

The (auxiliary) verb *b-ibidu* in Andi

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In some Andi dialects (Avar-Andic branch of the East Caucasian family), the verb *b-ibidu* ('to stay, to stop') is homonymous with an auxiliary verb with existential meaning ('to be'). This auxiliary verb coexists with another existential auxiliary that is attested in all closely related languages (the verb *b-ik'udu*, with the common Avar-Andic stem *-k'*- (see Gudava [1959: 13]) and a copula *i* or *dzi*, which is used only in the present tense.

(1) Lexical verb *b-ibidu*

ʔaj-aqχ'lu *ruχo* *du-r-ʔojd-ʔodi* *rutʔi* *tʃag^warallo-d,*
knowledge-reason take_away.IMP you-GEN-QUOT-REP say.AOR quail-ERG
sirir-sub *misa-l'a = lo* ***b-ibi-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)

(2) Auxiliary verb *b-ibidu*

hege-r *refin* *ifɪ-b* *gorod židi-r* ***b-ibi.***
that-¬AN2 year we.EXCL-GEN city do-PRES ¬AN1-be.AOR

'In that year, our city was founded.'

[Fieldwork data, 2016] (Zilo dialect)

The current presentation aims to describe the usage of both the lexical verb *b-ibidu* and the auxiliary in different dialects of Andi, in order to provide a reconstruction accounting for this apparent homonymy¹.

According to Dirr [1906: 69-72] *b-ibi* is the past tense of the copula *i* (at least in the dialect of the village of Andi), which makes it formally identical to the past tense of the verb 'to stay'. Dirr nonetheless treats them as separate lexemes. Salimov, on the other hand, mentions that *b-ibidu* ('to stay, to become') can be used interchangeably with *b-ik'udu* in analytic tenses [1968: 211, 256]. A similar observation was made by Tsertsvadze [1965, 365]. Based on our analysis of a small corpus of texts, we propose that the lexical verb is the source of the auxiliary. An argument in favor of this hypothesis is the occurrence of sentences in which a form of *b-ibidu* heads an analytic construction while retaining its lexical meaning:

¹ Most of the available data comes from the dialects of Andi, Rikwani, Gagatl and Zilo. We also took into account the few examples in the Muni, Ashali, Chankho and Kwankhidatl dialects recorded by Tsertsvadze [1965]. Gunkho remains the only dialect for which no data are available.

(3) Intermediate construction with *b-ixidu*

din girdi-ja w-uxi-dzu hede-w w-ugi = lo
I lie_down-FUT M-stop-PF DEM-M M-come=ADD
'I want to sleep [and] wait until he comes'² (AM30.01.17)
[Kibrik 1988] (Andi dialect)

As we will show in our presentation, different stages of grammaticalization are represented in different dialects. In addition, we will discuss some peculiarities of *b-ixidu* as an auxiliary, such as its suffixation to the copula. Findings will consequently be related to evidence from other closely related languages, in which analogous changes do not seem to have taken place. Although the usage of a verb with the meaning 'to stay' in analytic constructions is attested in other Daghestanian languages (e.g. Forker [2016:12] on such constructions with evidential meaning), the development of such a verb into a purely existential auxiliary so far seems to be specific to Andi.

References

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² The original translation by A.A. Kibrik contained the word 'to wait' in Russian (*ždat'*), although he claims that the verb is used in its lexical sense 'to stop, to stay' (*ostanavlivat'sja*) [1982: 88]. This explains how the perfect form of *b-ixidu* (with the suffix *-dzu*) can give rise to a resultative construction describing a present state of being halted and waiting for someone.