

# Quotative indexes in Erzya: a typological overview<sup>1</sup>

*Denys Teptiuk (Tartu)*

## **Abstract**

In this paper, I provide a typological overview of quotative indexes, i.e. linguistic expression(s) encoding the presence of reported speech and thought, in contemporary Erzya. I focus on quotative strategies of different complexity attested in social media texts and classify the constructions according to their morphosyntactic structure and orientation. Furthermore, I take into account the possible connotations arising in the use of concrete strategies, such as the precision of reported discourse vis-à-vis original discourse, the reporter's evaluative connotations concerning reported information and ambiguity in the presentation of speech and thought. The results of this study show that the markers used in Erzya quotative indexes correspond to their uses in other related languages and reflect cross-linguistic tendencies in the use of semantically reportative and non-reportative markers in quotative constructions.

**Keywords:** quotative indexes, new quotatives, reported discourse, Erzya, Finno-Ugric.

## **1. Introduction**

Recent typological studies paid attention to the use of quotative indexes (henceforth also: QIs), i.e. segmentally discrete linguistic expressions that are used to signal the occurrence of reported speech and thought (Güldemann 2008: 11). Previous research takes into account both semantically reportative, i.e. denoting human verbal behavior (1a) and mental processes (e.g. 'think', 'a thought'), and non-reportative markers (1b), introducing the reenactment of someone's speech or thought.

- (1) a. ***My friend said to me, "I missed the President's speech..."***  
b. ***I was like "Who even let you watch that movie?"*** (enTenTen15)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I use the following conventions in examples: **bold** – an emphasized form; '...' – boundaries of the translation of an example; underline – boundaries of reported discourse in the translation of an example; double underline – boundaries of self-quotations in the translation of an example if non-self-quotation is present within one text; (source) – a shortened reference to the source of an example.

In Teptiuk (2019b), I have provided a typology of QIs appearing in colloquial written texts in five Finno-Ugric languages: Komi, Udmurt, Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian. Following previous typological studies on QIs, I distinguished the main subclasses of quotative indexes according to their orientation, i.e. event- vs. quote- vs. participant-oriented, and semantic categories that appear in such quotative indexes (see Section 2).

In this study, I aim to extend the previous research on quotative indexes in Finno-Ugric languages and present an overview of quotative indexes appearing in contemporary non-standard written Erzya. Thus, this study will help to provide a full perspective on quotative constructions and reported discourse in Finno-Ugric languages and beyond. I also take into consideration the condition in which quotative markers or even whole strategies are replicated in language contact setting (see e.g. Teptiuk, forthcoming). Scenarios in which individual markers or whole constructions are replicated from dominant Russian can be considered characteristic for contemporary Eastern Finno-Ugric languages spoken in Russia (see Janurik 2016 on sociolinguistic situation of contemporary Erzya). Therefore, here I pay attention to the use of autochthonous quotative constructions and the constructions replicated from Russian.

From the structural point of view, I am interested to see how semantically reportative markers (e.g. ‘say’, ‘think’) are used in Erzya and if they co-occur with semantically non-reportative markers (see Section 2). Furthermore, the use of originally non-reportative markers in quotative constructions is of interest in light of recent cross-linguistic studies indicating that such markers derive from a limited number of semantic sources and show functional correspondence in quotative constructions cross-linguistically (see Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: XIV, XVII–XIX). I also pay attention to additional connotations arising in the use of quotative markers (see Section 2).

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I provide a brief overview of the main notions – *reported discourse* (alias reported speech and thought) and quotative indexes. Section 3 is dedicated to the methodology and data. Section 4 presents a typology of quotative indexes in contemporary Erzya. Finally, in Section 5 I summarize the main results and discuss how the attested classes of quotative indexes fit into general typology.

## 2. Reported discourse and quotative indexes

Throughout the history of linguistic studies, the notion of reported speech and thought has acquired various labels and definitions, such as *represented speech*, *quotation*, *constructed discourse* (see a short overview in Spronck & Nikitina 2019: 121–3). In typological studies, the preference is given to the labels *reported speech* (among the most recent: Spronck 2017; Spronck & Nikitina 2019, i.a.) and *reported discourse* (Güldemann & von Roncador

2002; Bugaeva 2008; Güldemann 2008, 2012; Nikitina 2012, i.a.). The two notions are hardly conflicting; they can be considered equivalent in terms of what they refer to. In this study, I use the label reported discourse (henceforth also: RD), defined as follows:

Reported discourse is the representation of a spoken or mental text from which the reporter distances him-/herself 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 (Güldemann 2008: 6).

As the definition above implies, RD is not restricted to actual instances of speech. Thus, the term reported discourse serves here as a broad definition of reported speech<sup>3</sup> that may include texts not uttered previously, e.g. reported thought, or representations of different cognitive acts and states<sup>4</sup> (Güldemann 2008: 7). Although Güldemann (ibid.) leaves the notion cognitive acts and states undefined, I subsume under it such mental processes as, for example, *thinking, considering, guessing, concluding*, and such mental conditions as e.g. *knowing, remembering*. Similarly to reported speech, such mental processes and conditions can be reproduced in a pragmatic and deictic setting different from the ongoing discourse. Consider (2) where the RD *Mary would come* is introduced by verbs denoting either the speech or cognitive acts and states behind the reported part.

- (2) *John **said / thought / knew / guessed / concluded** that Mary would come.* (Palmer 1986: 135, bold and underline are mine, DT)

The whole construction in which RD occurs is hereby labeled as an *RD-construction* (Güldemann 2008: 10). Canonically, RD-construction is formed by two constituents – the RD and the quotative index (QI)<sup>5</sup>, defined as follows:

<sup>3</sup> In the translation of Vološinov (1973), where the term reported speech is used, reported thought is referred to with the label *inner speech*.

<sup>4</sup> Although the label *discourse* is more accurate compared to *speech* in this regard, it has its own drawbacks and “may (...) invoke a connotation of discourse as a ‘stretch of speech’” (Spronck & Nikitina 2019: 122). This problem is evened out by Güldemann’s (2008: 6) definition of RD as text that “can range from a long discourse through complex or simple sentential forms to a one-word utterance”.

<sup>5</sup> In some contexts, QIs are verbally unexpressed and instead different suprasegmental features of intonation, dynamics and pitch can be used as devices differentiating RD from its surrounding context. On combinations of prosodic features as such devices see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen (1998) and Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen (1999) in English, and Günthner (1999) in German conversational discourse. Taking into account the nature of the data used in this study (see Section 3) and focus on the verbally expressed QIs, cases of defenestration (see Spronck 2017), i.e. unframed RD, are not reviewed here.

Quotative index 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).

Consequently, QIs are structures that are used for indicating the presence of RD in the ongoing discourse. The structural complexity of a QI is irrelevant to its typological definition: it can consist of a gram or an independent function word adjacent to the RD, a phrase or a full sentential syntagma (Güldemann 2008: 11). Consider (3) depicting different types of QIs in English:

- (3) a. *“I could never imagine not having Luke.” she says.*  
 b. *She’s like “oh really??”*  
 c. *Allegedly, he has acquired nukes from Israel.* (enTenTen15)

Although QIs in (3) fulfill the same main function, i.e. presentation of the RD, a difference between them can be pointed out in QI-orientation achieved through the lexical and structural composition of QI. In (3a), the QI is formed by a monoclausal structure consisting of a reference to the original speaker *she* and the speech verb *says*, signaling that RD is the representation of someone’s speech. This constitutes an *event-oriented QI* (Güldemann 2008: 153–5; Güldemann 2012: 119). In contrast, in (3b) a monoclausal structure consisting of the semantically non-reportative verb *be* in combination with the similative marker *like* functions as a quotative marker. The main difference between the event- and quote-oriented QI is that the verb or VP used in quote-oriented QI does not refer to speech or mental activity outside the construction at issue (*ibid.*). Since this construction says nothing about the event behind the RD and in some cases can even lead to ambiguity in what is depicted – speech or thought (see Buchstaller 2001 on *be like* in English), QI-orientation shifts from event to quote, forming *quote-oriented QI* (Güldemann 2012: 119). As for (3c), there is no reference to the original speaker, and what is more important – the event behind the RD is left unspecified. The main function of the non-clausal use of the adverb *allegedly* in this RD-construction is orientation of the audience on the presence of the reported information. Hence, this QI is *non-clausal* and *quote-oriented*. Such types of QIs are occupied by grammaticalized quotative markers that on their own can indicate the presence of RD (Güldemann 2008: 160). Their number is usually limited in each language and sometimes they reflect interesting grammaticalization processes.

