

Coding of evidentiality in the Permic languages from a historical and typological point of view

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Introduction

- The current literature (cf. Nazarova 2014, Skribnik – Kehayov 2018) claims that synthetic 2nd past tense expresses non-eyewitnessing while 1st past indicates eyewitnessed action in Udmurt (Uralic, Permic).

CLAIM:

There is no real evidential opposition between the synthetic past tense forms.

Roadmap

- Evidentiality: a definition
- Evidentiality in the Permic languages according to the literature
- Research in Udmurt
- Research in Komi-Permyak
- The significance of the results from a historical point of view

The notion of evidentiality

“Linguistic evidentiality has nothing to do with providing proof in court or in argument, or indicating what is true and what is not, or indicating one’s belief.

All evidentiality does is supply the information source.” (Aikhenvald 2018: 6)

- Grammatical vs. lexical marking
- Direct vs. Indirect (eyewitness vs. non-eyewitness; firsthand vs. non-firsthand)

Evidentiality in the Permian languages

A literature overview

- Grammatical (and lexical) evidentiality in a 2-term (A2) system (Aikhenvald 2004, 2018)
- Fused with tense system: only past tense denotes evidential meaning (Aikhenvald 2004, Siegl 2004)
- Functions of the 2nd past tense forms: information from hearsay, inferentiality (reasoning and mental construct), mirativity (surprising, unexpected things; lack of control, recognition), framing (folklore texts = reportative evidential; more common in Udmurt), resultativity, perfect meaning (Kubitsch 2019, Siegl 2004, Szabó 2020)

Direct – indirect opposition?

- There is evidential opposition between the past tenses: Nazarova 2014; Skribnik – Kehayov 2018; Bartens 2000
- There is no evidential opposition: Siegl 2004; Samarova – Strelkova 2013; Ganejev – Perevozšikov 2018

(1) Udmurt

Kolja tolon lykt-i-z.

kolja yesterday **arrive-PST-3SG**

‘Kolja arrived yesterday.’ (Siegl 2004: 29)

(2) Udmurt

Kolja tolon lykt-em.

kolja yesterday **arrive-PST2.3SG**

‘Kolja arrived yesterday (but I didn’t see that).’
(Siegl 2004: 29)

Research in Udmurt

Questions

- Is there a real evidential opposition between the 1st past and the 2nd past tenses in Udmurt?
- What are the exact functions that can be expressed by the evidential forms?

