

Evidentiality in the Georgian Tense and Aspect System

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Introduction: evidentials

Evidentiality (Willet, 1988; Aikhenvald, 2004)

Grammatical marking of information source

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Motley crew

From deictic operators: Northern Ostyak (Nikolaeva, 1999), Cuzco Quechua (Faller, 2004), Korean (Chung, 2007; Lee, 2008, 2011), Bulgarian (Koev, 2011)

to epistemic modals: Bulgarian (Izvorski, 1997), Tibetan (Garrett, 2001), St'át'imcets (Matthewson et al., 2008; Matthewson, 2011), Turkish (Şener, 2011)

to illocutionary modifiers: Cuzco Quechua (Faller, 2002), Cheyenne (Murray, 2010)

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 'The dragon hid the treasure, as I was told.' REPORTATIVE

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Context 2: I enter the dragon's cave that used to be full of treasure and is empty now.

- (2) urtʃxul-s gandʒ-i daumalia
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- this is the only evidential in the language
- other tenses are evidentially-neutral

Goals

- look at Georgian through the prism of current theories
- prove them inadequate/insufficient
- show that Georgian evidentiality presents a mixture of two classes of evidentials recognised before
- argue for a theory that incorporates
 - ① temporality
 - ② speaker-orientedness
 - ③ level of speaker's commitment different from regular assertions

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- **EVIDENTIAL SUBORDINATION:** effects similar to modal subordination but not completely

Disjunctive evidential requirement

Reportative

Grammaticalises any type of report (secondhand, thirdhand), reliable or not, rumours, newspapers, reports based on self-ascriptions etc

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Visual evidence only

#Audible evidence

#Smelled evidence

#Mental reasoning as evidence

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#Audible evidence

#Smelled evidence

#Mental reasoning as evidence

#Context 1 (smelled): I come home and feel a tasty flavour right from the entrance.

#Context 2 (mental): It is Fat Week and mom always makes pies.

OK Context 3 (visual): I come home and see a dirty baking sheet.

- (3) deda-s ghvezel-i dauc'xvia
mother-DAT pie-NOM bake.3SG.S.3SG.O.EV.PST
'Mom made pies, I infer based on what I see'.

Temporality I: Evidential past

- lacks properties typically associated with perfects across languages (Comrie, 1976; Kiparsky, 2002; Alexiadou et al., 2003; Ritz, 2012)
- describes a situation that is not witnessed by the speaker directly
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(4) (*axla) **ucvimia**
now rain.3SG.S.EV.PST
'It rained (*now), as I was told / infer based on what I see'.

Temporality II: Time of evidence acquisition

Time of evidence acquisition matters

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Context: Nana and I are on the different continents. She tells me over the phone that now it is raining in Moscow. Next day, I cannot say:

- (5) #moskov-ʃi guʃin ucvimia
Moscow-in yesterday rain.3SG.S.EV.PST
'It was raining in Moscow yesterday, as I was told'.

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Moscow-in yesterday rain.3SG.S.EV.PST
'It was raining in Moscow yesterday, as I was told'.

Past inferences are ruled out

Visual inferential interpretation is not available unless evidence acquisition overlaps with the utterance time

Context: I see fresh bear traces and infer that a bear passed here.

- (6) #(gushin) ak datv-s gauv^lia
yesterday here bear-DAT walk.3SG.S.EV.PST
'A bear passed here (yesterday), as I inferred based on what I saw'.

Beyond the main assertion I: Backgroundedness

The evidential contribution does not bear on the main point of the utterance

- the fact of having certain type of evidence cannot be denied
- cannot serve as a reply to an inquiry about information source

#Context 1: How do you know they built a new metro line in LA?

Context 2: Any news on public transportation in LA?

- (7) los-angeles-*fi* metro-*s* axal-*i* haz-*i* **gauxavniat**
LA-in metro-GEN new-NOM line-NOM construct.3PL.S.EV.PST
'They constructed a new metro line in Los Angeles, **as I was told / as I infer based on what I see**'.

Beyond the main assertion II: Projection

The evidential contribution is not affected by the propositional operators:
negation, modals, temporal adverbials

- (8) sup'-i ar **gauk'etebia**
soup-NOM NEG make.3SG.S.3SG.O.EV.PST
'She did not cook the soup, **as I was told / as I infer based on what I see.**'
≠ 'It is not the case that I was told / infer based on what I see that she cooked the soup'.

Speaker-orientedness

In some languages the evidence holder may shift from the speaker:

- to the addressee in questions (interrogative flip: Cheyenne, Cuzco Quechua, German, Stát'imcets)
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Georgian evidential past cannot be used in questions but can be syntactically embedded; when it is, it never shifts (cf. Sauerland and Schenner 2007)

#Context 1: The speaker has direct evidence for the proposition.

Context 2: The priest is speaker's only source of information.

- (9) moxudel-ma mitxra rom ber-eb-s biblia
priest-ERG tell.3SG.S.3SG.O.1SG.IO.AOR that monk-PL-DAT Bible.NOM
tanamedrove kartul-ad **gadautargmniat**
modern Georgian-ADV translate.3PL.S.3SG.O.**EV.PST**
'The priest told me that monks translated the Bible into Modern Georgian.'

Level of speaker's commitment

Reportative interpretation possible when the speaker knows p to be false

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- (10) a. kalifornia-s k'anonieri **gauxdia** marihuan-is
California-DAT legal make.3SG.S.3SG.O.**EV.PST** marijuana-GEN
gamoq'eneba
use.MSD.NOM
'California legalised marijuana, **as I was told / #infer.**'
b. But in fact that's not true.

