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NEW QUOTATIVES IN FINNISH AND ESTONIAN LANGUAGES

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1. Introduction

The concept *quotative index* was first introduced in Tom Güldemann's synchronic and diachronic survey on this topic in African languages. According to the brief explanation by Güldemann (2008), quotative indexes are linguistic forms signaling the presence of reported discourse. *Reported discourse* is “a representation of a spoken or mental text from which the reporter distances him-/herself by indicating that this text is produced by a source of consciousness different from that of the immediate discourse”. The entire linguistic form that serves the expression of reported discourse is called a *reported discourse construction* and has two major constituents – the *quote*, i.e. the expression representing non-immediate discourse, and the *quotative index*, i.e. the one that indicates the presence of such a quote within the ongoing discourse (Güldemann 2008: 6-11, 2012: 118).

Along with introducing the concept of quotative indexes, a number of parallel innovations has been observed cross-linguistically. In a range of typologically related and unrelated languages, the lexical material without any on the first look originally necessary for its semantics, is going through a linguistic change and takes a reported discourse introducing functions (I. Buchstaller, I. Van Alphen, 2012: XII). This process is being noticed developing for decades, hence, comparing it with other innovating processes in a number of languages, it can be clearly stated that these items represent the prospective in the future linguistic change and not simply a distinguishing factor in varieties of teen talk and the language of the younger generation.

In Finnish (ISK: §1457-60) as well as in Estonian Grammar (EKG: §716) reported discourse constructions are described¹. However, these descriptions are exceedingly generalized: they mention the main features of reported discourse and define its main

¹ - In Finnish linguistics the term *referointi* is usually used for reported discourse construction (ISK: § 1457-59); in Estonian linguistics the term *referaat* corresponds to the term reported discourse construction (EKG: § 716).

constituents *per se* used in the standard language. Finnish Grammar, on the contrary to Estonian Grammar, includes also a brief presentation of new quotatives used in colloquial Finnish (ISK: §1486-87). Nevertheless, these descriptions can be considered sufficient only to get a basic idea of reported discourse in each of these languages. Up-to-date typological terminology used in the studies on reported discourse has not been yet introduced for neither Finnish and Estonian, nor it has been used previously in Finno-Ugric linguistics.

The aim of this thesis is to introduce the concept of quotative indexes for Finnish and Estonian and to present an overview on new quotatives in these languages. It seeks to determine what types of new quotative indexes are legitimate in Finnish and Estonian, what are possible motivations for their usage. An important question rises whether one can draw an analogy between their usage in both languages. There is also an attempt made to define what the possible source constructions for the new quotative indexes are. For these purposes, written data from the Internet was used as the material for the empirical study.

After an introduction, a detailed overview of previous studies on reported discourse and the category of quotative index is provided, followed by a subsection, dedicated to the theoretical framework of this thesis, extensively defining the notion of new quotatives. A further chapter outlines the empirical study of this thesis.

One of the main goals of this thesis is to describe various possibilities of the usage of new quotative indexes in reported discourse. For this purpose, text materials, available in open access on the Internet from chat rooms, news groups, forums, are analyzed. An attempt is made to identify the motivating factors of usage of new quotative indexes by specifying the possible source constructions for different situations. Where possible, analogies between Finnish and Estonian new quotatives are suggested.

Finally, based on this research, conclusions on new quotatives, found in contemporary Estonian and Finnish languages, are presented.

1.1. Previous studies on reported discourse and quotative indexes

The last couple of decades have been spectacularly rich in researches on reported discourse constructions as a whole, with special attention to the new quotatives, arising as a quoted speech introducers in a number of languages, both typologically related and not.

The major study on quotative indexes and reported discourse as a complex whole has been made by Tom Güldemann in his synchronic and diachronic survey of quotative indexes in African languages (Güldemann 2008, 2012). In his survey, the author introduces the necessary typological terminology on the subject of reported discourse. Güldemann first made an approach to making his study construction-oriented.

Concise cross-linguistic analysis of new quotatives has been carried out by I. Buchstaller and I. Van Alphen (2012). The authors discuss the notion of new quotatives as an evidence of cross-linguistic development and material for future language change. Additionally, a list of newcomers in a pool of quotatives, classified by their semantic meaning, is provided for a number of typologically related and unrelated languages, followed by a dispute about their possible source constructions.

In addition, the subject of new quotatives has been previously vastly studied for different variants of English, e.g.: English (Buchstaller 2006, 2011), American English (Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang 1990; Romaine and Lange 1991), and New Zealand English (Terraschke 2008, Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009). New quotatives have been partially studied previously also in Scandinavian languages – Swedish (Eriksson 1992, 1995), Finland-Swedish (Henricson 2010, 2011), and Norwegian (Hasund *et al.* 2012), preceded by researches on discourse markers and description of the grammar of quotative constructions in these languages (in Swedish: Eriksson 1997; Jönsson 2005; in Norwegian: Hasund 2003; Opsahl 2002; Opsahl and Svennevig 2007).

In Finnish, first researches on reported discourse started in the middle of the 20th century. Penttilä (1948), who has first introduced the definition of reported discourse, was the pioneer of the studies on this subject. Besides Penttilä (1948), reported discourse in Finnish has been studied by Ikola (1961), Kurkkio (1978), Kuri (1984) and

Koski (1985). Penttilä (1948) and especially Ikola described vastly reported discourse constructions, basing their studies on the corpora from Finnish literature and different dialects of Finnish language. Kurkkio concentrated on quoting within different text styles of contemporary Finnish. In addition, Koski's research was based on written language and quotations in it. Kuri has been studying reporting discourse in colloquial Finnish, especially in the dialects of Northern Karelian and Kainu. The latest general description of reported discourse in Finnish is provided in Finnish Grammar (ISK, 2004).

Besides the descriptions in Finnish Grammar, a synchronic and diachronic overview of reported discourse has been provided by Jyrki Kalliokoski in Haakana and Kalliokoski 2005. The major part of the overview is dedicated to a brief summary of quotative indexes in literary and new quotatives in colloquial Finnish.

More detailed information on new quotatives in colloquial Finnish can be found in Sara Routarinne's article on the grammatical functions of them in reported discourse constructions (Routarinne 2005). Her analysis largely covers the usage of the verb *olla* 'to be' with complementizer *että* 'that' and similative/comparative marker *niinku* 'like' in a quote introducing clauses. Additionally to it, Markku Haakana (2005) has made an attempt to analyze which new quotatives can be used in quoting real utterances and which are used to quote thoughts.

Hanna Lappalainen (2005) has studied the variation in usage of particles with non-reportative semantics in roles of quotative indexes, concurrently concentrating her research on the correlation between the usage of new quotatives in the speech of Finnish youth and their gender.

Sirja Kunelius' master's thesis discusses different uses of the comparative/similative marker *niinku* 'like' in Finnish language. Among these functions, the quotative index function is mentioned and described (Kunelius 1998).

Milla Kajanne's (1996) article concentrates on new quotative index clauses, consisting of the equational verb *olla* and the conjunction *että*, in the scope of story-telling, quotation and expressing power with linguistic means.

In Estonian, the general analysis of reported discourse is provided in Estonian Grammar (EKG 1993) and in the Handbook of Estonian language (Eesti Keele Käsiraamat 2007). The description is limited to the definition of reported discourse, reported discourse construction and its main constituents. Quotative indexes, commonly used in literary Estonian, are provided there with all their possible variants.

1.2. New Quotatives as a contemporary trend in introducing quote

Van Alphen and Buchstaller (2012) in their overview of the notion ‘new quotatives’ have made a remarkable observation on lexical material, taking quotative functions, being used in already existing systems of reporting speech and thought. Before moving to the detailed observation on new quotatives, this subchapter starts with giving a short overview on what reported discourse is, later the definition of quotative indexes is provided, and finally the concept ‘new quotatives’ is described.

1.2.1. Reported discourse and reported discourse construction

For defining the frameworks of reported discourse and quotative indexes as a major constituent of reported discourse construction, the terminology proposed by Güldemann (2008: 1-15), is used here.

Cross-linguistically in traditional grammars for the insertion into the discourse of some utterance that does not pertain to the immediate process of communication the term of *reported speech* is used, which is occasionally misleading as a term itself – both structurally and what concerns the quote itself. If one looks at constructions, that are generally considered as sentences that include “indirect speech forms” (double-voiced utterances, speech-within-speech: Jakobson 1957; Vološinov 1973) these constructions may include besides the verbs of saying also verbs of thinking, knowing, guessing, concluding, etc. As it has been stated by Palmer (1986: 135-136) there is “very little formal difference between constructions with epistemic verbs and verbs of saying”.

Internally, what concerns the quote itself (and what is usually omitted in grammar descriptions), these constructions may include the words that might have or might not have been said previously. Even represented by speech verbs, reported speech is not always a representation of somebody's words – what can be reported may not actually have been said and not everything that was said can actually be reported (Romaine and Lange 1991: 244). Hence, the need for new terminology and new definitions has become evident.

For these purposes, the concept of reported discourse has been proposed by Güldemann (2008), as a representation of cognitive acts or states “from which the reporters distance themselves by indicating that it is produced by a source of consciousness in a pragmatic and deictic setting that is different from that of the immediate discourse”. By cognitive act in this definition is meant the entire categorical scale between extremely indirect and direct discourse, likewise including the internal perception and cognition. For the following specification, reported discourse can be divided into indirect and direct reported discourse (Güldemann 2008: 6-8).

Following Güldemann's conception of reported discourse (Güldemann 2008: 10-11), the entire linguistic form serving the expression of reported discourse is called *reported discourse construction*, which consists of two major constituents: the *quote*, an expression representing the reported non-immediate discourse, and the *quotative index*, a linguistic form indicating the presence of such a quote within the ongoing discourse.

To be more specific, several features of quotative indexes, specified by Güldemann (2008), are mentioned in the following subchapter.

1.2.2. Quotative indexes as formal signs of reported discourse

“Quotative index² is a segmentally discrete linguistic expression which is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse” (Güldemann 2008: 11). Besides that, quotative indexes having the reportative function, often perform the evaluating function of what being reported (Spronck 2012: 72) (‘the representation of linguistic actions’ vs. ‘commentaries about these actions’: Besnier 1993: 161) as well as serve subjective and interpersonal functions (Hasund *et al.* 2012: 38). However, the main function of QI is to focus on the presence of a quote – an alien textual entity within the discourse.

The important factor here is that QI is a linguistic expression, so, essentially, it can be either a gram bound to the quote, an independent function word, a phrase, a full sentential syntagm or a clause (even with more than one predicate) (Güldemann 2008: 11).

Quotative index and quote form a complex whole, reported discourse construction, and they should not be interrupted by any other linguistic material. Syntactically there is indeed an integration of reported discourse into QI, as on its own quote cannot always function as an independent clause (Kalliokoski 2005: 23).

Moderately QI would be likely to consist of (a) a verb that functions as a predicate nucleus and denotes the speech event, (b) a nominal referring to a speaker to whom this event is attributed and, additionally, less required (c) a nominal referring to the addressee, e.g. *X said (to Y)*. However, this type of quotative is a simple proposition that represents a state of affairs. In previous typological studies, it was falsely and hastily classified as a default pattern and a canonical structure of quotative index, e.g., in Clark and Gerrig’s ‘Quotations as demonstrations’ (1990: 771): ‘the prototypical quotation is the direct object of say, tell or ask in the present or past tense’. Nonetheless, this type is an event-oriented quotative, which makes it only a QI-type within the existing arranged

² - Further the shortening QI may be also encountered, which is also used in Güldemann’s monography (2008).

classification system (Güldemann 2012: 117-118). Systematical classification along with other types of quotatives is presented further.

Predicates, used in event-oriented quotatives (QI-predicates: Güldemann 2008: 12), can be divided into three major categories: (1) generic speech verbs (say, speak, tell, etc.), (2) specific speech verbs (answer, ask, whisper, insist, praise, announce, return call, etc.) and non-speech verbs – verbs semantically not referring to human vocal behavior (do, make, (re)turn, etc.). However, verbs, in general, are probable, but not indispensable elements of quotative index. Besides that, there is no universal structural explanation for governing presence or absence of a verb in a quotative index. Verbless QI may occur as a pragmatic issue of speech style, text style, etc. They may be seen likewise as a tendency to reduce the complexity of a QI in certain discourse environments (Güldemann 2008: 12-13, 56-59).

Broadly, quotatives can be divided into quote-oriented and participant-oriented QI. Participant-oriented quotatives are encoding exclusively the speaker and/or the addressee of the quote. Depending what is highlighted more – the speaker or the addressee – the participant-oriented quotatives are divided into speaker-oriented or addressee-oriented quotatives.

Quote-oriented constructions highlight either the event or the quote itself. Above presented example *X said (to Y)* is event-oriented, where the speech verb is in focus, which introduces the state of affairs.

Quote-oriented QI has three main subtypes. The first subtype has as its nucleus a simple verbal clause, which outside of the quotative construction does not have reportative semantics, but inside the clause it is paraphrasable by the verb of speech with no apparent change in referential meaning. This verbal clause is a grammaticalized quotative marker in verbal disguise, or otherwise can be introduced as a *quotative verb*.

Second and third subtypes are syntactically bipartite as they display quote-orienting elements separately from a verbal predicate. Clause-like one is monoclausal (a) and the other is biclausal bipartite (b). They can be illustrated by classical English examples from Güldemann (2012: 120):

(a) then Peter tells him, he says (...)

(b) then Peter tells him like (...)

Additionally, QI can be classified according to their position vis-à-vis the quote:

(1) Preposed cataphoric QI

(2) Postposed anaphoric QI

(3) Circumposed anaphoric QI

(4) Intraposed QI

Cross-linguistic preference suggests that most languages take preposed QIs, however, basic word order is an important factor for the QI-profile of individual language (Güldemann 2008: 517).

1.2.3. New quotatives in a scope of polyfunctionality

The notion *new quotatives* has been previously introduced and described by Isabelle Buchstaller (2004, 2007; Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012). As it has been pointed out before in the introduction, cross-linguistic evidence has risen, suggesting that a range of typologically related and unrelated languages are currently undergoing a parallel development – lexical material with non-reportative semantics is being used as an instrument introducing reported discourse. The so-called newcomers in quotative pool have been the subject of vigorous, in-depth sociolinguistic investigations for the last decades. From sociolinguistic perspective, new quotatives are eminently representing the colloquial speech of youth and adolescent people. Some evidence has risen pointing up the correlation between the usage of new quotatives and speaker's gender (usage of new quotative *like* in English in teenage girls' speech: Romaine and Lange 1991) likewise to their social status, e.g. *go* in English, are associated with lower class male speech style (Ferrara and Bell 1995). However, the question is still completely unsolved: why are exactly these elements taking quotative functions and how much is the source for these quotatives restricted?

These questions brought to another consideration that the elements recently taken quotative functions largely derive from a limited number of source constructions, having originally either comparative, demonstrative deictic or quantifying functions, as well as a number of motion verbs (I. Buchstaller, I. Van Alphen 2012: XII-XIV). However, a number of so-called canonical *old quotatives* are likewise considered being the outcome of the grammaticalization processes, e.g., originally employed for other functions, most importantly to indexing of mimesis in general, had started being used in domain of reported discourse (Güldemann 2008: 521).

Another factor is taken into account that new quotatives can easily combine into chains, so that in one sentence two quantifying markers with the modal adverbial and followed by complementizer fulfill the quotative function, as in the following example from Finnish:

- (1) *et mä ol-i-n vaan ihan silleen et*
 that 1SG be-PST-1SG **just quite like that**
ei mu-n tarvi mistään välittää
 NEG.3SG 1SG-GEN need.CONNEG nothing complain.INF
 ‘...that I was **just quite like that** I don’t need to complain about nothing’
 (asuntoensin.fi)³

Or another example from Routarinne (2005: 89)⁴, where manner and modal adverbial are followed by comparative/simulative marker and complementizer:

- (2) ”*Sit Kalle ol-i just s(h)illeen niinku*
 Then PN be-PST.3SG just like like
et @no ei kai tässä muu-ta-kaan
 that PTCL NEG.3SG probably here other-PTV-NEG.PTCL
voi@⁵
 can-CONNEG

‘Then Kalle was **just like that** em, nothing else cannot probably be done here’
 (Routarinne 2005: 89).

The chain of new quotative markers can be found likewise in Estonian:

- (3) *Põhimõtteliselt on nagu nii et okay ma*
 Basically be-PST-3SG **like so that** okay 1SG

³ - In the current thesis, reported discourse in the translation is marked by underlining.

⁴ - Glossing and translations are mine, DT.

⁵ - Sign @ indicates change of the reporter’s voice characteristics (Routarinne 2003: 91).

tegin 2 *TÄIESTI* *MÖTTETUT* *postitus-t* *ok*
 did NUM completely ridiculous posting-PTV okay
 ‘Basically it is *like so that* okay, I did 2 completely stupid postings, okay’ (New media corpus).

Pointed out by Güldemann (2001), lexical material used as a source for new quotatives is “notoriously polyfunctional outside the quotative frame” (Buchstaller 2001: 1). Moreover, if one compares the number of quotative indexes where the speech verbs are used with those, where any other item occurs (old quotatives vs. new), the ratio will be 1:5. Furthermore, if one considers that, for instance, if there is the cognate equivalent of a comparative marker that has become discourse introductory in a number of languages, then one can already indicate the cross-linguistic evidence for “a functional correspondence between the functions of this linguistic item” (I. Buchstaller 2001: 3).

Hence, there were several attempts made to explain the polyfunctionality of new quotatives. Buchstaller builds her explanation of their polyfunctionality on a postulate of unidirectionality in grammaticalization. However, the choice of the source for new quotatives is not accidental, and it would rather refer to their linguistic and social significance. These items, serving as new quotatives, have taken on their new functions with respect to mimetic enactments, the marking of epistemicity, and speaker role demarcation. As it is evident that the appearance of new functions is somehow motivated, or in connection with old ones, the cognitive processes such as metaphor, metonymy or context-induced interpretation are the outcome of creative language use. This brings us to the idea that the new meanings are motivated and explicable – they can transfer and motivate newer functions to arise out of linguistic items (I. Buchstaller 2001: 2-3).

Güldemann’s (2008) explanation somehow correlates with the one pointed out above in a sense that polyfunctionality can be the result of a derivation from another more basic meaning or function, like indexing mimetic enactments. However, another suggestion is that the function of QI outside reported discourse is connected to its use inside a QI in a way that implies that reported discourse itself went through grammaticalization process to get the non-reported discourse use (Güldemann 2008: 521).

The first case gets its support from the evidence that QIs, in general, rely on a much greater variety of lexical and grammatical elements than speech verbs, e.g.:

- (1) verbs of action
- (2) markers of similarity and manner
- (3) quote-referring pronominals (demonstrative deictics in Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XIV)
- (4) markers of focus and presentation
- (5) speaker-referring pronominals (from Güldemann 2008: 521) (demonstrative deictics in Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XIV)
- (6) quantifying markers (from Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012)

The potential of these elements for grammaticalization is colossal: it is supported by a huge amount and frequency of cross-linguistic examples (further on this topic see Güldemann 2008, Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012) and in consideration of semantically generic character that these elements already possess.

The second case, where a function of a QI-element outside the reported discourse domain can be related to its employment in reported discourse, provides the whole list of functions:

- (a) Naming
- (b) Reported evidence
- (c) Illocution reinforcement
- (d) Simile
- (e) Proximative
- (f) Deontic modality
- (g) Indirect causation
- (h) Purpose-clause linkage
- (i) Reason-clause linkage
- (j) Condition-clause linkage
- (k) Multipurpose subordination

In addition to it, two functional complexes can be listed here: (1) an expression of internal awareness and its specialized variants like intention etc.; (2) proposition-type linkage associated with complement-taking predicate. These two functions can be subsumed under the semantic range of the reported discourse domain (Güldemann 2008: 522-523).

The list presented above from Güldemann (2008: 522-523) is not considered to be complete. Largely the process of grammaticalization that reported discourse underwent itself is connected to various historical aspects and is not going to be described in this subchapter (for more details see Güldemann 2008). Only some functions, listed above, emerge from the corpora collected for this thesis and are further brought to discussion.

1.3. Justification of empirical studies

One of the main goals of this thesis is to describe the usage of new quotatives in reported discourse in Finnish and Estonian language. Although this thesis is meant to be qualitative research and is not aiming to provide quantitative outcomes of the current research, one of the main obstacles is a vast amount of material to be described that is broadly used in a quotative function in contemporary Finnish and Estonian languages. Hence, the material used for analysis is restricted by the amount of new quotatives, described in this thesis.

The idea to study new quotatives in Finnish and Estonian languages came from the material provided in the introductory chapter on new quotatives in Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012). The list of evident new quotatives from a number of languages, provided by various informants, included possible new quotatives from Finnish and Estonian. The number of quotatives was restricted by semantic features, these QI originally have: comparative markers, demonstrative deictic markers, quantifiers and motion verbs (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XIV). In the course of building the corpus for this thesis, several items not mentioned in previous studies derive from our own observations. Some new quotatives have not shown many results during the analysis though they are yet included in the discussion of this thesis.

Nevertheless, this material is not restricted in the current study by neither dialectal variations nor more specific sociological factors of the informants (e.g. gender, age, social status etc.). Bearing in mind that the notion of new quotatives has been developing in various languages for decades so far, but has not yet developed into linguistic change in the literary Finnish and Estonian languages, the material selected for this thesis is characterized by features, peculiar to colloquial language.

It is well known that one of the most studied parts of the language used in the Internet is the features that differ from both the spoken colloquial variant and written standard. From one point of view, the usage of so-called smileys, different unstandardized shortenings and various orthographic symbols makes the Internet language different from both colloquial and standard language variants. However, the language itself is in between these two variants, as in realization one can find both standard writing and colloquial speech put inside the text (Helasvuo *et al.* 2014: 13).

The objective is set to analyze the written data available in free access on the Internet taking in account previously listed material with the classification of their semantic features. According to the objective, the goal is set to observe the comments and discussion on different on-line forums, newspapers, magazines, blogs etc. The idea is to look for quotations in general and in comments left about previous publications.

For Estonian, written text collections from New media corpus of the Mixed Corpora of Estonian language has been used, freely accessible on the Internet (<http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/uusmeedia/>). Additionally, independently collected data has been used for analysis.

For Finnish, independently collected written data from a number of on-line forums, newspapers, magazines and blogs has been used as basic material.

2. New quotative indexes in previous studies and collected data

The empirical part of this thesis is divided into two parts. The first part is dedicated to the new quotatives found in Finnish language. In the second part, new quotatives from Estonian are analyzed.

