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## TYPOLOGY OF GRAMMATICALIZED EVIDENTIALITY IN BULGARIAN AND ESTONIAN

### 0. Introduction

The past two decades have witnessed extensive research on various languages in which systems of grammaticalized evidentiality have been discovered. In order to utilise this material linguistic typology has tried to create universal methods with which the occurrences found can be categorised (see Willet 1988; Козинцева 1994; Aikhenvald 2000; Plungian 2001). As evidentiality is semantically and pragmatically an amorphous phenomenon, it has been difficult to establish definitions that are valid for all types of context, even in a single language. Most studies are either sweeping typological overviews (e.g. Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology 1986) or descriptive treatments of a specific language. Contrastive studies are comparatively rare (see e.g. Klaas 1997 for Estonian and Lithuanian). Such detailed comparisons of two languages with different historical backgrounds could offer a typological perspective. The latter would, on the one hand, allow us to draw more specific conclusions concerning semantics; on the other hand, it would show us where we should place the grammatical evidentials in the verbal system amongst such categories as mood, tense, and aspect.

The present article compares the oblique mood (OM) in Bulgarian and Estonian and seeks to find out through which diachronic processes the evidential has evolved or is in the process of evolving into an independent grammatical category. The *tertium comparationis* is the morphosyntactically expressed oblique mood.

In both languages the grammatical evidential systems occur in three variants: dialect systems, the system of the prescriptive grammar and the colloquial system. This article will focus on the second and the third system. Dialect occurrence will be sometimes touched upon, as both in Bulgarian and Estonian the grammatical paradigm was standardised rather late and to some extent artificially, so that a comparison of forms found in prescriptive grammars is of little use in detecting the diachronic processes involved. The analysis consists of the following parts:

1) A formal comparison of the oblique mood paradigms of Bulgarian and Estonian;

- 2) Semantic and discourse parameters;
- 3) The paths of grammaticalization and the role of language contact in the history of the OM.

### 1. Concepts and definitions

There are two views on the basic function of the evidentials in the semantic system of a language. According to the first view, their core function is to mark the source of information. Markers of evidentiality can also show the speakers subjective assessment of the validity of the information, though in most cases this is an additional arbitrary meaning. According to this viewpoint, codification of epistemic modality is not a basic function of the grammatical evidential, which is an independent grammatical category and not an epistemic (or other) subcategory of modality (see Козинцева 1994 : 98—99; Aikhenvald 2000 : 4, 42, 57). Other researchers consider evidentials a type of marking of epistemic modality. Accordingly, the basic function of evidentials is to express the speakers attitude towards an action or event described by the utterance (see Willet 1988 : 52). J. Lyons (1977 : 799—800) differentiates between two types of epistemic modality: subjective and objective. Subjective epistemic meaning, based on opinion, hearsay, inference, is by its nature evidential.

Thus, evidential systems express two meanings: (i) reference to the source of information and (ii) reference to the speakers attitude towards the information. The question, which of these two meanings is the invariant meaning of evidential systems and which is the variant, has not been yet answered in terms of language universals.<sup>1</sup> Here I limit myself to these remarks and will treat semantics in chapter 3.

### 2. Morphosyntactical structure of the paradigm

#### 2.1. Bulgarian

Table 1 shows the paradigms of the indicative and the oblique mood. It is based on the academic grammar of Bulgarian (ГБЕ II).

*Table 1*

*правя 'to do' 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masc*

	Indicative		Oblique mood	
<b>Present</b>	<i>правя</i>	<i>прави</i>	<i>правел съм</i>	<i>правел</i>
<b>Imperfect</b>	<i>правех</i>	<i>правеше</i>		
<b>Aorist</b>	<i>правих</i>	<i>прави</i>	<i>правил съм</i>	<i>правил</i>
<b>Perfect</b>	<i>правил съм</i>	<i>правил е</i>	<i>бил съм правил</i>	<i>бил правил</i>
<b>Pluperfect</b>	<i>бях правил</i>	<i>беше правил</i>		
<b>Future</b>	<i>ще правя</i>	<i>ще прави</i>	<i>щял съм да правя</i>	<i>щял да прави</i>
<b>Past future</b>	<i>щях да правя</i>	<i>щеше да прави</i>		
<b>Future-perfect</b>	<i>ще съм правил</i>	<i>ще е правил</i>	<i>щял съм да съм правил</i>	<i>щял да е правил</i>
<b>Past future-perfect</b>	<i>щях да съм правил</i>	<i>щеше да е правил</i>		

<sup>1</sup> Recent views on the relationship between evidentials and modals have been put forward by V. Plungian (2001) and S. DeLancey (2001).

All the tense relationships in the indicative can also be expressed in the OM. The Table shows, however, that in Bulgarian each two indicative tense forms correspond to one form in the OM. Thus, for example, the present and the imperfect are distinguished in OM not formally but only contextually. The only exception is the aorist, where the correspondence is 1:1. The oblique forms of the simple tenses of the indicative (present, imperfect and aorist) are formed as follows: the *л*-marker of the past participle is affixed to the imperfect stem, thus forming the imperfect participle (*правел*) or to the aorist stem, forming the perfect participle (*правил*). These participles occur together with the finite auxiliary verb *съм* 'to be'. The 3rd person singular and plural forms are elliptical. The oblique forms corresponding to the periphrastic indicative past tenses are formed from two participles: the perfect participles of the auxiliary and the main verb. To these is added the finite form of the auxiliary verb. The oblique future and the future in the past consist of two parts. The first part is formed from the imperfect participle of the future auxiliary verb *ще* and the finite auxiliary *съм*, the second part from the particle *да* (a proclitic with conjunctive function) and the present tense of the main verb. The future perfect and the past future perfect are formed according to the same principles, but here the conjunctive particle is followed by the periphrastic past. In negated forms of the future *щял* is replaced by the neuter form *нямало* of the imperfect participle of the future negation verb *няма* (*нямало да правя* '(reportedly) I will not do'). Obligatory ellipsis of the finite auxiliary in the 3rd person occurs throughout the whole paradigm.

In addition to these forms, dialects and the common spoken language reveal many other forms. The longer is the periphrastic verb phrase that expresses temporal relations, the more parallel forms are to be found.<sup>2</sup> In Standard Bulgarian the oblique forms are not constructed with passive participles. Such forms are, however, common in dialects and in the closely related Macedonian language (see Friedman 1986).

