Counterexpectation Present in Andi
Discerning the grammaticalization source

Timur Maisak
Institute of Linguistics - Russian Academy of Science (RAS)
Linguistic Convergence Laboratory NRU HSE

Samira Verhees
Linguistic Convergence Laboratory NRU HSE

1. Background

Andi < Avar-Andic group < East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) family; spoken in the northwest of the Republic of Daghestan, near the border with Chechnya.

Two major dialect groups:[1]
Upper (Andi, Gagatli, Gunkha, Chanko, Ashali, Rikvani, Zilo)
Lower (Muni, Kwankhidatli)

Variation within each group considered minimal, though never systematically researched.

- Population ~40.000, 17.000 in the historical Andi area (see Figures 1 and 2), estimation by Aglarov (2002: 3). Sum of village inhabitants according to the most recent census ~23.000.[2]
- No written tradition. Speakers are trilingual: Avar (regional lingua franca) is used as language of literacy; education is in Russian.

Literature
On grammar: All dialects (except Gunkha): Cercvadze (1965); Andi: Dirr (1906), Kibrik (1982; 1985); Rikvani: Sulejmanov (1957); Gagatli: Salimov (2010 (1968)); **Text resources:** text fragments published in grammars; Andi: Alisultanova (2010), Mixed: Gospel of Luke (2015). **Fieldwork** was conducted in Rikvani (Timur Maisak) and Zilo (Samira Verhees).

Typological profile
Agglutinative morphology with some fusion. Five syntactic cases: absolutive (Ø), ergative, genitive, dative and affective (encodes experiencer). A set of compound spatial cases (e.g. super-lative). Three to six covert noun classes (m, f, several (in)animate classes), agreement with absolutive argument marked on some verbs (mostly prefixal slot in the stem) and various attributes (a.o. demonstratives, adjectives). Verb categories: tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality.

