AGO KÜNNAP (Tartu)

ON THE ENETS EVIDENTIAL SUFFIXES

Evidentiality in Enets is an obligatory grammatical category. Enets has a strategy of evidentiality, too.

There are three terms in the system: non-visual sensory (*auditive*), reported (*narrative*) and inferred (*probabilitive*).

T h e f i r s t e v i d e n t i a l may be called (according to the Samoyedologist tradition) *auditive* because it is concerned mainly with auditive perception as well as with the perception of other senses (non-visual sensory). In the scanty recorded linguistic matter of Enets we find only a few instances of evidentiality under consideration and only with auditive perception. (See particularly Künnap 1999 : 29). The incidence of the perception of other senses is based on the statements of reseachers alone. Therefore examples (1) and (2) represent auditive perception only.

(1) *meδo' tahan tįa' d' a δ o - ō n u - δ u'* 'the reindeer a r e - h e a r d - w a l k i n g behind the tent' ("the-tent's in-the-back the-reindeer a r e - w a l k i n g - t o - h e a r - t h e m").

(2) *pęhon bunęk m a δ u - m o n ȯ - δ a* 'the dog i s - h e a r d - b a r k i n g outside' ("outside t h e - d o g i s - b a r k i n g - t o - h e a r - i t").

Its suffix is *-monȯ-/-onȯ-/-ōnu-*.

T h e s e c o n d e v i d e n t i a l in its broad meaning may be called *narrative* (as I will call it in this paper). In fact, the use of the term 'narrative', as seen by several Samoyedologists, is caused by a number of reasons: somebody has told me (reported), I have not seen personally, I am not sure, I am speaking about the events of the (distant) past, I am telling you an everyday or folkloristic narrative story, sometimes I try to express the accidentality or mirativity of the event, etc. (Earlier I have named it *quotative*; see particularly Künnap 1999 : 27). The use of this kind of evidentiality is very common just in everyday and folkloristic narrative stories (see Сказки народов Сибирского Севера 1981 : 159). Example (3) is of an everyday narrative story.

(3) (3.1) *te' ń i t o l ū - b' i - δ' aprel' d'iŕi petaγon.*
(3.2) *mai d'iŕiγon onan ń i t o l ū - b' i - δ u', ńiδu' ʋojjagaδ.*
(3.3) *mai d'iŕi petaγon ŋ a r ā - b' i - δ ńituš.*

(3.4) *nenuŋ ďoďit ńiδu' a r u m u m - b́ i -'.*

(3.5) *ńitu ʋojjaɣaδ ďoɣaδe' kugŕi' ńi ďaδu·ŕ, ńiδu ōttaggo' ujɣintu'.*

(3.6) *odịδ oδiaɣaδodda ďoɣaδe' molḱiδu oku m u m - b́ i -'.*

(3.7) *nenug orču' niδu' ʋoa·gịδ' ēńiɣinịtu' ď a δ u m u m - b́ i -'.*

(3.8) *nenuk paŋ℮ɣon ďoɣoδe' modeǵiδu'.*

(3.9) *nenuk paŋ℮ɣon te' p o δ δ e u - b́ i -'.*

(3.10) *te' ṕi ďeʋaɣon ō m u m - b́ i -', ďernujò te' ńi ōr', ďernujò ani' p o š i ŕ e u - b́ i -' metu' k̄iɣun.*

(3.1) 'Reindeer b e g i n - t o - c a l v e at the end of April.

(3.2) In May t h e y - c a l v e completely, their calves are born.

(3.3) At the end of May t h e y - c o m p l e t e calving.

(3.4) Their calves b i g g e r - b e c o m e before gnats appear.

(3.5) After calving, doe reindeer do not go anywhere, feed calves by udder.

(3.6) After the grass appears much milk i s.

(3.7) Before gnats, calves, having become stronger, with their mothers g o.

(3.8) During gnats, they look after calves.

(3.9) During gnats, reindeer g o - r o u n d - a b o u t.

(3.10) Reindeer at night in the cool g r a z e, in the daytime they do not graze, t h e y - g o - r o u n d - a b o u t again near the dwelling.'

