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A note on reportative evidentials in Qaraqalpaq¹

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1. Introduction

This note is a continuation of Yang (2024), where I have presented the paradigm of inferential evidentials in Qaraqalpaq based on the standard tests established in Matthewson et al. (2007). The goal of this note is to identify whether reportative evidentials in Qaraqalpaq are epistemic modals or illocutionary operators. For background on Qaraqalpaq as well as an overview of Matthewson et al.'s (2007) tests, the reader is referred to Yang (2024).

The first marker that expresses reportative evidentiality in Qaraqalpaq is *-GAn*, as in (5).

- (1) *zauuyn* *zau-ban.*
rain fall-PTCP
p: ‘It rained.’

Evid(p): The speaker has reportative evidence that it rained.

Apart from reportative evidentiality, *-GAn* in root clauses can also express perfect, as in (2).

- (2) *senen* *toj-uy-~~da~~* *men* *wojna-ban-man.*
2SG.GEN wedding-2SG.POSS-LOC 1SG dance-PTCP-1SG
‘I danced at your wedding.’

Note that among Turkic languages, it is quite common that indirect evidentiality and perfect are expressed by the same morpheme, such as Turkish *-mİş* (Izvorski 1997) and Kazakh/Uzbek *eken/ekan* (Straughn 2011). However, the expressions discussed in the literature are all reported to be compatible with both the reportative and the inferential use. To my knowledge, Qaraqalpaq *-GAn* is the only expression carrying both perfect and evidential meanings, with the latter being limited to reportative evidentiality. (3) exemplifies the use of *-GAn* in morphologically past perfect sentences.

- (3) *bər* *waqyt-taru* *zer-de* *dinozavər-lar* *bol-ban je-də.*
one time-at earth-LOC dinosaur-PL be-PTCP AUX-PST
‘There were dinosaurs once on the earth.’

Note that the preajacent of this type of reportative evidentials only allows past events. For example, (1) cannot be interpreted as ‘They say it will rain’. Sentences conveying events in-progress also do not allow the evidential *-GAn*. The progressive light verb *atır*, as shown in (4), do not allow the root

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-*Gan* intended for the reportative evidential meaning, as in (5).

- (4) *wojna-p atur-man.*
 dance-NONF PROG-1SG
 ‘I am dancing.’
- (5) *Murat aina-nuy sun-dur-uy atur-ban *(je-də).*
 M window-ACC break-CAUS-NONF PROG-PTCP AUX-PST
 Intended: ‘They say that Murat broke the window.’
 Actual interpretation (with *je-də*): ‘Murat broke the window (I witnessed).’

The second type of reportative evidentials is marked with *-Ep*, as in (6).

- (6) *zauun zau-uy-p-tu.*
 rain fall-NONF-3
 p: ‘It rained.’
 Evid(p): The speaker has reportative evidence that it rained.

Straughn (2011) notes that Uzbek *-(i)b* and Kazakh *-(I)p* express the speaker’s surprise and doubt at the preajacent, and suggests that the information is gained from non-firsthand source. Crucially, they involve a sense of ‘non-volitionality’, and are often used for describing bodily functions.

- (7) *şölde-p qal-ïp-pïn.*
 thirst-CVB PFV-CPST-1SG
 ‘I’ve become thirsty.’ (Kazakh, Straughn 2011)

The Qaraqalpaq counterpart, namely *-Ep*, shows similar properties. This ‘non-volitionality’ reading, however, seem to be most salient for first-person subjects, although we found other cases with third-person subjects as well.

- (8) *şölle-p qal-uy-pan.*
 thirsty take-NONF-1SG
 ‘It turned out that I am thirsty (now).’
- (9) *wojna-p-pan.*
 dance-NONF-1SG
 ‘It turned out that I danced (e.g. in my dream).’
 Not: ‘I danced.’
- (10) *dala-da qojaf şuy-uy tor-uy-p-tu.*
 outside-LOC sun exit-NONF stand-NONF-3SG
 ‘It turned out that it’s sunny outside (I saw).’
 NOT: ‘It’s sunny (I heard).’

In the next section, I apply Matthewson et al.’s tests to the above reportative evidentials. Table 1 summarizes the predictions of the modal analysis and the illocutionary operator analysis. Again, the reader is referred to Yang (2024) for an overview of the motivation of these tests.

