

THE REPRESENTATION OF LANGUAGE WITHIN LANGUAGE: A SYNTACTICO-PRAGMATIC TYPOLOGY OF DIRECT SPEECH*

Mark de Vries

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Abstract. The recursive phenomenon of direct speech (quotation) comes in many different forms, and it is arguably an important and widely used ingredient of both spoken and written language. This article builds on (and provides indirect support for) the idea that quotations are to be defined pragmatically as (quasi-)linguistic demonstrations. Such a perspective sheds new light on constructions involving denomination, identification and typification – all of which are related to autonymy – and also on the possibility of quoting extralinguistic matters like sounds and even emotions. Based on these possibilities, a syntactic typology of direct speech is developed, including independent, embedded, and parenthetical quotations, with several subtypes. It is shown that quotations are grammatically opaque, and that embedded quotations are assigned a nominal categorial status upon insertion into a syntactic derivation. Thus, it is explained that a quotation can be used not only as a full argument, but also as a nominal head – even as a part of a compound.

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of direct speech, or quotation, has attracted considerable attention within philosophy of language (see section 2.2 for discussion and references), but it is certainly interesting from a syntactic and typological point of view as well. In this article, I will discuss the most relevant properties of quotations and their reporting contexts, and I will try to give a comprehensive overview of the large variety of constructions that can be subsumed under direct speech. Thus, it will become clear that the use of direct speech is much more pervasive than one might initially think, both in spoken and written language. (That is, in types of construal; frequency rates do not concern us here.)

Below, I will advance this position using examples almost exclusively from Dutch, my native language. However, it will be completely transparent that in most cases similar sentences can be constructed in English and other languages; therefore, I suppose, it needs no further explanation that the discussion is, although based on Dutch, not about Dutch. Furthermore, the paper contains two sources of data. The examples in the main text are based on introspective judgments by native speakers; these are complemented by corpus data from the Spoken Dutch Corpus in the Appendix. For almost each sentence construction under discussion corresponding data were found in spontaneous speech.

Let us start with a straightforward example of quotation. If Mrs. X, standing next to the Veluwe Lake, is telling Mr. Y what Joop said yesterday, she may choose between direct and indirect speech; see (1):

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- (1) a. Joop zei: “Ik ga morgen in het Veluwemeer zwemmen.” [direct speech]
 Joop said I go tomorrow in the Veluwe.lake swim
 ‘Joop said, “Tomorrow I will go swimming in the Veluwe Lake.”’
 b. Joop zei dat hij hier vandaag ging zwemmen. [indirect speech]
 Joop said that he here today went swimming
 ‘Joop said that he would go/come swimming here today.’

The two sentences are very distinct, which is the result of the point of view chosen by the speaker (Mrs. X). In (1a) she apparently lends her voice to Joop, whereas in (1b) she represents the contents of his statement in her own words. This difference in perspective affects all elements that have a deictic component: pronouns, adverbial phrases of time, the tense expressed by the finite verb, and relative indications of location and direction. In (1a→b) we notice *ik* ‘I’ → *hij* ‘he’, *ga* ‘go’ → *ging* ‘went’, *morgen* ‘tomorrow’ → *vandaag* ‘today’, and *in het Veluwemeer* ‘in the Veluwe lake’ → *hier* ‘here’. (See also Coulmas 1986 for discussion.)

Direct speech can be associated with the concept of autonymy. Compare the examples in (2) and in (3), which illustrate the use-mention distinction (cf. Quine 1940):

- (2) a. Joop ging naar huis. [reference]
 Joop went to home
 ‘Joop went home’
 b. “Joop” is een leuke naam. [autonymy]
 Joop is a nice name
- (3) a. Dat is een plataan. [reference]
 that is a plane-tree
 b. “Dat” is een drieletterig woord. [autonymy]
 that is a three.letter word

In the (2b) and (3b), “*Joop*” and “*dat*” do not refer to an entity in the discourse, but rather to the word cited itself. Something similar can be said about the quotes in (1a) or (4).

- (4) a. “Oeps,” zei Joop.
 oops said Joop
 b. Joop zwijmelt bij een diepzinnige uitspraak als “to be or not to be”.
 Joop swoons at a profound pronouncement as to be or not to be
 ‘Joop swoons over a profound pronouncement like “to be or not to be”.’

Surely the meaning of a quotation is important within the discourse as a whole, but not (or only in an indirect way) within the reporting sentence. A quotation is compositional-semantically and syntactically opaque; it relates to form rather than content. In section 2, I will argue that direct speech involves a linguistic demonstration of an earlier utterance or of an event or idea in general.

The previous examples have already shown that quotations can be used in various syntactic contexts; this is the subject of section 3, which contains a more systematic overview. We will see that there are three main types of direct speech: independent, embedded, and parenthetical. Embedded direct speech has many subtypes: the demonstrating quote can be a major constituent,

a prepositional complement, a specification of an object or manner adverb, an attributive modifier, or even a compounded or nominalized noun (phrase).

Section 4 provides a typology of direct speech from an orthogonal pragmatic perspective. Citing a token will be called concrete quotation, which can be dramatizing or documenting. Citing a type is either hypothetical quotation or autonymy, again with some subtypes. I will show how the proposed syntactic and pragmatic typologies are related.

Section 5 briefly discusses the syntax of quotations and reporting clauses. I will argue that a quotation functions as a ‘minimal maximal’ nominal entity in a Minimalist derivation, which explains both the observed opacity effects and the possible syntactic environments of quotations. Finally, section 6 is the conclusion.

2. What is direct speech?

2.1. A quote is syntactically and semantically opaque

A clause that represents direct speech, even when it is embedded, has a high degree of independence with respect to the reporting context. There are various indications that a quotation is syntactically and semantically opaque. I will show this by comparing direct speech to indirect speech.

An embedded clause in direct speech, unlike a clause in indirect speech, is usually a main clause. Observe, for instance, the contrast between the examples in (5) and (6). Here, one should know that Dutch, like German, has obligatory Verb Second in main clauses, but Verb Final in subordinate clauses.¹

(5) *Verb Final*

- a. Joop zei dat hij honger had.
Joop said that he hunger had
‘Joop said that he was hungry.’
- b. *Joop zei: “Ik honger heb!”
Joop said I hunger have

(6) *Verb Second*

- a. *Joop zei dat hij had honger.
Joop said that he had hunger
- b. Joop zei: “Ik heb honger!”
Joop said I have hunger
‘Joop said, “I am hungry!”’

¹ The construction in (6b) must be distinguished from so-called Embedded Verb Second (EV2). Although in standard Dutch EV2 is unacceptable, it does occur colloquially (see Zwart 1997 and the references there); the counterpart of (6b) would then be *Joop zei, hij had honger* [Joop said he had hunger]. Clearly, however, EV2 has all the characteristics of indirect speech (see section 1), including the speaker-oriented deictic perspective and sequence-of-tense effects.

A quotation, therefore, is not a subordinate clause, as has been convincingly argued before in Luif (1990). Another argument for this is that a quoted clause can be used as an attributive modifier to a noun that does not take a complement clause; this is shown in (7):

- (7) a. * het motto dat ik niet voor hoge heren buig
 the motto that I not for high gentlemen bow
 b. het motto “Ik buig niet voor hoge heren”
 the motto I bow not for high gentlemen
 ‘the motto “I don’t bow for the bigwigs”’

Moreover, a quotation can be put in a different language from the reporting context:

- (8) a. * Joop zei dat *je t’aime*.
 Joop said that I you-love [French]
 b. Joop zei: “*Je t’aime*.”
 ‘Joop said, “*Je t’aime*”’

Evidently, a French clause cannot serve as a subordinate clause in a Dutch sentence, or the other way around.²

Furthermore, it turns out that quoted clauses may optionally surface in the middlefield, unlike subordinate clauses; this is illustrated in (9) and (10):³

- (9) a. Het scheen dat Joop had gezegd: “Jullie moeten mij volgen!”
 it appeared that Joop had said you must me follow
 ‘Apparently, Joop had said, “You have to follow me!”’
 b. Het scheen dat Joop “Jullie moeten mij volgen!” had gezegd.
 it appeared that Joop you must me follow had said
- (10) a. Het scheen dat Joop had gezegd [dat we hem moesten volgen].
 it appeared that Joop had said that we him must follow
 ‘Apparently, Joop had said that we had to follow him.’
 b. *Het scheen dat Joop [dat we hem moesten volgen] had gezegd.
 it appeared that Joop that we him must follow had said

I will come back to this issue in section 5.

Now let us turn to form and meaning. As stated before, the form is important in direct speech. The expected result is that synonymy does not lead to equivalence. For instance, the quotation “*fiets*” is essentially different from “*rijwiel*”, although *fiets* and *rijwiel* are synonymous, meaning ‘bicycle’. This makes the conversation in (11) possible:

² Here, I am abstracting away from potential code-switching by multilinguals. The point is that a quote (unlike a subordinate clause) can be in *any* other language, including the ones not known by the speaker.

³ In concordance with these judgments, Barbiers (2000) notes that the word order as in (10b) becomes acceptable if the bracketed part can be understood as a direct quote (and hence becomes comparable to (9b)). Needless to say, this requires a very special context (for example, a setting in which a linguistics professor had asked Joop to provide an example of a subordinate clause).