The classification of new QI, presented in this thesis, has a specific pattern. First, the usage of new quotatives is analyzed on their possibilities to be used in the QI-clause together with speech verbs (without any special attention and separate classification for generic or specific speech verbs). Then, occurrences of new quotatives with non-speech verbs are analyzed where it is possible. Special attention is paid to the strategies described in previous studies, namely an equational verb ‘to be’ (*olla*) + new quotatives (Haakana 2005; Routarinne 2005). Some new quotatives are found in QI-clauses together with nominal categories, referring to the source of the original utterance. Indubitably, this pattern is not used for the motion verb *tulla* ‘to come’, which was likewise described in this thesis as a part of the inventory of new quotatives in Finnish.

2.1. New quotatives in Finnish

An analysis carried out on Finnish communications in the Internet has given several obvious results on new quotatives, previously listed (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XIV), discussed and studied (Haakana 2005; Kalliokoski 2005; Lappalainen 2005; Routarinne 2005).

Several new items, that have not been yet described previously, has appeared during the collection of the material and building the corpora for current research. As it has been declared above, the aim of this study is to provide a qualitative result and this thesis is not restricted on frequency potentialities of some quotative indexes. Hence, several quotatives have not been supported by the amount of examples, giving only a couple of

matches in the collected material. However, this material is also presented in this research, despite the fact that it requires further more detailed quantitative research.

In this chapter, the following new quotatives are discussed: *niin kuin (niinku)*, *tyyliin*, *et(tä)*⁶, and the motion verb *tulla*.

The examples presented in the following chapters mostly consist of the materials, independently collected for the current thesis. The sources of these materials have been restricted to web pages, where one uses mostly colloquial variants of Finnish language, e.g. blogs, forums, comment sections in the news portals, etc. Those web pages with strict use of Standard Finnish, where new quotatives are rarely used, have been excluded from the materials.

In subsections where there are present references to the previous studies, often the examples from these studies are brought into discussion as a means to depict some notion or use. Most examples come from the Finnish Grammar – Iso Suomen Kielioppi (ISK). Besides that, several examples are likewise used from the previous studies on reported discourse constructions in Finnish and cross-linguistically. This type of examples is marked and mentioned in footnotes together with the original source. The unmarked examples belong to the independently collected materials, available in free access on the Internet.

All the examples are glossed and translated into English, also those examples from previous studies where glossing and translation have been missing. In this case, it is mentioned in footnotes that the glossing and translation belongs to the author of the current thesis.

⁶ - The colloquial variant of the Finnish complementizer *että* is usually shortened to *et*; in the subsection dedicated to *et(tä)* the auxiliary element *ihan*, previously listed as independent new quotative *ihan et* (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012:XIV), is also discussed.

2.1.1. Comparative/similative marker *niin kuin* (*niinku*): its functions outside and inside the quotative frame

Various properties of similative marker *niin kuin* (*niinku*) have received some attention in previous studies. In Finnish Grammar, *niin kuin* is characterized as a compound conjunction, which consists of a comparative conjunction *kuin* (ISK: § 819) and manner adverb *niin* (ISK: § 1172). It is used in comparative/similative constructions, where comparing parts are somehow similar, equivalent or identical (Kunelius 1998: 2), likewise it fulfils the functions of an approximative marker (ISK: § 1176) which can be seen from the example (4) and (5)⁷ of non-discourse uses of *niin kuin*:

(4) *Vanha mies kompuroi, **niin kuin** olisi kaatumaisillaan.*

‘The old man stumbled, **as if** he was about to fall’ (wiktionary.org).

(5) *Komentelee **niin kuin** olisi isäntä talossa.*

‘Bossing around, **like** he is the owner of the house’ (Kunelius 1998: 5).

In example (4), *niin kuin* points to the approximativity of two actions, described in the first and the second part of the sentences. In example (5), *niinku* describes the similarity of manner of action.

In colloquial Finnish, the shortened version *niinku* is often used (Kunelius 1998: 2).

According to Kunelius (1998: 2), *niin kuin* (*niinku*) shares similar functions with the similative/approximative conjunctions *kuten* and *ikään kuin* (further see Kunelius 1998: 2).

In colloquial Finnish, *niinku* fulfils the functions of a discourse particle, or as it is often called, pragmatic particle or discourse marker. These functions are lying outside the frames of the aims and objectives of the current thesis and they are not going to be discussed here (further on this topic see Kunelius 1998). However, one must mention that several items, belong to the wider category of discourse markers, have been previously noticed used in quotative constructions as markers introducing reported discourse in a couple of languages, e.g. English and Norwegian. It was pointed out that

⁷ - Example (4) is taken from the Internet with translation provided; example (5) is taken from Kunelius (1998: 5), translation is mine, DT.

some of the functions of discourse markers are correlating with the quotative uses of these markers (Hasund *et al.* 2012: 38-39).

Hence, the particle *niinku* can be noticed being part of the quotative clause or even fulfilling the function of quotative index, as it is mentioned in Finnish Grammar, (5) “separating reported discourse” or (6) “differentiating speech turn-taking from each other” (ISK: §861)⁸:

- (5) *Siis Alma niinku lähe osta-ma-an sitte*
 then PN like go.IMP buy-INF-ILL then

‘Then Alma (is/was) *like go buy then*’ (ISK: §861).

- (6) *Siinä sitten kysy-ttiin että mistä oo-t*
 there then ask-PASS COMP where be.PRES-2SG
kotoisin niinku Kelkamäe-ltä ni sit siinä oli
 from like Kelkamäki-ABL so then there was
jotain kauheaa
 something horrible

‘Then, at that point it was asked *that where are you from? like from Kelkamäki*, as if there was something horrible’ (ISK: §861).

The occurrence of lexical items that denote comparison, similarity or approximation (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XIV) along with reported discourse is not surprising. One must acknowledge that the process of quotation is never word-to-word, verbatim reproduction of somebody’s previous utterance, for the reason that „each utterance of a speaker constitutes a unique speech event“, that makes any given utterance inside it likewise unique (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV; Romaine and Lange 1991: 229). „Any form of spontaneous oral quotation is inevitably compromised by the reporters’ accent, style, prosody and, importantly, memory, and is thus nothing more than an approximation of the original speech act“ (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV).

Since there will be always “something lost in translation” while quoting any previous utterance and since the amount of possible representations of this utterance is high, it is quite imminent that reported discourse is somehow opaque. This feature of reported

⁸ - Examples are taken from Kunelius (1998: 52-53); glossing and translation are mine, DT.

discourse is attempted to be explained by the difference of the intentions and beliefs every speaker employs in the utterance, and since there is no restrictions on the referring expressions, producing the reported discourse speakers may insert “the additional information from their own point of view” (Romaine and Lange 1991: 230).

The epistemic hedging function of similitive/comparative markers, which helps the reporter distance himself from the original utterance, is found often useful in QI-clauses; likewise, they are noticed to be used as well in the constructions, where reported discourse is a representation of one’s attitudes, feelings, and points of views or opinions.

Hence, their occurrence in the quotative construction points that the following reported discourse is not “the exact depiction of an individual speech act of a particular situation, but rather as a typification of a situation, a group of people or an individual” (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV). Moreover, it brings the focusing effect on the “non-propositional, paralinguistic aspects of the non-immediate speech or cognition event” (Güldemann 2008: 318). It should be likewise acknowledged that the scope of uses of similitive markers is quite wide, besides their original functions, so their appearance in quotative constructions is not surprising (Güldemann 2008: 327).

In colloquial Finnish, uses of *niin kuin* (*niinku*) in reported discourse constructions is quite often and according to Finnish Grammar (ISK: § 1486), it represents a typical for colloquial speech part of the quotative index clause (7), consisting of reporter (speaker) and particle *niinku* + complementizer *että*:

(7) <i>ja</i>	<i>just</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>viimese-nä</i>	<i>et</i>	
and	exactly	DEM	like	then	last-ESS	COMP	
<i>tiedä-t-kö</i>			<i>sinä</i>	<i>mi-stä</i>	<i>sin-un</i>		
know-2SG-PTCL			2SG	what-ELL	2SG-GEN		
<i>mies-tä-si</i>				<i>törkeästä</i>	<i>ryöstöstä</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>törkeästä</i>
husband-PART-POSS.2SG				outrageous	robbery	or	outrageous
<i>varkaudesta</i>							
theft							

‘And exactly that one (was) then *like that* do you know for what (they took) your husband: outrageous robbery or outrageous theft’ (ISK: §1486)⁹

However, it should be mentioned, that the structural image of QI-clause in colloquial Finnish, presented above from Finnish Grammar (ISK: §1486), is marginally generalized and does not cover all the possible strategies of the reported discourse constructions. Hence, the need for more precise and systematic classification, covering these strategies, becomes obvious.

2.1.1.1. Speech verbs and *niin kuin (niinku)*

The idea to study the usage of new quotatives with speech verbs came from the following assumption: if new quotatives, i.e. lexical material without any original reportative semantics, occur as core elements in QI-clauses, i.e. as items that take functions of indicating the presence of quote, the possibility of their occurrence as an auxiliary element in the clause with speech verbs is quite high.

The presence of comparative/similative markers in quotative constructions was previously justified by their semantics, which occasionally give the speaker possibility to “acknowledge and even highlight the approximative value of the quotation and thereby shield themselves from potential criticism regarding the inexact nature of the representation” (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV). Moreover, Güldemann claims that similative markers do not exhaust the range of elements that can encode similarity and, based on these meanings, can come to be used as semantically essential parts of QIs (Güldemann 2008: 318).

More justifications of their usage in the QI-clause have been provided in detail in the previous subchapter.

QI-clauses with comparative/similative marker *niin kuin (niinku)* typically consist of the speaker (reporter), speech verb and *niin kuin (niinku)*:

⁹ - Example is taken from ISK (§1486); glossing and translation are mine, DT.

(8) *NE VASTA-S NIINKU BONO DELA-A*¹⁰
 3PL answer-PST.3PL like PN die.PRES-3SG

‘They **answered like** Bono is/will dying/die’ (ylilauta.org).

(9) *Älä kysy tyhmii niinku mi-st*
 NEG.IMP ask.CONNEG stupid like what-ELL
on kyse.
 be.PRES.3SG question

Don’t **ask** stupid questions **like** what’s it about (topblog.djmatioca.com).

Although in (9) the speech verb and *niinku* are separated by a manner adverbial, this does not really make a structural difference between examples (8) and (9), as the manner adverbial in (9) relates to the speech verb and does not separate quotative indexes one from another.

A separate question here is whether one can consider the clause with the predicate in the imperative mood to be a QI-clause. My justification for this example as a reported discourse construction here is referred to the previous argument by Romaine and Lange (1991: 244) that the quoted utterance may not necessarily be previously said, which is by some means obvious here, but still represents possible utterance that belongs to the person, different from the current speaker, and to events different from ongoing discourse.

Another type of QI-clauses that has been noticed consists of a speaker (reporter), speech verb, the simulative/comparative marker *niinku* and the complementizer *et(tä)*. The complementizer *et(tä)* in colloquial Finnish is notorious for its occurrence also in the beginning of interrogative sentences, which is used along with the predicates that express questioning, uncertainty, wonder and suspicion (which do not have any reportative semantics), likewise along the predicates, expressing epistemic processes, like thinking, remembering, knowledge etc. (ISK: §1158, 1465):

(10) *sit mä soit-i-n Raija-lle et onkse*
 Then 1SG call-PST-1SG PN-ALL COMP be.3SG.PTCL.3SG
hima-ssa
 home-INE

¹⁰ - Capital letters in example correspond to the text, how it was taken from the Internet, and do not have any specific separate meaning.

‘Then I called to Raija whether she is home’ (ISK: §1158).¹¹
 In cases like this, *että* fulfills the function of a marker that indicates the border of the sentences (ISK: §1158).

From a syntactic point of view, in a reported discourse construction of literary Finnish, the main constituents may be seen as following: the speech verb being a complement-taking predicate, the reported discourse as a complement with *että* as a standard complementizer (Routarinne 2003: 95; Seppänen and Laury 2007: 554; also Dixon 2006: 1, 10). In Standard Finnish, this type of construction usually occurs with indirect reported discourse where there is an obvious requirement of a complementizer as a core element of the QI-clause. However, in colloquial Finnish, likewise in journalist texts and Finnish literature, the complementizer *että* is also used in constructions where reported discourse is represented by interrogative (11) or imperative clauses (12)¹²:

- (11) *Tarjoilija* *laitto-i* *käte-nsä* *yhteen*
 waiter place-PST.3SG hand-POSS>3SG together
- pöydä-n* *vieressä ja* *kallist-I* *pää-tä-än*
 table-GEN.SG near and slope-PST.3SG head-PTV-POSS>3
- ja kysy-i* **että** *maistuu-ko* *varmasti*
 and ask-PST.3SG COMP taste.3SG-PTCL definitely

‘The waiter next to the table put their hands together, sloped his head, and asked **that whether it tasted well**’ (ISK: §1465).

- (12) *Mies* *anto-i* *luottokortti-n* *ja sano-i*
 man give-PST.3SG credit card-GEN.SG and say-PST.3SG
- että** *tee* *mi-tä* *tykkää-t.*
 COMP do-IMP.2SG what-PTV like.PRES-2SG

‘The man gave his credit card and said **that do what you want**’ (ISK: §1465).

Here interrogative and imperative clauses represent direct reported discourse (ISK: §1458). According to Güldemann (2008), “the cross-linguistic frequency of the gram type quotative/complementizer is not much less salient with DRD [direct reported discourse] as it is with IRD [indirect reported discourse]” (Güldemann 2008: 235).

However, a more detailed overview of reported discourse constructions with an equational verb *olla* and complementizer *että* is placed in a separate subsection of the

¹¹ - Example (10) is taken from ISK (§ 1158), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

¹² - Examples (11) and (12) are taken from ISK (§ 1465), glossing and translations are mine, DT.

current thesis where special attention is paid to *että*, and previous attempts to analyze its quotative functions are described.

Coming back to the topic of this subchapter, the following example is presented here, where the speech verb is followed by *niinku* and complementizer *et(tä)*:

- (13) *Ja kulti-kin yks päivä kysy-i niinku et*
 and sweet-PTCL one day ask-PST.3SG like COMP
"oo-t-ko vähä pyöristy-nyt" tai jotain,
 be.PRES-2SG-PTCL little get rounded-PP or something
ni se masenta-a jotenkin viel enemmän
 so DEM depress.PRES-3SG somehow even more

‘And sweetly one day **asked like that** “have you put on weight” or something, then it gets me depressed somehow even more’ (cosmopolitan.fi).

(13) represents Güldemann’s (2012: 119-120) monoclausal event-oriented quotative index. The verb *kysy* here represents the state of affairs, it indicates that the question will follow. The comparative/similative marker *niinku* gives the following reported discourse approximative evaluation, which is partially supported by the phrase the speaker adds after the quote, namely “or something (like that)”. The complementizer *että* in the current example, according to my assumption, may fulfill here both bounding and separating reported discourse from QI-clause function, likewise indicating the presence of an adjacent quote.

Hence, having auxiliary constituents one should point out that the shift in the QI orientation happens here. According to Güldemann’s (2012) observation, in constructions like this, quote-orienting elements are displayed separately from and “in addition to a verbal predicate” and the event-oriented QI-clause becomes quote-oriented (Güldemann 2012: 119-120). In addition, the partition feature of such a QI should be mentioned. It means that “in addition to the predicatively asserted speech event” the auxiliary element can occur that brings extra reportative meaning to the clause, namely here similitive marker. According to Güldemann, this element has to display two features: „(1) it must co-occur regularly in the QI with a speech verb or an equivalent item and (2) it must have a position adjacent to or within the quote“ (Güldemann 2008: 118-120).

However, one can notice that previous examples (8) and (9) are lacking the complementizer which in (13) fulfills the core function of the QI-clause, namely represents the quote. My supposition is that in QI-clauses with the main constituents speaker, speech verb and *niinku*, the complementizer is elliptic and the functions of the elliptic constituent shifted to the comparative/similative marker, which fulfills the quote-introducing functions (also Routarinne 2003: 90, 100-103). In this case, *niinku* can become a conventionalized part of the QI and develop into a complementizer. Moreover, whenever similative markers in QI-clauses are taking the position next to the quote, they gain “another important discourse-functional aspect: they function as convenient discourse signals serving to draw the attention of the audience directly to the presence of this constituent” (Güldemann 2008: 318, 321). However, the approximative value of this element stays the same, and it gives the speaker the possibility to distance himself and hedge from the original utterance if one has been previously made.

In concern of the ellipsis of the complementizer, according to Güldemann (2008) it is found often present in indirect reported discourse constructions even in the languages which “rely heavily (at least in their written standard form) on the use of such gram”, e.g. (Güldemann 2008: 235):

(14) *He saw that she was sick.* vs. *he saw she was sick*

Moreover, pointed out by Kerhonen (1993: 19, 115), under some circumstances *että*-complementizer may be omissible. It happens especially in QI-clauses where the speaker is encoded with first or second person singular in reported discourse constructions with indirect reported discourse. Likewise, the omission of complementizer happens often when the complementizer can be characterized as epistemically neutral, the one that does not contribute to the evaluation of the complement proposition (Kehayov forthcoming: 22).

Besides this type of constructions, there is an occurrence of *niinku* in preposition to the verb:

(15) *mu-n* *isä* *niinku* *sano-i,* *että* *se-n*
 1SG-GEN father like say-PST.3SG COMP DEM-GEN

<i>kaveri</i>	<i>voi</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>järkä-tä</i>	<i>mu-t</i>
friend	can.PRES.3SG	like	get-INF	1SG-ACC

<i>Columbia-an,</i>	<i>jos</i>	<i>mä</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>haluu-n...</i>
Columbia-ILL	if	1SG	like	want.PRES-3SG

‘My father **like said that** his friend can like bring me to Columbia, if I like want’ (pallontallaajat.net).

In preposition to the verb, *niinku* often combines in chain with other elements, e.g. the particle *vaan* ‘just’, which is also noticed as being a part of the new quotative system used in contemporary Finnish.

Like in the previous category where *niinku* was in postposition, complementizer can be either present or elliptic. However, in this type of construction none of other elements takes over the function of the complementizer; rather the verb is the quote-introducer in this type of constructions where other elements fulfill their auxiliary functions. Hence, in preposition *niinku* points out the approximation of the following quote. Particle *vaan* ‘just’ has quantificational semantics. The correlation of the functions of quantifiers and quotative indexes has been discussed previously, calling attention to their evidential value and epistemic stance they are bearing. According to Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012), by using quantifiers with minimalistic evaluation (compare Fin. *vaan* ‘just’ and Eng. *all*), or as authors call them “downtowners”, speakers show “minimum commitment to the form or occurrence of the quote or point out the habitual occurrences (rather than hot news)” (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XVI). More information on this topic is provided in the subchapter of this thesis, dedicated to the reportative function of new quotative *vaan* in contemporary colloquial Finnish.

Here are the examples with (16) and without (17) complementizer:

(16) <i>ei-kä</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>vaan</i>	<i>kysy</i>	<i>et</i>
NEG-PTCL	then	like	just	ask.CONNEG	COMP

<i>on-ks</i>	<i>tei-llä</i>	<i>jotain</i>	<i>kysymys-i-ä</i>
be.3SG-PTCL	2PL-ADE	something	question-PL-PTV

‘And then **like doesn’t even ask that** do you have some questions’ (nuorisotutkimusseura.fi).

(17) <i>tiätsä</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>vaa</i>	<i>vasta-s:</i>
You know	DEM	like	just	answer-PST.3PL

"*Vittu blosis tääl, ei kai totanoin oo*
 fuck wind here NEG PTCL PTCL be.CONNEG

hosis!"
 rush

'You know they **like just answered**: "Fuck, it's windy here, there is no rush!"'
 (megafoni.org).

Nonetheless, prepositional occurrence of *niin kuin* (*niinku*) in QI-clause may be sometimes misleading, e.g. in following example (18):

(18) *Niin kuin Dead Poet sano-i, ei mi-kään ihme*
 Like PN say-PST.3SG NEG what-PTCL wonder
jos joku pitä-ä Imaginaerumi-n
 if somebody consider.PRES-3SG PN-GEN
lyriiko-i-ta lapsellis-i-na.
 lyrics-PL-PTV childish-PL-ESS

'**Like** Dead Poet **said**, there is no wonder if somebody thinks that Imaginaerum lyrics are childish' (nightwishforum.com).

In the construction like this, *niin kuin* fulfills the function of conjunction and neither participates in introducing the quote nor gives the approximative evaluation to it. Here *niin kuin* is connecting current sentence with the previous one, and in cases like this, it fulfills the function of connective particle. According to ISK, besides *niin kuin* the connective particle *kuten*, which shares similar semantic meanings, is likewise used. Here connective particles are a means of focusing a reader on how reported discourse is built. QI-clauses in cases like this can be situated in preposition to the quote (see example (18)), likewise in postposition (19) and in between the quote (20) (ISK: §1482):

(19) *se-hän liittyy-lihas-te-n rentoutumise-en*
 DEM-PTCL pertain.PRES-3SG muscle-PL-GEN relaxation-ILL
niin kuin joku jo sano-i-kin.
 like somebody already say-PST-PTCL

'...this is connected with the muscle relaxation **like somebody has already said**'
 (ylilauta.org).

(20) *Hän on, niinkun Hussein sano-i*
 3SG be.PRES.3SG like PN say-PST.3SG
aiemmin, ihminen, joka halua-a tarttu-a
 before human which want.PRES-3SG seize.PRES-3SG

<i>tois-te-n</i>	<i>sanomis-i-in,</i>	<i>nähdä</i>	<i>nii-ssä</i>	<i>jotain</i>
other-PL-GEN	saying-PL-ILL	see	DEM-INE	something

vika-a...
defect.SG-PTV

‘(S)he is, like Hussein said before, a person who wants to seize into others’ words, see something wrong...’ (halla-aho.com)

2.1.1.2. Equational verb *olla* and *niin kuin (niinku)*

QI-clauses consisting of a speaker (reporter), an equational verb *olla* and *niin kuin (niinku)* have been mentioned in section 2.1. According to ISK, these constructions are frequently used in colloquial Finnish (ISK: §1486-87).

The idea to use term ‘equational’ regarding the verb *olla* ‘to be’ is taken from Güldemann’s (2008) description of uses of verbs without an utterance meaning in QI-clauses. According to his study on equational and inchoative verbs in the quotative domain, “genuine equation [is] referring to a state” (Güldemann 2008: 303).