---

1 Each dialect corresponds to a village. Several smaller settlements were founded relatively recently by re-settlers from the original villages (some are shown in Figure 2, marked "x"). There is currently no data on the varieties of Andi spoken there.
2 See data at <https://github.com/LingConLab/andi-counterexpectation>.
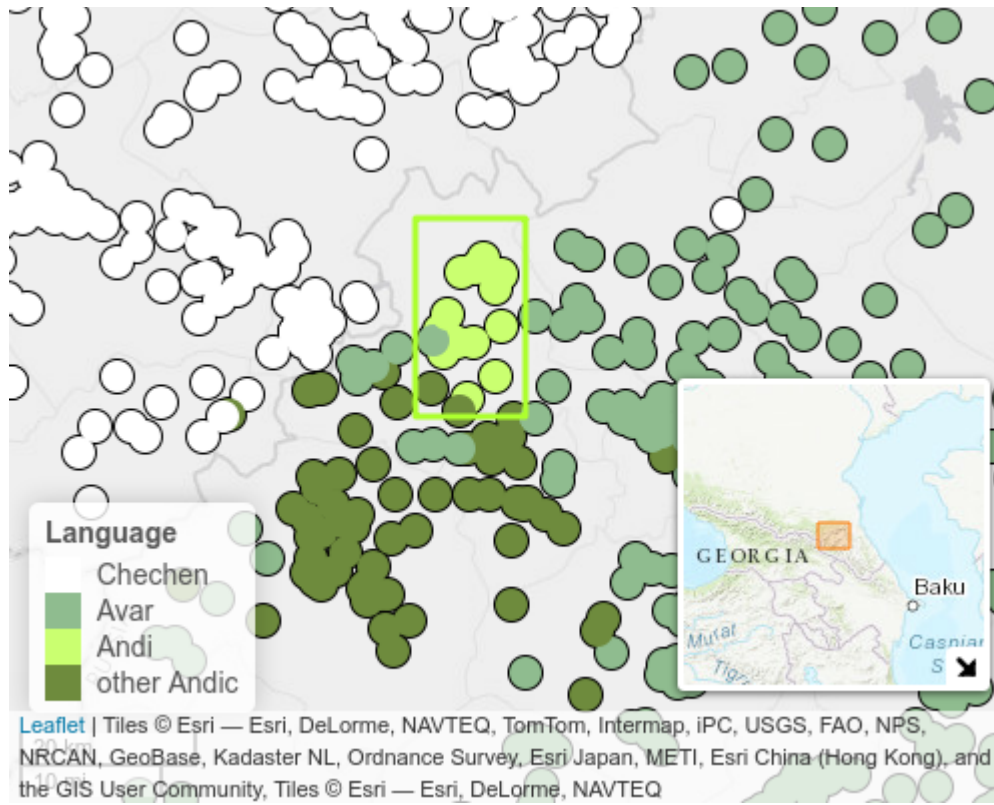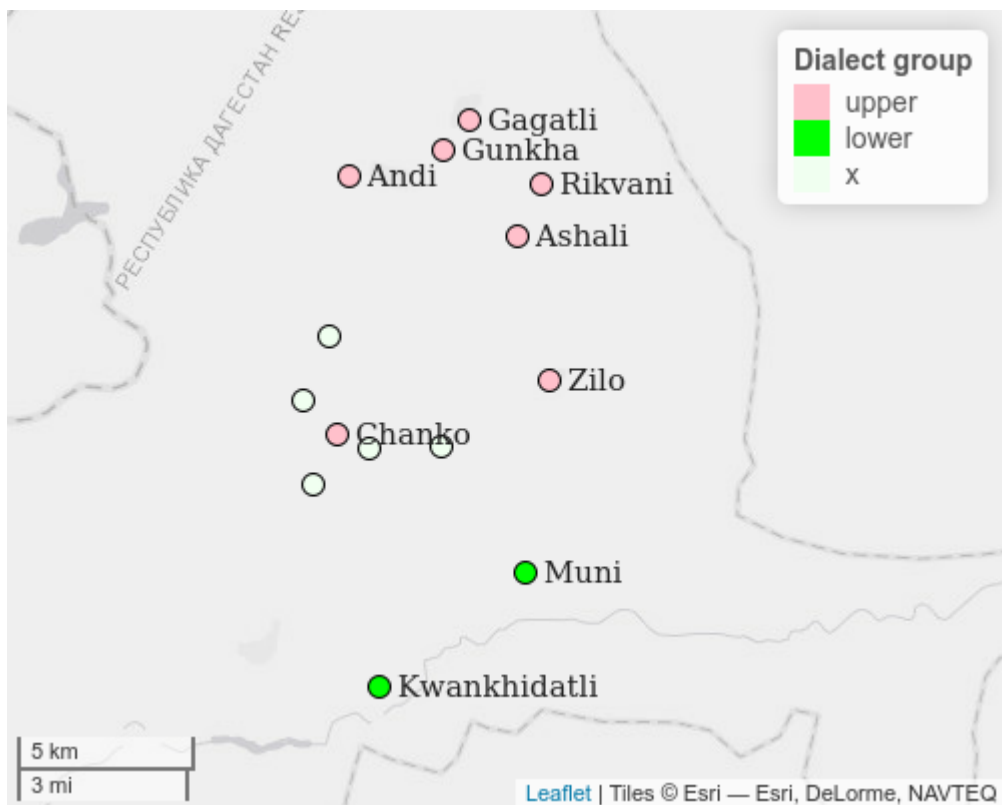
Figure 1. Andi and its neighbours

Figure 2. Andi villages

2. Verbal paradigm

The basic verbal paradigms of Rikvani and Zilo are fairly similar.

Zilo shares the *-e* habitual with the Lower dialects, a common isogloss with the neighbouring Botlikh language.

The regular negation suffix is *-s:u*, which follows tense marking and is homophonous with the negative copula.

Exceptions:
- <u>Converb (=perfect)</u>: portmanteau suffix *-č'igu* (-NEG.CVB), attached directly to the stem. Agglutinative in origin, cf. Muni dialect, where the negative converb suffix is *dʒi-lo*: *-dʒi* is the regular negation in Muni, *-lo* is the converb suffix (*-lo*).
- <u>Future</u>: portmanteau suffix based on habitual (instead of imperfective stem) in both dialects.

