Panoramic View
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On Perfects of Evidentiality
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Close-Up: Aspect
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Close-Up: Not-at-Issue
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Towards an Analysis
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How Perfect is the Perfect of Evidentiality
Evidence from Georgian

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The Nature of Evidentiality, Leiden University

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General Profile

- relaxed SOV order
- subject & object drop
- polypersonal agreement
- split ergativity

Multiple tenses are united in three series on the basis case marking:

1. PRESENT: present, future, imperfect, conditional, present subjunctive, future subjunctive
2. AORIST: aorist, optative (second subjunctive)
3. PERFECT: perfect, pluperfect, third subjunctive

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Background On Georgian

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In focus: Georgian perfect

Frequently ascribed evidential meaning (Harris 1981, Hewitt 1995, Böeder 2000, Topadze 2011):

AORIST

(1)   urtʃxul-ma   gandʒ-i   daimala
      dragon-ERG   treasure-NOM hide.3SG.S.3SG.O.AOR
      'The dragon hid the treasure.' {irrespective of whether the
      speaker has witnessed hiding}

PERFECT

(2)   urtʃxul-s   gandʒ-i   daumalia
      dragon-DAT   treasure-NOM hide.3SG.S.3SG.O.PERF
      I was told that | I infer that the dragon hid the treasure.'

NB: Ambiguous between hearsay / inference

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Basic Portrait of the Perfect

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Aᴏʀɪsᴛ

(1) urtʃxul-ma gandʒ-i daimala
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     'The dragon hid the treasure.' {irrespective of whether the speaker has witnessed hiding}

Pᴇʀꜰᴇᴄᴛ

(2) urtʃxul-s gandʒ-i daumalia
     dragon-ᴅᴀᴛ treasure-ɴᴏᴍ hide.3sɢ.s.3sɢ.ᴏ.ᴘᴇʀꜰ
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Basic Portrait of the Perfect

Inferred reading

Inference based on visible results as opposed to mental constructs:

(3)   tʃʼem-s megobr-eb-s eldorado up'ovniat
        my-DAT friend-PL-DAT Eldorado find.3PL.PERF
        '*I infer that* my friends found Eldorado.'
        VISUAL: {They sent me a letter, I see the stamp. /
        MENTAL: #They went on a trip in search of Eldorado, did
        not return and I conclude that they made it to there.}

NB: result requirement does not have to be aspectual and might
be saturated by context

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Perfect + Evidentiality

What and where

"Perfect of Evidentiality" (PE)

- (present) perfect morphology encodes some sort of evidentiality all over the globe: Dogon, Newari, Scandinavian languages, Spanish of La Paz (Aikhenvald 2004: 112-114), Northern Ostyak (Nikolaeva 1999), Komi Zyryan (Leinonen 2000)

- with high concentration in the "Old World evidential belt" (evidential-rich Balkan-Caucasus region): BALKAN ROMANCE: Aromanian, Daco Romanian, Megleno Romanian; IRANIAN: Farsi, Tajik; INDO-ARYAN: Romani; SOUTH SLAVIC: Bulgarian, Macedonian; DAGHESTANIAN: Agul, Archi, Bagvalal, Dargwa; INDO-EUROPEAN ISOLATES: Eastern Armenian and Albanian; TURKIC: Turkish, Azerbaijani; KARTVELIAN: Georgian

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Izvorski 1997: 1

Izvorski 1997: proposed for Bulgarian, supposedly universal
Evidential perfects should always be ambiguous between the two
superficially identical forms:

- a perfect perfect
    - ✓ aspectual form (e.g. incompatible with aorist-loving adverbials like 'yesterday', 'last year', 'at 5 pm')
    - ✓ no indirect evidence flavour: might be direct, might be neutral
- a perfect evidential
    - ✓ no aspectual restrictions (e.g. compatible with any adverbials)
    - ✓ indirect evidence ambiguous between hearsay and inference

Panoramic View On Perfects of Evidentiality Close-Up: Aspect Close-Up: Not-at-Issue Towards an Analysis
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Perfect + Evidentiality = ?

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Perfect + Evidentiality = ?

Izvorski 1997: 2

The evidential is given a Kratzerian semantics for modals (with a twist):

- indirect evidence for p is a presupposition
- modal base contains only worlds where there is indirect evidence for p: evidentially possible worlds
- ordering source structures worlds wrt speaker's attitude towards available evidence for p (reliability etc)
- evidential is a necessity operator $\Box$ over closest evidentially possible worlds

Izvorski 1997: 3

Two main predictions:

- two independent forms
- evidential is an epistemic modal

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- two independent forms
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Perfect + Evidentiality = ?

Izvorski 1997: 3

Two main predictions:

- two independent forms
- evidential is an epistemic modal

Is Izvorski 1997 correct assuming that PEs are always twofaced?

