

whether it is only a stylistic variation introduced by the author in place of the historical "Jesus" or whether it has to reflect a christological significance. It is also a matter of deciding whether an accomplished author like Luke would have introduced confessional significance in the forms of address on the lips of Jesus' disciples when they were in a state of uncertainty about his divinity and mission. The translator will do well to steer clear of any theological framework in which Luke is presented to him by the commentators and go by the evidence provided by the gospel text itself and the very tenor of the author's presentation of his hero.<sup>28</sup> Being circumspect in this regard is not to show any disrespect to the divine incarnation.

LOURENS DE VRIES

## QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND TRANSLATION IN PAPUAN LANGUAGES

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Quotative constructions, quotation-markers and verbs of speaking play an important and interesting role in the grammars of Papuan languages. They are used in at least the following domains: with speech-act verbs, in intentional expressions, in cognition/emotion expressions and in evidential constructions.

Several phenomena described in this article have also been reported for Amerindian languages, e.g. the obligatory use of direct quotation clauses with speech-act verbs and the use of direct quotes for verbs of thinking and feeling (Adelaar 1990, Wiesemann 1990).

Translators translating into Papuan and Amerindian languages should be aware of the wide range of contexts in which quotative elements are crucial. Of course, not all functions sketched in this article occur in all the languages of these groups. The purpose of this paper is to point to some fairly general tendencies, in order to help translators form a picture of how quotations are used in their languages.

### 2. PRELIMINARIES

#### 2.1 Papuan languages

On the island of New Guinea and on surrounding islands both Austronesian and Papuan languages are spoken. The Papuan languages number about

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. Conzelmann 171: "...we should not read any cosmological reference into the title *kurios*, such as there is, for example in Phil. ii, 6ff."

750, belonging to over sixty families plus some twenty isolates (Foley 1986, 1).

If the Trans-New Guinea phylum of languages is a true genetic grouping, then about 500 of these 750 languages would have one ancestral language (but see Foley 1986, 13 for discussion). At the present state of knowledge the term Papuan cannot be taken as a genetic term but should be taken as a term denoting those languages of New Guinea that do not belong to the Austronesian family (to which Indonesian and Javanese for example belong).

Notwithstanding the enormous variation in Papuan languages, significant typological generalizations can be made about them as the work of Foley (1986) shows.

## 2.2 Direct and indirect quotation in Papuan languages

There is a tendency in Papuan languages to prefer direct speech (direct discourse). Sometimes this preference is so strong that indirect forms of reporting speech are either absent or marginal. Drabbe (1959, 23, 137) claims that Kaeti and Wambon, two Papuan languages of the Awyu-family of southern Irian Jaya, do not have indirect quotation. Similarly, de Vries (1990) discusses the possible absence of indirect speech for Kombai, also an Awyu-family language. Wilson (1988, 46) states that Yali of the Dani family does not have indirect discourse. Lower Grand Valley Dani has indirect forms but "Dani speakers show a distinct preference for direct quotation" (Bromley 1981, 271). Murane (1974) writes in her grammar of the Daga language of Papua Niu Gini that indirect quote clauses are infrequent since direct quotes are preferred.

In view of this tendency this article is limited to the use of direct quotation constructions. If grammars of Papuan languages describe indirect forms at all, they rarely indicate the uses to which these forms are put.

Following Dooley (1989) I shall define (in)direct discourse in terms of deictic orientation and not in terms of verbatim (word-by-word) versus adapted modes of reporting speech.

Direct quotation-forms have all their deictic elements oriented immediately, *i.e.* oriented towards the utterance-situation of the reported speech act and not of the reporting speech act. Deictic elements are those elements of a sentence that point to features of the utterance-setting and which cannot be interpreted if the utterance-setting is not known, *e.g.* tense and personal pronouns.

Compare (1) and (2):

- (1) Henry told us: I shall come.
- (2) Henry told us that he would come.