Table 1. Basic verbal paradigm of 'be': affirmative and negative[3]

Form	Rikvani		Zilo	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
AORIST	w-uk'o	w-uk'o-s:u	w-uk'o	w-uk'o-s:u
PERFECT (GENERAL CONVERB)[4]	w-uk'o-d	w-uk'o-d-s:u / **w-uk'o-č'igu**	w-uk'o-j	w-uk'o-j-s:u / **w-uk'o-č'igu**
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	w-uk'o-rado	w-uk'o-rado-s:u	w-uk'o-rado	w-uk'o-rado-s:u
INFINITIVE	**w-uk'u-du**	w-uk'u-du-s:u	**w-uk'ʷ-eri**	w-uk'ʷ-eri-s:u
PRESENT	w-uk'u-duq	w-uk'u-duq-s:u	NA[5]	NA
PROSPECTIVE	w-uk'u-dulq	w-uk'u-dulq-s:u	NA	NA
INTENTIONAL	w-uk'u-duʁojd	w-uk'u-duʁojd-s:u	NA	NA
PRESENT HABITUAL	**w-uk'u-do**	w-uk'u-do-s:u	**w-uk'ʷ-e**	w-uk'ʷ-e-s:u
FUTURE	w-uk'u-dja	w-uk'u-**dos:ja**	w-uk'u-dja	**w-uk'ʷ-e-s:a**
COUNTEREXPECTATION PRESENT	**w-uk'u-daʁid**	**w-uk'u-daʁid-s:u**	**w-uk'ʷ-e-w-aʁij**	**w-uk'ʷ-e-w-aʁij-s:u**

The verb is shown with masculine noun class agreement (*w-*).

---

3   Forms presented above the bold line are formed from the perfective or past stem, those below are based on the imperfective or non-past stem.

4   Formal syncretism is probably the result of a dropped copula in the perfect construction (cf. Cercvadze (1965: 359)).

5   Not attested (yet).

3.   Counterexpectation present

First discovered during the NRU HSE expedition to Rikvani in 2015.

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

(1)   *anzi   r-eʟ-daʁid*
        snow   V-go-UNEXP.PRS
        'The snow **is (still) not falling**.' (Even though it is already January.) [R]

The form carries negative semantics, while there is no overt negation marking.
With animate subjects a volitional interpretation might arise, though this is contextual, cf. examples (2) and (3).

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

(3)   *w-ukun-nu   žiľi-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 counterexpectation present itself has a regular negation, resulting in an emphatic affirmative form, which is used to counter a negative expectation (4).

(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]

The counterexpectation present can also be used as the dependent in a periphrastic tense, parallel to the present habitual and progressive.

(5)   *hošu-b   sim   b-iɢo-ddu   iš<w>a   kabi-du*
        DEM.M-IV   anger   IV-come-PF   home<M>   enter-INF

        [*hilu-daʁiddu   w-uk'o-ddu*]
        want-UNEXP.PRS M-be-PF
        'He became so angry, that he **did not want** to enter the house.' [An/R][6]

---

6   This example is from the translation of the Gospel of Luke to Andi (2015) - the language used in this work contains features of both the Andi and Rikvani dialects.

Structure

- In four examined dialects the suffix seems to contain a perfect suffix (see Table 2 below).
- Probably it originates in a morphologized auxiliary verb inflected for perfect.
- This also explains the use in (5), where the counterexpectation present is used in the same way as the general converb (with which the perfect is homophonous), as the dependent in a periphrastic tense (specifically the indirect evidential pluperfect, consisting of a general converb of the lexical verb, and an auxiliary 'be' inflected for perfect.
- In Zilo, the prefixal noun class slot retained.

