

Epistemic Immediacy as a Common Denominator for Unauxiliated Preterits and Mirative Utterances in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian: An Accessibility Approach

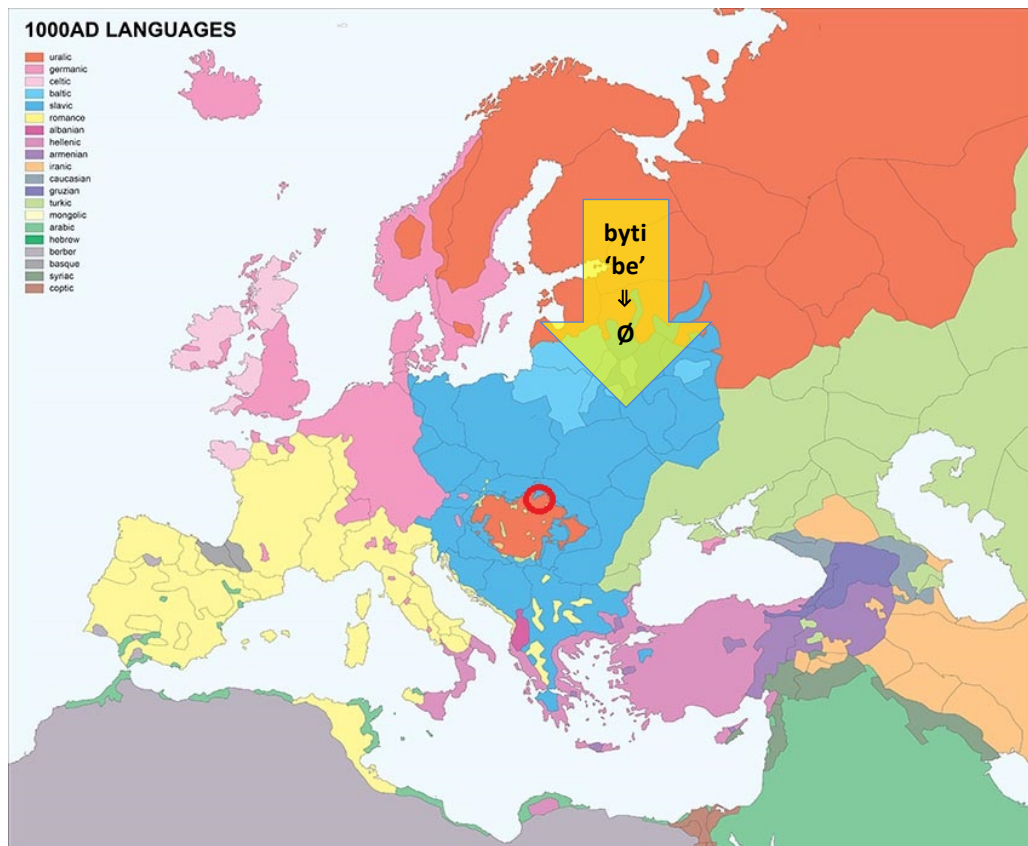
I. Introduction

Auxiliary loss in Slavic languages: General Preterit (descended from the present perfect)

East Slavic (Russian)			West Slavic (Czech)		Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	
ja	ø	rabotal	pracoval	jsem	radio	sam
ty	ø	rabotal	pracoval	jsi	radio	si
on	ø	rabotal	pracoval	ø	radio	je
my	ø	rabotali	pracovali	jsme	radili	samo
vy	ø	rabotali	pracovali	jste	radili	ste
oni	ø	rabotali	pracovali	ø	radili	su

Table 1: Past-tense of ‘work’

- (1) a. *Vratio se ø.*
 ‘He came back.’
- b. *Vratio sam se.*
 ‘I came back.’



Map 1: East Slavic loss of ‘BE’ due to Finno-Ugric Substrate (11th–12th cent.)



Map 2: Loss of the Synthetic Preterits in Slavic

- (2) *Pan Činispán **umřel** i s manželku svú; v pátek **se rozstónala** a v ponděli ji **pochovali** na Rožmberce, a on **se** po ní třetí den **rozstónal**, i **dal se** nemocný na Krumlov přivězti ve čtvrtek večer; v neděli **udělal** všicku správu křesťanskú, v noci na ponděli **umřel**.* (Czech; 1552; Dickey [2013])
 ‘Mr. Činispán died with his wife, too; on Friday she started ailing and they buried her in Rožmberk on Monday, and three days after her he started ailing and had himself driven to Krumlov on Thursday evening; on Sunday he received his last rites, and in the night from Sunday to Monday he died.’
- (3) *V. M. prosím, račte mi oznámiti, kterakž se V. M. čeládka má, zase-li jsou zdraví a **umřel-li jest** který z nich; mojit’ se zde všichni zase dobře mají.* (Czech; 1558; Dickey [2013])
 ‘I ask Your Grace to be so kind as to let me know how those in Your Grace’s household are, are they healthy again or have any of them died? Mine here are all well again.’
- (4) *Oba brata **o uprli** očima u nj i žele da čuju odgovor.* (B/C/S; Grickat [1954: 25])
 ‘Both brothers fastened their eyes on her and want to hear an answer.’
- (5) ***Otrčao o** Jačica radosno do krave i zagrljo je.* (B/C/S; Grickat: [1954: 35])
 ‘Jačica ran off happily to the cow and embraced it.’

