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Greed, Teija

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Evidential coding in Lezgi

Teija Greed

University of Helsinki and SIL International
teija_greed@sil.org

ABSTRACT

Evidentiality is "grammatical marking of how we know something" (Aikhenvald 2014:3). As evidentiality is a well-known feature in many Nakh-Daghestanian languages, this paper investigates the expression of evidential meanings in Lezgi, a language which has received less attention in this area. This paper compares evidential meanings of verb forms with the existing findings in a related language, Aghul (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a), and then considers other ways of conveying evidential meanings non-lexically. The language data were collected through elicitation and study of natural texts. Following Aikhenvald (2004), semantic labels were established for different evidential meanings.

Regarding indirect evidentiality, the Lezgi Perfect was found to display the meaning of inference, thus largely coinciding with the inferential use of the Aghul Resultative. In addition, a verb construction involving a nominalized predicative and an equative particle conveys the meaning of inference accompanied by epistemic uncertainty. The Lezgi Aorist is in general evidentially neutral, but can acquire readings of direct, witnessed information source, accompanied by the modal meaning of reliability. However, the opposition displayed in Aghul between witnessed and reported meanings does not find reflection in the Lezgi past tense forms.

In the area of speech reports, evidential meanings can be displayed in Lezgi by two markers, originating from the speech verb *luhun*: a grammaticalised clitic expressing hearsay, and a converb form expressing the meaning of quotative. Discourse particles display evidential and mirative meanings.

Keywords

Lezgi language, Aghul language, evidentiality, perfect, inference

Evidential coding in Lezgi[1]

TEIJA GREED

University of Helsinki and SIL International
teija_greed@sil.org

0. Introduction

Evidentiality is a linguistic phenomenon which Aikhenvald (2014:3) defines as "grammatical marking of how we know something": whether by seeing, hearing, inferring or through someone else's report. In some languages evidentiality occurs as a category in its own right where the primary meaning of a grammatical marker is information source (Aikhenvald 2004:1).[2] In other languages evidentiality does not occur as a distinct grammatical category; nevertheless such languages may express evidential meanings through grammatical means. In these languages information source is not the primary meaning of a grammatical marker, but another grammatical category, for example, tense or aspect, has acquired an evidential meaning.

One of the Nakh-Daghestanian languages of the Caucasus, Aghul, has been shown to have various means of expression of evidentiality (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a, 2002b, Maisak & Merdanova 2010, Ganenkov et al. 2009). The findings in Aghul raise the question: does Lezgi, a closely related language, express evidentiality in a comparable way to Aghul? This paper seeks to discover where Lezgi is located within the sphere of grammatical evidentiality, and where the meanings it thereby

[2] Aikhenvald (2004:17, 105) calls cases where information source is the default meaning of a grammatical marker *evidentiality systems*, whereas cases where other grammatical categories can have evidential extensions (contextual meanings of information source) are *evidentiality strategies.*

expresses fit in within the semantic space of evidential and other related meanings. Lezgi is the focus of this paper, since there has been little study conducted on it in this domain. My hope is that it will be part of a more profound investigation into this phenomenon.

Of the two ethnic groups, Lezgi and Aghul, the Lezgis are the larger, numbering 790,000 in all countries (Lewis et al. 2016). In the Russian Federation there are 474,000 ethnic Lezgis living in southern Daghestan, 85 percent of whom speak the language (Russian Census 2010). There are also some 364,000 Lezgis in northern Azerbaijan, and one variety is spoken in Turkey. The main population centre for the Aghuls is southern Daghestan where they live to the north-west of the Lezgis. Of the 34,000 Aghuls 86 percent speak the language (Russian Census 2010).

This paper will begin with a definition of terms relevant in the discussion (section 1), followed by a brief discussion on evidentiality in Nakh-Daghestanian languages (section 2) with a short introduction to Lezgi. I will then present a summary of evidential meanings of verb suffixes in Aghul[3] primarily on the basis of Majsak and Merdanova's (2002a) paper (section 3), as their findings constitute the starting point for my own research on similar phenomena in Lezgi. This will be followed by a discussion on what my research shows about evidentiality and verb affixes (section 4), and other verbal markers (section 5). To conclude the discussion, I will look at what role particles play in expressing evidential and related meanings (section 6), and the study is drawn together by a table and a diagram illustrating Lezgi evidential meanings and their grammatical expression (section 7).

My method of research was to work with two Lezgi native speakers, language consultants, by email using mainly the medium of Russian. One of the language consultants is from Daghestan and a speaker of the Samur (Doquzpara) dialect, and the other is from Azerbaijan and speaks the Quba dialect. Some natural texts were studied and also the extensive online Lezgian Corpus (LC) was utilised. Approximately 120 examples were elicited, containing sentences spontaneously created by the language consultants.

1. Definition of terms

The tense-aspectual terms central to the current study are 'aorist', 'perfect', 'resultative', 'imperfective, and 'perfective'. The term 'perfect' refers to a form that "expresses an action (process, or state) in the past which has continuing relevance for the present" (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988:15; see also Comrie 1976:52). The term 'resultative' refers to a form that "expresses both a state and the preceding action it has resulted from" (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988:6). In this paper Perfect[4] is used as a label for a language-specific verb form as described above. However, its prototypical

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[3] See Magometov 1967 for a general introduction to the language.
[4] Terms with an initial capital letter refer to language-specific forms (categories), whereas their meanings begin with a lower-case letter.

meaning "past action with continuing relevance" is not labeled 'perfect', but 'anterior', following Bybee et al. (1994:54).

Some linguists argue that evidentiality is part of epistemic modality (see, for example, Palmer 1986). Tatevosov (2001:445) bases his definition on Anderson (1986:274) in understanding it as a category that "shows the kind of justification for a factual claim which is available to the person making the claim", and puts evidential meanings under the general label "epistemic". In this paper evidentiality and epistemic modality are seen as distinct categories. While evidentiality relates to the source of knowledge the speaker has for her[5] statement, epistemic modality pertains to meanings showing the attitude of the speaker with regard to what she states and to her evaluation of its validity. It has to do with the degree of certainty, evaluation of necessity, possibility, or probability of the message conveyed (see Aikhenvald 2004:392, 394). However, as evidential meanings are frequently accompanied by epistemic and modal meanings, some reference will be made in this paper to these meanings.

In addition to epistemic and modal meanings, forms expressing evidential meanings may also have mirative meanings. Mirativity "refers to the marking of a proposition as representing information which is new to the speaker" (DeLancey 2001:369). Besides newness of information, mirativity can show that the information is unexpected and the speaker's mind is unprepared for it, and therefore surprise may also be involved (see Aikhenvald 2004:209).

Aikhenvald (2014:9) discusses six basic semantic parameters for describing the meaning of evidential forms: visual, sensory, inference, assumption, hearsay[6], and quotative[7]. Some of the terms, for example, "visual", show reception of information through physical processes, others, such as "inference", involve mental processes. Such terms as "hearsay" and "quotative" concern another person's speech which is relayed by the recipient.

Of the six parameters, inference, assumption, hearsay, and quotative in particular are relevant in the discussion of Lezgi and Aghul evidentiality. Inference and assumption refer both to a conclusion drawn on the basis of evidence[8], but with inference the evidence is visible or tangible, or a result, while with assumption the evidence is something other than visible results, for example, "logical reasoning…, or simply general knowledge" (Aikhenvald 2014:9). Other relevant parameters in this paper are witnessed, non-witnessed, direct, indirect, non-firsthand, and firsthand

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[5] In this paper, in the sections speaking in general about the speaker and the hearer, the pronoun "she" is used to refer to the speaker, and "he" to the hearer.
[6] Aikhenvald calls this parameter "reported". However, throughout this paper I call it "hearsay", whereas "reported" is understood as representing speech reports in general, and therefore covering both the evidential parameter "hearsay" and "quotative".
[7] See Table 2.1 in Aikhenvald (2004:64) for semantic parameters of evidentiality.
[8] Other well-known terms for "inference" vs. "assumption" are, for example, "inferential" vs. "presumptive" evidentials (see Plungian 2001:352) and "deduction" vs. "inference" (see Hengeveld & Mattos 2005:485-486).

