

EVIDENTIALITY IN SOUTH ESTONIAN*

The article begins by characterizing the possibilities of expressing evidentiality in Estonian. It will then provide an account of the various types of the quotative in South Estonian with a focus on the *na*-marked forms in the Tartu dialect. We will discuss the functions of the *na*-forms and their relation to the *nu*-marked past participle, which is also used in the same dialect to express the quotative. The final part of the article makes an attempt to solve the origin of the *na*-forms — did they develop from the potential mood, or do they represent a specific development based on the past participle.

1. Concerning evidentiality in Estonian

Evidentiality is a category that pervades both Common Estonian and the dialects. Evidentiality is expressed both by grammatical and partly grammatical means. Despite the remarkable repertoire of means of expressing evidentiality in Estonian, it seems to remain in a framework that is characterized by the following features.

(a) It seems that indirect referential evidentiality is the main type of semantically marked evidentiality (see Willett 1988 : 56—63) (Figure 1).

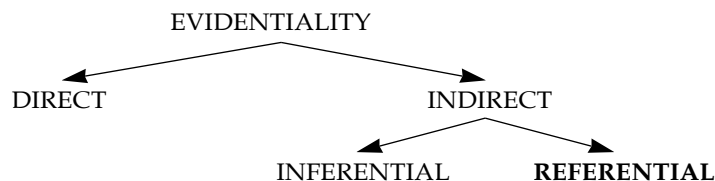


Figure 1. Semantic types of evidentiality.

(b) Of the referential moods the quotative occurs as the equivalent of the indicative, and the jussive occurs as the equivalent of the imperative.

(c) The entire conjugational system is characterized by the tendency not to mark the person in those verb forms where the marked mood (or mode of speech) is manifested. Thus, there are not personal endings in the referential moods, for example, in the following Standard Estonian forms:

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ma / sa / ta / me / te / nad ootavat 'I / you / he / we / you / they are reported to be waiting', *ma / sa / ta / me / te / nad oodaku* 'I / you / he / we / you / they should wait'.

(d) Evidentiality is expressed both by specific verb forms (e.g. *vat*-marked forms of the quotative and *ku*-marked forms of the jussive) and evidential strategies. The distinction between grammaticalized evidentiality and evidential strategy was suggested by A. Aikhenvald (2000). An evidential strategy implies the use of a linguistic means that has another function for the expression of evidentiality (e.g. indicative pluperfect: *nad olid oodanud kaks tundi* 'they had been waiting for two hours').

(e) The formal means of evidentiality have developed through the regrammaticalization of verb forms with some other function (participles: *tulevat*, *tulnud*; the imperative: *tulgu*). The source of grammaticalized evidentiality is the previous evidential strategy, for example, the jussive *oodaku* 'he should wait' has evolved from the third person imperative. If one claims that the main function of the jussive is the modal meaning (see Erelt 2002), the jussive could be regarded as an evidential strategy even in contemporary language.

The evidential meaning is closely related to epistemic modality. The more indirect is the information, the less trustworthy it seems to be, and the other way round (Willett 1988 : 87; Plungian 2001; Figure 2). Compare the following examples, where evidentiality is marked in the sentences (1), (2), (4) and modality in the sentences (2), (3). Their interpretation is intertwined because the reported information is not fully reliable, see (1), (2). The unreliability makes one think about the source of the message (3). The report expressed on the sentence level fulfils the same function as referential evidentiality (4).

(1) *Fillmore tulevat Eesti-sse loengu-id pida-ma.*

'Fillmore come-QUOT Estonia-ILL lecture-PL.PRTV give-INF'.
'Fillmore is said to come to Estonia to give some lectures.'

(2) *Fillmore tule-b kuuldava sti Eesti-sse loengu-id pida-ma.*

'Fillmore come-IND.PRS.3SG reportedly Estonia-ILL lecture-PL.PRTV give-INF'.
'Reportedly Fillmore will come to Estonia to give some lectures.'