In addition to non- and monoclausal QIs, more complex quotative constructions are also used, which typically consist of two (or more) elements, as in

(4). For such construction, the label *bipartite QI* is used. Structurally, they can be either bi-/multiclausal<sup>6</sup> (4a) or monoclausal (4b).

- (4) a. *then Peter tells him, he says (...)*  
 b. *then Peter tells him like (...)* (Güldemann 2012: 120; emphasis is mine, DT)

According to orientation, bipartite QIs are by default quote-oriented (cf. Güldemann 2008, 2012), since they are formed by structures where one of the elements functions as a quote-orienter focusing the audience's attention on the presence of the quote.

In addition to event- and quote-oriented, *participant-oriented* QIs are distinguished. In such QIs, either the original speaker, her addressee, or both elements are highlighted. Consider a participant-oriented QI in (5), consisting merely of the reference to the original speaker and her addressee.

- (5) *And she to me: "There is no greater sorrow. Than to be mindful of the happy time..."* (Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, Inferno Canto V:70 – 142, Paolo and Francesca)

In contrast to non-clausal quote-oriented QIs, non-clausal participant-oriented QIs can be formed by any kind of nominal syntagma referring to either of participants (Güldemann 2008: 160). Most typically, this type of QI does not acquire any canonical form and depends rather on pragmatic conditions in which a concrete case of RD is presented. Hence, typologically such QIs quite rarely represent fully grammaticalized structures (ibid.: 160)<sup>7</sup>.

As pointed out in Section 1, semantically non-reportative markers are observed cross-linguistically in quotative constructions (see ex. 1b, 2b, 4b). Buchstaller & Van Alphen (2012: XIV, XVII–IX) report that such elements derive from a limited number of semantic sources: simulative or comparative markers, demonstratives, quantifiers, motion or action verbs. Their appearance in quotative constructions is motivated by their semantics, which often results in bringing additional connotations to the presentation of the RD.

A previous study on QIs in Finno-Ugric languages (Teptiuk 2019a, b) shows that semantically non-reportative markers often grammaticalize into quotative

<sup>6</sup> Güldemann (2008: 157) mentions that occasionally QIs can involve more than two segments, as in Hausa (Chadic, Afroasiatic). In Finno-Ugric languages, QIs are typically limited to two segmentally discrete elements and do not exceed monoclausal structures (see Teptiuk 2019b: §5.2).

<sup>7</sup> Among Finno-Ugric languages, two canonical patterns of participant-oriented QIs are found e.g. in Hungarian: *erre* 'upon this' + SPEAKER, SPEAKER + *meg* 'and' (see Teptiuk 2019b: §3.5).

markers and can be used as non-clausal quote-oriented QIs, cf. (6). Otherwise, their use is restricted to co-occurrences with semantically reportative markers in bipartite QIs, cf. (7). As for additional connotations, similitive markers present factual RD *resembling* original discourse, as in (6), and fictional discourse *as if* it had taken place in the non-immediate discourse for typification of a person, a group of people or a situation, as in (7).

- (6) Finnish  
*Ensin heität jotain härskejä*  
 first throw.PRS.2SG something uncouth.PL.PAR  
*juttuja ja sitten tyliin “hei älä*  
 story.PL.PAR and then like INTERJ NEG.IMP2SG  
*viitti kopioida mua.”*  
 dare.CN copy.INF 1SG.PAR  
 ‘First you throw some uncouth stories [into a conversation] and then **like** “hey, don’t you dare to copy me.”’ (Internet-keskusteluainestaja)

- (7) Udmurt  
*Noš soiz šoraz učke no*  
 and DEM.3SG at.ILL3SG stare.PRS3SG and  
*jua kad’: “Kytyn bon Mañi?”*  
 ask.PRS.3SG like where PTCL PN  
 ‘And (s)he stares at him/her and **asks like**: “Where is Mani?”’ (Udmurt corpus, Blog subcorpus)

The use of demonstratives in quotative constructions is related to their endophoric function, i.e. pointing to the following (cataphoric use) or preceding (anaphoric use) stretches of RD (see Teptiuk, forthcoming b on manner deictics in quotative indexes of 5 Finno-Ugric languages). In addition, they are often capable of introducing besides (re)presentation of verbal and mental activity, other types of demonstrations, e.g. gestures, mimicry, verbalization of someone’s actions. For instance, in (8) the Finnish manner demonstrative *silleen* ‘thus’ introduces a quasi-quotation, where instead of using verbal means, the reporter expresses his/her surprise by using the emoticon *0.o* depicting eyes wide open.

- (8) Finnish  
*Mä olin silleen et 0.o??*  
 1SG be.PST.1SG thus COMP EMOT:MIR  
 ‘**I was like that** 0.o??’ (demi.fi8)

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.demi.fi/keskustelu/suhteet-aaah-mita-ma-teen> (last accessed June 5, 2020).

Quantifiers, in turn, may express reporter’s commitment to the truth-value of the RD, or present quotations approximately and as a habitual occurrence of an utterance or thought, cf. (9). However, this category occurs only occasionally in quotative constructions of different languages. For instance, among Finno-Ugric languages, both minimalistic/existential (‘just’, ‘simply’) and maximalistic/universal (‘all’, ‘totally/completely’, ‘full’) quantifiers are observed systematically only in Finnish and Estonian new quotative constructions so far (Teptiuk 2019b: 297–9).

- (9) Finnish
- |            |               |                 |             |           |            |                 |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ja</i>  | <i>kaikki</i> | <i>on</i>       | <i>ihan</i> | <i>et</i> | <i>heh</i> | <i>heh..[.]</i> |
| and        | all           | be.PRS.3SG      | just        | COMP      | INTERJ     | INTERJ          |
| <i>älä</i> | <i>polta</i>  | <i>sitte...</i> |             |           |            |                 |
| NEG.IMP2SG | smoke.CN      | then            |             |           |            |                 |
- ‘And **everybody was just (that)** heh heh... don’t smoke then...’  
(Internet-keskusteluaineistoja, korp.csc.fi)

The appearance of motion verbs in quotative constructions is explained via metaphors. A basic explanation is found through Lakoff’s (1987, cited from Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: XVI) metaphor ‘a conversation is a journey’. The RD is interpreted as a message that travels from a sender, i.e. a reporter/speaker, to an addressee. In some languages, e.g. English (10), the use of motion verbs can be used as a strategy encoding turns of different speakers as movement.

- (10) *And so our guide goes “Well, jump in the truck!” And I go “What?!?!”*  
(enTenTen15)

### 3. Methodology and data

In this study, I use data from social network sites (SNS) as a database. The following motivations govern my choice of SNS data. First, I concentrate on the use of QIs in non-standard varieties of Erzya. Since the amount of different types of QIs is limited in standardized texts, the social network sites offer more diverse material. Second, previous studies have shown that “[t]he informal characteristics of SNS enables the usage of generally oral forms such as slang and dialects in a written context” (Pischlöger 2014: 144). This argument is especially sound in a study on minority languages, since “the relaxed atmosphere on SNS allows language use which is typical for oral communication and otherwise frowned upon in other (especially written) contexts by language purists” (ibid.). Third, as my own experience of using the data from SNS shows, despite the presence of different orthographic symbols, unstandardized shortenings,

emoticons, etc., the language on SNS can be seriously considered the closest written variant of spoken language, combining the features of standard writing and colloquial speech within one text.

The study on quotative indexes in Erzya was completed in two steps: “background check” and actual data collection. During the background check, I first studied available descriptive grammars (Bartens 1999; Cygankin 1980; Evsev’ev 1963; Keresztes 1990; Koljadenkov 1952) together with the publications on related topics (e.g. Erina 1997 on particles in Mordvin) and text collections (Evsev’ev 1964; Keresztes 1990). I became acquainted with previous accounts of quotative constructions in Erzya and paid attention to the markers used in the previously recorded folklore texts and narratives. Second, I investigated the appearance of RD and QIs on social media sites that were retrieved from the Erzya Social media corpus of the Corpora of Uralic Volga-Kama languages (henceforth also: ESmC)<sup>9</sup>. The second part of the background check allowed me to contrast the use of quotative constructions in previous text collections and descriptive grammars, which provide accounts for Standard Erzya and some of its dialects described in the previous century, with contemporary colloquial written Erzya. Thus, additional strategies or some peculiarities in the use of quotatives in contemporary texts were studied. Based on the background check, I compiled the list of quotative strategies and prominent markers in quotative constructions.

