Dizque and quesque from evidentials to insufficiency markers

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The reportative meaning

Dizque (developed from the verb decir 'say' and the complementizer que) 'supposedly, allegedly' has been analyzed as a purely evidential marker (reported speech and hearsay) with a notion of doubt implied in some contexts (Travis 2006)

Dizque developed into an evidential strategy (Miglio 2010)

Diachronic evolution of *dizque*:

- 1) 12th and 13th century- First uses, reportative inanimates: books, documents
- 2) 12th century Hersay (dicitur) they say that, it is said that (impersonal form)
- 3) 15th century Mistrust in the reported information

Reportative

(1) En el cviijo Capitulo **dize que** se quisieron alçar los de valencia contra Abenjab 'In chapter 108 **it says** [personal form?] that the people of Valencia wanted to

Hearsay (dicitur)

(2) Era mal quista; tebas de su frontera. Cuemo diz que mal debdo; a mal tiempo espera.

'Thebes was not well liked by neighboring cities. **As they say**, a bad debt invites bad times (i.e., what comes around goes around)'

Mistrust in the reported information

revolt against Abenjab [...].

(3) y a los yndios que de aca yban con los christianos **diz que** guardaron para comer 'And the Indians that left here with the Christians they kept **they say** in order to eat them, but the Christians they would throw in the lagoon because they say that they have tried them and their flesh is hard and bitter.'

The problem:

- Dizque is dominantly reportative.
 <REPORTED SPEECH---DOUBT> dizque fits within this spectrum. (Travis 2006)
- A purely evidential marker, encoding reported speech and hearsay
- With a notion of doubt implied in some contexts

Travis' (2006) overall results:

- Reported speech 43% --- source construction introduces an utterance attributable to some source
- Hearsay 42% --- not to report a specific speech act but to imply that there is an
 external source (it is said that)
- Labeling 12% --- (the 'so-called') introduces nominal elements (La dizque ley) does not make reference to a source, but simply indicates that this term is not attributed to the speaker.
- Dubitative 3% --- no longer attributes reference to any source dizque encodes the speaker's doubt

Reported / hearsay > labeling (rarely) > dubitative (exceptional)

Dizque keeps the Spanish XV Century structure and meaning.

Proposal:

- Pretending and questioning veracity are the core meanings of dizque
- The reportative meaning is dying out

Dizque has two basic components

- 1. A reportative part
- 2. A questioning part with respect to the veracity of events and things (needs not be declared by someone).
- The source of information has become less relevant than the veracity of the information
- Questioning of veracity has become the core meaning of dizque

Questioning veracity comes from two sources:

- a) Events or things *lack some nuclear properties* to be categorized as member of a category
- b) Subjects or events are seen as *pretending* an alternative representation and a deceiving intention can be implied.

a) Things lacking properties

- (4) algún vago como, digamos, el Yaraguán, que trajo un dizque compás marino, que resultó ser un visor de fotos (CREA Press,1985) 'Some slacker like, lets say, the Yaraguan, that brought a dizque (pseudo) marine compass'
- (5) E: ¿De qué religión eres?
 - I: Católico / dizque católico / pero nunca me paro a la Iglesia (risas) (CSCM)
 - 'E: Which religion do you practice?'
 - 'I: Catholic / well dizque (supposedly) catholic / but I never go to church (laughining)'

b) Pretending

- i) Participants take alternative representations
- ii) Participants do actions insufficiently and take alternative representations (implication: deceiving)
- (6) No, señor, esas encuestas eran amañadas por sus dizque amigos que se ganaron millonadas de dólares (CREA Fiction, 1995) 'No sir, those surveys were manipulated by his dizque (pseudo) friends, that received millions of dollars'
- (7) a los nuevos los mandan a dormir/ dizque a dormir/ pero es para este/ agarrarlos/ en (titubea)/ cuando están en su/ en su cama (CSCM, 2011) 'the send new ones to sleep/ dizque to sleep (pretend to sleep) / but is just to take advantage of them / while they are "in bed"

Deceiving

- (8) Toda la vida borracho ahí... ¿qué hace? **Dizque** trabajaba de noche (CSCM, 2011)
 - 'All the time drunk there... what does he do for a leaving? He dizque (supposedly) "works" at night'
- (9) y a sudar frío en la escuela. Acá en la casa dizque estoy enfermo de la garganta, pero la verdad es otra es la pura paranoia (CREA Fiction, 1976) '...and sweating at school. Here at home I have dizque (pretend) sore throat, but that's not true, its all paranoia'