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1+1

Not a perfect perfect

Out of the blue no pure aspectual interpretation, i.e. one that is free of indirect evidence: ← bad for Izvorski 1997

(4)   tovl-i   movida
       snow-NOM come.3SG.S.AOR
       'It snowed.' {The speaker *might* have witnessed the snow falling.}

(5)   tovl-i   mosula
       snow-NOM come.3SG.S.PERF
       Inference: 'It snowed.' {The speaker did not witness the snow falling but witnesses the result, e.g. all is white.}
       Hearsay: '*I was told that* it snowed.' { The speaker did not witness the snow falling and might not witness the result.}

Also, used in narratives and folktales.

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1+1

Footnote: Genuine Perfect-1

The form does have an experiential interpretation (*'I have tried yoga once'*) without indirect evidence requirement:

(6)   utovia   Los-Angelesʃi?
        rain.3SG.S.PERF LosAngeles.LOC
        'Did it ever rain in Los Angeles?'

In wh-questions, the same form turns a sentence into an exclamative.

Footnote: Genuine Perfect-2

Complimentary distribution with the evidential interpretation:

	EXPER PERFECT	EVID PERFECT
in questions	✓	no
under negation	✓	no
under 'doubt', 'wonder'	✓	no
under 'not think'	✓	no
under 'think'	no	✓
elsewhere	no	✓

→ at least resembles behaviour of polarity items

Adverbials: 1

Fine with (some) yes-aorist adverbials: 'yesterday', 'at 5 sharp', 'in 3 hours', 'on Saturday'   ← good for Izvorski 1997

(7)   guʃin   / ʃarʃan   stalin-i   momk'vda
        yesterday / last.year Stalin-NOM die.3SG.S.AOR
        'Stalin died yesterday / last year'.

(8)   guʃin   / ʃarʃan   stalin-i   momk'vdara
        yesterday / last.year Stalin-NOM die.3SG.S.PERF
        '*I was told that* / *I infer that* Stalin died yesterday / last year'.

The contrast seems to be solely evidential.

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1+1

Adverbials: 2

Fine with no-aorist adverbials: 'for 3 hours', 'whole day', 'always'
← good for Izvorski 1997

(9)   bavʃv-i   mteli ɣame t'iroda
      baby-NOM whole night cry.3SG.S.IMPERF
      'Baby was crying all night'.

(10)   bavʃv-i   mteli ɣame ut'iria
       baby-NOM whole night cry.3SG.S.PERF
       '*I was told that* baby was crying all night'.

The contrast seems to be solely evidential, again.

Just an evidential?

Compatibility with adverbials inherited from aspectual class rather than imposed by perfect. Maybe, this is a pure evidential?

Not a perfect evidential either! 1

Restrictions of aspectual nature: ← bad for Izvorski 1997

- some verbs form an aspectual pair (accomplishment) by adding a preverb (the choice of preverb depends on a verb): *c'ers* 'write smth' vs. *dac'ers* 'write smth up'

- in the perfect, only the preverbed verb is good: **c'era* vs. *da-c'era*

- restriction is not morphological

- in inceptive pairs 'sleep' vs 'fall asleep' both members are good: *uʒinia* vs. *dauʒinia*

- perfect seems to require some resulting state when available

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Not a perfect evidential either! 2

Verbal event described by the scope proposition should be in the past   ← bad for Izvorski 1997

→ e.g. no adverbials referring only to the present or future or contexts forcing this interpretation:

Scenario: You go to psychic readings where they read your hand and tell you: "You will buy a thousand cars".

(11)   #miq'idia   at'a-s   mankana-s
       buy.3SG.S.3SG.O.PERF thousand-DAT car-DAT
       Intended: '*I was told that* I will buy a thousand cars.'
       Available (mirative reading): 'I blacked-out and do not remember that I bought 1,000 cars.'

Might be due to morphology: no way to express future on top of perfect

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2 in 1?

Interplay with tense/aspect: Interim moral

The story of two independent forms does not work well:

- no good perfect free of indirect evidence burden

- no good indirect evidential free of aspectual relations

- rather one form that both carries indirect evidence requirement and is (somehow) yoked with tense/aspect

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General

Status of the evidential component is largely debated. Challengeability, negatability, and embeddability are often used to help distinguish between modal and illocutionary evidentials
(Faller 2002, Matthewson et al 2007, Murray 2010)

Challenge it

Never possible to challenge the very fact of having indirect
evidence:

(12)   kalifornia-s   k'anonieri gauxdia
         California-DAT legal   make.3SG.S.3SG.O.PERF
         marihuan-is   gamoq'eneba
         marijuana-GEN usage.MSD.NOM
         '*I was told that* California legalized marijuana.'

Reply:

(13)   es   ar   aris   martali
         it-NOM NEG be.3SG.S.PRES true
         'That is not true, California did not legalize marijuana.'
         #:'That is not true, you did not hear that.'

Negate it

Never possible to put under negation: it either is too high and scopes over or is beyond propositional operators and does not interact

(14)   sup'-i   ar   gaak'eta
       soup-NOM NEG make.3SG.S.3SG.O.AOR
       'She did not cook the soup'.
       ='It is not the case that she cooked the soup'.
       Negation > Aorist

(15)   sup'-i   ar   gauk'etebia
       soup-NOM NEG make.3SG.S.3SG.O.PERF
       '*I find out that* she did not cook the soup.'
       ≠ It is not the case that I found out that she cooked the
       soup.
       (also: 'She has never cooked soup').

