

Christopher A. Straughn
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Committee:
Victor Friedman, Chair
Kağan Arık
Lenore Grenoble
Salikoko Mufwene

Evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh

The goal of this project is to investigate evidentiality in Uzbek and Kazakh. What has traditionally been called evidentiality in these languages does not fit neatly into paradigms proposed for many other languages. As a starting point, so-called evidentiality in genetically and areally proximate languages will be examined. Due to their central position in the Central Eurasian evidentiality area, Kazakh and Uzbek have much to offer toward the study of evidentiality in Turkic, Eurasian, and typological perspective.

Outline

- The History of the Study of Evidentiality
- Evidentiality in Genetically and Areal Proximate Languages
- Uzbek and Kazakh
- Why This Topic
- Methodology

1. The History of the Study of Evidentiality

- Most frequent definition: the linguistic expression of information source
- Al-Kāšgarī, 11th Century *Dīvān Luġāt at-Turk*
 - forms corresponding to modern Turkish *-DI* and *-mİŝ*, “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” whereas “*Mīm šīn* -[*mİŝ*], on the other hand, indicate that the action occurred in the absence of the speaker”(Al-Kāšgarī 1982: 297, as cited in Friedman 2003: 189).
- Boas on Kwakiutl: “To the suffixes expressing subjective relation belong those expressing the source of subjective knowledge -- as by hearsay, or by a dream” (1911: 443)
- Jakobson: 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)” - EⁿE^{ns}/E^s (1957/1971: 135).

- Jacobsen: “a linguistic category which applies to predications that the speaker assumes have a reasonable likelihood of being true, but which he cannot vouch for out of direct observation or experience” (1986: 3)
- Johanson & Utas: “the expression of subjective ‘experience’, more specifically the presentation of a situation ‘by reference to its reception by a conscious subject’” - ‘indirectivity’ (2000:v)
- Aikhenvald: “the nature of the evidence on which a statement is based” (2003: 1)
Scale of Information Source:
Visual > Non-Visual Sensory > Inference > Assumption > Hearsay > Quotation (2004: 65)

Table 1

Distinct Category	Modality-like
Jakobson	Jacobsen
Aikhenvald	Johanson

1.1 Evidentiality or Modality?

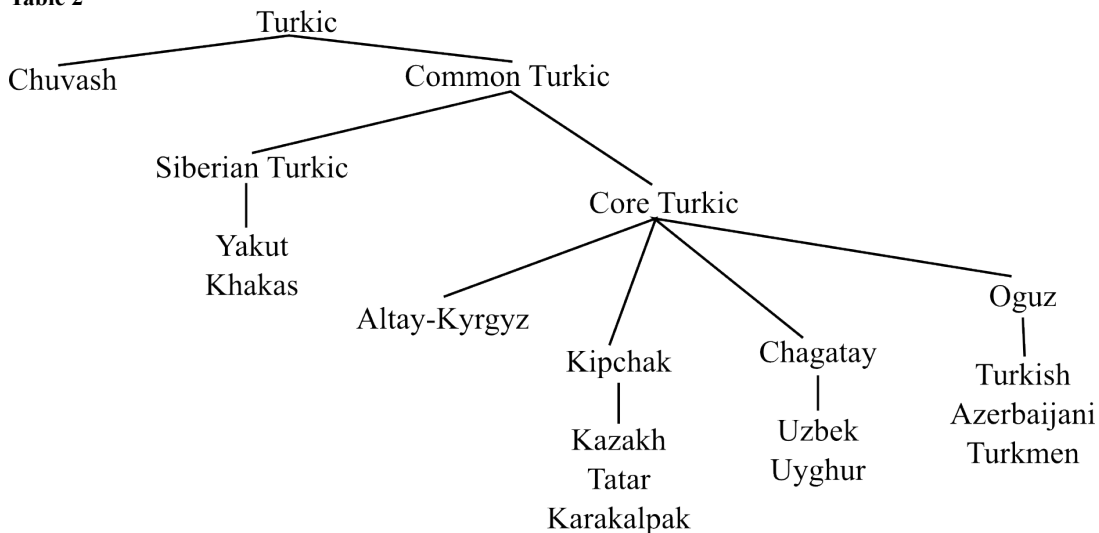
Many authors prefer to use terms other than ‘evidential’ to describe what’s going on: direct/indirect (Johanson 2000), confirmative/non-confirmative (Aronson 1967, see also Friedman).

