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Why does the Andi causative suffix agree in number?

Neige Rochant (Sorbonne Nouvelle // CNRS LaCiTO / LLaCAN)
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o Perilinguistic data

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

Figure 1: Andi within Nakh-Daghestanian

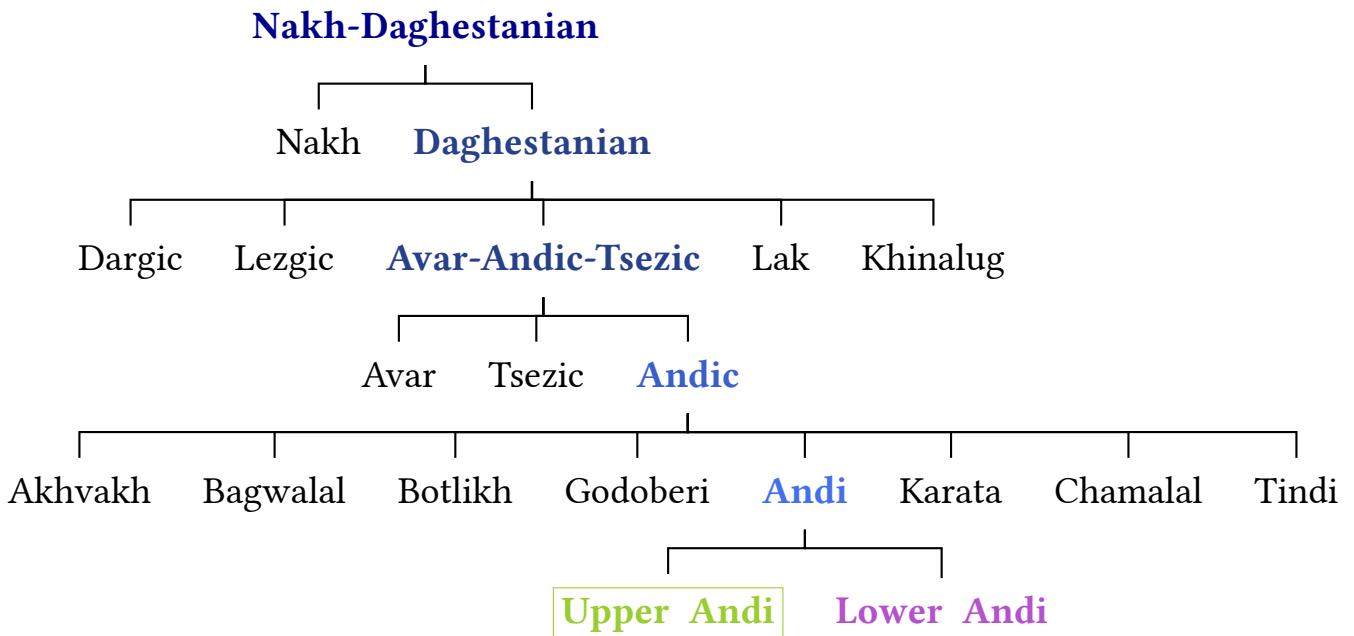
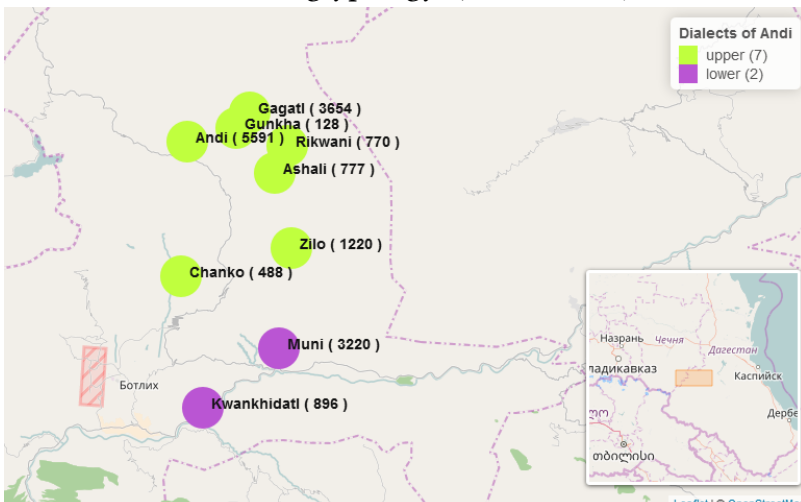


Figure 2: The Andi villages and dialects (© S. Verhees with Lingtypology (Moroz 2018))



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**¹ (3)
- Recursive causative suffix can causativize twice² (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

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

²At least in dialects of Gagatl and Zilo.

heradi b-ul.on-dɹu.

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-tɿi = gu jefu-o*
 mother-ERG RFL-GEN=EMPH girl-AFF<INAN₁>
k’amm-oɿ.i illo.
 eat(TR)-CAUS.PST(AOR) food[INAN₁][NOM]

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

- (4) *onɿri = lo hegel-di xoroɿa xan = ɿo w-uk’-ol-dɹu*
 then=ADD DEM-ERG shepherd king=FUNC M-be-CAUS.PST-PF
maduhal kupetsi B^wannqχ’.unn-oɿ-ol-dɹu.
 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^w</i> .V ‘be’		nasal stem <i>ik^w</i> .Vn- ‘eat(ITR)’	
	[- CAUS]	[+ CAUS]	[- CAUS]	[+ CAUS]
AOR	CL- <i>ik^w.o</i>	CL- <i>ik^w-oɿ.i</i>	<i>ik^w.on</i>	<i>ik^w-onɿ.i</i>
PF	CL- <i>ik^w.o-dɹu</i>	CL- <i>ik^w-ol-dɹu</i>	<i>ik^w.on-dɹu</i>	<i>ik^w-onɿ.i-dɹu</i>
PROG	CL- <i>ik^w.o-rado</i>	CL- <i>ik^w-oɿ.i-rado</i>	<i>ik^w.om-ado</i>	<i>ik^w-onɿ.i-rado</i>
HAB	CL- <i>ik’.ud-o</i>	CL- <i>iqχ-ol.l-o</i>	<i>ik.unn-o</i>	<i>ik^w-on.n-o</i>
INF	CL- <i>ik’.ud-u</i>	CL- <i>ik^w-ol.l-u</i>	<i>ik.unn-u</i>	<i>ik^w-on.n-u</i>
FUT	CL- <i>ik’.ud-ja</i>	CL- <i>ik^w-ol-ja</i>	<i>ik.unn-ja</i>	<i>ik^w-on.n-ja</i>
IMP(TR)	<i>biχ-o</i> ‘take!’	CL- <i>ik^w-oɿ-o</i>	<i>aχ-on</i> ‘open!’	<i>ik^w-onɿ.o</i>

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

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*

→ $\text{ROOT-olt} < * \text{ROOT.(o)-t}$

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)!’¹

¹Dirr 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-term²
- HYP = *-ol̥* < **ol-ol̥*⁸ (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

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²Kulikov 1993: 128-134; Aikhenvald 2011.

⁸Reasons 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’ *iħ.i- / i.d-*, cf. Dirr (1906: 54) and Rochant (2018: 197-233).

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