



**HAL**  
open science

## Why does the Andi causative suffix agree in number?

Neige Rochant

► **To cite this version:**

Neige Rochant. Why does the Andi causative suffix agree in number?. Caucasian Languages: Typology and Diachrony, Russian Academy of Science in Moscow, Oct 2019, Moscow, Russia. hal-03876548

**HAL Id: hal-03876548**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03876548v1>**

Submitted on 28 Nov 2022

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

# Why does the Andi causative suffix agree in number?

Neige Rochant (Sorbonne Nouvelle // CNRS LaCiTO / LLaCAN)  
 Conference “Caucasian Languages: Typology and Diachrony”  
 23-24 October 2019 – Institute of Linguistics (RAS, Moscow)

## o Perilinguistic data

≈ 20,000 speakers in Russian Federation > Republic of Dagestan > Botlikh district • Unwritten • Trilingualism Avar & Russian

Figure 1: Andi within Nakh-Daghestanian

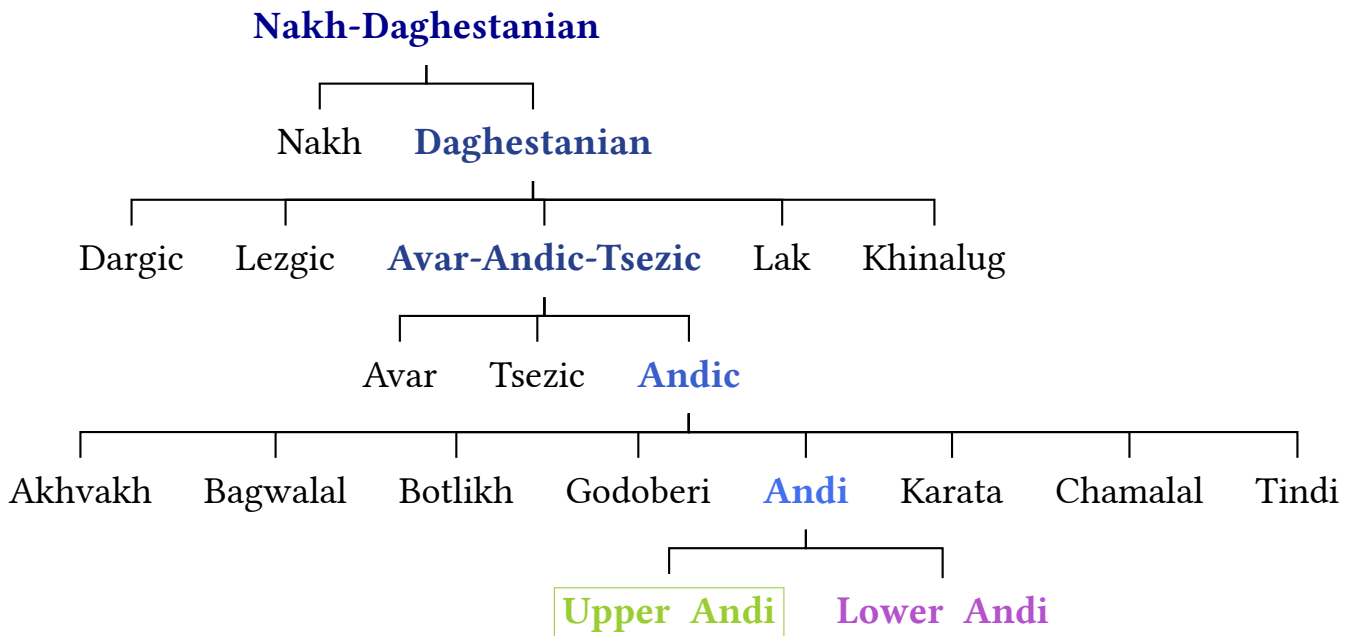
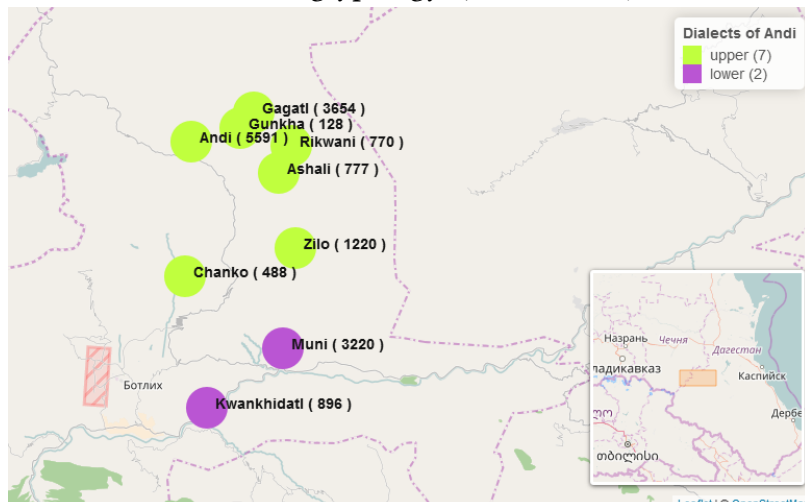


