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# Evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EVIDENTIALITY IN UZBEK AND KAZAKH

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

BY

CHRISTOPHER A STRAUGHN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 2011

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To Mike

for all of your support, encouragement, and clever insight

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to describe and account for the broad range of phenomena referred to as “evidentiality” in two Turkic languages: Uzbek and Kazakh. Much previous work on the Turkic languages treats evidentiality as a distinct verbal category. However, morphemes that express evidential meaning also often express other meanings such as dubitativity and admirativity, or may even express rhetorical questions. This work follows Friedman (1978; 1981; 1988) and others in considering these meanings to be the result of an evidential-like strategy: the expression of non-confirmativity.

In Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as in many other Eurasian languages, the past tense is the locus of evidential meaning. There are three items in the Uzbek and Kazakh past tense paradigm, and these differ in terms of markedness for confirmativity: one is marked as confirmative, one as non-confirmative, and one is unmarked for confirmativity. The unmarked item, often referred to as the perfect, exists in a copular form. As a copular form, it expresses marked non-confirmativity. When this copular form (in Uzbek: *ekan*, in Kazakh: *eken*) is employed to express non-confirmativity, this non-confirmativity is manifested either as non-firsthand information source or as admirativity.

By employing the non-confirmative analysis, we are able to account for the broad range of phenomena considered “evidential” without resorting to postulating an evidential category. Rather, in Uzbek and Kazakh, evidential meaning is merely one effect of the expression of non-confirmativity, which is a subtype of the categories of status or modality.

## NOTES ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY

For the purpose of readability, data from Uzbek and Kazakh is presented in the Latin alphabet.

### Uzbek

Although the Latin alphabet is official in Uzbekistan, the Cyrillic alphabet is found in older works and is still in common use. Cyrillic texts have been transliterated. The Uzbek alphabet and approximate phonetic correspondences are found in Table 1.

Table 1: The Uzbek Latin Alphabet

<Aa> /a,æ/	<Bb> /b/	<Dd> /d/	<Ee> /e/	<Ff> /f/
<Gg> /g/	<Hh> /h/	<Ii> /i,i/	<Jj> /dʒ, ʒ/	<Kk> /k/
<Ll> /l/	<Mm> /m/	<Nn> /n/	<Oo> /o/	<Pp> /p/
<Qq> /q/	<Rr> /r/	<Ss> /s/	<Tt> /t/	<Uu> /u,y/
<Vv> /v,w/	<Xx> /x/	<Yy> /j/	<Zz> /z/	<O'o'> /o, ø/
<G'g'> /ɣ/	<CHch> /tʃ/	<SHsh> /ʃ/	<NGng> /ŋ/	<'> /ʔ, Ø/

Standard Uzbek does not exhibit much of the vowel harmony or consonant assimilations typical of other Turkic languages. The only commonly encountered phonological process in Uzbek is the assimilation of /g/ (as in the dative suffix *-ga*), which changes to /k/ after /k/ (*hakkok-ka* - 'to the jeweler'), and to /q/ after /q/ (*yoq-qa* - 'to the side'). When following /g'/, both sounds change to /q/ (*tog'* - 'mountain' ~ *toq-qa* - 'to the mountain').

### Kazakh

Kazakh is written in the Cyrillic script, so it has been necessary to transliterate data into the Latin script. For the purposes of this work, I have employed a system that is commonly used in works on the Turkic languages. Table 2 provides the native Cyrillic



graphemes, the Latin transliteration, and their corresponding phonemes in IPA (from Vajda 1994).

Table 2: Kazakh Transliteration System

Аа <a> /a/	Әә <ä> /æ/	Бб <b> /b/	Вв* <v> /v/
Гг <g> /g/	Ғғ <ğ> /ɣ/	Дд <d> /d/	Ее <e> /jɪ/
Әә* <ë> /jɔ/	Жж <ž> /ʒ/	Зз <z> /z/	Ии <iy, iŷ> /ɪj, əj/
Йй <y> /j/	Кк <k> /k/	Ққ <q> /q/	Лл <l> /l/
Мм <m> /m/	Нн <n> /n/	Ңң <ŋ> /ŋ/	Оо <o> /wɔ/
Өө <ö> /wʌ/	Пп <p> /p/	Рр <r> /r/	Сс <s> /s/
Тт <t> /t/	Уу <w, uw, üw> /w, ʊw, ɯw/	Үү <u> /ʊ/	Үү <ü> /ɯ/
Фф <f> /f/	Хх <x> /q, χ/	Һһ <h> /h/	Цц* <ts> /ts/
Чч* <č> /tʃ/	Шш <š> /ʃ/	Щщ* <šč> /ʃtʃ/	Ъъ* <'> †
Ыы <ɪ> /ə/	Іі <i> /ɪ/	Ьь* <'> ‡	Ээ* <è> /ɛ/
Юю <yu, yü> /jʊ, jɯ/	Яя <ya> /ja/		

\*Found only in Russian loans

† Russian “hard sign”

‡ Russian “soft sign”

It is customary in Turcological literature to represent underspecified vowels and assimilating consonants with archiphonemes, which are represented with capital letters.

Table 3 shows the symbols used to represent these archiphonemes in Kazakh, along with their possible realizations. See Vajda (1994) for further details on the exact processes involved.

Table 3: Kazakh Archiphonemes

<i>Consonants</i>	
D	→ d, t
G	→ g, ğ, k, q
L	→ l, d, t
M	→ m, b, p
N	→ n, d, t
<i>Vowels</i>	
A	→ a, e
I	→ i, i

## LIST OF GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

1	first person	FOC	focus particle
2	second person	FUT	future
3	third person	GEN	genitive case
ABL	ablative case	IMP	imperative
ACC	accusative case	INF	infinitive
AGT	agentive	INTENS	intensifier
AOR	aurist	IPFV	imperfective
APPROX	approximate	LOC	locative case
ASP	aspect maker	MOD	modal particle
ATTR	attributive	NECESS	necessitative
CAUS	causative voice	NEG	negative
CL	classifier	NMLZR	nominalizer
COMP	complementizer	PASS	passive voice
COND	conditional	PRF	perfect
COOP	cooperative voice	PFV	perfective
COP	copula	PL	plural
CPST	converbial past tense	PRES	present tense
CVB	converb	PROG	progressive
DAT	dative case	PST	past tense
DIM	diminutive	Q	question particle
DUAL	dual	RECP	reciprocal voice
EMOT	emotive	REPORT	reportative
EVID	evidential	SG	singular
EXCL	exclamative particle	TOP	topic marker
EXIST	existential	VIS	visual evidence

In most of the Turkic languages there exists a special set of verbs that can occur as main verbs or as light verbs (i.e. converbs). In this capacity, these verbs usually indicate aspect, perfectivity, or status/modality. When used in this way, their meanings are glossed in small caps, e.g. Uzbek *ol-* ‘to take/BE.ABLE’, Kazakh *žat-* ‘to lie/IPFV’. When citing material from other sources, the original glosses are preserved.

## PREFACE

### 0.1 General Considerations

The purpose of this work is to examine and account for the broad range of phenomena that have been referred to as “evidentiality” in the linguistics literature on two Turkic languages of Central Asia: Uzbek and Kazakh. While the present work is based primarily in a functionalist-typological framework, it does include some discussions of other relevant theories.

The term *evidentiality* is problematic, as it may refer to two related yet distinct phenomena: EVIDENTIAL meaning and an EVIDENTIAL grammatical category. In the course of this work, I claim that while Uzbek and Kazakh have a number of grammatical means for expressing evidential meaning, none of these means can be said to fall into a verbal category of EVIDENTIALITY of the type identified in classic works such as Boas (1911) and Jakobson (1957/1971), and elaborated on in more recent work such as de Haan (1999) and Aikhenvald (2003; 2004). Rather, evidential meaning is expressed via the verbal category of STATUS or MODALITY, specifically through the sub-category of (NON)CONFIRMATIVITY as developed in Aronson (1967) and Friedman (1978; 1980). The expression of non-confirmativity may be interpreted in a number of ways, and one of these is an evidential interpretation. Other possible results of the expression of non-confirmativity include NON-VOLITIONALITY, RHETORICAL QUESTIONS, and ADMIRATIVITY, which is the linguistic expression of unexpected information. This final result, admirativity, is sometimes called mirativity (see DeLancey 1997; 2001; Lazard 1999) and is often considered a sub-variety of, or at least related to, evidentiality. By employing a sub-category of (NON)CONFIRMATIVITY, we are able to unify these various meanings.

Non-confirmativity in Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as in many other genetically and areally related languages, is expressed primarily by markers of past tense. These markers

frequently evolve into markers whose sole purpose is to express non-confirmativity, rather than the combination of past tense and non-confirmativity.

In Uzbek and Kazakh, we are concerned with the modern reflexes of five morphemes. Three of these are bound to the verbal root and express past tense: the SIMPLE PAST tense *\*-DI* (Uzbek *-di*, Kazakh *-DI*), which is confirmative; the PERFECT *\*-GAN* (Uzbek *-gan*, Kazakh *-GAN*), which is unmarked (in the modern languages) for confirmativity; and the CONVERBIAL PAST *\*-(I)p* (Uzbek *-(i)b*, Kazakh *-(I)b*), which is non-confirmative. The other two morphemes that concern us are derived from combinations of verbal markers and the copula: *\*er-kan* ( $\langle *er+GAN^1 \rangle$ ) (Uzbek *ekan*, Kazakh *eken*), which is non-confirmative and may express either non-firsthand information source (i.e. evidentiality) or admirativity, and *\*er-miš* (Uzbek: *emish*, Kazakh *-mIs*), which expresses either reportativity or admirativity. In reviewing these morphemes, we see that evidential meaning is not the primary meaning of any of them. Rather, because certain morphemes are marked as non-confirmative, they may express specific types of non-confirmativity, such as non-firsthand information source (i.e. non-firsthand evidentiality) or admirativity.

## **0.2 Methodology and Conventions**

### **0.2.1 Data Sources**

For this work I have relied upon data from three very different sources: native speakers of Uzbek and Kazakh, data from literary publications and data from the Internet. I have avoided using data from grammars, as evidentiality and related meanings have been either ignored or inadequately described in most previous works.

---

<sup>1</sup> But see Erdal (1991, 383), (2004, 288, 320) for further discussion of the origin of this form.

Consultation with native speakers of Uzbek and Kazakh took place in and around Chicago and in Almaty, Kazakhstan. The data-gathering techniques conducted consisted of questionnaires, elicitation of examples, and open-ended conversation. Native speakers also participated in the elicitation of data via e-mail correspondence and online surveys.

Data from literature comes from both original Uzbek and Kazakh literature and literature translated from English. This literature included novels (such as James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*), collections of folk tales, and newspapers.

There are large communities of speakers of Uzbek and Kazakh on the Internet, and the various message boards and websites created by these speakers have been enormously beneficial for this work, owing to the breadth of available data provided by these sources. This data comes primarily from messageboards, but also comes from personal websites and news sites. To ensure that Internet data was not erroneous or produced by a non-native speaker, I made sure that unusual constructions were attested elsewhere and were deemed acceptable by native speakers.

In employing the sorts of spontaneous data found in native literature and on the Internet, I was able to find a great many constructions that speakers are unlikely to produce in isolation or in the course of ordinary consultation. The ability to search these corpora resulted in the location of a number of rare, yet grammatical, constructions and usages. Rhetorical questions and Kazakh *-mIs*, in particular, were two phenomena I would not have known about had I not been able to use these corpora. Internet data, in particular, provided a great many instances of the sorts of dubitative, rhetorical, ironic, and otherwise casual data that is otherwise not found in written literature; for this reason, it forms of the bulk of data in this work.

In all cases, I have been careful to employ data that is close to the standard dialects of Uzbek and Kazakh, although the similarities between Uzbek and Kazakh, at least in terms of

how evidential meaning is expressed, suggests that even highly divergent dialects in either language would not deviate from the patterns described here. Any mistakes in the analysis or presentation of this data in this work are those of the author.

### 0.2.2 Glossing Conventions

Where applicable, the glosses in this work follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.<sup>2</sup> In order to distinguish between Uzbek and Kazakh in examples, the source text is followed either by (Uz) or (Kaz). When data is taken from other languages, the language in question is specified in the text and follows the transliteration scheme of the original. Data from Uzbek and Kazakh is transliterated as described in the tables in the front matter. As Kazakh morphemes vary due to vowel harmony and consonant assimilation, Kazakh data are frequently given in archiphonemic notation (e.g. *-GAN*)

As noted above, the data for this work comes from native speakers, text sources, and the Internet. Data from the Internet is identified by a footnote immediately following the English gloss (1), and the sources of data from text literature, newspapers, and the like are cited beneath the example (2). Data collected during interviews with native speakers is not marked.

(1) *men qo'y go'sht-i-ni yaxshi ko'r-ma-y-man* (Uz)  
I sheep meat-3-ACC good see-NEG-PRES-1SG  
'I don't like mutton.'<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Ertede bir kempir bol-ïp-tï, oniy žalğiz bala-sï bol-ïp-tï.* (Kaz)  
long.ago an old.woman be-CPST-3 she.GEN single child-3 be-CPST.3  
'Long ago there was an old woman, she had a single child.'  
(Asqar 2009, 19)

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

<sup>3</sup> 2008. "Uyg'ur taomlar fotosi" Uzbekistan Online Forum, 8 Mar. Accessed 18 July 2011.  
<http://www.arbuz.com/archive/index.php/t-40713.html>

When inline examples or morphemes are provided, the same abbreviations, (Uz) and (Kaz) are also employed. Whenever two reflexes of the same proto-morpheme are given, the Uzbek form is given first, followed by the Kazakh form (e.g. *ekan/eken*).

### 0.3 Notes on Terminology

The term evidentiality is used here with the reservations expressed in section 0.1. The status of evidentiality as a category is the topic of considerable debate; in Uzbek and Kazakh, at least, it does not appear to hold that status. *Evidentiality* will sometimes be used here as a convenient cover term for evidential and related meanings, but in general I have attempted to employ more descriptive terms such as *non-firsthand information source* or *evidential meaning*.

The other phenomenon that is especially difficult to categorize and, therefore, name, is NON-CONFIRMATIVITY. Much of the literature that discusses it (and its relationship to evidential meaning) is rooted in the typological system first outlined by Jakobson (1957/1971). In this work, *Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb*, Jakobson employs the term *status* to refer to the verbal category that would include non-confirmativity. As (re)defined by Aronson (1991, 114), STATUS is the “*subjective* evaluation of the narrated event by the speaker E<sup>n</sup>/P<sup>s</sup>,” and stands in opposition to MOOD, which is an *objective* evaluation. In many recent works written outside the Jakobsonian tradition, the range meanings associated with STATUS is referred to as EPISTEMIC MODALITY, a term originally used in logic that involves the possibility or probability of a proposition.

Although the term *modality* is far more common in recent works than Jakobson’s term *status*, it is not without its problems. One of the main ones is the difficulty in distinguishing MODALITY from the related category of MOOD, and determining if, indeed, MOOD and MODALITY

ought to be considered separate. When MOOD is distinguished from MODALITY, it is often described as the category that refers to the objective evaluation of the truth of the statement by the speaker (see Aronson 1991). As such, MOOD can be divided into two types: REALIS, which presents the contents of an utterance as a fact and corresponds fundamentally to the INDICATIVE; and IRREALIS, which presents the contents of the utterance as non-factual and encompasses CONDITIONAL, OPTATIVE, DESIDERATIVE, and other hypothetical moods. Because MOOD and SPEECH ACT/SENTENCE TYPE are closely related, the grammatical correlates of SPEECH ACT (i.e. SENTENCE TYPES - see Sadock and Zwicky 1985) are sometimes referred to as MOOD (INTERROGATIVE mood, IMPERATIVE mood). Some authors (e.g. Cinque 1999) refer to EVIDENTIALITY as a sub-class of MOOD, and in traditional descriptions of Balkan languages, evidentiality and related phenomena are also often referred to as types of mood (e.g. Bulgarian *preizkazvano naklonenie* ‘reported mood’ and Albanian *mënyre habitore* ‘admirative mood’). Palmer (1986: 6, 8) treats EVIDENTIALITY as a closely related to EPISTEMIC MODALITY, but considers EVIDENTIALITY, MODAL verbs, and MOOD to be part of a broader category of MODALITY.

While it can be useful to differentiate MOOD and MODALITY in terms of an objective/subjective distinction, some authors offer grounds for not making that distinction. Bybee and Fleischman (1995, 2), for example, state that “**mood** refers to a formally grammaticalized category of the verb which has a **modal** function”, while modality “is the semantic domain pertaining to elements of meaning that languages express.” And Akatsuka (1985) refers to the realis and irrealis moods, and combines MOOD and certain aspects of MODALITY by proposing an epistemic scale bounded by realis and irrealis. Much of the debate over the separate status of MOOD and MODALITY stems from the similarity of the two terms, both



of which originate in Latin *modus*, and authors working in different traditions often mean very different things when they refer to mood, modal verbs, and modality.

Scholars who do consider MODALITY to be a distinct category typically divide its semantic domain into at least two subtypes: DEONTIC and EPISTEMIC. DEONTIC MODALITY involves “an indication of the moral desirability of the state of affairs expressed in the utterance” and is typified by such English modal verbs as *should* or *must* (Nuyts 2005, 9). EPISTEMIC MODALITY, then, “concerns an indication of the estimation...of the chances that the state of affairs expressed in the clause applies in the world or not” and is typified by such English adverbs as *maybe* or *certainly*, and the modal verb *might* (Nuyts 2005, 10). Nuyts (2005, 7) also includes the subtype DYNAMIC MODALITY, which is “an ascription of a capacity/ability to the subject-participant in the clause,” as is typified by the English constructions *can* or *be able*. These disparate meanings can be traced back to the philosophical concept of POSSIBLE WORLDS, with modals expressing the relationship between possible worlds and the real one.

Evidential meaning has been most closely associated with EPISTEMIC MODALITY, which, under some theories, necessarily expresses a speaker’s subjective opinion, since objective opinion is typically considered to be MOOD. A number of scholars have noted, however, that utterances that fairly clearly express EPISTEMIC MODALITY may have both objective and subjective interpretations, and that these objective interpretations are clearly not MOOD (Lyons 1977).

(3) *John may be in Indianapolis by now.*

Theories that allow for modals to have two interpretations ascribe to (3) the following two interpretations:

- (3a) OBJECTIVE: *Given John's typical driving speed, and given the distance from here to Indianapolis, it is possible that John is in Indianapolis.*
- (3b) SUBJECTIVE: *I believe that it is possible that John has reached Indianapolis, but I cannot be sure.*

The concept of NON-CONFIRMATIVITY that is found throughout this work would be considered a subjective type of EPISTEMIC MODALITY, in as much it relates to the speaker's personal assessment of the contents of the proposition, and not to the speaker's statement of some "good, mathematically or formally reliable evidence" (Nuyts 2001, 393).

Although the term *status* is not widely used, it is perhaps more suitable for describing non-confirmativity, as STATUS has been specifically defined as a subjective category (Aronson 1991) and because non-confirmativity was specifically formulated as a variety of STATUS (Aronson 1967; Friedman 1978; 1980). Nevertheless, it is also useful to refer to MODALITY, as a number of recent works have discussed the properties of subjective MODALITY, particularly in relation to their compatibility with certain types of questions and conditionals (Nuyts 2001; Papafragou 2006). Because non-confirmative morphemes in Uzbek and Kazakh behave in peculiar ways in the environment of questions and conditionals, reference to these works that refer to MODALITY is necessary as well. In referring to the category that encompasses non-confirmativity, I often employ the compound term *status/modality*, as the use of the term *status* ties this work to previous scholarship on evidentiality in Eurasia (Jakobson 1957/1971; Aronson 1967; Friedman 1978; 1980), and the use of the term *modality* allows for reference to a number of relevant formalist works (DeHaan 1999; Nuyts 2001; Matthewson et al. 2007; McCready and Ogata 2007).

#### 0.4 Outline

The structure of this dissertation is designed to roughly parallel the development of the morphemes in question, beginning with background information on the Turkic languages and an overview of the Turkic verbal system, then moving onto the use and meaning of the bound past tense morphemes discussed above, and finishing with two chapters on the meanings of the copular forms.

In the first chapter, “Evidentiality: Historic, Areal, and Genetic Considerations,” I provide a historical basis for the content of the following chapters. This involves a discussion of the history of the study of evidentiality (and related phenomena) and the situation of Uzbek and Kazakh within this broad field of study. The connection between the study of evidentiality and the Turkic languages is a natural one, as the first known reference to EVIDENTIAL MEANING was made in an early grammar of Turkic languages – Mahmoud Al-Kāšġarī’s 11<sup>th</sup> Century *Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk* (1982, as noted in Friedman 2003) - and because the Turkic languages appear to be responsible in part for the development of an “evidentiality belt” in Central Eurasia.

Chapter 2, “Predication in Uzbek and Kazakh,” provides an outline of the verbal system in Uzbek and Kazakh and provides a template for the analysis the verbal systems of other Turkic languages. Many grammars of Turkic languages simply provide long lists of possible combination of morphemes and disregard the compositionality of complex verb forms. As agglutinating languages, the Turkic languages are particularly ill-suited for this type of treatment, as any such analysis necessarily misses the opportunity to make broad generalizations among the various forms of the verb, and, furthermore, ignores the similarities between verbal and non-verbal predicates. By dividing verbal morphology into two types, finite and non-finite, we are able to draw parallels between non-finite verbal forms and non-verbal predicates and thereby

predict the distribution of copular forms, including *ekan/eken*. The finite/non-finite distinction made in Chapter 2 enables us to explain why copular forms typically only follow non-finite forms of the verb and non-verbal predicates. The uses of *ekan/eken* that are unrelated to the non-confirmativity paradigm are discussed in this chapter as well.

In “The Past and Confirmativity,” the third chapter, I describe the three bound past tense morphemes, *-di/-DI*, *-gan/-GAN*, and *-(i)b/-(I)p*, focusing on their markedness values for confirmativity and for other relevant features such as TEMPORAL DISTANCE and DEFINITENESS. As described above, the primary differences between these morphemes is that the simple past *-di/-DI* is marked as [+CONFIRMATIVE], the so-called perfect *-gan/-GAN* is unmarked for confirmativity [ $\emptyset$  CONFIRMATIVE], and the converbial past *-(i)b/-(I)p* is marked as [-CONFIRMATIVE].

Chapter 4, “Evidential Meanings of *Ekan/Eken*” discusses the morphemes most often described as “evidential” in Uzbek and Kazakh: *ekan* and *eken*, which are marked as non-confirmative [-CONFIRMATIVE]. The expression of non-confirmativity by these morphemes has two possible interpretations: non-firsthand information source (a type of evidential meaning) and admirativity. This chapter examines the evidential component of these morphemes’ meanings within the complex of meanings encompassed by the sub-category of non-confirmativity and shows the range of evidential meaning that they express. Although these forms have their basis in the copula, their distribution differs from other copular forms, and this distribution is outlined in Chapter 4 as well.

The second interpretation of *ekan/eken* - ADMIRATIVITY - is covered in Chapter 5, “*Ekan/Eken* and the Expression of Emotivity.” It is well-known that forms that express evidential meaning frequently also express surprise, doubt, or the reception of unexpected

information, all types of admirative meaning. Although some authors consider admirativity a distinct verbal category (DeLancey 1997; 2001), the connection between admirative and evidential meaning can be accounted for by employing the non-confirmative approach mentioned previously. A purely non-confirmative approach, however, presents some difficulties, because when *ekan/eken* is found in questions, one possible result is a rhetorical question. This result rhetorical question interpretation is scarcely attested in other languages, and I argue that the admirative and rhetorical question meanings expressed by *ekan/eken* can be unified by invoking the concept of EMOTIVITY, which, according to Jakobson (1960), is the use of language to express the speaker's state of mind. As noted in 0.3, the subjective type of MODALITY/STATUS is often incompatible with questions, and the incompatibility of non-confirmative meaning in certain types of questions may have resulted in the development of strong emotive meaning, thereby producing rhetorical questions.

The final chapter summarizes the major claims of the previous chapters and suggests further directions for research. Because Uzbek and Kazakh lie at the heart of a Eurasian evidentiality belt, the claims that follow may apply to other Turkic languages and to other languages of the region.

## CHAPTER 1

### EVIDENTIALITY: HISTORIC, AREAL, AND GENETIC CONSIDERATIONS

The most common definition of evidentiality states that it is the grammatical expression of information source. Although this is a suitable working definition, it is important, at the outset, to distinguish evidential *meaning* from the evidential *category*. Evidential meaning is expressed by any morpheme, word, or phrase that states the existence of some source of information. An evidential category, however, would be a unique verbal category, distinct from others, comprised of grammatical forms whose main purpose is the expression of information source. Much of what has been written about evidentiality concerns the relationship between evidential meaning and the status of evidentiality as either an independent category or a range of meanings associated with some other category.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history of evidentiality studies and to situate the Turkic languages within this history, as they are probably responsible for the spread of the so-called evidentiality throughout Eurasia. The first section is devoted to the history of evidentiality studies, from Al-Kāšġarī's 11<sup>th</sup>-century account of PAST and PERFECT in Turkic dialects (1982), to Jakobson's (1957/1971) formulation of evidentiality as a verbal category, to modern accounts of this phenomenon. A subsection is devoted to the notion of verbal categories and discusses the complex relationship between evidential meaning and verbal categories, particularly in regard to how two concepts are related in Eurasian languages. The second section discusses their role of Uzbek and Kazakh as languages at the heart of the Eurasian evidentiality belt and as members of the Turkic language family.

## 1.1 A History of the Study of Evidentiality

Although evidential meaning was identified by Al-Kāšġarī in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, it has only been studied in depth from 1957, when Jakobson formulated a calculus of verbal categories and included evidentiality in it. We can therefore divide the history of evidentiality studies into a pre-1957 and a post-1957 stages. It was in Jakobson's (1957/1971) work that two major landmarks in evidentiality studies occurred: the creation of the term *evidentiality* and its formulation as a distinct verbal category. While definitions of evidential meaning have been based around how Jakobson characterizes it, the notion of evidentiality as a distinct verbal category has been the subject of much debate.

### 1.1.1 Early Accounts of Evidentiality

The first known mention of anything resembling evidentiality was formulated by Maḥmoud Al-Kāšġarī in his 11<sup>th</sup> Century *Dīvān Luġāt at-Turk*, a comparative grammar of Turkic dialects (Al-Kāšġarī 1982). In describing the distinction between two past tenses, he stated that “the difference between these two forms is that the *dāl yā*’ [-DI] on preterite verbs indicate that the action occurred in the presence of the speaker. The action is verified by its occurrence in his presence.” “*Mīm šīn* [-mIš], on the other hand, indicate that the action occurred in the absence of the speaker” (Al-Kāšġarī 1982, 297, cited in Friedman 2003, 189). Cognates of these forms are present in most Turkic languages, e.g. Turkish -DI and -mIş, Uzbek -di and *emish*; and the distinction described by Al-Kāšġarī is broadly applicable to these modern forms. While Al-Kāšġarī's description includes elements of information source (firsthand vs. non-firsthand), it also covers an important distinction that is the primary one for these morphemes: verificational (confirmative) vs. non-confirmative (Friedman 1978). This early description of the distinction

between the simple past *-DI* and the perfect *-mIš* is remarkably similar to Jakobson's (1957/1971) definition of evidentiality nine centuries later.

A somewhat more modern formulation of evidentiality is found in Franz Boas' grammar of Kwakiutl (Kwak'wala), a Wakashan language of Vancouver Island. He states: "To the suffixes expressing subjective relation belong those expressing the source of subjective knowledge -- as by hearsay, or by a dream" (1911, 443). Boas' description also anticipated modern descriptions of evidentiality, in as much as it references hearsay and includes the key phrase *source of subjective knowledge*. This reference to *subjective* knowledge is important, as this implies reference to STATUS or MODALITY, categories to which evidential meaning is inherently tied.

Drawing of the work of Boas, Jakobson defined evidentiality as a speaker's report of an event "on the basis of someone else's report (quotative, i.e. hearsay evidence), of a dream (revelative evidence), of a guess (presumptive evidence), or of his own previous experience (memory evidence)". In Jakobson's calculus this is expressed as  $E^n E^{ns} / E^s$  - the characterization of a narrated event and a narrated speech event (the source of information) with respect to a speech event (1957/1971, 135). This definition is the basic starting point for virtually all subsequent studies.

### 1.1.2 Evidentiality and Verbal Categories

In formulating evidentiality as  $E^n E^{ns} / E^s$ , Jakobson (1957/1971) stated that he considered evidentiality to be a high-level verbal category on par with tense, aspect, or mood. All of these categories are composed of the following four pieces:

- i.  $E^n$  - narrated events



- ii. E<sup>s</sup> - speech events
- iii. P<sup>n</sup> - participants of narrated events
- iv. P<sup>s</sup> - participants of speech events

These may be combined in a variety of ways, resulting in the ten categories shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Jakobson's Verbal Categories

	<i>P involved</i>			<i>P not involved</i>		
	<i>Designator</i>		<i>Connector</i>	<i>Designator</i>		<i>Connector</i>
<i>Qualifier</i>	P <sup>n</sup>	GENDER	P <sup>n</sup> P <sup>s</sup> VOICE	E <sup>n</sup>	STATUS	E <sup>n</sup> E <sup>n</sup> TAXIS
<i>Quantifier</i>		NUMBER			ASPECT	
<i>Shifter</i>	P <sup>n</sup> /P <sup>s</sup> PERSON		P <sup>n</sup> E <sup>n</sup> /P <sup>s</sup> MOOD	E <sup>n</sup> /E <sup>s</sup> TENSE		E <sup>n</sup> E <sup>ns</sup> /E <sup>s</sup> EVIDENTIALITY

The most important changes in Aronson's (1991) new calculus of verbal categories involved the redefinition of STATUS and the elimination of evidentiality as a verbal category. Whereas Jakobson had defined STATUS as that "which characterizes [qualifies] the narrated event without involving its participants and without reference to the speech event" (E<sup>n</sup>) (Jakobson 1957/1971, 134), Aronson defines STATUS as the "*subjective* evaluation of the narrated event by the speaker, i.e., E<sup>n</sup>/P<sup>s</sup>" (1991, 114 - emphasis added) and redefines MOOD using the formula previously assigned to STATUS: E<sup>n</sup>. Evidentiality is only tentatively included in Aronson's calculus, as the quantification of a narrated event in relation to the participant in a speech event (E<sup>n</sup>/P<sup>s</sup>). Aronson states that evidentiality should be regarded as "closely related to, or, better, a subvariety of STATUS (E<sup>n</sup>/P<sup>s</sup>)" (1991, 116) as he knows of "no language that has a grammatical category that has evidential as its invariant meaning" (1991, 130). Aronson's verbal categories are outlined in Table 5.

Table 5: Aronson's Verbal Categories

	Characterizing the participants of a narrated event				Characterizing the narrated event itself			
	With reference to the narrated event		Without reference to the narrated event		With reference to another narrated event		Without reference to another narrated event	
	Qualita-tively	Quantita-tively	Qualita-tively	Quantita-tively	Qualita-tively	Quantita-tively	Qualita-tively	Quantitatively
E <sup>s</sup>							E <sup>n</sup> /E <sup>s</sup> TENSE	
P <sup>s</sup>			P <sup>n</sup> P <sup>s</sup> PERSON				E <sup>n</sup> /P <sup>s</sup> STATUS	E <sup>n</sup> /P <sup>s</sup> EVIDENTIAL?
- E <sup>s</sup> , P <sup>s</sup>	P <sup>n</sup> /E <sup>n</sup> VERSION	P <sup>n</sup> /E <sup>n</sup> OBLIQUE VALENCE	P <sup>n</sup> CLASS	P <sup>n</sup> NUMBER	E <sup>n</sup> /E <sup>n</sup> TAXIS		E <sup>n</sup> MOOD	E <sup>n</sup> ASPECT, RESULTATIVITY

Aronson's formulation of STATUS as involving P<sup>s</sup> reorients this category back toward the speaker: the locus of evaluation and of knowledge. A number of recent theories relating STATUS or MODALITY and evidentiality relate these two ranges of meanings via the sorts of truth-value judgments a speaker makes based on his or her knowledge. That is, when a speaker's knowledge is firsthand or shared with others, the speaker is more likely to be able to make an objective evaluation of the truth of an utterance, whereas when a speaker's knowledge is non-firsthand or not shared with others, the speaker is less likely to be able to make an objective evaluation of this truth (see Nuyts 2001).

This reformulation reflects Aronson's previous work in which he claimed that evidentiality should be viewed as a subtype of CONFIRMATIVITY, a subvariety of STATUS. On the basis of data from Bulgarian, he proposed that when NON-CONFIRMATIVITY is expressed, evidential meaning is a possible interpretation (1967). This analysis was expanded by Friedman (1977; 1978, etc.) to account for phenomena in Macedonian, and later, Turkish, Albanian, Lak, Avar, Georgian, and other languages of Eurasia.

A consequence of this non-confirmative analysis of so-called evidential markers is that it allows a unified account of the apparent polysemy of these morphemes in many languages.

Morphemes expressing evidential meaning (and in particular, non-firsthand information source) frequently express other non-confirmative meanings, such as dubitativity, non-volitionality, and, most notably, ADMIRATIVITY.

Throughout much of Eurasia, evidential morphemes express a set of meanings termed ADMIRATIVITY (sometimes called “mirativity”), which is the linguistic expression of surprise at newly discovered information. Admirativity was first identified as a phenomenon by Dozon (1879) in his grammar of Albanian. Like evidentiality, its status as an independent category has been a point of debate. Some scholars, such as DeLancey (1997; 2001) have claimed that it merits the status of a category while others, such as Friedman (1988) and Lazard (1999) place it in the category of STATUS or MODALITY.

Darden (1977) proposed that admirativity (in Bulgarian) could be accounted for by the same means as evidentiality. Given different contexts, a morpheme bearing non-confirmative meaning could bear either evidential or admirative meaning. In contexts where it is clear that the speaker has not witnessed an event, the use of NON-CONFIRMATIVITY may result in the marking of non-firsthand information source. When the speaker has clearly just witnessed an event, the use of a non-confirmative form results in admirative meanings of irony or surprise.

The connection between evidentiality and non-confirmativity, or, at least, the speaker’s evaluation of the truth of an utterance, is implicit in a number of terms employed by other authors. The term *médiatif*, employed in a number of French-language works, refers to the mediation of knowledge, and relates to the notion of the use speaker’s knowledge to evaluate statements (Guentcheva 1996; 2007; Lazard 1996; 2000). This term is frequently employed in discussions of evidential meaning in the languages of Eurasia, many of which employ non-confirmative forms to express non-firsthand information source, admirativity, doubt, and the

like. In Turkic studies, the term *indirective* has been popularized by Johanson (2000; 2003) to refer to this same range of meanings. He differentiates *indirectivity* from standard definitions of evidentiality as follows:

The source of knowledge--the way in which the event is acknowledged by the conscious subject in question--is not criterial; it is unessential whether the reception is realized through hearsay, logical conclusion or direct perception. The receiver P is not necessarily the speaker, P<sup>s</sup>, but may also be a participant of the narrated event, P<sup>n</sup>. Consequently, markers of indirectivity do not fit into narrow evidential schemes primarily distinguishing between the speaker's non-first-hand and first-hand information (Johanson 2000, 61).

Because markers of non-confirmativity in Turkic express both non-firsthand information source and admirativity, this distinction between pure information source and indirectivity is important. While the claim of this work is that non-confirmativity is the most elegant way of accounting for the morphemes that can express evidential meaning, the term *indirective* is a succinct way of discussing the various consequences of the expression of non-confirmativity.

A number of recent typological works make the implicit claim that evidentiality is an independent category. Among the broadest are those of Aikhenvald (2003; 2004). In these works, she claims that information source may be broken down into six types (Aikhenvald 2004, 64):

*Visual \* Non-Visual Sensory \* Inference \* Assumption \* Hearsay \* Quotation*

Under this typology, languages divide the task of expressing these information sources between two or more morphemes. What is notable about this typology is the natural correlation between information source, personal experience, and speaker confidence. That is, a speaker is more likely to confirm events described on the basis of visual information, and less likely to confirm

those based on assumption or hearsay.

In examining Aikhenvald’s typology, we find that the two-morpheme minimum required for grammaticalized evidentiality is problematic. In Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as in most other languages of Eurasia, only non-firsthand information source is marked, and the use of any other term does not necessarily imply firsthand information source. In the division of semantic space proposed by Aikhenvald (2004), these languages would appear to fall into type A2:

Table 6: Aikhenvald's Typology of 2-Term Systems

	I Visual	II Sensory	III Inference	IV Assumption	V Hearsay	VI Quotation
A1	firsthand		non-firsthand			
A1	firsthand	non-firsthand				
A1	firsthand		non-firsthand		other or <no term>	
A2	<unmarked>		indirect			
A3	<unmarked>				reported	
A4	<no term>	non-visual	<no term>		reported	

Into this category A2, Aikhenvald places Turkish, Bulgarian, and Tajik, languages that are similar to Uzbek and Kazakh, inasmuch as their indirect terms bear a wide variety of non-confirmative meaning and that there exists no morpheme in any of these languages that expresses firsthand information source. These unmarked terms are the same terms that Aronson (1967) and Friedman (1977; 1978) consider confirmative, but, confirmativity as a subvariety of STATUS does not (necessarily) imply firsthand information source. Aikhenvald’s claims that a language cannot have only one marker of evidentiality are contradicted not only by her allowance for unmarked terms (which are not, technically, part of a true paradigm at all), but also by the non-existence of forms in Uzbek, Kazakh, and related languages that express firsthand information source.