An important problem, which needs to be addressed in the analysis of the paradigm, is homonymy. As mentioned before, there is a systematic homonymy within the OM paradigm. In addition, the first and second person singular and plural of the perfect indicative and the first and second singular and plural of the oblique aorist are completely identical. Thus, the most commonly used tense in the OM differs formally from the perfect indicative only in the third person. Amongst the remaining forms we can differentiate between the mood only in terms of the context time reference. Confusion is caused also by the fact that the imperfect participle and the perfect participle often formally coincide. For example, *той искал* 'he (reportedly) wants, wanted' is used in the OM in three different tenses: present, imperfect and aorist. Such ambiguity has formal reasons as verbs of the third (and some of the second) conjugations are single-stemmed, imperfect and perfect participles formed from these stems do not display a difference in form.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the future perfect and the past future perfect can have up to five forms. Here the exact expression of temporal relations requires two participial elements. Variation occurs with the placement of the *л*-affix and the choice of the suppletive be-verb stem: (example I (reportedly) would have brought) *щял съм да съм донесъл, ще съм бил донесъл, щял съм да бъда донесъл, ще съм бѣдел донесъл, щял съм бил да донеса* (see ГБЕ II 360).

In spite of the homonymy most grammars of Bulgarian consider forms of the oblique mood sufficiently marked (when compared to other categories) to assign them an individual grammatical category. The paradigm is marked with the following formants:

- 1) omission of the auxiliary in the 3rd person;
- 2) the imperfect participle;<sup>3</sup>
- 3) monofunctional grammemes: the past participle of the future auxiliary *цял* and the neutral form of the past participle of the future negative auxiliary *нямало*;
- 4) combined use of auxiliaries and *л*-participles in periphrastic forms.

## 2.2. Estonian

Unlike Bulgarian, the Estonian OM paradigm does not formally coincide with the tense system. The marker *-vat* in the contemporary standard language consists diachronically of two elements: the marker *-v(a)* of the present active participle and the partitive ending *-t*. Table 2 shows the OM paradigm according to the academic grammar of Estonian (EKG I 236):

Table 2

<i>tulema</i> 'to come'		
	Active	Passive
<b>Present</b>	<i>tulevat</i>	<i>tuldavat</i>
<b>Preterite</b>	<i>olevat tulnud / tulnuvat</i>	<i>olevat tuldud</i>

In Standard Estonian the OM forms do not inflect for number or person. There are both active and passive oblique forms. The temporal distribution is as follows: the present indicative has an oblique counterpart, the imperfect, perfect and pluperfect indicative have only one oblique counterpart, which marks the general past. Some context is necessary to decide whether this oblique form refers to the imperfect, perfect or pluperfect. The basic preterite forms are periphrastic (*olevat tulnud* 'be-EV come-PRET.PRT').<sup>4</sup> For the active preterite there is besides the analytical form also a synthetic one (*tulnuvat* 'come-PRET.PRT-EV').

In older grammars we may encounter other forms than those presented by EKG. Until the middle of the 1920s the grammars presented specific forms of the oblique in the pluperfect, in which there were two past participles: (active) *olnuvat tulnud* ('be-PRET.PRT-EV come-PRET.PRT'), *olevat olnud tulnud* ('be-EV be-PRET.PRT come-PRET.PRT') and passive *olduvat tuldud* ('be-PRET.PASS.PRT-EV come-PRET.PASS.PRT'). The school grammar by H. Põld (1922 : 71) has a form *oldavat tulnud* ('be-PRES.PASS-EV come-PRET.PRT'), O. Loorits in his grammar (1923 : 75) has a synthetic passive perfect *tulduvat* ('come-PRET.PASS.PRT-EV').

The desire to differentiate the various past forms undoubtedly derived from an attempt to regulate the language by creating symmetrical paradigms. In Estonian, however, there is a certain evidential strategy, which has deep roots in the dialects and which justifies such attempts. The dialects and the spoken language reveal lone *nud*-participles used as a predicates,

<sup>3</sup> Imperfect participles, though, are sometimes also found in the indicative.

<sup>4</sup> As Estonian is more synthetic and agglutinative than Bulgarian, a morpheme-by-morpheme translation is given.

with which evidential meanings are expressed, e.g. *ta tulnud koju* 's/he (reportedly) came home' (see Metslang, Muižniece, Pajusalu 1999). This form was considered to be suitable to correspond to the synthetic past, that is, the imperfect. From F. J. Wiedemann (1875) onwards many grammarians have presented forms like *olnud tulnud* ('be-PRET.PRT come-PRET.PRT'), where, in addition to the past participle of the main verb, there is also the past participle of the auxiliary verb (see Airila 1935 : 810). Like in Bulgarian (cf. *бул направил*), this form usually corresponds to the periphrastic past in the indicative. The occurrences in the spoken language of the lone past participle, the reduplication of such infinite forms and their combination with *vat*-forms gave Estonian grammarians the possibility to construct complete paradigms of the OM corresponding to the indicative forms. For example, a grammar by O. Loorits (1923 : 75) offers the following oblique paradigm: active present: *tulevat*, imperfect *tulnud*, perfect *tulnuvat/olevat tulnud*, pluperfect *olnuvat tulnud/olevat olnud tulnud*; passive present *tuldavat*, imperfect *tuldud*, perfect *tulduvat/olevat tuldud*, pluperfect *olduvat tuldud/olevat oldud tuldud*.

We can, thus, state that in Bulgarian the basic formational mechanism resides in the combination of finite and infinite verbal forms into periphrastic constructions, whilst Estonian resorts to linking *-nud/-tud* and *-vat* forms at both syntactic (*olevat olnud*) and morphological levels (*olnuvat*).

In addition, Estonian dialects and the spoken language reveal the following strategies, in which evidentiality is expressed by grammatical elements:

- 1) the use of the *da*-infinitive: *Minust h o o v a t a seletamatut võlu* 'An unexplainable magic emanates-EV from me'.
- 2) the imperfect of the modal verb *pidama*: *Ta p i d i seal olema* 'S/he was (reportedly, supposedly) there'.
- 3) homonymic forms of the pluperfect, which are temporally used as imperfect: *Kui Mari eile läbi metsa koju o l i l ä i n u d, o l i ta suure põdra-pulliga v a s t a m i s i s a t t u n u d* 'When Mari (reportedly) went home yesterday through the woods, she (reportedly) came face to face with a large bull elk' (EKG II 36–37).

