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Clausal agreement on adverbs in Andi

<https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2022-0168>

Received October 10, 2022; accepted September 16, 2023; published online August 2, 2024

Abstract: Andi (Nakh-Daghestanian; Russia) displays a typologically remarkable phenomenon: adverbs of numerous morphological and functional types inflect for agreement with a clause-level controller. To the extent that adverb agreement has been observed elsewhere, it is commonly taken to signal that the items involved are semantically oriented towards the participants they agree with, aligning the phenomenon with secondary predication. This paper demonstrates that Andi works differently: the widespread clausal agreement seen on Andi adverbs is insensitive to participant orientation. While agreement exponence on adverbs is morphologically complex, a simple structural principle (modelled here in Minimalist terms) ensures that clause-level agreement is always with the absolutive-case argument. The Andi facts thus provide evidence for a typological distinction between those languages where clausal agreement on adverbs can serve a semantic function and those where it cannot. A potential challenge is posed by the exceptional “biabsolutive” construction, where both subject and object appear in absolute case and either may control adverb agreement, suggesting a role for some additional non-structural factor. However, on independent grounds this paper identifies the two arguments as belonging to distinct structural layers; this apparent flexibility in controller choice merely reflects the ability of certain adverbs to modify either layer.

Keywords: Nakh-Daghestanian; agreement; adverbs; morphosyntax; biabsolutive construction

1 Introduction

Agreement, whereby a word’s form is sensitive to the features of another word or phrase in the sentence, is central to the study of grammar and has been called “perhaps the quintessential morphosyntactic phenomenon” (Preminger 2013). But despite linguists’ familiarity with the notion, in some ways the study of agreement is still in its infancy, as relatively little attention has been paid to agreement marking beyond “classic” targets such as adjectives and finite verbs. The Nakh-Daghestanian

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family, endemic to a small area in the north-eastern Caucasus, has been identified as a particularly rich source of typologically unusual phenomena which challenge received wisdom as to what agreement systems can do (Bond et al. 2016; Foley 2021). However, many languages in the family remain underdescribed. The present paper thus aims to contribute to the study of agreement by looking in detail at one of these less familiar agreement phenomena, clausal agreement on adverbs, in the Nakh-Daghestanian language of Andi; in this poorly documented minority language, it features far more prominently than in languages from other families where it has been investigated so far. I show here that while Andi clausal agreement is highly complex in terms of its exponence and lexical coverage, in syntactic terms it operates in accordance with a straightforward structural principle. In doing so it points to the existence of a typological distinction between those languages in which clausal agreement on adverbs is semantically sensitive and those (like Andi) in which it is blind to semantics.

At the heart of the paper is a simple observation. In Andi, an ergative-absolutive language, many adverbs inflect for agreement with the absolute argument of the clause they appear in. An example is provided in (1a–b), drawn from the Andi dialect of the village of Zilo. In this pair of sentences, the form taken by *šu*- ‘well’ depends on the gender of the nominal subject of the main verb *baʔi-rado* ‘is studying’, masculine (gender I) *wošo* ‘boy’ in (1a) and feminine (gender II) *joši* ‘girl’ in (1b). The adverb must take the form *šuw* in the former context and the form *šuj* in the latter, and the reverse is ungrammatical.¹

(1) a. *wošo* *šu-w* / **šu-j* *baʔi-rado*
 boy(I)[SG.ABS] well-I well-II read-PROG
 ‘The boy studies well.’

b. *joši* *šu-j* / **šu-w* *baʔi-rado*
 girl(II)[SG.ABS] well-II well-I read-PROG
 ‘The girl studies well.’

The phenomenon seen in (1) is sufficiently rare in the languages of the world that it has sometimes been claimed that agreement on adverbs does not exist at all. Representative statements include: “Formally, adverbs are invariable and syntactically dispensable lexemes” (Ramat and Ricca 1998: 187), implying that no adverb can inflect for agreement; “Adverbs never agree in number or gender with an NP” (Alexiadou 1997: 8). To the extent that effects of this kind have been observed

¹ The sentences in (1) are provided merely to illustrate the existence of clausal agreement on Andi adverbs, and do not present all agreeing forms of *šu*- ‘well’. Agreement in Andi is sensitive to five gender values and two number values, whose morphological expression on targets of different kinds is detailed in Section 2.2.

cross-linguistically, they are reported to affect only a small number of lexemes in any given language (Polinsky 2016: 208), and they have sometimes been analysed on the basis that the identity of the noun phrase controlling agreement reflects a particular *semantic orientation* of the adverb, i.e. that it is predicated specifically of the noun phrase with which it agrees. For instance, this conception underlies recent work by Ledgeway (2011, 2017) on agreeing manner adverbs in the Romance varieties of Italy: Ledgeway's account (discussed below in Section 4) relies on the fact that these are inherently *adjectival* and thus suitable to qualify nouns.

However, this is not the only way in which agreement on adverbs might operate. Carstens and Diercks (2013), drawing attention to the existence of agreeing items meaning 'thus' and 'how?' (also based on adjectives) in two Luyia varieties of Kenya, argue at length for a syntactic model which gives no opportunity for semantics to influence agreement on these manner adverbs: instead the identity of the agreement controller is determined in purely structural terms. Compare the typological observation made by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 84) on adjunct expressions more generally. While their own focus is on cases where agreement on an adjunct indicates the participant to which it is semantically relevant, they also identify an alternative scenario whereby the agreement is "automatic", i.e. controlled by a morphosyntactically specified participant as part of basic clausal syntax, independent of any semantic considerations. This paper will demonstrate that Andi is a language that unambiguously features automatic agreement on adverbs in this sense – thereby patterning with Luyia as opposed to the relevant Italian dialects.

