Mari retrospectivizing particles as markers of epistemic authority and primacy

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Mari tense system

- Mari possesses three morphological tenses
  - Verb 'to do' conjugated in 1SG indicative in the table below

Tense name	Meadow Mari	Hill Mari	Main aspectotemporal values
Non-past tense	*ə̂štem*	*əštem*	present imperfective, future perfective
Simple past tense I	*ə̂štə̂šə̂m*	*əštašəm*	past perfective
Simple past tense II	*ə̂štenam*	*əštenäm*	present perfect, past perfect (narration), past imperfective (atelic verbs)
(Alhoniemi 1985; MY 1985; SMYa 1961; Spets 2023)			

- Besides of these, there are four analytic past tenses

- Combinations of **present tenses** and **elements** *ǎľe* and *ulmaš* (Meadow Mari) and *ǎľǎ* and *ǎlǎn* (Hill Mari)

Tense name	Meadow Mari	Hill Mari	Main aspectotemporal values
Analytic imperfect I	*ǎštem ǎľe*	*ǎštem ǎľǎ*	past imperfective
Analytic imperfect II	*ǎštem ulmaš*	*ǎštem ǎlǎn*	past imperfective
Analytic pluperfect I	*ǎštenam ǎľe*	*ǎštenäm ǎľǎ*	past perfect
Analytic pluperfect II	*ǎštenam ulmaš*	*ǎštenäm ǎlǎn*	past perfect
(Alhoniemi 1985; MY 1985; SMYa 1961; Spets 2023)			

Structure of the analytic past tenses

- Morphosemantically, the elements are 3SG past tense forms of the verb 'to be' → 'was'
  - *ə̂ľe* and *ə̂ľə̂*   (simple past tense I)
  - *ulmaš* and *ə̂lə̂n*   (simple past tense II)

- Their function is to shift the temporal interpretation of the present expressions into their actual location past from the speaker
  - Retrospective shift (Plungian & van der Auwera 2006) or *retrospectivization*

- Produces operators that are aspectually corresponding but temporally different from the present tenses

(1) Meadow Mari (analytic imperfect I)

mâj	*kočmaš-əm*	***âšt-em***	***âľe.***
1SG	food-ACC	do-1SG	was

'I was cooking'.   Literally: [I am cooking] + [(so it) was]

'I used to cook.'   Literally: [I cook] + [(so it) was]

(2) Hill Mari (analytic pluperfect II)

təδə	*kačmaš-əm*	***əšt-en***	***âlân***
3SG	food-ACC	do-PST2.3SG	was

'(S)he had cooked.'   Literally: [(s)he has cooked] + [(so it) was]

- Syntactically, the structure is a juxtaposition "based on two subsequent predications" (Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 238)

  - Two finite expressions

- I call the 'was'-elements 'particles' due to their syntactically loose connectedness to their lexical heads

  - Not auxiliaries!

  - The 'was'-elements can very easily be abstracted off from the tense structure and become attached to any utterance

Why to retrospectivize events?

- To form meanings that cannot be expressed by the simple past tenses
- For example, the simple past tense II only has past imperfective reading in case of atelic verbs
  - When a telic event is wanted to see from imperfective point of view, the analytic imperfect must be used (Spets 2023)

(3) Meadow Mari

tol-eš	*ậľe.*	~	*tol-ận*
come-3SG	was		come-PST2-3SG
'(S)he was coming.'			'(S)he has come.' (*'(S)he was coming.')

- However, there is also aspectual synonymy between analytic and simple past tenses
  - In case of atelic events, both simple past tense II and analytic imperfects cause similar reading of past imperfectivity

(4) Hill Mari (Alhoniemi 1985: 121)

təδə marə̂   χalə̂k-ə̂m   piš   koγon   **jarat-a   ə̂ľə̂.**

3SG Mari   people-ACC very much   love-3SG ə̂ľə̂

'He loved the Mari people very much.'