(3) *Fillmore tule-b võib-olla / vist Eesti-sse loengu-id pida-ma.*

'Fillmore come-IND.PRS.3SG perhaps Estonia-ILL lecture-PL.PRTV give-INF'.
'Perhaps Fillmore will come to Estonia to give some lectures.'

(4) *Räägitakse, et Fillmore tule-b Eesti-sse loengu-id pida-ma.*

'say-IMPS.PRS that Fillmore come-IND.PRS.3SG Estonia-ILL lecture-PL.PRTV give-INF'.
'People say that Fillmore will come to Estonia to give some lectures.'

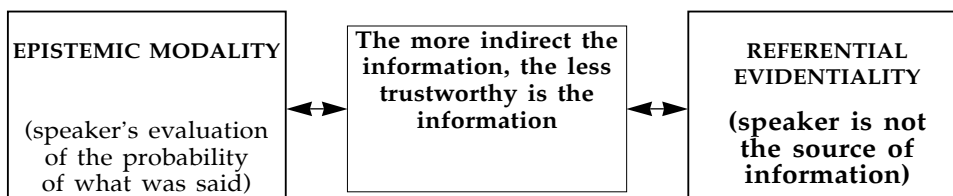


Figure 2. Semantic relation between referential evidentiality and epistemic modality.

2. Quotative forms in South Estonian

The South Estonian evidential forms fit in well with the previously discussed framework. They have largely developed on the basis of participles, as in the Baltic languages that are spoken to the south of Estonia (see Muižniece, Metslang, Pajusalu 1999). The *vat*-marked quotative form of Standard Estonian also originated in the South Estonian dialects. This form can be found in all the South Estonian dialects, but it is more widespread in the western and northern Mulgi and Tartu dialects. The semantic scopes are also similar.

In addition to the *vat*-marked forms, the *v*-marked forms are highly common, cf. *olövat* ~ *ollöv*¹ 'is said to be' (Kask 1984). To a lesser extent *v*-marked forms have been observed in the eastern Mulgi and southern Tartu vernaculars; in the Võru dialect, however, these forms are the most common ones. Historically the *vat*-form corresponds to the participial form of the present participle and the *v*-marked forms to the nominative form of the present participle. The contemporary dialect reveals some differences between the nominative participial form and the corresponding quotative form in some inflectional types, e.g. Võru *käkvä* 'hiding' and *käkkev* 'is said to be hiding' (Võro-eesti synaraamat 2002 : 581, 588). In addition, the *va*-final quotative form has been recorded in the western Tartu dialect (see Saareste 1955, map 44), e.g. *olöva* 'is said to be', *võtva* 'is said to take', which must historically correspond to the genitive (originally the accusative) form of the present participle.

The *be*-marked forms are common in the southeastern peripheral area of the Mulgi dialect in Helme, e.g. *ei saabe* 'is reported not to receive' (Tanning 1961 : 53). They developed obviously from the participial forms of verbs with monosyllabic stems, cf. Karksi *kiib* 'boiling' (Pajusalu 1996 : 175; the *b*-marked present participles are common in Livonian: *jeläb* 'living', *tul'bä* 'coming'). In Helme the *be*-marked forms have become generalized only in quotative forms, e.g. *ollebe* 'is said to be', *pitsitebe* 'is said to squeeze'; these forms are not used in the present participle.

The *bev*-marked forms are known in the southern peripheral area of South Estonian that stretches from Helme to Central Võru, and even in the Lutsi linguistic enclave, e.g. Hargla *käübev* 'is said to walk', Rõuge *laulbev* 'is said to sing', Lutsi *saabõv* 'is said to get' (Kask 1984 : 260). The development of these forms witnessed the same process twice, that is, the marking of the quotative, and a marker with a dual origin evolved. To the previous *be*-marker was attached the *v*-marker, which is widely used as a quotative marker in these dialects. Here the morphological paradigm of the quotative was further unified.

The South Estonian dialects witnessed an extensive and multi-stage historical morphological grammaticalization of the reported evidential. This is also proved by the existence of quotative *na*-marked forms having a different origin from the above-mentioned forms, e.g. *kirjuta+na* 'is said to write'. Such forms are used in the western group of the Tartu dialect, in the northern area of South Estonian. These forms will be dealt with in greater detail below.