Güldemann (2008) claims that predicates, pertaining to the domain of an equation, are regularly employed as QI-predicates. However, it is hard to draw the line that would clearly separate equational ‘be’ and similitive ‘be like’. Nonetheless, the copula verb ‘to be’ can likewise be used in a QI-clause as the quote orienter and a QI-nucleus (Güldemann 2008: 303-304).

In languages like English and Spanish, it is acceptable to construct a QI-clause by establishing a predicative structure, which is associated with the nominal that encodes the speaker (reporter) (Güldemann 2008: 304). Here is an example for English (21) from Clark & Gerrig (1990: 772):

(21) *and uh and he’s ‘oh oh what does that have to do with it’* (Clark & Gerrig 1990: 772)

According to Routarinne (2005) in colloquial Finnish, the verb *olla* ‘to be’ is quite often used as a core constituent of the QI-clause, which already became a feature peculiar to the speech of young female speakers from Helsinki area (Routarinne 2005: 86; also

Lappalainen 2005: 154-162). Moreover, verb *olla* is interesting here, as it may be used both for quoting previous utterance, likewise thoughts. Thus, the original meaning of the verb does not have any required features for the distinction of these functions, for this reason the speaker (reporter) has the opportunity to blur the line between quoting what has been previously said and thoughts. Thus, the situation can be clarified only by the context or by the means of a deeper analysis of the concrete reported discourse construction (Routarinne 2005: 86; Haakana 2005: 124, 136-142, 145-146).

However, Routarinne (2005) concentrates on the verb *olla*, which according to her in an QI-clause can easily substitute a basic speech verb, like *sanoa* ‘to say’ (despite the fact that outside the quotative scope they are not synonyms), e.g.: *se sanoi/oli niinku silleen et* ‘(s)he said/was like that’¹³ (Routarinne 2005: 94). However, according to ISK, there is the significant difference between speech verbs and an equational verb *olla* in QI-clause – a verb *olla* is only in indicative imperfect and in an active voice. Nonetheless, first person plural, usually expressed in colloquial Finnish with passive voice, can be used with *olla* being a part of a quotative clause (ISK: § 1487)¹⁴:

(22) *o-isi-t* *näh-ny* *me* *ol-tii* *sillee* *@e:i*
 be-COND-2SG see-PP 1PL be-PASS like NEG
vittuh,@¹⁵
 cunt

‘You should have seen (it), we were like fuck no’ (ISK: § 1487).

In Routarinne’s approach, there is not concrete distinction between similitive markers or markers, originally considered to be complementizers in the clauses like this.

On the contrary, in the current study the attempt is made to approach this subject construction-oriented, concentrating mostly on different markers in use together with equational verb *olla*. It seems also doubtful that verb *olla* is going through the grammaticalization process and is taking reportative functions of speech verbs, which

¹³ - Translation is mine, DT.

¹⁴ - Example (22) is taken from ISK (§ 1487), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

¹⁵ - Signs “@” and “:” indicate voice changing and articulation features that are not taken into account here.

was suggested by Routarinne (2005: 101), as neither in materials, collected for this thesis, nor among the materials, presented in Routarinne’s study, there has not been any occurrence of quotative indexes, consisting exclusively of speaker-encoding nominal phrase and equational verb. Contrariwise, exclusive occurrence of so-called “particles” (which are treated here as new quotatives) has been noticed in Hanna Lappalainen’s study on variation of new quotatives in the speech of Finnish adolescent (Lappalainen 2005: 156-159, 162). In this case, an explanation proposed by Güldemann (2008), suggesting two facts seems to be legitimate here. First, the core element in a QI-clause like this is still a simulative marker. Second, an occurrence of the verb here is mostly caused by the requirement of a support verb in expressions of similarity and manner (Güldemann 2008: 320-321). Despite the fact that the presence of the verb is usually supported by a number of examples, there are several examples when in colloquial Finnish the verb is omitted and QI constituents are only speaker, simulative marker *niinku* and complementizer *että*, e.g. in example from Kajanne (1996: 238)¹⁶:

(23)	<i>sit</i>	<i>mä</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>@Olla-an</i>	<i>ihan</i>
	then	1SG	like	COMP	be-PASS	totally
	<i>rauhallis-i-a</i>		<i>sit@</i>			
	peaceful-PL-PTV		then			

‘Then I (was) *like that* let’s stay completely peaceful then’ (Kajanne 1996: 238).

However, the particle alone can be used as a quotative index in cases when there has been previously an occurrence of quotation. Such a minimization of the index can be clarified from the context – reported discourse is recognized being a reported discourse based on the context (Lappalainen 2005: 162).

Nonetheless, the diversity of functions of *olla* in Finnish is taken into account (Routarinne 2005: 99). The fact that a speaker chooses a speech verb or the equational verb is not accidental. Leino (2001c) claims that equational verbs in QI-constructions make the situation less dynamic (Leino 2001c: 470), the reported discourse construction looks more typified then, as if the speaker (reporter) has the aim of rather representing the state of affairs and the way their utterance would proceed in a concrete situation,

¹⁶ - Translation and glossing are mine, DT. Sign @ indicates change of voice characteristics.

than depicting the concrete utterance (Routarinne 2005: 102). Hence, one can point out that *olla* is bringing a neutralizing effect to the QI-clause and lacks the event-orientation effect that speech verbs usually have, namely representing the state of affairs in the reported discourse constructions with speech verbs. According to Güldemann, the clause nucleus is a simple verbal clause. It does not refer to a speech act outside the reported discourse construction and in the current circumstances it is a “grammaticalized quotative marker in verbal disguise”. The orientation of the clause then lies rather on the quote, than on the event (Güldemann 2012: 119).

In materials collected for the current thesis, two types of constructions have been encountered. Similarly to the constructions with speech verb and *niinku*, constructions with complementizer *että* as in (24), and without it as in (25),¹⁷ have been noticed. The main constituents of these constructions are an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), the equational verb *olla*, and the simulative/comparative marker *niinku*:

- (24) *Sit mä ol-i-n niinku et Rap? Ja*
 then 1SG be-PST-1SG like COMP rap and
sit mä ol-i niinku et Clackin' Rap?!
 then 1SG be-PST like COMP clacking rap

‘Then I was *like* Rap? And then I was *like* Clackin' Rap?!’ (kireitasiimoja.fi)

- (25) *mä ol-i-n niinku vauva, vauva, vauva uu*
 1SG be-PST-1SG like baby baby baby uu

‘I was *like* baby, baby, baby uu’ (facebook.com)

Several interesting observations can be made from these examples. First, the situation resembles the previous postponed simulative marker used together with speech verbs. In constructions where the complementizer is present, the connecting element takes the quote-introducing function. In constructions with elliptic complementizer, *niinku* takes the functions of the missing element, and at least functionally substitutes it.

Second, both quotatives are used to mark reported discourse, produced by the speaker himself, in purposes of so-called self-quoting. Lappalainen has made similar observations in her study on variation of QI – the particle *niinku* was used only in those

¹⁷ - The quote in (25) is a line from the Canadian rhythm-n-blues artist’s J. Bieber song “Baby” (2010).

situations, when the reporter quoted him-/herself (Lappalainen 2005: 161). However, this cannot be taken as a rule, as contrariwise there are several examples from Kajanne (1996), in which a reporter used different quotative indexes to differentiate her own utterances from the utterances of police investigators. In her case, *olla + niinku* construction is used for quoting police investigators, e.g.:

(26) <i>sit</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>oli</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>et</i>
then	DEM	be.PST.3SG	like	DEM	COMP
<i>voi</i>	<i>jumalauta</i>				
PTCL	fucking hell				

‘Then (s)he **was like** oh, goddammit’¹⁸ (Kajanne 1996: 238)

The material, presented in Kajanne’s (1996) article is interesting in the way that the shift of quotative index use is noticed being in correlation with the depiction of the situation – the same quotatives are used mostly exclusively for self-quotation in the beginning of the story and in quoting others in the end of it (Kajanne 1996: 228-231, 238-240).

Hence, to resolve the question, whether the equational verb *olla + niinku* constructions are used more (or even nowadays exclusively) for self-quoting, or can they be used in other reported discourse constructions likewise, deeper investigation is obviously required.

Besides these types, one example of the construction, consisting only of the simulative/comparative marker *niinku* has been noticed:

(27) <i>Vähän</i>	<i>niinkuin</i>	<i>”kassatäti</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>moika-nnut</i>
A bit	like	cashier-lady	be.PRES.3SG	greet-PP
<i>minu-lle</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>kahde-n</i>	<i>vuode-n</i>	<i>aja-n,</i>
1SG-ALL	already	two-GEN	year-GEN	time-GEN
<i>on-ko</i>		<i>hän</i>	<i>kiinnostu-nut</i>	<i>minu-sta</i>
be.PRES.3SG-PTCL		3SG	to be interested-PP	1SG-ELA

‘A bit **like** “Cashier-lady has been saying hi to me already for two years, is she interested in me?”’ (ylilauta.org).

¹⁸ - Example is taken from Kajanne (1996: 238), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

Contrariwise to the previously described state of affairs, where lack of any speech verb or other necessary constituents of the QI-clause has been explained by the row of ongoing reported discourse, this situation is somehow different. The lack of speaker (reporter) encoding nominal phrase suggests that the current quotation does not have an aim to depict something that has been previously uttered, rather it is describing the situation and providing the typification of the state of affairs: speaker reports performance of a prototypical speaker in prototypical circumstances. Thus, there is no special requirement “to put these words” into one’s speech (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV).

2.1.2. Similative/comparative marker *tyyliin*: its functions outside and inside the quotative frame

Another similative/comparative marker *tyyliin* has been noticed widely used inside the quotative construction frame in Finnish. Since no previous studies on uses of *tyyliin* in quotative frame has been carried out yet, these subsections will be mostly dedicated to my own observations, based on the general knowledge and cross-linguistic evidence of similative markers as new quotative indexes. An attempt is made also to state some similarity between uses of *tyyliin* with quotative uses of *niin kuin (niinku)*, described in subsection 2.1.1.

The similative marker *tyyliin* derives from the noun *tyyli* ‘style’ in its singular illative form. One may suppose that the source for the contemporary usage of *tyyliin* can be expressions with *typ* ‘like’ in Swedish language, which is likewise noticed being a constituent of QI-clauses in colloquial Swedish. However, the correspondence between these items has not been yet studied and requires more detailed research. *Tyyliin*, often translated into English as ‘like, around, about’, outside the quotative scope fulfills similar functions to the previously described marker *niin kuin*:

(28) *Ole-n* *liho-nut* ***tyyliin*** 40 *kilo-a.*
 be.PRES-1SG fatten-PP like NUM kilo-PTV

‘I’ve gained like 40 kilos’ (wiktionary.org).

In colloquial Finnish, the illative case marker usually is expressed with a shortened version, marked only by lengthening of the stem-final vowel and omission of *n* in the end – *tyyl*i*i*. Further, the possibility of both full and shortened version, that are by default treated as equivalents, will be expressed by final *n* being in brackets – *tyyl*i*i(n)*.

Similarity of *tyyl*i*i(n)* functions to *niinku* is not restricted to clauses, where the similarity, comparativeness or approximation are described. In quotative scope, it is highly comparable with quotative index *niinku*, and the following assumption may be made that in many cases these markers can be substitutable. However, this hypothesis requires more precise additional study.

*Tyyl*i*i(n)* as a part of the QI-clause has been noticed in constructions with speech verbs, other non-speech verbs, among which the separate strategy is its usage together with equational verb *olla*, and with nominal phrases. Certainly, the list of strategies is not complete, and requires deeper separate studies, which may provide a more detailed picture of its usage strategies as a quotative index.

2.1.2.1. Speech verbs and *tyyl*i*i(n)*

The occurrence of *tyyl*i*i(n)* in QI-clauses with speech verbs follows a similar pattern – the main constituents of the clause are an NP that encodes the speaker (reporter), a speech verb, the simulative marker *tyyl*i*i(n)* and a complementizer which eventually can be omitted.

Here some examples of the constructions first with complementizer as in (28), and then with elliptic complementizer as in (29):

(29) *tää ilmoittele-e sit tyyl*i*iin et ilmoita-n*
 DEM announce then like COMP report.PRES-1SG
kaveri-n puolesta
 buddy-GEN instead

This one announces then like that I will report on behalf of (my) friend
 (blogspot.com).

(30) *Sit se huuta-a siel konee-ssa jotain*
 then DEM scream.PRES-3SG there machine-INE something

<i>tyliin:</i>	“Hyvä-t	naise-t	ja	herra-t,	mei-llä
like	good-PL	lady-PL	and	gentleman-PL	1PL-ADE
<i>on</i>		<i>tällä</i>	<i>lenno-lla</i>	<i>mukana</i>	<i>kunniavieras...</i> ”
be.PRES.3SG		here	flight-ADE	with	guest of honor

Then (s)he screams there on the board something *like*: “Dear ladies and gentlemen, on this flight we have a guest of honor with us.” (hiphei.com)

As one can see, the occurrence of complementizers in the constructions is quite similar to the situation described for QI-clauses with *niinku*. In constructions with elliptic complementizer *tyyliy(n)* is likely to take its place and functions, both denoting approximative evaluation (justified by its semantic meaning) of the reporter towards the reported discourse and functioning as a complementizer in the quote.

2.1.2.2. Non-speech verbs and *tyyliy(n)*

During the analysis of the quotative functions of simulative/comparative marker *tyyliy(n)* several reported discourse constructions with non-speech verbs occurred, e.g.:

(31)	<i>Nii</i>	<i>sa-i-n</i>	<i>kuulla</i>	<i>tyyliin</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>”vitu-n</i>	<i>paska</i>
	so	get-PST-1SG	hear	like	COMP	cunt-GEN	shit
	<i>su-n</i>	<i>pitää</i>	<i>tappaa</i>	<i>itte-s</i>			
	2SG-GEN	have	kill	self.NOM-POSS>2SG			

‘So I got **to hear like that** fucking shit, you have to kill yourself’ (blogspot.com)

(32)	<i>Joo</i>	<i>tiiä-n</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>kaikki</i>	<i>laittaa</i>	<i>tänne</i>
	Yes	know.PRES-1SG	COMP	all	put	here
	<i>tyyliin</i>	<i>et:</i>	“ <i>No</i>	<i>tosi</i>	<i>hauska-a...</i> ”	
	like	COMP	well	very	funny-PTV	

‘Yes, I know that all **put/write** here *like that*: “Well, very funny”’ (aapeli.com)

For (31), my assumption would be that the verb *kuulla* ‘to hear’ is involved in the quotative construction by its semantic meaning, as a verb that encodes the reception of the information as “auditory perception”. Such verbs are not speech verbs, but they “come semantically very close to them in that they refer overtly to an utterance that is perceived auditorily” (Güldemann 2008: 95). Hence, in previous situation the current reporter has been an addressee, and describing the state of affairs, (s)he simultaneously depicts the previous utterance. However, another explanation may be that the verb,

encoding the transfer of the information, e.g. speech verb, is elliptic here, and the construction is likely to look like “I heard him/her/them saying like that”.

In (32) the verb *laittaa* ‘to put’ is likely to be a verb used in Internet slang, encoding the process of leaving commentaries.

In both examples *tyyliy(n)* gives an approximative evaluation to the quote, and the complementizer attaching to the quote, is presented. Nonetheless, examples where in a QI-clause the complementizer is elliptic, have been likewise encountered:

(33)	<i>Tai jos nainen</i>	<i>kysy-y</i>	<i>ikä-ä-ni</i>	<i>niin</i>
	or if woman	ask.PRES-3SG	age-PTV-POSS>1SG	so
	<i>katso-n</i>	<i>hän-tä</i>	<i>pää-stä</i>	<i>varpa-i-siin</i>
	look.PRES-1SG	3SG-PTV	head-ELA	toe-PL-ILL
	<i>heitä-n</i>	<i>jotain</i>	<i>tyyliin</i>	<i>“no arvoi-si-n</i>
	throw.PRES-1SG	something	like	well guess-COND-1SG
	<i>että</i>	<i>korkeintaan</i>	<i>pari vuot-ta</i>	<i>su-a vanhe-mpi</i>
	COMP	at most	pair year-PTV	2SG-PTV old-COMP ¹⁹
	<i>eli</i>	<i>27</i>		
	namely	NUM		

‘Or if the woman asks my age then I look at her from head to toes and **throw** something **like** “well, I guessed that at most (I am) couple of years older than you, that is 27”’ (ylilauta.org).

In (33) *heittää* ‘to throw’ takes metaphorically a meaning of a speech verb, analogies of what can be found in other languages, e.g. an example from English: *I’ll just throw the whole problem into his face and tell him to fix it*. Verbs like ‘send’, ‘throw’, and ‘show’ are the verbs focusing on the transfer of the message from a speaker to an addressee (Güldemann 2008: 96).

Fundamentally, the complementizer in constructions with non-speech verbs behaves the same as in QI-clauses, described in the previous subsection 2.1.2.1. Functions of *tyyliy(n)* stay the same, and with ellipsis of complementizer it takes complementizer’s functions.

¹⁹ - Comparative

The list of examples presented here is meant to present different variants of *tyyl(ii)(n)* occurrence in the QI-clause and does not cover all the possible usages of non-speech verbs bearing the reportative semantics inside reported discourse construction frame in colloquial Finnish.

2.1.2.3. Equational verb *olla* and *tyyl(ii)(n)*

Another strategy that has been encountered is QI-clauses with a nominal encoding the speaker (reporter), the equational verb *olla* and *tyyliin*. As in similar constructions with *niinku* and in constructions with speech verb and *tyyliin*, the complementizer can be present or elliptic.

Here are examples with present (34) and elliptic (35) complementizer:

(34)	<i>Mä</i>	<i>ol-i-n</i>	<i>tyyliin</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>”ei</i>	<i>saatana</i>
	1SG	be-PST-1SG	like	COMP	NEG	Satan
	<i>e-n</i>	<i>vitu-s,</i>	<i>e-n</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>ikinä</i>	
	NEG-1SG	cunt-INE	NEG-1SG	be.CONNEG	never	
	<i>pelan-nut</i>	<i>koko</i>	<i>pel-i-ä</i>			
	play-PP	whole	game-PTV			

‘**I was like that** “hell no, fuck no, I have never even played that game”’ (hiphei.com)

(35)	<i>ne</i>	<i>ol-i</i>	<i>sielä</i>	<i>tyyliy</i>	<i>”joo</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>mitään</i>
	DEM	be-PST.3SG	there	like	yes	NEG	DEM	nothing
	<i>koita</i>	<i>vielä</i>	<i>nyt</i>	<i>tä-n</i>	<i>kerra-n”</i>			
	start.IMP	yet	now	DEM-GEN	time-GEN			

‘**They were there like** ”yeah, it’s nothing, try just one more time”’ (blogspot.com)

A similar shift of functions in constructions with elliptic complementizer can be observed here: the adjacent to the quote element is taking functions of complementizer (Güldemann 2008: 318). The approximative evaluation brought by *tyyl(ii)(n)* is the same as in reported discourse constructions with speech verbs. Equational verb *olla* gives the neutralizing effect on the QI-clause, as in example (35), blurring the distinction between quotation of previous utterances, thoughts or intentions to say something (Routarinne 2005: 86; Haakana 2005: 124, 136-142, 145-146); likewise bringing its quote-orientation effect (Güldemann 2012: 119-120).

2.1.2.4. Non-clausal quotative index: nominal phrase and *tyyllii(n)*

A new type of constructions that has not yet been treated in the current thesis has been encountered also has as one of its constituents the similative marker *tyyllii(n)*. Here it is defined as a QI-clause with a nominal phrase and *tyyllii(n)*.

Taking as a pattern Güldemann's (2012: 120) classification of quotative indexes, this type of QI-clause belongs to the highlighting non-clausal quote-oriented quotative indexes that involves quote orientation as a central function.

This case is interesting, because the core element of the QI is a nominal phrase plus *tyyllii(n)*, which has as its hedging function approximative evaluation of the quote, likewise a quote-orienter. It is quite a common function especially of non-verbal quote orienters, which are doing the job of drawing the hearer's attention to the presence of a quote. Moreover, even though, the cases analyzed in this subsection do not lack a predicate entirely, one cannot treat the predicate in reported discourse constructions like this as a nucleus element (Güldemann 2008: 160).

Though the lack of participant encoding is not an obligatory feature of non-clausal quote-oriented QI, encountered examples usually are not encoding participants, and rather mention only the approximate source of information. This feature might be quite common in the Internet communication where often quotation lies beyond personal word-to-word report, but rather is a quotation of anonymous previously written text, e.g.:

- (36) *ja aina saa-n kuulla kommentt-i-a*
and always get.PRES.1SG hear comment-PL-PTV
tyylliin "e-t oo tosissa-s,
like NEG-2SG be.CONNEG serious-POSS>2SG
taas-ko sä unohd-i-t
again-PTCL 2SG forget-PST-2SG
'And always I hear **comments like** "you're not serious, again you forget"
(blogspot.com)

The occurrence of the complementizer in constructions with nominal phrases is comparable to the previously treated QI-clause – it can be both present and elliptic. Here is an example of construction with a complementizer:

(37)	<i>Miten</i>	<i>men-i</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>joulutekstari</i>	<i>tyyliin</i>	<i>et</i>
	how	go-PST.3Sg	DEM	Christmas message	like	COMP
	<i>hauska-a</i>	<i>joulu-a</i>	<i>muista-kaa</i>	<i>hei-ta</i>	<i>jotka</i>	
	funny-PTV	Christmas-PTV	remember-IMP	3PL-PTV	that	
	<i>vietta-vat</i>	<i>tama-n</i>	<i>joulu</i>	<i>turu-ssa</i> ²⁰		
	spend.PRES-3PL	DEM-GEN	Christmas	Turku-INE		

‘How went this **Christmas message like that** merry christmas remember those who spend this Christmas in Turku’ (meidanperhe.fi).

Examples (36) and (37) contain non-clausal quote-oriented quotative indexes. According to Güldemann (2008), „the realization of the function of quote orientation is not a structurally homogeneous phenomenon”. In different languages, it can be achieved in several ways (Güldemann 2008: 137).

Here this QI is defined as a non-clausal, because fundamentally the quote-introducing items are only the part of the clause that precedes the reported discourse. They are not constructing the independent clause, and one cannot include all the elements of the preceding clause as a QI, as only some elements are encoding the source of the quote and are signaling the presence of the adjacent reported discourse. Quotative index is also recognized being a non-predicate in both examples. However, in the example (37) the motion verb should be taken into account as an auxiliary element, metaphorically encoding the process of physical locomotion of the message.