At the same time, the Andi phenomenon is notably different in some respects from both of these. In Andi, agreement is found on a wide range of adverbs. They are of various derivational types, need not relate to adjectives in any way, and are not limited to expressing manner modification. What is more, the peculiarities of Andi agreement exponence make for a notably intricate morphological picture, in which different adverbs are sensitive to different morphosyntactic features, if they are able to agree at all. That is, although agreement on Andi adverbs can be called automatic in the specific sense just given, that does not imply that it is straightforward or simple to describe. In fact, paradoxically, under the right grammatical circumstances Andi can even show what appears to be the possibility of variation in the identity of the clausal agreement controller.

I thus aim to provide a comprehensive picture of how agreement on adverbs operates in Andi – surveying the range of items which it affects, laying out the substantial complexities of its exponence, and justifying my claim that the identity of the clausal agreement controller is determined without a role for participant orientation. This has the result that an adverb may well be oriented semantically towards one argument of a verb, and yet linked formally, via agreement, only with

another. I will also explain how this is consistent with the observation that sometimes a choice of agreement targets is apparently possible, as in (2), where either argument can control agreement on the adverb meaning ‘thereabouts’. Importantly, in the grammatical context concerned, two absolutives appear to be selected by the same verb. A fuller appreciation of this “biabsolutive construction”, found in an otherwise ergative language, demonstrates how such variability can emerge even in a system where the agreement controller is assigned structurally. By treating this realm of Andi grammar in detail, I aim to contribute to a broader appreciation of the typological interest of agreeing adverbs as a cross-linguistic phenomenon, as well as adding to a burgeoning literature describing and analysing their behaviour across Nakh-Daghestanian.²

(2) *kunt'a het:u-ba-k:u / het:u-wa-k:u dungil b-uxi-r*
 man(i)[SG.ABS] there-DIR.IV-EL there-DIR.I-EL hole(iv)[SG.ABS] IV-SG.dig-PROG
 ‘The man is digging a hole thereabouts.’

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2 I set the scene, briefly introducing the Andi language before presenting the fundamentals of its agreement marking. Section 3 shows that adverbs in Andi employ the same agreement morphology as more familiar targets, and surveys the range of agreeing adverbs found, which belong to several derivational and functional classes. Section 4 demonstrates that although adverbs can sometimes happen to be semantically oriented towards the noun phrase that controls their agreement, this does not reflect any fundamental principle: instead, the identity of the agreement controller is determined by a simple morphosyntactic calculus. In Section 5 I take up the challenge posed by the biabsolutive construction, investigating its structure and arguing that the surface variation it shows can be explained in terms of the account provided here. Section 6 concludes.

2 Basics of Andi agreement

The behaviour of Andi adverbs as potential targets for agreement is best appreciated against the background of the Andi agreement system as a whole. I will begin in the

2 In what follows I draw special attention to the work of Polinsky (2015, 2016) on agreeing adverbs in Tsez and Archi respectively; Rudnev (2020) on Avar; and Sumbatova (2010, 2013, 2014, 2023) on Tanti Dargwa. Among Andi’s closest relatives within the family, careful descriptions of agreeing adverbs are found for Chamalal (Bokarev 1949: 108, 111–112), Bagwalal (Kibrik 2001: 457–463; Sosenskaja 2001: 169–172), and Botlikh (Alekseyev and Verhees forthcoming); a closely related phenomenon in Northern Akhwakh is treated in Creissels (2012: see especially p. 153). Agreement exponence on adverbs in Andi itself is discussed by Zakirova (2020: 113–118). I wish to thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting several of these references.

present section by introducing the Andi language in general, and the morphosyntax of agreement as it affects more usual targets, before addressing adverb targets in particular in subsequent sections.

2.1 The Andi language

Andi [ani] (*gʷannab mic’i*, Russian *andijskij jazyk*), which belongs and gives its name to the Andic language group within the Avar-Andic branch of Nakh-Daghestanian, is spoken in nine villages and a few smaller settlements in the mountainous Botlikh district of western Daghestan. The most recent Russian census (2010) records a total of 5,800 speakers, but this is certainly a substantial underestimate: Andi is the primary language used in everyday communication by local residents of all ages, and the same census gives the population of the largest Andi-speaking village alone (itself called *gʷannu/Andi*) as 5,591. The previous census (2002) recorded 23,729 speakers altogether, which represents a more realistic figure.

Each settlement has its own linguistic variety, but following Cercvadze (1965), two broad dialect groups are generally distinguished – Upper and Lower Andi – with only limited mutual intelligibility between the two. The large majority of the general descriptive work that has been carried out on the language treats Upper Andi dialects, especially those of Gagatli (Salimov 2010 [1968]), Rikwani (Sulejmanov 1957), and the village of Andi itself (“Andi proper”; Cercvadze 1965; Dirr 1906). In recent years specialized studies on Upper Andi have also appeared, including Rochant (2018) on valency in the variety of Zilo and Verhees (2019) on general converbs in Andi proper, Gagatli and Rikwani. Andi is a largely unwritten language not used in any administrative capacity, and only two substantial texts in the language have so far been published, both of which also represent Upper dialects: Magomedova and Alisultanova (2010) is a collection of tales from around the world (including one original composition) in Andi proper, while Anonymous (2015), henceforth cited as *Luke*, is a translation of the Gospel of Luke into an intermediate Upper Andi deliberately shorn of any overly local peculiarities. The paper makes use of Upper Andi data only: more specifically, the findings presented here are primarily based on fieldwork carried out on the Zilo variety by the author, supplemented where necessary by material drawn from some of the sources just mentioned.

