On the evidential function of the synthetic and analytic past tenses in Udmurt

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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 in Udmurt (literature review)

- Research 2020

  - Questions

  - Methodology

- Results of the research

- Conclusion

1. Background

- There is evidential opposition between the past tenses: Nazarova 2014; Skribnik – Kehayov 2018; Bartens 2000

- There is no evidental opposition: Siegl 2004; Samarova – Strelkova 2013; Ganejev – Perevozšikov 2018

(1) *Kolja tolon   **lykt-i-z***.
    kolja yesterday **arrive-PST-3SG**
    'Kolja arrived yesterday.' (Siegl 2004: 29)

➡ ○ Direct evidential?; eyewitness + non-eyewitness meaning/ evidentially neutral

(2) *Kolja tolon   **lykt-em***.
    kolja yesterday **arrive-PST2.3SG**
    'Kolja arrived yesterday (but I didn't see that).' (Siegl 2004: 29)

➡ ○ Indirect evidential only; non-eyewitness meaning

2. Research
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?

2. Research
Methodology

- 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

Picture description task
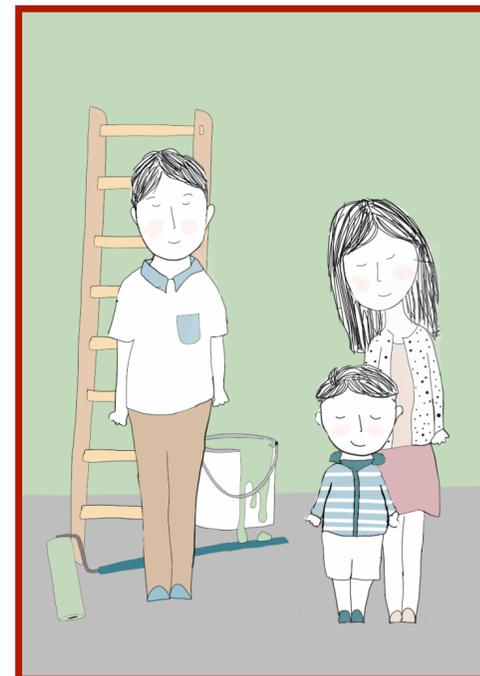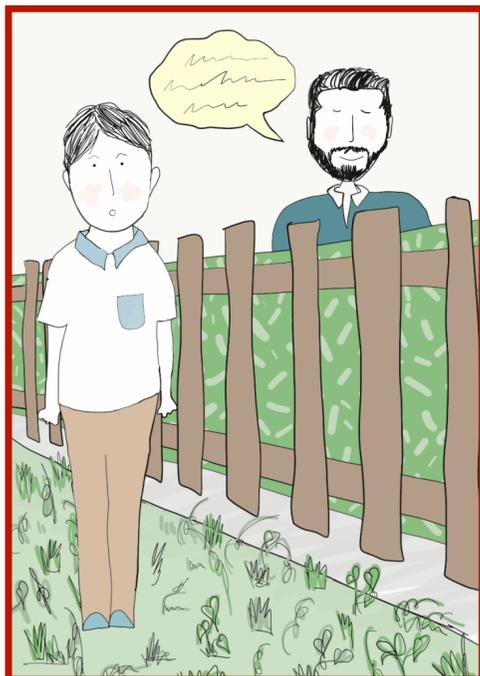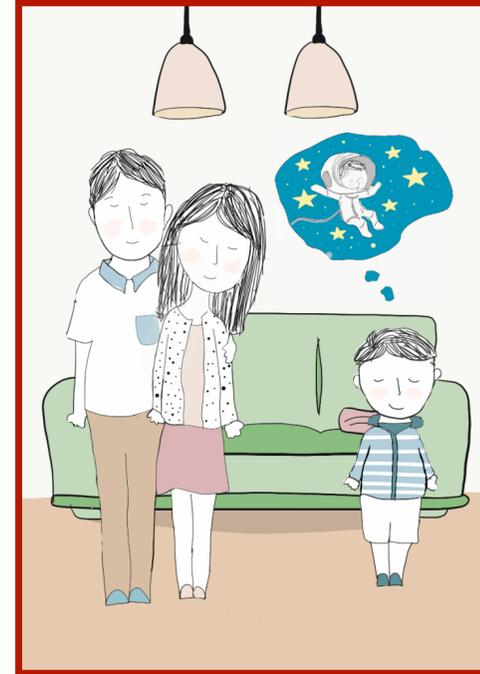
Half-structured interview

