THE QUOTATIVE IN BASHKIR

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Evidentiality is a widely researched category in contemporary linguistics, both from the viewpoint of grammatical expression and also that of semantics/pragmatics. Amongst markers expressing information source is the illocutionary evidential quotative, which codes a speech report with an explicit reference to the quoted source. This article investigates the quotative particle *tip* in Bashkir, a Kipchak-Bulgar Turkic language spoken in the Russian Federation. In its default quotative meaning, *tip* signals direct speech and functions as a syntactic complementiser. This function was found to have extended from spoken utterances to coding thoughts and experiences in the context of semi-direct speech. A separate function of *tip* is its use as an adverbialiser signalling a logical relation and conveying the meaning of intention/purpose.

Different categories were found to interact in the functions of *tip*. In the context of semi-direct speech, the meaning *tip* conveys is linked with the semantic dimension of subjectivity, which pertains to the cognitive processing and expressing of information by the speaker/experiencer. The interplay of the marker *tip* was investigated in conjunction with ten complement-taking verbs, whose degree and strength of subjectivity were found to range from neutral to strong. When combined with *küreü* 'see', *tip* introduces visual ambiguity and epistemic uncertainty, for example, in dream scenes. With the verbs *beleü* 'know' and *išeteü* 'hear', *tip* conveys a multisubjective meaning: in addition to signalling what the experiential subject has heard or found out, the marker also codes the involvement of some other subject, the original source, thus giving voice to multiple speakers and merging them.

INTRODUCTION

Bashkir, or Bashkort, is spoken by around 1.2 million people from an ethnic population of 1.6 million (Simons & Fennig 2017).[1] Most Bashkirs live in the Russian Federation, forming the fourth-largest people group of Russia, in the Republic of Bashkortostan, which is located on the southern slopes of the Ural Mountains and on the adjacent plains. Its capital Ufa, founded 450 years ago, has 1 million inhabitants. Bashkir is a Turkic language belonging to the Kipchak-Bulgar group together with the closely related (Volga) Tatar. Bashkir is an agglutinative language, with suffixes denoting grammatical categories. It is morpho-syntactically a nominative-accusative

language, has a basic SV/AOV word order, and displays vowel harmony in its phonology. In terms of syntax, typical for Bashkir is an extensive use of converbs and other non-finite verb forms, especially for the expression of subordination. The category of evidentiality, that is, the expression of information source through grammatical means, plays a part in Bashkir everyday language use.

The category of evidentiality has been researched extensively in the last thirty years in a wide range of languages. The category has been approached from two main perspectives. Some (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004) see evidentiality as a grammatical category, where grammatical markers carrying the meaning of information source are regarded as evidentials. Others (e.g. Cornillie 2009) view evidentiality from a functional point of view, where evidential meanings are at the centre of attention (see Section 1), and the discussion can also cover lexical expression. Evidential expression through grammatical means is an areally prevalent phenomenon in Eurasia (see Johanson & Utas 2000; Aikhenvald 2004: 290), and major studies have been conducted in, for example, some Turkic languages (see Johanson 2003 and 2018 for discussion on Turkic evidentiality, Isxakova et al. 2007 for Tatar, Uzbek and Shor, and Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986 for Turkish), as well as Caucasian and Mongolic languages. I present a brief overview of Bashkir expression of evidentiality in Section 2, which serves to prepare the ground for the main investigation of this paper.

This study examines one key part of Bashkir expression of evidentiality, namely the quotative marker *tip*. In Bashkir, evidential expression can be divided into two types on the basis of what kind of utterance the evidential form has semantic scope over. Boye (2018: 264–265) points out that with the quotative, the scope is over an illocution. For other types of evidentials (e.g. the reportative), the scope is over a proposition. Unlike Boye, who excludes the quotative from evidentials due to its illocutionary scope, I regard the quotative as evidential, as its basic meaning is to convey source of information. However, I differentiate it from the others by calling the quotative an "illocutionary" evidential, whereas those with scope over propositions I label "propositional" evidentials. Thus, this paper concentrates on exploring the Bashkir illocutionary evidential *tip*.

My aim is to discover both how the particle *tip* functions prototypically as a marker of reported speech and how this default function is extended to other than spoken utterances. Furthermore, I will look at other functions which the marker has. In addition to evidentiality, the functional category of epistemic modality is relevant in the current discussion. A key aspect which I will introduce in the study is the semantic dimension of subjectivity, which plays an important role in the pragmatics and interpretation of the quotative *tip*. This paper investigates the interaction of these categories in the different uses of this marker.

In my research, I studied natural texts containing direct and indirect speech. The sources used were both printed texts and texts available on the internet. I worked together with two native speakers of Bashkir, language consultants, both virtually and face-to-face, using mainly the medium of Russian. One of the language consultants is from the Iglinsky District of eastern Bashkortostan, and the other is from southern Bashkortostan. The data used also contains elicited examples and sentences spontaneously created by the language consultants. When considering each example, the context where it occurs is of great importance for an accurate interpretation of the linguistic and pragmatic cues.

Regarding the quotative evidential marker, some of the functions investigated in this paper have been attested in several other Turkic languages: Clark (1998: 455) mentions the comple-

mentiser function of the Turkmen speech-verb gerund *dijip* and Isxakova et al. (2007: 508–514) discuss the quotative as a function word in the context of modal verbs in Tatar, Uzbek and Shor.[2] Lewis (2000: 176) mentions the meaning extensions of the gerund of the speech verb *diye* in Turkish. Ojun (1983) discusses the Tuvan linking word *dep* formed from the speech verb. His interest is the modifying type of use of this word, but he makes a reference to two studies mentioning its use in the context of reason and purpose. Straughn (2011: 111) discusses the Kazakh complementisers *dep* and *degen*, as well as their cognates in Uzbek, used in quotative contexts. As for Caucasian languages, the quotative evidential has been discussed, for example, in Aghul by Ganenkov et al. (2009), and in Lezgi by Haspelmath (1993).[3]

In my study, I bring together different functional categories within the framework of the investigation of a Bashkir quotative marker, thus endeavouring to offer a theoretically oriented perspective to the discussion on evidentiality. At the same time, I present a detailed analysis of the semantics and pragmatics of the words used in the realisation of the functions established in this study. Due to my work involvement in the Bashkir language, I have had the opportunity to study and research the language for the past seven years. Therefore, a considerable part of what I write in this paper is based on my observations and what I have learnt in the course of the work and discussions with native speakers.

1. EVIDENTIALITY – EPISTEMIC MODALITY – SUBJECTIVITY

In Aikhenvald's (2004) influential typology, evidentiality is regarded as a grammatical category for the expression of information source. Aikhenvald has established six basic semantic parameters that are commonly employed in languages with grammatical evidentiality. These are visual, (non-visual) sensory, inference, assumption, reported and quotative (Aikhenvald 2014: 9). My discussion concerns the last parameter, the quotative, which is defined as signalling "reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source" (Aikhenvald 2014: 9). Other typologies where information source is the key meaning in establishing evidential values are Willett's (1988) and Plungian's (2001; 2010) typologies. Willett (1988: 54) proposes a three-way division of evidentials into those which convey sensory, reported and inferential evidence. Similarly, Plungian (2001), initially distinguishing between direct and indirect evidence, also proposes a three-way distinction of evidential values: direct evidence, reflected evidence and mediated evidence, the latter two being a subdivision of indirect evidence. He also introduces the term "personal evidence", which occurs with both direct evidence and reflected evidence of the indirect type. Plungian's direct evidence coincides with Aikhenvald's visual and sensory parameters, indirect reflected evidence with inference and assumption, and mediated evidence with Aikhenvald's reported. While Aikhenvald lists the six evidential parameters as being on par with one another, and helps the researcher to straightforwardly identify the different evidential values, Plungian (2001) displays these in a manner of subdivisions, links and connections, showing how they relate to one another. This is helpful when investigating how different factors, such as cognition, general knowledge and the distance of the speaker from the original knowledge, to name but a few, play their part in a speech situation.

Evidentiality can also be viewed as a functional category, a domain that occurs in the majority of languages, with the inclusion of lexical expression of evidentiality. Among the proponents of

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2 In Russian *модусные глаголы*. These are in effect the same as complement-taking verbs, as discussed in this paper.
3 This meaning is discussed under the "*luhun* strategy" (Haspelmath 1993: 367).

this approach, for example, Cornillie (2009) and Nuyts (2001) see evidentiality as relating not only to information source, but distinguish two different dimensions of evidentiality: source-evidentiality, which concerns different types of knowledge involved in a communicative act, and (inter)subjectivity, which relates to the status of evidence, whether it is shared between the speaker and the addressee, or not (see Cornillie 2009: 45). In this paper, Aikhenvald's (2004) typology forms the basic framework underlying the discussion, as, in general terms, its straight-forward portrayal fits the discussion of Bashkir evidentiality. Therefore, evidential meanings are understood as referring to information source. However, as we will see as the discussion proceeds, information source interacts with many other semantic categories and domains. This interaction is the centre of attention of this paper.

While an evidential meaning can be the default meaning of a marker, it is also possible that another grammatical category develops an evidential meaning. In addition, an evidential meaning can acquire a further extension of meaning. One of the common categories interacting with evidentiality is epistemic modality. If evidential meanings express the speaker's source of knowledge for the conveyed message, epistemic meanings belong to the sphere of modal expression and are to do with how the speaker relates to his message,[4] thus showing his attitude: what the speaker's view is on the certainty, possibility or probability of the message. Epistemic meanings can also refer to the reliability of information given (Aikhenvald 2004: 392).

Recognition of the importance of looking at evidentiality in its interaction with other categories has become more pronounced in recent years. For example, Nuckolls (2012: 226) advocates including speaker subjectivity and deixis in the analytic framework for an adequate understanding of the evidential markers of the Pastaza Quichua dialect of Quechua. Subjectivity – as well as deixis – is an important notion in the current study. The introduction of (inter)subjectivity (see Cornillie 2009; Nuyts 2001) to the investigation brings in a new angle to the discussion: how does evidentiality manifest itself in social interaction? Gipper (2011) addresses this issue in her interactional study of evidentiality and intersubjectivity of Yurakaré, a language spoken in Bolivia. Her study shows how evidentials not only convey the speaker's source of information to the speaker, but are also used for interactional social functions.

