

Workshop on larger discourse units in (spoken) language

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# Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives

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## Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives

(1) Nganasan (JDH\_00\_Musuna\_flkd)

191: ‘The rich Nenets put the tent on the regular soil in order to look for the daughter who had been kidnapped.’

192: ‘The father (= rich Nenets) is catching reindeers with his son and his servant.’

193: *Kouʔ, maanuna t’etə siraʔa honaiʔtia*  
 INTERJ what.for four white:AUG something.used:VBLZ:PTCP.PRS  
*ins’üďə tujŋu, d’esiďi munumunut’ü.*  
 sledge come:INTER father:3SG.POSS say:AUD:3SG

“**Oh, what is this human riding with four white bulls,**” – says the father.”

## Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives

(2) Nganasan (ChND\_061025\_Haljmira\_flks)

309: 'After a while he opened his eyes and said: «Where am I?'

310: 'I thought I was on a mountain, but I'm just sitting on the ground.'

311: *Kərutətu*                      *mountənu*   *ŋomtüs'a*,   *səŋül'iʔiðə:*  
 ordinary:GEN.3SG.POSS   earth:LOC   sit:INF              look:INCH:PRF:3SG.REFL  
*Ou,*      *takəə*              *təʔ s'üaraʔkunəmaʔ*                      *əmənikaraanu*  
 INTERJ   that.remote              PTCLfriend:DIM:GEN.1SG.POSS   this:LOCADV  
*it'ü.*  
 be:PRS

'He sat on the ground and looked around: **“Ah, the tent of my friend is not away.”**

## Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives...

...appears as a rhetorical strategy along other perceptive expressions:

- **Lexical:** ‘she saw/look...’, ‘he heard/felt...’, ‘it appears (=is seen)’...
- **Grammatical:**
  - **Similative mood:** ‘tent-SIM’ (= ‘it’s like a tent’);
  - **Speculative mood:** ‘walk-SPEC’ (= ‘it seems, someone is walking’)
  - **Inferential mood:** ‘tent be-INFER’ (= ‘it seems, it’s a tent’)
  - **Auditive mood:** ‘bark-AUD’ (= ‘the barking is heard’), ‘meat-AUD’ (= ‘it smells like meat’)

## Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives...

...appears as a rhetorical strategy along lexical and grammatical perceptive expressions;

...refers to the perceptual events via implication, i.e. what the character senses (Teptiuk & Nikitina 2023);

...used for perspective-taking, i.e., “perceiving the story events from the perspective of the character” (Krieken et al. 2017: 1; also see Krieken & Sanders 2021).

## Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives...

...typical for traditional folktales but can be observed in personal stories too:

(3) Nganasan (PED\_080731\_Competition\_nar.337)

*əmiʔā huuʔuā kat'əmiʔinə maanuna tahariāa*

this:ADJ after:ADJ see:PRF:1SG.R what.for now

*maat'əküə č'ornij mel'knul'i, tahariāa ηül'ađəʔ*

what:EMPH1:EMPH2 black.R flash:PST:PL.R now wolf:PL

*ihuađuʔ.*

be:INFER.3SG

'After that I looked back: **oh, something black has flashed there, a wolf, it appears.**'

## Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives...

In folktales only, additional perspective of the meta-narrator *ŋaala* ‘mouth’:

(4) Nganasan (ChND\_061025\_Haljmira\_flks)

- 5: *Kərutətu mouməni ŋalaa heðititi.* An author walks on the land.
- 6: ***Ŋalaa heðitigəti, heðitigəti.*** He goes further and further.
- 7: *Kəngüt’əküənu mununtu:* And once he says:
- 8: *“Ou, əmkümürə nəŋhə tə? mou.* **“This land seems to be a bad one.**
- 9: *Maagəl’t’ə ŋuəd’əə d’aŋku.* **There are no footprints there.**
- 10: *In’s’üðə səd’əə d’aŋku...”* **And no traces of sledge...”**

## Perceptual reported speech in traditional Nganasan narratives...

*Naaala* 'mouth', appears "when the scene/place of the story is changed when typically the character enters from the open-air scene into a closed place" (Szeverenyi 2022: 114) or when the change of (sub)episode/move happens (e.g. 'The mouth took the story').



## Perceptual reported speech & larger discourse units?

“[E]pisode boundaries correspond to one or more of the following points of change:

- (a) a change in time;
- (b) a change in location;
- (c) a change in participants;
- (d) a change in the action sequence, with an orientation toward a new central event, or activation of a new schema;
- (e) a change in “possible world”, for example, from the real world to the fictional world, from the real world to the dream world, or from the physical world to the world of thought;
- (f) a change from general to specific, or the reverse; and
- (g) a change in perspective or point of view.” (Brinton 1989: 74)

## Perceptual reported speech & larger discourse units?

Perceptual reported speech can be associated with the following (highlighted) points of change:

(a) a change in time;

(b) a change in location;

(c) a change in participants;

(d) a change in the action sequence, with an orientation toward a new central event, or activation of a new schema;

**(e) a change in “possible world”, for example, from the real world to the fictional world, from the real world to the dream world, or from the physical world to the world of thought;**

(f) a change from general to specific, or the reverse; and

**(g) a change in perspective or point of view.**

## Perceptual reported speech & larger discourse units?

Formal indexes of the episode boundary include:

- (a) “frame-shifting” spatial and temporal adverbials;
- (b) conjunctions and discourse particles such as *you know*, *well*, and *o.k.*;
- (c) full noun phrases, used where anaphoric pronouns are expected;
- (d) “possible world” introducing or changing predicates such as *dream*, *believe*, and *tell*;
- (e) change of perspective markers such as direct discourse or free indirect discourse;
- (f) vocatives; and
- (g) explicit meta-comments.

