While we attended a talk: marking access to the information in Khanty temporal constructions

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Introduction

What?

- Temporal participial constructions denoting Simultaneity

Where?

- Northern Khanty < Khanty < Ob-Ugric < Ugric < Uralic
- Kazym variety, data from fieldwork in Kazym (2018)

Why?

- They display nontrivial discourse-semantic properties

How?

- A cognitive-functional account in the framework of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991), partly inspired by Mental Spaces Theory (Fauconnier 1994, Fauconnier & Sweetser 1996)

Outline of the talk

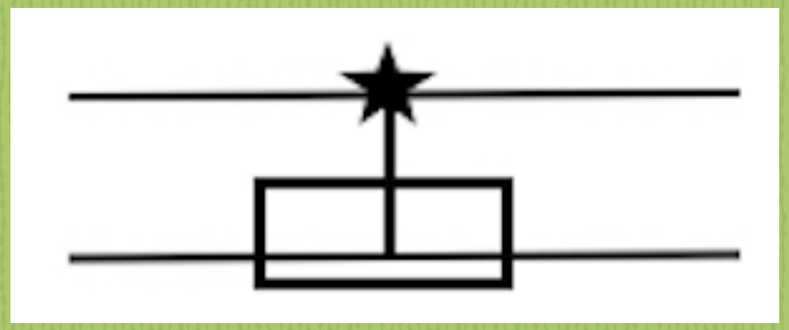
- Introduction
- Temporal relations and evidentiality
- Marking access to the information
  - *Perspective and mode of access*
  - *Perspective and cognition*
  - *Perspective and factuality*
- Cognitive interpretation
- Conclusion

Temporal relations…

Temporal relations between events:

- Anteriority — ‘after P, Q’, ‘until P, Q’
- Posteriority — ‘before P, Q’, ‘until P, Q’
- Simultaneity — ‘when P, Q’, ‘while P, Q’
  - SIOVER = Simultaneity Overlap, vs. SIDUR = Simultaneity Duration (Kortmann 1998)

Temporal relations…



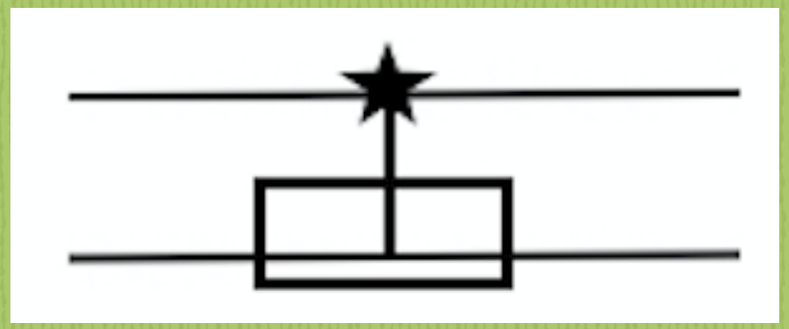
Simultaneity Overlap

When he was eating I left.
When he came I left.

…n events:

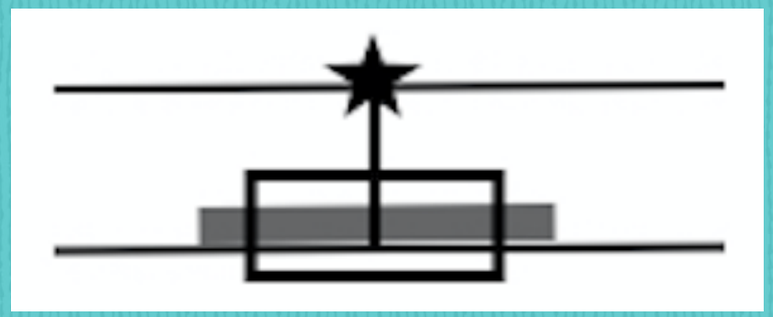
- …', 'until P, Q'
- …P, Q', 'until P, Q'
- Simulta…neity — 'when P, Q', 'while P, Q'
  - SIOVER = Simultaneity Overlap, vs. SIDUR = Simultaneity Duration (Kortmann 1998)

Temporal relations…



Simultaneity Overlap

When he was eating I left.
When he came I left.

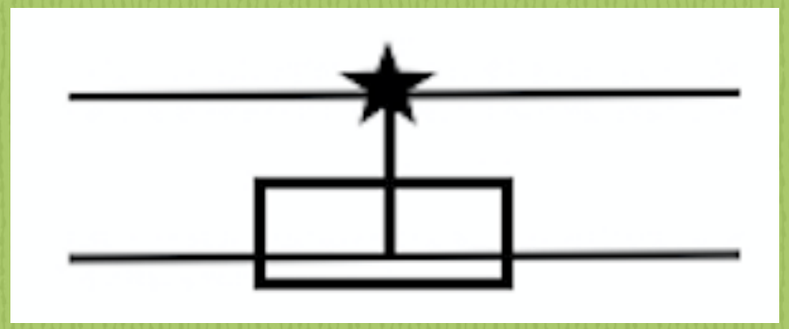


Simultaneity Duration

While he was eating I left.
While he was eating I was singing.

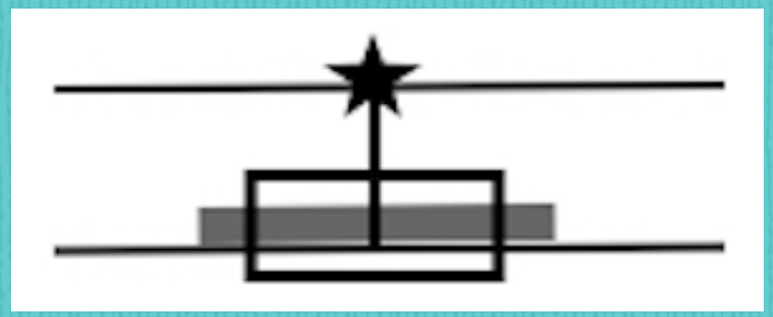
- Simultaneity — ‘when P, Q’, ‘while P, Q’
  - SIOVER = Simultaneity Overlap, vs. SIDUR = Simultaneity Duration (Kortmann 1998)

Temporal relations…



Simultaneity Overlap

When he was eating I left.
When he came I left.