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Inferential interpretation only possible when the speaker believes p

Context: Because of Maria's red eyes you infer that she was crying. Then you realise that red eyes might be caused by allergy.

- (11) a. maria-s **utiria**
Maria-DAT cry.3SG.S.**EV.PST**
Intended: 'Maria was crying, **as I infer based on what I see.**'
b. #But this is not so, she has red eyes because of allergy.

Evidential subordination I: anaphora blocking

If the antecedent is embedded under the evidential, anaphora is impossible unless the anaphor, too, is under the evidential.

(in English for the sake of simplicity)

- (12) 'Natasha planted a tree, as I was told / infer based on what I see'.
- (13) a. #'Squirrels inhabited it'.
b. 'Squirrels inhabited it, as I was told / infer based on what I see'.
c. #'Squirrels must have inhabited it.'

Evidential subordination II

	MODAL	EV.PAST-REP.	EV.PAST-VIS.INF.
MODAL	YES	no	no
EV.PAST-REP.	no	YES	no
EV.PAST-VIS.INF.	no	no	YES

Effects similar to modal subordination

Yet modals and evidentials behave differently; in some languages they pattern together, e.g. in German (Faller, 2012) and Japanese (McCready and Ogata, 2008).

Core data

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- Lack of shifting
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Modal approaches to evidentiality: Izvorski (1997)

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Evidential as an epistemic modal, based on Bulgarian

Evidentiality is part of modality (Bybee, 1985; Palmer, 1986; van der Auwera and Plungian, 1998)

Semantics within Kratzerian framework for modals (Kratzer, 1977, 1981, 2012)

Modal base contains evidentially-possible worlds

Accessible worlds are ranked wrt attitude towards evidence

The evidential universally quantifies over the closest evidentially-possible worlds

Izvorski (1997) and Georgian evidentiality

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Izvorski (1997) and Georgian evidentiality

- Disjunctive evidential requirement ← can be adjusted
- Temporality ← can be adjusted
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In Georgian, modals and evidentials do not form a natural class

Deictic approaches to evidentiality: Koev (2011)

Bulgarian direct and reportative evidentials

Evidential contribution is projective and backgrounded

The scope proposition is asserted

Secondary tenses that encode temporal distance between time of the described eventuality and time of evidence acquisition

Enriched Neo-Reichenbachian temporal ontology (Kamp and Reyle, 1993; Klein, 1994): addition of a learning event

No concept of 'evidence': it comes for free by virtue of temporal relations, cf. Speas (2010, 2012)

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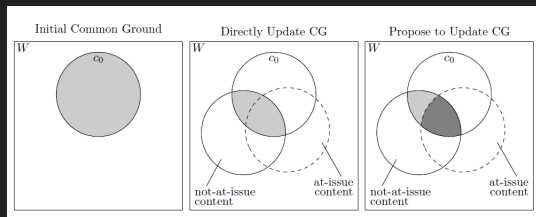
Koev (2011) and Georgian evidentiality

- Disjunctive evidential requirement ← needs adjustment
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Koev (2011) and Georgian evidentiality

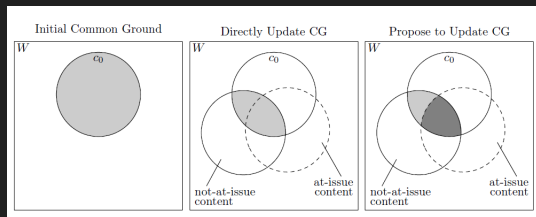
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Illocutionary approaches to evidentiality: Murray (2010)



At-issue and not-at-issue content (Murray, 2010, 92, fig.4.3)

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At-issue and not-at-issue content (Murray, 2010, 92, fig.4.3)

1. **Presentation of the at-issue proposition:** descriptive content
2. **Evidential restriction:** information source via a non-negotiable update
3. **Illocutionary relation:** a negotiable update that structures the common ground; instruction wrt what to do with the at-issue proposition and depends on the type of evidence available

Murray (2010) and Georgian evidentiality

- Disjunctive evidential requirement
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- Temporality ← needs adjustment
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Interim summary

- Koev (2011) and Murray (2010) might do well if united
- does not matter which way to go, given that AnderBois et al. (2010)'s framework (extended DPL) and Murray (2010)'s framework (update with centering) are more or less notational variants wrt evidentials

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 - Davis et al. (2007): intrinsic to reportatives vs. inferentials **PRAGMATICS**
 - line of defence:
 - we expect all reportatives to have lack of commitment on part of the speaker (not the case in Bulgarian, St'at'imcets)
 - we expect level of speaker's commitment to depend on the authority / reliability of the source, not the case in Georgian
- Context: Fox news / my mom / New York Times / president Obama / governor Brown reports that California legalised marijuana.

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- I advocate ambiguity, i.e. Georgian is like Cheyenne and Cuzco Quechua but with accidental homophony

Proposal

- Georgian has two evidentials, a reportative and a visual inferential
- both directly restrict the context set so that it contains only worlds where the speaker has certain type of evidence
- temporal constraints associated with each of the evidentials are different
- level of commitment is also different: none of them asserts their scope proposition
- the reportative is not associated with any negotiable update
- the visual inferential restricts the incoming context set to the doxastic worlds of the speaker

Open questions & Cross-linguistic variation

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How perfect is the perfect of evidentiality? The phenomenon is very common and languages investigated so far (Turkish, Bulgarian) do not seem to pattern together

What is the connection between tense and evidentiality and why do so many languages have evidential distinctions only in the past?

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