

# The expression of epistemic modality in the Volga-Kama Sprachbund

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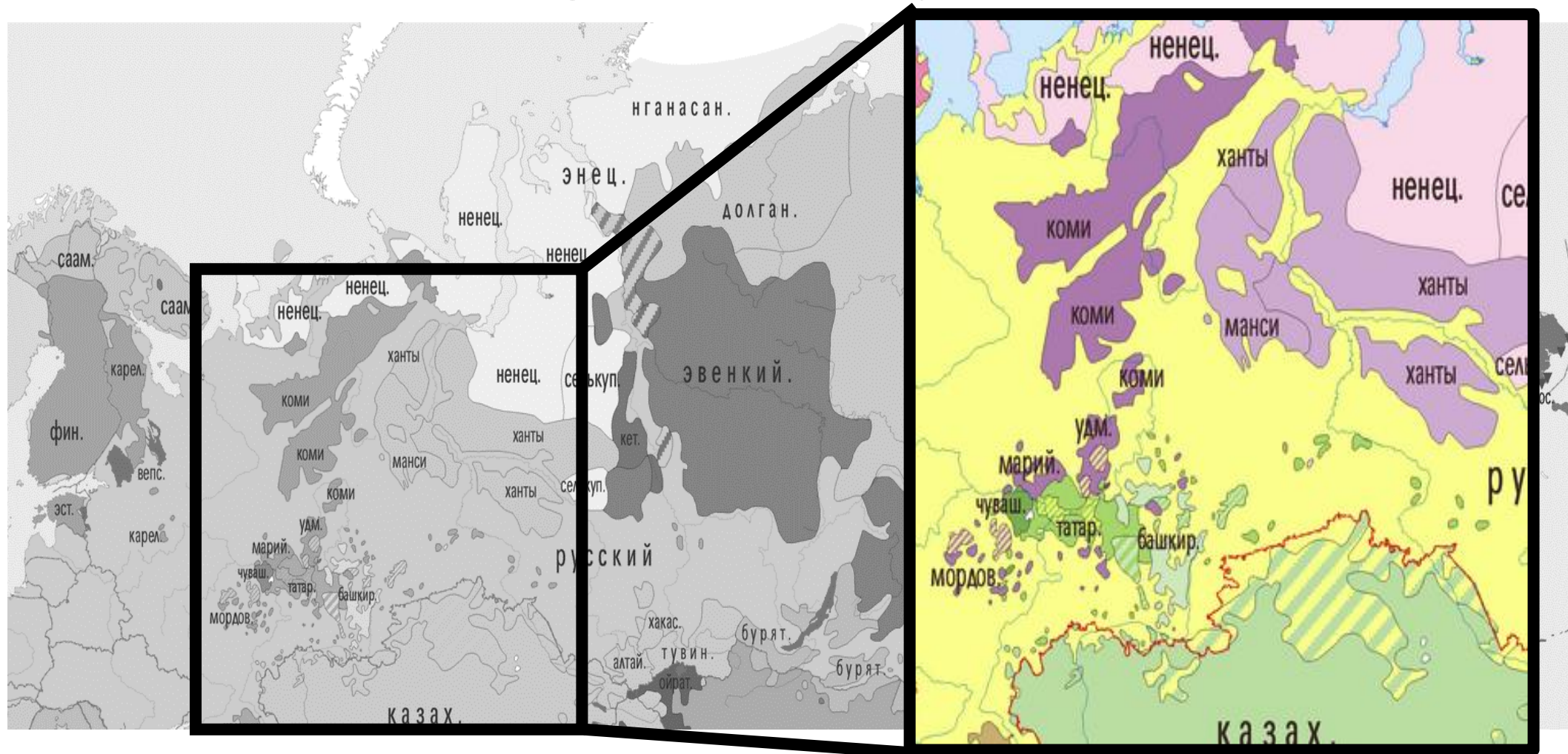


# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund



(cf. Helimski 2003)