- 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?**

Research
Results

- 20 native speakers
  19 F; 1 M (age 18-80)

- About 1539 sentences

- More than 2-hour-long audio recording

Legend:
- particle (blue)
- synthetic pst2 (gray)
- analytic forms (green)
- synthetic pst (yellow)

14% — 17% — 9% — 60%

- 854 morphological occurences (synthetic 1st and 2nd past tense, analytic 1st and 2nd past tense, -*emyn* particle)
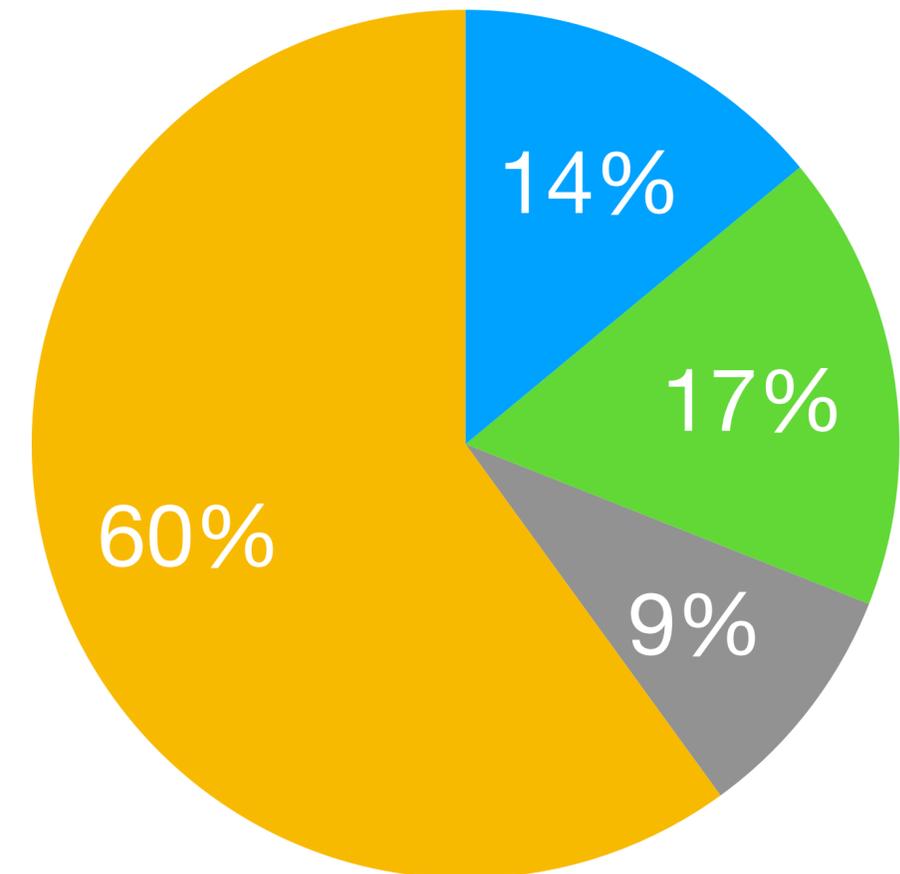
Expressing eyewitness/evidentially neutral meaning with V<small>PST</small>

(3) *Mon*   *aćim*   ***adʒil-i***   *köńa*   *pol*
    I   myself   **see-1SG.PST**   some   times
    ʒua-z-y   *korka-os.*
    burn-PST-3PL   house-PL
    'I myself saw some times houses burning down.'
    (Question: Has a fire ever been in your village?)

(4) *So maď-e*   *anaj-ez-ly*   *ataj-ez-ly*   *mar*   *so*   ***vöta-z.***
    He tell-3SG   mother-3SG-DAT   father-3SG-DAT   what   he   **dream-PST.3SG**
    'He talk to his parents what he dreamed about.'
    (Picture description task)

Expressing non-eyewitness meaning with V<small>PST</small>2

(5) *Kema*   ***myn-em****,*   ***myn-em***   *no* *so* ***žaď-em****.*
     for_a_long_time **go-PST2.3SG** **go-PST2.3SG** and he   **get_tired-PST2.3SG**
     'He went for a long time, then he got tired.'
      (Context: story about the founding of the village.)