Within generative linguistics, there exist a variety of opinions as to the status of evidentiality. On the basis of data from St’át’imcets, Matthewson et al. (2007), argue that

EPISTEMIC MODALITY, may encode a two-fold distinction. Languages may choose either to encode quantificational force (resulting in a reading of status or modality) or information source. Under this approach, status/modality and evidentiality are mutually exclusive sets of meaning that should not co-occur. As shown in the following chapters, Uzbek and Kazakh may simultaneously express status/modality and information source, which renders this theory problematic.

A number of other generative theories posit a dedicated head position for evidentiality. Cinque (1999) places evidentiality within a broader configuration of moods and modes: [Speech Act Mood [Evaluative Mood [Evidential Mood [Epistemological Mode [...]]]]] Such an approach implicitly assigns evidentiality to a distinct category, albeit a category of “Evidential Mood.” It is unclear whether Cinque intends for MOOD here to be a distinct category with three sub-types, or whether “mood” is merely a convenient label for certain higher order sets of meanings.

Speas (2004) proposes dedicated heads for a number of pragmatic features, one of which is evidentiality. She retains Cinque’s (1999) configurations of heads, but adds four pragmatic roles that act as implicit arguments of these heads:

- (4) Speech Act Phrase - SPEAKER
- Evaluative Phrase - EVALUATOR
- Evidential Phrase - WITNESS
- Epistemological Phrase - PERCEIVER

The configuration of these arguments and their co-indexations produce sets of meanings that are realized either as logophoricity or evidentiality. Various types of evidentiality (personal experience, direct evidence, indirect evidence, and hearsay) may also be expressed via these co-

indexations.

Many recent works have focused on the languages of Americas, which often express evidential meaning in ways very different from those of Eurasia. Furthermore, it is quite common to discuss evidential meaning as though it could be separated from the morphemes that express it. While Cinque (1999) and Speas (2004) make convincing arguments that evidential meaning has a place within a semantic hierarchy, the semantics of evidential morphemes are often too complex and too closely associated with STATUS or EPISTEMIC MODALITY for this hierarchy to necessarily correspond to the morphosyntactic behavior of these forms.

## **1.2 Evidentiality as an Areal Feature**

At about the same time that Jakobson (1957/1971) first employed the term *evidential*, other scholars began to examine how evidential meaning was expressed in similar ways throughout much of Eurasia. The expression of evidentiality in the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Siberia is quite different from that observed in the Americas, East Asia, and New Guinea. This has led to the suggestion that the expression of evidential and related meanings is an areal feature in Eurasia.

Languages bearing this areal feature may be said to belong to an “evidentiality belt” (Aikhenvald 2004). Situated at the heart of this belt are the Turkic languages, which has led at least Aikhenvald (2004) to claim that these languages are responsible for the spread of the grammatical marking for evidentiality as an areal feature. Such claims make the study of Uzbek and Kazakh especially important, as they are situated at the heart of the proposed belt and represent two separate branches of Turkic.

### 1.2.1 The Eurasian Evidentiality Belt

The evidentiality expressed in central Eurasia is characterized by three main features:

- i. Expression of non-firsthand information source by a certain morpheme, with no counterpart that expresses firsthand information source
- ii. Expression of admirativity by this same morpheme, as well as other non-confirmative meanings
- iii. Close association between the expression of evidential meaning and past tense.

It is quite common in these languages that morphemes expressing non-firsthand information source and admirativity are derived from the perfect, whereas simple past tenses express confirmativity. Also common is the association between highly marked non-confirmativity and either the double marking of the perfect (pluperfects) or copular forms of the perfect (Friedman 1979). When this is the case, the simple (i.e. non-copular or non-doubly marked) perfect is merely unmarked for confirmativity and may therefore express any range of confirmative or non-confirmative meaning.

Among the earliest accounts of evidentiality as an areal feature in Eurasia was that of Conev, who focused on the Balkans (1910/1911). Because the Balkans have been the starting point for many studies of evidentiality, it is worthwhile to examine briefly how evidentiality and related meanings are expressed in the languages of that region. Keep in mind that it was in reference to Balkan languages that confirmativity was first proposed as a feature relevant to the expression of evidential meaning; the use of this feature accounts for the distinction of the past and perfect forms, as well as the polysemy of so-called evidential morphemes, which express not only non-firsthand information source, but also admirativity and, sometimes, dubitativity.



In Macedonian and Bulgarian, the non-resultative and non-taxic past tenses are divided into paradigms that are traditionally labeled the *definite past* and the *indefinite past*. These correspond quite well to the (rather inappropriately named) *görülen geçmiş zaman* (seen past tense) and *duyulan geçmiş zaman* (heard/perceived/reported past tense) in Turkish. Under a theory that employs confirmativity as the relevant feature, these forms are more appropriately described as a simple past, which is positively marked for confirmativity, and a perfect, which is unmarked for confirmativity. Examples of the 3rd singular past tense of the verb ‘do’ in three languages of the Balkans are given in the Table 7:

Table 7: Past and Perfect in Balkan Languages

	past [+CONFIRMATIVE]	perfect [Ø CONFIRMATIVE]
Bulgarian	<i>napravi</i>	<i>(e) napravil</i>
Macedonian	<i>napravi</i>	<i>napravit</i>
Turkish	<i>yaptı</i>	<i>yapmış</i>

Under this analysis, the simple [+CONFIRMATIVE] past is actually the more marked of the two forms, as it bears *confirmative* meaning. This confirmative meaning is evident in that the only place the simple past may not occur is in an antiaffirmative context:

- (5) *Se somnevam deka toj go \*napravi/napravit toa.* (Macedonian)  
I doubt that he did it.  
(Friedman 1978, 109)
- (6) *Inanmıyorum ki o adam bunu \*yaptı/yapmış.* (Turkish)  
I don’t believe that he did it.  
(Friedman 1978, 110)

A further feature characteristic of the expression of evidentiality in Balkan languages is that the double marking, or copularization of the perfect results in the combination of these morphemes expressing pure non-confirmativity. In Turkish, for example, the form *yapmış* in Table 7 is ambiguous with regard to confirmativity and may express hearsay, doubt, or admirativity, or may simply be employed as a perfect. When speakers wish to disambiguate the confirmative status of

such forms, they have the option of doubly marking the perfect *-miş*, resulting in the verb form *yapmışmış*. These forms are marked as non-confirmative ([-CONFIRMATIVE]) and therefore always express non-firsthand information source or admirativity.

While evidentiality, or evidential-like phenomena are usually considered a defining part of the Balkan Sprachbund, similar expressions of evidentiality and related meanings are found throughout much of Eurasia. Haarmann, for example, proposed a Eurasian isogloss characterized by an “indirect experience-form” that encompassed Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Uralic, and some Caucasian and Paleo-Siberian languages (1970). Friedman (1979) provided a more detailed and theoretical account, focusing on Balkan Slavic, Albanian, Azerbaijani, Turkish, Georgian, Tajik, and Avar. Comrie (2000, 1-2) also noted this areal phenomenon, noting that evidentiality in Eurasia (encompassing Turkic, Tungusic, Iranian, eastern Uralic, Balkan, and Caucasian languages) lacks some of the characteristics associated with evidential systems elsewhere, such as fine-tuned distinctions based on source of information. He further notes that language contact may have played a role in spreading evidentiality among these languages. And Aikhenvald (2004, 290) identifies a larger area within Eurasia characterized by a small evidential system located within a “largish ‘evidentiality belt’” spreading across the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Central Asia into Siberia. She and others have suggested that the influence of the Turkic languages is responsible for the spread of this feature. Kehayov (2008) broke down this larger evidentiality belt into four regions: the Balkans, the eastern Baltic, the Caucasus, and the Volga-Kama area, while acknowledging that more work is needed on Siberia and Central Asia.

It is difficult to precisely define the borders of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, in part because languages at the periphery often display only some of the characteristic features and because many languages within this belt are poorly documented, especially in regard to

evidentiality. In Western Eurasia, the borders of the belt are roughly co-terminous with regions where Turkic languages are or have been spoken; in the east, poor documentation of evidentiality in Mongolic and Tungusic leave it unclear whether it is only Turkic that has spread evidentiality, or whether it is an Altaic feature.

A number of South Asian languages have grammaticalized evidentiality (Bashir 2006); this may represent the influence of Turkic on these languages, or it may be an independent development, possibly influenced by Tibetan. While evidentiality in Tibetan has been well-studied, the type of evidentiality found in Tibetan and in a number of neighboring languages is quite different from that of the rest of this belt. In Tibetan, the expression of evidentiality (and related notions, such as admirativity) is closely tied to the expression of person and volitionality (DeLancey 2001). Turkic languages spoken in this Tibetan region, such as Western Yugur, are no longer typified by the characteristics described above for the Eurasian belt but base their expression of evidentiality in the Tibetan formula (Roos 2000).

Although Kehayov includes the Baltics in his version of the Eurasian belt, the expression of evidentiality in these languages also differs from the rest of Eurasia. In the three Baltic languages considered by Kehayov (2008), Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian, evidentiality and related notions are expressed by either the present participle or by an infinitive, rather than by a past-tense-denoting form similar to Turkish *-miş* or Uzbek *-gan*. Furthermore, there exists a large distance between the Baltics and the rest of the Eurasian evidentiality belt. This suggests that the Baltics should be considered only marginal in this belt. While it is possible (and, in fact, quite likely) that the original languages of this gap between the Baltics and the rest of the Eurasian belt had some means of expressing evidentiality, this region is now almost exclusively

Russian-speaking. It is important to bear in mind that the spread of Russian has left large gaps in what may have once been a larger belt.

Keeping in mind these many gaps, I present in Figure 1 a rough approximation of the belt and its approximate borders, with special reference to the languages and regions mentioned in the text.

Figure 1: The Eurasian Evidentiality Belt



Of particular interest for further study is the northeastern edge. Little has been written on evidentiality in the Mongolic or Tungusic languages; so it is difficult to precisely determine the eastern edge of the belt. Although, as I show below, the status of Altaic as a valid family is

dubious, the further study of evidentiality in Mongolic and Tungusic would greatly enrich our knowledge of Altaic as a Sprachbund.

### **1.2.2 The Role of Turkic in the Evidentiality Belt**

If, as Aikhenvald (2004) has proposed, the Turkic languages are responsible for the spread of this particularly Eurasian type of evidentiality, some background information on the Turkic languages is necessary to understand how this belt came to be. Moreover, as Uzbek and Kazakh, the subjects of this study, are Turkic, it is useful to understand their relationships to the other Turkic languages, so that a future comparison between Uzbek, Kazakh, and their relatives may be undertaken.

The Turkic language family consists of some forty languages spoken in a region bounded by Turkey and the Balkans in the southeast, stretching through Central Asia, all the way to northeastern China, north through Mongolia, the Altay-Sayan region, and through to northern Siberia. Karaim, an endangered language spoken in Lithuania, represents the northwesternmost limit of Turkic. According to Sapir's (1921) center-of-gravity model of linguistic homelands, the region characterized by the greatest diversity is the likely place from which a language family originated. In the case of Turkic, this homeland should be located in the Altay-Sayan region, where China, Mongolia, Russia, and Kazakhstan meet, and where representatives of the Altay-Siberian, Kipchak, Sayan, Yenisey, and Southeastern branches of Turkic are spoken.

The Turkic languages are located in the center of the Eurasian spread zone and have, as predicted by Nichols' (1992) theory of spread zones, generally spread from east to west. The westward movements of Turkic-speaking peoples have generally coincided with the movements

of other peoples, including the Huns (who may, in fact, have been Turkic-speaking) and the Mongols.

The close association between speakers of Turkic and Mongolic languages has resulted in a debate over whether the features shared by these two language families are a consequence of prolonged contact or of genetic relatedness within a larger Altaic language family. The hypothetical Altaic family, which typically includes Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic, and sometimes Japanese and Korean, is defined by a number of typological features (such as SOV word order) and a number of potential cognates (including pronouns: *\*bi ~ min* 1<sup>st</sup> person nominative and oblique, *\*si ~ sin* 2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative and oblique). A good deal of the criticism directed at Altaic focuses on the ubiquity of these shared features in Eurasia (especially SOV word order and M-T pronouns; see Dryer 2008; Nichols and Peterson 2008) and maintains that any apparent cognates are the result of prolonged contact. (See Clauson 1956; 1959; 1969; Doerfer 1966; Georg et al. 1999; Starostin et al. 2003 for further discussion.)

While the Altaic hypothesis remains contentious, there is no debate over what languages should be considered Turkic. Most major typological characteristics of Proto-Turkic have been inherited by the modern Turkic languages. They include SOV word order with suffixing morphology, nominative-accusative alignment supplemented by a number of other cases, lack of gender or noun class, and an eight-vowel system with (at the very least) front-back vowel harmony. A number of words are common to most Turkic languages, including *\*(h)adaq* “foot” (Uzbek *oyoq*, Kazakh *ayaq*), *\*al-* “to take” (Uz. *ol-*, Kaz. *al-*), and *\*tag* “mountain” (Uz. *tog*, Kaz. *taw*), as well as personal pronouns and the numerals one through ten. Certain grammatical morphemes are also common to most languages, including the simple past in *\*-DI* and the accusative in *\*-NI*.

It is, however, somewhat challenging to produce a satisfactory internal classification of Turkic. The difficulty in classifying these languages lies in the recent divergence of the various branches of Turkic (not much earlier than 2000 years ago, according to Róna-Tas [2007]), following the splitting of communities of speakers across national boundaries and intensive and prolonged contact of peoples speaking languages belonging to other branches of Turkic. In many cases one researcher will bestow upon a given variety of Turkic the status of language, where another will treat this variety as a dialect or omit it altogether from their classification. While there is written evidence of Turkic from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onward, most older writings indicate phonology too inconsistently or are too short to aid in the classification of the Turkic languages.

Most Turkic classification systems are based upon shared phonological innovations. It is widely agreed that Chuvash (the last surviving member of the Bolgar branch) is the most divergent Turkic language, as it exhibits a number of sound changes not found in the other Turkic languages, including  $*d \rightarrow *z \rightarrow r$  and  $*š \rightarrow l$  (Menges 1968; Schönig 1999; Tekin 2005). A secondary split divided Turkic into three further branches: Lena Turkic (which includes Sakha [Yakut] and Dolgan), the Khalaj language of Iran, and the remainder of the Turkic languages, which Schönig (1999) calls Norm Turkic.

The further segmentation of these Norm Turkic languages is usually made on the basis of the post-tonic form of the phoneme  $/*d/$ . In the majority of the Turkic languages (which Schönig [1999] calls Central Turkic), this phoneme has become  $/y/$  ( $*(h)adaq \rightarrow ayaq$  'foot'). Two other branches may be distinguished at this level: Sayan Turkic (Tuvan, Tòfa, and others), which have preserved  $/d/$  in this position; and Yenisey Turkic, which includes Khakas, Mrass Shor, Middle Chulym, Western Yugur, and Fu-yü Gïrgïs, which have changed  $/*d/$  to  $/z/$ .

Central Turkic is the branch that contains the best-known of the Turkic languages, and it is divided into three branches based upon the behavior of word-final voiced velar sounds. These three branches are Kipchak (including Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tatar, and others), Southeastern (made up of Uzbek, Uyghur, and a few related dialects), and Oghuz (including Turkish, Azerbaijani, and Turkmen). A fourth Altay-Siberian branch, which includes Northern Altay, Kondoma Shor, and Lower Chulym, is sometimes included in Central Turkic. The reflexes of *\*d* and the final velars in each of these branches are shown in Table 8 below.<sup>4</sup>

Table 8: Classification of Turkic Languages by Features

				<i>*d</i>	<i>*AG</i>	<i>*IG</i>		
				<b>Chuvash</b>	<i>r</i>	<i>u/ǎv</i>	<i>ǎ</i>	
				<b>Khalaj</b>	<i>d</i>	<i>Ag</i>	<i>ux</i>	
				<b>Lena</b>	<i>t</i>	<i>ïa</i>	<i>I</i>	
<b>Norm Turkic</b>	<b>Central Turkic</b>			<b>Sayan</b>	<i>d</i>	<i>Ag</i>	<i>Ig</i>	
				<b>Yenisey</b>	<i>z</i>	<i>Ag</i>	<i>Ig</i>	
		<b>Kipchak</b>	<b>Altay-Siberian</b>		<b>Altay</b>	<i>y</i>	<i>Ag</i>	<i>Ig</i>
					<b>Kyrgyz</b>	<i>y</i>	<i>uu</i>	<i>I</i>
					<b>West-Central Kipchak</b>	<i>y</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>I</i>
					<b>Oghuz</b>	<i>y</i>	<i>Aw</i>	<i>I</i>
					<b>Southeastern</b>	<i>y</i>	<i>Ag</i>	<i>I</i>
						<i>y</i>	<i>Ag</i>	<i>IK</i>

While the classification shown above manages to account for most of the Turkic languages, there are a few that may not be readily assigned to any branch. Ili Turki, spoken along the Ili River in Xinjiang, shows how difficult it can be to classify the Turkic languages. On the one hand, it exhibits the Kipchak labialization of *\*g* after low vowels (*\*AG* → *Aw*), on the other, the Southeastern fortition of *\*g* after high vowels (*\*IG* → *IK*) (Hahn 1991). It may be the case that Ili Turki represents a fifth branch of Central Turkic, or it may be that these features arose from contact between speakers of Southeastern and Kipchak languages.

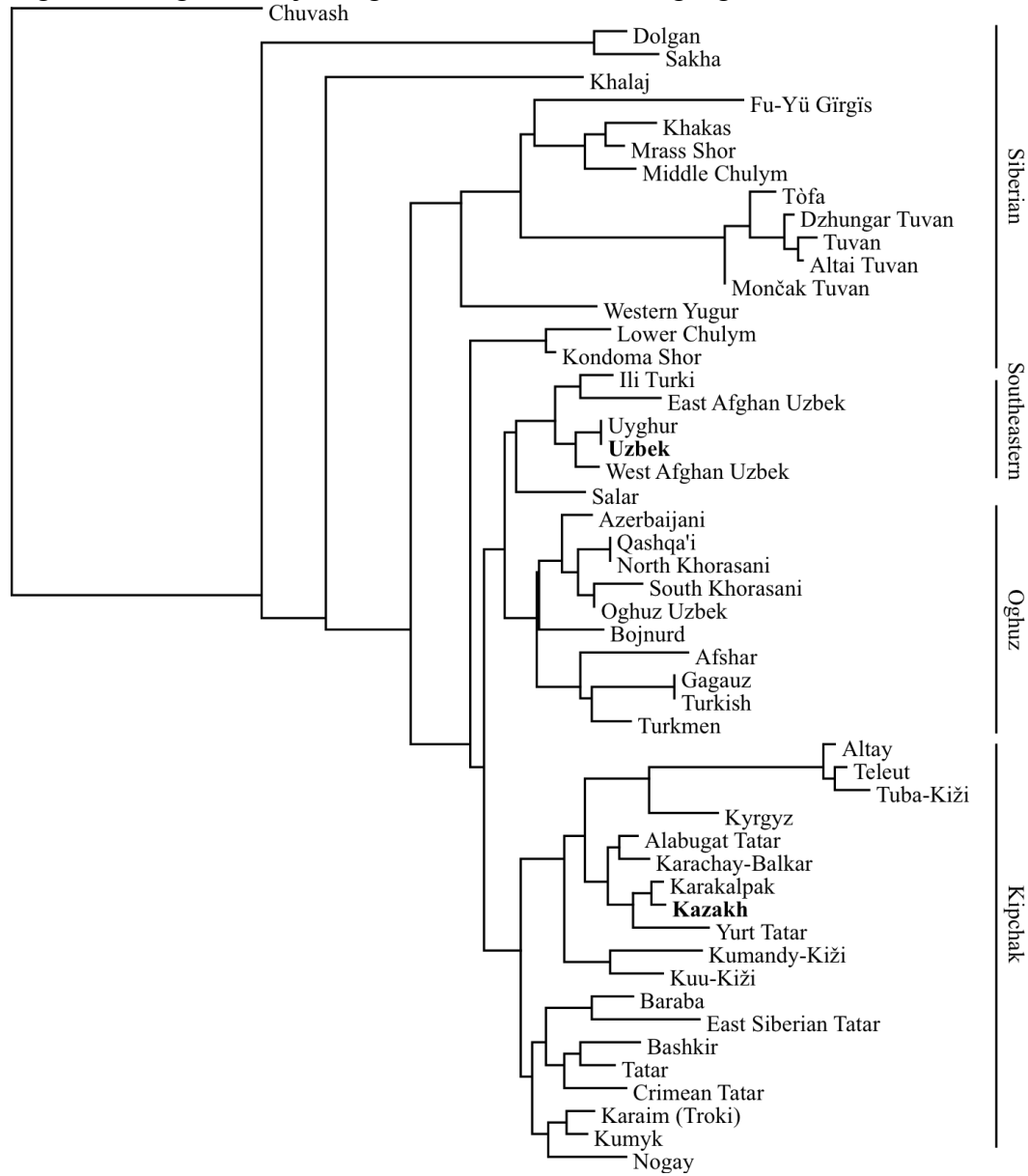
<sup>4</sup> Data from Tekin (2005), names of branches from Schönig (1999).



Crimean Tatar is another example of a language that cannot be easily classified. Features of both Oghuz and Kipchak are found mixed within the language, which exhibits both *Ag* and *Aw* as reflexes of Proto-Turkic *Ag*. While the original Turkic language of the Crimea was Kipchak, migrations of speakers of Oghuz languages to the Crimea during periods of Ottoman rule resulted in Oghuz and Kipchak-based varieties existing side by side. Subsequent population upheavals (namely, the migration of Greek Orthodox speakers to the Donetsk region, the decimation of Jewish and Karaite speakers during the Holocaust, and the deportation of Crimean Tatars to Central Asia) resulted in further mixing of these varieties, leading to the difficulty in classifying modern Crimean Tatar (Polinsky 1992). Due to the great similarity between most branches of Turkic and their proximity to one another, the mixing of languages of different branches is not uncommon, making classification a challenging task.

Despite occasional difficulties in classifying certain languages, a phylogram based upon a neighbor-adjointing network (Saitou and Nei 1987) reveals that the basic divisions that have been proposed thus far still hold. The tree in Figure 2 was created using SplitsTree (Huson and Bryant 2006) and takes into account the modern reflexes of eighteen phonological features, including the reflexes of *\*d* and final velars.

Figure 2: Neighbor-Adjoining Tree of the Turkic Languages



While Kazakh is solidly a Kipchak language, Uzbek does not always meet the criteria for being classified as Southeastern. In certain circumstances it, too, has lost final *\*G* after high vowels, as in the adjective forming suffix *\*lIG*, which has become *-li* in modern literary Uzbek (e.g. *tog'-li* ‘mountainous’). According to Schönig (2007), this indicates that Uzbek occupies an intermediate position between the Kipchak and Southeastern languages. As the loss of *\*G* occurs only in this context, however, it is more likely that this is a contact effect. In support of

the contact hypothesis is the existence of a ‘dialects’ of Uzbek that are clearly more Kipchak than Southeastern (Danıyarov 1975). The official literary dialect of Uzbek, which is clearly more Southeastern in nature despite occasional Kipchak influences, is the dialect that is used in this study. In comparing Turkic languages from two different branches, it is hoped that the claims made about Uzbek and Kazakh may be applicable to a broad range of other Turkic languages.

### **1.2.3 Uzbek and Kazakh: Areal Importance**

Given the central position of Turkic within the Eurasian evidentiality belt, it is noteworthy that Uzbek and Kazakh, two important, widely-spoken languages spoken near the center of this belt, have not been paid much attention in discussions of evidentiality. This situation is not unique, however, as there exist only a few in-depth descriptions of evidentiality and related phenomena in the Turkic languages. Turkish, as the best-studied Turkic language, has been paid the most attention; in Johanson and Utas’ (2000) collective overview of Turkic and related languages, there are three papers on it, and many more exist elsewhere. In this same volume, works have been devoted to Salar (Dwyer 2000) and Gagauz (Menz 2000). Elsewhere, there are descriptions of evidentiality in the Mishār dialect of Tatar (Tatevosov 2007), Altay (Skribnik and Osnova 2007), and Cypriot Turkish, which is considerably different from Anatolian Turkish (Demir 2003). Aside from references in broader works covering the entire Turkic language family (such as Johanson 2000; 2003), there is almost nothing written on Uzbek or Kazakh. In order to understand the importance of these two languages within this belt, I summarize here the sociolinguistic situation in Central Asia, paying special attention to Uzbek-Tajik contacts and to the expression of evidentiality in Tajik.

The sociolinguistic situation in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and, indeed, in all of Central Asia, is characterized by the different contact situations experienced by sedentary and nomadic populations. Sedentary Turkic populations of Central Asia usually co-existed with speakers of Persian languages, who had lived in the region before the arrival of Turkic peoples. The contact between these urbanized Turks and Persians resulted in the early adoption of Islam by these urbanized Turks (as well as the accompanying loan words needed to express Islamic religious and cultural concepts) and affected the languages of both populations. By the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the term *Sart* came to be applied to sedentary Central Asian Turkic-speakers, while speakers of Persian came to be called Tajiks (Barthold 2010). Nomadic Turkic peoples of Central Asia, on the other hand, came to be called Kazakhs. During the Soviet era, *Sart* came to be seen as derogatory (due in part to now disproved Soviet hypotheses that *Sart* was derived from Turkic *sari it* ‘yellow dog’) and the term *Uzbek*, which was a neutral term for urbanized Turks with no specific tribal associations (very often from the Khwarezm region), was applied instead (McChesney and Shalinsky 2010).

The broadness of the term Uzbek is exemplified by the wide variety of Turkic language types spoken by peoples called Uzbek. While this work focuses solely upon standard Uzbek, which is based upon the dialects of Tashkent and Samarkand, there are other so-called dialects of Uzbek that are clearly of non-Southeastern origin. Within Uzbekistan, there are varieties of Turkic that belong to the Oghuz and Kipchak families, spoken mostly in the Xorazm region. Despite their obvious differences from the Southeastern-based standard, these dialects are still referred to as Uzbek (Abdullaev 1961). The Uzbek dialects of Afghanistan are also sufficiently divergent that they may not belong to the Southeastern branch of Turkic, as they exhibit the Kipchak labialization of *\*AG* to *Aw* and retain the voiced velar in *\*IG*, as opposed to the

Southeastern fortition of \*IG to \*IK (Boeschoten 1983). In all of these cases, the peoples speaking these varieties of Turkic are sedentary, so the term *Uzbek* has been applied to these peoples and their languages, regardless of linguistic affiliation.

As explained in the previous section, Uzbek and Kazakh belong to separate branches of the Turkic language family. The differences between these two languages were increased due to intense Uzbek-Tajik contact. The original language of the Uzbeks was presumably similar to other Turkic languages, exhibiting an eight-vowel system with vowel harmony, suffixing morphology, and SOV word order. All of these features have been affected by contact with Tajik. With regard to phonology, Uzbek has lost its vowel harmony and has neutralized the distinction between the high front vowel /i/ and the high back vowel /ɨ/. In many contexts, the low back vowel /a/ came to be rounded to /ɔ/ (orthographic <o>), e.g. *ol-* ‘to take’ (Kazakh *al-*), *oyoq* ‘foot’ (Kazakh *ayaq*). Uzbek morphology has been supplemented with a number of Persian prefixes, such as *be-* ‘without’ (thus, *be-ma’ni* ‘without meaning, meaningless, absurd’). Many of these prefixes have nativized and are applied to native Turkic vocabulary: *be-tinchlik* ‘without peace, disorderly’. While SOV word order has been generally maintained in Uzbek (Tajik and standard Persian are, after all, SOV themselves), the head-final nature of older Uzbek has been altered by the addition of the Persian complementizer *ki*. In addition, the older Turkic strategy of nominalizing a complement clause and inserting it into the object slot is still available and preserves SOV word order in (7), but the new, borrowed strategy using *ki* results in SVO word order in (8) (Soper 1987).

- (7) *Ali [Hokim yiqil-gan-i-ni] bil-a-di.*  
Ali Hokim fall-NMLZR-3-ACC know-PRES-3  
‘Ali knows that Hokim has fallen.’

- (8) *Ali bil-a-di-ki* [*Hokim yiqil-di*].  
Ali know-PRES-3-COMP Hokim fall-PST  
'Ali knows that Hokim has fallen.'

The effects of Persian contact are not limited to Uzbek; other Turkic languages in contact with Persian have undergone similar changes, including Khalaj, Qashqa'i, and Azerbaijani (Soper 1987). Kazakh, however, has retained most Turkic typological characteristics, as contacts between the nomadic Kazakhs and sedentary Tajiks have been less intense and prolonged.

The Persian influence upon sedentary populations is well attested historically. Texts in Chagatay, the medieval literary language of Turkic Central Asia and ancestor of Uzbek, are written in Perso-Arabic script, borrow heavily from Perso-Arabic vocabulary, and calque from Persian constructions. While all Central Asian Turkic peoples claim Chagatay literature as part of their heritage, the language actually used in this literature is that of sedentary Turks, that is, the ancestors of today's Uzbeks.

With regard to the expression of evidentiality and related meanings, it is Turkic that has influenced Persian, and not the other way around. Proto-Indo-European appears not to have grammaticalized evidentiality, and the closest relatives of the Iranian languages, the Indic languages, by and large also lack grammaticalized evidentiality. In most of the major Iranian languages, there exists something like grammaticalized evidentiality, mediativity, or indirectivity (see for Persian: Jahani 2000; Utas 2000; for Kurmanji: Bulut 2000). Of the most interest for the purposes of this work is, of course, Tajik. Fortunately, there exists a considerable body of work on evidentiality in Tajik, as this will allow for the future comparison of Tajik with Uzbek.

According to Friedman (1979), evidentiality in Tajik functions similarly to other languages within the Eurasian evidentiality belt. There is a contrast between the simple past, which is confirmative, and the perfect, which is not marked for confirmativity. Complex or

doubled perfect forms bear similar non-confirmative meanings to those in Turkish and Balkan Turkic, namely, reportedness, admirativity, and dubitativity. Lazard (2000) illustrates the remarkable similarities between the normative description of Bulgarian and the Tajik system, which is shown in Table 9. Note that he employs a neutral/mediative distinction, rather than a confirmative/non-confirmative distinction.

Table 9: Confirmativity in Bulgarian and Tajik

	<i>Bulgarian</i>		<i>Tajik</i>	
	“Neutral” (Confirmative)	“Mediative” (Non-Confirmative)	“Neutral” (Confirmative)	“Mediative” (Non-Confirmative)
Present	<i>čéte</i>	<i>četjal</i>	<i>mekunad</i>	<i>mekarda-ast</i>
Imperfect	<i>četeše</i>		<i>mekard</i>	
Aorist	<i>četé</i>	<i>čel</i>	<i>kard</i>	<i>karda-ast</i>
Perfect	<i>čel e</i>	<i>čel bil</i>	<i>karda-ast</i>	<i>karda buda-ast</i>
Pluperfect	<i>čel beše</i>		<i>karda bud</i>	

Examples of the uses of the Tajik forms are shown below in (9) and (10) (Lazard 1996, 29):

(9) *xola pago meomaday. -ki guft? -Ra□ab.*  
 aunt tomorrow come.COMPLEXPERF who say Rajab  
 ‘Aunt is (reportedly) coming tomorrow. -Who said? -Rajab.’

(10) *pul-am na-buday*<sup>5</sup>  
 money-my NEG-be.PRF  
 ‘Look, I have no money!’

It is worth noting that in the above examples, strong evidential and admirative meanings are expressed in forms constructed using either the complex perfect or forms involving the copula. This parallels the situation in Uzbek and Kazakh, where only the copular form of the perfect bears marked non-confirmative meaning. Further research will be necessary to determine whether the simple perfect in non-copular contexts bears the same range of meanings in Tajik as it does in Uzbek and Kazakh.

<sup>5</sup> Note that the verb endings in *-ay* are dialectal forms and are otherwise equivalent to the forms in *-ast* in the table above.

It will be shown in the following chapters that a number of previous analyses of evidentiality in Eurasia, such as Aronson (1967) and Friedman (1977) can be applied to phenomena in Uzbek and Kazakh. In particular, their claims that evidentiality and related notions should be considered consequences of the expression of non-confirmativity will be shown to hold true in Uzbek and Kazakh. Although the main points of these previous analyses hold true, a number of details in Uzbek and Kazakh require some expansion and alteration of these analyses. Whereas Turkish, Macedonian, and Bulgarian contrast only two forms in the past (a simple past and a perfect), Uzbek and Kazakh possess three simplex past-denoting forms: a simple past, a perfect, and a form derived from the perfective converb. The addition of this converbial term requires a detailed analysis of each morpheme, in order to determine how each expresses (non-)confirmativity, as well as what other meanings are born by these morphemes. These three past-tense markers are discussed in Chapter 3. A second difference between previously studied languages and Uzbek and Kazakh is that Uzbek and Kazakh employ the copular form of the perfect (Uzbek: *ekan*, Kazakh: *eken*) not only to express marked non-confirmativity, but also to express rhetorical questions. The properties of *ekan* and *eken* are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. This unusual results of *ekan/eken* in questions, especially the production of rhetorical questions, form the basis of the claim that the relationship between STATUS/MODALITY and the expression of evidentiality and admirativity is more complex than previously supposed, and that in Uzbek and Kazakh, admirativity and rhetorical questions are representative of an emotive use of the forms in question. The emotive properties of *ekan* and *eken* are covered in Chapter 5. Before any of these past tense forms or *ekan* and *eken* may be examined, however, it is necessary to first determine how these forms fit into the predication system of Uzbek and Kazakh, as discussed in Chapter 2.



## CHAPTER 2

### PREDICATION IN UZBEK AND KAZAKH

Before any formal study of evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh may be undertaken, it is necessary to understand the processes that create complete predicates from verbs and other lexical categories. Predication occurs in a similar fashion in most of the Turkic languages, so the statements made here about Kazakh and Uzbek can be applied to most other members of the family as well.

Predication in the Turkic languages can be broken into two main types: verbal and non-verbal. Verbal predicates are characterized by their ability to take voice morphology, to be directly marked with negation, and to take certain TAM suffixes. Non-verbal predicates may be divided into five classes: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, existentials, and deontics. Complex predicates may be formed with the assistance of a copula (*e-* in both Uzbek and Kazakh). The copula is necessary to express negation and non-present/non-generic verbal categories on non-verbal predicates and to form complex past, perfect, and conditional forms.

The first section of this chapter reviews the form and function of the three main types of agreement markers found in Uzbek and Kazakh. The first section discusses the various types of agreement markers found in these languages, while the following section discusses the distinctions between the various verbal categories that may behave as predicates: verbs and the five aforementioned categories of non-verbs. In the third section, simplex verbal morphology is divided into two categories: finite forms, which occur only in predicates, and non-finite forms: participles, gerunds, infinitives, and converbs, which occur both as predicates and in other syntactic positions. The fourth section covers the copula, which allows certain verbal categories to be expressed when the predicate is non-verbal or when the verb is non-finite. In the final

section, I summarize the findings of the previous sections and outline the course of study for the rest of this work by specifying which pieces of the predicate are relevant to the study of evidential meaning in Uzbek and Kazakh. The data presented in this chapter is primarily morphosyntactic and relates to the distribution of morphemes; the semantic properties of individual morphemes will be further expounded upon in later chapters.

## 2.1 Agreement Markers

In Uzbek and Kazakh, there are three productive agreement paradigms. In Turcological literature these are often referred to as *possessive*, *pronominal*, and *converbial* (Erdal 2004: 233). The possessive agreement paradigm is so-called because the forms resemble those of possessive markers, although the forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural and the third person differ.

Table 10 - Uzbek Possessive Agreement and Possession Markers

Person	Agreement Markers		Possession Markers	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	-m	-k	-(i)m	-(i)miz
2	-ng	-ngiz	-(i)ng	-(i)ngiz
3	Ø	Ø, -lar	-(s)i	-lari

Table 11 - Kazakh Possessive Agreement and Possession Markers

Person	Agreement Markers		Possession Markers	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	-m	-K	-(I)m	-(I)mIz
2	-ŋ	-ŋIz	-(I)ŋ	-(I)ŋIz
3	Ø	Ø, -LAr	-(s)I	-LArI

The pronominal agreement markers are also named for what they resemble - personal pronouns.

In Kazakh, the vowels of the pronominal agreement markers differ from those of the independent pronouns. In both Uzbek and Kazakh, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person marker is null and not based on the form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun.

Table 12 - Uzbek Pronominal Agreement Markers and Pronouns

Person	Agreement Markers		Personal Pronouns	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-man</i>	<i>-miz</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>biz</i>
2	<i>-san</i>	<i>-siz</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>siz</i>
3	Ø	Ø, <i>-lar</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ular</i>

Table 13 - Kazakh Pronominal Agreement Markers and Pronouns

Person	Agreement Markers		Personal Pronouns	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-MIn</i>	<i>-MIz</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>biz</i>
2	<i>-sIn</i>	<i>-sIz</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>siz</i>
3	Ø	Ø, <i>-LAr</i>	<i>ol</i>	<i>olar</i>

Converbial markers (Table 14) occur only with forms derived from converbial forms and are nearly identical to the pronominal agreement markers. They differ, however, in that the marker for the third person is not null, but is a form derived from the verb meaning ‘to stand’ (Uz, Kaz: *tur-*), which is a remnant of their converbial use.