2.1.3. Complementizer *että*: its functions outside and inside the quotative scope

The bounding and quote representation functions of complementizer *että* have been previously mentioned in the current thesis in subsection 2.1.1.

However, functions of *että* outside the quotative frame should be briefly mentioned here as well. According to Seppänen and Laury, clauses with *että* are usually described as complements, namely functioning as „subjects and objects of other clauses“ (Seppänen and Laury 2007: 554; also Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979: 346-347). In their data collected for study on complement clauses as turn continuations, the occurrence of *että*

²⁰ - The spelling is corresponding to the original message.

has been frequent especially with complement-taking predicates, in particular with verbs of cognition and speech (Seppänen and Laury 2007: 554). According to Dixon (2007), in languages that have an indirect speech constructions verbs like ‘tell’ will take a complement clause (Dixon 2007: 1, 10).

In studies on reported discourse in Finnish, the complementizer *että* ‘that’ is usually treated as a bounding element with an adjacent quote. Its functions lie between an utterance particle and a subordinating conjunction (ISK: §1158, 1465). Usually, it occurs in the reported discourse constructions with indirect reported discourse, however, in colloquial Finnish it is used also before direct reported discourse, namely in quoting orders or questions (ISK: §1465; also in current thesis subsection 2.1.1, see examples (11) and (12)).

It is a separate question, whether one can treat a clause with direct reported discourse as a complement clause. According to Seppänen and Laury (2007), direct reported discourse is not a “good candidate for complementation, since they are by definition independent not only in terms of their syntax but also in terms of their indexical feature” (Seppänen and Laury 2007: 557). However, if one takes into account the proposal, made by Hakulinen (1979), indicating the origin of *että* from a demonstrative adverb, meaning ‘thus, in this way’, then the use of *että* in QI-constructions with direct reported discourse might be motivated by its older functions rather than by its nowadays use as a complementizer (Hakulinen 1979: 6). According to Dixon (2007), “complementizers have often developed from a demonstrative, or from a verb such as ‘be like’ or ‘say’ (Dixon 2007: 24).

It might be followed by the theory that originally *että* had been used only in QI-clauses followed by direct reported discourse, and later its use has spread to indirect reported discourse, and this is the way “how a demonstrative adverb would have developed into a subordinate conjunction”. From that use, it might have spread to other uses, which would explain its uses in clauses lacking a complement-taking predicate, and justify the gaining by the element functions of “a particle or discourse marker rather than a conjunction” (Seppänen and Laury 2007: 557). According to Dixon (2007), complementizers *per se* are cross-linguistically noticed as being notoriously

polyfunctional elements. For instance, the complementizer *that* in English is also a marker of a relative clause, and a nominal demonstrative (Dixon 2007: 24).

Hence, in reported discourse construction *että* is recognized as being nothing else than a quotative index – an element adjacent to the quote and indicating the presence of the quote which in colloquial Finnish is used both with direct and indirect reported discourse. Certainly, the construction-oriented approach must be taken into account in this study, as one cannot distinguish reported discourse from what is not *per se* only with the presence or lack of the quotative index *että*.

However, syntactically reported discourse constructions with indirect reported discourse are considered being complements, if QI-clause contains any speech verb or verb encoding epistemic process, e.g. *think*, *know* etc., since they are considered being in these constructions complement-taking predicates. Reported discourse construction with indirect reported discourse likewise will contain typical event-oriented QI-clause, eventually in previous studies described as a default pattern of quotative index, e.g.:

- (38) *Uusi miesystävä-ni sano-i että häne-stä*
 new boyfriend-POSS>1SG say-PST.3SG COMP 3SG-ELA
tuntu-u kuin oli-si-n alaikäinen
 feel.PRES-3SG like be-COND-1SG underage

‘My new boyfriend **said that** it feels to him like I am underage’ (vauva.fi)

Moreover, *että* is being a usual element between QI-clause and quote, when reported discourse is non-clausal, namely consists of a single word or syntagm (ISK: §1465), e.g.:

- (39) *On niin ihana-a kun asiakas*
 be.PRES.3SG so wonderful-PTV when client
tule-e ove-sta ja sano-o että mikä
 come.PRES-3SG door-ELA and say.PRES-3SG COMP what
tuoksu.
 flavor

‘It is so wonderful when the client comes out of the door and **says that** what a flavor’²¹ (ISK: §1456).

²¹ - Example (38) is taken from ISK (§ 1456), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

In addition to this, according to Finnish Grammar, in colloquial Finnish *että* usually occurs in QI-clauses with a subjectless verb or even simply alone. This way usually the change of speakers, or so-called speech turn-taking, in the quoted dialogue is indicated or the switch from the story-telling to reported discourse. Here is an example from ISK (§ 1486) representing the speech turn-taking in the quoted dialogue²²:

(40)	<i>Siis</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ol-i</i>	<i>ihan</i>	<i>mieletön</i>	<i>sano</i>	et
	then	DEM	be-PST.3SG	exactly	unreasonable	say	COMP
	<i>ei</i>	<i>su-lle</i>	<i>mitää</i>	<i>tehä</i>		<i>voi</i>	<i>su-n</i>
	NEG	2SG-ALL	nothing	do.PASS.CONNEG		can.INF	2SG-GEN
	<i>on</i>	<i>vie-tä-vä</i>		<i>pois</i>	<i>tää-ltä</i>	että	
	be.PRES.3SG	bring away-PASS-PRESP		away	DEM-ABL	COMP	
	<i>rauhotu</i>	<i>rauhotu</i>	<i>hyvä mies</i>	et	<i>ei</i>	<i>se</i>	
	calm down.IMP	calm down.IMP	good man	COMP	NEG	DEM	
	<i>nii kauheesti</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>rupee-t</i>		
	so dreadfully	hurt	COMP	2SG	begin.PRES-2SG		
	<i>itte-e-s</i>	<i>tappaa</i>	<i>verenpaine-e-lla.</i>				
	self-PTV-POSS>2SG	kill	blood pressure-ADE				

‘Then it was totally unreasonable to **say that** nothing can be done to you, you will be brought away from here that calm down, good man that it doesn’t hurt that bad that you have to start to kill yourself with the blood pressure’ (ISK: §1486)

Moreover, *että* is fulfilling functions of a bounding element with the quote, indicating the beginning and the end of reported discourse. This way the speaker (reporter) shows to the addressee that the reported discourse continues, and addressees can ensure themselves that the deictic setting is different from the previous discourse and is the same as in reported discourse (ISK: § 1486). It can be demonstrated on the following example from ISK (§ 1486)²³:

(41)	<i>Mä</i>	<i>ol-i-n</i>	<i>äskän</i>	<i>tossa</i>	<i>ihan</i>	<i>yksin</i>	<i>kotona</i>
	1SG	be-PST-1SG	just	PTCL	exactly	alone	home
	<i>ja rupe-si-n</i>	<i>kattele-ma-an</i>	<i>tota</i>	<i>mei-än</i>			
	and start-PST-1SG	watch-INF-ILL	PTCL	1PL-GEN			
	<i>nuor-te-n</i>	<i>hääfilm-i-ä</i>	<i>ja sit</i>	<i>mu-n</i>			
	young-PL-GEN	wedding movie-PL-PTV	and then	1SG-GEN			

²² - Glossing and translation are mine, DT.

²³ - Glossing and translation are mine, DT.

<i>tul-i</i> come-PST.3SG	<i>semmonen</i> such	<i>olo</i> feeling	<i>et</i> COMP	<i>mi-tä-s</i> what-PTV-PTCL
<i>mä</i> 1SG	<i>tässä</i> here	<i>ny</i> now	<i>yksistäni</i> alone	<i>kattele-n</i> watch.PRES-1SG
<i>miä-pä-s</i> 1SG-PTCL-PTCL	<i>kuttu-n</i> invite.PRES-1SG	<i>ystäv-i-ä</i> friend-PL-PTV	<i>tykö.</i> to	<i>että,</i> COMP

‘I was just alone at home and started to watch our wedding movies from our youth times and then I had this feeling *that* why I am watching here now alone *that* I will invite my friends’ (ISK: §1486).

In Standard Finnish the full variant of *että* is used. In colloquial Finnish, both the full form *että* and the shortened variant *et* are used. A possible difference between these forms is not taken into account here and both variants are treated here as equivalents. To indicate the possibility of both variants the part that is shortened is taken in brackets – *et(tä)*.

Examples, encountered during the collection of material for this thesis, represent two types of QI-constructions that are described in the following subsections. First, QI-clauses consisting of speech verbs and *et(tä)* are analyzed. In these constructions, *et(tä)* is treated both as a quotative index and complementizer. Further clauses with equational verb *olla* and *että* are examined, where *että* is treated being exclusively a quotative index.

2.1.3.1. Speech verbs and *että*

QI-clauses consisting of a nominal phrase, encoding the speaker (reporter), a speech verb, and the quotative index *että* are presented in this subsection.

According to Güldemann’s classification, such type of QI-clauses belongs to event-oriented quotatives, whose main function is a representation of the state of affairs (Güldemann 2012: 119). Here is a simple example of reported discourse construction with a nominal, encoding the speaker (reporter), speech verb, and *että*:

- (42) ...*muu-ssa* *tapaukse-ssa* *omalääkäri* *ilmoittele-e*
 other-INE situation-INE familydoctor inform.PRES-3SG

minu-lle, että tämä ol-i nyt tässä.
 1SG-ALL COMP DEM be-PST.3SG now here

‘In other cases, **familydoctor informs me, *that* this was all**’ (blogspot.com)

As it has been mentioned before, in colloquial Finnish, in constructions with *että* both direct and indirect reported discourse can be present (ISK: § 1158, 1465), which is different from standard language, where *että* or some other element as e.g., the interrogative pronouns *kuinka* ‘how’ or *miten* ‘how’, are usually used only in the beginning of direct reported discourse clauses (ISK: § 1460).

As it has been stated before in previous subsection 2.1.3, the quotative index *että* in constructions with direct reported discourse cannot be treated as a complementizer, at least not in the classical meaning of complement-clauses. My suggestion would be that its use can be explained in these cases as being an already conventionalized quotative index, which can be explained also by its occurrence in QI-clauses with the equational verb *olla*, which cannot be treated as a complement-taking predicate, even taking in account the polyfunctionality of the verb (ISK: §1158, 1465, 1486-87).

Syntactically, indirect reported discourse is recognized as a complement clause. However, a complement taking predicate, likewise the complementizer may be omissible, “if they would be understood by the addressee, on the basis of the context in which the utterance occurs and information which speech act participant share” (Dixon 2007: 14).

Similar ellipsis of the speech and epistemic verbs has been encountered in materials for this thesis. In the following examples (43) and (44) ellipsis of the same verb is presented:

- (43) ...*mutta te e-tte sitten tee asia-lle*
 but 2PL NEG-2PL then do.CONNEG case-ALL
- mitään koska ajattele-tte, että „minä*
 nothing because think.PRES-2PL COMP 1SG
- ole-n nainen ja aloitte-en teko ei*
 be.PRES-1SG woman and initiative-GEN act NEG
- kuulu minu-lle!“ tai että „kyllä hän*
 belong.CONNEG 1SG-ALL or COMP sure 3SG

<i>tul-isi</i> come-COND	<i>minu-lle</i> 1SG-ALL	<i>juttele-ma-an</i> talk-INF-ILL	<i>jos hän</i> if 3SG	<i>ol-isi</i> be-COND
<i>minu-sta</i> 1SG-ELA	<i>kiinnostu-nut</i> interest-PP			

‘...but you don’t do anything to the case, because **you think that** “I am woman and initiative actions are not my responsibility!” or **that** “of course he would come to talk to me if he was interested in me” (ylilauta.org).

- (44) *Uskovaise-t* *usko-vat,* *että* *jumala*
religious-PL believe.PRES-3PL COMP god
- loi* *maailmankaikkeude-n,* *tiedemiehe-t* *ja*
create.PST.3SG universe-GEN scientist-PL and
- ateisti-t,* *että* *se* *on* *seuraus* *tietee-sta*
atheist-PL COMP DEM be.PRES.3SG result science-ELA
- ja fysiika-sta.*
and physics-ELA

‘Religious (people) **believe that** God created universe, scientist and atheists, that this is a result of science and physics’ (ylilauta.org).

Similar examples of omission in constructions with complement-clauses have been already described in Dixon’s (2007) study on complementizers. Both in simple clauses like *John likes apples and Mary pears* and in more complicated, i.e. reported discourse constructions this omission is possible, as it may be seen from the examples presented above. A possible explanation for such omission may be “that a number of compatible complement clauses of the same type may be coordinated as the complex filler for a core argument in the higher clause” (Dixon 2007: 20).

However, it is not the only example, where a speech or epistemic verb can be omitted from the QI-clause. An interesting example has been encountered, where a speech act encoding predicate has been omitted from the QI-clause:

- (45) *Niin* *ja* *tä-hän* *lisät-e-n* *että* *lopetta-minen*
so and DEM-ILL add-INF-INS COMP give up-GER
- tapahtu-u* *kun* *raha-t* *loppu-u/*
happen.PRES-3SG when money-PL finnish.PRES-3SG
- ruoho-t.*
marijuana-PL

‘Yes, and **adding here that** giving up happens when one is running out of money/weed’ (ylilauta.org).

In this example most likely a predicate, encoding speech act or any other predicate that may substitute it is elliptic. A complete version of the QI-clause here would likely look like ‘and I would say in addition to it/adding here I would say’. However, the omission of the verb does not influence the understanding of the state of affairs in circumstances like this. The fundamental reason for it is presence of *että*, which indicates that the act of cognition, quoted here, had happened in a pragmatic setting that is different from that of the immediate discourse (Güldemann 2008: 6-8; also ISK: §1486).

The number of examples, encountered in the Internet, containing QI-clause with *tähän lisäten*, however, may support the supposition, that the phrase itself has become already conventionalized, and a finite predicate, encoding speech act or any other non-speech act connected to quotation, may be elliptic. Nonetheless, examples with predicates have been likewise encountered. Certainly, this question requires more study, which lies outside the frames of the aims of the current thesis.

2.1.3.2. Equational verb *olla* and *et(tä)*

QI-clauses with equational *olla* and *et(tä)* have been previously described in Finnish Grammar (ISK: § 1487). The occurrence of equational *olla* in QI-clauses was previously discussed for strategies with *niinku* and *tyyl(i)n*.

As it was previously pointed out, it is motivated by the neutralizing effect verb *olla* gives to the QI-clause, both blurring the borders of quoting thoughts, intentions or previous utterances (Haakana 2005: 124, 136-142, 145-146), likewise shifting the orientation of the speaker (reporter) from event to the quote (Güldemann 2012: 119). Moreover, a typification and neutralization of the event is happening (Leino 2001c: 470; Routarinne 2005: 102, also ISK: §1487). It has also a dramatizing effect on the reported discourse and is usually used in reported discourse constructions, where the speaker (reporter) tries to depict several utterances coming from different sources simultaneously or when the same utterance is repeated several times (ISK: § 1490), e.g.:

(46)	<i>Kaikki</i>	<i>nää</i>	<i>niinku</i>	<i>ihmise-t</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>kysy-y</i>
	all	DEM	like	human-PL	when	ask-PRES.3SG

<i>et</i>	<i>mi-tä-s</i>	<i>sitte</i>	<i>niin se</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>aina</i>
COMP	what-PTV-PTCL	then	so DEM	be.PRES.3SG	always
<i>et</i>	<i>@e-n</i>	<i>mä</i>	<i>tiedä@²⁴</i>		
COMP	NEG-1SG	1SG	know-CONNNEG		

‘All these like people when (they) **ask** *that* what then so **this is** always *that I don’t know*’ (ISK: §1490).

Että, which is not fulfilling functions of complementizer, is being a quotative index here, both bounding with the quote, likewise indicating its adjacent presence (ISK: § 1158, 1465, 1486). Besides that it has been indicated that *et(tä)* is taking functions of manner adverbial here, and ”the one who is being reported [speaker/reporter] is being in some imaginable manner” (ISK: §1487). Here, *että* gives a typifying effect on the quote as well - rather depicting the typical utterance, the person, who is being reported, would produce in similar circumstances. This can be seen in the following example:

(47)	<i>Tänään</i>	<i>ol-i</i>	<i>muuten</i>	<i>ihan</i>	<i>normi</i>	<i>päivä</i>
	today	be-PST.3SG	otherwise	totally	normal	day
	<i>mutta</i>	<i>sitten</i>	<i>äiti</i>	<i>yhtäkkiä huus-i</i>		<i>alhaa-lta</i>
	but	then	mother	suddenly scream-PST.3SG		downstairs-ABL
	<i>et</i>	<i>hae</i>	<i>olle ylös</i>	<i>mä</i>	<i>ol-i-n</i>	<i>sillei</i>
	QI	take-IMP	PN outside	1SG	be-PST-1SG	like
	<i>et</i>	<i>wtf?!</i>				
	COMP	wtf				

‘Today was otherwise totally normal day, but then mother suddenly **yelled** from downstairs *that take Olle outside I was* like *that wtf?!*’ (blogspot.com).

In QI-clauses with *olla* and *et(tä)*, other items can be used between the verb and quotative index, like in the example (47) modal adverbial *sillei*. Its occurrence is quite often in QI-clauses, but it is not the single element that has been encountered. One of the often occurring elements is *ihan* ‘totally, exactly’, which was previously listed as a part of new quotative *ihan et* in Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012: XIV) as a similative/approximative marker used as a new quotative in Finnish. I would doubt its comparative semantics, and the supposition eventually could have been done that *ihan* semantically would refer more to the quantifiers, with the meaning ‘totally’. As it has been a number of original quantifiers noticed becoming new quotatives cross-

²⁴ - Example is taken from ISK (§ 1490), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

linguistically, *ihan* could be supposed being one of them. However, there has not been encountered any occurrence of *ihan* in a QI-clause, where *ihan* would be an element, bounding with the quote, and being a quote-introducer, hence, a quotative index.²⁵ Encountered examples of QI-clauses contain exclusively *ihan* followed by *et(tä)*, e.g.:

- (48) *Ensin mä ol-i-n ihan et joku*
 first 1SG be-PST-1SG totally QI some
humalainen sammalta-a, mut sit mä ol-i-n-ki
 drunk slur.PRES-3SG but then 1SG be-PST-1SG-PTCL
et ei-ku Loiri laula-a.
 QI NEG-PTCL PN sing.PRES-3SG

‘First I **was totally that** some drunk (person) slurs, but then I **was that** isn’t it Loiri singing’ (twitter.com).

My assumption here would be that *ihan* is being an auxiliary element of QI-clause, bringing along with its semantics attitudinal position of speakers with epistemic stance towards the quotation. Concretely here, *ihan* is an element with boosting function, which gives the evidential value of the report, “portraying themselves [speakers/reporters] as reporting ‘first hand’ information, as fully committed to the accuracy or the appropriateness of the quotation, or as emotionally involved” (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XVI). Fundamentally, *ihan* can be omitted from the clause, certainly slightly changing the effect and the meaning of QI-clause, but not changing the idea that the clause itself is quote introducing. Nonetheless, the development of *ihan* as an independent quotative index is not rejected here and this scenario is quite possible.

Both examples (47) and (48) are depicting the situation, when quotatives are collocating with markers, bringing auxiliary meaning to the QI-clause. As it has been stated before and mentioned in previous studies, new quotatives are notorious for collocating with different elements inside one clause, even with another quotative indexes (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XIII). Previously, the example has been listed, showing the

²⁵ - For instance, in Finnish language quantifier *vaan* ‘only’ and in Estonian language quantifier *täiega* ‘totally’, which has been encountered in a QI-clause, has been in the bounding position to the quote. *Vaan* is analyzed further in the subsection dedicated to *vaan* uses as a new quotative, and *täiega* is analyzed in chapter, dedicated to new quotatives in Estonian.

occurrence of similitive marker *niinku*, quantifier *vaan* and a speech verb occurring in one clause (see subsection 2.1.1.1).

2.1.4. Quantifier *vaan*: its functions outside and inside the quotative frame

Another element that has been encountered in the QI-clause and previously mentioned in the list of new quotatives (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XIV) is the quantifier *vaan* ‘just, only’.

Actually, *vaan* has two variants of realization. In standard Finnish *vaan* is conjunction and particle, that means ‘but, also’. It is usually used “in corrective clauses in the clause that starts after the clause with negation”. More rarely, it appears in the positive sentences with negative meaning (ISK: § 1106). Here is an example of typical use of *vaan* in the standard Finnish sentence:

(49) *Se ei ole musta vaan punainen.*
DEM NEG be-CONNeg black but red

‘It is not black, **but** red’ (wiktionary.org).

This realization of *vaan* has nothing similar with the element that is used as a new quotative. In colloquial Finnish *vaan* is the word often used when the speaker aims to use *vain* ‘just, only’, and *vaan* is an equal substitute of *vain* (ISK: §829, 844). Moreover, the final *n* is sometimes omitted in the colloquial Finnish. Both possibilities of shortened and full variant of *vaan* will be indicated by taking *n* in the brackets – *vaa(n)*

Outside the quotative frame *vaa(n)* (~*vain*) is quite polyfunctional. It is used as an accent particle (ISK: § 821) and exclusive (in other literature restrictive) focus particle (ISK: § 839, 844). It can bring the foregrounding function to some word, clause or even the whole sentence, most likely depending on its position in the sentence: usually it focuses on the following element. However, it cannot be taken for granted though in the standard language it is used this way (ISK: § 839). Being an exclusive focus particle, it is equally substituted with *vain* or *ainoastaan*. Here is an example of *vaan* use in this meaning:

(50)	<i>Minu-lla</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>vain ~</i>	<i>vaan~</i>	<i>ainoastaan</i>
	1SG-ADE	be.PRES.3SG	just	only	merely
	<i>viisi</i>	<i>markka-a</i>			
	NUM	mark-PTV			

‘I have **just/only/merely** five marks’ (ISK: §839)²⁶.

The fact that exclusive particles that bare also quantificational semantic meaning are started being used inside the quotative frame is not surprising. It has been already briefly reviewed in previous chapters, where usage of *vaa(n)* has been mentioned (see subsection 2.1.1.1) and in previous subsection, where semantic meaning and usage of *ihan* has been discussed (see subsection 2.1.3.2).

As it has been mentioned in Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012: XVI), quantifiers, used in a quotative scope, has either a maximum (English *all*, Estonian *täiega*) or minimum (Norwegian *bare*, Finnish *vaan*) quantificational meaning (also Hasund *et al.* 2012).