Research in Udmurt

Data and method

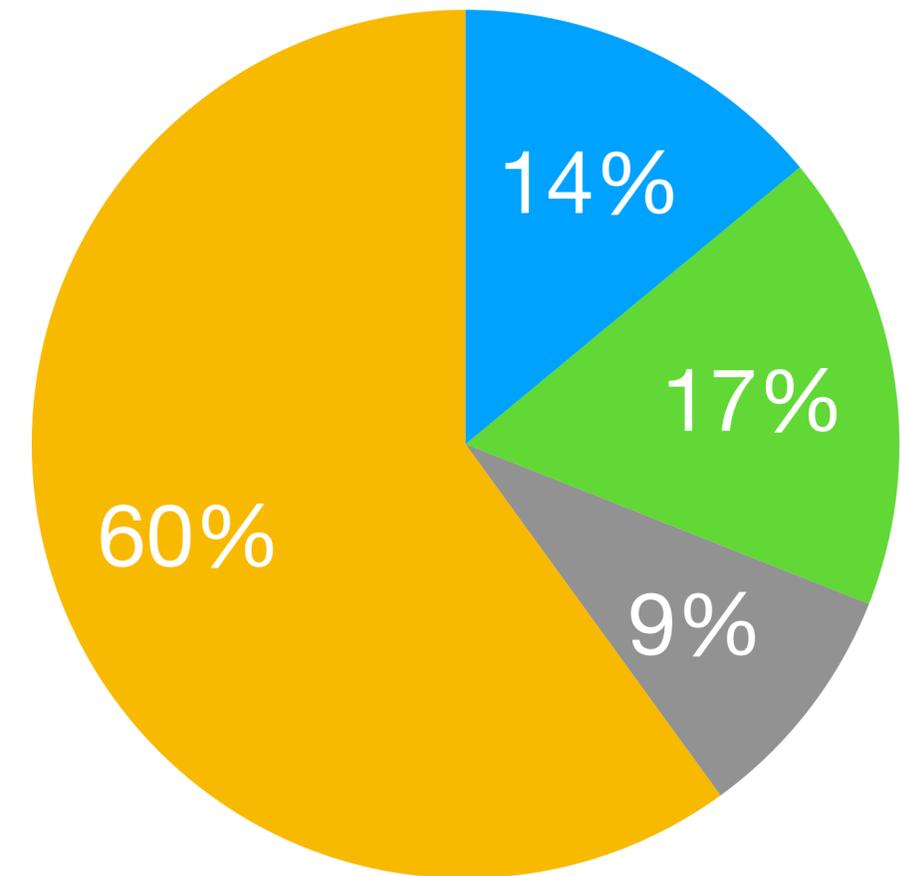
- Elicited data from 2 tasks
 - Visual stimuli (picture description) with 10 pictures
 - Half-structured interview with 8 questions
- Motivation for the image-based task: Daniel Barth - Nicholas Evans: The Social Cognition Parallax Interview Corpus (SCOPIC) 2017.
 - The native speaker is allowed to choose his own language formulations
 - The pictures give the situation and the context at the same time

Research in Udmurt

Results

- 20 native speakers
19 F; 1 M (age 18-80)
- About 1539 sentences
- More than 2-hour-long audio recording

- 854 morphological occurrences (synthetic 1st and 2nd past tense, analytic 1st and 2nd past tense, *-emyn* particle)



Expressing non-eyewitness meaning with VPST

(3) Soos *todmatsk-i-zy* *ku* *anaj-e* *kutsk-i-z* *uža-ny*.
they **get_to_know-PST-3PL** when mother-1SG **start-PST-3SG** work-INF

'They've met when my mother started to work.'

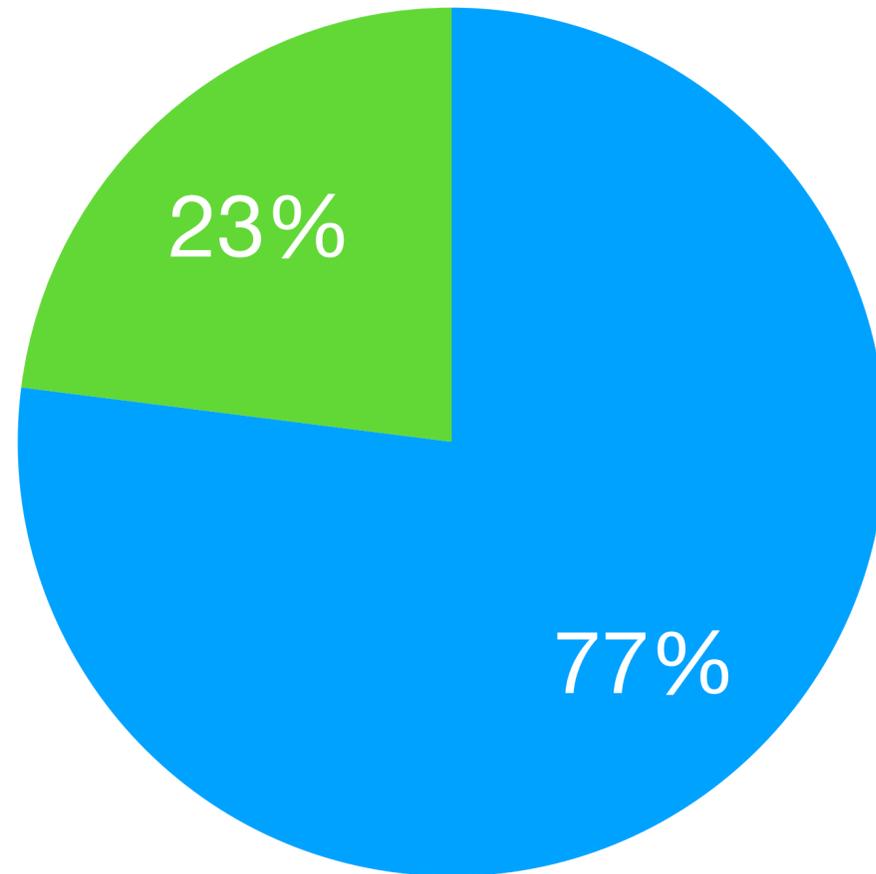
(Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