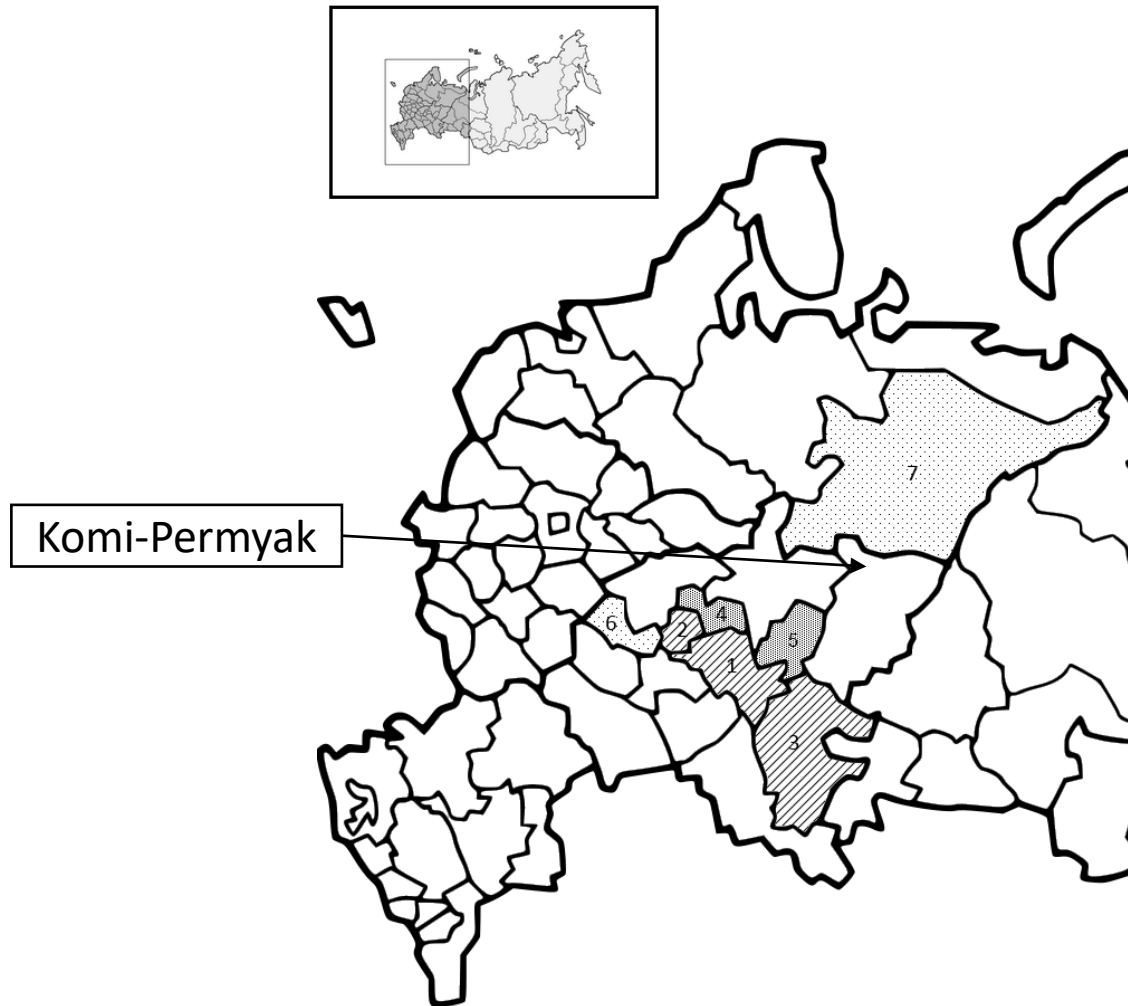
# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund



(cf. Helimski 2003)



# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund



Titular republics of associated languages

Turkic core members (diagonal lines):

- 1) Tatarstan (Tatar)
- 2) Chuvashia (Chuvash)
- 3) Bashkortostan (Bashkir)

Finno-Ugric core members (dark dots):

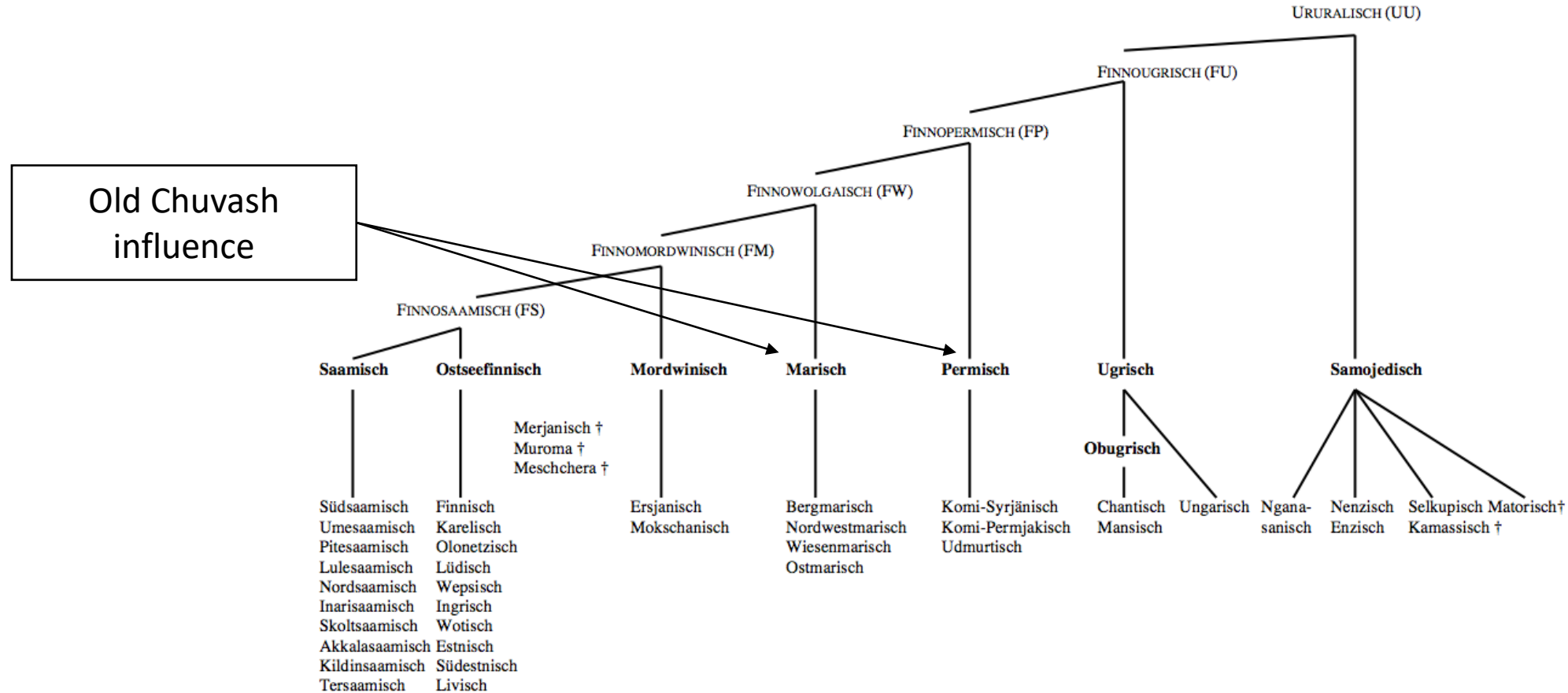
- 4) Mari El (Mari)
- 5) Udmurtia (Udmurt)