In the linguistic literature, subjectivity is usually discussed in the sphere of modality. In his work on modality, subjectivity and semantic changes, Narrog (2012: 41) summarises the three main positions that have been suggested in recent decades for understanding the label of subjectivity. The majority of scholars understand the notion of subjectivity as referring to "speaker involvement" or "speaker commitment", and contrast it with objectivity. The advocates of the second position (e.g. Cornillie 2009) see subjectivity within the context of evidentiality. Subjectivity is contrasted with intersubjectivity, and these two aspects are differentiated on the basis of whether the knowledge conveyed relates only to the speaker or is shared by the speaker and the hearer (Narrog 2012: 41). In the case of a subjective expression, the speaker "assumes strictly personal responsibility for the epistemic qualification" (Nuyts 2001: 393).

The third position is represented by Langacker (1990) within the framework of cognitive linguistics. Subjectivity is understood as "the degree to which the speaker (conceptualizer) is expressed only implicitly as opposed to putting him- or herself on stage" (Narrog 2012: 41). Also within the context of cognitive linguistics, subjectivity is a key notion in Mushin's (2001) study of the epistemological stance of the speaker in narrative. Mushin (2001: 1) defines linguistic

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4 In this paper, the pronoun "he" is used for the speaker/experiencer and "she" for the hearer/addressee.

subjectivity as "the interpretation of linguistic expressions in terms of some cognizant observer, thinker, emoter, and, of course, speaker". In her narrative studies, Mushin sees subjectivity as central in the analysis of evidentiality and epistemological stance. It is important to understand the subjective properties of linguistic expressions used by the speaker/experiencer, how they convey different viewpoints and can be manipulated to express varying degrees of subjectivity.

Subjectivity concerns the expressive function of language: the speaker as well as the addressee have the ability to express aspects of their subjective self in a particular speech situation. Even a statement of a fact sounding "objective" is an expression of the speaker's desire to inform; it can show that he does not want to impose on the hearer, etc. "In actual language use, regardless of genre, interlocutors, language and context, utterances always reflect the subjective relationship of the speaker towards the information and towards the speech situation" (Mushin 2001: 2, 5).

In this study, I understand subjectivity as the expression of the subjective self. What is key to subjectivity is the involvement of the speaker or experiencer in the cognitive processing of the information,[5] and how the speaker utilises different linguistic possibilities to convey this involvement in different degrees. My focus, for the most part, is on the speaker/experiencer. Therefore, I am less concerned about the interaction between interlocutors, that is, intersubjectivity. However, as I investigate through whose cognition information is processed and how involved the subject is in this processing, I will also introduce a new term "multisubjectivity" to describe the usage of the quotative *tip* in connection with a certain semantic set of verbs. This term differs from intersubjectivity in that, while the latter has to do with speaker-addressee interaction, multisubjectivity relates to the involvement of more than one subject, or participant, in the expression of an utterance, or thought, as conveyed through a speech report. The notion of multisubjectivity comes close to what Evans (2005) calls "multiple perspective".[6] As we human beings have social intelligence and are able to recognise other people's different perspectives, such varied points of view are also reflected in grammar: languages have means to show multiple perspectives by enabling "the encoding of two perspectives at once, whether between two conversational participants, or by taking two reference points in temporal, spatial, social, attentional or epistemic space" (Evans 2005: 93).

Subjectivity is viewed as an independent semantic dimension which can occur together with (at least) evidential and modal meanings. I see it as essentially speaker-oriented. If something is marked as subjective, it shows that what is conveyed is connected with the consciousness or perspective of the speaker. This understanding has some overlap with Nuyts' (2001) definition of subjectivity, especially in the aspect of the speaker taking responsibility for the information conveyed. Subjectivity does not pertain to assessing the truth value of the information conveyed, or its epistemic evaluation. However, such meanings can arise contextually in conjunction with subjective meanings.

A quotative – a marker signalling reported speech – is very much tied to the pragmatic context in which it occurs. It is important to look at it from various angles: how it functions grammatically and what factors influence its interpretation. At the same time, the categories

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5 In this paper, I use the terms "speaker" and "experiencer" interchangeably, as the pragmatic contexts where the marker *tip* occurs are not only situations with actual speech, but include cognitive processes, conceptualisation, perception and sensing.

6 See also Bergqvist 2015 on multiple perspectives.

and notions outlined above will have their own part to play in the intricate interaction that takes place in contexts where the quotative marker occurs.

In the following section, I will present a brief overview of Bashkir evidentiality expressed with grammatical means to show where the topic of this study, the quotative *tip*, fits in in the overall picture of this phenomenon. Beginning from Section 3, this will then be followed by an investigation of the marker *tip* and its different functions.

2. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF BASHKIR EVIDENTIALITY

Like a number of other Turkic languages, Bashkir uses grammatical means to convey evidential meanings. The key types of markers expressing such meanings are (finite) verb forms and grammaticalised particles, which also originate from verb forms. As in a number of Turkic languages (see, e.g., Straughn 2011 for Uzbek and Kazakh, and Greed 2014 for Tatar), in the verbal expression of evidentiality of Bashkir, past-tense forms play a key role. The main forms displaying an evidential opposition are the forms called the definite past tense with *-DY* and the indefinite past tense with *-GAn* in Bashkir grammar (Juldašev 1981: 273–274). Building on the description of the two forms in Bashkir grammar (Juldašev 1981: 274–275) and deriving from my own experience with the language, I suggest that the definite past, which is the more frequent of the two, has a general past meaning, and that the basic meaning of the indefinite past form is that of the perfect (resultative), conveying a past action which is relevant at the moment of speech (see Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 15). This is also one of the meanings Juldašev (1981: 275) assigns to this form.

(1) *Ilgiz kitap-ty al-ɣan.*
Ilgiz book-ACC take-INDEF.PST(NWIT)

'Ilgiz took (has taken) the book.'

(2) *Ilgiz kitap-ty al-dy.*
Ilgiz book-ACC take-DEF.PST(NEUTR/WIT)

'Ilgiz took the book.'

Using the perfect/resultative form with *-GAn* the speaker can express that the information conveyed is non-firsthand, non-witnessed (Example 1). With regard to the general past form *-DY*, I suggest that this form is in general evidentially neutral, but can receive a contextual interpretation of firsthand/witnessed information. This is in accordance with what Johanson (2003: 275–276) states about the Turkic evidentially unmarked past forms, equivalent to the Bashkir *-DY*, where "the unmarked [terms] always exhibit neutral uses in cases where the speaker considers the evidential distinction unessential and thus chooses not to use it". Thus, in Example 2, the first interpretation of the form *aldy* 'took' is a neutral statement about the event having taken place, without reference to how the information was received. However, contextually it can also receive a witnessed reading.

A path of development for the perfect (or resultative) meaning which has been frequently attested cross-linguistically is for it to acquire the meaning of inference (see Bybee et al. 1994: 104–105; Aikhenvald 2004: 116). This is also the case with the Bashkir *-GAn*. The meaning of inference can also occur in first-person contexts, but then it is accompanied by a mirative meaning (see Example 19), showing that the speaker's mind was unprepared for the relayed

information (see DeLancey 1997: 36), namely, that the speaker was not conscious that the event which is being recounted had taken place.

In addition, grammaticalised particles express various non-firsthand meanings. For the particle *ikän*,[7] derived from the verb *i-* 'be' and the past/perfect participle *-GAn*, the evidential meaning is that of assumption, that is, it expresses a conclusion drawn on the basis of non-visible evidence: for example, through logical reasoning or general knowledge (see Aikhenvald 2014: 9). In Example 3, which is from the end of an animal story about a cuckoo and a magpie, through logical reasoning the narrator draws a conclusion about the cuckoo's behaviour, which is indicated with *ikän*:

(3) *Jomortqalaryn,   hajyθqan ašamahyn   tip,*
    egg:PL:3POSS:ACC magpie   eat:NEG:JUSS3 QUOT

    bašqa qoštar ojahyna   jäšerä ikän.
    other bird:PL nest:3POSS:DAT hide:PRS ASS

    '(It) hides its eggs in other birds' nests so that the magpie would not eat them.' (Mirza 2015)

Another particle, imeš,[8] expresses the evidential meaning of hearsay 'it is said/they say': by using the particle, the speaker indicates that what he reports originates from some unspecified source.

The two remaining particles with evidential meanings are *ti* and *tip*, both of which originate from the speech verb *tijeü* 'say', *ti* being the finite present form and *tip* the nonfinite converb form of the verb. The particle *ti* expresses a hearsay meaning 'they say', whereas *tip* functions as a quotative marker, used in conjunction with speech reports. In the sphere of evidentiality, as stated above, the quotative *tip* differs from other evidential markers, in that while these have semantic scope over propositions, the scope of *tip* is over illocutions. I propose, similarly, that the hearsay marker *ti* is also an illocutionary evidential. It occurs frequently in fairy stories and folk tales, that is, in narratives close to oral speech, and can have scope over units of discourse, from a sentence up to a whole story. When a folk tale begins with a sentence marked with *ti* and finishes with the same marker, the particle labels the story as an illocution from beginning to end. This is the case in the folk tale "Three heroes", where the initial sentence (Example 4a) and the final paragraph containing two sentences (Example 4b) are marked with *ti*:

(4a) *Byl jerðän   atyp   taš   jetmäθ, ...   urynda,   ...jalanda*
     this land:ABL   throw:CVB stone reach:NEG.PTCP place:LOC field:LOC

     ber qart   jäšä-gän,   ti.
     one old.man   live-PRF/INDEF.PST(REP) HEARSAY

     'They say that there lived an old man in a place that could not be reached by a stone thrown from here, in a field.' (BXI 1982: 44)

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7 The particle *ikän* is by default a modal marker, which can display the evidential meaning of assumption. In addition, *ikän* and *imeš* can also display mirative meanings.

8 Like *ikän*, this particle originates from the verb *i-* 'be' and the Old Turkic perfect participle *-mYš*. The form was replaced by *-GAn* in East Middle Turkic (Chagatay) (Johanson 2018: 514), which is the form used in Bashkir. Thus, *imeš* is a fossilised form in Bashkir.

(4b) *Ä   tege   ös   tuɣan   äle   lä   iθändär,   ti.*
But   those   three   brother still INTENS alive:PL   HEARSAY

... räxät   häm   šat   tormoš kötälär,   ti.
enjoyable and   happy life   wait.for:3PL HEARSAY

'But those three brothers are even now alive, they say. (They) are waiting for an enjoyable and happy life, they say.' (BXI 1982: 46)

Similarly to the Tatar hearsay marker *di* in legends (see Greed 2014: 83), the Bashkir hearsay particle *ti* functions as a genre marker, a token of genre, for narratives close to oral speech.