In its broad typological outlines Andi is a typical member of the Nakh-Daghestanian family: it has a rich consonant inventory, a largely agglutinative morphology, and a basic SOV order in which modifiers precede heads (though constituent order can be manipulated for the purposes of information structure), and it is ergative-absolutive in its morphosyntactic alignment, with the formally unmarked absolutive case characterizing both the single argument of intransitive

clauses (S) and the patient-like argument of transitive clauses (P). All of these basic characteristics will be seen widely in the examples provided throughout this paper. As is also commonplace in the family, Andi shows agreement both NP-internally and clausally; it is an aspect of clausal agreement that is treated here.

2.2 Agreement features and exponence

There are only two agreement features in Andi, namely gender and number. Each nominal has one of five possible gender values, labelled here with the Roman numerals I–V. Gender assignment is largely but not entirely semantically motivated, in that gender I comprises male humans, gender II comprises female humans, and gender III comprises non-human animals, while inanimate referents are assigned to gender IV or V in a synchronically arbitrary fashion (examples: I *wošo* ‘boy’, II *joši* ‘girl’, III *unso* ‘bull’, IV *ingur* ‘window’, V *haq'u* ‘room, house’). Gender IV can be taken as the neutral or default gender, assigned to atypical controllers of agreement such as non-referential pronouns (*sebgulo* ‘nothing’, *ib* ‘what?’) and clausal complements. The available number values are singular and plural.

It is notable that these two features, gender and number, are equally relevant to agreement behaviour on targets both within the noun phrase and in the domain of the clause as a whole. This is illustrated by Example (3), where the plural gender III noun *zinol* ‘cows’ controls agreement for number and gender on its modifier, the attributive adjective *jišol* ‘fat’, and on both elements of the periphrastic verb *jaq'ir jozi* ‘were driving’ which heads the clause. Meanwhile, the plural gender I noun *wošuludi* ‘boys’ controls agreement for number and gender on its own modifier, *wocol* ‘short’. Details of the exponence involved will be presented below.

(3) *w-oč-ol* *woš-ulu-di* *j-iš-ol* *zinol* *j-aq'i-r*
 i-short-PL boy(i)-PL.OBL-ERG III.PL-fat-PL COW(III).PL.ABS III.PL-PL.drive-PROG
j-ozi
 III.PL-PL.AUX.AOR
 ‘The short boys were driving the fat cows.’

To generalize: in Andi the agreement controller within a noun phrase is its head noun, while the agreement controller on the verbal predicate is its absolutive argument. Targets in either of these domains may be sensitive to both the gender and number of the controller, and finite and non-finite verb forms are equally susceptible to agreement marking. In all these respects Andi is again a typical Nakh-Daghestanian language.

However, no single example can capture the complexities of exponence seen on Andi agreement targets. This is because in terms of the morphological material

employed, Andi possesses three independent subsystems dedicated to the expression of agreement, which differ in their formal behaviour and are not all sensitive to the same features; what is more, their relevance to different targets is partly lexically conditioned. In this paper I refer to them as *GN marking*, *number alternation*, and *-Vl marking*.³

2.2.1 GN marking

The first of these subsystems, GN marking, makes use of affixal morphology, which can appear in prefix, infix or suffix position depending on the target involved. Here the exponents available are the consonantal segments *w*, *j*, *b* and *r*; between them, these four exponents are employed to express agreement for the ten possible combinations of gender and number values, on targets belonging to a wide range of different word classes. As a cover term for these distinct exponents I use the label GN (=gender-number): what is in effect a paradigm of this GN affix can be drawn up as in Table 1.

This table should be interpreted as generalizing over all instances where this GN affix appears – a distribution over items which is conditioned by factors to which I return immediately below. For example, the presence of *j* in the III.PL cell in Table 1 corresponds to the fact that in (3) both the adjective *jišol* ‘fat’ and the verb *jaq’ir jobi* ‘were driving’ are marked for agreement with III.PL *zinol* ‘cows’ by means of a prefix taking the form *j-*; as the table shows, in order to express agreement with a gender III controller in the singular, the prefix *b-* would appear instead (cf. Example [6] below). The same inflectional behaviour will be shown by any item bearing what can be thought of as a “GN slot”.

Certain targets bear a GN slot according to a general morphological rule of the language. For example, the genitive form of a gender I nominal consists of the oblique stem suffixed by a GN marker: in Example (4) this suffix agrees with the gender V head noun *haq’u* ‘room’.

Table 1: Form taken by the agreeing GN affix according to gender and number of the controller.

| | I | II | III | IV | V |
|----------|---|----|-----|----|---|
| SINGULAR | w | j | b | b | r |
| PLURAL | w | j | j | b | r |

³ These correspond to Zakirova’s (2020: 96) *классно-числовые показатели* ‘class-number indicators’, *глагольный аблaut* ‘verbal ablaut’ and *l-согласование* ‘l-agreement’ respectively, though she concentrates on only the last of these.

(4) *imu-r* *haq'u*
 father(i).SG.OBL-GEN.V room(v)[SG.ABS]
 'Father's room'

Likewise, the affective case suffix, which (among other functions) marks the subject of certain experiencer verbs, has the shape *-GNo*, i.e. it contains a GN slot; cf. Kaye (2023), where this agreement behaviour is treated in detail, and Examples (49–53) below. However, much of the time the presence or absence of a GN slot is a lexically specific matter.⁴ For example, the Andi lexical entry for 'fat' can be represented as *GN-iši*, indicating that it shows prefixal agreement by means of the GN marker; but it is not the case that *all* adjectives show prefixal GN agreement in this way, cf. *hiri* 'red', *uns:a* 'warm', on which GN marking is unavailable. Furthermore, even within a given word class, the GN affix need not appear in the same place in those items which do feature it: to *GN-iši* 'fat', in which it appears as a prefix, compare *šu-GN* 'good' and *a-GN-t:in* 'similar', where it is suffixed and infixated respectively. Corresponding observations could be made for other word classes. Whether or not a GN slot is found, and where in the word form it appears, are morphological facts generally uncorrelated with any syntactic or semantic properties of the targets involved. Note, for example, that the numeral *GN-o?ogu* 'four' shows GN agreement, while *łobgu* 'three' and *i"šdugu* 'five' do not, a fact about the morphology that is accompanied by no corresponding difference in the syntax of these items. This lexically "sporadic" agreement behaviour (Corbett 2006: 17) is a widespread and characteristic feature of agreement in the Nakh-Daghestanian family (Fedden 2019: 304; Nichols 2018).

