

## INDIRECTAL IN LITERARY ESTONIAN

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**Abstract.** The article aims to establish the category and means of expression of the indirectal based on the analysis of two sublanguages of contemporary literary Estonian and the relationship between the Estonian indirectal and the linguistic-typological evidentiality category. In the article, the indirectal is defined as a functional-semantic category and an overview is given of the indirectal means of expression and their dynamics in contemporary Estonian. The empirical material of the article is corpus-based. The usage analysis of linguistic means shows how the dynamics of use considerably transforms language as a text corpus although the means themselves may remain unchanged. No previous study has approached the means of expressing indirectality from a unified theoretical basis considering both semantics and function. Previous treatments have focused on formal aspects.

**Keywords:** indirectal, reported evidentiality, syntax-morphology interaction, verb categories, diachronic linguistics, corpus study

### 1. Introduction

The morphology, mostly verb morphology, of languages with grammatical evidentiality expresses the origin of information. According to Willet's (1988: 57–58) typology, the most common evidentiality opposition is that between direct and indirect evidentiality. Direct evidentiality refers to information relying on a speaker's perception. Indirect evidentiality can be divided into reported evidentiality and inferred (inferential) evidentiality. Reported information can be hearsay or folklore. Hearsay evidentiality has become grammaticalised in the Estonian language, occurring in the indirectal category.

The term *indirectal* relates to the category of the mode of reporting in the Estonian grammar, on which basis Rätsep established the system of moods in the Estonian language. The mode of reporting is a supra-moodal verb category whose two members – the direct mode of reporting or the directal and the mediated mode of reporting or the indirectal – can be differentiated on the basis of the source of information: in the former case the source of information is identified with the speaker, while in the latter

the speaker acts as a mediator. Direct modes of reporting are indicative, conditional and direct imperative. The indirectal is a verb category that morphologically occurs in two moods – quotative and reported imperative (Rätsep 1971:58–59).

A recent academic grammar of Estonian makes no reference to the indirectal as an independent verb category. The mode of reporting is one of the grammatical meanings expressed in a verb's mood category. The indirect mode of reporting or the reportive nature of information rendered by a sentence is expressed by the quotative mood; the reportive nature of a command is expressed by the jussive (Erelt et al. 1993:34–37). The morphological moods of Estonian rely on the opposition of direct and reported information. The Estonian quotative mood and the jussive express reported evidentiality which is a subtype of indirect evidentiality.

In actual language usage the function of indirectal moods is performed by several morphological, lexico-morphological and syntactic means. Traditional form-focused language description methods do not allow the treatment of linguistic means with identical functions as members of one and the same category which is why in the present article Rätsep's (1971:61) purely morphological category of mode of reporting is extended. I shall take into account both functional and semantic properties of a linguistic means to provide a uniform description of all forms of expression of the indirectal mode of reporting in literary Estonian regardless of whether they form a morphological paradigm or not.

Mode of reporting is a functional-semantic category whose members are, depending on the source of information, the directal and the indirectal which serve two types of communication aims: statement and command. The object of research of the present article is restricted to the means of expression of the reported or indirect statement in literary Estonian. The research is corpus-based; the analysed literary language material comprises journalistic and fiction texts over the period of one hundred years. Journalistic language and fiction are two central registers of literary language which, on the one hand, influence and shape and, on the other hand, reflect public literary usage. Qualitative research of those two gives an insight into the existing indirectal means of expression in the literary language. The aim is to explain and compare the share and dynamics of indirectal means of expression in literary Estonian based on the example of two sublanguages. The problems of direct (the imperative) and reported (the jussive) command have been discussed by Erelt (2002b) and Erelt and Metslang (2004).

Viewing the indirectal as a functional-semantic category enables a looser co-description of lexical and grammatical transitions and to point to the category's lexical (or lexical-syntactic etc.) expressions. By deciding that the indirectal is a grammatical category it should be accepted that certain lexical means have become grammaticalised, i.e. belong to grammar and not lexis. Grammaticalisation is a one-way transformation process where a fully meaningful linguistic unit becomes a linguistic unit carrying grammatical information and therefore loses its syntactic independence and concreteness of meaning. The paradigmatic status of the linguistic unit also changes (Hopper, Traugott 1993). Lexis-centred language description is offered by the cognitive paradigm which, besides focusing on lexical grammar as an inseparable

whole and the lexical basis of the meaning of grammar tools (systematic-functional approach) also talks about the lexical conditionality of grammar as a whole, as well as lexis and lexical meaning as the engines in grammatical formation and changes (e.g. Hoey 2005). The transformation process heading towards lexicon has been viewed as lexicalisation which mostly occurs in words and phrases with a syntactic function and whereby a linguistic expression carrying a grammatical meaning obtains an independent meaning and becomes part of the lexicon (e.g. Brinton, Traugott 2005).

## 2. Material

From the methodical point of view this is a qualitative corpus study of material drawn from the Corpus of Estonian Literary Language (CELL) of 1890–1990. Four periods were analysed: the 1890s, 1930s, 1970s and 1990s. The analysed journalistic and fiction texts from four periods comprise a total of eighty thousand words: ten thousand words from each text type in each period.

There are three groups of indirectal means of expression, depending on the syntactic construction where they typically occur. In elementary sentences the indirectal is expressed in the predicate or adpositional phrase; in complex sentences it occurs in the form of reported speech. Tables 1 and 2 list the means of expression of the indirect statement in Estonian by frequency and give an overview of the share and dynamics of one or another indirectal means of expression in the Estonian journalistic language and fiction to the others. In the following chapters of the article, the functional, semantic and formal description of the means of expression and the usage analysis of indirectal means of expressions over one hundred years are presented.

**Table 1. Forms of *indirect* statement used in journalistic texts**

| Form   |  | 1890 | 1930 | 1970 | 1990 | Total |
|--|--|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Predicate  | <i>nud-</i> , <i>tud</i> -participle                         | 55   | 1    | 0    | 0    | 56    |
|  | <i>vat</i> -marked quotative                                 | 11   | 19   | 1    | 1    | 32    |
|  | <i>da</i> -infinitive  | 32   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 32    |
|  | <i>kuulukse</i> , <i>kuulma</i> , <i>kuulduma</i>            | 28   | 3    | 0    | 0    | 31    |
|  | <i>da</i> -infinitive + <i>nud-</i> , <i>tud-</i> participle | 13   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 13    |
|  | <i>da</i> -infinitive + <i>ma</i> -infinitive                | 5    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 5     |
|  | <i>pidada</i> + <i>ma</i> -infinitive                        | 4    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 4     |
|  | <i>pidi</i> + <i>ma</i> -infinitive                          | 1    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 2     |
| indicative past perfect ( <i>oli</i> + <i>-nud</i> ) | 1  | 0    | 0    | 0    | 1    |       |
| Adpositional phrase                                  |  | 14   | 3    | 10   | 70   | 97    |
| Reported speech                                      | with verb  | 35   | 27   | 11   | 97   | 170   |
|  | with deverbal  | 3    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 3     |
| Total  |  | 202  | 54   | 22   | 168  | 446   |

Table 2. Forms of indirect statement used in fiction texts

| Form                |                                       | 1890 | 1930 | 1970 | 1990 | Total |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Predicate           | vat-marked quotative                  | 11   | 11   | 7    | 6    | 35    |
|                     | nud-, tud-participle                  | 2    | 6    | 1    | 6    | 15    |
|                     | da-infinitive + nud-, tud- participle | 2    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 6     |
|                     | indicative past perfect (oli + -nud)  | 1    | 0    | 1    | 3    | 5     |
|                     | pidi + ma-infinitive                  | 2    | 0    | 0    | 2    | 4     |
|                     | kuulukse, kuulma, kuulduma            | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1     |
|                     | da-infinitive                         | 1    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 1     |
| Adpositional phrase |                                       | 0    | 1    | 0    | 3    | 4     |
| Complex sentence    |                                       | 14   | 6    | 24   | 19   | 63    |
| Total               |                                       | 33   | 26   | 35   | 40   | 134   |

### 3. Expressing an indirect statement in the predicate

In the predicate an indirect statement is expressed by modal means and infinite verb forms and modal verbs functioning as predicates (see Table 3).