Simultaneity Duration

While he was eating I left.
While he was eating I was singing.

In Khanty:
V_{PTCP} saχət

In Khanty:
V_{PTCP} mär(ən)

Temporal relations…

Punctual context, both ***mär*** (SIDUR) and ***saχət*** (SIOVER):

(1a) [**oms-əm** **mär-ɛw-ən**] pɛt´a-jen juχt-əs
sit-PTCP.PST while-1PL-LOC Pete-2SG come-PST[3SG]
‘While we were sitting Pete came.’

(1b) [**oms-t-ɛw** **saχət**] pɛt´a-jen juχt-əs
sit-PTCP.NPST-1PL when Pete-2SG come-PST[3SG]
‘When we were sitting Pete came.’

Temporal relations…

Durative context, only *mär* (SIDUR) fully acceptable:

(2a) pɛt´a-jen [**rəpit-əm** **mär-aλ-ən**] arij-əs
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC sing-PST[3sg]
'While Pete was working he sang.'

(2b) ʔpɛt´a-jen [**rəpit-t-aλ** **saχət**] arij-əs
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.NPST-3SG when sing-PST[3sg]
Exp.: 'When Pete was working he sang.'

… and evidentiality

Evidentiality in Northern Khanty:

(3a) aśe-n jʉxt-əs
father-P.2sg come-PST[3sg]
‘Your father came.’

(3b) aśe-n jʉxt-m-aλ
father-P.2sg come-EV.PST-3sg
‘Your father came (I heard/I understood/I was told).’

… and evidentiality

Neutral context, both *mär* (SIDUR) and *saχət* (SIOVER):

(4a) [ma **uλ-əm** **mär-ɛm-ən**]
I sleep-PTCP.PST while-1sg-LOC

(4b) [ma **uλ-t-ɛm** **saχət**]
I sleep-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

pɛt´a-jen ow-ɛm sɛŋk-ɛm-əs
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-MOM-PST[3sg]

‘While; when I was sleeping Pete knocked at my door.’

… and evidentiality

Unwitnessed main event, only *mär* (SIDUR) fully acceptable:

(5a) [ma **uλ-əm** **mär-ɛm-ən**]
I sleep-PTCP.PST while-1sg-LOC

(5b) ?[ma **uλ-t-ɛm** **saχət**]
I sleep-PTCP.NPST-1sg when
pɛt´a-jen ow-ɛm sɛŋk-m-aλ
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-EV.PST-3sg
'While; when I was sleeping Pete apparently knocked at my door (= I didn't hear).'

… and evidentiality

Unwitnessed main event, only *mär* (SIDUR) fully acceptable:

(5a) [ma **uλ-əm** **mär-ɛm-ən**]
I sleep-PTCP.PST while-1sg-LOC

(5b) ?[ma **uλ-t-ɛm** **saxə**
I sleep-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

pɛt´a-jen ow-ɛm sɛŋk-m-aλ
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-EV.PST-3sg

‘While; when I was sleeping Pete apparently knocked at my door (= I didn’t hear).’

Why should mär be the only option with evidentiality?

… and evidentiality

mär => the Speaker **did not** witness the main event:

(6) [ma **uλ-əm** **mär-ɛm-ən**]
I sleep-PTCP.PST while-1sg-LOC
pɛt´a-jen **ow-ɛm** sɛŋk-ɛm-əs,
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-MOM-PST[3sg]
'While I was sleeping Pete knocked at my door.'

\+ ma än χəλ-s-ɛm / ?ma nuχ wɛrλə-s-əm
I NEG hear-PST-1SG.SG I up wake-PST-1SG
'I didn't hear.' 'I woke up.'

… and evidentiality

mär => the Speaker **did not** witnes

(6) [ma **uλ-əm** **mär-ɛm-ən**]
I sleep-PTCP.PST while-1sg-LOC
pɛt´a-jen **ow-ɛm** **sɛŋk-ɛm-əs**,
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-MOM-PST[3sg]
'While I was sleeping Pete knocked at my door.'

Why does mär require the non-firsthand access implication?

\+ ma än χəλ-s-ɛm / ?ma nuχ wɛrλə-s-əm
I NEG hear-PST-1SG.SG I up wake-PST-1SG
'I didn't hear.' 'I woke up.'

… and evidentiality

saχət => the Speaker **did** witness the main event:

(6a) [ma **uλ-t-ɛm** **saχət**]
I sleep-PTCP.NPST-1sg when
pɛt´a-jen ow-ɛm sɛŋk-ɛm-əs,
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-MOM-PST[3sg]
‘When I was sleeping Pete knocked at my door.’

\+ ?ma än χөλ-s-ɛm / ma nuχ wɛrλə-s-əm
I NEG hear-PST-1SG.SG I up wake-PST-1SG
‘I didn’t hear.’ ‘I woke up.’

… and evidentiality

saχət => the Speaker **did** witness the main event:

(6a) [ma **uλ-t-ɛm** **saχət**]
I sleep-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

pɛt´a-jen ow-ɛm sɛŋk-ɛm-əs,
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-MOM-PST[3sg]
‘When I was sleeping Pete knocked at my door.’

And vice versa?

\+ ?ma än χөλ-s-ɛm / ma nuχ wɛrλə-s-əm
I NEG hear-PST-1SG.SG I up wake-PST-1SG
‘I didn’t hear.’ ‘I woke up.’

Temporal relations and evidentiality

	Witnessed main event	Unwitnessed main event
mär ‘while’	+	+
saχət ‘when’	+	?

A proposed explanation:

- Normally, temporal constructions include the OBSERVATION frame requiring a directly perceptible main event (cf. the notion of frame, Fillmore 1982)
- **Surprisingly, *mär* can also code simultaneity with «backstage», unwitnessed main events**

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Marking access to the information

Unlike saχət, mär can code simultaneity with «backstage», unwitnessed main events

Questions addressed here:

- From whose perspective is an event witnessed or unwitnessed?
- What kind of information is regarded as «backstage»?