The use of *I* in (1) shows that (1) contains a direct quotation. The quotation in (2) is indirect: now *he* is used to refer to the same person. The quotation in (1) is deictically oriented towards the utterance-setting of the quoted utterance with *I* referring to the quoted speaker.

Also following Dooley (1989: 45) I shall use the term quotation for the quoted words and the term quotation-margin for the constituents in the reporting clause which describe the encoding situation, the circumstances under which the quoted words were uttered. The quotation-margin in (1) is *Henry told us*.

The definition of direct and indirect quotation in terms of deictic orientation works better for Papuan languages than a definition in terms of whether the uttered words are exactly repeated or not. This is because generally in these languages the use of direct quotation does not imply that the words of the quoted speaker are exactly repeated (verbatim). There are for example Papuan languages in which (3) always takes the form of (4):

- (3) They praised John.  
 (4) They (praising) said to John: You are good/great.

Now the use of the direct quotation *you are good/great* in (4) does not imply that the quoted speakers uttered precisely those words but only that they performed the speech act of praising John.

### 3. SPEECH ACT VERBS

Speech acts are actions which require speech in order to be performed. *To promise* is a speech-act verb, *to kill* not.

Now there is a tendency in Papuan languages for speech-act verbs to require direct quotations. Thus (5) takes the form of (6), (7) of (8), etc:

- (5) John promised Mary bananas.  
 (6) John promised (said) to Mary: I shall give you bananas.  
 (7) John told Mary to leave.  
 (8) John said to Mary: you must leave.

In languages where quotative constructions are obligatory with speech-act verbs, such quotative forms have been grammaticalised.

Kombai (de Vries 1990) is such a language. Consider the following examples:

- (9) *Nu wamedefe-ne luwa*  
 I I.shall.come-quote he.said  
 "He promised to come."  
 (10) *Luwano kho mofena yaferabo-neno*  
 they.said man that very.good-quote.pl  
 "They praised that man."  
 (11) *Khe luwa riga yademonane-ne*  
 he he.said stone you.must.collect-quote  
 "He ordered them to collect stones."  
 (12) *Khe ludima nu wamedefe-ne luwa*  
 he he.promised I I.shall.come-quote he.said  
 "He promised to come."

The reported speech marker or quotation-marker in Kombai is the clitic

-*ne* (plural form: *-nenō*). The quotations are preceded and followed in Kombai by generic and/or specific speech-act verbs. E.g. the specific speech-act verb *ludima-* “to promise” in (12) precedes the quotation and the generic verb of speaking *luwa-* “to say” follows the quotation. The specific speech-act verb may be left out as (9) shows.

Clues to the nature of the reported speech act occur in both the quotation and the quotation-margin. For example in (10) the content of the quotation (“that man is very good”) together with the generic speech-act verb in the quotation-margin identify the reported speech act as an act of praise. The imperative mood in the quotation of (11) is a clue to the command nature of the speech act reported.

Some examples of the use of direct quotation with speech-act verbs from the Western Dani New Testament (from Larson 1984):

- (13) Acts 9.22 “...proving that Jesus was the Christ...”  
*“Jetut eebe ty, Karitut aret,” jinuk...joragagerak*  
 “They told them: ‘That one Jesus is indeed the Christ’...”
- (14) Acts 8.25 “When they had testified...”  
*“Jetut togop eeke kogogurak o,’ jinuk, paganogo jorogwe.*  
 “They told them openly saying: ‘We have seen Jesus do like this.’”
- (15) Mark 1.34 ‘He would not permit the demons to speak.’  
*‘Kinoone pyk logonip o,’ jorage mbareegy.*  
 “He said to them: ‘Don’t talk any more’”.

Since speech-act verbs are very frequent in the Greek New Testament, it will be clear that in languages where speech-act verbs obligatorily or preferably take direct quotations there will occur very many direct quotations in the translated New Testament.

