

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse:

A comparative study among Sibe, Modern Uyghur, and
Tuvan

Norikazu KOGURA

ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, JAPAN

Arzhaana SYURYUN

JSPS; ILCAA, TUFS, JAPAN

Institute for Linguistic Studies RAS, RUSSIA

1. Introduction¹

The aim of the paper is to propose a typology for the system of perspective management, especially perspective shifting in narrative discourse and its relation to the evidential systems of each language. It has been argued that in narrative discourse the speaker describes the event from the perspective of the speaker narrating the story (narrator), or the characters in the story

¹ This study is conducted under JSPS Invitational Fellowship project: “A new collaborative approach with Russia to the documentation and studies on Altaic languages”.

world (Zubin et al. 1995). The character in the story world can overlap with the speaker when the speaker is telling a story about the speaker him/herself.

It has also been mentioned in the literature that evidential markers can be used for the perspective shifting (Slobin and Aksu 1982 for Turkish, and Mushin 2000, 2001 for Macedonian). In addition, it is known that perspective shifting is also relevant to some other categories like evidentiality and mirativity (Aikhenvald 2012) and egophoricity (San Roque et al. 2018). Although the connection of perspective shifting in narrative discourse and evidentiality, mirativity and egophoricity is well known and well described in many languages, it is still not clear how these categories are related to each other.

In this paper, we will deal with mainly two genres of narrative texts: a fairy tale, and a self-narration (narration about the past experience of the speaker), in three languages: Sibe (Manchu-Tungusic), Modern Uyghur, and Tuvan (Turkic). The main argument of the paper is as follows:

- (i) In Sibe and Modern Uyghur perspective shift is caused by particular forms in the main clause, on the contrary, perspective shift can occur without any particular forms in the main clause in Tuvan.
- (ii) In Sibe and Modern Uyghur fairy tale and self-narration are distinguished by the particular markings, which occur in the main clause. On the contrary, there is no distinction between fairy tale and self-narration in Tuvan, because no particular markings are used in main clauses of both genres.
- (iii) In some cases, different markers can be used in the complement clause with direct speech and the main clause in self-narrations. This perspective shifting seems to be motivated by the interaction of the speaker (narrator) and the hearer. Such kind of phenomenon can be

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse
seen in self-narrations in Tuvan: the use of *-DI* in direct speech in
self-narration.

2. Perspective and evidentiality in language

2.1 Perspective and perspective shifts

In this section we will introduce the framework for the present study. Various studies of different languages have revealed that the speaker (the narrator of a story) uses perspective shifting in narration, and there are some grammatical devices which mark the perspective shift.

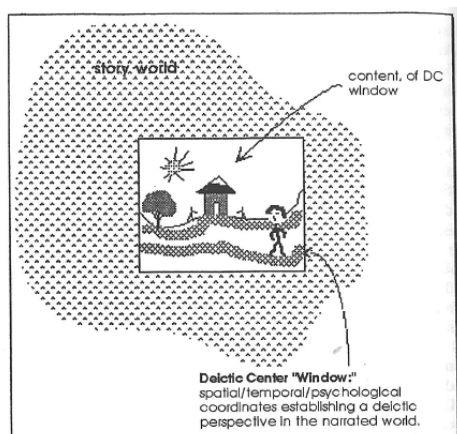


FIG. 6.1. Objective windowing of the Deictic Center.

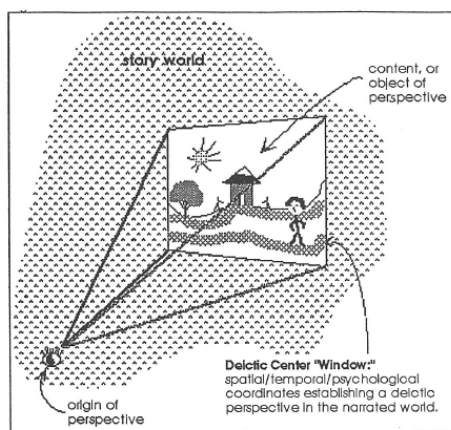


FIG. 6.2. Perspective windowing of the Deictic Center.

