Constructions with the verb form *lieš* 'becomes' in Hill Mari and the origo

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Data

- Hill Mari (< Mari < Finno-Ugric < Uralic);
- collected in 2018 in the village of Kuznetsovo and the surrounding villages, Gornomari district of the Republic of Mari El, Russia;
- MSU research project on Hill Mari: http://hillmari-exp.tilda.ws/

lieš construction

finite verb (NPST, PST tenses) + *li-eš* (lit. 'become-NPST.3SG')

Subject agreement on the main verb, not on *lieš* → *lieš* is a 'frozen' verbal form

(1)   mä irgodêm   **ke-nä**   **li-eš**   / *li-nä   šudê
      we   tomorrow   go-NPST.1PL   become-NPST.3SG   / become-NPST.1PL   hay
      sal-aš
      cut-INF
      'We are going to cut hay tomorrow.'

Very infrequent in texts (no occurrences in the corpus of texts collected in Kuznetsovo)

Secondary modifiers

- Compare a similar phenomenon in Hill Mari: **finite verb + discontinuous past markers ôlʼ-ô / ôl-ôn** (lit. 'be-AOR.3SG' / 'be-PRET.3SG'), accounted for in Mordashova (2017)

(2) mën'   škol-ôškô   **kej-em**   **ôlʼ-ô**   **/ ôl-ôn**   /
     I   school-ILL   go-NPST.1SG   be-AOR.3SG   / be-PRET.3SG /

     *ôlʼ-ôm   / *ôl-ôn-am
     be-AOR.1SG   / be-PRET-1SG

     'I used to go to school.'

- Non-inflected verb forms like *ôlʼô*, *ôlôn* and *lieš* that attach to finite verbs are called **secondary modifiers** (Plungian, van der Auwera 2006)

lieš construction in Meadow Mari

- Mentioned in Isanbaev (1982) with readings such as '**suppose that**', 'as if', 'as the rumour goes'.

(3) Te   məj-əm **sajl-eda**   **li-eš**,   a   rajon-əšto
    you_all   I-ACC   choose-NPST.2PL   become-NPST.3SG   and district-IN
    ten-da-n   punčal-da-m   og-ət   peŋgəd-em-de
    you-POSS.2PL-GEN   decision-POSS.2PL-ACC   NEG.3-PL   hard-INCH-CAUS
    '**Suppose you will elect** me but the district's authorities will not support your decision'
    (Isanbaev 1982: 45).

lieš construction in Meadow Mari

- Mentioned in Isanbaev (1982) with readings such as 'suppose that', '**as if**', 'as the rumour goes' (Meadow Mari)

(4) Ənde   üšan-em,   Timofej   Ionəč   vi-et   čən=ak   ulo
     now   believe-NPST.1SG   T.   I.   strength-POSS.2SG   truth=EMPH   EX

     ul-maš!   mlande   ümba-č   kən'el-š-em-la   tudə-m
     be-NMN   ground   up-ABL   get_up-PTCP.ACT-POSS.1SG-EQU   that-ACC

     mokt-em   **li-eš,**   a   čon-em   dene   tide   üčəzö
     praise-NPST.1SG   become-NPST.3SG   and   soul-POSS.1SG   with   this   stubborn

     ajdem-əm   unčəli   vuj-ən   sakə-me   šu-eš
     man-ACC   upside_down   head-GEN   hang-NMN   reach-NPST.3SG

'Now I believe you, Timofey Ionych, turns out you really have the energy -- getting back on my feet **I pretend to be praising** him but in fact I'd love to hang the stubborn one upside down' (Isanbaev 1982: 45).

lieš construction in Meadow Mari

- Mentioned in Isanbaev (1982) with readings such as 'suppose that', 'as if', '**as the rumour goes**' (Meadow Mari)

(5) Jal   marij   utla-rak-še   vate-šaməč   oj   počeš
     village   man   more-CMPR-POSS.3SG   woman-PL   opinion   after
gən,   Vačim   oksa-lan   köra   kupjal-šaməč   **pušt-ən-ət** **lieš**
If   Vachi-ACC money-DAT   because_of Kupjal-PL   kill-PRET-3PL   become-NPST.3SG

'**There was a rumor** — especially women were gossiping — that Vachi **had been murdered** for money' (Isanbaev 1982: 46).