(6) *Ataj-e-len*   *suzer-ez*   *vań,*   *soos*   *anaj-enym*   *eš-jos*
father-1SG-GEN   sister-ACC.3SG   EX.PRS   they   mother-INSCOM.1SG   friend-PL
vylil'l'am…   *soos*   *veraśky-ny*   ***kutski-l'l'am****.*
EX.PST2.PL   they   speak-INF   **start-PST2.3PL**
'My father has a sister, she and my mother were friend…. so they (my father   and my mother) started talking.'
(Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

(7) *Čukna*   *munčo*   ***kutsk-em***   *ӡua-ny.*
morning   muncho   **start-PST2.3SG**   burn-INF
'The muncho began to burn in the morning.'
(Question: Has a fire ever been in your village?)

Expressing non-eyewitness meaning with Vᴘsᴛ

(8) *Soos*   **todmatsk-i-zy**   *ku*   *anaj-e*   **kutsk-i-z**   *uža-ny.*
   they   **get_to_know-ᴘsᴛ-3ᴘʟ** when mother-1sɢ **start-ᴘsᴛ-3sɢ** work-ɪɴF
   'They've met when my mother started to work.'
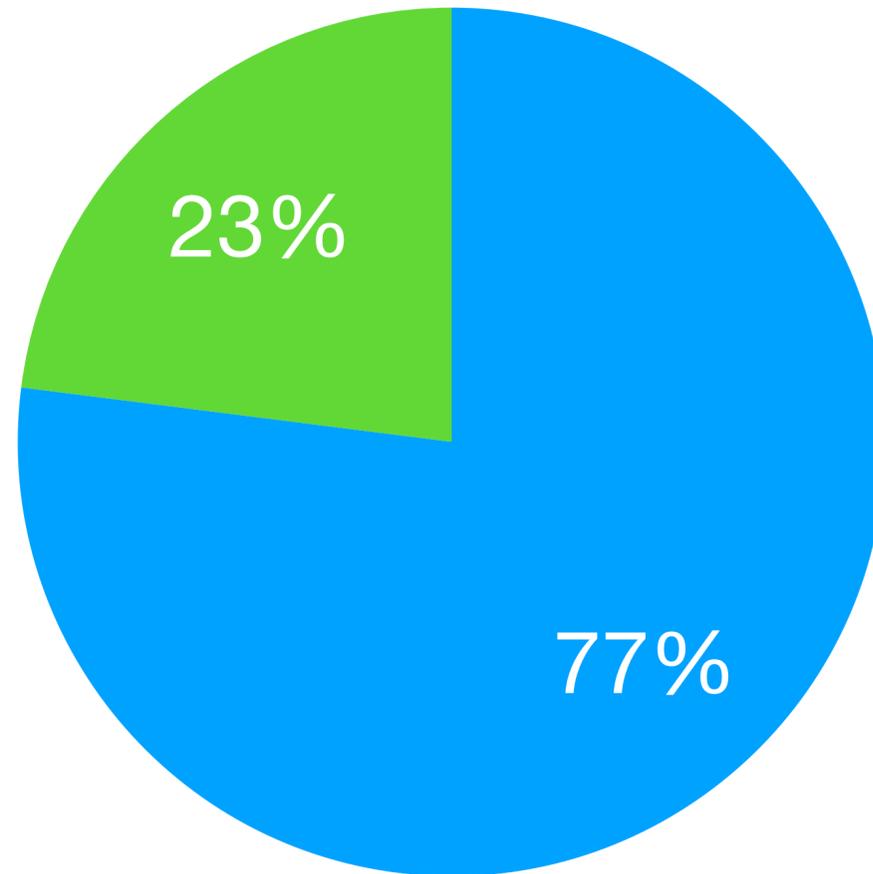   (Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

(9) *Soos*   **todmatsk-i-zy**   *klub-yn,*   *diskoťeka-yn.*
   They   **get_to_know-ᴘsᴛ-3pl**   klub-ɪɴE,   disco-ɪɴE
   '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

23%

77%

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

VPST and VPST2 in the same sentence

(10) **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?)

(11) *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?)

(12) ***Vu-em*** *odig inty-je, so-ly so inty tuž* **keľš-em** *i*

       arrive-PST2.3SG one place-ILL he-DAT that place very **like-PST2.3SG** and

       so ***malpa-z:*** *"tańi 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 villages) 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.)