(5) Hill Mari (KSYT: 109)

təδə Jə̂l   tər   buľvar   mə̂čkə̂   kašt-aš   **jarat-en.**

3SG Volga bank boulevard along   walk-INF love-PST2.3SSG

'He loved to walk along the boulevard on the Volga bank.'

- Do the particle structures carry also other meanings than just temporal ones?

- Actually, there are cases where the particles have no function of pastness whatsoever:

  (6) Meadow Mari (Serebrennikov 1960: 178)

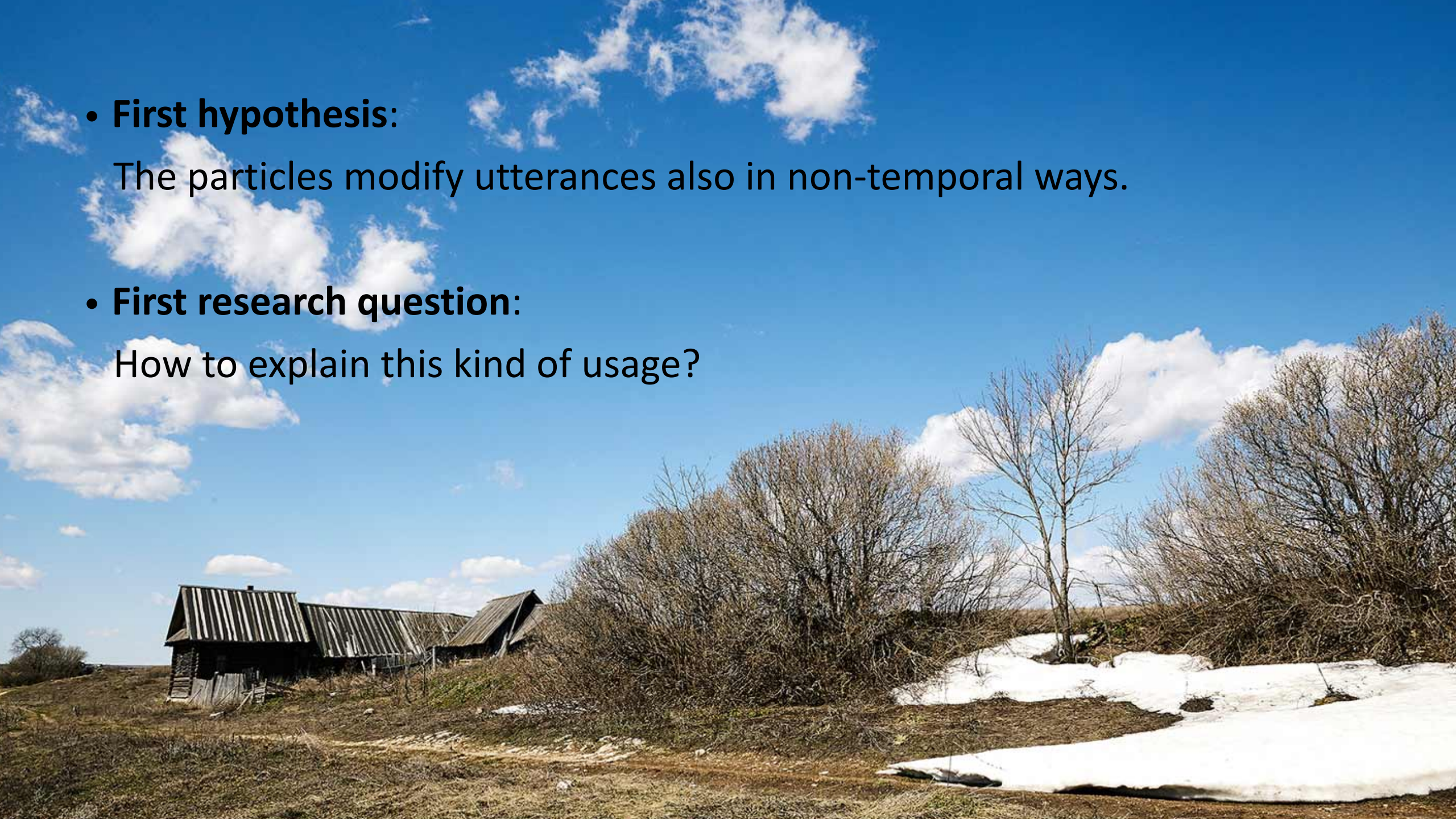 | *peš* | *sajân* | *âštâl-âδa* | **ulmaš**! |
  |-------|---------|------------|-----------|
  | very | well | behave-2PL | ulmaš |

  'You are behaving very well!'

