

Reported Discourse Within Grammar: Cross-linguistic Insights

5–7 July 2023, Villejuif

Reported discourse and quotative uses of *mingi*
'some' and *nagu* 'like' in adolescent spoken
Estonian

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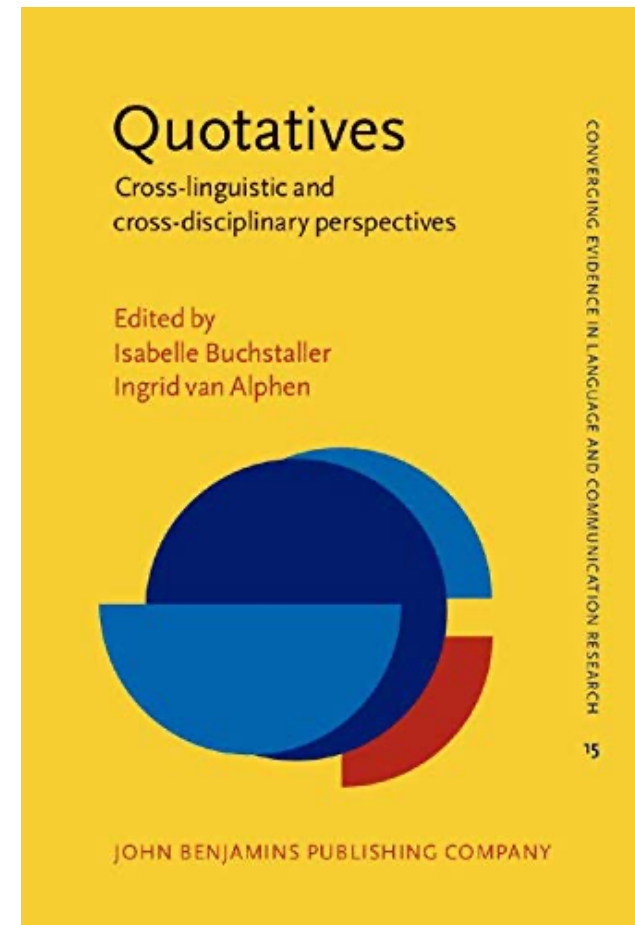
Outline

1. Introduction
2. Research aims
3. Data and method
4. Results
5. Summary & Discussion

1. Introduction

Introduction

Buchstaller & Van Alphen (2012): emergence of 'new quotative' strategies among European languages and beyond, employing limited sources cross-linguistically.



Introduction

‘New quotative’ strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

Comparative (similarity/approximation):

(1) a. English

*I was **like**, “Yo, Trey, do you think you could buy me a bottle of rosay?”* (N. Minaj “Bottom’s up”)

b. French

*mais genre je leur disais **genre** “ils sont entraînés pour être les meilleurs en danse” et tout ça*

‘but like I told them **like** “they are trained to be the best in dancing” and so on. (Cheshire & Secova 2018: 213)

Introduction

‘New quotative’ strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

Comparative (similarity/approximation):

Afrikaans *soos* ‘so + as’, Czech *jako (že)* ‘as’, Buang (*na*) *be* ‘like’, Danish *ligesom* ‘like + as’, Dutch *van* ‘like’, English *like*, Estonian *nagu* ‘like’, Finnish *niinku (niin kuin)* ‘as if’, *ihan et* ‘like’, French *comme* ‘like’, *genre* ‘kind (of)’, *style* ‘style’, Frisian *fan* ‘like’, Greek *tipou* ‘type’, Hebrew *ke’ilu* ‘as if’, *kaze* ‘like + this’, Italian *tipo* ‘type’, *come* ‘like’, *stile* ‘style’, *genere* ‘kind’, Japanese *mitai-na* ‘like’, Croatian *kao* ‘like’, *tipa* ‘type’, Swedish *typ* ‘type’, *liksom* ‘like + as’, Norwegian *typ* ‘type’, *liksom* ‘like + as’, Polish *typu* ‘type’, Portuguese *tipo* ‘type’, Brazilian Portuguese *tipo + assim* ‘type + so’, Russian *tipa* ‘type’, Spanish *como* ‘like, as’, Thai *bæ:p* ‘like’.

Figure 1. Excerpt #1 from Table 1 (New) quotatives and their semantic
(Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: xiv)

Introduction

Buchstaller & Van Alphen (2012: xiv), emergence of ‘new quotative’ strategies among European languages and beyond, employing limited sources cross-linguistically:

- i. Comparative (similarity/approximation);
- ii. Demonstrative deictic;
- iii. Quantifiers;
- iv. Generic verbs of motion and action.

Introduction

The list of 'new quotatives' is hardly exhaustive; variation across strategies:

(2) a. *Even in class **he'd be** "Come here girlfriend."* (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 500, cited in Vandelanotte 2012: 191)

b. *And **she's pure** "You got it wrong"* (Macaulay 2006: 275; cited *ibid.*)

c. *When he got hurt before the playoffs, **everyone** in the room **was kinda**, 'O.K., what's Savvy going to do? Is he going to sit out or come back?'*
(Vandelanotte 2012: 192)

Introduction

Chaining of ‘new quotatives’:

(3) a. English

*And **she’s all like**, “Well you HAVE to. Are you allergic to them?”* (Rickford et al. 2007: 21)

b. Finnish

***Mä olin silleen niinku** whaaat monelta kooste alkaa vai onko jo alkanu?!?!*

*‘I was **so like** whaaat, when does the assembly start or has it started already?!?!’ (ylilauta.org)*

Introduction

‘Conventionalized’ quotative markers (e.g. speech/mental verbs) & ‘new’ quotatives:

(4) French

<i>Il</i>	<i>dit</i>	<i>ça</i>	<i>comme ça</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>“putain</i>	<i>il</i>	
3SG.M	say:PRS.3SG	DEM	like	DEM	like	whore	3SG
<i>pleut</i>		<i>heu”</i>					
rain:PRS.3SG		INTERJ					

‘He says like “fuck, it rains, uh”’ (lit. ‘**He says** it **so, like...**’ (Cheshire & Secova 2018: 221; translation & glossing added)

Introduction

Strategies leading to un(der)specification of event behind report are frequently employed for presentation of both speech & thought, factual or fictional/hypothetical:

(5) a. speech (factual)

*But when we got back for rehearsal **I was like** “Guys, this is so great. Look, we’re all back together.”*

b. thought (factual)

*I read it and **I was like** “This is like my life story!”*

c. thought (fictional)

*I think at this time, **the director was like** “I have to fill HOW many more minutes? Screw It, it’s dancing time!”*

(Teptiuk, in press: 189, 191)

Introduction

Strategies leading to un(der)specification of event behind report are also employed in non-verbal demonstrations (e.g. ‘surprise’ in ex. 6):

(6) Estonian

(Küsin, ett “kas me mahlamäelt sõitsime juba läbi?” “jah, ammu”...)

mul oli nagu et “:O wtf”...