(Brinton 1989: 75)

## Perceptual reported speech & larger discourse units?

Nganasan

- (1) ***Kou?**, maanuna t'etə siraʔa honəiʔtia ins'üðə tujŋu, d'esiði munumunut'ü.*  
 “**Oh**, what is this human being riding with four white bulls,” – **says the father.**” (JDH\_00\_Musuna\_flkd)
- (2) *Kərutətu mountənu ŋomtüs'a, səŋül'iʔiðə: **Ou**, takəə təʔ s'üaraʔkunəmaʔ əmənikaraanu it'ü.*  
 ‘He sat on the ground and looked around: “**Ah**, the tent of my friend is not away.”’ (ChND\_061025\_Haljmira\_flks)
- (4) ***Kangüt'əküənu mununtu: “Ou, əmkümürə nəŋhə təʔ mou...”***  
 ‘**And once he says:** “This land seems to be a bad one.”’  
 (ChND\_061025\_Haljmira\_flks.007–008)

## Perceptual reported speech & larger discourse units

Possible formal indexes of the episode boundary in perceptual RS:

- (a) “frame-shifting” spatial and temporal adverbials;
- (b) conjunctions and **discourse particles such as *you know, well, and o.k.***;
- (c) full noun phrases, used where anaphoric pronouns are expected;
- (d) **“possible world” introducing or changing predicates such as *dream, believe,* and *tell* (or framing constructions in general)**;
- (e) **change of perspective markers such as direct discourse or free indirect discourse**;
- (f) vocatives; and
- (g) explicit meta-comments.

## Aims

Check:

- where perceptual RS occurs in traditional narratives and how it is signaled,
- if its position and indexing can be associated with any discourse boundary.

## Outline

0. Introduction.

1. Nganasan: Basic facts and typological profile – Reported speech in Nganasan.

2. Data & Method.

3. Results:

3.1. Perceptual RS wrt. other report types.

3.2. Perceptual RS & discourse boundaries.

4. Preliminary conclusions, further steps & open questions.

# 1. Nganasan



## Nganasan: basic facts

- Samoyedic < Uralic;
- Taimyr Peninsula, Northern Siberia;
- 687 Nganasans (416 native tongue; 300 able to speak; 264 daily use) [All-Russia Census 2020];
- Traditionally semi-nomads (hunting & fishing; reindeer breeding only secondary)

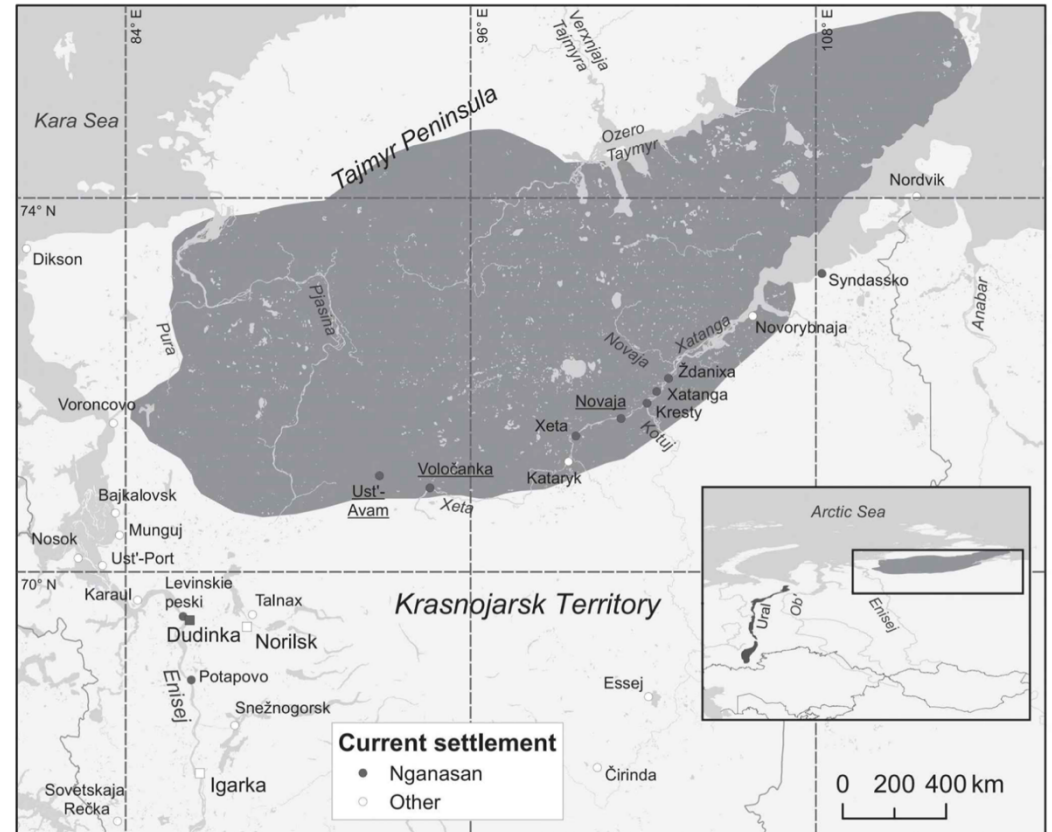


Figure 1. Nganasan settlement area (source: Wagner-Nagy 2022: 755)

## Nganasan: typological profile

- Agglutinating with high degree of fusion and complex morphophonology;
- Nouns: number, case (3 grammatical, 4 local/adverbial), possessivity;
- Verbs: tense & mood, person & number agreement w. subjects;
- Verbs: subjective, objective, reflexive conjugation;
- 12 moods; three evidential: auditive, inferential, narrative-reportative;
- Nominative – Accusative; relatively free word order, SOV

(Wagner-Nagy 2018, 2022; also see Szeverenyi 2022)

## Reported speech in Nganasan

“It is characteristic for folklore as well as for narrative texts that the speakers extensively use quoted speech” (Wagner-Nagy 2018: 468).

Canonical ‘direct’ reported speech = reported speaker’s perspective (few traces of ‘indirect’ under Russian influence [ibid.; Szeverenyi 2022]); even when embedded in report (unless marked with the reportative mood).

## Reported speech in Nganasan

Introduced by:

- utterance predicates, most typically *munud'a* 'say' for both uttered (= reported speech, RS) and inner (= reported thought, RT) speech (Wagner-Nagy 2018: 467); specific speech verbs and mental 'think' are available but rarely used;
- intonation & interjections (discourse particles): *D'orakuə munubanhu: Ou...* 'D. said: **Ah!**...' (cf. Szeverenyi 2022: 120);
- no quotative markers!

## Reported speech in Nganasan

Introduced by:

- utterance & mental predicates, most typically *munud'a* 'say' for both uttered (= reported speech) and inner (= reported thought) speech (Wagner-Nagy 2018: 467);
- intonation & interjections: *D'orakuə munubanhu: Ou...* 'D. said: **Ah!**...' (cf. Szeverenyi 2022: 120);
- strategies announcing speakers and/or addressee(s);
- pre- & postposed quotative frames for longer stretches, e.g. 'X said... said X', 'X said... to his sister'; otherwise, no indexing of continuous reported speech.