During the actual data collection, I checked previously observed or documented strategies in ESmC and the Main Corpus of Erzya (henceforth also: EC)<sup>10</sup>. I concentrated on the specific use and distribution of quotative indexes. As described in Section 1, on the structural level I studied the occurrence of semantically reportative and non-reportative markers, their co-occurrence within one QI and non-clausal use. The following semantic sources were checked: speech and mental verbs, non-speech (action & motion) verbs, grammaticalized quotative particles, similitive & comparative markers, demonstratives and quantifiers. Among additional connotations, I checked the contribution of quotative markers to precision of the RD vis-à-vis the original discourse and the reporter’s evaluative connotations. Furthermore, constructions leading to ambiguity in the presentation of the quotations of speech and thought together

<sup>9</sup> <http://erzya.web-corpora.net> (last accessed June 5, 2020), consists of open posts and comments by Erzya-speaking users and contains 830 thousand words in Erzya and 5,23 million words in Russian.

<sup>10</sup> Although the Main corpus of Erzya ([http://erzya.web-corpora.net/erzya\\_corpus/search](http://erzya.web-corpora.net/erzya_corpus/search), last accessed June 5, 2020) first and foremost consists of texts from contemporary press, 20<sup>th</sup> century fiction, translations of the New Testament and Wikimedia, for reasons unknown to me, it contains also 6% of data from blogs. In this study, I supplement the material from the ESmC with material from blogs in EC where necessary.



and other possible functional extensions of quotative markers (see e.g. Gülde-  
mann 2008: ch. 6) were investigated.

Altogether, my corpus counts ca. 150 text extracts from social network sites that contain RD-constructions framed by different quotative strategies. In the majority of the cases, text extracts contain more than one RD-construction depicting a represented conversation between two or more speakers. Exact numbers for each strategy occurring in my corpus are presented in the following Section 4. Examples presented in the paper are provided in transcription with translation and glossing. Code-switching into and nonce borrowings from Russian are presented in transliteration and marked with curly brackets in the glosses. If the glossing abbreviation is included in the boundaries of curly brackets, e.g. {dialect.GEN}, it means that the inflection is Russian; if not, e.g. {dialect}.GEN, only the root/stem/lexeme is Russian.

#### 4. Typology of quotative indexes in Erzya.

In the current section, the typology of quotative indexes in Erzya is presented. The list of quotative constructions, illustrated in Table 1, is meant to depict the most frequently observed quotative indexes in colloquial written Erzya; it does not display all possible quotative constructions. Thus, I exclude constructions that were observed only rarely or when they did not reflect cross-linguistic tendencies in the use of quotative markers specified in Section 2. Figures in Table 1 reflecting the number of examples for each strategy in my corpus are only relative and count more examples in the data sources used in this study. The figures in bold are, nonetheless, exhaustive and reflect the total number of occurrences of a concrete marker in quotative constructions in ES<sub>m</sub>C or EC. The following subsections are dedicated to each type of QIs.

Types of quotative indexes	Number of occurrences in corpus
I. Monoclausal non-partite QIs	
1. Event-oriented QIs	
1a. Speaker/Reporter + speech/mental verb	33
1b. NPs encoding the source of RD	7
2. Quote-oriented QIs	
2a. Speaker / reporter + speech / mental verb + ‘so’	21
2b. ‘such’ + NP	11
2c. Self-quotative <i>merin</i> ‘I said/thought’	<b>2</b>
II. Monoclausal bipartite QIs	

Types of quotative indexes	Number of occurrences in corpus
3. [Speaker / reporter + speech / mental verb] <sub>1</sub> + quote-orienter <sub>2</sub> :	
3a. [Speaker / reporter + speech / mental verb] <sub>1</sub> + complementizer <sub>2</sub>	20
3b. [Speaker / reporter + speech / mental verb] <sub>1</sub> + simulative marker <sub>2</sub>	2
3c. [Speaker / reporter + speech / mental verb] <sub>1</sub> + quotative particle <sub>2</sub>	26
<hr/>	
III. Non-clausal QIs	
<hr/>	
4. Non-clausal participant oriented QIs:	
Reduced turn-taking construction (TTC)	12
5. Non-clausal quote-oriented QIs:	
5a. Quotative particles <i>keľa, mol</i>	15
5b. Simulative marker <i>řipa</i>	1
<hr/>	
Total	150

Table 1. Quotative indexes in Erzya

#### 4.1. Monoclausal non-partite QIs

##### 4.1.1. Monoclausal non-partite event-oriented QIs

Among event-oriented QIs, the two strategies: simple clauses with speech or mental verbs and NPs encoding the source of RD were observed. As for constructions with speech and mental verbs, the verbs may be accompanied by NPs encoding the speaker(s) and addressee(s). If the participants are given, i.e. specified in the context, they can stay covert. In (11), which illustrates the event-oriented QI, the participants, i.e. the original speaker and the addressee, are specified.

- (11) *Ińazoroř*      *merř*      *mońeń, pek*      *kurok*  
king.DEF      say.PST.3SG      1SG.DAT very      fast  
*eřavi*      *artoms.*  
must.PRS.3SG      paint.INF  
‘The king said to me, one must paint quickly.’ (ESmC, club83623)

The speech verb *meřems* can also be used with self-quotations of thought. Two distinct patterns can be pointed out. In one of them, the reporter specifies that the utterance was addressed to themselves with the presence of the reflexive pronoun *eřkan* ‘by myself’ or *eřteń* ‘to myself’ (2 and 12 occurrences, respectively), as in (12) and (13). Another pattern is described here as monoclausal quote-oriented QI in 4.1.2, since the marker is used as a single quote-introducer with quotations of thought and shows a loss of its event-oriented features.

- (12) “*Meže t’e soňenze...*” – *meříń eškan.*  
 what DEM 3SG.DAT say.PST.1SG own.PROLAT.1SG  
 ‘[The bull, indeed, easily, without making an effort, moved the carriage.] “What’s this one to him...” – I said to myself.’ (EC, erzia.saransk.ru)
- (13) *Meříń ešt’eń: šel’met’ ul’it’*  
 say.PST.1SG self.DAT.1SG eye.PL.2SG be.PRS.3PL  
*ked’et’ ul’it’ – e’va avas’*  
 hand.PL.2SG be.PRS.3PL every woman.DEF  
*maštozo e’va mežeń tejeme.*  
 can.OPT.3SG every what.GEN do.INF2  
 ‘I said to myself: you have eyes, you have hands – every woman should be able to do all kinds of things.’ (EC, tolava.livejournal.com)

The majority of the verbs, occurring in event-oriented QIs, take the form of indefinite conjugation. An exception is the speech verb *kevks’ems* ‘ask’ that is usually in the definite conjugation, cf. (14). This happens mainly due to the fact that the verb is transitive and encodes the object that is an addressee of the RD, if they are definite, via the definite conjugation suffixes on the speech verb (see Bartens 1999: 125, 131, 171, 175 on definite conjugation in Mordvin).

- (14) - *Meks ist’a?*, – *kevks’iže tona klassoń*  
 why so ask.PST.3SG.OC:3SG DEM.D class.GEN  
*vet’icaś.*  
 leader.DEF  
 ‘- Why so? – the supervisor of the other class asked him.’ (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

In the second type of event-oriented QIs, NPs are the core-elements but they may be accompanied by some verbs, e.g. ‘receive’, ‘send’, ‘come’ (see ex. 15 below) or a copula verb *ul’ems* that in 3<sup>rd</sup> person present tense is covert in copula constructions and shows only agreement in number in plural with the plural marker *-t/-t’* (cf. Aasmäe 2012: 28–9; Aasmäe 2018: 194). Verbs as such do not participate directly in quote-introduction and the type of verb is usually defined by pragmatic conditions. Hence, I do not take them into account in the second type of event-oriented QIs and concentrate only on the head of NPs functioning as a core-element in quotative constructions. Consider (15) where the quote-introducing function is carried out by the noun ‘thought’.