### 3. Semantic and discourse parameters

A classification of the different evidential meanings is a challenge to semantic typology. An analysis based on the function of the form looks for a semantic component, which corresponds to a given form in every context (i.e. invariant meaning). Common, however, are those cases where evidential meaning is expressed by such forms whose central function is not evidential. In these cases a certain meaning implication has arisen from the context. Incidental pragmatic forces summon new meanings, which can be reanalysed as belonging to a certain form. The beginning stages of grammaticalization are usually unnoticeable. Therefore, we should look for the smallest shifts in the marking of semantic fields. The discovery in discourse of pragmatic implications and their tracking is important because here lie the potential sources of grammaticalization (see Hopper, Traugott 1994 : 75).

Which pragmatic implications tend to be grammaticalized with regard to evidentiality? In describing the evidential systems of the Balkan and Baltic linguistic areas the following basic concepts are used:

1) the quotative (in English-language literature often 'reported'): the evidence is acquired via verbal report; it is marked as second-hand or third-hand (hearsay) (see Willet 1988 : 57; Plungian 2001 : 352—354).

2) the inferential: the speaker's statement is based on a past event, which the speaker himself did not witness; an inferential statement is based on the observed consequences of an event or is otherwise concluded (see Willet 1988 : 57).

3) the mirative: the utterance is marked by surprise or wonder; the speaker discovers an event, which has been taking place for some time. He expresses the lack of control over the unintended and unexpected action (see Friedman 1986 : 180; DeLancey 2001 : 369—370).

These three concepts, used to describe the three subtypes of evidentiality, are subsumed under the concept indirect.<sup>5</sup> In addition, evidential systems can have some epistemic meanings. An important question, which has to be answered, is whether we can speak only of the opposition direct — indirect when viewing certain systems. Or is there some reason to differentiate between subsystems, which contrast not only with neutral<sup>6</sup> forms but also amongst themselves (e.g. quotative vs. inferential, inferential vs. mirative, and so on). When is a certain evidential meaning marked sufficiently to warrant its own subsystem? A. Aikhenvald (2000 : 22—23) proposes a methodological base to differentiate subsystems. Two evidentiality specifications form different evidential subsystems if (a) they are differently marked or (b) if they can occur at the same time; or (c) if they can be neutralised in different ways. Next I will concentrate on the differentiation of semantic specifications and on the structure of markedness.

### 3.1. The Bulgarian system

In Bulgarian the primary markedness principle is the opposition indirect — everything else. The discussion concerning the exact semantic function of the indirect forms in Bulgarian has continued for a whole century. Normative grammars usually emphasise the quotative function (ГБЕ II 351).

More exhaustive investigations into this category have looked at the relationship between the indirect and the direct forms in terms of the acceptability/unacceptability of the action (see Демина 1959 : 356—357). The typology of evidentiality (from the 1970s onwards) has, however, considered that the basic function of these forms is to either mark the source of information or the speaker's attitude (see Friedman 1986; Fitneva 2001).

As noted, in Bulgarian every tense marked in the OM corresponds to two tenses in the indicative (the only exception being the aorist). The ГБЕ (II 360) notes also that in Bulgarian the marking of indirectness in the present, perfect, and in the future is facultative. In the imperfect, aorist, and pluperfect, however, evidentiality must be marked if the information is obtained in an indirect way. As in the present (together with the perfect<sup>7</sup>)

<sup>5</sup> The status of the mirative as indirect causes difficulties. See DeLancey 2001 and Plungian 2001 for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the present languages neutral means a grammatically unmarked form for direct evidence.

<sup>7</sup> The perfect forms seem to be an exception to the rule present/future — facultative, past — obligatory, probably because it is deictically connected to the speech moment and thus could be analysed as an expression of the present.

and in the future tenses the component of indirectness in the semantic structure is not sufficient to motivate marking, we can ask which semantic component does motivate marking. The most logical answer would be to assume that here some modal sense comes into play. By choosing a certain form the speaker adds something of his own to the information and this therefore must be of a subjective quality. In other words, by using indirect forms in these tenses the speaker refers to his assessment of the indirectly obtained information. Compare the following sentences:

- (1) *Стоян сега говори на събранието.*  
 'Stoyan now speak-PRES.3SG at meeting-DEF'.  
 'Stoyan now speaks at the meeting.'  
*Stojan r ä ä g i b praegu koosolekul.*
- (2) *Стоян сега говорел на събранието.*  
 'Stoyan now speak-IMPRF.PRT at meeting-DEF'.  
 'Stoyan now speaks (reportedly) at the meeting.'  
*Stojan r ä ä k i v a t praegu koosolekul.*
- (3) *Стоян е говорил вчера на събранието.*  
 'Stoyan be-3SG speak-PRF.PRT yesterday at meeting-DEF'.  
 'Stoyan has spoken yesterday at the meeting.'  
*Stojan o n r ä ä k i n u d eile koosolekul.*
- (4) *Стоян бил говорил вчера на събранието.*  
 'Stoyan be-PRF.PRT speak-PRF.PRT yesterday at meeting-DEF'.  
 'Stoyan has (reportedly) spoken yesterday at the meeting.'  
*Stojan o l e v a t eile r ä ä k i n u d koosolekul.*

In sentences (1) and (3) the speaker is convinced of the authenticity of the information, regardless of the fact that he was not himself present at the meeting. In sentences (2) and (4) the speaker shows his reserve by using an oblique form. By using the indirect mood the speaker expresses his attitude towards the information because the semantics of the neutral sentence already encompasses an element of indirectness. This can be seen especially clearly in the perfect because the indicative perfect marks indirect evidence in many contexts (cf. sentence 3 and the statement for attested evidence *Стоян говори вчера на събранието* 'Stoyan spoke yesterday at the meeting (and I saw him)', where the aorist has to be used). Thus, we can conclude that in the imperfect, aorist, and the pluperfect the oblique forms mark indirectness while in other tenses they are used to express the speakers attitude towards the mediated information.