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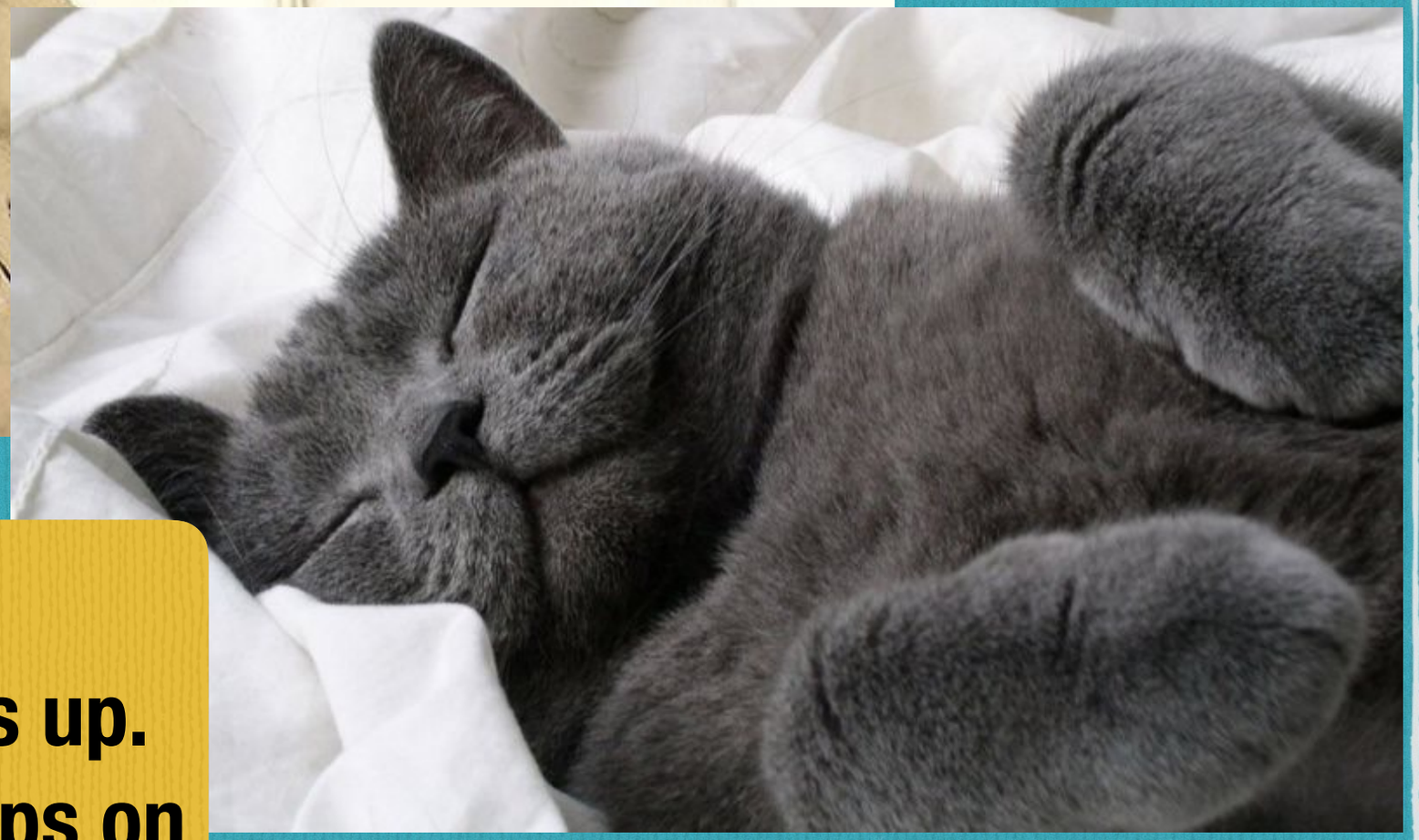
Pete & Speaker's door



Speaker

1. Hears and wakes up.
2. Doesn't hear, sleeps on

Perspective and mode of access

1. Speaker = Dep Subj, **saχət** => Speaker's perspective and firsthand access

(6b) [ma **uλ-t-ɛm** **saχət**]
I sleep-PTCP.NPST-1sg when
pɛt´a-jen **ow-ɛm** **sɛŋk-ɛm-əs,**
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-MOM-PST[3sg]
'When I was sleeping Pete knocked at my door.'