- (15) *Prason*            *čavś*            *vejke*            *arśema: t'e*  
 head.INE.1SG    beat.PST.3SG    one            thought DEM.P  
*kodamojak*        *aparo*            *lomań kekśńi*        *t'ese.*  
 some.kind.of    NEG.good        person hide.PRS.3SG    here.INE  
 'There was one **thought** in my head: there is some kind of bad person hiding here.' (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

#### 4.1.2. Monoclausal non-partite quote-oriented QIs

As for non-partite quote-oriented QIs, similarly to monoclausal event-oriented QIs, they are simple clauses indicating the presence of the quote. This function is carried out by constructions consisting of the semantically reportative markers and demonstratives or by the speech verb *meřiń* 'I said' that is used as the self-quotative index of thought with the meaning 'I thought', 'I supposed'.

The first two types of quote-oriented QIs are formed by speech verbs and the manner deictic *ist'a(ńa)* 'so' or NPs accompanied by the demonstratives *t'e* 'this' or *ist'amo* 'such'. Deictic elements in such QIs are pointing to ana- or cataphoric reproduction of someone's speech and thought, or other content formed by the RD. Consider (16) and (17) where Types 2a and 2b from Table 1 above are illustrated.

- (16) *Kel'eń*            *sodid'ejt'ńe*        *lovit'*            *ist'a:*  
 language.GEN    scientist.PL:DEF    consider.PRS.3PL    so  
*meń*                *śed'e*                *kezeřeń*            *keleś,*  
 what.GEN        DEM.ABL            ancient            language.DEF  
*śeń*                *śed'e*                *lamo sonze*  
 DEM.GEN        DEM.ABL            a.lot    DEM.GEN  
*kortavksonzo*    (*dialekt*).  
 dialect.3SG     {dialect}  
 'The linguists think so: the more ancient a language is, the more dialects it has.' (ESmC, club83623)
- (17) *Śekskak*            *siń*                *ist'amo mel's-arśemas:*  
 therefore        come.PST.1SG    such    mind.ILL-think.AN.ILL  
 - "*Meks*            *eřzat'ńeńeń*            *a vel'mevt'ems*  
 why                Erzya.PL:DEF.DAT    NEG    resurrect.INF  
*ods*                *eś buječeśkseń*        *putoma-vanstoma*  
 new.ILL            own    clan.mark.GEN    build.AN-defend.AN  
*kojeńt'?*"  
 manner.GEN:DEF  
 'Therefore, I came **to such thought**: - "Why should the Erzya re-  
 vive their own custom of putting and preserving their clan marks?"'  
 (ESmC, club83623)

The third type of quote-oriented QI is formed by the self-quotative *me’iñ* ‘I said’ where it indicates the presence of quotation of thought. The meaning of the basic speech verb becomes blurred, which leads to its use with reported thought in addition to speech reproduction. The bare use of the speech verb occurs in my corpus in two examples, where the RD is likely to be paraphrased as the quotation of thought. The same use is illustrated in the Dialect Dictionary of the Mordvin languages (see the entry *me’remś*, translated also as Ru. *dumat*’ and Ger. *denken*, both ‘think’)<sup>11</sup> and in Aasmäe’s (2012: 66) Erzya textbook depicting a dialogue between two Erzyans. Aasmäe (ibid.) specifies the verb as a quotative marker of thought with, probably, the additional meaning of false belief translated as ‘I supposed’ instead of more neutral ‘I thought’. Similarly, in (18) this meaning arises in a context where the speaker/reporter quotes him-/herself but does not specify the addressee of the probable utterance framed by the speech verb, and no such apparent participant arises in any surrounding context. Moreover, further in the context, the reporter most likely indicates that his/her thoughts and not words were false. Although the reading of the speech situation is possible in such a context, most likely the QI in (18) represents a shortened variant of the QIs in (12) and (13), where the reference to the reporter as an addressee remains elliptic and pragmatically unnecessary.<sup>12</sup>

- (18) *Mon, ono, natoj alam’ed’e*  
 1SG PTCL:DEM.D even a.bit.DIM.ABL  
*mañaviñ, me’iñ, pokščiś*  
 be.mistaken.PST.1SG say.PST.1SG holiday.DEF  
*ušodovś morosto.*  
 start.PST3SG song.ELA  
 ‘[These words are from this song. You’ll say, it’s not true? Then you know bad your mother tongue.] You see, I was even mistaken a bit, **I said/supposed, the holiday started with a song.** [No. First there was some talking that we liked, – they were not long.]’ (EC, erzia.saransk.ru)

<sup>11</sup> The Dialect Dictionary of the Mordvin Languages Based on the Heikki Paasonen Materials, available online: [https://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/rueter/PaasonenMW.shtml?fbclid=IwAR3pWcTUVgV02186JMTft\\_jf5SWmin9aY7O4A0RRoVN-U6P17VnkQxoe2hc](https://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/rueter/PaasonenMW.shtml?fbclid=IwAR3pWcTUVgV02186JMTft_jf5SWmin9aY7O4A0RRoVN-U6P17VnkQxoe2hc) (last accessed June 5, 2020).

<sup>12</sup> A similar tendency is observed in Hungarian, where the reporter can specify whether the RD framed by the self-quotative *mondok/mondom* ‘say.PRS.1SG/DEF’ is addressed to him-/herself by using the construction *mondok/m magamba* ‘I say to myself [lit. inside myself]’. Alternatively, the reporter can leave the addressee (‘myself’) unspecified (see Teptiuk, forthcoming c; Teptiuk 2019b: 180–3).

#### 4.2. Monoclausal bipartite QIs

Bipartite quote-oriented QIs follow one pattern and consist of two elements – a monoclausal event-oriented QI and a quote-orienter. The place of a quote-orienter is carried out by (i) two Russian complementizers, (ii) a similative marker or (iii) two quotative particles, all of which are non-clausal elements. Thus, bipartite QIs in Erzya are structurally monoclausal, similarly to other related languages (cf. Teptiuk 2019b: 309–15). The quote-orienters are either autochthonous or replicated from Russian. Among the category of complementizers, i.e. clause-linkers used outside the quotative domain with complement clauses, only replicated elements can be observed. Thus, unlike some closely related languages, e.g. Permic<sup>13</sup>, Erzya uses only Russian complementizers. As far as I am aware, autochthonous elements of a similar type and function are not present in the language; at least, I did not observe their use in quotative constructions or complex sentences with complement clauses. Although among the category of similatives, both autochthonous and Russian markers are observed, in this subsection I only discuss the autochthonous similative marker *’eke* ‘like, as if’. The Russian similative *tipa* is discussed in §4.3.2 together with quotative particles used as non-clausal quote-oriented QIs.

Both the epistemically neutral complementizer *što* (< Ru. *čto* ‘that’) and the epistemic *buto* (< Ru. *budto* ‘as if, like’) are used in quotative constructions (Koljadenkov 1952: 125ff.; Evsev’ev 1963: 301; Cygankin 1980: 399, i.a.). *Što* appears in two forms: *što* and *čto*. *Što* reflects pronunciation of the complementizer and is used in the literary standard. *Čto* is the spelling of the complementizer in Russian. In such form, the complementizer appears only in non-standard written texts. I treat both variants of the complementizer as functionally identical. Similarly to Russian, *što* in Erzya does not bring any additional connotations to the presentation of the quote, cf. (19). Therefore, its use is optional<sup>14</sup>. Those speakers, who use a more “puristic” variant of Erzya, avoid bipartite QIs with *što* and instead turn to monoclausal event- or quote-oriented QIs (see §4.1.1 and 4.1.2) as their closest alternatives. Consider the two examples in (19) where the first part of bipartite QI is formed by monoclausal event- and quote-oriented QIs.

<sup>13</sup> In Komi, a pattern replication from Russian can be observed in the use of the originally interrogative pronoun *myj* ‘what’, that similarly to Ru. *čto* ‘id.’, is used as a complementizer. In Udmurt, both autochthonous and Russian complementizers can be observed simultaneously (cf. Klumpp 2016: 539–45, 551–5).

<sup>14</sup> An anonymous reviewer suggests that the use of complementizer *što/čto* might reflect long-term distancing from autochthonous village environment.