The following Diagram 1 presents an overview of Bashkir evidentiality. Evidentials are divided into propositional and illocutionary evidentials. Grammaticalised particles fall under both types. The tense-aspect form with *-DY* is not included in the diagram due to its basic neutral status with regard to evidentiality.
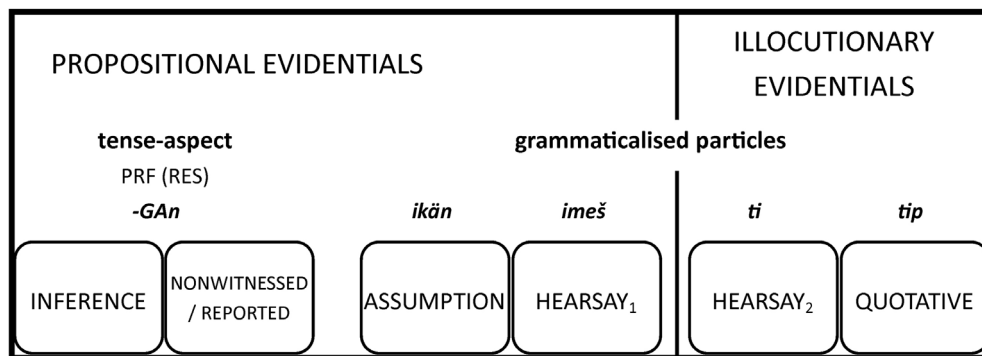
PROPOSITIONAL EVIDENTIALS					ILLOCUTIONARY EVIDENTIALS	
tense-aspect			**grammaticalised particles**			
PRF (RES)						
-GAn			***ikän***	***imeš***	***ti***	***tip***
INFERENCE	NONWITNESSED / REPORTED		ASSUMPTION	HEARSAY₁	HEARSAY₂	QUOTATIVE

Diagram 1 An overview of Bashkir evidentiality expressed through grammatical means.

3. THE QUOTATIVE *TIP* AS A MARKER OF SPEECH REPORTS

In Bashkir grammar (Juldašev 1981), the marker *tip* is discussed in the context of subordinate purpose clauses and direct speech, and it is categorised as a postposition. Similarly, in her extensive study of Bashkir function words, Sultanbaeva (2008: 30–31) discusses *tip* amongst other postpositions and gives as its basic meanings the expression of "purpose relations" and the "designation of something".[9] Syntactically, she writes, the marker *tip* functions as a connective (conjunction) between the main and subordinate purpose and complement clauses.[10]

In this article, the marker *tip* is discussed from both a semantic and a grammatical point of view. I begin with the semantic function of *tip* as a marker of reported speech, and then continue by looking at its grammatical role of connecting a matrix clause and a speech report as a complementiser. These two different aspects are then combined as I consider different types of speech reports and the verbs that accompany them.

Prototypically, the particle *tip* signals "reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source", which is how Aikhenvald (2014: 9) defines the meaning of an evidential quota-

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9 For example, in *Iθtälekkä tip haqlau* 'Keep for remembrance' (Sultanbaeva 2008: 31), *tip* singles out or designates the item under discussion, that is, *iθtälek-kä* remembrance-DAT 'for remembrance'.

10 "Придаточное изъявительное".

tive marker. The typical context where a quotative is used is a speech situation. However, in Bashkir the usage of the quotative *tip* has extended to other types of contexts where it is not the actual uttered words but the inner "speech" of the speaker or experiencer that the quotative is marking. Thus, in our discussion the use of the term "speech report" does not refer only to reported spoken words but can equally well refer to the content of such inner speech: that is, thoughts and experiences. In the examples, speech reports are indicated with square brackets.

In terms of form, the quotative particle *tip* is a grammaticalised converb form of the speech verb *tijeü* 'say': *ti-p* say-CVB. This type of formation of a quotative marker is typologically attested in many other language families as well (see Aikhenvald 2004: 271–273): in Eurasia, for example, in the Nakh-Daghestanian Lezgi (Haspelmath 1993: 367), in Tibeto-Burman Newari and Sherpa (Saxena 1988), and in the Tungusic Udihe (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 668).

The marker *tip* obligatorily accompanies speech reports with all other speech verbs except *tijeü* 'say', being the verb from which the marker originates. In Bashkir, the speech report can be framed by the speech orienter or reporting clause.[11] This is a pragmatically neutral and widely used type of construction, containing a speech orienter and a speech report (Juldašev 1981: 486), as in Example 5.

> (5) *Ul arala öjðän ber äðäm*
> that interval:LOC house:ABL one human.being
>
> *syqty. Qarlyqqan tauyš:*
> come.out:DEF.PST become.hoarse:PST.PTCP voice
>
> *– Nindäj izge bändälär kilde?*
> what.kind good human.being:PL come:DEF.PST
>
> *– tip öndäšte.*
> QUOT address:DEF.PST
>
> 'Meanwhile a man had come out of the house. A hoarse voice addressed (them), "What good people have arrived?"' (Musin 1987: 53)

Another common construction is a preposed speech report followed by the predicate containing *tip* and the speech verb, and followed by the subject (speaker), which therefore occurs sentence-finally. In this case, the speech report receives focus (Juldašev 1981: 486).[12] In Example 6, part (a) is a pragmatically neutral construction with a speech report and a speech orienter. At the same time there is no *tip*, as the speech verb is *tijeü* 'say'. Part (b) is a speech report preceding the whole speech orienter, which consists of *tip* and the speech verb *horany* 'asked', accompanied by a sentence-final subject.

> (6a) *Malaj… xäbärenän šyp tuqtany la:*
> boy message:3POSS:ABL suddenly stop:DEF.PST ADD
>
> *– [Haumyhyγγð!] – tine häm tyšqa atyldy.*
> Hello! say:DEF.PST and out:DAT rush:DEF.PST
>
> 'The boy suddenly broke off from his message, said, "Hello!" and rushed out.'

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11 The synonymous terms "speech orienter (clause)" and "reporting clause" are used in this paper even if the matrix clause verb is not explicitly a speech verb.

12 In Bashkir, the focus position is immediately before the verb.

(6b)　　– *[Bäj,　nindäj teldä　　　　höjläšä　　　　ul?]*
　　　　oh_my　which language:LOC　speak:PRS.3SG　3SG

　　　　– *tip　horany　　küððären　　　　ður　asqan　　　Marija　Nikolaevna.*
　　　　QUOT　ask:DEF.PST　eye:PL:3POSS:ACC　large　open:PST.PTCP　Marija　Nikolaevna

　　　　'"Oh my, what language is he speaking?" asked Marija Nikolaevna, her eyes large with surprise.' (Äminev 2003: 143)

If the speech predicate precedes the speech report, *tip* is not used, as the marker has to always immediately follow the speech report.[13]

4. THE QUOTATIVE *TIP* AS A GRAMMATICAL COMPLEMENTISER

As has been explained, the default meaning of the Bashkir quotative marker *tip* is to signal a quoted speech report. The syntactic environment is a sentence containing a complement clause or a complement-type construction (depending on the definition). Grammatically, the quotative *tip* is thus a complementiser, marking the speech report as a complement of the predicate in the matrix clause. Noonan (2007: 74) defines complementation as "the grammatical state where a predication functions as an argument of a predicate". In constructions containing a complement clause, the verb in the main clause takes another clause as its core argument, usually as an object argument. The verbs that can occur in the main clause are from a restricted set (Dixon 2006: 5): mainly verbs of cognition and perception, such as 'see', 'hear', 'know', 'believe', 'tell' and 'want'. What is common to them is that they "relate to the nature of the human mind, the ways in which information is coded and communicated, and the way in which language is acquired" (Dixon 2006: 2).

As these verbs have a connection with human cognition, and complementation has been shown to relate to "wider cognitive issues" (Dixon 2006), it makes sense that the dimension of subjectivity plays a part in meanings to do with complementation, and also in the functions of the marker *tip*. This will be discussed further in Section 5.2.

In general, Dixon (2006: 29) equates complement clauses occurring with speech verbs with indirect speech, while recognising that in some languages direct speech may also be regarded as a complement clause (see Genetti 2006: 147–149 for Dolakha Newar). In my analysis of Bashkir syntactic structure, I regard direct and semi-direct speech as a complement of the speech verb, in addition to indirect speech. As with indirect speech, the complement-taking speech verb accompanied by *tip* cannot stand alone – it needs an object argument. This is one of Dixon's grammatical criteria of complement clauses (2006: 15). However, Bashkir does not follow these criteria in its marking of an object; instead of marking the speech report with the standard accusative case for the object, in direct speech and semi-direct speech the relationship between the main and complement clauses is signalled by the quotative *tip*.

When discussing in general the types of subordinate clauses in Bashkir, Juldašev (1981: 457–458) divides complement clauses into two types on the basis of how they are formed: the synthetic and analytical types. In the synthetic type, the predicate is a non-finite form (e.g. a nominalisation), and it may be followed by a case suffix. In the case of the analytical complement clause, the clause is by form a finite clause, and it is linked to the main clause with the

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13　An exception to this is a case with a "dummy" demonstrative which refers to the speech report. In the following example, it is *bylaj* 'thus': *Ajgöl bylaj tip jauap birðe:* "DS" 'Ajgöl thus answered: "DS"' (DS = Direct Speech).

"postposition" (as Juldašev calls it) *tip*, or by other means involving demonstrative pronouns in the main clause.

A word – be it a particle, clitic or a connective – which marks a clause as a complement is a complementiser (see Noonan 2007: 55). Bashkir expresses syntactic subordination with non-finite verb forms, such as participles and converbs, and postpositional constructions, whereas conjunctions (connectives) play a minor role. Thus, if for English one of the common ways of marking clausal complementation is the conjunction *that* linking two finite clauses, for Bashkir the options are the synthetically formed complement clause (with no marker) and the analytically formed complement clause accompanied by the quotative *tip*. The quotative marks the clause as a complement, and functions therefore as a complementiser.

A similar complement construction formed with the speech verb occurs in some other Turkic languages. In Turkmen, for example, constructions containing direct speech and formed with the "gerund" form *dijip* would in English be expressed as indirect speech with 'that' (Clark 1998: 455). Forker (2014: 63–64) describes a similar phenomenon in the Nakh-Daghestanian Hinuq.

5. THE COMPLEMENTISER *TIP* WITH SPEECH VERBS

5.1 Direct, semi-direct and indirect speech

Languages have different ways of presenting speech reports, that is, reporting what someone else has said. Traditionally a difference is made between direct and indirect speech, where the former refers to a verbatim quotation of the original speaker's words, whereas in the latter the reported utterance is adapted to the speech situation (Coulmas 1986: 2). Between these extremes, there is a continuum in which speech report expressions of different languages fit. Aikhenvald (2008: 383) introduces a "middle-ground" dimension to this typology on the basis of her research on Manambu, a language spoken in Papua New Guinea. She calls the dimension "semi-direct speech". The key difference between these three types lies in how the person is referred to in the speech report. In direct speech, the original reference form is retained, whereas in indirect speech the reference is shifted to the perspective of the reporter, that is, the current speaker. In the case of Manambu's semi-direct speech, this person-shift is incomplete (Aikhenvald 2008: 409).