- At current stage of research, these are treated as contextual non-past readings of the analytic past tenses (Serebrennikov 1960: 178)

- **First hypothesis**:

  The particles modify utterances also in non-temporal ways.

- **First research question**:

  How to explain this kind of usage?

Current views on the particle variation

- The variation between the analytic tenses of the I type (with *ə̂ľe* and *ə̂ľə̂*) and the II type (*ulmaš* and *ə̂lə̂n*) is **explained epistemically**

1. **Evidentiality**
   - I type: direct source of information (participation or visual perception)
   - II type: indirect source of information (inference or hearsay)

   (Alhoniemi 1985: 121–122; Bradley et al. 2022: 921–922; Nelson & Vedernikova 2017; Pengitov et al. 1961: 184–189; Saarinen 2022: 448; Savatkova 2002: 200–204; Serebrennikov 1960: 172, 176; Skribnik & Kehayov 2018: 536–539 and Uchaev 1985: 45–53)

(7) Meadow Mari (Uchaev 1985: 49)

kečâ-n	*man-me*	*semân*	*iktaž*	*pölek-âm*	*nal-ân*	**pu-et**	**âľe.**
day-GEN	say-VN	like	some	present-ACC	buy-CVB	give-2SG	âľe

'You used to buy me presents almost every day.' (personal visual evidence)

(8) Hill Mari (Alhoniemi 1985: 122)

ätä-m-län-žə	*čəčə*	*papa-žâ*	**pu-en**	**âlân.**
father-POSS1SG-DAT-POSS.3SG	uncle	grandmother-POSS.3SG	give-PST2.3SG	âlân.

'It had reputedly been given to my father by his maternal grandmother.' (hearsay)

2. Mirativity

- I type: associated information
- II type: non-associated information (surprising or counterexpected)

(Nelson & Vedernikova 2017; Skribnik & Kehayov 2018: 536–539)

(9) Meadow Mari (Skribnik & Kehayov 2018: 539)

ondalalt-ân-am   ulmaš.

be.cheated-PST2-1SG   ulmaš

'I was cheated (as it turned out).'

3. More of interest are labellings such as **"well-known"** or **"clearly remembered"** used for the type I (Pengitov et al. 1961: 184–189; Savatkova 2002: 200–204 and Uchaev 1985: 49–53)

    • Have more to do with some kind of subjective closeness

• Evidentials in general are widely used against their actual semantics for also (dis)claiming **authority**

    • **Directives** can encode speaker's certainty or assurity over a state of affairs they did not perceive directly
    • **Indirectives** may lower the speaker's responsibility for the information they forward also, when the information is based on e.g. participation

    (E.g. Bergqvist 2018 and Mushin 2001)

- **Second hypothesis**:

  The epistemic dichotomy between the particles is involved to pragmatics more than what has been acknowledged so far.

- **Second research question**:

  How to explain these kinds of functions?

Analytic past tenses as multiple perspective constructions

- Evans (2005: 99–100):
  - *Multiple perspective constructions are constructions that encode potentially distinct values, on a single semantic dimension, that reflect two or more distinct perspectives or points of reference.*

- The speaker forwards a perception from outside their own temporal location

DOES / HAS DONE	+	'WAS'
synchronic observer		retrospective speaker
at the event time		at the utterance time

Figure 1. Basic components of the analytic past tense constructions

Semantic dimension: temporality

Distinct perspectives: event time, utterance time

Distinct values: present, past

- In aspectual terms, *the perspective point* "from where an event is seen" (Kamp & Reyle 1993) lies at the event time outside of the utterance time