Outline

- **Morphosyntactic properties**
- **Readings:**
  - **Future readings**
    - **Future 'proper'**
    - **Special 'discovering a fact' contexts**
  - **'Pretence' / 'Make-believe' readings**
- **Analysis**

Morphosyntactic properties

lieš always follows the verb and can only be separated from it by a restricted set of word forms such as *säj* 'maybe':

(6) a.   mën'   **tômen'-äm**   **li-eš**   čeboksar- êštê
        I   study-NPST.1SG   become-NPST.3SG   Cheboksary-IN

    b.   *mën'   **tômen'-äm**   čeboksar-êštê   **li-eš**
        I   study-NPST.1SG   Cheboksary-IN   become-NPST.3SG
        'I will study in Cheboksary.'

(7)   pet'a   **tol-eš**   säj   **li-eš**
     Peter   come-NPST.3SG   maybe   become-NPST.3SG
     'Maybe Peter will come.'

Morphosyntactic properties

lieš cannot be used in an elliptical answer to the question:

(8)   {Where will you study?}
      *čeboksar-ə̂štə̂   li-eš
      Cheboksary-IN   become-NPST.3SG
      'In Cheboksary.'

Future readings: future 'proper'

- Future time reference in Hill Mari is usually expressed by non-past tense:

(9) **kej-em**   tômen'-äš   x'im'ik-eš

    go-NPST.1SG   study-INF   chemist-LAT

    'I will enter a chemistry program.' (Kuznetsovo text corpus)

- In such contexts *lieš* is acceptable, but judged as redundant

Future readings: future 'proper'

- Non-past forms of stative verbs such as *ӫläš* 'to live', *jarataš* 'to love' cannot refer to the future on their own (10a). Combined with **non-past verb forms**, *lieš* 'shifts' the situation to the domain of future (10b).

(10) a. mӫn'-ӫn ti   pujȇrȇ-maš-em,   mӫn'   tӫ-štӫ   ӫl-em
        I-GEN   this   destine-NMLZ-POSS.1SG   I   that-IN   live-NPST.1SG
        #'This is my destiny, I will live there.'

   b. mӫn'-ӫn ti   pujȇrȇ-maš-em,   mӫn'   tӫ-štӫ   **ӫl-em**
        I-GEN   this   destine-NMLZ-POSS.1SG   I   that-IN   live-NPST.1SG
        li-eš
        become-NPST.3SG
        'This is my destiny, I will live there.'

Future readings: future 'proper'

- Combination of **non-past + *lieš*** can express a future anterior reading (though *lieš* is also redundant in such contexts)
- Less successful with preterite than expected, cf. Pen'kova 2018, Sitchinava 2018 on future anterior forms (e.g. *will have V-ed*)

(11) tën' tol-mešk-et   maša   **ke-n**   **kolt-a**
     you   come-CVB.LIM-POSS.2SG   Mary   go-CVB   send-NPST.3SG
     li-eš   /   **ˀke-n**   **kolt-en**   **li-eš**
     become-NPST.3SG   go-CVB   send-PRET.3SG   become-NPST.3SG
     'Mary will have already left before you come.'

Constraints (1)

lieš is ruled out in **prospective** contexts:

(12) škaf   ёrz-ält-eš   teve   **ken-vaz-eš**   **(*li-eš)**
    wardrobe   shake-DETR-NPST.3SG   here   go.CVB-lie-NPST.3SG   become-NPST.3SG
    gan'=ok
    like=EMPH
    'The wardrobe is shaking, it is about to fall.'

Predictive conditionals (with a real protasis)

lieš is allowed in a real antecedent...