Its suffix is *-bi(-)/-b́i(-)/-pi(-)/-ṕi(-).*

According to the opinion of a number of Samoyedologists synonymous evidential may be expressed by a verb form with a circumfixal suffix, in which case a personal ending may be added to the suffix mentioned and the former may adhere the suffix *-š/-ś(i)*, as the second component of the evidential suffix, e.g.

(4) *śehot℮j ďer℮hin℮ ďurako' somatuhin℮ s ā d u - b́ i - t́ - ś i* 'in olden times Nenetses with Somatu-Enetses t o - h a v e - w a r r e d - a r e - s a i d'.

T h e t h i r d e v i d e n t i a l may be called (again according to the Samoyedologist tradition) *probabilitive*. The evidential under discussion expresses an inferred action and it occurs in the forms of the whole Enets conjugation paradigm: in all three conjugations (indefinite, definite and reflexive), in all three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and in all three numbers (singular, dual and plural) and both in the affirmative and negative speech. Probabilitive has four different variants, each of them being in a different relationship as to the moment of speech. (See particularly Labanauskas 1987).

The first variant denotes an action taking place either at the moment of speech or very recently, e.g.

(5) *k℮δεr' beńimun ď a δ o - t t a -', kaďā kanebu' soua* 'wild reindeer m u s t - b e - g o i n g - r o u n d - a b o u t in the vicinity, it were good to go hunting'.

(6) *tieδu' ńihi'a', eodubone mεkitu' mole t ā - t t e - δ o'* 'your reindeer are strong, by the time to your dwellings t h e y h a d - t o - h a v e - r e a c h e d already'.

(7) *koddeo uďa motāśeda d i g g u - t t a* 'deep frozen meat p r o b a - b l y - c a n n o t - b e cut up'.

(8) *muδado'ehoδoni koδoj orōhoδoda n u k u o - t t a* 'after repairing my sledge p r o b a b l y - i s - f i r m e r than before'.

(9) *fonedeni tieni òmadu k o m e l o - t t e - δ o'* 'my dragging reindeer p r o b a b l y - w a n t to be fed'.

(10) *ɛkkɛ baturoe i - t t a   t a r a'* 'this promise p r o b a b l y - i s - n o t - n e e d e d'.

(11) *kuroirio abuta uδo' biuδumedi mɛtu'   a - t t a* 'however it were, you m a y - h a v e about ten dwellings'.

(12) *mole śide d'ere pisaj ed'uδaba', tenihoneni tāslabo, ɛkkohoδo mɛni ase tǭna śide korohomi a - t t a* 'two days and nights we go (by sledge drawn by reindeer), in my head I calculate, from here to my dwelling two reindeer day's journeys p r o b a b l y - a r e'.

Its suffix is *-tta(-)/-tte(-)*.

The second variant primarily denotes the moment of speech, i.e. an action that took place in the past, e.g.

(13) *d'aha' barone sanike' lebujŋat'i, miggua t o n e a - t o b a* 'on the river bank sea gulls low were flying, something m i g h t - b e - g o - i n g - o n'.

(14) *mɛkonedu' naudu' niet'i sū', tōna n o k o r o - t o b e - δ o'* 'from their dwelling their talk could not be heard, already t h e y - c o u l d - h a v e - g o n e - t o - b e d'.

(15) *ŋōkoδo' fonede tieta kauδu' b ō d a - t o b e - δ a'* 'often heavily loading his reindeer he scraggy m u s t - h a v e - d r i v e n - t h e m'.

(16) *kuhorione ɛkkɛ d'ado i - t o b a - δ o' d' e r e g u b e'* 'in this place I - n e v e r - m a y h a v e - h a p p e n e d'.

(17) *tejno nedòkue sueδa i - t o b a a'* 'thus joking p r o b a b l y - w a s - n o t so good'.

(18) *buneľa tiareggo, kuddahado tubiddo, biu' fue' d'abohone nieddośi tunembi', kumōhuane s u e r e - t o b a - d d o* 'Bunelya reindeer rearer, from afar have you come, for ten years you never came, y o u - m u s t - h a v e - b e e n - w a n d e r i n g some place'.

(19) *tia fonde' tieδu' mɛkodu' t a n a r a - t o b a -'* 'the reindeer rearer his reindeer to his dwelling m u s t - h a v e - d r i v e n'.

Its suffix is *-toba(-)/-tobe-*.