Table 3. Indirectal verb forms in literary Estonian

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Indirectal means of expression | quotative present and preterite<br>[olevat; olevat + nud-/tud-participle ~ olnuvat]<br><br>Indicative personal or impersonal present perfect<br>[on + nud-/tud-participle]<br><br>Indicative personal or impersonal past perfect<br>[oli + nud-/tud-participle]   |
| Indirectal infinite forms      | Predicate participle<br>[nud-/tud-participle]<br>da-infinitive<br>[1) -da; 2) -da + nud-/tud-participle]  |
| Indirectal modal verbs         | Past simple of the modal verb <i>pidama</i> with <i>ma</i> -infinitive<br>[pidi + ma-infinitive]<br><br><i>Da</i> -infinitive and <i>ma</i> -infinitive of the modal verb <i>pidama</i><br>[pidada + ma-infinitive]<br><br>Perception verb <i>kuulukse</i> with <i>vat</i> -infinitive<br>[kuulukse + vat-infinitive] |

#### 3.1. Moodal means

The quotative is a *vat*-marked mood whose main function is to present reported information. Reported information can be hearsay or rumour. Typological linguistics considers a reference to the source of information the most important

property of the evidentiality category (Aikhenvald 2004). Therefore Estonian can also be considered a language with grammatical evidentiality. The expression of evidentiality in Estonian has been studied by several authors, see e.g. Ereht (2002) and Ereht et al. (2006) and the references contained there.

The indirectal function is secondarily fulfilled by the compound tenses of the indicative. Their primary role is to express temporal relationship. The fact that the speaker has become distanced from the time of the event creates a situation of reported information and questions the validity of the information. In the indirectal function, the perfect form *on* of the auxiliary *olema* 'be' or the past perfect auxiliary *oli* may be omitted from the sentence and the indirectal meaning is attached to the past participle *-nud* functioning as a finite verb in the sentence (Künnap 1992, 1994, Muižniece et al. 1999).

### 3.2. *Infinite verb forms functioning as finite verbs*

In addition to the single past *nud*-participle, *da*-infinitive also functions as an indirectal finite verb. The form and function of the single past participle as a predicate is identical with the predicate participle which occurs in folklore and monological narrative and is characterised by diachronically independent development (Künnap 1992:209, Muižniece et al. 1999:527–529). The independent development version is supported by the grammaticalisation of the *vat*-marker of the quotative mood from a present participle construction (see Campbell 1991). Stolz (1991:45–49) considers the use of participles in indirectal meaning the principal shared characteristics of the Baltic language area. The North-Estonian *da*-infinitive quotative mood has, similarly with indirectal participle predicates, emerged from infinite constructions with perception or reporting verbs (Mägiste 1952).

### 3.3. *Indirectal modal verbs*

The indirectal links primarily to epistemic modality related to likelihood. The more indirect the information, the less credible it is, which is why in interpreting the meaning of a sentence the meanings of indirectal evidentiality and epistemic modality intertwine – one the one hand, one cannot be entirely sure about the reported information and, on the other hand, insecurity renders the source of information doubtful. Through an interim step of epistemic modality the indicative imperfect form *pidi* 'had to' of the deontic modal verb *pidama* 'must, have to' has grammaticalised into a post-modal quotative auxiliary (Ereht 2001). On the other hand, the modal verb has preserved its lexical meaning and expresses the meaning of the mood in the form *pidavat*.

There is no complete research on Estonian perception verbs although several grammaticalisation tendencies have been noted. *Näima*, *paistma*, both 'seem', *tunduma* 'feel' and lexicalised verb forms *kuulukse* 'hear', *näikse* 'seem', *tunnukse* 'feel' are complete modal verbs when they occur together with an infinite verb form (Rätsep 1978:188), which is generally partitive *-vat* of the present participle. Viitso (1976:157–158) has considered it necessary to include the punctual of the

grammatical category into the description of the inflection type of verb, “as *näikse*, *kuulukse*, *tunnukse* only describe what seems to be, has been heard or feels like at the moment of speaking.” On the other hand, imperative particles such as *vaata / vata / vat*, *vahi*, *kae* ‘look!’, *kuule / kule* ‘listen!’, have emerged from perception verbs (Metslang 2004:248). The perception verb form *kuulukse*, transitive verb *kuulma* ‘to hear’ and intransitive *kuulduma* have an indirect function.

### 3.4. Corpus analysis

The journalistic language of the 1890s is characterised by abundant forms of the indirect and ambiguity of meanings. There was no normative grammar of literary language; functional styles had not emerged yet and language use was greatly influenced by everyday language. Under the influence of German analytical grammar that affected Estonian for a long time, a number of auxiliary constructions were used, this explaining the German word order with the verb in the end of the sentence (1).

- (1) Hiljuti saa-nud ta wast kirja, mille-le were-ga nimi alla kirjuta-tud ol-nud.  
AJA1890\epo0103

recently get-PTCP s/he perhaps.PRCL letter.GEN what-ALL blood-COM  
name down write-PTCP be-PTCP

‘He is reported to have received a letter signed with blood recently.’

Back then, grammarians (E. Ahrens (1853), F. J. Wiedemann (1875), K. A. Hermann (1884)) advised to express a reported statement with the past participle (1), (2), *da*-infinitive (3), (6) or *vat*-marked form. The frequency of those forms in journalistic language is given in Table 1. As to the single *nud*-participle (1), (2) there is often ambiguity of meaning: a form can carry the function of either the indicative or quotative mood. In such cases context may help to understand, although not always. In example (1) particle *vast* helps to decide in favour of the indirect. In example (2) the writer is not a witness of the event and points to the fact that information is being reported by using the single past participle in the indirect function. The speaker also uses the past perfect form *oli olnud* to render the information.

- (2) Ta ol-i heina niit-ma-s olnud ja wihma aja-l ühe-s isa ja noorema wenna-ga kodu haka-nud mine-ma, kui kärgatus käi-nud ning ta eluküünla kustuta-nud. AJA1890\epo0105

s/he be-PST.3SG meadow.GEN scyth-mINF-INE be-PTCP and rain.GEN  
time-ADE one-INE father.GEN and younger.GEN brother-COM home  
begin\_to-PTCP go-mINF when lightning struck-PTCP and s/he.GEN  
lifecandle.GEN switch\_off-PTCP

‘He had been scything in the meadow and was about to go home with his father and brother when suddenly lightning struck and killed him.’

The indirect is also expressed by the *da*-infinitive construction with *ma*-infinitive (3), (4) which occurred in the texts of the 1890s only 5 times, as well as *nud*-/*tud*-participle (5) or *da*-infinitive (6), (36).