On closer inspection, however, it seems that the principle of division is not the time scheme but the forms themselves. Certain forms are more grammaticalized as markers of evidential meaning than others and they can be used regardless of the time scheme to emphasise certain meanings. One such form is the perfect participle *бил* of the auxiliary verb *съм*. Many studies (see Демина 1959 : 323; ГБЕ II 360; Маслов 1981 : 271—277) have noted that in Bulgarian special indirect emphatic forms can be created by adding the past participle *бил* to the neutral indirect form. Such forms are found in the present, imperfect, aorist, future, and future perfect. By adding *бил* to these the speaker emphasises criticism, distrust, and irony. Thus the emphatic form of sentence (2) would be *Стоян сега бил говорел*

на събранието. In the perfect and pluperfect *бил* is used already in non-emphatic oblique forms to mark indirectness (see Table 1). Actually, the perfect should not be counted as one of those tenses where *бил* marks indirectness, as the marking of indirectness in the perfect by an oblique form is facultative, and, therefore, the sense of indirect evidence does not provide sufficient motivation for *бил* to occur.

We can summarise that the perfect participle of the auxiliary marks the speakers attitude in the present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, and future. In the pluperfect, however, it is merely a marker of indirectness. This can be schematically shown as follows:

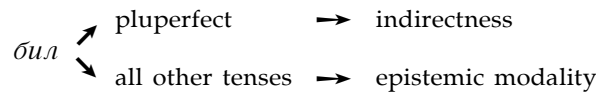


Figure 1

What has been said so far indicates that in some sections of the Bulgarian tense system there is a tripartite opposition in respect to evidentiality. According to the tense distribution given in ГБЕ, the following verb phrases can all be interpreted as the aorist (i.e. (B) and (C) will be the aoristic counterparts of (A) for indirect evidence):

- (5)
- |                   |                      |                              |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| (A)               | (B)                  | (C)                          |
| той дойде         | той дошъл            | той бил дошъл                |
| 'he come-AOR.3SG' | 'he come-PRF.PRT'    | 'he be-PRF.PRT come-PRF.PRT' |
| 'he came'         | 'he came (ind. ev.)' | 'he came (ind. ev., doubt)'  |
| та tuli           | та olevat tulnud     | та olevat tulnud             |

Sentence (5 A) is unmarked in terms of indirectness and epistemic modality, (5 B) marks an indirect relationship of the speaker to the event but not his attitude, whilst (5 C) marks both the indirectness as well as the attitude of the speaker. The opposition (A) ↔ (B) ↔ (C) comes to the fore most clearly in the simple past tenses, because only here the opposition (A) ↔ (B) is marked according to the ГБЕ. In the pluperfect, where this opposition is also marked, there is no possibility to formally distinguish (B) and (C). In the other tenses the opposition (A) ↔ (B) is not obligatorily marked.<sup>8</sup>

The model presented here is based on the norms of the literary language and the colloquial language today generally follows this scheme.<sup>9</sup> An important factor that supports literary norms in the colloquial language is the widespread use of aorist indirect forms. The indirect forms of the aorist are commonly used in narratives like fairy tales and folksongs. Nowadays

<sup>8</sup> In the future tenses the rules which apply in the marking of evidentiality in the present and past are harder to establish. In Bulgarian the future forms of the indirect mood are more recent, and the structure of markedness is less stable (i.e. there are many alternative forms without clear semantic differences). In addition, the semantics of the future already contains modal meanings (e.g. *irrealis*). The correct marking of, on the one hand, tense and on the other indirectness in the past future perfect is difficult even for mother-tongue speakers, and, therefore, *бил*-constructions are not very common.

<sup>9</sup> Many dialects (and to some extent also spoken language), however, do not follow this model. In dialects ellipsis, which in the literary language differentiates aorist indirect forms (see 5 B) from indicative perfect forms, is not always motivated by evidentiality (see Friedman 1986).



they are also used in narratives common to the scientific style of writing history (see ГБЕ II 354).

### 3.1.1. The quotative

The quotative displays the most indirect relation between the speaker and the event. It is shown that the more indirect the speakers relation to the event, the more he tries to distance himself from the statement by augmenting the modal expression (see Plungian 2001 : 352—354). Bulgarian evidential system is not exception from this rule. The most modalised types (such as 5 C) are at the same time specialised in the function of the quotative. This means that the use of the *бил*-constructions in all tenses is a strategy to mark quotativity. The following example would, in a certain context, have aoristic time reference (i.e. it would be the emphatic indirect form for the aorist):

(6) *Стоян бил заспа на пода.*

'Stoyan b e-PRF.PRT f a l l . a s l e e p -PRF.PRT on floor-DEF'.

'Stoyan fell (r e p o r t e d l y) a s l e e p on the floor.'

*Stojan o l e v a t j ä ä n u d pōrandal magama.*

In the indicative this would be *Стоян заспа на пода* and in the aorist indirect *Стоян заспа на пода*. Used as a particle, *бил* specifies the more general indirect into a reported evidential. From a choice of evidential interpretations (independently of context and time reference) example (6) can be interpreted only as a report of the information heard.

### 3.1.2. The inferential

The main difference between the quotative and the inferential is the factor of the speakers involvement. The quotative is used when the speaker is separated from the event by another witness. In the case of the inferential, however, the speaker himself is a witness of some consequences of the event. Thus, the inferential is a less indirect category than the quotative (Plungian 2001). For ontological reasons coagency of tense and aspect systems often tends to form the source of grammatical inferentials (Comrie 1995 : 108—110; DeLancey 2001). As an inferential claim can only be made on the basis of a completed action or event, inferential phrases in Bulgarian are mostly formed using perfect participles of perfective verbs. We can, thus, assume that the speaker in (6) himself heard the following sentence:

(7) *Влизам в стаята и гледам: Стоян заспа на пода.*

'go-PRES.1SG in room-DEF and look-PRES.1SG: Stoyan f a l l . a s l e e p -PRF.PRT on floor-DEF'.

'I enter the room and I see: Stoyan h a s f a l l e n a s l e e p on the floor.'

*Lähen tuppa ja vaatan: Stojan o n j ä ä n u d pōrandale magama.*

Here the speaker was not in the room at the moment when Stoyan fell asleep though seeing a sleeping person implies it. In Bulgarian an inferential claim can be made elliptically (the aorist of the OM) or with the forms of the indicative perfect. Instead of example (5 B) we could use (if a conclusion is the basis of a claim) the perfect form *той е дошъл* 'he has come'. This means that ellipsis does not mark inferentiality in Bulgarian.

The practice of the Bulgarian academic grammar to define the elliptical forms of the perfect as indirect forms of the aorist is most questionable when these forms are used to express inferential meaning. On the one hand, we could claim that as a result of ellipsis the perfect operates as the simple past. On the other hand, it is hard to explain how the original function of the perfect as a resultative and, thus, as the basis of the inferential claim, is connected with the aorist. One can assume that in relation to the change of the perfect to an unmarked past (see Асенова 1983 : 191—219) the perfect-aorist opposition has become nebulous and these tenses have, in certain cases, been replaced by each other.