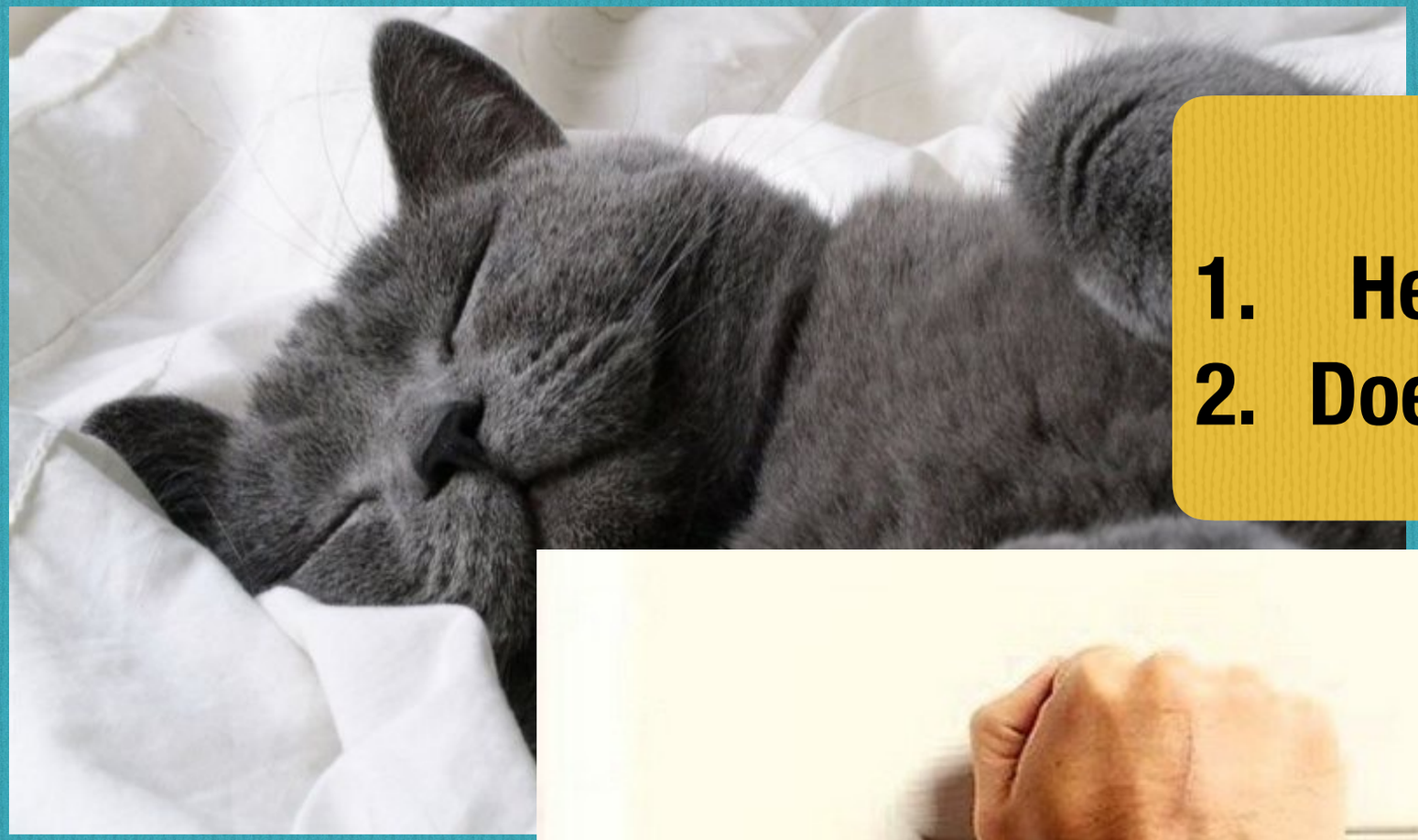
\+ **ʔma** **än** **χөλ-s-ɛm** / **ma** **nuχ** **wɛrλə-s-əm**
I NEG hear-PST-1SG.SG I up wake-PST-1SG
'I didn't hear.' 'I woke up.'

Perspective and mode of access

1. Speaker = Dep Subj, **mär** => Speaker's perspective but no firsthand access

(6a) [ma **uλ-əm** **mär-ɛm-ən**]
I sleep-PTCP.PST while-1sg-LOC
pɛt´a-jen **ow-ɛm** **sɛŋk-ɛm-əs,**
Pete-P.2sg door-1sg knock-MOM-PST[3sg]
'While I was sleeping Pete knocked at my door.'

\+ **ma** **än** **χəλ-s-ɛm** / **ʔma** **nuχ** **wɛrλə-s-əm**
I NEG hear-PST-1SG.SG I up wake-PST-1SG
'I didn't hear.' 'I woke up.'



Pete

1. Hears and wakes up.
2. Doesn't hear, sleeps on

Speaker & Pete's door

Perspective and mode of access

2. Pete = Dep Subj, Speaker = Main Subj, **saχət** => Pete's (= Protagonist's) perspective and firsthand access

(7a) [pɛt´a-jen **uλ-t-aλ** **saχət**]
Pete-P.2sg sleep-PTCP.NPST-3sg when

ma **ow-əλ** **sɛŋk-s-ɛm,**
I door-3sg knock-PST-1sg
'While Pete was sleeping I knocked at his door.'

\+ **ʔλʉw** **än** **χөλ-s-əλλe** / **λʉw** **nuχ** **wɛrλə-s**
I NEG hear-PST-3SG.SG I up wake-PST[3sg]
'He didn't hear.' 'He woke up.'

Perspective and mode of access

2. Pete = Dep Subj, Speaker = Main Subj, **mär** => Pete's (Protagonist's) perspective but no firsthand access

(7b) [pɛt´a-jen **uλ-əm** **mär-äλ-ən**]
Pete-P.2sg sleep-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC
ma **ow-əλ** **sɛŋk-s-ɛm,**
I door-3sg knock-PST-1sg
'While Pete was sleeping I knocked at his door.'

\+ **λʉw** **än** **χʊλ-s-əλλe** / **?λʉw** **nuχ** **wɛrλə-s**
I NEG hear-PST-3SG.SG I up wake-PST[3sg]
'He didn't hear.' 'He woke up.'

Pete
Works and says something

Speaker
1. **Hears it**
2. **Doesn’t hear**

Perspective and mode of access

3. Pete = Dep & Main Subj, **saχət, ʔmär** => Speaker's perspective and firsthand access

(8a) ʔpɛtˊa-jen [**rəpit-əm** **mär-aλ-ən**]
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(8b) pɛtˊa-jen [**rəpit-t-aλ** **saχət**]
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.NPST-1sg when
muλti lupə-s
what.INDEF say-PST[3sg]
'While; when Pete was working he said something.'

Perspective and mode of access

3. Pete = Dep & Main Subj, **mär, ʔsaχət =>** Speaker's perspective but no firsthand access

(9a) pɛt´a-jen **[rəpit-əm mär-aλ-ən]**
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(9b) ʔpɛt´a-jen **[rəpit-t-aλ saχət]**
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.NPST-1sg when
muλti lup-m-aλ
what.INDEF say-EV.PST-3sg
'While; when Pete was working he apparently said something (I didn't hear).'

Perspective and mode of access

Interim summary:

- «Backstage» event as a non-firsthand information
- Speaker’s perspective unless (s)he is a part of the observed situation => shift to Protagonist

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Pete thinks, learns or remembers something

Can the Speaker witness these events?

Perspective and cognition

1. Main event ‘said’ observable by the Speaker

(8a) ʔpɛtˊa-jen [**rəpit-əm** **mär-aλ-ən**]
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(8b) pɛtˊa-jen [**rəpit-t-aλ** **saχət**]
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.NPST-1sg when
muλti lupə-s
what.INDEF say-PST[3sg]
‘While; when Pete was working he said something.’