- (3) *Lehe-st saa-da kuus nummer-t aasta-s ilmu-ma ja maks-ta 1 rubla.* AJA1890\epo0105  
 newspaper get-dINF six issue-PRTV year-INE publish-mINF and cost-dINF 1 rouble.GEN  
 ‘The newspaper is reported to publish six issues a year and cost 1 rouble.’
- (4) *Kirja-s seis-nud, et kui Perier septembrikuu-l Lyoni sõida-b, ta aga warema-lt Caserio ära surma-ta on lask-nud, siis ka tema eluküünal säälsamas kustu-ma pida-da...* AJA1890\epo0103  
 letter-INE stand-PTCP that if Perier September-ADE Lyon.INE drive-3SG he but earlier-ABL Caserio.GEN off kill-dINF is let-PTCP then also he.GEN lifecandle very\_place switch\_off-mINF have\_to-dINF  
 ‘The letter is reported to have said that if Perier goes to Lyon in September, having had Caserio killed first, his own life will end at the very place...’
- (5) *Kuulu järele olla ajalehe toimetaja Bandi mõrtsukas Ajaccio-s kinni wõetud...* AJA1890\epo0103  
 hearsay.GEN according\_to over be.dINF newspaper.GEN editor Band.GEN killer Ajaccio-INE adhere take-PTCP  
 ‘According to hearsay newspaper editor Bandi’s killer has been arrested in Ajaccio...’
- (6) *Kewade poole teata-si-me, et hra H. Laas Tartu-s tahta põllutöö lehte asuta-da.* AJA1890\epo0105  
 spring.GEN toward notify-PST-1PL that mr Laas Tartu-INE want.dINF agricultural.GEN newspaper.PRTV establish-dINF  
 ‘In spring we wrote that mr. Laas from Tartu had been reported to want to start an agricultural newspaper.’

Although the grammar books of the early 19th century suggested a construction formed with the verb *pidama* as a counterpart for the German conjunctive, analysis data (5 cases out of 155) show that the Estonian literary language of the 1890s preferred simple native forms. The verb *pidama* is used in sentences in *da*-infinitive (4). In later periods the past simple form *pidi* with *ma*-infinitive became rooted (7), (16). In contemporary spoken language the use of the past simple form *pidi* with *ma*-infinitive is wide-spread in reporting events that (are believed to) happen in the present or future, or in predictions (Toomet 2000).

- (7) *Rezoldt pid-i kihlweo ka siis wõit-ma, kui wälja tule-ks...* AJA1890\epo0104  
 Rezoldt must-PST.3SG bet.GEN also then win-mINF if out come-COND  
 ‘Rezoldt was said to win the bet even if...’

The only instance of the use of the indirectal hearing verb *kuulukse* is example (8). In addition, the material contained certain constructions with the indirectal verb *kuulma*. Those constructions cannot be regarded as reported speech, as the verb *kuulma* cannot be considered a secondary speaking verb either (see Chapter 5). There were a total of 27 examples (Table 1) with the verb *kuulma* (in four different forms): 4 examples of *da*-infinitive (9), 14 examples of 1st person plural (10), 1

example of 3rd person plural (12) and 8 examples of 3rd person singular (11) of indicative present. In 20 sentences the verb *kuulma* occurred together with conjunctions *nagu* ‘as’ or *kuda ~ kuidas ~ kuidas* ‘how’. The source of information has been determined only in those sentences that contain 3rd person singular. In other cases the source of information is impersonal.

- (8) Liia sadu-de üle kuulukse rahwas-t nurise-wat. AJA1890\epo0104  
overmuch.GEN rain.PL.GEN about hear people-PRTV complain-QUOT  
‘People are reported to complain about too much rain.’
- (9) Kuda kuul-da, minna see asi waidleja-te kaebtuse pääle senati...  
AJA1890\epo0104  
how hear-dINF go.dINF that thing debater- PL.GEN complaint.GEN on  
senate.INE  
‘The parties of the dispute are reported to take the matter to the senate...’
- (10) Kuda ustawa-lt poolt kuule-me, pole sellekordse-d näitleja-d mitte kõik  
“Wanemuise” seltsi-st ol-nud, nagu meie kirjasaatja eksikombel teata-s,  
waid sääl on ka teisi näitlejai-d olnud. AJA1890\epo0105  
how trusty-ABL side hear-1PL is\_not this\_time.PL actor-s not all  
Wanemuine.GEN society-EL be-PTCP as our correspondent mistakenly  
notify-PST.3SG but there is also other.PRTV actor.PL-PRTV be-PTCP  
‘It has turned out that this time not all actors were from the society  
“Wanemuine” as was mistakenly reported by our correspondent, but there  
were other actors as well.’
- (11) Kuida “P.B.” kuule-b, on pr. Jantschewskaja palwe “Kolōwan”i toime-  
tamise ja wäljaandmise asjus tähelepane-ma-ta järe-tud. AJA1890\ole0107  
how P.B. hear-3SG is mrs Jantschewskaja request.GEN Kolōwan.GEN  
editing.GEN and issuing.GEN regarding take\_notice-mINF-ABE leave-  
PTCP  
““P.B.” has found out that mrs. Jantschewskaja’s request regarding editing  
and issuing “Kolōwan” has been ignored.’
- (12) Nagu “Nowosti” kuule-wad, tule-wat teedeministri käsu-l Wene raudteede  
saadiku-d 12. weebruari-l Peterburi-sse kokku... AJA1890\pos0804  
as Nowosti hear-3PL come-QOUT Minister\_of\_Roads.GEN order-ADE  
Russian.GEN railways.GEN representative.PL 12 February-ADE  
St.Petersburg-INE together  
‘According to “Nowosti” the Minister of Roads has summoned the  
representatives of Russian railways to St Petersburg on 12 February...’

Fiction texts contain fewer instances of reported statements per 10 000 words than journalistic texts. While the indirect forms employing *da*-infinitive and *nud*-participle were dominant in journalistic texts, the occurrence of quotative mood with *vat*-form was somewhat higher in fiction texts (13), (15). One sentence contains a predicate participle (14).

- (13) Wana poiss isegi oli tema-st kiit-nud, et weel kusagil julgema-t mees-t  
maailma-s tema silma otsa ei ole-wat juhtu-nud. AJA1890\pro0011

old boy even representative be.PST.3SG he-EL praise-PTCP that yet somewhere most\_daring-PRTV man-PRTV world-INE he.GEN eye.GEN upon NEG be-QOUT come\_to\_pass-PTCP

‘The bachelor himself is said to have praised him as the most daring man he had ever seen.’

- (14) Laew, mis min-d nüüd kandi-s, tul-nud Hiina merest ja läi-nud Madakaskari kaudu Ahwrika randa. AJA1890\pro0019

ship that I-PRTV now carry-PST.3SG come-PTCP Chinese sea-EL and go-PTCP Madagaskar.GEN through Africa.GEN shore.INE

‘The ship that was carrying me now is said to have come from the Chinese sea and headed to Africa through Madagaskar.’

In three cases, a construction with *da*-infinitive has been used as an indirectal. One or two instances of this trend can be found in the fiction texts of all periods. Sentence (15) contains both a *vat*-marked and *da*-infinitive indirectal.

- (15) Ta nimeta-b ennast alatuma-ks inimese-ks, et ta seda tege-ma pida-wat, aga ta ei wõi-da teisiti. AJA1890\pro0081

s/he.GEN call-3SG himself-PRTV lowest-TRNSL person-TRNSL that s/he that.PRTV do-mINF have\_to-QUOT but s/he NEG can-dINF otherwise

‘They say he is calling himself the lowest person for having to do this but they also say he just can't help it.’

The only instance of the verb *pidama* is in past simple (16).

- (16) Tartu pidi kaitse-tud saa-ma ... AJA1890\pro0029

Tartu must-PST.3SG protect-PTCP get-mINF

‘Tartu is reported to get protection...’