- (11) Speaker 1: Joop zei: “fiets”.
 Joop said bike
 Speaker 2: Nietes, Joop zei: “rijwiel”.
 ’tisn’t, Joop said bicycle

For the same reason the appositional construction in (12a) is unacceptable, whereas (12b), without quotation, is fine.

- (12) a. * Joop zei: “rijwiel”, oftewel “fiets”.
 Joop said bicycle, or bike
 ‘Joop said “bicycle”, i.e. “bike”.’
 b. Joop zei dat het een rijwiel was, oftewel een fiets.
 Joop said that it a bicycle was, or a bike
 ‘Joop said that it was a bicycle, i.e. a bike.’

Last but not least, a quotation can be an incomplete clause, a combination of sentences, or even a string of non-linguistic symbols or sounds. Some examples are provided in (13):

- (13) a. Joop zei: “onze”.
 Joop said 1PL:POSS:ATTR
 ‘Joop said “our”’
 b. Joop zei: “Nou, dat was het dan. Ik kom morgen nog wel een
 Joop said well that was it then I come tomorrow again indeed a
 keer langs. Tot ziens!”
 time along till seeing
 ‘Jood said, “Well, that’s it. I’ll come by again tomorrow. So long!”’
 c. Joop zuchtte: “pfff!”
 Joop sighed pfff
 d. “Krak!” deed de stoel.
 crack did the chair
 e. Joop schreef: “#@\$%^&!”
 Joop wrote #@\$%^&!

Not one of the parts between quotation marks in (13) is in itself (i.e. uncited) a potential major constituent of a sentence. Thus, there is stark evidence that the internal structure of a quotation is inaccessible. In subsequent sections we will see that an (embedded) quote functions as a noun (phrase) within its matrix clause (the reporting context).

The syntactic opacity of direct speech is confirmed by movement patterns. The illustration in (14) shows that *wh*-movement from a subordinate clause is fine, but not from an embedded quoted clause:

- (14) a. Wat zei je dat je _ gedaan hebt?
 what said you that you done have
 ‘What did you say you did?’
 b. * Wat zei je: “Ik heb _ gedaan”?
 what said you I have done

It is probably correct to state that in general, syntactically conditioned dependency relations between elements from the matrix and elements from the quote are impossible. This is similar to the situation concerning parentheses (see De Vries 2007). Nevertheless, an embedded quotation *in its entirety*, differently from parenthetical material, is in the scope of modal elements higher up in the matrix clause; compare, for example, (15a) to (15b):

- (15) a. Waarschijnlijk heeft Joop gezegd: “Ik zal de race winnen.”
 probably has Joop said I will the race win
 ‘Joop said probably, “I will win the race.”’
 b. Waarschijnlijk heeft Joop, mijn buurman, de race gewonnen.
 probably has Joop my neighbor the race won
 ‘Joop, my neighbor, probably won the race.’

In (15a) the quote is part of what is probable, namely *Joop said X*. In (15b), however, what is probable is that Joop won the race; the fact that Joop is the subject’s neighbor is not part of this – it is an independent proposition, as are parentheticals. Namely, an appositional construction involves an implicit, secondary proposition in which the apposition functions as a predicate of the anchor (see Heringa 2007 and the references therein for discussion); therefore, a paraphrase of (15b) is *Joop probably won the race. Joop/he is my neighbor*. In section 5, where the syntax of quotation is discussed, it will become clear what causes the difference with parentheses.

2.2. A quote is a demonstration

There are various linguistic-philosophical views on the question what quotation really is. For an overview of the literature, I refer to De Brabanter (2003b) and Cappelen (2005). Here, I will confine myself to some remarks in order to clarify my own position.

In older work, by Tarski (1933), Quine (1940), Geach (1957), and others, one finds the idea that a quotation is a kind of proper name (regardless, in my opinion, of whether it is atomic or complex). This view is highly problematic for a number of reasons. For a start, the relation between the form and the meaning of a quote is not arbitrary. An utterance *X* cannot be cited by means of an arbitrary ‘name’ *Y*. That is, if person *P* says *X* (say, *hello*), I cannot quote him or her by saying *P said Y* if *Y* is completely different from *X* (e.g., *goodbye*). Furthermore, it is unclear how it can be explained this way that direct speech is fully productive, and hence that quotations are freely generable and still interpretable (see also (13) above, for instance).

A breakthrough in thinking about direct speech was Davidson (1984), later extended and defended in Cappelen & Lepore (1997, 2003). Davidson claimed that quotation marks have a referential function. Their meaning is *the expression of which this is a token*. The contents of the quotation, then, are outside of the matrix clause, which, at the semantic level, contains only a pronominal. (For example, *John said, ‘I am ill’* can be analyzed roughly as *John said this: I am ill*.) Considering the discussion in the previous subsection, this could be a step in the right direction, for a direct consequence of such an approach is that the quote becomes opaque. A disadvantage, as will become clear in a moment, is that the quote must be a verbatim rendering of the original text.

A less laborious (but probably too simple) proposal is that the quotation marks are a semantic functor which provides the input expression as its value; see Richard (1986), for

instance. I think this is the most direct implementation of the concept of autonymy: the cited expression mentions itself and nothing else.

The above-mentioned semantically oriented views are contested by Recanati (2001) and Saka (2003), among others. They argue that in these proposals the relation between form and contents is still unclear, and, even more importantly, that they do not represent the meaning well because they neglect the special pragmatic function of direct speech.

I partly agree with this criticism. Below, I will propose a syntactic analysis from which several important aspects of direct speech follow, such as its productive character, the direct relation between form and meaning, and the way of attaching a quote to its syntactic context (when applicable), such that the opacity effect arises. This implies that a special ‘semantics of the quotation mark’ is no longer necessary. Importantly, the syntactic approach does not exclude a special pragmatics of direct speech.

What, then, comprises this pragmatics of direct speech? It seems to me that Clark & Gerrig’s (1990) analysis, empirically supported by Redeker (1991) and Wade & Clark (1993), is essentially correct. Quotations, they claim, are *demonstrations*. When we cite someone, we are giving a demonstration of what he or she said (or wrote), and how s/he said (wrote) it. If we were only interested in the contents, we would simply use indirect speech. If we decide to quote, we must be doing so for rhetorical purposes, and it follows that the form (in the broad sense of the word) is important. A demonstration, then, is a ‘selective depiction’ that enables the listener to experience – rather than be informed about – relevant aspects of the original event.⁴

The idea that a quotation is a demonstration is compatible with three important characteristics of direct speech (incongruent, if I understand correctly, with a purely semantic approach to quotation), which I will now expound upon:

- The form of a quotation approximates the form of a previous utterance, but does not necessarily equal it.
- A quotation may be enriched with (subjective) information by the speaker.
- Last but not least, a quotation is not necessarily a demonstration of a previous utterance; it is a linguistic or quasi-linguistic demonstration of *something*, be it an actual previous utterance, a potential utterance, a sound, a symbolic representation, a name, or even an event, emotion, or idea.

First, let us consider the form of a quote. A demonstration can be objectively more successful or less successful. The subjective success of course depends on the situation. The authors cited – and more recently also Bekker (2006) – emphasize that actual quotations are very rarely exactly the same as the original utterance/text; only scientific and juridical quoting is usually reliable (and even that only to a certain extent – see below). Is this a performance effect, the consequence of, e.g., a limited memory capacity or laziness, and hence irrelevant for linguistic theorizing? One may wonder whether a sentence is semantically false if a quote is not the same as the original utterance (a central theme in especially Cappelen & Lepore’s work). However, this raises the question what *the same* means in this respect. It is more than just the same meaning. Is it the same words? The same intonation? The same accent, phonetic characteristics, speech rate, hesitations, speech defects, timbre, emotions, nonverbal communication, background noise? Or,

⁴ The demonstration theory is not to be confused with Davidson’s “demonstrative theory” mentioned above, which is completely different because it involves *indicating* instead of demonstrating. As Clark & Gerrig (1990:801) put it, indicating locates things, whereas demonstrating depicts them. This has wide-ranging consequences; see below.

for written texts, the same written words, spelling, letters, symbols, handwriting, font, font size, color, contrast, layout, markings, or even coffee stains?

I may be exaggerating a little, but the point should be clear: it is far from evident how *the same* should be defined. In fact, it seems to me that it cannot and must not be defined, since it depends on the situation what is actually relevant. For instance, if one quotes a written poem, it is essential that end-of-line markings are included. It is no coincidence, I believe, that in oral quotation it is rather common that the diction and/or accent of the original speaker are imitated. These characteristics can be essential parts of direct speech: why else would one cite rather than paraphrase? In short, the possibly compelling presence of form features (of whatever nature) that can neither be traced back to the propositional meaning composition nor to the abstract word string, is clear-cut evidence against a purely semantic analysis of direct speech. In each particular case it is pragmatically decided which form features are relevant.⁵

Second, a demonstration is not a (mini)play in the narrow sense of the word. The quoter is not a ventriloquist of the quotee, just taking over the essentials of the relevant utterance. To be sure, the quoter takes over the (deictic) perspective of the quotee, but there is ample room for evaluative elements and annotations. For instance, in quoting, one may mock or exaggerate by piling on the quotee's accent or particular choice of words. In fact, the possibility of ironizing may be the very reason for using direct speech rather than a paraphrase. Furthermore, additions, substitutions, or hesitations on the part of the quoter are quite frequent, such as *or so, uh, blahblah, you know*. For some actual examples and discussion, see Redeker (1991) among others.