Fig. 1 Two types of perspective in narration (Zubin et al. 1995: 132-133)

The above figure 1 shows two major types of perspective in narration proposed by Zubin et al. (1995). The image on the left shows the perspective where the perspective is put in the story world, and the speaker (narrator) is telling a story as if he is in the story world. The image on the right shows the perspective where the perspective is put outside of the story world, and

the speaker (narrator) is telling a story as if he is seeing the story world from outside. The story world will be described from these perspectives.

It is assumed by Zubin et al. (1995) that the speaker is managing the perspective by shifting between these two framings, and there is a grammatical marker to indicate this perspective shifting.

2.2 Indicators of perspective shifting

Perspective shifting is a mental process which can't be directly observed. Therefore, it is necessary to assume some indicators to discuss it. In Zubin et al. (1995) and Mushin (2000, 2001) it is assumed that the shift of deictic center is the indicator of perspective shifting. Thus, deictic elements such as personal pronouns and suffixes, demonstratives and other elements which denote spatial notions, and tense forms and other elements which denote temporal notions, can be seen as the indicators of perspective shifting.

2.3 Evidentiality, mirativity and perspective shifting

It is known that the perspective shifting in narration is related to evidentiality and mirativity in terms that the same form is used as the indicator of perspective shifting in narratives, and the marker of mirativity in general discourse. For instance, Slobin and Aksu (1982) mentions that the verbal suffix *-mIş*, whose main function is the indication of indirect perception, denotes mirativity, and is also used in narrative discourse. Aikhenvald (2012) provides a typology of the semantics of mirativity, in which mirativity can be distinguished between the speaker (or narrator) and the character in the narrated story.

In this paper, we will examine the occurrence of some forms in narrative texts, with a focus on fairy tales and self-narration in Sibe, Modern Uyghur

and Tuvan, in terms of perspective shifting, and discuss their difference with reference to evidential systems.

3. Perspective shifting in Sibe

In Sibe², the auxiliary *biXe = i* may be described as the marker of perspective shifting. The following sentence (1) is from the fairy tale which was recorded by Kogura (2018b). In this sentence, the direct speech is narrated as being told by the character (lumberjack), and the character occurs in first person, but in the main clause, the character is mentioned in third person (*mo sacere nane*). At the same time, the auxiliary *biXe = i* is used in the main clause as the marker of perspective shift.

- (1) “o-Xe = i o-Xe = i tutu
to.become-PFV = IND to.become-PFV = IND such.as.that
o-ci, bi siN = de gya-me bu-ki.”
to.become-COND 1SG 2SG = DAT to.get-CONV to.give-OPT
se-me da **mo sacere** **nane** aliN = de
to.say-CONV FOC tree -to.cut-IRR person mountain = DAT
tawene-me gene-maqe da toro emkeNtate-me
to.climb.up-CONV to.go-CONV FOC peach one to.pull-CONV
gya-Xe bi-Xe = i.
to.get-PFV to.be-PFV = IND

² The data of Sibe for this paper were collected from a speaker born in 1940s. We will use phonemic transcription for Sibe. The phonemic inventory of Sibe is as following: /a, e, i, o, u, p, b, t, d, k, g, q, G, f, s, x, χ, š, c, j, r, l, m, n, ŋ, N, y, w/. In addition, "X" stands for the archphoneme of /x/ and /χ/, "K" stands for the archphoneme of /k/ and /q/, "V" stands for neutralised vowels due to vowel harmony, “ ’ ” stands for marked accent and “#” stands for a syllable boundary in Chinese words. “-” stands for a suffix boundary and “=” stands for a clitic boundary. For detail, see Kubo et al. (2011).