The reportative problem

Majority of reportatives (Travis)

In all cases where reportatives are found the questioning part is dominant

- (10) le rogamos, se emperró en quedarse en el hotel, dizque porque uno de sus dientes de cera se le estaba ablandando con el calor, pero yo creo que fue por miedo a que no la dejaran entrar (CREA Fiction, 1999)
 'We beg him to go, but he decided to stay at the hotel, dizque (supposedly, he said) because one of his wax teeth was melting with the outside heat, but I think that it was because he was afraid that of not being allowed in'
- (11) en el propedéutico/ dizque también te dan tu este// entrada/ a todas las licenciaturas/ pero no es cierto (CSCM, 2011)
 '...if you take the intro course they dizque (supposedly) take you in every program/ but that is not true'

Travis' Reported Speech

- (12) a. nos dijo a Beatriz y a mí que 1pl.dat say-3sg.pret to Beatriz and to me comp
 - la acompañáramos al cementerio
 3sg. acc accompany-1pl.sjv to the cemetery
 Campos de Paz,
 Campos de Paz
 - c. Porque **dizque** iba a enterrar a una persona. because dizque go-3sg.impf to bury-inf to one person

'She said to Beatriz and me that we should go with her to the 'Fields of Peace' cemetery, because **dizque** (**supposedly**) she was going to bury a person.'

(Castro Caycedo 1994: 194–195)

Travis' Hearsay

(13) A: . . . Por ejemplo, el a- -- aquí el alcalde, Todo lo que ha hecho, Y. -- y ahorita, **dizque** ya lo están investigando.

'A:...For example, the mayor here, all that he's done, and now, dizque (supposedly) he's under investigation.'

Reportativity Test

Replacing dizque for que

- (14) a. Que asqueaban con sus dedos llenos de mezquinos, **dizque** por señalar el arcoiris. ¡Bah! Sin disimulo (CREA Fiction, 1993)
 - b. Que asqueaban con sus dedos llenos de mezquinos, **que** por señalar el arcoiris
 - 'It was gross to see their fingers full with warts, **dizque/que** that supposedly appear because they pointed to the rainbow'

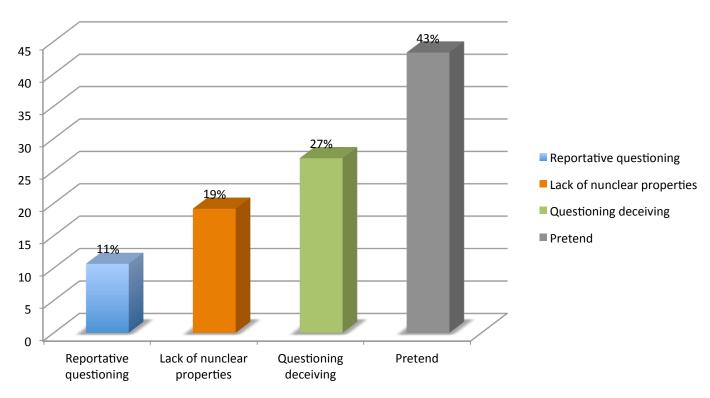
Pretend

- (15) a. Sara, Jorge quiere poner ahí **dizque** su oficina. Ésa es la nueva ocurrencia (CREA Fiction, 1984)
 - b. * Sara, Jorge quiere poner ahí **que** su oficina. Ésa es la nueva ocurrencia 'Sara, Jorge wants to have his **dizque/*que** office. That's his new bright idea'
- (16) a. A los seis meses de andar **dizque** gobernando se puso enfermo.(CREA Fiction, 1995)
 - b. * A los seis meses de andar que gobernando se puso enfermo. Quiso ir a curarse
 'After six months in the dizque/*que government he became ill. He wanted to go the get treatment'