- (19) a. *T'ed'e*                    *baška,*                    *son*                    *merś,*                    *što*  
 DEM.ABL                    separately                    3SG                    say.PST.3SG                    COMP  
*L. Ruslanova*                    *dy*                    *N. Kadyševa*                    *eřžat*)))  
 PN                    and                    PN                    Erzya.PL  
 'In addition to this, **(s)he said that** L. Ruslanova and N. Kadysheva are Erzya)))' (ESmC, M\_34)
- b. *Moń*                    *voobšče*                    *is'amo oščuščeńijam,*                    *što*  
 1SG.GEN                    {completely}                    such                    {feeling}.1SG                    COMP  
*tiń*                    *Jevsevjeveń*                    *ežink*                    *lovno.*  
 2PL                    PN.GEN                    NEG.PST.2PL                    read.CN  
 'In general, I have **such a feeling that** you haven't read Evsev'ev.' (ESmC, club83623)

*Buto*, in turn, presents a quote with additional connotations. In my corpus, it is not frequent and counts 9 examples<sup>15</sup>. However, these examples show the same tendencies as in Russian, presenting the RD either approximately (20a) or with negative evaluation (20b, c) (on *budto* in Russian see Švedova 1980: §2277–9; Hansen *et al.* 2016: 193–9). Negative evaluation is realized in the reporter's disagreement with the reported statement. In (20b), the speaker indicates that the quoted opinion is wrong, and one has to stop thinking this way. In (20c), the reporter knows that their thoughts are most likely wrong and are evoked by the whole situation that the representatives of Erzya delegation were not agreed by the community.

- (20) a. *Anśak*                    *iśak*                    *nućkam*                    *t'erńetste*  
 only                    yesterday                    granddaughter.1SG                    Internet  
*lovnoś*                    *buto*                    *Moskovso*                    *d'eputatne*  
 read.PST3SG                    as.if                    PN.INE                    {MP}.PL:DEF  
*polučit'*                    *ni'eśadt*                    *ved'gemeń*                    *t'ožat*  
 {receive}.PRS.3PL                    NUM                    NUM                    NUM  
*ćelkovojt'*                    *kovosonzo* [sic!].  
 ruble.PL                    month.ILL.3SG  
 'Only yesterday **my granddaughter read on the internet like in** Moscow MPs are getting 450 thousand rubles a month.' (EC, Čilisema)

<sup>15</sup> Based on investigation in Erzya Corpus, altogether 125 occurrences of *buto* are present, among which – 15 occurrences in QIs. 7 examples from new media sources are included in discussion here. The other 8 examples derive from edited texts (Bible translation and literature) and are used only for background check on the use of *buto* in RD-constructions outside the new media genre.

- b. *Mińek* *kojse,* *eřavi* *lotkams*  
 1PL.GEN according.to must.PRS3SG stop.INF  
*lovomodo,* *buto* *kezeřeń* *škasto*  
 consider.INF.ABL as.if ancient time.ELA  
*ul'ńešt'* *ul'i-paroń* *anśak* *vejseń*  
 be.FREQ.PST.3PL possession.GEN only common  
 (*obščestvań*) *parcunt.*  
 {society}.GEN form.PL  
 'In our opinion, [we] **must stop thinking as if** there were only mutual forms of possessions in the ancient times.' (EC, kulyat.info)
- c. *Ist'amo ańsema, buto* *veśemeś* *jutaś*  
 such thought as.if all.DEF go.by.PST3SG  
*salava*.....  
 in.secret  
 '[Only a question is born: "Why only two people from Mordovia? And where were the Erzyans, the Erzya intelligentsia, inhabitants of Bayevo?"] **Such a thought, as if everything came to pass in secret**.....' (ESmC, club29518863)

Interestingly, one can also observe the collocation of the two complementizers within one QI. In ESmC only one case of such a collocation was observed. Thus, *čto* functions as an element opening the RD while *buto* brings additional connotation of the reporter's doubt. In (21), the reporter indicates his doubt in the reported fragment that an archeological item is of Erzya origin. After presenting the quote, he proposes other options and disputes the possibility of distinguishing Erzya as a separate nation in times to which the archeological item dates back.

- (21) *Sant'aj, a* *koda vana* *čarkodšt'*  
 PN {but} how PTCL:DEM.P understand.PST.3PL  
*karmašt'* *sodamo,* *što* *buto* *eřzań*  
 start.PST.3PL know.INF2 COMP as.if Erzya.GEN  
 (*a* *pařak* *mokšoń*) *eři* *l'ija* *raskeń?*  
 NEG maybe Moksha.GEN or other people.GEN  
 'Santyay, and how did **they understand, come to know that** it might be Erzya (or maybe Moksha) or from some other nation? [Nobody knows if there were or weren't the people's names "Erzya" or "Moksha" in such ancient times...]' (ESmC, club83623)



The spot of complementizers can also be occupied by the autochthonous similative marker *t'eke* 'like, as if'. In my corpus, such QIs are not numerous and count only 2 examples. Similarly to the epistemic complementizer, *t'eke* occupies the position between the first part of QI and the RD, and brings additional connotations to the quote, i.e. presents the RD with negative evaluation (22a, b). Note that in (22a), also the manner deictic *ist'a* 'so' is present (see 4.1.2 on *ist'a(na)* in QIs).

- (22) a. *Ist'a sormadat, t'eke kijak ež lezda*  
 so write.PRS.2SG as.if nobody NEG.PST3SG help.CN  
*t'enze?*  
 3SG.DAT  
 'You write as if nobody helped him/her? [Soon Sergu who helped him/her had written.]' (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

- b. *Zńardo karmaś pek pśi, "dadam"*  
 when start.PST.3SG very hot {uncle}.1SG  
*pižkadś: "Paro!" T'eñe ežt'*  
 scream.PST.3SG good DEM.PL:DEF NEG.PST.3PL  
*čarkod'e– mařavś t'eke "Paru!"*  
 understand.CN be.heard.PST3SG as.if {steam.PAR}  
 'When it started getting very hot, "my uncle" screamed: "Nice!". These ones did not understand – it sounded like "More steam!"' (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

In (22a), the reporter presents the RD with a doubt in trustworthiness of the reported utterance. Such a meaning is revealed from the context, since further the reporter indicates that actually one person actually replied to the request of help. In (22b), the reporter signals that the previously reported utterance was wrongly perceived by the original addressees who misunderstood the Erzya word *paro* 'good' for Russian *paru* 'more steam'.

In addition to *t'eke*, the autochthonous quotative particle *kel'a* and Russian *mol* are observed in bipartite constructions. The use of *kel'a* exceeds *mol* in QIs, which counts altogether only 9 examples compared to 321 occurrences (with possible repetitions) of *kel'a* in ESmC<sup>16</sup>. Both quotative particles historically derive from speech verbs: *kel'a* < *kul'ams* 'speak' (Erina 1997: 120) and *mol* < *molvit'* 'utter, say' (Arutjunova 2000: 437). Their use is primarily associated with subjective representation of RD and the reporter's distancing from the

<sup>16</sup> An anonymous reviewer suggested a relatively similar difference in frequency of the occurrences of *kel'a* and *mol* in publications by the journal *Šatko* for the period 1956–2000, where *kel'a* is found in over 6000 instances vs. only 4 occurrences of *mol*.

quoted information (on *ke'la* see Erina 1997: 120; on *mol* – Plungjan 2008: 286ff.). In contrast to *mol*, originally *ke'la* is not used in self-quoting contexts (Aasmäe, p.c.). It happens apparently due to the original use of the marker as a reported evidential framing information that was produced by a speaker different from the reporter and usually not specified in the context. Erina (1997: 120) also indicates that by using the quotative particle the reporter signals that they present not their own words or thoughts but those that belong to (an)other speaker(s). However, this is not always the case in contemporary non-standard Erzya and one can observe *ke'la* also introducing self-quotations, as in (23).

