1. STRUCTURE OF THE QUOTATIVE CLAUSE

One of the contrastive clause types of Teleéfoól is the QUOTATIVE. It is characterized by the obligatory occurrence of some form of the verb akankalin as PREDICATE, and the obligatory occurrence of a QUOTE, a clause-level unit unique to the Quotative Clause. The Quote consists of a complete utterance terminated by one of the almost obligatory QUOTATIVE MARKERS, kalañ or ōd. This utterance may be a single-clause or multi-clause utterance, or an exclamation, i.e. a non-clause. The verb akankalin and the markers ōd and kalañ do not occur elsewhere.

The clause-level units occurring in the Quotative Clause are limited to three: optional Subject, obligatory Quote, and obligatory Predicate (a form of akankalin), in that order. The Naming sub-type alone has an additional obligatory unit, an Object, which follows the Subject in order. Most other clause types contain many more (optional) clause-level units, including Time, Accompaniment, Location, Beneficiary, Complement, Destination, Instrument.

The Quotative Clause is in fact a class of clause types which resemble one another much more than they resemble any other clause type. However, they also differ contrastively from one another in several important ways, and so may be said to constitute sub-types of the Quotative Clause. The following sub-types have been distinguished.

(a) SAYING, in which the final Predicate of the Quote may contain any tense, and the Quote Marker is ōd, or, more rarely (16% of occurrences), one of the common Utterance Terminals, such as the Indicative Indicators koo, kwa, or kuba, or the Interrogative Indicators a or ãka. These occur more frequently in this context in the speech of members of the older generation. The younger generation prefer always to use ōd rather than to distinguish the character of the Quote by using Utterance Terminals. Only the Saying sub-type may have an exclamation as Quote.

(b) DESIDERATIVE, in which the final Predicate of the Quote contains a non-real tense (Potential or Future), and the Marker is obligatorily ōd.

(c) DIRECT IMPERATIVE, in which the tense of the Quote-final Predicate is usually Potential, but may be Dependent or Abilitative, the Marker is ōd, and the Quotative Clause Predicate is unmarked for person and followed by an Indicative Utterance Terminal (akeeta koo). That is, it is a non-finite closed Predicate. Only the Imperative
sub-type may not have an Equational Clause as Quote. It should be noted that this is the Direct Imperative ('"Do it!''), not the Quoted Imperative ('"Do it!" he said.'), which is a variety of the Saying sub-type.

(d) NAMING, in which the Quote consists of the NAME (analyzable as an Equational Clause), and an obligatory Object occurs. This Object is a Noun Phrase, and is the thing named or REFERENCE. A clause-level free Object does not occur in other sub-types of Quotative Clause. The Marker is **00**.

(e) PERCEPTIVE, in which the Potential tense does not occur in the Quote-final Predicate, and the Marker is obligatorily **kalaà**.

The contrastive features of these five Quotative Clause sub-types are tabulated in Chart I, and illustrated in a syntax paradigm in Chart II.

### Chart I

#### CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF QUOTATIVE CLAUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Sub-Type</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Quote</th>
<th>Predicate and Clause Terminal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAYING</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Non-Potential, Potential 00, &lt;koo&gt;</td>
<td>Finite; Non-Finite Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIDERATIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Potential 00</td>
<td>Finite; Non-Finite Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Potential 00</td>
<td>Non-Finite Closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAMING</td>
<td>Noun Phrase (Equation) Name 00</td>
<td>Finite; Non-Finite Open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCEPTIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Non-Potential kalaà</td>
<td>Finite; Non-Finite Open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**CHART II**