The third, analytical variant denotes an action that takes place after the moment of speech, i.e. future. It consists of the participle of the main verb, followed by the 'to be'-auxiliary *a-* in the form of the first variant of probabilitive, e.g.

(20) *kabò nagoδade tu ae lējgubi, kāt'io, śe a - t' u δ o a - t t a* 'the northern lights are glowing red like fire, i t - w i l l - p r o b a b l y m e a n sickness'.

(21) *bunuδo ŋòl'io binedo iδo seruδo', toδ t'ikohoδ k a δ u - t u δ o -' a - t t a -'* 'do not tie your dog alone on the leash, later i t - w i l l - b e - s t a r t - i n g t o - b i t e - i t s e l f'.

(22) *agga nioj kad'alo, miggua k a δ a - t u δ o a - t t a* 'the older of my sons a good hunter is, h e - w i l l - b e - a b l e t o - b a g - s o m e - k i n d - o f - g a m e'.

(23) *d'ogudo d'eredī seδoko kuhoŕi' i - t'u δ e - δ o' a - t t e - δ o' k u n o'* 'the arctic fox caught in the steel trap w i l l - n o t b e - a b l e t o - e s c a p e'.

(24) *sebua fε̄do mεkoδo oδideguno, fiohone p ō h o l a - t'u δ e - δ o' a - t t e - δ o'* 'your dirty fur boots out of the dwelling take, s u r e l y - t h e y - w i l l - b e a i r e d out of doors'.

(25) *feusumado komeleδo', katt' kodeado komeleδo', obareo kati monā: bikoδo k a n e - t'u δ o - b a' a - t t ā -'* 'the evening comes, the girl feels cold, the older girl says: out of water w e - s u r e l y - w i l l - h a v e t o - c o m e'.

(26) *t'ike tiado neneni i - t'u δ o - b o a - t t a - b o k a e', ŋul'i lįsanō* 'that your reindeer w i l l - n o t b e - p r o b a b l e t o - k e e p at my place'.

(27) *biδo barohone niera' nòdodi', biδo biomo abori d'e s a d a - t'u δ o - r a' a - t t a - r a'* 'do not make much noise by the water, y o u - w i l l - p r o b a b l y the nix's head m a k e - a c h e'.

Its suffixes are *-t'uδV- + -tta(-)/-tte-*.

The fourth, analytical variant denotes an action that took place on certain conditions in the past. It also consists of the participle of the main verb, followed by the 'to be'-auxiliary *a-* in the form of the second variant of probabilitive, e.g.

(28) *nehu' tagu mole mi'aδod'i, t'iŋadi ańi taguńi toneas͡ī abutu', nōda' t e δ a - t'u δ o i - n o a - t o b e - n o* 'three reindeer calves already I have given up, other my reindeer calves had I had, e v i d e n t l y - I - w o u l d - h a v e g i v e n - u p'.

(29) *k͡āsaj ireš͡ī abuta tejno i - t'u δ o i - δ o' a - t o b a - δ o' m ā e d u r o'* 'my husband had been alive, so I - w o u l d - n o t - h a v e p r o b a - b l y - b e e n i n - p o v e r t y'.

(30) *ńihońi firo aš͡ī abuta t'ike mod'ā m u - t'u δ o i - o a - t o b ā* 'my strength had I had, the job I - w o u l d - e v i d e n t l y h a v e - t a k e n'.

(31) *todubone sueδāne t'eros͡i abuńi seδoko kaδae d'o d'i - t'u δ o i - o a - t o b ā* 'then craftily steel traps I would have set up, an arctic fox I - p r o b a b l y - w o u l d h a v e - c a u g h t'.

(32) *kereńi' tieńi' tonaneńi' kadaš͡ī abuńi' bā a - t'u δ o i a - t o b a* 'we ourselves our reindeer if slaughtered had, bad i t - w o u l d - p r o b - a b l y h a v e b e e n'.

(33) *tio d'ere' esej batud͡ī abuta t i d e - t'u δ o i - r a' a - t o b a - r a'* 'yesterday my father a reindeer if had allowed, y o u - w o u l d - p r o b - a b l y h a v e - b o u g h t - i t'.