- In narrative genres, the analytic tenses distinguish **a story-internal narrator** from the omniscient external narrator (Spets 2023):

    (10) Meadow Mari (Spets 2023: 311)

tup-šo	*ɣəč*	*razrâvnoj*	*puľa*	*lekt- ân.*	*esoɣâl*
back-POSS.3SG	SEP	explosive	bullet	go-PST2.3SG	even

körɣüzɣar-ž=at	***koj-eš***	***âľe.***
viscera-POSS.3SG=ADD	be.visible-3SG	âľe

    'An explosive bullet had gone through his back. Even the viscera were visible.'

Figure 2. Components of the analytic past tense constructions in narration

Semantic dimension:	narrative perspective
Distinct perspectives:	protagonist, narrator
Distinct values:	perspective from inside an event,
	perspective from outside an event

- The analytic past tenses can be seen as a kind of **referative structure**, where
  - the present tense = direct quotation
  - the particles = referative clause
    - *âľe/âľâ* = '(s)he said'
    - *ulmaš/âlân* = '(s)he inferred / was told / surprised'

- The analytic tense constructions distinguish between different **participant roles** (Goffman 1981; Bergqvist 2018)

- Participant roles represent the productive roles a speaker can occupy when forming an utterance

  - *Animator* = the one who pronounces the utterance

  - *Cognizer* = the one who is in touch with the relevant information source

  - *Author* = the one who constructs the utterance (e.g. chooses the words)

  - *Principal* = the one who commits to the truth value of the utterance

- In the most straightforward cases, the speaker occupies all the four roles
  - "Today is Wednesday"
    - I pronounce the utterance → *animator*
    - I looked at the calendar and saw that it is Wednesday → *cognizer*
    - I formulated the utterance → *author*
    - I am responsible for the truth value → *principal*

- The Mari analytic past tense constructions separate the narrator-animator from the rest of the roles, which are casted to the protagonist → narrative polyphony

    - The narrator produces the utterance

    - The protagonist saw/inferred/heard of the event
    - The protagonist is the one whose verbal style is repeated in the utterance
    - The protagonist regards the claim as true

Multiple perspective in narration

- The polyphony is, however, metaphorical by nature

  - There is no other speaker, who participates in the plot-building

  - Fleischman (1990: 217): the story-internal perspective changes only "the perception that orients the report"

  - The narrator chooses when to focalize the events through the protagonist
    - Motivated by a wish to focus the attention of the listener to the cognitive-perceptual processes inside the story

- The narrative perspective is thus **animator-anchored**

→ the story-internal perspective is employed not only when associating oneself with the protagonist, but also when the narrator themselves goes into the story world

(11) Hill Mari (Spets 2023: 306)

amerikanskij   samoľot..!   špion..!   man-eš   (keles-äš   kel-eš: tənäm,

American   airplane   spy   say-3SG say-INF   must-3SG at.that.time

*lačokat, Sverdlovsk χala ꞵəl-nə   Pauers-âm   ši-n   **ꞵalt-en-ət**   âľ̂ə.)*

indeed   Sverdlovsk city   top-LOC Powers-ACC hit-CVB set.down-PST2-3PL âľ̂ə

'– An American plane…! A spy…! he shouted. (It must be mentioned that at that time, indeed,[the American pilot] Powers had been shot down above the city of Sverdlovsk.)'

→ The narrator explains the causal relations of the story world to the listener

The bottom line

- Temporal multiple perspective has been extended into a special type of epistemic system, which expresses

  - the speaker's relation with the forwarded information   (epistemic authority)

  - the speaker's ability to guide their interlocutor in composition of a discourse (epistemic primacy)

Data and methods

- Mostly a corpus study of written fictive texts
  - Short stories
  - A corpus of Meadow Mari social media (Arkhangelskiy 2019)

- Includes cases, where the particle-based structures have no clear aspectotemporal function

- Consultation with one native Hill Mari informant

A re-examination of the particles as markers of information source and epistemic authority