The fundamental difference between direct and indirect speech is the speaker perspective: with direct speech "the reporter lends his voice to the original speaker and says (or writes) what he said, thus adopting his point of view, as it were", while with indirect speech "the reporter comes to the fore" and "is free to introduce information about the reported speech event from his point of view and on the basis of his knowledge about the world" (Coulmas 1986: 2–3). The reporter processes the original utterance and may blend in information about the world that was not conveyed by the original utterance and of which the original speaker was unaware (Coulmas 1986: 4–5).

5.2 Direct speech in Bashkir

In some languages, the clause with direct speech and a reporting clause are juxtaposed with no special marker signalling the quoted nature of the speech report. In others, like Bashkir, a quotative marker is needed to link the speech report and the speech orienter clauses.[14]

The quotative marker *tip* immediately follows the speech report. The direct speech (DS) and the speech orienter linked with it can occur in four different positions relative to one another (Juldašev 1981: 485). The characteristic and widely used type was introduced in Section 2: the speaker/reporter (that is, the subject) precedes the speech report, and the speech verb follows it: S-DS-V (Example 7; see also Example 5). This follows the pragmatically neutral constituent order of the language, SOV.

(7)   *Äsähe*   *malajðy:*
       mother:POSS3   boy:ACC

       – [Heŋle-ŋ-de   *küð_uŋynan*   *ysqyndyr-ma], –*
       younger_sister-POSS2-ACC   attention_of_eyes:ABL   let_go-NEG.IMP

       tip   *kiθätte.*
       QUOT   warn:DEF.PST

       'Mother warned the boy (saying), "Do not let your little sister out of your sight."' (Modified from Mostafina 2005: 27; GX1-a 1:22a)

In the second type, the direct speech follows the speech orienter: S-V-DS. The speech orienter can also occur in the middle of them: DS$_a$-VS-DS$_b$. The second and third types have developed through Russian influence. In the fourth type, direct speech precedes the speech orienter: DS-V-S (Example 8), and it receives pragmatic focus. The subject, occurring in the postverbal position, is defocused; it is uttered as if an afterthought.

(8)   *– [Heŋle-ŋ-de*   *küð_uŋynan*   *ysqyndyr-ma], –*
       younger_sister-POSS2-ACC   attention_of_eyes:ABL   let_go-NEG.IMP

       tip ... kiθätte   *äsähe*   *malajðy.*
       QUOT   warn:DEF.PST3SG   mother:POSS3   boy:ACC

       '"Do not let your little sister out of your sight," Mother warned the boy.' (Mostafina 2005: 27)

In Bashkir, a verbatim quote does not necessarily need to be accompanied by a speech orienter if the speaker is clear from the context. This is the case especially in written dialogue.

5.3 Indirect speech in Bashkir

In addition to direct speech, someone else's words can be expressed in Bashkir by using indirect speech. One of the evident changes from direct to indirect speech is the removal of the quotative marker *tip*. Thus, the analytical-type complement clause changes into the synthetic type (see Section 3): the predicate in the speech report becomes a nominalised or otherwise non-finite verb form. There is no tense shift. However, a change does happen with personal deixis, which Aikhenvald (2008: 385) sees as the major property distinguishing direct and indirect speech reports. If the original speaker occurs in 1st or 2nd person in the speech report,

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14   With the exceptions that were outlined in Section 3.

that is, he is coreferential with "a Speech Act participant within the report", the person shifts to 3rd person (see Aikhenvald 2008: 385). If the original speaker and a speech report participant are not coreferential, no person shift takes place.

In addition to the change in personal deixis, there is a shift in spatial and temporal deixis. If in direct speech the deictic features reflect the perspective of the original speaker, the choice of temporal and local adverbs in indirect speech reflects the perspective of the current speaker.

Example 9 shows Example 8 recast in indirect speech:

(9) *Äsähe malajyna heŋle-he-n*
mother:POSS3 boy:POSS3:DAT younger_sister-POSS3-ACC

küð_uŋynan ysqyndyr-maθqa qušty.
attention_of_eyes:ABL let_go-NEG.INF command:DEF.PAST

'Mother told her boy not to let his little sister out of his sight.' (GX 1:23)

A syntactic change takes place in the speech report clause: the complementiser *tip* is removed and the speech report clause loses its independence with the change of the finite verb into a non-finite verb form, thus becoming embedded. The 2nd-person reference of the original direct speech, which was visible both in the imperative verb form *ysqyndyrma* 'do not let go' and in the 2nd-person possessive suffix of *heŋleŋde* 'your younger sister', switches in indirect speech into the 3rd-person possessive *heŋlehen* 'his younger sister'.

5.4 Semi-direct speech in Bashkir

In addition to direct speech and indirect speech, speech reports in Bashkir appear also in semi-direct speech, which combines some of the features of direct and indirect speech. While semi-direct speech can occur with speech verbs in Bashkir, more commonly it combines with complement-taking non-speech verbs. In Example 10, the complement-taking verb is a verb of perception *išeteü* 'hear'. The speech report is followed by the complementiser *tip*, which links it with the verb in the matrix clause. While in written discourse direct speech would be marked as a quotation by quotation marks or a dash, semi-direct speech does not receive this type of marking.

(10) *[Öfölä igen bar] tip išet-te-m.*
Ufa:LOC grain COP.PRS QUOT hear-DEF.PST-1SG

'I heard that there is grain in Ufa.' (GX1-a 1:14)

In Bashkir semi-direct speech, the person marking usually remains in the perspective of the original speaker (experiencer), thus following direct speech. In addition, the deictic temporal and spatial references are also shared with direct speech. Thus, a semi-direct speech report and the "equivalent" direct speech report are in general syntactically identical. However, they can be clearly distinguished in certain pragmatic contexts. This happens if the direct speech subject is established and known, thus activated and identifiable (e.g. a proper name or a pronoun), and functions in the sentence containing semi-direct speech as the topic.[15]

The following two examples have a speech verb *höjläü* as the complement-taking verb of the matrix clause. Example 11 shows semi-direct speech with speech verbs. This pattern also occurs with non-speech verbs.

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15 See Lambrecht (1994), chapter 3 for states of discourse referents, and chapters 4 and 5 for topic and focus.

(11)   – *[Nizam   kisä   qalaɣa   kilgän],* –
       Nizam(NOM) yesterday town:DAT   come:PRF

       tip   höjlänelär.
       QUOT   speak:DEF.PST:3PL

       '"Nizam came to town yesterday," they said/it was told.' (GX1a:40)

(12)   *Nizam-dy [kisä   qalaɣa   kilgän]*
       Nizam-ACC yesterday town:DAT   come:PRF

       tip   höjlänelär.
       QUOT   speak:DEF.PST:3PL

       'They said/It was told that Nizam came to town yesterday.' (GX1-a 1:42)

When comparing the speech report in Example 11, consisting of direct speech, with the speech report of Example 12 with semi-direct speech, we note that syntactically the nominative-form subject of the direct speech (*Nizam*) becomes the object of the complement-taking verb *höjlänelär* 'they told' of the matrix clause. At the same time, the semi-direct speech report loses its explicit subject. To show the change more clearly, Example 12 could be translated, "They told about Nizam that he had come to town yesterday." In the information structure of Example 12, *Nizam* is the topic and the speech report *kisä qalaɣa kilgän* '(he) came to town yesterday' is the comment.

The change in the personal deixis is evident in contexts where the subject of the reporting clause and the subject of the speech report are coreferential. Example 13 contains direct speech, and in Example 14 a similar meaning is expressed in semi-direct speech.

(13)   *Ul: "Min   aqyl   ejähe",* –
       3SG 1SG   intellect   owner:POSS3

       tip   äjtä.
       QUOT   say:PRS

       'S/he says, "I am clever."' (GM-a T:37)

(14)   *Ul   üð-e-n   [aqyl   ejähe]*
       3SG self-POSS3-ACC intellect   owner:POSS3

       tip   hanaj.
       QUOT   regard:PRS

       'S/he regards her/himself as clever.' (GM-a T:36)

In the sentence with semi-direct speech, the 1st-person subject of the direct speech becomes a reflexive pronoun *üð* 'self' in the accusative, and falls outside the speech report.

When direct speech is transferred into semi-direct speech, the changes happen only with the direct speech subject and with its predicate verb, in terms of the person reference. Other constituents, such as an object or an oblique, remain the same as in the equivalent direct speech. The syntactic relation of the object and the semi-direct speech will be discussed further in Section 6.1 in the context of non-speech verbs.

6. THE COMPLEMENTISER *TIP* WITH NON-SPEECH VERBS

Even though Bashkir semi-direct speech can be used with speech verbs, as we saw in Section 5.4, its main use is in the context of the other complement-taking verbs. These verbs also occur with indirect speech but the distribution of these two types varies depending on the semantics of the verbs in question, as well as the context. This is a general observation of a tendency: its more detailed investigation would require another study. Nevertheless, the question of the use of semi-direct speech is closely connected with subjectivity. I suggest that the more the verb in question and/or the context concern a situation where the speaker's/experiencer's mental and cognitive processes are involved, and therefore subjectivity is playing a part, the more likely is the use of *tip*.

With complement-taking non-speech verbs, the speech report is no longer a quotation of actual spoken words, an actual instance of speaking, but it is another type of "speech" report: a thought, or an internal experience transmitted in a structured linguistic expression.

In the previous section, we saw how in Bashkir the quotative *tip* combines with a speech verb in the context of both direct and semi-direct speech. Bashkir has a wealth of other complement-taking verbs, such as verbs of cognition, perception and liking, and they occur both in complement clauses formed analytically, that is, with the quotative *tip*, and in clauses formed synthetically. In the following, I will present a selection of verbs from the three types listed above, and comment on the special features found with this particular type of verb. A general observation common to all the examples I have encountered is that the complement clause construction formed analytically with *tip* always involves the speaker/experiencer's consciousness or perspective; thus, the key to the interpretation of such clauses with *tip* is experiencer involvement and subjectivity. As for the complement clause construction formed synthetically, it lacks the subjective element. The experiencer is usually the subject of the matrix clause, but as we will see, the picture is more complicated than this.