#### 4. INTENTION AND QUOTATION

The use of quotative elements and forms of *to say* in intentional contexts (to want, to desire, to refuse) is a very widespread feature of Papuan languages (Foley 1986, 156, 157).

An important factor determining the use of quotations in intentional constructions is whether intender and intended are the same or not (Foley 1986, 156). For example in (16) the intender (John) and the intended person (Mary) differ but in (17) they coincide:

- (16) John wants Mary to leave.  
 (17) John wants to leave.

There is an act of communication essentially involved in (16) from the point of view of Papuan languages. For example when in Kombai intender and intended differ, the use of direct quotations is obligatory (de Vries 1990):

- (18) *Camate luwa kho yademonane-ne*  
 head.of.district he.said people you.must.meet-quote  
 “The head of the district wants the people to come together”.

When intender and intended person coincide (as in (17)), the situation is more complicated. It is clear that there are non-quotative means available to Papuan languages in this type of intentional context, one of the more usual being the use of special intentional mood-verbs of the verb. Consider Wambon (de Vries 1989: 29):

- (19) *ka-p*  
 go-1sg. intentional  
 "I want to go."

Although there are non-quotative means available, there is still a tendency to use quotative forms in intentional contexts where intender and intender are the same. But this tendency is not nearly so strong as in the case where intender and intended differ. Compare the following Kombai data:

- (20) *Nu okh ami*  
 I water I.want.to.drink.water  
 "I want to drink water."
- (21) *Aifo-nene*  
 we.want.to.go-quote.plural  
 "They want to go."
- (22) *Nu melara ai galemofo-nera wamede*  
 I come pig we.want.to.buy-quote I.have.come  
 "I have come to buy the pig."

When intender and intended person are the same, the category of grammatical person is an important factor determining the forms of intentional expressions in Kombai. With first person singular and plural intenders, the intentional verb-forms are used (e.g. (20)) without quotations. With second and third person intenders intentional mood-forms are used in combination with direct quotation (e.g. (21)). In one type of purposive construction with motion verbs and plural intentional verb-forms, direct quotation is also used with first person intenders (e.g. (22)).

The fact that quotative elements also play a role in intentional constructions where intender and intended coincide, leads to the suggestion that, from the point of view of at least some Papuan languages, there is also an act of communication involved when intender and intended person are the same, but perhaps in a weaker sense than in the case where they differ, viz. in the sense that the intender communicates with himself or herself in inner speech.

An example from Mark 6.19 ("And Herodias wanted to kill John") in the Kombai translation:

- (23) *Mana Herodias Yohanes ufo-ne*  
 and Herodias John I.want.to.kill-quote  
 "And Herodias wanted to kill John."

The verb-form *ufo* in the quotation of (23) is a first person form and this shows the immediate deictic orientation of the direct quotation. Consider

also this example from Lower Grand Valley Dani (Bromley 1981: 272):

- (24) *Napyt ylyk kamo-ikhe*  
 my.dislike saying refrain.from.travel-he.said  
 "He did not go because he did not want to."

The basis for the use of forms of "to say", quotation-markers and direct quotations in examples like (23) and (24) is that in Papuan languages there is a tendency to view mental processes as inner speech, as communication within the person (cf. also Reesink 1984: 216). This tendency manifests itself perhaps most strongly in the domain of intention, but it is by no means restricted to intention, as we shall see in the next section.

## 5. THOUGHT/EMOTION AND QUOTATION

Quotation-constructions in Lower Grand Valley Dani are frequently used to report "the thought or supposition of the subject rather than his speech" (Bromley 1981, 272). For example:

- (25) *weak ylyk hep-isyky*  
 bad saying discard-I.did  
 "I discarded it because I thought it was bad."

The same phenomenon occurs in Kombai (de Vries 1990):

- (26) *Khe rerama buru aife-ne*  
 he he.is.glad clan territory I.shall.go-quote  
 "He is glad to go to his own place."

