

# Counterexpectation Present in Andi

## Discerning the grammaticalization source

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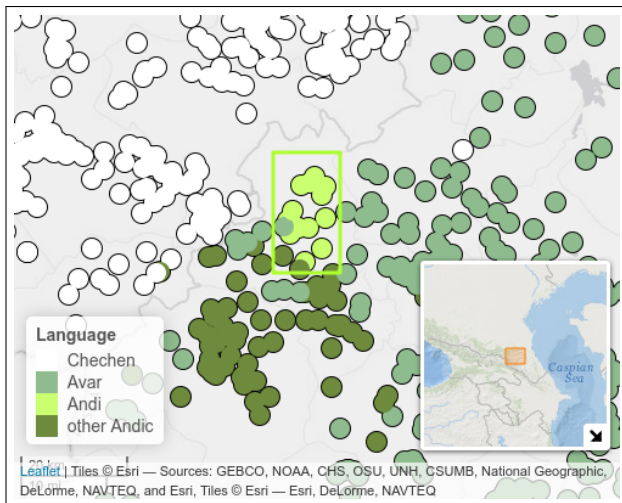
Linguistic Convergence Laboratory at NRU HSE Moscow

Chronos 13

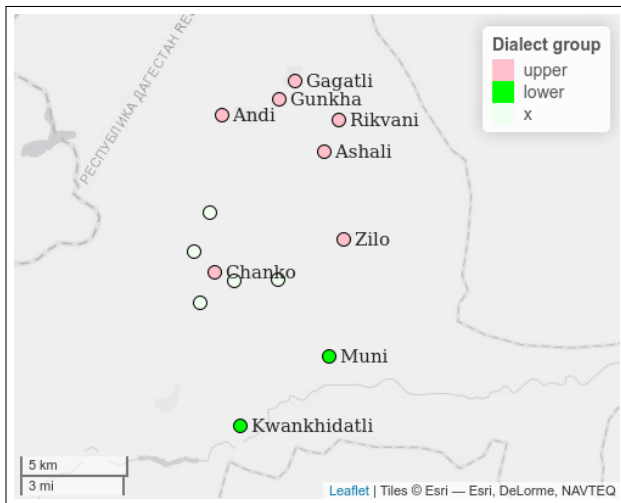
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<https://github.com/LingConLab/andi-counterexpectation>

## Andi - Avar-Andic - East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian)



## Nine dialects with minimal variation within groups



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- ▶ Fieldwork in Rikvani (T. Maisak) and Zilo (S. Verhees)

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- ▶ **verb categories:** tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality

**Table:** Relevant forms of 'be'

Form	Rikvani	Zilo
AORIST	w-uk'o	w-uk'o
PERFECT (CONVERB)	w-uk'o-d	w-uk'o-j
INFINITIVE	w-uk'u-du	w-uk' <sup>w</sup> -eri
PRESENT HABITUAL	<b>w-uk'u-do</b>	<b>w-uk'<sup>w</sup>-e</b>
COUNTEREXPECTATION PRS	<b>w-uk'u-daɪd</b>	<b>w-uk'<sup>w</sup>-e-w-aɪj</b>

w- (M- class agreement)

Regular negation -s:u follows tense

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(2) *anzi r-eLi--rado-s:u*

snow  $\neg$ AN<sub>2</sub>-go-PROG-NEG

'It is not snowing.'

[R]



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- (3)     *he-w    k'am-me-b-axij*  
         DEM-M eat-HAB- $\neg$ AN<sub>1</sub>-UNEXP.PRS  
         'He **does not want** to eat.' [Z]

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(4) *w-ukun-nu žil'i-d, amma w-ukun-naxid*

M-eat-INF want-PF but M-eat-UNEXP.PRS

'He wants to eat, but he **does not** eat.' (For example, because he is shy and does not want to embarrass anyone.) [R]

The form has a regular negation, which is used to counter a negative expectation.

- (5)     *musa-d*    *woc:u-l'o*            *kaʁar q<sup>w</sup>ar-daxid-s:u*  
Musa-ERG brother-SUP.LAT letter write-UNEXP.PRS-NEG  
'Musa **does write** his brother a letter.' (In reply to another speaker who doubts that this is the case.) [R]

As a dependent in a periphrastic tense.

- (6)    *hošu-b*        *sim*    *b-igo-dzu*,        *iš(w)a*    [*kabi-du*  
DEM.M-¬AN<sub>1</sub> anger ¬AN<sub>1</sub>-come-PF home(M) enter-INF  
*hilu-daxiddu*    *w-uk'o-ddu*]  
want-UNEXP.PRS M-be-PF  
'He became so angry, that he **did not want to enter** the house.'  
[An]

# Origin

Suffix itself contains a perfect (converb) suffix.

- ▶ -daʁi -d [R]
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\*[imperfective stem -HAB ]<sub>LEX</sub> [ (CL)- mystery verb -CVB(PF)]<sub>AUX</sub>

- (7)     *sun*        *wošu-d* *ruLi-b*        *ži-daxi*        (*žij-s:u*)  
yesterday boy-ERG say-PST.PTCP do-UNEXP.AOR do.AOR-NEG  
'Yesterday, the boy **did not do** what [he] was told.' [R]

**Bagvalal** - verb *CL-aki* 'resist, refrain from doing sth.'

- (8)     *kʷan-di     haddiɬir q'erL'eri     din     b-ih-i-ra*  
Kvanada-PL long     struggle.AOR religion N-take-IPFV.INF  
*b-aki-b-o*

N-resist-N-CVB

'The people from Kvanada struggled for a long time, **resisting** to accept the religion.'



**Botlikh** - negative auxiliary *CL-akʉ*

- (9)     *epila min L'ibda w-ah-i*                      *w-ak-u*  
         why you dance M-become-INF M-NEG.AUX-AOR  
         'Why are you **not dancing**?'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*L'ibda w-ah-i* is a compound verb, literally 'become dancing'.

**Godoberi** - negative present converb *-íbaʁu*

- (10)    *t'orda waš-ibedi kino-qi      wu-n-íbaʁu-da*  
all    boy-PL    cinema-AD M-go-PRS.NEG.CVB-COP  
'All of the boys **do not go** to the cinema.'

# Typological parallels

- ▶ 'Not yet' markers in African languages  
e.g. *te-tu-nna-genda* (NEG-we-NOT YET-go)  
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- ▶ Other parallels?

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Neither have strong negative semantics.



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- ▶ Source candidate is *CL-aki* 'become tired'?

# Thank you!

Maps were created with [Lingtypology](#) for R.  
Our slides and a more detailed handout are available at  
[LingConLab@Github](#).