Finno-Ugric peripheral members (light dots):

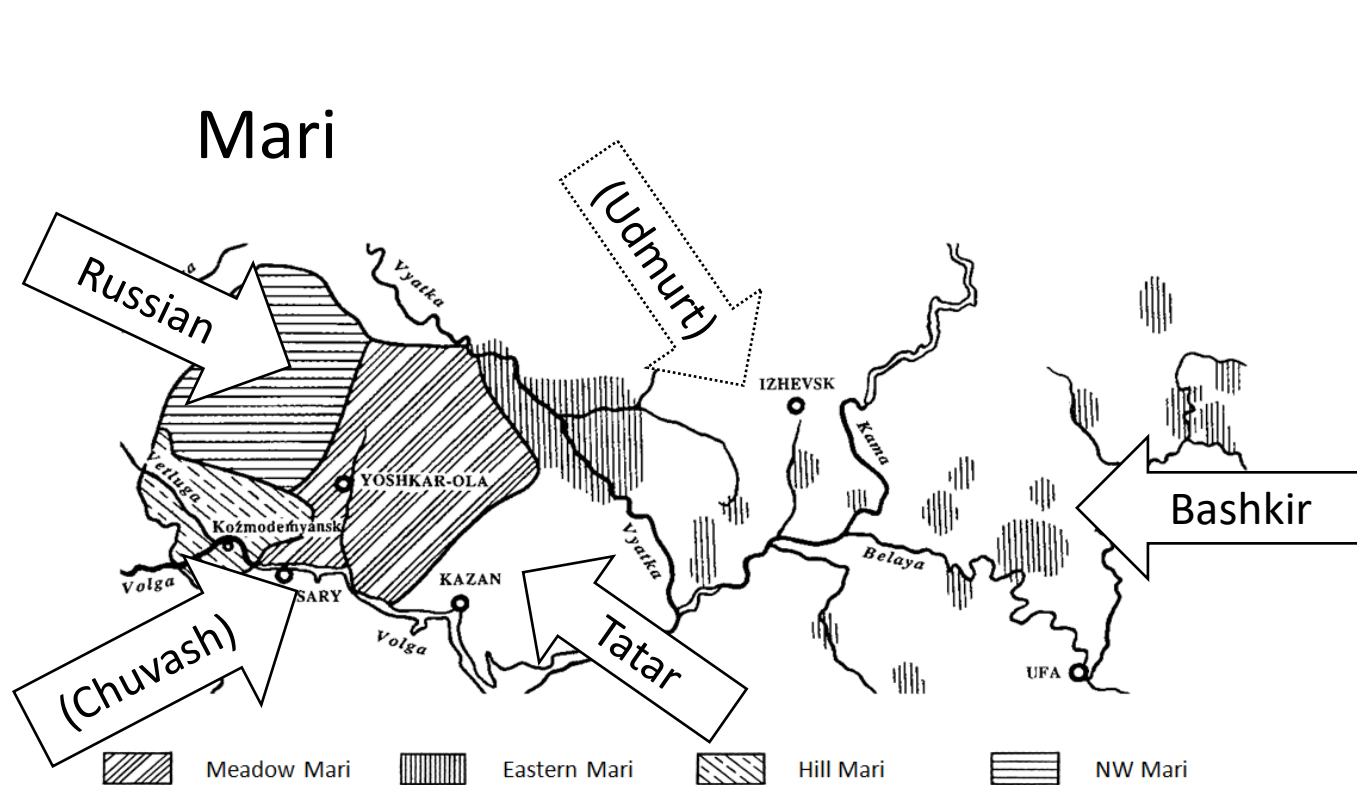
- 6) Mordovia (Mordvin)
- 7) Komi Republic (Komi)

(cf. Helimski 2003)

# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund: History

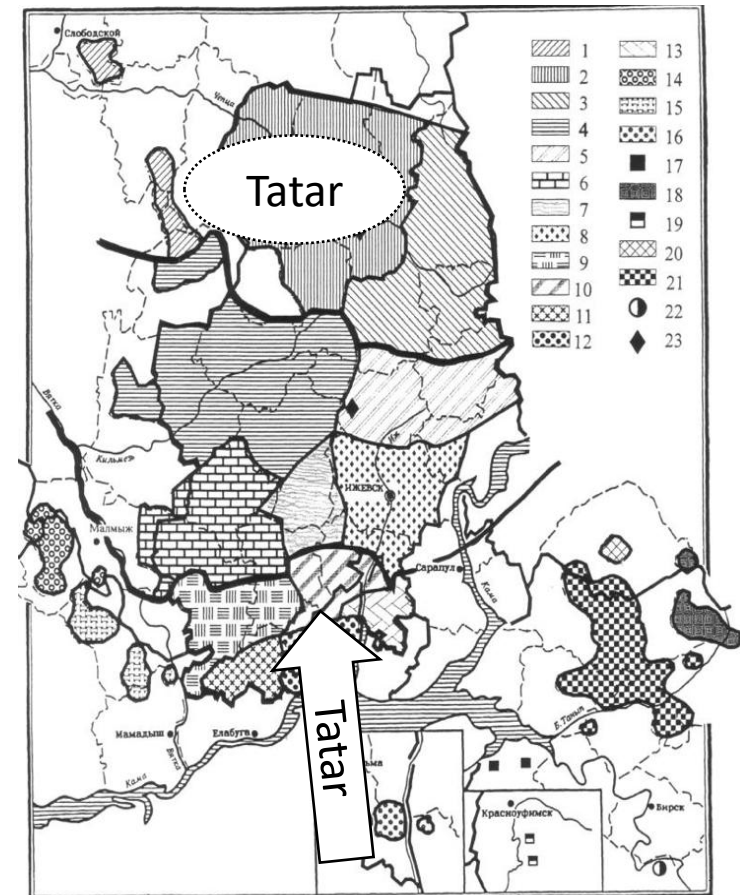


# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund: Dialectology



(< Luutonen 1997: 186)

**Udmurt**



# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund

|                                   | Mari            | Udmurt          | Komi-Permyak    | Chuvash         | Tatar          |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <b>Speakers<br/>(Russia 2010)</b> | 388,378         | 324,338         | 63,106          | 1,042,989       | 4,280,718      |
| <b>EGIDS</b>                      | 4 (Educational) | 6b (Threatened) | 6b (Threatened) | 6b (Threatened) | 2 (Provincial) |

# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund

| Tatar | Udmurt | Chuvash | Mari    | Meaning           |
|-------|--------|---------|---------|-------------------|
|       | śamen  | → śeměn | → semân | ‘in a ... manner’ |
| matur | ←      | mattur  | → motor | beautiful         |
|       | jubo   | ← jupa  |         | column            |
|       | pukon  | → pukan | → püken | chair             |
|       |        | kătkă   | ← kutko | ant               |
| taw   | → tau  | → tav   | → tau   | greeting/thanks   |
| ...   | ...    | ...     | ...     | ...               |

(cf. Wintschalek 1993:49–56)

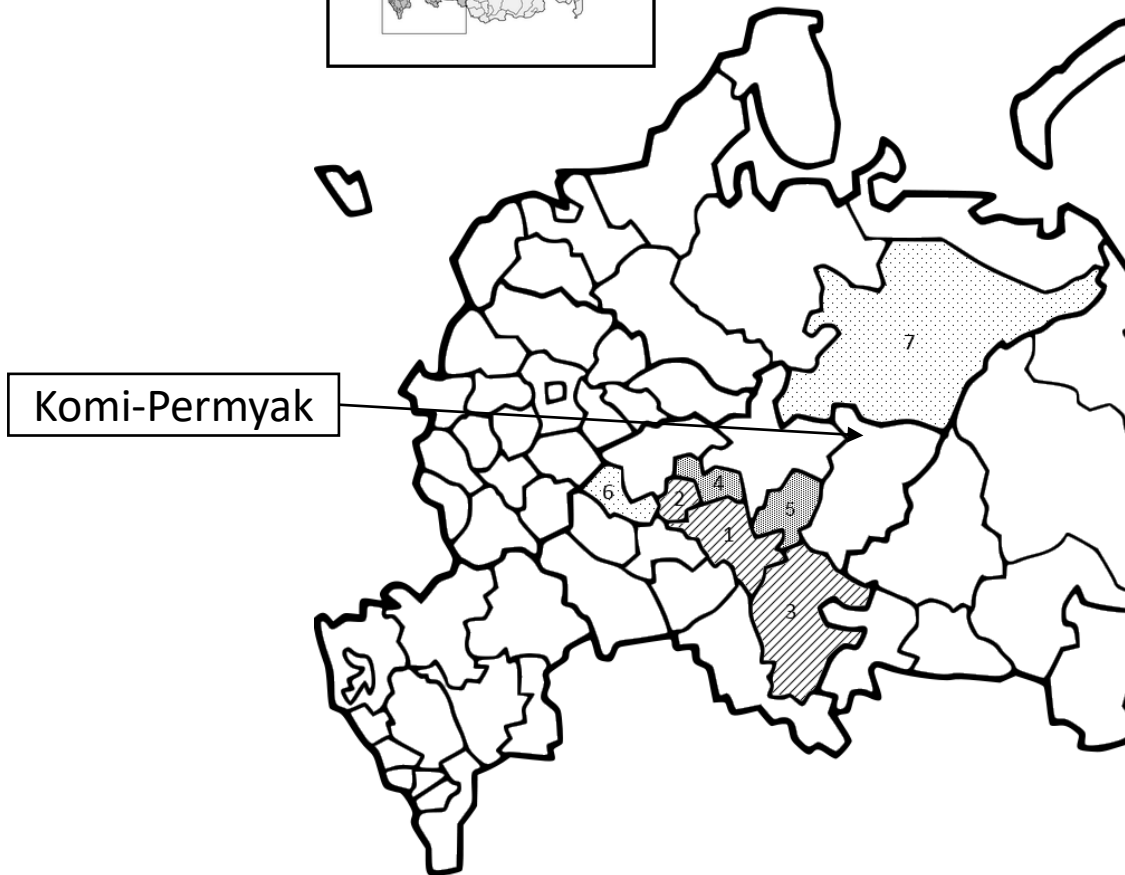
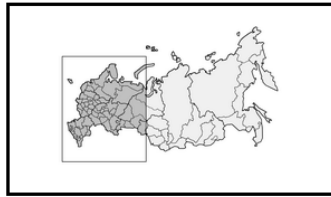


