the verb preceding the quote.
ii) The final verb within a quote is ignored when verbs receive SR marking; the final verb within a quote is treated as sentence-final.

Since SR marking shows syntactic interrelation, the evidence points to the conclusion that direct quotation is not syntactically integrated into the sentence that contains it.

Quotation must be integrated to some degree, however, since sentences where the quote is left out are ungrammatical.

(13) *pi’taciwan:i lesikwan le’ikwa.
    bow priest this-say-SS thus-say

Similarly, English sentences with the verb 'say' are somewhat strange if the intended quoted speech is left out.

??(14) Frances said. (excluding emphatic interpretation)
*(15) Sam said and then walked away.

Partee (1973) points out that a gesture may take the place of directly quoted speech:

(16) He went like this: (gesture)

Note that (16) too is odd if the gesture is left out.

??(17) He went like this.

Traditional representations of structure are not adequate to express this relationship since hierarchical assumptions like subordinacy must be made in order to explain why SR ignores quoted material. For example, one claim is that SR is marked according to constituent structure. Quoted material would be ignored by SR if the quote were to make up a constituent with le’ikwa, le’ikwa being the head of that constituent and the quote playing a subordinate role (Figure 2).
As was mentioned earlier, however, *le’ikwa* may be deleted. It seems odd that a sentence would be grammatical when the head of a constituent is deleted but ungrammatical when a non-head of the same constituent is deleted, as in (13). It is equally odd to say that the quote is the head, not only because the phrasal category of the quote is uncertain, but also because quoted material may consist of an exclamation, an incomplete utterance or even nonsense.

Figure 3 is based on suggestions in McCawley (1989) for parenthetical material.

A representation would be preferred in which the minimal integration of quoted material can be accounted for, while avoiding the assumptions about SR marking that arise from hierarchical structure. In fact, since Zuni SR marking seems to be sensitive to different types of discourse, that which originates with the speaker and that which does not (direct quotation), we may have to describe the relation of a quote to its matrix sentence in terms of well-formed discourse structure, rather than in terms of well-formed syntactic structure.

NOTES

1. Lindenfeld (1973) posits a transformation for Yaqui resembling frame deletion in which the matrix (=frame) verb 'say' is optionally deleted.
2 Interestingly enough, no examples of indirect quotation can be found among the Zuni data. When the speech of another person is referred to, he or she is directly quoted.

3 Munro (1982) accounts for 'deviant' SR marking in Mojave through homophony. The -k (SS) that marks the following quote

m-isay-k  'i'i-m
you-fat-K  I-say-tense

is homophonous with -k, a case marker that was grammaticalized as a topic marker and extended to cases involving direct quotation. As a concession to Munro's view I suggest the possibility that SR marking might come to be grammaticalized as a marker of quotation. See also Munro (1978) for more discussion on this point.

REFERENCES


