

Counterexpectation Present in Andi

Discerning the grammaticalization source

Timur Maisak Samira Verhees

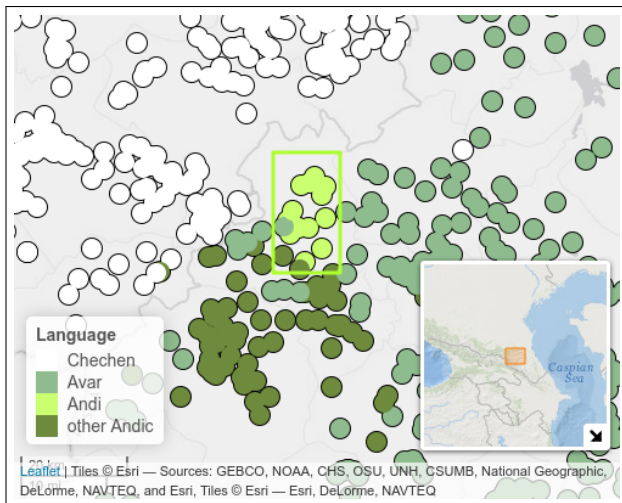
Linguistic Convergence Laboratory at NRU HSE Moscow

Chronos 13

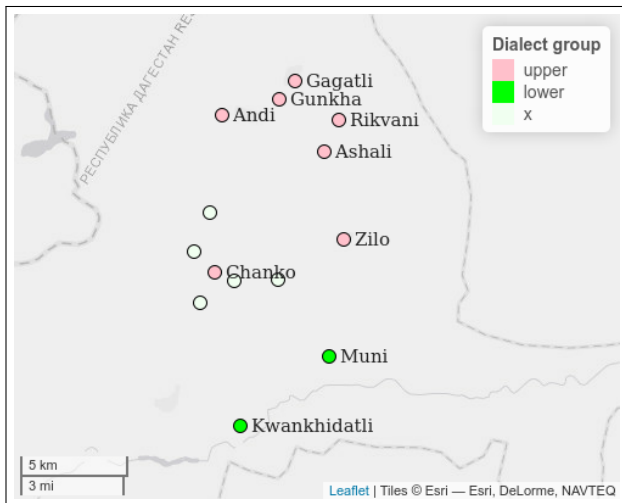
4-6 June 2018, University of Neuchâtel

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

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



Nine dialects with minimal variation within groups



- Population of about 40.000 (17.000 in historical area)

- ▶ Population of about 40.000 (17.000 in historical area)
- ▶ Trilingual: Avar (region lingua franca), Russian (education)

- ▶ Population of about 40.000 (17.000 in historical area)
- ▶ Trilingual: Avar (region lingua franca), Russian (education)
- ▶ Descriptive grammars for Andi, Gagatli, Rikvani dialects

- ▶ Population of about 40.000 (17.000 in historical area)
- ▶ Trilingual: Avar (region lingua franca), Russian (education)
- ▶ Descriptive grammars for Andi, Gagatli, Rikvani dialects
- ▶ Fieldwork in Rikvani (T. Maisak) and Zilo (S. Verhees)

Typological profile

- ▶ Agglutinative, some fusion

Typological profile

- ▶ Agglutinative, some fusion
- ▶ **5 syntactic cases:** absolutive (\emptyset), ergative, genitive, dative, affective (experiencer) + **compound spatial cases** (e.g. super-lative)

Typological profile

- ▶ Agglutinative, some fusion
- ▶ **5 syntactic cases:** absolutive (\emptyset), ergative, genitive, dative, affective (experiencer) + **compound spatial cases** (e.g. super-lative)
- ▶ **3-6 covert noun classes** (M, F, several (in)animates)

Typological profile

- ▶ Agglutinative, some fusion
- ▶ **5 syntactic cases:** absolutive (\emptyset), ergative, genitive, dative, affective (experiencer) + **compound spatial cases** (e.g. super-lative)
- ▶ **3-6 covert noun classes** (M, F, several (in)animates)
- ▶ **agreement with absolutive** on some verbs (prefixal), attributes (among others demonstratives, adjectives)

Typological profile

- ▶ Agglutinative, some fusion
- ▶ **5 syntactic cases:** absolutive (\emptyset), ergative, genitive, dative, affective (experiencer) + **compound spatial cases** (e.g. super-lative)
- ▶ **3-6 covert noun classes** (M, F, several (in)animates)
- ▶ **agreement with absolutive** on some verbs (prefixal), attributes (among others demonstratives, adjectives)
- ▶ **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' ^w -eri
PRESENT HABITUAL	w-uk'u-do	w-uk'^w-e
COUNTEREXPECTATION PRS	w-uk'u-daɪd	w-uk'^w-e-w-aɪj

w- (M- class agreement)

Regular negation -s:u follows tense

Counterexpectation present

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

(1) *anzi r-eL-david*

snow \neg AN₂-go-UNEXP.PRS

'It is (still) not snowing. (even though it is January) [R]

Counterexpectation present

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

(1) *anzi r-eL-daxid*

snow \neg AN₂-go-UNEXP.PRS

'It is (still) not snowing. (even though it is January) [R]

- Negative semantics, but no overt negation marking.