Although there are only four distinct GN exponents altogether, we identify five genders for Andi on the basis of the five distinct agreement marking patterns across singular and plural that are presented in Table 1. Meanwhile, it is clear from this table that the relevance of number to the form taken by the GN affix is extremely limited: gender III is in fact the only one whose exponent varies for number. Conversely, the other two subsystems of agreement marking in Andi are not sensitive to gender distinctions at all, but only to the distinction between singular and plural.

2.2.2 Number alternation

One of the remaining subsystems is restricted in its operation almost exclusively to verbal targets⁵ – although again, by no means all items in this word class are

4 GN marking is found on *some* adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, pronouns, verbs, and also adverbs, as will be seen below; but not on all of the items in any of these classes. More details are provided by Zakirova (2020).

5 The one lexical exception known to me, involving the adjective *GN-it'i* 'straight', is treated in Section 2.2.3.

affected – and involves a process of number alternation in the stem, which in some instances goes as far as full suppletion. Clausal agreement on a suppletive verb, for the number of its absolutive argument, is displayed in Examples (5a–b), which feature an idiosyncratic formal opposition between singular *šammi* and plural *š:ari*.

(5) a. *den-ni hinc'o šammi*
 I-ERG stone(IV)[SG.ABS] SG.throw.AOR
 'I threw a stone.'
 b. *den-ni hinc'-obil š:ari*
 I-ERG stone(IV)-PL.ABS PL.throw.AOR
 'I threw stones.'

More commonly observed is a less drastic form of allomorphy, consisting of certain patterns of vowel alternation in the stem which cannot be accounted for phonologically. For example, the verb form *jaq'ir* which appears in Example (3) above features not only the III.PL exponent *j-* of the GN affix, but also a distinctively plural alternant of the root, *-aq'i-*. As seen in (6), the corresponding form marked for agreement with a III.SG argument instead uses the singular alternant *-uq'i-*. Note that the distinction between singular and plural number is thus marked twice in the formal opposition between III.SG *buq'ir* and III.PL *jaq'ir*, both by the GN affix and by means of vowel alternation: the fact that the affix is sensitive to number does not prevent the root from alternating for number, and vice versa.

(6) *w-oč'-ol woš-ulu-di b-iši ztⁿw b-uq'i-r*
 I-short-PL boy(i)-PL.OBL-ERG III.SG-fat cow(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-SG.drive-PROG
b-iži
 III.SG-SG.AUX.AOR
 'The short boys were driving the fat cow.'

The same observations apply to the auxiliary seen here as *bizi*, whose III.PL counterpart in (3) is *joži*.

2.2.3 -Vl marking

The third and final facet of Andi agreement exponence, -Vl marking, involves the use of affixal material, as GN marking does. However, it differs from the latter in important ways. It is sensitive only to number and not gender; and in formal terms what is involved here is not an equipollent opposition between distinct exponents, but a privative opposition between the presence of an overt plural marker -Vl and the absence of this marker. Examples (7–8) illustrate the basic operation of -Vl marking,

here on two adjectives in attributive position, *bažu* 'beautiful' and *šu-GN* 'good'; the identity of the vowel in this suffix is subject to complex conditioning which will not be discussed here. Example (9) shows that agreement operates in the same way on a predicative adjective as on an attributive.

(7) a. *bažu* *k'otu*
 beautiful horse(III)[SG.ABS]
 'beautiful horse'

b. *baž-ol* *k'ot-il*
 beautiful-PL horse(III)-PL.ABS
 'beautiful horses'

(8) a. *šu-b* $\chi^w ej$
 good-III.SG dog(III)[SG.ABS]
 'good dog'

b. *šu-j-il* $\chi^w edul$
 good-III.PL-PL dog(III).PL.ABS
 'good dogs'

(9) a. $\chi^w ej$ *šu-b* *b-ik^w-e*
 dog(III)[SG.ABS] good-III.SG III.SG-SG.be-HAB
 'The dog is good.'

b. $\chi^w edul$ *šu-j-il* *j-ok^w-e*
 dog(III).PL.ABS good-III.PL-PL III.PL-PL.be-HAB
 'Dogs are good.'

As is shown here, the *-Vl* suffix is employed to realize number agreement with a plural noun on an adjective whether or not the latter also happens to bear an agreeing GN affix. Thus the plurality of the head noun is in effect marked twice on *šu-j-il* [good-III.PL-PL] in (8b), and the same is true for *j-iš-ol* [III.PL-fat-PL] in Example (3) above. Compare the behaviour of the intransitive imperative *wuʔomul* in (10), which illustrates the fact that the *-Vl* suffix can also mark agreement with a plural controller in the clausal domain. This form of the verb requires the *-Vl* suffix in agreement with a covert or overt absolute argument in the plural, and the suffix is mandatory here even though *GN-uʔo(n)-* is already a distinctively plural suppletive alternant of *GN-ul* 'go down'.

(10) *moč'i-l*, *(bis:il)* *w-uʔo-m-ul!*
 child(I)-PL.ABS you.PL.ABS I-PL.go_down-INTR.IMP-PL
 'Children, (you) get down!'

