

Grammaticalized vs. non-grammaticalized evidentials in Tsezic

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1. Intro to the languages

- Tsezic > Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian), Russia
- East Tsezic [Bezhta and Hunzib] vs. West Tsezic [Khwarshi, Tsez, Hinuq]
- Tsezic languages have agglutinative morphology with some fusion.
- verb-final, though with no rigid order of the major clause constituents.
- the syntactic and/or semantic role of noun phrases is indicated by case marking.
- dependent-marking ergative languages.
- employ gender-number agreement to indicate cross-referencing of arguments on the verb. The agreement is always with the Absolutive argument. In general only – though not all – vowel-initial verbs have a prefixal slot for agreement, plus a small number of verbs with internal vowel change.
- a rich verbal morphology, with a large number of finite and non-finite forms; nonfinite forms (converbs, masdar, infinitive, participles) form complex sentential structures; various verbal complexes (V-V compounds), including light verb constructions and serialization.
- synthetic tenses and periphrastic tenses, based on lexical non-finite forms and finite auxiliaries;
- categories that are expressed on the verbs are tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality.

2. Evidentiality in the Tsezic languages

- Grammaticalized evidential system is present in Khwarshi and Tsez (also outside Tsezic languages – in Chechen and Ingush).
- Other Tsezic languages use periphrastic verbal paradigm, which is primarily verbal forms of the Perfect series.
- All Tsezic languages use enclitics to express quotative/reportative/narrative.
- Evidential system in the Tsezic languages makes semantic distinction between direct and indirect or evidence. Indirect evidence can be inferred and reported.

- In declarative sentences, evidential forms mark the information source of the speaker, while in interrogative sentences evidential forms correspond to the information source of the addressee/hearer.
- In the East Tsezic branch the carrier of evidential distinctions are the Aorist, a synthetic form which marks direct evidential, and the Perfect, an analytical form (though sometimes the copula within the analytical form can be omitted), which marks indirect evidential.
- In the West Tsezic languages, in the past tense, there is a morphological opposition between Past witnessed (direct evidential) and Past unwitnessed (indirect evidential) forms; both are synthetic forms.
- All Tsezic languages can express inferential evidentiality, i.e. an inference made by the speaker based on visible traces of an event to which the speaker was not a direct witness (either with indirect evidential or with special construction with ‘find’). The reported evidential uses the quotative particle (e.g. Khwarshi *λun*) to indicate that the information was learned from someone else, while the narrative particle (e.g. Tsez *λax*) is used in narratives.

3. Grammaticalized evidential system: a case of Khwarshi

Basic tense system in Khwarshi

Synthetic tense		gul- ‘put’
Present	- <i>še</i>	gul- <i>še</i>
Past witnessed	- <i>i</i>	gul- <i>i</i>
Past Unwitnessed	- <i>un</i>	gul- <i>un</i>
Periphrastic tenses		
Present progressive	- <i>še</i> + present tense copula <i>goli</i>	gul- <i>še goli</i>
Past progressive witnessed	- <i>še</i> + auxiliary ‘be’ in PST.W	gul- <i>še eč-i</i>
Past progressive unwitnessed	- <i>še</i> + auxiliary ‘be’ in PST.UW	gul- <i>še eč-un</i>
Perfect	perfective converb + present tense copula <i>goli</i>	gul- <i>un goli</i>
Pluperfect witnessed	perfective converb + auxiliary ‘be’ in PST.W	gul- <i>un eč-i</i>
Pluperfect unwitnessed	perfective converb + auxiliary ‘be’ in PST.UW	gul- <i>un eč-un</i>

- Khwarshi distinguishes four evidential specifications expressed within the tense system: witnessed, unwitnessed, inferred and reported.
- Evidentiality is a grammatical category, i.e. every past sentence is marked for one of the evidentials to show how the information was obtained.

Basic functions of evidentials

In Khwarshi, there is an equipollent evidential contrast between Past witnessed and Past unwitnessed forms.

- 1) o<j>nu j-eč-i κine, dilj heč'č'e
 <II>DEM II-be-PST.W woman(II) 1SG.LAT most
 j-acc-u himon žu j-eč-i.
 IV-hate-PST.PTCP thing(IV) DEM II-be-PST.W
 'There was a woman that I hated so much.' [Dialog]
- 2) jaraki=n tuλ-un, b-ešt'-un ʕoloqan ahlu
 gun=ADD give-PF.CVB HPL-let-PST.UW young people
 aλ c'in-a.
 village secure-INF
 'Giving the guns, (they) sent the young men to secure the village.' [Old man]

Narrative use

Past unwitnessed form often occur in fictional narratives.