- (23) *Žardo ist'a, koda ton, meřiksel'ın Sven*  
 when so how 2SG say.DES.1SG PN  
*Lokkańeń, ke'la, mon uš siřejan,*  
 PN.DAT QUOT 1SG already old.1SG  
*ve'eńkemeń teń topodst', son teń*  
 50 DAT.1SG fulfill.PST.3PL 3SG DAT.1SG  
*meřs: „Ćorińejat ton. Še'de*  
 say.PST.3SG man.DIM.2SG 2SG DEM.ABL  
*tovgak eřak ćorińeks.“*  
 there.LAT.ADD live.IMP2SG man.DIM.TRANSL  
 ‘When I was like you, I wanted to say to Sven Lokka, like I am already old, I turned 50, he said to me: “You are a boy. Keep living like a boy.”’ (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

The quotative particles occupy two places within the RD-construction: (i) on the position between the first part of QI and the RD (24), and (ii) inserted into the RD (25). The first position seems to be a more preferable position for the quotative particles; the second position counts only a couple occurrences in my corpus, where the quotative particle occupies the second place within the RD, as in (25).

- (24) a. *Siřkaješ meřekšnił, ke'la, sonš*  
 old.woman.DEF say.PST2.3SG QUOT 3SG.DEF  
*id'emevšeš-šajt'anoškak paro ejkakšoń kaštom*  
 devil.DEF-devil.DEF.PTCL good child.GEN kitchen  
*langsto a musi...*  
 from.ELA NEG find.PRS.3SG.OC:3SG  
 ‘The grandmother used to say, devil himself won’t find a good child on the stove...’ (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

- b. *Viktor, siñ kortit' ist'a: mol Nemcoviñ*  
 PN 3PL speak.PRS.3PL so QUOT PN.GEN  
*reformat'ne ul'nešel't' "eksperemental'nojt"*  
 {reform}.PL:DEF be.FREQ.PST2.3PL {experimental}.PL  
 'Victor, **they speak so: like** Nemtsov's reforms were "experimental."'  
 (ESmC, club83623).
- (25) a. *Škañ-škañ kona-kona eržat'ne kežejste*  
 time.GEN-time.GEN which-which Erzya.PL:DEF angrily  
*mik šormal'it' t'eñ: - „Ton,*  
 even write.FREQ.PRS.3PL DAT.1SG 2SG  
*ke'la, avo' ke's sodijat..."*  
 QUOT NEG:FOC language.ILL know.PTCP.be.2SG  
 'From time to time **some Erzyas write** even angrily **to me: - "You**  
**don't have linguistic competence..."**' (ESmC, club83623)
- b. *...nej siñś ki ul'neś iniciator*  
 now 3PL.DEF who be.PST.FREQ.3SG {initiator}  
*karmašt' kortamo, miñ mol kapšinek*  
 start.PST.3PL speak.INF2 1PL QUOT hurry.PST.1PL  
*t'e t'event' t'ejems.*  
 DEM.P work.GEN:DEF do.INF  
 '...now **they themselves** who were initiators **started speaking like**  
**we hurried to do this work.'** (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

Since both particles are grammaticalized quote-introducers, in bipartite QIs the presence of semantically reportative verbs is not obligatory (see §4.3.2). Hence, they can co-occur with semantically non-reportative verbs and this way compensate for the lack of speech or mental verbs in the clause introducing RD, as in (26).

- (26) a. *A'tańt' sastine vačkojest', ked'*  
 old.man.GEN:DEF slow slap.PST.3PL.OC:3SG hand  
*lapuškasost lavtovga, ke'la, kirdt', a'a!*  
 palm.INE.3PL shoulder.PROLAT QUOT hold.IMP2SG dad  
 'They **tapped** with the flat of their hands the old man on the shoulder  
**saying, hold on, old man!**' (ESmC, club83623)

- b. ...*glavať'ne rajonnoj bestolkovo čaravtit'*  
 {head}.PL:DEF {raion.ADJ} {pointlessly} shake.PST.3PL  
*přasost, mol ne moě delo, nu*  
 head.INE.3PL QUOT {NEG} {my.N} {business} {PTCL}  
*čto podelaěš'...*  
 {what} {deal.PRS.2SG}  
 'The regional heads pointlessly shook their heads, saying this is not my business, what can one do about it...' (ESmC, erzianjkelj)

In addition to semantically reportative and non-reportative verbs, *keľa* is also used in QIs where the first part is formed by NPs encoding the source of RD, as in (27). Although such uses are also possible with *mol* in Russian (see e.g. Teptiuk 2019b: 95), no co-occurrences of this type have been noticed in ESmC. This quotative particle in colloquial written Erzya is, apparently, of infrequent use. Further connecting studies using other data (e.g. depicting colloquial oral speech) would be necessary to reveal how integrated *mol* is in colloquial Erzya and if other co-occurrences of the marker in bipartite QIs are possible besides those depicted in this subsection.

- (27) “*Erźań Mastors [sic!] kul’alopaś [sic!] ul’i*  
 Erzya.GEN country.ILL newspaper.DEF be.PRS.3SG  
*javoľ’evks [sic!], keľa: “T’ed’ed’e, 2010*  
 written.notification QUOT this.year NUM  
*ijeste, med’kovoń 10-će čisteńt’*  
 year.ELA July.GEN NUM-ORD day.ELA.DEF  
*šľamočiste 10 čassto...*”  
 Saturday.ELA NUM hour.ELA  
 ‘In the newspaper “Erzjanj Mastor” there is a **written notification, saying**: “This year, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July, 2010, Saturday, at 10 o’clock [in Bolsheignatovskiy raion in the village Chukal (Mordovia) for the fourth time will be held the Erzya people’s holiday – ‘People’s prayer.’”]’ (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

### 4.3. Non-clausal QIs

#### 4.3.1. Non-clausal participant-oriented QIs

The basis for non-clausal participant-oriented QIs are monoclausal event-oriented QIs that overtly specify the participants in QIs in addition to the description of the event, as e.g. in (11). The event-specification in participant-oriented QIs is reduced and they usually consist of only the reference to the original speaker, cf. (28a). Alternatively, such QIs can also specify the addressee of the report, cf. (28b).

- (28) a. *T'ejt'eřeř*      *karšo:* - *Mařin,*      *ton*      *targoška,*  
 girl.DEF      against hear.PST.1SG      2SG      week.APPROX  
*koda*      *siť*           *kudov.*  
 how      come.PST.2SG      home.LAT  
 'The girl in response: - I've heard, it has been a week since you came  
 back home.' (ESmC, club83623)
- b. *Kijata meřs:*      - *Mińek vel'inese*  
 PN      say.PST3SG      1PL.GEN village.DIM.INE  
*pionert*      *arašel't...*  
 {pioneer}.PL      NEG:EXIST.PST.PL  
*Klassoń'*      *vet'ijeř*      *t'enze:*      - *Vandy*  
 class.DEF:GEN      supervisor.DEF      3SG.DAT      tomorrow  
*sak*      *galstukso.*  
 come.IMP2SG      {tie}.INE  
 'Kiyata said: - In our village there were no pioneers...  
 The supervisor of the class to him: - Tomorrow come with your tie  
 on.' (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

Non-clausal participant-oriented QIs may lend ambiguity to the presentation of reported speech and thought in some languages (see e.g. on Hungarian in Teptiuk 2019b: 211–9). In Erzya, such QIs are used to depict exclusively speech processes. Thus, the event behind the RD can be retrieved out of the context, as in (28b), where the first QI implies that in the extract a dialogue between two speakers is given.

#### 4.3.2. Non-clausal quote-oriented QIs

Among non-clausal quote-oriented QIs, three markers can be pointed out: the quotative particles *keľa* and *mol*, and the originally simulative marker *t'ipa* replicated from Russian. All of these markers appear in the contexts where they introduce RD on their own without being followed by any other elements that may take part in quote-introduction, as in (29).

- (29) a. *Sonze*      *tarkas,*      *keľa,*      *pek*      *řed'e*      *vadřa*  
 3SG.GEN      place.ILL      QUOT      very      DEM.ABL      good  
*ul'i*      *jovtams*      "meńel"      *venč".*  
 be.PRS.3SG      tell.INF      sky      boat  
 '[Jack was surprised why we say "plane" [in Russian].] Instead, he  
says, it's better to say "sky boat."' (ESmC, erzianraske.forum24.ru)

- b. “*Sudt*” – *klounoń* *peredaća*, *mol* “*kadik*  
 {court}.PL {clown}.GEN {program} QUOT PTCL:OPT  
*siře* *lomatńe* *vanit’* *dy* *pensijado*  
 old person.PL:DEF watch.PRS.3PL and {pension}.ABL  
*a* *meľavtit’*.  
 NEG care.PRS.3PL  
 “‘Courts’ is a program for clowns, **they think** ‘let the old people watch it and don’t care about pension.’” (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

The original authors of the RD can be retrieved from the context, as in (29a). The context shows that the RD framed by bare *keľa* belongs to one of the speakers (Jack), introduced in the previous sentence. Alternatively, the quoted utterance can be hypothetical, as in (29b). Hence, it does not belong to a concrete source and is meant to typify the people producing the TV-program “Courts” according to the reporter’s view. The reduction of a QI-clause to the single element introducing RD can be considered a convenient strategy of presenting utterances and thoughts that do not derive from a concrete source or conversation since this way neither the participants nor the event behind the RD are specified (also see ex. 32 with *řipa* in the similar function).

