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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

² The 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)

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Map II

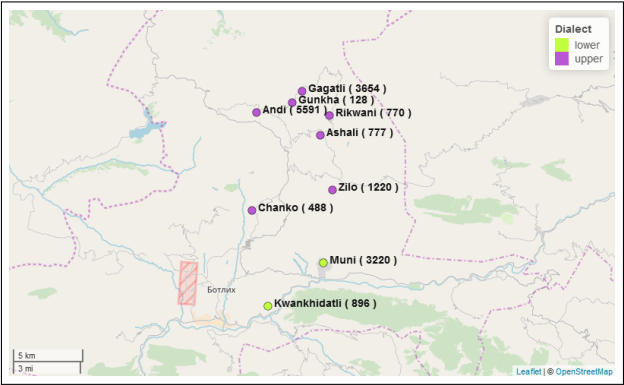
Figure 2: Andi on the map



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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.

The Perfect Questionnaire³

1 speaker of Rikwani, 1 speaker of Zilo.

Table 1: Functions of the perfect

	Resultative	Current relevance	Indirect evidentiality
Rikwani	+	-	+
Zilo	+	+	?

NB: experiential and recent past are expressed by the aorist
in both dialects.

³ See Dahl [2000].

Resultative

Monovalent, stative predicates.

- (1) *ingur arχon-d*
window open-PF
'The window is open(ed).' [Rikwani]
- (2) *ingur arχon-nij*
window open-PF
'The window is open(ed).' [Zilo]

+ Agent = Perfect (Indirective (3) / Perfect of result (4))

- (3) ?den ingur **arχon-d**
I.ERG window open-PF
'I **have opened** the window (*it appears*).'
[Rikwani]
- (4) den-ni ingur **arχon-nij**
I-ERG window open-PF
'I **have opened** the window.'
[Zilo]

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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.

- (5) *hege-w* **tt'ixon-nij**=/e
dem-M fall _asleep-PF=Q
'Is he sleeping?' [Zilo]
- (6) *hege-w* **tt'ixon**=/dile
dem-M fall _asleep.AOR=Q
'Did he sleep?' [Zilo]

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.

Corpus data?

Corpus for Zilo is still under construction.

For Rikwani a corpus is available (currently 4268 words), consisting of spontaneous narratives. Almost all texts are monologues; either personal history or folklore.

Consistent use of perfect in non-witnessed narratives, aorist in witnessed, but:

No instances of resultative or other **non-evidential usages** of the perfect.

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

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

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

Deviations from the narrative strategy

Switch to perfect in an aorist narrative:

- (7) *hegef-tf'u* *berku-d* *q'ammi-d*
dem.M.OBL-AD snake.OBL-ERG **bite-PF**
tf'ek'u-qχ
leg.OBL-LOC
'The snake **bit** him in the leg.' [Rikwani]

Or the other way around:

- (8) *hegel-di* *b-ixi-j* *ɟammi-j* *hints'o*
DEM.OBL-ERG NA-take-CVB **throw-PF** rock
berku-'o. *berka b-itɟ'o*
snake.OBL-SUP.LAT. snake **AN-die.AOR**
'She took a rock and **threw** it at the snake - The
snake **died.**' [Zilo]

Deviations from the narrative strategy II

Alternative strategy - aorist + reportative:

- (9) *j-etf'uχa baba*
F-big mother
siri=odi
become _frightened.AOR=REP
'Grandmother **became frightened** (*they say*).'
[Rikwani]

Summary

- Speakers "pick" a particular narrative strategy.
- Aorist is always possible (= unmarked), perfect can only function in the main-line of an *unwitnessed* narrative
- Perfects in an aorist-narrative single out a certain event from the sequence.
- Aorists in an otherwise perfect narrative - presenting an event as a logical consequence of the previous action (e.g. "S(h)e hit the snake [and] it died.")
- Alternative: aorist + reportative particle, a discursive unit used for emphasis + reportativeness. Not obligatory.

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- 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 a similar form in Lak; Maisak and Tatevosov [2007] on the Tsakhur perfect).
- If it's not evidentiality, then what is it?

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