(reception of information). In many cases the parameters overlap; for example, "indirect", "non-witnessed" and "non-firsthand" can describe the meaning of one and the same form, depending on the particular situation that is under consideration.

2. Evidentiality in Nakh-Daghestanian languages

Evidentiality features in the majority of Caucasian languages. Chirikba (2003:245) calls the evidential category "a pan-Caucasian phenomenon". In his discussion of the Caucasian Sprachbund, he gives a summary of the important linguistic features which define the Caucasian linguistic area; one of his morphological features is the category of evidentiality (Chirikba 2008:40-41).

Caucasian languages are spoken by around 11 million people in the area of the Caucasus Mountains. The languages can be further divided into South Caucasian (Kartvelian), West Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe), and East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages. The Nakh-Daghestanian group consists of some 30 languages, including the nine languages of the Lezgian subgroup. The two languages which are the focus of this study – Lezgi and Aghul – belong to the East Lezgian subgroup together with Tabasaran (Klimov 1986:82).

2.1. Evidentiality and verb categories

In general, in the Nakh-Daghestanian languages the verb displays the categories of class, tense and mood, and aspect. Tense-aspect forms are formed both synthetically and analytically. Most commonly the "general present or constative past/aorist" are formed synthetically, while progressive present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect are usually formed analytically as a combination of nonfinite forms (participles, gerunds/converbs, infinitive) and the auxiliary 'be' (Alekseev 1999).

Most Daghestanian languages have indicative, imperative, optative and conditional moods. Alekseev (1999) refers also to the category of evidentiality in that he states that some languages have "special means of expressing non-witnessedness[9] of action in indicative past tense". He also mentions that reported speech can be expressed with the help of affixes and particles. Majsak and Merdanova (2002a:1) go so far as to suggest that the grammatical expression of evidentiality may be characteristic to all languages of the Nakh-Daghestanian family.

Kibrik's (1977) work on Archi contains one of the early mentions of evidentiality in Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Godoberi is discussed by Dobrushina and Tatevosov (1996), and Tsakhur by Kibrik and Testelec (1999). In more recent years, the pace of research has increased. Comrie and Polinsky (2007) discuss evidentials in Tsez, and Forker (forthcoming: 2) discusses evidentiality in Nakh-Daghestanian languages in general. She suggests that the following are some of the typical features of Nakh-Daghestanian evidential systems:

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[9] In Russian: *заглазность*.

1. The systems are small, with the indirect evidential meaning being marked and in opposition to unmarked neutral verb forms.

2. They are "confined to the past tenses and conflated with the tense system".

3. They occur, as a rule, only in main indicative clauses.

4. They do not combine with modality: an indirect evidential does not imply the speaker's uncertainty with regard to the truth value of her utterance.

5. They interact with person (the so-called first-person effect).

Most of the Lezgian languages, including Aghul, are covered in Forker's study; Lezgi is discussed briefly in the context of quotative particles (Forker forthcoming: 20).

Tatevosov (2001) discusses evidential meanings expressed by verb forms that are labelled as "perfects" in three languages of the area: in the Lezgian language Archi, in Andic Bagvalal, and in Dargwa. He sees a strong link between the Perfects of Nakh-Daghestanian languages and the expression of indirect (inferred or reported) evidential meanings (Tatevosov 2001:443). Within Lezgi studies, Alieva (2008) has compared expression of evidentiality in Russian, English and Lezgi, and suggests in another article that Lezgi has a grammatical suffix -*č*[10] expressing modal impossibility (Alieva 2009).

2.2. Introduction to Lezgi and evidentiality

Lezgi is an agglutinating language where grammatical meanings are mainly conveyed in suffixes. Among its 18 cases it distinguishes ergative and absolutive cases, and 14 local cases. As in many Caucasian languages, the typical word order in Lezgi is AOV/SV (see van den Berg 2005:171), and head-final; for example, in noun phrases the order is adjective–noun, and relative clauses precede their head.

Verbal complexes are fairly simple in Lezgi, as there is no class, person or number agreement. In contrast, the system of tense-aspect forms is well developed (Alekseev & Šejxov 1997:46). The finite forms code various tense-aspectual categories, for example, the Aorist, Perfect, Future, and Imperfective, and moods, such as the Imperative, Hortative, Optative, Conditional and Interrogative (Haspelmath 1993). In the following example[11] in the Indicative mood the verbs consist of a verb stem and a tense/aspect affix:

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[10] The verb form thus formed would appear to be the negated form of what Haspelmath (1993:159-160) calls Archaic Future.

[11] For the Lezgi examples, I give both the (original) Cyrillic, and Latin script versions, the second line being a simplified transliteration of the Cyrillic. The Aghul examples are given only in Latin script in the form they are available in the sources. For most examples, excluding those in Haspelmath (1993), glosses are mine. Also translations from Russian are usually mine.

(1) Фи-да   им   дуст-уни-н   кӀвал-и-з,
     Fi-da   im   dust-uni-n   k'wal-i-z,
     go-FUT/HAB   3SG:ABS   friend-OBL-GEN   house-OBL-DAT

     аква-да   идаз: кӀвал-е   михьи   я
     akwa-da   idaz: k'wal-e   miẋi   ja,
     see-FUT/HAB   3SG:OBL:DAT house-INESS   clean   is

     къула-л   хуьрек   рга-зва…
     qula-l   xürek   rga-zwa…
     fireplace:OBL-SUPERESS warm.meal(ABS)   cook-IPFV

     He went to his friend's house and saw: it is clean in the house, on the hearth a
     warm meal is cooking … (Hakim 1997:83)

Although many of the Nakh-Daghestanian languages have been researched in the area of evidentiality and related categories, Lezgi has usually been only tangentially mentioned, if at all. The evidential clitic *-lda*, encoding a hearsay meaning, is most widely known (see Haspelmath 1993:148). Also the converb of the verb *luhun* 'say' is used in an evidential function as a quotative marker. These markers will be discussed in sections 5.2 and 5.3.

Lezgi has a number of particles conveying various types of "subtle pragmatic meanings" (Haspelmath 1993:241). Some of them play an important role in Lezgi for expression of evidential and related meanings. These particles will be discussed in section 6.

3. Summary of the evidential meanings of the Aghul verb

In their discussion of Aghul evidentiality, Majsak and Merdanova (2002a) define evidentiality in a similar manner to Aikhenvald (2004): evidentiality expresses "a reference to the speaker's source of information with regard to the situation about which he is speaking". Majsak and Merdanova discuss mainly indirect evidentiality, and specifically inferential and hearsay meanings. With inference, evidential meanings expressed are "based on visible or tangible evidence or result" (Aikhenvald 2014:9), whereas with hearsay information, the speaker shows that she is passing on information received from someone else, without "reference to who it was reported by" (Aikhenvald 2014:9).

In Aghul the two basic past-tense forms, Aorist and Perfect[12], form an opposition with regard to evidentiality. Aghul has also another past-tense form expressing evidential meanings: the Past Resultative General Factual, which, in

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[12] In their paper, Majsak and Merdanova (2002a) called these two forms Perfect and Resultative. However, in a more recent article by Majsak (2012:228) these two forms are called Aorist and Perfect, which terms are used in the current study. See also Majsak & Merdanova (2016:385-388) for a description of the Aghul Aorist.

addition to resultative meanings, can show inference (Majsak & Merdanova, 2002a:8). Also the marker -*ʁaj*, which attaches to verbs, expresses hearsay meanings (Maisak & Merdanova 2010:9). In the following sections I will discuss first the basic aspectual meanings of the Aorist and Perfect, and then move on to their evidential meanings.