“OK, I will bring a peach for you.” Then the lumberjack went up to the mountain, and got the peach.’ (Kogura 2018b)

The fact that *biXe=i* stands as the indicator is shown by the following elicited sentences (2a, b). In the sentence (2a), in which the auxiliary *biXe=i* doesn’t occur in the main clause, indirect speech takes the complement clause. This is shown by the fact that the first person pronoun (genitive *miN* in the text) can not be used in the complement clause. In contrast, the sentence (2b), in which the auxiliary *biXe=i* occurs in the main clause, contains direct speech in the complement clause. This is shown by the fact that the first person pronoun can occur in the complement clause.

- (2a) gaŋe#gaŋe [#miN gucu / bei=i gucu=ni’]
 PN [1SG.GEN friend / REF.PRON = GEN friend = TOP]
 ke#yuN#jaN=de isine-Xe=i seme jiele-me
 bus.station = DAT to.arrive-PFV = IND COMP to.meet-CVB
 gene-Xe=i.
 to.go-PFV = MOD
 ‘Ganggang said his friend had arrived at the bus station, and
 went to see him.’
- (2b) gaŋe#gaŋe [miN gucu / #bei=i gucu=ni’]
 PN [1SG.GEN friend / REF.PRON = GEN friend = TOP]
 ke#yuN#jaN=de isine-Xe=i seme jiele-me
 bus.station = DAT to.arrive-PFV = IND COMP to.meet-CVB
 gene-Xe bi-Xe=i.
 to.go-PFV AUX-PFV = IND
 ‘Ganggang said his friend had arrived at the bus station, and
 went to see him.’

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse

Similar perspective shifting can also be seen in self-narration texts. The following (3) and (4) are from a self-narration text about the childhood of the speaker. Here the predicate in sentence (3) has the suffix *-mi*, which denotes irrealis mood. This suffix denotes future or habitual actions, thus, in sentence (3), the deictic center is assumed to be in the past (at the point of the speaker's childhood), because the sentence describes past habitual actions, not present one. However, in sentence (4), a past habitual action is denoted by the auxiliary *bi-* (*biXe = ɲe*). It is difficult to determine the deictic center in this sentence, however based on the temporal element *ajige eriNde* (when [I was] young), the deictic center is assumed to be on the speech time.

- (3) ba olxu-me tere eke Gašqu taNde-me
 ground to.dry-CONV FIL FIL hucklebone to.hit-CONV
 iwi-mi.
 to.play-IRR.IND
 ‘We used to play with hucklebones when the ground gets dry.’
- (4) sina iwi-me ji-me siN = maqe
 PN to.play-CONV to.come-CONV 2SG.INST
 uNqane-me si byase seme iwi-me
 to.run.away-CONV 2SG to.seek.IMP COMP to.play-CONV
 bi-Xe. tuku-me da bo = ni
 to.exist-PFV to.do.such-CONV then 1SG.EXCL-POSS
 o-me da tyulxu = de teraɲe uNqane-me
 AUX-CONV FOC outside = DAT such.as.that run.away-CONV
 uNqane-me yawe-me ji-me da
 to.run.away-CONV to.go-CONV to.come-CONV FOC
 bya-me teraɲe iwi-me bi-Xe = ɲe.
 to.seek-CONV such.as.that to.play-CONV to.exist-PFV = VN
 ajige eriN = de.
 small time = DAT

‘When Sina (The granddaughter of the speaker) comes, you play like one runs away and the other seeks, isn’t it?’ We played like that, one runs away and the others go to seek him, when we were young.’ (Kogura 2008).

Thus in sentences (3) and (4), past habitual actions are described by different markers, and the difference is caused by the shift of the deictic center. The issue is why this shift occurs in self-narration. It seems that the perspective shift is motivated by the interaction with the hearer. In the first part of sentence (4), the speaker is confirming his knowledge toward the hearer, and this interaction seems to cause the use of *biXe = ɲe*.