Table 14 - Converbial Agreement Markers

Person	Uzbek		Kazakh	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-man</i>	<i>-miz</i>	<i>-MIn</i>	<i>-MIz</i>
2	<i>-san</i>	<i>-siz</i>	<i>-sIn</i>	<i>-sIz</i>
3	<i>-di</i>	<i>-di(lar)</i>	<i>-DI</i>	<i>-DI(LAr)</i>

## 2.2 Predication and Lexical Categories

Predicates in Uzbek and Kazakh, and, indeed, in all Turkic languages, may be divided into two broad categories: verbal and non-verbal. Verbal predicates are characterized by their ability to be directly marked for the full range of verbal categories: voice/valency, negation, tense, aspect, mood, person, and number (11). Non-verbal predicates may only be directly marked for person and number agreement (in 12 the word ‘jealous’ is an adjective, not a verb); when person and

number are the only features marked, non-verbal predicates receive a generic or present tense interpretation (13).

- (11) *Siz ko'r-il-ma-di-ngiz.* (Uz)  
*Siz kör-il-me-di-ñiz.* (Kaz)  
You see-PASS-NEG-PST-2PL  
'You (pl) were not seen.'
- (12) \**Biz qizg'anchiq-ish-ma-di-k.* (Uz)  
\**Biz qizğanşaq-ïs-pa-dï-q.* (Kaz)  
We jealous-COOP-NEG-PST-1PL  
'We were not jealous of each other.'
- (13) *Men doktor-man.* (Uz)  
*Men dāriger-min.* (Kaz)  
I doctor-1SG  
'I am a doctor.'

A further difference between verbal and non-verbal predicates is that while verbal predicates select from the full range of three agreement paradigms (not including the irregular forms of the desiderative paradigm), non-verbal predicates, when they are directly marked for agreement, may employ only the pronominal agreement markers shown in Tables 12 and 13. Non-verbal predicates may be divided into five classes: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, existentials, and deontics.

### 2.2.1 Nouns and Adjectives

Nouns and adjectives form fairly discrete classes within the Turkic languages, particularly with regard to their syntactic behavior and the distribution of associated morphemes. Nouns are characterized by their ability to take plural morphology, to be modified by quantifiers and adjectives, to receive case and possession morphology, and to act as the arguments of verbs.

- (14) *Bu äyel dāriger.* ~ *Bu dāriger oris.* (Kaz)  
 This woman doctor This doctor Russian  
 ‘This woman is a doctor.’ ‘This doctor is Russian.’
- (15) *Akram do’st-im.* ~ *Kecha do’st-ing-ni ko’r-di-m.* (Uz)  
 Akram friend-1SG Yesterday friend-2SG-ACC see-PST-1SG  
 ‘Akram is my friend.’ ‘Yesterday I saw your friend.’

Adjectives in Turkic are characterized by their ability to receive comparative and superlative markers and to be modified by certain intensifying adverbs (16), as well as to modify nouns (17).

- (16) *Astana ädemi.* ~ *Astana ädemi-rek.* ~ *Astana eñ ädemi.* (Kaz)  
 Astana beautiful Astana beautiful-CMPR Astana most beautiful  
 ‘Astana is beautiful’ ‘Astana is more beautiful’ ‘Astana is most beautiful.’
- (17) *Men baland daraxt-ni ko’r-di-m.* ~ *Daraxt baland.* (Uz)  
 I tall tree-ACC see-PST-1SG tree tall  
 ‘I saw the tall tree.’ ‘The tree is tall.’

Nouns marked with the locative case behave semantically like adjectives, in as much as they modify nouns. Syntactically, they pattern with non-verbal predicates when they are used predicatively, but in order for them to be used attributively, a special morpheme must be inserted (Uz: *-ki*, Kaz: *-GI*):

- (18) *Prezident poytaxt-da.* ~ *poytaxt-da-gi kishi* (Uz)  
 President capital-LOC capital-LOC-ATTR person  
 ‘The president is in the capital’ ‘person (who is) in the capital’
- (19) *Atıraw-da-ğï sawda želi-si* (Kaz)  
 Atyrau-LOC-ATTR commerce system-3  
 ‘The commerce system in Atyrau.’<sup>1</sup>

In many Turkic languages nouns and adjectives may be distinguished from one another through the distribution of intensifying and comparative morphemes. That is, morphemes expressing concepts like ‘more’ and ‘very’ are expressed differently depending upon lexical

<sup>1</sup> 2010. Sberbank Rossii. Accessed 8 Mar 2010. [www.sberbank.kz/?p223&version=kz](http://www.sberbank.kz/?p223&version=kz).

category. Uzbek and Kazakh are among the Turkic languages that express this distinction - Turkish is not.

Table 15 - Intensification and Comparison

	<i>Intensifier (very, many)</i>		<i>Comparative (more)</i>	
	Noun	Adjective	Noun	Adjective
Kazakh	<i>köp adam</i>	<i>öte žaqsi</i>	<i>köb-irek adam</i>	<i>žaqsi-raq</i>
Uzbek	<i>ko'p odam</i>	<i>juda yaxshi</i>	<i>ko'p-roq odam</i>	<i>yaxshi-roq</i>
Turkish	<i>çok adam</i>	<i>çok iyi</i>	<i>daha adam</i>	<i>daha iyi</i>
Gloss	'many men'	'very good'	'more men'	'better'

Adjectives may occasionally function as nouns and receive nominal morphology; when they do, they denote entities characterized by the features expressed by the adjectives from which they are derived: *qizil-lar* 'the red ones' (Uz), *ädemi-ler* 'the beautiful (people)' (Kaz). Nouns in Turkic, as a rule, cannot function as adjectives.

### 2.2.2 Pronouns

Pronouns form a discrete class from other lexical categories. Much like nouns, they are marked for case (although irregularly) and act as the arguments of verbs (20, 21). Pronouns cannot co-occur with intensifying or comparative morphology.

(20) *Men sağan bu-ni ber-di-m.*<sup>2</sup> (Kaz)  
 I you(SG).DAT this-ACC give-PST-1SG  
 'I gave you this.'

(21) *Kim sen-ing qiz-ing ko'r-gan e-di?* (Uz)  
 Who you(SG)-GEN daughter-2SG see-PRF COP-PST.3  
 'Who had seen your daughter?'

Other classes of pronouns exist in Uzbek and Kazakh as well. These classes include the interrogative pronouns (e.g Uz, Kaz: *kim* 'who', Uz: *nima*, Kaz: *ne* 'what'), indefinite pronouns

<sup>2</sup> The dative form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun in this example is irregular. Rather than the predicted *sen-ga*, the form is *sağan*.

(e.g. Uz: *bari*, Kaz: *bäri* ‘everyone’, Uz: *allakim*, Kaz: *äldekim* ‘someone’), reflexive pronouns (e.g. Uz: *o’z*, Kaz: *öz*, ‘self’) and deictic/demonstrative pronouns (e.g. Uz: *bu*, Kaz: *bul* ‘this’, Uz: *osha*, Kaz: *osi* ‘that there’).

Any pronoun may function as a predicate. When the predicate is the first or second person pronoun, any copular form that follows may show agreement with the predicate, rather than the subject (23).

(22) *Bu nima?* (Uz)  
This what  
‘What is this?’

(23) *Sol men e-di-m.* (Kaz)  
That I COP-PST-1SG  
‘That was me.’  
(Äwezov 1948, 112)

### 2.2.3 Existentials and Deontics

Two classes of non-verbal predicates are not easily classified as nouns, adjectives, or pronouns, as they almost never occur in non-predicative positions. The first of these classes is the existentials, cognates of which are found in all Turkic languages: PT *\*bār* (Kaz: *bar*, Uz: *bor*), the existential, and PT *\*yōq* (Kaz: *žoq*, Uz: *yo’q*), the negative existential. Aside from merely indicating the existence (or non-existence) of a thing (24), the existentials are also used with possessive forms to indicate possession (as the Turkic languages have no verbal equivalent to English ‘have’ - see 25), may be used as replies to questions, i.e. ‘yes’ or ‘no’ (26), and sometimes interact with parts of the verbal paradigm to indicate emphasis or negation.

(24) *Tog’-lar-da bars bor.* (Uz)  
Mountain-PL-LOC leopard EXIST  
‘There are leopards in the mountains.’

- (25) *Uch bola-m bor.* (Uz)  
 Three child-1SG EXIST  
 'I have three children.'
- (26) *Asqar kel-di me? -Žoq, kel-me-di.* (Kaz)  
 Asqar come-PST Q? No come-NEG-PST  
 'Did Askar come? -No, he did not come.'

Deontic predicates express necessity or permission. Three members of this class are found in Uzbek and Kazakh<sup>3</sup>: the Turkic \**kerek* (Uz: *kerak*, Kaz: *kerek*) 'necessary', the Arabic loan *lāzim* (Uz: *lozim*, not present in Kazakh) 'necessary', and the Arabic loan *mumkin* (Uz: *mumkin*, Kaz: *mūmkin*) 'possible, permissible'.

- (27) *Uy-ga bor-ish-im kerak/lozim/mumkin.* (Uz)  
 Home-DAT go-NMLZR-1SG necessary/necessary/possible  
 'I need to/need to/can go home.'

As previously described, all five types of non-verbal predicates are directly affixed with the pronominal agreement markers. If a non-present or non-generic reading is to be expressed, the copula (which is described in 2.4) must be added in order to bear further TAM marking.

### 2.3 Verbal Predication

Regardless of whether a finite or non-finite verb form is used, the basic ordering of affixes is as follows:

- (28) *ROOT + VOICE/VALENCY + NEGATION + TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD + AGREEMENT*

There are five morphemes that fall under the voice/valency category: the passive, causative, reciprocal, and cooperative forms. In Uzbek, the form of the negative is *-ma*, in Kazakh, *-MA*. Tense/aspect/mood forms are discussed below. Agreement markers agree with the subject of the

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<sup>3</sup> Other Turkic languages have a number of different members in this class, which seems to be especially susceptible to borrowing, e.g. Sakha *naada*, from Russian *nado* 'necessary.'



verb and are marked for three persons, two numbers (singular and plural) and, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, for two degrees of formality (informal and formal). The question particle (Uzbek: *mi*, Kazakh: *MA*) usually follows the verb. Although the question particle is orthographically separate in both languages, it behaves as a clitic and may be considered part of the verbal complex.

### 2.3.1 Finite Verbal Morphology

In Uzbek and Kazakh, there are only three paradigms that are unambiguously finite: the desiderative, the simple past, and the conditional.

What I refer to here as the ‘desiderative’ paradigm is not, strictly, a paradigm, as it involves three distinct ranges of meaning that vary by person. The term volitional or hortative is perhaps a better descriptor first person forms, which express a desire or suggestion to oneself or ones group. The term ‘imperative’ is a the standard description of the second person forms, and the third person forms, which express an indirect command or wish, are usually termed ‘optative’ or ‘voluntative’ (Johanson 2009, 489-91). Although these forms do vary in meaning, their mutual exclusivity and expression of obligation have led scholars of the Turkic languages to group them together under a single paradigm (see Koç and Doğan 2004 for Kazakh; Coşkun 2000 for Uzbek; Erdal 2004 groups these forms together as ‘volitional’).

Table 16: Desiderative Paradigm of 'Do'

Person	Uzbek		Kazakh	
	SG.	PL.	SG.	PL.
1	<i>qil-ay, qil-ayin</i>	<i>qil-aylik</i>	<i>qil-ayin</i>	<i>qil-ayiq</i>
2	<i>qil, qil-gin qil-ingiz</i>	<i>qil-ingiz, qil-inglar</i>	<i>qil, qil-iñiz</i>	<i>qil-iñdar, qil-iñizdar</i>
3	<i>qil-sin</i>	<i>qil-sin(lar)</i>	<i>qil-sin</i>	<i>qil-sin(dar)</i>

The volitional paradigm does not interact with non-confirmativity.

The other two finite paradigms - the simple past and the conditional - are distinguished from all others through their use of the possessive personal markers (Tables 17 and 18). Etymologically, the past tense is proposed to have developed from a verbal noun, which explains the presence of the possessive markers (Erdal 2004, 238). The origin of the conditional is unclear. In modern Uzbek and Kazakh, however, both the simple past and conditional always function as predicates, so they must be considered truly finite.

Verbs inflected with the conditional correspond roughly to English clauses marked with ‘if’ and indicate irrealis mood.

- (29) *Qaš-sa-m qutıl-a al-ar e-mes-pin.* (Kaz)  
 Run-COND-1SG escape-CVB BE.ABLE-AOR COP-NEG.AOR-1SG  
 ‘If I run, I will be unable to escape.’  
 (Koç and Doğan 2004: 355)

Table 17 - Conditional Paradigm of 'Do'

Person	Uzbek		Kazakh	
	SG.	PL.	SG.	PL.
1	<i>qil-sa-m</i>	<i>qil-sa-k</i>	<i>qil-sa-m</i>	<i>qil-sa-q</i>
2	<i>qil-sa-ng</i>	<i>qil-sa-ngiz</i>	<i>qil-sa-η</i>	<i>qil-sa-ηiz</i>
3	<i>qil-sa</i>	<i>qil-sa(lar)</i>	<i>qil-sa</i>	<i>qil-sa(lar)</i>

The simple past tense contrasts with the perfect and the converbial past, which will be discussed in the following sections, not only in terms of what sort of pastness is meant, but also in terms of confirmativity. These distinction forms the basis of the third chapter.

Table 18 - Simple Past Paradigm of 'Do'

Person	Uzbek		Kazakh	
	SG.	PL.	SG.	PL.
1	<i>qil-di-m</i>	<i>qil-di-k</i>	<i>qil-di-m</i>	<i>qil-di-q</i>
2	<i>qil-di-ng</i>	<i>qil-di-ngiz</i>	<i>qil-di-η</i>	<i>qil-di-ηiz</i>
3	<i>qil-di</i>	<i>qil-di(lar)</i>	<i>qil-di</i>	<i>qil-di(lar)</i>

The conditional and simple past are the basis for two of the five copular forms that are discussed in 2.4.

### 2.3.2 Non-Finite Verbal Morphology

Non-finite paradigms of the verb employed as predicates may be divided into three classes based on their non-predicative function: participial, infinitival, and converbial. All of these forms (with a partial exception in the case of converbial forms) take the pronominal agreement markers (see Tables 12-14).

Participles are the some of the most prominent types of non-finite forms that may act as predicates. As their name implies, participles may function attributively or predicatively:

- (30) *žaz-ar adam* ~ *adam žaz-ar.* (Kaz)  
 write-AOR man ~ man write-AOR  
 'The man who writes.' 'The man writes.'

Although participles function much like adjectives, their verbal basis allows them to take voice and negation morphology:

- (31) *žaz-is-pa-ğan adam-dar* ~ *adam-dar žaz-is-pa-ğan* (Kaz)  
 write-RECP-NEG-PRF man-PL ~ man-PL write-RECP-NEG-PRF  
 'The men who haven't written to each other' ~ 'The men haven't written to each other.'

A table of participles (19) shows that Uzbek and Kazakh share a number of cognate forms:

Table 19 - Participles in Uzbek and Kazakh

	Uzbek	Kazakh
Aorist <sup>4</sup>	-(a)r	-(A)r
Future	-(y)ajak	-(A)tIn
Perfect	-gan	-GAn
Perfect	-mish	-MIs
Habitual	-adigan	
Present/Imperfect	-ayotgan	
Optative	-gay	-GAy

Note that in Uzbek, two participles end in *-gan*: *-adigan* and *-ayotgan*. The *-gan* portion of these forms is cognate with the *-gan* that forms the perfect participle. However, no perfect or past tense meaning is expressed in either of these forms, which instead likely grammaticalized from

<sup>4</sup> The negative form of the aorist is irregular. For Uzbek: *-mas*, for Kazakh: *-mAs*.

converbial constructions before *-gan* acquired its perfect meaning and instead expressed imperfectivity. The cognate of this form still expresses imperfectivity in modern Turkish, where it has the form *-An* (see Erdal 1991; 2004).

The *-mish/-mIs* forms are now largely obsolete in Uzbek and Kazakh, having been supplanted by *-gan*. Although they are no longer attached directly to verbs, they still exist in copular (Uz: *emish*) or clitic form (Kaz: *-mIs*), so they will be considered in the following discussions of evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh.

The presence of *\*-gAn* as the marker of the perfect participle is one of the core features that distinguish the Central Asian Turkic area from other Turkic-speaking regions (Schönig 1999). Both the predicative (32) and participial (33) uses are common:

(32) *Biz osha joy-ga bor-gan-da halol pizza ye-gan-miz.* (Uz)  
 We that place-DAT go-NMLZR-LOC halal pizza eat-PRF-1PL  
 ‘Whenever we’ve gone there we’ve eaten halal pizza.’

(33) *Odan äri ärkim žet-ken žer-i-ne qon-ar.* (Kaz)  
 Then after everyone arrive-PRF place-3-DAT camp-AOR.3  
 ‘After that, everyone encamps at the place where they arrive.’

For historical reasons, and for the sake of connecting the predicative and participial uses of this form, it will be glossed as PRF, i.e. perfect. As noted above, the perfect contrasts with the simple past in a number of ways that will be further explained in the following chapter.

Another use of this form is to nominalize clauses for the purposes of complementation or in order to attach a case ending. This use is seen in (32) above; an example of its use to form clausal complements is in (34).

(34) *Men-i tehnologiya ko’r qil-gan-i-ni bil-a-man.* (Uz)  
 I-ACC technology blind make-NMLZR-3-ACC know-PRES-1SG  
 ‘I know that technology makes me blind.’

When the \*-gAn suffix is used for the purposes of nominalization, it will be glossed as NMLZR, i.e. nominalizer, rather than perfect, as the time reference of these nominalized clauses is context-dependent.

The infinitive (Uz: *-moq*, Kaz: *-Uw*, *-MAK*) is used to form a number of non-finite forms that may be used predicatively. On its own, the Kazakh infinitive marker *-MAK* may be used to indicate a definite future tense. In both languages, the addition of the agentive marker (Uz: *-chi*, Kaz: *-šI*) creates forms that also indicate an intentional future tense (35). The addition of the locative case (Uz: *-da*, Kaz: *-DA*) creates forms that indicate near future tense or inchoative aspect (36).

(35) *Men bar-maq-šī-mīn.* (Kaz)  
 I go-INF-AGT-1SG  
 ‘I will go.’ ‘I intend to go.’

(36) *Men bor-moq-da-man.* (Uz)  
 I go-INF-LOC-1SG  
 ‘I’m going to go,’ ‘I am about to go.’

Table 20 - Predicative Forms Based on the Infinitive

	Uzbek	Kazakh
Definite Future		<i>-MAK</i>
Intentional Future	<i>-moq-chi</i>	<i>-MAKšI</i>
Inchoative	<i>-moq-da</i>	<i>-Uw-dA</i>

The third type of non-finite verb form that may be used predicatively is the converb. In Uzbek and Kazakh there are two converbial forms, which are commonly assigned the labels ‘imperfective’ or ‘intraterminal’ (Uz: *a/y*, Kaz: *A/y*) and ‘perfective’ or ‘postterminal’ (Uz: *-(i)b*, Kaz: *-(I)p*), although the choice between these two is often governed by the following verb and not aspectual considerations.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Johanson 2005, Erdal 2004 for further discussion of these terms and their associated meanings.

Table 21 - Converbial Forms

	Uzbek	Kazakh
Imperfective	<i>a/y</i>	<i>A/y</i>
Perfective	<i>-(i)b</i>	<i>-(I)p</i>

Converbs are set apart from other non-finite predicates by their use of the converbial agreement markers (Table 14).

Converbs are V + V constructions that behave in many ways like serial verbs in other languages. What sets them apart from true serial verbs is the presence of converbial suffixes noted above. The presence of these forms violates the restriction that serial verbs not be connected by any sort of “overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any sort” (Aikhenvald 2006, 1, Mufwene 1990, cf. Stewart 2001, Haspelmath 1995).

Converbs in Turkic express the same sorts of relations between events that serial verbs express, such as simultaneity, cause and effect, consecutivity, or even description of one event by another. Also like serial verb constructions, the two verbs obligatorily share a subject and may or may not share an object.

- (37) *Murodjon gugurt chaq-ib vklyuchatel-ni top-di.* (Uz)  
 Murodjon match strike-CVB switch-ACC find-PST.3SG  
 ‘Murodjon lit a match and found the switch.’

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of converb constructions, through, is that they have grammaticalized into a closed class of special forms that express modal, aspectual, and other similar information for which no appropriate verbal ending had previously existed. In effect, many Turkic converbs act as light verbs (Bowerman 2004) or like English modal verbs.

- (38) *kiril alifbo-si-da tarjima qil-ib ko'r-di-m* (Uz)  
 Cyrillic alphabet-3-LOC translate do-CVB see/TRY-PST-1SG  
 ‘I tried to translate it into the Cyrillic alphabet.’<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> 2010. Arbuz.com Forums. Accessed 20 Feb 2010.  
[www.arbuz.com:81/showthread.php?t=53950&page=3](http://www.arbuz.com:81/showthread.php?t=53950&page=3).

- (39) *bar-a žat-qan-miñ* (Kaz)  
 go-CVB lie/PROG-PRF-1SG  
 'I am going.'  
 (Koç and Doğan 2004: 264)

In examples (38) and (39), the first (and main) verb is marked with the converbial marker, while the second verb receives all TAM marking. In most cases, the second verb is form-identical to a main verb (in these cases 'see' and 'lie down'), but when used in converbial constructions, these verbs have modal or aspectual meanings.

The predicative form based upon the imperfective converb is the basis for the present/future tense in both Uzbek and Kazakh and is used as an unmarked form when discussing current or near-future events (40).

- (40) *O'q-ish-ni endi bitir-a-man.* (Uz)  
 Read-NMLZR-ACC now finish-PRES-1SG  
 'I'm now finishing reading.'  
 (Coşkun 2000: 141)

In its predicative usage, the imperfective converb has grammaticalized to such an extent that it no longer may co-occur with any copular forms.

The perfective converb, when used predicatively, functions as a non-confirmative past tense form (41), and unlike the imperfective converb, can co-occur with copular forms (42). The differences between this form, the simple past (*-di/-DI*), and the perfect (*-gan/-GAN*) are discussed in full in Chapter 3.

- (41) *Qazaq-tiñ žaqsilig-in köp kör-ip-siñ.* (Kaz)  
 Kazakh-GEN goodness-3.ACC much see-CPST-2SG  
 'You have really seen the goodness of the Kazakhs.'<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> 2007. Alaş Aynası. Accessed 27 Feb 2010. [www.alashainasy.kz/?p=26679](http://www.alashainasy.kz/?p=26679).

- (42) *Sen tīm keš kel-ip e-di-ŋ. (Kaz)*  
 You too late come-CPST COP-PST-2SG  
 ‘You had come too late.’<sup>8</sup>

## 2.4 Copular Predication

A feature that unites non-verbal and non-finite verbal predicates is their ability to take on a copula in order to express the conditional, negation, the past, or the perfect. In both Uzbek and Kazakh, the copula has the form *e-*, which is derived from Old Turkic *er-*. In Uzbek and Kazakh, only five forms of this copula are available. These forms correspond to previously discussed forms that are directly affixed to verbs.

Table 22: Simplex and Copular Verb Forms

	Negation	Conditional	Perfect	Past
Simplex form	Uz: <i>-ma</i> Kaz: <i>-MA</i>	Uz: <i>-sa</i> Kaz: <i>-sA</i>	Uz: <i>-gan, -mish</i> Kaz: <i>-GAn, -MIs</i>	Uz: <i>-di</i> Kaz: <i>-DI</i>
Copular form	Uz: <i>emas</i> Kaz: <i>emes</i>	Uz: <i>esa</i> Kaz: <i>ese</i>	Uz: <i>ekan, emish</i> Kaz: <i>eken, -mIs</i>	Uz: <i>edi</i> Kaz: <i>edi</i>

In Uzbek, the first vowel of copular forms is occasionally omitted in rapid speech or following the question particle.

The negative form of the copula is related to the aorist participle (Uz: *-ar*, Kaz: *-Ar*), whose negative form is suppletive (Uz: *mas*, Kaz: *-MAs*). The positive aorist copula existed in Old Turkic as *erür*, but it has since been lost in the modern Turkic languages (Erdal 2004). As a copula, *emas/emes* is purely negative and any aspectual meaning must be contributed by another morpheme.

<sup>8</sup> Žumağaliyqizi, B. Ä. Qazaq tili funktsionaldi stil’ mätinderindegi prosodikaliq täsilderdi. Accessed 1 Mar 2010. [tilbilimi.kz/diss.doc](http://tilbilimi.kz/diss.doc)



The conditional bears the same irrealis meaning whether it is attached directly to a verb or to the copula. The copular conditional is sometimes used in a non-predicative function to indicate focus or topic, functioning similarly to the English phrase *as for* or like a cleft.

- (43) *Prezident esa o'n olti nafar senator-ni tayinla-y-di.* (Uz)  
 President FOC ten six CL senator-ACC appoint-PRES-3SG  
 'As for the president, he is appointing sixteen senators.'<sup>9</sup>

The perfect/evidential copulas express a range of markedly non-confirmative meanings, including admirativity, and non-firsthand evidentiality, and reportativity. In questions, these same forms express rather unusual pragmatic meanings: they question the authority of the addressee of the question and are used to create rhetorical questions. These topics receive full treatment in the fifth and sixth chapters, respectively.

Friedman (1978; 1979) has noted that in many languages of Eurasia, the pluperfect (that is, double marking of the perfect) exhibits strong non-confirmative meaning, as shown in (44).

- (44) *Böžey awl-ina žet-ken e-ken.* (Kaz)  
 Böžey village-3.DAT arrive-PRF COP-PRF  
 'Böžey has (apparently) arrived at his village.'  
 (Äwezov :148)

Under the analysis here, the double marking of the perfect matters less than the presence of the copular form of the perfect. That is, the copular perfect bears marked non-confirmative meaning in most places it is present, whether the preceding form is in the perfect, a non-finite verb, or a non-verb.

There is some debate regarding the origin of the *ekan/eken* copular form; Erdal (1991, 383; 2004, 288, 320) has proposed that it might ultimately derive from the combination of the copula and the Old Turkic morpheme *-KAn*, which was used to create temporal clauses. The

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<sup>9</sup> 2010. NewsUz.com. Accessed 1 Mar 2010.  
[newsuz.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1273&Itemid=1](http://newsuz.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1273&Itemid=1)

form of this morpheme is, indeed, unexpected, as it is expected that the /g/ of *-gAn* would not surface as /k/ following either a vowel or the /r/ that was present in the Old Turkic form (*er-ken*). This debate is irrelevant for the study of the modern languages, as it is possible to draw parallels between the non-copular and copular forms of the perfect/evidential forms. Just as the simple past and perfect contrast in their non-copular forms, so too do *edi/edi* and *ekan/eken* contrast as copular forms. Further support is lent to this connection by the ability of the perfect/evidential form to nominalize verbless clauses, just as the perfect is employed to nominalize clauses when a verb is present.

(45) *U Stiven-ga ism-i Eddi e-kan-i-ni ayt-di...* (Uz)  
 He Steven-DAT name-3 Athy COP-NMLZR-3-ACC tell-PST.3  
 ‘He told Stephen that his name was Athy...’  
 (Joyce 2007, 13)

(46) *Tegin e-mes e-ken-in de bil-gen.* (Kaz)  
 Free COP-NEG COP-PRF-3.ACC also know-PRF  
 ‘He also knew that it was not free.’  
 (Äwezov 1948: 59)

As is the case for clauses nominalized with the perfect, clauses nominalized with the perfect/evidential copula bear no perfect or evidential meaning; the sole purpose of this form is to nominalize and the copula acts a verb that can support this nominalizing morpheme.

The Turkic copula differs in two ways from the copula of English (and of other languages of Europe), which raises the question of whether what has been discussed is a true copula or something else. The most obvious difference between the copulas of English and Turkic is that the Turkic copula may appear more than once within a single predicate.

(47) *Xursand e-mas e-di-m.* (Uz)  
 Happy COP-NEG COP-PST-1SG  
 ‘I was not happy.’

As a general rule, the negative copula precedes other forms of the copula, while the other three forms are usually mutually exclusive<sup>10</sup>.

This difference between the English and Turkic copulas may not be so great, however, as there are a number of theories that claim that the English copula, much like the Turkic copula, is reducible to “one singular copular case of a semantically empty verb inserted to form a verb phrase out of a predicate phrase headed by a non-verb” (Mufwene 2005, 232; see also McCawley 1988: 135-6).

(48) *Susan was being annoying.*

As a semantically empty element, then, the copula can be conceived of as a “dummy element whose sole purpose lies in carrying verbal morphology in predicate phrases whose nucleus consists of a lexeme which is incompatible with verbal morphology” (Pustet 2003, 3). In examples (47) and (48), the copula exists merely to express certain morphology; in the English example, the second instance of *be* is not, in fact, a main verb with a meaning of “to act”, but the bearer of verbal morphology that prompts this interpretation by implicature.

The second difference is that the Turkic copula expresses only certain verbal categories, whereas that of English may appear with the full range. When it is necessary to express verbal categories other than those discussed above, another verb is employed (Uz: *bo'l-*, Kaz: *bol-*). Whereas the copula expresses states, this other form (in Pustet's [2003] terminology, a pseudo-copula), expresses events.

(49) *Xursand bo'l-ayotgan-man.* (Uz)  
Happy be-PROG-1SG  
'I am becoming happy; I am acting happy.'

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<sup>10</sup> The perfect/evidential form of the copula *may* follow the past form in questions – see Chapters 4 and 5.

The Dummy Hypothesis renders this difference between Turkic and English moot as well, as under this hypothesis, the copula (and therefore all instances of English ‘be’) is not a true verb denoting a state or activity, but something inserted to support verbal morphology; therefore, the distribution of this morphology is responsible for the behavior of the copula.

As the differences between English and Turkic can be explained by appealing to the Dummy Hypothesis of copulas, there is no reason to consider Uzbek and Kazakh *e-* anything but a true copula. Pustet (2003, 2) lists three syntactic functions that are fulfilled by copulas, all of which apply equally as well to English as to Uzbek and Kazakh:

- (a) the function of a linker between subject and predicate
- (b) the function of a syntactic ‘hitching post’ to which verbal inflectional categories can be attached;
- (c) the function of a predicator which is added to lexemes that do not form predicates on their own

As a sort of dummy element, the Turkic copula’s idiosyncrasies are not inherent properties of a lexeme *e-*, but rather the properties of the elements that the copula is associated with. While the English copula is required to express most non-verbal predicates, the Turkic copula is expressed only in the select cases discussed above.

## **2.5 Forms Relevant to Evidentiality**

As discussed in Chapter 1, studies of evidentiality in Turkic, and, indeed, in many of the languages of Eurasia, focus on the contrast between the past and the perfect. The simple past is frequently analyzed as being marked for confirmativity, while the perfect is either unmarked for this feature or is markedly non-confirmative (Friedman 1978; 1979). In regard to the Turkic

languages of Central Asia, Johanson (2003) proposes that there are four morphemes that express markedly evidential meaning. According to Johanson, two of these are attached directly to the verb: *\*-Ib(dIr)*, which functions like the simple past with no aspectual information given, and *\*-gAn*, which bears a perfect or resultative meaning. The other two forms are copular: *\*erken* (the copular form of *\*-gAn*) bears a variety of markedly non-confirmative meanings, while *\*ermiš* indicates reportative or quotative meanings.

In the analysis of Uzbek and Kazakh in the following chapters, the forms discussed by Johanson are considered and are contrasted with the simple past, as proposed by Friedman. Chapter 4 addresses the contrast between the simple past and the two other forms that indicate past tense: the perfect and the converbial past.

Table 23: Forms Relevant for Chapter 4

<b>Simple Past</b>	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Converbial Past</b>
Uz: <i>-di</i> Kaz: <i>-dI</i>	Uz: <i>-gan</i> Kaz: <i>-gAn</i>	Uz: <i>-(i)b</i> Kaz: <i>-(I)p</i>

Both Friedman and Johanson have noted that the copular forms of the perfect are somehow special, encoding information that is more classically evidential in meaning, than forms that are directly affixed to the verb. The analysis of copular forms provides the basis for the fifth and sixth chapters. In that Chapter 5, the copular forms of the simple past, the perfect, and the archaic perfect are compared.

Table 24: Forms Relevant for Chapters 5 and 6

<b>Simple Past</b>	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Archaic Perfect</b>
Uz: <i>edi</i> Kaz: <i>edi</i>	Uz: <i>ekan</i> Kaz: <i>eken</i>	Uz: <i>emish</i> Kaz: <i>-mIs</i>

The analysis of Turkic proposed in this chapter, in which non-verbs and non-finite verbs are treated as morphologically equivalent, allows for a unified treatment of copular forms.

Previous analyses of Turkic languages frequently overlook the similarity of non-verbs and non-

finite verbs, so it is hoped that by unifying these two classes, the markedly non-confirmative meanings of copular perfects may be captured.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE PAST AND CONFIRMATIVITY

It has been widely observed that the locus of evidential meaning among the languages of the Eurasian evidentiality belt lies in the distinction between various past forms. For the majority of languages, the two relevant past tense forms are termed the “past” and the “perfect.” The term *perfect* is somewhat misleading, as these so-called perfects usually derive from historical perfect forms but no longer bear PERFECT meaning in the sense of the PERFECT that has been described for Western European languages.

Within Turcological studies, it is the simple past tense *\*-DI* that is ascribed witnessed/firsthand, definite, direct, or confirmative meaning and the perfect *\*-mIš* (or the morpheme *\*-GAN* that has supplanted it in many languages) that is ascribed non-witnessed/non-firsthand, indefinite, indirect, or non-confirmative meaning. These two morphemes bore similar meanings in the earliest attested stages of Turkic to those that they bear in modern Turkish (Tekin 1965; Erdal 2004; Al-Kāšġarī 1982). In modern Turkish, the basic distinction between the simple past *-DI* and the perfect *-mIš* is one of confirmativity. That is, when a speaker employs the simple past *-DI*, it is employed for the purpose of expressing the speaker’s confirmation of a past event. When a speaker employs the perfect *-mIš*, no such confirmative meaning is meant, as the perfect is unmarked for this confirmativity and may exhibit a wide range of confirmative or non-confirmative interpretations based upon the context of the utterance (see Friedman 1978).

In Uzbek and Kazakh, the past/perfect distinction functions much as it does in Turkish, except that the *-DI/-mIš* distinction that was found in Old Turkic, and which is still found in most Oghuz languages, has been supplanted by a contrast between past tense *-di/-DI* and the perfect in

*-gan/-GAn*. The basic distinction between these two forms is also one of confirmativity. Like Turkish *-DI* and *-mİş*, Uzbek and Kazakh *-di/ -DI* is marked as confirmative, and *-gan/-GAn* is unmarked for confirmativity. The lack of confirmativity associated with *-gan/-GAn* has led to the use of this morpheme in so-called ‘distant’ or ‘indefinite’ contexts. The perfect *-gan/ -GAn* is used, for example, to denote historical events and events with indefinite time reference, in addition to events whose validity the speaker is merely unwilling to confirm.

A third morpheme has been added to this past paradigm, the converbial past tense *-ib/-(I)p*, which is (usually) marked as non-confirmative. This morpheme has its origin in the perfective converbial marker, and in this capacity it still serves to denote a relation of perfectivity or non-simultaneity among a sequence of events (50).

- (50) *Uy-ga kel-ib yot-di-m.* (Uz)  
 home-DAT come-CVB lie.down-PST-1SG  
 ‘I came home and (then) lay down.’

As a converbial marker, it stands in opposition to the imperfective converbial marker *-a/A/y*, which denotes imperfectivity or simultaneity in a sequence of events (51).

- (51) *Student-ter iste-y üyren-e-di.* (Kaz)  
 Student-PL work-CVB learn-PRES-3  
 ‘The students are working and learning.’

In Uzbek (although not in Kazakh), a split in meanings occurred as this marker evolved from a converbial marker to a predicative past tense marker. When attached to certain verbs denoting ongoing action (namely, *yot-* ‘to lie down’, *tur-* ‘to stand’, *o’tir-* ‘to sit’, and *yur-* ‘to walk, move’), the imperfective properties of the verb block both the non-confirmative and perfective properties of this morpheme, and the resulting meaning is an imperfective past (Sjoberg 1963, 113). In any other contexts, however, this morpheme is strictly non-confirmative, indicating non-volitionality, subjective interpretation, hearsay, or inference.



As non-finite verb forms, both *-ib/-(I)p* and *-gan/-GAn* may be followed by the copular form of the simple past (*edi*), resulting in pluperfect forms. In both cases, the presence of this marked confirmative past results in pluperfect forms that are marked as confirmative.

### 3.1 Confirmativity in the Past and the Perfect

As has been noted, in many Eurasian languages within the evidentiality belt, the past and perfect are distinguished by the presence of a feature of marked confirmativity on the present, and the lack of that feature on the perfect. This notion of CONFIRMATIVITY was first proposed by Aronson (1967) to account for the differences between the past and the perfect in Bulgarian. Friedman (1978) further employed it to account for the differences between similar forms in Turkish, Macedonian, and Albanian, and later expanded the concept to include other languages within the Eurasian evidentiality belt, such as Avar, Georgian, and Tajik (Friedman 1980). The concept of CONFIRMATIVITY successfully captures the distinction between past and perfect in many of the languages within the Eurasian evidentiality belt, although in most cases confirmativity is merely a component in a larger matrix of meanings. This is the case in Uzbek and Kazakh, where speakers must consider other components of these forms' meanings as they choose which one to employ.

Many sources (especially those written in the Turkish grammatical tradition) claim that the difference between the past and the perfect is one of firsthand vs. non-firsthand knowledge. This distinction is often referred to as *witnessed* (in Turkish, *görülen*) vs. *heard, perceived* (*duyulan*) (see, for example, Coşkun 2000 for Uzbek and Koç and Doğan 2004 for Kazakh). Although the past and the perfect are more likely to describe to witnessed and non-witnessed events, respectively, the application of these labels oversimplifies the relationship between the

past and the perfect. It is entirely possible in both Uzbek and Kazakh to refer to events that the speaker could not have seen in the simple past tense *-di/-DI*.