**ILLUSTRATIVE PARADIGM OF QUOTATIVE CLAUSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Sub-Type</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Quote</th>
<th>Predicate and Clause Terminal</th>
<th>Free Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAYING</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dnbf</td>
<td>akeèlæ koo. he said</td>
<td>He said he went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I went&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIDERATIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>unodn</td>
<td>akeèlæ koo. he wanted</td>
<td>He wanted to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oö</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I'll go&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>unodn</td>
<td>akeèta koo. must</td>
<td>I must go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oö</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I'll go&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAMING</td>
<td>bodmål wfn</td>
<td>Fuumeen</td>
<td>akeèlæ koo. he called</td>
<td>He called her Fuumeen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>her name</td>
<td>&quot;Fuumeen&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCEPTIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dnbf</td>
<td>akeèlæ koo. he saw</td>
<td>He saw her go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kalaá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;She went&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that the Potential tense may occur in the Quote of the Saying sub-type. In the majority of these cases the Potential represents a Quoted Imperative, and there is little ambiguity with the Desiderative sub-type. However, a few utterances occur involving other than second person, particularly first person cases, and here the Quotative Clause is ambiguously of the Saying or the Desiderative sub-type.

**2. MEANING OF THE QUOTATIVE CLAUSE**

The semantic range of the verb akankalin extends from 'say, think' (Saying sub-type) to 'see, know, feel' (Perceptive sub-type). However the whole class of clauses has been termed Quotative because all must be regarded as a kind of "direct speech" - or "direct cerebration". The pronoun suffix of the final verb of the Quote is that which one would predict for direct speech involving a SPEAKER (Subject of akankalin), an ACTOR (Subject of the final Predicate of the Quote), and a HEARER.

The Hearer is often not overtly indicated. It may, however, be indicated by a benefactive affix in the Predicate of an Associated Clause; or, very occasionally, when there is no other indication in
the context at all, by a first or second person prefix on akankalin itself. For example, the Saying example in the paradigm could read: ünbfi yo ọ nakeélá koo. 'He told me he went.' ("I went," he said to me').

If Actor and Speaker refer to the same individual, or if the Actor includes the Speaker, the Actor will be a first person suffixed pronoun. 'He told me he'd go' may be literally translated, "I'll go," he told me'. 'He wanted to go' may similarly be translated, "I will go," he wanted'.

If Actor and Hearer refer to the same individual, the Actor will be a second person suffixed pronoun. So, 'He told me to go' would be literally, "Go!" he told me'. 'He wanted you to go' would be, "He'll go", he wanted (concerning you').

If Actor, Speaker, and Hearer all refer to different individuals, then the Actor will be a third person suffixed pronoun. So, 'He told them I'd gone' would be, "He has gone," he said to them (concerning me'). 'He wanted me to go' would be, "He will go," he wanted (concerning me'). 'He told them you'd gone' would be, "He has gone," he told them (concerning you'). 'He saw them go' would be, "They went," he saw'.

The Quotative Clause sub-types appear to have roughly the following central areas of meaning:

SAYING: 'say, tell <him>’, think, wonder’ (The Quote is what is said, etc.)

DESIDERATIVE: 'want to, try to, be going to' (The Quote is what one wants to do or wants done.)

DIRECT IMPERATIVE: 'do!, must, should, ought to, let <him>’ (The Quote is the command, etc. All person suffixes occur in the Direct Imperative.)

NAMING: 'call <him>, name <him>’ (The Quote is the name.)

PERCEPTIVE: 'see (that), know (that), feel that, realize that' (The Quote is what is seen, etc.)

The Saying sub-type particularly has a very wide semantic range of usage, as illustrated by the following, of which the first three have an Exclamation as Quote, the next two an Equational Clause as Quote, and the final two a Predicative Clause as Quote.

(uu) o ọ akeélá koo. 'He agreed.' ('Yes," he said.')

waák(uu) o ọ akeélá koo. 'He refused.' ('"No," he said.')

mísám o ọ akeélá koo. 'He thanked (him).’ ("Thanks." he said.)

áfeén o ọ akeélá koo. 'He believed it.' ('"It is true," he said.')
bodtā tambālim od akeelā koo. 'He approved it.' ("That is good," he said.)

unodontemadē tab od akeelā koo. 'He doubted that she would go.' ("She will not go perhaps," he said.)

Fuumeen kanubu yo od akeelā koo. 'He accused Fuumeen.' ("Fuumeen did it," he said.)

