Counterexpectation Present in Andi
Discerning the grammaticalization source

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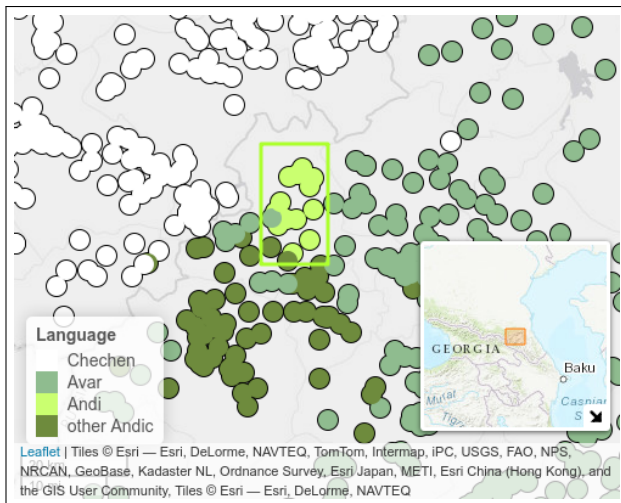
Linguistic Convergence Laboratory at NRU HSE Moscow
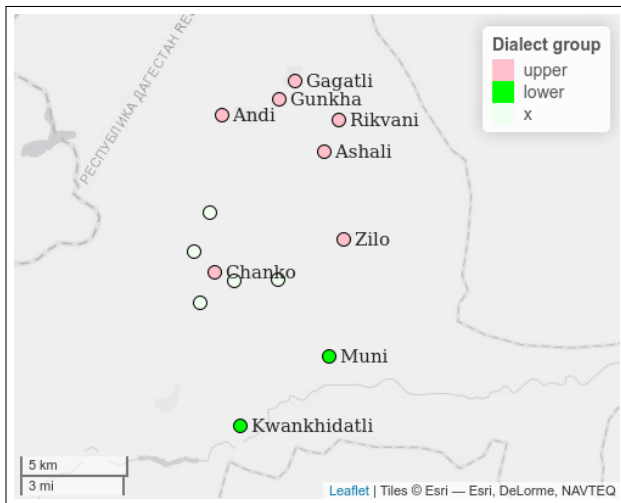
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https://github.com/LingConLab/andi-counterexpectation

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	w-uk'o-d	w-uk'o-j
INFINITIVE	w-uk'u-du	w-uk'ʷ-eri
PRESENT HABITUAL	**w-uk'u-do**	**w-uk'ʷ-e**
COUNTEREXPECTATION PRS	**w-uk'u-daʁid**	**w-uk'ʷ-e-w-aʁij**

w- (M- class agreement)

Regular negation *-sːu* follows tense

Counterexpectation present

X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation.

(1)   *anzi r-   eʟ -daʁid*
      snow ¬AN$_2$- go -UNEXP.PRS
      'It **is (still) not** snowing. (even though it is January) [R]

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- ▶ Negative semantics, but no overt negation marking.

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(2) *he   -w k'am -me -b   -aʁij*
     DEM -M eat   -HAB -¬AN₁ -UNEXP.PRS
     'He **does not want** to eat.' [Z]

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(3) *w- ukun -nu žil'i -d, amma w- ukun -naʁid*
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.

(4) *musa -d   woc:u -ľo   kaʁar qʷar -daʁid   -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.

(5) *hošu* -*b*   *sim*   *b*- *iɢo* -*ddu,* *iš(w)a*   *kabi* -*du* [*hilu*
     DEM.M -¬AN₁ anger ¬AN₁- come -PF   home(M) enter -INF want
     -***daʁiddu***   *w*- *uk'o* -*ddu*]
     -UNEXP.PRS M- be   -PF
     'He became so angry, that he **did not want to enter** the house.'
     [An/R]

Origin

Suffix itself contains a perfect (converb) suffix.

- -daʁi -d [R]
- -daʁi -ddu [An/Ga]
- -b -aʁi -j [Z]

Lexical base is habitual, cf. Table 1.

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*[imperfective stem -HAB]$_{LEX}$ [(CL)- mystery verb -CVB(PF)]$_{AUX}$

Counterexpectation Past

(6) *sun   wošu -d   ruʟi -b   ži -daʁi   (žij   -sːu)*
    yesterday boy -ERG say -PST.PTCP do -UNEXP.AOR do.AOR -NEG
    'Yesterday, the boy **did not do** what [he] was told..' [R]

Andic parallels

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

(7) *k'ʷan   -di haddiɬːir q'erʟ'eri, din   b- ihi -ra   b- aʁi*
     Kvanada -PL long   struggle religion N- take -IPFV.INF N- resist
     -b -o
     -N -CVB
     'The people from Kvanada struggled for a long time, resisting to accept the religion.'

Andic parallels

Botlikh - negative auxiliary CL- aʁu

(8)   *epila min ʟ'ibda w- ah   -i   w- aʁ   -u*
         why you dance M- become -INF M- NEG.AUX -AOR
         'Why are you not dancing?'

Andic parallels

Godoberi - negative present converb *-íbaʁu*

(9)   *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.'

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- Other parallels?

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Neither have negative semantics.

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

Thank you!

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