

Introduction

Map

General Characteristics

The Perfect Questionnaire

Resultative

Evidentiality

Elicitation task

Results

Preliminary conclusions

References

Introduction

Andi < Avar-Andic < East Caucasian.

One of the eight unwritten Andic languages, spoken in the mountains of Western Daghestan (North Caucasus, Russian Federation).

9 villages = 9 dialects

Upper: Andi, Gagatli, Gunkha, Rikwani, Ashali, Chanko, Zilo;

Lower: Muni, Kwankhidatli ¹

¹ Available descriptions: Andi (Dirr [1906] and Tsertsvadze [1965], with some notes on other dialects); Rikwani (Suleymanov [1957]); Gagatli (Salimov [1968]).

Figure 1: Evidentiality marking on the verb in Eurasia ²

²The maps in this presentation were created using Lingtypology for R. This particular map is based on the data points "verbal affix" and "verb tense" marked within Eurasia in de Haan [2013] (WALS); + some Finno-Ugric languages (via Aikhenvald [2004]) + East Caucasian, based on my own research.

Evidentiality and the perfect
in the Rikwani and Zilo
dialects of Andi (East
Caucasian)

Samira Verhees

Introduction

Map

General Characteristics

The Perfect Questionnaire

Resultative

Evidentiality

Elicitation task

Results

Preliminary conclusions

References

Map II

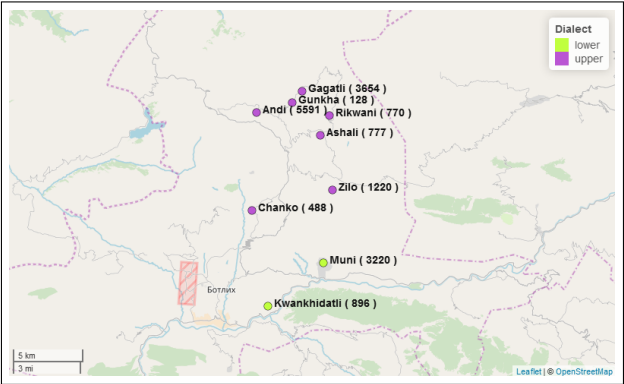
Figure 2: Andi on the map



Samira Verhees

- Introduction
- Map
 - General Characteristics
- The Perfect Questionnaire
 - Resultative
 - Evidentiality
- Elicitation task
- Results
- Preliminary conclusions
- References

Figure 3: The Andi villages and dialects



General characteristics

Two basic past tenses:

bare past stem (AORIST) / past stem + suffix (PERFECT)

Described as **obvious/witnessed past** versus
non-witnessed past, or **aorist (general past)** and
completed past (perfect, resultative present) in various
sources.

To what extent is there a grammaticalized opposition of
information source in the past tense?

General characteristics II

Clause types Perfect only occurs in main clauses; aorist in main or complement, converbs in subordinate clauses.

Other past tenses Imperfect and pluperfect are arranged in pairs with either an aorist or perfect auxiliary.

Resultative II

There is a limited set of telic, intransitive verbs (e.g. 'to sit down', 'to fall asleep') that denote a stative situation in the present when inflected for perfect (they have no stative counterparts, i.e. there is no verb 'to sleep').

They take the **present tense** particle =/e in interrogative sentences.

Although a stative situation in the present is their default interpretation, the narrative regime may override this.

Evidentiality

Rikwani: answers to the questionnaire concur with the hypothesis that there is an opposition of directly versus indirectly witnessed events for the aorist and perfect + this distinction is suggested by the speaker.

Zilo: answers to the questionnaire are not entirely consistent with the above mentioned hypothesis + the distinction is not salient to the speaker.

Elicitation task

- Two short, nearly identical narratives of 10 sentences each, opposed in terms of whether the speaker witnessed the events or not
6 speakers of Zilo - 5 speakers of Rikwani
- A short fairy tale of 12 more complex sentences
5 speakers of Zilo, 4 speakers of Rikwani

Download the test: goo.gl/ZhaN89.