## Reported speech in Nganasan

Addressee only:

(5) <i>Taharīaa</i>	<i>n'antu</i>	<i>d'a:</i>	<i>Ou?</i>	<i>taharīaa</i>
now	fellow:GEN.3SG.POSS	ALL	INTERJ	now
<i>d'üt'i?</i>	<i>akit̪i̪im,</i>	<i>m̪iŋgümüni</i>	<i>bikaa</i>	
dream:CNG	probably:PRS:EXCL:1SG	1:EMPH:OBL.1DU	river:GEN	
<i>hel'ia</i>	<i>kait̪ə</i>	<i>t'üü?ami</i>	<i>n'anditi.</i>	
part:ADJ	side:LAT	arrive:PRF:1DU	seem:PRS.3SG	

**'To his brother:** I am probably dreaming, we have arrived at the other bank, it seems.' (TKF\_ShamanChild\_flkd.52)

## Reported speech in Nganasan

(6) Double frames

256: *Küđiatundə tās'iađə mununtu, Məridərə mununtu: Tə-  
tə, tə tənə tə? ɲuəl'ai? ɲutaʔl'iʔəm, s'üaruʔl'iʔəm tənə.*

**Meryde says** the next morning: “**Well**, you almost belong to me, we have become friends.’

257: (...) ‘What do you think, shall we take one sledge?’

258: (...) ‘Oh, the head shook itself.’

259: (...) ‘How then?’

260: *Tə, ɲonəntə in's'üđütəɲuɲ, kəntəđəmtu huturətəɲum?  
Məridərə mununtu.*

‘Will you wander alone, should I harness a sledge for you?’  
– **says Meryde.**’ (MVL\_080304\_TwoMeryde\_flk)

## 2. Data & Method



## Data

Nganasan Spoken Language Corpus (Brykina et al. 2018)

22 tales by five different speakers, folktales only (from 100 to 800 IUs/tale)

## Method

1. Looked through the text
2. Singled out the examples of reported speech and thought > more than 3100 IUs containing reported speech and thought; formal signals:
  - quotative indexes: speech and mental verbs; speaker & addressee-oriented clauses;
  - perspective shift: pronominal indexing & different interactional devices (rhetorical questions, interjections, exclamations)

## Method

The data was annotated for:

- i. RS or RT (speech = uttered & perceived, thought = in solitude & self-addressed);
- ii. functional type (data-driven without sticking to any theoretical framework; analytic approach to RST longer than one intonation unit)
- iii. the position of RST in the narrative structure according to Labov (1972);
- iv. belonging of RST to episodes (impressionistically labeled);
- v. presence of framing construction;
- vi. presence of additional indexes in the left periphery of the RST episode: interjections, discourse particles, etc.

## Method

Narrative structure according to Labov (1972: 363):

1. Abstract [= What is the story?]
2. Orientation [= Who, what, when & where?]
3. Complicating action [= Then what happened?]
4. Evaluation [= So what?]
5. Result or resolution [= What did it end with?]
6. Coda [= What is the moral?]

## Method

Labov's (1972: 363) narrative structure in Nganasan folklore:

(1. Abstract)

2. Orientation

3. Complicating action

(4. Evaluation)\*

5. Result or resolution

(6. Coda)

\* Not always present and does not have a particular place in the story. Otherwise, linearly aligned.

## 3. Results

## Results

- 3.1. Perceptual RST wrt. other report types.**
- 3.2. Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries.**

### 3.1. Perceptual RST wrt. other report types

Typology:

- “Reported Speech as speech attribution”;
- “Cognitive evaluation”;
- Rhetorical RST;
- Perceptual RST.



## Perceptual RST wrt. other report types

Typology:

- **“Reported Speech as speech attribution”**: dialogic exchanges between speakers, (less) strict criterion: addressed & responsive turns.

(6) She says to her friend that stands in his leather = ADDRESSED  
clothes: “Why is this woman standing aside, and  
isn't dancing with the dancers? And why can't she  
enter the tent?”

“She has recently been buried, this woman.” = RESPONSIVE

(ChND\_041212\_Girl\_flkd.59–61)

## Perceptual RST wrt. other report types

Typology:

- **“Cognitive evaluation”**: (silent) reflections on surroundings & actions, speculation about possible line of events, epistemic judgements (often a biproduct of perception), etc.:

(7) ‘He has taken me to a nomad camp.’ (ChND\_041212\_Girl\_flkd.41)

= what the character sees reminds her of a nomad camp, while she is ignorant if it is indeed a nomad camp.

(8) The elder sister says: “How can we get out of here?”  
(ChND\_080729\_Mosquitos\_flkd.91)

= the elder sister does not know how to get out of the tent without windows or doors.

## Perceptual RST wrt. other report types

Typology:

- **Rhetorical RST:** non-dialogic (may be addressed but rarely if ever responded), used stylistically to highlight participants or events (Larson 1978: 58).

## Perceptual RST wrt. other report types

In Nganasan folktales, rhetorical RS mostly conveys: intentions & motivation, instructions, explanation/moral, backtrack & covert background; all related to how the narrative moves on.

(9) Intention + motivation

‘One day Kehy Luu says: «Brother, I'm going to go on a visit. I have seen rich camps.” (KNT\_940903\_KehyLuu\_flkd.135–136)

(10) Instructions

‘He says: “Stay here. Stay in the tent.”  
(MVL\_080304\_TwoMeryde\_flk.157–158)

(11) Moral

‘[People say:] “And why did you roam alone, why didn't you live next to other people” (ChND\_080719\_Evenki\_flkd.131)