Table 2. Counterexpectation present suffix in four dialects of Andi

	Andi	**Gagatli**	**Rikvani**	**Zilo**	**Muni**
PERFECT	PFV-dːu	PFV-dːu	PFV-d	PFV-j	PFV-lo
UNEXP.PRS	IPFV-daʁi-dːu	IPFV-daʁi-dːu	IPFV-daʁi-d	IPFV(HAB)-CL-aʁi-j	?-naχi-lo

Proposed original structure
*[imperfective stem -HAB]$_{\text{LEX}}$ + [(CL)- mystery verb -CVB(PF)]$_{\text{AUX}}$

For Andi, Gagatli and Rikvani the base (*-d-*) could originate from either the habitual or the infinitive. In Zilo, most infinitives are formed from the habitual with a suffix *-ri*, but some are not. In the latter case, the counterexpectation present still features a habitual suffix at its base, compare the paradigms of the regular verb 'throw' with the irregular verb 'fall asleep' in Table 3.

Table 3. Habituals, infinitives and counterexpectation present in Zilo

	šam- 'throw'	*ʟ'iχin-* 'fall asleep'
HABITUAL	*šam-me*	*ʟ'iχin-ne*
INFINITIVE	*šam-me-ri*	*ʟ'iχin-nu*
COUNTEREXPECTATION PRESENT	*šam-me-b-aʁij*	*ʟ'iχin-ne-w-aʁij*

Despite its mixed habitual and perfect origins, the temporal reference of the suffix is present progressive. Interrogative particles in Andi are distributed by tense (usually past versus non-past). The Zilo dialect features a third interrogative particle used only with habitual (*=k'ole*). The counterexpectation present, however, combines with the general non-past particle (*=le*).

Where does the progressive meaning come from?
The Andi perfect has either **indirect evidential** or **resultative** meaning.
Resultative occurs with change-of-state verbs (especially intransitives) and renders a stative situation in the present as the result of a past action.

(6)   *hege-j*   *hoɢik'o-d*
        DEM-F   sit_down-PF
        'She is sitting.' (lit. is sat down) [R]

Where do negation and counterexpectation come from?
Our source candidate for the counterexpectation present auxiliary (*CL-aɢi-*) should be a change-of-state verb approximately meaning ~ 'not come into action', which, when inflected for perfect renders a state of 'not doing'.

NB: Counterexpectation Past
The counterexpectation present also has a past (aorist) counterpart. This confirms that the suffix contains a tense slot, albeit a defective one, in the sense that only a restricted set of tenses can be used with the original auxiliary.

(7)   *sun*   *wošu-d*   *ruʟi-b*   ***ži-daɢi***   (*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]

4.   Cognates and typological parallels

Similar forms are found in three of the seven other Andic languages.

Bagvalal
Bagvalal features a lexical verb *CL-aɢi* meaning 'resist, refrain from doing sth.'. Only three examples in the texts recorded in the grammar (Kibrik 2001). The verb appears in different tense forms, while it takes a complement clause headed by the infinitive.

(8)   *k'ʷan-di*   *haddiɬːir*   *q'erʟ'eri*   *din*   ***b-ihi-ra***
        Kvanada-PL   long   struggle   religion   N-take-IPFV.INF

        b-aɢi-b-o.
        N-resist-N-CVB
        'The people from Kvanada struggled for a long time, **resisting to accept** the religion.'

Botlikh

In Botlikh, a negative auxiliary *CL-aʁu* exists. It is simply used to convey negation (parallel to other negative auxiliaries), though the lexical verb is always in the infinitive and the auxiliary only occurs in the aorist (Gudava 1962: 149).

(9)   *epila   min   ʟʼibda   w-ah-i   w-aʁ-u?*
      why   you   dance   M-become-INF   M-NEG.AUX-AOR
      'Why **are** you **not dancing**?'
      (Saidova & Abusov 2012: 33)

Godoberi

In Godoberi (very closely related to Botlikh), a negative present converb is attested with the suffix *-íbaʁu*, which is attached directly to the stem (Dobrushina et al. 1996: 47, 50, 53–54). As pointed out in Maisak (2017), it probably originates in a periphrastic construction with the infinitive (*-í*) and the same auxiliary as in Botlikh. It remains unclear where the progressive meaning of the Godoberi form comes from.

(10)   *tʼorda   waš-ibedi   kino-qi   wu-n-ibaʁu-da*
       all   boy-PL   cinema-AD   M-go-PRS.NEG.CVB-COP
       'All of the boys **do not go** to the cinema.'
       (Kibrik 1996: 105)

Similar markers have not been found in the remaining four Andic languages or in Avar.