# The Volga-Kama Sprachbund

*δâr* *δâr, târ* Ob<sub>1</sub> Okr Ms Mm<sub>1,2</sub>, *dâr, târ*  
Ob<sub>2</sub>, *δâr* Oka Mmu, *δîr, tîr* Ok [*< Tat.*]  
wahrscheinlich, vermutlich, bestimmt, sicher,  
gewiss, wohl (O Ms Mm<sub>1,2</sub> Mmu). – *tuyè· δâr*  
Ob<sub>1</sub> Ms Mm<sub>1</sub>, *tuyè· δîr* Ok vermutlich ist es  
so. *nemnan šužar o·tâl-δâr* Okr du bist be-  
stimmt nicht unsere Schwester. *marde·ž*  
*tâlâra·k târ* Mm<sub>1</sub> (YW 164) der Wind ist  
doch gewiss stärker. *kombo tâläne·t jö·sö δâr*  
*βütlän βāstare·š i·a·š* Oka dir, Gans, fällt es  
sicher schwer, gegen den Strom („das Was-  
ser“) zu schwimmen. *kajšaš kornet kužo-δâr*  
Okr dein Weg ist wohl lang? *mâi om kajâδâr·r*  
Mm<sub>2</sub> ich gehe sicher nicht. *ila·-δâr* Mm<sub>2</sub>  
lebt vermutlich. *ta·tše<sup>4</sup> jür tole·š-târ* Mm<sub>2</sub>  
heute regnet es wohl. *tuδâ toleš-târ ta·tše<sup>4</sup>*  
Mm<sub>2</sub> er kommt wahrscheinlich heute.

(Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 130)

# The Volga-Kama linguistic area



Some areal features:

- Reduced vowels
- Auxiliary constructions denoting aktionsart, benefactives
- Possessive suffix 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular for whole-part relationship
- Derivational suffixes can follow case suffixes
- Reduplication to denote intensity
- Numerous borrowed morphemes
- Dative has final meaning

(cf. Bereczki 1984, Bradley 2016)

> Epistemic modality

# Epistemic modality

**NOT:** situational (or deontic/root) modality

( 1 ) Mari (Riese et al. 2019: 264)

|         |       |
|---------|-------|
| lud-šaš | ul-am |
|---------|-------|

|                   |        |
|-------------------|--------|
| read-PTCP.FUT-NEC | be-1SG |
|-------------------|--------|

‘I **have** to read’

cf. Nuyts 2012

# Epistemic modality

**NOT:** Evidentiality ( + mirative extention)

( 2 ) Mari (Riese et al. 2019: 264)

|       |                   |        |                    |
|-------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|
| ( a ) | lud-šaš           | ul-am  | <b>yl'e</b>        |
|       | read-PTCP.FUT-NEC | be-1SG | <b>be.3SG.PST1</b> |
|       | 'I had to read'   |        |                    |

|       |                                     |        |                    |
|-------|-------------------------------------|--------|--------------------|
| ( a ) | lud-šaš                             | ul-am  | <b>ulmaš</b>       |
|       | read-PTCP.FUT-NEC                   | be-1SG | <b>be.3SG.PST2</b> |
|       | 'I had to read ( <b>it seems</b> )' |        |                    |

cf. Aikhenvald 2004



# Epistemic modality

( 3 ) Forest Nenets (Burkova Forthcoming)

tʲukʲi:    paʈʲinota    mjaʔ<sub>1</sub>    ɲæ:-ʈ°xa  
this        tsar                house.NOM    be-APRX.3SG  
'It **looks like** this is a tsar's house'

( 4 ) German

Paula    **soll**                    sich    ein    Auto    gekauft    haben  
Paula    **should.3sg**    self    a    car    buy.PTCP.PST    have.INF  
'Paula **is said to** have bought a car'

