

## Siberian Turkic complex evidential systems

Evidentiality is a morphologically marked category in Turkic languages. It can be realised both by inflectional markers and copula particles. Two examples are quoted below from the earliest Old Turkic sources (VIII century AD).

*Tabyač-garu qunī seḡün-üg id-mis.*  
China-DIR Quni Seḡün-ACC send-EVD

‘He had evidently/apparently sent Quni Seḡün to China’.

*Qayan-ī alp er-mis.*  
khan-POSS3 brave be-EVD

‘His khan is/was apparently brave’.

Generally, terms expressively marked for evidentiality stand in paradigmatic contrast to non-evidentials. However, the types of evidentiality systems and their organisation vary considerably across the Turkic languages both synchronically and diachronically. Western Turkic languages tend to display two-term systems, where an evidential/indirective marker competes with a non-evidential one. On the other hand, Turkic languages of Central Asia display more comprehensive three-term systems, where an evidential/indirective past, a postterminal item, displaying perfect-like meanings with occasional evidential/indirective readings, and a direct past marker (unmarked for evidentiality) compete.

Finally, more eastern Turkic languages of the Sayan sub-branch of Turkic display four-term systems, where evidential forms contrast with postterminals, non-evidentials and confirmatives. The present paper will particularly deal with the latter case, highlighting both the role of language contacts with Mongolic and the substrate influence of Samoyedic, key elements for understanding the structure of this “complex” four-fold system.

### Selected publications

Aikhenwald, A. Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford.

Helimski, E. 1998. Selkup. In: Abondolo, D. (ed.) *The Uralic languages*. London & New York, 548-579.

Janhunen, J. A. 2012. *Mongolian*. (London Oriental and African Language Library 19.) Amsterdam, Philadelphia.

Johanson, L. 2000. Turkic indirectives. In: Johanson, L. & Utas, B. (eds.) *Evidentials. Turkic, Iranian and neighbouring languages*. Berlin & New York. 61-87.

Johanson, L. 2003. Evidentiality in Turkic. In: Aikhenvald, A. Y. & Dixon, R. M. W. (eds.) *Studies in evidentiality*. (Typological Studies in Language 54.) Amsterdam & Philadelphia. 273-290.

Ragagnin, E. 2011. *Dukhan, a Turkic variety of northern Mongolia: description and analysis* (Turcologica 76.) Wiesbaden.