

Ob-Ugric
Languages



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Northern Mansi Miratives

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EuroBABEL Final Conference, Leiden
24 August 2012

Outline

- Introduction
- Mansi forms and strategies behind them
- Mirative values and their evidential background
- Personal marking and information structure
- Problems for synchronic analysis
- Conclusions

INTRODUCTION

- The concept of ‘mirativity’: relatively recent, still controversial
- Mirative: “linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker” (DeLancey 2001)

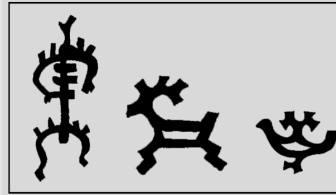
MIRATIVITY AND EVIDENTIALITY

- an extension of evidentiality/subcategory of “reactivity” (Melchuk) or “mediativity” (Lazard)
- or a separate linguistic category (DeLancey, Aikhenvald) with no claims about the source of information (it can be obtained through any means)

MIRATIVITY VALUES (Aikhenvald 2012, to appear):

- sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization
- surprise
- unprepared mind
- counter-expectation
- new information

NB: a) to the speaker; (b) the audience (or addressee), or (c) the main character



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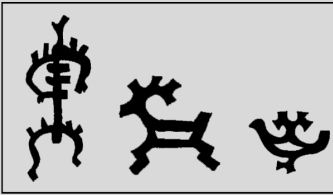


For a full description of miratives in a language we need to specify:

- Dedicated forms
- The set of mirative meanings grammaticalized in them
- Functions in different genres
- Etymology/history/grammaticalization paths
- ...



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MANSI MIRATIVE FORMS

- Participial forms in both Ob-Ugric languages Khanty and Mansi can also function as finite predicates (described as “evidential”, “absentive”, “narrative”, “неочевидное наклонение”)
- In many languages of Northern Eurasia this strategy is used to convey evidential meanings (mostly indirectivity) with mirative extension; e.g. in Turkic l-s

The specifics of Mansi:

a) three forms are used:

present participle in *-n*

past participle in *-m*

past passive participle in *-ima*

b) their primary meaning became mirative, with evidential meaning only as a background

NB: “miratives in interrogatives have a force of a rhetorical question; evidentials do not.” (Aikhenvald 2012 to appear); compare present participle in *-n*:

Nan *tit* *o:l-ne-n?*

you here live-mir.prs-2sg

‘You live here?!’ (unprepared mind + surprise of the speaker on seeing the dwelling)

Present participle in *-n*:

sja:nʲ-e

mother-poss.sg<3sg

wo:rut

forest monster

o:jka

man

o:sj-ne-te

have-mir.prs-poss3sg

‘His mother is married to a forest monster!’ (unprepared mind + surprise of the main character on seeing this person entering the house)

NB 3rd person mirative in narratives:

- a) “an unexpected realization on the part of a character as told by the omniscient narrator” (Aikhenvald 2012), i.e. the narrator reflects the point of view of the protagonist;
- b) information that the narrator marks as surprising for the audience, reflecting their point of view – or/and marking the main or turning point of the narrative, compare the next example:

Past participle in *-m*:

sort xuri-l taw ti xuliylaxt-am

pike form-inst he ptcl swim-mir.pst.3sg

‘He swam away in the guise of a pike’ (unprepared mind + surprise for the audience, and maybe for onlookers in the story)

Passive participle in *-ima*:

Ta ma:χum-n a:sj-anəl ta al-ima

That people-dat father-sg<3pl ptcl kill-mir.pass.3sg

‘Their father was killed by those people’ (a side remark, information unknown to the protagonists of the story, new unexpected information for the audience)

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SYSTEM PARAMETERS

Present participle in $-n >$ Mirative present

Mirative value: unprepared mind + surprise

Evidential background: direct perception

Past participles in $-m$ and $-ima >$ Mirative past

Mirative value: (sudden discovery) + surprise

Evidential background: indirectivity
(inference, assumption, hearsay)

Internal opposition: information structure

Point of view: speaker $>$ protagonist $>$ audience

Common denominator: surprise (ADmirativ)



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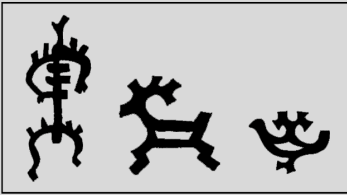


Problems:

- Personal marking
- Grammaticalization paths
- Status in the verbal system



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PERSONAL MARKING

The personal marking of these forms is different:

- The finite personal paradigm (subject agreement) in *-ima* (3sg \emptyset)
- The nominal possessive paradigm in *-n* (3sg *-te*)
- Two paradigms in *-m* (both subject and subject-object agreement)

WHY?

Mirative present in $-n$, poss. paradigm:
recent grammaticalization based on a participial
subject clause with omitted perception
predicate like *na:ηk-* ‘to be seen’ or *suit-* ‘to be
heard’, compare:

a:kwe:kw *ta* *ji-ne:-te* *sujt-i*
old woman ptcl come-prt-poss3sg be:heard-prs:3sg
‘Now it is to be heard that the old woman is coming back’.