(13) aftobus veremä-štə **tol-eš** **li-eš** gən'ə,
      bus   time-IN   come-NPST.3SG   become-NPST.3SG   if

    to   čeboksar-êštê   lu   cäš-ən   li-nä
    then   Cheboksary-IN   10   hour-GEN   become-NPST.1PL

    'If the bus arrives on time, we will be in Cheboksary at 10 o'clock'.

Constraints (2)

… and banned in the counterfactual antecedent because in a counterfactual antecedent it cannot possibly have a future reference.

(14) aftobus **pɐ̂dɐ̂rgɐ̂-de** **(*li-eš)** ɐ̂l-gecɘ, mä kɐ̂dal-ɐ̂n-na
    bus break-NEG.PRET become-NPST.3SG be-COND we leave-PRET-1PL
    uže ɐ̂l'-ɐ̂
    already be-AOR.3SG
    'If the bus had not broken, we would already have left'.

Future readings: 'discovering a fact'

However, in some contexts *lieš* is more natural:

- 'Discovering a fact' ≈ 'окажется, что...', '(if) it turns out that...'
- 'It is possible that in the future the Observer will find out that P'

(15) a   jesli   vas'a   **tol-eš**   **li-eš**?
     and   if   Basil   come-NPST.3SG   become-NPST.3SG
    {A family is discussing their farming plans to cut hay the next day. Someone recalls that Basil, a relative, wanted to visit, in which case the work will be postponed.} 'What if Basil comes?'

Future readings: ʿdiscovering a factʾ

Past tenses (preterite more preferable than aorist) may also acquire a future reading with *lieš*: in (16) *ajŝrenŝt lieš* denotes discovering a fact about the past in the future.

(16) možet   ti   mŝrŝ-m   uže   **ajŝr-en-ŝt**   (**⁇ajŝr-evŝ**)
       maybe   this song-ACC already` choose-PRET-3PL   choose-AOR.3PL
       li-eš?
       become-NPST.3SG
       'What if this song will already have been chosen?'

Pretence / make-believe readings

The speaker invites the addressee to simulate some kind of behavior / engage in a pretend play.

Both **preterite** and **aorist** are compatible with *lieš*, when it comes to the contexts of 'pretending':

(17) mӫn'   **ke-n**   **kolt-en-äm** **/**   **ke-n**   **kolt-ӛš-ӛm** **li-eš**

    I   go-CVB   send-PRET-1SG   go-CVB   send-AOR-1SG become-NPST.3SG

    'I am gone' {The speaker is asking the addressee to not betray his or her presence.}

Pretence / make-believe readings

Analytical hortatives (*davaj / ajda* 'let's' + NPST) can also attach *lieš* with the make-believe interpretation:

(18) davaj   kol-êm   **žär-enä**   **li-eš**
     let_us   fish-ACC   fry-NPST.1PL   become-NPST.3SG
    'Let's pretend that we are frying fish.'
    #'Let's fry fish (in the future).'

Pretence / make-believe readings

The same refers to the **past tense forms** with *lieš*:

(19) davaj   mä   kak_budto   katl'et-öm   **tɘ̂šk-en-nä**   **li-eš /**
     let_us   we   as_if   cutlet-ACC   form-PRET-1PL   become-NPST.3SG
     tɘ̂šk-ɘ̂š-na   **li-eš**
     form-PRET-1PL   become-NPST.3SG
     'Let's pretend that we have made cutlets'.

Pretence / make-believe readings

Sometimes the interpretation may be of someone making up a scenario:

(20) t'et'ä   **mägǝr-äl-Ø**   **kolt-a**   **li-eš**
      child   cry-ATT-CVB   send-NPST.3SG   become-NPST.3SG
     '{Discussing a film scenario and deciding that at this point in the film} the child will burst into tears.'

(21) mǝn'   **ke-n**   **kolt-en-äm**   **/**   **ke-n**   **kolt-êš-êm**   **li-eš**
      I   go-CVB   send-PRET-1SG   go-CVB   send-AOR-1SG   become-NPST.3SG
     'At this point I will already be gone' {The speaker is explaining the order of the events in a play.}

Constraints (3)

Only future reference:

(22) mәn'ә **vaštәl-am** **li-eš**, xot'a jäng-әštә nelә

I laugh-NPST.1SG become-NPST.3SG although heart-IN heavy

'I pretend to be laughing, although I'm feeling uneasy'.