Third, considering a quotation a demonstration certainly does not necessitate assuming that someone who quotes is demonstrating an actual previous utterance. The essence is that a quote is a (quasi-)linguistic demonstration, but what is triggering this demonstration, i.e. the input of the process, may vary. We have already seen that the input can be just a sound. A number of other possibilities are illustrated in (16):

- (16) a. *thoughts or unspoken reactions*
Toen dacht ik: "Ja, maar wacht eens even..."
then thought I yes but wait once a.moment
'Then I thought, "Yes, but wait the moment..."'
b. *hypothetical/potential utterances*
Het is niet beleefd om "Rot op!" te zeggen.
it is not polite for piss off to say
'It is impolite to say "Piss off!"'
c. *translations*
Caesar zei (in het Latijn): "Ik kwam, ik zag en ik overwon."
Caesar said in the Latin I came I saw and I conquered
'Caesar said (in Latin), "I came, I saw, I conquered."'
d. *anthropomorphisms*
"Open mij!" leek de brief te schreeuwen.
open me seemed the letter to shout
'"Open me!" it seemed that the letter shouted.'

⁵ In spoken language it is more transparent than in written language that form features other than just the string of words may play a role. Perhaps a bias towards written text is one of reasons why the semantic approach appears to deny the flexibility of form (mistakenly, I believe).

I will return to this issue in more detail in section 4.

In conclusion, I argued that quotations are demonstrations, and that they do not necessarily relate to a previous utterance. In what follows it is shown that this may shed new light on some syntactic constructions that are not very well understood so far.

3. A syntactic typology of direct speech

In this section I will examine which syntactic kinds of direct speech can be distinguished, bearing in mind that a demonstration is not necessarily of the canonical type in (1a). In doing so, I will have to introduce some new terminology, which is intended to be as transparent as possible.

3.1. *Independent quotations*

Let us start with *independent direct speech*, in which the quotation is an independent phrase, sentence, or a series of those.⁶ If this is the case, it should be clear from the discourse that the relevant utterance is a quote. Some examples are provided in (17):

- (17) a. “Mijn vader bezit geen auto.” (Aldus sprak Joop.)
my father owns no car thus spoke Joop
“My father doesn’t own a car.” (Thus spoke Joop.)’
b. “Pech,” zei Joop. “Mijn vader bezit geen auto. Dus we moeten lopen.”
bad.luck said Joop my father owns no car so we have.to walk
“Bad luck,” said Joop. “My father doesn’t own a car. So we have to walk.”
c. “Mijn vader,” zei Joop, “bezit geen auto.”
my father said Joop owns no car
“My father,” said Joop, “doesn’t own a car.”
d. Joop: “Mijn vader bezit geen auto.”
Joop my father owns no car
‘Joop: “My father doesn’t own a car.”’

It is very common that a reporting clause is added as a parenthetical to the quotation. It is even possible to interrupt the quote by such a parenthetical, as is shown in (17c).⁷ Thus, independent direct speech can be continuous or interrupted. Example (17d) contains a notation often used in screenplays; the two parts, *Joop*: and the quote, are not syntactically related.

⁶ Some English grammars distinguish between direct speech (DS) and free direct speech (FDS), the only difference being the overt presence or absence of quotation marks in the spelling. I do not think this is a significant distinction. From the perspective of spoken language, it does not even make sense.

⁷ Here, I cannot go into the subject of parenthetical reporting clauses, but see De Vries (2006), where they are systematically contrasted with reporting matrix clauses as in (18) below, and where it is argued that they are main clauses starting with a quotative operator, in concurrence with previous work by Collins & Branigan (1997), Schelfhout (2000) and others.

3.2. Subordinated quotations

The second main type is *embedded direct speech*. A quotation can be a major constituent of a clause. In (18) the quote functions as a direct object:

- (18) Joop vroeg: “Mag ik nog een cake-je?”
Joop asked may I still a cake-DIM
‘Joop asked, “Can I have another piece of cake?”’

But other syntactic functions are possible as well; (19) illustrates the case of a subject quote. Note that (19a) is a passive construction.

- (19) a. “Ga je mee?” werd er toen gevraagd.
go you along was there then asked
‘“Are you coming?” it was asked, then.’
b. “Rot op!” betekent dat je aanwezigheid ongewenst is.
piss off means that your presence unwanted is
‘“Piss off!” means that your presence is unwanted.’
c. “Rook niet voor je zestigste” is een goed advies.
smoke not before your sixtieth is a good advise
‘“Don’t smoke before you are sixty” is a good advise.’

The third possibility is a predicate noun:

- (20) a. Deze misdadiger wordt ook wel “de rode stotteraar” genoemd.
this criminal is also indeed the red stutterer named
‘this criminal is also called “the red stutterer”’
b. Het toneelstuk heet “Ik lust geen pap!”
the play is.called I like no porridge
‘the play is called “I don’t like porridge!”’
c. De vis heet Blub-je.
the fish is.called Blub-DIM
‘The fish is called Blubby.’
d. Ik ben Joop.
I am Joop

As I showed in the introduction, any phrase can be used referentially or autonymously. Names, which are conventionalized utterances, can be nonreferential, in particular when they are introduced. This is the case in (20). If one introduces a name, one demonstrates the form of a word or phrase to the hearer. Even if the name is complex, it functions as an atom within the context, that is, a name – like any quotation – is syntactically opaque. Thus, I conclude that *Joop* in (20d), for instance, is a quotation, just like “*Ik lust geen pap!*” “‘I don’t like porridge!’” in (20b), although perhaps it is not always recognized as such. Notice that names are usually not surrounded by quotation marks, but capitalized instead; of course this is only an arbitrary spelling convention, and hence of no relevance to linguistic analysis. I should emphasize that names *can* be quotations, but need not, since they can be used instead of mentioned, as was

illustrated in (2) in the introduction. In fact, (20d) is ambiguous: if Joop is introducing himself (this is the most likely reading), the name Joop is a quotation, i.e. a demonstration; if there is a possible confusion concerning who is who, for instance if Mary says “Hi, Hank!” and Joop answers “I ain’t Hank, I’m Joop!”, then “Joop” is clearly referential (hence not a quote).

A number of special instances of embedded direct speech are listed in (21) through (23):

- (21) a. Hij zei van: “Ga toch fietsen!”
 he said of go rather cycling
 ‘He said like, “Get on your bike!”’
 b. Hij dacht van: “Ga toch fietsen!”
 he thought of go rather cycling
- (22) a. Hij had zoiets van: “Ga toch fietsen!”
 he had something of go rather cycling
 ‘He was like, “Get on your bike!”’
 b. Hij zei/dacht zoiets van: “Ga toch fietsen!”
 he said/thought something of go rather cycling
- (23) a. John was like “No way!”
 b. John went (like), “Go away!”

In (21) the quote appears to be an object, as in (18). The intervening *van* functions as a vague modal element indicating that the speaker does not accept full responsibility for the reliability of the contents of the quote; see Van Craenenbroeck (2002) and Foolen et al. (2006) for more discussion.⁸ However, in (22) the object position is occupied by *zoiets* ‘such a thing’, of which the quote is a specification. Perhaps the same can be said about (21), which then would contain a phonologically empty object. In the English example (23a), the quotation appears to be a predicate noun, which would be strange, but which makes sense if the string *was like* can be taken to mean *was in a certain state such that he expressed the following words, approximately*. In (23b) *went*, too, is idiomatically interpreted as a reporting verb, of which the quote is then an object. *Like* in English has a similar modal interpretation as *van* in Dutch.

A further example worth mentioning is (24), where the quote is certainly not an object – the object position being filled by *het* ‘it’ –, but functions as a specification of a manner adverb (*zo* ‘so’, etc.):

- (24) Joop zei het zo/aldus/op deze manier: “Ik ben ontslagen!”
 Joop said it so/thus/in this way I am fired

An elliptical version of (24) is used in spoken language, especially among youths (personally I only accept the version including *van*, cf. (21)):⁹

⁸ Wade & Clark (1993) show by means of a carefully set-up experiment that hedged quotation is as common as hedged indirect speech (where a hedge is understood as any phrase expressing uncertainty on the part of the speaker). They argue that the hedge concerns the content of the quote, not the “verbatim accuracy”. Of course one may demonstrate – as well as talk about – a (speech) event without being sure about all the details.

⁹ In Norwegian, a superficially similar construction is common among youths. An example is *Jeg bare: Hæ?! Hva skjedde her da?* [I just: Huh! What happened here then?]. This is the title of Toril Opsahl’s MA thesis about this

- (25) a. % Joop zo: “Ik ben ontslagen!”
 Joop so I am fired
 b. ...en hij zo van: “Ik wil niet mee.”
 and he so of I want not with
 ‘... and he [said], “I don’t want to come with you.”’

Another example in which the quote is not a major constituent but more deeply embedded is (26), where it is part of a prepositional phrase:

- (26) Met “Ga toch fietsen!” bedoelde hij dat je onzin uitkraamde.
 with go rather cycling meant he that you nonsense out-bore
 With “Get on your bike!” he meant that you were talking nonsense.