Summing up, we could say that depending on the viewpoint, inferentiality has to be treated as either a specifically unmarked branch of the more general indirective or as a pragmatic extension of the perfect. Thus, in Bulgarian it is the least grammaticalized subtype of evidentiality.

### 3.1.3. The mirative

Though the basic function of the mirative is to express surprise or unexpectedness, its propositional value is that of an inferential claim (for a discussion see DeLancey 2001). The mirative is the most direct subtype of evidentiality. In addition to the fact that the speaker himself is the witness, the mirative phrases are always used with the present time reference. Phrases, in which the mirative is the dominant semantic component, can in Bulgarian be formed with imperfect participles of imperfective verbs:

- (8) *Влизам в стаята и гледам: Стоян с п я л на пода!*  
'go-PRES.1SG in room-DEF and look-PRES.1SG: Stoyan s l e e p -IMPRF.PRT on floor-DEF'  
'I enter the room and see: Stoyan i s s l e e p i n g on the floor!'  
*Lähen tuppa ja vaatan: Stojan m a g a b põrandal!*

Sentences with mirative semantics are elliptical and in grammars they are treated as present forms of the OM (ГБЕ II 360; Маслов 1981 : 272—275). As mirativity is marked in Bulgarian by ellipsis, we could claim that compared with the inferential this branch of the indirect evidence is more grammaticalized.

The elliptical verb phrases, which have inferential meanings and which in general in terms of tense and aspect are perfectly marked, can sometimes show mirative reading as well. The basic carriers of mirativity are, however, elliptic imperfective verb phrases, which means that in Bulgarian differentiation between the inferential and the mirative is aspectual.

## 3.2. The Estonian system

Unlike Bulgarian, Estonian disposes of many different morphosyntactic ways to express evidentiality. In the Estonian evidential system the basic markedness principle is the opposition quotative — everything else. All the strategies mentioned in 2.2 to express evidentiality are quotatives. The most grammaticalized quotative marker is the *vat*-form, which is also the most common in the standard language.

According to the academic grammar of Estonian (EKG II 36), the correlation source of information — the speakers attitude is revealed only

from the context, which means that it cannot be marked by grammatical means. In the standard language, but especially in the colloquial spoken language, there are cases where one sentence may include two markers of evidentiality. Such forms are, for example, the verb *pidama* 'must' and the suffix *-vat*. Compare the following sentences:

- (9) *Ta o n Tallinnas.*  
 's/he b e-3SG.PRES Tallinn-LOC'.  
 'S/he i s i n Tallinn.'  
*Toü/Tя e в Талин.*
- (10) *Ta o l e v a t Tallinnas.*  
 's/he b e-QUOT Tallinn-LOC'.  
 'S/he i s r e p o r t e d l y i n Tallinn.'  
*Toü/Tя б и л (а) в Талин.*
- (11) *Ta p i d a v a t Tallinnas o l e m a.*  
 's/he m u s t-QUOT Tallinn-LOC b e-INF'.  
 'S/he i s r e p o r t e d l y i n Tallinn.'  
*Toü/Tя б и л (а) в Талин.*

The grammaticalization of the Estonian verb *pidama* has meant gradual extension of its semantics, which at a certain point gave rise to the quotative function. Synchronically the other modal meanings of this verb are productive (Erelt 2001). We can assume that as in the later stages of the grammaticalization process some elements of the previous semantic make-up are present, the verb *pidama* as a quotative marker needs support from the suffix *-vat*. For Estonians though, (11) is more modal than (10). As epistemic meanings constitute a contact point for evidentiality and modality (Willet 1988), it is not difficult to assume that (11) contains an epistemic appraisal, that is, the speaker marks his own attitude more clearly than in (10). Thus, in (9) both the quotative and the speakers attitude are unmarked, in (10) the quotative is marked (which, depending on pragmatic factors, may contain an element of appraisal, too) while in (11) both the quotative and the speakers attitude are marked.

The other formal framework in Estonian, which permits the differentiation of these meanings, is the doubling of the *nud*-suffix (the active past participle morpheme) in the verb phrase. Older Estonian grammars (e.g. Põld 1922 : 70–71) show forms like *olnud V-nud* ('be-PRET.PRT V-PRET.PRT'). In present-day Estonian such verb phrases are very uncommon. Compare the following sentences:

- |                                    |  |   |  |
|------------------------------------|--|---|--|
| (12)                               |  |   |  |
| (A)                                | (B)                                      | (C)   |  |
| <i>vares istus oksale</i>          | <i>vares istunud oksale</i>              | <i>vares olnud oksale istunud</i>                       |  |
| 'crow sit-3SG.IMPRF<br>branch-LOC' | 'crow sit-PRET.PRT<br>branch-LOC'        | 'crow be-PRET.PRT branch-LOC<br>sit-PRET.PRT'           |  |
| 'a crow alighted<br>on a branch'   | 'a crow alighted<br>(quot.) on a branch' | 'a crow (had) alighted<br>(quot. distance) on a branch' |  |
| <i>враната седна<br/>на клона</i>  | <i>враната седнала<br/>на клона</i>      | <i>враната била седнала<br/>на клона</i>                |  |

The problematic case (12 C), from one Estonian folk tale, probably concerns a narrative style, where the speaker widens the distance between himself and the contents of the claim. As the distinction between different

past tenses is covert in the Estonian OM, the time reference of (12 C) is unclear. The corpus of the Estonian language and the text corpus of the Institute of the Estonian language did not reveal any such forms. Therefore, ten native informants were questioned as to the acceptability of such forms. All the informants regarded *olnud V-nud* phrases as possible, in principle, and affirmed that an increase in distance (12 B → 12 C) was accompanied by modality. Here we can differentiate the same type of segmentation as in Bulgarian (see example 5). Sentence (12 A) stands for direct evidence, in sentence (12 B) indirect evidence is marked, but the speakers attitude is not while in (12 C) indirect evidence is marked and so is the speakers attitude. In Estonian, however, sentences like (12 C) are only marginal, and, therefore, we cannot claim that the past participle of the verb *olema* 'to be' has become a semantically independent particle like Bulgarian *бул.*

In short, the Estonian evidential system is bipartite and the quotative is the only grammaticalized branch of evidentiality. Combining category markers allows the speaker to add a subjective opinion to the phrase already marked for indirect evidence. This system is, however, less developed than in Bulgarian.