## Perceptual RST wrt. other report types

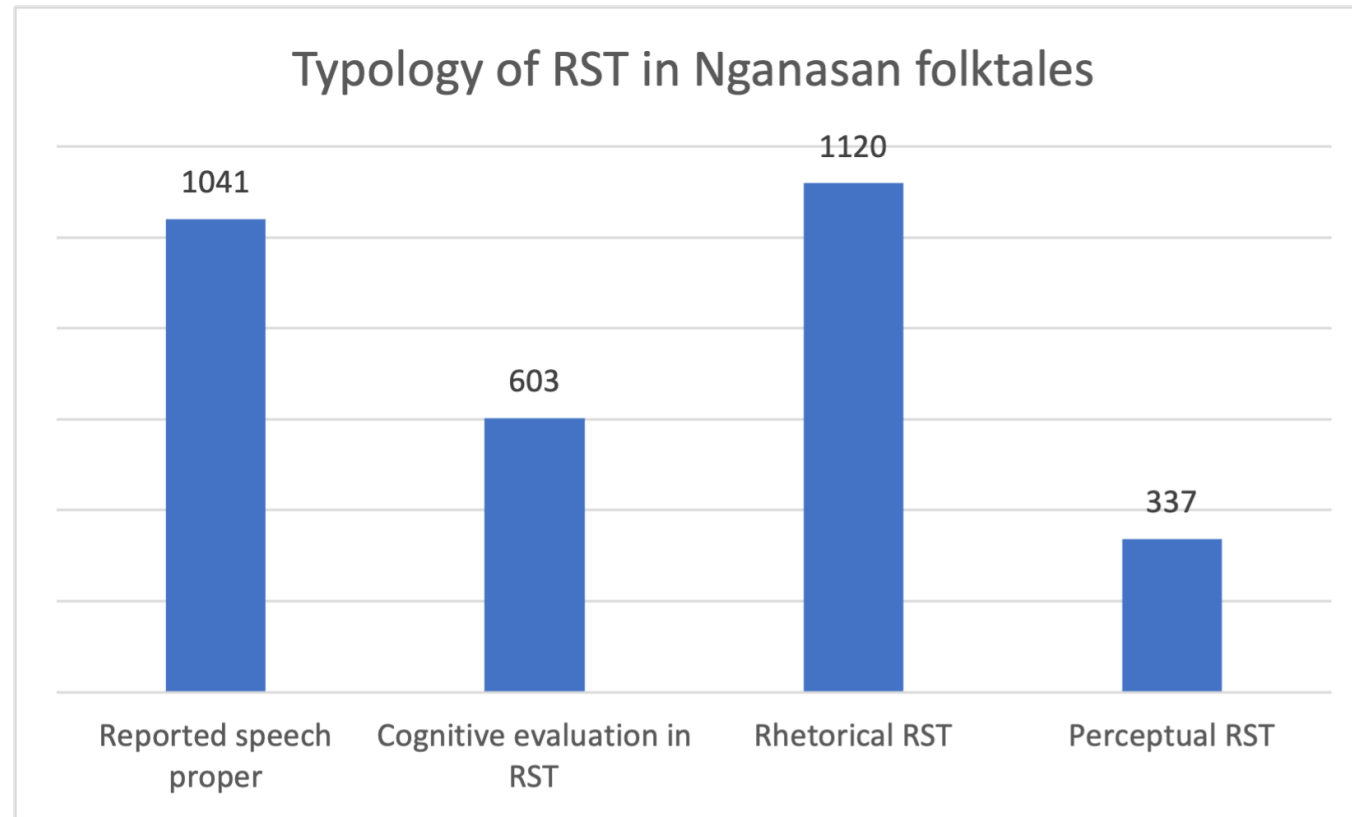


Figure 2. Representation of different RST in Nganasan folktales

## Perceptual RST wrt. other report types

More rhetorical than actual reported speech? Okay for folktales? Nganasan peculiarity? Problem with counts? (CA approach to discourse in the narrative?)

## **3.2. Perceptual RST wrt. discourse boundaries**

Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

Perceptual RST, discourse boundaries, and their formal signals

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

Predominantly during Complicating action; only 1 episode during Resolution

- (12) *Təniʔiā tahariāiʔ iniʔiāʔkuđi ɲansə, ənditi*  
 so now wife:DIM:3SG.POSS again PH:PRS.3SG  
*n'üəmti ɲətəuʔkiʔə: əmtirə maad'a*  
 child:ACC.3SG.POSS examine:DRV:RES:PF this:2SG why  
*n'inʔi d'orəʔ n'üəməʔ*  
 NEG:INTERR cry:CNG child:1SG.POSS

'The wife began to examine the baby, "Why doesn't my baby cry?"'

(ChND\_041212\_Girl\_flkd.181)



## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

20 episodes during Orientation; meta-narrator's perspective in 18 episodes, as in (13):

(13) [The story goes and looks around.]

<i>Kuə</i>	<i>t'ühəgüənu</i>	<i>mununtu:</i>	<b><i>Ou</i></b>	<i>maanuna</i>	<i>əməniə</i>
some	time:LOCADV	say:PRS.3SG	INTERJ	what.for	this
<i>n'erəmə,</i>		<i>ŋuʔəl'aa</i>	<i>maʔ</i>	<i>ŋətumiʔə,</i>	<i>ŋuʔəjküə</i>
before:ADJ:1SG.POSS		one:LIM	tent	appear:PF	one:EMPH
<i>maʔ,</i>	<i>anəl'ikü».</i>				
tent	bigger				

'After some time it says: what kind of thing there is in front of me, one tent appeared, one bigger tent.'

(ChND\_080722\_TwoFriends\_flk.002)

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

When story gets multiple new directions, meta-narrator's perspective \*may\* indicate the change of the episode, coinciding with the change in location and participants:

(Non-perceptual) Rhetorical RT = intention

(14) *Tə, təti ɲalaa ɲansə munuʔə: Tə, ɲəðiʔkün'ə*  
 PTCL that mouth again say:PF PTCL find:IMP:1SG.OP  
*kurəd'iʔ ɲanaʔsanəʔ ihuāluʔ.*  
 what:PL person:PL be:INDF:DUB:3PL

'The tale again say (thinks): I shall go and check what kind of people those are.' (JDH\_990320\_ThreeTents\_flkd.065)

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

Change in location <sup>2</sup> ‘from the outside to the inside of the tent’ is \*unsystematically\* **signaled by the auditive mood on the speech verb** in the framing clause; however, no tale without counter-examples.

(15) [Meryde enters the tent.]

178: Oh, the old man **says (= AUD)**: “Ah, komensey, who are you?”

179: Where are you from, how have you found my tent?”

180: Oh, the young man **says (= AUD)**: “I’m the younger Meryde...”

... [unframed exchanges]

202: The Nenets old man **says (= AUD)**: “It’s my daughter.”

(MVL\_080304\_TwoMeryde\_flk)

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<sup>2</sup> Mouth appears “when the scene/place of the story is changed when typically the character enters from the open-air scene into a closed place” (Szeverenyi 2022: 114).