4. Perspective shifting in Modern Uyghur

In Modern Uyghur³, two forms, *-ptu* and *ikän (-kän)* occur in the main clause in a fairy tale. These elements are mentioned by Johanson (2003) as the markers for indirective past and postterminal, respectively and by Xämit (2003) as the those for indirective. The following sentences (5) and (6) demonstrate such occurrence.

- (5) *šu-niŋ bilän qaGa “waj maŋa bir rähim*
 DEM-GEN with crow INTJ 1SG.DAT one mercy
qir-si-ɲiz men siz-ni tügimäs
 to.do-COND-2SG.HON 1SG 2SG.HON-ACC endless
mal = dunja-gha erish-dür-i-män di-sä,

³ The data of Modern Uyghur for this paper was collected through an interview with a speaker from Qashqar born in the 1990s. In this paper Modern Uyghur is transcribed based on the phonological transcription proposed by Kubo (2012). The phonemic inventory of Modern Uyghur is as follows: ä[æ], e, i, o, ö[ø], ü[ʊ], b, p, t, d, k, g, m, n, r[r], s, z, č[tʃ], š[ʃ], l, y, G[ɣ], ɲ, j[ɟ], q, h[h], w, f, x[x], ž[ʒ]

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse

fortune-DAT to.get-CAUS-PRES-1SG to.say-COND
 boway qon-up “män mušu yaş = qa käl-giče
 old.man to.stay 1SG DEM age-DAT to.come-LIM
 čirajliq gäplärgä aldi-n-ip mušu kün-ge
 beautiful word-PL-DAT to.deceive-PASS-CONV DEM day-DAT
qal-Gan-men. emdi ömr-üm-niñ ahir-i-da bir
 to.stay-PTCP.PST-1SG. now life-1SG-GEN end-3SG-DAT one
 qaGi-Ga aldi-n-ip yür-i-män mu"
 crow-DAT to.deceive-PASS-CONV to.go.ahead-PRES-1SG Q
de-ptu.
 say-PFT

‘And then the crow said: “Oh, if you do me a favor, I will make you get infinite fortune.” And the old man stopped and said: “I have been deceived until this age, now I will be deceived by a beautiful word, In the end of my life will I be deceived by a crow?”’

- (6) burunqi zaman-da bir boway bilän momay birnätčä
 past time-LOC one old.man with old.women several
 yitäm näwri-si bilän turmu-š kečuru-di-kän.
 orphangrandson-3SG with to.live-VN to.pass-PST-COP.PTCP.PST
 ‘Once upon a time, an old man, an old woman and several orphans lived.’

The difference between *-ptu* and *ikän* seems to be in aspectuality: *ikän* is used to imperfective situations, for example *turmu-* “to live” in the sentence (6) as opposed to that *-ptu* is used to perfective events *de-* “to say” in the sentence (5).

Of these sentences, the perspective shift can be observed in the sentence (5). In the sentence (5) a direct speech of the character is described in the

complement clause, and *-ptu* occurs in the predicate of the main clause. Similar perspective shifting can be observed in self-narration. The following sentence (7) is from a self-narration text. In this sentence, another element *-tti*, occurs in the main clause.

- (7) män kičik waqt-im-din tart-ip welsipit
 1SG small time-1SG-ABL to.pull-CONV bicycle
 mini-š-ke bek amraq bolGačqa birer qitim
 to.ride-VN-DAT very like because a.few time
 bol-si-mu mäktäp-kä welsipit bilän bär-ip
 to.be-CONV-FOC school-DAT bicycle with to.go-CONV
 kel-gän bol-sa-m dä-p bek arza
 come-PTCP.PST to.be-COND-1SG to.say-CONV very will
qil-atti-m.
 to.do-PRF-1SG

‘I like to ride a bicycle since I was young, so I had a dream to go to school by bicycle at least once.’