Figure 2: The Andi villages and dialects (© S. Verhees with Lingtypology (Moroz 2018))



## Grammar sketches: Andi:

Dirr (1906), Cercvadze (1965); Rikwani: Sulejmanov (1957); Gagatl: Salimov ([1968] 2010). Zilo: Moroz, Rochant, Verhees, Zakirova (in progress).

## Lexical resources:

Alisultanova (2009).  
 No dictionary.

# 1 Basic morphosyntax and causativity in Andi

- Ergative alignment
- Noun class system (5-6 classes)
- Syntactic roles indicated through case-marking and (in many verbs, adverbs, etc.) agreement in **class** and **number** with absolutive S/P in prefixal area (ex. 1).
- Causative suffix **-ol** / **-oł** increases valency of any construction that is **intransitive** (2) or **transitive**<sup>1</sup> (3)
- Recursive causative suffix can causativize twice<sup>2</sup> (4)

- (1) a. *b-ul.inn-ja*                      *b-ik'w.o-dzu*                      *ts'ija*  
 AN-SG\go.NPST-FUT    AN-SG\be.PST-PF    goat[AN][NOM]  
*ref-tti.*  
 wood-INTER  
 'The goat [regularly] went to the wood.' [Andi dial., World Fairy-tales: The Wolf and the Seven Young Goats]
- b. *hege-j-il*                      *enni~enni-tti=gu*                      *milki-χo*  
 DEM-AN:PL-PL[NOM]    DISTR~RFL-GEN=EMPH    house-APUD  
*hell.i-dzu*                      *j-ol.inn-o*                      *j-ok'w.o-dzu.*  
 run.PST-CVB    AN:PL-PL\go.NPST-HAB    AN:PL-PL\be.PST-PF  
 'They (the piglets) were running to their houses.' [Andi dial., World Fairy-tales: The Three Little Pigs]
- (2) a. *se-b=gu~seb*                      *ts'ek'ir,*                      *pefillo-tf'u*                      *hinu=lo*  
 one-AN=EMPH~EMPH    kid[AN][NOM]    oven-CONT    inside=ADD  
*b-eqχ'af:i-dzu,*                      *b-ortf'.unni-dzu.*  
 AN-hide.PST-CVB    AN-save\_oneself.PST-PF  
 'Only one goat, having hid in the oven, saved itself.' [Andi dial., World Fairy-tales: The Wolf and the Seven Young Goats]
- b. *den men*                      *hegel-tf'u-kru*                      *b-ortf'unn-ol.l-ja.*  
 I    thou[NOM]    DEM-CONT-EL    AN-save\_oneself-CAUS.NPST-FUT  
 'I'll save you from it.' [Andi dial., World Fairy-tales: The Lion and the Rat]
- (3) a. *bofil=lo*                      *k'amm.i-dzu*                      *sol=lo*  
 young\_of\_animal[AN].PL=ADD    eat(TR).PST-CVB    fox=ADD

<sup>1</sup>At least in dialects of Gagatl (Salimov [1968] 2010: 212-213) and Zilo (Rochant 2018: 66).

<sup>2</sup>At least in dialects of Gagatl and Zilo.