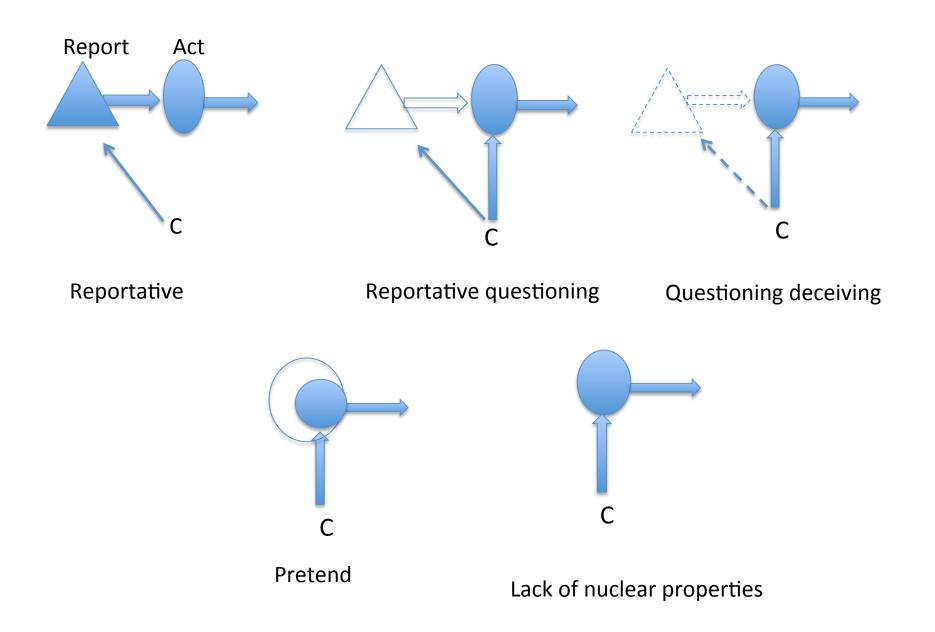
Deceive

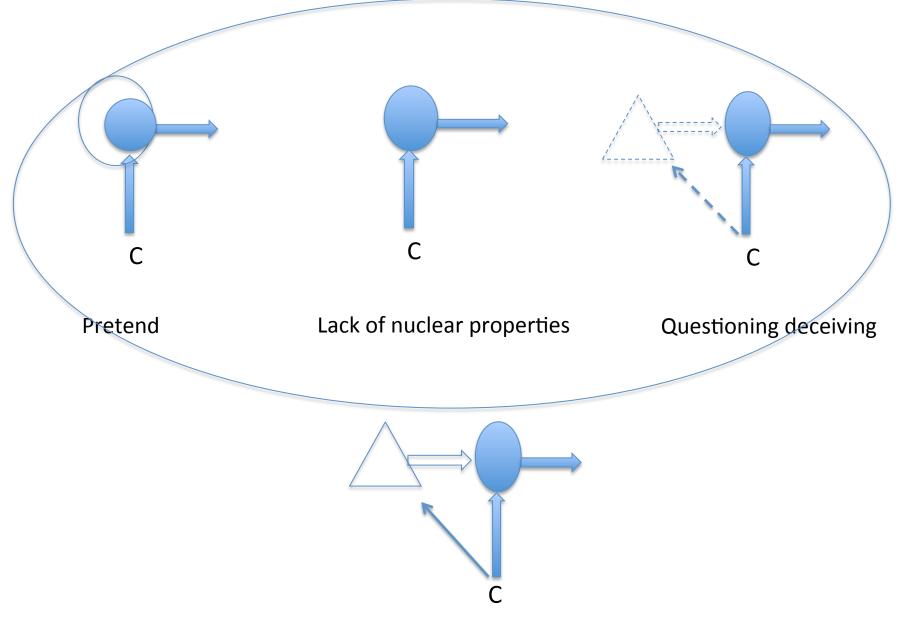
- (17) a. para dictar alocadas y demagógicas medidas **dizque** para controlar la crisis y la inflación. (CREA Fiction, 1995)
 - b. * para dictar alocadas y demagógicas medidas **que** para controlar la crisis 'To establish demagogic solutions **dizque/*que** to control the crisis'

Current usages of dizque (Mexican Spanish)



	Percentages	Raw	
		numbers	
		N=141	
Reportative questioning	11%	15	
Lack of nuclear properties	19%	27	
Questioning deceiving	27&	38	
Pretend	43%	61	
	100%	141	





Reportative questioning

What ever happened to the reportative meaning?

The conjunction *que* became part of the construction to retrieve the reportative meaning.

The reportative nature of que:

- (18) ¿Que ya no fumas? 'That you quit smoking? (They say)'
- (19) **Que** lo corrieron del trabajo 'He say/They say that they fired him'

The que dizque construction

The reportative is brought back by que.