6.1 Syntactic status of the speech report in semi-direct speech

When investigating sentences with clauses functioning as complements of non-speech verbs, I frequently came across cases where the subject of the "equivalent" direct speech was transformed into an accusative-form object, thus becoming a syntactic constituent of the matrix clause. Initially it was not clear what caused this change or how it could be explained.

Example 15 is a sentence with a complement clause which is syntactically linked to the non-speech verb *beleü* 'know' by the complementiser *tip*. The speech report complement clause consists of the two words *bäläkäj ašnaqsy* 'little chef'. It appears that in this case the matrix-clause verb has both a complement in the form of a clause and an object in the form of a noun phrase. But how do the object and the speech-report clause relate to one another syntactically?

(15) *3 jäšlek   Güzäl M.-ny   küptär*
      3 year.old Güzäl M.- ACC   many:PL

      [bäläkäj ašnaqsy] tip   belä.
      little   chef   QUOT know:PRS

      'Many know the three-year-old Güzäl M. as the little chef.' (Modified from *Juldaš* 2017)

In the case of direct speech, the "underlying" speech that these people might utter about little Güzäl would be *3 jäšlek Güzäl M. – bäläkäj ašnaqsy* 'The three-year-old Güzäl M. is a little chef.' Thus, the sentence containing this direct speech would be:

(16) *Küptär: "[3 jäšlek   Güzäl M. –*
     many: PL   3 year.old   Güzäl M.(NOM)

   bäläkäj ašnaqsy]", –   tip   äjtä.
   little   chef   QUOT   say:PRS

   'Many say, "The three-year-old Güzäl M. is a little chef."' (GM-a T:31)

In this case, the direct speech clause is a complement of the speech verb *äjtä* 'says', and *tip* signals a syntactic link between them. In Example 15, the speech report is embedded in the matrix clause, and the subject constituent of the direct speech of Example 16 is transferred to the matrix clause, becoming the direct object of the non-speech verb *belä* 'knows'. However, while in the pragmatically unmarked word order the object would follow the subject, in this case the object is fronted. For Bashkir, this is an indication that it is the topic of this utterance. As for the speech report, it characterises the object, showing how, or what as, many people know the little girl.

Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 65) discuss the semantics and syntax of clauses or constructions containing a second predicative element in addition to the main predicate, and they differentiate between predicative complements, such as subject and object complements, and so-called depictive secondary predicates. The main difference between them is that predicative complements are obligatory as part of the argument frame of the predicate whereas depictive secondary predicates are optional.[16]

Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 77–78) list seven criteria that a depictive secondary predicate construction should meet:

i. Such a construction "contains two separate predicative elements…, where the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate".

ii. "The depictive [secondary predicate] is obligatorily controlled", that is, there is a formal, usually predicative relation between a participant of the main predicate, the controller; and "the controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive".

iii. The depictive and the main predicate do not form a complex or periphrastic predicate together, but the predication the depictive predicate makes about its controller is at least partly independent of the main predication.

iv. "The depictive is not an argument of the main predicate, i.e., it is not obligatory."

v. The depictive "does not function as a modifier of the controller".

vi. The depictive is non-finite, being not marked for tense or mood, or its dependency on the main predicate is shown in other formal ways.

vii. "The depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate."

On the surface, the Bashkir construction with two predicates looks as though the speech report is an object complement, in that the speech report is obligatory, being part of the argument frame of the main predicate. However, it also meets most of the seven criteria, the key ones

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16 For example, in the sentence 'Louisa considers Silvia intelligent' (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 65), the verb *consider* requires another argument – in this case *intelligent* – as part of its frame in addition to the object argument *Silvia*. The constituent *intelligent* is a complement to the object *Silvia*. An example of a sentence containing a non-obligatory depictive secondary predicate is 'Carol drinks her coffee black' (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 60). The secondary predicate *black* can be removed with the sentence remaining grammatically intact. In this case, the secondary predicate is controlled by the matrix clause object *coffee*. Some linguists would interpret *Silvia intelligent* as a "small clause"; see Crystal (2007: 366) for the definition.

being the following: the speech report predicate has a predicative relation to a participant of the main predicate, its controller, and thus the speech report predicate is obligatorily controlled; also, the controller is expressed separately as an argument of the depictive (criterion ii). In addition, the speech report and the main predicates do not form a complex or periphrastic predicate (criterion iii); and the speech report predicate does not function as a modifier to its controller in the main clause (criterion v). With regard to criterion vi, even though the speech report predicate is finite, there is a clear formal dependency indicated vis-à-vis the main predicate: this is done with the marker *tip*. As for the need for the depictive to be optional (criterion iv), we can investigate this in Bashkir with the help of two examples: Example 15 above, containing a secondary predicate in addition to the main predicate, and Example 17, containing only one predicate:

(17) *3 jäšlek   Güzäl M.-ny   küptär   belä.*
     3 year.old   Güzäl M.- ACC   many:PL   know:PRS

     'Many know the three-year-old Güzäl M.' (Modified from *Juldaš* 2017)

The difference between (15) and (17) is the presence of a secondary predicate in the form of a speech report and the marker *tip* in the former, and their absence in the latter. It appears that the secondary predicate and *tip* function together: if one is present, the other one has to be present as well, and vice versa. I would suggest that in Bashkir the criterion of optionality is almost valid. However, the semantic types of verbs listed by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 63), being typically verbs of "motion, ingestion, manipulation, or change of state" for the main predicate, do not coincide with the types of verbs used in the Bashkir constructions.

Therefore, I conclude that the Bashkir speech report predicate, as described here, comes close to being a depictive secondary predicate, as Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann define it. On the other hand, to interpret the Bashkir secondary predicate as an object complement, and thus an obligatory part of the argument frame of the main predicate, is possible. There is no syntactic marking, though, to show this dependency. However, semantically the speech report is linked with both the object (its controller) and the verb of the matrix clause. The speech report constituent cannot be removed unless the quotative marker *tip* is also removed.

Either way, even if the syntactic structure of this construction does not fall neatly within the confines of the two concepts discussed above, semantically the secondary predicate behaves in a depictive way, expressing "a physical state or condition, or a role, function or life stage" (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 65).

In the following, I will proceed by looking at examples of different types of complement-taking non-speech verbs: how they are used, and what the special semantic nuances of each one are. I will begin with the verbs of cognition 'think' and 'regard', as they are semantically closest to speech verbs. However, before discussing the verbs we will return to the topic of subjectivity, as this is one of the key factors in understanding the usage of these verbs.

6.2 Subjectivity – multisubjectivity

In Section 1, subjectivity was defined as having to do with how the speaker or experiencer is involved in the processing of information in the mind, and how different linguistic possibilities can convey this involvement to differing degrees. When using complement-taking verbs, a speaker or experiencer gives expression to his cognition, perception, emotions and other

manifestations of his mind. He can also use other linguistic devices to modify this expression. In Bashkir, the quotative *tip* is one means of conveying subjective meanings. Such meanings are usually centred around the speaker or experiencer, but in certain contexts it is no longer only the involvement and perspective of the "subjective self" that is reflected in the meaning; other participants also become involved. The expression conveys multiple perspectives (Evans 2005); it becomes multisubjective and polyphonic as it merges different voices and viewpoints. Both subjectivity and multisubjectivity play an important role in Bashkir in contexts containing semi-direct speech.[17]

6.3 Types of verbs

Complement-taking verbs can be divided into at least 12 types (see Noonan 2007: 121–142). Among them are "utterance predicates", which we have already investigated in the discussion of speech verbs in Section 5. The other types of verbs that we will be looking at in this section are propositional attitude predicates, such as *believe*, *think*, and *suppose*; predicates of knowledge, such as *know*; a predicate of fearing – *be afraid* – and the immediate perception predicates *see*, *hear* and *feel*. The order of these complement-taking verbs will, however, not follow Noonan's order, as the features that the Bashkir verbs display do not necessarily group neatly under these general headings, but verbs from different types may behave in a similar manner. I will start with an attitude verb *ujlau* 'think', as it appears semantically closest to speech verbs, as a thought can be seen as unuttered speech.

ujlau 'think'

That the general thinking verb *ujlau* is close to speech verbs can be seen in the fact that in written Bashkir it can be displayed similarly to direct speech, using direct speech and quotation marks.

(18) *"[Qajnym   aldan   xäbär   jebär-gän*
father-in-law:POSS1SG beforehand message(ACC) send-PST.PTCP

bul-ɣan-dyr, axyry]", – tip   ujlany   Säɣürä.
be-PRF-MOD   likely   QUOT   think-DEF.PST Säɣürä

'"Probably my father-in-law had sent a message beforehand," Säɣürä thought.' (Gizzatullina 2006: 362)

In Example 18, Säɣürä's response to an event that she has just witnessed is a thought conveyed in full as direct speech. Alternatively, semi-direct speech might be used. In Example 19, the character's thought is expressed in semi-direct speech. The old man Bilal is looking at himself in the mirror and musing:

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17 A type of multisubjectivity in the context of direct speech is evident in another Eurasian language, Korean, which has a wealth of sentence-final particles expressing evidential meanings, including the quotative meaning (Rhee 2017). Korean sentences containing direct speech mix the perspectives of the speaker and the sentential subject in specific contexts where the speaker assigns a certain thought to the person about whom he is talking, and this thought is expressed in the form of direct speech and marked with a complementiser. It is as if the speaker "borrows the mouth" (Rhee 2009: 207) of the other person by imagining what she might be saying.

(19) *[Allaɣa šökör, qarap   torouɣa*
    God:DAT thank(s) look:CVB PROGR:NMNZ:DAT

    bik birešmägänmen   ikän   äle],
    very surrender_oneself:NEG:PRF:1SG MOD yet

    tip ujla-ny   köðgö aldynda   torɣany.
    QUOT think-DEF.PST mirror in_front_of stand:PST.PTCP:POSS3

    'Thank God, I haven't (apparently) yet surrendered to staring at myself in the mirror, thought the one standing before the mirror.' (Äminev 2003: 185)

The speech report contains the modal particle *ikän* (see Section 2), expressing a subjective evaluation, which would also remain there if the thought were uttered aloud. In addition, while the perfect form in first-person singular *birešmägänmen* 'I have not surrendered (myself)' can be understood here in its default perfect meaning, that is, that the past event (which has not taken place) is relevant at the moment of speech, it can also be understood as first-person effect (see Section 2), involving inference and a mirative meaning, as the speaker, Bilal, is reflecting on the new realisation that receives expression in his thought.

In Examples 18 and 19, the marker *tip* functions as a quotative without additional subjective overtones.

hanau, iθäpläü 'regard, be of the opinion'

The two verbs *hanau* and *iθäpläü* 'regard, be of the opinion' combine the inner process of thinking and an epistemic evaluation of the topic in question. The figurative meaning of *hanau*, 'be of the opinion', has developed from its concrete meaning 'count'. Example 20 is a case where the speech report is a secondary predicate (see Section 6.1).