Güldemann (2008) points out that this type of quotatives has a potential foregrounding function. „If direct quotes thus tend to be foregrounded information, it is a logical consequence that their indexing constructions will often employ formal means which express this foregrounding overtly“ (Güldemann 2008: 361). According to him, the realization is possible in two ways. First way is that the quote itself should be treated as a focused discourse constituent. Second realization is that an element, being a part of QI-clause, bounding to an adjacent quote is marked as a salient information (Güldemann 2008: 361). Another possibility is connected with presenting the event denoted by the quote as an important piece of information. In cases where the event representation is foregrounded, the quote becomes salient as well. This can be referred to the previously presented example with element *vaa(n)* in preposition to the speech verb (see subsection 2.1.1.1). However, not only quantifiers are bearing foregrounding functions. Also elements described previously in this thesis, like simulative markers, have a general focusing nature, which played a huge role in their development into a general marker of mimesis cross-linguistically. Hence, one can refer to the functions of

²⁶ - Example (50) is taken from ISK (§839), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

vaa(n) as a focus particle outside the quotative scope, previously described in ISK (2004: 839, 844) and briefly mentioned also above.

Another interesting function of quantifiers inside the QI-clause is that by using elements, originally encoding minimum quantification, speakers this way express their minimal commitment to the form or the occurrence of the quote (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XVI).

In the materials, collected for the current thesis, two types of construction have been encountered. First is the reported discourse construction with a QI-clause, consisting of nominal, encoding speaker (reporter), speech verb and *vaa(n)*. Second type of construction is a QI-clause with equational verb *olla* and *vaa(n)*. One example with elliptic verb is also included and discussed in the same subsection.

2.1.4.1. Speech verbs and *vaa(n)*

In this subsection, QI-clauses, consisting of nominal, encoding speaker (reporter), speech verb and *vaa(n)* are discussed. The occurrence of complementizer *et(tä)* has not been noticed following the same pattern as in previous cases, described for other strategies.

In clauses with speech verbs, the ellipsis of complementizer has not been noticed. Here is a couple of examples of such clause:

- (51) *kysy-isi-n* *vaan* *et* *mi-hin* *puisto-on* *tai*
ask-COND-1SG just COMP what-ILL park-ILL or

johonkin *voi-s* *mennä* *istuskelee*
some.ILL can-COND go sit.INF.ILL

‘I would just ask *that* what park or where it would be possible to go to sit’
(Facebook.com)
- (52) *tunnusta-n:* *tä-tä-kin* *blogi-a*
admit.PRES-1SG DEM-PTV-PTCL blog-PTV

katto-e-ssa-ni *mä* *miet-i-n* *vaan* *et*
look-INF-INE-POSS>1SG 1SG think-PST-1SG just COMP

“*dang he’s handsome*“
Q

I admit that looking at this blog I **thought just that** ”dang, he’s handsome” (tumblr.com).

Example (51) demonstrates well the hedging function of the element *vaa(n)* in the QI-clause. The support for this argument can be seen as well from the conditional mood, used in the QI-clause, indicating that the following reported discourse depicts one’s thoughts or intention to say something. However, *vaa(n)* is likewise found in QI-clauses with predicate in an indicative mood, as in (52). The foregrounding function of *vaa(n)* should not be neglected here as well. In postposition to the verb, it gives extra focus on the ongoing adjacent quotation together with complementizer *et(tä)*.

The lack of complementizer omission in cases like this can be explained in several ways. One suggestion would be that the use of *vaa(n)* in clauses with speech or epistemic verbs has an auxiliary function of quote introducing, and its main function is still focused on foregrounding and hedging. A second suggestion can be made, taking in account that *vaan* is still going through the stage of development its quotative functions. It might be still not completely conventionalized quotative index as it is, for instance, with the *bare* ’just’ quotative index in Scandinavian languages (see more Eriksson 1997; Hasund *et al.* 2012). *Bare* is rarely used in QI-clauses with speech verbs, and more likely it appears in the non-verbal clauses (Hasund *et al.* 2012: 46).

2.1.4.2. Equational verb *olla* and *vaa(n)*

The occurrence of QI-clauses with an equational verb *olla* and *vaa(n)* follow the similar pattern as in other strategies, where an equational verb occurs. Quotative index *et(tä)* is either present (53) or it is elliptic (54), and then *vaa(n)* is completely taking over the quote-introducing functions in the clause. Justification of the presence of an equational verb *olla* stays the same as it has been already described for the previous strategies.

(53)	<i>Jossain</i> Somewhere	<i>vaihee-ssa</i> point-INE	<i>sit joku</i> then someone	<i>tul-i</i> come-PST.3SG	<i>kysy-mä-än</i> ask-INF-ILL
	<i>et</i> COMP	<i>halua-n-ko</i> want.PRES-1SG-PTCL	<i>epiduraali-n</i> epidural-GEN	<i>ja</i> and	
	<i>ol-i-n</i> be-PST-1SG	<i>vaan</i> just	<i>että</i> QI	<i>todella-ki</i> really-PTCL	<i>halua-n.</i> want.PRES-1SG

‘At some point then someone came to ask that whether I want epidural, and I was **just that** definetely want’ (blogspot.com).

- (54) *Ol-i-n* *vaan,* *e-t-kö* *jumalauta*
 be-PST-1SG just NEG-2SG-PTCL goddammit
- voi-s* *pitää* *suu-ta-s* *kiinni?!!*
 can-COND.3SG keep.INF mouth-PTV-POSS>2SG shut

‘I was **just** can’t you fucking keep your mouth shut?!!’ (omablogi.fi)

In both examples *vaa(n)* brings foregrounding functions, putting quotation into focus position. It has also its hedging function, being originally a restrictive (eclusive) particle, blurring at the same time borders between quotation of real utterances, thoughts or intended utterances. However, in the example (53) main quote-introducing functions are fulfilled by quotative index *että*. Where this index is ellipted, *vaan* takes over its functions. The orientation of these QI-clauses lay on the quote, as *olla* brings its neutralizing effect on the event-orientation.

An interesting example of an occurrence of *vaan* in non-clausal QI-clause has been likewise encountered, illustrated by example (55):

- (55) *...sano-i-n-kin,* *että* *saata-mme* *käydä*
 say-PST-1SG-PTCL COMP may.PRES-1PL go
- jossain* *vaihee-ssa* *pele-illa-ssa* *katso-ma-ssa* *mikä*
 somewhere point-INE game night-INE watch-INF-INE what
- meno* *on* *ja on-ko*
 outlay be.PRES.3SG and be.PRES.3SG-PTCL
- mui-de-n* *kanssa kiva* *pelata.* *Vähän* *vaan*
 other-PL-GEN with nice play Little just

don’t get your hopes up feelsit.

Q

‘I’ve said that we may go at some point to the game night to watch what is going on and whether it’s funny to play with others. A bit **just** don’t get your hopes up feelsit’ (ylilauta.org).

Usually, verb omission brings a dramatic character to the quotation. The example above demonstrates also dramatization of the quotation, which is not a new feature of occurring of new quotatives as a part of non-clausal index or in non-verbal clauses. ‘It

is quite common among new quotatives to fulfill the pragmatic function of highlighting a particularly dramatic peak in performed narratives” (Hasund *et al.* 2012: 46).

The bounding presence of *vaa(n)* may be likewise analyzed in sense that this marker can be treated as a new quotative. Comparing with the previously discussed element *ihan*, this element has been encountered functioning as an independent quotative index, both bearing its focusing and hedging function, likewise being the quote-introducer.

2.1.5. Motion verb *tulla* inside the quotative frame

The occurrence of motion verbs inside a QI-clause is not surprising. There is a number of evidences, spotted cross-linguistically, where verbs indicating motion and action, such as *come* and *go*, *make* and *do*, appear as core constituents of QI-clause. In the written variant of colloquial Finnish, one of such verbs is *tulla* ‘to come’.

The notion of motion verbs becoming new quotatives has been interpreted in the past via metaphors. It has been pointed out that “the lexical field of physical motion, action, location and of mental states and speech acts are metaphorically connected”. Reported discourse then is treated as a message, traveling from the speaker (reporter) to an addressee. Hence, the use of motion verbs in the expressions of ablativity and allativity should not be surprising because fundamentally any conversation is built on these notions (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XVI).

According to Butters (1980: 307), uses of motion verbs in QI-clauses are motivated by the move from the specialized use to the broader one. However, according to Güldemann (2008: 316), basing on the connection between motion verbs and mimesis, the use of motion verbs in QI-clauses is a specialized one, compared to the broader general uses of them outside the quotative scope.

In written data, collected for the current thesis, *tulla* is used for encoding the basic transition of messages, announcements, notifications, etc.:

(56)	<i>Kun</i> when	<i>yh-tä</i> one-PTV	<i>kuva-a</i> picture-PTV	<i>koittaa</i> try	<i>avata</i> open.INF	<i>suora-an</i> straight-ILL
	<i>tule-e</i> come.PRES-3SG		<i>virheilmoitus:</i> mistake notification		<i>"Kuva-a</i> picture-PTV	
		<i>http://...../images/poewerer_by.png</i> link			<i>ei</i> NEG	
	<i>voida</i> open.PASS.CONNEG	<i>näyttää,</i> show.INF	<i>koska</i> because	<i>se</i> DEM	<i>sisältä-ä</i> contain.PRES-3SG	
	<i>virhe-i-tä</i> mistake-PL-PTV					

'When one tries to open straightly one picture, **comes up mistake notification:** "Picture http://...../images/poewerer_by.png" cannot be shown, because it contains mistakes' (joomla.fi).

Nominal phrase in QI-clauses usually encodes the source of information that is mostly connected to some messaging and notification type.

Moreover, the usage of *et(tä)* has been encountered in clauses with *tulla*. It is used as a complementizer, followed by the complement clause, adjacent to the nominal phrase, encoding the source of quotation. Usually it is optional, and in many cases *et(tä)* is most likely motivated by the fact that direct reported discourse is used, often a quoted message in written form is copied and pasted from the source. The usage of *et(tä)* with direct reported discourse is a feature that belongs to colloquial Finnish, and it has been previously discussed both here and in Finnish Grammar (ISK: § 1465). Partially, it can be motivated also by quotation of non-clausal direct reported discourse, when one may be encountered (ISK: § 1465).

Here the example of QI-clauses with a motion verb *tulla* with present (57) and elliptic (58) complementizer *et(tä)* are demonstrated:

(57)	<i>Nyt</i> Now	<i>itse-kään</i> self-PTCL	<i>en</i> NEG	<i>pääse</i> get in	<i>sinne</i> DEM.ILL	<i>sisä-än,</i> inside-ILL
	<i>tule-e</i> come.PRES-3SG		<i>ilmoitus</i> notification	<i>että</i> QI	<i>sivu</i> page	<i>on</i> be.PRES.3SG
	<i>offline</i> offline					

'Now I myself cannot get there inside, he gets **a notification that page is offline**' (joomla.fi).

(58)	<i>Eli</i> namely	<i>kun</i> when	<i>vieras</i> guest	<i>lähettä-ä</i> send.PRES-3SG	<i>postaukse-n</i> posting-GEN
	<i>blogi-in</i> blog-ILL	<i>häne-lle</i> 3SG-ALL	<i>tule-e</i> come.PRES-3SG	<i>ilmoitus</i> notification	
	<i>"Kommentti</i> comment	<i>lähete-tty</i> send-PP	<i>ja odotta-a</i> and wait.PRES-3SG	<i>hallinnoija-n</i> administrator-GEN	
	<i>hyväksyntä-ä"</i> approval-PTV				

‘Namely, when guest sends posting to blog, the **notification appears** to him
“Comment is sent and waits for administrator’s approval”’ (joomla.fi).

In clauses like this, the type of the reported discourse – direct or indirect, motivates the use or the ellipsis of the complementizer. The ellipsis of complementizer might be also motivated by the attempt of the speaker to use more standardized variant of Finnish in writing where direct reported discourse is used without a complementizer and reported discourse is not recognized as a complement clause. In any case, my supposition is that complementizer here is not a nucleus component of the quotative clause and this is the reason why its presence is optional. The core elements of the QI-clause here are the nominal, encoding the source of the reported discourse and motion verb *tulla* that introduces a quote.

However, one additional construction has been encountered lacking the nominal phrase, encoding the source of construction:

(59)	<i>mi-tä</i> what-PTV	<i>helvetti-ä,</i> hell-PTV	<i>googlet-i-n</i> google-PST-1SG	<i>jotain</i> something	<i>ja</i> and
	<i>päädy-i-n</i> end up-PST-1SG	<i>kaksplussa-n</i> PN-GEN	<i>sivu-lle</i> page-ALL	<i>ja tul-i</i> and come-PST.3SG	
	<i>et</i> QI	<i>IP-OSOITTEE-SI</i> IP-address-POSS>2SG	<i>ON</i> be.PRES.3SG	<i>BANA-TTU</i> ban-PP	

‘What the hell, I was googling something and end up on the page of kaksplussa and message **appears that** your IP-address is banned’ (demi.fi).

In this example, the lack of a nominal phrase, that in the previous example along with *tulla* was taking the function of QI-clause, motivates the presence of quotative index *et(tä)*. *Et(tä)* here take the introduction and signaling function of the adjacent quote, and according to my supposition, in clauses like this *et(tä)* is switching functions from a complementizer to the quotative inde, therefore, cannot be omitted from the clause.

Hence, in circumstances, presented in this subsection, motion verb *tulla* cannot be considered being an independent quotative index, as on its own it does not fulfil the quote-introducing functions. However, it can be one of the constituents of a QI-clause, along with other elements, like nominal phrase, encoding the source of reported discourse, and possible complementizer. In cases where the nominal is absent, *et(tä)*, switching functions from complementizer to quotative index, is usually used.

2.1.6. Overview on new quotative indexes of Finnish language in collected data

New quotative indexes encountered in the collected data may be classified according to their structural uses into two groups. The first group consists of markers with different original semantic meaning and functions. The second group is represented by the motion verb *tulla* with a structural use noticeably different from the uses of the other markers.

Coming to the classification of new quotatives, the first major group consists of similative markers *niin kuin (niinku)* and *tyyl(i)(n)*, the original complementizer *et(tä)* and the quantifier *vaa(n)*. All these markers show a similarity in their structural uses, namely they co-occur in QI-clauses with speech verbs and equational *olla*. As it has been mentioned before, in this thesis the difference between generic and specific speech verbs has not been taken into account. Often the verbs, encoding epistemic processes, have been included into the group of speech verbs, as among the verbs, encountered in the QI-clauses in the collected data, they are semantically and according to their structural use closer to the speech verbs, rather than to the group of verbs, entitled here as non-speech verbs.

Though this consideration has not been mentioned in the analysis of the QI-clauses so far, all the QI-clauses are used exclusively in preposition to the reported discourse. They mostly consist of the nominal, encoding the speaker (reporter), the predicate – a speech verb or an equational verb *olla* in finite form, and a quotative index.

An interesting observation should be mentioned that in QI-clauses with *olla* and *niinku* the speaker (reporter) is exclusively in the first person singular, though in similar

constructions with other new quotatives more possibilities of speaker (reporter) marking occur. Moreover, quotative *niinku* is the only new quotative that appears also in preposition to the verb; in cases like this its auxiliary functions of bringing the approximative evaluation to the reported discourse seems more important than its quote introducing functions.

The new quotative *tyyl(ii)(n)* was also encountered in QI-clauses with non-speech verbs. The lack of examples of other new quotatives with non-speech verbs, nonetheless, does not exclude the possibility of such a co-occurrence. Adjacent to the quotative index, the complementizer *et(tä)* can be used in all the constructions, with the obvious exclusion of those QI-clauses in which *et(tä)* is used as a new quotative. However, the use of the complementizer is optional and it is often omitted, specific motivation for the use or omission of complementizer has not been noticed here and requires further studies.

Besides the occurrence of new quotatives in QI-clauses, the non-clausal use of some elements was likewise encountered. Namely, the marker *tyyl(ii)(n)* has been noticed as a part of the predicative clause, nonetheless, separately analyzed as a non-clausal quotative index co-occurring with a nominal phrase encoding the source of construction (for more details see subsection 2.1.2.4. and examples (36) and (37)). The new quotatives *niinku* and *vaa(n)* were encountered as single markers, indicating the presence of reported discourse. The last use suggests a future development of these markers into independent quotative indexes (for more details see subsection 2.1.1.2. and 2.1.4.2.).

QI-clauses with motion verb encountered in the data consist of an NP, encoding the source of the reported discourse and motion verb *tulla*. There is a possibility of occurrence of complementizer *et(tä)*. However, the presence or ellipsis is not governed by any specific rule, and rather follows the same pattern as in QI-clauses with the markers becoming new quotatives. The motivation of the usage of motion verb in QI-clause lays behind the depictions of the transfer of the message (or notification, etc.) from the original place to the addressee, as fundamentally every speech verb depicts the transfer of the message from the speaker (reporter) to addressee.

2.2. New quotatives in Estonian

Like in Finnish, several new quotatives have been mentioned for Estonian previously, taking into account a cross-linguistic distribution of the elements, having the semantic features of similative markers, demonstrative or manner deictics and quantifiers (Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: XIV).

In Estonian, the following new quotatives have been encountered: *nagu* ‘like’, *nii et* ‘so that’, *et* ‘that’ and *täiega* ‘completely’. Additionally, the usage of similative marker *a la* (which is an obvious borrowing from French *à la*, e.g. *à la française* ‘in a French style’, that obtained in some languages comparative semantics) is discussed in the subsection, where similative marker *nagu* is analyzed.

The presentation of new quotatives in Estonian in the following subsections follows the same pattern as in the chapter on Finnish. The major part of materials has been taken from written text collections from the New Media Corpus of the Mixed Corpora of Estonian language, freely accessible on the Internet (<http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/uusmeedia/>). Besides that, independently collected material was likewise used, collected from web pages containing similar written texts as new media corpus data. A restriction was made regarding web pages using the standard variant of Estonian, which does not show any examples of the uses of new quotatives.

In subsections with references to previous studies, examples from these studies are used. This type of examples is marked and mentioned in footnotes together with original source. The unmarked examples belong to the materials from New Media Corpus or to the independently collected data, freely accessed on the Internet.

All the examples are glossed and translated into English, even if in the examples from the previous studies the glossing and translation have been missing. In this case, it is mentioned in the footnotes that the glossing and translation belongs to the author of the current thesis.

2.2.1. The similative marker *nagu*: its functions outside and inside the quotative scope

Outside the quotative scope, *nagu* is notoriously polyfunctional. Originally it is a similative marker, which expresses the approximative values of the compared objects. Between these objects, there is an intensive similarity, and they are connected with the conjunction *nagu* (EKG: §588), which can be translated into English as ‘like, as’.

(60)	<i>Loom-i</i>	<i>jäädvustava-te</i>	<i>fotograafi-de</i>	<i>sõnul</i>	
	animal-GEN	captured-PL.GEN	photo-PL.GEN	according	
	<i>on</i>	<i>väikese-d</i>	<i>looma-d</i>	<i>nagu</i>	<i>väikese-d</i>
	be.PRES.3SG	small-PL	animal-PL	like	small-PL
	<i>lapse-d,</i>	<i>nei-le</i>	<i>meeldi-b</i>	<i>samuti</i>	<i>mängida ja mürada.</i>
	child-PL	3PL-ALL	like.PRES-3SG	also	play and make noise

‘According to photographs taken of animals, **small animals are like small children**, they also like to play and make noise’ (postimees.ee)

Moreover, *nagu* is used in complex sentences expressing quantitative comparison, where the main clause is compared with the subordinate clause, for example (EKG: §726; also §731,735)²⁷:

(61)	<i>Peter</i>	<i>jook-si-s</i>	<i>nii kiiresti,</i>	<i>nagu</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>suut-i-s</i>
	PN	run-PST-3SG	so fast	like	3SG	can-PST-3SG

‘Peter ran as fast, **as he could**’ (EKG: §726).

In addition, Estonian Grammar describes evidential and epistemic values for the similative marker *nagu*. It can express both evaluation of the described situation as unreal, or an average potentiality/possibility of occurrence of some situation or circumstances. In the sentences where irrealty is expressed, the verb stays usually in indicative mood (EKG: §624).

Its usage in colloquial Estonian is quite frequent. However, one should be careful with distinguishing usage of *nagu* with and without the additional meaning (EKG: §627).

The average possibility or potentiality of the situation that *nagu* brings to the clause derives from its comparative semantics, which eventually gives the features expressing modality to the marker, e.g.:

²⁷ - Example (61) is taken from EKG (§726), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

(62) *Rong* *nagu* *paista-b*
train like be seen.PRES-3SG

‘A train, **as** it appears’ (EKG: §627).

Here something that the speaker sees resembles a/the train. In this sentence, *nagu* cannot be omitted, as its omission will cause the change of the modality of the situation (compare with *Rong paistab* ‘A train appears’) (EKG: §627).

Furthermore, *nagu* can fulfill focus marking function. With it the speaker usually wants to put a stress on the information that (s)he does not want to be left unclear for the addressee (EKG: §627):

(63) *Minu* *töö* *koosne-b* ***nagu*** *kolme-st*
1SG.GEN work consist.PRES-3SG like NUM-ELA

peatüki-st
chapter-ELA

‘My paper consist of **like** three chapters’ (EKG: §627).

In addition, *nagu* can bring hedging function to an expression that otherwise would sound too straightforward. This way the speaker expresses politeness towards the addressee, e.g.²⁸:

(64) *Anna* *ma* *arvuta-n* *mu-lle* *on*
give.IMP.2SG 1SG count.PRES-1SG 1SG-ALL be.PRES.3SG

see *ala* ***nagu*** *tuttava-m*
DEM field like known-COMP

‘Let me count, with this field I am **like** more familiar’ (EKG: §627).

Justifications for usage of similitive markers as a part of a QI-clause have been above for Finnish, referring to the previous studies by Güldemann (2008), Aikhenvald and Buchstaller (2012), Romaine and Lange (1991) and others. The correlation is found between the usage of *nagu* outside and inside the quotative scope as a focus marker, an item with the hedging function and, certainly, its similitive semantics are likewise taken into account.

²⁸ - Examples (62), (63) and (64) are taken from EKG (§627), glossing and translations are mine, DT.

In the materials, collected for the current thesis, *nagu* has been encountered in QI-clauses with speech verbs, non-speech verbs, nominal phrases or as a part of a non-clausal quotative index.