¹ The dialect forms are recorded in simplified form.

3. *na*-forms and other means of expressing evidentiality in the Tartu dialect

The western group of the Tartu dialect (Puhja, Nõo, Rannu, and northern Rõngu) uses *na*-marked forms in the present quotative, e.g. *olna* 'is said to be', *saana* 'is said to receive', *lännä* 'is said to go':

- (5) Nõo *Karu o l-n a serände luum, et kui ta inimese `enne n ä n n ä, sis l ä n n ä `külge, aga kui inimene s a a-n a ta enne ära eidutada, sis v i s a-n a sitta ja l ä n n ä `mõtsa nigu räkin* (Keem 1995 : 33).

'bear:NOM b e-QUOT such animal:NOM that if it human:GEN earlier s e e-QUOT then g o:QUOT at but if human:NOM b e a b l e-QUOT earlier off scare-INF then t h r o w-QUOT shit:PRTV and g o:QUOT forest:ILL like noise:NOM'.

'The bear is said to be such kind of animal that if it happens to see a human first, then it will go at him, but if a human can scare it off, then it is said to give off some shit and go to the forest with great noise.'

Similar *na*-marked quotative forms have been recorded also in the North Estonian insular dialects in the Kaarma and Kärla parishes in Saaremaa. These forms, however, will remain beyond the scope of the present article.

In the Tartu dialect *na*-marked quotative forms are used both in the affirmative and the negative, e.g. *murdna* 'is said to break', *ei murdna* 'is said not to break'. Usually the *na*-forms occur without personal endings (6).

- (6) Rannu *Sedäsi o l-n a nii sordi* (Keem 1995 : 114).

'like this b e-QUOT these variety:PL.NOM'.

'These varieties are said to be like this.'

However, the personal ending may occur alternately in the plural (7), (8). In that case the following personal endings can occur: *me* in the first person, *de* in the second person, *va* in the third person, e.g. *murdneme* 'we break', *murdnade* 'you break', *murdnava* 'they are said to break', *ei murdnava* 'they are said not to break'. The personal ending is rare in the first and second person plural but is frequent in the third person plural.

- (7) Puhja *Nüid om kõik külä lärer täis, et mee l ä n n ä -m e ommen liina* (Keem 1970 : 41).

'now is entire village:NOM rumour: PRTV full that we g o:QUOT-1PL tomorrow town:ILL'.

'Now the entire village is buzzing with the rumour that we will go to town tomorrow'.

- (8) Nõo *Sis na o l-n a `julge, sis `m u r d-n a -v a inimese ka ärä* (Keem 1995 : 34).

'then they b e-QUOT bold then b r e a k-QUOT-3PL human:GEN even down'.

'Then they are said to be bold, then they can kill even humans'.

The *na*-forms occur also in the impersonal, e.g. *murtana* 'is said to be broken', *ei murtana* 'is said not to be broken'. In these forms the *na*-marker is attached to a stem that resembles the impersonal present participle, e.g. Nõo *aetav* 'is said to drive' — *aetana* 'is said to be driven', Rannu *antav* 'is said to give' — *antana* 'is said to be given'.

As noted, the quotative *na*-marked form of the verb *olema* 'to be' can occur also as the auxiliary verb of the quotative perfect, forming a compound form together with the past participle: *olna murdnu* 'is said to have broken'. In the plural the personal ending can be attached both to the auxiliary verb and the participle (9), (10).

- (9) Nõo *mee o l - n a - m e Alma liha ärä v õ t - n u - m e* (Keem 1970 : 41).
 'we b e - QUOT-PL1 Alma: GEN meat:GEN away t a k e - PART.PST-1PL'.
 'we're reported to have taken Alma's meat away.'
- (10) Nõo *nüid o l - n a - v a kõik marjasuu mõtsass k a s u - n u - v a* (Keem 1970 : 41).
 'now b e - QUOT-3PL all berry's-swamp:PL.NOM forest-TRANSL
 g r o w - PART.PST-3PL'.
 'now all the swamps where berries grow are said to have overgrown.'