( 5 ) English

**perhaps** I am your father

# Situational vs epistemic modality

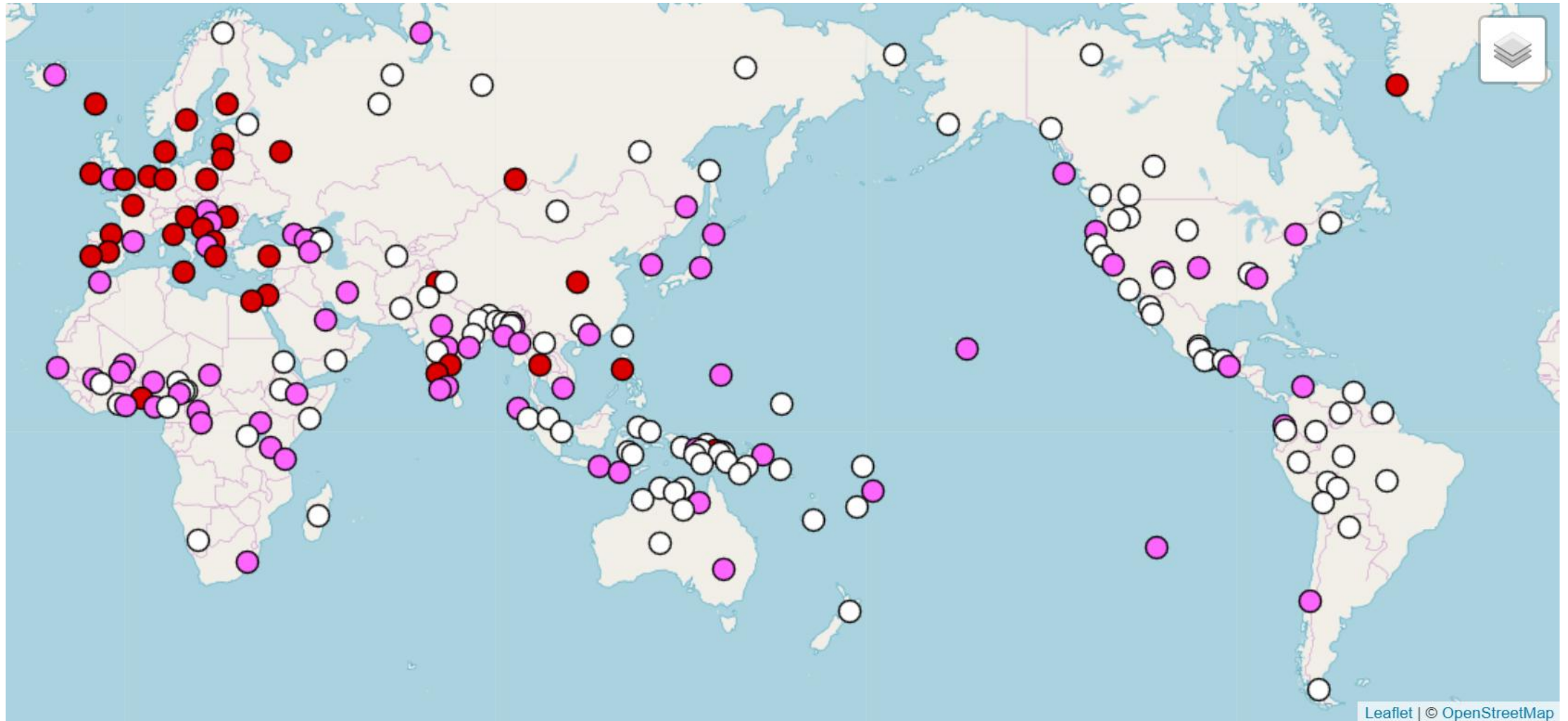
## **Epistemic modality:**

„Epistemic modality indicates that the certainty or possibility of the information described is based on the speaker’s personal opinion” (van der Auwera & Ammann 2013)

## **Situational modality:**

„Situational (in other words: root or deontic) modality indicates that an action can or need to take place according to internal or external factors, such as basic human needs or social conventions.” (Nuyts 2016)

# Situational vs epistemic modality: Overlap



# Epistemic modality in reference materials

|          |   |     |
|----------|---|-----|
| 7.3.     | Auxiliary verbs.....  | 278 |
| 7.3.1.   | The negation verb .....   | 278 |
| 7.3.2.   | Tense-marking auxiliaries.....  | 280 |
| 7.3.2.1. | улаш (-ам) 'to be' → simple past tense II.....                                | 280 |
| 7.3.2.2. | тўнالاш (-ам) 'to begin' → future .....                                       | 280 |
| 7.3.3.   | Modal auxiliaries denoting ability, etc.....                                  | 280 |
| 7.3.3.1. | керташ (-ам) 'to be able to' .....  | 280 |
| 7.3.3.2. | мошташ (-ем) 'to be able to' .....  | 280 |
| 7.3.3.3. | лияш (-ям) 'to be, to become' → 'to be allowed' .....                         | 281 |
| 7.3.3.4. | толашаш (-ем) 'to try, to strive' → improper, inadequate execution .....      | 281 |
| 7.3.3.5. | тўчааш (-ем) 'to try, to attempt' → improper, inadequate execution.....       | 281 |
| 7.3.4.   | Modal auxiliaries denoting necessity, etc. ('to have to') .....               | 282 |
| 7.3.4.1. | кўлаш (-ам) 'to have to' .....  | 282 |
| 7.3.4.2. | верешташ (-ам) 'to get, to catch' → 'to have to' .....                        | 283 |
| 7.3.4.3. | логалаш (-ам) 'to get to, to find oneself (somewhere)' → 'to have to' .....   | 283 |
| 7.3.4.4. | возаш (-ам) 'to lie down' → 'to have to' .....                                | 283 |
| 7.3.4.5. | пернаш (-ем) 'to strike against' → 'to have to' .....                         | 283 |
| 7.3.4.6. | тўкнаш (-ем) 'to touch (intr.)' → 'to have to' .....                          | 283 |
| 7.3.5.   | Aspectual auxiliaries.....  | 283 |
| 7.3.5.1. | General remarks on aspectual auxiliary constructions.....                     | 283 |
| 7.3.5.2. | возаш (-ам) 'to lie down' → resultative; added property; lying position ..... | 286 |
| 7.3.5.3. | илаш (-ем) 'to live' → continuous .....                                       | 286 |
| 7.3.5.4. | каяш (-ем) 'to go' → ingressive, tangible result .....                        | 286 |
| 7.3.5.5. | кияш (-ем) 'to lie' → durative; lying position.....                           | 286 |
| 7.3.5.6. | кодаш (-ам) 'to stay' → resultative, evident result, excessive .....          | 287 |
| 7.3.5.7. | кодаш (-ем) 'to leave (something)' → resultative, subject leaves .....        | 287 |