3.1. Aspectual opposition of the Aorist and Perfect

The Aghul Aorist and Perfect differ both aspectually and evidentially. While the Aorist expresses an aspectually perfective meaning, "completion of a situation before the moment of speech" (Majsak 2012:266), a form in the Perfect can express both a resultative meaning, expressing "a state as a natural result of a limited process", and an anterior meaning, depicting "the relevance of a result for the current moment" (Majsak 2012:262-263). The following examples show the aspectual difference between Aorist and Perfect.

If someone comes into a cold room and asks, "Why is it so cold?", the answers may be as in examples 2 and 3.

(2)   zun   dak'ar   **daqu-ne**
        I(ERG) window(ABS)   open-AOR
        I **opened** the window. (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:2)

 (3)   dak'ar   **daqu-naa**
        window(ABS)   open-PERF
        The window **is open/has been opened.** (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:2)

In example 2 with the Aorist *daqune* 'opened' the carrying out of the action in the past is in focus. In example 3 the Perfect form *daqunaa* 'is open/has been opened' is interpreted as resultative: the emphasis is on the resulting state that has come about.

The stative meaning of the Aghul Perfect visible in example 3 occurs mainly with semantically telic verbs, which is understandable, since telic verbs express actions which have to reach a specific goal or an end state (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:4, see also Frawley 1992:302). It is when the form is attached to other than telic verbs where evidential meanings come to the fore.

3.2. Perfect and the evidential meaning of inference

When the Perfect form is used, the action itself may have been observed by the speaker, or she may have just witnessed the end result. If the speaker observes just the result, she can draw conclusions on the basis of it concerning the event. If Musa comes home and sees a coat hanging in the hall and recognises it as belonging to his friend Ali, he infers from visible evidence that Ali has arrived:

(4)   ʔali   **adi-naa**
        Ali   come-PERF
        Ali has come. (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:4)

This meaning of inference is one type of indirect evidentiality. It indicates that Musa was not a witness of the situation he is describing, but acquired information about it through indirect means. The same utterance can also receive an aspectual, anterior interpretation. If Musa comes home and his wife says about his friend Ali what is shown in example 4, by using the Perfect form she indicates that the fact that Ali has come is still valid (see Majsak and Merdanova 2002a:3).

The inferential meaning can occur in two types of context: firstly, when the state resulting from the event can be identified only indirectly (example 5), and secondly, when the resulting state is no longer evident, but can be discerned only from some indirect signs (example 3) (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:5-6). The former can happen especially with atelic verbs and verbs of perception. For example, if a mother sees her daughter with traces of tears on her cheeks, she can draw an inference on the basis of this external evidence:

(5)   ge   **ʔašu-naa**
        3SG   cry-PERF(INFER)
        She has been crying[13]. (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:5)

The second type of inference is visible in example 3, earlier shown with a resultative interpretation (see section 3.1). If someone comes into the room and, even though the window is closed, says,

(3)   dak'ar   **daqu-naa**
        window(ABS)   open-PERF(INFER) (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:2)

the meaning is that of inference: 'the window was opened (and it is no longer open)' (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:5). The speaker has drawn her conclusion based on some visible evidence. With the inferential interpretation the resultative meaning is retained only in a weakened way: instead of a meaning of state directly resulting from an action, the form expresses an "echo" of the action itself (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:6). The resultative meaning gets fused with the evidential meaning of inference, and the emphasis partially shifts from expressing a state to indicating the preceding action.

The inferential interpretation of the Perfect is usually not possible with first-person subjects, since the speaker tends to be aware of the events she is involved in. However, first person is allowed in connection with "uncontrollable and non-observed situations", which can be identified only indirectly (Majsak & Merdanova

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[13] In Russian: *она опять плакала*.

2002a: 5). For example, if someone is sneezing and running a fever, she may conclude:

(6) za-s   Ha-f,   zun   **it:ar-x-u-naa**[14]
     1SG.OBL-DAT   know-NML.R   1SG(ABS)   be.sick-become-PFV-PERF(INFER)
     I think I have become unwell. (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:5)

This is an example of "first-person effect", where the indirect evidential has a meaning to do with "lack of intention, control, awareness and volition on the part of the speaker" (Aikhenvald 2014:30)[15]. This phenomenon is attested in many languages with grammatical expression of evidential meanings (see Pan 2014:99-100 for Austronesian Saaroa; Greed 2014:73-74 for Turkic Tatar).

3.3. Perfect and Aorist: non-witnessed vs. witnessed

In certain contexts the Aghul Perfect loses its resultative meaning, and the event meaning becomes more accentuated. In such a situation the Perfect form indicates that the event was not witnessed by the speaker. The meaning of inference shifts to a hearsay evidential meaning, where the resulting state is no longer in focus, and the action itself comes to the fore. In this way the Perfect becomes evidentially marked, referring to non-firsthand, hearsay information (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:3, 6).

In the following example the use of the Perfect shows that the speaker did not witness the event but is speaking about it on the basis of someone else's words.

(7) ge   **adi-naa**   če   Xulas,
     3SG   come-PERF(NWIT)   our   house:DAT

     lat:aqu-naa   lakar,   **uq'u-naa**   ustul-iq,
     take.off-PERF(NWIT)   shoes(ABS)   sit.down-PERF(NWIT)   table-POST

     "lix   **pu-naa**   ustulil   ʔareq'i"
     put   say-PERF(NWIT)   table:SUPER   vodka(ABS)

[As was told to me] he came to our home, took off his shoes, sat down at the table and said, "Put vodka on the table." (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:3)

In contrast, were the speaker to use the Aorist, she would indicate that she herself witnessed the event. However, in addition to the witnessed interpretation, the Aorist can also be neutral with regard to evidential value, being the most neutral "narrative tense" (see Majsak 2012:266). The Perfect can also be used as a specific

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[14] Majsak & Merdanova 2002a use the macron to indicate geminate consonants; I use a colon following Maisak 2008.

[15] See also Curnow's (2003) discussion on different types of expression of nonvolitionality through evidentials.

narrative form in fairy tales, legends and retellings of stories not experienced firsthand (Majsak 2012:263). Thus both forms can function as genre markers, tokens (see Aikhenvald 2004:310) signalling specific genres.

3.4. Past Resultative General Factual: inference and assumption

Aghul has another verb form which conveys a meaning close to inference, the Past Resultative General Factual. It is formed from the Perfect/Resultative participle *-na-jef* and the Present copula *e* (Majsak & Merdanova 2016:382). The basic meaning and function of the marker is tense-aspectual, indicating a past action whose result is still valid at the moment of speech, even if the action was completed a long time ago.

In the context of example 8 someone comes into the room and asks the speaker to open the window. The speaker answers,

(8)   zun   **daqu-najefe**   dak'ar
       1SG(ERG)   open-P.R.G.F   window(ABS)
       I (have) already opened the window. (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:7)

The use of the Past Resultative General Factual indicates that the performed action retains its validity.

The Past Resultative General Factual can receive an evidential reading also in a context where the speaker did not witness the event but assumes that it has taken place. If the speaker sees her daughter behaving in a strange manner as if she had cried but there is no visible evidence of this, she may comment:

(9)   ge   **ʔašu-najefe**
       3SG   cry-P.R.G.F
       Apparently she has been crying/She must have been crying[16]. (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:8)

Majsak and Merdanova (2002a:7-8) state that the form is located at the intersection of evidentiality and epistemic modality in that the inferential meaning is accompanied by a "subjective" epistemic evaluation by the speaker, and they call this a meaning of "weakened" inference. As this meaning is a conclusion based on evidence other than visible results, within the evidential parameters used in this paper such a meaning is called assumption.