*her<b>adi b-ul.on-dzu.*

away<AN> AN-go.PST-PF

‘The fox ate the chicks and went away.’ [Gagatl dial., Salimov [1968] 2010: 227, The Fox, the Tit and the Quail]

- b. *ilu-di en-tti = gu jefu-<b>o*  
 mother-ERG RFL-GEN=EMPH girl-AFF<INAN<sub>1</sub>>  
*k’amm-ot.i illo.*  
 eat(TR)-CAUS.PST(AOR) food[INAN<sub>1</sub>][NOM]

‘The mother forced her daughter to eat the food.’ [Gagatl dial., Salimov [1968] 2010: 105]

- (4) *onfi = lo hegel-di xorofa xan = to w-uk’-ol-dzu*  
 then=ADD DEM-ERG shepherd king=FUNC M-be-CAUS.PST-PF  
*maduhal kupetsi B<sup>w</sup>annqχ’.unn-ot-ol-dzu.*  
 neighbor merchant be\_choked-CAUS-CAUS.PST-PF

‘Then she made the shepherd king and had the merchant hanged.’ [Gagatl dial., Salimov [1968] 2010: 225, The Mother and the Son]

## 2 Morphology of the causative in the Andi and Gagatl dialects of Andi

Table 1: The simple and causative paradigms in the Andi dialect (data from Dirr 1906: 54-55; Magomedova 2010)

Value	vocalic stem CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>.V</i> ‘be’		nasal stem <i>ik<sup>w</sup>.Vn-</i> ‘eat(ITR)’	
	[- CAUS]	[+ CAUS]	[- CAUS]	[+ CAUS]
AOR	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>.o</i>	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ot.i</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>.on</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ont.i</i>
PF	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>.o-dzu</i>	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ol-dzu</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>.on-dzu</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ont.i-dzu</i>
PROG	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>.o-rado</i>	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ot.i-rado</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>.om-ado</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ont.i-rado</i>
HAB	CL- <i>ik’.ud-o</i>	CL- <i>iqχ-ol.l-o</i>	<i>ik.unn-o</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>-on.n-o</i>
INF	CL- <i>ik’.ud-u</i>	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ol.l-u</i>	<i>ik.unn-u</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>-on.n-u</i>
FUT	CL- <i>ik’.ud-ja</i>	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ol-ja</i>	<i>ik.unn-ja</i>	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>-on.n-ja</i>
IMP(TR)	<i>biχ-o</i> ‘take!’	CL- <i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ot-o</i>	<i>aχ-on</i> ‘open!’	<i>ik<sup>w</sup>-ont.o</i>

- Allomorphy *-ol*, *-ot* vs. *-on* (< \**onl*), *-ont* determined by stem morphophonological type (vocal vs. nasal)
- Allomorphy *-ol*, *-on* vs. *-ot*, *-ont* :
  - [-*ol*], [-*on*] / \_ NPST thematic suffix /*.d*/ (→ [*l*], → [*n*])

- [-oɬ], [-onɬ] in all other forms  
(PF -ol-du < \*oɬ.i-du, cf. Cercvadze 1965: 168)

- In Andi & Gagatl dialects, forms in [-oɬ] alternate with [-oɬɨ] in case of plural S/P (ex. 5)<sup>3</sup>.
  - -oɬɨ looks like CAUS -oɬ with infix PL marker -l, but this marker is exclusively a suffix and can never be infix
  - Cross-linguistically very rare for a CAUS marker to be target for number agreement <sup>4</sup>: absent from Matasović (2017)'s typology of possible targets of agreement

Example of alternation CAUS:SG -oɬ / CAUS:PL -oɬɨ<sup>5</sup>:

- (5) a. *r-ik<sup>w</sup>-oɬ-o*    *piraška*    *ust'olu-la*.  
 INAN<sub>2</sub>-SG \be-CAUS-IMP(TR)    bun[INAN<sub>2</sub>][NOM]    table-SUP  
 'Put the bun on the table.' [Andi dial., World Fairy-tales: Masha and the Bear]
- b. *den hono-b*    *gizu-la*  
 I       DEM-INAN<sub>1</sub>    basket[INAN<sub>1</sub>]-SUP  
*r-ok<sup>w</sup>-oɬɨ.i-rado*    *piraškol*  
 INAN<sub>2</sub>-PL \be-CAUS:PL.PST-PROG    bun.PL[NOM]  
 'I am putting the buns in the basket.' [Andi dial., World Fairy-tales: Masha and the Bear]

