

The quotativization of SAY in Polish

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✿ AIM, BACKGROUND, METHODOLOGY

Aim: to argue that Polish *mówić* ‘say’ is partially grammaticalized when acting as a quotative marker in colloquial speech

Background: extensive literature on the grammaticalization of complement-taking predicates – esp. mental ones (Eng. *I think*, Ger. *glaube (ich)*, Sp. *creo*) and SAY – which often lose their propositional meaning and develop discourse-pragmatic functions. Polish SAY has also been shown to have a range of pragmatic functions (Ożóg 1991, Birzer 2017), e.g.: hedging ‘about, approximately’ (*ogranicz palenie do powiedzmy trzech papierosów dziennie* ‘reduce smoking to say three cigarettes a day’); to express emphasis (*sytuacja jest powiedzmy arcytrudna* ‘the situation is, I’d say, ultra-difficult’); ‘for example, suppose’ (*a jeśli będzie pytanie powiedzmy z romantyzmu?* ‘What if there’s a question on, say, romanticism?’); constructions consisting of an adverb + non-finite SAY: e.g. *krótko mówiąc* ‘in short’ (lit. ‘briefly speaking’)

Method and data:

- analysis of audio recordings from Spokes – a corpus of spoken Polish (Pezik 2015); the approach is a synchronic one
- operationalizing the quotative status of *mówić*: when it co-occurs with and is ancillary to another verb of saying
- retrieval of any form of *mówić* within three words to the right of another verbum dicendi, i.e.: verbum dicendi_{LEMMA} (word 1) (word 2) *mówić*_{LEMMA}
- manual inspection to include only cases of reported direct speech; quoted material may represent speech, constructed discourse, thought, attitude, etc.
- 74 tokens of relevant data collected

✿ QUOTATIVIZED MÓWIĆ AGAINST THE HALLMARK MECHANISMS OF GRAMMATICALIZATION

Corpus examples:

The predicate verbum dicendi contains the nuanced meaning (shouting); *mówi* is merely the quotative marker:

- (1) *krzyczy na niego mówi* „Daj spokój!” ‘S/he shouts at him says “Give me a break!”



Mechanisms:

Desemantization (semantic bleaching) – loss of original lexical content, emergence of grammatical or pragmatic uses.

Quotativized *mówić*: always 1st or 3rd per. sing. present tense form, no overt subject pronouns, no PP complements or adverbial modifiers; the predicate verb, however, has the full range of morphosyntactic options, e.g.:

- (2) *no bo doktorowa mi powiedziała mówi* „Może tam by pani poszła to może i do tego endokrynologa?”
‘And the doctor told me says “Maybe you should go there and maybe see the endocrinologist as well?”



Decategorialization – “loss of morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical forms” Heine and Kuteva 2002, 2007; also in Hopper 1991.

Extension to constructed discourse rather than actual speech (thought, internal monologue, attitude), e.g.:

- (3) *tak sobie, wiesz co, pomyślałam mówi* „Kurczę no przecież ja rozumiem pierwszy miesiąc co dwie godziny [...]”
‘You know, I thought, I say “Gosh, I mean, fine – every two hours in the first month”



Extension of use to new contexts (to new pragmatic, discursive or textual functions) (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 2007)

Mówi(e) may act as an adapter particle accommodating the kind of quotations that otherwise would be difficult or impossible to integrate syntactically, e.g. imperatives:

- (4) *prosił ją żeby mówi* „Weź weź” *mówi* „Ty zadzwoń”
‘He was asking her to, says, “Go on, go on”, says, “You make the call”



Divergence (split) “the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element” (Hopper 1991) “Divergence is necessarily present at earlier stages, when the two forms must exist side-by-side” (Hopper 1990).

Co-occurrence of the quotative marker *mówi(e)* and the ‘full’ lexical verb (with overt subject pronoun *ja*):

- (5) *No i ja mówi* „No” *mówię* „Jednak” *mówię* „Ten pies agresywny bo” *mówię* „Szywagra tam” *mówię* „Łapnął, spodnie rozewał”
‘And I say “Well” I say “After all” I say “This dog is aggressive because” I say “It bit my brother-in-law I say “It ripped his trousers”



Persistence – “the tendency for original meanings and functions to linger in forms which appear to have been grammaticised” (Hopper 1990)

No other verb of saying besides *mówić* may be selected for the quotative marker use, e.g. *powiedzieć* ‘say, tell’. However, *powiedzieć* may freely introduce direct quotation as the main predicate (cf. example (2)).



Obligatorification (Lehmann 2015); **Specialization** (Hopper 1991) – “the narrowing of choices”, “the use of a form becomes obligatory”

Prosodic weakening of *mówi(e)* – loss of stress, prosodic dependence on adjacent elements.



Coalescence (Lehmann 2015) – “increase in bondedness” of a grammaticalized item to an adjacent form including cliticization

Loss of phonetic substance - vowel reduction. With prosodic weakening to boot, in effect *mówi(e)* is sometimes barely audible or recognizable. In (6) both occurrences of reduced *m’wie* (< *mówię*) prosodically cliticize onto the following *tu* ‘here’:

- (6) *ostatnio się zastanawiałam m’wie* „Tu bar...” *m’wie* „Tu kiedyś był bar”
‘Lately I was wondering, I say “A bar here...” I say “There used to be a bar here”



Erosion (phonetic reduction); Lehmann’s **phonological attrition**

✿ CONCLUSIONS

- *mówi(e)* shows a number of hallmark signs of grammaticalization as a quotative marker
- a likely development is via parenthetical clauses with *mówić*. Parenthetical *mówić* and quotative *mówi(e)* share the function of attributing discourse to a participant, but parenthetical *mówić*-clauses are syntactically and prosodically more separate, as well as lexically and morphosyntactically more varied (a range of verba dicendi, person-and-number variation, possible adverbial modification, PP complements, and overt expression of subject NPs:

- (7) *Sytuacja ekonomiczna regionu – (przekonująco) mówią/argumentują/piszą (Smith i Jones) – jest niebywale skomplikowana.*

The economic situation of the region – (Smith and Jones) (convincingly) say_{3PL}/argue_{3PL}/write_{3PL} – is incredibly complicated’