Unlike the Bulgarian ones, the Estonian indirect forms are not typically used to routinise expression probably because the accepted marker in the standard language is associated with the present tense and the most common tense in narration is the imperfect.

### 3.2.2. Inferentiality and mirativity

These types of evidential meaning are not grammaticalized in Estonian. Inferentiality and mirativity can be expressed in Estonian by such morphosyntactic means that exhibit inferential or mirative readings only as a side-effect. Such are, for example, perfect forms.<sup>10</sup> The Bulgarian inferential phrase (7) could only be translated into Estonian with a copula verb (a copula-less phrase automatically contains a quotative meaning). For example, someone who has seen his friend during the day can later say:

- (13) *Jüri o n l ä i n u d paksuks!*  
'*Jüri* b e -3SG go-PRET.PRT fat-TRANSL'.  
'*Jüri* h a s b e c o m e fat.'  
*Юри (e) н а д е б е л я л.*

As in the case of the inferential it is important to explicitly mark the connection between the past event and the present result, in Estonian it appears as a periphrastic perfect. As in Bulgarian, the Estonian perfect is often used to mark indirect evidence (Metslang, Muižniece, Pajusalu 1999 : 142–143), and the inferential is the branch of the indirect that can be directly derived from the original semantics of the perfect.

Depending on the context, the above example can also show mirativity. In Estonian there is no separate grammatical category to express aspect and also in the tense system the aspectual opposition is not explicitly

<sup>10</sup> In addition, inferentiality can in certain contexts be expressed by present and imperfect forms of the modal verb *pidama* (Erelt 2001). Secondary grammaticalization of modal verbs is, however, an extensive field, and, therefore, I will not discuss it here. Besides, modal verbs are actually lexical units, and their treatment should not be subsumed under that of grammatical evidentials.

marked (unlike Bulgarian, where the imperfect and the aorist are in such an opposition). Thus, Estonian lacks the structural tools to distinguish between the inferential and the mirative.

### 3.3. Mediated command

In the imperative proper a command is directed from speaker (A) to listener (B). There are three types of situation, where one of these (or both) is not the source or recipient of the command but a mediator:

Figure 2

- |     |       |   |                           |   |             |
|-----|-------|---|---------------------------|---|-------------|
| I   | A     | > | B                         | → | Y / Y and C |
| II  | X → A | > | B / B and C / A / A and B |   |             |
| III | X → A | > | B                         | → | Y / Y and C |

Here X is the command-giver and Y the command-receiver, neither of whom take part in the speech situation; > stands for the expression uttered within the speech situation and → for the expression which was or will be uttered outside the speech situation. In type I the command is directed from the speaker to the non-participant Y (3SG) or to him and someone else C (3PL). In type II the command is directed from a non-participant to a listener B (2SG), to listener B and someone else C (2PL), to speaker A (1SG) or to speaker A and listener B (1PL). In type III both the command-giver and the receiver are outside the speech situation and both participants act as the mediators.

In type I Bulgarian uses regular imperative forms. On the other hand, in types II and III Bulgarian uses the same forms that mark evidentiality in the OM. There are two paradigms, one for the neutral indirect command, the other for the emphatic indirect command (Маслов 1981 : 288). Adding a conjunctive particle *да* to the present form of the OM forms neutral indirect commands (14). Emphatic forms are formed by adding the past participle *бил* of the verb *съм* to neutral forms (15):

- (14) *Каза да сме отидели тази нощ в София.*  
 'say-AOR.3SG to be-1PL go-IMPRF.PRT-PL this night in Sofia'.  
 '(He) said that we (exclusive) should go this night to Sofia.'  
*Ütles, et me mingus sellel ööl Sofiasse.*
- (15) *Каза да сме били отидели тази нощ в София.*  
 'say-AOR.3SG to be-1PL be-PRF.PRT-PL go-IMPRF.PRT-PL this night in Sofia'.  
 '(He) said that we (exclusive) should go this night to Sofia.'  
*Ütles, et me mingus sellel ööl Sofiasse.*

In Estonian a mediated command is given in the so-called jussive, with the suffix *-gu/-ku*. The jussive forms are derived from the third person imperative forms by way of regrammaticalization: imper 2SG *mine koju* 'go home' > (imper 3SG *mingu koju* 'let her/him go home' >) juss 2SG *sa mingi koju* 'may you go home' (EKG I 236–237; EKG II 37). Jussive forms can be used in Estonian in all situations of mediated command, also in those where in Bulgarian the regular imperative for the third person has to be used:

- (16) *Те да отидат тази нощ в София!*  
 'they to go-PRES.3PL this night to Sofia'.  
 'May they go this night to Sofia!'  
*Mingu nad sellel ööl Sofiasse!*

Such a difference in situational distribution derives from the original function of the forms used. In Bulgarian the indirect forms have extended only to those situations, where the speaker and the command-giver are not the same person (when they do coincide, the regular 3SG imperative is used). On the other hand, in Estonian the regrammaticalization of the jussive suffix *-gu/-ku* originated exactly from the third person of the imperative, that is, from a contexts where the speaker and the command-giver are mostly the same person and then extended to the second and first persons.

Bulgarian also has a strategy for the rhetorical indirect command, which comes under type I. There are fossilised expressions, which are formed with a lone perfect participle:

(17) *Кучета ви я л у!*

'dog-PL you-ACC.PL eat-PRF.PRT-PL'

'M a y the dogs eat you!'

*Koerad teid söögu!*

In both languages it is possible to form inferential indirect commands, which are motivated by the results of an event that has taken place in the past. Such commands are directed to the past and thus cannot be carried out anymore. In Estonian such commands are formed with a lone past participle. In Bulgarian, however, a form of indicative perfect (i.e. one with the copula) has to be used if there is no phraseological statement:

(18) *Ta magas hommikul sisse. — T u l n u d eile õigel ajal koju* (Metslang, Muižniece, Pajusalu 1999 : 148).

'he sleep-IMPRF.3SG morning-ADESS inside-ILLAT. — come-RET.PRT yesterday right-ADESS time-ADESS home.'

'He overslept this morning. — S h o u l d h a v e c o m e h o m e o n t i m e.'