Not-yet markers

A typological parallel might be so-called 'not-yet' markers attested in a number of African languages.

"Luganda has one further verb form that fits into this general pattern , namely the 'not yet' tense, as in *te-tu-nna-genda* neg-we-not_yet-go, i .e. 'we have not yet gone'; this tense occurs **only in the negative**. The meaning of this tense is that a certain situation (in the example given, our going) did not hold in the past and does not hold in the present, i.e. that **it still is the case that a certain situation does not hold.** It may seem that there is an additional semantic component, namely that **the situation of our going will hold in the future.** However, further investigation shows that this is **only an implicature, not part of the meaning of the verb form,** as is equally the case with the English expression *not yet*."
(Comrie 1985: 54-55)

- Also a state of something (still) not happening, though not necessarily connected to expectation.
- Not-yet markers usually seem to contain a negation marker, as in Luganda as cited above.

Other typological parallels?

5.   Possible lexical sources

Verbs with negative semantics (e.g. 'fail' or 'refuse') can be the source of avertive or negation marking (Heine & Kuteva 2004: 132). Two lexical verbs in Andi share (part of) the root with the counterexpectation present, but neither of them has negative semantics per se.

CL-iʁi- '**stop, come to a halt**'

- Renders a state in the present when inflected for perfect (e.g. 'is resting, is standing' and by extension 'is waiting').
- Semantically it seems compatible with being in a state of not doing something.
- It has a different stem vowel.
- **NB:** In the majority of dialects, the aorist of this verb can be used as an auxiliary ('be') in periphrastic tenses or copular sentences. In Muni it has even completely ousted the original 'be'-auxiliary *CL-ik'-* (see Rochant & Verhees 2017).

CL-aʁi- '**become tired**'

- Renders a state in the present when inflected for perfect ('is tired').
- Is formally identical to the counterexpectation suffix (at least in Zilo where the suffix is less reduced), shares the same stem vowel, as opposed to *CL-iʁi-*.
- A transition from 'be tired' to 'be in a state of not doing something' is less obvious.

The first verb is also represented in the other languages mentioned above, though if we assume that *CL-iʁi-* is the lexical source, we cannot explain the change in stem vowel (?-i- > -a-).
The second verb seems to be unique to Andi (Gudava 1959: 66); Bagvalal features only the verb mentioned in the previous section (*CL-aʁi* 'resist, refrain from doing sth.'); Avar features a verb *CL-aʁi-* 'fight, battle', which has no parallels in any of the Andic languages.

6.   Summary

- Andi features a grammatical marker for counterexpectational negative progressive present: X is (still) not happening, contrary to the speaker's expectation.
- Unlike all other negative forms in Andi, it does not carry overt negation marking.
- The form originates in a periphrastic construction of a lexical verb inflected for present habitual, and an auxiliary verb inflected for perfect, as confirmed by data from different dialects in which the suffix has undergone varying degrees of phonological reduction.
- Because it signals some kind of state (not happening) in the present, the original auxiliary was most likely an intransitive change-of-state verb; when inflected for perfect these types of verbs render a present resultative meaning (unless the context imposes an evidential reading).
- The suffix in part retains the possibility to inflect for tense; besides the perfect / present resultative, it has an aorist form: the counterexpectation past.
- Negative forms of the same root have been discovered in three other languages from the Andic branch of the East Caucasian family, though the semantics of counterexpectation are specific to Andi.

- The only eligible lexical source candidate in our opinion is the verb *CL-aʁi-* 'become tired'. As a lexical verb, *CL-aʁi-* is preserved only in Andi.
- *CL-aʁi-* matches the suffix in terms of its formal appearance as well as its lexical class (intransitive change-of-state), though it is not quite clear how this meaning may have transformed into negative progressive present / counterexpectation.