The use of *-tti* seems to be caused by the presence of direct speech. Sentence (8) does not contain any direct speech, and past indicative *-DI* occurs in the predicate.

- (8) kichik waqt-im-din tart-ip la likin hazır-Ga
 small time-1SG-ABL to.pull-CONV FOC but now-DAT
 qädär šu arzu-yum bir qitim-mu ämäl-gä
 until DEM will-1SG one time-FOC real-DAT
 iš-ip baq-mi-di.
 to.go.over-CONV to.see-NEG-PST.IND

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse

‘Since my childhood, I liked to ride a bicycle, so I had a dream to go to school by bicycle at least once. Since my childhood. However, until now, that dream has not been realized yet.’

Thus, as for perspective shifting, Modern Uyghur is similar to Sibe in terms that perspective shifting can be observed in both fairy tale and self-narration, and different forms: *-ptu* and *ikän* in fairy tales and *-tti* in self-narration, are used.

5. Perspective shifting in Tuvan

As we saw in the last section, the marking of the perspective shifting is similar in Sibe and Modern Uyghur. However, the case of Tuvan⁴ is rather different from those languages, because the perspective can be shifted without any particular marking in the main clause. The following sentence (9) is an example from a fairy tale text.

- (9) “Adir ool-dar-ım, men mindig bičii ool
 wait boy-PL-POSS.1.SG 1.SG such little boy
ekkel-di-m, oonj = bile kadı
to.bring-PST.IND-1.SG 3.SG.GEN = with together
ojna-ar siler” de-eš barba-zın
to.play-PTCP.NPST 2.PL to.say-CV3 bag-POSS.3.ACC
ažid-ipt-ar-ga, kurug bol-gan.
to.open-PRF-PTCP.NPST-DAT empty to.be-PTCP.PST
‘ “Wait, my sons, I brought this little boy, you will play with him,”
she said and opened her bag, the bag was empty.’ [JSPS_003]

⁴ The data of Tuvan for this paper were collected from a speaker born in 1980s.

The situation is the same for self-narration texts: perspective can be shifted without any particular marking in the main clause. As we saw in the last sections, in Sibe and Modern Uyghur, different forms *bi-Xe = nge* and *-tti* respectively (compare *biXe = i* and *-ptu* for fairy tale texts), occur in the predicates as indicators of perspective shifting. However, such forms were not observed in the Tuvan text even though the sentence contains direct speech. The following sentence is from a self-narration text. In sentence (10), tense is shifted in the complement clause without any marking in the main clause.

- (10) Ooŋ soo-nda am “Baza-la dolga-p azi
 that.GEN end.POSS.3-LOC now also = PTCL to.call-CV2 or
 biži-p tur-ar siler, inčan am azi
 to.write-CV2 to.stand-PTCP.NPST 2.PL that.time now or
 medee-ler-ni kör-üp tur-ar, siler ooŋ
 news-PL-ACC to.see-CV2 to.stand-PTCP.NPST 2.PL that.GEN
 soon-da bil-din-e be-er”
 end.POSS.3-LOC to.know-REFL-CV1 to.give-PTCP.NPST
 de-en.
 to.say-PTCP.PST
 “Then they told “Call or write again, or follow the news, and it
 will be clear later.” [JSPS_001]

However, interestingly, past indicative *-DI* was also observed in the predicates of some main clauses in self-narration text. Following the analysis proposed by Johanson (2003) and Syuryun and Kogura (2021, in this proceedings) that *-DI* denotes direct experience of the speaker, it introduces the perspective of the character, who directly experienced the event in the story world. The following sentence (11) is such an example. According to the narrator of the text, the discourse was about the actions and events in which

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse

the hearer also participated together with the narrator, so the speaker was trying to motivate the hearer to recall the event.

