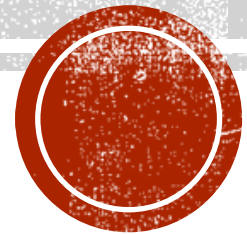


A non-standard grammaticalization path of visual perception verbs: evidence from Tatyshly Udmurt

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INTRODUCTION

- The infinitive of a lexical verb + A grammaticalized verb $a^{\text{ʔ}}\check{z}'\hat{n}\hat{\omega}$ 'see' (Standard Udmurt $a\check{d}\check{z}'y\hat{n}y$).
- Semantics and morphosyntax.

(1) *vas'a-lâ* *mân-ono* *val* *ufa-je,*
Vasya-DAT go-DEB be.PST Ufa-ILL
no *so* *č'erla-nâ* *a^{\text{ʔ}}\check{z}'-i-z.*
but that fall_ill-INF see-PST-3SG
'Vasya was supposed to go to Ufa, but he fell ill'.

- Different from CVB + $a^{\text{ʔ}}\check{z}'\hat{n}\hat{\omega}$ (an expression of trying).

(2) *vas'a* *ôs-ez* *üs'tä-sa* *a^{\text{ʔ}}\check{z}'-i-z.*
Vasya door-ACC open-CVB see-PST-3SG
'Vasya tried to open the door'.



DATA

- Udmurt language (< Permic < Finno-Ugric).
- Tatyshly subdialect (< Peripheral-Southern dialect < Southern variety).
- Huge difference from Standard Udmurt at all levels; migration from the mainland (mainly in the XVII – XVIII centuries); dense contact with Tatar and Bashkir (< Turkic), see also (Toulouze, Anisimov 2020).
- Fieldwork in the Republic of Bashkortostan (Russia): the villages of Nizhnebaltachevo, Staryj Kyzyl-Jar, Ivanovka, Novyje Tatyshly, Starokal'mijarovo, Verkhnebaltachevo, Urazgil'dy.



DATA

- Field trips organized by Moscow State University (OTIPL) since 2019.
- RSF research project №22-18-00285.
- <https://tatyshly-udmurt.tilda.ws/en>
- Elicitation (translation from Russian into Udmurt; evaluation and interpretation of sentences in Udmurt).
- No evidence of this construction in Standard Udmurt (see e.g. http://udmurt.web-corpora.net/udmurt_corpus/search).
- Speakers of Northern and other Southern subdialects do not confirm it (2 speakers; preliminary data).
- For the Tatyshly subdialect: OK for 13 consultants; unacceptable for 2 consultants; 1 consultant is not sure.
- No corpus examples for Tatyshly Udmurt (however the corpus of spontaneous texts is not large; less than 50.000 tokens).



OTHER USES OF $a^2\check{z}'\hat{n}\hat{n}$

- 'See'.
- 'Look' / 'watch' in a restricted set of contexts (e.g. 'watch TV', cf. *učk'änä* being the basic term for looking/watching).
- 'Experience sth. (e.g. grief)'.
- No evidence of extensions to the mental domain (such as 'know', 'understand').



SEMANTICS

- Undesirable consequences of the situation described by the infinitive.

(3) *mon s'ör-a-m* *vuž* *propusk-ez* *bas'tâ-nâ* *a²ž'-i-∅*,
я back-LOC/ILL-POSS.1SG old pass-ACC take-INF see-PST-1SG
so *ponna oxrana* *mone ôz* *pâr-tâ*.
that for security I.ACC NEG.PST.3 enter-CAUS
'I had an old pass with me, so the security did not let me in'.

(4) *mon kâška-nâ* *a²ž'-i-∅* *pünä-les'*, *so* *mon-e* *kur²č'-i-z*.
I be_afraid-INF see-PST-1SG dog-GEN2 that I-ACC bite-PST-3SG
'I was afraid of a dog, and it bit me' [otherwise it wouldn't have bitten me]'



SEMANTICS

- No encoding of a desirable situation (or: it is re-interpreted as undesirable).