Table 1: Matthewson et al. (2007)'s tests and predictions

	Modal analysis	Illocut. analysis
a. Felicitous if p is known to be false?	no	yes
b. Felicitous if p is known to be true?	no	yes
c. $Evid(p)$ cancelable?	no	no
d. $Evid(p)$ projects over negation?	yes	yes
e. $Evid(p)$ can be picked up? (Originally: Challengeable?)	yes	no
f. Embeddable?	yes	no

2. Testing the reportatives

• Test a: When p is known to be false

Both $-GAn$ and $-Ep$ are infelicitous when p is known to be false.

- (11) Context A: I was out for the whole day yesterday and it was sunny. But strangely, Murat came to tell me that it rained yesterday.

zauuyn zau-ban.

rain fall-PTCP

'It rained (I heard).'

- (12) # *zauuyn zau-uyt-tu.*

rain fall-NONF-3

'It rained (I heard).'

• Test b: When p is known to be true

Similarly, both markers are infelicitous when p is known to be true.

- (13) Context B: I was out yesterday and it was raining for the whole day. Murat didn't know that I went out and came to tell me that it rained yesterday.

zauuyn zau-ban.

rain fall-PTCP

'It rained (I heard).'

- (14) # *zauuyn zau-uyt-tu.*

rain fall-NONF-3

'It rained (I heard).'

Recall that $-Ep$ has a use describing the speaker's bodily functions, events happened in the speaker's dreams, etc. In those cases, one would expect the speaker to know the truthfulness or the falsity of the prejacent. Below is another example showing a similar situation (although the translation given by the consultant is clearly reportative evidential, rather than '*it turned out that*'). At this stage, I have not developed tests for evidential sentences with first-person subjects, and will

thus leave these cases aside.

- (15) *men ɟɪzək-tə orla-p-pan.*
 1SG ring-ACC steal-NONF-1SG
 ‘I stole the ring (they say) (although that’s a lie).’

• **Test c: Cancelability**

For both markers, *Evid(p)* is not cancelable.

- (16) # *ɟauuɣn ɟau-ɸan, burqa men ɟauuɣn ɟau-ɸan-ɣm kør-də-m,*
 rain fall-PTCP but 1SG rain fall-PTCP-1SG.POSS see-NPST-1SG
hef-kəm maɸan ajt-pa-duɣ.
 no-someone 1SG.DAT say-NEG-PST

‘It rained (I heard), although I didn’t see it and no one told me that.’

- (17) # *ɟauuɣn ɟau-ɣp-tuɣ, burqa men ɟauuɣn ɟau-ɸan-ɣm kør-də-m,*
 rain fall-NONF-3 but 1SG rain fall-PTCP-1SG.POSS see-NPST-1SG
hef-kəm maɸan ajt-pa-duɣ.
 no-someone 1SG.DAT say-NEG-PST

‘It rained (I heard), although I didn’t see it and no one told me that.’

• **Test d: Projection over negation**

For both markers, *Evid(p)* projects over negation. Meanwhile, the consultant points out that these sentences also have an interpretation where the evidential meaning disappears (Reading 2).

- (18) *ɟauuɣn ɟau-ma-ɸan.*
 rain fall-NEG-PTCP

- (19) *ɟauuɣn ɟau-ma-ɣp-tuɣ.*
 rain fall-NEG-NONF-3

Reading 1: ‘It didn’t rain (I heard).’

Reading 2: ‘It didn’t rain (I checked myself).’

But not : ‘No one said that it rained.’

• **Test e: Picking up by accepting or rejecting responses**

For both markers, both *p* and *Evid(p)* can be easily picked up when the utterance is accepted, as in (21a) and (21b). As noted before, challenging the utterance involves more difficulty, and uses different phrases for ‘No’ depending on how the consultant felt about the strongness of the challenge. But as shown in (21c) and (21d), both *p* and *Evid(p)* can be challenged.