(34) *menāruj d'enos͡i abuńi i - t'u δ o i - o a - t o b a - o d'o d'i s o'* 'an untrained (reindeer) if I caught, I - w o u l d - n o t p r o b a b l y - b e - a b l e t o - h o l d - o n - t o - i t'.

(35) *ńihedujmahan feri b o δ a - t'u δ o i - b a' a - t o b ā -'* 'in the contest always p r o b a b l y - w e - w o u l d h a v e - w o n'.

Its suffixes are *-t'uδoi-/-d'uδoi- + -toba(-)/-tobe-*.

In semantics there a variety of inference can be expressed. The 'reported' term is apparently used for secondhand.

Two evidential terms — narrative and probabilitive — have a mirative extension — see examples (44) to (49) and

(36) *ow', busę mòga' taha' k a n i - b i* 'oh, the old man i s - s a i d - t o - h a v e - d r i v e n t o t h e b a c k o f t h e f o r e s t'.

There are no evidentials in interrogative clauses. But Enets has a special suffix of preterital interrogative *-sa-/-da-/-t'a-/-ča-* used in Nganasan and Selkup as a primal common normal suffix of preterite in affirmative clauses. The common normal suffix of preterite in affirmative clauses in Enets is *-ś/-š/-d'/-t'/-č*, placed after personal suffixes, attained from the Common Samoyed 'to be'-auxiliary non-finite primary form *V-śV* (the situation is just the same in Nenets). Possibly it means some shade of evidentiality in broader meaning: the questioner does not know what the answer would be, s/he is not sure about something and so s/he asks, or something of the same kind.

Evidentials are not used in commands.

I have data about the use of evidentials in negative clauses only in case of probabilitive — see examples (10), (16), (17), (23), (26), (29), (34).

I have no data about the use of evidentials in non-indicative modalities. The only exception one could think of might be the fourth variant of probabilitive that could be associated with the conjunctive shade of meaning, since it denotes an action which took place under certain circumstances (see examples (28) to (35)).

My data about the use of the auditive are concerned only with the 3rd person (see examples (1) and (2)).

The narrative is used with all three persons — see examples (3), (4), (36) and

(37) *kani-bi-δ'* 'I am said to have driven'.
(38) *kani-bi-d* 'you have said to have driven'.
(39) *kani-bi* 'he is said to have driven'.

Probabilitive is also used with all three persons (see examples (5) to (35)).

I have data about the use of auditive only in the present — see examples (1), (2) and

(40) *leu-mun-δo* 'he is heard calling/crying'.

I would not exclude a possibility that the auditive suffix *-monȯ-/-onȯ-/-ōnu-* developed as a result of grammaticalisation of the Common North-Samoyed word **mun/*(?)*mon* 'voice', cf. Enets *mo'* : *mon-* id. (see Janhunen 1977 : 95) : *monoś* 'to rumble' (Mikola 1995 : 150). If the supposition stands, the auditive has no obstacles, at least by the origin of its suffix, to express other tenses but the present. However, similarly to the use of the Enets suffix, a suffix possibly of the same origin and phonetically close to the former for the formation of the auditive in Nenets and Nganasan evidently occurs only in the present tense (see Терещенко 1973 : 145—146; 1979 : 220—221). The reason for such a use seems to be found in the nature of the auditive itself: the (auditive) perception is logically associated with the moment of speech.

In case of the narrative suffix *-bi*(-) etc. Irina Sorokina (Сорокина 1980) and Kazys Labanauskas (Лабанаускас 1982 : 129) doubt, if it really is an evidential suffix. They regard the suffix as a perfect marker altogether which may accidentally have a narrative secondary connotation. I. Sorokina notes that it is of no importance for the speaker if s/he did or did not witness an event, what is important is to state a concrete result of an action that is still there up to the moment of speech (Сорокина 1980 : 213), e.g.

(41) *tea k a - b i* 'the reindeer a l r e a d y - d i e d'.

(42) *bu koďʼ niδ s u m o - b i - δ*' 'he from the dogsledge f e l l - o f f'.

(43) *detču salba k a n i - b i* 'the ice from the Yenisei b r o k e - u p'.

The narrative circumfixal suffix *-bi*(-) etc. ... *-š́/-ś(i)* is, in line with K. Labanauskas, a pluperfect marker that again may accidentally have a connotative narrative meaning (Лабанаускас 1982 : 129—132), e.g.

