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The (auxiliary) verb *b-ɪɪdu* in Andi

Samira Verhees
NRU HSE (Moscow)

Neige Rochant
INaLCO (Paris)

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Introduction

• **Problem:** in all Avar-Andic languages: auxiliary with the common stem *-k'* and a full paradigm. + a copula (different possible stems) that occurs only in the present tense (cf. Gudava (1959: 13)). In **Andi** a **second auxiliary** is attested, with the stem *-ɪɪ-*, which is homonymous to a lexical verb meaning 'to stop'.

• Hypotheses:

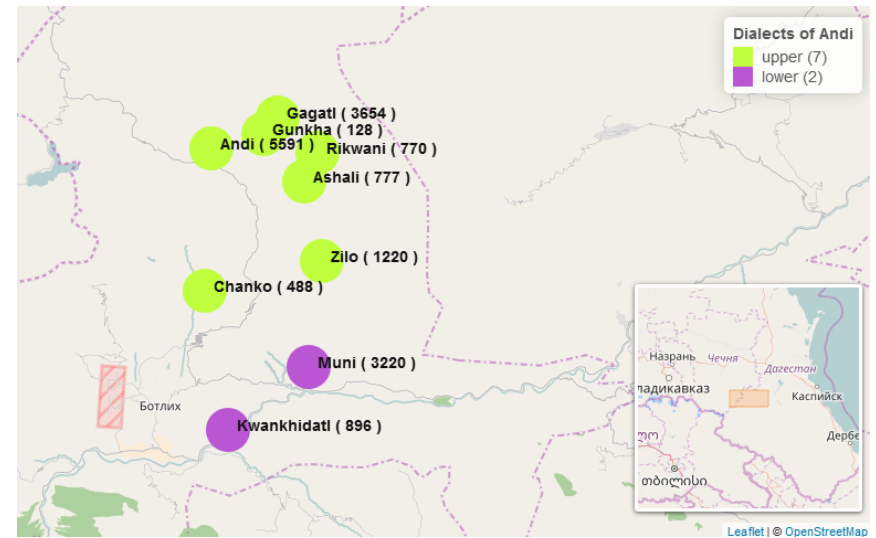
- The auxiliary *b-ɪɪ* (AOR) is the past tense of the copula *(dʒ)i* (according to Dirr (1906:69-71). Suppletivism or reflections of the same stem.
- Lexical verb and auxiliary are coincidentally homonymous.
- Our hypothesis: The lexical verb 'to stop' underwent a grammaticalization process toward an existential auxiliary.

• Our data:

- Descriptive grammars – description of lexical semantics and paradigm;
- Corpus of natural and translated texts – usage of forms in context;
- Elicitation during fieldwork – lexical semantics, paradigm and functions.

1 The Andi language

- Nakh-Daghestanian > Daghestanian > Avar-Andic > Andic
- Nine villages/dialects in the Botlikh district of the Republic of Dagestan.
- Two dialect groups: upper Andi (Gagatl, Gunkha, Rikwani, Ashali, Zilo, Chanko) and lower Andi (Kwankhidatl and Muni).
- Unwritten language. Literary language = Avar.



[Figure 1: the dialects of Andi]¹

2 The Andi auxiliary system: The existential verb, the copula and *b-ɪɪ*

[Table 1: paradigms of the existential verb *b-ik'u-du*, the lexical verb *b-ɪɪ-du* 'to stop', the copula and the auxiliary verb *b-ɪɪ* (Andi dialect)]