Counterexpectation present

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

(1) *anzi r-eL-daxid*

snow \neg AN₂-go-UNEXP.PRS

'It is **(still) not** snowing. (even though it is January) [R]

- Negative semantics, but no overt negation marking.

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

snow \neg AN₂-go-PROG-NEG

'It is **not snowing**.' [R]

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

- (3) *he-w k'am-me-b-aɪij*
 DEM-M eat-HAB- \neg AN₁-UNEXP.PRS
 'He **does not want** to eat.' [Z]

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

(3) *he-w k'am-me-b-aɣij*

DEM-M eat-HAB- \neg AN₁-UNEXP.PRS

'He **does not want** to eat.' [Z]

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

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^war-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-¬AN₁ anger ¬AN₁-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]
- ▶ -daʁi -d:u [An/Ga]
- ▶ -b -aʁi -j [Z]

Lexical base is habitual, cf. Table 1.

Origin

Suffix itself contains a perfect (converb) suffix.

- ▶ -daʔi -d [R]
- ▶ -daʔi -d:u [An/Ga]
- ▶ -b -aʔi -j [Z]

Lexical base is habitual, cf. Table 1.

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

- (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]

Lexical source candidates

We are looking for a change-of-state verb approximately meaning ‘not come into action’, which, when inflected for perfect renders a state of ‘not doing’.

Lexical source candidates

We are looking for a change-of-state verb approximately meaning ‘not come into action’, which, when inflected for perfect renders a state of ‘not doing’.

- ▶ *CL-ibi* ‘stop, come to a halt’
- ▶ *CL-abi* ‘become tired’ (only attested in Andi)

Lexical source candidates

We are looking for a change-of-state verb approximately meaning ‘not come into action’, which, when inflected for perfect renders a state of ‘not doing’.

- ▶ *CL-ibi* ‘stop, come to a halt’
- ▶ *CL-abi* ‘become tired’ (only attested in Andi)

Both are change-of-state.

Lexical source candidates

We are looking for a change-of-state verb approximately meaning ‘not come into action’, which, when inflected for perfect renders a state of ‘not doing’.

- ▶ *CL-ibi* ‘stop, come to a halt’
- ▶ *CL-abi* ‘become tired’ (only attested in Andi)

Both are change-of-state.

Neither have strong negative semantics.

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-ak-u*

- (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**?'¹

¹*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)
'We have not yet gone.' - Luganda

Typological parallels

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

- ▶ Counterexpectation Present:
X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation

Summary

- ▶ Counterexpectation Present:
X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation
- ▶ Negative without overt negation.

Summary

- ▶ Counterexpectation Present:
X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation
- ▶ Negative without overt negation.
- ▶ Has a regular negative form which renders an emphatic affirmative form.

Summary

- ▶ Counterexpectation Present:
X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation
- ▶ Negative without overt negation.
- ▶ Has a regular negative form which renders an emphatic affirmative form.
- ▶ *[imperfective stem -HAB]_{LEX} [(CL)- mystery verb -CVB(PF)]_{AUX}

Summary

- ▶ Counterexpectation Present:
X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation
- ▶ Negative without overt negation.
- ▶ Has a regular negative form which renders an emphatic affirmative form.
- ▶ *[imperfective stem -HAB]_{LEX} [(CL)- mystery verb -CVB(PF)]_{AUX}
- ▶ Also has an aorist form (Counterexpectation Past)

- ▶ Counterexpectation Present:
X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation
- ▶ Negative without overt negation.
- ▶ Has a regular negative form which renders an emphatic affirmative form.
- ▶ *[imperfective stem -HAB]_{LEX} [(CL)- mystery verb -CVB(PF)]_{AUX}
- ▶ Also has an aorist form (Counterexpectation Past)
- ▶ Formally similar negative forms in other Andic languages, though without counterexpectation.

- ▶ Counterexpectation Present:
X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation
- ▶ Negative without overt negation.
- ▶ Has a regular negative form which renders an emphatic affirmative form.
- ▶ *[imperfective stem -HAB]_{LEX} [(CL)- mystery verb -CVB(PF)]_{AUX}
- ▶ Also has an aorist form (Counterexpectation Past)
- ▶ Formally similar negative forms in other Andic languages, though without counterexpectation.
- ▶ 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](#).