(44) *karε ka'arana' no' kańibaťʼśi oddohoδo, kuoŕida' mole k a'a r a - b'i - δ u ď - ś i* 'we went for unloading fish from the boat, already the fishermen h a d - u n l o a d e d - i t - a p p e a r e d'.

(45) *čio ďerε' foggadoba' čiat komabaťʼśi, kajina' oričuna' č i e - b'i - δ u ď - ś i* 'yesterday we wanted to lay out a net on the shore, our companions before us h a d - l a i d - o u t - i t - a p p e a r e d'.

(46) *čujimoda nεhādo komabośi, čujimoda mεkonεda ď u r o t a - b'i - d a - ś i* 'his rifle to take I wanted, his rifle at his home h e - h a d - l e f t - i t - t u r n e d - o u t'.

(47) *ḿiggua sεsoru udiδoďʼśi, sorogāďʼśu sōlεboďʼś ḿiggoŕio d i g g u - b'i - ś i* 'some kind of rustle I heard, turning-around I saw, there w a s - n o t - a n y t h i n g - i t - t u r n e d - o u t'.

(48) *odduj občikuonε s ε r o - b' i - o - ś i, oddεhońi čio ďerε' fogguďʼďe nieδoďʼś kanε*' 'my boat poorly I - h a d - m o o r e d - i t - a p p e a r e d, therefore yesterday I didn't go fishing'.

(49) *sobrεgboad poa kańiahaz, ināj modʼazoďʼ. moloś ituza sịľajguś k a ń i - b' i - ťʼ moďʼ naśil tudāboś* 'Fifteen years had passed, my brother I looked at. Already his hair h a d - t u r n e d - w h i t e. I hardly recognised.'

The above examples (44) to (49) obviously present the mirativity of the event.

K. Labanauskas also indicates that by means of the circumfixal suffix it is possible to express events of the distant past, the information about which is available only through other people's narratives or from some other sources (Лабанаускас 1982 : 132), e.g.

(50) *moďʼi εssεj nio tεnε', nio abuńi d ī g g u - b' i - ś i* 'my father I don't remember, my being a child h e - h a d - d i e d - t h e y - s a y'.

(51) *kudhan nεhu tịz ε̄ - b' i - ťʼ. tozťʼikohoz śizε̄ś k a ń i - b' i - ś baj, muggaďʼi ŋomo tịzōś k a ń i - b' i - ťʼ. bajd b'emo ďe-b'i-ś kwitanćijda ď u - ṕ i - ś* 'Earlier three tribes h a d - b e e n. Bai, Muggadi h a d - b e - c o m e one tribe. The prince of Bai, d r u n k - b e i n g, his receipt h a d - l o s t.'

(52) *kuo' nōδo uddi toaśi: tia fondε' tōlahitu' s ō - ṕ i - ťʼ - ś i* 'news came from the tundra: reindeer rearers from summer pastures h a d - g o n e - a w a y.'

Historically the evidential suffix *-bi*(-) etc. does indeed originate from the Common Samoyed past (or perfect) participle suffix *-bi*(-) etc. (see Künnap 1978 : 160—161, 179—181, 190). Yet, as seen from the above Enets textual example (3), it has nothing to do with expressing a preterite action but only with its evidential meaning. The source of the final component *-š́/-ś(i)* of the narrative circumfixal suffix originates from the Common Samoyed 'to be'-auxiliary non-finite (? gerundial) form **V-śV* which in Enets and Nenets has grammaticalised into a word-final, i.e. a preterite marker

that follows a personal suffix (see Künnap 1978 : 138—139). The narrative with a circumfixal suffix expresses a preterite action — see example (4). Obviously in case of both simple and circumfixal suffixes of the narrative the evidential has not fully been formed yet.

From the possible evidential strategies I have data about the use of the interrogative suffix only in the preterite, e.g.

(53) *kunnę d i r e - s a - d*? 'where d i d - y o u - l i v e?'
(54) *kuoˀ p u - dˈ a - r*? 'where d i d - y o u - p u t - i t?'
(55) *kuń k i n o - č̌ a - d*? 'how d i d - y o u - s i n g?'

Evidentials have not any time reference of their own.