- (6) a. *Fiba **o** presudila da KK Zadar Bilanu mora isplatiti milijun kuna.*
 ‘FIBA has ruled that KK Zadar is to pay Bilan one million kunas.’ [Headline]
- b. *Napisao **o** Miro*
 ‘Written by Miro’ [Referring to immediately preceding text]
- c. *Došli **o** Mujo i Haso [...]*
 ‘Mujo and Haso came [...].’ [Joke]
- d. *Skušim da netko stoji kraj mene, kad ono **naišla o** njegova žena s djetetom. A-ha-ha. Nismo je ni primjetili.*
 ‘I realize that someone is standing next to me, and what do you know, his wife and their child had come up. A-ha-ha. We did not even notice her.’ [Contemporary online narrative]

II. Two Unrecognized Constructions with Unauxiliated *L*-Participles in Croatian

- (7) *Evo **o** odlučila i ja napraviti blog i konačno napisati svoj prvi post.*
 ‘Here I too have decided to make a blog and write my first post.’
- (8) *Uglavnom, uletim u ured tog nekog inspektora ili štalijeveć da mu objasnim da je greška. Ali kurac moj rođo. **Napao ti o on mene** da nemam neku dozvolu, da nije ... legalizirano i sve tako. ... Ma malo mi je falilo da ga ne zakačim štosom...*
 ‘Anyway, I run into the office of some inspector or whatever he is to explain that a mistake has been made. *But my ass, bro*. He attacked me, you know, saying that I did not have some sort of license, that it was not legalized and all that. ... I came this close to punching him....’
- (9)

VAŽNOST DUBROVNIKA

u trgovačkoj povijesti srednjega vijeka.

Napisao Prof. Dr. Konstantin Jireček.

S njemačkog preveo i uvodom popratio

Prof. Dr. Božo Cvjetković.

- (9) a. *Napisao **o** Prof. Dr. Konstantin Jireček*
 ‘Prof. Dr. Konstantin Jireček o wrote’
- b. *S njemačkog **o** preveo i uvodom **o** popratio Prof. Dr. Božo Cvjetković.*
 ‘Prof. Dr. Božo Cvjetković o translated and o appended an introduction.’

Auxiliated: ***Odlučio sam jučer da ne idem.***
'Yesterday I decided not to go.'

Auxiliary: instruction to hearer to construct a coherent interpretation based on person information and background knowledge.

Unauxiliated: ***Evo o odlučio i ja napraviti svoj blog.***
'Here I too have decided to make my own blog.'

Ø: Everything is clear and accessible, no instruction necessary.

(10)

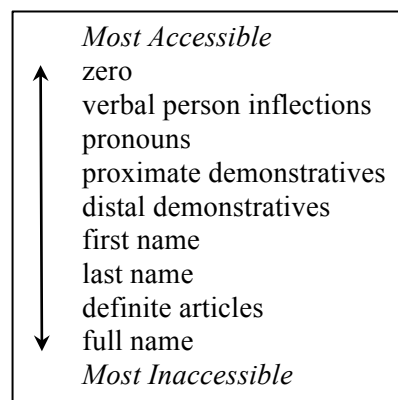


Table 2: Simplified Accessibility Hierarchy (Ariel 1988)

(11) a. ***Eto meni o stigao tuš. Kupio preko ebay-a, 30 eura s transportom:). Isprobao i radi.***
'You know, my water flosser has arrived. I bought it on ebay, 30 Euro, shipping included :). I have tried it and it works.'

- (11) b. **Evo dobio o ja** danas matičnu ploču [...] i sastavio komp [...] Sve radi brzinom munje. [...] I nigdje nema temperature Chipseta ali to ni ne treba biti.
 ‘Here, I have received the motherboard today [...] and put together my computer [...] Everything is working at lightning-fast speeds [...] Chipset temperature does not appear anywhere, but it is not necessary.’
- (12) *Horror! Strava! Užas! Radovi u toku... Epizoda 5 (Gotovo je, gotovo!)*
Eto, subota je bila ključna za završetak priče.
Nazvao o ja frenda, inače elektroničara po vokaciji, no sa završenom elektrotehničkom školom. I kaže on, “Da, kužim se u jaku struju”.
Ako ste čuli jaki tresak, to je meni pao kamen sa srca.
I došao čovjek, donio alat, i nakon 5 sati priča je bila gotova.
 ‘Horror! Dread! Terror! Work in progress... Episode 5 (It’s finally over!)
 So you see, Saturday was key to the end of the story.
 I called a friend, who works in electronics, but has an electrical engineering education. And he says ‘Yes, I know strong current’.
 If you heard a large thump, it was the load which fell off my chest.
 So the guy came, brought his tools, and after 5 hours the story was over.’