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Embedding

Embed it: 1

Syntactic embedding is allowed but the evidential never shifts (cf. Sauerland & Schenner 2007):

	Subject.Dir	Subject.Indir
Speaker.Dir	perfect: no	perfect: no
	aorist: yes	aorist: yes
Speaker.Indir	perfect: yes	perfect: yes
	aorist: yes	aorist: yes

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Embedding

Embed it: 2

SP.INDIR, SUBJ.DIR both aorist and perfect are possible

Scenario: My friends live in Georgia, whereas I do not. They have seen monks building and completing a new monastery. They tell me: "Monks built a new monastery".

(16)   tʃem-ma megobr-eb-ma mitxres   rom
        my-ERG friend-PL-ERG tell.3PL.S.3SG.O.1SG.IO.AOR that
        ber-eb-ma   axal-i   monaster-i
        monk-PL-ERG new-NOM monastery-NOM
        aashenes   // ber-eb-s   a.m.
        build.3PL.S.3SG.O.AOR // monk-PL-DAT n.m.
        aushenebiat
        build.3PL.S.3SG.O.PERF
        "My friends told me that monks built a new monastery."

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Embedding

Embed it: 3

SP.DIR, SUBJ.INDIR only aorist is possible

Scenario: I have seen monks building and completing a new monastery. My friends only read about that and tell me: "Monks built a new monastery".

(17)   aashenes   // *aushenebiat
        build.3PL.S.3SG.O.AOR // build.3PL.S.3SG.O.PERF

Panoramic View   On Perfects of Evidentiality   Close-Up: Aspect   Close-Up: Not-at-Issue   Towards an Analysis
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Embedding

Embed it: Moral

- evidential projects surviving under attitude reports
- evidential does not pattern with epistemic modals that typically shift; same critique for Bulgarian in (Sauerland & Schenner 2007)

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Status of an Evidential

Beyond assertion

- backgrounded and projective meanings are recognized as part of a large family of not-at-issue content: proposed in (Simons et al 20 and subsequent work), (Murray 2010) specifically for evidentials

- Georgian patterns with many languages

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Why Not Go Modal

Georgian-External Complaints

- Epistemic modals might scope under negation. Evidentials may not.

- $\text{Evid}p$ is not up to negotiation: it directly updates the common ground. It is shown by the fact that having indirect evidence for p is not challengeable or cannot be denied. The scope proposition, p, is asserted and is up to negotiation. Normally modals behave differently: the whole sentence $\Box p$ is asserted, not only p itself.

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Georgian-Internal Complaints

- Epistemic modals shift under embedding. In Georgian, evidential remains speaker-oriented.

- Modal analysis would require special restriction wrt to tense and aspect.

This might be a very special modal but there seems to be a more plausible approach!

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Temporal Learning

Learning events

(Neo-)Reichenbachian ontology that gets us main temporal and aspectual relations; e.g. (Kamp & Reyle 1993):

1. VERBAL EVENT: that described by a proposition
2. REFERENCE TIME (or topic time)
3. SPEECH EVENT: utterance

Koev (2011):

- all of the above
- plus LEARNING EVENT: getting to know the proposition
- when learning event follows verbal event indirect evidence comes for free
- one cannot have direct evidence for a situation that was learned after it happened

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Temporal Learning

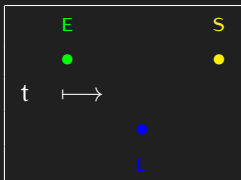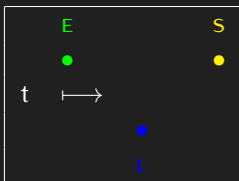## Capturing Georgian

(18) tbilis-ʃi   tovl-i   mosula
      Tbilisi-LOC snow-NOM come.3SG.S.PERF
      'I was told that | I infer that' it snowed in Tbilisi'.

E = snowing   s = resulting state   t = reference time
s = speech event   t = learning event

HEARSAY

INFERENCE

Panoramic View   On Perfects of Evidentiality   Close-Up: Aspect   Close-Up: Not-at-Issue   **Towards an Analysis**
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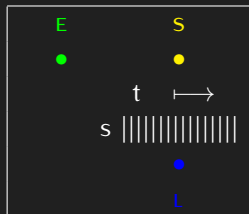Temporal Learning

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Temporal Learning

To sum up

I argue that Georgian does not completely fit into Izvorski's scheme:

- there are no two independent forms
- the evidential does not look like a modal

Instead I propose to apply a temporal learning analysis, where direct operating over events and times gives power to handle temporal and aspectual contribution of this 'perfect'.

Panoramic View   On Perfects of Evidentiality   Close-Up: Aspect   Close-Up: Not-at-Issue   **Towards an Analysis**
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დიდ-ი მადლობა

didi madloba

big.NOM thanks

'Thanks a lot!'

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