Glosses

AD - ad locative
AUX - auxiliary
CL - class marker
COP - copula
CVB - converb
DEM - demonstrative
ERG - ergative
HAB - habitual
INF - infinitive
IPFV - imperfective
IV - noun class iv (various inanimates)
LAT - lative
M - masculine noun class
N - neuter noun class
NEG - negative
PF - perfect
PFV - perfective
PL - plural
PRS - present
SUP - super locative
UNEXP - counterexpectation
V - noun class v (various inanimates)

References

Aglarov, M.A. 2002. *Andijcy: Istoriko-étnografičeskoe issledovanie* [The Andi: A historico-ethnographical study]. Makhachkala: Jupiter.

Alisultanova, M.A. 2010. *Skazki narodov mira na andijskom jazyke* [Fairytales of the world in Andi]. Makhachkala: Nurul Iršad.

Cercvadze, I.I. 1965. *Andiuri ena* [The Andi language]. Tbilisi: Metsniereba.

Dirr, A.M. 1906. 'Kratkij grammatičeskij očerk andijskago jazyka' [A brief sketch of the grammar of Andi]. In: *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemën Kavkaza* – vypusk 36. Tbilisi: Upravlenie kavkazskago učebnago okruga.

Dobrushina, N.R., A. A. Kibrik, S.G. Tatevosov. 1996. 'Verbs'. In: A. E. Kibrik et al. (ed.) *Godoberi*. Lincom Studies in Caucasian Linguistics 2, 44-47. München: Lincom.

Gudava, T.E. 1959. *Sravnitel'nyj analiz glagol'nyx osnov v avarskom i andijskix jazykax* [Comparative analysis of verb stems in the Avar-Andic languages]. Makhachkala: Dagestanskij filial AN SSSR. Institut istorii, jazyka i literatury im. G. Cadasa.

Gudava, T.E. 1962. *Botlixuri ena (gramaťik'uli analizi, ťeksťebi, leksik'oni)* [The Botlikh language (grammatical analysis, texts, lexicon)]. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.

Heine, B., & T. Kuteva. 2004 (2002). *World lexicon of grammaticalization.* Cambridge University Press.

Kibrik, A.A. 1982. *Fragmenty sistemy finitnyx glagol'nyx form v andijskom jazyke. Ékspedicionnyj otčët. Andi - Moskva* [Fragments of the system of finite verb forms in Andi. Fieldwork report. Andi - Moscow]. (Manuscript)

Kibrik, A.A. 1985. 'Absentiv-Aorist un Resultativ in der andischen Sprache'. Heinz Fähnrich (ed.) *Sprachen Europas und Asiens*, 55-66. Jena: Friedrich Schiller Universität.

Kibrik, A.E. et al. (eds.). 2001. *Bagvalinskij jazyk. Grammatika. Teksty. Slovari* [The Bagvalal language. Grammar. Texts. Dictionary]. Moscow: Nasledie.

Maisak, T.A. 2017. '"Prezens narušennogo ožidanija" v andijskom jazyke: morfologija, semantika i puť grammatikalizacii' [The "present of failed expectation" in Andi: morphology, semantics and grammaticalization path]. Paper presented at the conference "Malye jazyki v bol'šoj lingvistike", Moscow State University, November 2-3, 2017.

Moroz, G. 2017. *Lingtypology: easy mapping for linguistic typology.* <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lingtypology>

Rochant, N. & S. Verhees. 2017. 'The (auxiliary) verb *b-iʁidu* in Andi' . *Historical Linguistics of the Caucasus: Book of abstracts.* École Pratique des Hautes Études Paris, April 12–14, 2017. Makhachkala: IJaLI DNC RAN.

Saidova, P. A. & M. G. Abusov. 2012. *Botlixsko-russkij slovar'* [Botlikh-Russian dictionary]. Makhachkala: IJaLI DNC RAN.

Salimov, X. S. 2010 (1968). *Gagatlinskij govor andijskogo jazyka* [The Gagatli dialect of the Andi]. Makhachkala: IJaLI DNC RAN.

Sulejmanov, Ja. G. 1957. *Grammatičeskij očerk andijskogo jazyka (po dannym govora s. Rikvani)* [A sketch of the grammar of Andi (based on data from the Rikvani dialect]. Moscow: Dissertation.