The "directive" *ə̂ľe/ə̂ľə̂*

- The analytic imperfect I is rather common in complement clauses of cognitive verbs like

  - MM *šarnaš*, HM *äšənδäräš*   'to remember'
  - MM *palaš*, HM *päläš*   'to know'

  - Analytic imperfect I: 13.6 % of 147 occurences
  - Simple past tense II: 2.8 %   of 250 occurrences

(12) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 4/1996: 7)

a. *tuδo*   *žap*   *γ**âč̂***   *mo-m*   *en*   *čot*   ***šarn-eδa****?*

that   time   from   what-ACC   SUP   really   remember-2PL

'– What do you remember the best from that time?'

b. *škol- **â**što*   *peš=ak*   *počelamut-**â**m*   ***jörat-em***   ***â̂ľe.***

school-INE   very=EMPH   poem-ACC   love-1SG   əľe

'– In school I loved poems very much.'

(13) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 6/1996: 23)

šarn-et   *ć̂aj,*   *kuze*   *tušto*   ***jüšt**â**l-**â**na â̂ľe****?*

remember-2SG   maybe   how   there   swim- 1PL   əľe

'– You remember maybe, how we used to swim there?'

(14) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 2/2008: 113)

Koľa,   joča-na   uke   lij-mâ-lan   tâlanet

Kolya   child- POSS.1PL   EXIST.NEG   be-VN- DAT   2SG.DAT

o-m   öpkele.   **pal-em**,   tâj=at   ikšâβe   neryen   **šon-et**   **âľe.**

NEG-1SG   blame.CNG   know-1SG   2SG=ADD   child   about   think-2SG   âľe

'– Kolya, I am not blaming you that we do not have a child. I know that also you thought about having children.'

- In fact, it is exactly the verbs 'to know' and 'to remember' that are employed in grammar descriptions on the analytic imperfect I

  I эртыше кужу жап – – ойлышо еҥлан сайын палыме, тудын раш шарныме действийым лӱмда. (Uchaev 1985: 49)

  "The analytic imperfect I – – describes events that are **well-known** and **clearly remebered** by the speaker."

  - NB! The label "clear remembrance" is not employed for the simple past tense of "direct" type (the simple past tense I) →   the function is related to the particle!

- The epistemic functions can be explained by the participant roles

  - The roles of cognizer, author and principal are casted to **"an earlier version of the speaker"**, who re-lives the event in their memories

    - The current speaker produces the utterance → *animator*

    - The "earlier me" was present in the event → *cognizer*
    - The "earlier me" composed the thought → *author*
    - The "earlier me" regards the claim as true → *principal*

- *ấľe/ấľấ* encodes observation based on personal presence **inside an event** →   participatory evidential

- The modal component related to the *principal* role can be seen from the assertive tones related to the examples → assures something to the addressee

(15) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 3/2008: 41)

     a. *"mar-lan   kaj-em,   ojərl-en   tol-am,   o-m   kuδalte   joltaš-em."*

       husband-DAT go-1SG   divorce-CVB come-1SG NEG-1SG leave.CNG friend-ACC.1SG

       '–"I will get married and end up divorcing, I will not leave my darling."'

     b. *məskəl-et?*

       joke-2SG

       '– Are you joking?'

     c. *təɣe   **mur-et**   âľe   jal-əšte   kastene   poɣanəma-šte.*

       like.this   sing-2SG âľe   village-INE   in.the.evening   gathering-INE

       '– This is what you used to sing at the evening gatherings in the village.'

       → The speaker claims epistemic authority

- The subjective tones related to "memorizing" can be seen from the fact that analytic imperfect I does not express public facts

(17) Hill Mari (informant)

    škol-ə̂štə̂   *Petja*   *cilä-m*   **päl-ä**   **ə̂ľə̂.**

    school-INE   Petya   all-ACC   know-3SG   ə̂ľə̂

    'Petya knew everything in school (as I remember myself).'