(5) **pes'anaj* *umoj* *šoka-nô* *a²ž'-i-z.*
grandmother well breathe-INF see-PST-3SG

'Grandma was breathing well'.

[Comment: «We wanted her to die, but instead she started breathing well»]

(6) *derem* *kuas'mâ-nô* *a²ž'-i-z.*
shirt dry-INF see-PST-3SG

'The shirt dried'.

[I wanted to put on a wet shirt, because it was hot /

I didn't want to go to a party and planned to explain it with the absence of a
shirt /

*I hung it up to dry after washing, as usual]



SEMANTICS

- Contrast between the situation described by the infinitive and another situation.
- A secondary effect: a situation with negative consequences + the opposite situation, in which these consequences would not have occurred.

(7) *vas'a* *pal'l'an* *pala* *biz'-ono* *val,*
Vasya left side.ILL run-DEB be.PST
bur *pala* ***biz'â-nâ*** ***a²ž'-i-z.***
right side.ILL run-INF see-PST-3SG

‘Vasya had to run to the right, but he ran to the left [and met a dog or a wolf]’.

(8) *skorâj* *lâktâ-nâ* *a²ž'-i-z* *vas'a* *dor-â,*
ambulance come-INF see-PST-3SG Vasya side-ILL
lâkt-ono *val* *kôrâš-a-z.*
come-DEB be.PST neighbour-LOC/ILL-POSS.3SG

‘The ambulance came to Vasya, but they had to go to his neighbour’.

[And the neighbour got worse because of the delay]



SEMANTICS

- Variation between speakers for regularly occurring natural events.

(9) *ʔsiz'əl vüä-nä aʔž'-i-z, turân das'-a-nâ*
autumn come-INF see-PST-3SG grass ready-VBLZ-INF
ôj vütis'kâ.
NEG.PST.1SG have_time
'Autumn has come, but I have not managed to prepare the hay'.

(10) *ʔkuaz' žâtmâ-nâ aʔž'-i-z, no mi n'ulessk-is'*
weather come_evening-INF see-PST-3SG but we forest-EL
bertâ-nâ ber-e kâl'-i-m.
return_home-INF back-ILL stay-PST-1PL
'Evening came, but we did not manage to return from the forest'.



MORPHOSYNTAX

- Rigid word order.

(11) a. *vas'a (tolon) č'erla-nâ a'ž'-i-z.*

Vasya yesterday fall_ill-INF see-PST-3SG

b. **vas'a a'ž'-i-z č'erla-nâ.*

Vasya see-PST-3SG fall_ill-INF

c. **vas'a č'erla-nâ tolon a'ž'-i-z.*

Vasya fall_ill-INF yesterday see-PST-3SG

'Vasya fell ill (yesterday).'



MORPHOSYNTAX

- Ungrammatical in questions or negation.

(12) **vas'a č'erla-nâ óz a'ž'â.*
Vasya fall_ill-INF NEG.PST.3 see
'Vasya didn't fall ill'.

(13) **pet'a ufa-je lâktâ-nâ a'ž'â-mte.*
Petya Ufa-ILL come-INF see-PST2.NEG
'Petya didn't come to [the city of] Ufa'.

(14) **vas'a č'erla-nâ a'ž'-i-z=a?*
Vasya fall_ill-INF see-PST-3SG=Q
'Did Vasya fall ill?'



MORPHOSYNTAX

- Compatible with the present tense only if there is an explicit habitual action.
- No restrictions with other tense forms.

(15) **vas'a č'erla-nâ a²ž'-e.*

Vasya fall_ill-INF see-PRS.3SG

'Vasya is getting sick'.

(16) **vas'a ufa-je lâktâ-nâ / mânâ-nâ a²ž'-e.*
Vasya Ufa-ILL come-INF go-INF see-PRS.3SG
'Vasya is going to Ufa'.