Past participle forms act as the indirect preterite in these dialects, for example (11), (12):

- (11) Nõo *lamba o l l u takapuul* (Keem 1995 : 34).
 'sheep:PL b e : PART.PST back'.
 'the sheep are said to have been in the back.'
- (12) Nõo *karu t a h t - n u mõtsavahti üskä võtta* (Keem 1995 : 31).
 'bear:NOM w a n t - PART.PST forester:PRTV lap:ILL take:INF'.
 'the bear is said to have wanted to take the forester in its arms.'

No negative forms of the quotative preterite have developed. This function is alternately performed by the indicative preterite (*es ole* 'is said not to have been', *es murra* 'is said not to have broken') and perfect forms (*ei ole ollu* 'have not been', *ei ole murdnu* 'have not broken'). Both forms are common in those narratives, where past participle forms occur in the affirmative past quotative forms, see examples (13)–(15) from Rannu.

- (13) *temä [---] saapa p i d ä - n u paillu `aast-it `vasta ja mes pääasi, nemä e s `v a i v a `jalga* (Keem 1995 : 146).
 'his boot:PL.NOM l a s t - PART.PST many year-PL.PRTV out and what important they N E G . P S T h u r t foot:PRTV'.
 'his boots are reported to have lasted for many years, and, more importantly, they did not hurt your feet.'
- (14) *pilditahtjit o l l u külländ [---] tüüpuudus-t täl e i o l e o l l u* (Keem 1995 : 146).
 'picture's-wanter:PL.PRTV b e : PART.PST enough lack-of-work-PRTV he-ADESS N E G b e b e : PART.PST'.
 'it is said that many people had wanted his pictures; he had always had a lot of work.'
- (15) *ei o l e sis j u l e - n u - v a - g i enäm sääl elädä, l ä n n u - v a ärä säält* (Keem 1995 : 147).
 'N E G b e then d a r e - PART-3PL-CL any more there live-INF
 g o : PART.PST-3PL away from there'.
 'then they had not dared to live there any more, they are reported to have left.'

Unlike the negative *na*-forms (e.g. *ei olna*, *ei võtna*), the negative form with a *nu*-participle, as a rule, is not used (there are no such forms as **ei ollu*, **ei võtnu*).

Occasionally the past participle is clearly used for the present quotative (16):

- (16) Nõo *Kui prõlla serände maruädä o l l u, et parandamiseloost ei ole, sis `l a s - t a - n u veresuun `valla ja lõ p e t a - d a - n u ärä, aga vanast `tulli inimeselooma-l piinel-da seeni kui ta `kuul-i* (Keem 1995 : 62).

'if now such rabies b e :PART.PST that hope-of-recovery-PRTV NEG be then l e t -IMPS-PART.PST blood-vessel:NOM open and e n d -IMPS-PART.PST up but in-the-old-times must:PST human-ADESS suffer-INF until he die-PAST'.

'If there is such kind of rabies that is incurable, then the blood vessel is said to be opened and the person will be put to death, but in the old times one had to suffer from pain until he died.'

The forms of the previous example *`lastanu* and *lõpetadanu* show that the impersonal *nu*-forms are formed similarly to the *na*-forms by attaching the marker to the impersonal stem (cf. *`lastana, lõpetadana*). The usual impersonal participle is not used for this purpose, cf. *lastu* 'allowed', *lõpetedu* 'finished'. Thus, one can conclude that the *nu*-marker has been interpreted similarly to *-na* as the quotative. In the case of the evidential the shift of tense forms is nothing extraordinary. The expression of the present by means of the past forms could be explained by the past element in the quotative meaning, which give rise to such evidential strategies as the so-called recalled past (17) and the past form of the *pidama*-verb (18) in a non-past sense (for a more detailed discussion see Erelt 2002):

- (17) *Su nimi o l - i vist Mari?*

'your name b e -PST perhaps Mari'.

'i.e. your name must be Mari.'

- (18) *Homme p i d - i torm t u l e - m a.*

'tomorrow m u s t -PST storm:NOM c o m e -INF'.