1SG.ADE be:PST.3SG like COMP EMOT what.the.fuck

‘(I ask “Have we passed already Mahlamäe?” “Yes, long time ago” ...) I was like “:O wtf”...’ [etTenTen19]

Introduction

Quotative strategies in **Estonian...**

Introduction

Quotative strategies in **non-standard written Estonian** (Teptiuk 2019a, b); data sources:

- New media subcorpus, Estonian Reference corpus, <https://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/uusmeedia/>
- Independently collected material via Google Search (see the list of web-pages in Teptiuk 2019a: 247, Teptiuk 2019b: 369–370)

Introduction

Quotative strategies in **non-standard written Estonian** (Teptiuk 2019a, b):

- Conventional strategies with speech and mental verbs;
- ‘New quotatives’ (w/ speech or mental verb, copula *olema* ‘be’; stand-alone):
 - Similatives *nagu*, *a la*, both ~ ‘like’;
 - Manner demonstrative *nii* ‘so’;
 - Quantifiers *lihtsalt* ‘simply’ and *täiega* ‘completely’;
 - Complementizer *et*.
- Motion verb *tulema* ‘come’ (predominantly in technical communication: ‘[message] comes...’).

Introduction

Open questions...

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- Differences between written and oral modalities among quotative constructions in non-standard Estonian...

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- Differences between written and oral modalities among quotative constructions in non-standard Estonian;
- Marginal and newly emergent strategies & functional capacities of reported speech and thought in oral conversations...

Introduction

Previously not described quotative use of indefinite pronoun *mingi* ‘some kind [of]’, used similarly to other ‘new quotatives’ (e.g. *nagu* ‘like’):

(7) Estonian

(Henri oli kirjutanud, kes tahab Teeviidale minna nendega, autos on veel vaba ruumi,)

ma ***olin*** ***mingi*** *JEEEEEE* *:D*
1SG be:PST:1SG some.kind.of INTERJ EMOT

‘(Henri wrote: who wants to go with them to Teeviit, there is still place in the car,) I was like YEEEEEE :D’ (lit. I was **some kind of...**) [etTenTen19]

Introduction

Nagu ‘like’ & ***mingi*** ‘some kind of’:

- Both appear among 15 most used word-forms (*nagu*: 3rd, *mingi*: 11th) and lemmas (*nagu*: 4th, *mingi*: 10th) in the oral conversations of Estonian adolescents;
- Both developed discursive functions related to their original meaning of comparison (*nagu*) and indefiniteness (*mingi*);
- Relatively recent development of *mingi* as a quotative marker.

Kängsepp, Annika, Aive Mandel, **Maarja-Liisa Pilvik**, **Analiis Tenisson**, **Virve Vihman**. A “parasite” word or a communication tool? The use of *nagu* and *mingi* in adolescent speech [original title: *Parasiitsõna või suhtlusvahend? Nagu ja mingi kasutus teismeliste keeles.*]

Introduction

Open questions:

- Differences between written and oral modalities among quotative constructions in non-standard Estonian;
- Marginal and newly emergent strategies & functional capacities of reported speech and thought in oral conversations;
- The use and functions of the two markers *nagu* 'like' and *mingi* 'some kind of' in the quotative domain of non-standard Estonian.

2. Research aims

Research aims

1. Describe quotative strategies used in non-standard spoken Estonian & cover different manifestations of reported speech and thought introduced by these strategies.
2. Investigate the quotative uses of two ‘new quotative’ markers *nagu* ‘like’ and *mingi* ‘some kind of’ in spoken Estonian.

3. Data and method

Data

Corpus of Estonian teenagers' language

Spoken corpus

Chat corpus

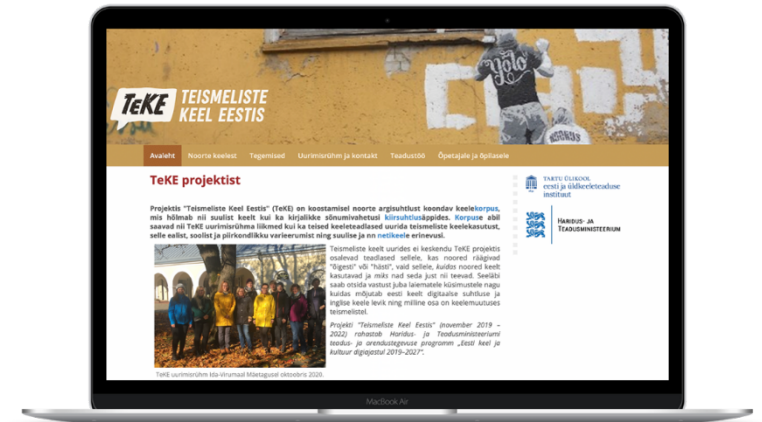
TeKE = Teismeliste keel Eestis (Teen Speak in Estonia, 2019–2023)

Funded by Estonian Ministry of Education and Research

Collaborative effort with team members + many student



→ sisu.ut.ee/teke/



Corpus of Estonian teenagers' language

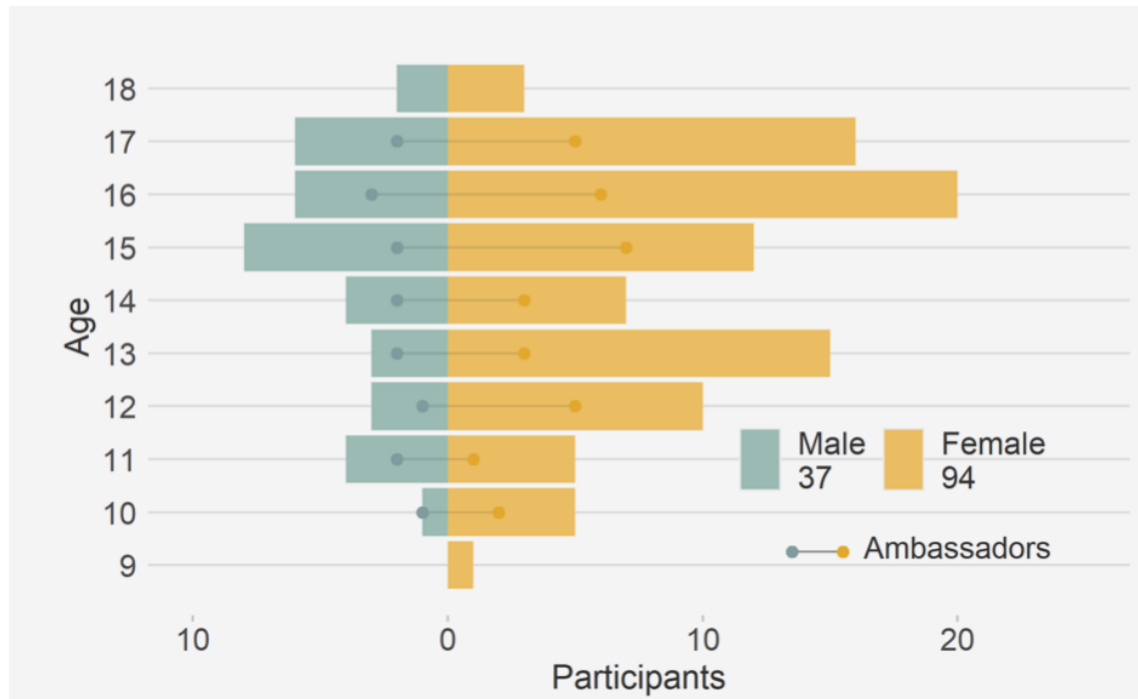
Data collection method, “citizen sociolinguistics”:

- Recruitment through schools in 4 regions of Estonia;
- Independent data collection by participants.