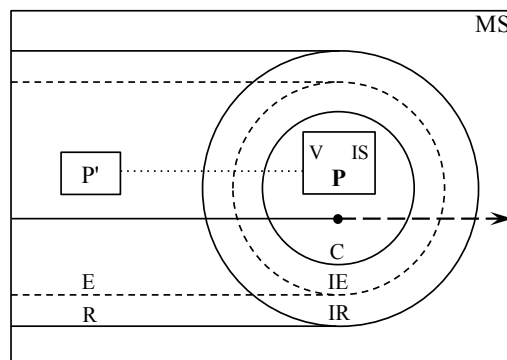


Figure 1: Langacker’s (2009: 211) Diagram of the Narrative Present

III. A Grounding Analysis

DEICTIC ELEMENT #1	DEICTIC ELEMENT #2	MAIN VERB
Presentative/Personal pronoun	Personal pronoun	<i>l</i> -participle with gender/number information

Figure 2: Schema of Grounding Elements in the Unauxiliated Constructions

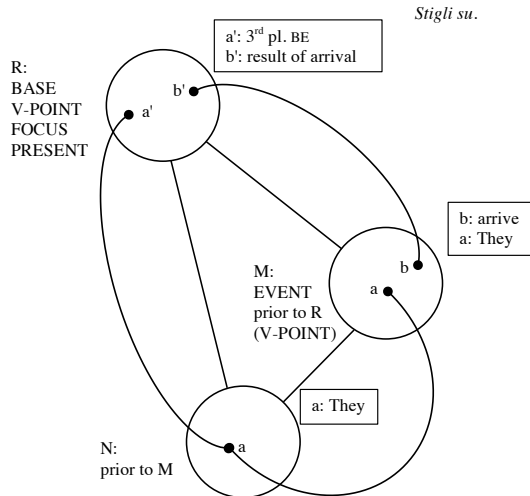


Figure 3: A MST Model of Auxiliation in the Croatian Compound Preterit

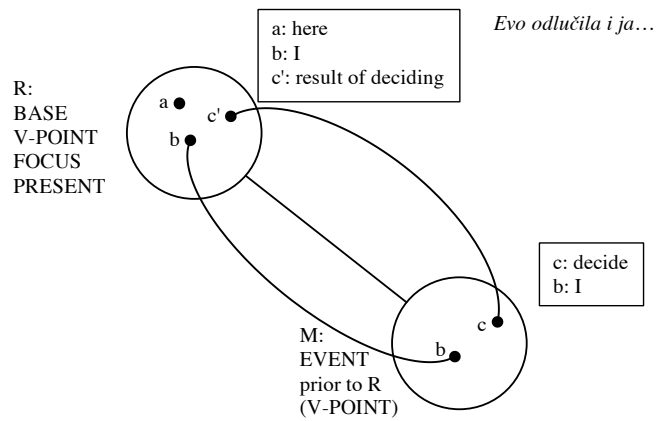


Figure 4: A MST Model of the Presentative Construction

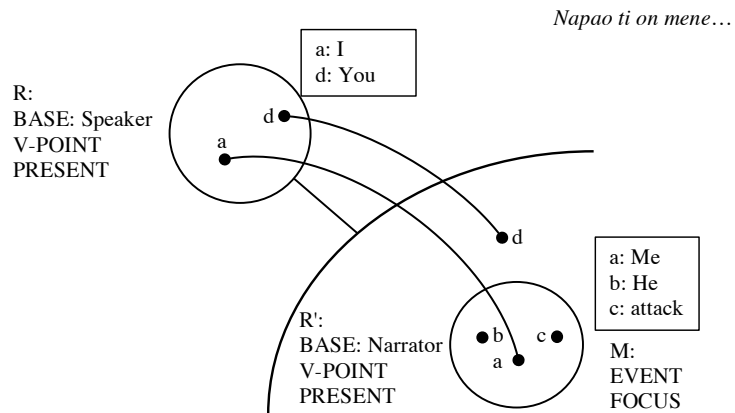


Figure 5: A MST Model of the Narrative Double-Pronoun Construction

IV. Related Facts

Mirative Statements:

- (13) a. *Odakle ti o masnica?*
'Where did you get that bruise?!'
b. *Odakle o tvoj konj ovdje?*
'How did your rook get here?'

High stakes vs. low stakes:

- (14) a. ***Pogledao me je i rekao: "Hej, hvala!"*** [Internet]
'He looked at me and said: "Hey, thanks!"'
b. ***Pogledao me je i rekao: "Tolike godine te poznajem, prijatelji smo čitav život, a sve vrijeme nisam znao da si ti Titov fan."*** [Internet]
'He looked at me and said: "I've known you for so many years, we've been friends our whole lives, and the whole time I didn't know you are a Tito fan."
c. ***"Pogledao me o i rekao: 'Sada će svi znati. Vidjet ćeš'", opisuje mama stravičan trenutak.*** [Internet]
"He looked at me and said 'Now everyone will know. You'll see,'" says the mother, describing the terrible moment.
d. ***Pogledao me o pun mržnje i ustrijelio mog supruga.*** [Internet]
'He looked at me full of hate and shot my husband dead.'

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