'I will laugh, even if I'm feeling uneasy'.

(23) ävä-žә ergә-žә vә-kә vujta piš **šәdešk-ä**

mother-POSS.3SG son-POSS.3SG up-ILL2 as_if very get_angry-NPST.3SG

(*lieš), a әške-žә tәdә-n verc piš susu әl-eš

become-NPST.3SG and REFL-POSS.3SG that-GEN for very happy be-NPST.3SG

'The mother is pretending to be angry with her son but is in fact very happy for him'.

Analysis

- 'discovering a fact **in the future**'
- pretence / make-believe contexts **in the future**

Future reference of events with *lieš* explains why *lieš* cannot be used in prospective contexts: during the preparatory phase the speaker has already discovered what will happen, so the discovery event is situated in the past.

Analysis

- 'discovering a fact **in the future**'
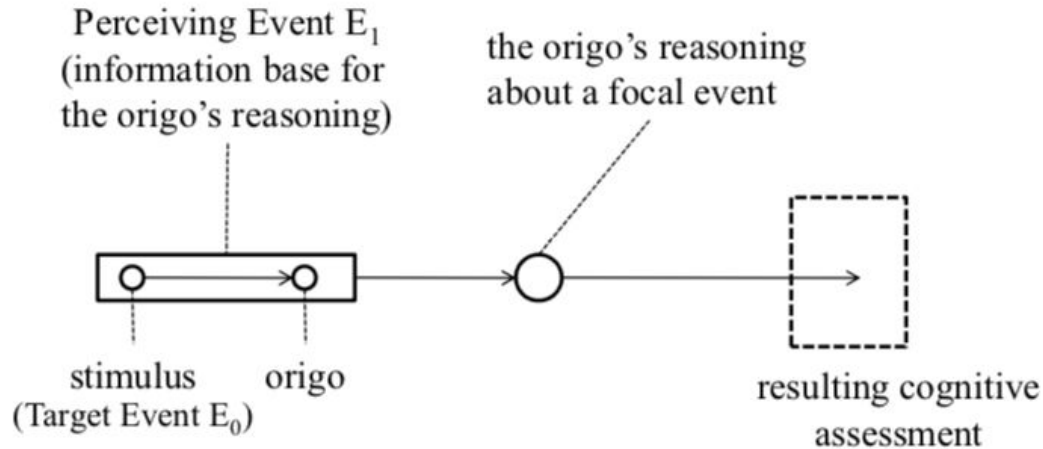- pretence / make-believe contexts **in the future**

Both 'discovering a fact' and 'pretence / make-believe' imply that there exists another **subject of consciousness** different from the speaker and the addressee.