The journalistic texts of the 1930s contain almost four times fewer cases of the indirectal than the earlier period. Predominantly (19 cases out of 24), sentences contain quotative mood with the *vat*-marker recommended in Muugi's grammar (1928:103) and orthological dictionary (1933). It has two tenses: present (17) and preteritum, which is a perfect tense, formed from the quotative auxiliary *olevat* and the past participle of the main verb (18). The synthetic *nuvat*-quotative suggested as a neologist form instead of the latter never became rooted in literary language and no instances of the *nuvat*-form were found in the analysed material. Other morphological indirectal forms have retreated from journalistic language.

- (17) Malaga wiimas-te teade-te järgi ole-wat poliitilisi-l põhjusi-l mahalastute arw palju suurem... ESMA\esma302

Malaga latest.PL.GEN message.PL.GEN according be-QOUT political.PL-ADE reason.PL-ADE executed.PL.GEN number much bigger

‘According to the latest news from Malaga, the number of those shot for political reasons is much bigger...’

- (18) Selle järele ole-wat walitsuswägede lennukid soorita-nud 65 pommitamis-retke, walitsuswastaste õhujõud aga 67. Seejuures ole-wat alla tulista-tud üheksa walitsuse lennuki-t, kuna walitsuswastaste kaotused tõus-wat 32 lennuki-le. ESMA\esma226

that.GEN according be-QUOT governmental.PL.GEN airforce.PL completed-PTCP 65 bombing\_mission.PRTV antigovernment.PL.GEN airforce but 67 whereas be-QUOT down shot-PTCP nine government.GEN aircraft-PRTV while antigovernment.PL.GEN losses.PL arise-QUOT 32 aircraft-ALL

‘After that, government airforce is reported to have completed 65 bombing missions and the antigovernment airforce 67, whereas 9 government aircraft are reported to have been shot down while the losses of the antigovernment forces are said to amount to 32 aircraft.’

Sentence (19) contains both a construction with the verb *pidama* and an impersonal past participle. Those two are the only examples in the journalistic texts of the 1930s expressing the indirectal in the predicate in addition to the vat-marked quotative mood per 10 007 words. While 55 cases of the single past participle were found in the journalistic texts of the 1890s, only one instance occurred in the material of the 1930s (*wallutatud* in example (19)).

- (19) Nädala keskel pid-i-d walitsuswäed ole-ma saawuta-nud rea tähelepanu-wäärsei-d wõite, kusjuures walluta-tud ka Toledo linna, kuid nüüd teata-wad walitsuswastased, et... ESMA\esma241  
week.GEN middle must-PST.3PL government\_forces.PL be-mINF gain-PTCP line.GEN remarkable-PRTV victory.PL.GEN whereby conquer-PTCP also Toledo city.PRTV but now notify-3PL antigovernment.PL that  
‘In the middle of the week government forces were reported to have gained a number of important victories, including conquering the city of Toledo, but antigovernment forces have reported that...’

The reportive construction with the transitive verb *kuulma* characteristic of the journalistic language of the 1890s occurs in the journalistic texts of the 1930s only once and the intransitive verb *kuulduma* twice.

- (20) Siis luge-si-me ja kuul-si-me Jugoslaavia naiskongressi-lt, et tei-l on asuta-tud kodumajanduskoda, mis koosne-b üksnes naiste-st. ESMA\esma222  
then read-PST-3PL and hear-PST-3PL Jugoslavia.GEN women\_conference-ABL that you.PL-ADE is found-PTCP home\_economics\_chamber what consist-3SG only woman.PL-EL  
‘We then read and heard from the Yugoslavian women conference that you have founded a home economics chamber that consists of women only.’
- (21) Pariisi börsi-l on ärewad ajad, kuuldu-b, et Prantsuse frank lange-b uuesti. ESMA\esma239  
Paris.GEN stock\_market-ADE is troubled.PL time.PL hear-3PL that French.GEN frank fall-3PL again  
‘Times are troubled at the Parisian stock market as the French frank is expected to fall again.’

In fiction texts the dominance of the vat-marked quotative mood is not so evident. In sentence (22) it is accompanied by *da*-infinitive indirectal. As to the use of the past participle, an essential change has taken place compared to the

forms present in the fiction texts of the 1890s. By following the pattern of folklore, the single past participle is now employed as a stylistic tool; a random sample consisting of 10 002 words contained 6 instances of predicate participle, two of them in example (23).

- (22) Ta olla ju ka naise võt-nud, aga naine ole-vat endine niisugune ...  
 ILU1938\ram0064  
 he be.dINF CLC too wife.GEN take-PTCP but woman.GEN be-QUOT  
 former that\_kind  
 ‘They say he’s got married, but the wife is known to be a former...’
- (23) Eks naised läi-nud siis ühte tallu kokku ja palu-nud kõvasti Jumala-t, et ta pehmema-t ilma anna-ks ... ILU1937\ram0044  
 PRCL woman.PL go.PST-PTCP then one.INE farm.INE and pray-PTCP  
 hardly God-PRTV that he nicer-PRTV weather.GEN give-COND  
 ‘The women had gathered on a farm and prayed to God for nicer weather...’

The material contains one example (24) of the indirectal use of the hearing verb. Texts from more recent periods do not contain the hearing verb in the indirectal function.

- (24) Ol-i kuul-da, et Jüri-t on näh-tud mingisuguse võõra naise-ga.  
 ILU1938\ram0064  
 be-PST.3SG hear-dINF that Jüri-PRTV is see-PTCP some\_kind  
 strange.GEN woman-COM  
 ‘Jüri was said to have been seen with a strange woman.’

The journalistic texts of the **1970s** contain only one example (25) of the use of the grammatical quotative mood per 10 002 words.

- (25) ... teata-s Hiina RV valitsus, et ta on tuumarelvakatsetuste keelustamise vastu, sest see jät-vat ta ilma võimaluse-st tugevda-da Hiina kaitsevõime-t. AJA1970\ed0039  
 announce-3SG China.GEN People\_Government.GEN that he is  
 nuclear\_testing.PL.GEN ban.GEN against because it leave-QUOT  
 he.GEN without possibility-EL strengthen-dINF China.GEN  
 defensive\_potential-PRTV  
 ‘...the People’s Government of China announced that it was against banning nuclear testing because it would allegedly deprive China of its defensive potential.’

Fiction texts contain fewer instances of reported statements compared to earlier periods, but the range of indirectal means of expressions has not decreased in language usage. The *vat*-marked quotative mood (26) continues to dominate and there are two cases of the use of the indirectal *da*-infinitive (28). The narrative predicate participle that has disappeared from journalistic language is still present in fiction (27). In example (29) the past perfect of the secondary speaking verb of the reporting clause can be regarded as indirectal.

- (26) Ta vaja-vat hoolitsu-st ja ta-l ei ole-vat keda-gi, kes taha-b end pühenda-da... ILU1970\ilu0078

he need-QUOT taking\_care-EL and he-ADE NEG be-QUOT anyone-CLC who want-3SG himself.PRTV devote-dINF

‘They say he needs taking care of and doesn’t have anyone willing to devote himself to...’

- (27) “Eks see ol-nud sedaegu jah, kui kaks kratti, tulesabad särina-l taga, Mätasjärve kaeva-si-d,” ütle-s vanaema... ILU1970\ilu0088

PRCL it be-PTCP that\_time yes when two devil.PRTV fire\_tale.PL sparking-ADE behind Mätasjärv.PRTV dig-PST-3PL say-PST.3PL grandmother...

‘‘That’s how it had been when two devils had been digging Lake Mätasjärve with their tails sparking,’’ grandmother said...’