Koreinik et al., 2023. Outsourcing teenage language: a participatory approach for exploring speech and text messaging. *Linguistics Vanguard*

Corpus of Estonian teenagers' language



Spoken corpus

59 hrs (494,737 words)
transcribed (97 hrs total)

Chat corpus

Total 59,692 words
(not included in this study)

Data

Two data samples:

Aim #1 (Reported speech and quotative strategies in non-standard Estonian): 10 recordings, ca. 8 hours, all occurrences of reported speech & thought (ca. 525 instances).

Aim #2 (Quotative uses of *nagu* 'like' and *mingi* 'some kind of'):

- random sample of *nagu* 'like' and *mingi* 'some kind of', balanced for age and gender of speakers;
- 1068 *nagu* (8% quotative: 85 occurrences), 1083 *mingi* (6% quotative: 65 occurrences).

Method

Morphosyntactic contexts:

- Strategies with lexical verb (speech, mental, motion, action, etc.);
- Strategies with the copula verb *olema* 'be';
- Verbless strategies.

Functional aspects:

- Reported speech vs. Reported thought vs. Non-verbal demonstration vs. Sound imitation;
- Factual vs. hypothetical vs. generic;
- Self-quotation [Reporter = Reported Speaker] vs. Quotation [Reporter ≠ Reported Speaker].

4. Results

Results

Study #1: Reported speech and thought and quotative strategies in Estonian adolescent speech (525 instances from 10 conversations)

Study #2: The quotative use of *nagu* 'like' and *mingi* 'some kind of' based on the random sample (85 *nagu*, 65 *mingi*)

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Reported speech and thought in Estonian adolescent speech

Table 1. Different manifestations of reports in the data

Subtypes	Number of occurrences, episode
Speech	356
Thought	128
Ambiguous	18
Extended uses:	
Non-verbal demonstration	11
Sound imitation	4
Naming	2
Reading out loud	2

Reported speech and thought in Estonian adolescent speech

Table 1. Different manifestations of reports in the data

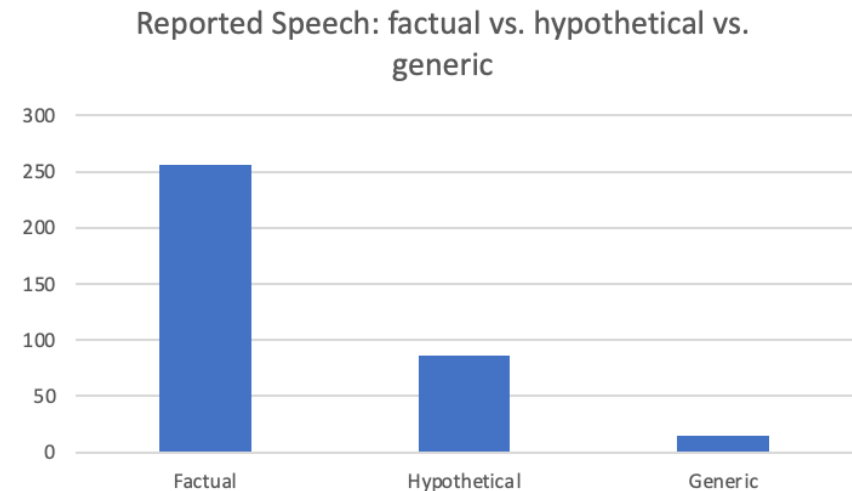
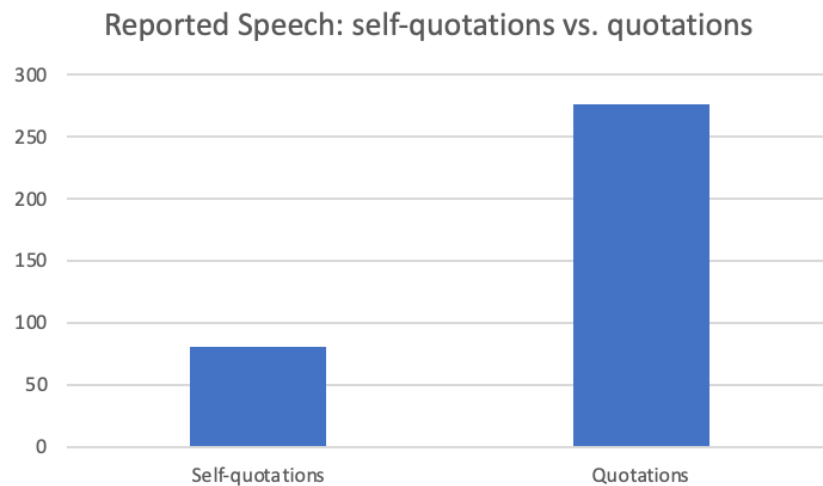
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Reported speech in Estonian adolescent speech

356 occurrences

Quotations vs. self-quotations: 275 vs. 81

Factual vs. Hypothetical vs. Generic: 255 vs. 86 vs. 15



Reported speech in Estonian adolescent speech

Strategies with lexical verbs, 127 occurrences:

- generic ('say') and specific ('answer', 'ask') speech verbs, *ütleva* 'say' is the most frequent: 74 occurrences out of 111;
- inchoative & action, e.g. *hakkama* 'start', *tegema* 'do, make', *panema* 'put': 7 occurrences;
- motion verbs, e.g. *vastu minema* 'go towards', *tulema* 'come': 5 occurrences;
- perception verbs, e.g. *kuulma* 'hear': 2 occurrences;
- mental: 'think' pro 'say' (slip of tongue): 2 occurrences.

Motion verbs introducing speech

- (8) *kui vaja siis lähen mendile vastu*
when necessary then go.PRS:1SG police:ALL opposite
et ei e tohi
COMP NEG HESIT be.allowed:PRS.CN

‘when it’s necessary then I **go towards** the police [saying] **that** it’s not allowed.’ (Trt10n_174781_Z01_1148)

- (9) *see intro ette ja siis tuleb et e*
DEM intro in.front and then come:PRS.3SG COMP HESIT
plaati ei saa lugeda
disc:PRT NEG can:PRS.CN read:INF

‘This intro [appears], and then **comes that** the disc can’t be read.’
(Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1_205)

Reported speech in Estonian adolescent speech

Introduced by strategies w/ copula *olema* 'be': 111 occurrences (12 cases of stand-alone 'be')

- (10) a. *jaa siis tuli PUBG kõikidel oli*
and then come:PST.3SG PN all:ADE be:PST.3SG
et PUBG tapab selle ära ei tapnud
COMP PN kill:PRS.3SG DEM:GEN PRF NEG kill:PST.CN
'And then PUBG came out [and] **everyone was** (lit. **had**) **that** PUBG
will destroy it, haven't destroyed [after all].'
(Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1_422)
- b. *ja siis Uku oli (...) ma tahan koju*
and then PN be:PST.3SG 1SG want.PRS:1SG home.ILL
'And then **Uku was** (...) [like] I want home' (Krs4m_123154_Z01)

Reported speech and thought in Estonian adolescent speech

‘New quotative’ elements:

- similative *nagu* ‘like’;
- indefinite *mingi* ‘some kind of’;
- complementizer *et*;
- demonstrative *niimoodi* ‘so’;
- quantifiers: *just* ‘exactly’, *lihtsalt* ‘simply’.