Analysis

- "Subject of consciousness" → origo / modal assessor (Lehmann 2008, 2011)
- The modal assessor is "the issuer or source of modality, the one who takes the modal attitude towards a proposition." (Lehmann 2011: 6)
- Propositional attitudes of the speech act participants and the origo may differ in 'discovering a fact' and 'pretence / make-believe' contexts
- Force dynamics (Talmy 1988); Force-dynamics approach to modal semantics (Sweetser 1990); Analysis of the Evidential markers in Korean (Kwon 2012: 201-202)
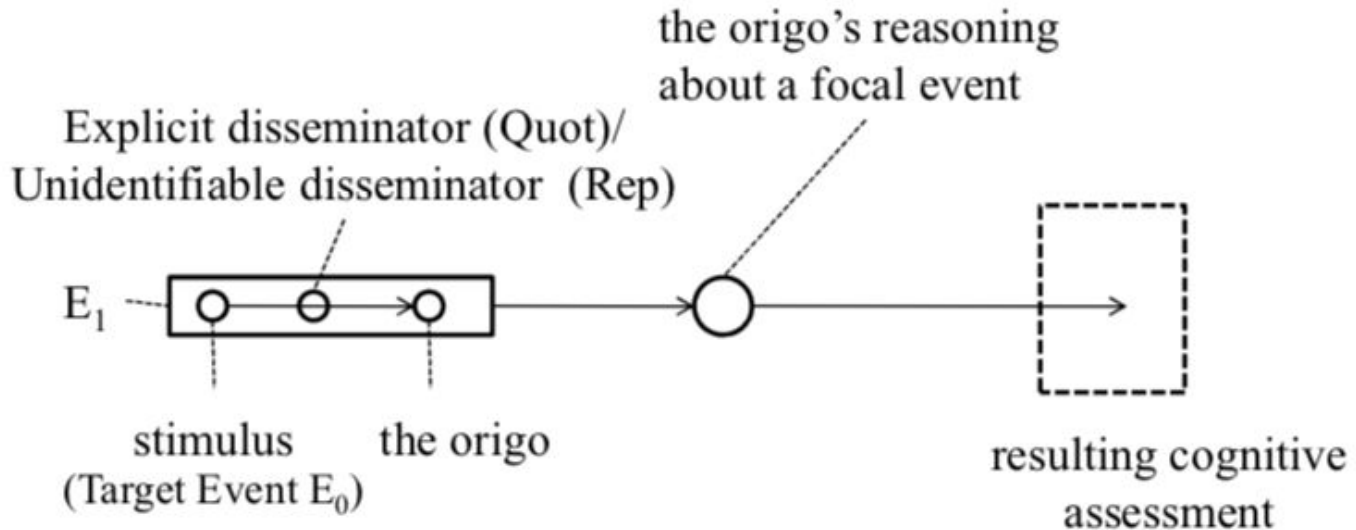
Analysis

- Analysis of the Evidential markers in Korean (Kwon 2012: 201-202):
  direct evidence

Perceiving Event E_1
(information base for
the origo's reasoning)

the origo's reasoning
about a focal event

stimulus   origo
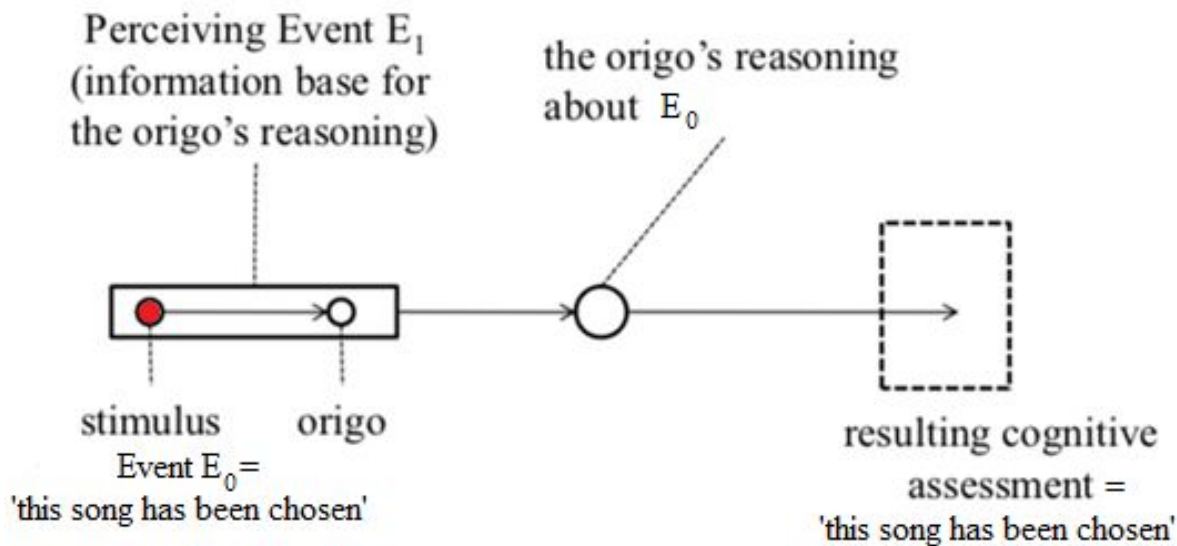(Target Event E_0)

resulting cognitive
assessment

Analysis

- Analysis of the Evidential markers in Korean (Kwon 2012: 201-202):
  quotative / reportative