Mark 3.2, "They watched (to see) if on the Sabbath he would heal him", is translated as follows in Western Dani (Larson 1984):

- (27) *Yt aakvmy nogome nen: 'Tamban eekwy paga ap obeelom eeke kamvn a leka?' jinuk...ynygen pykpak vgo nogogwaaryk..*  
 "They watched him closely with their eyes...saying:  
 'Will we see him heal him on the day we worship or not?'"

Emotions and feelings, especially when they are strong, tend to be expressed by direct quotations in which interjections and exclamative particles play a prominent role. Consider the following example from Kombai: Mark 6.6, "And Jesus was amazed at their lack of faith."

- (28) *Wa, fenemora ya na-lu fekhakhudo*  
 oh, how they my-word they.do.not.believe  
 "Oh, how they do not believe my message!"

There are no quotation-markers or verbs of speaking in (28). This total absence of a quotation-margin poses no problem for Kombai readers since from the preceding context the encoding situation for the quotation (28) is clear to them, *i.e.* whose inner speech is quoted. The function of (28) is clear to them because they are familiar with the narrative convention in Kombai to portray non-verbalised mental reactions of participants to events in the story by means of direct quotations.

The following examples are from Western Dani (Larson 1984):

- (29) Mark 1.22: 'They were astonished.'

'*Wi!*' *jinuk, pi wareegwarak.*

"They were all amazed saying: 'Oh!' "

- (30) Mark 3.5 '...grieved...'

'*Ae!*' *jinuk*

"Having said: 'Oh, dear!'"

Kimyal, a Mek-family language of the Eastern Highlands of Irian Jaya, also frequently uses quotative constructions to express intention, emotion and thought. In the following examples (from Young 1990) emotions of surprise and amazement are portrayed by using direct quotations:

- (31) Luke 2.33: "The child's father and mother marvelled at what was said about him."

*Jesus Eil in ab aleyong ab Simeon di yubu se*

Jesus his mother and father and Simeon from word for  
'*nun log*' *abdeg.*

'we fear' they.two.said

"Jesus' father and mother said about Simeon's words: 'We fear!'"

- (32) Luke 2.47 'Everyone who heard him was amazed at his understanding and his answers.'

*Yog nimi na Eil di yubu geegbayeg di*  
other people topic him from word they.heard after

*Al na eel noong aboga yubu*

him topic knows essence having.said word

*eel log eee aboga nun log*

knows very interjection having.said 'we fear'

*di abeg*

interjection they.said

"All people who heard his words of insight and knowledge said 'we fear'."

In both Kimyal examples the direct quotation *nun log* "we fear" is used. The quotation is direct since the deictic orientation is immediate: *nun* is a first person pronoun referring to persons who are referred to by third person forms in the reporting clauses of (31) and (32). The word *log* has several meanings. One of its functions is to indicate the state of mind which results when people are confronted with the unexpected or the unusual.

It is advisable to treat direct quotations which are used to express "inner speech" (intention, emotion, thought) typographically in a different fashion from quotations which are used for reporting "real" *i.e.* verbalised speech, by reserving quotation-marks for "real" speech. The use of quotative elements in expressing non-verbalised inner states is often highly grammaticalised, *i.e.* they have become obligatory parts of constructions. Furthermore, the high frequency of quotative constructions used for intention, emotion and thought would cause the pages to become

overcrowded with quotation-marks if such quotations would be indicated in the typography.

The majority of Papuan cultures is still predominantly oral. This orality manifests itself also in the abundant use of exclamatory quotative constructions to express emotions of amazement, fear, pain, joy, etc. using interjections and other exclamatory devices. When literacy is introduced, a written style could develop in which these exclamatory quotative constructions become less prominent, especially when a dominant national language does not use quotative constructions and interjections in these contexts.

## 6. EVIDENTIAL USE OF QUOTATIVE ELEMENTS

Quotation-markers function in some languages also as evidential affixes. For example in Kombai when the quotation-margin is deliberately left unspecified and the encoding situation of the quoted utterance cannot be inferred from the context, then the quotation-marker becomes an evidential suffix. Compare (33) and (34):

(33) *Ai khwui lefa*  
 pig theft he.did  
 "He stole a pig."