Expressing eyewitness meaning with V + AUX.PST

(13) *Piči   dyr-yśen   ulča-yn   koťku   nylpi-os-yn   **šudko   val**.*
little   time-EGR   street-INE   always   child-PL-EN   **play.1SG   AUX.PST**
'When I was a child, I always played with the children on the street.'
(Task: Talk about your childhood!)

(14) *Ku   mon   pinal   val   mi   śemja-jen-ym   **uli-śko-m   val***
when   I   child   EX.PST   we   family-INSCOM-1PL   **live-PRS-1PL   AUX.PST**
vuž   korka-yn.
old   house-INE
'When I was a child, we lived in an old house with my family.'
(Task: Talk about your childhood!)

Expressing non-eyewitness meaning with V + AUX.PST2

(15)   *Koťku   no   berpumeti   parta-jen   **veraśkiśk-em   vylem***.
            always and last   table-INSCOM **speak-PST2.3SG AUX.PST2**
            'They always talked to each other at the last table.'
            (Context: story about the getting to know of the parents.)

(16)   *Yrgon   pottiś   žuč   pi-os   luškaśky-ny **vutti-śk-o   vylem***.
            copper miner   Russian   boy-PL collect-INF   **finish-FREQ-3PL AUX.PST2**
            'The copper miner Russian boys have finished collecting.'
            (Context: story about the founding of the village.)

Expressing non-eyewitness meaning with V + **AUX.PST**

(17) *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.)

(18) *Mama-ly* *so* *ug* **kel'ši** **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.)

(19) *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 *ińi* **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.)