I have no data about evidentiality distinctions in the future tense.

It is quite common to use the narrative in historical narratives and just in folklore — see also example (3) and

(56) *kudaγa dˈaδubuta, tene dˈaδubuta, ordedˈeδi ejriδ pońiŋa, orońńe: ań ḿekoδ o δ i - bˈ i* 'he has gone long time or he has gone short time, he was looking forward: before again a tent a p p e a r e d' (".. i s - s a i d - t o - h a v e - a p p e a r e d").

The Enets material is very scanty and I cannot say anything concerning possible different rules for evidentials depending on the semantic type of the verb used.

As was suggested above already, the Enets auditive suffix *-monȯ-* etc. may be regarded as a result of grammaticalisation of the Common Samoyed substantive **mun* (? ~ **mon*) 'voice' or of a verb that formally more or less coincides with the former. In this case the respective grammaticalisation has probably taken place in all three North-Samoyed languages, since the auditive suffix in Nenets is *-moˀ-/-mon-/-βoˀ-/-βon-* etc. and in Nganasan *-munu-/-mịnị̑-* etc. (see Künnap 1978 : 106; Терещенко 1979 : 220—221). Among South-Samoyed languages the auditive is known only in Selkup with the suffix *-kunä-/-kunị̑-* etc. Aulis J. Joki has supposed that through the sound shift *β > kβ > k* the latter might share a common origin with the North-Samoyed suffix or it may have been derived from the word *ku-* 'ear; hear' (see Künnap 1978 : 100).

A. J. Joki's supposition about the Selkup sound shift in the word **mun*/(?)**mon* is possible because Tibor Mikola has also indicated that the earlier **β-* has, in Selkup, often changed into *kβ-/ǩβ-* (Mikola 1988 : 228; cf. also Janhunen 1977 : 168—177). In this connection the Selkup verbs *ǩinnịmoti-* 'to begin to rumble' (Erdélyi 1970 : 96a) and *ǩunnịmpịǩo-* 'to hoot, to drone, to ring in a muffled way' attract attention (Кузнецова, Казакевич, Йоффе, Хелимский 1993 : 165); cf. also Enets *monoś* 'to rumble' (Mikola 1995 : 150), Nenets *munotˈś* 'to ring', Nganasan *mununtu* 'to say' (Janhunen 1977 : 95).

It is sure that the narrative suffix *-bi*(-) etc. is the suffix of the past (or perfect) participle of Samoyed *-bi*(-) etc. (< **-pV-jV*), used as such in Nenets and Kamass and as the suffix of the preterite in Kamass (and mainly in interrogative clauses in Enets) (see Künnap 1978 : 160—161, 179—181, 190). The second component of the narrative circumfixal suffix *-bi*(-) etc. ... *-š̌/-ś(i)* in Enets and Nenets comes from the Common Samoyed 'to be'-auxiliary non-finite form **V-śV* that has grammaticalised as a word-final (following personal suffixes) preterite marker. In Samoyed languages this **V-śV* has

four main functions. In verbs and verbal nouns it occurs as 1) a preterite suffix or 2) a modal suffix of various shades of meaning: with nouns it yields two different case endings: 3) the translative and 4) the instrumental-comitative-instructive. An element of such a general meaning could be universally used, combined with finite verb forms, verbal nouns and nouns. The use of the independent gerund *iśa* of the auxiliary verb 'to be' combined with noun and verbal noun can be observed in the present-day Nganasan (Audova 2000).

In probabilitive suffixes it should be noted that their final vowel *e* is used only where the final vowel *a* was earlier followed by $*i$ ($a + *i > e$), i.e. in the forms of the plural object of the definite conjugation (the plurality marker of the object being $*i$) and in the reflexive conjugation (with the reflexive marker $*i$). Cf.

(57) *d'urata-tta-o* 'I must have forgotten (one)'.
(58) *d'urata-tte-no* (< $*$-*tta-i*-) 'I must have forgotten (many)'.
(59) *tā-tte-o'* (< $*$-*tta-i*-) 'I must have happened to be there' (reflexive).
(60) *d'usu-toba-o* 'I had to have forgotten (one)'.
(61) *d'uso-tobe-no* (< $*$-*toba-i*-) 'I had to have forgotten (many)'.
(62) *kuno-tobe-o'* (< $*$-*toba-i*-) 'I probably must have flown' (reflexive).