Now let us turn to a more systematically used possibility, where a quotation functions as a specification of a noun phrase; see (27). I will call this *attributive modifying direct speech*. (The modifiers in (27) are sometimes referred to as [restrictive] appositions.)

- (27) a. de vraag “Wie wil er koffie?”
 the question who wants there coffee
 ‘the question “Who would like coffee?”’
 b. de onsterfelijke woorden “*veni, vidi, vici*”
 the immortal words *veni vidi vici*
 c. het spreekwoord ‘Wie de schoen past, trekke hem aan’
 the proverb who the shoe fits put it on
 ‘the proverb “If the shoe fits, wear it.”’
 d. de roman ‘Oorlog en vrede’
 the novel War and peace
 e. de kaskraker *Jurassic Park*
 the hit *Jurassic Park*
 f. de actrice Halina Reijn
 the actress Halina Reijn
 g. de wet-Van Houten
 the law Van Houten
 h. de rivier de Rijn
 the river the Rhine
 ‘the river Rhine’
 i. de stad Amsterdam
 the city Amsterdam
 ‘the city of Amsterdam’
 j. het opinieblad *De groene Amsterdammer*
 the newsmagazine The green Amsterdammer

subject (University of Oslo, 2002). Note that the adverb *bare* means ‘only’ or ‘just’, which differs from Dutch *zo*. Although an analysis in terms of ellipsis does not seem impossible to me, it is perhaps more likely that the adverb *bare* has been reanalysed as a general reporting verb. Thanks to Janne Bondi Johannessen for pointing this out.

- k. minister Donner
minister Donner

In each example, the quotation is a restrictive identifying modifier of a noun phrase.¹⁰ The modifier is name-providing, and does not have to be pronounced by some person in an actual previous situation; this is similar to the state of affairs illustrated in (20) above. The quotation itself is not referential, but the complex noun phrase containing the quote is (unless we use recursive direct speech; see section 5).

A special variant of the type illustrated in (27) is *possessive attributive modifying direct speech*, which can be distinguished by the use of the preposition *van* ‘of’; see (28):

- (28) a. de zee van Azof
the sea of Azof
- b. de golf van Gibraltar
the gulf of Gibraltar
- c. het syndroom van Klinefelter
the syndrome of Klinefelter
‘Klinefelter’s syndrome’
- d. de ziekte van Parkinson
the disease of Parkinson
‘Parkinson’s disease’

Not to be confused with (28) is *typifying attributive modifying direct speech*:

- (29) a. zo’n blik van daar-heb-je-hem-weer
such-a look of there-have-you-him-again
- b. een beleid van lik-me-vestje
a policy of lick-my-waistcoat
‘a lousy policy’
- c. een uitdrukking als “van leer trekken”
an expression like of leather pull
‘an expression like “strike out”’
- d. een minister zoals Donner
a minister like Donner

Here, the relation between the quotation and the head noun is typifying, not identifying. As expected, the nominal phrases in (27) and (28) are definite, but those in (29) are indefinite. If, in (29), the demonstration represents a concrete example of a kind, the connective (*zo*)*als* ‘as/like’ is used (29c/d); if the quote represents the type itself, *van* [lit. ‘of’] is used (29a/b).

Closely related to *attributive modifying direct speech* is *compounded direct speech*, in which the quotation is compounded with the head noun. Again, we can distinguish between the identifying definite variant (30) and the typifying indefinite variant (31):

¹⁰ The examples in (27) show again that the notation/spelling is subject to variation, which is a possible source of confusion. However, whether we use single or double quotation marks, italics, capitals, or something else, the relation between the quote and the head noun is of the same type in each case.

- (30) a. het Downsyndroom
the Down.syndrome
'Down's syndrome'
b. de "Bob jij of Bob ik"-campagne
the Bob you or Bob I campaign
c. de Herenstraat
the Gentlemen-street
d. het Baikalmeer
the Baikal.lake
'Lake Baikal'
- (31) a. een lik-op-stuk-beleid
a lick-on-piece-policy
'a "tit for tat" policy'
b. een "kijk ons eens modern zijn"-inrichting
a look us just modern be design
'a "look us being modern" design'
c. een "Stop of ik schiet!"-gebaar
a stop or I shoot gesture

Of course if the demonstration involves a name, the compound is likely to be definite.

The last variant of embedded direct speech is *nominalized direct speech*, in which the quotation functions as the head of a larger noun phrase (32a/b), or even as a part of a morphologically complex noun (32c):

- (32) a. Met een woedend "Ik wist wel dat je me zou bedriegen!" kwam
with an angry I knew just that you me would deceive came
ze de kamer binnenstormen.
she the room into.storm
'With an angry "I knew that you would deceive me!" she stormed into the room.'
b. Het "Op uw plaatsen...klaar...af!" galmde door het stadion.
the on your marks ready away resounded throughout the stadium
c. Al dat ge-"nou nou, poeh poeh" hangt me de keel uit.
all that NR-well well pooh pooh hangs me the throat out
'I've had it up to here with all this "well well, pooh-pooh"-ing.'

Apparently, then, the categorial projection status of a quote is remarkably flexible. See also Van der Kleij & Van Koppen (1997), and Pascual & Janssen (2004) for many illustrations of the types in (31) in (32) in Dutch.

3.3. Interjections

The third main type of direct speech is what I will call *parenthetical direct speech*. Consider the example in (33):

- (33) Joop zakte –krak! –door het ijs.
 Joop fell crack through the ice

Here, *krak!* is an interjection. Syntactically, an interjection is simply a parenthesis. However, there is more to it. *Krak* is a quasi-linguistic representation of a sound: it is a demonstration of how it sounded when John cracked through the ice. Therefore, the interjection in (33) is a quotation; it can be subsumed under direct speech quite neatly. In general, the only way of incorporating extralinguistic elements in a sentence is by quoting them; interjections par excellence fit this pattern. As we have seen, demonstrations are assigned a grammatical status (that is, they count as syntactic objects); this gives us a necessary handle for merging them into a syntactic structure. (For a discussion how parentheses can be treated in syntax, see De Vries 2007; this does not concern us here.)

Other examples are given in (34). The interjection *hoepla* ‘ups-a-daisy’ in (34a) does not represent a sound, however; it is a (conventionalized) linguistic demonstration of a particular kind of motion. *Zoefff* in (34b) represents a combination of fast motion and the sound it makes.

- (34) a. De kat sprong – hoepla – op het aanrecht.
 the cat jumped whoops onto the counter
 b. Beckham schiet de bal – zoefff – naast het doel.
 Beckham shoots the ball zoofff off the target

In (33) and (34) the demonstration concerns a sound and/or event that originates outside of the speaker. Generally, one may wonder whether it is a prerequisite for direct speech that the utterance or idea represented by the quotation is spatio-temporally dissociated from the speaker. I argue that this is not the case. If we look at the spatial and temporal components separately, the answer is straightforward. First, one may quote oneself, as is shown in (35):

- (35) Yesterday I said, “I will quote this sentence tomorrow.”

Second, one may quote someone else or something else practically simultaneously. An example is (34b), which could be pronounced by a radio reporter while watching a football match. Now, would it also be possible to quote oneself simultaneously? Indeed it is, however counterintuitive it may seem at first sight. The reason is that a demonstration can concern extralinguistic matters. Consider (36):

- (36) Sst – we gaan beginnen.
 hush we go begin
 ‘Hush – we will begin.’

The interjection *sst* (note, by the way, that interjections can be sentence-initial or sentence-final, like parentheses) is a conventionalized, quasi-linguistic sound; therefore, it must be a quotation. But what does it express? It is an (emotional) demonstration of one’s wish that others be quiet.

Thus, we can now analyze interjections as parenthetically construed quasi-linguistic demonstrations of sounds, emotions, etc. Some further illustrations are provided in (37); here, the interjections are printed in italics:

- (37) a. Joop is, *hihi*, zijn tas vergeten. [sneaky joy]
 Joop is hihi his bag forgotten
 ‘Joop has, hah hah, forgotten his bag.’
 b. Joop was *verdorie* zijn tas vergeten. [indignant curse]
 Joop was damn his bag forgotten
 ‘Joop had, damn it, forgotten his bag.’
 c. Groninger koek is *oh!* zo lekker. [ecstasy]
 Groningen:POSS cake is oh so tasty
 d. *Ja*, ik weet het. [affirmation]
 yes I know it
 e. Joop is wereldberoemd, *hoor*. [reassuring affirmation]
 Joop is world.famous really

Most remarkably, we may even state that hesitation fits the pattern:

- (38) Ik heb een, *eh*, dvd-speler gekocht. [hesitation]
 I have an uh DVD-player bought
 ‘I bought an, uh, DVD player.’

That is, *eh* ‘uh’ is a (conventionalized) parenthetical demonstration of hesitation, and therefore a quotation.

Parenthetic direct speech may also surface within a major constituent. The examples in (39a/b) – attested in *De Volkskrant* and *Natuurwetenschap and Techniek*, respectively – contain a regular quotation at such an unusual position, splitting up a complex proper name.