2.2.1.1. *Nagu* and speech verbs

This type of QI-clause consists of an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), a speech verb, and the simulative marker *nagu*, that is usually in postposition to the predicate. The presence of the complementizer *et* ‘that’ (that semantically and functionally corresponds to the Finnish *että*) is optional. It is motivated by the fact, that in sentences with complement clauses, *nagu* can fulfill the functions of the complementizer; in declarative sentences besides the classical complementizer *et*, the simulative markers *justkui*, *kui*, *justnagu*, *nagu* and *otsekui* can be used. They have already become conventionalized complementizers in Standard Estonian (Kehayov forthcoming: 7-9). The choice of the complementizer depends on whether the speaker relies or not on the information (s)he utters (EKG: §705).

In Kehayov’s paper on complementizers in Finnic, this type of complementizers with original simulative meaning is treated as “irrealis complementizers” (Kehayov forthcoming: 8). Kehayov states that “simulative type provides its own evaluation of the situation described in complement, which is independent of the factivity of the main verb” (Kehayov forthcoming: 17-18).

Here is an example of the use of *nagu* as a complementizer in the sentence with complement-clause:

(65)	<i>Mu-l</i>	<i>jä-i</i>	(<i>selline</i>)	<i>mulje,</i>	<i>nagu</i>	<i>ole-ks</i>
	1SG-ADE	leave-PST.3SG	such	impression	like	be-COND
	<i>ta</i>	<i>haige</i>				
	3SG	ill				

‘I had such an impression, **as if** (s)he was ill’²⁹ (EKG: §705).

²⁹ - Example is taken from EKG (§705), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

In the example (65), one can notice that the speaker doubts whether his impression is right or not. It can be supported by the fact that in complement clause speaker uses conditional mood, which already gives the impression of uncertainty in the reality of the situation. The occurrence of the similitive marker as a complementizer (SIM-complementizer in Kehayov forthcoming) harmonically combines with the complement verb in the conditional mood. Both complement verb and SIM-complementizer “express negative propositional attitude towards the content of the complement” (Kehayov forthcoming: 18). Likewise, the hedging function of complementizer *nagu* let the speaker distance her-/himself from the utterance. The hedging functions of the similitive markers have been previously discussed in this thesis in the chapter on similitive markers *niinku* and *tyylli(n)* in Finnish language.

However, coming back to reported discourse constructions, the types of QI-clauses, consisting of the speaker (reporter) encoding NP, speech verb, and similitive marker *nagu* in postposition to the verb with (66) and without (67) complementizer *et* have been encountered:

- (66) *See ütle-s nagu, et min-ge sinna*
 DEM say-PST.3SG like COMP go-IMP.2PL DEM.ILL
tahapoole, seal on kraanikauss ja...
 backside.ILL there be.PRES.3SG sink and
 ‘This (one) **said like, that** go there to the backside, there’s a sink and...’
 (memokraat.ee).

- (67) *Vene keel-e õpetaja-t šokeeri-si-n ma*
 Russian language-GEN teacher-PTV shock-PST-1SG 1SG
selle-ga, et ütle-si-n ta-lle, nagu
 DEM-COM COMP say-PST-1SG 3SG-ALL like
ole-ksi-n ma käi-nud vaata-ma-s Leo Tolstoi
 be-COND-1SG 1SG go-PP watch-INF-INE PN
näidendi-t “Surnud laip”
 play-PTV PN

‘I shocked the Russian language teacher **saying** to him *like* I went to watch Leo Tolstoi’s play “Dead corpse”’ (aai.ee)

In the example (66), the quote introducing function is fulfilled by the complementizer *et* that is in a bounding position to the quote. The similitive marker *nagu* brings the

approximative evaluation to the following quote, likewise gives the opportunity for the speaker to distance himself from the quote. The focusing functions of the similative marker should be likewise taken into account. My justification for it would be that the QI-clause here belongs to the quote-oriented QI according to the classification, presented by Güldemann (2012: 120), more precisely to monoclausal bipartite clauses.

In the example (67), the complementizer is omitted, and the similative marker takes over its functions. According to Kehayov (forthcoming: 22), epistemically neutral complementizers (e.g. *et* in Estonian) are often omissible. The omission and presence of complementizers, however, in Finnic languages behaves differently. Estonian allows the omission in more cases than Finnish, which depends more on different structural functions, like the person of the verb in the matrix clause (Kehayov forthcoming: 22-23; Kerhonen 1993: 116).

The uses of the complementizer *nagu* in clauses with epistemic and speech verbs, that are complement-taking predicates, is a quite usual phenomenon in Estonian (EKG: §707). Moreover, the usage of the similative marker as a complementizer adds a shift of the epistemic modality of the complement-clause. As it has been mentioned before, *nagu* as a complementizer describes the irreality or small probability of the occurrence of the adjacent quote in the real situation, motivated by its functions both outside and inside the quotative scope (Kehayov, to appear: 18; also EKG: §716). The choice of the marker is motivated by the speakers wish to distance her-/himself from the quote. Likewise, the semantics of the marker give the approximative evaluation to the quote. Both of these motivations may be the cause for the marking of the low epistemic modality, expressed through the constituents of the QI-clause.

Besides *nagu* colloquial Estonian shows similar constructions with the similative marker *a la*. It was either borrowed from French *à la* ‘in a given style; in a given manner’, or it came into Estonian via Russian *а-ля/а ля* (which seems to be more obvious). In Estonian it is used likewise as a similative marker, meaning ‘like, in a way’. In Russian *а-ля* can be used as a QI-clause constituent, similarly to another similative marker *muna* ‘like, as if’, which is more often:

(68) *Второй раз залетел, но уже "другой" саппорт*
 Second time flied in but already second support
мне ответил а-ля "Скрин ключа и старое мыло"
 to me answered a la screen of key and old mail

‘The second time I “logged in”, but already “second” support (administrator) answered me *like* “Screen of the key and old e-mail” (zhyk.ee).

In the collected materials, *a la* has been encountered only once; however, there is a tendency of more frequent use of this marker. The example of a QI-clause here consists of an NP, encoding speaker (reporter), a speech verb (being a part of complex predicate) and the similative marker *a la*:

(69) *Vähe selle-st, et nad ei ole*
 little DEM-ELA COMP 3PL NEG be-PRES.CONNEG
suut-nud maailma-le ära seletada Pühakirj-a
 can-PP world-ALL PRE explain-INF Holy scripture-GEN
vastuoksus-i ja lamedus-i a la „Jumal
 contradiction-PTV.PL and platitude-PTV.PL a la god
on üks ja ta-l on kolm
 be.PRES.3SG NUM and 3SG-ADE be.PRES.3SG NUM
hüpostaas-i
 hypostasis-PTV

‘Not only this, that they did not manage to explain to the world the Holy Scripture’s contradictions and platitudes *like* “God is the only one, and he has three hypostasis” (New media corpus).

It is hard to make a precise comparison between the uses of *a la* and *nagu* inside the quotative scope, as there is an obvious requirement of more examples with *a la*. However, the suggestion can be made, based on the partial similarity of functions outside the quotative frame as similative markers, that these items can be substitutable in this type of constructions. My suggestion would be based on the fact that the uses of *a la* are quite possible depending on the frequency of uses of *a la* generally in the speech of the speaker as a similative marker.

The type of construction with *nagu* being in postposition to the verb is not the only one that has been encountered. *Nagu* also occurs in the QI-clause in preposition to the speech verb. Here is an example of this type of QI-clause, consisting of an NP encoding

the speaker (reporter), the similitive marker *nagu* being in preposition to the speech verb with optional complementizer *et*:

(70)	<i>Ma</i>	<i>nagu</i>	<i>ütte-si-n</i>	<i>juba,</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ei</i>
	1SG	like	say-PST-1SG	already	COMP	2SG	NEG
	<i>saa</i>		<i>takistada</i>	<i>ne-id</i>		<i>asj-u</i>	
	can.CONNEG		prevent	DEM-PL.PTV		thing-PL.PTV	
	<i>plaadi-lt</i>		<i>kopeerita-ma-st...</i>				
	disc-ABL		copy-INF-ELA				

‘I **like said** already, **that** you cannot prevent from copying these things from the disc’
(New media corpus)

Here the core constituent of the QI-clause is the speech verb with the possibly following complementizer *et*. This QI-clause cannot be anymore considered a quote oriented QI-clause, rather an event-oriented in which the speech verb depicts the speech situation. The similitive marker *nagu* which is prepositional to the verb here gives an approximative evaluation to the quote. The speaker here wants to underline that the following quote is not the same depiction of the quote, written previously in a comment. The hedging function, however, is presented here likewise, giving a possibility for the speaker to distance himself from the previous utterance. One can notice the obvious lack of the focus on the quote, which is mainly caused by its position in the QI-clause. The quote introducing function is fulfilled by the complementizer *et* that is a bounding to the quote QI-clause element.

However, as it has been already encountered in QI-clauses with *niin kuin*, the presence of *nagu* can be often misleading in preposition to the speech verb. Usually, the presence of *nagu* in the sentences is not connected to its complementizer functions (EKG: §750). Here is an example of the sentence, depicting the described construction:

(71)	<i>Nagu</i>	<i>keegi</i>	<i>eespool</i>	<i>maini-s,</i>	<i>on-gi</i>	
	like	somebodyabove	mention-PST.3SG	be.PRES.3SG-PTCL		
	<i>kristlane praktik</i>	<i>tatipriks</i>	<i>Kingo-t</i>	<i>kaits-ma-s.</i>	<i>Idioot</i>	
	Christian practice	douche	PN-PTV	protect-INF-INE	idiot	
	<i>tunne-b</i>	<i>idioot-i,</i>	<i>nagu</i>	<i>öel-dakse</i>		
	know-PRES.3SG	idiot-PTV	like	say-PASS		

‘**Like** somebody above mentioned, Christian practice is a douch in protecting Kingo. Idiot knows idiot, **like** it’s said’ (New media corpus).

Here in both sentences *nagu* fulfils the functions of a conjunction. It has been noticed at the beginning of the QI-clause either in preposition or in postposition to the quote. In Finnish, similar QI-clauses were noticed with *niinku* separating the quote into two. This type of construction was not encountered in Estonian, however, the possibility of its appearance within the quote is not excluded here, and more research on this is required.

Being in preposition to the quote, *nagu* here connects the previous sentence with the current one. In postposition, it usually connects the QI-clause with the quote. As it has been mentioned above, my suggestion would be to exclude this use of *nagu* from being a constituent of the QI-clause, as its functions here are not connected to the functions of a quotative index. Here it does not bring any auxiliary meaning to the quote, nor is being used as a quote introducer.

2.2.1.2. *Nagu* and non-speech verbs

This subsection presents the possibility of occurrence of non-speech verbs together with the simulative marker *nagu*. The example discussed here is not meant to cover all the possible strategies of uses of non-speech verbs inside the quotative scope of Estonian language, and rather meant to present the co-occurrence of simulative marker with non-speech verbs, fulfilling the function of quote introducers. The frequency of occurrence of such elements together is not taken into account and requires further studies.

(72) *Ning* *kui* *google-sse* *kirjutada* *botsvana ning tulemus-te*
 and when Google-ILL write PN and result-GEN.PL

juurde *üle-sse* ***tule-b*** *selline* *asi* ***nagu***
 to up-ILL come-PRES.3SG such thing like

„*Did* *you mean :botswana*“
 Q

‘And typing into Google „Botsvana“, and above the results **appears** such a thing *like* „Did you mean: Botswana“ (New media corpus).

Here, taking in account that the example is taken from comments on the Internet, the usage of a motion verb, encoding the process of the delivering the notification, is quite expected as a substitution to the speech verb. The presence of the motion verbs in QI-

clauses has been previously discussed in the chapter on the uses of motion verb *tulla* in quotative scope of Finnish language. There is definitely a metaphorical connection between the lexical field of locomotion and the mental states or speech acts (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XVI).

Moreover, my suggestion here would be that the usage of the NP *selline asi* ‘such a thing’ and the motion verb, depicting the “traveling” of notification, are meant to leave the events unspecified. This may be supported by the fact that the example represents a quote-oriented QI-clause, where *nagu* fulfills the core-functions of quote introducing and focusing the addressee on the presence of the adjacent quote. The depiction of the state of affairs here is not necessary, necessary is the quote itself. I would point out the focusing functions of the similative marker *nagu*, previously described in Estonian Grammar and presented here as well (EKG: §627). Usually, the focus in the sentence will lie on the element following the similative marker, which is, in this case, a quote. The motivation of the similative markers as elements “serving to draw the attention of the audience directly to the presence of this constituent” have been described by Güldemann (2008: 320), and they were mentioned here likewise for the strategies in Finnish language with similative markers.

2.2.1.3. Non-clausal quotative index: nominal phrase and *nagu*

In this subsection, the non-clausal quotative indexes consisting of nominal phrase and similative marker *nagu* are discussed. These quotative indexes are classified here as non-clausal. They belong to a predicate clause with subject and finite predicate. However, the quote introducing function lies exclusively in the part of this clause – a nominal phrase and a similative marker *nagu*. Here is an example of this type of non-clausal quotative index:

- (73) *leid-si-n* *kuskil* *sell-i-se* *targ-a* *rea*
 find-PST-1SG somewhere such-GEN clever-GEN line.GEN
- nagu:* *Software* *caused* *connection* *abort* – *This means one or more*
 like Q

programs/applications running in your system get crashed with your IRC client application.

‘I found somewhere **such a clever line like**: Software caused connection abort – This means one or more programs/applications running in your system get crashed with your IRC client application’ (New media corpus).

Here the predicate clause cannot be classified as a QI-clause, and the quote introducing functions lie on the NP, encoding the source of the reported discourse, and *nagu*, which can be recognized fulfilling syntactical functions of complementizer and quote introducer. Syntactically, in predicate clauses nominal phrases can take a complement clause, in which *nagu* can be a complementizer (EKG: §707). As a quotative index, *nagu* focuses the addressee’s attention on the adjacent quote, as well semantically depicts the approximative values of the reported discourse. A similar type of constructions was encountered for constructions with NP and *tyyliin* in Finnish, which were also classified as a non-clausal quotative index.

However, the predicate clause in this type of construction can be omissible as the following example shows. It is a reported discourse construction consisting of non-clausal quotative index and reported discourse:

(74) *bimbo in disguise. like totally.*

<i>Laused</i>	<i>nagu:</i>	<i>oh grow up!</i>	<i>Ja no mis</i>	<i>värk</i>	<i>on?</i>
sentences	like	Q	and well what	thing	is

‘Bimbo in disguise. Like totally. **Sentences like**: Oh grow up! And well, what is the thing?’ (New media corpus).

In Internet communication, the discussion in comments can proceed the way that participants often omit the understandable from the context parts of the sentences, namely here the predicate clause. This omission happens as well during the oral communication between the speakers if it does not hinder the participants of conversation from understanding. Here the quote introducing is fulfilled by the same elements – an NP, encoding the source of reported discourse, and the complementizer *nagu*, with an approximative evaluation of the following reported discourse.

2.2.1.4. Non-clausal quotative index: *nagu* as a single quote-introducer

The omission of the predicate clause from the reported discourse construction in colloquial Estonian can be conducted, leaving the similitive marker *nagu* as the only element, presenting the adjacent quote. This way a new strategy appears, suggesting a process of development of *nagu* towards becoming an independent quotative index.

Here is an example of this type of strategy:

(75) <i>Inimese-d</i> human-PL	<i>näita-si-d</i> show-PST-3PL	<i>näpu-ga</i> finger-COM	<i>ning</i> and	<i>rääki-si-d</i> talk-PST-3PL
<i>sosinal</i> whispering	„ <i>näe</i> , see-IMP.2SG	<i>see</i> DEM	<i>on</i> be.PRES.3SG	<i>see</i> DEM
<i>arvutifriik</i> “. computer freak	<i>Nagu</i> , like	<i>fakk</i> fuck	<i>ju!</i> you	

‘People pointed fingers and talked whispering “look, here is this computer freak.”
Like “Fuck you!” (New media corpus).

Here, the suggestion can be made that most likely the same predicate, used in the previous sentence for encoding the speech act, is omitted from the QI-clause, and consequently *nagu* remains as the only element, fulfilling the function of the quotative index. The auxiliary functions of *nagu* should be taken into account, suggesting that the reporter here presents reported discourse which has not been previously uttered. Hence, *nagu* brings to the quote approximative and irrealis values. Even with presented speech verb, this type of quotative index would be classified as a quote oriented. Depicting the state of affairs through the speech verb is not necessary here as this speech act has not been produced before, which leads therefore to the omission of the verb.

However, the development of *nagu* becoming an independent quotative index has been noticed. It is not obligatory to have a preceding reported discourse with a speech verb in order for *nagu* to appear as the only quotative index in a following reported discourse construction:

(76) <i>Tegelt</i> in fact	<i>nad</i> DEM	<i>pudulojused</i> small things	<i>kah</i> , also	<i>et</i> COMP	<i>nagu</i> like
<i>konsultatsiooni-de-l</i> consultation-PL-ADE	<i>ei</i> NEG	<i>käi-nud</i> go-PP	<i>jne.</i> etc.		

‘In fact these small things also, that *like* (you) did not attend consultations, etc.’ (New media corpus).

Quotative index *nagu* in this type of constructions is also often followed by the approximative adverb *umbes* ‘about, around, approximately’ as in (75), or the demonstrative adverb *näiteks* ‘for example’ as in (76). These elements bring an extra approximative evaluation to the quote, motivated by the requirement of the reporter to distance himself from the reported discourse:

(77) *Nagu umbes:* “*Sa ole-d mingi idioot*
 like approximately 2SG be-PRES-2SG some idiot
kuna õppi-si-d korralikult, et keska-sse saada.“
 as far as study-PST-2SG well COMP medium-ILL get

‘*Like approximately:* „You are some idiot, as long as you studied well to get to the medium level“’ (New media corpus).

(78) *Nagu näiteks:* „*min-ge sinna boksi - seal*
 like for example go-IMP.2PL there box.ILL there
on zuks.“
 be.PRES.3SG PN

‘*Like for example:* „go there to the box, there is Zuks.“’ (New media corpus).

Here, one can clearly state that a development of *nagu* towards becoming an independent quotative index is already on the way. However, one should keep in mind, that uses of *nagu* cannot be considered universal, because the quotative index *nagu* has besides the quote introducing functions also an epistemic meaning, giving approximative evaluation to the quote, which helps the speaker to distance her-/ himself from the reported discourse.

2.2.2. Manner deictic marker *nii et*: its functions outside and inside the quotative frame

According to the description, provided in Estonian Grammar (EKG: §566, 568), *nii et* is a correlative conjunction. The correlative adverb *nii* often loses its independence, which leads to the appearance of the new marker *nii et*, which rather fulfills the function of marking the manner of linkage between clauses of one sentence, than connecting a subordinate clause with the main clause of a complex sentence (Keevalik 2000: 345).

Here is an example from EKG (§566) demonstrating the use of *nii et* as a manner deictic (79)³⁰:

(79) <i>Mu</i>	<i>pea</i>	<i>koha-l</i>	<i>kõla-s</i>	<i>raksatus, nii et</i>
1SG.GEN	head.GEN	place-ADE	sound-PST.3SG	crack so that
<i>ma</i>	<i>ehmatuse-st</i>	<i>istuli</i>	<i>kukku-si-n.</i>	
1SG	fear-ELA	sitting	fall-PST-1SG	

‘There was a crack in the part of my head, *so that* out of fear I fell from the chair’ (EKG: §566).

As a result of grammaticalization processes *nii et* often loses its original functions, connected with development of its new functions and uses in new contexts. In speech, it often phonologically realizes as a single word, which can be written *niiet* or *niet*. It is often used in sentences, describing manner or consequences (Keevallik 2000: 346).

In colloquial Estonian it is often used as a discourse particle in the beginning of a paraphrasis or reformulation of thoughts (Keevallik 2000: 346) or in the beginning of a new phrase (Keevallik 2000: 349). Discourse particle functions of *nii et* are not going to be discussed here more deeply. However, one must state that often items, which in non-quotative scope belong to the category of discourse particles, are also noticed cross-linguistically being used in quotative constructions as quotative indexes. Generally, the polyfunctionality of *nii et* should be taken into account as one notorious for quotative indexes.

The motivation for the use of a manner deictic inside the quotative frame can be found in previous descriptions on new quotative uses. Güldemann (2008: 318) claims that there is a correlation of motivations of uses of manner deictics and similitive markers in quotative scope, as both markers can describe the manner of action, where similitive marker compares it and manner deictic points on it. The semantic motivation for a feature of manner in a QI is quite transparent if taking in account the reported discourse construction as a mimetic reenactment of a non-immediate state of affairs (Güldemann 2008: 319). Moreover, generally deictics inside the quotative scope share the function of focusing the audience on the presence of the quote (Güldemann 2008: 349). Deictics

³⁰ - Glossing and translations are mine, DT.

in QI-clauses usually take a place where they are the closest to the quote, and besides the focusing functions, are the element bounding to the quote. According to Güldemann (2008) deictics often become grammaticalized, and inside the reported discourse construction, they become quotatives/complementizers, as e.g. the complementizer *that* in English and *daß* in German (Güldemann 2008: 350).

The Estonian marker *nii et* already contains the complementizer *et*. However, both components *nii* and *et* of this marker lost their meanings as independent elements. Still a possible grammaticalization of *nii et* towards a syntactic complementizer in reported discourse constructions should be taken into account.

Buchstaller and Van Alphen use as a motivation for the presence of a wider category of demonstratives or deictics inside the quotative constructions the idea, presented by Clark and Gerrig, suggesting a metaphorical connection between quotation and demonstration (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV). Quotations are considered to be demonstrations that are embedded in language use: by producing the utterance belonging to another temporal and spacial situation, the reporter partially demonstrates the situation itself (Clark and Gerrig 1990: 771). Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012: XV) point out likewise the focusing effect these elements bring to the quote.

In the materials collected for the current thesis, *nii et* has occurred in QI-clauses with speech verbs, non-speech verbs among which a separate strategy is the co-occurrence of the marker with equational *olema* ‘to be’ and as an independent non-clausal quotative index.

2.2.2.1. Speech verbs and *nii et*

This type of QI-clauses usually consists of an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), a speech verb, and the manner deictic *nii et*. Despite the fact that this subsection is meant to include QI-clauses with speech verbs, verbs encoding epistemic processes and some other non-speech verbs, tightly connected to the process of communication in the Internet are included here, justified by the fact that their meaning in concrete situation

is only slightly different from speech verbs, and they are meant to encode a process closely connected to the speech act. Here are several examples of the described strategy:

- (80) *Mina* ***ütle-ks-in*** *küll* ***nii et*** *käsu-d* *mis*
 1SG say-COND-1SG indeed so that commandment-PL what
on *su* *südame-s* *kirja-s ..* *mille-st*
 be.PRES.3SG 2SG-GEN heart-INE writing-INE what-ELA
üle *astu-da* *su* *süda* *ei* *luba* ..
 over step-INF 2SG-GEN heart NEG let-CONN
 ‘I would say indeed ***so that*** commandments, that are written on your heart, which your heart do not let you step over’ (New media corpus).