Reported speech in Estonian adolescent speech

Introduced by strategies w/ new quotative only:

- (11) *Vaata* *me mängis-* *mm* *vahetasime* *nagu*
look.IMP.2SG 1PL play:PST HESIT exchange:PST:1PL like
mänge *ja* ***niimoodi*** *noh* *davai* *noh*
game:PL.PRT and so PTCL PTCL:HORT PTCL
mängime
play.PRS:1PL
'Look, we play- mm exchanged the games and **so** well, come on, well, let's play' (Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1_200)

Reported speech in Estonian adolescent speech

Introduced by strategies w/ reference to participants only: 21 occurrences

(12) *jaa ja siis kõik jaa jaa jaa*
yes and then all yes yes yes

'yeah, **and then all:** yeah, yeah, yeah' (Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1_387)

Reported speech in Estonian adolescent speech

Speech: 356 occurrences

Introduced by strategies with:

- lexical verbs: 127 occurrences;
- copula *olema* 'be': 111 occurrences;
- 'new quotative' only: 37 occurrences;
- reference to participants only: 21 occurrences;
- reference to an NP encoding the source (e.g. 'message', 'article', etc.): 12 occurrences.

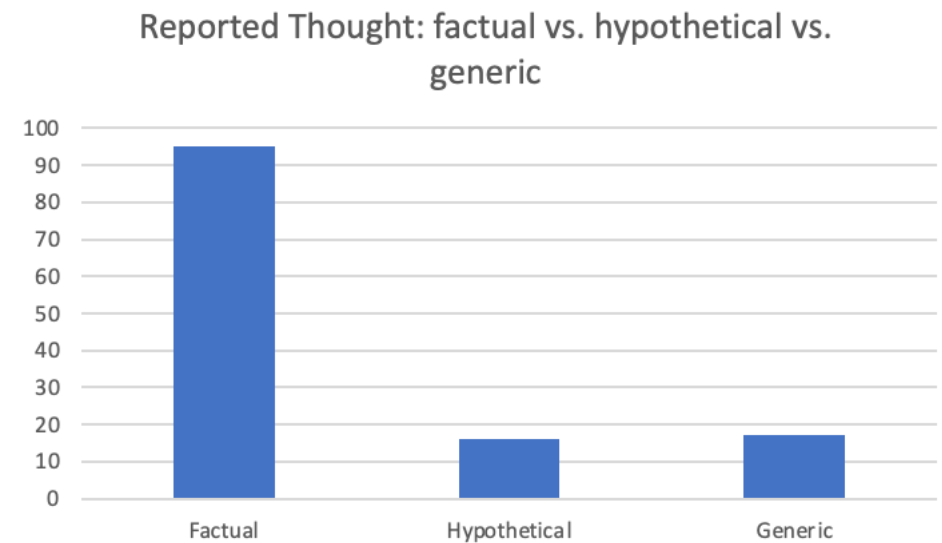
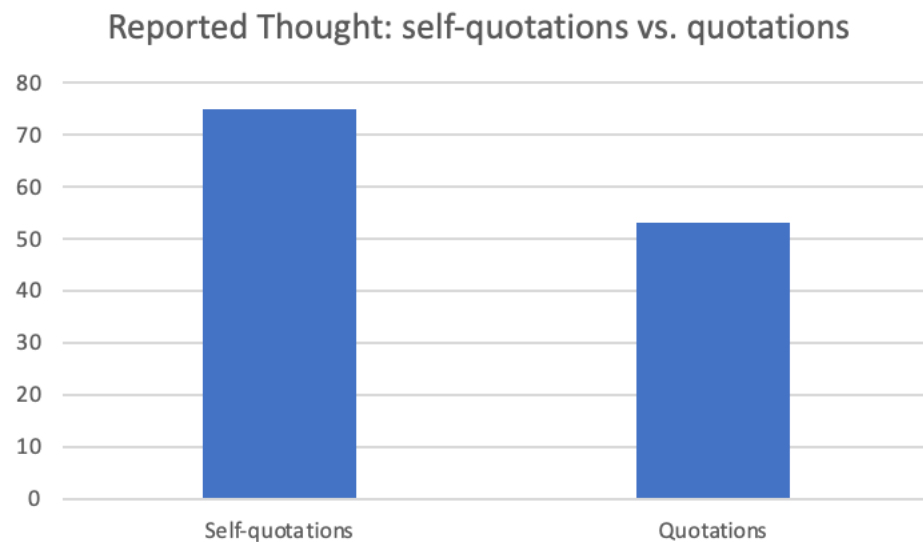
Not accompanied by a formally represented quotative construction (*defenestration* in Spronck 2017): 48 occurrences

Reported thought in Estonian adolescent speech

128 occurrences

Self-quotations vs. quotations: 75 vs. 53

Factual vs. hypothetical vs. generic: 95 vs. 16 vs. 17



Reported thought in Estonian adolescent speech

Introduced by strategies w/ lexical verb, 60 occurrences:

- mental, e.g. *arvama* 'guess, think', *mõtlema* 'think': 49 occurrences;
- perception, e.g. *nägema* 'see', *tundma* 'know': 7 occurrences;
- speech, e.g. *üttelema* 'say' (egocentric: 'I said to myself'): 2 occurrences;
- motion, e.g. *minema* 'go': 1 occurrence.

Reported thought in Estonian adolescent speech

(13) a. perception verb

siis vaatan nagu türa see ei ole mina nagu
then look.PRS:1SG like fuck DEM NEG be:PRS.CN 1SG like

‘then **I look** [thinking] **like** fuck it’s not me, like.’

(Tln10m_166777_Z03_2706)

b. motion verb

selle asemel et sa lähed nagu okei ma
DEM:GEN instead COMP 2SG go.PRS:2SG like okay 1SG
olen need ära teinud
be.PRS:1SG DEM:PL PRF make:PP

‘Instead of that you **go** [thinking] **like** okay I have done them.’