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

Change/persistence in location is only occasionally signaled by auditive for perceptual RST (more often semantically motivated > eavesdropping, cf. [17]):

- (16) *Küđiatu*                      *d'a nijkiarə*                      *tahariabə*    *n'aagəi?*  
 get.up:NMLZ.PRF              ALL woman:2SG.POSS              now              good:ADV  
*təs'iađə*      ***munumunut'ü***: *Maanuna*    *timiñiagümü*  
 now              say:AUD:3SG              what.for              now:EMPH  
*labarmuləu*    *sojbutu.*  
 make.noise:NMLZ:2SG.POSS:EXCL    sound:PRS.3SG

'The next morning a woman said: "What is it; I think I hear some noise..."' (TKF\_99\_TwoShamans\_flkd.94)

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

AUD-marking semantically motivated:

(17) [The door... they stopped by the tent and began to listen.]

*S'igi?iiŋi?ə*                      *n'üə*                      *munumunut'ü:*

ogre:FEM:AUG.GEN    child:3SG.POSS    say:AUD:3SG

«*Aba, aba, tə? d'iaðəmi,*                      *aba, aba, tə?*

mom    mom    PTCLbrain:DST:ACC.1DU.POSS    mom    mom    PTCL

*d'iaðəmi*».

brain:DST:ACC.1DU.POSS

“The daughter of the ogre says: “Mother, mother, give us brains.””

(ChND\_0808729\_flkd.022–023)

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

Perceptual RST appears rarely \*right at the beginning\* of the new scene or with the change in location, as in (18):

(18) [So he climbed the mountain.]

*Ou, komənsəj, s'ajbə kojkaʔa tahariabi? ɲanuəməni*

INTERJ INTERJ seven idol:AUG now real:ADV

*hütəðüt'ün d'üði d'erməni təniʔiariai?*

real:ADV period:GEN middle:PROLAT so:LIM:ADV

*kən'it'ürübaðatə?*

cut:DRV:PASS:INFER:3PL.R

“Ah, it’s rather interesting. Here are seven idols cut in the middle of their bodies.” (ChND\_061025\_Haljmira\_flks.316)

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

Opening a new scene and indicating the appearance of new participants:

- (19) *Tə numajkaʔagəj mununtugəj: “Ou,*  
 PTCL young.man.AUG.DU say:PRS:3DU INTERJ  
*taaniəgəj tuuʔəgəj təʔ, n’akiðitiəgəin’i.”*  
 that.remote:ADJ:DU come:PRF:3DU PTCL take:PTCP.PRS:1PL.POSS  
 ‘The young men say: “**Ah**, our brides have arrived.”  
 (ChND\_080729\_Mosquitos\_flkd.186)

## Perceptual RST in the narrative structure

Non-perceptual rhetorical or addressed speech in identification of (new) participants is more prominent:

- (20) *əi, d'ürakə bəjkunaŋku munumunut'ü: əi?,*  
 INTERJ Nenets old.man:DIM say:AUD:3SG INTERJ  
*takəə kobtuamə.*  
 that.remote daughter:1SG.POSS  
 'The Nenets old man says: "It's my daughter."  
 (MVL\_080304\_TwoMeryde\_flk.202)



## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Formal marking:

- Framing constructions

- Other indexes

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

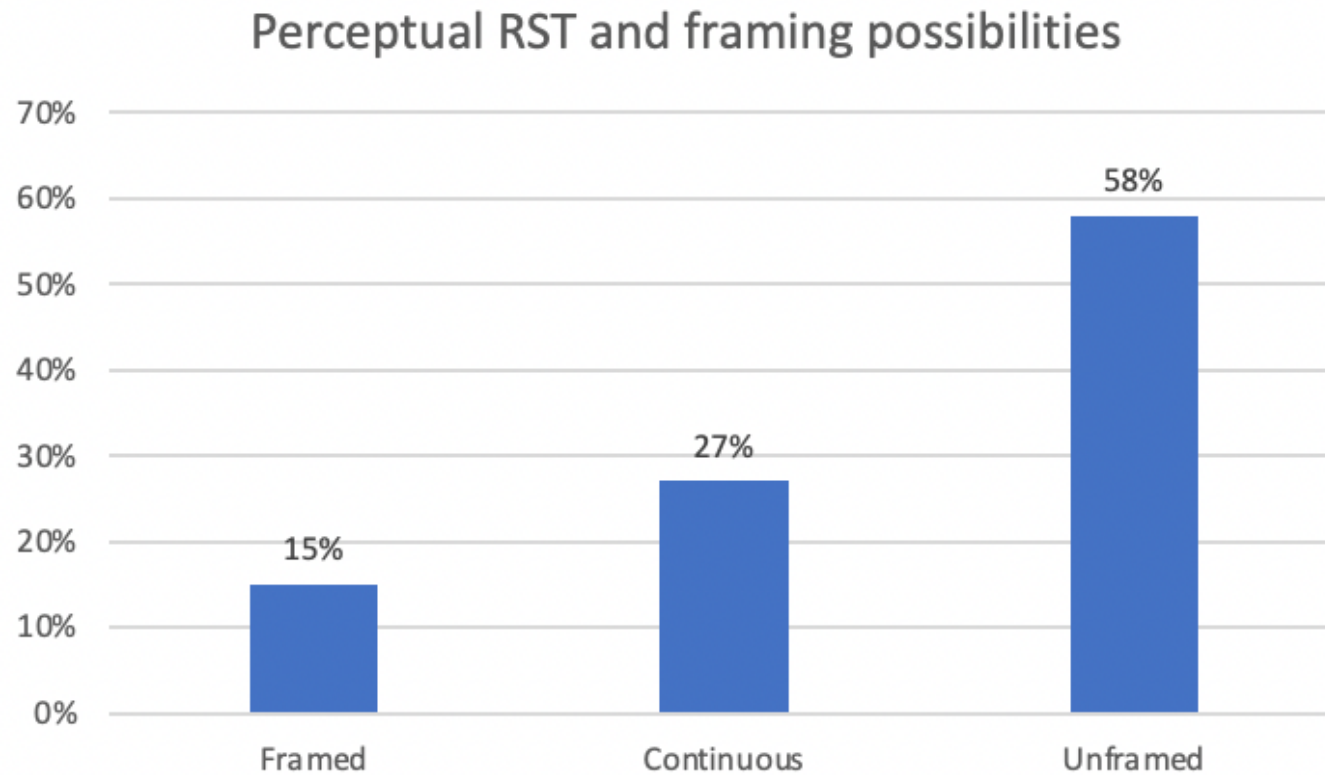


Figure 3. Perceptual RST and framing possibilities

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Continuous & unframed: only 34% with no formal “marking”, although might be characteristic of the “exclamative” or “mirative” syntax, e.g.: ‘what kind of thing it is?’