- (11) *iji dugaar telefon çok am arta ĩnda ol čaa*
two number telephone no now even there that new
batareja sad-ĭp al-dĭ-vĭs čop
battery to.buy-CV2 to.take-PST-1PL PTCL
'There is no second phone, moreover, we have bought a new battery.' [JSPS_003]

This phenomenon can be seen to some extent similar to the case of Sibe: as we saw in sentence (4): in the self-narration in Sibe, the form *biXe = ĩe* occurs when the speaker (narrator) is interacting with the hearer. However, the difference is, the form *-DI* introduces the perspective of the character in the story world, whereas the form *biXe = ĩe* in Sibe introduces the perspective of the narrator in the speech situation.

6. Concluding remarks

In this paper we saw the use of some forms in narrative texts with the focus on fairy tales and self-narrations in Sibe, Modern Uyghur and Tuvan. The observation of the last sections is summarised as follows:

- (i) In Sibe and Modern Uyghur perspective shift is caused by particular forms in the main clause, on the contrary, perspective shift can occur without any particular forms in the main clause in Tuvan.
- (ii) In Sibe and Modern Uyghur fairy tale and self-narration are distinguished by the particular markings, which occur in the main clause.

On the contrary, there is no distinction between fairy tale and self-narration in Tuvan, because no particular markings are used in main clauses of both genres.

- (iii) In some cases, different markers can be used in the complement clause with direct speech and the main clause in self-narrations. This perspective shifting seems to be motivated by the interaction of the speaker (narrator) and the hearer. Such kind of phenomenon can be seen in self-narrations in Tuvan: the use of *-DI* in direct speech in self-narration.

The difference between Tuvan and other languages seems to be caused by the function of the markers used for perspective shifting. It has been defined that *biXe=i* in Sibe and *-ptu, ikän* in Modern Uyghur have mirative connotations (Kogura 2018a for Sibe, and Johanson 2003 for Modern Uyghur). However, it was not mentioned for *-GAN* in Tuvan. As we saw in section 2, it has been revealed that the perspective shifting is related to evidentiality and mirativity. But the case of Tuvan shows that the perspective shifting can occur without any marking of evidentiality and mirativity, although an evidential marker *-DI* seems to shift the perspective. Thus, the study in this paper on different genres of narrative texts may lead to the re-examination of the semantics and functions of relevant forms in each language, and further the relation of perspective shifting to mirativity.

Abbreviations

1	first person	ACC	accusative
2	second person	AUX	auxiliary
3	third person	CAUS	causative
ABL	ablative	COMP	complementizer

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse

COND	conditional	INTJ	interjection
CONV	converb	IRR	irrealis
COP	copula	LIM	limitative
CV1	converb 1 (simultaneous)	LOC	locative
CV2	converb 2 (perfective)	NEG	negation
CV3	converb 3 (sequential)	OPT	optative
		PASS	passive
		PFT	perfect
		PFV	perfective
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PN	proper noun
EXCL	exclusive	POSS	possessive
FIL	filler	PRES	present
FOC	focus	PST	past
GEN	genitive	PTCL	particle
HS	hearsay	PTCP	participle
HON	honorific	Q	question
IMPFV	imperfective	REF	reflexive
INCL	inclusive	SG	singular
IND	indicative	VN	verbal noun
INST	instrumental		

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2012) The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology*. 16(3): 435-485.
- Johanson, Lars. (2003) Evidentiality in Turkic. (in) Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R.M.W. Dixon (eds.). *Studies in Evidentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 273-290.