- (39) a. Loesewies “pet” van der Laan
 Loesewies lousy van der Laan
 b. Douwe “Waarom het leven sneller gaat als je ouder wordt” Draaisma
 Douwe why the life faster goes when you older become Draaisma
 ‘Douwe “Why life speeds up as you get older” Draaisma’

Concerning (39a), “[*ronduit*] pet”, an oldfashioned expression meaning ‘[plainly] lousy’, was Loesewies van der Laan’s remarkable qualification for the result of the elections for her political party (D66) in 2006. As for (39b), “*Waarom het leven...*” is the title of a well-known book by psychology professor Douwe Draaisma.

Combining the possibilities in (37) and (39) gives (40), an example of a construction that is frequently attested in spoken English:

- (40) John *fucking* Malkovich

Here, *fucking* is an invasive interjection that constitutes a demonstration of the speaker’s emotional attitude towards John Malkovich (including the possibility of surprise, awe, and so on).

In short, I believe interjections can be analyzed as parenthetic direct speech, and thus provide further support for the idea that quotations can be viewed as demonstrations.

3.4. Mixed quotation and free indirect style

In this section I would like to mention two constructions that are (apparently) related to direct speech. First, consider the examples in (41), which illustrate what may be called *hybrid speech* (also known as ‘mixed quotation’):

- (41) a. Volgens Joop moeten we ‘de bloemetjes maar eens flink buiten zetten’.
according.to Joop must we the flowers but once firmly outside put
‘According to Joop we should ‘paint the town bright red’.’
b. Campert vond dat het leven ‘verrukkulluk’ is.
Campert thought that the life delightful is.
‘Campert considered life ‘delightful’.’

What is special in these examples is that the parts between quotation marks have two functions at the same time: they are transparently syntactically (and hence compositional-semantically) part of the matrix clause, and they are citations. Put more concisely, the relevant parts are both mentioned and used.

The difference between hybrid speech and the use of irony or distance in general (often also indicated by (single) quotation marks in a text) is not always clear. It comes as no surprise, then, that there is a movement in the literature which attempts to catch these phenomena under a common pragmatic denominator (see Saka 2003, for instance). Here, I will remain neutral concerning the analysis of mixed quotation. For ample discussion, see De Brabanter (2003a) and the references there.

Finally, it is worth mentioning *semi-direct speech* (also known as ‘free indirect style’, ‘erlebte Rede’, etc.), which superficially combines characteristics of direct and indirect speech. An illustration is (42):

- (42) [Joops gedachten raasden verder.] Iedereen heeft een auto. Waarom had hij
Joop’s thoughts raged on everybody has a car why had he
geen auto? Waarom verdiende hij het minimumloon? Waarom won hij de loterij
no car why earned he the minimum.wage why won he the lottery
niet eens een keer? Sukkel die hij was.
not once a time dope that he was
‘[Joop’s thoughts raged on.] Everybody has a car. Why didn’t he have a car? Why did he
earn only the minimum wage? Why didn’t he win the lottery just once? He was such a
dope.’

Comparable to the situation in independent direct speech, semi-direct speech can be combined with V1-parentheses (compare (17c)):

- (43) a. Hij was te ver gegaan, besepte hij.
he was too far gone realized he
‘He had gone too far, he realized.’
b. Hij had, vond Joop, nu wel genoeg gedaan.
he had thought Joop now indeed enough done
‘He had, Joop thought, done quite enough.’

Several reporting verbs can be used for both types; see (44), for instance:

- (44) a. Hij had anders moeten handelen, dacht Joop.
he had otherwise should act thought Joop
'He should have acted differently, Joop thought.'
- b. "Dit heb ik helemaal verkeerd gedaan," dacht Joop.
this have I completely wrong done thought Joop
'"I did it all wrong," Joop thought.'

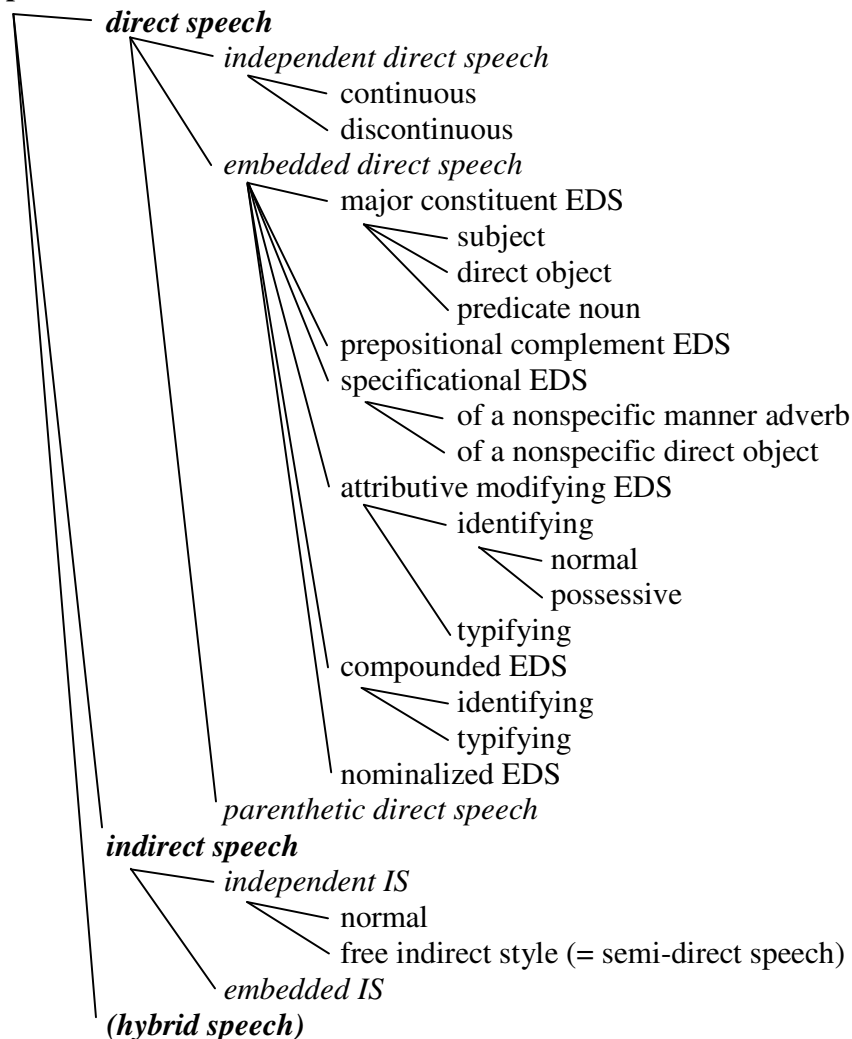
In (44b) a thought is presented as if it were speech. Especially the use of the pronoun *ik* 'I' indicates that this sentence (modulo the parenthetical) is an actual quotation.

Despite some similarities between semi-direct and direct speech, it seems to me that semi-direct speech cannot be considered as a subtype of direct speech. Semi-direct speech is essentially limited to literary text, the change of perspective from the speaker to the subject is very incomplete (most importantly, first and second person pronouns cannot be used), and sentences like the ones in (42) and (43) cannot be interpreted as demonstrations, hence quotations, of the sort discussed before. Rather, then, semi-direct speech must be analyzed a special instance of (independent) indirect speech.

3.5. *Summary*

The results in the previous subsections lead to the syntactically oriented classification of speech in (45), where indentation indicates a step down in the hierarchy:

(45) **speech**



In section 5 I will continue discussing the syntax of direct speech. First, however, I would like to go into some more detail concerning its pragmatics.

4. A pragmatic typology of direct speech

I argued, following Clark & Gerrig (1990) and others, that a quotation is a demonstration. We have already encountered different types of demonstrations. In this section, let us consider the ‘pragmatic typology of direct speech’ and its relation with the syntactic classification discussed above a little more systematically.

There is a relevant distinction between citing a token or a type. The first possibility yields a *concrete quotation*, which relates to a previous utterance, or to an actual thought, event or emotion. The second possibility leads to either a *hypothetical quotation* or *autonymy*, whereby a name, form, general statement, or characterization is introduced; all of these are potential rather

than actual utterances. Let me illustrate this tripartition in some more detail, starting with concrete quotations.

Redeker (1991) shows that [concrete] quotations can be *dramatizing* or *documenting*, each with slightly different intensions and different possible annotations and the like. Consider the difference in style between the examples (mine) in (46) on the one hand and (47) on the other hand.

- (46) a. En toen schreeuwde Joop: “Er staat een páárd in de gang!”
and then yelled Joop there stands a horse in the hall
‘And then Joop yelled: “There’s a *horse* standing in the hall!”’
b. Het “Au, mijn tenen!” was niet van de lucht in de overvolle danszaal.
the ouch my toes was not of the air in the overcrowded ballroom
‘The “Ouch my toes!”s were quite frequent in the overcrowded ballroom.’
- (47) “De directe rede is hoogst intrigerend,” noteerde de wijsgeer X al in 1898.
the direct speech is highly intriguing noted the philosopher X already in 1898
““Direct speech is highly intriguing,” the philosopher X noted already in 1898.’

The distinction, however, is scalar rather than absolute. Notice also that the sentence in (47) is fine, even when the philosopher wrote in French or German originally. A verbatim rendering of a previous utterance, therefore, is not a categorical demand (in so far as this is a realistic requirement to begin with; see the remarks in section 2.2), even though in general documenting quotations are objectively more faithful than dramatizing ones.