Perspective and cognition

2. Main event ‘learn’ NOT observable by the Speaker

(10a) pɛt´a-jen **[rəpit-əm** **mär-aλ-ən]**
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(10b) ʔpɛt´a-jen **[rəpit-t-aλ** **saχət]**
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

muλti **uš-a** **wɛr-əs**
what.INDEF mind-dat make-pst[3sg]

‘While; when Pete was working he learned something.’

Perspective and cognition

3. Main event ‘remembered’ *metonymically* observable by the Speaker through Pete’s reaction

(11a) ʔpɛtˊa-jen [**rəpit-əm** **mär-aλ-ən**]
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(11b) pɛtˊa-jen [**rəpit-t-aλ** **saχət**]
Pete-P.2sg work-PTCP.NPST-1sg when
muλti nəməλm-əs
what.INDEF remember-PST[3sg]
‘While; when Pete was working he remembered something.’

Perspective and cognition

4. Neither event observable by the Speaker, both OK (???)

(12a) pɛt´a-jen [**nɵms-ɘm** **mär-aλ-ɘn**]
Pete-P.2sg think-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(12b) pɛt´a-jen [**nɵms-t-aλ** **saχɘt**]
Pete-P.2sg think-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

śit uš-a wɛr-s-ɘλλe
DEM mind-dat make-pst-3sg.sg

‘While; when Pete was thinking he learned that.’

Perspe

Speaker cannot observe by himself but takes Pete's (Protagonist's) perspective

4. Neither event ob

(12a) pɛt´a-jen [**nɵms-ɵm** **mär-aλ-ɵn**]
Pete-P.2sg think-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(12b) pɛt´a-jen [**nɵms-t-aλ** **saχɵt**]
Pete-P.2sg think-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

śit **uš-a** **wɛr-s-ɵλλe**
DEM mind-dat make-pst-3sg.sg

'While; when Pete was thinking he learned that.'

Perspective and mode of access

Interim summary:

- «Backstage» event as a non-firsthand information
- «Backstage» event as an unobservable cognitive process
- Speaker’s perspective unless (s)he is a part of the observed situation or both events are third party’s cognitive processes => shift to Protagonist

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Pete has just eaten five apples

Could the Speaker have observed this event?

Perspective and factuality

1. Main event ‘ate an apple’ observable (*saχət*) or not observable (*mär*) by the Speaker

(13a) [päsan χonəŋ-ən **oms-əm** **mär-ɛw-ən**]
table at-LOC sit-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(13b) [päsan χonəŋ-ən **oms-t-ɛw** **saχət**]
table at-LOC sit-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

pɛt´a-jen jabloka λɛ-s
Pete-P.2sg apple eat-PST[3sg]

‘While; when we were sitting at the table Pete ate an apple.’

Perspective and factuality

2. Main event ‘ate five apples’ as a factual information, not observable by the Speaker

(14a) [päsan χonəŋ-ən **oms-əm** **mär-ɛw-ən**]
table at-LOC sit-PTCP.PST while-3sg-LOC

(14b)?[päsan χonəŋ-ən **oms-t-ɛw** **saχət**]
table at-LOC sit-PTCP.NPST-1sg when

pɛt´a-jen wɛt jabloka λɛ-s
Pete-P.2sg five apple eat-PST[3sg]

‘While; when we were sitting at the table Pete ate five apples.’

Perspective and mode of access

Interim summary:

- «Backstage» event as a non-firsthand information
- «Backstage» event as an unobservable cognitive process
- **«Backstage» event as a factual information**
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Cognitive interpretation

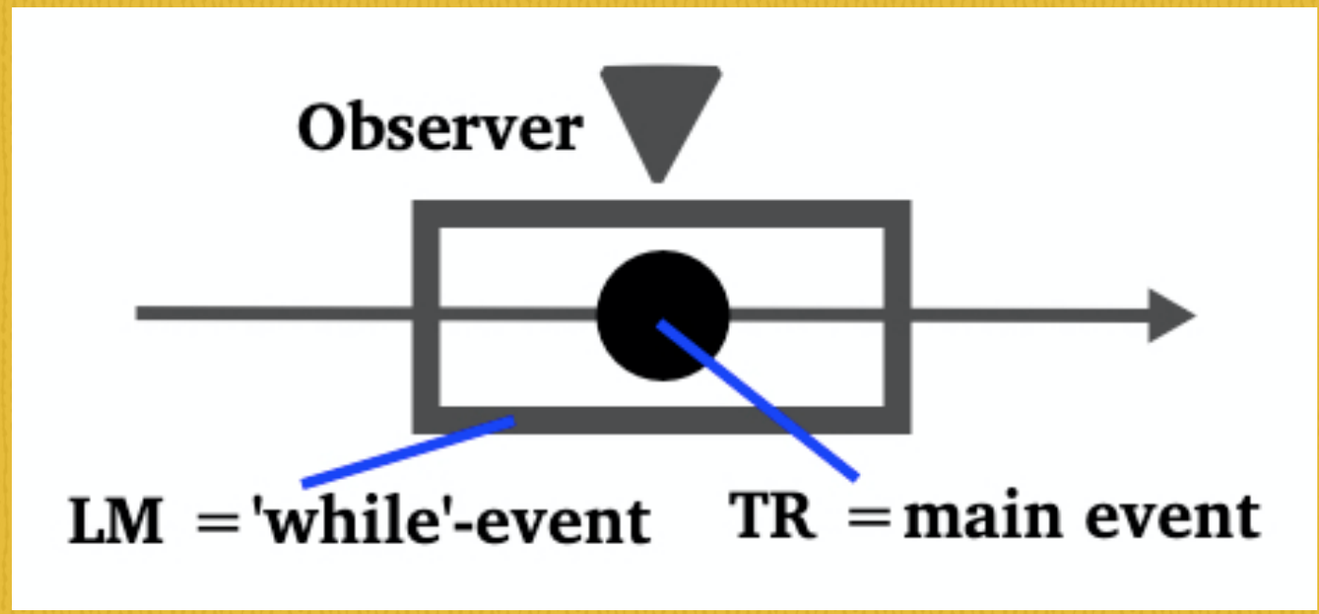
SIDUR meaning (while, пока, mär) can be represented using the **container image schema** (Lakoff 1987)

- Dependent event (= Landmark, LM) is a container in which the main event (= Trajector, TR) is placed inside
- This container is extended lengthwise on a time axis
- Opacity of the container makes the TR *invisible* for the dependent event participants or any exterior observer (except coreferent subjects!)
- Cf. SIOVER meaning with two visible overlapping events

Cognitiv

SIDUR meaning (while, ...g
the **container image s**...