(21) *Maanuna amkəit’ə                      ɲanaʔsagəj                      s’üürs’a*  
 what.for    this:DU:PL.2SG.POSS    person:DU                      crawl:INF

*bənantunugəj?*

%%:DRV:INTERR:3DU

‘What kind of two people have stretched there crawling?’

(JDH\_00\_TwoDolganBrothers\_flk.472)

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Elements that appear on the left periphery of perceptual RS:

- *tə* ‘you.know’, ‘well’, etc.
- *tahariāa* ‘now’ (< *taperja* ‘now’ [lit. Russ. *teper*’], used in Siberia, cf. Wagner-Nagy 2018: 59); apparently, a discourse particle/marker rather than a temporal adverb (cf. *timiniā*, *təəsjiəðə* ‘now’);
- interjection (sequences);

Combinations: *tə* (INTERJ) *tahariāa*, INTERJ *tahariāa/tə*.

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Continuous, *taharīai* ‘now’ + *tə* ‘well’

- (22) ***Taharīai?*** ***tə*** *əməniə ɲanaʔsagümü* *hütəðətu* *təʔ*  
 now PTCL this:ADJ person:EMPH.GEN body:3SG.POSS PTCL  
*najbəl’ükü n’anditi.*  
 long:QUAL seem:PRS.3SG

‘This man has a really long body.’ (ChND\_061025\_Hlajmira\_flks.029)

Continuous, *tə* ‘well’ + INTERJ + *taharīai* ‘now’

- (23) [“My four reindeers got scared of something, it seems.]  
***Tə,*** ***əiʔ*** ***taharīaa*** *ɲarkagümü...*  
 PTCL INTERJ now bear:EMPH

‘Oh, the bear...’ (JDH\_00\_TwoDolganBrothers\_flk.036)

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Such discourse marking elements appear in 69% of perceptual RST altogether and are present among other types of reports: perspective shifting indexes?

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Non-perceptual RST: 55% with no discourse marker; 59% if all framed RST instances are neglected.

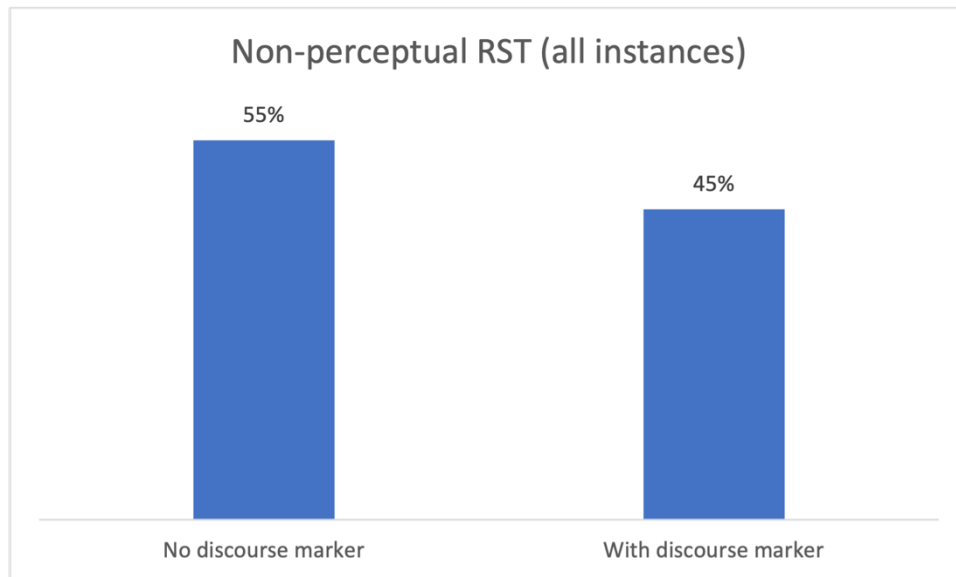


Figure 4. Non-perceptual RST (all instances)

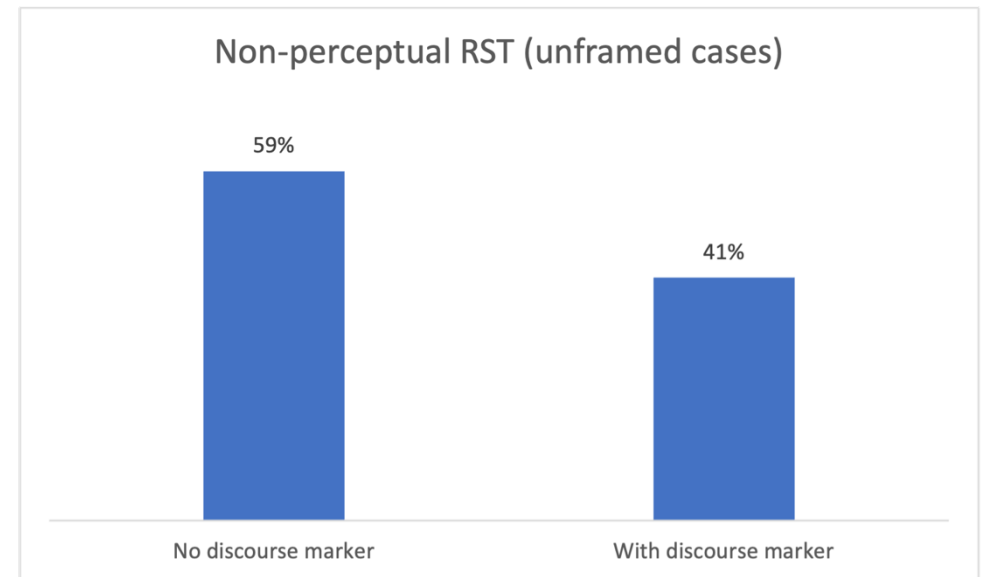


Figure 5. Non-perceptual RST (unframed cases)

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Non-perceptual RST: 55% with no discourse marker; 59% if all framed RST instances are neglected.

If only unframed non-continuous (but possibly interrupted) RST, then only 21% do not contain any marking on the left periphery.