As was noted in section 2.2, quotations do not necessarily demonstrate linguistic utterances; they may also refer to thoughts or anthropomorphisms; see (48):

- (48) a. Hij dacht “Rot op!”, maar hij zei niets.
he thought piss off but he said nothing
‘He thought “Get lost!” but he didn’t say anything.’
b. “Opnemen. Nu! Nu! Nu!” dramde de telefoon.
pick.up now now now nagged the telephone
‘The telephone was nagging, “Pick me up. Now! Now! Now!”’

Cited imitations of sounds, graphics, and events – all instances of dramatizing quotation, arguably – deserve to be mentioned separately; see (49), for instance:

- (49) a. “poeh poeh,” hijgde Joop
pooh pooh panted Joop
b. “Ding-dong,” klonk de bel.
ding-dong sounded the bell
c. Woest kalkte Joop zoiets als “Ж☺” op de muur.
savagely chalked Joop something like Ж☺ on the wall
Savagely, Joop chalked something like “Ж☺” onto the wall
d. “Floep,” schoot de muis weer in zijn holletje.
flop rushed the mouse again into his hole
“Flop,” the mouse rushed into its hole again.

The only way of using an originally non-linguistic sound in a sentence is by citing it. So the distancing aspect of direct speech can be used creatively. Many sounds, by the way, have a conventionalized linguistic counterpart, and can, for this reason, be considered a particular kind of words (for instance, *kukeleku* ‘cock-a-doodle-do’ and *krak* ‘crack’). Nevertheless, citing sounds is fully productive; notice, in this respect that one may pronounce *kukeleku* cock-a-doodle-doingly, or write *krrrak*.

Furthermore, as we have seen in section 3.3, quotations can be a demonstration of an emotion of the speaker. This is especially the case for interjections, but not exclusively. Two examples are given in (50). In (50a) the quotation is an interjection; in (50b) it functions as a predicate noun.

- (50) a. Ach, laat toch zitten.
 ah let but sit
 ‘Ah, let it be.’
 b. Deze koekjes zijn bah/mmm!
 these biscuits are yuck/mmm

Quotations like these can be taken as extreme examples of the dramatizing type.

The second main type is hypothetical quotation, where reference is made to potential utterances or thoughts. These cannot be located in space and time, and therefore they are non-concrete. Two examples are provided in (51):

- (51) a. Als je denkt “Ik wil niet meer werken,” dan wordt het tijd voor
 when you think I want not anymore work than becomes it time for
 vakantie.
 vacation
 ‘When one is thinking, “I don’t want to work any longer,” it is due time for a
 vacation.’
 b. Ik wil wel “ja” zeggen, maar het kan echt niet.
 I want indeed yes say but it can really not
 ‘I want to say “yes”, but it is really impossible.’

Finally, let us turn to autonymy. Some canonical examples are given in (52). The context is about the form demonstrated by the quotation. It is irrelevant whether there is a previous utterance; the quotations concern the type ω , “*paarde(n)bloem*”, or “*ding-dong*” in general.

- (52) a. Schrijf je “paarde(n)bloem” nu met of zonder tussen-*n*?
 write you dandelion now with or without intermediary-*n*
 ‘Do you spell “dandelion” with or without an intermediary [letter] *n*?’
 b. ω is een omega.
 ω is an omega
 c. Joop vindt “ding-dong” een mooi geluid.
 Joop regards ding-dong a nice sound
 ‘Joop thinks “ding-dong” is a nice sound.’

Again, the form itself may have an extralinguistic origin in principle.

A second kind of autonymy is *direct naming*, as is illustrated in (53). Here, *Joop*, “*De drijvende tobbe*” and *Appassionata* do not have a referent, but provide someone or something with a label.

- (53) a. Zijn naam is Joop.
his name is Joop
c. Het schip heet “De drijvende tobbe”.
this ship is called The floating tub
d. Deze sonate wordt de *Appassionata* genoemd.
this sonata is the *Appassionata* called
‘this sonata is called the *Appassionata*’

The third type of autonymy can be called *identification*. Here, too, denomination is relevant, but now the relevant name is not assigned but used to identify. See (54):

- (54) a. de film “Six strangers”
the film Six strangers
b. het kabinet-Balkenende IV
the cabinet-Balkenende IV
c. de uitdrukking “hoge bomen vangen veel wind”
the expression high trees catch a lot of wind
‘the expression “the bigger they are, the harder they fall”’
d. de ziekte van Pfeiffer
the disease of Pfeiffer
‘Pfeiffer’s disease’
e. de “Hou je van mij of hou je niet van mij?”-test
the love you of me or love you not of me test
‘the “Do you love me or don’t you love me?” test’
f. het Downsyndroom
the Down-syndrome
‘Down’s syndrome’

By using a particular quotation, one demonstrates (in using a designated form), which film, cabinet, etc., is at stake. As I said before, the name does not refer, but the complex noun phrase may.

Finally, a quotation can be used as a *characterization* of a concept. Some examples are given in (55):

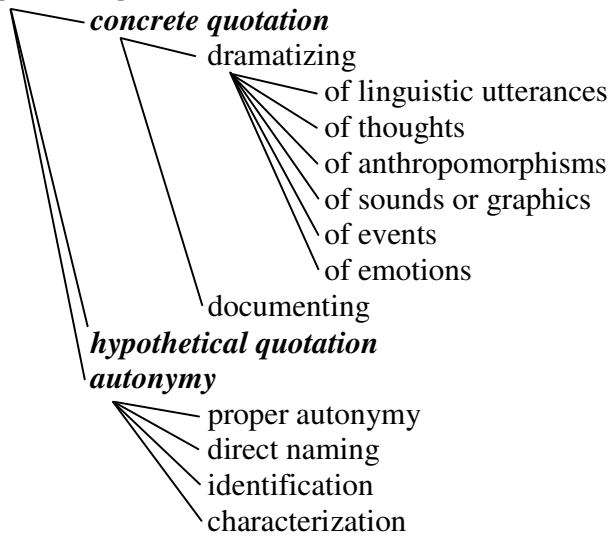
- (55) a. eensprekwoord als “de appel valt niet ver van de boom”
a proverb like the apple falls not far from the tree
‘a proverb like “the apple never falls far from the tree”’
b. een “doe maar gewoon”-moraal
a do only normal morality
‘an “act normally” morality’

- c. zo'n houding van "bekijk het maar"
 such.an attitude of see it only
 'an attitude like "suit yourself"'
- d. een beethovenbankje
 a beethoven.bench [a piano stool]

The difference between identification and characterization is reflected in the definiteness of the noun phrase as a whole.

The results concerning the pragmatic classification are collected in (56):

(56) **(quasi-)linguistic demonstrations**



In principle, this pragmatic classification of quotation is orthogonal to the established syntactic typology. On the basis of the previous discussion, we can put up the following table, which indicates all possible (+) and impossible (–) combinations:

Table 1. Direct speech: existing types in a syntactico-pragmatic space

	<i>concrete</i>		<i>hypothetical</i>	<i>autonymy</i>			
	drama- tizing	docu- menting		proper autonymy	direct naming	identifi- cation	characteri- zation
<i>independent:</i> cont./discont.	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
<i>embedded:</i> major constituent	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
prepositional complement	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
specificational	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
attributive modifying	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
compound	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
nominalized	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
<i>parenthetic</i>	+	–	+	–	–	–	–

Clearly, it is not the case that anything goes, but it can be safely asserted that the two dimensions have an independent right to exist.

5. Some notes on the syntax of direct speech

Although the internal make-up of a quotation can be anything, it has a designated categorial status in the matrix: an embedded quote functions as a nominal category. As for independent and parenthetic quotation, it is hard to tell what their category is for the lack of (interacting) syntactic context. Therefore, I will limit the discussion here to embedded quotation. Let us reminisce that each of the many subtypes we encountered involves a potential or obligatory nominal position within the syntactic context.

First, we have seen that quotes can fill argument positions: they can be subjects, objects, and predicate nouns. (I will not repeat the examples here.) A quotation can even function as a complement of a preposition, which is an NP position. Second, a quotation can function as a nominal attribute; recall also (7), where a clausal attribute is excluded, and the examples in (28) and (29), where the quote follows a prepositional connective, again a position where one would expect a noun phrase. Third, it is clear that compounding and so on may involve nominal categories.

A somewhat more complicated argument for the nominal status of quotes is the following, which is based on particular properties of Dutch (the same case can be made for German). Consider the contrast between (57a) and (57b), which shows that a quoted clause, but not a regular finite subordinate clause, may surface in the middlefield – recall also (9) and (10). (Here, we may ignore focus scrambling with factive predicates, as in *Joop zal dat hij fout zat nooit toegeven* [Joop will that he wrong sat never admit] ‘Joop will never admit that he was wrong’.)

- (57) a. Morgen zal Joop “Houdt er iemand van appelmoes?” vragen
 tomorrow will Joop likes there someone of applesause ask
 aan de verzamelde stafleden.
 to the assembled staff.members
 ‘Tomorrow, Joop will ask “Does anybody like applesause?” to the assembled members of staff.’
 b. * Morgen zal Joop [of er iemand van appelmoes houdt] vragen
 tomorrow will Joop if there someone of applesause likes ask
 aan de verzamelde stafleden.
 to the assembled staff.members

For reasons I do not know, the construction illustrated in (57a) is only acceptable for prototypical verba discendi such as *zeggen* ‘say’, *vragen* ‘ask’, *antwoorden* ‘answer’, or *roepen* ‘roepen’. (Hence, a sentence like *... *dat hij “Ik ben de beste!” beweerde*... [that he “I am the best” claimed] is unacceptable.) Despite that, the contrast in (57) is real, and calls for an explanation.