- (20) mejor <u>dicho</u> regalaron" las empresas del Estado **que dizque** "pagaron" y si lo hicieron fue a menos de diez (CREA Press, 1996) 'better <u>said</u> they gave away the estate corporations **que dizque** (they said that they supposedely) "payed" and if they did it was less than 10 pesos per stock'
- (21) me lo podría decir con todo derecho, no me lo <u>dice</u> que dizque porque me quiere mucho, y usted que es mi hijo (CREA Fiction, 1991) 'he could have said it to me, but he doesn't <u>say it</u> que dizque (supposedly, they say) because he loves me and you are my son'

Quesque

The emergence of a new marker in Mexican Spanish

Two possible explanations:

1) A weakened explicative

2) Kany's (1944) weakening reportative:

quesque comes from que (d)izque

$$d > 0$$
, ei > e

What we have is a phonological and semantic weakening process:

Que dizque > quesque

Quesque is a weak reportative

Uses of quesque

Reportative questioning

dizque porque la educación empezaba en la cima o quesque porque el llorar era bueno para sus pulmones (CREA Fiction, 1999). 'supposedly because education started at the peak or quesque (they say) because crying is good for your lungs'

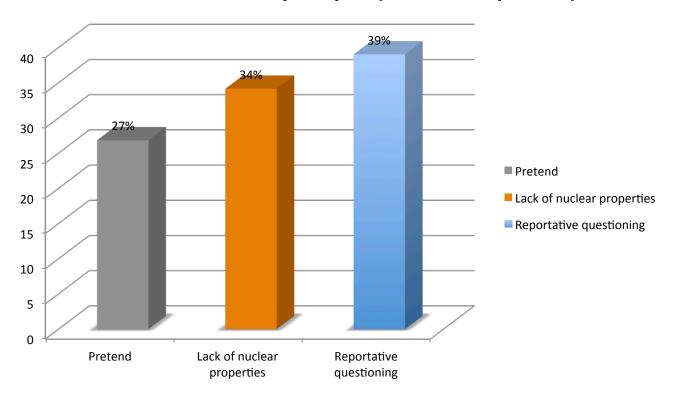
Lack of nuclear properties

luego luego lo llevaron **quesque** a un hospital/ y que no sé qué y ya regresó y/ pero/ así encima de la ropa/ una venda/ así nada más sobrepuesta (CSCM, 2011)
'and right after they took him to a **quesque** (**pseudo**) hospital'

Pretending

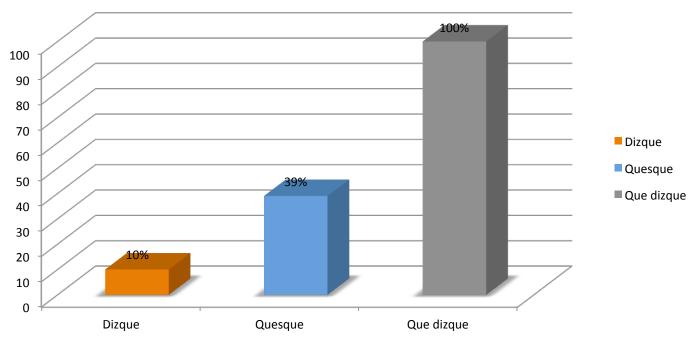
(24) El primer día que fuimos **quesque** a posar, como dicen, fue, ora verá usté... (CREA Fiction, 1999)
'The first day that we went to **quesque** (**pseudo**) **model**, as they say, was, lets see...'

Current uses of quesque (Mexican Spanish)



	Percentages	Raw
		numbers
		N=41
Pretend	27%	11
Lack of nuclear properties	34%	14
Reportative questioning	39%	16
	100%	41

Reportative questioning function on dizque, quesque and que dizque



	Percentages for each	Percentages out of	
	marker	all data	
		N=210	
Dizque	10% (15/141)	7% (7/210)	
Quesque	39% (16/41)	8% (16/210)	
Que dizque	100% (28/28)	13% (28/210)	

Que dizque corresponds to 100% of instances

Miglio (2010)

17th century- **Mirative** meaning of *dizque* (emotionally charged, surprising, unexpected information)

(25) [...] **diz que** era pobre como yo soy abadesa.

'[...] **diz que** he was as poor as I am an abbess (i.e., he maintained he was poor, but I am obviously not convinced!).'

In questioning veracity how is reportativeness being preserved? Through *que*

que dizque > quesque > dizque

Evidentials and insufficiency markers in current Mexican Spanish

REPORTA	REPORTATIVE MARKERS		INSUFFICIENCY MARKERS		
Reportative	Reportative	Lack of	Questioning	Pretend	
	Questioning	nuclear prop.	deceiving		
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Thank you!

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