Quite interestingly, in some contexts the RD framed by a single presence of the quotative particle can also contain a reason component. Thus, the reporter not only quotes some previous utterances or thoughts but also transfers the reported speaker’s perspective that is meant to reveal the reason for an action or a lack thereof. Consider the two examples in (30).

- (30) a. *Keľa*, *ńet’* *valtne* “*internacional’nojť*” *siń*  
 QUOT DEM.PL word.PL:DEF {international}.PL 3PL  
*čařkod’evit’* *vešeńeń*, *a* *vana*  
 be.understood.PRS.3PL all.DAT {but} PTCL:DEM.P  
*eřzań* *od* *valtne-ľemńe*, *keľa*,  
 Erzya.GEN new word.PL:DEF-name.PL:DEF QUOT  
*EŘŽATŇEŇEŇ* *a* *čařkod’evit’...*  
 Erzya.PL:DEF.DAT NEG be.understood.PRS.3PL  
 ‘[For twenty years they were producing the Erzya calendar where the names of months and days were named in Erzya, only in “Mordovian Pravda”<sup>17</sup> they still name them in Russian.] **They say**, these words are “international”, they are understandable to everybody, but, look, the new Erzya words and names are not understandable for the Erzyas...’ (ESmC, club83623)

<sup>17</sup> Apparently, the mocking name proposed by the speaker for the regional newspaper “Erzjanj Pravda”, DT.

- b. *T'e tont' valtne karmašt',*  
 DEM.P 2SG.GEN word.PL:DEF start.PST.3PL  
*koda tond'at' [sic!] predložili oblastnoj*  
 how 2SG.DAT {offer.PST.PL} {oblast.ADJ}  
*vlastne večamsk [sic!] eřžat' [neń]*  
 {authority}.PL:DEF run.INF Erzya.PL[.DEF.GEN]  
*dvižeńijańt', a to mol Mihail*  
 {movement}.GEN:DEF {or} {then} QUOT PN  
*Ivanyč siřet' dy vinado śimi?*  
 PN old.PL and liquor.ABL drink.PRS3SG  
 'These became your words after the oblast authorities offered you to run your Erzya movement **because (they said) Mikhail Ivanych is old and drinks wine?**' (ESmC, erzianj.borda.ru)

In (30a), via the RD the reporter explains the reason why an Erzya newspaper still uses the Russian names of months and days instead of the recently introduced autochthonous words. In (30b), the reporter says that the previous head of the Erzya movement has been removed because of his old age and drinking habits. In both cases, the RD only secondarily conveys the reasoning reported by the speaker. In some languages, such markers have fully grammaticalized into dedicated reason conjunctions and the RD-construction is the only possibility to describe someone's reason (see Heine & Kuteva 2002: 261 and references therein; Güldemann 2008: 465–7, Spronck & Nikitina 2019: 141, i.a.). In Erzya, the quotative particles have not lost their quotative functions. However, such cases are, in general, interesting and reflect compelling characteristics of RD as a strategy used to depict the reported speakers' motivations for an action or a lack thereof together with their perspective (see Teptiuk, forthcoming c, for similar cases in the use of Hungarian and Permic self-quotative markers). For instance, the quotative particle *mol* is observed in such function also in Russian (31).

- (31) Russian
- |                           |                 |                    |                   |                |                     |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>Pljus</i>              | <i>svoj</i>     | <i>prizyv</i>      | <i>menja,</i>     | <i>konečno</i> | <i>že,</i>          |
| plus                      | own.M           | draft              | 1SG.ACC           | of.course      | PTCL                |
| <i>ne</i>                 | <i>ljubil,</i>  | <i>mol</i>         | <i>ja</i>         | <i>ne</i>      | <i>učastvuju</i>    |
| NEG                       | love.PST.M      | QUOT               | 1SG               | NEG            | participate.PRS.1SG |
| <i>polnocennoj</i> [sic!] | <i>v</i>        | <i>„armejskoj“</i> | <i>žizni,</i>     |                |                     |
| complete.F.PREP           | in              | army.ADJ.F.PREP    | life.PREP         |                |                     |
| <i>slabo</i>              | <i>pomagaju</i> | <i>v</i>           | <i>šesterenii</i> |                |                     |
| weakly                    | help.PRS.1SG    | in                 | snitching.PREP    |                |                     |
| <i>i</i>                  | <i>babla</i>    | <i>ne</i>          | <i>daju.</i>      |                |                     |
| and                       | money.GEN       | NEG                | give.PRS.1SG      |                |                     |
- ‘Plus, my own draft, of course, did not like me **saying I don’t participate in complete army life, hardly help in snitching and don’t give money.**’ (Russian National Corpus, Electronic communications)

As for *t’ipa*, in colloquial Russian this marker has become a conventionalized quotative and can be observed in various structural complexities from bipartite to non-clausal QIs (cf. Teptiuk 2019b: 97–9). In non-standard written Erzya, I have observed it only once in the quotative function out of altogether 4 occurrences of the marker in ESmC. Hence, it is impossible to say how integrated the marker is in colloquial Erzya and if it is used in other structural complexities in addition to the observed one. Further connecting studies on the basis of data depicting non-standard oral communications would be necessary to answer these questions. However, on the basis of (32) some parallels with the use of *t’ipa* in Russian can be drawn. In both languages, the originally similitive marker can introduce hypothetical quotations depicting an utterance typical of a person, a group of people or a situation (cf. Teptiuk 2019b: 98). Likewise, in (32) the reporter illustrates an utterance typical of Erzya people who gave up speaking their native language and know only a couple of expressions. Therefore, such utterances, not produced in a concrete situation and entirely fictional, are used as instrument typifying a group of people.

- (32) *Vel’s*                    *sit’*                    *kit’*                    *čačež* [sic!]                    *od*
- |                   |                        |              |                       |             |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| village.ILL       | come.PRS.3PL           | who.PL       | born.PTCP             | new         |
| <i>Roššijaso,</i> | <i>siñ</i>             | <i>a</i>     | <i>kortet’</i> [sic!] | <i>uže,</i> |
| {Russia}.INE      | 3PL                    | NEG          | speak.PRS.3PL         | {already}   |
| <i>anšak</i>      | <i>kosojak</i>         | <i>t’ipa</i> | <i>nur’ak</i>         | <i>ili</i>  |
| only              | where.ADD              | like         | pour.IMP2SG           | {or}        |
| <i>p’at</i>       | <i>šejča</i> [sic!]    |              |                       |             |
| head.2SG          | rip.off.PRS.1SG.OC:3SG |              |                       |             |
- ‘Those coming in the village who were born in the new Russian, they don’t speak already, only somewhere **like pour me or I will rip your head off...**’ (ESmC, club83623)



### 5. Summary & discussion

In this section, I concentrate on the current findings from a typological perspective and look into similarities/differences in structural and functional use of QIs compared to the uses in other related languages and beyond.

As illustrated in Section 4, three main types of QIs can be pointed out in colloquial written Erzya: monoclausal non-partite, monoclausal bipartite and non-clausal QIs. Thus, among all possible structural complexities only biclausal QIs are not used in Erzya. In this regard, Erzya resembles other related Finno-Ugric languages where this type of QI is not present likewise.

Without any surprise, in colloquial Erzya the basic and the most numerous represented strategy is a monoclausal non-partite event-oriented QI. Such a QI is formed by semantically reportative elements that are speech and mental verbs or NPs referring to the source of RD. This strategy serves as a basis for monoclausal non-partite and bipartite quote-oriented QIs, as in other related languages (see Teptiuk 2019b: 306–15).

