

# On the mirative semantic feature of Udmurt evidentiality

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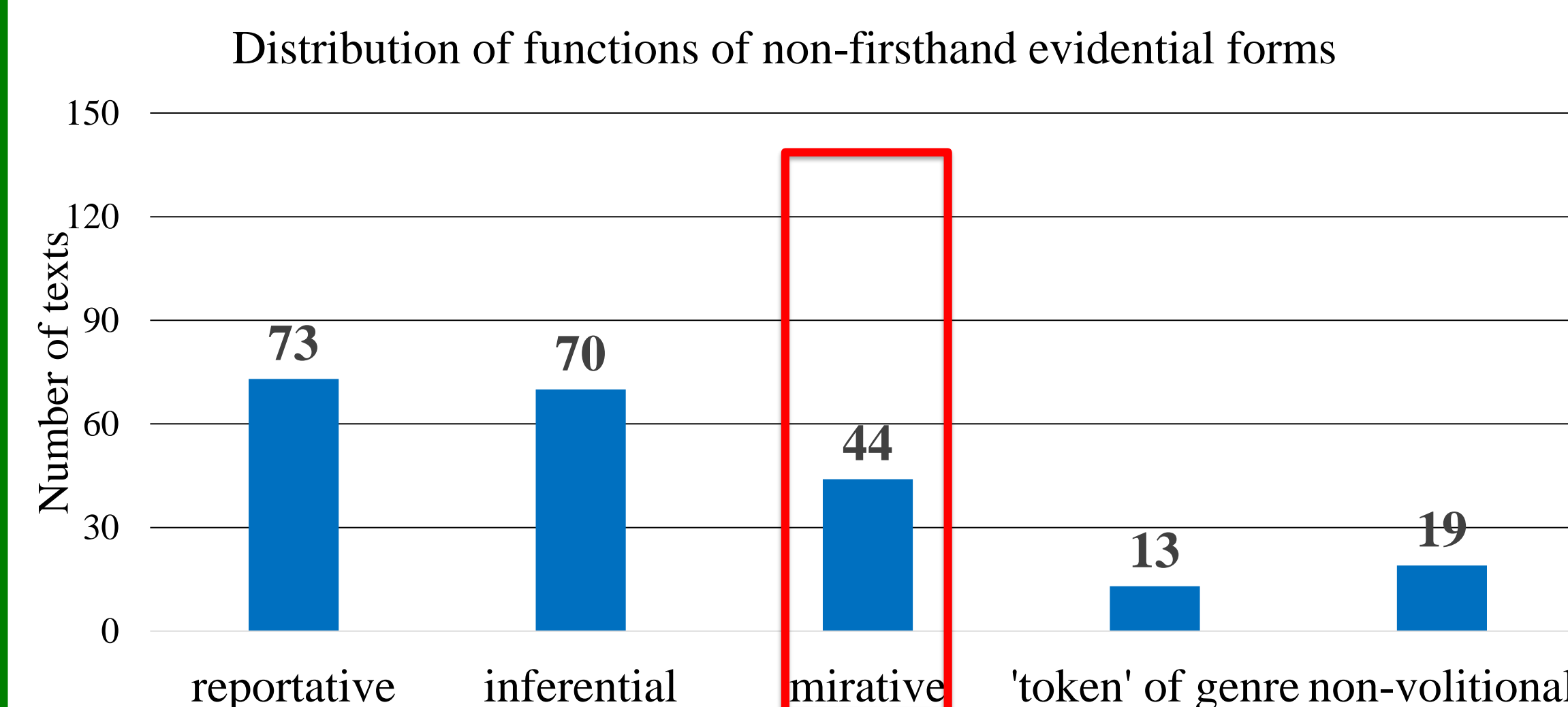
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## Introduction

- *mirativity* is related to unprepared mind, new information, speaker's surprise (DeLancey 1997)
- grammatical category; intersects both grammatically and paradigmatically with evidential systems (DeLancey 2001: 370)
- range of mirative meanings (Aikhenvald 2012:437):
  - sudden discovery, revelation, realization
  - surprise
  - unprepared mind
  - counter expectation
  - new information
- Udmurt distinguishes grammatical evidentiality in past tense: firsthand – non firsthand evidential (Aikhenvald 2004: 28)
- *non-firsthand evidential forms* (aka 2nd past forms) cover the semantic feature of *mirativity* (Winkler 2001, Siegl 2004)
- *questions*: how mirative semantic feature is expressed through non-firsthand evidential forms in Udmurt and what could be the source of mirative usage regarding these forms

## Materials and methods

- material for research was taken from blogs written by Udmurt native speakers (150 texts)
- focusing on the mirative usage of non-firsthand evidential forms