4. Evidential meanings of the Lezgi verb

In the following sections I will first compare Lezgi past tense forms with Aghul and then discuss the evidential status of the Lezgi Aorist and Perfect. This will

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[16] In Russian: *похоже она плакала*.

be followed by a brief discussion on other verb constructions with evidential meaning.

4.1. Basic past tense forms of Lezgi

As we saw in section 3, in Aghul the main past tense forms, Aorist formed with -*ne* and Perfect formed with -*naa,* are in aspectual opposition with one another. The main past tense forms of Lezgi are also called the Aorist and the Perfect, and they form an aspectual opposition. The Aorist is formed from the Aorist (or Perfective) stem with the suffix -*na*[17], and the Perfect consists of the Aorist (Perfective) stem and the suffix -*n(a)wa*[18].

The following table compares the Lezgi and Aghul forms of the verb 'do'.

TABLE 1. Main past tense forms of Lezgi and Aghul.

Lezgi ('do' *awun*)			Aghul ('do' *aq'as*)		
Aorist	*awu-na* do(AOR.STEM)-AOR	> *awuna*	Aorist	*aq'u-na+e* do-CVB.PFV+COP	> *aq'une*
Perfect	*awu-na+awa* do-CVB.AOR+COP(LOC)	> *awunwa*	Perfect	*aq'u-na+a* do-CVB.PFV+COP(LOC)	> *aq'unaa*

The Lezgi Aorist refers to "perfective events in the past" (Haspelmath 1993:142). Alekseev and Šejxov (1997:47), who call this form Past I, define it as expressing an action which took place in the past "without specifying the conditions of its progression". The Aghul Aorist is described by Majsak and Merdanova (2002b:19) as referring to "an event, limited by a temporal frame, which is viewed as a whole from the position of an outside observer". Both the Aghul Aorist and the Lezgi Aorist overlap and cover semantically similar areas, and their definitions come close to how Bybee et al. (1994:317) define 'perfective': "the situation is viewed as bounded temporally". These are also the main forms used in narratives (see Majsak & Merdanova 2002b:19 and Haspelmath 1993:142).

The default meaning of the Lezgi Perfect is the anterior meaning, expressing a past event with current relevance (Haspelmath 1993:143; see also Alekseev & Šejxov's (1997:49) description of Past III). It can also express resultative meanings, where the state resulting from the action is at issue. This happens especially with verbs of posture ('sit down'), and some others ('fall asleep', 'get into a state') (Haspelmath 1993:144), that is, telic verbs. As was the case with the Lezgi Aorist and

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[17] The Aorist form is opaque with regard to its origin. In the affirmative, the Aorist is homophonous with the Aorist converb, with both having the marker -*na*. As the origin of the Aghul Aorist is more transparent, and involves a perfective converb and a copula *e*, Majsak (2012:241-242) suggests that the Lezgi form might also originate from a converb with -*na* and a copula, provisionally reconstructed as **a*. In contemporary Lezgi the standard copula 'be' is *ja*.

[18] The Perfect suffix originates from a complex form consisting of the Aorist converb -*na* and the copula *awa* 'be in' (Haspelmath 1994:275-276).

the Aghul Aorist, also the Lezgi Perfect and Aghul Perfect overlap in their aspectual meanings.

In the following, the Lezgi Aorist and Perfect are contrasted. Example 10 shows the Aorist, example 11 the Perfect with its anterior meaning, and example 12 the Perfect in its resultative use.

(10)   Алиди   къапар   **чуьхве-на**.
        Alidi   qapar   **čüxwe-na**.
        Ali:ERG   dish(ABS)   wash-AOR
        Ali washed the dishes. (AK 1:3[19])

Example 10 is a statement about an event that took place in the past. The event is viewed as a whole.

(11)   Алиди   къапар   **чуьхве-нва**.
        Alidi   qapar   **čüxwe-nwa**.
        Ali:ERG   dish(ABS)   wash-PERF(ANT)
        Ali has washed the dishes. (AK 1:4)

The utterance of example 11 in the Perfect can occur, for example, in a situation where Ali's mother comes home and his father wants to indicate that if she had thought of washing the dishes, Ali has already done it (AK), thus the action still retains its relevance at the moment of speech.

Example 12 is from the beginning of a new narrative section, and it is setting the scene for action – the kolkhozniks starting to prepare for the spring. The verb *ek'janawa* shows the result of the snow blanket spreading out onto the terrain, and describes the scene (OP).[20]

(12)   Чуьллерал,   рекьер-хулерал,   дерейрал-ни
        Čülleral,   req'er-xuleral,   derejral-ni
        fields:OBL:SUPER   ways_roads:OBL:SUPER   valleys:OBL:SUPER-ADD

        тепейрал,   лацу   ва   къалин
        tepejral,   lacu   wa   qalin
        hills:OBL:SUPER   white   and   thick

        юргъан   **экӀя-нава**.
        jurǧan   **ek'ja-nawa**.
        blanket   spread_out-PERF(RESULT)

The fields, ways and roads, valleys and hills are covered with a blanket of white and thick snow. (LC: Ėfendiev, Zijaudin, 1965. *Hülün lepejar* [The Waves of the Sea])

4.2. Evidential status of the Lezgi Aorist

Majsak and Merdanova (2002a) discuss the evidentiality status of the Aghul Aorist mainly in the context of narrative texts, showing that the Aorist and Perfect can form an opposition in such contexts. While the Aorist conveys the meanings of witnessed, and direct reception of information, the Perfect expresses the meanings of non-witnessed and indirect reception of information, specifically, the evidential meaning hearsay (see section 3.3). As a rule the Aorist is used if the speaker has witnessed the event herself.

In Lezgi, the Aorist is used to state that an event took place in the past. It is an action that happened "without pause" (AK), an event that is viewed in its entirety. The Aorist form may convey witnessed meaning, as in the following example:

(13)   Таралай   ич   **ават-на**.
        Taralaj   ič   **awat-na**.
        tree:OBL:SUPEREL   apple(ABS) fall-AOR
        An apple fell from the tree. (OP 3:3)

Here the event happened "before one's eyes" (OP). However, the Aorist does not necessarily always signal that the speaker saw the event; she may have found out about it indirectly, from other sources (see Gajdarov et al. 2009:191). Thus the form can be used of both witnessed and non-witnessed situations. Example 14 can occur both in a context where the speaker had herself witnessed what she was recounting, and in a context where she had not seen the event but was reporting an eye-witness's account.

(14)   Накь   а-да-н   мехъер   **хьа-на**.
        Naq'   a-da-n   meqʰer   **x̂a-na**.
        yesterday   3SG-OBL-GEN   wedding(ABS)   be-AOR
        Yesterday his/her wedding took place. (AK 2:2)

As a rule, the Lezgi Aorist -*na* does not specify the source of information; it is neutral, unmarked with regard to it. However, when contrasting it with the Perfect form, whose meaning does not focus on the happening of the event but to its continuing present relevance, the Aorist is more readily used in firsthand witnessed situations, and also in non-firsthand situations where the speaker relies on information received from someone else and regards the information as reliable (AK). In such a situation it combines evidential and modal meanings.

4.3. Evidential status of the Lezgi Perfect

As we saw, the Lezgi Perfect displays anterior and resultative aspectual meanings, the anterior meaning being the default one. We will now investigate whether it can also signal the indirect evidential meaning of inference that Majsak and Merdanova (2002a) found in Aghul.