- (52) *Huddi shu serial o'tgan oy-lar-da Turkiya kanal-i-da ham ber-il-di, lekin ko'r-ma-di-m.* (Uz)  
just that serial past month-PL-LOC Turkey station-3-LOC also give-PASS-PST, but see-NEG-PST-1SG  
'That serial was also shown on the Turkish station, but I didn't see it.'<sup>1</sup>

- (53) *Nazarbayev Qarağandı metallurgiya zavıt-i-nda žumis iste-di.* (Kaz)  
Nazarbayev Karagandy metallurgy factory-3-LOC work work-PST.3SG  
'Nazarbayev worked in a Karagandy metallurgy factory.'

In (52), the speaker refers to a past event with the simple past tense, even though he clearly states that he was not present to see the actual event. And in (53), an event in the life of the Kazakh president is referred to with the simple past, even though the speaker could not have had firsthand knowledge of this event.

The perfect may likewise refer to events of which the speaker does have firsthand knowledge:

- (54) *Urganch-da ikki marta bor-gan-man.* (Uz)  
Urgench-LOC two time go-PRF-1SG  
'I've gone to Urgench two times.'
- (55) *Men keše düiken-ge bar-ğan-mın.* (Kaz)  
I yesterday store-DAT go-PRF-1SG  
'I went to the store yesterday.'

In both of the above examples, we see that that perfect refers to past events in the first person. If the perfect were truly a marker of non-firsthand information, we would expect that the combination of the perfect and the first person would refer to events that occurred while the

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<sup>1</sup> 2010. Ziyozuz, 5 Dec. Accessed 12 Jan 2011.  
forum.ziyouz.com/index.php?action=printpage;topic=5263.0

speaker was asleep, or very young, or somehow incapacitated; or even to acts that the speaker unintentionally performed, yet none of these readings are present.

Although I refer to forms in *--gan/-GAN* as perfects, this label is merely for the sake of convenience, as the reflexes of these forms in modern Uzbek and Kazakh are not, in fact, perfects. A brief look at the perfect as it is known in Western European languages reveals that this sense of the perfect is not one of the meanings of this morpheme in Uzbek and Kazakh. Accounts of tense, aspect, and the perfect usually rely upon the configuration of three Reichenbachian variables E (event time), S (speech time) and R (reference time) (Reichenbach 1947). In order to account for the fact that adverbs like *now* need not refer to the absolute present (e.g. *I knew that I had to leave now*), the variable S has largely been supplanted by a variable P (perspective time) (see Kamp and Reyle 1993; Kiparsky 2002). Under this theory, the present is represented by the relation  $E \subseteq R$ ,  $P \subseteq R$  (read as E is included in R and P is included in R), and the past by the relation  $E \subseteq R$ ,  $R \text{---} P$  (read as E is included in R and R precedes P). The (present) perfect is formulated as  $E \text{---} R$ ,  $P \subseteq R$ .

Given the above formulation of the perfect, it should not be possible for the perfect to co-exist with any definite temporal reference besides *now*, as the perspective time and the reference time (to which the temporal adverb would refer) are the same. This is true for the English perfect:

(56) #Columbus has discovered America in 1492.

The only possible interpretation of the utterance in (56) is one in which we force the temporal adverbial to refer to the event time, rather than the reference time. In this unlikely interpretation, Columbus has discovered America multiple times, and one of those instances occurred in 1492.

In contrast, Uzbek and Kazakh do allow non-present definite temporal reference in sentences containing the perfect:

- (57) *Kolomb Amerika-ni 1492 yil-da kashf et-gan.* (Uz)  
Columbus America-ACC 1492 year-LOC discover do-PRF.3  
'Columbus discovered America in 1492.'
- (58) *Kolon Amerika-ni 1492 ž. aš-qan.* (Kaz)  
Columbus America-ACC 1492 yr. discover-PRF.3  
'Columbus discovered America in 1492.'

Based on the ability of *-gan/-GAn* to co-occur with definite time reference, we must conclude that the major meaning of both it and the simple past in *-di/-DI* is simply past tense. A Reichenbachian analysis is insufficient to capture the distinction between the simple past and the perfect in Uzbek and Kazakh. In analyzing this distinction, it becomes apparent that it is not the configuration of temporal variables that distinguishes the past and the perfect, but the nature of their relationship between those variables and the attitude of the speaker.

While confirmativity will be shown to be a major factor in differentiating the past and the perfect, it is necessary to find other ways in which these two morphemes differ in meaning. In (57) and (58), speakers ought to be confident in the statement that Columbus discovered America in 1492; this is a historical fact. However, speakers very often employ the perfect to refer to events whose truth they are willing to confirm. For that reason, it is necessary to propose other components of the meanings of these morphemes.

Published descriptions of Uzbek and Kazakh can shed some light on the rest of the semantic makeup of the past and the perfect. With regard to Uzbek, the past/perfect distinction has been claimed to be unmarked/perfective (Sjoberg 1963; Kononov 1960), definite/indefinite (Ismatulla 1995) and witnessed/perceived (Coşkun 2000). The difference in Kazakh has been similarly characterized as recent/distant (Aqanova et al. 2002; Balaqev and Iskakov 1954;

Somfai Kara 2002) or as witnessed/perceived (Koç and Doğan 2004). Some of these characterizations have already been shown to be incorrect - the difference between the past and present is clearly not one of witnessed versus non-witnessed events - yet some of the other characterizations can shed light on the meanings of the past and the present.

As no single characteristic is adequate to differentiate the simple past from the perfect, it is the competition between various meanings that distinguishes these two forms. I propose three semantic components that distinguish the simple past from the perfect in Uzbek: DISTANCE, DEFINITENESS, and CONFIRMATIVITY. In Kazakh, only DEFINITENESS and CONFIRMATIVITY distinguish the past from the perfect. The competition among these components is what causes a speaker to choose the simple past or the present.

Temporal distance is not a salient feature in Kazakh; the simple past is often employed to refer to long past events (see 64). In Uzbek, however, temporal distance is an essential component of the PAST/PERFECT distinction. In Uzbek, the vast majority of references to historical figures and events employ the perfect. Speakers tend to refer to events that their grandparents could have witnessed with the simple past; this includes most events of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century:

(59) *Avstro-Vengriya hukumat-i Serbiya-ga ultimatum ber-di.* (Uz)  
Austro-Hungary empire-3 Serbia-DAT ultimatum give-PST.3  
'The Austro-Hungarian Empire gave Serbia an ultimatum.'

Events before that time are typically referred to in the perfect. While this apparent connection with the reliability and relevance of historical information suggests a connection to confirmativity, the fact that speakers prefer to employ the perfect even when referring to established historical fact (as in the Columbus examples above) indicates that temporal DISTANCE is still a component of the meaning of the perfect. Utterances involving reference to the recent

past (using adverbials like ‘recently’ or ‘yesterday’) usually employ the simple past, suggesting that the simple past bears a meaning opposite of that of the perfect: RECENT PAST.

There are some languages for which simple temporal distance is the major difference between morphemes: Kamba, for example, uses three forms to distinguish between events taking place on the day of speech, events that occurred within the past week, and events occurring further in the past (Whitely and Muli 1962, as cited in Dahl 1985, 121-2). More commonly, however, the RECENT/DISTANT distinction involves both objective and subjective measurement of distance. In Uzbek, the additional factors of definiteness and confirmativity contribute to the subjective semantics of distance involved. It is, for example, entirely acceptable to employ the simple past to refer to long distant events and the perfect to refer to recent events, as shown in (60).

- (60) *Kolumb 1492 12 oktyabr-da kichkina bir orol-ga chiq-ib qol-di.* (Uz)  
Columbus 1492 12 October-LOC small a island-DAT go.out-CVB PFV-PST  
‘Columbus landed on a small island on October 12, 1492.’  
(Raun 1969, 50)

The greater the temporal detail supplied regarding an event, the more likely speakers are to employ the simple past. I follow Raun (1969) in proposing that DEFINITENESS is another factor that differentiates the past from the perfect in Uzbek.

Kazakh also utilizes the DEFINITE/INDEFINITE distinction in deciding whether to employ the simple past or the perfect. It is, for example, quite common to use the perfect to refer to recent events (more common than in Uzbek, where the RECENT/DISTANT distinction is salient). When the perfect is used to refer to recent events, it is often because few details are being provided about that event, especially in regard to its temporal properties.

- (61) *Keše düken-ge bar-ğan-mın.* (Kaz)  
 Yesterday store-DAT go-PRF-1SG  
 ‘I went to the store yesterday.’

In (61), the event is specified as being recent (i.e. ‘yesterday’), but no definite time reference is given (e.g. *at 3:00, after I woke up*). In this context, the speaker is choosing to leave the temporal context indefinite, resulting in a reading of something like ‘I went to the store at some point yesterday.’ When more specific time reference is given, the simple past is preferred.

- (62) *Keše sağat 3'te düken-ge bar-dı-m.* (Kaz)  
 Yesterday hour 3-LOC store-DAT go-PST-1SG  
 ‘Yesterday at 3:00 I went to the store.’

The reference to time need not be made specific with reference to an exact point in the past; recently finished events usually employ the simple past in Kazakh if it is made clear that the event in question was completed within the specific timeframe denoted by the immediate past:

- (63) *Älginde ğana bul kitap-tı oqı-p qal-dı-m.* (Kaz)  
 Just now this book-ACC read-CVB PFV-PST-1SG  
 ‘I’ve just now finished reading this book.’

This use of the simple past *-DI* in Kazakh should not be seen as exhibiting a RECENT/DISTANT distinction, as in Uzbek. It is reference to the definite time denoted by the very recent past that requires the use of the simple past. Moreover, reference to historical events in Kazakh very often employs the simple past, regardless of the temporal definiteness of the event.

- (64) a. *15 nawrız 1493 Kolon İspaniya-ğa qayt-a oral-dı.* (Kaz)  
 15 March 1493 Columbus Spain-DAT return-CVB return-PST.3  
 ‘On March 15, 1493, Columbus returned back to Spain.’  
 b. *Kolon İspaniya-ğa qayt-a oral-dı.* (Kaz)  
 Columbus Spain-DAT return-CVB return-PST.3  
 ‘Columbus returned back to Spain.’

In both of the above examples, the simple past is acceptable, and in fact preferred. This demonstrates that temporal DISTANCE is not a factor in the PAST/PERFECT distinction in Kazakh.

It is perhaps easiest to find evidence of the DEFINITE/INDEFINITE distinction in reference to negative events, that is, events in which the speaker did not participate. For example:

(65) *Men kino-ga bor-ma-di-m.* (Uz)  
I movies-DAT go-NEG-PST-1SG  
'I didn't go to the movies.'  
(Raun 1969, 50)

(66) *Men kino-ğa bar-ma-di-m.* (Kaz)  
I movies-DAT go-NEG-PST-1SG  
'I didn't go the movies.'

In employing the simple past in the above examples, the speaker makes it clear that there was a specific event (with a definite temporal frame) in which he or she did not participate. Examples (65-66) refer to a contextually specified event of movie-going in which the speaker was not involved. If, however, the past tense is changed to the perfect, the default interpretation is one in which the speaker has not been to the movies in some time, or indeed ever:

(67) *Men kino-ga bor-ma-gan-man.* (Uz)  
I movies-DAT go-NEG-PRF-1SG  
'I haven't been to the movies (lately).'

(68) *Men kino-ğa bar-ma-ğan-mın.* (Kaz)  
I movies-DAT go-NEG-PRF-1SG  
'I haven't been to the movies (ever).'

In (67-68), no specific event is referenced, which is why the perfect is preferred here; what is meant is that given a period of time, there was no event of movie-going that the speaker participated in.

Although I have chosen to employ the notion of DEFINITENESS here, I do not wish confuse what is described here with the sort of definiteness that is often proposed in reference to other Turkic languages. The frequent use of terms like *definite* and *indefinite past tense* to characterize the distinction between the past *-DI* and perfect *-mİş* in Turkish (e.g. Kornfilt 1997) assumes a



very broad meaning of the term *definite*, encompassing not only definite time reference, but also confirmativity. What is meant here is closer to the treatment of tense by Song (2005). Under this analysis, tense is variable as to its reference. An utterance like (69), for example, is definite in its past tense reference, while (70) is not; it merely states that an event occurred sometime before the present, but does not specify any details as to the exact time that this event occurred:

(69) *Mary bought apples yesterday.* DEFINITE

(70) *James Dewar invented the Twinkie.* INDEFINITE

In English, perfects are almost invariably indefinite, in that they specify only that an event occurred in the past, but do not specify when exactly that event occurred (Lyons 1999, 45-6), and are, in fact, incompatible with specific time reference. As previously noted, what is referred to here as the ‘perfect’ is quite different from the English perfect (in as much as it *is* compatible with definite time reference). However, when the Uzbek or Kazakh perfect co-occurs with time reference, that time reference may be interpreted as vague, as in (61), where *keše* ‘yesterday’ is interpreted as meaning ‘sometime yesterday’. Moreover, indefiniteness is not the only meaning borne by the perfect; in Uzbek, distance is a component of this morpheme’s meaning, and in both Uzbek and Kazakh, non-markedness for confirmativity is secondary only to this morpheme’s expression of tense. When the perfect is employed to refer to either distant events or events which the speaker wishes to neither confirm nor disconfirm, specific time reference need not be interpreted as vague.

Confirmativity is the final and most important factor that distinguishes the past and perfect in Uzbek and Kazakh. While there is variation within the evidentiality belt as to the precise meanings of the past and the perfect, CONFIRMATIVITY appears to be a consistent component of the PAST/PERFECT distinction in many of these languages. What is perhaps most

important to understand about confirmativity in these languages is that the past is marked as confirmative while the perfect is unmarked for confirmativity (as opposed to being marked as non-confirmative). This distinction between being unmarked for confirmativity and being marked as non-confirmative is important to make, as in Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as in the languages discussed by Friedman (1978; 1980), the use of the perfect (or indefinite past) does not necessarily bear the meanings of doubt or reportativity associated with marked non-confirmativity. In Uzbek, for example, referring to Columbus' 1492 discovery of America with the perfect (as in 57) does not indicate that the speaker has any reason to doubt that statement. Rather, by choosing to employ the perfect in this context, the speaker is indicating temporal distance.

The three factors that distinguish the past and the perfect - temporal DISTANCE, DEFINITENESS, and CONFIRMATIVITY - are clearly related. A speaker is more likely bear a non-confirmative attitude toward events that are temporally distant or with indefinite time reference, as the speaker is less likely to have directly participated in events that occurred in the distant past or in events for which the speaker can provide little information. Although speakers may opt not to employ a confirmative form in order to convey a sense of neutrality or modesty, the fact that well-known historical facts are expressed in the perfect indicates that it is necessary to distinguish distance from confirmativity. Likewise, it is necessary to distinguish definiteness from confirmativity in order account for the choices speakers make between the past and the perfect when providing specific details relating to past temporal reference, as in (65-68).

As differentiated from distance and definiteness, confirmativity is a subtype of the category MODALITY or STATUS, which relates to the speaker's attitude regarding the truth-propositional content of the utterance. If the speaker wishes to vouch for, or confirm the truth of

an utterance, then the confirmative is used. If a speaker wishes not to make any claim as to the truth or non-truth of an utterance, then an unmarked form is used, and if an expression of doubt or reportativity is desired, then a marked non-confirmative form will be employed.

A consequence of the confirmative meaning of the past tense is that speakers employ the perfect, the unmarked option, in order to avoid making strong claims about any event. Speakers of both Uzbek and Kazakh report that the use of perfect sounds more polite or demure, while the use of the past sounds authoritative or encyclopedic, or even bombastic. In Kazakh, where distance is not a factor, speakers tend to prefer the simple past to refer to historic events because the speaker takes few risks in confirming the veracity of these events, especially when the truth of these events is well known. Other events, however, can be subjectively judged, and by choosing a marked confirmative form, the speaker may be committing to a statement that other participants in the discourse might disagree with.

When deciding between the past and perfect on the basis of confirmativity, PERSON plays a major role. In describing past events, a speaker is more likely to employ a confirmative form if the speaker was a participant in that event, and less likely to use such a form if the speaker was not involved. Even in contexts where the speaker was unaware of an action that he or she performed, it is possible to employ a confirmative form, as the speaker was likely aware of the effects of that action and accepts it as true after its completion, as shown in (71):

- (71) *Dos-tar-ïm boyïnša, kino kör-gen-de, uyïqta-p qal-dï-m.* (Kaz)  
Friend-PL-1SG according.to movie watch-NMLZR-LOC sleep-CVB PFCV-PST.1SG  
'According to my friends, I fell asleep while watching the movie.'

The use of the confirmative is highly marked, however, if we change the subject of example (71) to the third person. As the context explicitly states that the speaker was not present, and because the event was unintentional and likely left no evidence that the speaker could use to support his

or her statement, the preferred form of the verb is either the perfect, which is unmarked for confirmativity, the marked non-confirmative converbial past, or the evidential form with the doubled perfect.

- (72) ...*uyiqta-p #qal-di / qal-ğan / qal-ip-ti / qal-ğan eken* (Kaz)  
 ...sleep-CVB PFV-PST / PFV-PRF / PFV-CPST-3 / PFV-PRF EVID  
 ‘...fell asleep.’

The competition between the various meanings borne by the past and the perfect means that speakers have the option of emphasizing one meaning over another, depending on the form used. In Uzbek, for example, distance competes with confirmativity when discussing events that were temporally distant, yet occurred within one’s lifetime. In discussing one’s grandparents, for example, the use of the past emphasizes that what is being discussed can be confirmed by the speaker, while the use of the perfect emphasizes that what is being discussed happened a long time ago.

- (73) *Oyi-m va bobo-m qo’y go’sht-i ye-yish-ni yaxshi ko’r-di / ko’r-gan.* (Uz)  
 grandmother-1 and grandfather-1 sheep meat-3 eat-NMLZR-ACC good see-PST.3 / see-PRF  
 ‘My grandparents liked to eat lamb.’

Situations that the speaker is unwilling to confirm (including gossip, legends, or facts of dubious origin), however, never employ the simple past, even if those events were relatively recent. This suggests that the prominence of these meanings is ordered: CONFIRMATIVITY > TEMPORAL DISTANCE.

As shown in the examples involving Columbus, definiteness outranks distance in Uzbek, as historic events described with greater temporal detail are more likely to employ the simple past:

- (74) *Kolumb 1492 12 oktyabr-da kichkina bir orol-ga chiq-ib qol-di.* (Uz)  
 Columbus 1492 12 October-LOC small a island-DAT go.out-CVB PFV-PST  
 ‘Columbus landed on a small island on October 12, 1492.’  
 (Raun 1969:50)

In neither Uzbek nor Kazakh, however, does definiteness outrank confirmativity, as events that the speaker is unwilling to confirm are never placed in the simple past *-di/-DI*. Because historic events such as those in the examples involving Columbus are well-known facts, the speaker is unlikely to be perceived as immodest or impolite by confirming them. Even if large amounts of detail are included, events that the speaker is unwilling to confirm never employ the simple past tense and instead require a marked non-confirmative form.

What is important to keep in mind in considering the competition between confirmativity, definiteness, and distance is that while the perfect *-gan/-GAN* is marked as indefinite and distant (in Uzbek), it is not marked for confirmativity. This means that the only time positive confirmativity can outrank definiteness or distance is when the speaker wishes to emphasize confirmativity over all other factors. The presence of the perfect in this competition means that while confirmativity outranks definiteness and distance, indefinite and distant meanings may still surface because they do not compete with confirmativity when the perfect form surfaces. The following tables summarize the relationships established so far between confirmativity, definiteness, and distance in Uzbek and Kazakh.

Table 25: Past and Perfect in Uzbek and Kazakh

<i>-di/-DI</i> Past		<i>-gan/-GAN</i> Perfect
[+Confirmative]		[Ø Confirmative]
[+Definite]		[-Definite]
[-Distant]	(Uzbek only)	[+Distant]

Before moving on to the discussion of the marked non-confirmative converbial past *-(i)b/-(l)p*, it is worth noting a phenomenon found in Uzbek (but not in Kazakh) that affects the meaning of the perfect. The addition of the marker *-dir*, derived from the verb *tur-* ‘stand, stay’, indicates that the speaker has evaluated the propositional content of an utterance with a HIGH DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE. This high degree of confidence is different from CONFIRMATIVITY and can roughly be translated as English *surely*, or *most likely*.

(75) *Lester abbatligi shunaqa bo‘l-gan-dir, ehtimol.* (Uz)  
 Leicester Abbey like.that be-PRF-MOD perhaps  
 ‘Perhaps Leicester Abbey was like that.’  
 (Joyce 2007, 4)

(76) *"Adana" kabob-ni ko‘pchilik eshitgandir.* (Uz)  
 Adana kebab-ACC most hear-PRF-MOD  
 ‘Surely, most people have heard of Adana kebab.’<sup>2</sup>

While Uzbek *-dir* is clearly related to the cognate morpheme in Turkish (*-Dir*), it differs from the Turkish form in that it may occur with any person (see Friedman 1978):

(77) *qiynoq-qa sol-ish uchun dunyo-ga kel-gan-dir-miz.* (Uz)  
 suffering-DAT undergo-NMLZR for world-DAT come-PRF-MOD-1PL  
 ‘Surely, we came into this world in order to suffer.’<sup>3</sup>

Although the perfect is generally unmarked for MODALITY or STATUS, the addition of this morpheme provides a meaning of modality or status without necessarily upsetting the CONFIRMATIVE/ UNMARKED opposition that otherwise distinguishes the simple past *-di/ -DI* and the bare perfect *-gan/-GAN*.

<sup>2</sup> 2010. Ziyozuz, 5 Jun. Accessed 12 Jan 2011. <http://forum.ziyouz.com/index.php?topic=4651.0>

<sup>3</sup> 2008. Ma‘rifat, 9 Jan. Accessed 15 Feb 2011.

[old.marifat.uz/uzbl/xalqaro\\_hayot/oyparastlar\\_olkasi.mg](http://old.marifat.uz/uzbl/xalqaro_hayot/oyparastlar_olkasi.mg)

### 3.2 The Non-Confirmative Converbial Past

In addition to the simple past in *-di/-DI* and the perfect in *-gan/-GAN*, Uzbek and Kazakh possess a third basic morpheme that expresses past tense: the converbial past tense (Uz: *-(i)b*, Kaz: *-(I)p*). The converbial past tense is so-called because it derives from a phonologically identical marker that is used to create converbial constructions. As a converbial marker, this form indicates perfectivity and contrasts with the imperfective converbial marker *-A/y*. As a past tense marker, however its primary function is to indicate non-confirmativity.

Before exploring the non-confirmative meanings of the converbial past, it is first necessary to point out that in Uzbek, the converbial past may bear imperfective meaning, unmarked for confirmativity, when attached to four verbs: *tur-* ‘stand, continue, live’, *o’tir-* ‘sit’, *yur-* ‘walk, move’, and *yot-* ‘lie down’ (Sjoberg 1963, 113). These verbs in Uzbek, as well as their cognates in Kazakh, are employed as converbs to indicate PROGRESSIVE/IMPERFECTIVE aspect, and therefore form a natural class.

(78) *Tiñda-p otir-min.* (Kaz)  
Listen-CVB PROG-1SG  
‘I’m listening.’

(79) *Doim tush ko’r-ib yur-a-man.* (Uz)  
Always dream see-CVB PROG-PRES-1SG  
‘I’m always dreaming.’

In Uzbek, both the converbial and main verb uses of these four verbs combine with the converbial past to produce imperfective past tense meaning. It appears that the imperfective properties of these verbs neutralize both the perfective and non-confirmative meanings of the converbial past.

(80) *Nega u tiz cho’k-ib o’tir-ib-di?* (Uz)  
Why he knee bend-CVB PROG-CPST-3

‘Why is he kneeling?’  
(Joyce 2007, 27)

- (81) *Qozog’iston-da nima ish-lar bilan yur-ib-san?* (Uz)  
Kazakhstan-LOC what work-PL with walk-CPST-2SG  
‘Why (for what business) were you going around Kazakhstan?’

The above examples demonstrate these four verbs combined with the converbial past function as imperfectives when they are part of converbial constructions (80) or function as main verbs (81).

Although not found in Kazakh, this sort of construction is found in Uyghur and in Tajik. Johanson (2005) proposes that this is a feature of the Southeastern branch of Turkic and that these languages influenced the development of similar constructions in Tajik.

Aside from these exceptional forms in Uzbek, the converbial past is characterized by strong non-confirmative meaning. This non-confirmative meaning is manifested as doubt, hearsay, inference, or admirativity. Which one of these various non-confirmative meanings is intended can only be figured out by context. If, for example, upon seeing a friend who looks unwell, a Kazakh speaker might say:

- (82) *awr-ıp qal-ıp-sin* (Kaz)  
sick-CVB PFV-CPST-2SG  
‘You’ve (apparently) fallen ill.’  
(Somfai-Kara 2002, 40)

The non-confirmative past may also be employed to indicate results of unwitnessed actions:

- (83) *bitta kartoshka-da belkurak-ning iz-i qol-ib-di.* (Uz)  
one potato-LOC spade-GEN mark-3 remain-CPST-3  
‘The mark of a space remained on one of the potatoes.’  
(Joyce 2007, 30)

Hearsay, particularly speech preceded by the qualifier ‘according to X’, often employs the converbial past, as well.



- (84) *O'rtoq-lar-im-ning aytishicha, kecha kino-da uxla-b qol-ib-man.* (Uz)  
 Friend-PL-1SG-GEN according.to yesterday movie-LOC sleep-CVB PRF-CPST-1SG  
 'According to my friends, I fell asleep during the movie last night.'
- (85) *Ata-lar-im boyinşa, bu suluw sayabaq bol-ip-ti.* (Kaz)  
 Parent-PL-1SG according.to this beautiful park be-CPST-3  
 'According to my parents, this was a beautiful park.'

When the non-confirmative past combines with first person marking, the effect is usually one of unintentional action. This form is especially common when talking about forgetting, falling asleep, or other uncontrollable human functions.

- (86) *Men kechki ovqat uchun tuxum ol-gan-im-ni unut-ib-man.* (Uz)  
 I evening meal for egg buy-NMLZR-ACC forget-CPST-1SG  
 'I forgot that I (already) bought eggs for dinner.'
- (87) *Šölde-p qal-ïp-pïn.* (Kaz)  
 Thirst-CVB PFV-CPST-1SG  
 'I've become thirsty.'

It is also common to refer to dreams (which the speaker likewise has no control over) with the non-confirmative past.

- (88) *Bu kecha Karimov-ni tush-im-da ko'r-ib-man!* (Uz)  
 This night Karimov-ACC dream-1SG-LOC see-CPST-1SG  
 'I saw Karimov in my dream last night!'<sup>4</sup>

The unintentionality expressed by the combination of *-(i)b/-(I)p* and the first person is often employed when giving excuses, as it implies that the speaker is not responsible for her or his actions:

- (89) *Biraq, ökiniške oray, keshig-ip qal-ïp-pïn.* (Kaz)  
 But unfortunately be.late-CVB stay-CPST-1SG  
 'But unfortunately, I was late.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> 2003. Arbuz, 28 Jan. Accessed 17 Feb 2011.

<http://www.arbuz.com/showthread.php?t=10869&page=1>

<sup>5</sup> 2009. Ādemi-ay, 20 Nov. Accessed 17 Feb 2011. <http://ademi-ai.kz/?m=200911>

The non-confirmative past plays a special role in stories. Stories in Uzbek employ ceremonial openings involving the form *ekan*, which indicates non-firsthand information source or admirativity: *Bir bor ekan, bir yo'q ekan* 'There existed one, there did not exist one'. This construction functions something like English 'Once upon a time'. Following this ritual opening, when further introductory material introducing the characters is given these statements also employ the evidential.

- (90) *Bir bor ekan, bir yo'q ekan, qadim o'tgan zamonda bir boy savdogar yashagan ekan. Uning uch qizi bo'lib, hammasi chiroyli, ayniqsa, kenjasi go'zallikda tengi yo'q ekan. Ota o'z qizlarini juda yaxshi ko'rар ekan. Eng kichigini esa kattalaridan ham ko'proq yaxshi ko'rар, qiz ham otasiga nihoyatda mehribon ekan. Kunlardan bir kuni savdogar uzoq safarga, dengiz ortiga jo'neydigan bo'libdi va qizlarini chaqirib shunday debdi: ...*

'Once upon a time, long, long ago, there **lived** a wealthy merchant. He had three daughters - all beautiful - the youngest, in particular, **was unrivaled** in beauty. The father dearly loved his daughters. The youngest one he loved even more than the older ones; she **was extremely kind** to her father.

One day, the merchant happened to **be preparing** for a long journey beyond the sea, and summoning his girls he **said**: ...'

(Aksakov 2007, 1)

Equivalents of this Uzbek formula are found in many other languages (such as Turkish *bir varmış, bir yokmuş*), but the Kazakh equivalent *bar eken, žoq eken* is quite rare. More frequently, stories in Kazakh are introduced by the formula *burinğı ötken zamanda* 'a long time ago'. It is also rare for Kazakh *eken* to occur within stories. Nevertheless, stories in Kazakh are also often told using the converbial past.

- (91) *Burinğı ötken zamanda Žaqşiliq, Žamandıq attı eki adam bolıptı. Bir küni Žamandıq žayaw žürip keke žatsa, artınan bir attı kisi žetipti. Ekeyi žön surasıp, qayda bara žatqanin bilisipti.*

'A long time ago there **were** two men named Goodness and Badness. One day, as Badness was out travelling on foot, a person **came up** from behind him. The two, having asked about what they were doing, **told each other** where they were going.'

(Asqar 2009, 13)

In written stories, the entire discourse (minus, of course, quoted speech), is likely to continue to employ the converbial past throughout. Oral stories, however, may switch to the perfect, or even the simple past; this appears to be an instance of the storyteller reinforcing the suspension of disbelief.

A related phenomenon pertains to the use of the evidential marker in discourses about non-witnessed events. In the following passage from the Uzbek translation of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, the participants in the discourse begin by employing the evidential marker *ekan*, after which point the source of information is explicitly stated. Once the source has been made explicit, the participants switch first to the converbial past, then to the perfect.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(92) <i>Ular aravada ketayotgan ekan.</i><br/> <i>O'sha bola tag'in qo'shib qo'ydi:</i><br/> — <i>Menga buni yuqori sinfdagi bir bola aytdi.</i><br/> <i>Fleming so'radi:</i><br/> — <i>Ular nega qochibdi?</i><br/> — <i>Sababini men bilaman, — dedi Sesil Sander. — Ular rektorning xonasidan pul o'marishgan.</i><br/> — <i>Kim o'g'irlagan?</i><br/> — <i>Kikemning akasi. Keyin bo'lishib olishgan.</i><br/> (Uzbek: Joyce 2007, 22)</p> | <p>They <b>were</b> in a car.<br/> The same fellow added:<br/> —A fellow in the higher line told me.<br/> <br/> Fleming asked:<br/> —But why did they <b>run away</b>, tell us?<br/> —I know why, Cecil Thunder said. Because they had <b>fecked</b> cash out of the rector's room.<br/> —Who <b>fecked</b> it?<br/> —Kickham's brother, and they all <b>went shares</b> on it.<br/> (Joyce 2006, 50)</p> |
|---|---|

The excerpt in (92) exhibits the three forms that may be employed to indicate non-confirmativity: *ekan* (marked for non-firsthand source and non-confirmativity), the converbial past *-(i)b/-(I)p* (marked for non-confirmativity), and the perfect *-gan/-GAn* (unmarked for confirmativity). By adding these forms to the previously proposed matrix of competing meanings (as in Table 25), we find that confirmativity must be the most salient feature, as the converbial past *-(i)b/-(I)p* or the *ekan/eken* must be present if explicit non-confirmativity is

expressed. Only when this non-confirmativity is brought into the discourse may the perfect *-gan/-GAn* be used; the confirmative past *-di/-DI* never surfaces in these discourses.

We may further expand the matrix of meanings proposed to distinguish between the past and the perfect by including the non-confirmative converbial past. The three simple markers of past tense compete to express meaning, and when non-confirmative meaning is intended, the converbial past (or other non-confirmative forms) will always be the first choice to express that meaning.

Table 26: Features of Past Tense Forms in Uzbek and Kazakh

<b><i>-di/-DI</i></b> Past	<b><i>-gan/-GAn</i></b> Perfect	<b><i>-(i)b/-(I)p</i></b> Converb Past
[+Confirmative]	[Ø Confirmative]	[-Confirmative]
[+Definite]	[-Definite]	[Ø Definite]
[-Distant] <sup>6</sup>	[+Distant]	[Ø Distant]

### 3.3 The Copular Past

As the perfect and the converbial past have their origins in non-finite forms of the verb, they may co-occur with the both the copula and the verb meaning *to be*. When combined with either form, the predicative features (DEFINITENESS, CONFIRMATIVITY, and DISTANCE) of the perfect and converbial past are neutralized and these features are instead specified by those of the copula and by the TAM markers on the copula.

Recall that both Uzbek and Kazakh have two lexemes that could be considered copulas: a full verb meaning something like *be* or *become* (Uz: *bo'l-*, Kaz: *bol-*) and a defective copula *e-* that may only bear the past, the perfect, negation, and the conditional. Generally speaking, the difference between these two forms is one of stativity: the defective copula *e-* almost always denotes states, whereas the full verb is may denote events.

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<sup>6</sup> Recall that distance is a feature only in Uzbek.

Both *e-* and *bo'l-/bol-* can co-occur with most non-finite verb forms, but of special interest here is the interaction between these copulas and the perfect and converbial past. When combined with the full verb meaning *be*, idiosyncratic meanings surface.

In Uzbek and Kazakh, the combination of the perfective converb *-(i)b/-(l)p* (which is the basis for the converbial past) and the verb meaning *to be* has two meanings (Coşkun 2000, 180):

i.) Recent Perfectivity

Uzbek: *U yeb bo'lg'uncha...* 'As soon as he finished eating'

Kazakh: *Oqıp bo'ldi ba?* 'Have you finished reading?' (Äwezov, 8)

ii.) Permission or Possibility

Uzbek: *Bu yerning choyni ichib bo'lmaydi.* 'It was not permitted to drink tea from here' (Joyce 6)

Kazakh: *endi šig'ip bolmaydı.* 'It is now not possible to leave. (Äwezov, 13)

In Uzbek, the meaning resulting from the combination of the perfect and the verb *to be* is one of apparent or pretended action (Bodrogligeti 2003).

(93) *kut-ib o'tir-gan bo'l-ar-di*  
wait-CVB PROG-PRF be-AOR-PST  
'he used to appear to be waiting'

In Kazakh, this combination indicates probability or possibility of a past event (Somfai-Kara 2002).

(94) *kel-gen bol-ar* (Kaz)  
come-PRF be-AOR  
'It is possible that he has come.'

The meanings resulting from the combination of the copula *e-* and the converbial past and the perfect are less idiosyncratic than those resulting from the combination with the verb *bo'l-/bol-*. The presence of the copula *e-*, which denotes states, and the simple past, which denotes

confirmativity, result in marked confirmativity and stativity. The result is perfect forms, the semantics of which fits nicely in between the anteriority or distant past expressed by finite forms and the stativity expressed by the copula.

The combination of the perfective converb *-(i)b/(I)p* and the copular past *edi* results in recent perfect forms that refer either to recently completed actions or to actions whose effects are relevant to current events (McCawley's [1971] resultative or recent past perfects).

(95) *yoz-ib e-di-m* (Uz)  
 write-CPST COP-PST-1SG  
 'I have (just) written.'  
 (Kononov 1960)

(96) *Aytip e-di-m ğoy!* (Kaz)  
 Say-CPST COP-PST-1SG EXCL  
 'I have just told you!'

The combination of the copular past and the perfect also results in a perfect form, but these forms are more similar to McCawley's (1971) existential or experiential readings of the perfect, in that they focus on the fact that the agent has done something at some unspecified time in the past and could do so again (and therefore express the indefinite meaning of the perfect form).

Occasionally, when a specific event is referred to, these forms are interpreted as pluperfect, that is, they refer to an event that occurred at some point before a contextually specified past.

(97) *qizuw qayt-a kel-gen e-di.* (Kaz)  
 passion return-CVB come-PRF COP-PST  
 'The passion had returned.'  
 (Äwezov, 279)

(98) *Yurt-ingiz haqida ko'p eshit-gan va o'qi-gan e-di-m.* (Uz)  
 Country-2PL about much hear-PRF and read-PRF COP-PST-1SG  
 'I have heard and read much about your country.'<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> 2010. "O'zbekistonni ko'rish baxtidan g'oyot xursandman." O'zbekiston Matbuot va Axborot Agentligi, 4 Oct. Accessed 21 Jan 2011. <http://uzapi.gov.uz/uz/news/info/country/735/>

The meanings resulting from the combinations of the copula *e-*, the verb *bo'l-/bol-* and the converb *-(i)b/-(l)p* and the perfect *-gan/-GAN* are summarized in Table 27.

Table 27: Combinations of Copulas and Pasts

	<i>bo'l-/bol-</i>	<i>edi</i>
CVB <i>-(i)b/-(l)p</i>	Recent Perfectivity Permission or Possibility	Resultative/Recent Past Perfect
PRF <i>-gan/GAN</i>	Apparent/Pretended Action (Uzbek) Possibility (Kazakh)	Existential/Experiential Perfect Pluperfect

Other copular forms behave similarly with respect to the neutralization of most of the non-past qualities of the preceding verbal markers. For the most part, the combination of any copular form and either the perfect or converbial past results in some sort of perfect:

(99) *qil-ib e-sa* (Uz)  
do-CPST COP-COND  
'If he has done.'