Note that the verb *wu?omul* in (10) represents a case where all three types of agreement exponence – GN marking, number alternation in the stem, and *-Vl* marking – are instantiated within the same word form. Another example is provided by the adjective with meanings including ‘direct, correct, straight’, which has the form *GN-it’i* in the singular and *GN-ot’i-l* in the plural: this is the only instance known to me of number alternation in the stem of an adjective.

As is the case for both GN marking and number alternation, there are morphological contexts in which *-Vl* marking is mandatory, and others in which it is impossible: for example, while its presence is required on the verb form in (10), the *-Vl* suffix is never found on the aorist, meaning that a form such as **š:ari-l* [PL.throw.AOR-PL] would be impossible in Example (5b) above. However, the *-Vl* suffix has another distinctive characteristic in the framework of the Andi agreement system – namely that in certain contexts its use is neither required nor forbidden but merely optional. For instance, future verb forms in *-ija* take optional *-Vl* marking when the controller of clausal agreement is plural, as seen in (11), where both *jo?ija* and *jo?ijal* ‘will come’ are equally grammatical plural forms agreeing with *χ:unt’il* ‘boars’.

(11) *χ:unt’il* *mixi-Li* *j-o?ija(-l)*
 pig(III)-PL.ABS field-INTER III.PL-PL.come-FUT(-PL)
 ‘Boars will get into the field.’

A fuller descriptive treatment of *-Vl* marking, including suggestions on its diachronic origin, is provided by Zakirova (2020).

2.3 Summary

At this point it is worth reiterating three of the most notable characteristics of agreement marking in Andi. Firstly, a high degree of independence can be observed between the three types of exponence discussed here, in the sense that the availability of one type neither entails nor rules out the availability of another on the same word form: they do not act as a unified system “sharing the load” in order to realize a single set of agreement features on a single set of targets, but each has its own purview and operates according to its own principles. Secondly, the same formal types of agreement exponence, sensitive to the same features (number and gender), are available both for targets agreeing with controllers within the noun phrase and for targets agreeing clausally with the absolute argument. Thirdly, whether or not an item in a given syntactic context will display exponence of a particular type, and where in the word form this agreement will be marked, is largely a lexical matter.

3 Andi adverbs as agreement targets

3.1 Basics of Andi clausal modification

As in other languages, clausal modification in Andi can be carried out by adverbs and adverb phrases, but also by adjuncts of various other kinds. Notably, most of the adverbial functions which are identified as proper to “high” adverbs in the tradition inaugurated by Cinque (1999) are fulfilled by other structures in Andi: for example, speech-act adverbs such as ‘frankly, honestly’ are not found, adverbial clauses being used instead (e.g. conditional ‘if I spoke the truth’), while epistemic ‘certainly’ is expressed by the comitative expression *l'uč:i=loj* ‘with foundation’. The placement both of adverbs and of other clause-modifying expressions is very flexible: they can appear initially or finally in the clause, as well as inside it. This is shown for *honoł:u* ‘here’ in (12). Clause-internal position is generally most common, except when an expression is being used in “scene-setting” function – in which case it has a tendency to appear clause-initially, as with *helč'u rexudu* ‘after that’ and *onš:ilo* ‘then’ in (13).

(12) *(honoł:u) den-ni (honoł:u) keč'i (honoł:u) uržun (honoł:u)*
 here I-ERG here song(iv)[SG.ABS] here invent.AOR here
 ‘I composed a poem here.’

(13) *he-l-č'u rexudu onš:ilo malajka-di b-i?-ija hac'a*
 DEM-SG.OBL-CONT after then angel(i).PL.OBL-ERG III.SG-SC.bring-FUT white
kun ram(m)[SG.ABS]
 ‘Then after that the angels bring a white ram.’

Naturally, complex expressions used in adverbial function may contain agreement morphology in ways which follow directly from what was seen in Section 2. Corresponding to evaluative ‘fortunately’ in Andi is the case-marked noun phrase *se-b talihil-di* [one-IV happiness(iv)-SG.OBL-ERG], literally ‘by one happiness’: in this, the numeral *seb* ‘one’ agrees with the gender IV singular noun. But in typological terms it is unsurprising that the expression *seb talihildi* shows no agreement “outwards”, i.e. it does not inflect further for the gender or number of any element of the clause it modifies. Equally, it is unsurprising that the phenomenon of agreement is altogether irrelevant to many adverbs and adverb phrases in Andi. This is true, for example, of *hinže* ‘now, presently’, which does not vary under any circumstances; thus in (14) it does not and cannot employ the plural *-Vl* suffix or any other exponent that would signal agreement with the absolute argument *adam* ‘people’, which controls gender I plural morphology on the verb. Likewise *ož:odoro* ‘in the early morning’ (15), *her'ej* ‘so, in that manner’ (16), and many other adverbs cannot inflect for gender or number in any way.

(14) *hinže adam w-ok'-onn-ija*
 now people(i)[PL.ABS] I-PL.eat-CAUS-FUT
 'Then (we) will feed people.'

(15) *hege-w-ul ox:odoro w-o?o*
 DEM-I-PL[ABS] in_early_morning I-PL.COME.AOR
 'They came early in the morning.'

(16) *den-ni milki-l hel'ej židi*
 I-ERG house(iv)-PL.ABS so do.AOR
 'I built the houses like so.'

However, this throws into sharp relief the more unusual grammatical phenomenon which is addressed by this paper, in which adverbs do show a formal connection with another element of the clause by means of agreement. This behaviour has already been illustrated by Examples (1a–b) and (2) above, and I give another pair of examples in (17a), where the subject belongs to gender I, and (17b), with a subject of gender II:

(17) a. *Irbahin oriwa w-u?on*
 Ibrahim(i)[SG.ABS] sideways_I I-SG.GO.AOR
 'Ibrahim moved sideways.'

b. *Ajšati oriža j-i?on*
 Aisha(ii)[SG.ABS] sideways_{II} II-SG.GO.AOR
 'Aisha moved sideways.'