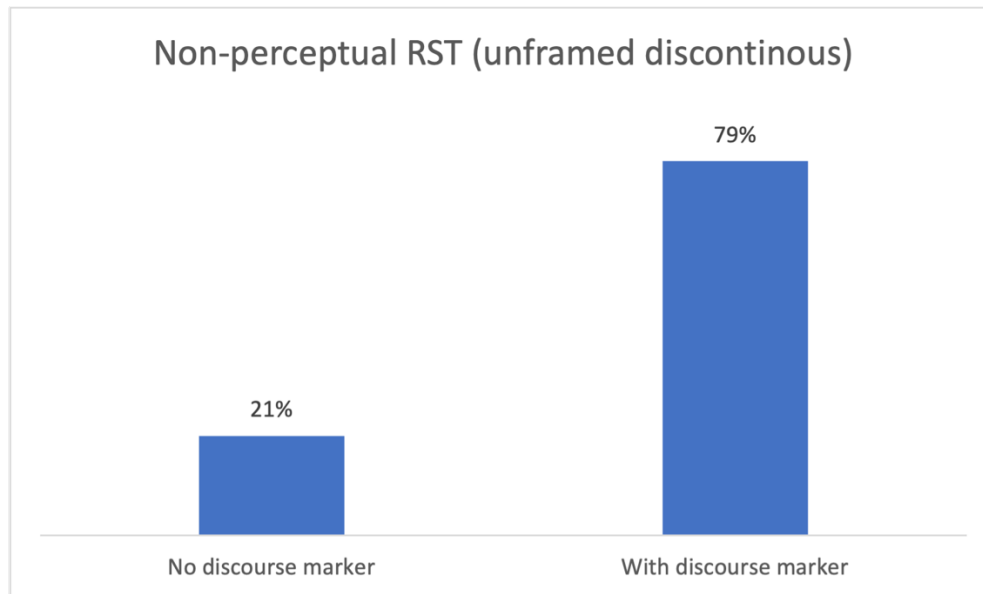


Figure 6. Non-perceptual RST (only unframed discontinuous episodes)



## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Non-perceptual RST: 55% with no discourse marker; 59% if all framed RST instances are neglected.

If only unframed non-continuous (but possibly interrupted) RST, then only 21% do not contain any marking on the left periphery > perspective-shifting markers? > boundaries between the narrator's and character's line?

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Four types of discourse markers as perspective-shifting markers? > boundaries between the narrator's & character's line?

**Problem:** occur outside RST with different discourse marking and (apparently) cognitive functions (as e.g. placeholders?).

## Perceptual RST & discourse boundaries

Four types of discourse markers as perspective-shifting markers? > boundaries between the narrator's & character's line?

**Problem:** occur outside RST with different discourse marking and (apparently) cognitive functions (as e.g. placeholders?).

**Solution:** more work is needed on discursive functions of RST and discourse markers in Nganasan traditional stories.

## **4. Preliminary conclusions, further steps & open questions**

## Preliminary conclusions

Perceptual RS: a rhetorical strategy in traditional Nganasan folktales...

...adds to the existing perceptual grammatical & lexical strategies but does not entirely overlap with them functionally (see Appendix);

...rarely coincides with immediate change in discourse segments; other instances of RS are of more interesting in this respect;

...signaled but less by framing constructions and more by 'perspective-sensitive' elements like discourse particles & interjections (similarities with unframed discontinuous RST).

## Further steps...

...revise the typology of RST?

...investigate the discourse boundary marking in other types of reports in more detail?

...investigate the discourse marking functions of elements like *tə* 'well', *taharīaa* 'now' outside RST; interjections and their use as discourse markers?  
mirative signals?

...investigate the use of such discourse markers placed further in the IU?

## Open questions...

...CA approach to narratives: what is Reported Speech as speech attribution?

Doesn't RST always have some secondary function in narratives? (discourse?)

Left periphery and segmentation of discourse?

Change in narrative style? (AUD-marking, 'mouth' etc.)

**Huás'iba?küəi?!**

**Thank you!**



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## Appendix: Perceptual RST wrt. other perceptual strategies

Revised annotations from Teptiuk & Nikitina (2023)

Nganasan dataset: 1228 examples from the same 22 tales w. 216 perceptual RS examples.

Sensory perception according to the sense (5 basic + proprio/interoception) and its way of encoding (the most direct clue):

- grammatical: ‘someone has come-AUD.’
- lexical: ‘M. hears that someone has come.’
- implication: ‘[M. says/thinks:] Someone makes noise outside’, other indexes (footprints, ideophones...)

## Perceptual RST wrt. other perceptual strategies

Revised annotations from Teptiuk & Nikitina (2023)

Sensory perception according to the sense (5 basic + proprio/interoception) and its way of encoding (the most direct clue) + perception type:

- OBJECT: 'There's a tent over there.'
- ACTION: 'M. is sitting in the tent', 'M. is walking towards the tent.'
- PROPERTY: 'They look similar.'
- "Plain reference": 'M. doesn't see anything', 'there are no footprints here', 'oh there's something over there / what kind of thing it is?'