(100) *qil-gan e-mes* (Kaz)  
do-PRF COP-NEG  
'She hasn't gone.'

(101) *qil-ib ekan* (Uz)  
do-CPST EVID  
'He has (apparently/reportedly) done.'

The marker *ekan/eken*, derived from the copula plus the perfect, is somewhat more problematic than the other forms with respect to temporal reference, but this will be dealt with more fully in the Chapter 4.

The copular past can co-occur with almost any non-finite form of the verb. Crosslinguistically, non-finite verb forms tend to express MODALITY or STATUS (see Bhatt 2006); this is the case in Uzbek and Kazakh. When these non-finite verb forms are complemented by the copular past, the [+CONFIRMATIVE] feature of the past neutralizes these any competing meanings, leaving behind only temporal features. The aorist (Uz: *-(a)r*, Kaz: *-(A)r*), for example,

not only expresses generic present tense, but also bears conditional meaning. When coupled with the copular past, however, the only interpretation remaining is that of habitual past tense:

- (102) *qil-ar* ~ *qil-ar e-di*  
do-AOR do-AOR COP-PST  
‘does, would do’ ‘used to do’  
(Uzbek)

Likewise, the agentive form of the verb (Uz: *-moqchi*, Kaz: *-(U)wšI*), which may be used predicatively, usually bears a meaning of future intent. When combined with the copular past, the interpretation is one of stative past.

- (103) *žaz-uwšī-mīn* ~ *žaz-uwšī edim*  
write-FUT-1sg write-FUT COP-PST  
‘I intend to write’ ‘I used to be writing.’  
(Kazakh)

Regardless of what other material appears in the verb, when a confirmative form is present, it is confirmativity that is most salient, and all contradictory meanings are neutralized.

### 3.4 The Development of Past Tenses

The array of past tenses found in Uzbek and Kazakh represents an expansion of those found in many other languages in the Eurasian evidentiality belt. In Turkish, the best-studied Turkic language within this belt, only two simplex morphemes compete to express past tense: *-DI* and *-miş*. The simple past *-DI*, is confirmative (just as its cognates in Uzbek and Kazakh) and *-miş* is unmarked for confirmativity, which allows it to express any sort of past tense meaning, regardless of confirmativity, unless it occurs in combination with some other morpheme that contributes confirmative meaning.

In Uzbek and Kazakh, the participle *\*-GAn* came to supplant the original perfect *\*-MIš*. Although grammars and some broader works (e.g. Johanson 2003) occasionally claim that the



participles and past tenses derived from *\*-MIš* are still employed in Uzbek and Kazakh, they are very rare. The only remnants of this form are in a few lexicalized items, such as Uzbek *kelmish* ‘future’ and Kazakh *emis-emis* ‘gossip’. In Uzbek, *-mish* is occasionally found as copular *emish*, where it bears essentially the same evidential meaning as *ekan*, but with a strong meaning of reportedness. The Kazakh cognate *\*emis* has turned into a clitic *-mIs*, which likewise expresses reportedness. In neither language may any cognate of *-MIš* attach to a bare verb stem. The exact uses and meanings of these forms are discussed in the following chapters.

The addition of the converbial past *-(i)b/-(i)p* to the past tense paradigm, and its association with non-confirmative meaning, has complicated the past tense paradigm by introducing a marked non-confirmative simple (i.e. non-copular) past term. Whereas *-mIs* in Turkish may be employed in non-confirmative contexts, in Uzbek and Kazakh, the converbial past usually takes precedence over the perfect with regard to non-confirmativity, and the perfect *-GAn* is only employed once the non-confirmativity of the context has been established.

The precedence of the converbial past in non-confirmative contexts is illustrative of the competition between the meanings borne by the past tenses. CONFIRMATIVITY is the most marked meaning, and past tenses marked as confirmative or non-confirmative take precedence when those meanings are expressed. DEFINITENESS is the next most highly ranked meaning, and, in Uzbek, when appropriate, temporal DISTANCE may be employed when distinguishing events marked by the past or the perfect. The ranking of the prominence of these meanings may be summarized as:

CONFIRMATIVITY > DEFINITENESS > (DISTANCE)

When in copular past is present, its confirmative meaning overrides any competing meaning borne by the non-finite inflections that it occurs with. Likewise, the marked non-confirmative

meaning borne by the copular form of the perfect (Uz: *ekan*, Kaz: *eken*) overrides any competing meaning marked on lower parts of the predicate. The evidential properties of *ekan/eken* are the topic of Chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4

### EVIDENTIAL MEANINGS OF *EKAN/EKEN*

As established in the previous chapter, the marker that is glossed in this work as EVID, that is, evidential, is part of a larger paradigm that denotes not only temporal reference, but expresses (non-)confirmativity. These markers are derived from the combination of the copula *\*er-* and the perfect *\*-GAN*, and have surfaced, somewhat irregularly, as *ekan* (Uzbek) or *eken* (Kazakh).

A number of features distinguish *ekan/eken* from other copular forms. The irregular phonological alternation *\*g* → */k/* is the first of these features, and the rarity of this sort of devoicing (that is, devoicing after either *\*r* or intervocalically) has led to some debate over the actual origins of *ekan/eken* (Erdal 1991, 383; 2004, 288, 320). Although their diachronic connection is disputable, the perfect (*-gan/-GAN*) and *ekan/eken* are linked synchronically both by their participation in the confirmativity paradigm and the use of phonologically identical forms to nominalize clauses for the purpose of complementation.

(104) *kel-gan-i-ni*                      *ko 'r-di* (Uz)  
*kel-gen-i-n*                         *kör-di* (Kaz)  
come-NMLZR-3-ACC see-PST.3  
'He saw that he had come.'

(105) *yaxshi e-kan-i-ni*                *ko 'r-di* (Uz)  
*žaqsi e-ken-i-n*                    *kör-di* (Kaz)  
good COP-NMLZR-3-ACC see-PST.3  
'She saw that it was good.'

A second unusual feature of the evidential is that, unlike other copular forms, the meaning expressed by the evidential is not identical to that of the corresponding non-copular simplex form; in this case, that morpheme is the perfect. Whereas the perfect expresses a variety of past tense meaning (as outlined in the previous chapter) and is unmarked for confirmativity,

the evidential does not consistently express past tense meaning and is marked for non-confirmativity.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the use of the evidential marker *ekan/eken* in Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as the somewhat rarer *emish/-mIs*. The first section covers the use and meaning of these markers in both declarative and interrogative contexts, and provides an account their semantic and morphosyntactic properties. The following section examines the temporal properties of these morphemes, which are not immediately predictable from the origins of this morpheme, and discusses the relationship between the evidential marker and the converbial past marker (Uz: *-(i)b*, Kaz: *-(I)p*) within the past tense paradigm. In the third section, we examine the interaction between the evidential and other verbal categories. The well-known interaction between MODALITY/STATUS and EVIDENTIALITY is manifested in Uzbek and Kazakh via the participation of the evidential in the confirmative paradigm.

#### **4.1 Use and Meaning of *Ekan/Eken***

*Ekan/eken* expresses two primary meanings: evidentiality and admirativity/ emotivity. As the following chapter will address the admirative/emotive meanings of these morphemes, only their evidential meaning will be discussed here. Although I gloss *ekan/eken* as EVID and refer to it as the evidential marker, this term is somewhat misleading for two reasons. The first of these is that evidentiality as a phenomenon refers to a broad range of possible types of evidence, including the non-firsthand types actually expressed by *ekan/eken* (such as inference and hearsay), but also firsthand sensory evidence, which is *not* expressed by *ekan/eken*. The morphemes in question express only the most marked type of evidentiality, that is, non-firsthand information source, which is almost universally marked with respect to firsthand information

source (de Haan 1999; 2008). The second reason the glossing of *ekan/eken* is somewhat misleading is that these morphemes participate directly in the confirmativity paradigm described in the previous chapter. That is, a speaker is likely to employ a marker of non-firsthand information source if she or he is unwilling to confirm the statement made. Similarly, a speaker is not obligated to employ the evidential if he or she is willing to confirm that statement. The term evidential, then, is employed here to indicate a broad range of meanings that includes non-firsthand information source and non-confirmativity.

#### 4.1.1 *Ekan/Eken* in Declarative Contexts

*Ekan/eken* is found only in two of the major clause types: declarative and interrogative. It is never found in imperative clauses. Because clause type affects both the semantics and morphosyntactic properties of *ekan/eken*, I consider them separately.

The most notable purpose of *ekan/eken* in declarative clauses is the expression of non-firsthand information source. In recent literature, information source has been divided into a number of categories, which appear to be more or less universal. Willett (1988) divides the possible semantic distinctions made by evidential morphemes into four basic categories of information source:

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE > DIRECT EVIDENCE > INDIRECT EVIDENCE > HEARSAY

These categories are arranged hierarchically and correspond to a speaker's likely degree of confidence in the reliability of an information source. In much of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, the semantic domain of evidentiality is divided into two, with PERSONAL EXPERIENCE and DIRECT EVIDENCE falling into a category often termed DIRECT and INDIRECT EVIDENCE and HEARSAY falling into an INDIRECT category (see, for example, Johanson 2000; 2003).

The issue with proposing paradigmatic evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as in many of the other languages of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, is that while *ekan/eken* does express INDIRECT evidentiality, no other morpheme expresses DIRECT evidentiality. That is, the absence of the marked evidential morphemes does not indicate firsthand experience. As discussed in the previous chapter, the various past tense morphemes in Uzbek and Kazakh may be marked for confirmativity, but the use of a confirmative marker does not imply that the speaker has any firsthand knowledge of the events described. Recall that it is possible to employ even confirmative forms (such as the simple past *-di/-DI*) to express events that the speaker could not possibly have witnessed:

- (106) *Huddi shu serial o'tgan oy-lar-da Turkiya kanal-i-da ham ber-il-di, lekin ko'r-ma-di-m.* (Uz)  
 just that serial past month-PL-LOC Turkey station-3-LOC also give-PASS-PST, but see-NEG-PST-1SG  
 'That serial was also shown on the Turkish station, but I didn't see it.'<sup>1</sup>
- (107) *Nazarbayev Qarağandı metallurgiya zavıt-i-nda žumis iste-di.* (Kaz)  
 Nazarbayev Karagandy metallurgy factory-3-LOC work work-PST.3SG  
 'Nazarbayev worked in a Karagandy metallurgy factory.'

Under a system where evidentiality is truly paradigmatic, we would expect that it would be impossible to discuss the events in (106) and (107) without employing the a marker of indirect evidentiality, as the speakers could not possibly have firsthand knowledge of the events described.

Although *ekan/eken* do express indirect evidential meaning, the lack of a corresponding direct evidential term indicates that it is more sensible to examine these forms within the previously described confirmativity paradigm. Because a speaker has the option of employing

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<sup>1</sup> 2010. Ziyozuz – Haqiqiy o'zbekona forum. Accessed 27 Jan 2011.  
 forum.ziyouz.com/index.php?action=printpage;topic=5263.0

other forms when describing unwitnessed events, we can summarize the relationships among the *ekan/eken* and other past tense forms in the following table:

Table 28: Confirmative and Evidential Features

	CONFIRMATIVE	NON-FIRSTHAND
PAST <i>-di/-DI</i>	+	Ø
PERFECT <i>-gan/-GAn</i>	Ø	Ø
CPAST <i>-ib/-(I)p</i>	-	Ø
<i>ekan/eken</i>	-	+

Due to the formal markedness of *ekan/eken*, their resulting meanings encompass both non-firsthand information source and non-confirmativity:

(108) *Ona-otam-ning aytishlaricha bu park juda chiroyli bo'l-gan ekan.* (Uz)  
 Parents-GEN according.to this park very beautiful be-PRF EVID  
 'According to my parents, this park used to be very beautiful.'

(109) *Awğanstan boyınša, beysenbi-de 26 adam qaza bol-ğan eken.* (Kaz)  
 Afghanistan according.to, Thursday-LOC 26 men dead be-PRF EVID  
 'According to Afghanistan, 26 men died on Thursday.'<sup>2</sup>

As seen in (108) and (109), it is especially common for sentences with overt source of information (as indicated by forms meaning 'according to': *aytish(lar)(i)cha, boyınša*) to contain the evidential. In these examples, the speaker is not only iterating that a third person is the source of information, but also expressing unwillingness to confirm the truth of the utterances.

In (108), the speaker has been told by his parents that the park in question used to be beautiful, but because he has never actually seen the park in that state, he is unwilling to confirm it.

Example (109) is particularly interesting because it is taken from a news report from Azattiq Radiyosı, which is the Kazakh branch of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Given the sensitive situation in Afghanistan at the time of writing, the authors of the news report were careful not

<sup>2</sup> 2007. Azattiq Radiyo, 24 Aug. Accessed 21 Jan 2011.  
<http://www.azattyq.org/content/article/1175315.html>

only to overtly express the source of information, but also to emphasize their unwillingness to confirm the report by employing *eken*.

A particularly interesting example of the use of the evidential in non-confirmative context comes from an Uzbek message board in which the participants are discussing the case of a woman whose passport states that she is 128 years old<sup>3</sup>. The participants are understandably dubious about this sort of claim, which they believe to be the result of poor record keeping:

(110) *Agar tarixchi-lar tamonidan bu ma'lumot tasdiqla-n-sa, record-ni yangilar ekan. Rekord 122 bo'l-gan ekan.* (Uz)

If historian.PL by this information confirm-PASS-COND record-ACC news EVID. Record 122 be-PRF EVID.

'If this is confirmed by historians, then it's (apparently) a new record. The record is (supposed to have been) 122.'

(111) *tug'ri, V.I. Lenin bilan tengdosh ekan-la.* (Uz)

True, V.I. Lenin with same.age EVID-PL

'True, they're apparently the same age as V.I. Lenin.'

Throughout the discussion, the participants employ *ekan* to refer back to the source of information (in this case, a BBC report), as well as to express their unwillingness to confirm such a preposterous story.

Concerns over poor Soviet and Russian record-keeping may also be found in Kazakh forums, where it is similarly common to express doubt over reported birth years:

(112) *Yusupova Särbi, 1928 žil-i tuwıl-ğan eken.* (Kaz)

Yusupova Särbi 1928 year-3 be.born-PRF EVID

'Yusupova Särbi was born in 1928.'<sup>4</sup>

(113) *Bala-lar, Š. Qanayulı 1818 žil-i tuwıl-ğan eken, olay bol-sa o-niñ ömir sür-gen kez-in-de-gi tarixi žağday-lar turala ne ayt-a al-a-siñ-dar?* (Kaz)

Child-PL, Š Qanayulı 1818 year-3 be.born-PRF EVID, thus be-COND he-GEN life span-PRF time-3-LOC-ATTR historical condition-PL about what say-CVB BE.ABLE-PRES-2-PL

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<sup>3</sup> 2009. "128-year-old woman in Uzbekistan becomes world oldest" Arbutz. Accessed 20 Jan 2011. <http://www.arbutz.com/showthread.php?t=50571>

<sup>4</sup> Naubet. Accessed 21 Jan 2011. <http://naubet.ucoz.kz/index/0-12>



‘Children, Š. Qanayulī was (reportedly) born in 1818; if that is so, what can you say about the historical conditions during his lifespan?’<sup>5</sup>

Example (113) is especially illustrative of this phenomenon. The use of *eken* both refers back to the historical records regarding the Qanayulī’s date of birth, as well as expresses doubt as to the veracity of these records. The second part of the sentence, beginning with the contestive *olay bolsa* ‘if that is so’ further reinforces the doubt expressed by *eken*.

Further evidence of the non-confirmative characteristics of *ekan/eken* lies in the ability of the proposition they express to be challenged or denied. As speakers explicitly state that they are not responsible for the content of statements when they employ *ekan/eken*, this is to be expected:

(114) *alohida pullik xonalar bor ekan ammo boshqalaridan farqi yo'q* (Uz)  
unique paid room-PL EXIST EVID but other-PL-3-ABL difference-3 NEG.EXIST  
‘There are (reportedly) unique hotel rooms, but there’s not difference from any others.’<sup>6</sup>

(115) *Qonaq.üy bölme-ler-i konditsioner-men žilit-il-a-di eken, biraq bölme-m žili-ma-y qal-di.* (Kaz)  
Hotel room-PL-3 conditioner-with heat-PASS-PRES-3 EVID, but room-1SG warm-NEG-CVB stay-PST.3  
‘The hotel rooms are apparently heated with air conditioners, but my room never warmed up.’

The fact that speakers may challenge their own statements when *ekan/eken* is present demonstrates the non-confirmative nature of these morphemes; it would be infelicitous for similar challenges to occur were the confirmative past *-di/-DI* present.

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<sup>5</sup> Adamzat. Accessed 21 Jan 2011.

[www.sabak.adamzat.kz/ru/jukteuler/category/7.html?download=867](http://www.sabak.adamzat.kz/ru/jukteuler/category/7.html?download=867)

<sup>6</sup> 2009. “Bepullikka bepullu.” Farzand.uz, 9 Dec. Accessed 25 Jan 2011.

<http://www.farzand.uz/forum/viewtopic.php?f=23&p=687>

#### 4.1.2 Morphosyntactic Properties of *Ekan/Eken* in Declarative Clauses

In declarative clauses, *ekan/eken* behaves generally similarly to other copular forms. Like these other copular forms (past *edi/edi*, conditional *esa/ese*, and negative *emas/emes*), *ekan/ekan* is generally restricted in distribution to non-verbal predicates (nouns, adjectives, existentials, and deontics) and non-finite paradigms of the verb.

- (116) *Aytishicha u juda boy ekan.* (Uz) **Adjective**  
Reportedly he very rich EVID  
'He's reportedly very rich.'
- (117) *Ülken ul-iñiz däriger eken* (Kaz) **Noun**  
Eldest son-2PL doctor evid  
'Your eldest son is (reportedly) a doctor.'<sup>7</sup>
- (118) *Qil-moq lozim ekan, hadis-ga ko'ra.* (Uz) **Deontic**  
Do-INF necessary EVID, hadith-DAT according.to  
'It's necessary to do that, according to the hadith.'<sup>8</sup>
- (119) *Olar soğis-ti kör-gen eken, biz soğis-ti kör-me-di-k.* (Kaz) **Participle**  
They war-ACC see-PRF EVID, we war-ACC see-NEG-PST-1PL  
'They (apparently) saw the war, we didn't see the war.'<sup>9</sup>

Person markers, when present, are placed on *ekan/eken*, and not on any other part of the predicate; this is in line with the general principle that person marking occurs on the final piece of verbal morphology.

- (120) *kel-gan e-mas ekan-siz* (Uz)  
come-PRF COP-NEG EVID-2PL  
'(It looks like) you haven't come.'
- (121) *Qateles-ken eken-min* (Kaz)  
Err-PRF EVID-1SG  
'Apparently I've made a mistake.'

<sup>7</sup> Omarqulova, Madina. 2010. "Ömirdi Bağalay Biletin Žandar." *Žardem*, 22 Apr. Accessed 24 Jan 2011. <http://www.zhardem.kz/print/news/1271953771.html>

<sup>8</sup> Uzfiles. Accessed 24 Jan 2011. <http://uzfiles.com/list.php?read=95288>

<sup>9</sup> Ergöbek, Qulbek. 2010. "Keşir meni, äke!" *Egemen Qazaqstan*, 29 Sep. Accessed 24 Jan 2011. <http://www.egemen.kz/17232.html>

There are, however, some morphosyntactic differences between *ekan/eken* and other copular forms. The first of these is the ability of *ekan/eken* to occur after the present tense in *a/A*. Recall from Chapter 2 that the unmarked present in Uzbek and Kazakh is derived from the imperfective converb in *-a-/A* (*y* after vowels) and that the third person is marked with *-di/-DI*. Neither the inflected nor uninflected present is normally allowed to co-occur with the copular past, negative, or conditional:

- (122) \**qil-a-di e-di/e-mes/e-se* (Kaz)  
do-PRES-3 COP-PST/COP-NEG/COP-COND

Yet the combination of the inflected present and *eken* is robustly attested in Kazakh:

- (123) *Awıl-da 1350 adam tur-a-di eken.* (Kaz)  
Village-LOC 1350 person live-PRES-3 EVID  
'1350 people (reportedly) live in the village.'<sup>10</sup>

In Uzbek, the combination of the present and the copular past, negative, and condition is also not allowed (124), but *ekan* may (125), although this is not as common as in Kazakh.

- (124) \**qil-a-di e-di/e-mas/e-sa* (Uz)  
do-PRES-3 COP-PST/COP-NEG/COP-COND

- (125) *qil-a-di ekan* (Uz)  
do-PRES-3 EVID  
'He apparently does.'

The present and *ekan/eken* may combine regardless of person. In Uzbek, person marking occurs immediately after the present tense marker:

- (126) *qil-a-man/miz/san/siz ekan* (Uz)  
do-PRES-1SG/1PL/2SG/2PL EVID  
'I/you/we (apparently) are doing.'

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<sup>10</sup> Tasbolatova, Kämšat. 2004. "«Bolaşaq»-Qazaq-Özbek Şekarasında" *Türkistan*. Accessed 24 Jan 2011. [http://www.turkystan.kz/page.php?page\\_id=4&id=596](http://www.turkystan.kz/page.php?page_id=4&id=596)

In Kazakh, however, person marking is attached to *eken*, while the third person marker *-di* remains attached to the present tense marker:

- (127) *Etistik-ter-di žaqsi kör-e-di eken-sij.* (Kaz)  
Verb-PL-ACC good see-PRES-3 EVID-2SG  
'You must really like verbs.'<sup>11</sup>

The second morphological difference between *ekan/eken* and other copular forms is the variable positioning of the plural marker. For most paradigms of the verb (aside from those derived from converbs), the third person marker is null. Optionally, third person plural forms may be marked with the same marker that is employed to indicate plurality on nouns (Uz: *-lar*, Kaz: *-LAR*). The location of this marker varies, particularly when a copular form is present. When the copular past *edi* is used, the plural marker always follows that *edi* and is never placed on the main part of the predicate:

- (128) *xursand e-di-lar* (Uz)  
*baqitti e-di-ler* (Kaz)  
happy COP-PST-PL  
'They were happy.'

In Uzbek, when the copular conditional *esa* is used, the plural marker is always placed on the main part of the predicate, unless it is non-verbal, in which case the plural marker is not allowed.

In Kazakh, the plural marker and the conditional may not co-occur:

- (129) *kel-gan-lar esa* (Uz)  
come-PRF COP-COND  
'If they have come.'

In Kazakh, the copular negative *emes* and *eken* behave much like the Uzbek copular conditional, in as much as the plural marker must be attached to the main part of the predicate (130-131),

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<sup>11</sup> 2009. "Uli Žeņiske-64 Žil!" *Aqtöbe Oblistiğ Qoğamdiq-Sayasıy Gazet*, 15 May. Accessed 25 Jan 2011. <http://www.aktobegazeti.kz/?p=1661>

unless that part of the predicate is a noun or an adjective (132), or if the main part of the predicate is in the present tense (133):

- (130) *kel-gen-der e-mes* (Kaz)  
come-PRF-PL COP-NEG  
'They have not come.'
- (131) *kel-gen-der eken* (Kaz)  
come-PRF-PL EVID  
'They have (apparently) come.'
- (132) *Qazaq eken-der* (Kaz)  
Kazakh EVID-PL  
'They are (apparently) Kazakhs.'
- (133) *kel-e-di eken-der* (Kaz)  
come-PRES-3 EVID-PL  
'They are (apparently) coming.'

In Uzbek, the distribution of the plural marker is freer than in Kazakh. The plural marker may be attached to either the main part of the predicate (unless, as in Kazakh, that part of the predicate is a noun or an adjective, as in [136]) or to either *emas* (134) or *ekan* (135).

- (134) *kel-gan e-mas-lar* (Uz)  
*kel-gan-lar e-mas*  
'They have not come.'
- (135) *kel-gan ekan-lar* (Uz)  
*kel-gan-lar ekan*  
'They have (apparently) come.'
- (136) *O'zbek ekan-lar* (Uz)  
Uzbek EVID-PL  
'They are (apparently) Uzbeks.'

The unusual behavior of *ekan/eken* is indicative of its movement away from the past tense paradigm. The ability of *ekan/eken* to co-occur with present tenses of the verb, and the variable placement of the plural marker put this form at odds with the copular past *edi*, a copular form we might expect it to most closely resemble. In the next section, which examines the

evidential use of *ekan/eken* in questions, we find that, the past tense and *ekan/eken* are not mutually exclusive, which further supports the claim that *ekan/eken* is no longer a truly past denoting form.

#### 4.1.3 *Ekan/Eken* in Interrogative Contexts

Morphemes bearing evidential meaning interact with interrogative mood in a number of different ways. Faller (2002) outlines five possible readings of the combination of marked evidentiality and interrogativity. While these five interpretations are specific to Cuzco Quechua, they represent the most likely logical interpretations of utterances of this sort:

- i.) The speaker has the best possible grounds for asking (i.e. has evidence that the event in question occurred, but was not directly involved in that event)
- ii.) The speaker expects the hearer to base his or her answer on the best possible grounds (i.e. the speaker expects the hearer to have some knowledge of the event without necessarily having been directly involved)
- iii.) The speaker is indicating that someone else is asking the question
- iv.) The speaker expects the hearer to have non-firsthand evidence for the answer
- v.) The speaker does not expect a reply

These five interpretations listed by Faller are in accord with the interpretations of evidential questions proposed by other authors (Aikhenvald 2003; 2004, among others). The interpretation of interrogative evidentials varies language to language, and is likely dependent upon the precise semantics of the evidential for employed.

In Uzbek and Kazakh, there are two primary meanings that may be achieved by employing *ekan/eken* in interrogative contexts: expectation that the hearer will base his answer

on the best possible grounds (ii) and expectation that the hearer will have non-firsthand evidence for the answer (iv). The combination of *ekan/eken* may also result in rhetorical questions (which would be considered a variety of [v] above), but this interpretation is more closely related to the admiring usage of *ekan/eken*, and will be discussed in full in the next chapter.

Questions expecting the hearer to base the answer on the best possible grounds can usually be translated into English as questions of the sort “Do you know whether...” that is, this sort of question is not concerned only with the completion of the propositional content of the question, but also with the hearer’s knowledge. Just as it would be odd in English to answer a question of this sort with a simple yes-no answer (“Do you know what the time is? -#Yes”) it is infelicitous in Uzbek and Kazakh to treat this sort of question as a direct inquiry into the hearer’s knowledge.

Employing *eken* is, in fact, a common way to inquire about time in Kazakh:

- (137) *Sağat neşe eken?* (Kaz)  
Time how.much EVID  
‘What time is it?’

Much like English questions that begin “Do you know...”, questions in Uzbek and Kazakh that employ *ekan/eken* are interpreted as more polite, as the question is no longer a direct inquiry into facts, but also into the hearer’s knowledge.

Questions of this sort are often open questions, asking whether anyone knows the answer to the questions posed.

- (138) *Baqitžan-dī kör-gen-der bar ma eken?* (Kaz)  
Baqitžan-ACC see-PRF-PL EXIST Q EVID?  
‘Is there anyone who has seen Baqitžan?’<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> 2009. Zamanda, 27 Oct. Accessed 28 Jan 2011.  
<http://www.zamana.kz/component/content/article/1-latest-news/1306-baxitjan.html>

The question posed in (138) is in regard to a missing child, and the newspaper that this example is taken from has posed an open question to the public inquiring whether anyone knows of his whereabouts.

- (139) *Pivo ich-mas-lik-ning 6 sabab-i nima ekan? Siz bil-a-siz-mi?* (Uz)  
 Beer drink-NEG-NMLZR-GEN 6 reason-3 what EVID you know-PRES-2PL-Q  
 'What are the 6 reasons for not drinking beer? Do you know?'<sup>13</sup>

The question in (139) was posed on a message board encouraging people to suggest reasons for not drinking beer. The open nature of this question is reinforced by the presence of the question “Do you know?” immediately following the main question.

The other type of question asked when *ekan/eken* and interrogativity are combined is one in which the speaker anticipates that the hearer will respond with non-firsthand information. Questions of this type are often signaled by the presence of statements marked as non-confirmative (i.e. employing either *ekan/eken* or *-(I)p/(i)b*) in earlier parts of the exchange:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(140) — <i>Kechasi Saymon Munen bilan Tis Boylni hojatxonada ko'rib qolishibdi.</i><br/> <i>Bolalar unga hayron bo'lib qarashdi:</i><br/>     — <i>Ko'rib qolishibdi?</i><br/>     — <i>Nima qilayotgan ekan ular?</i><br/> <i>Etti aytdi:</i><br/>     — <i>Yopishishayotgan ekan.</i><br/>     (Uzbek: Joyce 2007, 24)</p> | <p>—They <b>were caught</b> with Simon Moonan and Tusker Boyle in the square one night. The fellows looked at him and asked:<br/>     —<b>Caught?</b><br/>     —What <b>doing?</b><br/>     Athy said:<br/>     —<b>Smuggling.</b><br/>     (Joyce 2006: 53)</p> |
|---|--|

In the exchange above, the situation is set up with verbs marked with the non-confirmative past *-(i)b*, and the speaker Athy has indicated that he was neither present for the events in question, nor is certain that what he is describing has actually occurred. The other participants in the conversation, wishing to know more about what transpired, mark their question with *ekan*, as

<sup>13</sup> 2010. Sherlar.uz, 30 Jun. Accessed 28 Jan 2011.  
[http://sherlar.uz/news/pivo\\_ichmaslikning\\_6\\_sababi\\_nima\\_ekan\\_siz\\_bilasizmi/2010-06-30-6040](http://sherlar.uz/news/pivo_ichmaslikning_6_sababi_nima_ekan_siz_bilasizmi/2010-06-30-6040)



they anticipate that Athy will respond with non-firsthand information. This presupposition is confirmed when their question is answered with a statement marked by *ekan*: *Yopishayotgan ekan* ‘[They were] smuggling.’

These questions need not, however, be preceded by non-confirmative statements when the speakers already have some idea as to the other’s knowledge. In the Kazakh example (141a-b), the speaker asks his wife to go and identify a person on the street. The asker is presumably aware that his wife will not know the identity of the person in question, so he employs *eken*, expecting that she will answer on the basis of non-firsthand information:

- (141a) *Ol äyel-i-ne “Bar-ïp qara-p kel-ši, kim eken?” de-y-di.* (Kaz)  
He wife-3-DAT go-CVB look-CVB come-IMP who EVID say-PRES-3  
‘He says his wife, “Go look and come back; who is that.”’

The asker’s wife does so, and employs *eken* in her response, as she can only infer the correct answer on the basis of other evidence.

- (141b) *Äyel-i barïp qara-p kel-ip “Qayïrši eken, tamaq sura-y-di” de-y-di.* (Kaz)  
Wife-3 go-CVB look-CVB come-CVB beggar EVID food ask-PRES-3 say-PRES-3  
‘His wife went and looked and returned and said “He appears to be a beggar, he’s asking for food.’<sup>14</sup>

#### 4.1.4 Morphosyntactic Properties of *Ekan/Eken* in Interrogative Clauses

In interrogative clauses, *ekan/eken* exhibits some properties not found in declarative clauses containing these morphemes. These properties include the possibility of co-occurrence with any paradigm of the verb, some differences in person and number marking, and the variable positioning of the question particle.

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<sup>14</sup> 2010. “Oy Salar Oqiyğalar.” Nur-Otau.kz, 10 Jul. Accessed 28 Jan 2011.  
<http://www.nurotau.kz/?p=421>

Recall that in Uzbek and Kazakh, questions are signaled either by the presence of a question word (e.g. *nima/ne* ‘what’, *kim* ‘who’, *qancha/neše* ‘how much’, etc.) or by the presence of the polar question marker *mi/MA*. Uzbek and Kazakh are wh-in-situ languages, so questions words undergo no movement.

The variable positioning of the question marker is the most obvious difference between *ekan/eken* and other forms derived from the copula. In Uzbek, the question particle *mi* always follows the copular past *edi* and the copular negative *emas*, but the question particle may precede or follow *ekan*. When the question particle precedes *ekan*, the two forms are combined, forming a single marker *mikan*. It is customary in Uzbek to represent the combination of anything plus the question particle as a single orthographic word. In Kazakh, the question particle *MA* always follows the copular negative *emes*, but may precede or follow both the copular past *edi* and *eken*.

These configurational possibilities are summarized in Table 29:

Table 29: Possible Configurations of Copular Forms and Question Particles

	Uzbek		Kazakh	
	COP+Q	Q+COP	COP+Q	Q+COP
<i>PAST</i>	□ <i>edimi</i>	* <i>mi edi</i>	□ <i>edi me</i>	□ <i>MA edi</i>
<i>NEGATIVE</i>	□ <i>emasmi</i>	* <i>mi emas</i>	□ <i>emes pe</i>	* <i>MA emas</i>
<i>EVIDENTIAL</i>	□ <i>ekanmi</i>	□ <i>mikan</i>	□ <i>eken be</i>	□ <i>MA eken</i>

Person and number marking is also affected by the presence of *ekan/eken* and the question particle. In Uzbek, person and number marking always occurs directly after the past tense morpheme. The presence of the question particle on the copular negative and *ekan*, however, allows for two different configurations: one in which person/number marking precedes the question particle, and one in which it follows:

- (142) a. *qil-gan e-mas-lar-mi/e-mas-siz-mi* (Uz)  
do-PRF COP-NEG-PL-Q/COP-NEG-2PL-Q  
b. *qil-gan e-mas-mi-lar/e-mas-mi-siz*

do-PRF COP-NEG-Q-PL/COP-NEG-Q-2PL  
'Have they/you not done?'

- (143) a. *qil-gan ekan-lar-mi/ekan-siz-mi* (Uz)  
do-PRF EVID-PL-Q/EVID-2PL-Q  
b. *qil-gan ekan-mi-lar/ekan-mi-siz*  
do-PRF EVID-Q-PL/EVID-Q-2PL  
'Have they/you (apparently) done?'

When the question particle is present, person/number marking never occurs on the main part of the predicate (as may occur in declarative clauses with *ekan*), but must follow *ekan*:

- (144) a. *qil-gan-mi-kan-lar/siz* (Uz)  
do-PRF-Q-EVID-PL/2PL  
'Have they/you (apparently) done?'  
b. *\*qil-gan-siz/lar-mi-kan* (Uz)  
do-PRF-2PL/PL-Q-EVID

In Kazakh, person and number marking always occurs on the copular form and is never affixed to the main part of the predicate (provided a copular form is present) or to the question particle:

- (145) a. *qil-ğan eken-siñ be* (Kaz)  
b. *qil-ğan ba eken-siñ*  
c. *\*qil-ğan-siñ ba eken*  
d. *\*qil-ğan eken me-siñ*  
'Have you (apparently) done?'

The final difference between declarative and interrogative clauses containing *ekan/eken* is that, while declarative clauses are restricted as to the paradigms of the verb they allow, interrogative clauses bearing *ekan/eken* allow for the occurrence of any semantically compatible paradigm of the verb.

As has been explained, forms derived from the copula typically only co-occur with nominal, adjectival, and non-finite verbal predicates. The major effect of this restriction is that copular forms may not co-occur with verbs in the simple past tense in *-di/-DI*. The inflected

converbial past in *-(i)b/-(I)p* (i.e. marked for person) typically also does not co-occur with copular forms, but in Uzbek, the combination of person-marked *-(i)b* and *ekan* is possible, provided that this combination occurs in interrogative context.

In Uzbek, when the past, the question particle, and *ekan* are all present, the usual order is as in (146): PAST+QUESTION PARTICLE+EVID. As the question particle *mi* cliticizes both to whatever it immediately follows and to *ekan*, this results in morpheme clusters of the sort *-di-mi-kan*.

- (146) *U ayt-di-mi-kan?* (Uz)  
He say-PST-Q-EVID  
'Did he say that?'

In Kazakh, the question marker may either precede or follow *eken*:

- (147) *Bar-di eken be? ~ Bar-di ma eken?* (Kaz)  
go-PST EVID Q  
'Did she go?'

The ability of the past and *ekan/eken* to co-occur is not limited to polar questions marked with *mi/MA*, but is possible as long as the clause in question is interrogative:

- (148) *Ne qil-di eken?* (Kaz)  
what do-PST EVID  
'What did he do?'

- (149) *Qanaqa-si ol-di ekan?* (Uz)  
which-3 take-PST EVID  
'Which did she take?'

The co-occurrence of the simple past and *ekan/eken* is not limited to the simplex form of the simple past; the copular past *edi* may also co-occur with *ekan/eken*.

- (150) *Kim bar edi eken?* (Kaz)  
who EXIST COP-PST EVID  
'Who was there?'

- (151) *U yaqshi e-di-mi-kan?* (Uz)  
 it good COP-PST-Q-EVID  
 ‘Was it good?’

As discussed in Chapter 5, the ability of *ekan/eken* to co-occur with the past *-di/-DI* in question suggests that, when in questions, *ekan/eken* loses its non-confirmative features.

In Uzbek, the converbial past in *-(i)b* may co-occur with *ekan*; this combination never occurs in Kazakh. When these two morphemes occur in interrogatives, the converbial past may bear person marking:

- (152) *Bor-a ol-ib-siz-mi-kan?* (Uz)  
 go-CVB be.able-CPST-2PL-Q-EVID  
 ‘Were you able to go?’

In summary, the main differences between declarative and interrogative clauses containing *ekan/eken* are the presence of the interrogative particle, which can affect the placement of agreement markers, and the ability of *ekan/eken* to co-occur with the past tense *-di/-DI*, and, in Uzbek, with the converbial past form in *-(i)b*.