(Tln10m_166777_Z03_2454)

Reported thought in Estonian adolescent speech

Introduced by strategies w/ the copula verb *olema* 'be', 42 occurrences (1 stand-alone):

- (14) *kiilub kinni ma olen kurat läheb edasi ma*
jam:PRS.3SG close 1SG be.PRS:1SG devil go:PRS.3SG forth 1SG
olen nagu jess
be.PRS:1SG like yes
'It gets jammed [and] **I'm** [like] damn it, it goes forth [and] **I'm like**
yes' (Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1_209)

Reported thought in Estonian adolescent speech

Introduced by strategies w/ stand-alone ‘new quotative’ elements (8 occurrences) or together w/ reference to the participant (5 occurrences):

(15) a. stand-alone

@nagu fakk küll ma ei suuda@
like fuck of.course 1SG NEG cope:PRS.CN

‘**like** fuck, of course, I won’t manage’ (Ant8n_435561_Z01_452)

b. w/ reference to speaker:

ja siis sa nagu (.) okei mu hammas tuleb
and then 2SG like okay 1SG:GEN tooth come:PRS.3SG
kohe ära
right.away out

‘and then **you like** okay my tooth will come out now.’ (Ant8n_435561_Z01)

Reported thought in Estonian adolescent speech

Introduced by strategies with:

- lexical verbs: 60 occurrences;
- copula: 42 occurrences;
- quotative particles: stand-alone (8) and together with the reference to the speaker (5).

Defenestration: 6 occurrences.

Ambiguity between reported speech and thought

18 occurrences

Contextually, both interpretations are possible.

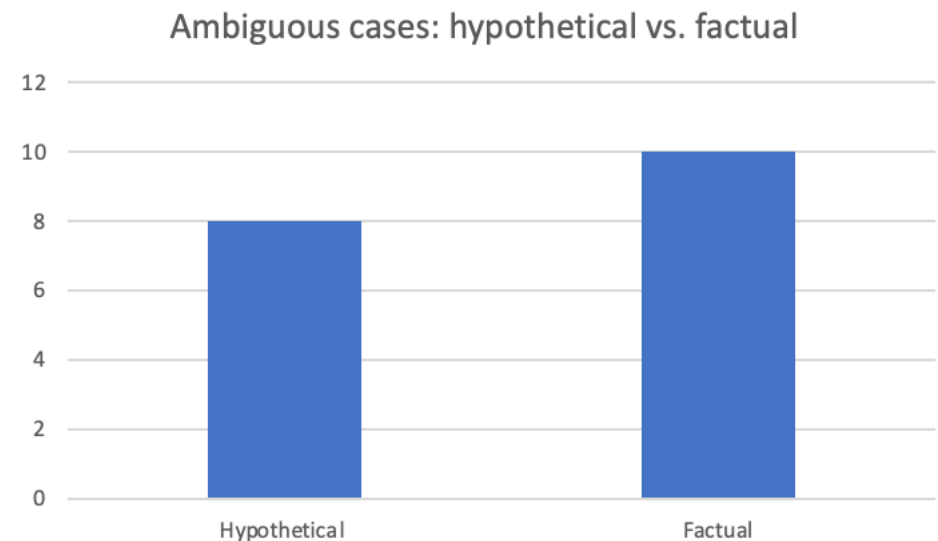
Reported speech or thought is...

...framed by the quotative strategy with copula, cf. (16);

...not accompanied by a quotative construction (i.e. defenestration), cf. (17).

Hypothetical vs. factual: 8 vs. 10

(6 in self-quotations)



Ambiguity between reported speech and thought

Quotative strategies with the copula verb *olema* ‘be’:

(16)a. *nagu* *Outlast ka* *mõtle* ***ma*** ***olin***
 like PN also think.IMP.2SG 1SG be:PST:1SG
no *ei* *ma* *ei* *julge* *mängida*
 PTCL NEG 1SG NEG dare:CN play:INF
 ‘Like Outlast, too. Think, **I was** [like] well, I don’t dare play [it].’
 (Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1_281)

b. *nojaa* *see* *ongi* ***sa oled*** ***nagu*** (...) *okei*
 PTCL DEM be.PRS.3:PTCL 2SG be.PRS:2SG like okay
 (...) *n-* *pole* *uus* *info* *aga* *okei*
 HESIT NEG new info but okay
 ‘well yeah, it’s indeed, **you are like** (...) okay (...) *n-* it’s not new info
but okay.’ (Tln10m_166777_Z03_2866)

Ambiguity between reported speech and thought

Cases of ‘defenestration’ = ‘quotative-less’ reported speech or thought:

(17)a. *ta on mingi tee mulle kohvi*
3SG be.PRS.3SG some.kind.of make:IMP2SG 3SG:ALL coffee:PRT
please *ma mäletan no okei ma teen*
please 1SG remember.PRS:1SG PTCL okay 1SG make.PRS:1SG
‘[in a computer game:] **she’s like** make me coffee, please, I remember,
well okay, I will make [it].’ (Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1_239)

b. *vend lihtsalt ärkab üles aa @kurat %laugh%*
brother simply wake.up:PRS.3SG up INTERJ devil
pidi tööd tegema@
has.to:PST.3SG work:PRT do:INF
‘Bro simply wakes up aa @goddammit %laugh% he has to work.’
(Tln10m_166777_Z03_1951)

Results

Study #1: Reported speech and thought and quotative strategies in Estonian adolescent speech (525 instances from 10 conversations)