- (81) *NY timesi vend* ***kommenteeri-s*** *seda* ***nii et*** *ta*
 PN-GEN PN comment-PST-3SG DEM-PTV so that 3SG
j2lginu-x *parem-a* *meele-ga* *toataim-e*
 follow-COND better-GEN mood-COM room plant-GEN
kasvami-st *ja* *kuivami-st* *ning* *mina* *ole-n*
 growing up-PTV and drying out-PTV and 1SG be.PRES-1SG
 100 protsent-i n6us³¹ ...
 NUM percent-PTV fain
 ‘NY timesi guy **commented** this ***so that*** he would better follow room plant growing and drying and I agree with him a 100 percent’ (New media corpus).

From the above presented examples one may notice that the strategy described in this subsection can be equally used with direct and indirect reported discourse constructions. With an indirect reported discourse construction, the deictic setting is changed. The manner deictic *nii et* stands in both examples in the bounding position to the quote. Its main function here is pointing to the presence of the adjacent quote. It also fulfils the function of separating function of the QI-clause from the reported discourse.

The use of the marker in QI-clauses with speech verbs resembles uses of complementizer with complement-taking predicates. Hence, a suggestion made by Güldemann (2008: 350) seems relevant here, which says that deictic elements in the quotative setting often develop into conventionalized quotatives/complementizers.

³¹ - In Internet writing, several graphemes are substituted with numerals: ä – with 2, õ – with 6 and the marker of conditional mood –ks- is substituted with grapheme <x>.

Concretely here, syntactically predicates *ütleksin* and *kommenteeris* are complement-taking predicates with *nii et* being a complementizer. However, the usage of complementizer with direct reported discourse can be argued in the sense of the classical notion of the complementizer, as direct reported discourse on its own can freely function as an independent clause. Another motivation to exclude *nii et* from the general notion of the complementizers is uncertainty about its functional capability of being a complementizer outside the quotative scope. Hence, my suggestion here would be to mark *nii et* in the reported discourse construction as a quotative index – an element, adjacent to the reported discourse and taking functions of its introduction.

2.2.2.2. Non-speech verbs and *nii et*

In this subsection, the possibility of occurrence of non-speech verbs with manner deictic *nii et* in the QI-clause is discussed. The example presented here is not meant to cover all possible strategies of such a co-occurrence, and rather describes this possibility in general with special attention to manner adverbial *nii et* and its functions. The frequency of such co-occurrence is not taken into account here and requires further studies.

(82)	<i>Raamat</i>	<i>alga-s</i>	<i>vist</i>	<i>nii et</i>	<i>urgali-d</i>	<i>teg-i-d</i>
	book	start-PST.3SG	probably	so that	urgal-PL	do-PST-3PL
	<i>Varj-u</i>	<i>juhtimise-l</i>	<i>varitsus-e</i>	<i>ja</i>		
	PN-GEN	leading-ADE	ambush-GEN	and		
	<i>3</i>	<i>haldja-t</i>	<i>sõiti-s</i>	<i>sinna</i>	<i>sisse</i>	
	NUM	fairy-PTV	drive-PST.3SG	there	inside	

‘The book **starts** probably **so that** urgals under the leadership of Vari committed an ambush and 3 fairies drove there inside’ (New media corpus).

The nominal phrase here encodes the source of the reported discourse and verb *algama* ‘to start’ encodes the process of beginning and proceeding of the reported discourse. *Nii et* stands here in the bounding position to the reported discourse, indicating and focusing the audience on its presence. My suggestion would be that its main functions lie in the scope of the functions of quotative index, and here *nii et* may be defined as a quotative index. However, to make a clear statement of *nii et* being an already conventionalized quotative index inside the QI-clause with non-speech verbs, more

detailed study, focusing on non-speech verb uses inside the quotative scope and its co-occurrence with *nii et*, is required. Nonetheless, the first glance correspondence of its functions between the examples presented above and those from the previous subsection must be mentioned.

2.2.2.3. Equational verb *olema* and *nii et*

The presence of equational verbs inside QI-clauses was considered justified in the subsection on equational *olla* in Finnish. According to Güldemann (2008), verbs referring to a state in his study referred to as “equational” are cross-linguistically broadly used as a QI-nucleus (Güldemann 2008: 303-304). There is often a problem with drawing the line between equational ‘to be’ and similitive ‘be like’.

In Estonian materials collected for the current thesis, QI-clauses with different constituents have been encountered, presenting different strategies for quote introduction.

One strategy is a QI-clause consisting of an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), equational *olema*, and the manner deictic *nii et*:

(83)	<i>Oma-l</i>	<i>siis</i>	<i>rooli-s</i>	<i>olle-s</i>		<i>rekord</i>
	Own-ADE	then s	teering-wheel-INE	be.INF-INE		record
	<i>120,</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>oli</i>	<i>kõrval</i>	<i>nii et</i>	<i>nagu</i>
	NUM	father	be.PST.3SG	nearby	so that	like
	<i>sa</i>	<i>siis</i>	<i>ikka</i>	<i>kihuta-d,</i>	<i>peale-gi</i>	<i>mille-ks</i>
	2SG	then	still	rush.PRES-2SG	at-PTCL	what-TRANSL
	<i>kihutada.</i>					
	rush					

‘My own record while driving was 120, **father was** nearby **so that like** why are you rushing, there no need to rush (New media corpus).

Here the auxiliary component *nagu* is also marked, as a means of presenting an example of combinations of new quotatives into chains, previously noticed by Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012: XIII). My suggestion here would be that both markers fulfill quote introducing function. Possibly, *nagu* brings auxiliary approximative evaluation of the following quote, giving the opportunity for the speaker to distance her-/himself from the

reported discourse. Motivation to use both equational verb and manner deictic *nii et* brings neutralizing effect to the event as a speech act. It is not obvious whether the father of the reporter has spoken these words out loud or, for example, his behavior made it obvious to the reporter that he does not appreciate reporter's fast driving. At the same time, the focus lies on the quote and not on the speech act that is blurred here. As equational verb *olema* fundamentally cannot be considered being a complement taking predicate, my suggestion would be that both elements *nii et* and *nagu* are used as quotative indexes here.

Another strategy implies omission of the NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), it consists of equational *olema* and *nii et*. This strategy is meant to depict the quotation, and the NP omission brings a completely neutralizing effect on the speech act *per se*, e.g.:

(84)	<i>tegelt</i>	<i>pärnu-s</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>nii et</i>	<i>vabandust</i>	<i>aga</i>
	basically	PN-INE	be.PRES.3SG	so that	sorry	but
	<i>ma</i>	<i>unusta-si-n</i>	<i>oma</i>	<i>pilet-i</i>	<i>koju...</i>	
	1SG	forget-PST-1SG	own	ticket-PTV	home.ILL	

‘Basically in Pärnu **is so that** sorry, but I forgot my ticket at home (New media corpus)

Here, the author of the posting means to depict the general situation of using public transport in Pärnu without tickets and reports the general excuse stowaways use when caught without a ticket. In this reported discourse construction it is not important to name the original speaker or concretize the event through the choice of the verb, as it is not meant to depict the real utterance, rather show a potential utterance in the general circumstances.

The manner deictic *nii et* often co-occurs in QI-clauses with other quotative indexes, both new (*nagu*) and conventionalized (*tema arvates*, *tema jutu järgi* etc.), already described in Estonian Grammar in chapter on reported discourse constructions (EKG: §716). Examples of such co-occurrence have been described already in this chapter, likewise in the introductory chapter with an example of new quotative combinations in chains (example (3)). Here I provide another example of co-occurrence with an already conventionalized quotative index used in standard Estonian, namely *minu arust* ‘according to my understanding’ which is quite close to the quotative indexes,

consisting of NP in genitive case, encoding the speaker, and noun in elative case, encoding the epistemic process, e.g. thinking, understanding, etc.

(85)	<i>hmmm</i>	<i>minu</i>	<i>aru-st</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>nii et</i>	<i>fakk</i>	
	hmmm	1SG.GEN	wit-ELA	be.PRES.3SG	so that	fuck	
	<i>ma</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>viitsi</i>	<i>uurima</i>	<i>hakata</i>	<i>aga jah</i>	
	1SG	NEG	wish.CONNEG	research	start	but yes	
	<i>nii umbes</i>	<i>~10%</i>					...
	so	around	10%				

‘Hmm, **according to my understanding is so that** fuck, I don’t wish to start researching, but yes, around 10%’ (New media corpus).

Here, both quotative indexes fulfill the quote introducing function. The motivation behind using both quotatives is quite unclear and requires more examples to show how often similar strategies are used, possibly taking in account previous researches on co-occurrence of new and old quotatives cross-linguistically, along with further study on this topic.

2.2.2.4. Non-clausal quotative index: *nii et* as a single quote-introducer

Often the manner deictic *nii et* occurs as a single constituent of non-clausal quotative index. This way a new strategy appears, suggesting the process of development of *nii et* towards becoming an independent quotative index. Here is an example of such a strategy:

(86)	<i>Mitte</i>	<i>nii et</i> =	<i>saa-n</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>süle-s</i>
	NEG	so that	can.PRES-1SG	father.GEN	knee-INE
	<i>pühapäeviti</i>	<i>külatee-l</i>	<i>sõita.</i>		
	on Sundays	village road-ADE	ride		

‘Not **so that** I manage to drive on the village road (sitting) on my father’s knees’ (New media corpus).

Here *nii et* is a single constituent, introducing the following reported discourse. Speaker (reporter) encoding NP and speech act encoding predicate are not necessary here, as the focus lies on the quote and not on the event. The quote itself most likely has not been previously uttered; however, there is a need to signal the audience that the following clause is the reported discourse. My suggestion would be that this type of quote

introduction is the further step in neutralization of the event by omission of unnecessary constituents, namely here those that encode a speaker (reporter) or possible source of reported discourse and predicate, encoding speech act or its further neutralized variant, constructed by the equational verb *olema*. Hence, manner deictic *nii et* here is considered to be a quotative index adjacent to the quote element and signaling its presence.

Quotative index *nii et* may co-occur with auxiliary elements, one of which is approximative adverbial *umbes* ‘about, around, approximately’ that has been encountered in one of the examples, presenting *nii et* as a nucleus quote introducing element:

- (87) *Räikkänen on mingi eri kahtlane...*
 PN be.PRES.3SG some special suspicious
- Umbes nii et oh oli mingi tavaline sõit*
 Around so that ou be.PST.3SG some usual ride
- jah et mis siin imelik-ku on...*
 yes that what here strange-PTV be.PRES.3SG
- ‘Räikkänen is somehow suspicious. **Approximately so that** oh, it was some usual ride, yes, and what is strange here...’ (New media corpus).

Here *umbes* gives an auxiliary approximative evaluation to the quote, which helps the reporter to distance himself from the reported discourse, which presence is signaled by *nii et*-marker.

Fundamentally, such examples of the use of manner deictic *nii et* suggest its development towards becoming an independent quotative index, leastways in colloquial Estonian. The motivations of its usage as a single quotative index constituent are justified by its pointing function as a manner deictic on the adjacent quote and focusing the audience on the quote, which is the most relevant function of the quote-oriented QI.

2.2.3. Conjunction *et*: its function outside and inside the quotative frame

In this subsection, functions of the conjunction *et* are discussed. The elements, included in the list of new quotative indexes, are notoriously polyfunctional. Development of *et*

and its linear and parallel participation in different strategies has caused the variety of its present functions with a constant continuing development, causing the emergence of new functions even to this very day. Here mainly two functions are going to be discussed, which according to my considerations, correlate mostly with the uses of this marker in quotative scope, namely its functions as a complementizer both in standard and colloquial Estonian and as a discourse particle in colloquial Estonian.

Its functions as a complementizer has been previously described in Estonian Grammar (EKG: §704, 706). It is usually used as an initiator of a complement clauses with a correlation word that takes the complement, however, the correlation word is often omitted (EKG: §704; also Keevallik 2008: 127), e.g.:

(88) *Ma kuul-si-n (se-da), et sa ol-i-d*
 1SG hear-PST-1SG DEM-PTV COMP 2SG be-PST-2SG
haige.
 ill

‘I heard (this), **that** you were ill’³² (EKG: §704).

According to Kehayov (forthcoming), the Estonian subordinator *et* can be considered as a rough correspondent of the English complementizer *that*. As regards the epistemic meaning a complementizer may bear, it is semantically neutral – it does not impact the complement proposition’s meaning; this function is rather fulfilled by the matrix verb with semantically marked epistemic meaning (Kehayov forthcoming: 4). It is considered neutral, as it can co-occur with all types of complement taking predicates (for more see Noonan 2007), likewise it appears with various types of adverbial clauses, most typically with purpose and reason clauses (Kehayov forthcoming: 17, 19; also Keevallik 2008: 128). Besides complement taking predicates, the complementizer *et* can be used with nominals, deriving from such predicates (EKG: §706).

Neutral complementizers generally are noticed being often omitted, which according to Kehayov, is often motivated by the fact that they do not bring any auxiliary epistemic meaning to the complement (Kehayov forthcoming: 22). In Estonian, the complementizer is not obligatory in reported discourse constructions, even when it is a

³² - Example (88) is taken from EKG (§704), glossing and translation are mine, DT.

part of quote-oriented QI-clause with the most frequent speech verb *ütlema* ‘to say’ (Keevallik 2008: 126).

However, in colloquial Estonian the combination of complementizers can likewise appear. Such co-occurrence is treated as “a case of over-specification of the dependency relation between clauses” (Kehayov forthcoming: 24). Essentially, only question complementizers can combine with neutral complementizer *et*: first the general complementizer is used followed by the question complementizer that is within the scope of the first one, e.g.:

(89) *Peeter küs-i-s, et kas Jaan suudle-s*
PN ask-PST-3SG COMP if PN kiss-PST.3SG
Mari-t.
PN-PTV

‘Peeter asked if Jaan kissed Mari.’³³ (Kehayov forthcoming: 24).

The motivation for such over-specialization in contemporary written variant of Estonian, according to Rimmelg (2006: 66), is lying behind the avoidance of using direct speech punctuation.

The difference between the previously described use of *nagu* in the role of a complementizer and *et* is expressed the way that the similative marker being a complementizer usually expresses direct auditory evidence, while the neutral complementizer – hearsay or reported evidentiality (Kehayov forthcoming: 30).

The discourse particle function of *et* has been previously described by Keevallik (2008). There is cross-linguistic evidence of complementizers being used as pragmatic particles or discourse markers. We have already encountered another evidence of elements, being used in colloquial speech as discourse markers, being likewise used often as quotative indexes inside the quotative scope. This evidence cannot be considered generally as a rule, and still the motivation behind this is quite unclear, not including the notorious polyfunctionality of quotative indexes outside the reported discourse constructions. However, it should not be left aside and must be taken into account.

³³ - Examples is taken from Kehayov (forthcoming: 24), translation is Kehayov’s, glossing is mine, DT.

In colloquial Estonian, *et* occurs often in turn-initial position usually starting interpretations or making conclusions, “drawn from the immediately preceding speaker’s speech” (Keevallik 2008: 129). The interesting suggestion has been made that this use of *et*, which obviously cannot be considered a complementizer, correlates with its use inside the reported discourse constructions as a quote introducer. The marker *et* that likewise its Finnish counterpart *että* had originally meaning underwent a grammaticalization process and became a complementizer. Its use as a complementizer in reported discourse construction, signaling the presence of an adjacent quote, and its similar use with elliptic speech verbs, motivated by reasons to avoid repetition of the predicate, has impacted the appearance of new functions as discourse particle (Keevallik 2008: 141, 146). The marker gained independence from the complement taking predicate and started to be used as a starter of evidential initiating paraphrases (Keevallik 2008: 144).

In materials, collected for the current thesis, *et* occurred in QI-clauses with speech verbs and as an independent non-clausal quotative index. These two strategies are analyzed in the following subsections, taking in account the considerations described here.

2.2.3.1. Speech verbs and *et*

In this subsection the type of QI-clause, which is usually falsely considered a default pattern and a canonical quotative index structure is described. This type of QI-clause consists usually of the NP, referring to a speaker (reporter), a speech verb, that syntactically is a complement-taking predicate, and the marker *et*, that can be considered a complementizer here. As we have already previously discussed, this type of QI is classified as event-oriented, as the main function of such a clause is usually to focus on the state of affairs *per se*. This can motivate the fact that mostly only the omission of auxiliary constituents happens in the clauses like this, such as a nominal, encoding the addressee.

In the materials, collected for the current thesis, no special examples have been encountered. Hence, in this subsection the most typical participant-oriented QI is going to be presented with a brief discussion on its event-orientation.

(90)	<i>Aga</i>	<i>Su-lle</i>	<i>isiklikult</i>	<i>Priit</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ütle-n,</i>	<i>et</i>
	But	2SG-ALL	personally	PN	1SG	say.PRES-1SG	COMP
	<i>ristiusu</i>		<i>asi</i>	<i>kõrvalseisja-le</i>	<i>on</i>		
	Christianity.GEN		thing	standing near-ALL	be.PRES.3SG		
	<i>tõesti</i>	<i>väga</i>	<i>kahtlane...</i>				
	seriously	very	doubtful				

‘But **to you** personally, **Priit**, I say *that* the Christianity thing for a person standing nearby is seriously very doubtful...’ (New media corpus).

In (90) all the possible constituents of such a QI-clause are presented: a nominal encoding the speaker, a nominal encoding the addressee, a speech verb and *et*. *Et* here is a complementizer bounding to the quote, hence, taking some part of the quote introducing functions. However, its neutral characteristics suggests that the main idea of this quotative index is to focus on participants, namely on the addressee, as it is mentioned in the position, where it is highlighted and is double-marked both with a pronoun and a proper noun.

2.2.3.2. Non-clausal quotative index: *et* as a single quote-introducer

In this subsection, the non-clausal uses of *et* as a quote introducer are discussed. Such use of *et* as a single quote-introducing element suggests the development of this marker towards becoming the conventionalized independent quotative index.

Keevallik (2008) has previously presented the possible source of this strategy. The suggestion has been made that the source construction of this strategy is a most typical event-oriented QI-clause with the present constituents of the speaker (reporter), a complement-taking predicate, expressed by the speech verb and complementizer *et*. The quote then is segmented into parts (possibly this way reporter distinguishes turn-takings of different speakers (s)he quotes), and for the sake of avoidance of the speech verb *et* is used as a single quote introducing element. “The repetitive use of *et* at these moments in talk production allows the first instance to become latched onto the preceding reporting

verb while the consecutive ones may become more closely connected to the subsequent clause” (Keevallik 2008: 146). Further, *et* develops into the independent marker and can be used separately without any preceding predicate. Its complementizer potential cannot be taken into account, as there is no complement-taking element, preceding it. This suggests, however, that with presented quote-introducing potential this element must be considered in reported discourse constructions as nothing more than a quotative index. Here is an example of such use:

- (91) *See* *juba* *nagu* *teis-te* *ees* *kekutamine*,
 DEM already like other-GEN.PL in front showing off
- et* ”*teie* *ei* *saa* *lubada* *nii* *kalle-id*
 QI 2PL NEG can.CONNEG afford so expensive-PTV.PL
- jope-sid*, *mina* *saa-n*”
 jacket-PTV.PL 1SG can.PRES-1SG

‘It’s already like showing off in front of others, **that** “You cannot afford such expensive jackets, I can”’ (New media corpus).

Non-clausal quotative index can be preceded by an auxiliary element. In the materials, an example has been encountered where a similitive marker *nagu* previously likewise described as a quotative index is standing in preposition to *et*. Its appearance in such quotative indexes can be motivated by the approximative value this element brings to the quote. The combination of new quotative indexes in the chain has been previously discussed in this thesis.

- (92) *mu-l* *nii* *et* *kui* *tunni-s* *arus* *ei*
 1SG-ADE so that when lesson-INE understanding NEG
- saa* *siis* *ka* ***nagu*** ***et*** *WTF???*
 get-CONNEG then also like QI WTF

‘To me happens like that when in class I don’t understand then also **like that** “WTF???”’ (New media corpus).

Moreover, the quote-orientation this type of quotative index is bearing must be mentioned here. If taking into consideration the development, presented by Keevallik (2008), the shift from the event-orientation to the quote-orientation happens here with gaining the independence of the marker. Reporter’s main idea here is to present a quote, which might not occur or might not have occurred in the real life, and circumstances around the quote are not interesting here. The omission of the predicate and nominals,

encoding speaker and addressee, are the main reason for it. Although, there is a motivation to leave a marker, signaling the presence of the reported discourse, and this marker here is *et*.

2.2.4. Quantifier *täiega*: its functions inside the quotative frame

In this subsection, the quantifier *täiega* ‘totally’ is analyzed as a nucleus constituent of the QI-clause. This element has been previously mentioned in the list of new quotatives presented by Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012: XIV). Characteristics and functions of *täiega* are not provided in Estonian Grammar, nor in other descriptive studies. In the materials, collected for this thesis, this element has occurred only once in a reported discourse construction. It appears together with an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), and equational *olema*:

(93)	<i>ma</i>	<i>ol-i-n</i>	<i>täiega</i>	<i>”wtf</i>	<i>noes,</i>	<i>ma</i>
	1SG	be-PST-1SG	totally	wtf	knows	1SG
	<i>taha-n</i>		<i>korr-a</i>	<i>harjutada</i>		<i>veel”</i>
	want.PRES-1SG		time-GEN	practice		again

‘I was **totally** ”wtf knows[?]”³⁴, I want to practice one more time” (New media corpus).

The lack of its functional description and more examples with *täiega* in the reported discourse complicate the analysis of its quotative functions. It is also hard to clarify all the possible quotative index strategies with *täiega*. An analysis can be carried out based on the previous studies on quantifiers in quotative scope and motivations for their use there.

There has been noticed a correlation between the functions of quantifiers and quotative indexes. As it has been mentioned before, quantifiers used in a quotative scope, has either minimum or maximum quantificational meaning. In QI-clauses, these elements usually bring to the quote epistemic stance or attitudinal position speakers have towards it. By using quantifiers with maximum evaluation, like *täiega* here (compare with

³⁴ - On the base of the phrase *who the fuck knows*, it is assumed here that *noes* is a misspelling of English *knows*.