Contrary to the situation for object clauses, the OV order is the usual order for nominal direct objects:

- (58) a. ... dat Joop een fiets kocht.
 that Joop a bike bought
 b. * ... dat Joop kocht een fiets.
 that Joop bought a bike

However, free relatives, which are arguably nominalized clauses (hence very heavy NPs), can be positioned both before and after the verb:

- (59) a. ... dat Joop [wat hij mooi vond] kocht.
 that Joop what he nice regarded bought
 b. ... dat Joop kocht [wat hij mooi vond].
 that Joop bought what he nice regarded
 ‘that Joop bought what he thought was nice’

The relevant patterns are summarized in (60):

- (60) a. O = simple nominal object: OV
 b. O = object clause: VO
 c. O = free relative: (O) V (O)
 d. O = quotation: (O) V (O)

Clearly, then, object quotations behave on a par with nominal arguments. If the internal structure is clausal, they acquire the status *heavy*, like free relatives. If the quote is *light*, positioning after the final verb is problematic (on a neutral intonation):

- (61) a. Ik hoorde dat Joop *nee* zei.
 I heard that Joop no said
 b. ?*Ik hoorde dat Joop zei *nee*.
 I heard that Joop said no

Thus, I conclude that quotation can be viewed as a function – call it *quote* α – that turns anything that can pragmatically serve as a (quasi-)linguistic demonstration into a syntactic nominal category:

- (62) *quote* α :
 $f^{“”}(\alpha) \rightarrow [_N “\alpha”]$

The quotation marks in the output are a provisional notational convention indicating that α is pragmatically a demonstration, and also that α is syntactically opaque. If α itself is syntactically complex, it can be viewed as the result of a previous derivation (in Minimalist terminology). Similar ideas have been proposed by Ackema & Neeleman (2004) and Hoekstra (2006).

In section 3 we already noticed the flexible categorial projection status of quotations. A direct object quote, for instance, functions as a full argument, but a nominalized quote functions as a head. This, too, can be explained from the perspective of the Minimalist Program, in which the well-known X'-theory is incorporated in a relaxed and flexible way. The quotation “ α ” is atomic, and therefore it is, by (62), introduced as a head into the new derivation. In nominalized direct speech, this head is combined with other material and projects into a full noun phrase. In other constructions, the head does not project any further (at least not overtly), but this is in no way problematic, since a head may simply constitute what is called a ‘minimal maximal projection’. Similarly, *John* in the clause *I saw John*, is a minimal maximal noun phrase: the nominal head *John* functions as a simplex nominal argument (note that the proper name *John* is used referentially in this example; therefore it is not a quotation).

Furthermore, recall from the end of section 2.1 that a quotation in its entirety is in the scope of modal elements higher up in the matrix, even though its components are not syntactically visible on this level. This follows straightforwardly from (62), in combination with the possibility of normally merging $[_N “\alpha”]$ into the matrix, thereby inserting it into a syntactic hierarchy in which it may become c-commanded by other elements. The situation is of course different for parenthetical quotations, which are, like any parenthetical material, inserted on what intuitively seems to be a different level, or parallel plane; see De Vries (2007) for ample discussion and references concerning this issue.

Finally, we predict the existence of quotes within quotes, because *quote* α (in combination with Merge) can be applied recursively. The illustrations in (63) show that this is correct:

- (63) a. Joop zei: “Piet zei: “Kees zei: “Henk zei: “Ik zeg niets.” ” ” ”
 Joop said Piet said Kees said Henk said I say nothing
 b. “De ketting van mijn fiets doet sinds kort “Kgg, kgg”,” mopperde Joop.
 the chain of my bicycle does since shortly kgg kgg grumbled Joop
 c. Ken jij het liedje “de boer zong van “tomtiedom, we keren de ploeg
 know you the song the farmer sung of dumdeedum we turn the plough
 weer om” ”?
 again around

- ‘Do you know the song “the farmer sung “dendeeden, we turn the plough again” ’?’
- d. Dove kwartel, de presentator zei: “Straks zal de paus het “Urbi et orbi”
 deaf quail the presenter said later will the pope the *Urbi et orbi*
aanheffen en hij begint zoals altijd met de tekst “Sancti Apostoli Petrus et
begin and he starts as always with the text ...[ibid.]
Paulus, de quorum potestate et auctoritate confidimus, ipsi intercedant pro nobis ad
Dominum.” ’
- e. Joop begon zijn toespraak zo: “Ik heb, eh, al eens eerder de woorden
 Joop started his speech so I have uh yet once before the words
“onbehoorlijk” en “onaanvaardbaar” gebruikt, maar nu, een maand later,
 unseemly and unacceptable used but now a month later
zou ik daaraan toe willen voegen: “Het is een schande dat de
 would I therupon to want add it is a disgrace that the
kwestie-Janssen nog steeds niet is opgelost en ik vraag me dan ook
 question-Janssen still always not is resolved and I wonder me then also
af wanneer de “Voorkom blauwe vingers”-campagne eindelijk van start gaat.” ’
 off when the Prevent blue fingers campaign finally of start goes
 ‘Joop started his speech like this: “I’ve, uh, used the words “unseemly” and
 “unacceptable” before, but now, a month later, I will have to add the following: “It is
 a disgrace that the Janssen issue has still not been resolved, and I wonder, therefore,
 when the “Prevent blue fingers” campaign will finally take off.” ’’

Thus, the phenomenon of direct speech serves well to illustrate the recursive power of language, even on different levels at the same time. Not only is direct speech inherently a form of recursion, as it shows that one may demonstrate language itself within speech, but also one can syntactically construe quotations within quotations.

6. Conclusion

I argued that direct speech can be pragmatically defined as demonstration, and I proposed a division in concrete quotation and autonymy (with several subtypes). An important consequence of this analysis is that it allows for the possibility that a quotation does not merely reflect a previous utterance, but it can also demonstrate a potential utterance, hence a type rather than a token. This sheds new light on those potential components of a clause that serve to denominate, identify or typify. Furthermore, the analysis explains the possibility of quoting extralinguistic matters such as sounds, but also events or emotions rendered by a conventionalized or pragmatically transparent quasi-linguistic sound.

Based on these possibilities, I established a syntactic typology of direct speech, including independent, embedded, and parenthetical quotations, with several subtypes. It was shown that quotations are grammatically opaque and that embedded quotations are assigned a nominal categorial status upon insertion into a new derivation. Interestingly, the fact that quotations are inserted as if they were atomic, creates the possibility of using them as nominal heads (even as parts of a compound), as well as full arguments.

Thus, it has become clear that direct speech is a vital and perhaps unexpectedly widespread component of the language system.

Appendix. Corpus data

The data below are taken from the Spoken Dutch Corpus (2004), which was constructed under supervision of the Dutch Language Union. It contains about 9 million words. See <<http://lands.let.ru.nl/cgn/ehome.htm>> for more information.

The examples contain fragments from conversations, interviews, and so on. I excluded written text read aloud, with the exception of (17a/b). The numbers correspond to the numbers in the main text of this article. Italics are mine.

- (1a) hij zei 't gister van uh *joeha* ga je morgen nog *barbecuen*?
he said it yesterday of uh yoo-hoo go you tomorrow still barbecue
'he said yesterday, "are you still planning to have a barbecue tomorrow?"'

- (2b/3b)
hymne vind ik een leuk woord
hymn find I a nice word
'I think *hymn* is a nice word'

hoe schrijf je *recessief*?
how write you recessive
'how do you write *recessive*'?

- (4a) *oh God* zei Coby
oh God said Coby

- (4b) een uitspraak als *eigen volk eerst* [...] vind ik inderdaad verwerpelijk
an assertion like own people first find I indeed objectionable
'I find an assertion such as "our own people should come first" objectionable, indeed'

- (5a) je zei dat je ze daarna in de WC zou doen
you said that you them afterwards in the toilet would do
'you said you would put them in the toilet afterwards'

- (6b) als u nu zegt ik heb op dit moment een goed idee
if you now say I have on this moment a good idea
'if you'd say, "I have a good idea right now"'
- hij zegt uh ik denk aan een termijn van twee jaar
he says uh I think to a period of two years
'he says, "I'm thinking of a two-year period"'

- (7b) onder het motto ik kan daar ook wat voor vragen
under the motto I can there also something for ask
'under the slogan "I can ask money for it"'