*Toi sütrinta se usna. — Да е дошъл вчера навреме.*

#### **4. Grammaticalization paths and the role of contacts**

The conception of grammatical evidentiality may be the result of intralingual development or may arise due to language contact. In the first development scenario two types of processes can be distinguished:

- a) evidential meaning evolved from a gradual shift of the semantic function of the past participle in Bulgarian and Estonian;
- b) a syntactic reanalysis on the one hand gave rise to a grammatical category (marked with the suffix *-vat*) and, on the other, led to certain evidential strategies in Estonian.

In Bulgarian the regrammaticalization of the perfect forms can be easily followed in the history of the language, as sources from the 9th century onwards are available (see Асенова 1989 : 191—219). The chain of changes is as follows:

- 1) the resultative perfect >
- 2) loses its original temporal dimensions and, starts to increasingly denote a general (temporally unmarked) past, changes to the indefinite past >
- 3) use as the indefinite past does not allow exact reference; distance in time, space and reality >
- 4) evidential strategy >
- 5) grammaticalized evidential //.

In the history of the Bulgarian evidential the third step was revolutionary. Via a metaphorical transfer distance in time was reanalysed as distance in communication. This is how the quotative came into being. Obviously the inferential and mirative were already present in the semantics of the resultative perfect. A conclusion based on the result of an event that had occurred in the past was expressed with the perfect (for the typology see Willet 1988 : 61, 81; Comrie 1995 : 108—110; Aikhenvald 2001 : 34). The change of the perfect to the indefinite past and the tendency to leave out the copula were probably related (see Friedman 1986 : 177—179). Ellipsis regularised only in the third person and gave rise to an independent category.

As in Estonian nowadays there are various forms that can express reported evidentiality I will here concern myself with the lone past participle and the *-vat* form. The first form is the only one that is used as a marker of evidentiality in the whole Estonian-speaking area, the second is the most common form in the literary language and also the most grammaticalized one. If we assume that the lone past participle came about through ellipsis, then the developmental model of the evidential strategy fits in with the scheme shown above for Bulgarian. H. Metslang, L. Muižniece and K. Pajusalu (2001 : 137—138) assume the opposite, namely, that the lone past participle was used in past narratives when there were no compound tenses as yet. Estonian *-vat* possibly derives from a participial construction used in subordinate clauses after the main verb of a speech act or mental state (Campbell 1991).

When looking at the role that contact has played in the development of these systems, it is easier to draw conclusions concerning the Bulgarian system. The development of the inferential from the perfect and onwards to an indirect is very common typologically (Willet 1988 : 81). The term 'Balkan-West Asian evidentiality belt' has been used to describe the similarities of the languages spoken between the Adriatic Sea and the Himalayas (DeLancey 2001 : 370). The languages of this belt share evidential systems with partly overlapping aspect and tense categories. In addition to Bulgarian, the following languages have developed evidential strategies or independent evidential systems from the perfect: Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Georgian, Avar, Persian, Tajik, and various Uralic languages (see Haarmann 1970 : 79; Aikhenvald 2001 : 13). Especially in the Balkan languages there is a whole set of similarities that cannot be explained by chance or typology only. The development of the grammaticalized evidential has not been considered a canonical balkanism (see Lindstedt 1998). There are two reasons for it. First, one of the characteristics of the Balkan sprachbund is a morphological simplification, and the development of the evidential is, thus, a process contrary to the general tendency, and second, it has been suggested that evidentiality has been borrowed relatively late from Turkish into the other languages.<sup>11</sup> The theory that the Bulgarian evidential system might be of Turkish origin could be supported by the fact that in both languages the morphological models of the so-called indirect tenses coincide completely. The Bulgarian system is

<sup>11</sup> Amongst the smaller languages of the Balkan sprachbund evidential systems have been found in Gagauz, Arumanian and in some Romany dialects spoken in Wallachia and Thrace (Aikhenvald 2001 : 46; Friedman 1986 : 184).

highly developed in the eastern dialects, where the Turkish influence has been strongest (Печ 1971).<sup>12</sup> In addition, some subsidiary evidential meanings show similar disposition to grammaticalization in the neighbouring languages. Of the Balkan languages the mirative, developed from the perfect, can be found in Turkish, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian, Arumanian dialects, and possibly elsewhere too.

It is clear that in Estonian in spite of phonetic similarities (e.g. the fossilised *vat-* form resembles the Latvian *-ot*) the markers of evidentiality have developed from the original morphological material. As regards the patterns of realisation of the category we cannot rule out foreign influence. Arnold Kask (1984 : 282–285) is of the opinion that the German conjunctive may have influenced the formation of the Estonian and Latvian quotative. The use of the lone past participle shows a number of resemblances between Estonian and Latvian. H. Metslang, L. Muižniece and K. Pajusalu (1999 : 150; see also Kask 1984 : 281–282) suggested that the use of the participles in South Estonian may have been influenced by the Baltic languages. B. Klaas (1997) sees the evidential systems in the languages of the east coast of the Baltic Sea as a result of areal grammaticalization, whereas L. Campbell (1991 : 289–290) does not rule out Finnic influence in Baltic.

Taking all this into account, we cannot ignore a fact that undermines all the attempts at establishing a diffusion through one-way contact. Neither the Balkans nor the Baltics have seen a widespread lingua franca. Regardless of their influence neither Turkish in the Balkans nor German in the Baltics has ever been a dominating common language for cross-linguistic communication amongst the speakers of the different languages of the region.

## 5. Conclusions

- 1) In Bulgarian only one morpheme (the past participle suffix *-л*) is used in the formation of a grammatical category with relatively amorphous semantics. In Estonian, on the other hand, various morphological material is used to form a grammatical category with a relatively narrow semantic range.
- 2) Markedness of the category: the paradigm of the Bulgarian OM is partly homonymous with indicative forms — the paradigmatic opposition between the indicative and the indirect is defective. The Estonian quotative system is grammaticalized to a much greater degree (with a fully developed paradigmatic opposition).
- 3) Evidentiality, tense and aspect: the Bulgarian system is dispersed among the tense and aspect categories and functions in alliance with them. The Estonian quotative system is independent of tense and aspectual categories.
- 4) Opposition between the evidential and the neutral forms: in Bulgarian indirect — everything else, in Estonian quotative — everything else.
- 5) The correlation between marking the source of the information and the speakers attitude. Bulgarian exposes in some tenses a tripartite model in which: (a) the source and the speakers attitude are unmarked, (b) the source is marked, but the speakers attitude is unmarked and (c) the source and

<sup>12</sup> For example, the Turkish copula particle *imiş* specifies the general indirect into quotative like Bulgarian *бул: gel-miş* (Bulg. *той дошъл*) 'he has come (ind.)'; *gel-miş-ti ş* (Bulg. *той би л дошъл*) 'he has reportedly come'.



the speakers attitude are both marked. In Estonian the attitude of the speaker is not explicitly marked. The Estonian system is thus bipartite, though there are strategies to additionally emphasise epistemic meanings.