SIDUR 'while'



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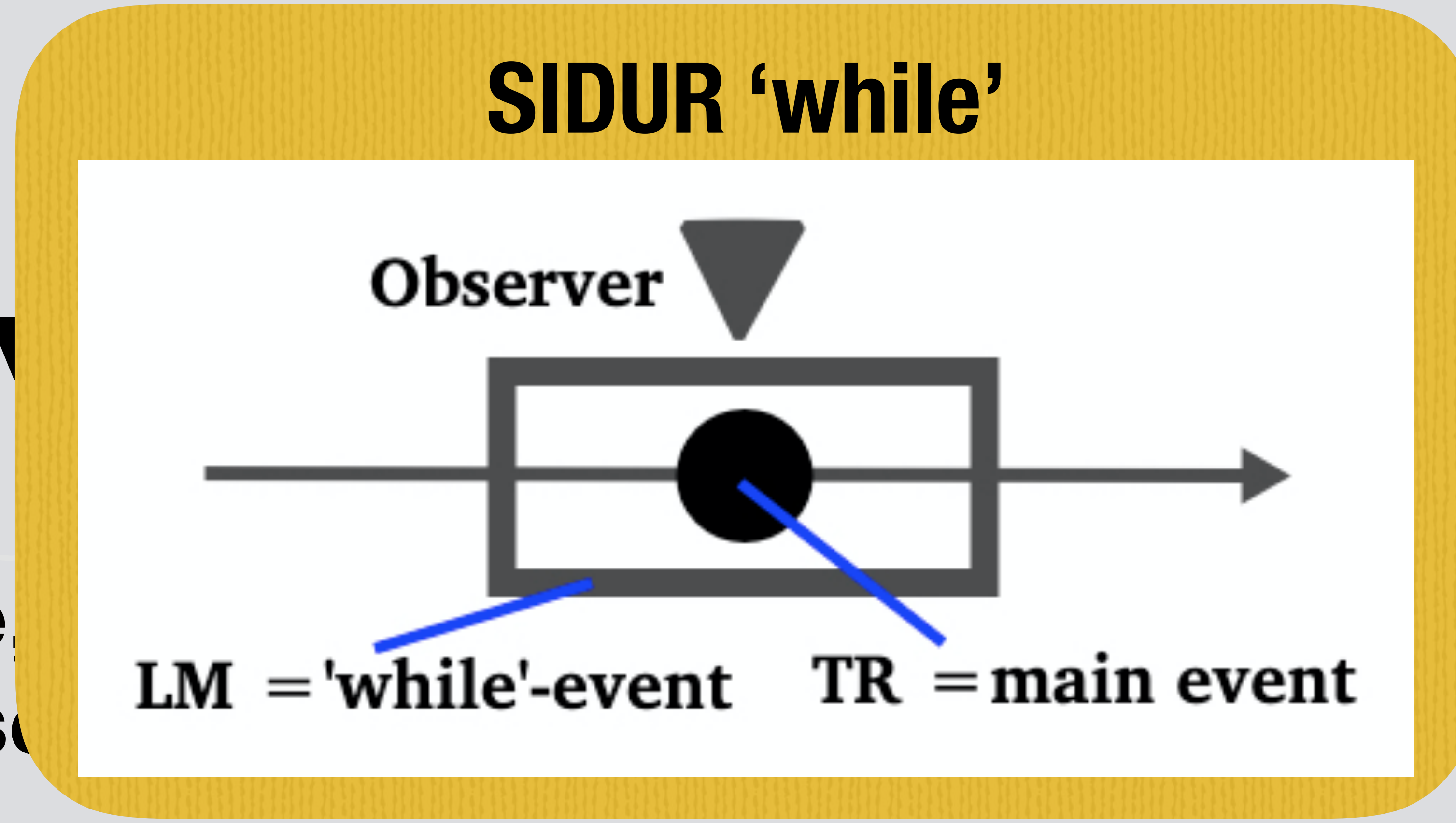
Cognitiv