(Riese et al 2019: 8)

# Epistemic lexical items / clitics

Tatar =dyr 'probably, perhaps, it seems'

( 6 ) Tatar (elicited)

|       |   |          |     |               |                |
|-------|---|----------|-----|---------------|----------------|
| [...] | Maşa,                                   | möğayın, | äle | yoqla-mí      | tor-ğan=dır    |
|       | Masha                                   | probably | yet | sleep-neg.cvb | stand-pst2=epi |
|       | 'Masha probably hasn't gone to bed yet' |          |     |               |                |



# Epistemic lexical items

→ Mari, Udmurt dyr, Chuvash =tăr/těr

( 7 ) Udmurt (elicited)

|       |                                       |           |         |          |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| [...] | Maša                                  | íž-e      | ńi      | dyr.     |
|       | Masha                                 | sleep-3sg | already | probably |
|       | ‘Masha is probably sleeping already.’ |           |         |          |

( 8 ) Mari (Riese et al. 2019: 344)

|       |                              |          |
|-------|------------------------------|----------|
| [...] | tol-eš                       | tyr [!]  |
|       | come-3sg                     | probably |
|       | ‘[S/he] is probably coming.’ |          |

# Situational modality > epistemic modality

Most important necessitive constructions in Mari:

- (Dative + ) infinitive *-aš* + auxiliary *kül-* 'to need' (in 3sg)
- (Dative + ) necessitive infinitive *-man*
- (Nom. + ) necessitive participle *-šaš* + *ul-* 'to be' (inflected for person)

Most important necessitive constructions in Udmurt:

- (Dative + ) infinitive *-ny* + auxiliary *kule* 'to need' (PRS.3SG)
- (Dative + ) necessitive participle *-ono* (not inflected)

# Situational modality > epistemic modality

( 9 ) Mari (elicited)

( a )    Maša-lan      uže          mal-aš      kül-eš.  
         Maša-DAT    already    sleep-INF    need-3SG  
         ‘Maša already needs to sleep’

( b )    Maša-lan      uže          maly-man  
         Maša-DAT    already    sleep-INF.NEC  
         ‘Maša already needs to sleep’

( c )    Maša            uže          maly-šaš  
         Masha        already    sleep-PTCP.FUT-NEC  
         ‘Maša has to already be sleeping’  
         **‘Maša must already be sleeping (I think)’**

# Epistemic modality in the Volga-Kama Region

( 10 ) Udmurt (elicited)

( a ) Maša-ly      ižy-ny      kul-e      ní  
Maša-DAT      sleep-INF      must-3SG      already  
'Maša has to already be sleeping.'  
**'Maša must already be sleeping (I think)'**

( b ) Maša-ly      iž-ono      ní.  
Maša-DAT      sleep-PTCP.NEC      already  
'Maša needs to be sleeping already.'

# Epistemic modality in the Volga-Kama Region

( 11 ) Chuvash (elicited)

( a )    un-ăn        unta                    pul-malla  
         3SG-GEN    there                    be-PTCP.NEC  
         's/he has to be there'

( b )    văl                kaj-nă                    pul-malla  
         3SG                go-PTCP-PST                be-PTCP.NEC  
         's/he must be gone'



# Epistemic modality in the Volga-Kama Region

( 12 ) Tatar (elicited)

|       |       |          |        |
|-------|-------|----------|--------|
| Maşa  | uyau  | bul-ırğa | tiyeş. |
| Masha | awake | be-INF   | must   |

‘Masha must be awake.’

**‘Masha must be awake (I assume).’**

( 13 ) Eastern Mari (elicited)

|      |         |           |           |
|------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| Maša | uže     | mal-aš    | tieš [!!] |
| Maša | already | sleep-INF | must      |

‘Maša has to already be sleeping’

**‘Maša must already be sleeping (I think)’**

cf. kül-eš must-3sg

# Epistemic modality in subordinate clauses

( 14 ) Mari

( a ) joltaš-em,      erla              tol-am              **man-yn**,      ojly-š  
friend-PX1SG   tomorrow   come-1SG      **say-CVB**      say-PST.3SG

‘My friend said that s/he would come tomorrow.’

( b ) myj   kol-yn-am,      **pujto**      erla              pogyny-maš      lij-eš  
1SG   hear-PST2-1SG   **that**      tomorrow   gather-NMLZ   be.FUT-3SG

‘I heard there will be a meeting tomorrow.’