Norwegian *bare* ‘just, only’ or Finnish *vaan* ‘just’), “speakers can upgrade the evidential value of the report, portraying themselves as reporting ‘first hand’ information, as fully committed to the accuracy or the appropriateness of the quotation, or as emotionally involved” (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XVI). Moreover, quantifiers have usually potential foregrounding function (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XVI; Güldemann 2008: 361). According to the Güldemann the part of the QI-clause, bounding to an adjacent quote is usually marked as a salient information (Güldemann 2008: 361).

In example (93) the equational verb brings neutralizing effect to the event depiction in the QI-clause. QI itself can be classified as a quote-oriented, and *täiega* as an element adjacent to the quote fulfills the function of a foregrounding element here. Moreover, the speaker most likely expresses with its use an evidential value of the reported discourse as a committed to its accuracy, however, leaving aside the speech verb as a means to specify details of the event.

Though, to bring more accurate description to the quantifier *täiega* inside the quotative scope more examples are required, which would possibly shed more light on its exact use, function and possible combination with other elements.

2.2.5. Overview on new quotative indexes of Estonian language in collected data

The new quotative indexes of Estonian encountered in the collected materials were previously mentioned in cross-linguistic studies on new quotatives. Previous detailed study on Estonian quotative indexes and new quotatives has not been yet carried out, which in general allows for a summary exclusively based on the collected data of this thesis. As the collected data only partially sheds light on the uses of new quotatives, in part because of the lack of sufficient examples for some constructions, it is hard to classify them all according their possibility of co-occurrence with some elements in clausal use and the general probability of non-clausal use with nominal phrases and as single quotative indexes. Hence, the appearance of new quotatives in QI-clauses is

mentioned, according to their co-occurrence with different types of predicates. Then non-clausal uses of some new quotatives are brought up.

New quotatives of Estonian were encountered in QI-clauses with speech verbs (without any separate distinction between generic and specific speech verbs), non-speech verbs and the equational verb *olema*. With speech verbs, the new quotatives *nagu*, *a la*, *nii et* and *et* were noticed. The main constituents of such a QI-clause are an NP, encoding speaker (reporter), the speech verb and the quotative index. The complementizer *et* was used only in QI-clauses with *nagu*. For obvious reasons the presence of *et* as a complementizer with speech verbs is not discussed here, as it fulfills both functions of complementizer and quotative index in reported discourse constructions. *Nii et* as a quotative index partially fulfills likewise complementizer functions and might possibly develop into the complementizer in reported discourse constructions. Omission of the complementizer both in QI-clauses with *nagu* and in event-oriented QI-clauses with speech verbs is not governed by any specific rule, as it does not bring any auxiliary epistemic meaning to the quote (see subsection 2.2.3). Only quotative *nagu* was used also in preposition to the speech verb, where it fulfills the functions of an auxiliary element which brings an approximative evaluation to reported discourse, rather than fulfilling quote introducing function. The quotative index *a la* was encountered only once in the collected materials and it cannot be defined more exactly whether there is a possibility of its co-occurrence with other types of predicates and in other constructions beside the QI-clauses with speech verbs. The co-occurrence of new quotative *täiega* with speech verbs cannot be likewise defined, as the lack of examples does not exclude such a possibility.

QI-clauses with non-speech verbs consists of an NP, encoding the source of reported discourse, the non-speech verb and and the quotative index. In this type of QI-clause the new quotatives *nagu* and *nii et* were encountered. Nonetheless, the possibility of occurrence of other new quotatives in this type of construction is not excluded and requires further studies on the topic.

With the equational verb *olema* the quotative indexes *nii et* and *täiega* have been spotted. It is interesting that there are three different constructions with *nii et* and the

equational verb. The first type consists of typical constituents: an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), the equational verb *olema* and *nii et*. A similar strategy has been encountered with new quotative *täiega*. The use of equational verb has been motivated by the speaker's attempt to neutralize the event *per se* and make the addressee pay attention to the quote instead. The second type lacked the presence of a speaker (reporter) encoding NP. The suggestion has been made that this type of construction is a further step of neutralizing of the event-orientation. The third type of constructions was encountered once and there is a lack of more detailed explanation of the reasons of such a use. In this type of construction two types of quotative indexes have been used simultaneously, one of which can be defined as a conventionalized quotative index in standard Estonian. There is a requirement of further study on the subject of frequency and motivation of such co-occurrence.

The non-clausal uses of new quotatives can be divided into two different strategies: non-clausal QI with nominal phrase and QI as a single quote-introducer. Quotative index *nagu* are used in the both strategies. Being a non-clausal QI with nominal phrase, it has been encountered as a part of a predicate clause. However, the whole clause cannot be defined as a QI-clause, as only the part of the clause fulfills the quote introducing functions. As a single quote-introducer besides *nagu* new quotatives *nii et* and *et* has been used. This strategy suggests the development of these quotative indexes into independent quotative indexes through the process of neutralization of event-orientation in QI-clauses.

3. Summary

The aim of this thesis is to introduce the concept of quotative indexes for Finnish and Estonian and to present an overview on new quotatives in these languages along with determination of the possible motivations for their usage.

In the beginning of research, the general typological notion of quotative index has been introduced. For this purpose, the terminology presented by Tom Güldemann has been mostly used. Quotative index as a part of reported discourse construction is a linguistic expression, which signals the presence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse. According to Güldemann's classification, quotative indexes can be broadly divided into quote-oriented and participant oriented quotatives. Participant-oriented quotatives are, depending on what is highlighted more, speaker-oriented or addressee-oriented. Quote-oriented quotatives highlight either the event or the quote, and thus can be divided into event-oriented or quote-oriented quotatives indexes.

However, cross-linguistic evidence of presence of elements with non-reportative semantics as quote introducing elements suggests another division of quotative indexes, namely: one into old and new quotatives. Old quotatives, as already conventionalized and broadly used in standard language, are considered the outcome of a grammaticalization process, originally tightly connected with the indexing of mimesis in general. New quotatives on the contrary are undergoing currently the grammaticalization process of becoming conventionalized quotative indexes, at least in colloquial speech of a huge amount of typologically related and unrelated languages. The elements becoming new quotatives largely derive from a limited number of source constructions, originally being either comparative or demonstrative deict markers, quantifiers, motion or action verbs.

In contemporary colloquial Finnish, on the basis of written data taken from the Internet and used as a material for the current thesis, the following elements were spotted used in reported discourse constructions: the simulative markers *niin kuin (niinku)* 'like' and

tyyl(ii)(n) ‘like’, the complementizer *et(tä)* ‘that’, the quantifier *vaa(n)* ‘just, only’ and the motion verb *tulla* ‘to come’. Motivation for the presence of the mentioned elements has been justified by the arguments provided in previous cross-linguistic studies on new quotatives, mostly suggesting a correlation between their original meaning and polyfunctionality outside the quotative scope and the functions they fulfill and meaning they bear as quotative indexes.

All the above-mentioned new quotatives, except the motion verb *tulla* which requires an individual mentioning, were encountered in clausal constructions, which mostly consisted of a nominal phrase, encoding the speaker (reporter), a predicate and the quotative index. According to the terminology provided by Güldemann these constructions are called quotative index clauses (QI-clauses) here. Mainly, attention has been paid to the predicate used in QI-clauses, and how the choice of the predicate possibly changes the functions of a QI-clause, indubitably taking into account the choice of the quotative index likewise.

In the present research, three types of predicates were encountered, (i) speech verbs (without any special subdivision into specific and generic speech verbs), (ii) non-speech verbs, and (iii) equational verb *olla* ‘to be’. All the markers (*niinku*, *tyyl(ii)(n)*, *et(tä)* and *vaa(n)*) are used together with speech verbs and equational *olla*. The simulative marker *niinku* is used in both pre- and postposition to the speech verb, while the other new quotatives are used exclusively in postposition to the verb. The presence of the equational verb *olla* in QI-clauses is not a new phenomenon, and it is defined as a means to neutralize event-orientation, while a quotative index is meant to draw the attention of the addressee to the presence of adjacent reported discourse.

In clausal constructions non-speech verbs were likewise encountered in QI-clauses with new quotative *tyyl(ii)(n)*. There the main constituents were an NP, encoding the source of reported discourse, the non-speech verb, being a substitution to the speech verb, taking into account the circumstances in which it has been used and motivation for its usage, and quotative *tyyl(ii)(n)*. However, the encountered examples do not cover all the possible strategies of co-occurring new quotatives, and the lack of examples of other new

quotatives with non-speech verbs does not exclude the possibility of such a co-occurrence, and requires detailed research on it.

In all the clausal constructions, the presence of the complementizer *et(tä)* was noticed (obviously its complementizer functions are excluded from QI-clauses with equational *olla* and *et(tä)*, where *et(tä)* fulfills the quotative function). However, such a presence is not stable and often the complementizer is elliptic. The presence or ellipsis of the complementizer is not governed by any separate rule. It may be elliptic, as it does not bear any specific epistemic meaning. Where the complementizer is elliptic, its functions are taken partially by the quotative index, if it is adjacent to the quote.

Two types of non-clausal uses of new quotatives were encountered in Finnish. In one type, the new quotative index *tyyl(ii)(n)* co-occurred with a nominal phrase, when both were the part of predicate clause. Nonetheless, the predicate clause cannot be considered a QI-clause, as only a part of the clause fulfills the quote-introducing functions. The lack of examples of other quotatives co-occurring in similar types of constructions, however, does not in general exclude this possibility and requires further studies on the topic.

Another type of non-clausal use of new quotatives is realized the way that new quotative indexes *niinku* and *vaa(n)* appear as single quote-introducing elements. This type of construction may be considered being a further step towards the neutralization of event-orientation, omitting the other constituents of QI-clauses as irrelevant.

QI-clauses with the motion verb *tulla* consisted of the nominal phrase, encoding the source of reported discourse, and the motion verb, depicting the transfer of the message or notification to the reporter. Fundamentally, this transfer can be compared to the use of the speech verbs, which are in general depicting the transfer of message from the speaker (reporter) to the addressee. The possible presence of the complementizer *et(tä)* has also been stated for this type of constructions. It is not governed by any specific rule, and rather follows the same pattern as in the above-described reported discourse constructions.

In contemporary colloquial Estonian, on the basis of written data taken from the Internet and used as material for the current thesis, the following elements were spotted used in reported discourse constructions: the similative markers *nagu* ‘like’ and *a la* ‘like’, the manner deictic *nii et* ‘so that’, the complementizer *et* ‘that’ and the quantifier *täiega* ‘totally’. Similar to the Finnish new quotatives, the motivation for the presence of mentioned elements is justified by the suggested correlation between their meaning and polyfunctionality outside the quotative scope and their functions as quote-introducers.

The analysis followed the same pattern considering clausal and non-clausal uses of the above-mentioned new quotatives. In QI-clauses, they are used along with (i) speech verbs, (ii) non-speech verbs and (iii) the equational verb *olema* ‘to be’.

Similarity between the uses of the similative marker *nagu* in Estonian and the Finnish similative markers *niinku* and *tyyl(ii)(n)* was noticed. Like *niinku*, *nagu* is used both in pre- and postposition to the speech verb. The lack of examples of *nagu* with equational *olema*, however, leaves it unclear whether such a co-occurrence is possible, and whether there is a correspondence between the constructional uses of these markers. Similar to *niinku*, *nagu* is also used as a non-clausal quotative index, being a single element indicating the presence of reported discourse. Co-occurrence of *nagu* with non-speech verbs and its appearance in non-clausal use together with a nominal phrase corresponds to the use of the Finnish similative marker *tyyl(ii)(n)*. It is interesting that the presence or ellipsis of the complementizer *et* (which may be considered as a correspondent to the Finnish complementizer *et(tä)*) has been noticed as following the same pattern as in Finnish: it is not stable and may be mostly elliptic as it does not bare any specific epistemic meaning.

Another similative marker, *a la*, was spotted only once with a speech verb in the collected data, and it can be considered corresponding to the uses of the other similative markers Estonian *nagu* and Finnish *niinku* and *tyyl(ii)(n)* with speech verbs. However, the lack of examples of some strategies complicates the task of defining more exactly the correspondence of the uses of these markers. Based upon the amount of collected data, this correspondence can be defined as approximate.

Another marker that was encountered is the originally manner deictic *nii et* that does not have a semantically and functionally correspondent quotative index in Finnish. This new quotative is used both in clausal and non-clausal constructions. As a non-clausal quotative index, *nii et* occurred as a single constituent, signaling the presence of an adjacent quote. In clausal constructions, it is used together with speech verbs, non-speech verbs and equational *olema*.

The main constituents of QI-clauses with speech verbs are an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), the speech verb and *nii et*. A QI-clause with a non-speech verb and *nii et* resembles QI-clauses with non-speech verbs in Finnish, as a nominal phrase here is also encoding the source of reported discourse.

Three different constructions appear with *nii et* and the equational verb *olema*. One construction resembles structurally QI-clauses with equational verbs in Finnish, as the main constituents of such QI-clauses are the NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), *olema* and *nii et*. The motivation for the uses of the equational verb is the attempt to neutralize the event-orientation in QI-clause and shift the orientation to the quote. However, in opposition to Finnish, in Estonian this neutralization has a further development with omission of the NP, encoding the speaker (reporter) as an irrelevant element. The third type of construction pictures the co-occurrence of two different QI-clauses: the conventionalized old quotative and the new, consisting of equational *olema* and *nii et*. The motivation for such a co-occurrence is quite unclear and is left as unanswered question in this thesis. Further research on the topic of this co-occurrence is suggested.

The next new quotative found in Estonian language is the original complementizer and conjunction *et* 'that', which corresponds to the Finnish complementizer *et(tä)*. Its correspondence as a quotative index can partially be mentioned as well. However, the distribution of the uses of *et* inside the quotative scope is left slightly unclear which is caused by the lack of examples for some of these strategies. Nonetheless, in clausal usage with speech verbs *et* completely corresponds to the usage of *et(tä)* in Finnish. In non-clausal usage *et(tä)* is not used as a single quotative index, though in Estonian there is an evidence of such a use. In general, it is hard to draw general conclusions about the

correspondence of these markers, as the obvious requirement of bigger amount of examples is necessary for such purposes.

The next marker that should be listed among new quotatives of Estonian is the original quantifier *täiega* 'totally'. It is interesting that quantifiers used in quotative constructions of the closely related languages Finnish and Estonian are of opposite semantics: while in Finnish the quantifier *vaa(n)* 'just' belongs to quantifiers with minimalistic evaluation, Estonian *täiega* 'totally' belongs to quantifiers with maximalistic evaluation. A simple suggestion can be made that the occurrence of these elements is motivated by the influence of different languages: in Finnish the use of *vaa(n)* was influenced by Swedish *bara* 'just', in Estonian by English *all* and German *voll* 'fully', as both elements fulfill the functions of new quotatives in their languages. Despite the fact that their semantic meaning differs cardinally, structurally the correspondence between these new quotatives can be noticed in QI-clauses with equational verbs. In both languages, QI-clauses consist of an NP, encoding the speaker (reporter), the equational verb and a quotative index.

Based on the review on new quotative index uses above, the assertion can be made that there is partial correspondence and similarity between new quotative index uses in Finnish and Estonian. In both languages, there is a development of some new quotatives towards becoming independent markers through the process of neutralization of QI-clauses and shift of orientation. In some cases in Estonian, the neutralization process has achieved a further development, while in Finnish one type of strategy is used with the majority of new quotatives. However, in both languages some markers have been already used as single quote-introducers. The choice of sources for new quotatives differs sometimes, and only a rough correspondence between originally similative markers and complementizers can be noticed in their quotative uses in Finnish and Estonian.

As this thesis was meant to present a qualitative overview on new quotatives in Finnish and Estonian, some questions are beyond the scopes of this research, namely the frequency rate of uses of some new quotatives. Further researches may be likewise conducted, addressing the questions that arose during the analysis of the collected data

and mentioned in the empirical part of this thesis and overviews on new quotatives in each language.

List of abbreviations

ACC	accusative case	PASS	passive voice
ADE	adessive case	PL	plural
ALL	allative case	PN	proper noun
COM	comitative case	POSS	possessive marker
COMP	complementizer; comparative ³⁵	PP	past participle
COND	conditional mood	PRE	preverb
CONNEG	connegative	PRES	present tense
DEM	demonstrative	PRESP	present participle
ELL	ellative case	PST	past tense
ESS	essive case	PTCL	particle
GEN	genitive case	PTV	partitive
GER	gerund	Q	reported discourse
IMP	imperative mood	QI	quotative idex
INE	inessive case	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	TRANSL	translative case
INS	instructive case		
NEG	negation		
NOM	nominative case		
NP	nominal phrase		
NUM	numeral		
PART	participle		

³⁵ - Cases, where abbreviation COMP marks comparative, are mentioned in the footnotes.

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Uued kvotatiivi indeksid soome ja eesti keeles. Kokkuvõte

Töö on pühendatud uute kvotatiivi indeksite uurimisele soome ja eesti keeles, nende indeksite kasutamise motivatsioonile ning erinevate kvotatiivi konstruktsioonide kirjeldamisele koos uute kvotatiivide indeksitega. Üks eesmärkidest on esitleda tüpoloogilist terminit *quotative index* ja *new quotative index* eesti ja soome keeles, anda üldine ülevaade nendest indeksitest koos erinevate konstruktsioonidega referaadi lausetes ning võimaluse korral otsida paralleele sarnaste soome ja eesti keele indeksite vahel.

Uurimus baseerub faktilisel materjalil, mis on saadud Eesti keele korpuse Uue media korpusest ja osalt ka valitud iseseisvalt Internetis vabal liigipäsul olevatest materjalide hulgast.

Esimene peatükk käsitleb teoreetilisi probleeme, mis on seotud referaaditerminoloogia ja kvotatiivi indeksi terminiga. Referaati ja kvotatiivi indeksi probleemi käsitletakse eri lingvistilistes traditsioonides erinevalt, seetõttu on oluline ülesanne determineerida edasise kirjeldamise ja analüüsi tarbeks täpsed tüpoloogias kasutatavad terminid.

Nii soome kui ka eesti keeles on varem koostatud kirjakeeles esindavatest referaadilausetest ja nende komponentidest ülevaateid, mis leiduvad "Suures soome keele grammatikas" ja "Eesti keele grammatikas". Peale selle leidub Suures soome keele grammatikas ka soome kõnekeele uute kvotatiivide lühitutvustus. Mõned lingvistid on teinud uurimusi seoses kvotatiivide kasutamisega kõnekeeles. Aga need ülevaated ja uurimused on äärmiselt üldistatud ja neid saab pidada piisavaks ainult referaadi põhiidee saamiseks. Uurimust, kus oleks referaadi teema uurimiseks kasutatud kaasaegset tüpoloogilist terminoloogiat, ei ole siiani tehtud ei soome ega eesti keeles ega ka mitte soome-ugri keeleteaduses.

Varasematest uurimustest lähtudes jagatakse kvotatiivi indekseid nende suunitluse järgi osaleja suunitlusega kvotatiivi indeksiteks ja tsitaadi suunitlusega kvotatiivi indeksiteks.

Osaleja suunitlusega kvotatiivi indeksid saab omakorda jagada kõneleja suunitlusega ja vastuvõtja suunitlusega kvotatiivi indeksiteks. Tsitaadi suunitlusega kvotatiivi indeksid jagatakse sündmuse suunitlusega ja tsitaadi suunitlusega kvotatiivi indeksiteks.

Lisaks võib kvotatiivi indekseid jagada vanadeks ja uuteks. Selline jagamine põhineb tõendusmaterjalil, mis näitab, et ülemaailmselt kasutatakse sugulas- ja mittesugulaskeeltes elemente, millel puudub referaadisemantika, referaadilausestes tihti tsitaadi esindamiseks. Vanu kvotatiive peetakse grammatikaliseerumise protsessi tulemuseks ja neid kasutatakse kirjakeeles juba pikka aega. Uued kvotatiivid aga läbivad alles praegu grammatikaliseerumise protsessi ja võimaluse korral saavad iseseisvateks referaadi esinemise markerideks. Nende kasutusala kõnekeeles on laienemas.

Teine peatükk käsitleb uusi kvotatiivi indekseid soome ja eesti keeles. Teise peatüki esimeses osas on kirjeldatud soomekeelsetest materjalidest leitud saateväljendeid koos uute kvotatiividega. Soome kõnekeeles kirjalikus variandis leiduvad järgmised uued kvotatiivid: sarnasust väljendavad markerid *niin kuin (niinku)* ja *tyyl(i)n*, komplementlause sidesõna *et*, hulgasõna *vaa(n)* ja liikumisverb *tulla*. Samuti on arvesse võetud (peale saateväljandite koos liikumisverbiga *tulla*) uute kvotatiivide esinemine koos erinevate verbitüüpidega ja iseseisev kasutamine referaadi esinemise signaalidena.

Teise peatüki esimeses osas on kirjeldatud eestikeelsetest materjalidest leitud saateväljendid koos uute kvotatiividega. Eesti kõnekeeles kirjalikus variandis kasutatakse järgmisi uusi kvotatiive: sarnasust väljendavad markerid *nagu* ja *a la*, viisimäärus *nii et*, komplementlause sidesõna *et* ja hulgasõna *täiega*. Samuti nagu soomekeelsete materjalide analüüsis on ka eestikeelsete materjalide analüüsis arvesse võetud uute kvotatiivide esinemine koos erinevate verbitüüpidega ja pööratud tähelepanu uute kvotatiivi indeksite iseseisvale kasutamisele.

Iga peatüki osa lõpus on esitatud lühike kokkuvõte, kus on ära toodud erinevate saateväljendi konstruktsioonide ja uute kvotatiivide kasutamise sarnased ja erinevad jooned.

Materjali analüüs näitab, et uute kvotatiivide süsteem on laialt esindatud nii soome kui ka eesti keeles. Kvotatsioone kasutatakse sarnaselt mõlemas keeles. Samas saab leida paralleele ka mitte-sugulaskeeltest, mis aitab aru saada mõnede uute kvotatiivide kasutusest saateväljendina. Uute kvotatiivide iseseisev kasutamine näitab, et mõned markerid on juba läbinud arenemise astme ja vähemalt kõnekeeles on kasutatud täisväärtusliku tsitaadi esitlejana. Uute kvotatiivi indeksite kasutust ja funktsioonalseid võimalusi keeles ja kõnes ei saa ühe uurimuse raamides ammendavalt käsitleda. See on kategooria, mis areneb pidevalt, leides uusi kasutusviise ja järelkult nõudes ka edaspidiseid kvalitatiivseid ja kvantitatiivseid uurimusi.

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