Monoclausal non-partite quote-oriented QIs mainly comprise simple clauses with semantically reportative elements and demonstratives that point to the presence of RD. Among such, mainly cataphoric reference is observed, i.e. QIs with demonstratives precede the RD. In this regard, Erzya differs from Udmurt and Hungarian that show a specific pattern in the use of manner demonstratives accompanying reportative verbs and resembles rather Finnish and Estonian where cataphoric reference among demonstratives in quotative constructions is predominant (cf. Teptiuk, forthcoming b).

In addition, one more type of monoclausal non-partite quote-oriented QI is recognized in a broader use of the generic speech verb *meřems* ‘say’ in self-quoting constructions. As in some typologically different (e.g. Sinitic – cf. Chappell 2008; Australian – cf. McGregor 1994, Spronck 2017, i.a.) and similar (e.g. Hungarian – cf. Teptiuk 2019b: 182; Teptiuk, forthcoming c) languages, the speech verb *meřiin* ‘I said’ introduces besides quotations of speech also quotations of thought. This aspect can be overtly pointed out by the reference to the reporter as an addressee with the reflexive pronoun (*eřkan* ‘by myself’, *eřteń* ‘to myself’)<sup>18</sup>. Alternatively, it can remain unspecified and the bare use of the speech verb presents quotation of thought with an apparent false belief connotation, translated as ‘I supposed’. The first case with the overt addressee reference represents an event-oriented QI, in contrast to the bare use of the speech verb, recognized here as a quote-oriented QI. Although the speech verb does not lose its semantic meaning entirely, it denotes a different meaning and

<sup>18</sup> Note that the reference to addressee disambiguates the meaning of the multifunctional SAY-verb also interpreted as ‘think’, ‘do’ in a number of Australian languages (see Knight 2008 on Bunuba; McGregor 1990, 1994 on Gooniyandi; McGregor 2014 on Nyulnyulan languages; Rumsey 1990 and Spronck 2016, 2017 on Ungarinyin).

cannot be considered an event-oriented QI in such function. The depiction of event behind the RD becomes backgrounded and the quotative function of the speech verb comes into the foreground. This serves as a justification to label *meřiň* in such a function as a quote-oriented QI.

The bipartite constructions are mainly formed by the combination of monoclausal event-oriented QIs with quote-orienters: complementizers, quotative particles and a simulative marker. In the complementizer strategy, the function of quote-orienter is carried out by the two complementizers replicated from Russian – *što* (~*čto*) and *buto* (< Ru. *budto*). In Standard Erzya, only the spelling variant *što* is used. At the same time, some speakers avoid unnecessary matter and pattern replications from Russian and attempt to stick to the more “puristic” language use. In their speech, bipartite QIs with complementizers are usually absent and monoclausal QIs are used instead.

In the use of complementizers in QIs, some similarities with Permic languages can be pointed out, where Russian complementizers appear in vernacular varieties (see Teptiuk 2019b: 105–10, 144–6; Teptiuk, forthcoming; Klumpp 2016). In Erzya as well as in Permic, the meaning of the complementizers corresponds to Russian. This means that *čto* (~*što*) remains epistemically neutral and *buto* indicates approximative reproduction of someone’s previous utterance and thought or expresses negative evaluation of the RD.

Among the category of quotative particles, both autochthonous (*kel’a*) and Russian (*mol*) are observed. This finding corresponds to my findings from Udmurt that also uses the Russian quotative particle *mol* in addition to autochthonous ones. In contrast to Permic languages and similarly to the majority of other languages outside the language family, Erzya does not have a dedicated self-quotative particle and autochthonous *kel’a* is found in both contexts – quotative and self-quotative. The latter, however, most likely shows a recent development, since the use of the quotative particle was typically associated with the framing of discourse belonging to speakers different from the reporter. Moreover, *kel’a* does not appear in self-quoting contexts in previous text collections. Thus, quite possibly this use of the originally exclusively quotative particle reflects a language change under Russian contact, where quotative particles also frame self-quotations.

In Erzya, *mol* compared to autochthonous *kel’a* is limited in use. However, some similarities with its use in Russian can be pointed out on the structural and functional level. For instance, *mol* is a fully grammaticalized quotative particle. Due to this characteristic, it appears in more complex constructions with semantically non-reportative verbs and as non-clausal QIs. The same holds for autochthonous *kel’a*. In contrast, the above complementizers or the autochthonous simulative marker *teke* that is also used in bipartite QIs appear exclusively with semantically reportative markers and as a non-clausal quote-

oriented QI is not used. Differences in structural use reflect a difference in the degree of grammaticalization between quotative particles on one hand, and similatives and complementizers on the other. Although simulative markers (as well as complementizers e.g. in Finnish and Estonian – see Teptiuk 2019a) quite frequently grammaticalize into dedicated quote-introducers in languages of the world, the Erzya simulative marker has not reached this stage of grammaticalization and can be considered only a supplementary element in QIs. Its function, however, corresponds to functions with other markers with simulative semantics in quotative constructions. For instance, the complementizer *buto* sometimes used as a simulative marker in Russian shares one function with *t'eke*. Both indicate the reporter's negative evaluation of the RD. *T'eke* is, however, quite infrequent in the social media corpus. Therefore, the question if it shares other characteristics with similatives used in quotative constructions, e.g. approximative evaluation, typification of (a) speaker(s) or a situation found in the single example of the Russian new quotative *t'ipa* in Erzya, etc., is a direction for future research that would employ different source of data.

As for non-clausal QIs, both participant- and quote-oriented QIs are observed. Participant-oriented QIs are context-dependent structures; therefore, they do not comprise dedicated quotative constructions. However, on social media sites such strategy is sometimes used as a rather economic strategy of depicting someone's previous utterance in narratives or blog posts. In contrast to some languages, such as Hungarian, the use of non-clausal participant-oriented QIs in Erzya does not lead to ambiguity between quotations of speech and thought and is reserved for reported speech. As for quote-oriented QIs, they are the above quotative particles and the Russian new quotative *t'ipa*. The quotative particles function similarly to their use in bipartite constructions. Depending on the context, they can either refer to the speech or thought that was produced by speakers previously mentioned in the context or depict fictional quotations. As for *t'ipa*, it is used only once in my corpus presenting the utterance typical for a group of speakers. Thus, this use also partially corresponds to the functions of *t'ipa* in Russian QIs. As for other functions and more extensive use of the marker in colloquial Erzya, this topic is a *desideratum* for future research based on different source of data.

To sum up, the present overview of the quotative indexes in colloquial Erzya fits into the general typology of quotative indexes and confirms previous findings concerning individual groups of markers, such as complementizers, simulative and demonstrative markers, quotative particles and their role in quotative constructions. Naturally, the material used in this study causes some limitations. Hence, future research on the use of quotative indexes in spoken Erzya and other registers is necessary to supplement this overview and confirm

the observations on the use of similitive markers and replicated elements in new media.

### List of grammatical abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INF	infinitive
ACC	accusative	INTERJ	interjection
ADJ	adjective	LAT	lative
AN	action noun	M	masculine
APPROX	approximative	MIR	mirative
CN	connegative	NEG	negative
COMP	complementizer	NUM	numeral
D	distal	OC	objective conjugation
DAT	dative	OPT	optative
DEF	definite	ORD	ordinal
DEM	demonstrative	PAR	partitive
DES	desiderative	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	PN	proper noun
ELA	elative	PREP	prepositional (case)
EMOT	emoticon	PRS	present
EXIST	existential	PST	past
F	feminine	PTCL	particle
FOC	focused	PTCP	participle
FREQ	frequentative	QI	quotative index
GEN	genitive	QUOT	quotative particle
ILL	illative	RD	reported discourse
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INE	inessive	TRANSL	translative

### Other symbols and fonts

<b>bold</b>	an emphasized word-form
'...'	boundaries of the translation of an example
<u>underline</u>	boundaries of reported discourse in the translation of an example
<u>double underline</u>	boundaries of self-quotations in the translation of an example if non-self-quotation is present within one text
(source)	a shortened reference to the source of an example
{code-switch, nonce borrowing}	code-switches into and nonce borrowings from Russian in glossing line

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**Denys Teptiuk**

University of Tartu, Department of Finno-Ugric Studies, Jakobi 2, IV korrus,  
51014, Tartu, Estonia

E-Mail: [denys.teptiuk@ut.ee](mailto:denys.teptiuk@ut.ee)