	Existential verb <i>b-ik'u-du</i> 'to be'		lexical verb <i>b-ɪɪ-du</i> 'to stop'		copula <i>(dʒ)i</i> / <i>b-ɪɪ</i>	
	AFF	NEG	AFF	NEG		
infinitive	b-ik'u-du	b-ik'u-du-s:u	b-ɪɪ-du	b-ɪɪ-du-s:u	(dʒ)i	s:u
habitual	b-ik'u-do	b-ik'u-do-s:u	b-ɪɪ-do	b-ɪɪ-do-s:u	x	x
future	b-ik'u-dja	b-ik'u-do-s:ja	b-ɪɪ-dja	b-ɪɪ-do-s:ja	x	x
aorist	b-ik'o	b-ik'o-s:u	b-ɪɪ	b-ɪɪ-s:u	b-ɪɪ	s:u-b-ɪɪ
perfect	b-ik'o-d:u	b-ik'o-d:u-s:u / b-ik'o-tʃ'igu	b-ɪɪ-d:u	b-ɪɪ-d:u-s:u / b-ɪɪ-tʃ'igu	x	x

¹This map was created using Lingtypology for R (Moroz 2017). Population according to the latest census (2010-2016).

• Within the Avar-Andic branch, the auxiliary *b-ixi-du* is only attested in the Andi language (Mallaeva 2015:256-296).

• Prefixal negation in the aorist form of the copula:

- (1) *din hundoŋu su-w-uxi*
 I there NEG-M-be.AOR
 'I was not there.'
 (Dirr [1906])

3 The lexical verb *b-ixi-du*

[Table 2: The semantics of the verb *b-ixi-du* in descriptive literature]

Dialect	Lexical meaning	Source
Gagatl	'to become' 'to stop (intr)'	Salimov [1968]
Rikwani	'to stand up'	Suleymanov [1957]
Andi	'to stand' 'to stop (intr)' 'to wait' 'to expect' 'to become' 'to stop (intr)' 'to stop (intr)' 'to stand' 'to stop (intr)' 'to stand' 'to become' 'to stay' 'to wait'	Dirr [1906] Gudava [1959] Kibrik and Kodzasov [1988] Alisultanova [2009] Kibrik [1982]
All	'to stand'	Tsertsvadze [1965]

• **To stop (come to a halt) → core meaning: 'to stop'**

- (2) *ŋaj-aqχ'lu ruχ-o du-r = ɛojd = ɬodi*
 knowledge-reason take_away-IMP you-→an2(GEN)=QUOT=REP
rutɬ-i tʃaG^warallo-d,
 say-AOR quail-ERG
sirir-sub misa-l'a = lo b-ixi-d [...].
 danger-ATR.NEG place-SUP=ADD AN-stop-CVB
 'May your reason be taken away from you, said the quail, **having stopped** in a safe place.'
 [Sulejmanov 1957, 423] (Rikwani dialect)

• **To stand**

- (3) *hago-dɯ – zudi b-ixi-dɯ giza.*
 see-CVB(PF) up →AN1-stop-CVB(PF) basket
 'They saw: There stood a basket.'
 [Fairy tales of the world in the Andi language, Masha and the bear, p.13]

• **To stay**

- (4) *baba zeŋal ifu j-ix-i*
 mother today at_home F-stay-AOR
 'Mother stayed at home today.'
 [Alisultanova 2009: 42]

• **To wait**

- (5) *din gir-dija w-uxi-du, hede-w wugi-lo*
 I lie-FUT M-wait-CVB, DEM-M come-CVB
 'I am going to lie, waiting until he comes'
 [Kibrik 1981 - ekspedicionnyj otčët, p. 88]

• **To become**

No example in the literature.

Theory of semantic derivation:

• **To stop/come to a halt**

→ and remain in this state: **to stay**

→ and remain rested, in expectation of something: **to wait, to expect**

→ in combination with *zudi* 'up': **to stand** (*zudi* can be omitted).

- The secondary nature of meanings such as 'to stay', 'to wait' or 'to stand' is confirmed by the fact that in the present tense, they are rendered by the perfect (= is stopped + resting / in a vertical position / and waiting).

- The semantics of *b-ibi-du* and grammaticalization: the development of a posture verb such as 'to stand' into a copula is attested cross-linguistically (see Heine & Kuteva 2002). Grammaticalization of a verb 'to stay' towards a copula is attested in Burmese ('to stay, to stand' > progressive auxiliary (Park 1992:16)).