(18) Hill Mari (informant)

    škol-ə̂štə̂   *Petja*   *cilä-m*   **päl-en**.

    school-INE   Petya   all-ACC   know-PST2.3SG

    'Petya knew everything in school (as is a widely known fact).'

ə̂ľe/ə̂ľə̂ in non-temporal contexts

- There are multiple examples, where the particle does not modify the utterances temporally

(19) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 7/1996: 114)

təγaj-ə̂m   *iktaž*   *γana*   *už-ə̂n-δa?*   *mə̂j*   *γə̂n*

this.kind.of-ACC   some   time   see- PST2-2PL   1SG   EMPH

kol-ə̂n=at,   *už-ə̂n=at*   *omə̂l*   **ə̂ľe.**

hear-PST2=ADD   see-PST2=ADD   NEG.1SG   ə̂ľe

'– Have you ever seen something like this? At least I have not seen

 or heard.'

(20) Meadow Mari (Social media corpus)

a. *a te pal-eδa, sanδalβož moγaj peleδə̂š ruš-la?*

but 2PL know-2PL lily.of.the.valley what.kind.of flower Russian-COMP

'– Do you know, what flower lily of the valley is in Russian?'

b. *mə̂j-e o-m pale ə̂ľe* ☺☹☺

1SG-EMPH NEG-1SG know.CNG ə̂ľe

'– I do not know ☺☹☺'

(21) Hill Mari (Valka 2007: 75)

a. *kânam?*

when

'–When [will we visit Rio de Janeiro]?'

b. *kânam-kânam… a-t äšənδärə mä, kâce imeštə*

when-when NEG-2SG remember.CNG Q how last.year

*Raja δon Kužener-əškə kašt-ân-δa **âľâ**?*

Raya with Kuzhener-ILL wander-PST2-2PL âľâ

'– When and when… Don't you remember how you and Raya visited Kuzhener last year?'

- Informant: "the particle makes the answer more confirmative, when you want to assure the listener about something"

- Most of these examples are answers to questions → the speaker highlights their author position in the production of information

- A kind of a referative structure:
  - *Listen to me when I say "I have not seen or heard anyting like this."*

- The roles of cognizer, author and principal are casted not to "an earlier me" but a conscious mind, who becomes aware of their better knowledge over their interlocutor
  - The particle *ə̂lʹe/ə̂lʹə̂* has been grammaticalized as a marker of authority

The "indirective" *ulmaš/ə̂lə̂n*

- The functions of **inference**, **hearsay** and **mirativity** are very visible in the data for the analytic past tenses of the II types

- But there are also cases, where the event is directly observed and expected!

(22) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 4/1996: 82)

aβa-m   *man-mâ-l=ak,*   *liš-n=ak*   *peš*   *čaple*

mother-POSS.3SG   say-VN-COMP=EMPH   near-POSS.1PL=EMPH   very   beautiful

kukšo   *kož*   **kij-a**   **ulmaš.**

dry   spruce   lay-3SG   ulmaš

'As my mother had said, there was a very beautiful dry spruce lying near our house.'

(23) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 4/1996: 72)

– *šeŋγe-č-et*   *tol-eš.*   *ončaľə-m*   –   *čən=ak,*

behind-SEP-POSS.2SG   come- 3SG   look.PST1-1SG   true= EMPH

lišə-č-em=ak   *biolog-na*   **oškâl-eš**   **ulmaš.**

near-SEP-POSS.1SG=EMPH   biologist-POSS.1PL   walk-3SG   ulmaš

'– She is coming behind you [he said]. I took a look: indeed, the
biologist was walking past me.'