There is no hint of any clausal structure associated with the adverb translated here as 'sideways'. Nonetheless, it evidently displays agreement: the alternation between *oriwa* and *oriža* in (17a–b) demonstrates that the form contains a GN marker and thereby agrees with the subject of the clause, gender I *Irbahin* 'Ibrahim' in the former and gender II *Ajšati* 'Aisha' in the latter. The rest of the paper is devoted to this phenomenon.

3.2 Types of agreeing adverb in Andi

To give an impression of the substantial role played by adverb agreement in the morphosyntax of Andi, I now provide examples showing that agreement can manifest on Andi adverbs belonging to a range of derivational and structural types. This is followed by a summary of the morphological and functional characteristics that agreeing adverbs can display, before Section 4 considers the principles underlying this agreement and determining the identity of the agreement controller.

3.2.1 Adverbs based on adjectives

A large group of adverbs able to display agreement consists of those which are syncretic with adjectives – for example *šu-GN*, which is the form taken not only by the adjective ‘good’ but also by the adverb ‘well’. These adverbs share the agreement potential of the corresponding adjectives. That is, those adjectives which express agreement by means of the GN and *-Vl* affixes have adverbial counterparts which show clausal agreement with the same affixes: thus in (18a–b) the inflected forms of the adverb *šuwul*, *šujil* agree in gender and number with the absolutive arguments *wošul* ‘boys’ and *unsodul* ‘oxen’ respectively.⁶

(18) a. *woš-ul* *šu-w-ul* *halt'u-mado* *w-obi*
 boy(i)-PL.ABS well-i-PL work-PROG I-PL.AUX.AOR
 ‘The boys were working well.’

b. *uns-odul* *šu-j-il* *halt'u-mado* *j-obi*
 ox(III)-PL.ABS well-III.PL-PL work-PROG III.PL-PL.AUX.AOR
 ‘The oxen were working well.’

Even stem vowel alternation (which is almost exclusively restricted to verb morphology) has a small part to play in agreement marking on adjectives, namely in the inflection of the item *GN-it'i*, plural *GN-ot'il* ‘straight, correct’; and this pattern of exponence likewise carries over into the corresponding adverb with meanings including ‘correctly’, as illustrated in (19). As expected, gender and number agreement on the adverb is controlled by the absolutive-marked object.

(19) a. *hene-b* *keč'i* *b-it'i* *q'or-o!*
 DEM-IV song(iv)[SG.ABS] IV-SG.straight call-TR.IMP
 ‘Sing that song properly!’

b. *hene-b-ul* *keč'-ol* *b-ot'i-l* *q'or-o!*
 DEM-IV-PL song(IV)-PL.ABS IV-PL.straight-PL call-TR.IMP
 ‘Sing those songs properly!’

Such adverbs usually express manner modification. However, they are not restricted to this function. Consider Example (20):

(20) *moč'i-š-di* *r-it'i* *arxon-č'igu* *hinc':u*
 child(i)-SG.OBL-ERG v-SG.straight open-PF.NEG door(v)[SG.ABS]
 ‘The child rightly did not open the door.’

⁶ Note that, by contrast, the sense ‘the good boys/oxen were working’ would be produced by placing *šuwul/šujil* in the prenominal position usual for Andi attributive modifiers, rather than the preverbal position as here.

Here, the agreeing item *rit'i* translated as ‘rightly’ does not refer to the manner in which the action was (or was not) carried out; as the translation makes clear, in this context it represents an “agentive” (Ernst 2002) or “subject-oriented sentential” adverb (Maienborn and Schäfer 2011) which judges that it was right of the child not to open the door.

3.2.2 Adverbs based on numerals and quantifiers

Agreeing adverbs are also found based on agreeing nominal modifiers of other kinds, namely numerals and quantifiers. The adverb *GN-ihu* ‘much’ exists alongside a quantifier of the same form, while the adverb *se-GN-koti* ‘somewhat’ is made up of the numeral *se-GN* ‘one’ and the quantifier *koti* ‘some, a little’; these likewise display agreement with the clausal agreement controller, as illustrated in (21) and (22).

(21) a. *ima* *se-w-koti* *w-azi-j*
 father(I)[SG.ABS] one-i-some i-tire-PF
 ‘Father is somewhat tired.’

b. *baba* *se-j-koti* *j-azi-j*
 mother(II)[SG.ABS] one-ii-some ii-tire-PF
 ‘Mother is somewhat tired.’

(22) a. *Irbahin* *w-uhu* *hell-e*
 Ibrahim(I)[SG.ABS] i-much run-HAB
 ‘Ibrahim runs a lot, often runs.’

b. *Pat'mati* *j-ihu* *hell-e*
 Fatima(II)[SG.ABS] ii-much run-HAB
 ‘Fatima runs a lot, often runs.’

The gender-number agreement displayed by the numeral stem *GN-o?o-* ‘four’ is inherited by the derived ordinal adverb *GN-o?o-c'uldu* ‘fourthly’, as seen in Example (23), where it displays agreement with the singular gender IV object *tor?o* ‘ball’.

(23) *Ali-di* *b-o?o-c'uldu* *tor?o* *žabi*
 Ali(I)-ERG IV-four-ORD.ADV ball(IV)[SG.ABS] hit.AOR
 ‘Ali kicked the ball fourthly.’ (i.e. was the fourth to kick the ball)

This example is provided, despite being rather strange in pragmatic terms, because *GN-o?o-* ‘four’ is the only relevant numeral root containing an agreement marker: although *se-GN* ‘one’ also has a GN agreement slot, the corresponding ordinal (*es:edu* ‘first’) and forms connected with it do not. Any other ordinal adverbs that might in principle be formed involving the numeral root ‘four’ would display agreement in the same way.