- (28) Aga kasu? olla preili küsi-nud. ILU1970\ilu0053

but benefit be.dINF miss ask-PTCP

‘But what about benefits? the miss had reputedly asked.’

- (29) Margit oli tähenda-nud, et maailm arene-b omaenese seaduste järgi... ILU1970\ilu0069

Margit be.PST.3SG notice-PTCP that world evolve-3SG its\_own.GEN law.PL.GEN according\_to

‘Margit had noticed that the world evolves according to its own laws...’

The journalistic texts of the 1990s also contain only one example of expressing a reported statement in the predicate (30). The adessive indirectal (see Chapter 4) that occurs in the material of the 1970s, has become deeply rooted in the journalistic texts of the 1990s. Sentence (30) contains two cases of the adessive indirectal (*sõnul, väitel*).

- (30) Kuid et iga-l firma-l saa-b Tederi sõnul olla vaid üks ärinimi, ei ole-vat Trendy EWI Grupi kaasamine kriminaalprotsessi tema väitel mille-ga-gi põhjenda-tud. AJAE1990ar0005

but that each-ADE company-ADE can-3PL Teder.GEN according\_to\_word be.dINF only one business\_name NEG be-QUOT Trendy EWI Group.GEN involving criminal\_procedure.GEN he.GEN according\_to\_statement what-COM-CLC founded-PTCP

‘But as each company can, according to Teder’s own words, have only one business name, involving Trendy EWI Group into the criminal procedure is completely unfounded.’

In fiction texts the use of indirectal has been stable; the use of form is slightly more versatile. Next to the *vat*-marked quotative mood (31), there are instances of the narrative single past participle (32). Archaic style is expressed by the *da*-infinitive verb form *olla* (33). Past perfect, which is now also being used to express the indirectal in literary language (33), is the most wide-spread form in the spoken language of the given period (Toomet 2002:253). Although the scope of this article does not cover indirectal command, its use can be seen in example (31) which employs the jussive form *tulgu*.

- (31) Ütle-s, et minu-l ole-vat amet selge ja tul-gu mina tema-le appi. ILU1990\ilu0223

say-PST.3SG that I-ADE be-QUOT profession clear and come-JUSS I he-ALL help-INE

‘He said that I was known to be familiar with the profession and should help him.’

- (32) Pere ol-nud kõik koos ja istu-nud parajasti söögilaua-s ja äkki haka-nud eeskoja-s hirmus lärm peale. ILU1990\ilu0223

Family be-PTCP all together and sit-PTCP just\_then dinner\_table-INE and suddenly begin-PTCP anteroom-INE terrible noise on

‘The family was said to have been all together, sitting at the table, when suddenly an awful noise started in the hall.’

- (33) ...kohalikud “viikingid” olla sealt sada kakskümmend “kolonne-t” piiritus-t ära veda-nud. ILU1990\ilu0249

local viking.PL be.dINF from\_there hundred twenty unit-PRTV spirit-PRTV away carry-PTCP

‘...the local “Vikings” were said to have taken away from there one hundred and twenty units of spirit.’

- (34) Herman oli öel-nud-ki, et ju tema on-gi see Anna paratamatu saatus. Anna oli selle peale vait jää-nud... ILU1990\ilu0284

Herman be.PST.3SG say-PTCP-CLC that CLC he is-CLC this Anna.GEN inevitable faith Anna be.PST.3SG this.GEN on silent become-PTCP

‘Herman had said that he probably was Anna’s inevitable faith. Anna had then become silent...’

#### 4. Expressing an indirect statement with an adpositional phrase

Reported statements are expressed by adpositions *kohaselt*, *järgi*, both ‘according to’ *arvates*, *meelest*, *arust* ‘according to opinion’, *sõnul* ‘according to words’, *väitel* ‘according to statement’, *teatel* ‘according to message’, *hinnangul* ‘according to judgement’, *andmetel* ‘according to data’, etc. The source of information in an adpositional phrase and synonymous constructions is marked by a genitive modifier or a modifying phrase. The modifier of an adposition can be a) noun, e.g. *kuulu järgi* 0, *seaduse järgi* (39); b) proper noun modifying a noun, e.g. *Tiit Salumäe sõnade kohaselt* 0, or c) independent proper noun, e.g. *Tederi sõnul* (30); d) personal, e.g. *tema väitel* (30), or e) possessive pronoun, nt *oma sõnul* (35) (the referent of the latter is revealed by context – *Ehala* in example (35) and *Teder* in example (30)).

- (35) Ehala ei tea oma sõnu-l seni-ni, kuidas Künnap teda oma ansambli-sse kutsu-da oska-s. AJAE1990\ar0019

Ehala NEG know own according\_to\_word-ADE still-TRM how Künnap he.PRTV own band-INE call-dINF know\_how-PST.3SG

‘According to his own words, Ehala still doesn’t know how Künnap asked him to join the band.’

The function of an adposition can be adopted by a verb form (Uuspõld 2001, see also Jaakola 1997). For example, the verb form (gerund) *arvates* of the verb *arvama* ‘opine’ is a different part of speech and as an adposition takes a genitive modifier and expresses the indirectal. Synonymous with the adposition *arvates* are postpositions *meelest* and *arust* which did not occur in the analysed material.

The journalistic texts of the 1990s are strikingly abundant in constructions that have the same function as adpositional phrases containing *järgi*, *kohaselt* and *sõnutsi* ‘according to words’, pointing to someone who is making a statement or to another source of information. In all cases the main word of the construction is a singular adessive noun which does not change freely in number and is not referential, e.g. *väite-l* ‘statement’, *sõnu-l* ‘word’, *ütluse-l* ‘utterance’, *teate-l* ‘message’, *kinnituse-l* ‘assertion’, *hinnangu-l* ‘judgement’, *arvamuse-l* ‘opinion’, *ettepaneku-l* ‘proposal’. The only exception is, of course, the plural pair of parallel forms *andme-te-l* / *andmei-l* ‘data’. An adessive noun can be replaced by an adpositional phrase whose main word is adposition *järgi* and *kohaselt*, e.g. *väitel* and *väite järgi* / *kohaselt*, *sõnul* and *sõnade järgi* / *kohaselt*, *hinnangul* and *hinnangu järgi* / *kohaselt*, etc. Although the stem of the adessive noun is substantive, it semantically relates to activity and expresses speaking, e.g. a precondition for the use of the adpositional construction *Tederi sõnul* ‘according to Teder’s words’ in example (30) is an act of speaking (*Teder sõnas*, et... ‘Teder said that’). Based on form and function I shall call the construction *the adessive indirectal* whose adessive main word I shall treat as an adposition. Relying on the meaningful link of nouns *sõna*, *väide*, *teade*, *kinnitus*, etc. with a verb expressing the act of speaking and the productive template characteristic of derivation, the emergence of the adessive indirectal can be explained by deverbal derivation from speaking verbs. In that case *väitel*, *sõnul*, *ütlusel*, *teatel*, etc. have no direct semantic formational link with the lexical meaning of the adessive substantive and we are dealing with the nominalisation of an event of speaking (see also Kasik 2002:214). Procedural meaning also explains why those expressions do not change in number and why they are non-referential. (For adessive adverbial constructions, see Sahkai 2006.)

