

Discursive uses of repetitive markers: particle *anⁱ* in Forest Enets

The paper deals with discursive uses of the repetitive particle *anⁱ* ('again, also') in Forest Enets (Samoyedic, Taimyr Peninsula).

The use of 'again'-expressions in different discursive functions are quite widespread cross-linguistically (cf. extended uses of English *again* and the Russian expression *opjat' že*, going back to the adverb *opjat'* 'again'). The range of such functions is very wide and heterogeneous. Thus, for example, an 'again'-expression can develop the consecutive meaning ('then, later'), as the particle *gò* in Logo (Nilo-Saharan, Wright 1995: 72-74); the additive meaning ('also, as well'), as the auxiliary *bira* in Mbembe (Cross-River, Barnwell 1969:221), concessive meaning ('however, nevertheless, on the contrary'), as the particle *xai* in Udihe (Tungusic, Nikolaeva, Tolskaya 2001:440). 'Again'-expressions are one of the possible grammaticalization sources for coordinative conjunctions. In particular this grammaticalization path is a feature of languages of India – Dravidian and Munda (see on grammaticalization of 'again'-expressions into coordinative markers Mithun 1988:353, Wälchli 2006:89). 'Again'-expressions can also be used to refer to the unexpectedness of the event, as the prefix *um-* in Sye (Oceanic, Crowley 1998).

However the potential of 'again'-expressions as discursive markers needs further investigation. The corpus-based study of the discursive functions of the particle *anⁱ* in Enets aims to fulfill partly this gap.

In Enets dictionary by Sorokina, Bolina (2009) the word *anⁱ* is considered as two lexemes: 1) particle 'again'; 2) conjunction 'and, but'. This division seems to reflect the intuition that *anⁱ* has two separate classes of uses based on their semantic and syntactic properties – “adverbial” vs. “discursive” uses. In “adverbial” uses the particle *anⁱ* has the meanings 'again' and 'too':

- (1) *pe-d* *ɔzi-m-a* *anⁱ*
 outdoors-DAT.SG be.visible-INC-AOR REP
 'He went outdoors again'.

In these uses the particle *anⁱ* acts as a phonetically independent word and can carry the logical accent. The position in the sentence is not fixed, however the most common position is preverbal.

In discursive uses the particle *anⁱ* has a very wide range of discursive functions.

- (2) *akɔjka-da* *n'in* *anⁱ* *t'ulⁱ* *izi*
 window-3SG.GEN.SG over REP tulle be.hanging
 {He is a rich man, he has a lot of different good things.} 'On his window there is some tulle hanging'.

The use in (2), for example, marks the information given in the sentence as an illustration, confirmation of the reasoning above. Such use can be treated as an extension of the main repetitive meaning in which the information given before “is repeated” in more concrete form.

In discursive uses the particle *anⁱ* acts as a second-position clitic (joined to the focused constituent) or as a sentence-final clitic.

The paper will be focus on the latter class of uses. The morphosyntactic properties of discursive *anⁱ* and their correlation with the semantics will be considered in more detail. The whole range of discursive meanings of *anⁱ* will be presented. The semantic relations among discursive uses and the relations of discursive uses to the main adverbial uses will be discussed.

Abbreviations:

AOR – aorist, DAT – dative, GEN – genitive, INC – inceptive, REP – repetitive particle, SG – singular.

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