15th Seoul International Altaistic Conference, July 16-17, 2021

- Kogura, Norikazu. (2008) Shibe go no katari (narrative) ni okeru hojodoushi *bi* to hanashite no shiten (The auxiliary *bi* and the viewpoint of the speaker in narrative in Sibe). (in) *Nihon Gengo Gakkai dai 137 kai taikai yokoushu (Proceeding of the 137th meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan)*. The Linguistic Society of Japan. 202-207.
- Kogura, Norikazu. (2018a) Shibego no modariti no kenkyu (A study of the modality system in Sibe). Tokyo: Bensei Publishing.
- Kogura, Norikazu. (2018b) Shibego (Sibe), (in) Li, Linjing, Yasuhiro Yamakoshi, Norikazu Kogura (eds.) *Linguistic documentation on endangered languages in Northern China*. Tokyo: Sangensha, 55-100.
- Kubo, Tomoyuki. (2012) Gendai uigurugo ni okeru sokumen'on no ika ni kansuru oboegaki (Notes on the dissimilation of laterals in Modern Uyghur). *Kyushu University Papers in Linguistics*. 32:281-290.
- Kubo, Tomoyuki, Norikazu Kogura, Zhuangsheng (2011) Shibego no Kiso (Basic Sibe), Fuchu: ILCAA.
- Mushin, Ilana. (2000) Evidentiality and deixis in narrative retelling. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32: 927-957.
- Mushin, Ilana. (2001) *Evidentiality and epistemological stance: narrative retelling*. John Benjamins; Amsterdam; Philadelphia.
- San Roque, Lila, Simeon Floyd and Elisabeth Norcliffe. (2018) Egophoricity: An introduction. In Simeon Floyd, Elisabeth Norcliffe and Lila San Roque. (eds.) *Egophoricity*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 1-77
- Slobin, Dan I. and Aksu, Ayhan A. (1982) Tense, aspect, and modality in the use of the Turkish evidential. (In.) Hopper, Paul J. (ed.) *Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics & Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 185-199.
- Syuryun, Arzhaana and Kogura, Norikazu (2021) Subjectivity in Tyvan narration. (in) *Proceedings of the 15th Seoul International Altaic Conference*.

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse

- Xämit, Tömür. (2003) *Modern Uyghur Grammar (Morphology)*. Istanbul: Sanat Kitabevi.
- Zubin, D. A. and Lynn E. H. (1995) The deictic center: A theory of deixis in narrative. In: J.F.Duchan, G.A. Bruder and L.E. H(eds.) *Deixis in narrative: A cognitive science approach*. Erlbaum; Hillsdale, NJ. 129-155.

ABSTRACT

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse:

A comparative study among Sibe, Modern Uyghur, and Tuvan

Norikazu KOGURA

ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, JAPAN

Arzhaana SYURYUN

JSPS; ILCAA, TUFS, JAPAN

Institute for Linguistic Studies RAS, RUSSIA

The aim of the paper is to propose a typology for the system of perspective management, especially perspective shifting in narrative discourse and its relation to the evidential systems of each language. It has been argued that in narrative discourse the speaker describes the event from the perspective of the speaker narrating the story (narrator), or the characters in the story world (Zubin et al. 1995). The character in the story world can overlap with the speaker when the speaker is telling a story about the speaker him/herself. In this paper, we will deal with mainly two genres of narrative texts: a fairy tale, and a self-narration (narration about the past experience of the speaker), in three languages: Sibe (Manchu-Tungusic), Modern Uyghur, and Tuvan (Turkic). The main argue of the paper is as follows:

- (i) In Sibe and Modern Uyghur perspective shift is caused by particular forms in the main clause, on the contrary, perspective shift can occur without any particular forms in the main clause in Tuvan.

Evidentiality and perspective management in narrative discourse

- (ii) In Sibe and Modern Uyghur fairy tale and self-narration are distinguished by the particular markings, which occur in the main clause. On the contrary, there is no distinction between fairy tale and self-narration in Tuvan, because no particular markings are used in main clauses of both genres.
- (iii) In some cases, different markers can be used in the complement clause with direct speech and the main clause in self-narrations. This perspective shifting seems to be motivated by the interaction of the speaker (narrator) and the hearer. Such kind of phenomenon can be seen in self-narrations in Tuvan: the use of *-DI* in direct speech in self-narration.