## Perceptual RS wrt. other perceptual strategies

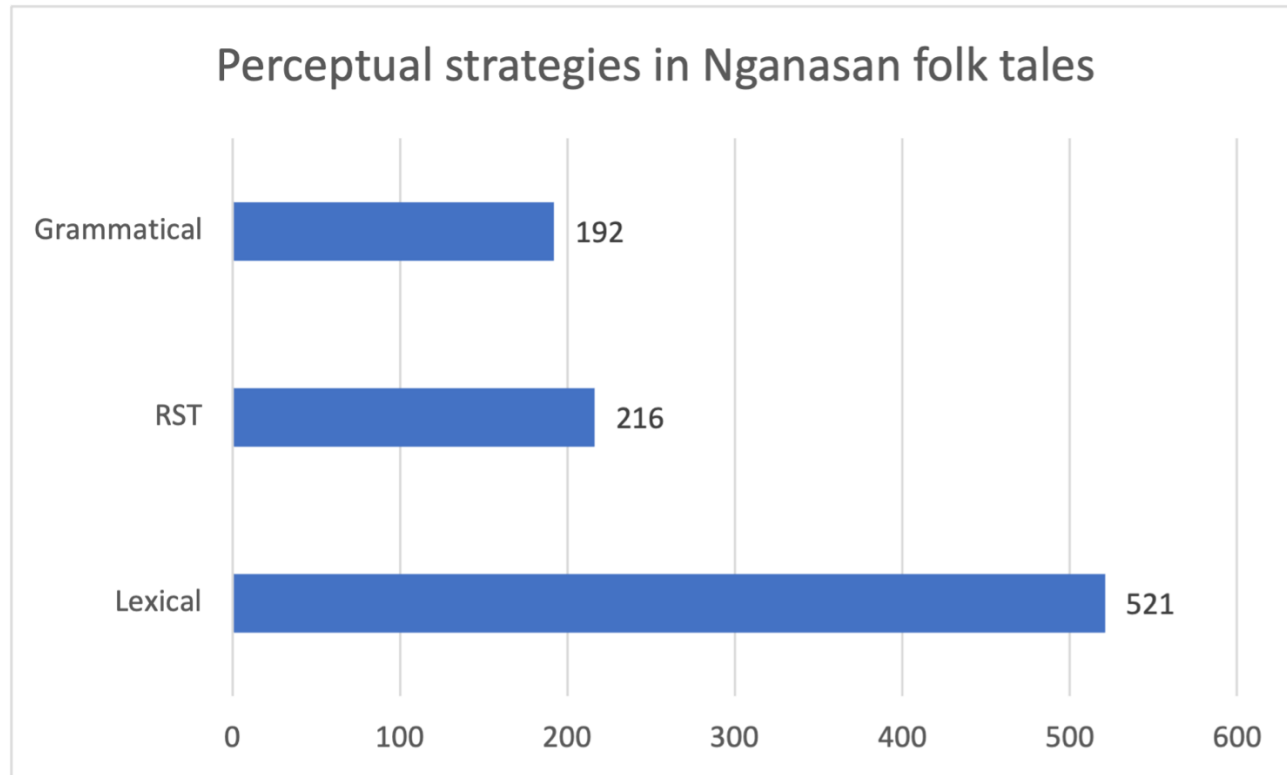


Figure 7. Perceptual strategies in Ngunasan folk tales

## Perceptual RS wrt. other perceptual strategies

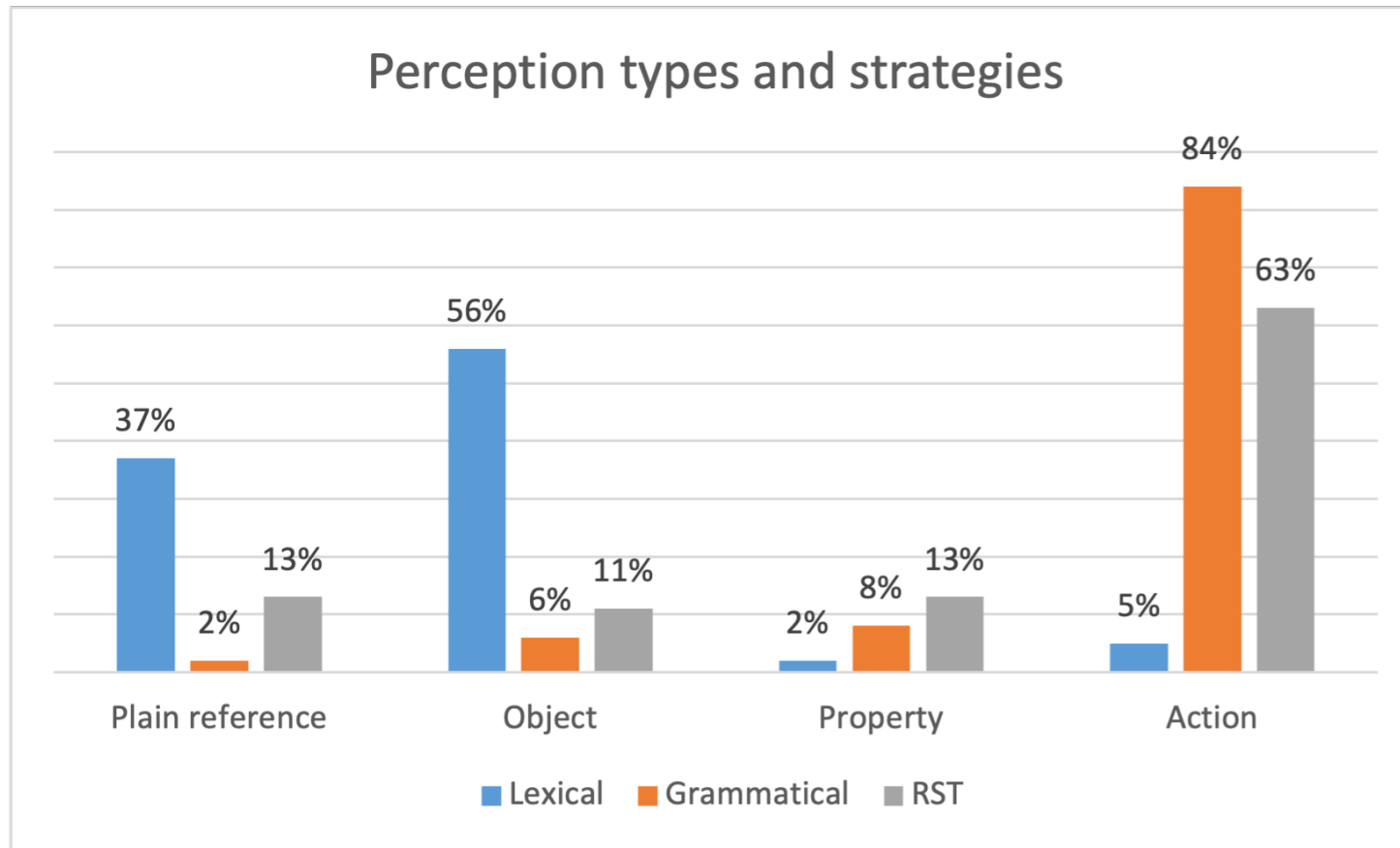


Figure 3. Distribution of perception types across different strategies

## Perceptual RS wrt. other perceptual strategies

Similarity with grammatical strategies in referring to the perception of action most frequently; other perception types are more visible in RST;

Impressionistically significant overlap between the strategies (marked for the most direct clue):

At some point he says: "**It seems** that I see **a tent ahead...**" = inferential

"I have already walked two weeks and **the tent of my mother is still near...**"  
= speculative