#### 4.1. Corpus analysis

A characteristic of the adpositional constructions in the journalistic texts of the 1890s is that information is presented as rumour; by using substantive as a modifier of the adposition, (*kuuld* 0, (36), *teade* (37)) the actual source of information remains vague. The substantive *kuuld* : *kuulu* ‘hearsay, rumour(s), story or stories that are not entirely reliable’ usually occurs in the set phrase *kuulu järele~järgi*. Synonymous with it is the same-stem adverb *kuuldavasti* ‘according to rumours or hearsay, as they say, as can be heard’ (EKSS II, 4:627), which can be found in the journalistic texts of the 1930s (40). The adpositional *sõnutsi* ‘according to [sb’s] words’ formed by the adverbial suffix *-tsi* was not found in the corpus material.

- (36) Sügise-sed tagavarawäeliste harjutused jää-da kolera kartuse pärast tänawu pidama-ta, teata-wad päälinna lehed kuulu järele. AJA1890\epo0104  
autumn-ADJ.PL reserve.PL.GEN exercise.PL remain-DINF cholera.GEN fear.GEN for\_reason.POSTP this\_year held-mINF-ABE report-3PL capital.GEN newspaper.PL rumour.GEN according\_to  
'This autumn's reserve exercises are to be cancelled for fear of cholera, the capital's newspapers report according to hearsay.'
- (37) Üleüldine kolerahaigete arw päälinna-s on uuemate teatete järele 362 suur. AJA1890\epo0104  
total cholera\_patient.PL.GEN number capital-INE is latest.PL.GEN news.PL.GEN according\_to 362 big  
'The total number of cholera patients in the capital is 362 according to the latest news.'

Until the 1990s, neither journalistic nor fiction texts contained instances of adpositions clearly indicating an indirectal meaning. Before the 1990s, the adpositions *järgi* ~ *järele* and *kohaselt* rather referred to laws or other texts. In the journalistic texts of the 1890s the adposition *järele* refers to a law in 10 cases, emphasising the authoritative nature of the source.

The analysed fiction texts contained no instances of expressing a reported statement with an adpositional phrase.

In the journalistic texts of the 1930s the extent of expressing a reported statement with an adpositional phrase has not changed compared to the previous period. The source of information is still unspecified, e.g. *Malaga wiimaste teadete järgi* (17). As in the 1890s, the adposition *järgi-järele* is used to refer to law (38). In 1890s the only adposition used was *järele*; by 1930s it has been replaced by the adposition *järgi*, although in sentence (38) *järele* also occurs.

- (38) Wenemaa-l praktiseeritawa kombe järele, milline abielu aga pole makse-w Hispaania ega ka Inglise seaduse järgi. ESMA\esma301  
Russia-ADE practice.GEN custom.GEN according\_to such marriage is.NEG valid-PRTCP Spain.GEN neither also England.GEN law.GEN according\_to  
'...according to the customs followed in Russia, although such a marriage is not valid according to the laws of Spain or England.'

The adverb *kuuldavasti* has been used to express a reported statement twice (39).

- (39) Kuuldavasti pee-takse preaegu läbirääkimisi hispaania tenori Alcaide külaskäikude üle Tallinna. ESMA\esma293  
according\_to\_rumour hold-IMPS.PRS at\_this\_moment negotiation.PL.PRTV Spanish.GEN tenor.GEN Alcaide.GEN visit.PL.GEN over Tallinn.INE  
'According to hearsay they say that there are negotiations about the Spanish tenor Alcaide's visit to Tallinn.'

Fiction texts contain one indirectal adposition – *arvates* – in sentence (40). However, this is not a clear case of the use of indirectal, as it raises the theoretical issue of whether someone's own thoughts can be reported or not. Kerge (1979) has

viewed this problem in relation with reported speech and drawn the line between the first and the second person – it is impossible to refer to someone else's thoughts unless they have been voiced.

- (40) Sisulise-lt pole minu arvates mingi-t muudatus-t. ILU1938\ram0066  
in\_essence-ABL is.NEG I.GEN according\_to\_opinion nothing-PRTV  
change-PRTV  
'I don't think there has been any change.'

The journalistic texts of the 1970s contain the first examples of the adessive indirectal: 1 instance of the adposition *teatel* (41) and 5 instances of *andmeil* (42).

- (41) Informatsiooniagentuuride teatel ei ole praktilise-lt mingi-t lootus-t lei-da kokkuvarisenud hoone alt ellujäänui-d. AJA1970\ed0048  
news\_agency.PL.GEN according\_to\_message NEG be practically-ABL  
nothing-PRTV hope-PRTV find-dINF collapsed.GEN building.GEN  
under survivor.PL-PRTV  
'According to news agencies, there is practically no hope of finding survivors under the debris of the collapsed building.'
- (42) NSV Liidu Teaduste Akadeemia radioloogiakomisjoni andmeil oli 1958. aasta-ks Jaapani-s sadene-nud maapinna-le... AJA1970\ed0039  
Soviet.GEN Union.GEN Science.PL.GEN Academy.GEN  
radiology\_committe.GEN according\_to\_data is.PST.3SG 1958 year-  
TRNSL Japan-INE fall\_PTCP ground\_ALL  
'According to the radiology committee of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, by 1958 had fallen to the ground of Japan...'

There is one instance of the adposition *järgi* (43), and for the first time the adposition *kohaselt* (44) occurs. As in earlier periods, the adpositional construction is used refer not to a person as the source of information, but to a document, e.g. law, report, project, etc.

- (43) ÜRO Teaduskomitee aruande järgi läks iga-l aasta-l... AJA1970\ed0039  
UN.GEN Science\_Committee.GEN report according\_to went every-ADE  
year-ADE...  
'According to UN Science Committee's report, every year...'
- (44) ...Nõukogude sõjalaevad sõit-si-d kokkuleppe kohaselt 10. veebruari-l Havanna sadama-sse. AJA1970\ed0048  
Soviet.PL.GEN warship.PL sail-PST-3PL agreement.GEN according\_to  
10th February-ADE Havanna.GEN port-INE  
'The Soviet warships ... entered, according to the agreement, Havanna port on 10 February.'

Fiction texts contain no instances of the use of the adpositional indirectal.

The journalistic texts of the 1990s contain only one quotative mood form (30); the same sentence contains two instances of referential adpositional phrase, i.e. *Tederi sõnul* and *tema väitel*. The adessive indirectal that emerged in the 1970s had become deeply rooted in the journalistic language of the 1990s. In comparison with earlier periods it can be said that in the 1990s there was a pragmatic change in information exchange and referring to the source of information became

obligatory. This statement is supported by a sudden increase in the use of reported speech which had probably been the basis for the emergence and spreading of the adessive indirectal that first occurs in the material of the 1970s. The fiction texts contained only one instance of the adessive indirectal and even this occurred in a social context characteristic of journalistic texts (50).

Compared to earlier periods, the use of other adpositions has also increased: 13 instances of *kohaselt*, 9 instances of *järgi* and 3 instances of *arvates*. There is a tendency for the source of information to become more concrete, e.g. the adposition *järgi* is still used to refer to law but also to persons as the source of information (45). The adposition *kohaselt* 0 also refers to law, as well as to a personal source of information (49).

