

INDIRECT DISCOURSE AS MIXED QUOTATION: EVIDENCE FROM SELF POINTING GESTURES

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REPORTED SPEECH

Different types of speech reports

- (1) On her way home, Mary heard a song by Kendrick Lamar that she liked on the radio.
 - a. **DD:** She thought: “**I will buy his new album tomorrow.**”
 - b. **ID:** She thought that **she would buy his new album on the following day.**
 - c. **FID:** **She would buy his new album tomorrow.**

(Hinterwimmer, 2017)

Direct discourse (DD): Direct quotation of an utterance or thought.

Indirect discourse (ID): Standardly assumed to be non-quotational.

Free indirect discourse (FID): Speech or thought report without overt marking. Involves **mixed quotation** (Maier, 2015).

How do perspective-dependent expressions behave in speech reports?

- **DD:** All perspective-dependent expressions shift.
- **ID:** Inconsistent behavior of perspective-dependent expressions.
 - Some do not shift (e.g., personal pronouns in German and English).
 - Some shift (e.g., evaluative expressions, *tasty*).
 - Some shift **only if the matrix subject's perspective is prominent** (e.g., temporal and local deictic expressions, Plank, 1986; Anderson, 2019).
- **FID:** All perspective-dependent expressions except pronouns and tense markings shift.

QUOTATION

Traditional view

Quotations are verbatim. Quoted words are **not used, but only mentioned.**

- (2) This morning John said “**I am happy.**”

Standard theories

1. Name-based theory (Quine, 1940):
Quoted elements essentially behave like names.
John said a sentence, the name of which is “**I am happy.**”
2. Demonstrative theory (Davidson, 1979):
Quotation involves a covert demonstrative pronoun pointing to its referent (the utterance).
I am happy ← **that** John said

Modern view: Departing from the verbatim condition

Quoted elements are **used and mentioned.** Speakers incorporate meaning of a quoted utterance into a sentence while at the same time mentioning it.

- (3) Stiviano's lawyer has not denied the part about the gifts, although he says there is not a “**peppercorn of a fact**” that any fraud was involved.
(NYT, May 1, 2014, cited from Davidson, 2015)

Standard theories cannot account for this.

- (4) **peppercorn of a fact** ← **that** Stiviano's lawyer has not denied the part about the gifts, although he says there is not a ____ that any fraud was involved.
(Davidson, 2015)

Quotation as demonstration

Quotations have a **demonstrational component** (Clark & Gerrig, 1990). They depict rather than describe.

- (5) John was like “**I'm soooooo hungry.**”
- (6)
 - a. $\llbracket \text{I'm soooooo hungry} \rrbracket = d_1$
(demonstration that involves three words and intonation)
 - b. $\llbracket \text{be like} \rrbracket = \lambda d \lambda x \lambda e. [\text{agent}(e, x) \wedge \text{demonstration}(d, e)]$
 - c. $\exists e. [\text{agent}(e, \text{john}) \wedge \text{demonstration}(d_1, \text{john})]$
(after λ -conversion and existential closure)

OUTLOOK

Empirically

- Test the hypothesized at-issue/not-at-issue distinctions.
- Check for the availability of language shifts (Maier, 2016).
- Look at shifted indexicals in sign languages (Davidson, 2022).

Formally

- Refinements based on outcomes of further studies.
- Constrain quotation mechanism: Which elements can be quoted in ID?
- Extend proposal to other instances of reported speech (FID, DD).

GESTURE SEMANTICS

- (7) Peter brought a bottle. + “large” co-speech gesture

- Co-speech gestures contribute **not-at-issue meaning** by default (Ebert et al., 2020).
- Iconic and pointing gestures: Refer to an intended referent g and denote a **rigid designator** referring to g .
- Unidimensional, dynamic system (Anderbois et al., 2015) is adapted to capture at-issue/not-at-issue distinction by introducing **propositional variables** p and p^* , respectively.
- Alignment to an indefinite NP triggers an **exemplification relation** modeled via a **similarity predicate**.

- (8) $[x] \wedge x = \text{PETER} \wedge [y] \wedge \text{BOTTLE}_p(y) \wedge z = g \wedge \text{SIM}_{p^*}(y, z) \wedge \text{BOTTLE}_{p^*}(z) \wedge \text{bring}_p(x, y)$

POINTING GESTURES IN REPORTED SPEECH

- Self pointing gestures (i.e., pointing to the speaker's body) aligned with a pronoun in speech reports should be acceptable if quotation is involved (Ebert & Hinterwimmer, 2022).
- The gesture is then interpreted as a **quoted character viewpoint gesture (CVG)** from the reported speaker (Ebert & Hinterwimmer, 2022).
- **Experiment:** Self pointing aligned with a first-person pronoun in DD and a third-person pronoun in FID (cf. (9)) is acceptable.

- (9) Peter was furious. Why did [HE] have to pay for the whole group again? + self pointing

Surprising data from indirect discourse

- (10) Peter complained that [HE] again had to pay the bill for the whole group. + self pointing

Surprisingly acceptable (Ebert & Hinterwimmer, 2022).

Follow-up study

Hypothesis: If matrix subject's perspective is prominent on the speech level, self pointing can be interpreted as quoted CVG in indirect discourse.

Results: Self pointing is acceptable in indirect discourse regardless of the perspective prominent on the speech level.

→ **Mixed quotation is available in indirect discourse.**

ANALYSIS: INDIRECT DISCOURSE AS MIXED QUOTATION

Proposal

- Extend demonstrational account of quotation to indirect discourse (Davidson, 2015).
- **Idea:** Use of self pointing triggers a demonstration (Ebert & Hinterwimmer, 2022).
- Mixed quotation is conceptualized as similarity existing between the original speech event and the demonstration of that speech event.

Formalism

- (11)
 - a. $\llbracket \text{complain that} \rrbracket = \lambda p \lambda d \lambda x \lambda e. [\text{complain}_p(e) \wedge \text{agent}_p(e, x) \wedge \text{theme}_p(e, p) \wedge \text{SIM}_{p^*}(e, d)]$
 - b. “**HE** again had to pay the bill for the whole group + SP” = d_1
 - c. $\exists e. [\text{complain}_p(e) \wedge \text{agent}_p(e, \text{peter}) \wedge \text{theme}_p(e, \llbracket \text{I} \rrbracket \text{ again had to pay for the whole group + SP})] \wedge \text{SIM}_{p^*}(e, d_1)]$

Discussion

- Captures the availability of self pointing in ID.
- Extension to face emoji possible (if seen as facial gestures).
- **Missing:** Constraint on the quotation mechanism.

REFERENCES