'Tomorrow there is going to be a storm.'

The tenses are shifted, for example, also in the evidential interpretation of the pluperfect and the perfect. Formally the *na*-marked quotative and the *nu*-participle share a similar marker and additionally a similar morphological mode of formation. Both of them have identical consonant stems, e.g. *pannu* 'put (past participle)' and *panna* 'is said to put', *kõnelnu* 'spoken' and *kõnelna* 'is said to speak'. The assimilation of the stem consonant into the consonant of the marker is also similar, cf. *lännü* 'gone' and *lännä* 'is said to go', *nännü* 'seen' and *nännä* 'is said to see', and the loss of the stem vowel in disyllabic-stem verbs with a long first syllable, cf. *murdnu* 'broken' and *murdna* 'is said to break'. These forms differ only in the type where the stem consonant has assimilated the *n* marker in the *nu*-forms, as in *ollu* 'been' and *tullu* 'come (past participle)'. The *na*-forms do not reveal such assimilation, cf. *olna, tulna*. This could indicate that the pattern of the *na*-forms could be of more recent origin.

Thus, in these dialects we are dealing with a morphologically united paradigm of the evidential, where usually only the final vowel alternates in the present and past forms, see (19).

(19) The quotative forms of the verb *olema* 'to be'

	Affirmative	Negative
The present		
(I, you, he/she)	<i>olna</i>	<i>ei olna</i>
(we)	<i>olna(me)</i>	<i>ei olna(me)</i>
(you)	<i>olna(de)</i>	<i>ei olna(de)</i>
(they)	<i>olna(va)</i>	<i>ei olna(va)</i>
impersonal	<i>oltana</i>	<i>ei oltana</i>
The preterite		
(I, you, he/she)	<i>ollu</i>	<i>es ole; ei ole ollu</i>
(we)	<i>ollu(me)</i>	<i>es ole; ei ole (ollu)me</i>
(you)	<i>ollu(de)</i>	<i>es ole; ei ole ollu(de)</i>
(they)	<i>ollu(va)</i>	<i>es ole; ei ole ollu(va)</i>
impersonal	<i>oltu</i>	<i>es olta; ei ole oltu</i>
The perfect		
(I, you, he/she)	<i>olna ollu</i>	<i>ei olna ollu</i>
(we)	<i>olna(me) ollu(me)</i>	<i>ei olna(me) ollu(me)</i>
(you)	<i>olna(de) ollu(de)</i>	<i>ei olna(de) ollu(de)</i>
(they)	<i>olna(va) ollu(va)</i>	<i>ei olna(va) ollu(va)</i>
impersonal	<i>oltana oldu</i>	<i>ei oltana oldu</i>

At the same time these dialects reveal *va*-marked forms in reported constructions, where the *va*-forms could be interpreted as object participle phrases (Keem 1970 : 18–19):

(20) Nõo *Miinä ütél süäme ä l k-v ä.*

'Miina say:PST heart:GEN b e - s i c k - P A R T . P R S . G E N.'

'Miina said that she was feeling sick.'

(21) Rannu *ess ütél-dä pere maitsa s a a - v a pehme-t leibä* (Keem 1970 : 113).

'NEG:PST say-IMPS family:GEN taste:INF b e a b l e - P A R T . P R S . G E N fresh-PRTV bread:PRTV.'

'one cannot say that the family could taste fresh bread.'

These *va*-marked forms resemble the genitive form of the present participle, cf. *oleva* 'being (GEN)' — *oleva* 'is said to be', *murdva* 'breaking (GEN)' — *murdva* 'is said to break'. Such constructions with the participial participle are likely to have given rise to the *vat*-marked quotative. The participle was reanalyzed as the predicate and formed an independent clause on the basis of the participial phrase (for a more detailed analysis see, for example, Hakulinen, Leino 1987). The present stage of this construction could be regarded as an evidential strategy.