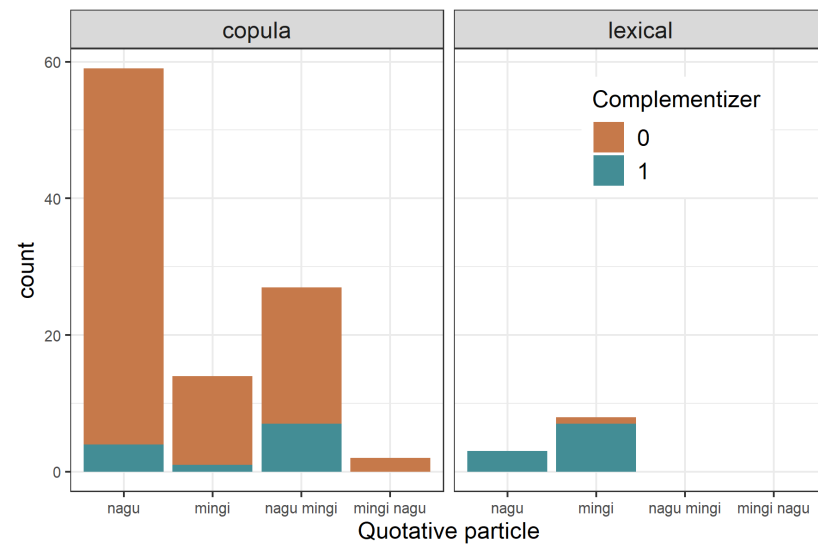
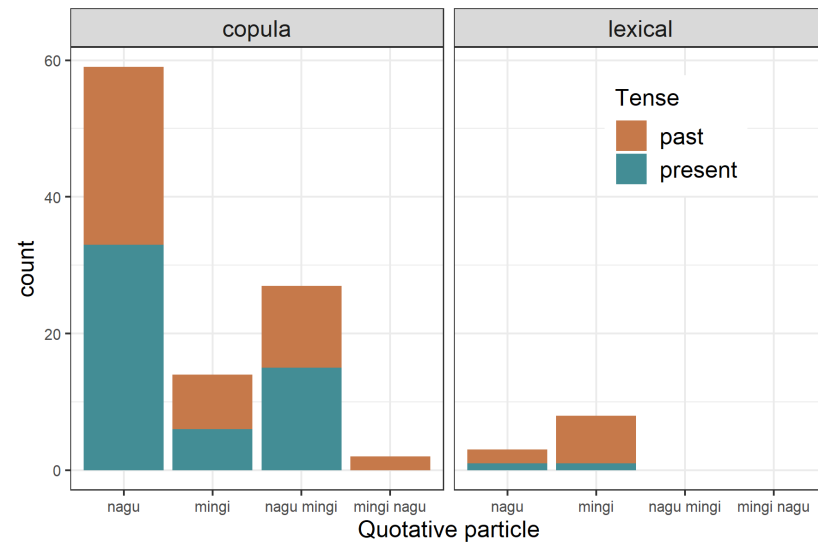
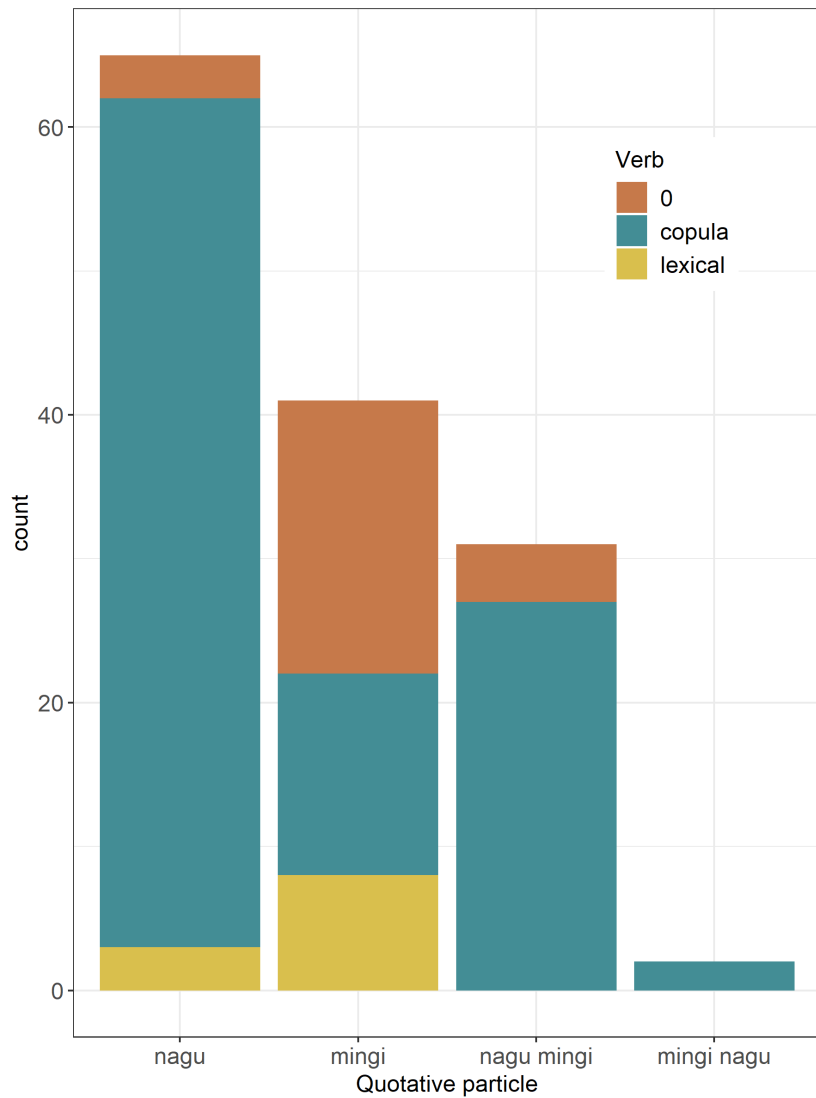
Study #2: The quotative use of *nagu* 'like' and *mingi* 'some kind of' based on the random sample (85 *nagu*, 65 *mingi*)

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*

Mingi ‘some kind of’ and *nagu* ‘like’ in TeKE material:

- when used as discourse particles:
 - ⇒ *nagu*: hedging, caution and uncertainty;
 - ⇒ *mingi*: explicit attitude and deliberate vagueness;
- only 8% of *nagu* and 6% of *mingi* in quotative contexts; w/ similar additional meaning.

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: morphosyntactic contexts



Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: morphosyntactic contexts

Co-occurrence with verbs:

- *nagu* 'like': most frequently w/ copula;
- *mingi* 'some kind of': no verb present or with lexical verbs of saying or writing.

Copula strategies: more or less equally in present and past tense; lexical verb strategies: past tense;

Complementizer *et*: almost always w/ lexical verbs, rare w/ copula.