#### 4.1.5 On the Modern Reflexes of *\*er-miš*

While *ekan/eken* are the primary bearers of marked non-firsthand evidential meaning in Uzbek and Kazakh, reflexes of *\*-MIš*, which bore similar meaning in Old Turkic, are found in both languages. This form is cognate with the well-known Turkish *-mİş*, as well as with forms in other non-Central Asian Turkic languages, such as Azerbaijani *-mİş* and Sakha *-Bit*. All of these forms bear some sort of non-confirmative meaning. The functions of *\*-MIš* have been largely supplanted by *\*-GAN* in much of Central Asia and Southern Siberia (Schönig 1999, 72), yet forms of *\*-MIš* still survive in many of these languages, where it tends to function similarly to *\*-GAN*. In neither Kazakh nor Uzbek do the reflexes of *-MIš* attach directly to verb stems (despite

Johanson's 2003 claims to the contrary); only in lexicalized items do we find traces of this older pattern, such as Uzbek *kech-mish* 'past'. In Uzbek, only the copular form is employed (*emish*) and in Kazakh, a clitic form *-mIs* has developed. Traces of the full Kazakh copular form are found in the word *emis-emis* 'gossip'; the Uzbek cognate *emish-emish* bears the same meaning.

In both languages, reflexes of *\*er-miš* bear reportative meaning, in contrast to *ekan/eken*, whose meanings may include any sort of non-firsthand information. In Uzbek, *emish* is still very much related to the rest of the confirmativity paradigm, although in Kazakh, *-mIs* appears to have lost much of its non-confirmative meaning as it has begun to change from a marker of non-confirmativity to a quotative particle. Traces of both non-confirmativity and reportedness are still evident in the lexicalized *emis-emis/emish-emish*, as the logical combination of reported information and non-confirmativity is gossip.

#### 4.1.5.1 On *emish* in Uzbek

Uzbek *emish* serves essentially the same function as *ekan*; that is, it expresses marked non-confirmativity and non-firsthand information source.

(153) *Aytishlaricha, bu qotil-lar-ning arvoh-lar-i emish.* (Uz)  
 Reportedly this murderer-PL-GEN ghost-PL-3 EVID  
 'They say that these are the ghosts of murderers.'  
 (Joyce 2007, 9)

(154) *Ziyoratchilar emish, aytishicha Osmonga ketayotgan emish.* (Uz)  
 pilgrim-PL EVID, reportedly heaven-DAT go-prog-prf evid  
 'They're pilgrims, and they're apparently going to heaven.'<sup>15</sup>

As is the case with *ekan*, person marking occurs on *emish*, and not on the main part of the predicate:

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<sup>15</sup> 2008. "Pilgrim's Progress (in Uzbek) Palomnik." Poetry, No Prose, 8 Apr. Accessed 3 Feb 2011. <http://noprose.wordpress.com/category/uzbek/>

- (155) *Go`yoki men “hezalak” emish-man.* (Uz)  
although I impotent EVID-1SG  
‘Although I’m apparently “impotent.”’<sup>16</sup>

*Emish* occurs not only in declarative clauses, but also in interrogative clauses, although there is no contracted polar question form (\**mimish*) like *mikan*.

- (156) *Asadbek uylan-ayot-gan emish-lar-mi* (Uz)  
Asadbek marry-PROG-PRF EVID-PL-Q  
‘Is Asadbek getting married?’<sup>17</sup>

Also like *ekan*, *emish* may participate in the introduction of folktales, although *ekan* is the form most commonly encountered today:

- (157) *Bor emish, yo`q emish, bir shoh bor emish.* (Uz)  
EXIST EVID NEG.EXIST EVID one shah EXIST EVID  
‘Once upon a time there was a shah.’

The examples above demonstrate that the evidential component of the meaning of *emish* is reportative, rather than simply non-firsthand information; in no case is inference or deductive information source expressed. *Ekan*, however, may express any non-firsthand information source. This finding is in accord with the claims of Johanson (2003, 279) that *emish* differs from *ekan* in that it expresses reported information, rather than general non-firsthand information.

Non-confirmative reportedness is not the only meaning expressed by *emish*. Like *ekan*, *emish* may express admirativity or emotivity. This range of meaning will be fully discussed in the following chapter.

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<sup>16</sup> 2008. “O’zjan Denizga suiqast” *Hamma.tk*, 21 Sep. Accessed 3 Feb 2011.  
<http://hamma.ucoz.ru/news/2008-09-21-790>

<sup>17</sup> 2006. “Mish-mishlari...” *Uzbekistan Online Forum – Onlajn Forum Uzbekistana*, 15 Sep. Accessed 3 Feb 2011. <http://www.arbuz.com/archive/index.php/t-32331.html>

#### 4.1.5.2 On *-mIs* in Kazakh

Kazakh *-mIs* expresses similar meaning to that of Uzbek *emish*, in that it expresses reportativity. It has, however, taken a somewhat different path in its development, becoming a clitic and moving in the direction of becoming a quotative marker.

The term clitic is used here in reference to *-mIs* for both phonological and morphological reasons. In Kazakh, most affixes beginning with /m/ alternate with /b/ and /p/ depending on the surrounding environment, but the /m/ in *-mIs* never changes. Moreover, some speakers employ disharmonic forms such as *žoq-mis* or *keledi-mis*, which indicate that *-mIs* occupies a status somewhere between a phonologically independent word and a bound morpheme (see Zwicky 1977). In terms of morphology, *-mIs* is extremely promiscuous and may affix itself to essentially any word that may occur sentence finally. This includes *eken*, which is typically always sentence-final in Kazakh:

- (158) *Ol šetel-de eken-mis.* (Kaz)  
he foreign.country-LOC EVID-REPORT  
'He's in a foreign country.'

*-mIs* may also affix itself to other non-confirmative forms, namely, to the converbial past in *-(I)p*.

Note that person marking occurs between the converbial past marker and *-mIs*:

- (159) *Olar-diñ ušağ-ï aspan-da bir žer-de žoğal-ïp ket-ïp-ti-mis.* (Kaz)  
they-GEN airplane sky-LOC a place-LOC disappear-CVB go-CPST-3-REPORT  
'Their plane (reportedly) became lost somewhere in the sky.'<sup>18</sup>

As previously noted, *-mIs* may not attach to verb stems, likely because it is derived from an earlier copular form *\*emis*.

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<sup>18</sup> Yerkimbay, Askhat. 2008. "Äwežaydağı 'orıstılifobiya sindromı.'" *Neweurasia*, 7 Feb. Accessed 8 Feb 2011. <http://neweurasia.net/kazakhstan/саясат/әуежайдағы-орыстіліфобия-синдромы/>



- (160) a. \**kel-mis* (Kaz)  
 come-REPORT  
 b. *kel-ip-ti-mis*  
 come-CPST-3-REPORT  
 ‘She (reportedly) came.’

Like copular forms, however, *-mIs* may attach to non-verbal predicates, including nouns, existentials, adjectives, and deontics:

- (161) *Qız bol-uw kerek-mis* (Kaz)  
 girl be-INF necessary-REPORT  
 ‘They say you have to be a girl.’<sup>19</sup>

Aside from the third person marker *-DI*, which is found only on the present in *-A/y* and the converbial past in *-(I)p*, forms bearing *-mIs* are incompatible with person or number marking.

This restriction was likely due to the rarity of employing reportative forms to discuss events that happened to either the speaker or the hearer; this rarity was later encoded as a lacuna in the distribution of *-mIs*.

Many of the contexts in which *-mIs* is found are quotative, and in these quotative contexts *-mIs* appears to emphasize the quotative or reportative nature of what is being repeated:

- (162) *Sibir-ge žür-giz-e-di-mis degen xabar Kenesari-ğa da kel-e-di* (Kaz)  
 Siberia-DAT go-CAUS-PRES-3-REPORT COMP news Kenesari-DAT too come-PRES-3  
 ‘The news is also coming to Kenesari that they are being forced to go to Siberia.’<sup>20</sup>

When in quotative contexts, *-mIs* is often followed by a complementizer such as *dep* or *degen*.

These forms are derived from the verb meaning ‘say’, and have historically been used to indicate quotations or reported speech. Recently, however, the scope of these forms has expanded beyond the introduction of speech complement clauses to include complements of thought and knowledge, as well as to introduce clauses indicating reason or purpose. Cognate forms in

<sup>19</sup> 2009. “Algan žarım qız bolmay šıqtı ne isteymin.” Kazakh.ru, 25 Jun. Accessed 7 Feb 2011. <http://www.kazakh.ru/talk/mmess.phtml?id=102685&page=4>

<sup>20</sup> Esenberlin, Iliyas. 2009. “Qošpendiler.” Ädebiy Älem. Accessed 8 Feb 2011. <http://adebiet.kz/>

Uzbek have undergone similar changes, and it appears that when *-mIs* is present, its purpose is to indicate that the preceding material is reported speech, and not thought or knowledge or an indication of purpose. In (162), for example, without *-mIs*, there is an ambiguity between the gloss provided above, and one meaning 'The news is coming to Kenesari in order to make them go to Siberia.'

Given the unusual behavior of *-mIs*, it is perhaps best to analyze it as a purely reportative form with no non-confirmative meaning. The fact that *-mIs* is often affixed to non-confirmative forms indicates that it cannot express that meaning on its own, as does the fact that it does not express admirativity, a meaning which is associated not only with evidentiality, but also with non-confirmativity. Moreover, its use as a marker of reported speech often occurs in explicitly confirmative contexts, such as the one below in (163). In this example, as in (162), the speaker is merely repeating the contents of what has been previously uttered, as is indicated by the word *söz* 'word, news', and the use of the confirmative past on the verb *esit-* 'hear':

- (163) *astana-ğa qayt-ıp ket-e-di-mis degen söz-di esti-di-k* (Kaz)  
 capital-DAT return-CVB go-PRES-3-REPORT COMP word-ACC hear-PST-1PL  
 'We heard the news that he was going back to the capital.'<sup>21</sup>

Although the clitic *-mIs* is potentially useful in differentiating reported information from other kinds of non-firsthand information and in distinguishing between the various uses of the Kazakh *say*-complementizers, it is still somewhat rare. Not all speakers accept forms with *-mIs*, and of those who do, many identify these forms as archaic or literary.

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<sup>21</sup> Dosžan, Dükenbay. 2009. "Tört patšanı körgen keywana." Ädebiy Älem. Accessed 8 Feb 2011. <http://adebiet.kz/>

## 4.2 *Ekan/Eken* and Temporal Reference

As *ekan/eken* are derived from (or at least very closely related to) the past tense forms *-gan/-GAN*, one might expect that *ekan/eken* would also express past tense. The relationship between these forms and tense is, however, much more complicated.

*Ekan/eken* are able to refer to both present and past states, regardless of the temporal reference of the rest of the predicate. In the following examples, we see that past temporal reference may be contributed by *ekan/eken*, even when the rest of the verb bears a present tense marker (164) or when a non verbal predicate (which expresses present tense by default) is present (165).

(164) *Amir Temur ota-si-ning bu gap-i-ni o'g'l-i-ga ayt-ar ekan* (Uz)  
Amir Temur father-3-GEN this word-3-ACC son-3-DAT say-AOR EVID  
'Emir Timur's father used to say these words to his son...' <sup>22</sup>

(165) *Esim bi üy-de žoq eken, qalmaq-qa žoriq-qa ket-ken eken.*  
Esim lord home-LOC NEG.EXIST EVID Kalmyk-DAT raid-DAT go-PRF EVID  
'Lord Esim was not at home; he had gone off to raid the Kalmyks.' <sup>23</sup>

But *ekan/eken* does not always express past tense the past tense reference may be neutralized (166-167).

(166) *ular tuz-gan yil solnoma-si-ga ko`ra biz-ning era-miz-ning tugash-i*  
*2012 yil-ning 21 dekabr-i-ga to'g'ri kel-ar ekan.* (Uz)  
they found-PRF year calendar-3-DAT according.to we-GEN era-1PL-GEN end-3 2012 year-  
GEN 21 december-3-DAT true come-AOR EVID  
'According to the calendar they established, the end of our era will come on December 3, 2012.' <sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> 1990. "Amir Temur o'g'lining o'limi haqida rivoyat." *Linguists*. Accessed 6 Feb 2011.  
<http://linguists.narod.ru/rivoyat.html>

<sup>23</sup> Köpeyulı, Māshur Žūsip. 2009. "Shora Batır." *Ädebi Älem*. Accessed 4 Feb 2011.  
<http://adebiet.kz>

<sup>24</sup> 2010. "2012-yilga borib dunyo rostdan ham tugaydimi????? (siz nima deysiz????)" *Ozbek Onaforum*, 9 Oct. <http://www.voy.uz/forum/43-1617-1>

- (167) *Keše tūngi smena-da iste-p-ti de, qazir demal-ïp žat-ïr eken.* (Kaz)  
 Yesterday night shift-LOC work-CPST-3 and now rest-CVB PROG-PRES EVID  
 ‘He worked the night shift yesterday; he must be resting now.’<sup>25</sup>

The temporal reference of *ekan/eken*, while variable, is not completely unconstrained. For the most part, any past tense features borne by *ekan/eken* are neutralized, and tense is expressed by the main piece of the predicate. Nevertheless, speakers have the option of employing *ekan/eken* as past tense markers when necessary. As seen in (165), for example, when the predicate is non-verbal, a past tense reading may be forced by the expression of past tense in a later part of the utterance. And when *ekan/eken* are employed in folktales, past tense reference is the default interpretation. The combination of *ekan/eken* and various other verbal markers produce interesting results with regard to temporal reference. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

In Kazakh, the suppression of the past tense reference of *eken* is counterbalanced by the inability of *eken* to co-occur with certain present tense makers. The aorist *-Ar* does not occur with *eken* in declarative clauses, although it is allowed in questions (Friedman 2010):

- (168) *Öt-ip kel-e al-ar me eken-siñ, Sokolov?* (Kaz)  
 pass-CVB come-CVB be.able-AOR Q EVID-2SG Sokolov  
 ‘Will you be able to get through, Sokolov?’  
 (Friedman 2010, 439)

Four verbs that indicate imperfectivity in their contracted aorist forms (*žat-* ‘lie down’, *tur-* ‘stand’, *otïr-* ‘sit’, *žïr-* ‘walk, go’) are not subject to this constraint, as seen in (167). These verbs are unusual in Kazakh in that they employ a form of the aorist with a high vowel (*-Ir*) or completely omit it. The Uzbek cognates of these same four verbs behave strangely in the

<sup>25</sup> Žanuwwzakov, Telman. 2009. “Azamattar.” Ädebi Älem. Accessed 4 Feb 2011.  
<http://adebiet.kz>

converbial past in *-(i)b*, expressing imperfective past, rather than non-confirmativity. The simple present in Kazakh (*-A/y*) is, however, compatible with *eken*:

- (169) *Bankomat ta osilay iste-y-di eken negiz-i-nde.* (Kaz)  
ATM also thus work-PRES-3 EVID basis-3-LOC  
'ATMs also apparently work that way, on that basis.'<sup>26</sup>

In conjunction with the simple present, the past tense features of *eken* may be suppressed, or the combination of the present tense plus the expression of past tense by *eken* may result in a sort of perfect meaning:

- (170) *Osı Qazaq-tar qašan-nan basta-p qazaqša söyleydi eken?* (Kaz)  
that kazak-PL when-ABL begin-CVB Kazakh speak-PRES-3 EVID  
'How long have those Kazakhs been speaking the Kazakh language?'<sup>27</sup>

In Uzbek, forms of the verb based upon the perfect in *-gan* (*-ayotgan* and *-adigan*, both of which express ongoing action) freely express either past or present tense; this is likely a result of their origin in the perfect:

- (171) *Ular arava-da ket-ayotgan ekan.* (Uz)  
they car-LOC go-PROG EVID  
'They were going by car.'  
(Joyce 2007, 22)
- (172) *Rossiya-dan ishchi-lar kel-adigan ekan* (Uz)  
Russia-ABL worker-PL come-PROG EVID  
'Workers are (apparently) coming from Russia.'<sup>28</sup>

Non-verbal predicates in both Uzbek and Kazakh bear present tense by default. Past tense may be expressed by the addition of the copular past *edi*, and other verbal categories may be expressed with the support of the verb *bo'l-/bol-* 'to be, become'. Because *ekan/eken*

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<sup>26</sup> 2007. "Šinında da osilay ma?.." Aršattıñ Žeke Saytı, 16 Jul. Accessed 7 Feb 2011.  
<http://www.arshat.kz/indexwp.php/?paged=32>

<sup>27</sup> 2005. "Qazaqtar qašan qazaqša söyleydi eken." Kazax.ru, 7 July. Accessed 7 Feb 2011.  
<http://www.kazakh.ru/talk/mmess.phtml?id=7698>

<sup>28</sup> Malik, Tohir. 2010. "Shaytanat." O'z-Lib, 5 Dec. Accessed 7 Feb 2011.  
[http://kutubxona.com/Tohir\\_Malik\\_Shaytanat\\_\(IV-\\_kitob,\\_II-\\_qism\)](http://kutubxona.com/Tohir_Malik_Shaytanat_(IV-_kitob,_II-_qism))

typically does not always express past tense when combined with non-verbal predicates, *bo'l-/bol-* may be used to remove this temporal ambiguity and ensure a past tense interpretation:

- (173) *Ona-otam-ning aytishlaricha bu park juda chiroyli bo'l-gan ekan.* (Uz)  
Parents-GEN according.to this park very beautiful be-PRF EVID  
'According to my parents, this park used to be very beautiful.'

Because the existential *bor/bar* is incompatible with the verb *bo'l-/bol-*, the verb *bo'l-* may stand alone when speakers wish to express existence, the past tense, and non-firsthand information simultaneously:

- (174) *Onda 5000-day kitap bol-gan eken* (Kaz)  
There 5000-APPROX book be-PRF EVID  
'There had been about 5000 books there.'<sup>29</sup>

The combination of the perfect *-gan/-GAN* and *ekan/eken* often results in the double marking of past tense. The combination of these two past tenses results in a temporal reading that is similar to that expressed by the combination of the perfect *-gan/-GAN* and the copular past *edi*. As outlined in the previous chapter, this double marking of the past results in existential or experiential perfect meanings or, occasionally, pluperfect meaning. This (plu-)perfect meaning is evident examples (173) and (174) above and in (175) below:

- (175) *AQŠ-qa bar-gan eken* (Kaz)  
USA-DAT go-PRF EVID  
'She's gone to the USA.'

Even when *ekan/eken* itself does not contribute past tense meaning, *-gan/-GAN* still bears non-specific or, in the case of Uzbek, distant past meaning, as when referring to a historical figure:

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<sup>29</sup> 2011. Interfaks-Qazaqstan, 13 Jan. Accessed 7 Feb 2011.  
[http://www.interfax.kz/?lang=kaz&int\\_id=quotings\\_of\\_the\\_day&news\\_id=263](http://www.interfax.kz/?lang=kaz&int_id=quotings_of_the_day&news_id=263)

- (176) *Onore de Balzak ayt-gan ekan...* (Uz)  
 Honoré de Balzac say-PRF EVID  
 ‘Honoré de Balzac (apparently) said...’

The result of the surfacing of either double past meaning or the distant/non-specific past meaning contributed by *-gan/-GAN* is that it is not possible to express simple, recent past meaning when *ekan/eken* is present. This gap in the paradigm is remedied by employing the converbial past in *-(i)b/-(I)p*.

The converbial past in *-(i)b/-(I)p* is not incompatible with the expression of non-firsthand evidence, as it expresses non-confirmativity. Within the same conversation, it is possible to employ both *-(i)b/-(I)p* and *ekan/eken*, switching between these forms as necessary to correctly indicate temporal reference:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(177) — <i>Ularni Layens-Xill yaqinida<br/>         ushlab olishibdi.</i><br/>         — <i>Kim ushlabdi?</i><br/>         — <i>Mister Glison bilan ruhoniy. Ular<br/>         aravada ketayotgan ekan.</i><br/> <i>O’sha bola tag’in qo’shib qo’ydi:</i><br/>         — <i>Menga buni yuqori sinfdagi bir<br/>         bola aytdi.</i><br/>         (Uzbek: Joyce 2007, 22)</p> | <p>—They <b>were caught</b> near the hill of<br/>         Lyons.<br/>         —Who <b>caught</b> them?<br/>         —Mister Gleeson and the minister. They<br/> <b>were</b> on a car.<br/>         The same fellow added:<br/>         —A fellow in the higher line told me.<br/>         (Joyce 2006, 50)</p> |
|---|--|

In (177), the speakers start by employing the converbial past in *-(i)b*, which bears is able to express past tense and non-confirmativity without the distant, non-specific, or perfect meanings contributed by *-gan*. When the progressive form *-ayotgan* is introduced, that is able to take *ekan*, as it is only *ekan* in this sentence that contributes past tense. In addition to expressing past tense, *ekan* also indicates a non-firsthand information source; this source is made explicit in the final sentence above when the speaker relates that he was told this information by a third party.

Similar examples are also found in Kazakh:

- (178) *Öytkeni Qıtay qazaq-tar men-i “üylen-gen eken, pişaqta-p öltir-ip ket-ip-ti” dep te ösepte-gen.* (Kaz)  
 But China Kazakh-PL me-ACC marry-PRF EVID, stab-CVB kill-CVB PCTV-CPST-3 COMP too gossip-PRF  
 ‘But they gossiped to me that he had been married and stabbed [her] to death.’<sup>30</sup>

In this example, the content of the gossip (which is enclosed in quotations) begins with *eken* and refers to a more distant event of non-specific temporal reference. The more recent, temporally specific event employs the converbial past in *-(i)p*, so as not to force a (plu-)perfect or temporally non-specific reading.

In summary, *ekan/eken* only sometimes bears past tense reference. However, when that past tense reference creates ambiguity due to the combination of the perfect *-gan/-GAn* and *eken*, the non-confirmative converbial past may be employed in its place. Table 30 summarizes the features of the forms discussed up to this point.

Table 30: Temporal and Confirmative Features of Relevant Forms

	<i>Past</i>	<i>Specific</i>	<i>Distant*</i>	<i>Confirmative</i>	<i>Non-Firsthand</i>	<i>Reportative</i>
PAST <i>-di/DI</i>	+	+	-	+	∅	∅
PRF <i>-gan/GAn</i>	+	-	+	∅	∅	∅
CPST <i>-(i)b/(I)p</i>	+	∅	∅	-	∅	∅
EVID <i>ekan/eken</i>	+/-	∅	∅	-	+	∅
REPORT <i>emish/-mis</i>	†	∅	∅	‡	+	+

Notes:

\* Does not apply to Kazakh

† Uzbek *emish* is sometimes indicates pastness, Kazakh *-mis* in unmarked for tense

<sup>30</sup> Šešenqululı, Qažimurat. 2010. “Iye, me žiyi ğaşıq bolamın.” *Ayqın: Respublikalıq Qağamdıq-Sayasiy Gazet*, 8 Jul. Accessed 9 Feb 2011.

[http://www.aikyn.kz/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=2907&Itemid=66](http://www.aikyn.kz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2907&Itemid=66)



‡ Uzbek *emish* is non-confirmative, Kazakh *-mIs* appears to be unmarked for confirmativity

### 4.3 *Ekan/Eken and Verbal Categories*

Perhaps the most contentious issue in the study of evidentiality is the status of evidentiality as an independent verbal category. A variety of morphemes in Uzbek and Kazakh have been ascribed evidential status, and most of these either express past tense or are derived from morphemes bearing past tense. What follows is a review of the meanings of these morphemes and their relationship to tense, confirmativity, and evidentiality.

The simple past tense morpheme *-di/-DI* is often described as the *görülen geçmiş zaman* ‘witnessed past tense’ in grammars written in Turkish, although as we have seen its use does not necessarily mean that the speaker actually witnessed the event in question, as in (52), which is repeated here in (179):

- (179) *Huddi shu serial o'tgan oy-lar-da Turkiya kanal-i-da ham ber-il-di, lekin ko'r-ma-di-m.* (Uz)  
just that serial past month-PL-LOC Turkey station-3-LOC also give-PASS-PST, but see-NEG-PST-1SG  
‘That serial was also shown on the Turkish station, but I didn’t see it.’<sup>31</sup>

Johanson (2003) considers this form to be unmarked for evidential meaning and Friedman’s (1978) assessment of the simple past’s Turkish cognate as CONFIRMATIVE is applicable to this morpheme in Uzbek and Kazakh.

The perfect *-gan/-GAn* is often described as the *duyulan geçmiş zaman* ‘heard or perceived past tense’ in Turkish-language grammars (as opposed to the ‘witnessed’ simple past) but this too is an incorrect assessment. The perfect *-gan/-GAn* is best analyzed as a past tense form that is unmarked for confirmativity (Friedman 1978), as it is able to express events that the

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<sup>31</sup> forum.ziyouz.com/index.php?action=printpage;topic=5263.0

speaker is willing to confirm (such as well known historical facts or events that the speaker participated in) or events that the speaker may not be willing to confirm (such as events that have been previously marked as non-confirmative or which the speaker has explicitly not witnessed). Johanson treats the perfect as “a postterminal of the type PPAST, displaying perfect-like meanings with occasional indirective readings” (2003, 279).

The converbial past *-(i)b/-(I)p* is also often referred to as a second *duyulan geçmiş zaman* in Turkish grammars, and Johanson calls this form a “stable indirectivity marker of the type IPAST-1: ‘has evidently done, evidently did’” (2003, 279). The meanings of this form are broader than mere indirectivity, however. Johanson employs the term INDIRECTIVITY to refer to “the presentation of an event by reference to its reception by a conscious subject” and states that “the notion of indirectivity is in accordance with the crosslinguistic definition of evidentiality as ‘stating the existence of a source of evidence for some information’” (2003, 274). Although *-(i)b/-(I)p* may express indirectivity or indicate non-firsthand information, its primary function is to express non-confirmativity. As a non-confirmative morpheme, it bears meanings of doubt and non-volitionality, as well as the indirective or evidential meanings of hearsay or inference.

The morphemes that have been glossed here as EVID - *ekan/eken* - are often referred to as bearing *rivâyet* ‘hearsay, gossip’ mood in Turkish-language materials and are ascribed inferential meaning by Johanson (2003). These assessments are generally correct, in as much as the presence of *ekan/eken* signals that the information conveyed was obtained from non-firsthand sources, although when these morphemes are used in their admirative or emotive sense, it is assumed that the speaker has direct evidence for the information expressed.

The final morphemes that have been said to participate in the expression of evidential meaning are the modern reflexes of older *\*er-miš*, Uzbek *emish* and Kazakh *-mIs*. These

morphemes are only rarely discussed in grammars of Uzbek and Kazakh, in part due to their rarity. Johanson (2003) ascribes these morphemes reportative meaning, and the analysis here supports that conclusion.

The analysis so far groups these morphemes into two classes: the past tense morphemes and the copular morphemes. The primary purpose of the past tense morphemes is to express anteriority, and speakers have the option of choosing between these morphemes on the basis of confirmativity:

PST	PRF	CPST
<i>-di/-DI</i>	<i>-gan/-GAn</i>	<i>-(i)b/-(I)p</i>
[+CONFIRMATIVE]	[Ø CONFIRMATIVE]	[-CONFIRMATIVE]

Both the perfect *-gan/-GAn* and the converbial past *-(i)b/-(I)p* may express non-firsthand information source, but this meaning is not primary and must be contextually specified. It is only because they are not marked as confirmative that these meanings may surface.

The copular forms *ekan/eken* and *emish/-mIs* fall in a second class. These morphemes, when not used to express admirativity or emotivity express non-firsthand information source. The use of these forms to express non-firsthand information source is equivalent to what occurs in Turkish, Azerbaijani, and other languages of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, in which “the combination of taxis (marking for anteriority) and resultativity, i.e. the double marking of a past auxiliary and a past participial form, can result in the pluperfect’s functioning as a genuinely pure reported form” (Friedman 1979, 345). Copular *ekan/eken* is not, of course, limited in distribution to perfects, but may occur with a wide variety of forms. Like the double marking of the perfect in the languages discussed by Friedman, the use of *ekan/eken* is morphosyntactically marked, so the surfacing of the more semantically marked non-firsthand meaning is not surprising.

What remains to be decided here is whether the non-firsthand meanings of *ekan/eken* (as well as *emish/-mIs*) place them into a category of EVIDENTIALITY, or whether these evidential meanings are secondary to some other meaning. Although the label EVIDENTIAL is often conferred upon *-gan/-GAN* and *-(i)b/-(I)p*, these morphemes may only be linked to evidentiality by virtue of their primary non-confirmative meanings.

In discussions of evidentiality, it is STATUS or MODALITY that poses the greatest challenge to the existence of an EVIDENTIAL category. In his reanalysis of Jakobson's (1957/1971) verbal categories, Aronson eliminates the category of EVIDENTIALITY and suggests that it "should be regarded as closely related to, or, better, a subvariety of, STATUS (E<sup>n</sup>/P<sup>s</sup>)" (1991, 116). Aronson considers confirmativity to be a sub-variety of STATUS, that is, the "subjective evaluation of the narrated event by the speaker, i.e., E<sup>n</sup>/P<sup>s</sup>" (1991).

Scholars who propose that EVIDENTIALITY and MODALITY/STATUS are distinct categories do not deny that a link exists (see Aikhenvald 2003; de Haan 1999; Cornillie 2009), yet attempt to account for the differences between what they see as two different categories in a variety of ways. DeHaan (1999) proposes that evidentiality and modality differ with regard to the scope of negation; modals always fall under the scope of negation and (fully grammaticalized) evidentials scope over negation. In Maricopa, for example, a visual evidential cannot have the meaning *I didn't see*; this meaning must be expressed by an independent verb (Gordon 1986, 85, as cited in de Haan 1999, 12-13):

- (180) a. *Waly-marsh-ma-?-yuu*  
 NEG-win.DUAL-NEG-VIS  
 '(I saw) They didn't win.'
- b. *Marsh-m waly-?-yuu-ma-k*  
 win.DUAL-DS NEG-1SG-see-NEG-ASP  
 'I didn't see them win.'

In the simpler non-firsthand sort of evidential meaning found in Uzbek, Kazakh, and many other languages of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, the scope of negation is much more difficult to determine. This is likely due to the fact that *ekan/eken* and similar morphemes in other languages cannot be associated with any single verb of perception, as these forms merely state the existence of non-firsthand evidence without stating their source:

- (181) *U ket-ma-gan ekan.* (Uz)  
he go-NEG-PRF EVID  
'There is evidence that he didn't go.' ~ 'There is no evidence that he went.'

Faller (2006) proposes that two types of evidentiality, one that operates on the illocutionary level (evidentiality proper) and one that operates on the propositional level (modal evidentiality). To the first class she assigns the evidential enclitics of Cuzco Quechua, and to the modal evidential class she assigns the German modal *sollen*, which typically indicates reportativity. Under this compromise approach, evidential meaning is expressed in two locations in the grammar, and languages may differ as to where this meaning is expressed. Under DeHaan or Faller's approaches, there exists a variety of modality that expresses of evidential meaning. Assigning a given form in some language MODAL status does not mean that evidential meaning cannot be expressed.

For the purposes of this work, I will not make any claims as to the existence or non-existence of EVIDENTIALITY as a distinct category. Rather, I focus on the most likely candidates in Uzbek and Kazakh (*ekan/eken*, *emish/-mIs*) and determine whether they are, indeed, evidentials.

In support of these morphemes being evidentials is the fact that they express evidential meaning. That is, *ekan/eken* express non-firsthand information source, and *emish/-mIs* express reported information. This fact alone, however, is insufficient to claim evidential status for these

morphemes, as morphemes in many other languages (e.g. English *must*, German *sollen*) may express evidential meaning, but are not universally considered evidentials.

There are three issues with considering *ekan/eken* and *emish/-mIs* evidentials. The first is the fact that these forms are never obligatory, a criterion for evidentiality that has been claimed by some authors. The second is the strong connection between these morphemes and (non-)confirmativity, a variety of meaning that quite clearly belongs to the category of STATUS or MODALITY. The third issue with categorizing these morphemes as evidentials is the fact that they also express admirativity, which is the expression of surprise at a newly discovered fact and is often considered a sub-type of non-confirmativity

A number of authors have proposed that a language with true evidentiality will obligatorily express it, at least within paradigms where evidentiality is semantically compatible with mood. According to Aikhenvald (2004), in a language with true evidentiality (as opposed to an evidential strategy) declarative sentences will specify the type of information the speaker has for the truth of the sentence. Some authors have denied that this criterion is valid (de Haan 1999; McCready and Ogata 2007) and even Aikhenvald (2004) states that languages in which there exists an unmarked term pose problems for this criterion. In Uzbek and Kazakh, clauses without *ekan/eken* or *emish/-mIs* are both formally unmarked (in that they lack a certain morpheme) and functionally unmarked (in that no evidential meaning - such as firsthand information source - is expressed). So, if a speaker chooses to employ the simple past in either Uzbek or Kazakh, no claim has been made that the speaker witnessed or otherwise participated in the event described. Under a strict interpretation of the obligatory marking criterion, Uzbek and Kazakh do not exhibit true evidentiality, as the expression of information source is never required.

The fact that *ekan/ekan* and *emish/-mIs* need not be present indicates that when they are present, the utterance containing them is formally marked; this corresponds to functional markedness for non-confirmativity. Due to the markedness of these morphemes, speakers who employ them must have a motive for employing them, and this motive is an unwillingness to confirm the contents of the utterance. The non-confirmativity of these morphemes is further supported by the alternation between *ekan/eken* and *-(i)b/-(I)p*. When a speaker wishes to express non-firsthand information source and simple past tense, the speaker has the option of employing *-(i)b/-(I)p*, which is an acceptable substitute because both morphemes express non-confirmativity. While *ekan/ekan* and *emish/-mIs* do, indeed, express non-firsthand information source, they also express non-confirmativity, and this is manifested as doubt or uncertainty.

The final issue with definitively categorizing *ekan/eken* and *emish/-mIs* as evidentials is the fact that these forms also bear what is known as ADMIRATIVE meaning. Admirativity is defined as the expression of “surprise at a newly discovered and previously unsuspected fact,” and is a variety of non-confirmativity (Friedman 1988). In Uzbek and Kazakh, the admirative (or, more broadly, emotive) usage of these morphemes has expanded to interrogative forms, resulting in the formation of rhetorical questions. The properties of these interrogatives will be fully described in the Chapter 5; for now the ability of these forms to express these meanings should be viewed as further evidence against a strict evidential categorization.

Although *ekan/ekan* and *emish/-mIs* express evidential meaning, they do not belong to a category of evidentiality. Rather, because their primary purpose is to express non-confirmativity, they belong to the category of STATUS or MODALITY. Although many authors consider EVIDENTIALITY to be a valid category, there are a number of analyses under which evidential meaning may be expressed by members of the STATUS/MODALITY category. Under the

analysis here, in which non-confirmativity is a specific category (to borrow a term from Whorf 1938/56) under the generic category of STATUS/MODALITY, non-firsthand information source is merely an extension of non-confirmative meaning. While non-confirmativity expresses a lack of speaker confidence in the truth of an utterance, the evidential meanings apparent in *ekan/eken* provide a reason for that lack of speaker confidence.



## CHAPTER 5

### *EKAN/EKEN* AND THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTIVITY

The same morphemes, *ekan/eken*, that express non-firsthand information source via the expression of non-confirmativity have a second purpose. This purpose is to express EMOTIVITY in the form of admiratives and rhetorical questions. Morphemes that express evidential meaning are known to express ADMIRATIVITY, or the expression of unexpected information, but it is comparatively rare for these same morphemes to also play a role in the creation of rhetorical questions. Because *ekan/eken* can express both, I propose to unite these two functions as means of expressing emotivity, as *ekan/eken* may indicate that the utterance they are attached to is an instance of the use of language in its emotive function. When *ekan/eken* are employed to indicate this emotive function of language, they are glossed as EMOT (emotive).

Although EMOTIVITY is generally agreed upon as a major function of language, the discussion of this function is not often expanded beyond the realm of obvious emotive morphemes like interjections or exclamations. For this reason I open with a discussion of the emotive function of language and the relationship between the functions of language, speech acts, and sentence types. The second section of this chapter addresses the use of *ekan/eken* to express ADMIRATIVITY, which I propose is, in Uzbek and Kazakh, an expression of emotivity within declarative sentences. RHETORICAL QUESTIONS are discussed in the next section, and I likewise propose that these arise from the expression of emotivity in interrogative sentences. The final section connects the various meanings expressed by *ekan/eken*: non-confirmativity, non-firsthand information source, and admirativity/emotivity. I propose in this final section that the incompatibility of non-confirmativity, a subjective type of STATUS or MODALITY, with

interrogativity results in the surfacing of the secondary meanings expressed by *ekan/eken*: evidentiality and emotivity.

### 5.1 Emotivity, Speech Act, and Sentence Type

When discussing a concept like EMOTIVITY it is useful to distinguish three levels of analysis: the functions of language, speech act, and sentence types. The functional level is concerned with the reasons language is used, speech act is concerned with use of language to perform an action (e.g. describing a situation, asking a question) and sentence types (Sadock and Zwicky 1985) are formally marked utterances with conventionalized associations with speech acts.

There are three generally agreed upon functions of language, at least in terms of functions with grammatical correlates: the REFERENTIAL function, which is the use of language to describe a situation or state of mind; the CONATIVE function, or the use of language to engage the hearer; and the EXPRESSIVE or EMOTIVE function, which is a speaker oriented use of language that expresses the speaker's mental state. These three basic functions were first outlined in Bühler's (1934) *Organonmodell der Sprache*, which sought to describe the functions of language in terms of the relationship between the language faculty and the speaker, the hearer, and the state of affairs being described. In this model, language has three functions: *Darstellung* (representation), or the description of the state of affairs; *Appell* (appeal), or the use of language to incite a response from the hearer, and *Ausdruck* (expression), which is the use of language to express the feelings of the speaker. *Darstellung*, then, is characterized by the relationship between the *Organum*, or language faculty, and the state of affairs, *Appell* by the *Organum*'s relationship to the hearer, and *Ausdruck* by its relationship with the speaker.