The existing examples reveal a tendency to functional division between these two forms. The *va*-constructions (20), (21) include an accompanying phrase, and, thus, the reporting act is to some extent definite. In addition, these constructions reveal a higher degree of temporal definiteness — one is dealing mostly with the actual present. By contrast, the *na*-forms that express the grammaticalized evidential do not include any reference to the reporting situation, and also the reported event is temporally less definite. They are used for general unspecified time reference often without any reference to the reporting act, see (22)—(24).

- (22) Nõo *vakku`lamb-it`m a h t u - n a`paillu`lauta* (Keem 1995 : 48).
 'good:PL.PRTV sheep-PL.PRTV a c c o m m o d a t e - Q U O T
 a-lot barn:ILL'.
 'it is said that the barn accommodates many good sheep.'
- (23) Nõo *vanatoit sika näol k ä e - n ä, kaits`sarve pää-n* (Keem 1995 : 55).
 'Old-Nick goat:GEN in-the-form w a l k - Q U O T two horn:PRTV
 head-INESS'.
 'Old Nick is said to move around in the form of a goat, with two
 horns on his head.'
- (24) Nõo *ega suve-l e i l ä n n ä susi`auda* (Keem 1995 : 34).
 'nor summer-ADESS N E G g o : Q U O T wolf:NOM grave:ILL'.
 'the wolf is said not to go to the grave in summer'.

Most *na*-forms occur in declarative sentences and describe the general state of some circumstance or situation. In such cases one is dealing not with the actual present (and actual reporting) but with a general tense (or an indefinite tense), the starting point of which is in the past and which could be 'drowned' in the past as well. This division has not become established in the perfect as yet, where the *na*-form serves as an auxiliary verb. Therefore, in most cases the source of reporting and the time relations are more directly specified (25).

- (25) Nõo *Tuu o l l u perämäne susi esä-l tappa. Pääle tolle temä e i o l - n a enämb ütte-gi sutt`n ä n n u ega laske`s a a - n u* (Keem 1995 : 46).
 'that:NOM b e : P A R T . P S T last wolf:NOM father-ADESS kill:INF after that:
 GEN he N E G b e - Q U O T more any:PRTV-CL wolf:PRTV s e e : P A R T . P S T
 nor shot:INF b e a b l e - P A R T . P S T'.
 'It is said to have been the last wolf that father had to kill. After
 that episode he is said not to have encountered or shot any other
 wolves.'

The opposition between the definite and indefinite formal means is more distinct in the present and in the affirmative. However, this distinction has not reached the more marked forms as yet. In fact, one cannot rule out the possibility that the future development could lead to the opposition of two grammaticalized quotative forms (the definite *va*-form and the indefinite *na*-form). The previous data about the Estonian evidential and the widespread use of the *vat*-marked quotative do not indicate that degrees of definiteness could show a tendency to be distinguished in the future. On the other hand, a scale of definiteness of the information would be in line with the established scale of epistemic modality. In the first the information would be more or less precise and in the second case it would be more or less probable.

The existing data and the possible future developments suggest a tendency to the functional division, as depicted in Table 1. In the case of the *va*-construction both the reporting act and the time of the event are specified; in the case of the *na*-construction, however, they are unspecified. The definiteness of the reporting act is not manifested in the past forms, but the tenses reveal a well-known opposition. The preterite focuses on some definite event, but the perfect focuses on events taking place at some indefinite time, cf. the tense forms in example (25).

**The tendencies for distinguishing the sources of information
and time relations of the quotative**

Reporting act and / or time of the event	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE
present	-va (actual present)	-na (general present)
past	-nu (simple past)	olna + -nu (perfect)

4. On the origin of the *na*-forms

There are two assumptions concerning the origin of the *na*-marked forms: (1) they developed from the *ne*-marked potential, (2) they developed from the *nu*-marked past participle. The stem of the *na*-form has the same origin as both probable sources. Below we will explore the arguments for and against these assumptions.