According to Tatevosov (2001:443) in Nakh-Daghestanian languages perfects "originate from the same lexical source, resemble each other in signaling that the speaker's statement is based on indirect evidence, either inferred or reported, but differ as to the additional uses they have". As far as Aghul is concerned, its Perfect displays indirect evidentiality, but only in specific circumstances. Therefore the indirect meaning is an extension of the anterior (or resultative) meaning of the Perfect. I will argue below that the Lezgi Perfect can also convey the evidential meaning of inference.

4.3.1. Meanings of anterior and inference contrasted

Dahl's (2000:804) Perfect Questionnaire was used to elicit the following examples. Two contexts are contrasted:

Context 1. A comes from the kitchen very agitated and tells B what he has just witnessed happening there (Dahl 2000:804, E58). The following two forms are possible for this context, the first one using the Aorist:

(15) A: КицI-и   чи   торт   **тIуь-на**!
          Kic'-i   či   tort   **t'ü-na**!
          dog-ERG   our   cake(ABS)   eat-AOR
          The dog ate our cake! (AK 2:22)

By using the Aorist form the speaker states that the event of eating the cake took place.

The second possible sentence is with Perfect:

(16a) A: КицI-и   чи   торт   **тIуь-нва**!
          Kic'-i   či   tort   **t'ü-nwa**!
          dog-ERG   our   cake(ABS)   eat-PERF(ANT)
          The dog has eaten our cake! (AK 2:23)

According to a language consultant, in example 16 it is as if the event continues in the mind of the speaker (AK). Thus, the event is still relevant at the moment of speech, which is a regular anterior meaning of the Perfect form.

Context 2. A comes from the kitchen where he has just seen the sad remains of the cake. He tells B what he assumes to have happened. (Dahl 2000:804, E59.) In the second context the language consultant gives the same two options as for the first context, that is, sentences with the Aorist and the Perfect forms. However, he

comments that in this context the sentence with the Perfect form is more appropriate. Since the speaker did not witness the dog eating the cake, he is inferring from the evidence what must have happened. Thus this is a case where the Perfect form is used in the meaning of inference:

(16b) A: КицӀ-и   чи   торт   **тӀуь-нва**!
            Kic'-i   či   tort   **t'ü-nwa**!
            dog-ERG   our   cake(ABS)   eat-PERF(INFER)
            The dog has/must have eaten our cake! (AK 2:23)

In an example from a folk story, Musa has swapped wives with Isa in the hope of getting a more obedient wife in place of his first wife. Later Musa comes to visit Isa and observes how his former wife has changed: the house is clean and a warm meal is cooking on the hearth. It is clear from the context that he did not witness his former wife's actions, but makes an inference on the basis of the tangible evidence:

(17)   Адакай   халис   паб   **хьа-нва**   хьи?
       Adakaj   xalis   pab   **x̂a-nwa**   x̂i?
       3SG:SUBEL   real   wife(ABS)   become-PERF(INFER)   PTCL
       But she has become a real wife! (Hakim 1997:83)

The Perfect form receives the reading of inference in addition to its anterior/resultative meaning. The particle *x̂i* adds an assertive nuance to the exclamation.

4.3.2. Inference and epistemic uncertainty

In listing typical features of Nakh-Daghestanian evidentiality, Forker (see section 2.1) suggests that Nakh-Daghestanian evidentiality systems do not combine with modality. The translation consultant gave three possible contexts for the following example.

(18)   Зи   пул   на   **акъуд-нава**!
       Zi   pul   na   **aqud-nawa**!
       my   money(ABS)   you(ERG)   take.away-PERF
       You have stolen my money! (Haspelmath 1993:143)

The contexts are:

1. The speaker saw the event of stealing. In this case, the Perfect form expresses an anterior meaning, as the stealing is still relevant.

2. It appears to the speaker that the person accused stole the money[21]. The speaker may be drawing a conclusion from visible evidence, for example, from

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[21] The consultant stated in Russian: *если ему так кажется* (OP 4:1:b).

seeing money in the other person's hands, and thus inferring that the other person was the thief. Or she may base her claim on logical reasoning, and therefore expressing an assumption.

   3. If the speaker did not witness the stealing, she may base her statement on a witness's words (OP 4:1; AK 3:1).

   The tentative conclusion is that even though the Lezgi Aorist is often interpreted as conveying reliable information, the Perfect does not receive an opposite interpretation, conveying doubt or uncertainty with regard to the truth value of the statement. This coincides with Forker's statement about evidentials not combining with modality. See, however, section 5.1 where a construction conveying the evidential meaning of assumption is shown to express epistemic uncertainty.

4.3.3. Inference in first-person contexts and mirativity
   Inference is normal in third-person contexts where the speaker observes some outside evidence of an event and draws a conclusion on the basis of it as to what must have happened. As the speaker is usually conscious of what happens to her, inference in a first-person context is less common. We saw that the Aghul Perfect can receive an inferential interpretation in first-person contexts where the speaker is not in control of the situation (see section 3.2).
   The following is an example elicited on the basis of the Aghul example 6. It has first-person context and a Perfect verb form.

(19) За-з   чи-з,   зун   **тӀа_хьа-нва**.
      Za-z   či-z,   zun   **t'a_x̂a-nwa**.
      I.OBL-DAT   know-INF/PURP   I.ABS   hurt-PERF
      I think I have become unwell. (AK 6:10)

   In this situation the speaker appears to have observed from the evidence her state of health without having been conscious of catching anything. So, on the surface the Perfect could be interpreted as inference in first-person context. However, the inference-type meaning is realised only in the context of the first clause "I think". By itself the clause containing the Perfect form conveys either an anterior meaning ("I have become unwell"), or a resultative meaning of state ("I am unwell"), without any evidential nuances[22].
   The following example, which is based on Tatevosov (2007:416), might contain a first-person effect. The context is the following: Ali is looking for his axe

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[22] In a recent article, which I discovered too late to use in the preparation and analysis of the Lezgi data, Majsak and Merdanova (2016:399) present a less ambiguous example of first-person effect in Aghul than example 6 in section 3.2. The speaker says, after having realised that he has mixed up the seeds he was sowing, *zun sül **uzu-naa**, χabar-ra a-dawa-j!* I rye **SOW-PERF** message-ADD be_in-NEG-CVB '(Apparently) I have sown rye, without noticing it myself!' (Glosses follow the conventions of this paper.)

and since he cannot find it he concludes that his son has taken it. In the end he finds it in his own rucksack and says:

(20)   Нажах   за   **къачу-нва**!
        Nažax   za   **qaču-nwa**!
        axe(ABS)   I(ERG)   take-PERF
        It is me that took the axe! (AK 7:1)

In this context Ali was not conscious of having taken the axe, so it is a situation where the speaker encounters something that is "new and not yet part of [the speaker's] integrated picture [of the world]", as DeLancey (1997:49) explains mirativity. Thus in this wider understanding of the term mirativity, the Lezgi Perfect would seem to be compatible with displaying mirative meanings. Even if example 20 does express newness, according to the language consultant, it does not convey a nuance of surprise[23]. This is also the case with Aghul (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:6, footnote 4). It is, however, possible that the meaning of newness is not present in the Perfect form, but shown by the inverted word order where the object *axe* is in the topic position and the subject *za* in the focal position, immediately before the verb (as reflected in the free translation). Without further evidence, the existence of inference in first-person contexts is inconclusive.

4.3.4. Path of development of the Lezgi Perfect

Aikhenvald (2003: 20) states that it is typically a perfective verb form or a form in a "perfect-like tense" that conveys an inferential or a non-witnessed meaning. In their discussion on the paths of development of resultatives and anteriors Bybee et al. (1994:104-105) mention two possible paths: resultatives may develop inferential meanings and become markers of indirect evidence, or they may first develop into anteriors, which then develop into perfectives or simple pasts. Tatevosov (2001:460) comments on the development of the Perfect of Bagvalal and Dargwa that in both languages the Perfect can be used in the resultative, anterior and evidential indirect meanings, and argues that "this is a case where a single form gradually acquires new meanings without losing older ones" (Tatevosov 2001:460).