(17) *každâj kontrol'nâj dârja vas'a č'erla-nâ a²ž'-e.*
each test during Vasya fall_ill-INF see-PRS.3SG
'Every time there is a test, Vasya gets sick'.



MORPHOSYNTAX

- Real modality of the proposition? (cf. Paduceva 2016 on parenthetical expressions in Russian)
- Any other explanations?



MIRATIVITY?

- Marking "sentences which report information which is new or surprising to the speaker" (DeLancey 1997: 33).
- An explanation which could be compatible with the restrictions with autumn, evening, etc.



MIRATIVITY?

- However: regular indication of an undesirable situation in potentially mirative contexts.

(18) *tod-is'ko-d = a, kôräš kâšno bas'tâ-nâ a²ž'-i-z.*
know-PRS-2SG=Q neighbour woman take-INF see-PST-3SG
'Can you imagine: the neighbour got married'.
[Too bad, I wanted to marry him. /
His wife won't let him go to parties]

(19) *??kôräš-len pi-jez MGU-je pârâ-nâ a²ž'-em!*
neighbour-GEN son-POSS.3SG MSU-ILL enter-INF see-PST 2
'The neighbour's son has been admitted to the Moscow State University!'



MIRATIVITY?

- However: acceptable in examples (e.g. with a 1SG subject) that are unlikely to be mirative (at least in the sense of DeLancey 1997).

(20) *mon alma-jez pòz'-tä-nä a²ž'-i-∅, a*
I potato-ACC boil-CAUS-INF see-PST-1SG but
so-je žarit' kar-ono val.
that-ACC fry[RUS] do-DEB be.PST
'I boiled the potatoes, but I had to fry them'.



TYOLOGY

- Extensions of ‘see’.
- (Kuteva et al. 2019: 388–393):

SEE

- > (1) ALLATIVE
- (2) COPULA
- (3) EVIDENTIAL, DIRECT
- (4) OSTENSIVE PREDICATOR
- (5) PASSIVE

- (Maisak 2016: 858–861):
 - mental domain (‘see’ > ‘consider’ / ‘understand’ / ‘wait, expect’), see also (Sweetser 1990: 32–34; Kustova 2004: 346–371);
 - attempt, see also (Voinov 2013; Grashchenkov 2015: 88) on Turkic;
 - verificative in Agul (P-VERIF ~ ‘check whether P is true’).
- Relation to the construction under discussion?



TYOLOGY

- Some possible parallels: expressions of discovery in Russian.
 - *Okazyvajets'a* 'it turns out' as a parenthetical expression (Xrakovskij 2007: 619–629; Paduceva 2014).
 - *Ja vižu* – lit. 'I see' (Tatevosov, Kisseleva 2021).
- Constructions with vision verbs in some languages of Siberia (Skribnik 2023; Klumpp 2024).



TYPOLOGY

- Russian *okazyvajets'a* 'it turns out'.
- Contexts of discovery.
- The same root as in *pokazat's'a* 'appear, show up'.

(21) ...*v kadr-e okazyvaj-et-s'a spink-a krovat-i*
in scene-LOC.SG turn_out-PRS.3SG-REFL headboard-NOM.SG bed-GEN.SG
s priklej-enn-ym list-om vatman-a...
with glue-PTCP.PST.PASS-INS.SG.M sheet-INS.SG Whatman_paper-GEN.SG
'...it turns out that the headboard of the bed appears in the scene, with a
sheet of Whatman paper stuck to it'. (Xrakovskij 2007 : 623)



TYPOLOGY

- Russian *okazyvajets'a* 'it turns out'.
- (Xrakovskij 2007: 629): «...the information does not correspond to the speaker's worldview».
- (Paduceva 2014: 532): «*okazyvajets'a* (X, P) = I. X discovered <from Y> that P; II. X was surprised that P (or: X did not expect that P)».