- (8b) toen was d'r een mevrouw in die bus die zei *mister I love you*
 then was there a madam in the bus who said mister I love you
 'then there was a woman in the bus, who said, "mister, I love you"'
- (13b) de VINEX [...] die zegt uh *wij moeten eigenlijk wat meer stedelijke*
 the VINEX that says uh we should in.fact some more urban
concentratiegebieden hebben in Nederland[.] we moeten niet verder gaan
 concentration.areas have in the.Netherlands we should not further go
met suburbanisatie[.] we moeten [...]
 with suburbanization we should
 'the VINEX [...] says, "actually, we should have some more concentrated urban areas
 in the Netherlands. We should put an end to suburbanization. We should..."'
- (13c/d) dus je hoorde echt zo *tik tik tik*
 so you heard really so tick tick tick
 'so you really heard, "tick tick tick"'
- (14a) hoe laat zei je dat wij uh in Marseille waren?
 how late said you that we uh in Marseille were
 'how late did you say we were in Marseille?'
- (15a) want Malika had waarschijnlijk gezegd van *sorry ik heb nou geen tijd*
 because Malika had probably said of sorry I have now no time
 'because Malika would probably have said, "sorry, I don't have time now"'
- (16a) toen dacht ik *misschien ga ik daarna naar de universiteit*
 then thought I maybe go I afterwards to the university
 'then I thought, "maybe I will go to the university afterwards"'
- (16b) stel dat je zegt *ik wil meer plankjes in die kast*
 suppose that you say I want more shelves:DIM in that closet
 'suppose you say, "I would like to have more shelves in that closet"'
- (16c) Bush zegt *weg met Kyoto*
 Bush says away with Kyoto
 'Bush says, "to hell with Kyoto"'
- (17a/b and 16c) <newsreader>
alleen de bestaande zestig onderzoeken krijgen geld zei Bush in een
 only the existing sixty investigations receive money said Bush in a
 TV-toespraak
 TV-speech
 "only the existing sixty investigations will receive funding," Bush said during a speech
 on TV.'
- 't westen moet zich schamen.* zo sprak Kofi Anan secretaris-generaal van de
 the west should SE shame so spoke Kofi Anan secretary-general of the

VN bij de opening deze week van de Wereldvoedseltop in Rome
 UN at the opening this week of the world.food.conference in Rome
 ‘the western countries should be ashamed of themselves. Thus spoke Kofi Anan, Secretary General of the UN, at the opening of the World Food Conference in Rome’

Frankrijk moet een voorbeeld nemen aan Nederland op het gebied van
 France must an example take to the.Netherlands on the domain of
de wetgeving over euthanasie. dat zegt de Franse minister van gezondheid
 the legislation on euthanasia that says the French minister of health

Bernard Kouchner

Bernard Kouchner

“France should learn from the Netherlands concerning euthanasia legislation.” That was said by the French minister of health Bernard Kouchner.’

- (17c) *oh shit* zegt die *de deur is gesloten*
 oh shit says DEM the door is closed
 “oh shit,” s/he said, “the door is closed”

- (18) ik vroeg *wat kost u dan?*
 I asked what cost you then
 ‘I asked, “then how much do you charge?”’

- (19) dan werd er gevraagd *wie is er naar de kerk geweest?*
 then was there asked who is there to the church been
 ‘then it was asked, “who went to church?”’

- (20) een film en die heet *De Straat Is Van Ons*
 a film and DEM is.called the street is of ours
 ‘a film which is called *The street is ours*’

onze kat heet ook *Kasper*
 our cat is.called also Kasper
 ‘our cat is called Kasper, too’

- (21) Diederik zei van *nou oké*
 Diederik said of well OK
 ‘Diederik said, “well, OK”’

activiteiten [...] waarvan ik denk van *nou dat is niks*
 activities whereof I think of well that is nothing
 ‘activities of which I think “well, these are no good”’

- (22) dan hebben ze natuurlijk ook zoiets van *hé hier klopt iets niet*
 then have they of.course also something of hey here agrees something not
 ‘then of course they are like “hey, something is wrong here”’

- (24) bij mij gaat 't altijd zo van *uhm...*
 at me goes it always so of uhm
 'with me, it's always like "uhm..."'
- (25a) hij zo *ja da's goed*
 he so yes that's good
 'he was like, "yes, that's good"'
- (25b) en hij zo van *ja maar wij zijn de uitzondering*
 and he so of yes but we are the exception
 'and he was like "yes, but we are the exception"'
- (26) dan begin je met *sta op*
 then begin you with stand up
 'then you begin with [saying] "stand up"'
- (27) de vraag *wie was waarvoor verantwoordelijk*
 the question who was wherefore responsible
 'the question *who was responsible for what*'
- het spreekwoord *trouwen is houden*
 the proverb get.married is hold
 'the proverb *wedlock is a padlock*'
- de campagne *De Scholen Zijn Weer Begonnen*
 the campaign the schools are again begun
 'the campaign *The schools have started again*'
- de kaskraker *Gladiator*
 the hit Gladiator
- de roman *Dammen Met Ome Hajo*
 the novel playing.draughtswith uncle Hajo
- de Wet *Bescherming Persoonsgegevens*
 the law protection person.data
- de stad *Detroit*
 the city Detroit
 'the city of Detroit'
- minister *Borst*
 minister Borst
- (28) de zee van *Marmara*
 the sea of Marmara
- de golf van *Mexico*
 the gulf of Mexico

het syndroom *van Down*
the syndrome of Down
'Down's syndrome'

de ziekte *van Hodgkin*
the disease of Hodgkin
'Hodgkin's disease'

- (29) met zo'n verschrikte blik van *waar is uw vrouw of waar is uw*
with such.a frightened look of where is your wife or where is your
man?
husband

de meeste deelnemers aan 't overleg vanmorgen hadden na afloop
the most participants to the consultations this.morning had after end
een houding van *nou laat de minister maar komen met haar totaalpakket*
an attitude of well let the minister just come with her overall.package
en dan kijken we wel of d'r genoeg van onze gading in zit
and then look we indeed if there enough of our taste in sits
'after the consultations this morning most participants adopted an air like "well, let the
minister present her overall package of measures, then we'll see if indeed there will be
something to our liking."'

- (30) de *nee*-campagne
the no-campaign

de *Gastelaars*straat
the Gastelaar.street

de *Brent-Spar*affaire
the Brent-Spar.affair

het *Jan-Jaap*syndroom
the Jan-Jaap.syndrome

- (31) het RIVM pleit voor meer *vrij-veilig*campagnes
the RIVM advocates for more make.love-safe.campaigns

een soort *lik-op-stuk*beleid
a kind lick-on-piece.policy
'a kind of *tit for tat* policy'

- (32) al dat gezeur en *uh ah bleh*
all that moaning and uh ah bleh

- (33) gij zat er met je schop onder en in één keer *krak* weg schop
you sat there with your shovel under and in one time crack away shovel
'you had your shovel under it and suddenly – crack: shovel broken'

- (34) omdat 't zo glad is dat ze weet je wel *zoef* onderuit uh...
 because it so slippery is that she know you well zoof topples.over uh
 'because it is so slippery that she, you know, whoops topples over, uh...'
 gebeurt dat zomaar *pats boem* in één keer?
 happens that just.like.that wham bam in one time
 'does that happen *wham bam* at once, just like that?'
- (35) ik zei *ik was ook uh doorgereden als ik jou was geweest*
 I said I was also uh drive.on if I you were been
 'I said, "I would also have driven on if I were you"'
- (36) *sst* hou 'ns even je mond
 ssh hold once just your mouth
 'ssh, keep your mouth shut for a moment'
- (37) dat 'k dacht van *haha* we zijn vertrokken
 that I thought of haha we are left
 'that I thought, "haha, we've left"'
- ik denk *godver* dat ken ik
 I think damn that know I
 'I'm thinking, "damn, I know that"'
- maar aan de andere kant *oh* zo moeilijk
 but on the other side oh so difficult
- 'k vind 't aangrijpend *hoor* daar gaat het verder niet om
 I find it touching yeah there goes it further not about
 'I do find it touching, that's not the point'
- (38) als je *uh* in je bed ligt
 when you uh in your bed lie
 'when you, uh, lie in your bed'
- (41) en ze vermelden erbij en ik citeer dat *dit vrij anoniem zal*
 and they mention thereby and I quote that this rather anonymously will
gebeuren
 happen
 'and they mention that, I quote, 'this will happen more or less anonymously''
- (46) < see e.g. (4a), (17c), (22), (29) >
 (47) < see e.g. (17a/b) >
 (48) < see e.g. (16a) >
 (49) < see e.g. (13c/d) >
 (50) < see e.g. (36), (37), (38) >
 (51) < see e.g. (16a), (16b) >
 (52) < see e.g. (2b/3b) >

(53) < see e.g. (20) >

(54) < see e.g. (27), (28), (30) >

(55) < see e.g. (29), (31) >

(61a) hoezo *kaboem* had gezegd?
what.do.you.mean kaboom had said
'What do you mean – said *kaboom*?'

hij had al spijt dat hij *ja* had gezegd
he had already regret that he yes had said
'he already regretted that he had said *yes*'

(63) ze zei ik zal wel een keer zeggen dag Victorine
she said I will yes a time say hi Victorine
'she said, "I will say some time, "hi Victorine" " " '

hij zei misschien moet je gewoon zeggen laten we 't erop houden
he said maybe should you normally say let we it thereon hold
dat we op de Peel vliegen tegenwoordig

that we on the Peel fly nowadays
'he said, "maybe you should simply say, "let's agree that we will fly to De Peel these days" " " '

dat is heel subtiel zei ie zei jij
that is very subtle said he said you
' " " "that is very subtle," he said," you said'

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Mark de Vries
 Dept. of Linguistics (ATW)
 University of Groningen
 P.O. Box 716
 NL-9700 AS GRONINGEN
 The Netherlands
 email: mark.de.vries@rug.nl