- The common nominator for all attestions of *ulmaš/âlân* is observation made **from outside of an event**

  - The current speaker produces the utterance   →   *animator*

  - The "earlier me" was in touch with the source of

    information   →   *cognizer*

- In case of indirect information source, the cognizer does not have straight access to the described event
  - **Inference**: the cognizer does not experience the event but traits of it
  - **Hearsay**: the cognizer hears someone else talk about the event

- In examples like (22) and (23), the experiencer rather just **"steps into an event"** from outside, when a view opens in front of their eyes

  - In Mari, the evidential category of 'sensoriness' is a type of indirect information rather than direct (c.f. Hill 2012)

- The separation of the cognizer role from the animator describes the **extra mental step** it takes to internalize the view

Intermediate summary

- A perspective-based evidential system

    - *âľe/âľâ̂*   observation **from inside** of an event
        - →   *participatory evidential*

    - *ulmaš/âlân̂*   observation **from outside** of an event
        - →   *indirective*

- Employed often to mark the level of speaker's commitment towards the truth value of the utterance (epistemic authority)

The usage of the particles as markers of epistemic primacy

Epistemic primacy as an information structural phenomenon

- Epistemics are often used as an information structural strategy to organize the discourse (e.g. Kamio 1997; Grzech 2020)

- Important concepts:
  - **Common Ground (CG)** = the amount of information that is assumed to be shared between the speech act participants

  - **Common Ground management** = the process where the new information enters the CG after being accepted as suitable in its discourse context by the speech act participants

  (Clark 1996; Krifka 2007)

- Introduction of new information to the discourse is conducted by so-called **Questions under Discussion** (QUDs) (Clifton & Frazier 2012; Roberts 2012)

  - **Explicite**: Interrogative clauses

  - **Implicite**: When a certain topic is established, new information is produced by underlying questions like "what about that?" or "what happened next?"

- Information that answers to these questions enters to the CG

- Stands in **focus position**: picks up one alternative among the possible answers to the QUD and is usually yet unknown to the addressee (Krifka & Musan 2012: 6–7)

From epistemic authority to epistemic primacy

- High level of epistemic authority is associated to speaker's better ability to accommodate new information to the discourse compared to their interlocutor → **epistemic primacy** (Grzech 2020: 29; Stivers et al. 2011)

- Epistemic authority is **scalar**: speaker can have high or low lever of authority

- Epistemic primacy is **contrastive**: the primacy position belongs fully to either one of the interlocutors

The insider marker *ə̂lˊe/ə̂lˊə̂*

- The information structural functions of *ə̂lˊe/ə̂lˊə̂* include the following types:

  1. Additive usage

  2. Assertive usage

  3. Contrastive usage

- All types that manifest the epistemic primacy position

Additive usage of *ə̂ľe/ə̂ľə̂*

(24) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 9/1996: 10)

*tuδo imńə̂-m   peš   **jörat-en**.   βara   końjuχ-lan=at   ə̂ʃt-en.*

3SG   horse-ACC   very   love-PST2.3SG   later   horse.keeper-DAT=ADD   do-PST2.3SG

'He loved horses very much. Later, he also worked as a horse keeper.'

(25) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 10/1996: 19)

*tuδo armij-ə̂šte kavalerist   lij-ə̂n,   imńə̂-m   peš   **jörat-a ə̂ľe**.*

3SG   army-INE   cavalryman be-PST2.3SG horse-ACC very   love-3SG   ə̂ľe

'He was a cavalryman in the army, he loved horses very much.'

- The only difference between the clauses is their position in discourse:

    - The clause with simple past tense II **precedes** the topic concidering working with horses

    - The clause with analytic imperfect I **follows** it

- The information structural behaviour can be derived from the "memory" function

    - It is logical to bring up personal memories related to something that has been talked about earlier in the discourse ("Speaking about that, I remember that...")

    - Starting a discourse with a random memory ("Oh, I just remember that...") usually violates the rules of Common Ground management

- Saraheimo & Kubitsch (2023: 142–143) call this kind of particle usage in Udmurt "additive"
  - "marks piece of additional information related to something else in a context"
  - "ties the two topics together and creates cohesion"

- Memories by default appear in focal position
  - They are personal and thus often unknown to the addressee.

Assertive usage of *ə̂ľe/ə̂ľə̂*

- The speaker highlights their ability to answer the QUD better than their interlocutor
    1. Can be a **confirmation**

    (26) Hill Mari (informant)
      a. *tə̂ń tiδə-m   ə̂štə-š-əc?*
         2SG this-ACC   do-PST1-2SG
         '– Did you do this?'

      b. ***ə̂ľə̂* *jä.***
         ə̂ľə̂   EMPH
         '– Yes, it was me.'