This is also the case with the Lezgi Perfect: it can display anterior, resultative, and inferential meanings. However, it is not clear in what direction the path is progressing: whether the evidential meanings are developing from the resultative (as Bybee et al. suggest), or from the anterior meanings. On the basis of his cross-

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[23] Alekseev and Šejxov (1997:51-52) mention a form they call Past II formed from a participle with the suffix -*a*, which expresses "a completed action whose happening was unexpected to the speaker": *Za am qweč luhuzwaj,* ***ataj-a*** *x̂i* 1(ERG) 3(ABS) come:NEG say:IPFV:PAST **come-PASTII** PTCL(DISC) 'I thought he would not come, however, he did'. Haspelmath (1993: 158) calls this form Archaic Preterit, since it does not occur in the modern standard language. When tested with one of the language consultants, he did not find it an acceptable form. See also Gajdarov et al. (2009:192-193).

linguistic observations, Tatevosov (2001:462) suggests that "anteriors with their more generalized and abstract meaning are more likely to produce evidential categories than resultatives, which are semantically more specific and more dependent on the surrounding lexical context". He offers the three Nakh-Daghestanian languages of his study to support this claim.

What Tatevosov suggests is supported also from the Lezgi data. As we have seen, anterior meanings can receive the evidential interpretation of inference. However, in Lezgi also the resultative meaning can acquire an additional inferential meaning. The following example is from a context where a doctor and his helpers discover a woman lying in a carriage. The doctor feels the woman's forehead and finds it very cold. A dialogue ensues between the doctor and the carriage driver:

(21)   a. – Им   **кье-нва**   хьи,   лагьана   духтур-дай
        a. – Im   **q'e-nwa**   x̂i,   lahana   duxtur-daj
            this(ABS) die-PERF(RESULT&INFER) PTCL   QUOT   doctor-INELAT

        гьарай   акъатна.
        haraj   aqatna.
        cry(ABS)   let_out:AOR

        – But she is dead, cried out the doctor.

        b. – Ваъ,   лагьана   арабачиди,
        b. – Waʔ,   lahana   arabačidi,
            no   say:AOR   carriage_driver:ERG

        ам   **кса-нва**.
        am   **ksa-nwa**.
        3SG(ABS) sleep-PERF(RESULT)

        – No, said the carriage driver, she is sleeping.

        c. – Кса-нва-й-ди   туш,   им   кье-нва-й-ди   я.
        c. – Ksa-nwa-j-di   tuš   im   q'e-nwa-j-di   ja
            sleep-PERF-PTCP-NML.R COP.NEG this(ABS) die-PERF-PTCP-NML.R COP

         – Not sleeping, she is dead. (LC: From Qaziev, Qazi, 1959. *Sajmat*)

In 21a. the verb *q'e-* 'die' is a verb expressing a change of state. In its Perfect form it refers to the result of dying, and receives a resultative reading. At the same time, it is also interpreted as an inference, as the doctor draws from tangible evidence the conclusion that the woman has died.

When Majsak and Merdanova (2002a:6-7) discuss the paths of development of the Aghul forms of Aorist and Perfect, they suggest that the Perfect conveying the resultative meaning has developed to cover first an inferential meaning, and (as is

visible in example 7) it is in the process of developing into a non-witnessed past.[24] The Aorist form, on the other hand, "originally most likely having been a resultative" (Majsak & Merdanova 2002a:6), now covers meanings of both perfect/anterior and perfective past. Both the Aghul Perfect and the Lezgi Perfect appear to be following somewhat similar paths of development.

With regard to the non-witnessed meaning found in Aghul, in the texts studied and in consultation with the language consultants no evidence was found for the Lezgi Perfect having an equivalent non-witnessed meaning to the Aghul Perfect. Thus the Aghul Perfect appears to have advanced further on the path towards acquiring a non-witnessed past meaning than the Lezgi Perfect.

4.4. Evidential opposition of verb forms in a Lezgi variety of Turkey

In addition to Daghestan and Azerbaijan, a small minority of ethnic Lezgis live in Turkey. Of these, the Lezgi language is spoken by some 1,200 Lezgis (Lewis et al. 2016). In the 1980s when Marianne Beerle-Moor published her seminal research on the Lezgi verb, there were three main Lezgi-speaking villages in Turkey (Moor 1985:xxii-xxiv). One of these villages is in Kirne in the Balikesir region. The unwritten Lezgi dialect of Kirne is close to the Güne dialect on which standard Lezgi is based.

In her research on the dialect of Kirne Beerle-Moor (2016 p. c.) discovered that in this dialect grammatical expression of evidentiality plays an important role in the narrative genre. The Aorist, formed with -*na*, and the Habitual/Future, formed with -*da*, which are neutral with regard to evidentiality in standard Lezgi, mark a narrative as being witnessed by the speaker. In contrast, the Perfect, formed with -*nwa*, and the Imperfective, formed with -*zwa* – both originating from a converb and the locative copula *awa* – express a non-witnessed meaning. This meaning can be strengthened by an optional clitic -*miš*. The clitic would appear to be a borrowing of the Turkish Perfect suffix -*mIş*, which can receive a non-witnessed evidential interpretation (see Lewis 2000:122). Authier (2010:15-16) discusses a similar clitic -*mIş* in another Lezgian language Kryz, where the marker has been borrowed from Azerbaijani.

As for the past-tense forms Aorist and Perfect displaying the witnessed–non-witnessed opposition, this is typical of many Nakh-Daghestanian languages, as pointed out by Forker (see section 2.1). Also more generally, as far as tenses are concerned, the past tense is where the "maximum number of evidential specifications is found" (Aikhenvald 2014:10). What is of special interest is that in the Kirne dialect the evidential function is extended to the non-past verb forms: the Future/Habitual -*da* expresses the meaning of witnessed information, in contrast with the Imperfective -*zwa* which signals non-witnessed information. This is little

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[24] In Russian: заглазное прошедшее.

attested both with Nakh-Daghestanian languages, and in the expression of evidentiality in general.

5. Other verbal constructions and markers with evidential meanings

5.1. Assumption and epistemic uncertainty

The two basic evidential parameters which have to do with cognitive processes are inference and assumption. Lezgi has a verbal construction which expresses the latter meaning.

In the second clause of example 21c we saw the following construction:

(21)c. им   кье-нва-й-ди   я
im   q'e-nwa-j-di   ja
this(ABS)   die-PERF-PTCP-NML.R COP
She is dead.

The periphrastic construction *q'enwajdi ja* consists of a nominalized Participle and the copula *ja* 'be'. Haspelmath (1993:347-348) calls such constructions "predicative substantivized participles", and their one major function is to characterise "the subject by means of an event in which it participates".

When a nominalized equative particle *x̂tin* 'like' is added to this construction, it may acquire an evidential meaning of assumption. Example 22 shows what the speaker says after she has seen a coat that she thinks she recognises:

(22)   Али   ата-нва-й   хьтин-ди   я.
Ali   ata-nwa-j   x̂tin-di   ja.
Ali   come-PERF-PTCP   like-NML.R   COP
It looks like Ali has come. (Literally: 'Like Ali having come is.') (AK 2:4)

The speaker draws a conclusion based on logical reasoning and general knowledge and assumes that the event has taken place. In addition to an evidential meaning, this verbal construction expresses an epistemic meaning of uncertainty, thus illustrating the fact that the evidential meaning of assumption contains more readily a nuance of uncertainty than pure inference, which is based on visual evidence.