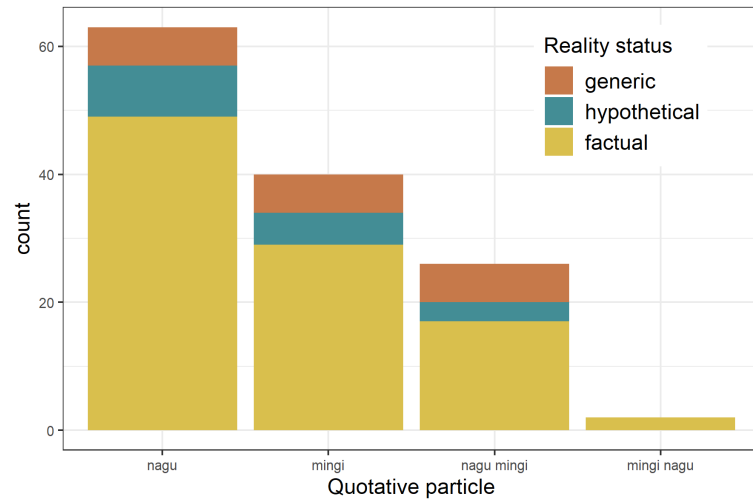
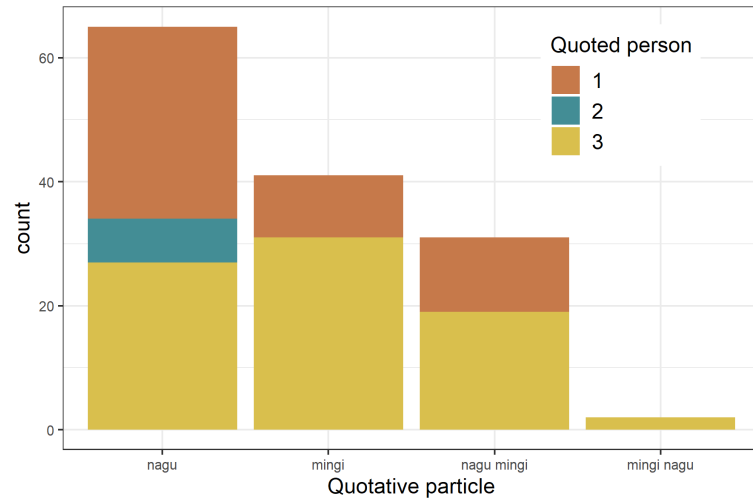
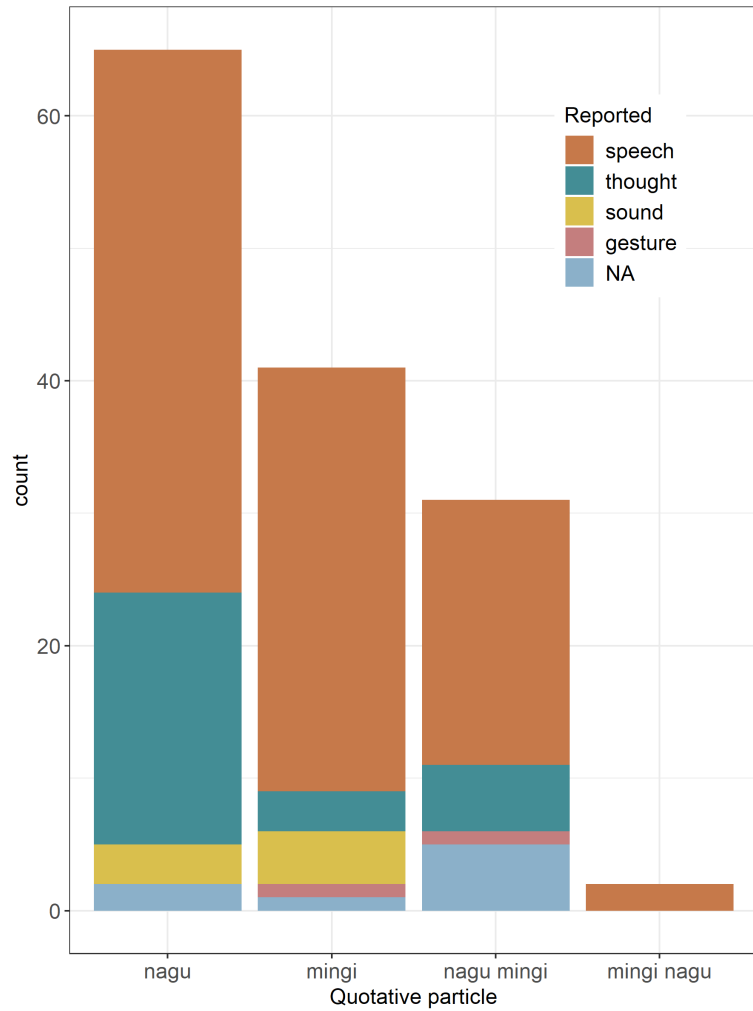
Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: morphosyntactic contexts

Lexical verbs accompanied by complementizer; but its position differs for *nagu* and *mingi*:

(18) *üks kirjutas siin mingi et* (...) you a bot
one write:PST.3SG here some.kind.of COMP
'one guy wrote here something like you [are] a bot'

(19) [*treener*] *ütleb et nagu tule ikka*
coach say:PRS.3SG COMP like come.IMP.2SG PTCL
sul läheb väga hästi
2SG:ADE go:prs.3sg very well
'the coach says **that** like come-come you're doing great.'

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: functional aspects



Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: functional aspects

Nagu and *mingi*, as well as the combination thereof...

...introduce reported speech (mostly factual);

...in few contexts may introduce sound imitation (20) or non-verbal demonstration (21).

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: functional aspects

(20) sound imitation

ja ***siis*** ***oled*** ***nagu*** (...) %imit%

and then be.PRS:2SG like

'and then **you're like** %imit%'

(21) non-verbal demonstration/gestures

siis ***me olime*** ***mingi*** ***(nii)*** *kui* *Greeteliisi*

then 1PL be:PST:1PL some.kind.of so when PN

polnud

NEG.be:PP

'then **we were like (this)** when Greteliis was not there'

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: functional aspects

Nagu 'like'...

...is more likely to introduce reported thought than *mingi*;

...is most often used w/ self-quotations approximately reproduced.

Mingi 'some kind of' may add evaluative aspect to the report:

- intentional explicit vagueness ('the exact message is not important');
- deems quoted content inferior or ridiculous; possibly more attracted to 3rd person quotations than self-quotations and 2nd person reports.

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: functional aspects

Mingi adds evaluative aspect to the report:

(22) *see on jälle mingi nendest reklaamidest mingi osta see tee mis maksab mingi viiskümmend euri ja*

'this is another one of these commercials like buy this tea that costs like fifty euros and...'

(23) *it amazes me kuidas (...) nagu inimesed on actually mingi jaa ma olen (...) ää (...) mingi ärimees investor*

'it amazes me how like people are actually like yeah, I'm uhm some kind of businessman, investor'

5. Summary & Discussion

Summary

Reported speech and thought in adolescent Estonian (Study #1):

- introduced by variety of means, among which the most frequent are still strategies with speech and mental verbs;
- show similar tendencies to written modality: speakers report their own thoughts more frequently than those of others (cf. Teptiuk, in press); opposite scenario with speech;
- ambiguity between speech and thought;
- functional extensions: sound imitation, non-verbal demonstrations, naming.

Summary

Quotative uses of *nagu* 'like' and *mingi* 'some kind of' (Study #2):

- attraction to different types of verbs in quotative construction;
- heterogeneous behavior beyond reported speech proper;
- different additional connotations associated with their original meaning and use as discourse particles.

Discussion

Open questions & further steps:

- rhetorical functions of reported speech and thought;
- temporal reference in quotative constructions and association with rhetorical functions (see e.g. Sakita 2002 for English);
- prosodic features as a means of differentiating a quote from its surrounding context (see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 1998; Kelwitz & Couper-Kuhlen 1999 for English; Günthner 1999 for German);
- comparison with less frequently used ‘new quotatives’: quantifier *lihtsalt* ‘simply’, demonstrative *nii(moodi)* ‘so’.

Suur aitäh!

Thank you!

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Appendix

‘New quotative’ strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

i. Comparative (similarity/approximation);

ii. **Demonstrative deictic:**

(24) a. Ukrainian

*I ja **takyj**: “pliz, ajskrim end semki.”*

‘And I was like: “an ice-cream and [a pack of] sunflower seeds, please.”’ (lit. ‘And I **such**...’) [Ib.ua]

b. German

*Ich **so**... O.o*

‘I was like... O.o’ (lit. I **so**...) [Teptiuk 2020: 284]

Appendix

‘New quotative’ strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

i. Comparative (similarity/approximation);

ii. Demonstrative deictic:

Afrikaans *soos* ‘so + as’, Czech *na to* ‘on this’, Danish *sådan* ‘such + like + this’, Dutch *zo* ‘so’, Estonian *nii et* ‘so that’, London English *this/here is NP*, Finnish *et (tä)* ‘that’, German *so* ‘so’, Hebrew *kaze* ‘like + this’, Croatian *ono* ‘that’, *ono kao* ‘that + like’, (Brazilian) Portuguese (*tipo+*) *assim* ‘(type+) so’, Russian *ta-koj* ‘such + like + this/that’, Spanish *asi* ‘so’, Norwegian *sånn* ‘such + like + this/that’, Swedish *så här (sär)* ‘such + like + this/that’.