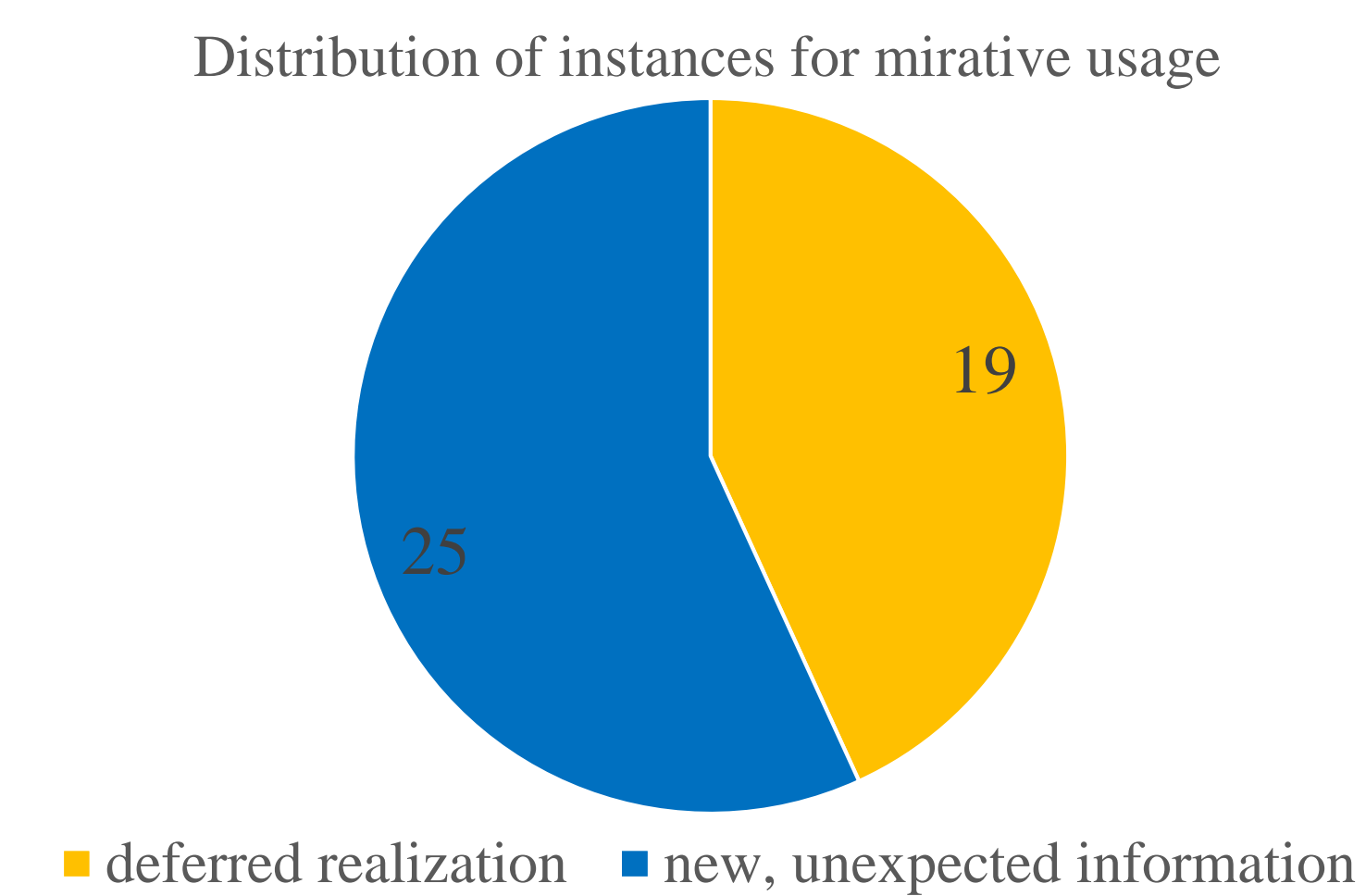


## Literature cited

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- Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2012. The essence of mirativity. In: *Linguistic Typology* 16. 435–485.
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## Results

- the 44 instances of mirative usage in the corpora can be divided into *two subgroups based on the source of surprising effect*
- *new, unexpected* information for the speaker
- speaker's *deferred realization* on the situation: full information on the situation was obtained and fully interpreted post factum, no matter whether the speaker saw it or not. (Aikhenvald 2004: 202)



### New, unexpected information

(1) vuflower.blogspot.ru, 17 October 2014

situation: the writer was surprised, because not only the dresses but the dancers were also beautiful

*Sjčče jarkjt, čeber diš -jos -sj! Ašseos no ben kiče čeber-es vjl -em!*

So bright nice dressPL POSS.3PL themselves too really such nice PL to be 2PST.3SG

'Their so bright, nice dresses! They themselves were really nice too!'

### Deferred realization

(2) udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru; 5 November 2014

situation: the writer is visited by her auntie and when the auntie arrived, she realized that during her way thistles had stuck to her trousers

*Tiñi uk kopak ługi łakišk -em bord-am!*

here PTC all thistle stick 2PST.3SG side ILL.POSS.1SG

'Here all the thistles stuck to my side!'

Instances with deferred realization have '*dual nature*', because they cannot be totally separated from inferentiality: post-factum realization might be considered as a subtype of inferentiality as well. (Aikhenvald 2004: 102) In (2) an inference also can be included (result: the thistles are on the clothes → event: thistles stuck to the clothes).

## Conclusions

- instances of deferred realization might illustrate the emergence of mirative overtone of Udmurt non-firsthand evidential forms
- deferred realization is a common semantic nuance of inferred evidentials and it is a part of mirative meanings in systems where mirativity is associated with inference (Aikhenvald 2004: 102; 209)
- based on the connection between *inferentiality* and *deferred realization* it could be assumed that the *mirative overtone has emerged from the inferential function of non-firsthand evidential forms*

### A possible semantic path (Aikhenvald 2012: 471)

Deferred realization: speaker sees or learns the result but interprets it post factum → the newly understood result is unexpected and thus surprising

- using non-firsthand evidential forms with direct information source relating to deferred realization could be the 'first step' in the emergency of mirative overtone (example 2)
- this type of usage could grant the possibility of using non-firsthand evidential forms in such situations where inference is not included (example 1)

## Further information

Further examples can be found on the handouts. If you have any further questions or comments, please contact me via e-mail: [kubitsch.rebeka@gmail.com](mailto:kubitsch.rebeka@gmail.com)

These results are part of a broader research: *Evidencialitás a mai udmurt nyelvben (Evidentiality in present-day Udmurt)* (Kubitsch 2017)



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