    2. Includes also the aforementioned cases, where the particle occurs in **an assurring answer** to a question

Contrastive usage of *ə̂ľe/ə̂ľə̂*

(27) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 2/2008: 31)

mə̂j-ə̂n   *kuɣə̂za-m*   *ɣaj-ɓlak-še*   *pensij*   *oksa-m*   *jü-aš*

1SG-GEN   uncle-POSS.1SG   like-PL- POSS.3SG   pension   money-ACC   drink-INF

kučə̂ktə̂-mo   *semə̂n*   *ɓele*   *umə̂l-at.*   *mə̂j-ə̂n*   *marij-em*

give-PTCP.PASS   as   only   understand-3PL   1SG-GEN   husband- POSS.1SG

ɣaj-ɓlak   *jandar*   *ɓuj-an*   *lij-ə̂t*   *da*   *paša*   *nerɣen*   *šon-at*   **ə̂ľe**.

like-PL   sober   head-ADJ   become-3PL   and   work   about   think-3PL   ə̂ľe

'– People like my uncle think that they are paid pension money only to drink it. People like my husband are sober and think about work.'

- Contrastive information is something the addressee cannot infer based on the previous discourse → only the speaker is able to update the CG with this kind of information

- The contrastive marking can be applied to correct one's interlocutor

(28) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 7/2008: 99)

  a. *tuɣe-že*   *tâj-âm*   *teŋyeč=ak*   **pal-en-am**?

     thus-POSS.3SG   2SG-ACC   yesterday=EMPH   know-PST2-1SG

     '– So does that mean that I recognized you yesterday?'

  b. *teŋyeče*   *tâj*   *jubkâ-m*   *ßele*   **pal-et**   **âľe.**

     yesterday   2SG   skirt-ACC   only   know-2SG   âľe

     '– Yesterday you recognized only my skirt.'

- But crucially, the one corrected can be also the speaker themselves!

(29) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 5/1996: 57)

žalke, mar-la   kutâr-en   o-t   mošto.   ânδe kuze
pity   Mari-COMP speak-CVB NEG-2SG can.CNG now   how
*mutlan-ena? iziš=ak   fašist jâlmâ-m   **pal-em   âľe**.*
discuss-1PL   a.little=EMPH fascist language-ACC know-1SG âľe
čâla-ž=ak   monδ-en   omâl.
all-POSS.3SG=EMPH   forget-PST2   1SG.1SG
'– It's a pity that you cannot speak Mari. How will we now have a conversation? I used to know a little bit of the fascist language. I have not forgotten it all.'

The outsider marker *ulmaš/ə̂lə̂n*

- Marks speaker's lack of epistemic primacy
- Does not necessarily index the primacy to the addressee, but the usage of *ulmaš/ə̂lə̂n* raises their possibilities to accommodate new information to the discourse → common in questions

(30) Hill Mari (KS 1968: 56)

*äńät,   taɣənam   ßäš=ät   li-n-nä   **ə̂lə̂n**?*

maybe   sometime   against=ADD   become-PST2-1PL   ə̂lə̂n

'– Have we maybe met sometime?' (Literally: 'come against each other')

Epistemic primacy as a type of multiple perspective

- A functional extension of the temporal perspective properties of the particle constructions

  - **Temporal usage**: the speaker looks back to the past events and relates them to her own temporal location and each others

  - **Epistemic usage**: the speaker looks back in the discourse and expresses her evaluation on whether the Common Ground is updated in proper way

Figure 3. Components of the discourse-pragmatic functions of the Mari particles

Semantic dimension: Common Ground management

Distinct perspectives: speaker as a recipient, speaker as a responder

Distinct values: evaluation of CG updating, CG updating

- Recipient = the one who is expected to continue the discourse
- Responder = the one who continues the discourse

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Колыштмашланда кого тау!