Shows the opposite of the perfect questionnaire; Zilo speakers fairly consistently narrate using the perfect, while Rikwani speakers opt for the aorist.

Table 2: Results - Indirective elicitation task

Narrative	Finite	Perfect	Aorist	Dialect
Indirect	9	8	1	Zilo1
	10	10		Zilo2
	9	9		Zilo3
	9	3	6	Zilo4
	9	9		Zilo5
	9	7	2	Zilo6
	9	2	7	Rikwani1
	9		9	Rikwani2
	9	1	8	Rikwani3
	9	9		Rikwani4
	9		9	Rikwani5

Results III

Table 4: Results - Fairy tale elicitation task

Narrative	Finite	Perfect	Aorist	Dialect
Fairy tale	17	2	15	Zilo1
	13	2	11	Zilo2
	14	12	2	Zilo3
	15	5	10	Zilo4
	14		14	Zilo5
	14	1	13	Rikwani1
	17		17	Rikwani2
	16	9	7	Rikwani3
	16	14	2	Rikwani4

Summary

- In 1 and 2, speakers are rather consistent in their narrative strategy.
- As an unmarked form, the aorist may occur in both types of narratives, while the perfect is more restricted: it is not used as the main line in a sequence of witnessed events.
- The reasons for diverging from a strategy are not quite clear.
- Surprisingly, Zilo speakers apply the perfect more consistently in a (simple) narrative of unwitnessed events, although this implication is not salient to them.
- The results of test 3 are rather muddled, which is most likely due to the test itself.

Preliminary conclusions on Andi

- The alledged witnessed / non-witnessed opposition between perfect and aorist is **not grammaticalized**.
- The perfect remains an indirect "evidential strategy" (see Aikhenvald [2004]) in both dialects, and its usage is subject to individual variation.
- **No current relevance** usage has been recorded for Rikwani so far.
- So why does the perfect seem to be *more* consistently employed by speakers for whom the unwitnessed implication is *less* salient?

General issues

- Are East Caucasian languages rightfully included in the Eurasian **evidentiality belt**?
- It has been questioned for other languages of the family in the past whether this is 1) grammaticalized evidentiality (cf. Forker [2016]);
2) whether it should be called evidentiality at all (a.o. Friedman [2007] on Lak; Maisak and Tatevosov [2007] on Tsakhur).
- If it's not evidentiality, then what is it?

References I

- Aikhenvald, A. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.
- Dahl, Ö. (2000). *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. Walter de Gruyter.
- de Haan, F. (2013). *Coding of Evidentiality*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
- Dirr, A. M. (1906). Kratkij grammatičeskij očerk andijskago jazyka [a brief sketch of the grammar of andi]. In *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemën Kavkaza*. Tbilisi: Upravlenie kavkazskago učebnago okruga.
- Forker, D. (2016). Evidentiality in nakh-daghestanian languages. In *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, V. (2007). The expression of speaker subjectivity in lak (daghestan). In *L'énonciation médiatisée II. Le traitement épistémologique de l'information: illustrations amérindiennes et caucasiennes*. Louvain/Paris: Peeters.
- Maisak, T. and S. Tatevosov (2007). Beyond evidentiality and mirativity: Evidence from tsakhur. In *L'énonciation médiatisée II. Le traitement épistémologique de l'information: illustrations amérindiennes et caucasiennes*. Louvain/Paris: Peeters.

References II

Salimov, K. S. (2010 (1968)). *Gagatlinskij govor andijskogo jazyka [The Gagatl dialect of Andi]*. Makhachkala: Institut yazyka, literatury i iskusstva im. G. Tsadasy.

Suleymanov, J. G. (1957). *Grammatičeskij očerk andijskogo jazyka. Na materiale govora s. Rikwani [A sketch of the grammar of Andi. Based on material from the dialect of the village Rikwani]*. Ph. D. thesis, Makhachkala: Institut yazikoznaniya AN SSSR.

Tsertsvadze, I. I. (1965). *Andiuri ena [The Andi language]*. Tbilisi: Metsniereba.