### 3 Concurrent hypotheses to explain for CAUS:PL form -oɬɨ

Outline:

**HYP 1** – Suffix -oɬɨ was formed by analogy

**HYP 2** – *l* is a PL suffix in CAUS complex suffix -o-lɨ

**HYP 1.1** – CAUS suffix results from morphologization of historical CAUS auxiliary verb in which PL was marked through suffix -l

<sup>3</sup>This was first discovered by Cercvadze (1965: 168).

<sup>4</sup>Though also described for Ainu by Shibatani (1990: 48-55).

<sup>5</sup>I thank Timur A. Maisak for drawing my attention to this minimal pair.

**HYP 1.2** – Historically, *-l* pluralizes stems in final vowel *-o* to which CAUS is suffixed

**HYP 3** – *-olt* results from contraction of double causative suffix *\*-ol-ot*

**HYP 1** Suffix *-olt* was formed by analogy with PL inchoative denominative verbs

**Explanation:**

- Inchoative denominative verb stems: N / ADJ / ADV / POSTP + INCH verbalizer *-t*.  
e.g. *tamaſa-t.i-du* wonder-INCH.PST-PF ‘(s)he was surprised’ (Lk 9, 43)
- PL form of many nominal parts of speech in *-ol*:  
e.g. *tamaſol-t.i-du* wonder.PL-INCH.PST-PF ‘they were surprised’ (Lk 8, 56)
- CAUS:PL *-olt* formed by analogy with INCH denominative verbs formed upon PL nominals containing segment [*olt*]

**Issue:** CAUS forms upon verb stems, while INCH upon nominal stems → is analogy possible?

**HYP 2** *l* is a PL suffix in the causative complex suffix *-o-l-t*

**Support:** Rochant (2018: 197-233) provides evidence that *o* in CAUS suffix *-ol/-olt* could historically be an epenthetic final stem vowel → morphologically separate from historical CAUS suffix *\*-l/\*-t*

→ ROOT-*olt* < \*ROOT.(*o*)-*t*

**Hypothetical original segmentation:**

ROOT	(.o)	(-l)	-l / -t
root	(epenthetic stem vowel)	(plural stem marker)	causative suffix

**hyp 2.1** CAUS suffix agrees in number through suffix *-l* because it results from morphologization of historical CAUS auxiliary verb in which PL was marked through suffix *-l*

**Support:** • IMP(TR) forms in *-o* are also formed upon the bare root and mark plural through suffix *-l*  
e.g. *ſamm-o* ‘throw (a SG P)!’ vs. *ſamm-o-l* ‘throw (a PL P)!’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Dirr 1906: pages.

→ CAUS suffix could be historically complex and come from an IMP(TR) verb form in *-o(l)* + suffix *-l̥*

- Rochant (2018: 197-233) suggests that *o* in IMP(TR) suffix = also historically epenthetic final stem vowel  
→ *o* of historical causative \*ROOT.*o-l̥* can be same morpheme as IMP(TR)

- Issues:**
- Suggesting that *-ol̥* comes from a transitive imperative verb form ending in *-l* requires that the *whole verb stem* was lost through morphologization process
  - No other existing or reconstructible verb from which CAUS marker can be traced back to. Very old morpheme (shared by other Andic and almost all Tsezic languages)
  - In all forms other than IMP, Agreement in number is normally marked in verbs through class agreement and vowel alternation in prefixal area (cf. ex. 1). *l* ≠ class marker and is never prefixed

**hyp 2.2** Historically, *-l* pluralizes not a verb form which the causative suffix would come from, but the stem in final *-o* to which it attaches

**Explanation:**

CAUS does not come from IMP(TR), but both are formed upon stem in epenthetical final *.o*, which can be pluralized through suffix *-l*