- (45) Jaak Joala meenutuste järgi oli see kuuekümnendate keske-l... AJAE1990\ar0019  
Jaak Joala.GEN recollection.PL.GEN according\_to is.PST.3SG it sixties.PL.GEN middle-ADE  
'According to Jaak Joala's recollections, it happened in the mid-sixties.'
- (46) Haaveli arvates on ETK kauplusekettide edu kaupmeeste-le hea-ks julgustuse-ks... AJAE1990\ar0020  
Haavel.GEN according\_to\_opinion is ETK.GEN supermarket\_chain.GEN success merchant.PL-ALL good-TRNSL encourage-TRNSL  
'According to Haavel's opinion, the success of ETK supermarket chains is very encouraging for merchants...'
- (47) Esialgse kava kohaselt sünni-b uus kindlustusselts Leedu-s järgmise aasta alguse-s. AJAE1990\ar0008  
initial.GEN plan.GEN according\_to birth-3SG new insurance\_company Lithuania\_INE next.GEN year.GEN beginning-INE  
'According to the initial plan, the new insurance company will be founded in Lithuania at the beginning of the next year.'
- (48) Krediidiasutuste seaduse kohaselt laiene-vad muud ettevõtlus-t reguleerivad õigusaktid krediidiasutuste-le... AJAE1990\ar0015  
Credit\_Institution.PL.GEN law.GEN according\_to spread-3PL other.PL.PRTV entrepreneurship-PRTV regulating.PL.PRTV legislative\_document.PL.PRTV credit\_institutions.PL-ALL  
'According to the Credit Institutions Act, legislative documents regulating other entrepreneurship are applied to credit institutions...'
- (49) ...Tiit Salumäe sõnade kohaselt on valitsuse-ga asjaajamine küllalt-ki külm ning aeganõudev toiming.  
Tiit Salumäe.GEN word.PL.GEN according\_to is government-COM doing\_business rather-CLC cold and time-consuming activity  
'According to Tiit Salumäe, doing business with the government is a rather cold and time-consuming activity.'

Relying on the empirical material it can be concluded that the adessive indirectal is a linguistic means characteristic of journalistic language. Kasik's (2002, 2005) qualitative treatment of the syntax of news shows that pieces of news

are texts in texts, i.e. the text of news is not produced by a journalist but press representatives, PR secretaries and other officials who communicate with the press and whose task is to merely mediate text. To an ever greater extent, pieces of news consist of direct quotes or near-quote references, which is also reinforced by the material used for the present article. Journalists' role in communicating information is minimal; they mostly just write down what others say to them. Their role is to let the readers know what they have been told and what other people have had to say about it. This means that a journalist is a mediator of information. The same trend can be detected in Finnish journalistic language (Kalliokoski 2005:23–25).

In fiction texts, the function of adpositions is based on examples (50), (51), 0, more indirect than in earlier periods.

- (50) Mis puutu-b Venemaa kaotuste-sse, siis oli-d need Vene poole hinnangul 48000 surnu-t ja 158000 haavatu-t. ILU1990\ilu0196  
 what concern-3SG Russia.GEN loss.PL-INE then be.PST-3PL they  
 Russia.GEN side.GEN according\_to\_judgement 48000 dead-PRTV and  
 158000 wounde-PRTV  
 'As to Russia's losses, they were, according to Russians, 48,000 dead and 158,000 wounded.'
- (51) Sest kuulu järgi leid-nud ta aastate eest talu tühja-na ja sama laoki-l eest ning asu-nud lihtsalt sisse... ILU1990\ilu0068  
 because rumour.GEN according\_to find-PTCP s/he year.PL.GEN behalf  
 farm.GEN empty-ESS and as\_same\_as neglected-ADE behalf and settle-  
 PTCP simply in  
 'They say that he had found the farm empty and neglected many years ago and simply settled in...'
- (52) Seltsimees Suursoo arvates on lihtsam olla juht kui alluv... ILU1990\ilu0245  
 Mr Suuroo.GEN according\_to\_opinion is easier be.dINF leader than  
 subordinate  
 'Mr Suursoo thinks that it is easier to be a leader than a subordinate...'

### 5. Expressing an indirect statement in a complex sentence. Reported speech

Reported speech is a linguistic presentation based or known to be based on another linguistic presentation. Reported speech in Estonian has been studied by Kerge (1979). Reported speech can constitute a sentence or a text passage longer than a sentence. It is hard to draw a line between reported speech and other types of reporting. While reported speech functions on the text level and covers every situation and line in the reported text, the indirect means of expression are viewed as a grammatical phenomenon which is expressed separately in each predicate and is considered part of morphosyntax. This article does not view textual reported speech; it focuses on the lexical-syntactic occurrence of reported speech in literary Estonian.

The syntactic structural parts of reported speech are the reporting clause and the reported part, whereas the latter is subordinate to the reporting clause as an object sentence. The reporting clause can be at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a passage and contains a speaking or thinking verb referring to the reporting situation or a nominal derived from the verb, e.g. *jutt* ‘story’, *sõna* ‘word’, *märkus* ‘remark’, *teade* ‘message’. Reported speech also includes mediations with impersonal references if those provide the time and place of reporting. Table 1 distinguishes between reported speech with verbal and deverbal reporting clause; the analysed fiction texts contained no reported speech with a deverbal reporting clause.

Speaking verbs are divided into primary verbs, with speaking as reporting in the foreground (e.g. *rääkima* ‘speak to’, *kõnelema* ‘to talk’, *jutustama* ‘to tell’, *üttelema* ‘to say’, *mainima* ‘to mention’ etc.), and secondary verbs which mark activities that take place while speaking, although the speaker has a different aim expressed by speaking (e.g. *noomima* ‘to admonish’, *kaebama* ‘to appeal’, *kiitma* ‘to praise’, *lubama* ‘to promise’ etc.) (Rätsep 1972). The dynamics of primary and secondary speaking verbs in journalistic and fiction texts is illustrated in Table 4.

**Table 4. Reported speech in journalistic and fiction texts**

|       | Primary speaking verb |               | Secondary speaking verb |               | Total |    |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------|----|
|       | Journalistic texts    | Fiction texts | Journalistic texts      | Fiction texts | JT    | FT |
| 1890s | 17                    | 5             | 18                      | 9             | 35    | 14 |
| 1930s | 14                    | 5             | 10                      | 1             | 24    | 6  |
| 1970s | 9                     | 13            | 2                       | 11            | 11    | 24 |
| 1990s | 87                    | 9             | 10                      | 10            | 97    | 19 |
| Total | 127                   | 32            | 40                      | 31            | 167   | 63 |

### 5.1. Corpus analysis

In the journalistic texts of the 1890s there were 35 instances of reported speech, whereas in 11 cases the same sentence contained other indirectal means of expression as in sentence (6). The share of using primary and secondary speaking verbs in reported speech is equal. In several examples, the primary speaking verb is not used in relation with the speaker or mediator of the message; instead, the verb is modified by the means of communication – a telegram (53), newspaper or message.

- (53) Hiljuti wast teata-s telegramm, et sõda kahtlemata läwe-l seis-ta.  
 AJA1890\epo0103  
 recently perhaps.PRCL announce-PST.3PL telegram taht war  
 no\_doubtingly limen-ADE stand-dINF  
 ‘Recently a telegram reported that war was inescapable.’

The journalistic language of later periods, especially the 1990s, is characterised by expressing the indirect statement with an adpositional phrase and the

emergence of a new construction, the adessive indirectal. The material of the 1890s and 1930s does not contain any instances of the adessive indirectal. There are, however, some examples of the use of the so-called noun bases for expressing the indirectal (deverbal nominals *väide* ‘statement’, *teade* ‘message’, *ütlus* ‘utterance’, *kinnitus* ‘assertion’, *arvamus* ‘opinion’, *hinnang* ‘judgement’, substantives *andmed* ‘data’, *sõna* ‘word’ with the latter also having been converted into the verb *sõnama* ‘to say a word’ which occurred in 6 cases of reported speech in the journalistic texts of the 1990s).