(4) Soos *todmatsk-i-zy* *klub-yn,* *diskoťeka-yn*.
They **get_to_know-PST-3pl** klub-INE, disco-INE

'They've met in a klub, in a disco.'

(Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

Using of the synthetic 1st past tense



- 1st past with neutral or eyewitness semantic content
- 1st past with non-eyewitness semantic content

VPST and VPST2 in the same sentence

- (5) *Vylem, kuke kemalaś ińi val kyćeke_no požar.*
EX.PST2 sometime long_time_ago already **EX.PST** some_kind_of fire.
'There was, long time ago there was some fire.'
(Question: Has a fire ever been in your village?)

- (6) *Nu tulys vylem... zol öj val.*
well spring **EX.PST2** intense NEG.PST.3SG **EX.PST**
'Well, there was in spring, but it wasn't intense.'
(Question: Has a flood ever been in your village?)

Expressing non-eyewitness meaning with V + AUX.PST

(8) *Soos ul-o val odig gurt-yn, odig škola*
they live-3PL AUX.PST one village-INE one school
dišetsk-i-zy.

study-PST-3PL

'They lived in the same village, went to the same school.'

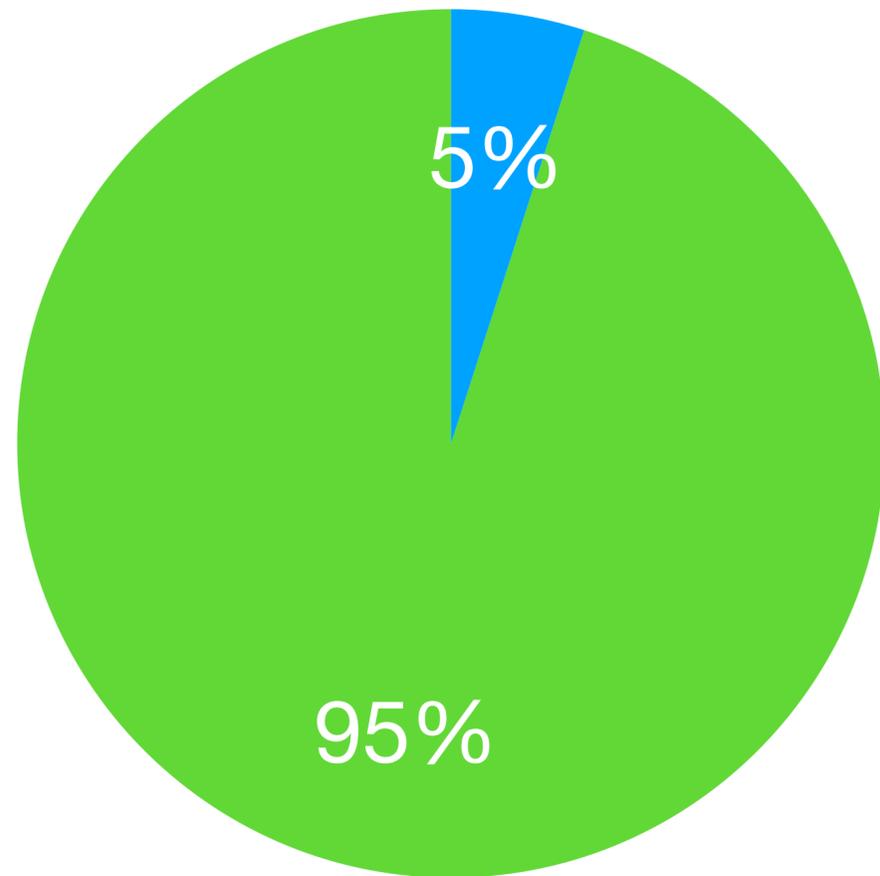
(Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