This model was adopted by Jakobson (1960), who expanded Bühler’s *Organonmodell* to encompass three further functions of language. In Jakobson’s model, there are six constituent factors involved in a speech event: an ADDRESSER and an ADDRESSEE, the MESSAGE sent from the addresser to the addressee, a CONTEXT for the utterance, the CODE shared by the two parties involved, and the physical and psychological CONTACT between the addresser and addressee. The relationship between these six factors is summarized in the following chart:



As in Bühler’s model, Jakobson’s six functions of language are characterized by the orientation toward any one of these factors. The three functions proposed by Bühler are preserved in this model, although the terminology has changed. Orientation toward the CONTEXT results in the REFERENTIAL function (Bühler’s *Darstellung*), orientation toward the ADDRESSEE results in the CONATIVE function (*Appell*), and orientation toward the ADDRESSER results in the EMOTIVE function (*Ausdruck*). Of the other three functions proposed by Jakobson, the POETIC function involves orientation toward the MESSAGE, the PHATIC function toward the CONTACT, and the METALINGUAL function toward the CODE. Whereas the first three functions, the REFERENTIAL, CONATIVE, and EMOTIVE functions have grammatical correlates (in declarative, imperative, and exclamative sentences), there appears to be no such correlates for the POETIC, PHATIC, or METALINGUAL functions.

Jakobson’s EMOTIVE function of language is characterized by two main features: orientation toward the ADDRESSER, or the speaker, and the production of “a certain emotion, whether true or feigned” (1960, 354). As characterized by Jakobson, examples of the use of

language for a purely emotive purpose include interjections, many of which allow for atypical phonetic realizations, such as *Tut! Tut!* /tʌt/ or *Phew!* /fju/.

It is not uncommon, however, that only one function of language will be presented within a given utterance. An utterance such as *Look at the coat I bought* presents the CONATIVE function, as it expects an action from the ADDRESSEE, as well as expresses a proposition (*I bought a coat*), which presents the REFERENTIAL function. Interrogatives also present both of these functions, as they expect a response from an ADDRESSEE (a CONATIVE use of language), and also express propositions, thereby presenting the REFERENTIAL function. We should therefore not expect that all EMOTIVE utterances be mere interjections, involving only speaker orientation and the expression of emotion, but that some should also involve the presentation of some other function of language.

Speech acts are the use of language to perform different actions (such as convincing, describing, ordering), and as such, involve employing language in its various functions of language in order to perform those actions. When a speech act corresponds to a conventionalized formal marking of an utterance (or a sentence type), it is referred to as a direct speech act. Utterances such as *Could you close the window?* are referred to as indirect speech acts, as they have the formal marking typically associated with one type of speech act (asking a question), yet are intended to perform a different type of act (telling the hearer what to do). It has been observed that there are, crosslinguistically, three sentence types that most commonly correspond to three speech acts: DECLARATIVES, INTERROGATIVES, and IMPERATIVES (Sadock and Zwicky 1985). These three sentence types are not, however, the only possible sentence types, but are the most common. Minor sentence types (such as HORTATIVES, OPTATIVES, DEPRECATIVES) are not uncommon, and EXCLAMATIVES, sometimes called exclamations, are

often considered a fourth sentence type in English pedagogical or traditional grammars. Exclamatives employ not only the REFERENTIAL function of language, as they present propositions, but also the EMOTIVE function of language, as they are speaker-oriented and express emotion.

Although English pedagogical grammars (e.g. Kimball 1900, among many others) often associate EXCLAMATIVES with a certain type of intonation or (in writing) with the presence of an exclamation mark, there does exist a variety of sentence type with the label EXCLAMATIVE that is associated with conventionalized morphosyntactic properties. In many European languages, exclamatives are associated with the presence of a WH-structure (accompanied by characteristic exclamative inversion) without the movement of the verb that is associated with WH-interrogatives:

(183) *How well she plays piano!*

Some earlier proposals have treated other sentence types as exclamatives, such as (2) (from Elliott 1974), but Zanuttini and Portner (2003) consider these to be mismatches between sentential force (in as much as [184] has the form of a declarative sentence) and illocutionary force (which is the expression of emotion).

(184) *She is so attractive!*

An important feature of canonical exclamatives (such as 183) is the semantic component of “‘a sense of surprise’, ‘unexpectedness’, ‘extreme degree’, and the like” (Zanuttini and Portner 2003, 40), which has been claimed to be a result of pragmatic WIDENING. These impressionistic semantics assigned to exclamatives are important in the analysis of admiratives as emotive sentences, as admiratives are often described as having similar meaning.

Emotive sentences, then, are utterances characterized by two features: (i) the presentation of the emotive function of language, that is, speaker orientation and the expression of emotion, and (ii) conventionalized morphosyntactic representation of emotivity. Based solely upon the first criterion, both (183) and (184) would be considered emotive sentences, but the morphosyntactic constraints posed by the second criterion result in the treatment of (184) as a declarative sentence being used to express emotive orientation. For the purpose of this work, the types of utterances I will consider to be emotive sentences are European-type exclamatives (as in 183), Uzbek and Kazakh admiratives and rhetorical questions, and a variety of exclamative/admirative-like constructions and rhetorical question constructions in other languages.

### **5.1.1 Admirativity: Emotivity and Non-Confirmativity**

Of the various non-evidential functions of the morpheme that express evidential meaning, admirativity is perhaps the best studied, especially in the context of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, where it is a frequent second meaning of the so-called evidential form of the verb.

Admirativity, which is sometimes also referred to as mirativity, was first defined as the linguistic expression of “unexpected information”, and was first described as a phenomenon in Albanian (Dozon 1879). This definition continued in the Balkan linguistic literature (Friedman 1981) and has continued to be used through the present (DeLancey 1997). In more formal terms, admirativity can be defined in terms of a proposition P: “P, and the speaker did not expect P” (Plungian 2001, 355).

There has been a considerable amount of debate over the status of admirativity as a verbal category. In the languages they study, Friedman (1988) and Lazard (1999) argue that

admirativity is an extension of evidential meaning, and therefore should not be placed in its own category. Plungian (2001) places admirativity within the category of MODALITY or STATUS, as it has less to do with source of information and more to do with speaker attitude, but notes that the connection between admirativity and evidentiality is logical when languages exhibit only a two-way (direct vs. indirect) distinction in evidentiality, as both the indirect evidential and admiratives express low levels of speaker confidence. On the basis of data from Tibetan and Hare, DeLancey (1997; 2001) claims that admirativity merits the status of a category, as in Hare, admirativity is expressed in a separate part of the verbal paradigm from evidentiality.

Whether or not one considers MODALITY a separate category, the connections among it, EVIDENTIALITY, and STATUS/MODALITY are quite clear. Plungian's (2001) assessment of admirativity and (non-firsthand) evidentiality as having to do with low levels of speaker confidence can be related to the notion of NON-CONFIRMATIVITY that was first proposed by Aronson (1967) and expanded upon by Friedman (1978; 1980, etc.). In the previous chapter, we established that the marking of non-firsthand information source, a type of evidential meaning in Uzbek and Kazakh, was dependent upon the marking of non-confirmativity. This other meaning of *ekan/eken*, the expression of ADMIRATIVITY, can also be related to non-confirmativity. If we posit that the primary meaning of *ekan/eken* is non-confirmativity, then the use of these morphemes describing either past or non-visible events results in a non-firsthand information source (or evidential) reading. When these morphemes are employed to describe events that the speaker has clearly just witnessed, however, the combination of non-confirmativity and clear, first-hand information produces the ironic, surprised, unexpected, or otherwise EMOTIVE meanings ascribed to admirative utterances (see Darden 1977 for a similar analysis of

Bulgarian). The relationship between evidential, admirative/emotive, and non-confirmative meaning will be further discussed in the final section of this chapter.

### 5.1.2 Formal Properties of Admiratives

In Uzbek and Kazakh, utterances expressing admirativity are formally indistinguishable from those expressing non-firsthand information source:

- (185) *U juda zakiy ekan.* (Uz)  
he very smart EVID/EMOT  
'He's very smart.'

Without any context provided, (185) above is ambiguous. The speaker could be referring to non-firsthand information that has led the speaker to state that the subject of the sentence is intelligent, or could have just witnessed some action performed by the subject that leads to the speaker's assertion that the subject is (surprisingly) intelligent. In either case, the speaker is expressing non-confirmativity; the context of the utterance is required to determine which variety of non-confirmative meaning is expressed.

In Uzbek, the form *emish* is sometimes found in admiratives, rather than the more usual *ekan*. The formal properties of *emish* in these utterances are the same as in situations where non-firsthand information source is indicated.

- (186) *Katolik emish!* (Uz)  
Catholic EMOT  
'Catholic indeed!'  
(Joyce 2007, 19)

- (187) *Juda zo'r emish!* (Uz)  
very strong EMOT  
'He's very strong!'



The Kazakh cognate *-mIs*, as noted in Chapter 4, has become a sort of quotative marker, and does not occur in admirative utterances.

Admiratives frequently co-occur with sentence-final particles that indicate emotivity or emphasis. These particles include Kazakh *ğoy* and Uzbek *-a* and *-da*.

(188) *Durıs eken ğoy!* (Kaz)  
Correct EMOT EXCL  
'Why, that's right!' <sup>1</sup>

Although these particles do serve to express emotivity, they are entirely optional and are not part of the verbal complex; their presence should not be seen as any sort of formal marking. As seen in (189), for example, the presence of these particles does not affect the ordinary ordering of affixes, as they always sentence final.

(189) *Sen, juda ayyor ekan-san-a.* (Uz)  
you very crafty EMOT-2SG-EXCL  
'You, how crafty you are!'  
(Joyce 2007, 43)

Because these particles are never required, and because they are not part of the verbal complex, these particles should be treated as discourse phenomena and not as part of the primary expression of either admirativity or emotivity.

It is entirely possible, given the right context, for these particles to appear when it is clear that *ekan/eken* is expressing non-firsthand information source. In (190), the speaker has referenced a news item that states that it is the Chinese New Year; this reference indicates that *eken* here is intended to indicate non-firsthand information source. The addition of *ğoy* merely indicates that the speaker is expressing an emotive attitude toward the content of this utterance.

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<sup>1</sup> 2011. Accessed 5 Feb 2011. [www.zonakz.net/blogs/user/zhanzhak/4437.html?mode=comments](http://www.zonakz.net/blogs/user/zhanzhak/4437.html?mode=comments)

- (190) *Qıtay-lar-diy žaŋa žil-i eken ğoy.* (Kaz)  
 Chinese-PL-GEN new year-3 EVID EXCL  
 ‘It’s (apparently) the Chinese New Year!’<sup>3</sup>

Further evidence that the presence of these particles is not dependent upon the presence of *ekan/eken* comes from the ability of these particles to occur in utterances that do not contain *ekan/eken* (191-192).

- (191) *Sen-ing ism-sharif-ing g’alati-a.* (Uz)  
 You-GEN name-name-2SG weird-EXCL  
 ‘You’ve got a weird name.’  
 (Joyce 2007, 13)

- (192) *Žaŋbir žaw-ip qiziq qil-di ğoy* (Kaz)  
 Rain rain-CVB interesting make-PST EXCL  
 ‘The rain falling sure made it interesting!’<sup>5</sup>

In (191), the predicate is a bare adjective, and in (192), the predicate is a verb marked by the simple past, which expresses confirmativity. While the presence of *-a* and *ğoy* indicates the speaker’s emotive stance, the fact that these particles are essentially limitless in distribution further indicates that they should not be seen as primary verbal markers of emotivity, but instead as discourse particles.

### 5.1.3 Admiratives, Exclamatives, and Emotivity

In treating admiratives as emotive sentence types, it is useful to compare them to another sentence type that is generally considered to express an emotive attitude: exclamatives (Andueza and Gutiérrez-Rexach 2010). As explained previously, exclamatives are defined as utterances that bear emotive meaning and have an associated WH-element. It is the presence of this WH-

<sup>3</sup> 2009. “Blog riyziq pen riziq blog” Urimtal’s Blog, 28 Jan. Accessed 2 Feb 2011. [urimtal1.typepad.com/blog/2009/01/блог-ризык-пен-ризык-блог.html](http://urimtal1.typepad.com/blog/2009/01/блог-ризык-пен-ризык-блог.html)

<sup>5</sup> 2009. “Siyğa-siy, sirağa...muražaydan orin!” Nurgıysa Asilbekov, 28 Dec. Accessed 7 Mar 2011. <http://www.nurgisa.kz/?p=1084>

feature, rather than the presence of discourse particles such as *wow* or *man* or *gosh* that allows for the classification of exclamatives as a sentence type. Discourse particles such as these are analogous to Kazakh *ğoy* and Uzbek *-a* or *-da*.

Exclamatives, as defined by the presence of a WH-element, appear to be an areal feature. These constructions are attested in most western Eurasian languages, including Turkish. In the following examples from Elliott (1974, 245), the WH-element is bolded.

(193) ***Wie*** *angenehm est ist!*                      **German**  
‘How nice it is!’

(194) ***Ce om plăcut este!***                      **Romanian**  
‘What a nice man he is!’

(195) ***Ne lezzetli yemek yapıyorsun!***                      **Turkish**  
‘What delicious meals you cook!’

Although these constructions are best attested in European languages, there have been claims that similar forms exist in other languages, such as Mandarin (196) and Japanese (197) (also from Elliott 1974).

(196) ***Ta duoma gao!***                      **Mandarin**  
‘How tall he is!/How tall is he?’

(197) ***Nan to yuu uso o tsuku no deshoo!***                      **Japanese**  
‘What lies he tells!’

The existence of these constructions in Mandarin and Japanese does not appear to have been substantiated by any further studies, and there have been contradictory claims that a completely distinct Japanese construction is equivalent to the European exclamative. This Japanese construction does *not* possess any WH-element (Yamato 2010).

In Uzbek and Kazakh, it is possible to form exclamative-like constructions that employ WH-elements:

(198) *Mınaw qanday dämdi et!* (Kaz)  
this how tasty meat  
'What tasty meat this is!'

(199) *Qanday yaxshi!* (Uz)  
how good  
'How good (it is)!'

In both Uzbek and Kazakh, this WH-element is always 'how' (Uzbek: *qanday*, Kazakh: *qanday*, *qalay*).

There is some overlap between the two types of emotive utterances in Uzbek and Kazakh, as it is common that these exclamative-like constructions formed by the presence of *how* will also be marked with *ekan*.

(200) *Qanday yaxshi odam ekan!* (Uz)  
how good man EMOT  
'What a good man he is!'

Zanuttini and Portner (2003) argue that the emotive aspect of WH-marked exclamatives derives from the presence of the WH-element, which results in a type of pragmatic inference that they call widening. The result of this widening is an interpretation of surprise, unexpectedness, or extreme degree. While this approach clearly cannot apply to utterances marked only with *ekan/eken*, it also is insufficient to account for utterances marked with *how*. The approach offered by Castroviejo Miró (2006; 2010) treats the WH-elements in exclamatives as degree constructions. This approach appears to be the best way to reconcile those situations in which both *how* and *ekan/eken* are present, as, I claim, *how* in these contexts is a degree operator (and specifically an intensifier), which leaves *ekan/eken* as the primary markers of emotivity.

The first piece of evidence in support of Castroviejo Miró's degree analysis (and, specifically, the intensifier analysis proposed here) comes from the inability of *how*-type exclamatives in Uzbek and Kazakh co-occur with any other intensifiers:

- (201) *Qanday \*juda yaxshi odam!* (Uz)  
*Qanday \*öte žaqsi adam!* (Kaz)  
 how \*very good man  
 ‘What a very good man!’

In neither Uzbek nor Kazakh may both *how* and another degree operator or intensifier (such as Uzbek *juda* or Kazakh *öte* ‘very’) co-occur; this is in contrast with English, where (as seen in the gloss), this is entirely possible. As the double marking of degree is not allowed in these languages, it is reasonable to presume that *qanday/qalay* is a degree marker as well.

A second piece of evidence in support of the intensifier analysis comes from the inability of *qanday* or *qalay* to directly modify nouns, at least in their exclamative/intensifying capacity:

- (202) #*Qanday ayol!* (Uz)  
 #*Qanday äyel!* (Kaz)  
 how woman  
 ‘What a woman!’

The only possible analysis for utterances such as (202) is that of a question (*What kind of woman?*). Under the analysis of *qanday/qalay* as intensifiers, this sort of behavior is expected, as other intensifiers such as *juda* and *öte* cannot modify nouns.

Because only *qanday/qalay* occurs in these constructions, as opposed to other WH-elements (such as *what*), it is likely that *qanday/qalay* in these cases has been reanalyzed as an intensifier. The emotive properties of degree operators, and intensifiers in particular, are well-known (Athanasiadou 2007, among others), so the treatment of utterances marked by *qanday/qalay* as expressing emotivity is not at all problematic. It appears to be the case that the choice of the marked *qanday/qalay* over a non-WH-intensifier such as *juda* or *öte* has the pragmatic effect of specifically indicating emotivity.

In terms of semantics, both admiratives and the true WH-exclamatives found in English and many other languages have much in common. Zanuttini and Portner’s impressionistic

analysis of exclamatives as expressing “‘a sense of surprise,’ ‘unexpectedness,’ ‘extreme degree,’ and the like” (2003, 40) is nearly identical to the range of meanings described for the admiratives found in the languages of the Balkans (Friedman 1980; 1981). Zannutini and Portner propose a number of criteria for defining exclamatives, and while most of these criteria are syntactic, and therefore not applicable to non-WH-type utterances, one criterion in particular, that of scalar implicature, can apply to both WH-exclamatives and admiratives.

The scalar implicature criterion proposed by Zannutini and Portner (2003) requires that some aspect of the propositional content of the exclamative must fall outside the realm of normal expectation. In the example *How well he plays the violin*, it is implied that the violin playing in question should exceed ordinary expectations for violin playing, or, at least, for the violin playing of the subject. In Uzbek and Kazakh, this criterion is only upheld if the predicate of the admirative utterance is gradable:

(203) *Aqtöbe-de bala-lar-din žağday-i žaqsi eken!* (Kaz)  
 Aqtöbe-LOC child-PL-GEN condition-3 good EMOT  
 ‘The conditions for children in Aqtöbe are good!’<sup>7</sup>

(204) *Yor, ko’z-lar-ing qop~qora ekan!*  
 Friend, eye-PL-2SG INTENS-black EMOT  
 ‘How very dark your eyes are, friend!’<sup>9</sup>

In (203), the interpretation is that the *good*-ness of the conditions in Aqtöbe is somehow exceptional, and in (204), the combination of reduplication (*qop~qora*) and the presence of *ekan* indicates that the darkness of the addressee’s eyes is similarly exceptional. In cases where the

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<sup>7</sup> Žalmağanbetova, Aynur. 2009. “Aqtöbede balalardın žağdayi žaqsi eken!” *Aqtöbe Oblistiğ Qoğamdiğ Sayasiy Gazet* 28 May. Accessed 10 Mar 2011. <http://www.aktobegazeti.kz/?p=1853>.

<sup>9</sup> 2007. Forum TFI: Stixi o Ljubvi, 9 Feb. Accessed 8 Feb 2011. [forum.tfi.uz/forum\\_posts.asp?TID=389&PID=78150](http://forum.tfi.uz/forum_posts.asp?TID=389&PID=78150)

predicate is non-gradable (such as an existential or a non-stative verb), this extreme degree reading is not found:

(205) *Aqša-m žoq eken!* (Kaz)  
Money-1SG NEG.EXIST EMOT  
'My money's gone!'

(206) *Ah, qo'l chiq-ib ket-gan ekan-da*  
Ah arm dislocate-CVB PFV-PRF EMOT-EXCL  
'Ah! His arm has become dislocated!'<sup>11</sup>

Without the scalar implicature interpretation available, the above utterances express surprise or other strong emotions.

On the basis of Turkish data, Zanuttini and Portner (2003) suggested that admiratives might be considered a type of exclamative. While admiratives and exclamatives do share much in common, at least in terms of semantics, such an analysis is bound to fail. First, admiratives and exclamatives differ greatly in terms of their morphosyntax. Admiratives (at least those of the Eurasian evidentiality belt) are marked with forms derived from perfects, and exclamatives are marked by WH-elements. Secondly, the expression of admirativity is inextricably tied to the expression of non-confirmativity. The use of a non-confirmative form in a context where the speaker ought to be able to confirm the propositional content of an utterance results in meanings of surprise or irony or some other strong emotion. These resulting meanings must be pragmatic in nature, as the same morphemes that express admirativity also express non-firsthand information source and other non-confirmative meanings. Although both admiratives and exclamatives both indicate an emotive use of language, they should not be considered the same.

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<sup>11</sup> Xolmirzayev, Shukur. 1990. "Qadimda Bo'lgan Ekan." Ziyouz.  
[http://www.ziyouz.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=3077&Itemid=228](http://www.ziyouz.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3077&Itemid=228)

The meanings common to both types of utterance are likely due to the typological and pragmatic implications of employing language to express emotion.

## 5.2 Rhetorical Questions: Speaker-Oriented Interrogatives

When *ekan/eken* appear in interrogative utterances, two interpretations surface. The first interpretation, which was discussed in the previous chapter, involves the questioning of either the knowledge of the addressee or the expectation of an answer containing non-firsthand information source. These readings are well-attested cross-linguistically when forms bearing evidential meaning occur in interrogative contexts. The second interpretation is that of a rhetorical question, which, broadly defined, refers to any utterances formally marked as interrogative but which expect no answer.

Rhetorical questions have generally not been thought of as employing the emotive function of language, and previous accounts have questions typically focused on what Sadock (1971) calls *queclaratives*, that is, rhetorical questions that are semantically equivalent to assertions of the opposite polarity, as in (207). This sort of rhetorical question can be seen as a type of indirect speech act, as an utterance with the form of an interrogative is employed to perform a declarative speech act.

(207) Don't you love syntax?  $\approx$  You love syntax.

Due to the semantic/pragmatic reversal of polarity associated with queclaratives, they may co-occur with negative polarity items, such as *anybody* in (208), even when an overt marker of negation is not present (Han 1998). Note, however, that it is impossible to tell (208a) apart from (208c) without context or intonation:



- (208) a. What has John done for anybody? (Rhetorical question)  
b. John hasn't done anything for anybody. (Statement)  
c. #What has John done for anybody? (Question)

Although queclaratives may license NPIs, they are otherwise not formally marked in English.

Queclaratives are not, however, the only type of rhetorical questions, at least if the main criteria used to define them is that of not expecting a reply. Even in English, it is possible to find examples of questions that do not expect a response, yet which do not meet the criteria for queclaratives:

(209) *Am I cute, or what?* ( $\approx$  *I am cute.*)

(210) *Why does God hate me?*

The above two examples are clearly rhetorical questions, in as much as neither question anticipates a reply, yet they are clearly not queclaratives. Example (27) is semantically equivalent to a statement of the same polarity, and (28) expects no answer, as it is a philosophical musing.

More recent approaches to the expression of emotivity have found that the combination of emotivity and interrogativity produce a wide range of results. For Japanese, Maynard (2002) lists four types of emotive questions:

- i.) *Self-inquiry interrogatives*, in which the speaker addresses a question to him or herself
- ii.) *Self-acceptance interrogatives*, in which the speaker is involved with the processing of new information, particularly surprising or unexpected information
- iii.) *Metacommunicative interrogatives*, in which the speaker's non-expectation of an answer is employed to modify the speech act, particularly in a way that expresses doubt
- iv.) *Rhetorical questions*, in which the speaker employs an utterance with interrogative form to express a non-interrogative proposition of the opposite polarity.

In the interest of maintaining consistent terminology, Maynard's *rhetorical questions* will be referred to as *queclaratives*. As none of the question types described above anticipate any response, the entire class of emotive questions described above will be called *rhetorical questions*.

The first three of Maynard's categories can be broadly grouped as *introspective* rhetorical questions, and very often can be translated into English with the verb *to wonder*, as in (211) and (212):

(211) *Išinde ne bar eken?* (Kaz)

Inside what EXIST EMOT?

'What is inside?' 'I wonder what is inside?'

(212) *Hozir uy-lar-i-da bu haq-da munozara qil-ish-ayotgan-mi-kan.* (Uz)

Now home-PL-3-LOC this claim-LOC dispute do-COOP-PROG-Q-EVID

'I wondered if they were arguing at home about that.'

(Joyce 2007, 8)

In (211), a child has just received a gift and is in the process of opening it. There is no expectation that any answer will be provided, as that would spoil the surprise, and because the answer will become apparent soon anyway. In (212), the question is completely unanswerable and is asked by the speaker while he is alone. In both cases, these questions are asked not for the benefit of any hearer, but for the purpose of expressing the speaker's mental state.

In the translation of English literature into Uzbek, as in (212), it is common practice to translate utterances containing the verb *to wonder* as *ekan*-marked interrogatives. This practice is notable, as a number of languages employ reflexive forms of the verb *to ask* to express the same thing (e.g. German: *sich fragen*, Spanish: *preguntarse*, French: *se demander*, Swedish: *fråga sig*). The reflexive properties of these verbs reorient the embedded question back toward the speaker. As the emotive function of language is defined by Bühler (1934) and Jakobson (1960) as speaker-oriented, the association between the verb *to wonder* and *ekan/eken* is

unsurprising. By orienting an interrogative utterance away from the hearer and toward the speaker, language is employed to indicate emotivity and no response is necessarily expected.

More traditional types of rhetorical questions (i.e. Sadock's [1971] *queclaratives*) are also expressed by the combination of *ekan/eken* and interrogativity.

(213) *O'sha inson o'z-i Insof nima-lig-i-ni bil-ar-mi-kan?* (Uz)  
That man self-3 fairness what-NMLZR-3-ACC know-AOR-Q-EMOT  
'Does he know what fairness is?' ≈ 'He doesn't know what fairness is.'<sup>13</sup>

(214) *Sonda siz-din buygiğ-iñiz-ğa kim qarsi kel-di eken?* (Kaz)  
Thus you-GEN order-2PL-DAT who against come-PST EMOT  
'If that is so, who would go against your command?' ≈ 'No one would go against your command.'<sup>14</sup>

Both the introspective and queclarative varieties of rhetorical questions are clearly emotive, as both express emotion and, as they expect no response, are speaker-, rather than hearer-oriented.

It appears to be rare, cross-linguistically, that rhetorical questions are formally marked and can be said to constitute a sentence type. Johanson (2000, 2003) mentions that Nogay and Uyghur, in addition to Uzbek and Kazakh, employ cognates of *ekan/eken* to produce rhetorical questions. Faller (2002) notes that in Cusco Quechua, the combination of evidential markers and interrogativity can result questions for which the speaker does not expect a reply. This result is, essentially, a rhetorical question:

(215) *Pi-ta-chá Inés-qa watuku-rqa-n?*  
who-ACC-EVID Inés-TOP visit-PST1-3  
'Who could Inés have visited?'

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<sup>13</sup> 2010. Haqida.uz Form, 4 Oct. Accessed 13 Mar 2011.  
forum.haqida.uz/forum/textversion.html?t258-7

<sup>14</sup> Nazarbayev, Nursultan. "Prezidenttiñ tikeley efiryi: alğasqı nätiyželer men tužirımdar." *Abai.kz*. Accessed 1 Mar 2011. <http://abai.kz/content/prezidenttin-tikelei-efiri-algashky-netizheler-men-tyzhyrymdar>

It is worth noting that in Quechua, some analyses treat evidentiality as the pragmatic result of a secondary feature borne by certain morphemes; Adelaar's (1977) treatment of so-called evidential forms as *validationals* is remarkably similar to the confirmative analysis employed here.

Aside from the Turkic languages described by Johanson (2003) and Cusco Quechua, the only other languages that appear to formally mark rhetorical questions are American Sign Language (ASL) and Quebec Sign Language (LSQ), both of which belong the French Sign Language family, which form rhetorical questions by combining question lexemes with marking for polar questions<sup>15</sup>. What is noteworthy about rhetorical questions in these languages is that they require an immediate response from the speaker as seen in (216), from Hoza et al. (1997, 1):

(216) rh/wh  
DO-DO, IX<sub>i</sub>            BIG-HEAD ENTER...  
What did he/she do? S/he had the nerve to barge right in there...

Although formally different from Turkic and Quechua rhetorical questions, ASL and LSQ rhetorical questions share the properties of being formally marked (by the presence of polar question marking), speaker-oriented (in as much as it is the speaker, and not the hearer who is expected to respond), and employed for the purpose of expressing emotivity (as indicated by the use of the pejorative BIG-HEAD in the response).

The lack of information regarding the formal marking of rhetorical questions may have less to do with typological rarity and more to do with a lack of recognition of this sort of phenomenon when it arises. If we treat the phenomena in Uzbek and Kazakh as prototypical of

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<sup>15</sup> Many thanks to Nassira Nicola for pointing out the relevant ASL literature, and for explaining the related Quebec Sign Language phenomena.

the center of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, it is likely that genetically and areally related languages will exhibit similar phenomena.

### 5.3 Emotivity, Evidentiality, and Confirmativity

By appealing to the notion of confirmativity, we are able to unify the diverse meanings of *ekan/eken*. As non-confirmative morphemes, they express different meanings based upon context. In a context where there is no evidence that the speaker has firsthand information about an event, the conventional implication is that *ekan/eken* intend to express a non-firsthand information source. In a context where the speaker has clearly has firsthand information about an event, the combination of non-confirmativity and witnessed information expresses admirativity.

Confirmativity is a member of the category of STATUS or MODALITY, which is defined by Aronson (1990) as the “subjective evaluation of the narrated event by the speaker, i.e.,  $E^n/P^s$ .” This category also includes modal verbs such as English *may* or *might*. Confirmativity is somewhat different from what is expressed by English *may* and *might*, and is especially different from adjectival constructions that express similar information, such as *it is probable that P*. The difference between confirmativity and constructions such as *it is probable that P* can be explained by a subjective/objective distinction that was first proposed by Lyons (1977). Under Lyon’s formulation, an utterance such as (217) has two possible interpretations, based upon whether a subjective or objective evaluation of the state of affairs is intended.

(217) *John may be in Indianapolis by now.*

Under a subjective interpretation of *may*, the speaker is indicating uncertainty as to the truth of the utterance (*I can’t be sure whether John is in Indianapolis*). Under an objective interpretation, the speaker is applying a mathematical analysis of the situation at hand, based on

known truths (*Given how fast John drives, and considering the time he left, it is possible that he has reached Indianapolis*).

If we add a parameter of SUBJECTIVITY to the scales of likelihood expressed by STATUS or MODALITY, we find that confirmativity falls firmly on the side of subjectivity, as it expresses only the speaker's willingness to confirm the truth of a proposition, but not the speaker's objective evaluation of the likelihood of an event. Constructions such as *it is probable that P* must, on the other hand, be interpreted as non-subjective evaluations of probability. Papafragou (2006) frames this dimension of subjectivity as one that is related to what is known, and by whom. Subjective uses of verbs such as *may* occur when the speaker is the person with knowledge relevant to the statement being made, and therefore makes that statement based upon his or her beliefs. Objective uses of these verbs occur when that knowledge is shared between the speaker and the hearer (i.e. objective truths), so that any evaluation of the likelihood of truth can be made on the basis of non-opinionated information.

Under this analysis of subjectivity, non-confirmative meanings arise when the speaker wishes to cast doubt upon the truth value of a proposition; that is, the speaker is admitting that he or she does not possess sufficient knowledge to verify what is being said. In certain contexts, this results in evidential meaning, as the speaker is admitting that he or she does not have sufficient basis to confirm what is said. Evidential meaning is, then, closely related to the subjective evaluation of the state of affairs, based upon the speaker's knowledge and assessment of the evidence: "does (s)he have good, mathematically or formally reliable evidence (i.e., objectivity), or does (s)he have poor or vague, intuitive evidence (i.e., subjectivity)" (Nuyts 2001, 393). Admirative meaning is also closely related to subjectivity in as much as the speaker,

the sole person whose knowledge matters in the making of a subjective judgment, is likely to express surprise when new, unexpected, or contradictory information is discovered (Nuyts 2001).

What is especially interesting about this analysis is Lyons' (1977) observation that the subjective interpretation of modal verbs and is unacceptable in a number of contexts, due to the indexicality of this interpretation. The two main contexts in which this subjective interpretation is unavailable are with conditional forms and in certain types of questions.

The case of conditionals is particularly interesting because the non-confirmative interpretation of *ekan/eken* is unavailable when the conditional *-sa/-sa* is present. In English, when a subjective interpretation is forced, the sentence is semantically ill-formed (218, from Papafragou 2006):

(218) *?If John may be unhappy, his wife will be worried.*

In Uzbek and Kazakh, however, this semantic incompatibility is remedied by providing a standardized interpretation of constructions in which the conditional and *ekan/eken* are combined. This interpretation is one of desiderativity or necessity, and can often be translated into English with the modal verb *should*.

(219) *Qaysi kino-ni ko'r-sa-m ekan?* (Uz)  
which movie-ACC see-COND-1SG EVID  
'Which movie should I see?'

(220) *Qizim žaqsi žer-ge bar-sa eken.* (Kaz)  
daughter-1SG good place-DAT go-COND EVID  
'My daughter should go to a good place.'<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> 2010. "Äkelerdiñ resmiy ängimesi...(quda tüsüw)". Qaldıqız, 16 Oct. Accessed 5 Jul 2011. <http://kaldykyz.wordpress.com/2010/10/16/%D3%99%D0%BA%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B4%D1%96%D2%A3-%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%BC%D0%B8-%D3%99%D2%A3%D0%B3%D1%96%D0%BC%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%96-%D2%9B%D2%B1%D0%B4%D0%B0-%D1%82%D2%AF%D1%81%D1%83/>

If *ekan/eken* were true evidentials, there should be no issue in combining them with the conditional. The resultant meanings would be roughly translatable as *apparently, if*, but this is not the case. As seen above, when *ekan/eken* combine with the conditional *-sa/-sA*, the only interpretation is the deontic one seen in (219) and (220).

The second context in which this subjective interpretation is unavailable is in certain types of questions:

(221) *?Must this professor be smart?*

In (221), because professors are typically considered smart, the modal verb *must* is interpreted as relating to the speaker's subjective evaluation of the proposition. In contexts where an objective interpretation is clear, modal verbs are allowed.

(222) *Might John be a liar?*

In (222), the question asked is about an objective likelihood, not about the speaker's opinion, so *might* is allowed to occur in an interrogative utterance.

The inability of forms expressing subjective evaluation to occur in questions of this sort may explain the strange behavior of *ekan/eken* in Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as that of its cognates in other languages. Recall that when *ekan/eken* occurs in a question, the resulting interpretation is either one in which the speaker is asking a question about the hearer's knowledge or is posing a rhetorical question. While the declarative correlates of these forms (non-firsthand information source and admirativity) are easily derivable from the non-confirmative analysis of *ekan/eken*, it is somewhat more difficult to employ this analysis when *ekan/eken* occurs in interrogatives. The following examples (223) and (224) are illustrative of this issue:



(223) *Peter Moskva-ni yaxshi ko'r-gan ekan* (Uz)  
*Peter Mäskew-di žaqsi kör-gen eken* (Kaz)  
 Peter Moscow-ACC good see-PRF EVID  
 'Peter liked Moscow.'

(224) *Kim Moskva-ni yaxshi ko'r-gan ekan* (Uz)  
*Kim Mäskew-di žaqsi kör-gen eken* (Kaz)  
 who Moscow-ACC good see-PRF EVID  
 'Who liked Moscow?'

The two possible interpretations of (223) can be clearly derivable from a non-confirmative treatment of *ekan/eken*, as seen in (225). Drawing from Lyons' (1977) observation that subjectivity may be paralleled by performative verbs, we are able to make the connection between non-confirmativity and the resulting meanings explicit:

(225) a. *Peter (apparently) liked Moscow ≈ I will not confirm that Peter liked Moscow (because I have no firsthand evidence for that fact)*  
 b. *Wow! Peter liked Moscow! ≈ I will not confirm that Peter liked Moscow (because I am surprised that he would)*

It is less easy to derive the two possible interpretations of (224), the interrogative utterance, by appealing to non-confirmativity.

(226) a. *Who (do you think) liked Moscow? □ Who will I not confirm liked Moscow (due to a lack of firsthand evidence for that fact)*  
 b. *Who (the hell) likes Moscow?! □ Who will I not confirm liked Moscow (because I am surprised by that fact)*

The problem with allowing forms that indicate subjective evaluation in questions is that the question asked becomes a question about the speaker's knowledge. In most languages, this sort of question is either highly constrained or simply not allowed.

Further evidence against a non-confirmative analysis of *ekan/eken* in questions is their ability to co-occur with markers of confirmativity, i.e. the confirmative past tense in *-di/-DI*. In Uzbek, at least, *ekan* may not follow any form of the past *-di* when in a declarative clause, and in Kazakh, the co-occurrence of *eken* and *-DI* is mostly restricted to certain types of cause-and-

effect constructions demarcated by the complementizer *dep* (227), suggesting that in embedded contexts, *eken* may bear a reportative function similar to *-mIs*. It is otherwise very rare for *eken* and *-DI* to co-occur.