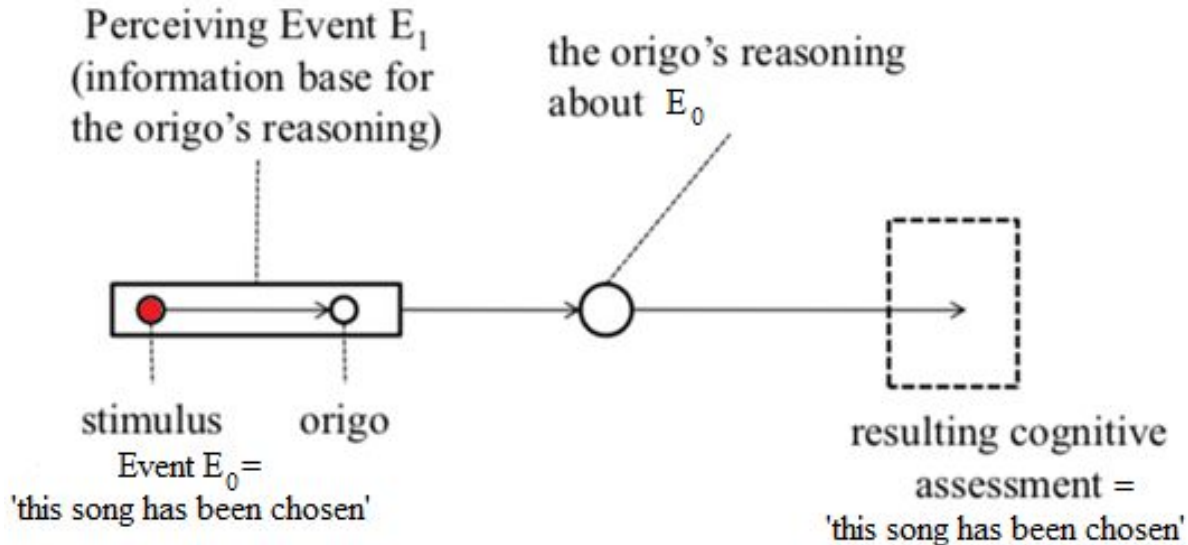# Analysis: 'discovering a fact'

(24) možet   ti   mêrê̂-m uže   **ajê̂r-en-ë̂t**   (**??ajê̂r-evë̈**)   **li-eš**?

    maybe   this   song-ACC already`   choose-PRET-3PL   choose-AOR.3PL   become-NPST.3SG

'What if this song will already have been chosen?'
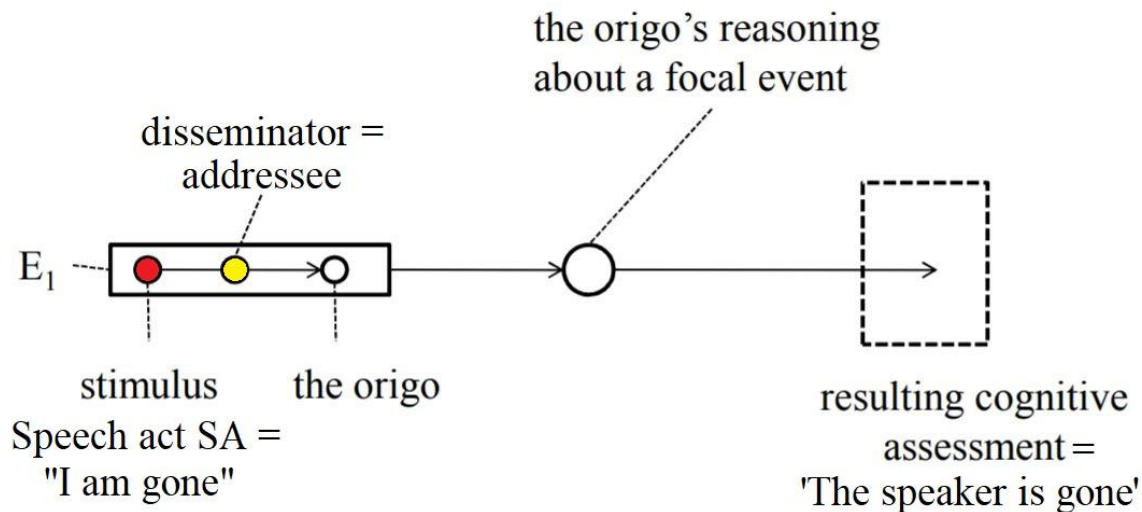
Analysis: 'discovering a fact'