(20) *Byl tauðaɣy   här   tašty*
    this mountain:LOC:ADJZ every stone:ACC

    min [jänle] tip   hanajym.
    I   living QUOT regard:PRS:1SG

    'I regard every stone on this mountain as living.' (GX 1:5)

The marker *tip* shows that the meaning *jänle* 'living' is the speaker's thought or personal view (GX).

In Example 21 with the verb *iθäpläü* 'regard, be of the view', the speech report consists of one word *bulmaɣan* 'did not happen'. The speaker invites the hearer to join in the action expressed. The quotative *tip* functions as a complementiser, linking the essential part of the thought '(it) did not happen' with the verb of the main clause. As it encodes two perspectives at once, it expresses multisubjectivity,[18] and as it is part of a communicative interaction, it conveys intersubjectivity.

(21) *Äiðä byl höjläšeü-ðe   [bul-ma-ɣan] tip   iθäplä-jek.*
    HORT this conversation-ACC be-NEG-PRF   QUOT regard-HORT.1PL

    'Let's regard that this conversation did not happen.' (Gizzatullina 2006: 395)

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18 As the verb construction is in plural hortative, it is possible that multisubjectivity is (also) coded by the suffix of the hortative form *iθäpläjek* 'let us regard'.

If we compare (21) with the equivalent sentence (22) without *tip* and with indirect speech instead of semi-direct speech, we note a syntactic change: the speech report resembling (elliptic) direct speech becomes a dative-case indirect object of the main verb.

(22) *Äiðä byl höjläšeü-ðe bul-ma-ɣan-ɣa iθäplä-jek.*
HORT this conversation-ACC be-NEG-PRF:DAT regard-HORT.1PL

'Let's regard this conversation as not having happened.' (GX 1:35)

In both examples, the accusative-form *höjläšeüðe* 'conversation' is grammatically the object of the verb *iθäpläjek* 'let us regard'. The key difference of meaning between (21) and (22) is the subjective element which *tip* brings into the former, which is absent from the latter.

tanyu 'recognise'

The "basic" meaning of *tanyu* is 'recognise' in the sense of visual or aural recognition. This is then expanded to cover mental recognition as well, as seen in the following example:

(23) *Salauat Julaev jöðöndä milli*
Salauat Julaev(GEN) person:POSS:LOC national

gerojybyððy tanyu beððeŋ
hero:POSS1PL:ACC recognise:NOM-R 1PL:GEN

xalqybyð ösön bik möhim.
people:POSS1PL for very important

'It is very important for our people to recognise, in the person of Salauat Julaev, our national hero.' (GX1:3)

The translation consultant explains the meaning of *tanyu* here as 'to recognise, see, discover in Salauat traits of a national hero' (GX). Even though the mind is involved in this recognition, it happens through discovering certain traits in the person under observation. The observer's mind and feelings can still be quite detached in this process. In contrast, in Example 24, the addition of the marker *tip* brings to *tanyu* a meaning of acknowledgement, a personal appraisal and the resulting feeling of respect. Thus, when joined with *tip* the verb receives a nuance of internal, subjective experience.

(24) *Salauat Julaevty [milli gerojybyð] tip tanyu*
Salauat Julaev:ACC national hero:POSS1PL QUOT recognise:NMNZ

beððeŋ xalqybyð ösön bik möhim.
1PL:GEN people:POSS1PL for very important

'It is very important for our people to acknowledge Salauat Julaev as our national hero.' (GX1:4)

beleü 'know'

In Bashkir, *tip* frequently combines with complement-taking verbs that have no evident link with speaking. Amongst these are the verbs of perception *išeteü* 'hear' and *küreü* 'see', and also the verb of cognition *beleü* 'know'. We will begin with the main verb of cognition *beleü* 'know', comparing Examples 25 with (synthetic) indirect speech and (26) with the marker *tip*.

(25) *Öfö   ður   qala ikänen   beläm.*
Ufa(GEN) large city is:POSS:ACC know:PRS:1SG

'I know that Ufa is a large city.' (GX1:2)

The neutral sentence containing a nominalisation indicates that the speaker knows from first-hand experience that Ufa is a large city and that he is certain about this fact (GX).

As for the sentence containing *tip* in the complementiser function, the language consultant comments that the speaker has not seen the city of Ufa himself but is conveying information heard from someone who has been to Ufa.

(26) *Min [Öfö   qalahy   ður]   tip   beläm.*
I   Ufa   city:POSS large QUOT know:PRS:1SG

'I know that the city of Ufa is large.' (GX1:1)

Example 25, with a synthetic complement clause, resembles sentences with synthetically formed indirect speech constructions (see Example 9 in Section 5.3). In contrast, the semantics of *tip* in Example 26 differs in a crucial way from its semantics with speech verbs. In direct speech and most constructions containing semi-direct speech with non-speech verbs, *tip* – being formally a converb form of the speech verb 'say', and therefore meaning 'saying' – refers to the subject of the sentence, that is, to the person conveying the speech report. However, in Example 26 *tip* does not refer to 'I', that is, the speaker conveying this view as the source of this knowledge, but to an unspecified source along the lines of "people say". It is not explicitly stated from whom the speech originates, and so this is no longer a standard quotative, which by definition shows an overt reference towards the quoted source. Since the viewpoints of the speaker and a third party have fused, the marker *tip* now displays a reported evidential meaning in addition to the quotative meaning. At the same time, *tip* expresses multisubjectivity.

Concerning the reliability of the information conveyed in Example 26, since it was not personally experienced by the speaker, it may contain a nuance of uncertainty with regard to its truthfulness (GX).

Let us look again at Example 15 (Section 6.1) with little Güzäl. Here the particle *tip* signals the verbally expressed thought about Güzäl by 'many', indicating that it is not a generally known fact but a subjective opinion. However, *tip* does not add any nuance of unreliability to the information conveyed (GM). Again, *tip* and *beleü* combined express a meaning that merges two evidential meanings, quotative and reported. In the following, we will see that something similar happens with *išeteü*.

išeteü 'hear'

The marker *tip* can also combine with verbs of perception. The verb *išeteü* 'hear' presupposes that there is an outside source for the action of hearing to happen. The following example contains a synthetic complement clause without *tip*.

(27) *Unyŋ   qajtqanyn   išet-te-m.*
3SG:GEN   return:PRF:POSS3:ACC hear-DEF.PST-1SG

a. 'I heard how he/she arrived,' or 'I heard his/her arrival.'

b. 'I heard that he/she has come back.' (GX 13)

This clause can be interpreted both as the speaker having audibly heard the arrival of the person in question (option a) and as the speaker having heard from someone else about the arrival (option b) (GX).

When comparing Example 27 with the equivalent clause containing *tip* (Example 28), we note an additional meaning component.

(28) *[Ul   qajt-qan]   tip   išet-te-m.*
      3SG return-PRF QUOT hear-DEF.PST-1SG

      'I heard that he/she has come back.' (GX 12)

In a similar way to *beleü*, another viewpoint becomes relevant in addition to the subjective meaning: the viewpoint of a third party. The language consultant commented on the translation of the sentence that "I heard" actually means "it was said" (GX). The speech report could be seen both as the actual words that a third party had said about someone having come back and the ensuing thought in the speaker's mind. While the grammatical form of the main verb *išettem* 'I heard' clearly refers to the first-person speaker, the quotative marker *tip* becomes semantically detached from it: it no longer conveys only the speaker's cognition but also refers to some other unspecified people and their speech. The viewpoints of the speaker and a third party merge, and the marker *tip* now displays both a quotative and a reported evidential meaning. The current speaker is reproducing the original speaker's words and at the same time "owning" them, while at the same time expressing with *tip* that the thought expressed was not his own original thought but someone else's statement.

In the following example, *tip* also codes the original utterance from an unspecified source, thus combining the quotative and reported evidential meanings.

(29) *[Öfölä   igen   bar]   tip   išet-te-m.*
      Ufa:LOC grain is   QUOT hear-DEF.PST-1SG

      'I heard that there is grain in Ufa.' (GX1-a 1:14; Example 10 reproduced)

The speaker could have heard about grain in Ufa (e.g. from his friends or on TV) or he may have overheard someone speaking about this in the street, or read about it in a paper (GX).

In both (28) and (29), the matrix verb is in the first person. The marker *tip* and *išeteü* can also combine in other persons, as in Example 30, which is in the third person.

(30) *Ilgizär   [Ajgöl   mašina   al-ɣan]   tip   išet-te.*
      Ilgizär Ajgöl   car(ACC) buy-PRF QUOT hear-DEF.PST

      'Ilgizär heard (it said) that Ajföl bought a car.' (GM APP:8)

Ilgizär conveys with his speech report the message he has heard from an eyewitness, and this third party is evident through the use of *tip*.

küreü 'see'

Another verb of perception, *küreü* 'see', has its own special meaning components that come to the fore when it combines with *tip*. Example 31 is an elicited sentence, which is the starting point for the sentence in Example 32 from Xarisova's story, narrating a dream scene.

(31) *Gölnara   uny   kür-ðe.*
    Gölnara   3SG:ACC   see-DEF.PST

    'Gölnara saw her.'

The sentence is neutral in its information structure, following the standard Bashkir SOV word order. As for Example 28, its information structure is marked: the subject is omitted and the object *uny* 'her' is removed from its neutral position and follows the matrix verb. The object refers to Gölnara's mother-in-law, who has become an activated topic in the preceding discourse. The fact that it occurs in a post-verbal position is an indication of it being an established topic: it is added at the end as if an afterthought after the new information has been conveyed.

(32) *[Qap-qaranan   kejenep   urtalarynda   joqlap   jata$_{(2)}$ ikän]*
    pitch_black:ABL   dress:CVB   middle:PL:POSS:LOC   sleep:CVB   lie:PRS   MOD

    tip   kür-ðe$_1$ uny$_2$.
    QUOT   see-DEF.PST   3SG:ACC

    'She$_1$ saw her$_2$ as if sleeping among them dressed in pitch black.' (Xarisova 2016)

The scene experienced by the narrator Gölnara is followed by *tip* and the finite verb *kürðe* 'saw'. The equivalent neutral sentence without *tip* is the following:

(33) *Gölnara   u-nyŋ   qap-qaranan   kejenep   urtalarynda*
    Gölnara   3SG-GEN   pitch_black:ABL   dress:CVB   middle:PL:POSS:LOC

    joqlap   jat-qan-y-n   kür-ðe.
    sleep:CVB   lie-PRF-POSS-ACC   see-DEF.PST

    'Gölnara saw her sleeping among them dressed in pitch black.' (GM-a 35)

In Example 33, the narrator's epistemic stance is neutral: she is recounting exactly what she saw in reality (GM). In Example 32 – as the English gloss 'as if' indicates – a level of unreality and uncertainty creeps in: in addition to this being a dream scene, such nuances can be due to the narrator not seeing clearly what is happening (GM).