The areas of meaning of the various clause sub-type overlap to some extent, and make analysis more difficult. Within each area of meaning, the exact meaning of the clause is specified by the context, especially by the Associated Clause, if present, and the content of the Quote, as can be seen in the above examples. Thus, the Saying sub-type means 'ask' if the verb dākaamin is the Predicate of the clause associated with the Quotative Clause, and/or if the Quote is an interrogative utterance.

3. ASSOCIATED CLAUSE

In about one-third of its occurrences the Quotative Clause has associated with it another clause in apposition with it. In most instances the Associated Clause precedes the Quotative Clause, in some instances it follows, and in about as many instances Associated Clauses both precede and follow a Quotative Clause, redundantly conveying similar information.

The main function of the Associated Clause is to spell out the specific meaning of the akankalin verb of the Quotative in any particular instance. For instance, the commonest verb of the Associated Clause of a Saying Clause is bākaamin 'say', while the commonest one with a Perceptive Clause is uteamaamin 'see'. The Associated Clause also serves as a vehicle for additional clause-level units that do not occur in the Quotative Clause, such as Time and Beneficiary. 8

In the great majority of instances there is a connective suffix on the Predicate of the first of the two apposed clauses, and this is overwhelmingly either -ta or -ile ( -le after a vowel), of which -ta is the commoner. No meaning distinction between these connectives can be ascertained, but they differ slightly in distribution, as will be demonstrated later.

The verb occurring as Predicate of the Associated Clause, therefore, and to some extent its connective suffix, provide extra diagnostic criteria for establishing the sub-types of Quotative Clause, which have already been set up on internal structural evidence. There is a further criterion for distinguishing the Saying Clause from the Desiderative Clause. The suffixed Subject of the Predicate of the Associated Clause is always the same as that of the Quotative Pre-
dicate akankalin, except in the case of the Purposive variant of the Desiderative sub-type, where it may be same or different.

The SAYING Clause co-occurs most frequently with the verb bákaamin 'say, tell <him>', often co-occurs with dádákaamin 'ask' and fukúnin 'think', and less frequently with certain other verbs. The connective is usually -ilée (55% of all occurrences), though -ta also occurs. The Saying Clause in the paradigm could therefore be extended to: bókoonalaleé únbf yóó akeélá koo. 'He said he went.' ('He said "I went" he said.')

The DESIDERATIVE may have an Associated Clause. When this occurs the pair of clauses have a PURPOSE meaning, the Quote being the purpose for which the action of the verb of the Associated Clause is performed. The Associated Clause may contain any verb as Predicate. This Associated Clause is not in an apposition relationship with the Quotative Clause as are the Associated Clauses of the other sub-types. A special case of the Desiderative (Purposive) is that involving a "why" clause as Quote. The "why" clause has only two possible forms, întabeén 'Why (is it)?' (Equational), and, întabeén nulán 'Why did I/you/he?' or, întabeén nulúm 'Why did we/you/they?' (Predicative). The suffixed pronouns so far observed in this situation are always first person. The Associated Clause always follows a "why" Quote Clause. The most frequent connective occurring with the Desiderative (Purposive) is -ta (70% of all occurrences), but -ilée also occurs.

INTABEE N NULÁN OÓ AKEETÁ TÁLBÁ YA. 'Why did he come?' ('What will I do?* wanting he came.')

TALNALATA UNONN OÓ AKEELÁ KOO 'He came because he wanted to go.' ('He came "I will go" he wanted.') (This is an extension of the Desiderative Clause in the paradigm.)

The IMPERATIVE type does not have an Associated Clause.

The NAMING type may have an Associated Clause, in which bákaamin 'say' is the only verb observed to occur. -ilée and -ta occur, but there are insufficient examples to assess their relative frequency. An extension of the Naming Clause in the paradigm could be:

Bókoonalaleé bóófí wín Fuumeen óó akeélá koo. 'He called her Fuumeen.' ('He said her name "Fuumeen" he called.')