Analytic verb forms

5%

95%
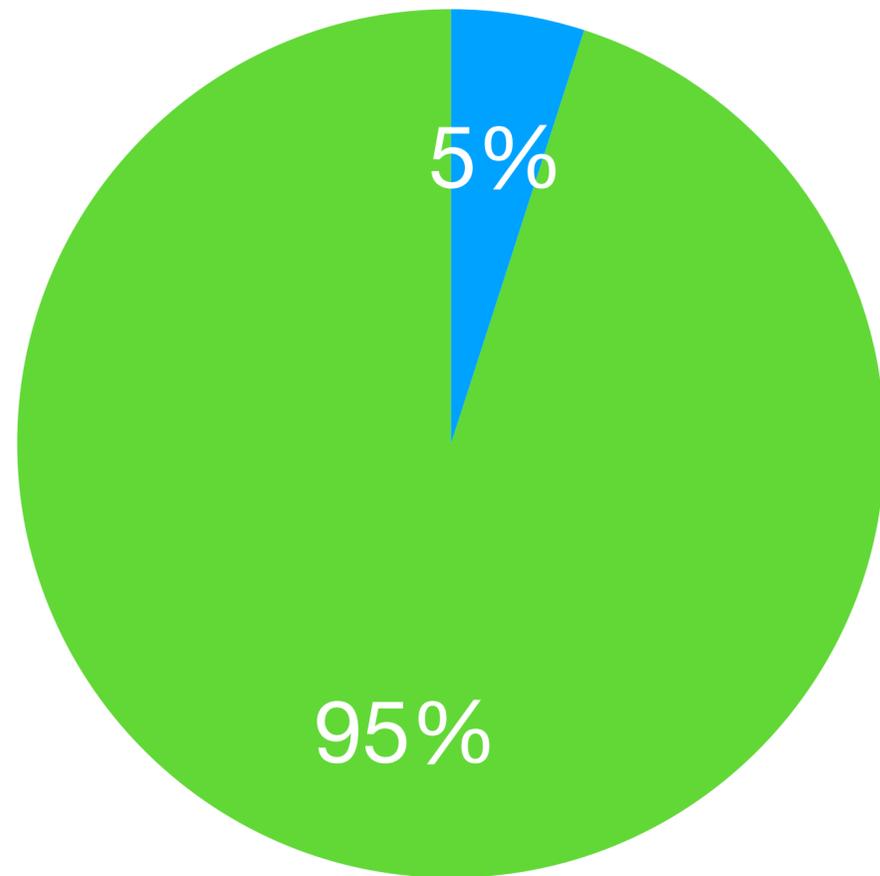
- V + pst2
- V + pst

Using of V + pst constructions

37%

63%
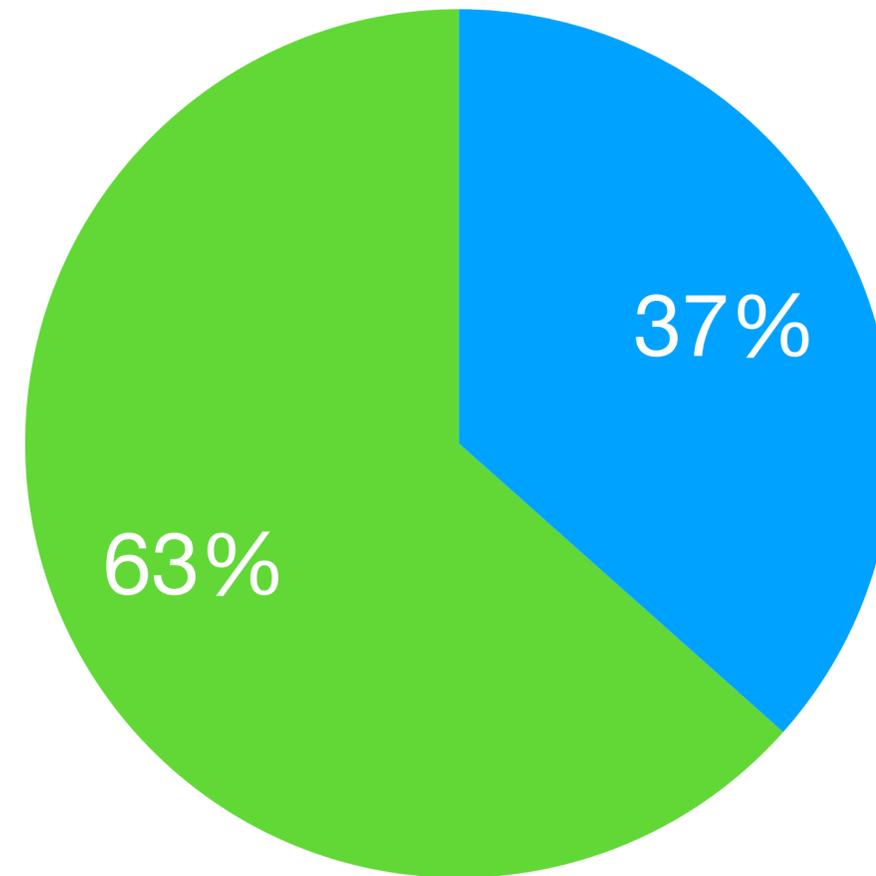
- Non-eyewitness
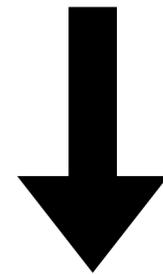- Exewitness/neutral

Conclusion

- Expected results:

Only non-eyewitness meaning: synthetic V PST2; analytic V + AUX.PST2.

Other past event: V PST; V + AUX.PST.

- Other results:

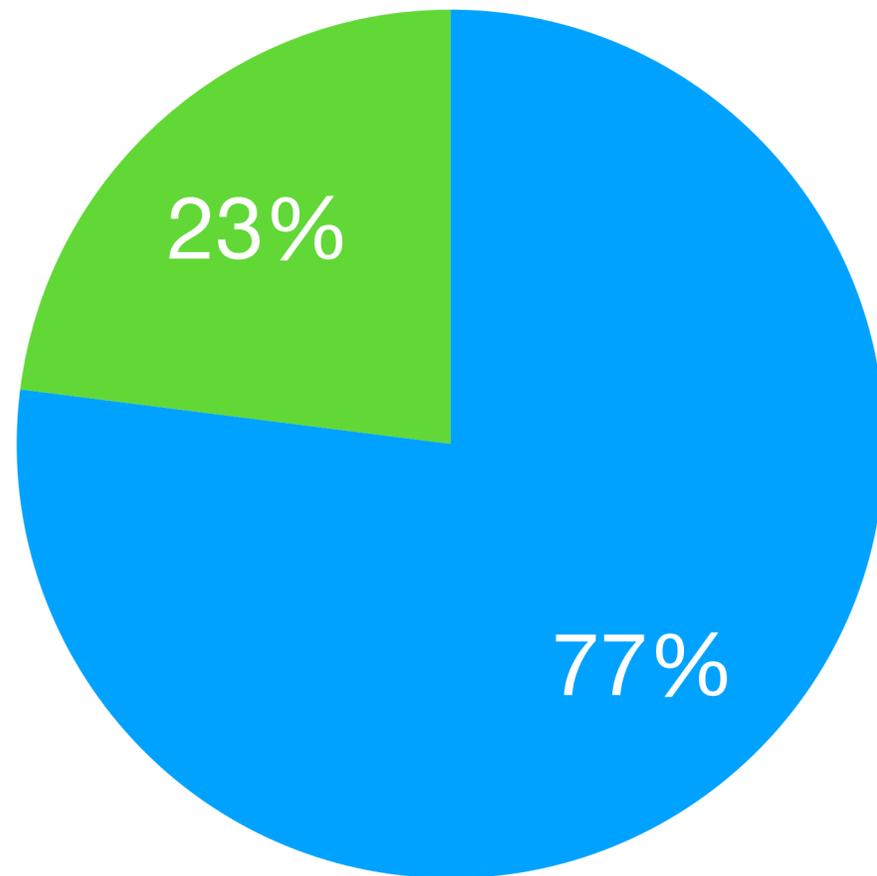Non-eyewitnessed meaning expressed by synthetic Vpst; and analytic V + aux.pst.

Appearing of two different past tenses in the same sentence.

There is no real evidential opposition between the 1st and 2nd past tenses in Udmurt.
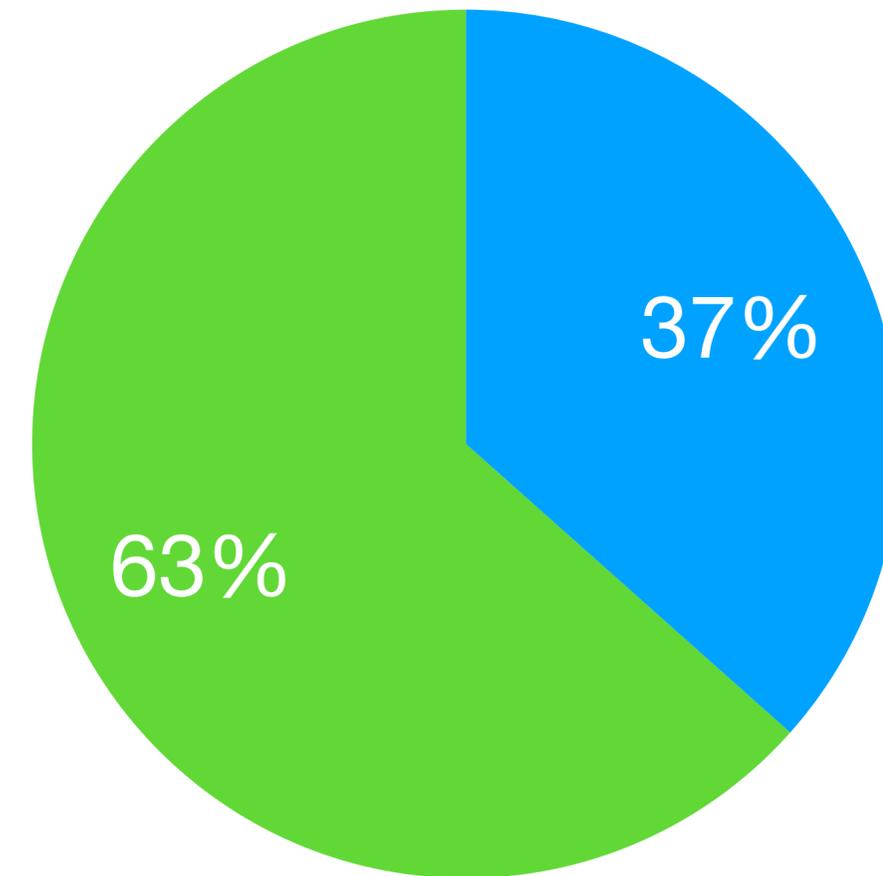
Conclusion

Using of the synthetic 1st past tense

23%
77%

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

Using of V + pst constructions

37%
63%

● Non-eyewitness   ● Exewitness/neutral

References

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Thank you!

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