- 3) b-eč-un-λo b-eč-un-aj-λo hos žik'o=n
 HPL-be-PST.UW-NARR HPL-be-PST.UW-NARR one man(I)=ADD
 κine=n
 woman(II)=ADD
 'Once upon a time there were a man and a woman.' [orphan.001]
- 4) žeq'uł nišoho reła l-eκ^w-a aq dil heč'č'e
 today tonight night(IV) IV-take-INF house me.LAT much
 q'oč-a l-eč-i λun iλ-in ile
 want-PRS IV-be-PST.W QUOT say-PST.UW she.ERG
 'I want a house to spend a night tonight, she said.' [Orphans.051]

Extended functions

Lack of consciousness effect with the first person

- 5) Malla.rasan Ø-ah-un hobołe mok'oλ'ozi, žu
 Malla.rasan(I) I-stand-PF.CVB that.OBL place.SUP.ABL that
 Ø-ečč-u, urκi-še Ø-uh-un-λin hed iλ-in
 I-be-PST.PTCP think-IMPF.CVB i-die-PF.CVB-QUOT then say-PST.UW
 do Ø-uh-un Ø-eč-un-aj-ko.
 me I-die-PF.CVB I-be-PST.UW-NEG-INTS
 'Malla-rasan got up from the place where he was, thinking that he had died and then said, "I have not died after all!"' [Malla Rasan]

Inferential use of indirect forms

- 6) obu-t'-i biλ'q'u b-ux^ʕad-in.
 father-OBL-ERG sheep(III) III-slaughter-PST.UW
 'The father has slaughtered the sheep.' (seeing the chopped meat)

4. Non-grammaticalized evidential system

Basic tense system in Bezhta

Synthetic tense		gul- 'put'
Present	-š/-ca	gul-ca
Aorist	-(i)jo	gul-ijo
Remote past	-aahijo	gul-aahijo
Periphrastic tenses		
Present progressive	PRS.PTCP -cas + present tense copula <i>gej</i>	gul-cas gej
Past progressive	PRS.PTCP -cas + auxiliary 'be' in Aorist	gul-cas zuq'o-jo
Past progressive evidential	PRS.PTCP -cas + perfective converb 'be' + present tense copula	gul-cas zuq'o-na gej
Perfect/Resultative/Evidential	perfective converb + present tense copula <i>gej</i>	gul-na gej
Pluperfect	perfective converb + auxiliary 'be' in Aorist	gul-na zuq'o-jo
Pluperfect Evidential	perfective converb + perfective converb 'be' + present tense copula	gul-na zuq'o-na gej

Evidential distinction in East Tsezic: a case of Bezhta

For **direct evidential** a morphologically simple past tense, Aorist, is used, which indicates that the event was directly witnessed by the speaker, i.e. the speaker was an eyewitness to the event:

- 7) huⁿ lebalab k'et'o wodo zuq'o-jo
 yesterday nice good day be-AOR
 'It was a nice day yesterday.' [Dialog.AAP.005]

For **indirect evidential** a periphrastic tense, the Perfect (which is based on the perfective converb and present tense copula) is used, which indicates that the described event was not directly witnessed by the speaker:

- 8) hogco abo-la abo zuq'o-na gej siⁿ b-ɛʁak'-na,
 that.OBL father-GEN2 father.ERG be-PF.CVB COP bear(III) III-raise-PF.CVB
 łana λii m-eλ'e-jo žo zuq'o-na hogo b-aq-na
 three year III-go-PST.PTCP thing be-PF.CVB that III-become-PF.CVB
 'My father's father had a three year old bear.' [rasskazA.025]

- 9) zuq'o-na gej, zuq'o-na gä?ä hos öžö.
 be-PF.CVB COP be-PF.CVB NEG.COP one boy
 Ø-eⁿλ'e-na huli wana?
 I-go-PF.CVB he in.forest
 'There was, there was not one boy. He went to the forest' [Bähärčjab öžö]

Inferential meaning of indirect evidential

Here inferential meaning of indirect evidential includes the visible result of the event, i.e. the speaker has direct evidence for the event but has not witnessed this event himself/herself.

- 10) öždää xink' m-üⁿq-nä gej.
 boy.PL.ERG khinkal(III) III-eat-PF.CVB COP
 'The boys have eaten khinkal.' (seeing empty plate)

Factual aahijo

This tense marker with the past time reference expresses factual or general knowledge, which is based on direct and indirect evidence.