The final two evidential markers differ from the other verb forms and constructions discussed above, in that they are both evidentials proper, according to Aikhenvald's (2004:3) terms: their default meaning is an evidential one. Both of them have to do with speech reports, and they are formed from the speech verb *luhun* 'speak'. They mark the reported speech as hearsay or quoted information, thus functioning as hearsay and quotative evidentials.

5.2. Verbal clitic *-lda* expressing hearsay

An evidential expressing a hearsay meaning conveys reported information without referring to the original speaker. In Lezgi, if the speaker wishes to show explicitly that an event was not witnessed by her, she can add the clitic *-lda* to her utterance (see example 23). The marker *-lda* follows a common route for forming evidentials, as it originates from a grammaticalised verb (see Aikhenvald 2004:140, 271), the Habitual/Future form *luhuda* of the verb *luhun* 'speak'.

(23) Накь   а-да-н   мехъер   хьа-на-**лда**.
      naq'   a-da-n   meqʰer   x̂a-na-**lda**.
      yesterday   3SG-OBL-GEN   wedding   be-AOR-HEARSAY
      Yesterday his (her) wedding took place, they say. (AK 2:1)

Aghul has a similar hearsay marker *-ʁaj* (Ganenkov et al. 2009:7), which is also a grammaticalised form of the speech verb *aʁas* 'say, tell'. This type of hearsay evidential is common in, for example, Turkic languages (see Greed 2014:78 for Tatar), and has been attested in the Siberian language isolate Nivkh (see Gruzdeva 2016:184).

The clitic *-lda* does not have many limitations of use. According to Haspelmath (1993:148), it can be attached to any finite indicative verb form which is not negated or does not contain the Past affix *-j*. In example 24 the marker *-lda* is followed by the Past affix, with the result that the scope of the affix is not the Imperfective verb form with *-zwa*, but the hearsay marker itself, yielding a meaning of hearsay in the past [25].

(24) Али   футбол   къугъва-зва-**лда-й**.
      Ali   futbol   quǧwa-zwa-**lda-j**.
      Ali   football   play-IPFV-HEARSAY-PAST
      It was said that Ali was playing football. (AK 2:7)

5.3. Quotative formed with *luhun*

A quotative evidential, like a hearsay evidential, conveys reported information but it differs from the latter in giving an overt reference to the quoted source (Aikhenvald 2004:367). In many languages quotative markers originate from a grammaticalised verb. In Lezgi a converb of the speech verb *luhun* is used as a quotative marker in certain contexts both for direct (see example 25) and indirect speech.

(25) Гада-ди,   Зун   кӏвал-е   амукь-да!, –
      Gada-di,   Zun   k'wal-e   amuq'-da!, –
      boy-ERG   I:ABS   house-INESS   stay-FUT

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[25] I am grateful to Martin Dillig and a reviewer for drawing my attention to this.

лагьа-на	гьарай-на.
laha-na	haraj-na.
say-AOR.CVB(QUOT)	scream-AOR

The boy screamed, "I will stay at home!" (Haspelmath 1993:355)

This is an example of what Haspelmath calls the "*luhun* strategy". It is used when the direct speech is in the canonical position of a direct object, that is, preceding the verb of the speech orienter, and the speech verb is other than *luhun* 'say', as, for instance, 'scream' in example 25.

In standard (written) Lezgi this quotative marker appears to be on the path to grammaticalisation[26], in that it functions as a complementiser, and not just for speech reports, but also with verbs of thinking and predicates expressing emotion (Haspelmath 1993:368). In oral speech, at least in the Quba dialect spoken in Azerbaijan, there are signs that this grammaticalisation has gone even further. Donet (2014:118) has researched Quba oral stories, and when explaining the repeated use of the quotative marker *lahana* (the Aorist converb of *luhun*) which is often reduced to *lna* in storytelling, he suggests that this form has become a grammaticalised marker, indicating that the speech is continuing.

6. Evidential and related meanings expressed with particles

Lezgi has experienced considerable Turkic influence especially from Azerbaijani (Haspelmath 1993:26; see also Chirikba 2008:71-73) due to the many centuries of language contact. Like most Turkic languages, Azerbaijani can express evidential meanings with the Perfect form and an "evidential copula" *-ymIş*, even though their use is diminishing (Authier 2010:17, see also Širaliev & Sevortjan 1971:125-127). As "[e]videntiality is extremely prone to diffusion" (Aikhenvald 2003:21), it is interesting to observe that the Turkic influence on verbal evidentiality has not spread further in Lezgi, even though Lezgi and Azerbaijani have functional similarities in their Perfect forms. As we saw earlier, in Aghul the development of different extensions of meaning of the Perfect form has advanced further than in Lezgi – if indeed these evidential meanings are due to language contact.

Nevertheless, evidential meanings expressed grammatically do not limit themselves to verbal forms. Lezgi has a wealth of discourse particles, including a few which convey evidential and related meanings. To round off the discussion of Lezgi evidential meanings, in this final section we will look at some of the relevant particles in the context of declarative sentences.

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[26] Cf, for example, the Turkish grammaticalised converb *diye*, formed from speech verb *de-* and used as a quotative marker (see Göksel & Gerslake 2005:408), and the Bashkir grammaticalised converb *tip*, functioning as a cuotative (Greed, forthcoming).

6.1. Particle *man* expressing inference

The particle *man* receives different interpretations depending on the context. One of the two main meanings is "a conclusion reached on the basis of indirect evidence", and the other one is "a weak exhortation or request" (Haspelmath 1993: 241). The first one of these is an evidential meaning of inference:

(26) АкӀ   хьа-йи-ла   Шафига   Девлета-н   руш
      Ak'   x̂a-ji-la,   Šafiga   Dewleta-n   ruš
      so   be-AOP-TEMP   Šafiga   Dewlet:OBL-GEN   daughter

      я   **ман**.
      ja   **man**.
      COP   PTCL(INFER)

So Šafiga must be Dewlet's daughter. (Haspelmath 1993:241)

In this meaning *man* often occurs in conjunction with a sentence-initial *ak' x̂ajila*, 'hence'.

6.2. Particles expressing mirative meanings

6.2.1. Particle *ha*

Like most Lezgi particles, the particle *ha* also occurs sentence-finally, and its scope is the whole utterance. In a short story "The Girl Who Doesn't Eat Fish", Zemfira shows her mother a bagful of live fish which she received from her father, and the mother starts considering how to prepare them for a meal. Zemfira exclaims:

(27) Чан_алай-бур   я   **гьа**!
      Čan_alaj-bur   ja   **ha**!
      living-PL   COP   PTCL(MIRAT)
      They are alive! (MD1 5:1)

The particle *ha* expresses a mirative meaning of surprise.

6.2.2. *q'wan*

The particle *q'wan* occurs in both declarative and question sentences (see Haspelmath 1993:243, 430). One of the five main meanings of the particle in a declarative sentence is 'it turned out'. It usually follows the finite verb (see Haspelmath 1993: 241). In example 28 Musa is searching for his cat in his house, and then the story continues:

(28) A   гьайван-ни   къула-н   тӀеквен-да
      A   hajwan-ni   qula-n   t'ekwen-da
      that   animal-ADD(EMPH)   oven:OBL-GEN   hole:OBL-INESS

      кса-нва-й   **кьван**.
      ksa-nwa-j   **q'wan**.
      fall_asleep-PERF-PAST   PTCL(MIRAT)

It turned out that the animal was sleeping under the oven in the hole (for firewood). (MD2 1:30)

For the reader/hearer the location where the cat was is new information: his mind is unprepared for this, thus *q'wan* conveys a mirative meaning. However, the meaning does not extend to the interpretation of surprise.

The particle *q'wan* is also used "in the formulaic beginning of a fairy tale" (Haspelmath 1993:244).