4.1. Potential *-ne* > *na* / *nä*

Nowadays the potential mood is absent from those subdialects where the *na*-forms are used. It is semantically fully conceivable that the potential forms may have developed into quotative forms:

- epistemic modality and evidentiality are interrelated and often develop into each other. On the one hand, evidentiality is accompanied by probability implications and the other way round, see (1)–(4). On the other hand, the conditional, the subjunctive, and other constructions expressing unreality or assumption can be used as evidential strategies (e.g. in French, Finnish, and German). The Estonian *pidi*-construction is one such case (18). In Old Written South Estonian one can come across potential forms that can be interpreted as quotative forms: *kas tulnes* 'will he actually come' = 'is he said to come', *mis tennes* 'what could he do' = 'what is he said to do' (Gutslaff 1998);
- the marked moods serve as a source of evidential strategies. The existing descriptions of other languages that are known to us do not reveal any such strategies could grammaticalize into evidential forms. However, the Estonian jussive could qualify as such a case;
- the tense meaning has not changed;
- it is possible to compare the clear-cut functional change (together with the formal change) in the western subdialects of the Tartu dialect, where the potential has disappeared, and the retention of the potential in the southern West Võru subdialects, where the quotative is expressed by the *v*-marked forms (Keem 1970).

The change *-ne* > *-na/-nä* is phonetically conceivable as well because

- as a rule, the *na*-form is formed on the basis of the same stem that was assumedly used for the one-time potential;
- one cannot rule out the change *e, õ > ä, a* in non-initial syllables (Pajusalu 2000). In the dialects under discussion one can find in some other suffixes *a, ä* in place of the anticipated *e*, e.g. *mitma* 'a few (gen)' pro *mitme*, *obesa* 'of the horse' pro *obese*, *valitsaja* 'ruler' pro *valitseja* etc.

However, the nature of the generalized form without the final *-s* poses a problem. Assuming that the paradigm gave rise to the generalized unmarked personal form, the unmarked form must have been the third person, where *-s* occurs in the word-final position (e.g. *olnõs*, *lännes*). But these dialects do not reveal any apocope of *s*. The *ne*-form without the final consonant occurred, in fact, in the first person, which is a marked member of the category of person. Here the South Estonian potential reveals a disagreement between the actual and formal markedness of the person. Formally the first person is unmarked, but actually it is the third person that is unmarked. One might assume that the formally unmarked form has become generalized. It is in line with the fact that usually forms without the personal endings tend to become generalized. Quotative forms without personal endings are used in Estonian, and personal endings tend to disappear in other moods as well.

4.2. Past participle *nu* > *na*

One can find some arguments in favour of this change as well:

- quotative participles are common in the Baltic area;
- the participle shows an especially strong tendency for grammaticalization in various functions in the South Estonian dialect area. In the Tartu and Mulgi dialects the grammaticalization of the participle is at least as common as in the Võru dialect. In fact, such forms as *ärnu tulnu* 'you shouldn't have come' where the participial marker is attached to the prohibitive form has been recorded in these subdialects of the western group of Tartu;
- the Mulgi dialect, which is spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of the western group of the Tartu dialect, reveals the *ne*-marked past participle, e.g. *sündüne* 'born', *küsiine* 'asked', *kasune* 'used' (see Pajusalu 1996 : 180–181);
- It is conceivable that the quotative paradigm may be formally uniform. In that case the entire new paradigm would be built up from a single foundation, that is the paradigm of the past participle. The marker *-na* is attached to the same stem as *-nu* with the difference that there is no assimilation of the consonant in the marker (*ol+nu* > *ollu*, *ol+na* > *olna*), the identity of the *na*-suffix is always retained. This would point to active word syntax.

At the same time the semantic change involves some problems that call for explanation:

- The splitting of the time relation arouses some suspicion. The change of the temporal meaning is possible because the quotative includes a reference to a past informational act. In addition, the *na*-forms have an indefinite general temporal meaning. On the other hand, the opposition past — non-past is the most important opposition in the Estonian tense system. Could it have become neutralized on a systematic basis in the quotative, which is frequently used with reference to the past (discussing something that happened according to someone's report) rather than with reference to the present? There are two possible paths of development:
 - (a) Functional changes in the past participle form. The formal predicate of the past participle has been used in South Estonian both as the indicative past form and in the meaning of the conditional mood with the indefinite time and indefinite truth value (Muižniece, Pajusalu 1997). For example,

the non-temporal form of the Russian conditional is also based on the past participle. Why cannot then the South Estonian past participle in its indicative and conditional use be interpreted as a quotative form with an indefinite meaning?

b) The use of the past form in the function of the present quotative has already expanded (16), (18). Two contributing factors are responsible for this development: the use of the past participle form as the quotative past and the retrospective meaning that derives from the quotative;

- The direct change *nu* > *na* is impossible; an intermediate stage *ne* is needed (*u* is reduced into *e*).