- (227) *De-gen-men, dağdaris kel-di eken dep, qol quwsir-ip qara-p otir-uw-ğa*  
 say-PRF-1SG crisis come-PST EVID COMP arm cross-CVB look-CVB sit-INF-DAT  
*bol-ma-y-di.* (Kaz)  
 be-NEG-PRES-3  
 ‘As I’ve said, because a crisis has apparently come, we can’t sit around waiting with our arms crossed.’<sup>17</sup>

In questions, however, neither Uzbek nor Kazakh has any restrictions on the co-occurrence of *ekan/eken* and *-di/-DI* (228-229).

- (228) *U ayt-di-mi-kan?* (Uz)  
 He say-PST-Q-EVID  
 ‘Did he say that?’
- (229) *Bar-di eken be? ~ Bar-di ma eken?* (Kaz)  
 go-PST EVID Q ~ go-PST Q EVID  
 ‘Did she go?’

This co-occurrence is unexpected because *ekan/eken* have been analyzed up to this point as non-confirmative, whereas *-di/-DI* have been analyzed as confirmative; their co-occurrence should, then, be semantically impossible. In addition to the semantic arguments outlined previously, this distributional evidence supports the idea that *ekan/eken* lose their non-confirmativity when they appear in questions.

Uzbek and Kazakh appear to have developed rhetorical questions and evidential questions as a strategy for dealing with the incompatibility of non-confirmativity and interrogativity. Rather than completely disallowing these combination of interrogativity and non-confirmativity the secondary meanings expressed by non-confirmative forms (non-firsthand

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<sup>17</sup> Arnur, Asqar. 2009. “Uliqpan Žoldasov: Almatini aralamağanima üš žil boldi.” *Dastan Studiyası*, 11 Sep. Accessed 6 Oct 2010. <http://www.dastan-studio.kz/?p=1904>

information source and emotivity) become primary. The combination of interrogativity with non-firsthand information source, or evidential meaning, results in questions about the hearer's knowledge or source of information, and the combination of emotivity and interrogativity results in rhetorical questions. These facts, combined with the inability of the non-confirmative meanings of *ekan/eken* to surface in the presence of a conditional, provide strong support for the claim that the primary meanings of these forms are not truly evidential, but are instead ones of a non-confirmative type of STATUS/MODALITY.

In Uzbek and Kazakh, *ekan/eken* have identical morphosyntactic properties whether the intended reading is one of emotivity or of non-firsthand information source. However, in Nogay, a Kipchak language related to Kazakh, the non-firsthand information source meanings and emotive meanings of the cognate *eken* can differ in their morphosyntactic realizations. This distinction crucially occurs only in questions (Johanson 2003, data from Karakoç 2005):

- (230) a. *Ne-ge kel-gen eken-ler?*  
 what-DAT come-PRF EVID-PL  
 'Why have they (reportedly) come?'
- b. *Ne-ge kel-gen-ler eken?*  
 what-DAT come-PRF-PL EMOT  
 'I wonder why they have come.'

When the question asked concerns source of information (as in 230a), person and number marking is placed on *eken*. When a rhetorical question is intended (230b), person and number marking is placed on the main part of the predicate. In declarative clauses, the placement of agreement markers is variable in Nogay, just as in Uzbek and Kazakh, and no distinction is made between the evidential or emotive types of non-confirmative meaning. The differences between these two forms are, I propose, the result of the grammaticalization of evidential and rhetorical questions. Whereas the various meanings expressed by *ekan/eken* in declarative clauses are

clearly related to non-confirmativity, in questions, the incompatibility of non-confirmativity has forced evidential and emotive meanings to become primary. In Uzbek and Kazakh, this appears to be a pragmatic effect, with speakers and hearers agreeing upon conventionalized interpretations of these semantically incompatible combinations. In Nogay, this pragmatic effect has grammaticalized to the point that these conventionalized interpretations are marked differently in the grammar.

By appealing to non-confirmativity as the primary feature of *ekan/eken*, we are able to unify the various uses of these forms to express non-firsthand information source and admirativity. Because non-confirmativity is related to the subjective, or speaker-internal evaluation of the state of affairs, it follows that when non-confirmative forms are employed, the resultant meanings have to do with the speaker's knowledge (as expressed by the speaker's indication of non-firsthand information source) or a contradiction between the speaker's knowledge and the state of affairs (as expressed by the speaker's indication of admirativity). Although interrogativity is generally incompatible with the expression of non-confirmativity, there exist ways of reconciling this incompatibility. Because the secondary meanings of non-confirmative forms *are* compatible with interrogativity, these meanings, evidentiality and emotivity, become primary in these cases.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 6.1 Evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh: A Summary

Although EVIDENTIAL meaning in Uzbek and Kazakh is expressed by a number of different forms, I have attempted in the previous chapters to explain how those forms are related, their origins, and their precise meanings, particularly in regard to their expression of (non-)confirmativity. The following sections attempt to condense the findings of the previous chapters into brief summaries.

##### 6.1.1 Major Findings

In beginning to address the way that evidential meanings are expressed in Uzbek and Kazakh, it is necessary first to understand how *ekan/eken*, the major bearers of evidential meaning, are distributed. Although there is some dispute over the diachronic basis of these forms (Erdal 1991; 2004), synchronically, they behave as though they were copular forms of the perfect *-gan/-GAN*. Many grammars of Uzbek and Kazakh, and indeed, of other Turkic languages, take an approach to the verbal systems of these languages that does not account for the fact that most inflectional morphemes exhibit predictable distribution. My approach instead treats every possible configuration of the various markers of mood, negation, tense, etc. as an independent paradigm.

Because these previous approaches made could not predict the distribution of *ekan/eken*, in Chapter 2, I proposed a basic distinction between finite and non-finite forms of the verb. There are three finite verbal paradigms in Uzbek and Kazakh: the imperative-voluntative-optative series, the simple past tense in *-di/-DI*, and the conditional in *-sa/-SA*. I call these

paradigms finite because they occur only when the verb they are attached to is acting as a predicate and because they take different types of agreement than other verbal paradigms (see Tables 10, 11, and 16 in Chapter 2). Non-finite series include gerunds, infinitives, agentives, participals, and converbs (e.g. the perfect participle *-gan/-GAn*, the agentive/future *-mochi/-UwšI*). These may occur both in predicative position and in other positions and take a form of agreement called pronominal agreement, as the forms of the markers resemble the independent pronouns (see Tables 12-14 in Chapter 2).

This distinction is important to make in Uzbek and Kazakh, as non-finite paradigms of the verb pattern with non-verbal predicates. Like non-verbal predicates (nouns, adjectives, etc.), non-finite paradigms are found in non-predicative positions and take pronominal agreement marking. Most importantly, when non-finite forms of the verb act as predicates, they differ from the finite ones described above in that they may co-occur with copular paradigms, creating complex verb forms. Uzbek and Kazakh each possess five copular paradigms: the past *edi/edi*, the negative *emas/emes*, the conditional *esa/ese*, the non-confirmative *ekan/eken*, and the reportative *emish/-mIs*. While these paradigms do exhibit certain peculiarities in their distribution, by positing a finite/non-finite distinction we are able to fairly accurately predict where these copular forms will and will not occur.

The starting point for the analysis of EVIDENTIAL meaning in Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as in most other languages of the Eurasian evidentiality belt is the simplex past tenses. In both Uzbek and Kazakh, three forms of the verb express past tense: the simple, finite past tense in *-di/-DI*, the participial perfect past tense in *-gan/-GAn*, and the converbial past tense in *-(i)b/-(I)p*. While previous analyses of Uzbek, Kazakh, and related languages often discuss these past tense paradigms in terms of evidential meaning, I have shown in Chapter 3 that forms differ

mainly in terms of markedness for confirmativity. The simple past *-di/-DI* is marked as confirmative, and is therefore only used when the speaker wishes to vouch for, or confirm the contents of the utterance. The converbial past tense in *-(i)b/-(I)p* is marked as non-confirmative, and is therefore employed when the speaker does not wish to vouch for or confirm the contents of the utterance; this non-confirmation may indicate non-firsthand information source, surprise, doubt, or non-volitionality. The perfect in *-gan/-GAn* is unmarked for confirmativity, and may therefore be employed in a wide variety of contexts. A number of other features distinguish these forms from one another; these are summarized in Table 31.

Table 31: Features of Past Tense Forms in Uzbek and Kazakh

<b><i>-di/-DI</i></b> Past	<b><i>-gan/-GAn</i></b> Perfect	<b><i>-(i)b/-(I)p</i></b> Converb Past
[+Confirmative]	[Ø Confirmative]	[-Confirmative]
[+Definite]	[-Definite]	[Ø Definite]
[-Distant] <sup>1</sup>	[+Distant]	[Ø Distant]

While the converbial past *-(i)b/-(I)p* may be used to express non-confirmativity, it is limited in its uses as it must also express past tense. The copular forms *ekan/eken* are also marked as non-confirmative, but only sometimes express past tense, and may therefore be used in a wider variety of contexts. These forms are, however, restricted in the types of non-confirmativity that they may express, indicating non-firsthand information source and admirativity. This may be because they are copular forms, and therefore more formally marked; this formal markedness then corresponds to functional markedness. Uzbek and Kazakh differ from Balkan Slavic, Turkish, and other better-studied languages of the Eurasian evidentiality belt in that they possess forms like *ekan/eken*. The presence of these forms shifts the locus of evidential meaning away from the past tense and, instead, refocuses it on morphemes that more independently express non-confirmativity.

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<sup>1</sup> Temporal distance is only a feature in Uzbek – see 3.1.

When *ekan/eken* express non-firsthand information source, they are not limited to a certain type of non-firsthand information source. Aikenvald's (2004) typology of evidential meaning breaks non-firsthand information source into four types: INFERENCE, ASSUMPTION, HEARSAY and QUOTATION. As shown in Chapter 5, *ekan/eken* express all of these meanings, except for quotations, which are expressed by means of a separate, complementation construction. In Uzbek, if a speaker wishes to make explicit that HEARSAY is the intended meaning, the form *emish* may be used; this form is never employed to indicate other types of non-firsthand information source. In Kazakh, the cognate form *-mIs* may be employed, but as described in Chapter 5, *-mIs* appears to have evolved into a marker of pure reportativity, with no meanings of non-confirmativity. Most descriptions of Kazakh either omit *-mIs* or state that it may attach to a bare verb stem (Johanson 2000; 2003), which it may not.

When *ekan/eken* is employed in questions, one possible meaning is what I refer to as the *evidential question*. Evidential questions are employed to indicate the expectation that the hearer will base the response on the best possible grounds, or to express expectation that the hearer will have non-firsthand evidence for the answer (see Faller 2002). Evidential questions are typically questions into the knowledge of the speaker; they are therefore often used to indicate politeness or hedging, or, they may occur as part of an exchange in which the speaker and hearer discuss events of which neither party has firsthand knowledge.

*Ekan/eken*, as well as Uzbek *emish* can also be employed to express admirativity, which is traditionally described as the linguistic expression of unexpected information. While many analyses treat non-firsthand information source (i.e. evidential meaning) and admirativity as separate phenomena (see DeLancey 1997, 2001), or consider admirative meaning to be an extension of evidential meaning (e.g. Johanson 2000, 2003), we are able to account for both



meanings by looking to the non-confirmative analysis employed by Darden (1977) and Friedman (1978, 1980). What distinguishes admirativity from evidential meaning is context. When the speaker has clearly witnessed the event being described, yet chooses to employ a non-confirmative form, the combination of non-confirmativity and clear, first-hand information produces the ironic, surprised, or unexpected meanings ascribed to admirative utterances (see Darden 1977 for a similar analysis of Bulgarian, and Friedman 1981 for Macedonian and Albanian).

Perhaps the most surprising use of *ekan/eken* is the formation of rhetorical questions. Most of better-studied languages of the Eurasian evidentiality belt (e.g. Turkish, Macedonian) do not employ non-confirmative morphemes to create rhetorical questions, so there has been no previous attempt to incorporate rhetorical questions in the aforementioned non-confirmative analyses. This analysis readily accounts for admirativity and non-firsthand information source, but rhetorical questions pose a problem for this analysis. In Chapter 6, I proposed that admirativity and rhetorical questions be grouped together as EMOTIVE uses of language, following Jakobson's (1960) account of the functions of language. The use of language in its emotive capacity serves to express the inner state of the speaker and is speaker-oriented language; admiratives, much like the exclamatives found in European languages, express a strong emotion on the part of the speaker, while rhetorical questions are questions the speaker asks of his or herself or questions that are intended to express emotional state, rather than to prompt a response.

By combining the two possible interpretations of *ekan/eken* - non-firsthand information source and emotivity - with the two clause types that these forms may occur in, we produce the matrix found in Table 32.

Table 32: The Four Functions of *Ekan/Eken*

	[+EVIDENTIAL]	[+EMOTIVE]
[+DECLARATIVE]	Evidential Statement	Admirative
[+INTERROGATIVE]	Evidential Question	Rhetorical Question

In order to account for the fact that neither evidential questions nor rhetorical questions can easily be accounted for with the non-confirmativity analysis, I propose that these meanings exist as strategies for providing meaning to utterances that are morphosyntactically possible, but semantically incompatible. A number of scholars have noted that subjective types of modality are incompatible with certain types of questions (Lyons 1977; Papafragou 2006). While the categories of STATUS and MODALITY are somewhat different (as described in the Preface), it is useful to compare the two concepts, as analyses of subjective MODALITY would appear to encompass non-confirmativity, which was originally proposed as a subvariety of STATUS. If we interpret non-confirmativity as a subjective type of meaning, we are able to account for the incompatibility of non-confirmative meanings and questions. Because the combination of *ekan/eken* and question forms is otherwise allowed, the semantic incompatibility of these two phenomena is remedied by the production of utterances bearing only the secondary meanings expressed via non-confirmativity: (non-firsthand) evidentiality and emotivity.

The notion that non-confirmativity is, indeed, a subjective type of meaning is further reinforced by the meanings that are produced when *ekan/eken* combine with conditionals. A number of semantic works (Lyons 1977, etc.) have postulated that subjective types of MODALITY are incompatible not only with certain types of questions (as evidenced by the strong evidential and emotive meanings described above), but also with conditionals. In Uzbek and Kazakh, the combination of conditional forms and *ekan/eken* is morphologically possible, but the non-

confirmative semantics of *ekan/eken* should result in an ill-formed utterance. To remedy this incompatibility, a new meaning, one of obligation or desiderativity has resulted (231).

- (231) *Men kim bilan bor-sa-m ekan?* (Uz)  
I who with go-COND-1SG EVID  
'Who should I go with?/Who would I like to go with?'

These incompatibilities, and the strategies that exist to repair these incompatibilities, indicate that non-confirmativity, which is a type of STATUS, should be connected to the concept of subjective MODALITY.

### 6.1.2 Differences between Uzbek and Kazakh

As described in Chapter 1, Uzbek and Kazakh belong to different branches of Turkic and arose from very different sociolinguistic situations, yet their means of expressing evidential and related meanings are quite similar. Through much of this work, it has been possible to refer to cognate morphemes in each language as though they were the same (e.g. *-(i)b/-(I)p*, *ekan/eken*). The similarities between Uzbek and Kazakh suggest that what has been described in this work will be similar to what occurs in the other Turkic languages of Central Asia. There are, however, a number of minor differences between Uzbek and Kazakh, at least as far as the topic of this work is concerned. By briefly explaining those differences I hope to provide a groundwork for anticipating where other languages may vary.

Four principal differences in the morphosyntactic distribution of forms separate Uzbek and Kazakh. The first two differences, at least in terms of the the topic of this work, are the ordering of *ekan/eken* and the question particle and the ability of *ekan/eken* to follow the past tense *-di/-DI*.

In Uzbek, it is possible for the question particle to follow the evidential marker: *ekan-mi*. In Kazakh, this is not allowed: *\*eken-be*. When the question particle follows the evidential marker in Uzbek, the preceding item must not be a finite form of the verb; that is, in evidential and rhetorical questions, where the past tense *-di* may precede the evidential marker, the question particle must intervene between the past tense marker and the evidential marker:

- (232) a. *qil-di-mi-kan?* (Uz)  
do-PST-Q-EVID  
'Did he (apparently) do?'
- b. *\*qil-di ekan-mi?*  
do-PST EVID-Q

While the past tense marker *-di* is limited to questions in Uzbek, in Kazakh there is a growing tendency, although still rare, for the cognate past tense maker *-DI* to appear in non-interrogative contexts.

- (233) *Täwelsilik el-imiz kel-di eken.* (Kaz)  
Freedom country-1PL come-PST EVID  
'Freedom has come to our country!'<sup>2</sup>

While still rare in independent clauses, the combination of finite (i.e. conditional, past) forms of the verb with the *eken* has become quite common in Kazakh cause-and-effect constructions formed with the complementizer *deb*:

- (234) *De-gen-men, dağdaris kel-di eken dep, qol quwsır-ıp qara-p otır-uw-ğa*  
say-PRF-1SG crisis come-PST EVID COMP arm cross-CVB look-CVB sit-INF-DAT  
*bol-ma-y-di.* (Kazakh)  
be-NEG-PRES-3

<sup>2</sup> Elemes, Kerim. 2010. "Abay ädebiyetin tanığanmen, Ibrahimniñ ädebiyetine boylay almay žürmiz." Interfax-Qazaqstan, 6 May. Accessed 6 Oct 2010.  
[http://www.interfax.kz/?lang=kaz&int\\_id=quotings\\_of\\_the\\_day&news\\_id=59](http://www.interfax.kz/?lang=kaz&int_id=quotings_of_the_day&news_id=59)

‘As I’ve said, because a crisis has apparently come, we can’t sit around waiting with our arms crossed.’<sup>3</sup>

It remains to be seen whether this pattern will continue to expand beyond this sort of construction, and whether any semantic change will accompany this morphosyntactic change. Constructions of this type are not found in Uzbek.

A third difference between Uzbek and Kazakh is the presence in Uzbek of a particle *-dir*, derived from the verb *tur-* ‘to stand’. This morpheme is not present in Kazakh, but in Uzbek, it attaches to non-finite predicates and indicates a high degree of confidence.

(235) *Alloh so'z-i-dan chiroyli so'z yo'q-dir!* (Uzbek)  
Allah word-3-ABL beautiful word NEG.EXIST-MOD  
‘There is surely no word more beautiful than the word Allah!’<sup>4</sup>

Most forms of the verb, and all non-verbal predicates are unmarked for STATUS/MODALITY, and therefore can employ *-dir* to indicate this. It is especially common for *-dir* to be attached to the perfect *-gan*, which is unmarked not only for confirmativity, but for any form of STATUS/MODALITY.

(236) *qiynoq-qa sol-ish uchun dunyo-ga kel-gan-dir-miz.* (Uzbek)  
suffering-DAT undergo-NMLZR for world-DAT come-PRF-MOD-1PL  
‘Surely, we came into this world in order to suffer.’<sup>5</sup>

In Uzbek, then, *-dir* can be seen as a sort of complement to *ekan*, which likewise attaches to non-finite predicates.

The fourth and final major difference between Uzbek and Kazakh is the form and behavior of the modern reflexes of older *\*er-miš*. The behavior of these forms is fully discussed in Chapter 5. The Uzbek reflex of this form is *emish*, and it behaves quite similarly to *ekan*,

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<sup>3</sup> Arnur, Asqar. 2009. “Uliqpan Žoldasov: Almatini aralamağanima üš žil boldi.” Dastan Studiyasi, 11 Sep. Accessed 6 Oct 2010. <http://www.dastan-studio.kz/?p=1904>

<sup>4</sup> 2007. “Allah” Youtube, 3 Sep. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kpgHtXphPz8>

<sup>5</sup> 2008. Ma’rifat, 9 Jan. Accessed 15 Feb 2011.

[old.marifat.uz/uzbl/xalqaro\\_hayot/oyparastlar\\_olkasi.mg](http://old.marifat.uz/uzbl/xalqaro_hayot/oyparastlar_olkasi.mg)

except that when employed to indicate non-firsthand information source, the only possible interpretation is one of reportativity, rather than the full range of non-firsthand information source. Like *ekan*, *emish* may be employed to express admirativity. These facts indicate that *emish* should be considered non-confirmative, so it is perhaps due to issues of markedness that *emish* is somewhat more restricted than *ekan* in its possible interpretations.

The Kazakh reflex of *\*er-miš* is the clitic *-mIs*. Unlike Uzbek *emish*, *-mIs* may appear essentially anywhere, even after finite or confirmative forms of the verb. Moreover, it is not employed to express admirativity. Given the morphological promiscuity of this form, its ability to co-occur with confirmative forms, and its inability to express admirativity, we must conclude that Kazakh *-mIs* has evolved into a marker of reportativity, and that it does not interact with the non-confirmativity paradigm outlined in the previous chapters.

## **6.2 Implications**

### **6.2.1 Implications for Related Languages**

Because Uzbek and Kazakh express evidential and related meanings in such similar ways, we expect that the expression of these meanings in related languages will resemble that of Uzbek and Kazakh. A starting point for the expansion of the claims made in this work would be to study the other major languages of Central Asia: Kyrgyz, Uyghur, and Turkmen, all Turkic languages; and Tajik, which is an Indo-European language closely related to Farsi. Other languages of Central Asia likely resemble Uzbek and Kazakh with regard to their expression of evidentiality, but most of them are so poorly documented that they cannot yet be considered here.

It is hoped is that future analyses of Central Asian languages may take as their starting point the framework that has been adduced here for Uzbek and Kazakh. As outlined in 6.1.1, we anticipate that certain features may be present in other Central Asian languages:

- i. a distinction between finite and non-finite verb forms that corresponds with the distribution of copular forms of the verb
- ii. a number of past tense forms that differ mainly in markedness for confirmativity
- iii. non-confirmative forms of the copula, likely originating in the perfect, a secondary past tense, or a non-finite past tense marker, which may variously express:
  - a. non-firsthand information source
  - b. admirativity
  - c. rhetorical questions

In Turkic languages, we might also expect a distinction between copular forms based on *\*er-GAn* and the now largely obsolete *\*er-mİš*. Uzbek and Kazakh *ekan/eken*, in their evidential usage, are not restricted in the sort of non-firsthand information source that they express, whereas *emish/-mİs* strictly expresses reportativity.

#### **6.2.1.1 Kyrgyz**

Although Kyrgyzstan is geopolitically part of Central Asia, the Kyrgyz language exhibits some phonological and lexical properties that relate it to languages of Southern Siberia (Tekin 2005; Schönig 1999). Nevertheless, Kyrgyz is considered by most to be a Kipchak language, related to Kazakh (Schönig 2007, see also Figure 1 in Chapter 1 of this work), and it exhibits a

number of similarities to Uzbek and Kazakh, as well, likely due in part to the proximity of the three languages.

Like Uzbek and Kazakh, Kyrgyz possesses three finite forms of the verb: the voluntative-imperative-optative paradigm (1SG *-(A)yIn*, 1PL *-(A)llk*, 2SG *-Ø, -GIn*, 2PL *—IŋIz(dAr)*, 3SG/PL *-sIn*), the conditional in *-sA*, and the simple past in *-DI*. It likewise possesses a three-way distinction in the past tense between what are termed the 'definite past tense' *-DI*, the 'indefinite past tense' in *-GAN*, and the 'subjective past tense' in *-Ip(tIr)* (Abduldaev and Zakharova 1987). This three-way distinction strongly resembles that of Uzbek and Kazakh in phonological form, and given the similarities between the terms used for cognate forms in Uzbek and Kazakh, they likely function in ways similar to those described here. Kyrgyz also possesses a form *eken*, which has similar distribution to Uzbek and Kazakh *ekan/eken* and is often translated as 'it turns out' or 'as they say' (Abduldaev and Zakharova 1987). Once again, it appears that the Kyrgyz form behaves in similar ways to the cognate forms in Uzbek and Kazakh, expressing a similar range of non-confirmative meaning. It does not appear that Kyrgyz possesses any forms derived from Proto-Turkic *\*-mIš*, nor is it clear whether *eken* can be used to form rhetorical questions.

### 6.2.1.2 Uyghur

Uyghur, spoken mainly in China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, is Uzbek's closest (major) relative and is spoken in near proximity to Kazakh and Kyrgyz. Due to the location of major Uyghur population centers on the Silk Road (e.g. Kashgar, Aksu), speakers of Uyghur have had prolonged and intensive contacts with speakers of Persian, as well as with speakers of other Central Asian Turkic languages.



Like Uzbek and Kazakh, Uyghur verb forms exhibit a strong finite/non-finite distinction that may be used to explain the distribution of copular forms (Nadzhip 1971). Uyghur likewise possesses three forms of the past tense: a ‘present-past tense’ in *-DI*, a ‘subjective past tense’ in *-(I)p* that “implies that the speaker’s words are based on hearsay, and/or that the speaker has become aware of something unexpected,” and a ‘perfect verbal adjective’ in *-GAn* (De Jong 2007). The phonetic shape and described uses of these forms suggest that they play similar roles to their cognates in Uzbek and Kazakh.

De Jong (2007) reports four copular forms of the verb: past *idi*, negative *ämäs*, inferential *imiš*, and *ikän*, which is “widely used to express discovery or indirect speech or information.” In Uyghur, as in Uzbek and Kazakh, older *\*-mIš* is found only as a copular form *imiš*, where it “implies that the speaker has no direct knowledge of the statement” (De Jong 2007). Interestingly, a compound form *ikänmiš* is reported for Uyghur, where it is described as the past tense of the inferential form. This sort of compound is not found in Uzbek, but it does resemble Kazakh *ekan-mis*, which indicates non-confirmativity and reportativity. While it is clear for the descriptions above that *ikän* and *imiš* may express non-firsthand information source and admirativity, it is not clear whether *imiš* is rarer than *ikän* or whether there is any sort of difference in the type of non-firsthand information source that these forms express. According to Johanson (2000; 2003), Uzbek utilizes *ikän* to produce rhetorical questions, but it is not clear whether *imiš* or *ikänmiš* may also function in this way.

### 6.2.1.3 Turkmen

Turkmen occupies a transitional space between the Central Asian and the Middle Eastern/Balkan regions, and is a member of the Oghuz branch of Turkish, along with Turkish,

Azerbaijani, and a number of minor languages. Due to contact with Central Asian Turkic, however, Turkmen can be placed within what Schönig (1999) calls the -GAN- Turkic interactive area, as it employs reflexes of *-GAN* rather than *-mİš* in both attributive and finite contexts and shares a number of lexical similarities with other Central Asian Turkic languages.

Perhaps due to its intermediate position, Turkmen does not appear to exhibit either the Central Asian pattern outlined here nor the Middle Eastern/Balkan pattern outlined for Turkish or Azerbaijani (Friedman 1978; 1988). Unlike Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uyghur, Turkmen appears not to possess a strong finite/non-finite distinction. Clark (1998) describes the past tense *-dI* as indicating that the speaker has “witnessed or is certain of” what is described, which is in line with what has been described for cognate forms in Uzbek and Kazakh, as well as Turkish and Azerbaijani. The past tense in *-(I)pdI* (negative *-mĀndI*) is described as expressing distant past meaning, which indicates that it might possibly function like *-gan/-GAN* in Uzbek and Kazakh, and the ‘subjective past indefinite tense’ in *-(I)pdIr* (negative *-mĀndIr*) is described as indicating surprise, non-firsthand information source, and unintentionality, which indicates that it functions like Uzbek and Kazakh *-(i)b/-(I)p*. It appears that Turkmen has collapsed the past tenses in *\*-(I)p* and *\*-GAN*, employing the *\*-(I)p* form for positive statements and the *\*-GAN* for negative (*-mĀn < \*-mĀ-GAN*), then further distinguishing the two forms on the basis of whether the affix *\*-DIr* is reduced or not. A form based on *\*-GAN* appears to be preserved in the ‘subjective present perfect’ *-AndIr*<sup>6</sup>, which indicates that “the speaker did not witness or could not have witnessed the action, but he or she believes that it took place” (Clark 1998). A further

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<sup>6</sup> A hallmark of the Oghuz languages is the loss of *\*G* after consonants and as initial consonants in most suffixes.

past tense form that merits consideration is the negative present perfect *-Anōk*, which is of unclear etymology.

Perhaps because Turkmen does not appear to possess a strong finite/non-finite distinction, there are no independent forms of the copula. In the case of non-verbal predicates, the past tense is simply affixed to the predicate (e.g. *šol-dī*: that-PST, ‘it was that’) or an independent verb *bol-* is employed (Blacher 1997). Turkmen does, however, possess a form *eken*, which may follow nouns and adjectives, and likely certain forms of the verb, and is used to indicate non-firsthand information source and admirativity. It is unclear whether this is a borrowing from some other Turkic language or a homologous development. Turkmen also possesses a form *-mIš*, which is “commonly added to verbs, and sometimes to nouns to indicate that a fact is asserted or reported rather than evident or witnessed,” but, as noted by Clark (1998), it “does not imply doubt.” Further work is necessary to see whether these various Turkmen forms can be said to express (non-)confirmativity in any sort of regular way.

#### **6.2.1.4 Tajik**

As an Indo-European language, Tajik provides the best opportunity to see whether the expression of evidential meaning in Central Asia is the result of areal or genetic features. As described in Chapter 1, Tajik and Uzbek have exhibited strong influences upon one another, and Tajiks have lived for some time in close proximity to speakers of other Turkic languages, such as Uyghur and Kyrgyz.

Tajik is comparatively well-studied in regard to its expression of evidential meaning, although it is usually compared to the better-studied languages of the Middle East and Balkans than to Central Asian Turkic. According to Friedman (1979), Tajik exhibits a distinction

between a past tense marked as confirmative and a ‘perfect’ that is unmarked for confirmativity. There does not appear to be a third, non-confirmative past tense form that functions like Uzbek and Kazakh *-(i)b/-(l)p*. Doubled perfect forms, however, do express markedly non-confirmative meanings of the sort expressed by *ekan/eken*.

Lazard (2000) has compared Tajik and Bulgarian<sup>7</sup>, demonstrating the remarkable similarities between the two systems:

Table 33: Confirmativity in Bulgarian and Tajik

	<i>Bulgarian</i>		<i>Tajik</i>	
	“Neutral” (Confirmative)	“Mediative” (Non-Confirmative)	“Neutral” (Confirmative)	“Mediative” (Non-Confirmative)
Present	<i>čéte</i>	<i>četjal</i>	<i>mekunad</i>	<i>mekarda-ast</i>
Imperfect	<i>četeše</i>		<i>mekard</i>	
Aorist	<i>četé</i>	<i>čel</i>	<i>kard</i>	<i>karda-ast</i>
Perfect	<i>čel e</i>	<i>čel bil</i>	<i>karda-ast</i>	<i>karda buda-ast</i>
Pluperfect	<i>čel beše</i>		<i>karda bud</i>	

Note that in both languages, a copular form (Bulgarian *bil*, Tajik *buda-ast*) is employed to indicate the non-confirmative perfect. This situation resembles the use of Uzbek *ekan* and Kazakh *eken* to indicate a similar range of meaning.

Perry (2005) indicates that Tajik may employ the “non-witnessed perfect” form in questions to indicate that questions are prompted by inference (much as *ekan/eken* signals the same in Uzbek and Kazakh). A final enclitic marker *-a* may signal what Perry (2005, 295) refers to as “ruminative questions”, which appear to be similar to what I have described as rhetorical questions, but further research is necessary to determine whether Tajik employs a marker of non-

<sup>7</sup> Note, however, that Lazard’s Bulgarian data includes only those paradigms found in the normative description of Bulgarian. The form *četjal bil* also occurs, but is not found in Lazard’s chart.

confirmativity to express rhetorical questions, and whether there are as-of-yet unnoticed similarities between Uzbek, Kazakh, and Tajik.

### 6.2.1.5 Other Central Asian and Turkic Languages

There are, of course, a number of other languages that ought to be studied to see whether they fit into the pattern described for Uzbek and Kazakh. I have not mentioned Karakalpak, spoken in Western Uzbekistan to the south of the Aral Sea, as there exists little data on that language, and because the language and culture of the Karakalpaks very closely resembles that of the Kazakhs. I have also not mentioned the many so-called “dialects” of Uzbek, which may belong to the Southeastern, Kipchak, and Oghuz branches of Turkic, because data on these dialects is scarce.

There is also little data on the other Iranian languages of Central Asia, such as Yaghnobi, Bukhori, or even Dari, at least concerning whether they have any grammatical means of expressing evidential meaning. Dari, in particular, would be useful in determining the southern boundary of the Eurasian evidentiality belt, as well as the Central Asian sub-region of that belt.

Outside of Central Asia, a number of Turkic languages appear to function like Uzbek and Kazakh. Most notably, Nogay, spoken in Daghestan, is known to express rhetorical questions with *eken*, and to exhibit morphosyntactic differences between *eken* as used in evidential question and rhetorical questions (Johanson 2003, Karakoç 2005).

- (237) a. *Ne-ge kel-gen eken-ler?*  
what-DAT come-PRF EVID-PL  
‘Why have they (reportedly) come?’
- b. *Ne-ge kel-gen-ler eken?*  
what-DAT come-PRF-PL EMOT  
‘I wonder why they have come.’

In (237a), the plural marker follows *eken* when the desired interpretation is that of an evidential question, and precedes *eken* in (237b), when a rhetorical question is intended. Further research is necessary to determine whether the rest of the Nogay verbal system follows the Uzbek/Kazakh pattern, and whether nearby Turkic languages (i.e. Yurt Tatar and Alabugat Tatar, see Yartseva et al. 1997 for further details) also follow this pattern.

To the north of Central Asia, the cluster of Turkic languages in the Altay-Sayan region (Northern and Southern Altay, Khakas, Tuvan, Kondoma and Mrass Shor, etc.) merit further research (but see Anderson 2000 for further information on Khakas). Southern Altay, in particular, appears to be closely related to Kyrgyz, and may resemble the other Central Asian Turkic languages. In the broad swath of land to the north of Kazakhstan, Tatar, Bashkir, and varieties of Siberian Tatar are also spoken, and they too are understudied in regard to their expression of evidential meaning (excepting Mishär Tatar, see Tatevosov 2007).

Whether or not these languages follow the pattern established for Uzbek and Kazakh, the further exploration of how they express evidential and related meanings can provide insight into the nature of the Eurasian evidentiality belt and may help define various sub-sections of that belt.

### **6.2.2 Theoretical Implications**

Many of the claims made in this dissertation are similar to those made for similar phenomena in other languages. In many ways, the expression of evidentiality and related meanings in Uzbek and Kazakh is similar to the expression of the same in Turkish, Azerbaijani, Georgian, Lak, Albanian, and Macedonian (see Friedman 1978; 1988). Perhaps the most important conclusion

that may be drawn in comparing all of these languages is that EVIDENTIALITY is not a category, per se, but rather a possible interpretation of NON-CONFIRMATIVITY.

In typological works on evidentiality (such as Aikhenvald and Dixon 2003; Aikhenvald 2004) the Turkic languages, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Georgian, and other Eurasian languages are considered to possess grammatical evidentiality. Works on Balkan and Caucasian languages (Darden 1977; Friedman 1977; 1978; 1988) have shown that an analysis involving (non-) confirmativity better accounts for the wide range of meanings expressed by so-called “evidential” morphemes. The analysis of Uzbek and Kazakh presented here also supports the non-confirmative analysis, and the brief examination of other Central Asian languages in the previous sections suggests that a non-confirmative analysis may apply to them as well.

Aronson (1991), among others, has claimed that he knows of no language that possesses evidentiality as a grammatical category, and he only tentatively preserves it in his restructuring of Jakobson’s (1957/1971) verbal categories. The languages discussed in this work, and many of the other languages referred to, exhibit evidential meaning only as a result of the expression of non-confirmativity, which falls into Jakobson’s category of STATUS. It is, in fact, the expression of evidential meaning via non-confirmativity that is one of the hallmarks of the Eurasian evidentiality belt. Outside of this belt, many languages have been claimed to possess an evidential category, yet it is still somewhat rare for these languages to be examined with a non-confirmative analysis in mind, so it is still unknown how widespread the association between non-confirmativity and evidential meaning is.

In further examining evidentiality in other languages, we expect that one of three possible conditions will hold true: that the expression of evidentiality is dependent upon the expression of non-confirmativity or some related sub-category; that evidentiality is epiphenomenal, and may

be expressed via several different media; or that evidentiality does, in fact, exist in as a category in some, but not all of the languages for which an evidential category has been claimed.

Outside of certain schools of linguistics, there exists little work on (non-)confirmativity as a subtype of either STATUS or MODALITY. There does exist, however, a fairly recent body of work concerning subjective modality, particularly as it is expressed by English auxiliary verbs (Lyons 1977, Verstraete 2001, Papafragou 2006). Although, as explained in the preface, there are reasons to make distinctions between STATUS and MODALITY, treating (non-)confirmativity as a form of subjective MODALITY may provide better insight into how this phenomenon functions. As noted by Verstraete (2001), it is quite difficult to distinguish the subjective and objective interpretations of English modal verbs. If we treat the various (non-)confirmative morphemes in Uzbek and Kazakh (and other languages) as expressions of subjective MODALITY, we have access to canonical forms with unequivocally subjective interpretations.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the emotive function of language as described by Jakobson (1960) in reference to admiratives and rhetorical questions. Other functions of language are associated with certain types of utterances, namely, the REFERENTIAL function with declaratives, and the CONATIVE with imperatives. What I have proposed is that admiratives and rhetorical questions be seen as examples of language being employed in its emotive function. I further include exclamatives, which function quite similarly to admiratives, in emotive class of utterances (see Andueza and Gutiérrez-Rexach 2010). The properties of exclamatives are well-known, yet it is still somewhat rare for utterances not exhibiting canonical exclamative morphosyntax to be included in a broader class of exclamative-like constructions. Following Zanuttini and Portner (2003), I propose that there exists a broad class of emotive utterances that includes exclamatives, admiratives, and rhetorical questions. Each of these types of utterances possesses unique



properties that vary language to language, yet by examining them as a class, we may gain insight into the emotive function of language.

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