(9) *Mama-ly so ug kel'si val.*
Mother-DAT he NEG.PRS.3SG like.CNG.PRS AUX.PST

'My mother didn't like him (my father).'

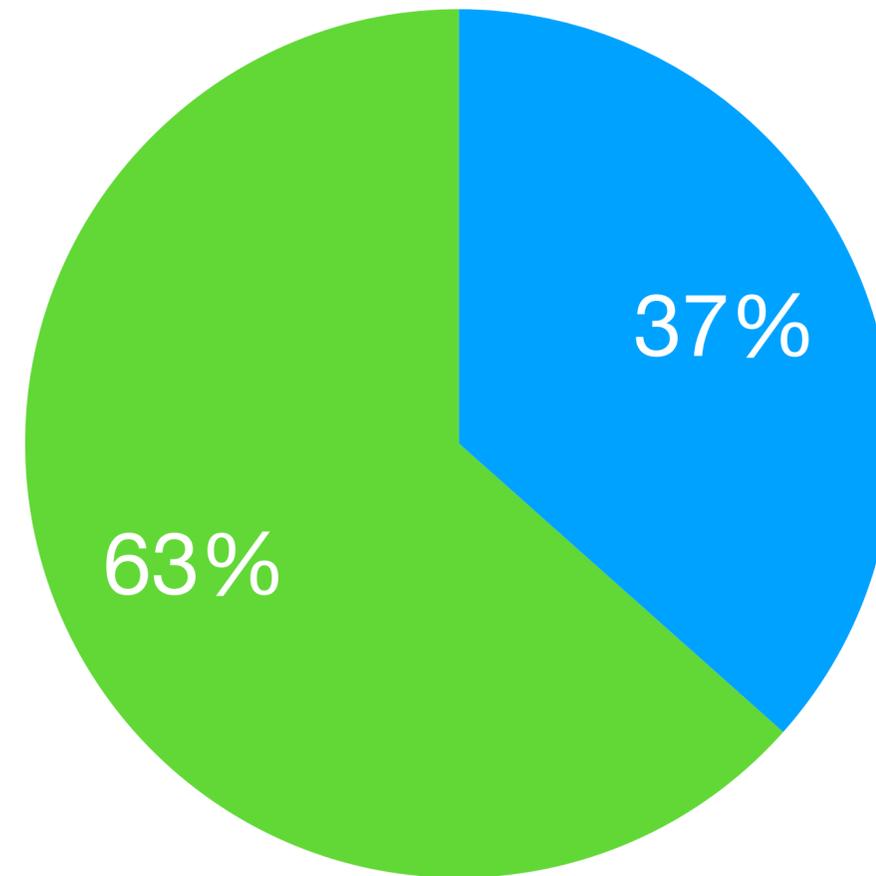
(Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