(29) Хьа-на   **кьван,**   хьа-на-ч   **кьван**
      X̂a-na   **q'wan,**   x̂a-na-č   **q'wan**
      be-AOR   PTCL(NEW)   be-AOR-NEG   PTCL(NEW)

      са   буба-ни,   пуд   руш-ни   та-хай   диде.
      sa   buba-ni,   pud   ruš-ni   ta-xaj   dide.
      one   father-ADD   three   girl-ADD   NEG-native   mother

Once upon a time there were a father, three daughters and a stepmother. (MD3 1:1)

In the fairy tale formula of example 29 "It turns out there was, it turns out there was not" the verbs have been preposed, and *q'wan* follows the predicate. As in the previous example, *q'wan* marks the proposition as being new to the addressee; thus the meaning of the particle is mirative.

7. Lezgi evidential meanings and their grammatical expression

As we have seen, Lezgi uses a variety of different types of grammatical markers to convey evidential meanings, without forming a coherent category. The following table shows which standard Lezgi verb forms, verbal clitics and particles are used for the expression of these meanings, including some epistemic meanings. The numbers in the cells refer to examples which illustrate the particular marker and meaning.

TABLE 2. Grammatical markers of evidentiality and their meanings.

Evidential meaning _____ Form	Neutral or direct: witnessed	Indirect: inference	Indirect: assumption	Indirect: hearsay: no explicit reference to quoted source	Indirect: quotative: explicit reference to quoted source
Aorist -*na*	neutral: ex 14 can have modal meaning of reliability: ex 13				
Perfect -*nwa*		ex 16b	ex 18		
Verbal construction -*j x̂tin-di ja*			contains epistemic uncertainty: ex 22		
Hearsay clitic -*lda*				ex 23	
Converb forms of speech verb *luhun*					ex 25
Particle *man*		ex 26			

      While Table 2 examines grammatical markers, the perspective of Diagram 1, below, is semantic. In it I present Lezgi evidentiality, based on Aikhenvald's (2004, 2014) discussion of six basic semantic parameters, expanding and fine-tuning them to fit the Lezgi context.

DIAGRAM 1. Semantic parameters of evidentiality and their grammatical markers.
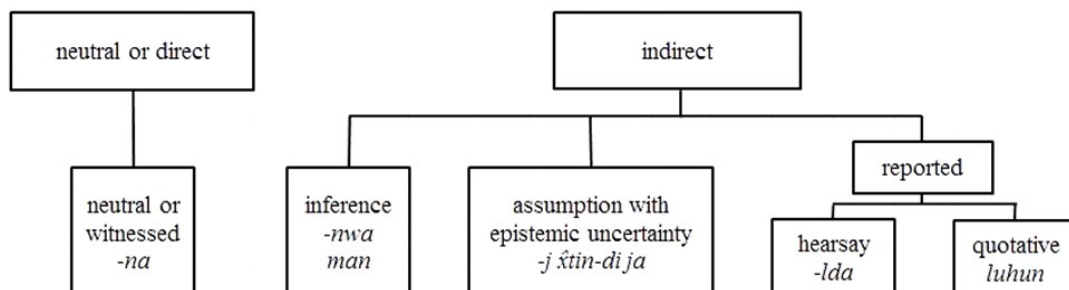
In general terms, Lezgi evidential meanings fall under the parameter 'indirect'. Of the six basic evidential parameters established by Aikhenvald – visual, sensory, inference, assumption, hearsay, and quotative – Lezgi exhibits two with default evidential meanings: hearsay, which is expressed by the grammaticalized clitic *-lda*, and quotative, conveyed by different converb forms of the speech verb *luhun*. Both parameters occur in the context of reported speech. In addition, inference is expressed by the Perfect verb form with *-nwa* and the particle *man*, and assumption by the verbal construction *-j x̂tindi ja*.

In the contexts where the Perfect form acquires the interpretation of indirect inference, the Aorist stands in contrast to it in that it is usually neutral with regard to evidentiality. Contextually it can, however, receive the interpretation of direct, witnessed reception of information.

No verb form expressing an evidential meaning was found to also convey a mirative meaning, but epistemic meanings may occur together with evidential meanings.

8. Conclusion

This study has shown that Lezgi has a more extensive range of different markers to express evidential and related meanings than earlier attested. In addition to the well-known hearsay and quotative meanings, Lezgi can express evidential meanings in two ways: firstly with the Perfect form and secondly with a verbal construction. In addition, discourse particles convey both evidential and mirative meanings.

The Perfect form whose default anterior meaning can acquire the meaning of indirectness, specifically inference, is similar to what Majsak and Merdanova have found in Aghul. Both languages thus support Tatevosov's claim that there are strong links between perfects and the indirect expression of information source in Nakh-Daghestanian languages.

The evidential opposition between the non-witnessed meaning of the Perfect and the witnessed meaning of the Aorist attested in Aghul was not established in Lezgi. Thus Aghul has moved further on the path of development of its perfect/resultative meaning by acquiring the non-witnessed meaning. Such a development could be due, for example, to inherent development, the influence of some other genetically related language, or contact with an unrelated language. Both languages have been in long-standing contact with Turkic through Azerbaijani. If this is a case of borrowing, has Lezgi, being one of the larger languages of the area, a more conservative approach towards borrowing? On the other hand, with established narrative conventions where hearsay can be expressed with the clitic *-lda*, as needed, there appears to be no need for such a borrowing. However, the fact that Aghul has a hearsay clitic *-ʁaj* and still expresses non-witnessed meanings with the Perfect form, makes the picture more complicated. Therefore, an investigation of

the processes of development of evidential features, either through diffusion, or in other ways, would be an important topic for another study.

With regard to verb forms and constructions Lezgi evidentiality conforms to most of the typical features of Nakh-Daghestanian evidential systems outlined by Forker. The system is small, and the form that is evidentially marked is the one carrying the indirect – in the case of Lezgi the inferential – meaning, that is, the Perfect. This form is in opposition to the unmarked neutral form, the Aorist. As the form conveying the indirect meaning is a past tense form, evidentiality is fused with the tense system. An exception to Forker's list of features was found in connection with the verbal construction conveying the evidential meaning of assumption, with an added epistemic nuance of uncertainty. Furthermore, there is no conclusive evidence that Lezgi has the so-called first-person effect where in first-person contexts the Perfect form expresses a mirative meaning of newness.

In that Lezgi expresses evidentiality morphologically, it fits in with Chirikba's list of features that define the Caucasian Sprachbund. However, the coding of evidential meanings extends also to particles, and to clitics. All in all, the coding of evidential meanings in Lezgi does not form a unified category; rather the language uses a variety of different grammatical possibilities to convey such meanings.

Abbreviations

ABS = absolutive
ADD = additive
ANT = anterior
AOP = aorist participle
AOR = aorist
COP = copula
CVB = converb
DAT = dative
DISC = discourse particle
EMPH = additive particle expressing emphasis
ERG = ergative
FUT = future
GEN = genitive
HAB = habitual aspect
HEARSAY = hearsay evidential
INELAT = inelative
INESS = inessive
INF = infinitive
INFER = inference
IPFV = imperfective
LOC = locative copula
MIRAT = particle expressing mirativity

NEG = negation
NEW = mirative meaning of newness of information
NML.R = nominaliser
NWIT = non-witnessed evidential
OBL = oblique
PTCP = participle
PAST = past tense
PASTII = past-tense form expressing surprise (Alekseev & Šejxov 1997)
PERF = perfect
PFV = perfective
PL = plural
POST = post localisation
P.R.G.F = past resultative general factual
PTCL = particle
PURP = purpose, goal
QUOT = quotative evidential
RESULT = resultative
SG = singular
SUBEL = subelative
SUPER = super localisation
SUPEREL = superelative
SUPERESS = superessive
TEMP = temporal converb

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