    In conjunction with *küreü*, the quotative *tip* develops a new meaning of unreality: something that is experienced at the moment of speech, not what is happening in reality. Thus, when the speaker uses *tip* and *küreü* together, he indicates that the situation described is not necessarily real but subjectively experienced, be it dreams or other mental images; "it is a description of what his subconscious and imagination paints" in his mind (GX). The following example is also from a dream scene:

(34) *[Jylɣanan   jete   hyjyr   kilep   syqty],*
    river:ABL   seven   cow   come:CONV   come_out:DEF.PST

    tip   kürðem.
    QUOT   see:DEF.PST:1SG

    'I saw as if seven cows were coming out of the river.' (GX-a 1:10)

The unreal dream scene can be contrasted with Example 35, where the speaker makes a factual statement about a real situation he witnessed.

(35) *Jylɣanan   jete   hyjyr   kilep   syq-qan-y-n*
river:ABL   seven   cow(GEN)   come:CONV   come_out-PST.PTCP-POSS3-ACC

kürðem.
see:DEF.PST:1SG

'I saw seven cows coming out of the river.' (GX 1:11)

hiðeü 'feel'

The quotative *tip* can also combine with *hiðeü* 'feel, sense; perceive'. This use happens only in specific concrete situations, when, for example, the speaker is telling what is happening at that very moment:

(36) *Min   tyšta   utyram.*
I   outside   sit:PRS:1SG

[Ajaɣyma   seben   qundy]   tip   hiðäm.
leg:POSS1:DAT   fly   settle:DEF.PST   QUOT   feel:PRS:1SG

'I am sitting outside. I feel as though a fly settled on my leg.' (GM3 3:3)

A similar meaning to Example 36 can be conveyed with an utterance without *tip*, containing a synthetic complement clause:

(37) *Ajaɣyma   seben   qun-yu-y-n   hiðäm.*
foot:POSS1:DAT   fly(GEN)   settle-NMNZ-POSS3-ACC   feel:PRS:1SG

'I feel that a fly settled on my leg.' (GX 1:17)

Both examples pertain to physical feeling. If *hiðeü* is used in the non-physical sense, only the synthetic-type complement clause is possible (GX):

(38) *Arqam   menän   unyŋ   uθal   qarašyn   hiðäm.*
back:POSS3   with   3SG:GEN   evil   look:POSS3:ACC   feel:PRS:1SG

'I (can) feel his evil gaze with my back.' (GX 1:31)

This would suggest that when used with *hiðeü* the marker *tip* brings a nuance of physical experience. However, as Example 37 could also be interpreted as conveying a feeling with senses, this verb needs further investigation.

qarau 'look'

With the verb of perception *qarau* 'look', the examples found did not have to do with looking with eyes but a more abstract meaning which has developed from the primary meaning, that is, 'view, regard', as seen in Example 39.

(39) *Apajyma   här   saq   [aqylly, talapsan   uqytyusy]*
older_sister:POSS1:DAT   every   time   wise   demanding teacher

tip   qaranyq.
QUOT   look_at:DEF.PST:1PL

'We always saw my older sister as (being) a wise and demanding teacher.' (GX 1:21)

In this case, the speech report is a complement or depictive secondary predicate (see Section 6.1) of the indirect object *apajyma* 'to my older sister'. Without the marker *tip*, the verb *qarau* would be understood in its concrete sense 'look (at)' (GM), and it would not be possible to include the speech report indicating "our" subjective view. The meaning of *tip* and *qarau* combined comes close to that of *tip hanau* and *tip iθäpläü*. When using *tip* together with *qarau* in this abstract meaning, there is no doubt about the truthfulness of the message conveyed; it is epistemically certain (GX).

yšanyu 'believe, trust'

The last two verbs to be looked at are 'believe' and 'fear', the first of which Dixon (2006: 10) lists under the semantic type of "thinking" verbs, and the second one under "liking" verbs.

(40) *[Ul   mine   jarat-a=lyr]   tip   yšanam.*
      3SG 1SG:ACC love-PRS3=MOD QUOT believe:PRS:1SG

      'I believe (that) he/she loves me.' (GX1-a 1:7)

In Example 40 with the verb *yšanyu* 'believe', *tip* marks the thought of the speaker, which is based on the speaker's sensations and feelings (GX). When *tip* and *yšanyu* occur together, there can be some uncertainty in this belief. In our example, this epistemic uncertainty is strengthened by the modal clitic *-lyr* 'probably' (GM). The equivalent sentence without *tip* in Example 41, containing a nominalised verb, conveys epistemic certainty: "the information is accurate, there is no doubt, and the speaker's tone is confident" (GX).

(41) *Unyŋ   mine   jarat-u-y-na   yšanam.*
      3SG:GEN 1SG:ACC love:NMNZ:POSS3-DAT believe:PRS:1SG

      'I believe in his/her love.' (GX 1:8)

The fact that the language consultant gave in Example 41 a translation that is formally different from Example 40 suggests that without *tip* the meaning is understood in more general terms than when *tip* is present: it is a general truth, rather than an experiential, more subjective belief, as is the case with *tip*.

qurqyu 'be afraid, fear'

In Bashkir, the object of the verb *qurqyu* 'fear' occurs in the ablative form, as is visible in the following example.

(42) *Urmanda   aδašyp   qalyuðan   qurqam.*
      forest:LOC get_lost:CVB COMPL:NMNZ:ABL fear:PRS:1SG

      'I am afraid of getting lost in the forest.' (GX 1:20)

The speaker is afraid of the potential event of getting lost in the forest. If the speaker uses *tip*, the situation he is afraid of becomes more concrete:

(43) *[Urmanda   aδašyrmyn]   tip   qurqam.*
      forest:LOC get_lost:FUT:1SG QUOT fear:PRS:1SG

      'I fear (that) I will get lost in the forest.' (GG)

The thought expressed in Example 43 is tied to a specific, identifiable situation, rather than to a general concern, and the marker *tip* indicates stronger subjective involvement by the speaker.

7. THE QUOTATIVE *TIP* AS AN ADVERBIALISER, MARKING A LOGICAL RELATION

In addition to the grammatical function of complementiser, the marker *tip* can display another function in conjunction with speech reports: it can be an adverbial marker, behaving like a postposition. In Bashkir grammar, when discussing purpose clauses, Juldašev (1981: 462) mentions two postpositions *ösön* and *tip* as connectors between the purpose and main clauses. In addition to its use with purpose clauses, the postposition *ösön* is widely used in conjunction with noun phrases, and in this usage it behaves like a prototypical postposition (see Crystal 2007: 362). The marker *tip*, on the other hand, does not connect with noun phrases but occurs only with speech reports.[19] When it follows a speech report, it forms a single constituent with it, at the same time marking the constituent as adverbially modifying the main clause. It functions as a marker of logical relation between the main and the subordinate clauses, usually indicating intention or purpose.

This type of use of the quotative marker is typologically widely attested, including in other Turkic languages (see Greed 2014: 77 for Tatar and Straughn 2011: 111–112 for Kazakh and Uzbek) and Caucasian languages (see Forker 2013: 617 for Hinuq, and Ganenkov et al. 2009: 5–6 for Aghul).

In purpose clauses, the personal deixis of *tip* and *ösön* display different characteristics. Speech reports by definition present the speaker's spoken words verbatim, or the content of his thought, his inner speech. Thus, they reflect the perspective of the original speaker. As the marker *tip* connects with speech reports, the personal deixis retains the form it had in the original speech. With *ösön*, a change in personal deixis takes place if the subject of the subordinate clause is in the 1st or 2nd person: as with indirect speech, the person reference shifts to the 3rd person. In the following examples, in (44) the marker of the subordinate clause is *tip*, and in (45) it is *ösön*.

> (44) *[Irtä tor-a-m]   tip,*
>   early get_up-PRS-1SG   QUOT
>
>   *ul   bögön irtä   jatty.*
>   3SG today   early lie_down:DEF.PST
>
>   'He/She went to bed early today (in order) to get up early (literally: …saying I will get up early).' (GM 1:3)

> (45) *Irtä   tor-or   ösön*
>   early   get_up-FUT.PTCP   POSTP
>
>   *ul   bögön irtä   jatty.*
>   3SG today   early lie_down:DEF.PST
>
>   'He/She went to bed early today to get up early.' (GM 1:4)

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19 Unless they themselves are speech reports.

The main differences between the construction with *tip* and the one with *ösön* is that when using *tip* the speaker shows that he has already made the decision (GM), whereas *ösön* is more neutral, showing the reason for going to bed early. The quotative *tip* signals a subjective intention through an internal thought.

Whilst in the complementiser function with complement-taking verbs the quotative *tip* and the verb following it can form a semantically "merged" meaning, in its postposition-type function *tip* marks the speech report preceding it syntactically, forming a subordinate clause together with it. At the same time, *tip* and the verb in the matrix clause are not semantically connected but independent. Thus, the marker *tip* can occur with any verb in the main clause, except verbs which require a complement. In Example 40, the verb in the main clause is the intransitive verb *jatyu* 'lie down'. The verbs in the speech report can occur in the indicative (Example 44), imperative and conditional mood, but an infinitive form is also possible (Juldašev 1981: 463).

When comparing the postposition-type function of *tip* with the complementation type, we note that in the latter case the speech report is syntactically more embedded than in Example 44:

(46) *Ul:* *"[Irtä* *tor-a-m]", –* *tip* *qysqyrðy.*
3SG early get_up-PRS-1SG QUOT shout:DEF.PST

'He/She shouted, "I will get up early."'

The reason for this is that the speech report is functioning as an object complement of the main predicate consisting of the quotative *tip* and the main verb *qysqyrðy* 'shouted'.

In addition to the semantic difference in Examples 44 and 45, the two are also syntactically different in that in the example with *tip* the speech report displays the original thought unchanged, whereas with *ösön* the verb in the subordinate clause no longer reflects direct but indirect speech. In Example 47, however, *tip* and *ösön* are interchangeable, as *ösön* can also combine with the jussive verb form.