The PERCEPTIVE type has an Associated Clause in at least half of its occurrences, and in 70% of these occurrences the verb occurring in the Associated Clause is utámámaamin 'see, know, feel'. Feenin 'wait, watch for' and tinángkaamin 'hear' also occur. There is a connective suffix -tiyée which occurs with the Perceptive in 40% of its occurrences, and rarely occurs elsewhere. The connective -ta also often occurs here (30% of occurrences); -ilée occurs more rarely. The Perceptive Clause in the paradigm might be extended thus:
utámatiyeé únbú kalaá akeélá koo. 'He saw her go.' ('He saw "She went" he saw.')

4. COMPLEX QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Two types of complex Quotative construction occur in the language - Sequential and Nested constructions.

The SEQUENTIAL construction involves a string of Quotes, each ending in oo (or kalaá), occurring before a single akankalin Predicate. In this construction, the Quotes are in a co-ordinate relationship with one another, and therefore all belong to the same sub-type. For example, talbaalú kalaá únbú kalaá akeélá koo. 'He saw that she didn't come, she went.' ('"She didn't come, she went," he saw.')

The NESTED construction on the other hand may consist of various different Quotative Clause sub-types. A number of Quotative Clauses may occur in a layered or nested arrangement such that the first span of speech containing a Quote and terminating in a form of the verb akankalin followed by oo or kalaá is the Quote of the second akankalin; that Quote plus the second akankalin followed by oo or kalaá is the Quote of the third akankalin, and so on. The following example contains four syntactic layers, all of clause level, nested within one another. The innermost is a Quote consisting of a minimal clause, the Predicate kanumanteémí 'I will do it' plus kalaá; the second layer, kanumanteémí kalaá akeebá 'I will do it,' he has decided', a Perceptive Clause, plus kalaá, is the Quote of the third layer, also a Perceptive Clause. Similarly, the whole third layer plus oo is the Quote of the fourth and outermost layer, a Saying Clause.

| Transitive Clause | kanumanteémí | I will do it |
| Perceptive Clause | kanumanteémí kalaá akeebá | "I will do it," he has decided |
| Perceptive Clause | kanumanteémí kalaá akeebá kalaá akeebaálíb | "He has decided to do it," you don't know |
| Saying Clause | kanumanteémí kalaá akeebá kalaá akeebaálíb oo akeenalaleé | "You don't know that he has decided to do it," he said.... |
NOTES

1. This is the language spoken in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, New Guinea.

2. This paper represents findings based upon 600 examples of the Quotative Clause found in 120 pages of transcribed text (including a group discussion, a conversation, narratives and discourses on various subjects, sermons and prayers, and involving at least ten different speakers belonging to two generations, two speakers predominating), 60 pages of translated material, and elicited data.

3. A clause occurring as Quote is characterized by the Quotative Marker oó or kalaá that follows it, in contrast to an included clause within any other clause-level unit, which is obligatorily marked by a following pronoun.

4. In clause types other than the Quotative, the Object is an optional unit.

5. When there is an Associated Clause (see section 3 below), three factors operate to resolve this ambiguity: (a) the verb occurring as Predicate of the Associated Clause (bákaamin and a very few others occur in the Saying sub-type, while any verb may occur in the Desiderative); (b) the Subject of the Associated verb is the same as that of akankalin in the Saying sub-type, but may be different in the Desiderative; (c) the connective suffix is predominantly -ileé for the Saying sub-type, predominantly -ta for the Desiderative.

6. A single grammatical feature encompasses a similar wide semantic range in certain other known languages. In the Turkic languages, especially the Central Asian languages such as Uzbek, one construction covers saying, wishing, assuming, purposive, naming, and perceptive (information from S.A. Wurm). Similarly, in Waiwai of British Guiana one construction covers saying, naming, perceptive, and many related concepts (Robert E. Hawk'ns, Waiwai Translation, Bible Translator 13.164-171, 1962).

7. The brackets <> around a particular word denote the use of that word to represent the whole syntactic class to which it belongs.

8. The first and second person singular Beneficiaries may occur at the morphological level within the Quotative Clause as a prefix, na- and ka- respectively, to akankalin, forms which in all other prefixable verbs indicate Object. However, where there is no ambiguity the third person and plural form a- is used even when the Beneficiary of the Associated Clause is first or second person singular. na- and ka- therefore occur relatively rarely with akankalin.