- (54) Suure imestuse-ga luge-si-n “E. P.” Nr. 24 kelle-gi g. teatus-t, et säälse karskuse seltsi “Edasi” pidu-l, teise-l Suwiste püha-l, “Wanemuise” näitlejad mängimas ol-nud. AJA1890\epo0105  
big.GEN amazed-COM read-PST-1SG E.P. No. 24 someone.GEN-CLC g. statement-PRTV that there.GEN abstinence.GEN society.GEN Edasi.GEN party-ADE second-ADE Whitsuntide-GEN feast-ADE Wanemuine.GEN actor.PL playing be.PTCP  
‘I was amazed to read from “E. P.” No 24 someone called g’s statement that the actors of Wanemuine had been playing at the party of the abstinence society “Edasi” on the second feast of Whitsuntide.’

In fiction texts there were 14 instances of reported speech; 9 of them contained a speaking verb.

In the journalistic texts of the 1930s the share of reported speech is already smaller than in the previous period. There are no striking changes as to expressing a reported statement with a complex sentence. The double expression of the indirectal has diminished: in the journalistic texts of the 1890s the indirectal was found together with reported speech in 11 instances; in 1930 only 3 examples were found (55).

- (55) Abessiinia asekuninga marssal Graziani terwisliku seisukorra kohta teata takse Rooma-st, et juba warsti ole-wat ooda-ta täielikku terwenemis-t. ESMA\esma242  
Abyssinia.GEN vice\_king.GEN marshal Grazian.GEN healthy.GEN condition.GEN about report-IMPS.PRS Rome-EL that already soon be-QUOT expect-dINF complete.PRTV recovering-PRTV  
‘Rome reports that marshal Graziani of the Abyssinian viceroy is expected to regain his health completely.’

Fiction texts contained 6 instances of reported speech; 5 of them contained a primary speaking verb.

In the journalistic texts of the 1970s, the indirect statement occurred in the form of reported speech in 11 cases; 9 of them contained a primary speaking verb. Sentences (56) and (57) contain secondary compound verbs *arvamus* ~ *lootust avaldama*; sentence (57) also contains the non-finite gerund construction *kõneldes*.

- (56) Hotelli einelauapidaja avalda-s arvamus-t, et Tartu on Baltikumi-s... AJA1970\ed0046  
hotel.GEN buffet\_owner express-PST.3SG opinion-PRTV that Tartu is Baltic\_state-INE

‘The hotel’s buffet owner thought that Tartu was in the Baltic states...’

- (57) Avatseremoonia-l kõnel-des rõhuta-s akadeemik Alvar Aalto kunsti ja kunstitegelaste vastutus-t ühiskonna ees ning avalda-s lootus-t, et kunst teeni-b ka edaspidi rahvas-t. AJA1970\ed0031

opening\_ceremony-ADE speak-GER emphasise-PST.3SG academy\_member Alvar Aalto art.GEN and artist.Pl.GEN responsibility-PRTV society.GEN before and express-PST.3SG hope-PRTV that art serve-3SG also further people-PRTV

‘Speaking at the opening ceremony, academy member Alvar Aalto emphasised the responsibility of art and artists before society and expressed a hope that art will continue to serve people.’

As to fiction texts, the 1970s is the only period with more instances of reported speech than in journalistic texts (24 and 11 respectively).

In the journalistic texts of the 1990s there is a noticeable increase in the use of reported speech compared to earlier periods. This has been the foundation for the emergence of a new type of reporting, the adessive indirectal (see Chapter 4). The accompanying phrase of reported speech is strongly dominated by primary speaking verbs (87 instances). A secondary speaking verb has been used in 10 sentences.

In fiction, no considerable changes regarding reported speech were found.

## 6. Conclusion

In the article, the indirectal is viewed as a member of the category of mode of reporting. The mode of reporting is a functional-semantic category covering a language system and its two members can be differentiated by the relationship between the speaker and the source of information. In an indirectal reporting situation the speaker is the mediator of information; the source of information is a person not present in the reporting situation. The indirectal mode of reporting serves two communication aims, statement and command. Means for expressing both a mediated or indirect statement and a mediated or indirect command can be found on different levels and in different components of a language.

Different languages have different means for expressing the mode of reporting. In typological linguistics the category whose main function is to mark the source of information is called evidentiality. Evidentiality shows whether the speaker has himself witnessed an event (direct evidentiality), draws conclusions about the event based on the facts known to him (inferred evidentiality) or has heard about the event from someone else (reported evidentiality). In this context, the indirectal mode of reporting is a means of expressing quotative evidentiality.

In a more broad-scale description of the Estonian language, indirectal-based categorisation is probably not very practical. However, it is a necessary postulate in fulfilling the aim of this article.

The analysis of empirical material confirms the presumption that journalistic language reflects social changes, while fiction remains rather stable over decades.

As for journalistic texts, the 1890s and 1990s clearly stand out, as there are considerably more instances of the use of indirect statement in those periods. The indirectal means of expression, however, are different in the two periods.

The language use of the 1890s is characterised by abundant forms of the indirectal and ambiguity of meaning, especially in participle predicate which was the most wide-spread indirectal verb form in journalistic texts. Constructions that have become rooted in modern language vary in the language use of the 1890s. The style of fiction is considerably more uniform compared to journalistic language. The meaning of forms in fiction is clearer and syntax more correct.

In 1930 the use of indirectal statements decreases fourfold; most changes have taken place in journalistic texts. The use of form has become more uniform, which confirms the influence of language planning on literary language. While the 1890s were dominated by the single past participle and *da*-infinitive, the 1930s witness the triumph of the *vat*-marked quotative mood which is recommended in an orthological dictionary by Muuk (1933). The narrowing list of forms refers to language planning, although the synthetic form *-nuvat* of the neologist quotative mood never became rooted in literary language. The reason may be that one of the functions of the past participle form *-nud* overlaps with the novel *nuvat*-form.

The journalistic material of the 1970s is insignificant. The 1970s is the only period when reported speech can more often be found in fiction texts than in journalistic texts. A new indirectal means of expression in journalistic texts is the adessive indirectal, e.g. *sõnul* 'according to word', *väitel* 'according to statement', *teatel* 'according to message', *hinnangul* 'according to judgement', *andmetel* 'according to data', *kinnitusel* 'according to assertion'. The indirectal means of expression in fiction texts have not changed considerably.

Transfer to the Information Age leads to an increased share of reported text in the 1990s. The indirectal means of expression are restricted to the adpositional phrase and reported speech which provide the source of information. If the quotative is used, the source of information remains impersonal and the form does not comply with the requirements of journalistic text as a text type.

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### Abbreviations

|         |                             |
|---------|-----------------------------|
| 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third person |
| ABE     | abessive                    |
| ADE     | adessive                    |
| ADJ     | adjective                   |
| ALL     | allative                    |
| CLC     | clitic                      |
| COM     | comitative                  |
| COND    | conditional                 |
| dINF    | <i>da</i> -infinitive       |
| EL      | elative                     |
| ESS     | essive                      |
| FEM     | female                      |
| GEN     | genitive                    |
| GER     | gerund                      |
| ILL     | illative                    |
| IMP     | imperative                  |
| IMPS    | impersonal                  |
| INE     | inessive                    |
| JUSS    | jussive                     |
| mINF    | <i>ma</i> -infinitive       |
| NEG     | negation marker             |
| PL      | plural                      |
| POSTP   | postposition                |
| PRCL    | particle                    |
| PRS     | present                     |
| PRTV    | partitive                   |
| PST     | simple past                 |
| PRTCP   | presnt participle           |
| PTCP    | past participle             |
| Q       | question marker             |
| QUOT    | quotative                   |
| SG      | singular                    |
| TRM     | terminative                 |
| TRNSL   | translative                 |

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