- (20) Context: Elnara and Horzija stayed together in a windowless room for the whole day and no one else came to this room. Horzija went to another room to look for her toys for three minutes, during which Murat came in to tell Elnara that it rained and then left. Horzija came back with her toys.

a. E to H: *ɟauuɣn ɟau-ɸan.*

- rain fall-PTCP
'It rained (I heard).'
- b. E to H: *zauuyn zau-ıyp-tu.*
rain fall-NONF-3
'It rained (I heard).'
- (21) a. H to E: *dorıys, zauuyn zau-du.*
correct rain fall-PST
'You're right, it rained.' (20a)/(21a); (20b)/(21a)
- b. H to E: *dorıys, Murat saıan ajt-tu-p atıyr-ıan-ı-n.*
correct M 2SG.DAT say-PST PROG-PTCP-3.POSS-ACC
jesə-tə-m.
listen-PST-1SG
'You're right, I heard Murat saying that to you.' (20a)/(21b); (20b)/(21b)
- c. H to E: *jaq, zauuyn zau-ma-du. men ıaıa kər-də-m.*
no rain fall-NEG-PST 1SG just.now see-PST-1SG
'No, it didn't rain. I looked (at outside) just now.' (20a)/(21c); (20b)/(21c)
- d. H to E: *qalaj bəl-e-seı? senəı menen hef-kəm səjles-pe-də-ko.*
how know-NPST-2SG 2SG.GEN with no-someone talk-NEG-PST-EXCL
'How do you know? No one talked to you.' (20a)/(21d); (20b)/(21d)

• Test f: Embeddability

Finally, *-GAn* and *-Ep* come apart in their embeddability. *-GAn* loses its evidential use when embedded under the verb *say*, while *-Ep* can be embedded.

- (22) *Murat ajt-ıyp atıyr zauuyn zau-ıan dep.*
M say-NONF PROG rain fall-PTCP C
'Murat is saying that it rained (he saw).'
- NOT: 'Murat is saying that it rained (he heard).'
- (23) *Murat ajt-ıyp atıyr zauuyn zau-ıyp-tu dep.*
M say-NONF PROG rain fall-NONF-3 C
'Murat is saying that it rained (he heard).'
- NOT: 'Murat is saying that it rained (he saw).'

The results are summarized in the following table.

Table 2: Results of Matthewson et al. (2007)'s tests on Qaraqalpaq reportatives

	Modal analysis	Illoc. analysis	<i>-GAn</i>	<i>-Ep</i>
Felicitous if <i>p</i> is known to be false?	no	yes	no	no
Felicitous if <i>p</i> is known to be true?	no	yes	no	no

<i>Evid(p)</i> cancelable?	no	no	no	no
<i>Evid(p)</i> projects over negation?	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Evid(p)</i> can be picked up?	yes	no	yes	yes
Embeddable?	yes	no	no	yes

3. Discussion

Overall, it seems that both reportative evidential markers behave like epistemic modals, at least in terms of most of the tests applied. In particular, the results on *-Ep* is completely as predicted by the epistemic modal analysis.

The reportative marker *-GAN* shows one seemingly non-modal-like property, i.e. it cannot be embedded, while it behaves like an epistemic modal in all other respects. However, if we consider the behavior of *-GAN* in non-root clauses, viz. when it serves merely as a participle, a functional explanation may arise. To see this, consider (24), where there are two occurrences of *-GAN*, one of which helps form nominalization in the *when*-clause, and the other attaches to the light verb *tor*. It is quite clear that neither of them expresses evidentiality or present perfect (both clauses are about future events).

- (24) *jerteŋ sen dala-ra fuq-qan-uŋ-da, qar zaw-up*
tomorrow 2SG outside-DAT exit-PTCP-2SG.POSS-COND snow fall-NONF
tor-kan bol-a-duŋ.
PROG-PTCP be-NPST-3

‘Tomorrow when you go out, it will be snowing.’

I speculate that this is an indication for how to map the evidential *-GAN* in syntax: it needs to sit at a position where it is high enough to avoid over-generating the evidential (as well as the perfect) meaning in non-root clauses such as (24), and also below the functional projections to avoid functioning as an illocutionary operator.

4. Summary

This note provided the paradigm of reportative evidentials in Qaraqalpaq. Specifically, I applied the standard tests to identify the status of the evidential markers as modals or illocutionary operators. The tentative result is that the two reportative markers behave largely in line with epistemic modals, although more needs to be said regarding why *-GAN* exhibits non-modal-like behaviors regarding embeddability.

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