# Epistemic modality in subordinate clauses

( 15 ) Buryat (Skribnik forthcoming)

Ši busa-xa-š **geže** mede-ne-b

you come\_back-FUT-2SG **say.CVB** know-PRS-1SG

‘I know that you will come back.’

( 16 ) Russian (Kosogova et al. 2010: *будто*)

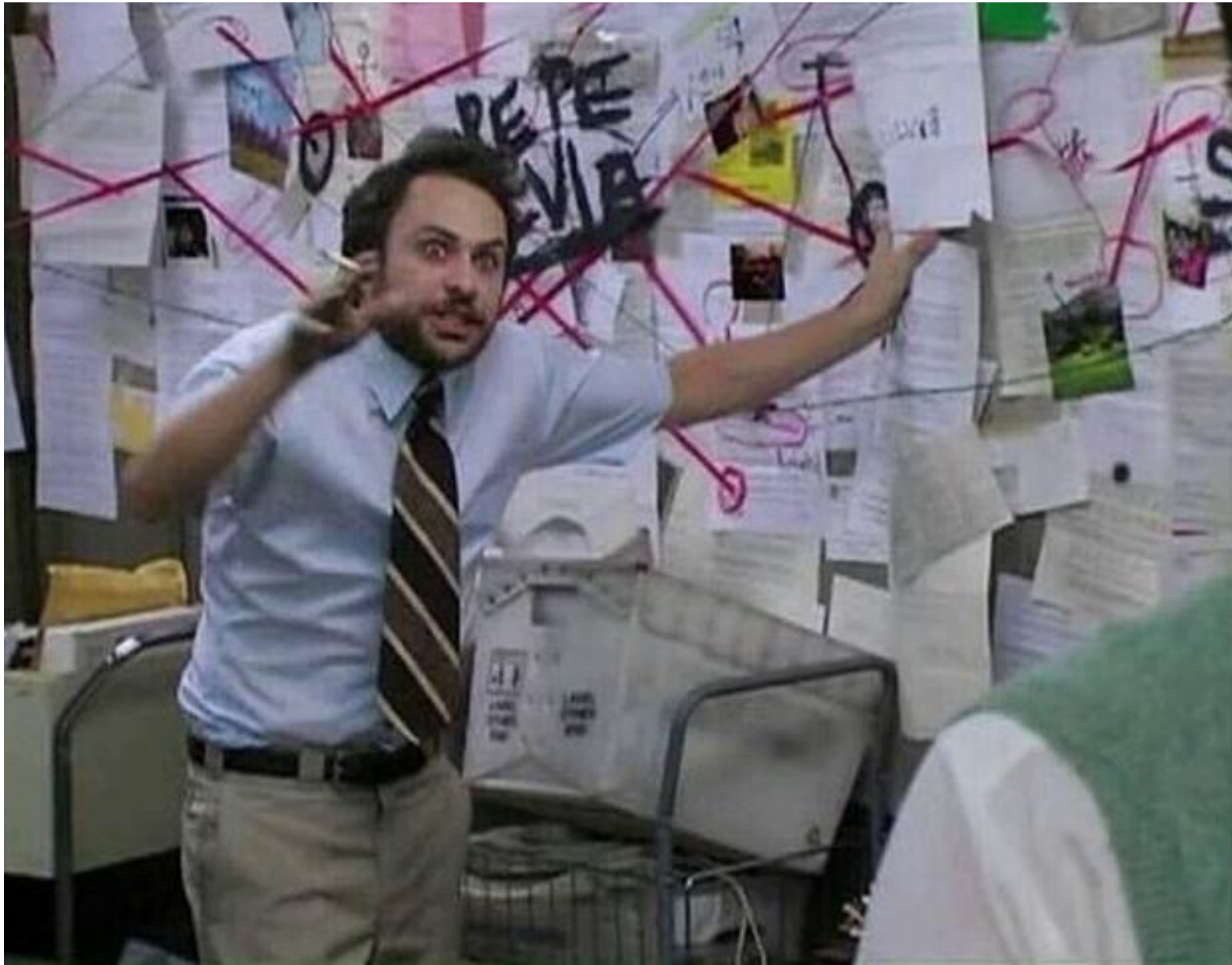
on *govor-it* tak, **budto** by *znaj-et* všo ob etom

3SG.M talk-3SG so **as\_if** COND know-3SG all about DEM.N.PREP

‘He talks as if he knew all about it.’ (cf. Kehayov & Torn-Leesik 2009)

# Summary

|                               | Hill Mari | Meadow Mari | Udmurt | Chuvash | Tatar |
|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|---------|-------|
| lexical marker <i>dyr</i>     | -         | +           | +      | +       | +     |
| Necessitive participle > e.m. | +         | +           | -      | +       | -     |
| Auxiliary verb 'must' > e.m.  | -         | -           | +      | -       | +     |
| Russian budto-clauses         | +         | +           | +      | -       | -     |





# Conclusions and Prospects

- Borrowing of clitic =dyr from Tatar into Meadow Mari and Udmurt
- No borrowing of inflectional morphology in this domain
- Transfers of functionality common in the region
- Differences between Mari and Udmurt correlate with differences between contact languages (Chuvash, Tatar)

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# Tay!

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