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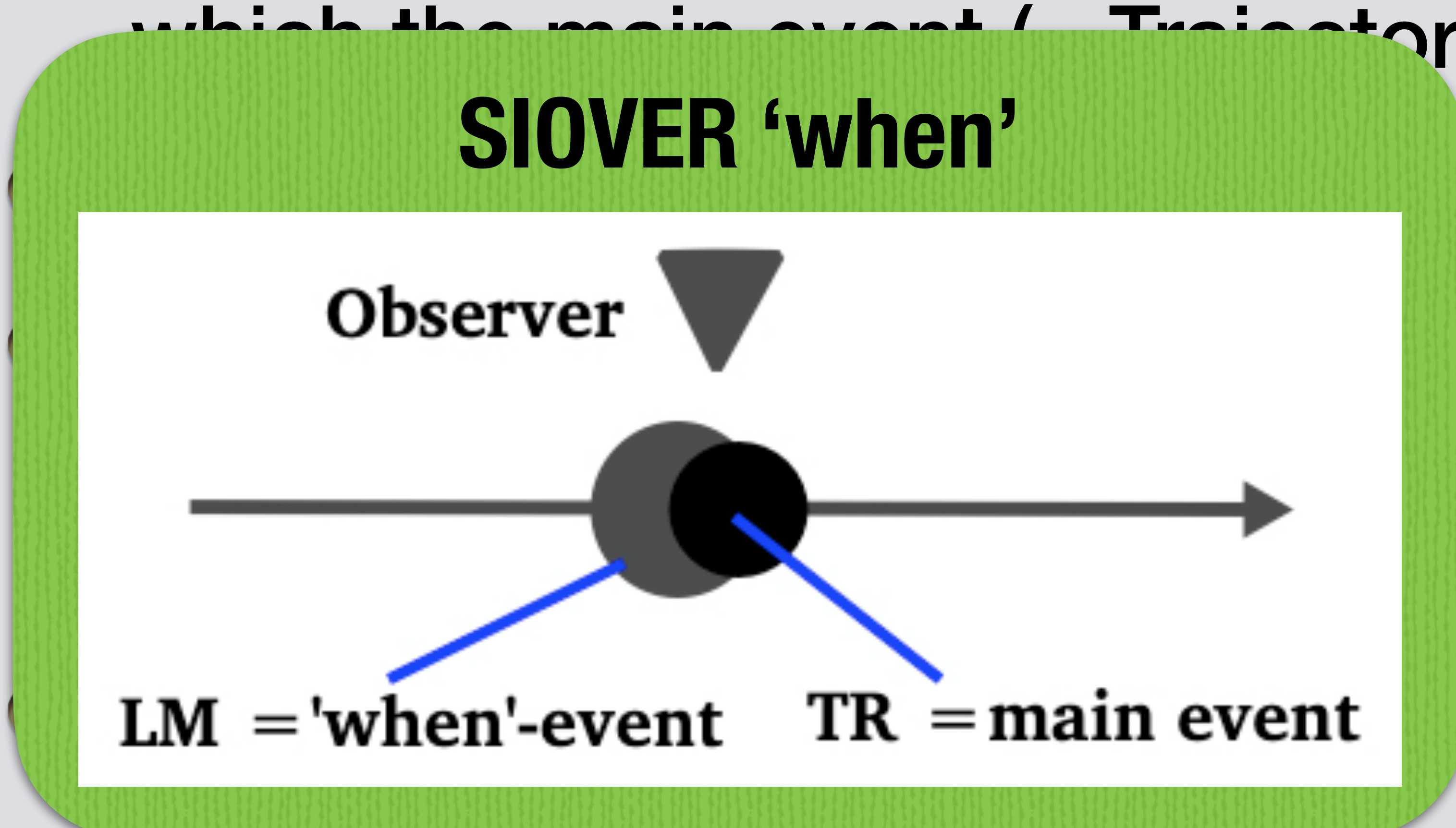

Cognitive interpretation

Recall the durative context in (2a):

(2a)	pɛt´a-jen	[**rəpit-əm**	**mär-aλ-ən**]	arij-əs
	Pete-P.2sg	work-PTCP.PST	while-3sg-LOC	sing-PST[3sg]

‘While Pete was working he sang.’

In this kind of examples there appear to be no restrictions on using mär => no non-firsthand access implication (?). Why?

Cognitive interpretation

A metaphorical approach to Perfective-Imperfective distinction in Slavic (Janda 2004):

- PERFECTIVE IS A SOLID OBJECT: perfective events are discreet, countable, have edges, perceptually salient etc.
- IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE: imperfective events are uncountable, shapeless, perceptually diffuse etc.

Cognitive interpretation

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Solid object can occupy different amount of space within a container, it's necessary to evaluate its size, shape etc.

Fluid substance is evenly distributed within a container, no necessity to witness it visually.

Cognitive

A metaphorical approach
distinction in Slavic (Jand

- PERFECTIVE IS A SOLID O
  discreet, countable, have edges, perceptually salient etc.

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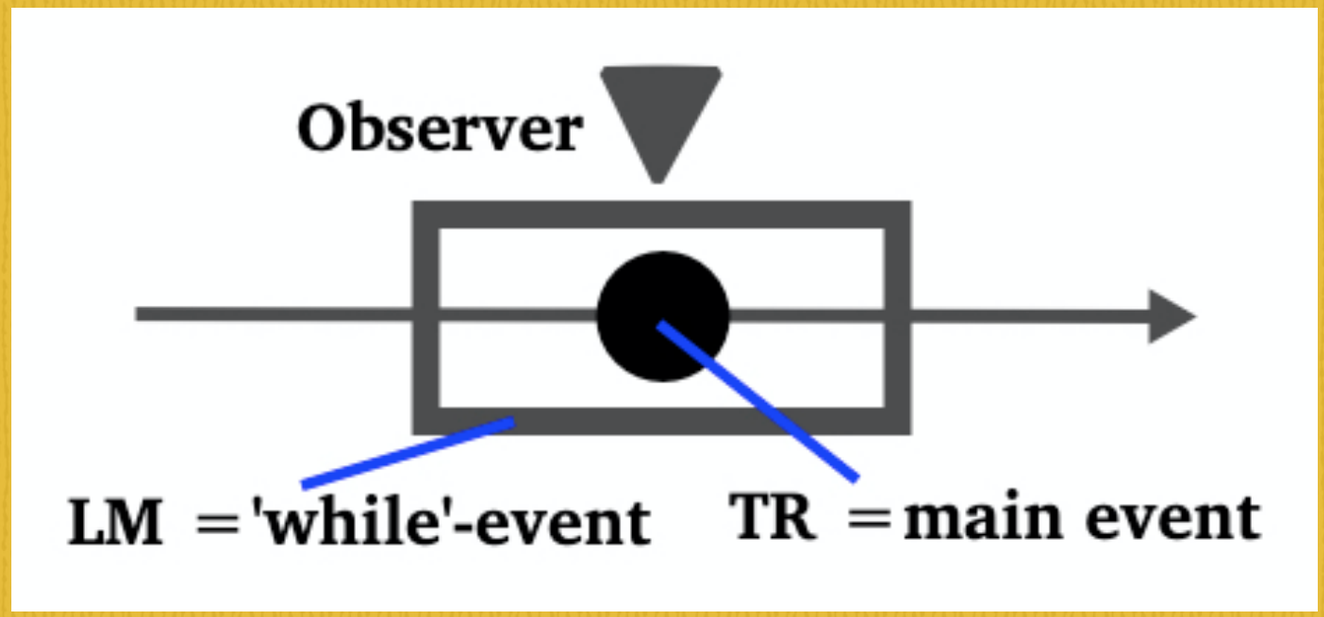
Solid object + Container schema