3.2.3 Basic and “directional” adverbs

The availability of agreement on the items presented so far might be seen as somehow parasitic on the fact that the corresponding adjective, numeral or quantifier shows agreement itself (thanks to the lexical presence of a GN slot), rather than being a feature that can characterize adverbs as such. However, Andi also possesses monomorphemic, underived adverbs which agree clausally, for example *zolo* 'very much'; (24b) shows this item agreeing for number with the plural object *iš:il* 'us'.⁷

(24) a. *boc'u-di* *den* *zolo* *sir-oti-j*
 wolf_(III).SG.OBL-ERG I.ABS very fear-CAUS-PF
 'The wolf scared me very much.'
 b. *boc'u-di* *is:il* *zolo-l* *sir-oti-j*
 wolf_(III).SG.OBL-ERG we.EXCL.ABS very-PL fear-CAUS-PF
 'The wolf scared us very much.'

Some underived adverbs lexically possess a GN slot, such as *GN-ol'u* 'in common' (25–26).

(25) *iš:i-di* *ħajman-ol* *j-ol'u* *j-oqu*
 we.EXCL-ERG sheep(III)-PL.ABS III.PL-in_common III.PL-PL.slaughter.AOR
 'We slaughtered the sheep communally.'

(26) *iš:i-di* *darsi-l* *b-ol'u* *židi*
 we.EXCL-ERG lesson(IV)-PL.ABS IV-in_common do.AOR
 'We did the schoolwork (*lit.* lessons) jointly.'

But besides such isolated examples, one substantial, formally coherent group of agreeing adverbs can be identified which likewise do not inherit their agreement potential from any lexical precursor. The adverb meaning 'sideways', treated for simplicity as an infix item *ori*‑GN‑*a* in (17a–b), in fact exists alongside many others with a similar shape and more or less closely connected semantics, including *to*‑GN‑*a* 'upwards', *ho*‑GN‑*a* 'to here', *i*‑GN‑*a* 'to where?'. This allows us to identify an agreeing morpheme *-GNa* (glossed as *dir* for 'directional'), although the residue if this

⁷ Notably, *-Vl* agreement on this adverb is optional rather than mandatory (cf. optional *-Vl* marking in Section 2.2.3 above). However, this cannot be attributed to the fact that *zolo* does not exist as an adjective, because adverbs corresponding to adjectives are also attested which show the same behaviour, e.g. *y:ex:i* 'fast' in Example (i). This phenomenon is treated by Zakirova (2020: 115–116).

(i) *wošu-di* *χ:ex:iχ:ex:-ol* *q'en-adul* *bušo-j*
 boy(i).SG.OBL-ERG fast/fast-PL fence(iv)-ABS.PL paint-PE
 'The boy painted the fences quickly.'

is removed does not always constitute a morpheme in its own right, e.g. Andi possesses no *ori*- or *to*- otherwise. Examples (27a–b) illustrate agreement on the adverb meaning ‘homewards’:

(27) a. *Abdullah-di iši-ba hajman b-uq'i*
 Abdullah(i)-ERG home-DIR.III.SG sheep(iii)[SG.ABS] III.SG-SG.drive.AOR
 ‘Abdullah drove the sheep (sg) homewards.’

b. *Abdullah-di iši-ja hajman-ol j-aq'i*
 Abdullah(i)-ERG home-DIR.III.PL sheep(iii)-PL.ABS III.PL-PL.drive.AOR
 ‘Abdullah drove the sheep (pl) homewards.’

The adverb *GN-exudi-GNa* can sometimes be translated as ‘backwards’ in a spatial sense, but usually bears a more general meaning (i.e. ‘back’), as in Examples (28–29), illustrating the Upper Andi variety of the Gospel translation:

(28) *...ič:i-b dan=no b-exud-ba t'alaibi-dosub*
 give-PF.PTCP thing(iv)[SG.ABS]=ADD IV-back-DIR.IV demand-PROH
 ‘And do not demand back what you have given.’
 (Luke 6:30)

(29) *r-exud-ra ič:i buluqilasi-š-χo χ:uča=loddu,*
 v-back-DIR.V give.AOR attendant(i)-SG.OBL-AD.LAT book(v)[SG.ABS]=SBD
 Isa...
 Jesus(i)[SG.ABS]
 ‘Giving the scroll back to the attendant, Jesus ...’
 (Luke 4:20)

As these examples show, the directional element can be suffixed to a stem which already contains a GN slot itself; meanwhile, (30) features the related *GN-exu>GN>eq'udi-GNa* ‘inside out’, in which the quasi-reduplicated stem already contains two separate GN slots. It can also appear in combination with other affixes, such as the lative suffix *-di* in *her-GNa-di* ‘away’ (31).

(30) *men-ni gurdo r-exu>r>eq'udi-ra r-iz'inn-ij*
 you.SG-ERG shirt(v)[SG.ABS] v-<v>inside_out-DIR.V v-SG.put_on-PF
 ‘You have put your shirt on inside out.’

(31) *hege-w hekʷa hege-lu-di her-wa-di=bodi w-elelto-j*
 DEM-I person(i)[SG.ABS] DEM-I.PL.OBL-ERG away-DIR.I-LAT=REP I-send-PF
 ‘They sent that man away, it is said.’

When applied to adverbs of location (such as *hoč:u* ‘here’, *het:u* ‘there’) the combination of directional *-GNa* and the elative suffix *-k:u* produces a form expressing

approximate location: hence for example *hol:u-GNa-k:u* ‘around here, hereabouts’, which agrees with the absolute object in (32a–b).