Figure 3 summarizes both possible developments.

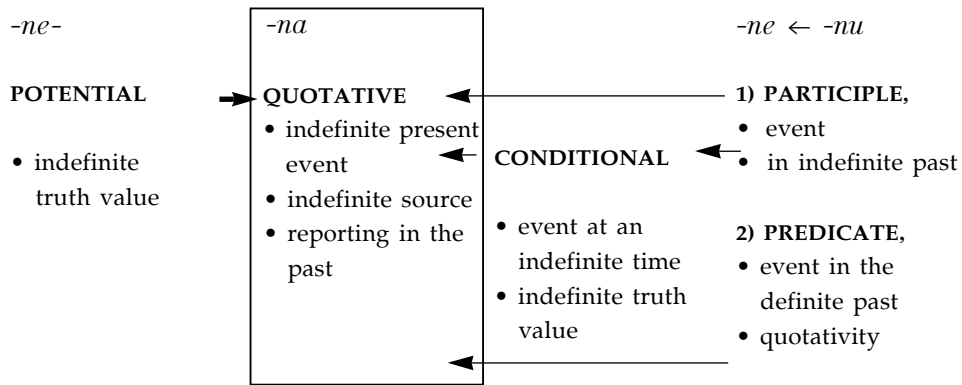


Figure 3. Possible sources of the *na*-quotative.

Conclusion

One could state the hypothesis that the *na*-marked quotative forms may have developed from the potential seems more plausible. At the same time this development has taken place in the paradigmatic framework of the quotative use of the *nu*-marked past participles, which has yielded a formally clear and compact quotative paradigm with the *na*-forms being its most regular part.

Abbreviations

3PL — 3rd person plural; **3SG** — 3rd person singular; **CL** — discourse clitic; **GEN** — genitive; **ILL** — illative; **IMPS** — impersonal; **IND** — indicative; **INESS** — inessive; **INF** — infinitive; **PART** — participle; **PRS** — present tense; **PRTV** — participative; **QUOT** — quotative; **TRANSL** — translative.

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ХЕЛЛЕ МЕТСЛАНГ (Таллинн), КАРЛ ПАЮСАЛУ (Тарту—Хельсинки)

ВЫРАЖЕНИЕ ЭВИДЕНЦИАЛЬНОСТИ В ЮЖНОЭСТОНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

В статье представлены разные типы форм квотатива в южноэстонском языке, более подробно охарактеризованы формы настоящего времени с признаком *-na* в тартуском диалекте. Рассматриваются функции форм на *-na* и их связь с партиципом прошедшего времени на *-nu*, который используется в том же диалекте в значении квотатива. На базе форм на *-na* и *-nu* (напр., *võtna, võtnu; olna, ollu*) образуется морфологически ровная квотативная парадигма. Там же встречаются и реферативные партиципные конструкции, в которых можно увидеть источник формирования квотатива с признаком *-va*. Наблюдается тенденция разделения функций между формами на *-na* и на *-va*: реферативная конструкция на *-va* дефинитна в отношении как акта информации, так и времени события, форма на *-na* не содержит указания на определенный акт информации и передает общее временное значение. В конце статьи делается попытка решить вопрос о происхождении форм на *-na* — имеем ли мы дело с образованием, источником которого когда-то послужили формы потенциального наклонения, или же это особая форма, сложившаяся на базе партиципа прошедшего времени. В пользу обеих версий имеются аргументы с точки зрения как грамматикализации, так и логики звуковых изменений. Некоторое предпочтение авторы отдают гипотезе о потенциальном наклонении как источнике рассматриваемой формы.