Figure 2. Excerpt #2 from Table 1 (New) quotatives and their semantic (Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: xiv)

Appendix

‘New quotative’ strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

- i. Comparative (similarity/approximation);
- ii. Demonstrative deictic;
- iii. Quantifiers:**

(25) a. English

*I said something funny, and he’s **all** “Write that down!”* (Waksler 2001: 132, cited in Vandelanotte 2012: 191)

b. Finnish

*olin **vaan** että no mitäs sitte*

‘I was like well what’s left to do.’ (lit. ‘I was **just** that...’) [IKA]

Appendix

‘New quotative’ strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

i. Comparative (similarity/approximation);

ii. Demonstrative deictic;

iii. Quantifiers:

iii. *Quantifiers:*

Danish bare ‘just, only’, *Dutch helemaal* ‘all’, *English all*, *Estonian täiega* ‘totally’, *Finnish vaa(n)* ‘just’, *Icelandic bara* ‘just, only’, *Norwegian bare* ‘just, only’, *Swedish ba(ra)* ‘just, only’.

Figure 3. Excerpt #3 from Table 1 (New) quotatives and their semantic (Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: xiv)

Appendix

‘New quotative’ strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

- i. Comparative (similarity/approximation);
- ii. Demonstrative deictic;
- iii. Quantifiers;

iv. Generic verbs of motion and action:

(26) *The first time I ever heard the name “Google”, I **went** “WTF is that?”*
(enTenTen15)

(27) French
***il fait** “ouais <rire> hmm bonne nuit”*
*‘he goes “yeah <laughs> hmm good night” (lit. he **does**...) (Cheshire & Secova 2018: 213)*

Appendix

'New quotative' strategies employ limited sources cross-linguistically:

- i. Comparative (similarity/approximation);
- ii. Demonstrative deictic;
- iii. Quantifiers;

iv. Generic verbs of motion and action:

iv. *Generic verbs of motion and action:*

English *go*⁶, Dutch *komen* 'to come', Greek *kano* 'do', Puerto Rican Spanish *hacer* 'do, make'.

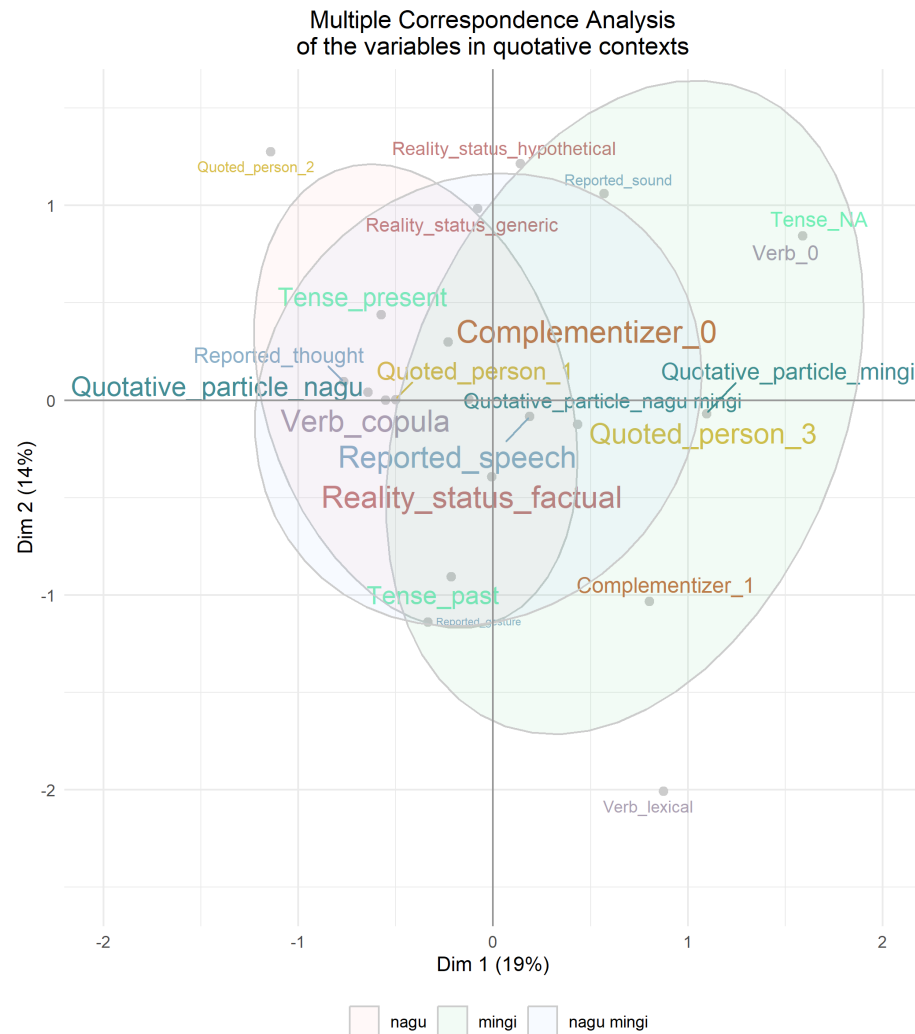
Figure 4. Excerpt #4 from Table 1 (New) quotatives and their semantic (Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: xiv)

Appendix

Table 2. Overall number of occurrences of reported speech & thought

Conversation	Reported speech & thought, IUs	Reported speech & thought	Total length, IUs	Length of conversation, h
Ant8n_435561_Z01	11	1,13%	973	01:00:04
Ant8n_435561_Z01	35	4,09%	856	00:58:50
Krs4m_123154_Z01	46	3,7%	1241	01:05:59
Krs6m_148389_Z02_1-1	117	17,1%	684	00:30:34
Tln10m_166777_Z03	269	7,95%	3383	01:00:20
Tln4m_105950_Z01	42	3,88%	1083	01:00:00
Tln4n_116265_Z06	149	8,1%	1839	01:56:40
Trt10n_174781_Z01	84	5%	1681	01:15:17
Trt4m_360605_Z09	12	1,11%	1081	00:50:02
Trt8m_485252_Z03	21	1,91%	1097	01:01:15

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: multiple correspondence analysis



Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: multiple correspondence analysis

Mingi 'some kind of' (on the right side of the plot) is more associated with:

- contexts with no verbs (upper right) or lexical verbs with a complementizer (lower right);
- 3rd person quotations.

Nagu 'like' (on the left side of the plot) is more associated with self-quotations, copula verbs ('be like') and reported thought.

Quotative uses of *nagu* and *mingi*: multiple correspondence analysis

Hypothetical and generic reality status is more associated with:

- present tense (upper part of the graph);
- quotations of the 2nd person (possibly generic 2nd person, e.g.: “and then you’re usually like no thank you”)

Factual reality status associated more with past tense (lower part of the graph).