- Aronson: status as the “subjective evaluation of the narrated event by the speaker, i.e., Eⁿ/P^s”, the evidential “should be regarded as closely related to, or, better, a subvariety of, STATUS (Eⁿ/P^s)”. He knows “of no language that has a grammatical category that has evidential as its invariant meaning” (1990)
- De Haan: MODALITY: “the degree of commitment a speaker places in his/her utterance”, can occur under the scope of negation; EVIDENTIALITY: encodes source of information, cannot occur under the scope of negation (1999)
- Matthewson et al.: evidentiality cannot be claimed to be distinct from epistemic modality and that epistemic modals encode a twofold distinction: they must choose either to encode quantificational strength (as they are traditionally argued to do) or information source (2007)
- Cinque 1999:

[Speech Act Mood [Evaluative Mood [Evidential Mood [Epistemological Mode]]]]

2. Evidentiality in Genetically and Areally Proximate Languages

Table 2



- Areal feature first proposed by Haarman: Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Uralic, some Caucasian, “Paleo-Siberian” - “Indirect Experience-Form” (1970)
- Friedman: Balkan Slavic, Turkish, Albanian (to some extent), Azerbaijani, Tajik, Avar, and Georgian (to some extent) (1979)
- Aikhenvald: large area within Eurasia characterized by a small evidential system: “largish ‘evidentiality belt’ spreading across the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Central Asia into Siberia, suggests that it was spread via Turkic (2004:290)
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2.1 How Does Evidentiality Look in these Languages?

- Compare with Macedonian/Bulgarian, Turkish, Tajik
- Per Friedman, so-called “simple” past is marked as confirmative, perfect used predicatively is not marked for confirmativity (1978). This lack of confirmation often results in a highly salient evidential (i.e. non-firsthand) reading, although forms unmarked for confirmativity may also express surprise (admiration) or perfectivity.
- Basic opposition found in all four languages mentioned above:

Table 3 - “do” / “read”

	Simple Past/ Confirmative	Perfect/ Non-Confirmative
Macedonian	napravi	napravit
Bulgarian	napravi	(e) napravil
Turkish	yaptı	yapmış
Tajik	mekard	mekarda-ast

- Confirmative can be found in all contexts besides anti-affirmative:
 - (1) Inanmıyorum ki o adam bunu **yaptı/yapmış*. (Friedman 1978: 110)
I don't believe that he did it.
(Turkish)
- Can express non-firsthand information:
 - (2) Ben baloda yoktum. Bay Ganü gitti (Konstantinov 1972, in Friedman 1981)
I was not at the ball. Baj Ganjo went.
(Turkish)
- Non-confirmative can also express surprise at things witnessed/experienced firsthand:
 - (3a) Toj bil bogat! (Friedman 1980: 7)
(Bulgarian, Macedonian)
 - (3b) O zengin **imiş**!
(Turkish)
Why, he's rich!
- “it appears that 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. This is to say that that which in the perfect may be the chief contextual variant meaning occurring in the least marked contexts becomes the invariant meaning in the more highly marked pluperfect” (Friedman 1979: 345, c.f. Friedman 1977: 120)
 - (4) Ayşe gelmişti.
Ayşe has/had come. (hikâye)
 - (5) Ayşe gelmişmiş.
Ayşe has/had (reportedly) come. (rivayet)

- Evidentiality or Modality? Idea of confirmativity looks like modality. Some definitions of evidentiality require that it be obligatorily expressed; this is not the case.

3. Uzbek and Kazakh

- Similar to Turkish, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Tajik, but with more morphemes to consider
- Relevant simplex forms in Uzbek:

Table 3

	“Simple” Past	Perfect	Long Perfect	“Subjective” Past	“Historic Past”
	qil-di	qil-gan	qil-gan-dir	qil-ib-di	qil-mish
Notes:	Confirmative?	Non-Confirmative?	Non-Confirmative? Modal?	Modal?	Cognate with Turkish perfect. Rare.

- Complex forms, used with adjective & nominal predicates and verbs in participial or gerund form. Formed from dummy copula *e-* plus relevant marker:

Table 4

	Past	Perfect	Historic Past
	e-di	e-kan	e-mish
Notes:	Confirmative? “hikâye”	Evidential? Admirative? “rivayet”	Probability? Other Modality?

- Relevant simplex forms in Kazakh:

Table 5

	“Simple” Past	Perfect	Long Perfect
	bar-dy	bar-ğan	bar-yp-ty
Notes:	Confirmative?	“Distant Past”	Non-Confirmative? Modal?

- Relevant Complex forms in Kazakh:

Table 6

	“Simple” Past	Perfect
	e-di	e-ken
Notes:	Confirmative? “hikâye”	Evidential? Admirative? “rivayet”

3. Why This Topic

3.1 Why Evidentiality?

- Currently popular, work will have an impact
- Much research has focused on the Americas (e.g. Aikhenvald 2003, 2004), resulting in a skew toward the phenomena found in those languages.

3.2 Why Kazakh and Uzbek?

- Central location within Eurasian evidentiality belt, likely spread evidentiality to Tajik, other languages of Central Asia
- Outside of Turkish, evidentiality in Turkic is understudied. Few articles on Tatar, Azeri, Khalaj, Sakha, etc., none on Kazakh and Uzbek
- I know them well; can use Internet for Uzbek data

4. Methodology

- Data collection from Internet, texts
- Surveys (in-person, online?)
- Fieldwork in Kazakhstan
- Will focus on:
 - finding minimal pairs between “evidential” and non-evidential forms
 - the interplay of these forms with tense, aspect, mood, modality
 - finding other possible extensions of “evidential” forms: admirativity, non-volitionality, distance
 - the use of these forms in context: lies, narratives, news reporting

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