(22) *...xot'e-l* *by-l-o* *dver'* *otkry-t'*, *a* *on-a*,
want-PST[SG.M] be-PST-SG.N door[ACC.SG] open-INF but she-NOM.SG
okazyvaj-et-s'a, *iznutri* *na* *zasov*
turn_out-PRS.3SG-REFL from_within on bolt[ACC.SG]
zaper-t-a.
lock-PTCP.PASS.PST-NOM.SG.F

'I tried to open the door, but it turned out to be locked from the inside'.

(Paduceva 2014: 532)



TYPOLOGY

- Russian *ja vižu*, lit. 'I see'.
- (Tatevosov, Kisseleva 2021): the best explanation of what is observed.

(23) *S'ad'. Ty, ja vižu, beža-l-a.*
sit_down[IMP.SG] you[SG] I[NOM] see-PRS.1SG run-PST-SG.F
'Sit down. It looks like you were running'. (ibid.: 670)



TYPOLOGY

- Russian *ja vižu*, lit. 'I see'.
- Use with the facts that are obvious to the interlocutors => implication of novel/unexpected information.

(24) [Context: The aunt took a look into a girl's room.]

Ty, ja viž-u, doma.
you[NOM] I[NOM] see-PRS.1SG at_home
'I see, you are home'. (ibid.: 673)



TYOLOGY

- Kamas (< Samoyedic) + some genetically and geographically close languages.
- Verbs of visual perception in pre-mirative contexts (Skribnik 2023; Klumpp 2024)

(7) North Khanty (Khanty Tales 2002: 58, transcription Sipos 2022: 606)

s'iti *men-s,* *men-s,* *juxan-a* *juxt-əs,*
in.this.way go-PST.3SG go-PST.3SG river-LAT arrive-PST.3SG

βan-t-əle: *juxan* *isa* *sɔrm-a* *pit-m-əl.*
look_at-PRS-SG<3SG river totally dry-LAT become-MIR.PST-POSS.3SG

'So he was walking, he was walking, he reached a river and sees that the river has dried out.' (Skribnik2023: 244)

(2) c. *būže* *kambi* *šeden-də.* *ku-bi-n-də* *ular*
man go.PST corral-LAT see-PTCP-LLOC3SG sheep
talə-j *nieʔbd-ö-leʔ.*
rupture-CV tear-ITR-CV

'The man went to the corral. **As he sees**, the sheep [of his guest] is torn into pieces. [The guest, i.e. the main protagonist will demand compensation.]' (KW: 95, AA_1914_Corpse_flk.058-59)

Kamas
(Klumpp 2024: 106)



TYOLOGY

- Verbs of discovery in Russian, verbs of vision in Siberian languages: X discovers P; contrast between P and what X **expects**.
- INF + *aʔž'ânâ*: X discovers P; contrast between P and what X **considers desirable**.
- It is explicitly stated that X discovered P => P is in contrast to sth.
- The maxim of quantity ('be informative'), cf. (Grice 1975).
- If the speaker explicitly states that something described below is seen, this should convey some non-trivial information.



TYOLOGY

- A broader scope of mirativity, cf. (Aikhenvald 2012: 437)?
- Anyway, variation in how verbs of vision develop.
- More examples and generalizations?

The range of mirative meanings subsumes the following values included under the “mirativity” label:

- (i) sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization (a) by the speaker, (b) by the audience (or addressee), or (c) by the main character;
- (ii) surprise (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
- (iii) unprepared mind (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
- (iv) counterexpectation (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character;
- (v) information new (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character.



CONCLUSIONS

- A non-standard construction INF + $a^2\check{z}'\hat{n}\hat{a}$ 'see' in Tatyshly Udmurt.
- The situation has undesirable consequences.
- Some typological parallels, but not exactly the same patterns.
- Explicit statement that X sees/discovers P => the idea of contrast.
- The nature of this contrast is subject to typological variation.

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