- 11) ijo jaⁿq'o-na j-oh-na, b-eš-aahijo
 mother.ERG soup(IV)=ADD IV-make-PF.CVB HPL-eat-REM.PST
 'When mother cooked the soup, we ate.' [Bezhta3.096]
- 12) j-eⁿja-aahijo hollo hide-la zahmatab-li
 NHPL-send-REM.PST DEM(PL).ERG SELF.PL.OBL-GEN2 difficulty-OBL
 ömrö-lä-š xabar-la
 life-OBL-GEN1 story-PL
 'They were telling stories about their difficult life.' [Bezhta1.060]
- 13) illa ädämlääl tarix sijo žo
 we.GEN2 people.LAT history(III) what thing(IV)
 j-aq-ca=na j-iq'a-ahe?eš
 IV-happen-PRS=ADD IV-know-NEG.REM.PST
 'Our people did not even know anything about the history.' [K'et'atl'as.023]

- **Extended use of evidential**

a lack of consciousness effect with the first person

- 14) Ø-iq'e-č'e šayt'al-laa-la älä-λ'ä
 I-know-NEG.CVB devil-PL-GEN2 village-SUP
 do kezi<Ø>aq-na
 me appear<I>-PF.CVB
 'Not knowing myself, I might have happened to be in the devils' village.' [Bezhta2.141]

Historic present

Present and Aorist are used in contexts where the speaker did not witness an event.

15) *sidi-l_hoⁿso* *hāj-dää-d* *isar-la=na* *j-o<wa>h-na*
each.other.LAT eye-PL-INST sign-PL=ADD NHPL-do<PL>-CVB
raziaq-ca *iⁿq-la*
be.happy<hPL>-PRS Tushin-PL
'Making signs with eyes to each other, Tushins get happy.' [Inqla2.211]

16) *can* *wahlaa* *zuq'o-jo* *ruhunaq-na* *huli*
goat(III) so be-AOR accustom<III>-PF.CVB this
q'owa *xaxol-al*
child breastfeed-INF
'The goat was get used to breastfeed this child...' [Bezhta0.281]

5. Homophones in verbal paradigm

Perfective converb vs. past unwitnessed forms

- The suffix of past unwitnessed *-un* is homophonous with the suffix of the perfective converb *-un* in affirmative clauses.
- Under negation, finite and non-finite forms have two different suffixes, *-un-aj* and *-bič*.
- These two forms also differ in time reference
- Another dissimilarity concerns evidential value: unwitnessed past refers to situations for which the speaker does not have direct evidence whereas the perfective converb does not have such evidential value.

Aorist vs. past participle in Bezhta

- The suffix of Aorist *-(i)jo* is homophonous with the suffix of past participle.
- Aorist forms head independent clause, whereas past participle form relative clauses.
- past participle has two forms, direct *-(i)jo* (when modifying a head in the Absolutive) and oblique *-(i)ja* (when modifying a head either in oblique cases).

6. Evidential vs. Perfect

- The East Tsezic Perfect (which is an analytical form) has two main functions: it is used to refer to *perfect events* (in this function the copula is obligatorily used) and it is used to mark *indirect evidence* (in this function the copula can be optionally omitted in Bezhta).
- While East Tsezic (Bezhta, Hunzib) has one verbal form to convey two meanings, indirect evidence and perfect, West Tsezic (Khwarshi, Tsez, Hinuq) has developed two separate verbal forms, one for evidential and the other for perfect.

- The evidential form in West Tsezic, which is a synthetic form, is only used for indirect evidence (and never for perfect), i.e. indirect evidential forms express a dynamic situation in the past not witnessed by the speaker, but not a stative situation in the present.
- The other construction in West Tsezic is a resultative construction, which is analytical. In Khwarshi it is based on the perfective converb and the Present tense copula.
- Thus, East Tsezic presents the earliest stage, with an analytical construction both in affirmative and negative forms, though in Bezhta the affirmative indirect evidential optionally occurs without the present tense copula.

	East Tsezic		West Tsezic		
	Hunzib	Bezhta	Khwarshi	Tsez	Hinuq
Past Unwitnessed					
AFF.	CVB+COP	CVB(+COP)	CVB	CVB	CVB
NEG.	CVB+NEG.COP	CVB+NEG.COP	NEG.CVB	NEG.CVB/ CVB+NEG.COP	CVB+NEG.COP
Perfect					
AFF.	CVB+COP	CVB+COP	CVB+COP	RES.PTCP+COP	RES.PTCP+COP
NEG.	CVB+NEG.COP	CVB+NEG.COP	CVB+ NEG.COP	RES.PTCP+ NEG.COP	RES.PTCP+ NEG.COP

- Tsezic data illustrate the general evolution starting from resultative constructions to prototypical perfects and from perfects to forms also used to express evidentiality.
- Khwarshi presents a fully grammaticalized equipollent evidential system.

Abbreviations

HPL – human plural, OBL – oblique, PF.CVB – perfective converb, PST.W – past witnessed, PST.UNWIT – past unwitnessed, SUP – sup-essive case. Roman numerals indicate genders.

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