(34) *Ai khwui lefa-nene*  
 pig theft he.did-quote.pl  
 "He stole a pig (hearsay)."

The addition of the marker *-nene* in (34) indicates that what the speaker says is not based on his own observation. Evidential use of quotation-markers has been observed in several Papuan languages, for example Asmat (Dr. C.L. Voorhoeve, private communication) and Dani (Bromley 1981).

## 7. SPECIFICITY OF EVENT-DESCRIPTION

Foley (1986, 113-128) describes a tendency in the verbal semantics of Papuan languages which may be relevant to the use of quotative constructions and forms of "to say" in these languages.

This tendency is to be very specific in the description of events by breaking down events into their component acts and express each one of these sub-acts by a separate verb. An extreme but illuminating example comes from Kalam:

(35) *Yad am mon pk d ap aypyn*  
 I go wood hit hold come I.have.put  
 'I fetched firewood.'

For Kalam, to be sure, (35) is not at all extreme: to leave out any of the verbs would make the description of the event seem incomplete to Kalam speakers.

Now when an event has a speech-component, Papuan languages tend to make this sub-act explicit by using a verb of speaking and these verbs



of speaking trigger quotations. Since, from the point of view of many Papuan languages, mental events like “to want”, “to think” and “to feel” also imply speech (“inner speech”), there is a wide range of events with a speech-component.

## 8. SUMMARY

Quotative elements and verbs of speaking play an important role in a wide range of contexts in Papuan languages. The three most crucial domains are (with the (b)-forms indicating the forms of Papuan languages):

- (i) with speech-act verbs
  - a. John promised me bananas.
  - b. John (promised) said (to me): I shall give you bananas.
- (ii) with intention and purpose
  - a. John wanted Mary to leave.
  - b. John said to Mary: you must leave.
  - c. John went to buy a pig.
  - d. John (went) saying I want to buy a pig (he went).
- (iii) with cognition/emotion
  - a. John did not do it because he thought it was bad.
  - b. Saying it is bad John did not do it.

Of course, for every specific language an analysis should be made to establish the grammatical and discourse functions of quotative elements. I have pointed out only some fairly general tendencies occurring in Papuan languages and to quite an extent also in Amerindian languages. Since the domains of intention, speech-act verbs and emotion/thought are crucial semantic fields, it is worth while for translators to take some time to figure out how quotative elements are used in these domains in their languages.

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## REVIEW ARTICLE

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### THE REVISED ENGLISH BIBLE

The author is a UBS translation consultant based in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He was the translator of the Good News Bible New Testament and convenor of the Good News Bible Old Testament committee.

In his informative booklet, *Light and Truth*,<sup>1</sup> Roger Coleman tells the story of the making of the Revised English Bible (REB). The revision of the New English Bible (NEB) was thorough and time-consuming, engaging the energies of many scholars, under the leadership of Professor W. D. McHardy, Director of Revision. The Joint Committee, chaired by Lord Coggan, was composed of representatives of the sponsoring churches, the Society of Friends, the Salvation Army, the Bible Societies, and the University Presses, seventeen bodies in all. There were nineteen revisers and twelve literary advisers. The first session of the New Testament panel took place at Oxford on 27-30 September 1974; the Old Testament panel had its first meeting 1-4 October 1974, in London; and the Apocrypha team started meeting in January 1975. "By the time the last of the confirmed copy was ready for the copy editor in November 1988," Coleman writes, "the revision process had been in train for fourteen years and two months" (42). What did the revisers accomplish?

Their purpose, of course, was to provide a revision of the NEB that would be even more faithful, more intelligible, more useful for all English-speaking people in private reading and in church worship. Not surprisingly, the publishers claim that REB is "the most readable and accurate contemporary English translation of the ancient texts

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, 1989.