Analytic verb forms



● V + pst2 ● V + pst

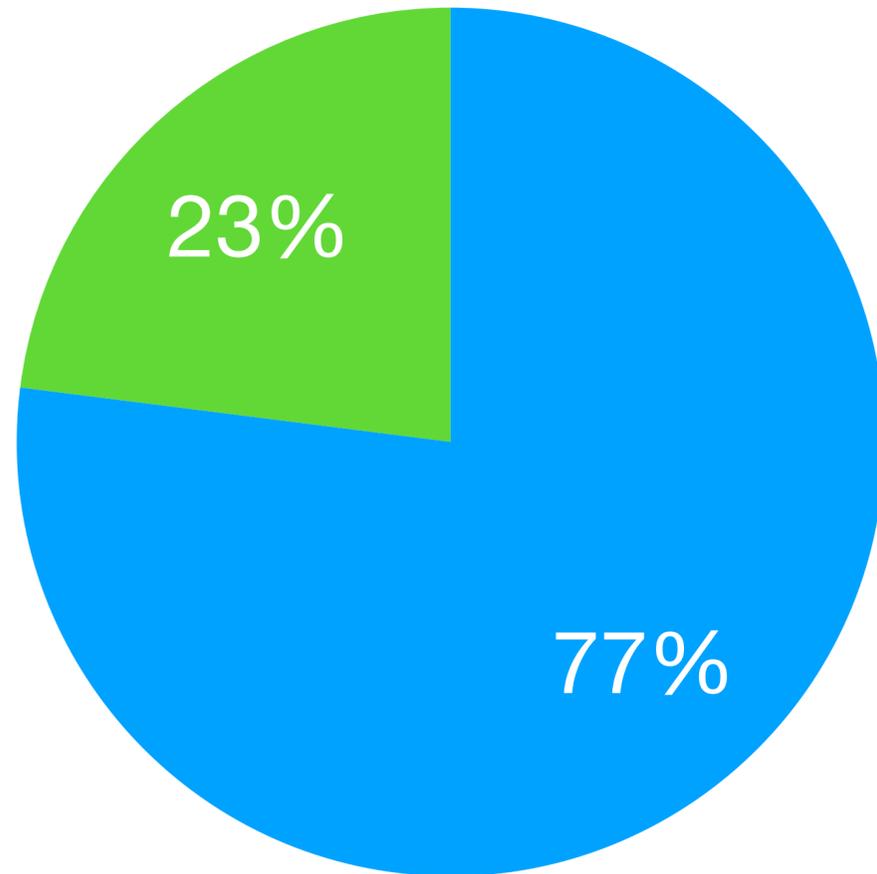
Using of V + pst constructions



● Non-eyewitness ● Exewitness/neutral

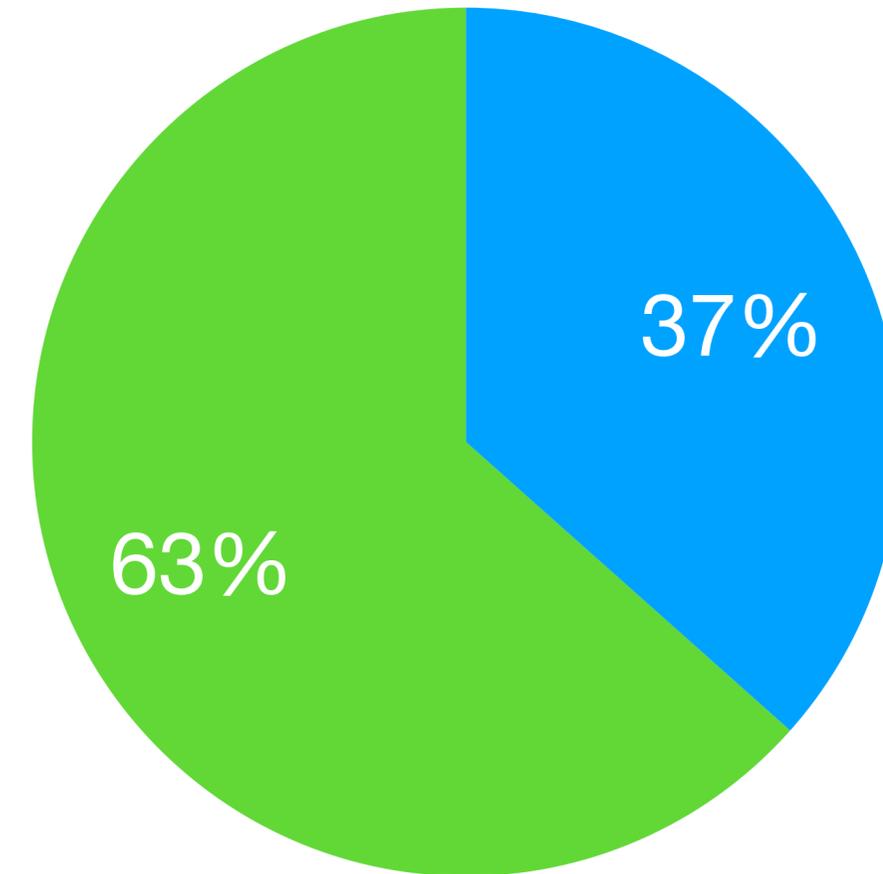
Conclusion

Using of the synthetic
1st past tense



- 1st past with neutral or eyewitness semantic content
- 1st past with non-eyewitness semantic content

Using of V + pst
constructions



- Non-eyewitness
- Exewitness/neutral

Research in Komi-Permyak

- Questionnaire based research: sentences from the Udmurt research
- Filled by 1 native speaker so far
- Focuses on the evidential opposition between the 1st and 2nd past tense forms
- Same problem is the literature: different opinions about the evidential opposition (Aikhenvald 2003, 2004; Skribnik – Kehayov 2018; Siegl 2004; Batalova 1982; Leinonen – Vilkuna 2000; Cypanov – Leinonen 2009).

(11) *Ajmam-ö* **tödśaś-i-sö,** *kör* *mam-ö* **pondöt-öm** *udžav-ny.*
 parents-1SG get_to_know-PST-3PL when mother-1SG start-PST2.3SG work-INF
 'My parents have met when my mother started to work.'

(12) *Ajmamö* **tödśaś-i-sö** *diskoteka* *vylyn.*
 parents-1SG **ge_to_know-PST-3PL** club INE
 'My parents have met in a club.'

(13) *Jakoby* *ajmamö* *pyr* **baitömaś** **völöm**
 allegedly parents-1SG always speak-PST2-3PL AUX.PST2
börja pyzan sajyn.
 last table at
 'Allegedly my parents have always talk each other at the last table.'

(14) *Ćeljad' kadö* *ajmamököt* *ötlany* **olimö** *važ* *kerkuyn.*
 child time-1SG parents-COM together **live-PST-1PL** old house-INF
 'When I was a child with my parents I lived in an old house.'

The grammaticalization of evidentiality in Permian

- Bybee – Pagliuca 1985; Bybee – Pagliuca – Perkins 1994: research on grammaticalization of verb morphemes including evidentiality
57 languages including Udmurt, but Komi languages are not included.

Possible grammatical path in udmurt (and probably in Komi too):
resultative meaning > anterior/perfect > inferential > indirect evidential > mirative extension

!This grammaticalization path results only indirect evidentiality!

- Next step in grammaticalization: evidential strategies often develop into evidential systems

Conclusion and future plan

- In the literature there is no consensus about the functions of the 1st past tense
- Udmurt research: there is no evidential opposition between the past tenses (neither in synthetic, nor in analytic)
- Komi-Permyak research: same results as in Udmurt so far → more data required
- Historical significance: the results argues for the grammaticalization path based on the research of Bybee et al. (1985, 1994).

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Thank you!