6) Subtypes of evidentiality: the Bulgarian system covers inferential and mirative meaning, the Estonian system does not.

7) Discourse: in Bulgarian one can find routinization of narrative expression, in Estonian expression is not routinized.

8) Mediated command: in Bulgarian the indirect forms have spread to those situations where the speaker and the command-giver are not the same person, whereas in Estonian regrammaticalization of the so-called jussive forms originated in specifically those situations where they are the same person.

### Abbreviations

**EKG** — M. Erelt, R. Kasik, H. Metslang, H. Rajandi, K. Ross, H. Saari, K. Tael, S. Vare, Eesti keele grammatika I. Morfoloogia. Sõnamoodustus; II. Süntaks. Lisa: Kiri, Tallinn 1995; 1993; **ГБЕ** — Граматика на съвременния български книжовен език II. Морфология, София 1983.

**1PL** — 1st person plural; **1SG** — 1st person singular; **2PL** — 2nd person plural; **2SG** — 2nd person singular; **3PL** — 3rd person plural; **3SG** — 3rd person singular; **ADESS** — adessive; **AOR** — aorist; **EV** — evidentiality; **ILLAT** — illative; **IMPRF** — imperfect; **INESS** — inessive; **PASS** — passive; **PRÉS** — present tense; **PRET** — preterite; **PRF** — perfect; **PRT** — participle; **QUOT** — quotative; **TRANSL** — translative.

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ПЕТР КЕХАЙОВ (Тарту)

#### ТИПОЛОГИЯ ГРАММАТИКАЛИЗИРОВАННОЙ ЭВИДЕНЦИАЛЬНОСТИ В БОЛГАРСКОМ И ЭСТОНСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ

Целью настоящей работы является сравнение двух эвиденциальных систем. Базой анализа послужили некоторые общетеоретические разработки о месте категории эвиденциальности в универсальном семантическом пространстве (Willet 1988; Козинцева 1994; Aikhenvald 2000; Plungian 2001). Вопрос о центральной (инвариантной) функции этой категории до сих пор не получил исчерпывающего ответа. Анализируя рассматриваемые системы, мы постарались выяснить проблему соотношения категорий эвиденциальности и модальности в болгарском и эстонском языках.

Структура маркированности в болгарской системе т.н. пересказывательного наклонения менее разработана, чем в эстонской. В болгарской системе наблюдается систематическая омонимия между парадигмами изъявительного и пересказывательного наклонений. Главным механизмом разграничения между наклонениями в наиболее употребительных временах является выпадение вспомогательного глагола в формах третьего лица пересказывательного наклонения. В эстонском языке категория эвиденциальности маркируется монофункциональным формантом *-vat*. Эта система более четко оформлена и характеризуется полной парадигматической оппозицией.

В болгарской системе передача эвиденциальности рассеяна среди таких глагольных категорий, как время и вид. То есть, эвиденциальное значение является результатом взаимодействия темпоральной и аспектуальной систем. Эстонская же система не зависит от времени и вида.

С точки зрения семантики следует отметить, что в болгарской системе только одна морфема (суффикс действительного причастия прошедшего времени *-л*) в комбинации с эллипсисом образует грамматическую категорию со сравнительно аморфной семантикой. В системе эстонского пересказывательного наклонения, наоборот, для образования грамматической категории со сравнительно узким се-

мантическим охватом используется многообразный морфологический материал. Так, в болгарской системе принцип противопоставления маркированной и нейтральной форм заключается в оппозиции *индирект* — *все остальное*, в эстонской же системе — *квотатив* — *все остальное* (все остальное здесь означает все другие возможные подтипы эвиденциальности, кроме непрямого свидетельства).

Болгарская система более модализирована. В некоторых секторах болгарской темпоральной системы корреляция между указанием на источник информации и субъективным отношением говорящего выражена эксплицитно. Так, можно конструировать трехчастную функционально-семантическую модель, в которой разграничиваются а) формы для прямого свидетельства, в которых источник информации и отношение говорящего не маркируются; б) формы для непрямого свидетельства, в которых источник информации маркируется, но отношение говорящего не маркируется; в) формы для непрямого свидетельства, в которых как источник информации, так и отношение говорящего маркируются. В морфологической системе эстонского языка субъективное отношение говорящего эксплицитно не выражается. Система является двухчастной несмотря на наличие в эстонском некоторых дополнительных стратегий подчеркивания эпистемических значений.

В задачи сравнительного исследования входит также выделение разных подтипов эвиденциальности. Болгарская система кроме функции незасвидетельствованности (квотатив) охватывает инференциальные (базирующиеся на умозаключении) и адмиративные функции. Эстонская система ограничена функцией квотатива.

Что касается отношения эвиденциальности и императива, то в морфологических системах обоих языков есть средства для передачи косвенных приказов. Эти средства отличаются от используемых при маркировании обычного императива второго лица. У формантов, участвующих в образовании этих форм, в болгарском и эстонском языках различная история. Поэтому в употреблении форм косвенного приказа наблюдается разная ситуативная дистрибуция. Болгарские формы пересказывательного наклонения распространились лишь на те ситуации, в которых говорящий и источник приказа не являются одной личностью. В эстонском же вторичная грамматикализация т.н. юссива началась именно с тех ситуаций, в которых говорящий и источник приказа совпадают.

Рассмотрение процесса грамматикализации эвиденциальных маркеров и роли контактов с другими языками при оформлении систем дает основание сделать некоторые выводы. В болгарском языке система формировалась поэтапно через изменения в семантических функциях перфектного причастия. В эстонском литературном языке синтаксический реанализ вызвал развитие грамматической категории эвиденциальности. По отношению к болгарской системе, где влияние турецкого языка очень вероятно, можно сделать более надежные выводы о влиянии межъязыковых контактов на процесс грамматикализации. Что касается некоторых образцов реализации категории, влияние соседних языков на формирование системы эстонского языка также нельзя полностью исключить.