**Support:**

- HYP that vowel *o* in both CAUS and IMP(TR) < \*epenthetical final stem vowel *.o*
- + IMP(TR) forms in *-o* mark PL absolute term through suffix *-l*
- → Hypothetical epenthetical final stem vowel \**.o* can receive PL *-l* marker to indicate PL absolute term

**HYP 3** *-ol̥* results from contraction of double causative suffix \**-ol-ol̥* expressing a single causative event with a plural P-term

**Explanation:**

- In typology, a causative can be used a second time on one verb without further increasing its valency → it alters the semantics, but not the syntax of the causative event, which remains a single causative event

- One of possible semantic expressions of non-causativizing second causatives = a plural P-term<sup>2</sup>
- HYP = *-ol̥* < *\*ol-ol̥*<sup>8</sup> (which expressed single causative event with plural P-term)

**Support:** Non-causativizing second causatives exist in Modern Andi (with other semantics) → This structure is allowed in Andi

#### 4 Conclusion: this phenomenon remains an enigma

- Very rare (not described for any other Andic-Tsezic language sharing with Andi the same causative marker)
- No trivial explanation (contrary to Avar suffix *-a<CL>* < *ha<CL>*- ‘do’)
- Several hypotheses, none significantly more convincing than the others

## References

- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2011). “Causatives which do not cause: non-valency-increasing effects of a valency-increasing derivation”. In: *Language at Large: Essays on syntax and semantics*. Ed. by A. Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon. Leiden: Brill, pp. 86–142.
- Alisultanova, M. A. (2009). “Leksika andijskogo jazyka”. PhD thesis.
- Cercvadze, I. I. (1965). *Andiuri ena*. Tbilissi: Metsniereba.
- Dirr, A. M. (1906). *Kratkij grammatičeskij očerk andijskago jazyka*. Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestonstej i pleměn Kavkaza 32. Tbilissi: Upravlenie Kavkaskogo Učebnogo Okrug.
- Kulikov, L. I. (1993). “The “second causative”: A typological sketch”. In: *Causatives and Transitivity*. Ed. by B. Comrie and M. Polinsky. Studies in Language Companion Series 23. John Benjamins, pp. 121–154.
- Lk (2015). *Lukasdi bosam rerhanot̥i χabar [Gospel of Luke]*. Translated in the Andi dialect with the collaboration of a Rikwani dialect speaker. Moscow: Institut perevoda Biblii.
- Magomedova, P. A., ed. (2010). *Dunjalla baχunnirs:i χargilt̥ol gwanab mits’illas:ol muχal [Fairy-tales of peoples of the World in the Andi language]*. Translated from Russian to the Andi dialect by M. A. Alisultanova. Makhatchkala: Nurul’ iršad.

<sup>2</sup>Kulikov 1993: 128-134; Aikhenvald 2011.

<sup>8</sup>Reasons why historical double causative forms are reconstructed as *\*ol-ol̥* (and not, for example, *-ol̥-ol̥*, as in Modern Andi) lay in the reconstruction of the Proto-Andi causative form as (o)l + ‘do’ *i.h.i-* / *i.d-*, cf. Dirr (1906: 54) and Rochant (2018: 197-233).



- Matasović, R. et al. (2017). “Agreement in Role and Reference Grammar: a Typology of Possible Targets”. In: *Suvremena lingvistika* 43.84, pp. 157–171.
- Moroz, G. A. (2018). *lingtypology: easy mapping for Linguistic Typology*. URL: <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lingtypology>.
- Rochant, N. (2018). “Transitivation et détransitivation dans le Caucase: Description de procédés de changement de valence dans un dialecte andi”. MA thesis. Paris: Institut National des Langues et des Civilisations Orientales.
- Salimov, X. S. ([1968] 2010). *Gagatlinskij govor andijskogo jazyka*. Institut yazyka, literatury i iskusstva im. G. Cadasy Dagestanskogo naučnogo centra Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk. Makhachkala.
- Shibatani, M. (1990). *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sulejmanov, J. G. (1957). “Grammatičeskij očerk andijskogo jazyka (po dannym govora s. Rikvani)”. PhD thesis. URSS: Institut yazykoznanija Akademii Nauk SSSR.