4 Usage and morphology

4.1 Corpus data

Dialect	Source	Words	Tokens	LEX	AUX	COP	NA
Andi	Gospel of Luke (2015)	37204	66	55	6	1	4
	World fairytales (2010)	8809	41	22	14	5	0
	Texts from Dirr (1906)	3002	9	4	4	1	0
Gagatli	Texts from Salimov (1968)	799	0	0	0	0	0
	Texts from Dirr (1906)	328	1	1	0	0	0
Rikwani	Texts from Sulejmanov (1957)	323	1	1	0	0	0
	HSE spoken text corpus (2015)	4268	6	6	0	0	0

Results from corpus analysis:

- The verb *b-ibi* is not used as an auxiliary in Rikwani.
- *b-ibi* as a copula attested only in the aorist.
- Auxiliary *b-ibi* found mostly in the aorist, except for sentences in unwitnessed evidential regime, in which all verbs are in the perfect.

4.2 Interlinear texts from Tsertsvadze (1965)

- Descriptive grammar by Tsertsvadze (1965) contains two short fragments translated in all dialects except Gunkha (Text X, IX, p. 298-310).

- Five sentences in total contain the verb *b-ibi-du*: in its lexical sense, as an auxiliary and as a copula. As an existential verb (in the present tense), it occurs only in Muni, other dialects make use of *b-ik'u-du* in the same sentence.

- (6) *itfallo-tʃi* *ʃij* *b-ibi-ra*
horse-GEN milk ¬AN-be-PRS
'Horses have milk.'
(Muni dialect)
- (7) *itʃu-tʃi* *ʃiw* *r-ik'u-do*
horse-GEN milk ¬AN-be-HAB
'Horses have milk.'
(Andi dialect)

Interestingly, the verb does not occur with lexical meaning in Muni.

- As an auxiliary in a periphrastic (past) tense, the verb occurs in Andi, Gagatli, Zilo, Muni and Kwankhidatl. In Ashali, Rikwani and Chanko *b-ik'u-du* is used exclusively. In Kwankhidatl both verbs are used as auxiliary.

5 Fieldwork data from Zilo and Muni

5.1 Lexical semantics of *b-ibi-du* in the Zilo dialect:

- To stop (or 'come to a halt').
- (8) *poezd* *b-ibi-r-su* *stantsijal-ʔa*
train ¬AN-stop-PROG-NEG station-SUP
'the train doesn't stop at the station.'
- To stop (= 'to cease a certain action').
- (9) *maʃin* *b-ibi* *ħalt'u-mado-kru*
car ¬AN-stop.AOR work-PROG-EL
'The car stopped working.'
- To stand – often combined with *zudi* 'up', which can be omitted.
 - To stay
 - To wait
 - To become
- (10) *Murad* *toχtur* *w-ubi-j*
Murad doctor M-become-CVB(PF)
'Murad became a doctor.'

Meanings not described for other dialects:

- To strive – often combined with *hiʔa* 'up', which can be omitted.

- (11) *Umaxan pjat-ol b-oχe-ri hi?a w-uxi-r*
 Umakhan five-PL \neg AN-PL.take-INF up M-strive-PROG
 'Umakhan tries (hard) to obtain the best grades.'

8. To pretend – in combination with the particle *-to* (functive, 'as')

- (12) *abdulla χoroφα-fo w-uxe*
 abdulla sheperd-FUNC M-be.HAB
 'Abdulla pretends to be a shepherd.'

This is also the only context in which *b-ixi-du* can be used in the present tense with existential meaning in Zilo. Otherwise, existential meanings in the present tense (as in example (6) from Muni) are rendered with the verb *b-ik'we-ri* (= the Zilo equivalent of Andi *b-ik'u-du*).