The origin of probabilitive suffixes is not uniquely clear. No appropriate independent words (as in case of the auditive) that could have been grammaticalised are not known in the Enets probabilitive. K. Labanauskas regards the initial components of probabilitive markers *-t'uδV-* and *-t'uδoi-* /-*d'uδoi*- as participle suffixes (Labanauskas 1987 : 279). In case of the suffixal origin, all the probabilitive suffixes in Enets are compound suffixes (in addition to the adherence of the suffix $*i$ in the above described instances, see examples (58), (59), (61), (62)). I am not aware of any etymological equivalents of the compound suffixes in Enets and other Samoyed languages. I do not think it is reasonable to speculate on possible equivalents of the components of Enets probabilitive suffixes, although it is possible to refer to, e.g., the cumulative suffix *-to-/-do-* (see Künnap 1999 : 28), debitive suffix *-t'u-* (Прокофьев 1937 : 89) as well as to some others.

It seems to me that there is a wide Eurasian areal-typological area (including Uralic — Finno-Ugric and Samoyed — languages), using wide-scale evidentiality systems and strategies. Many of them are common for Uralic (especially Samoyed), Paleosiberian (Paleoasiatic) and Altaic languages. Possibly this area extends itself to the south-eastern Asia (e.g. Sino-Tibetan et al. languages). But I cannot speculate on the correlations between evidentials and cultural stereotypes in this area though there must exist, I believe, some such correlations.

REFERENCES

A u d o v a, I. 2000, On Functions of the Samoyed Auxiliary Verb *VśV. — The Roots of Peoples and Languages of Northern Eurasia II and III. Szombathely 30.9.—2.10.1998 and Loona 29.6.—1.7.1999, Tartu (Fenno-Ugristica 23. Historica Fenno-Ugrica), 251—256.
E r d é l y, I. 1970, Selkupisches Wörterverzeichnis. Tas Dialekt, The Hague (UAS 103).

J a n h u n e n, J. 1977, Samojedischer Wortschatz. Gemeinsamojedische Etymo-
logien, Helsinki (Castrenianumin toimitteita 17).

K ü n n a p, A. 1978, System und Ursprung der kamassischen Flexionssuffixe II.
Verbalflexion und Verbalnomina, Helsinki (MSFOu 164).

—— 1999, Enets. München—Newcastle (Languages of the World. Materials 186).

L a b a n a u s k a s, K. 1987, Die probabilitiven Formen des Enzischen. — СФУ
XXIII, 275—284.

M i k o l a, T. 1988, Geschichte der samojedischen Sprachen. — The Uralic Lan-
guages. Description, History and Foreign Influences, Leiden—New York—
København—Köln (The Uralic Languages I), 219—263.

—— 1995, Morphologisches Wörterbuch des Enzischen, Szeged (Studia Uralo-
Altaica 36).

К у з н е ц о в а А. И., К а з а к е в и ч О. А., И о ф ф е Л. Ю., Х е л и м-
с к и й Е. А. 1993, Очерки по селькупскому языку. Тазовский диалект
2. Тексты, словарь (*Учебное пособие*), Москва.

Л а б а н а у с к а с, К. 1982, К изучению прошедших времен ненецкого и энец-
кого языков — СФУ XVIII, 125—134.

П р о к о ф ь е в, Г. Н. 1937, Энецкий (енисейско-самоедский) диалект. — Язы-
ки и письменность народов Севера I, Москва—Ленинград, 75—90.

Сказки народов Сибирского Севера IV, Томск 1981.

С о р о к и н а, И. П. 1980, Энецкий перфект. — СФУ XVI, 212—215.

Т е р е щ е н к о, Н. М. 1973, Синтаксис самодийских языков. Простое пред-
ложение, Ленинград.

—— 1979, Нганасанский язык, Ленинград.

АГО КЮННАП (Тарту)

ОБ ЭНЕЦКИХ ЭВИДЕНЦИАЛЬНЫХ СУФФИКСАХ

В статье рассматриваются суффиксальные способы выражения эвиденциальности
в энецком языке. Автор пытается также выявить источники ряда эвиденциальных
суффиксов этого языка.