- 'What if this song will already have been chosen?'
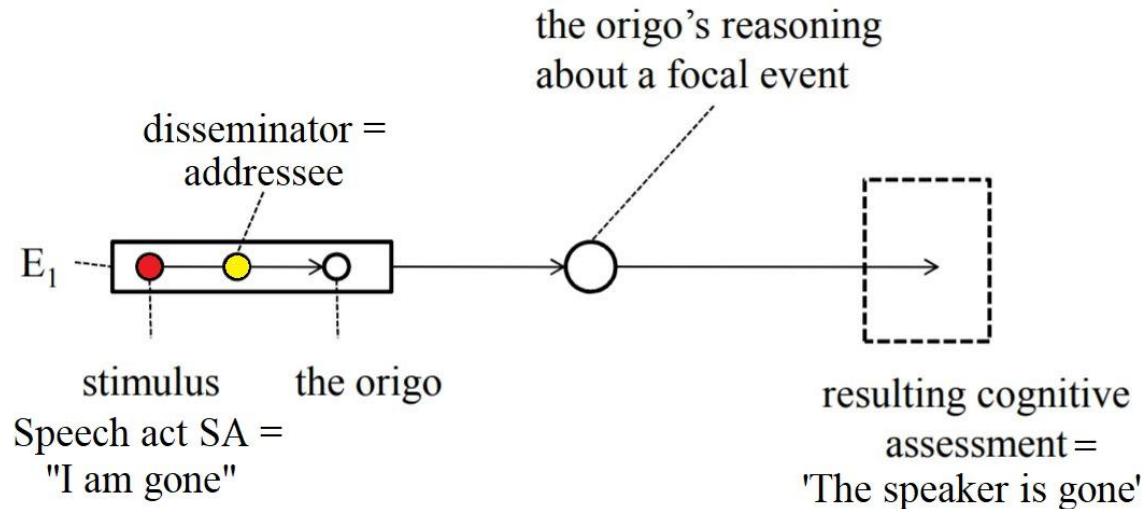- WHAT IF [for Origo ≠ Speech Act Participant [Origo finds out that P]]

Perceiving Event E_1 (information base for the origo's reasoning)

the origo's reasoning about E_0

stimulus   origo

Event E_0 = 'this song has been chosen'

resulting cognitive assessment = 'this song has been chosen'

Analysis: pretence / make-believe

(25) mön'   **ke-n   kolt-en-äm   /   ke-n   kolt-ə̂š-ə̂m   li-eš**

   I   go-CVB   send-PRET-1SG   go-CVB   send-AOR-1SG become-NPST.3SG

    'I am gone' {The speaker is asking the addressee to not betray his or her presence.}

Analysis: pretence / make-believe

- 'I am gone' {The speaker is asking the addressee to not betray his or her presence.}
- The speaker produces an utterance SA with propositional content P in front of the addressee; the addressee is supposed to transmit P to the origo, so the origo's cognitive assessment is P.

Conclusions

- *lieš* introduces an origo / a modal assessor, different from the speech act participants
- The origo appears in 'discovering a fact' and pretence / make-believe contexts
- Irrelevant (thus redundant) in other future contexts

Thank you!

Thank you!

Lie što me*

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