5.2 Usage of *b-ixi* as a copula (Zilo dialect)

The verb *b-ixi* (AOR) is used to derive the past tense of the copulae:

- (13) *abdulla dži w-uxi χoroφα.*
 Abdulla COP M-be.AOR shepherd
 'Abdullah was a shepherd.'
- (14) *abdulla χoroφα su w-uxi.*
 abdulla shepherd NEG.COP M-be.AOR
 'Abdullah wasn't a shepherd.'

→ Rather than negation *su* being suffixed to *b-ixi* in order to form the negation of the aorist copula, *b-ixi* seems to be suffixed to the negative copula *su* in order to form its aorist.

The affirmative copula can be omitted, according to some speakers.

- (15) *reχino-?a baħaraj baβu j-ixi*
 wedding-SUP fiancée beautiful F-be.AOR
 'The fiancée was beautiful at the wedding'

In the future, *b-ixi* is not allowed as a copula:

- (16) a. *abdulla-j jotsi j-ik'u-ja.*
 b. **abdulla-j jotsi j-ixi-ja*
 abdulla-F(GEN) sister F-be-FUT
 'Abdullah doesn't have a sister.'

5.3 As an auxiliary

b-ixi occurs only in the aorist. Periphrastic tenses with a perfect / habitual or future auxiliary can only be formed with *b-ik'we-ri* (equivalent of Andi *b-ik'u-du*).

5.4 In the Muni dialect

1. The verb *b-ixi-du* has replaced the other auxiliary and is used in all tenses:

- (17) *fila b-ixe-wi otsbaj iħi-χa honħuj.*
 tomorrow \neg AN-be-FUT otsbaj we.INCL-AD village
 'Tomorrow in our village will be "Otsbaj".'

2. It is not used lexically: in the same context, another verb is used meaning 'to rest' in Zilo):

- (18) *mafina fani-lo.*
 car stop-AOR
 'The car stopped'

Preliminary conclusions

- The lexical verb *b-ixi-du* was grammaticalized into the auxiliary/copula *b-ixi*:

- In most dialects, with the exception of Muni, *b-ixi* is restricted to the past tense in its non-lexical sense. It is used mostly to derive the past tense of the copulae and as an auxiliary in periphrastic tenses.

- Only in Muni has it become a fully-fledged existential verb that has replaced the existential verb with the stem *-k'*. In Rikwani, on the other hand, the process of grammaticalization has not taken place and the *-k'* verb fulfills these functions.

- Two theories to account for this process:

1/ *b-ixi-du* was grammaticalized into an existential auxiliary denoting temporary states or non-inherent characteristics:

- Its lexical semantics ('to stop (and stay)') allow for a generalization towards denoting temporary states.

- It is used as an auxiliary or copula only in the past tense, i.e. denoting accomplished temporary states, with the exception of present existential predicates meaning "to pretend to be...", i.e. expressing non-inherent characteristics.

2/ *b-ixi-du* was grammaticalized into an existential auxiliary that distinguishes itself from the other auxiliary by a lack of existential semantics:

- It occurs as an auxiliary along with the copulae to express their aorist tense. The use of *b-ixi* as a copula alone without (*dʒ*)*i* seems to be due to the omission of the latter, and therefore is a case of grammaticalization of the auxiliary toward a copula in itself.
- In constructions with the functive suffixe *-to*, the latter bears all the semantic content (non-inherent state).
 - Different processes are happening at the present moment: 1) Grammaticalization of the verb *b-ixi-du* toward a auxiliary 2) Lexicalization of some of the meanings of *b-ixi-du* (*zudi b-ixi-du* ‘stand’, etc.)

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Abbreviations

¬AN – inanimate
AD – ad locative
AOR – aorist
AUX – auxiliary
COP – copula
GEN – genitive
HAB – habitual
EL – elative
F – feminine gender
FUNC – functive
FUT – future
INCL – inclusive
INF – infinitive
M – masculine gender
NEG – negative
PL – plural
PRES – present
PROG – progressive
SUP – super