(47) *[Qyšyn* *hyuyq* *bul-ma-hyn]*
winter:POSS:ACC cold be(come)-NEG-JUSS

tip/ösön, *ata-hy* *täðrä* *qujðy.*
QUOT/POSTP father-POSS3 window(ACC) put:DEF.PST

'His/Her father put a window in so that it would not be cold in the winter.' (GM)

With the quotative *tip*, the speech report ("may it not be cold") shows the inner thought of the father, whereas the postposition *ösön* conveys for what purpose the father put the window in. The latter is epistemically neutral and less used in conversation (GM), whereas the construction with *tip* expresses an epistemic subjective meaning, and is more common in spoken register (see Juldašev 1981: 462).

As mentioned earlier, in addition to finite verb forms, *tip* can also connect with the infinitive form. In his discussion on *tip* and *ösön* as markers of purpose, Juldašev does not comment on their pragmatic differences. However, he calls the subordinate clause type where the infinitive and *tip* combine an "infinitive-modal clause", acknowledging the modal nuance of *tip* at least in this case. Example 48 shows *tip* in this type of use, and (49) is the equivalent sentence with *ösön*. In the preceding context to Example 48, the elderly Nasibulla has told his gullible sister-in-law Xäðisä that he is about to be sent to Iraq as a peacekeeper, and she passes on the news to the younger generation:

(48) – *[Iraqta solox   haqlarɣa] tip*
      Iraq:LOC peace(ACC) defend:INF QUOT

      ölkändärðe   lä   armijaɣa   saqyra
      old.person:PL:ACC ADD army:DAT call:PRS.PTCP

      bašlaɣandar bit.
      begin:PRF:PL DISC

      '"Even older people have started to be called to the army to keep peace in Iraq."'
      (Gizzatullina 2006: 386)

(49) – *Iraqta solox   haqlau   ösön*
      Iraq:LOC peace(ACC) defend:NMNZ   POSTP

      ölkändärðe   lä   armijaɣa   saqyra
      old.person:PL:ACC ADD army:DAT call:PRS.PTCP

      bašlaɣandar bit.
      begin:PRF:PL DISC

      '"Even older people have started to be called to the army to keep peace in Iraq."' (GX 1:29)

With the help of the concluding set of examples shown below, we will look at the interesting variety of uses of *tip* and *ösön* and their semantic nuances. The original example is from the *Inžil* (2014), the translation of the New Testament in Bashkir.

(50) *Äðäm   Uly   juɣalɣandy*
      human.being son:POSS3   be.lost:PST.PTCP:ACC

      eðläp   tab-yrɣa häm qotqar-yrɣa kilde.
      search:CVB find-INF   and save-INF   come:DEF.PST

      'The Son of Man came to search and find and save the lost (ones).' (*Inžil* 2014: 182)

In this context, where the infinitives occur without the marker *tip*, the sentence is neutral and does not convey any subjective nuances. However, if *tip* is added (… *eðläp tabyrɣa häm qotqaryrɣa **tip** kilde*), the subclause with *tip* is no longer neutral but it shows how the 'Son of Man' relates to the purpose expressed (GX).

    The neutral meaning of Example 50 can also be expressed with using *ösön*. Example 51 shows the two possible verb forms that can be used in conjunction with *ösön*: the future form and the nominalisation.

(51) *Äðäm   Uly   juɣalɣandy*
      human.being son:POSS3   be.lost:PST.PTCP:ACC

      eðläp   tab-yr/tab-yu   häm
      search:CVB find-FUT/find-NMNZ and

      qotqar-yr/qotqar-yu ösön   kilde.
      save-FUT/save-NMNZ   POSTP come:DEF.PST

      'The Son of Man came to search and find and save the lost (ones).' (GX1-a 1:40)

Example 52 combines *ösön* and *tip*:

(52) *Äðäm   Uly   juɣalɣandy*
human.being son:POSS3 be.lost:PST.PTCP:ACC

eðläp   tab-yr/tab-yu   häm
search:CVB find-FUT/find-NMNZ and

qotqar-yr/qotqar-yu ösön   tip   kilde.
save-FUT/save-NOM   POSTP QUOT come:DEF.PST

'The Son of Man came to search and find and save the lost (ones).' (GX1-a 1:41)

By using *ösön* (Example 51), the narrator expresses the purpose of the action of the 'Son of Man'. The addition of *tip* to the neutral Example 50 reveals the inner thought and aim of the 'Son of Man'. When the two markers are combined, the aim of the subject is evident, and his intention is expressed in an especially clear and concrete way (GX). The markers are used relatively frequently together to strengthen the intended meaning.

8. THE MAIN FUNCTIONS OF THE QUOTATIVE *TIP* AND THEIR DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

As we have seen, the Bashkir quotative *tip* has two basic syntactic functions: that of complementiser and that of marker of adverbial subordination. Both types occur with speech reports, but while the complementiser *tip* signals reported speech, the adverbial marker *tip* assigns the subordinate clause it follows the meaning of purpose or intention. The complementiser *tip* conveys further nuances of meaning, depending on the type of the complement-taking verb it occurs with. The following Table 1 teases out the main distinguishing features of the functions of *tip*. An overarching feature, occurring with them all, is the presence of subjectivity.

Table 1 The quotative *tip* in conjunction with speech reports.

	*tip*_{Direct Speech}	*tip*_{Semi-direct Speech}	*tip*_{Logical Relation}
Syntactic function	complementiser	complementiser	marker of adverbial subordination
Semantic function	quotative₁: signals reported speech with overt reference to source	quotative₂: signals inner thought/ experience with overt reference to experiencer	purpose, intention, aim
Form of predicate in speech report	finite	finite	finite: indicative, especially in future tense; conditional; imperative; infinitive
Verb types in the matrix clause	complement-taking speech verbs	complement-taking verbs	any non-complement-taking verb
Subjectivity	perspective of the original speaker	varying degrees and types	present
Other evidential meanings	_	reported	_
Multisubjectivity	no	for some verbs	not relevant
Other characteristics	can be recast as indirect speech with no change in meaning	can be recast as indirect speech with a change in meaning from subjective to non-subjective/ neutral	similar in meaning and usage to the postposition *ösön* in the context of speech reports, but different register

9. CONCLUSION

The use of a special quotative marker signalling reported information with an explicit reference to the quoted source is attested in a number of the world's languages. The aim of this paper has been to study such a marker, *tip*, in Bashkir. While the default meaning of *tip* is an evidential one, its semantic scope is over an illocution, which sets it apart from Bashkir propositional evidentials. For an adequate understanding of its functions in the varying contexts in which it occurs, it has been necessary to investigate the marker from both grammatical/syntactic and semantic points of view. A few other linguistic and functional categories interacting with the particle in varied contexts of occurrence have also been discussed, the main ones being subjectivity, multisubjectivity and information structure.

The basic function of the Bashkir quotative *tip* is to mark reported speech which is in the form of direct speech. Beyond this prototypical function, *tip* has extended further to coding "internal speech", that is, the content of thoughts and experiences of the subject of the matrix clause. This usage takes place in the context of semi-direct speech (see Aikhenvald 2008), a term introduced for Bashkir in this paper. Semi-direct speech occurs with complement-taking verbs, mainly non-speech verbs, and *tip* acts as a grammatical complementiser in these contexts.

In order to understand more fully how the quotative functions within the context of semi-direct speech, I introduced the dimension of subjectivity into the discussion. Thus, I investigated the involvement of the speaker/experiencer, the "subjective self", in the cognitive processing of the information, and how he manipulates different linguistic possibilities to convey this involvement in different degrees, and we have seen that the marker *tip* brings in a subjective element to speech reports expressing thoughts or experiences. This subjectivity is of different types and degrees, depending on the complement-taking verb. The pragmatic context also plays a part in the interpretation. The various types of subjectivity extend from the type with a verb of cognition *ujlau* 'think', which has a neutral meaning close to that of the default quotative, to the type occurring with a verb such as *qurqyu* 'fear', which expresses a stronger subjective involvement by the speaker, when compared with the equivalent construction without the marker *tip*.

A special case was found to be the combination of *tip* with the verb of perception *išeteü* 'hear'. The inclusion of *tip* brings a new aspect of multisubjectivity, or expression of multiple perspectives, into the interpretation: the marker *tip* no longer codes only what the subject has heard but the additional fact that some other subject, the original source, was also involved. Thus, *tip* gives voice to multiple speakers and merges them. As the original source is left unspecified, the marker *tip* acquires an additional evidential meaning of reported.

A further indication of the various aspects involved in the interpretation of the marker *tip* is evident with the verb of perception *küreü* 'see'. In this case, subjectivity is combined with visual ambiguity and epistemic uncertainty: the experiencer conveys with the help of *tip* that what he is claiming to see is his impression and is not necessarily accurate, or even real. This use of *tip* occurs, for example, when describing a dream scene.

A clearly separate function of *tip* is its use as an adverbialiser of speech reports. This type differs syntactically from the complementiser type in that *tip* functions as an adverbial marker and forms a subordinate clause together with the speech report. As this clause modifies the main clause adverbially, the latter can contain any type of verb. The meaning *tip* conveys in this function is purpose or intention. As with the other usages of *tip*, a key semantic aspect is the expression of subjectivity. This stands in clear contrast to the partially synonymous, but neutral,

construction formed with the postposition *ösön*. The use of the markers *tip* and *ösön* also differ in terms of register, with *tip* being used more widely in spoken discourse.

The study of Bashkir semi-direct speech brought up the question of how to account for the syntactic change in some constructions containing a speech report, *tip* and a complement-taking verb when comparing them with the equivalent direct speech construction. The solution was found to lie in the information structure: the subject argument of the "original" direct speech becomes the object of the matrix verb in the semi-direct speech and falls outside the speech report if this argument is an established topic. This finding about the role that information structure plays in quotative contexts requires further study. Another key area of investigation only touched upon in this paper was that of multisubjectivity, intersubjectivity and speaker-addressee interaction. The study of evidentials in interactional contexts is likely to become a major area of exploration in the future.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	MOD	modal clitic or particle
ADD	additive	NEG	negation
ADJZ	adjectiviser	NEUTR	neutral (in terms of evidentiality)
ASS	assumption	NMNZ	nominaliser
COMPL	completive aspect	NOM	nominative
COP	copula	NWIT	non-witnessed
CVB	converb	PL	plural
DAT	dative (directional-dative)	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	POSTP	postposition
DISC	discourse particle	PRF	perfect
FUT	future	PROGR	progressive aspect
HEARSAY	hearsay	PRS	present
HORT	hortative	PST	past
IMP	imperative	PTCP	participle
INDEF	indefinite	QUOT	quotative
INF	infinitive	REP	reported
INTENS	intensifier	SG	singular
JUSS	jussive	WIT	witnessed

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