Cognitive

A metaphorical approach
distinction in Slavic (Jand

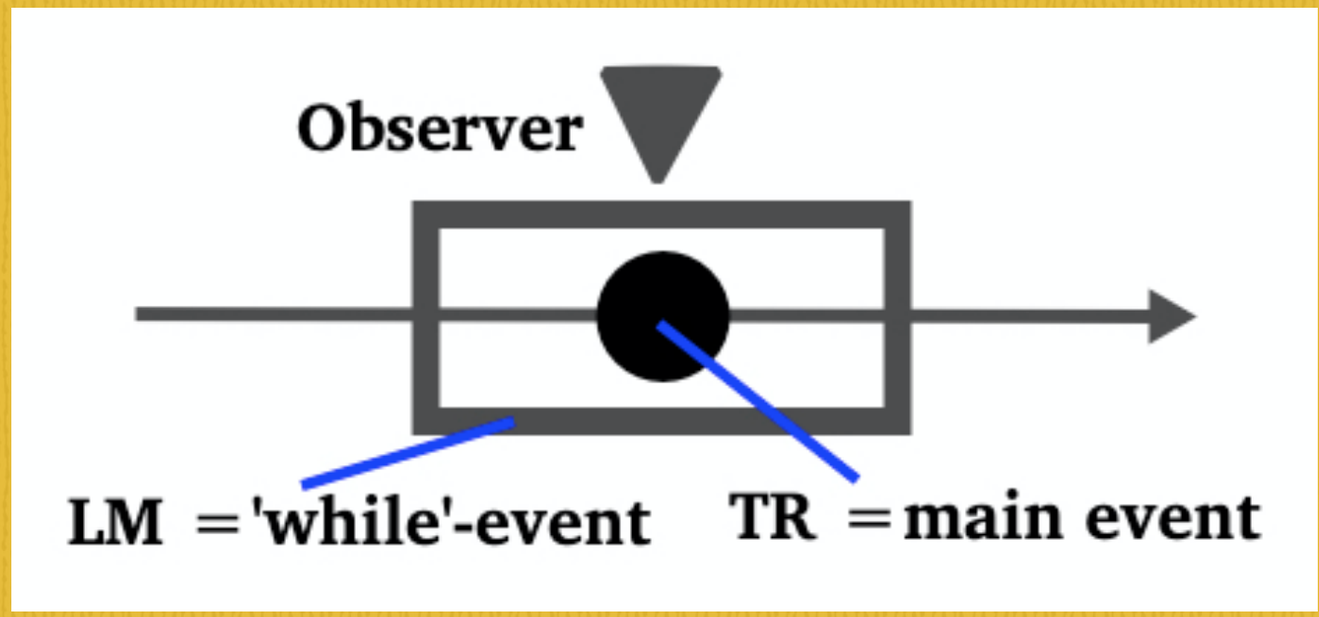
- PERFECTIVE IS A SOLID O
  discreet, countable, have

- IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID
  are uncountable, shap

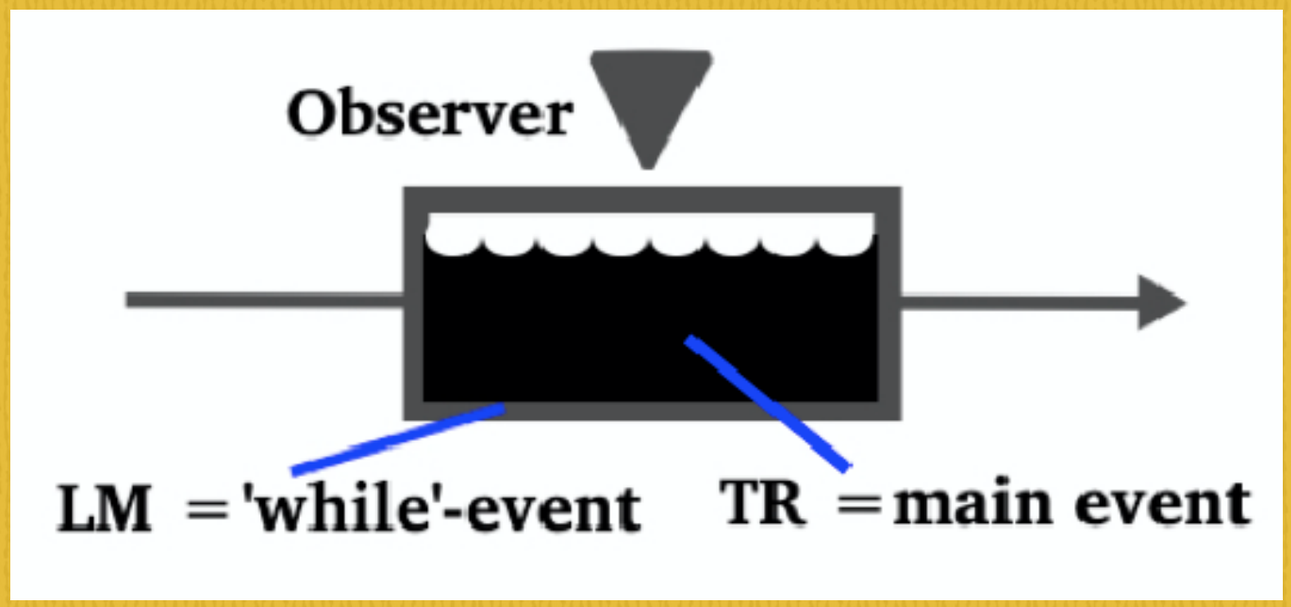
Solid object can occupy
a container, it's necessar

Fluid substance is evenly
necessity to witness it vis

Solid object + Container schema



Fluid substance + Container schema



Outline of the talk

- Introduction
- Temporal relations and evidentiality
- Marking access to the information
  - *Perspective and mode of access*
  - *Perspective and cognition*
  - *Perspective and factuality*
- Cognitive interpretation
- Conclusion

Conclusion

- *Mär* is used to mark simultaneous events only without direct access to the perfective main event
- In case of Imperfective main event no restrictions are observed, because such events are evenly spread within the given time interval and require no special evaluation
- Accessibility of the main event is defined with respect to the Speaker > Protagonist
- Cases of inaccessibility include unwitnessed, factual information and cognitive processes (maybe more?)
- The analysis is expected to hold in other languages with a ‘when’/‘while’ distinction, such as Russian, English, German and many other

Thank you for your attention!

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