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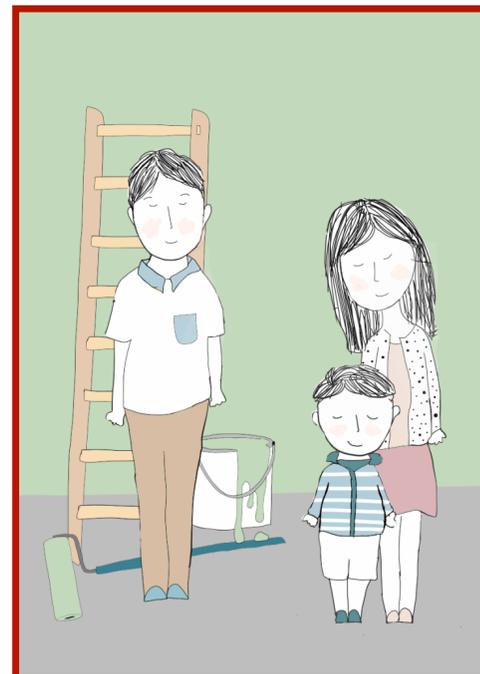
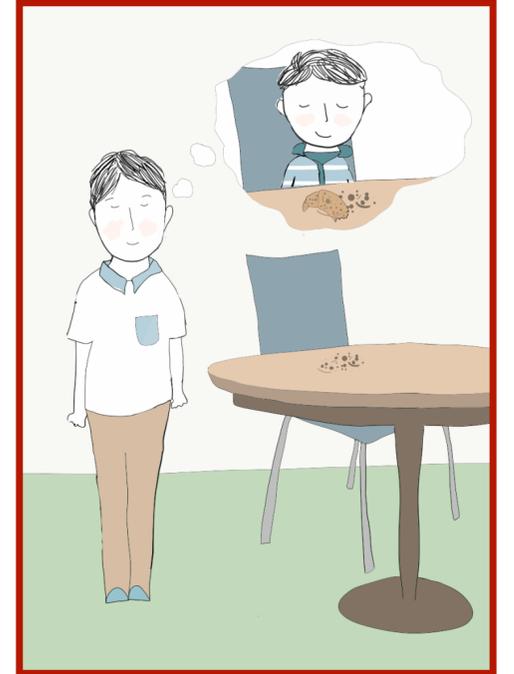
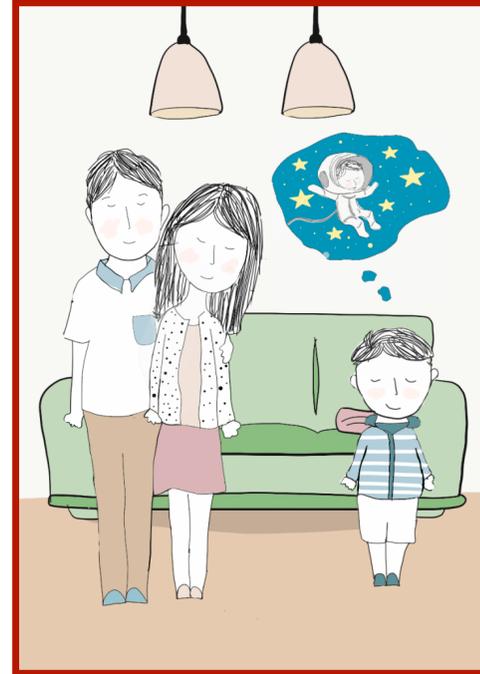
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Half-structured interview

- Talk about your childhood!
- **Talk about your village!**
- **Do you know how your parents met?**
- **Do you know the history of your family?**
- **Has a fire ever been in your village?**
- **Has a flood ever been in your village?**
- **Was there any soldier from the village in Afghanistan?**
- **Do you dream? What did you dream about the last time?**

Picture description task



- (10) *Otyn anaj-e škola-je vetl-e val na noš ataj-e*
there mother-1SG school-ILL **go-3SG** **AUX.PST** yet but father-1SG
uža iňi val.
work.3SG already **AUX.PST**
'There my mother was still in school but my father was already working.'
(Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

(7) **Vu-em** *odig inty-je, so-ly so inty tuž kel's-em i*
arrive-PST2.3SG one place-ILL he-DAT that place very **like-PST2.3SG** and
so malpa-z: "tañi ta inty-yn mon kyldyt-o gurt" šuysa.
he think-PST.3SG here this place-INE I found-FUT.1SG village that
‘(The founder of the village) arrived at a place, he liked that place very much
and he thought: here in this place I will found a village.’
(Context: story about the founding of the village.)