Mirative present in $-n$:

- Strategy: “insubordination” (Evans 2007), broadly represented in the area in question (compare also German: *Dass er so was tut!*)
- Hence typical non-finite personal markers (possessive paradigm)
- + Specific information structuring (more below)

Mirative past in *-m*, two paradigms:

- the finite personal paradigm of subject agreement (3sg \emptyset)
- the finite personal paradigm of object agreement (3sg *-te*)

Object agreement as one of the means of information structuring is used with DOs – secondary discourse topics

Mirative past in *-m*, subject agreement (3sg \emptyset):

lɣɪɣɪɣɪɣɪ, te:ham! Ka:tra a:mp so:ηχ
 hihihi friend old dog dung

taɣləŋ kossum tot-am!

full knapsack bring-MIR.PST(3sg)

‘Tee-hee, friend! He brought a knapsack full of
 old dog’s dung!’

Only S is topical (zero anapher), DO is NEW >>
 subject agreement

Mirative past in *-m*, object agreement (3sg *-e*, *-te*):

Luw-e *la:yl-e* *no:ηχ=o:lm-am-e*
horse-Sg<3sg foot-Sg<3sg high=keep-MIR.PST-Sg<3sg
‘His horse keeps one hoof high’ (to his surprise)

Both S and DO are topical, new and surprising is only the action >> object agreement

More examples with object agreement:

n^jaːwram-at^jeː-ym *xottal^j* *ta* *tot-m-aye*
child-DIM-DU<1SG to somewhere PTCL carry-
MIR.PST-DU<3SG

‘He must have taken my (two) children somewhere.’

taw *n^jaːl-ane* *joːwt-ane* *jiw-en*
he arrow-PL<3SG bow-PL<3SG tree-DAT
taɣat-am-ane
hang-**MIR.PST-PL<3SG**

‘He hung his bow and arrows up on a tree.’

Possible grammaticalization path: based on a participial subject or object clause (there is no accusative in N. Mansi!) with omitted predicates of perception or knowledge, compare:

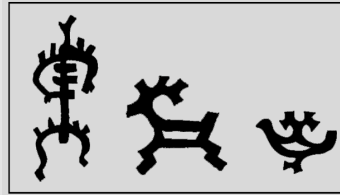
Joxt-um-e

come-PRT.PAST-Poss3sg

na:ŋk-i

be seen-PRS(3sg)

‘It seems that he has come’ (> inferential meaning)



NB: the non-finite personal (possessive) affixes are almost homonymic with the finite paradigm of object agreement!

Our hypothesis:

In finite use of participles as miratives under the pressure of standard means of information structuring, the non-finite affixes inherited from the “non-finite past” were identified with object agreement markers; the second paradigm was added for a different IS pattern.

Mirative past passive in *-ima*: one paradigm,
finite subject agreement:

xoɳnt-na *joxt-imet* *pusən* *al-im-et*

army-DAT come-CVB all

kill-**MIR.PST.PASS-3PL**

‘Everybody was killed by the army that came.’

NB: passive and object agreement exclude each
other (as two different IS strategies)

Personal marking: motivation by IS parameters!

Mirative past constructions: different types of IS patterns >> two personal paradigms

Mirative past passive constructions: already one IS operation in place, no other is allowed >> one personal paradigm (subj. agreement)

Mirative present: ALL-FOCUS constructions, no topicalized DO possible >> one personal paradigm (subj. agreement)

The last question: how to explain the finite paradigm by the Mirative passive in *-ima*.

Our hypothesis: a different grammaticalization path, starting not as a dependent clause, but as a complex predicate – resultative.

Non-mirative resultative: *-ima* in combination with auxiliary verbs *o:l-* ‘be’ and *o:nʲsʲ-* ‘have’:

<i>Tit</i>	<i>škola</i>	<i>puns-im</i>	<i>o:l-i</i>
here	school	open-PrtPass	be-PRS.3sg

‘A school was opened here.’

Grammaticalization:

different grammaticalization paths for mirative past and present on the one hand – and mirative past passive on the other:

- a) a non-finite complement clause + “insubordination”
- b) resultative (> evidential) > mirative

Difficulties for the synchronic grammatical description of Mansi:

- the opposition between finite and non-finite forms gets blurred;
- three personal paradigms are in use (nominal possessive + two verbal paradigms for subject and subject/object agreement)
- the structuring of the verbal system is controversial

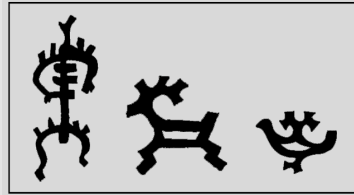
- We argue that for Northern Mansi two subsystems can be differentiated:
 - realis (+ tense): indicative and mirative
 - irrealis (- tense): imperative and conjunctive-optative
- For predominance of mirativity areal explanations must be looked for.

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Thank you for your attention!
Xu:ntlami:n ma:γəs pumas^jipa!