(32) a. *hol:u-ba-k:u b-ihu=gu ril'i k'amm-e*
 here-DIR.IV-EL IV-much=INT meat(IV)[SG.ABS] eat-HAB
 ‘Around here (we) eat a great deal of meat.’

b. *hol:u-ra-k:u r-ihu=gu turti k'amm-e*
 here-DIR.V-EL v-much=INT urbech(v)[SG.ABS] eat-HAB
 ‘Around here (we) eat a great deal of *urbech*.⁸

It can also be noted here that Upper Andi varieties possess an affix *-doqi*, here glossed MNR, which appears optionally on adverbs of manner; in some of these varieties (though not that of Zilo) it can also be found in the form *-doqi-GNa*, formally bearing the directional suffix. This is seen in the following extract from the Gospel translation:

(33) *hegetu hege-w pasati-doqi-wa xʷadu-mado w-uk'o-ddu*
 there DEM-I[SG.ABS] decadent-MNR-DIR.I stray-PROG I-SG.be-PF
 ‘There he behaved (*lit.* strayed) decadently ...’
 (Luke 15:13)

As this example and some others above show, although the label “directional” is broadly warranted for the agreeing *-GNa* element, those adverbs in which it is found do not by any means all have a strictly directional meaning.

3.3 Summary

This survey of adverb agreement in Andi has passed over some important issues which will be treated in the remainder of the paper. However, certain notable properties of the system should now be clear. Firstly, the morphology of agreement exponence on adverbs is familiar given what we have seen elsewhere in Andi. All three formal means used for the realization of agreement on adjectival and verbal targets, as presented in Section 2 – namely GN marking, number alternation, and the plural suffix *-Vl* – feature in agreement on adverb targets too, and there are no additional types of exponence which are limited to adverbs. What is more, as applies in other word classes, the three types of agreement marking operate independently, and the presence or absence of agreement says nothing about an item’s behaviour in domains outside the morphology: for instance, no syntactic distinction follows from

⁸ *Urbech* is the Russian term for a paste of ground seeds or nuts, varieties of which are found across Daghestan.

or gives rise to the fact that *hoł:u-GNa-k:u* ‘hereabouts’ and *GN-o?oc’uldu* ‘fourthly’ agree but *hoł:u* ‘here’ and *es:edu* ‘firstly’ do not.

Secondly, the lexical origins of Andi adverbs that show agreement with the clausal controller are various. The fact that clausal agreement applies to adverbs based on adjectives means that agreeing adverbs constitute an open class. At the same time, not only “adjectival” adverbs are able to show clausal agreement, but adverbs of various structural types, both derived and underived, including some for which GN marking features not only on an identifiable affix but also simultaneously on the lexical root.

Thirdly, agreement is not just found on one functional type of adverb: agreeing adverbs can make a range of semantic contributions to the clause. Agreement is relevant to ordinal adverbs, an inherently minor type (*GN-o?oc’uldu* ‘fourthly’), but also to large and discourse-prevalent categories of adverb: adverbs of degree (*se^{GN}kołi* ‘somewhat’, *zolo* ‘very much’), direction (*iši-GNa* ‘homewards’), location (*hoł:u-GNa-k:u* ‘hereabouts’), and manner (*šu-GN* ‘well’, *pasatidoqi-GNa* ‘decadently’), and notably also agentive adverbs (*GN-it’i* ‘rightly’), a type of sentential or “high” adverb in the terms of Cinque (1999).

Taken together, these observations mark Andi out as a language in which clausal agreement on adverbs is not only attested, but constitutes a central and productive feature of the grammar: a large and diverse range of items serve as targets, using agreement morphology which is equally well established for more typologically familiar targets in the language.⁹ The following section addresses the syntax of the phenomenon.

4 An account of adverb agreement in Andi

The preceding sections have shown the exponence of adverb agreement in Andi to be fairly complex. While many adverbs do not inflect for agreement at all, for those that do, the two agreement features of gender and number can be encoded (individually or together) by up to three distinct formal mechanisms. On the other hand, little has been said so far about the agreement controller itself and the nature of its connection to the adverb. I now return to this point to justify my claim that Andi can be said to display automatic clausal agreement on adverbs, in the specific sense that the agreement controller is to be identified by its morphosyntactic role (absolutive S in intransitive clauses and absolutive P in transitive clauses) – in contrast to what has

⁹ While it is not possible to provide a full catalogue of agreeing (or non-agreeing) adverbs in Andi at present, a representative list of Zilo Andi adverbs grouped by the types of exponence they show is given in the Appendix.

been claimed for some other languages featuring agreeing adverbial expressions, where agreement is observed to correlate with semantic orientation towards a particular participant. In the current section I suggest that although accounts incorporating participant orientation have been applied successfully elsewhere, and have even been suggested in the Nakh-Daghestanian context, proposals of this kind are unsuitable for Andi; I point instead to an existing syntactic approach that explains the relationship between controller and target in purely structural terms, which can be appropriately modified to account for the agreement behaviour documented here. In Section 5 I then identify, and suggest a resolution to, a potential difficulty for this structural approach, involving a detailed treatment of the biabsolutive construction illustrated in (2) above.

4.1 Agreement and semantic orientation

It is easy to see why it has often proved attractive to invoke participant orientation in accounts seeking to explain the behaviour of adverb agreement. In those languages which do attest agreement in general, it is unremarkable to find it serving as a formal marker of the semantic connection between a *secondary predicate* and the nominal which is being predicated of, although opinions differ as to exactly how this behaviour should be modelled syntactically (Winkler 1997). Andi is no exception in this respect – it has a secondary predication construction which makes use of no dedicated morphological material, but simply agreement marking:

(34) *den-ni hiⁿhiⁿ-l k’ammi-r b-o?unnibol-ol*
 I-ERG pear(IV)-ABS.PL eat-PROG IV-fresh-PL
 ‘I eat pears fresh.’ (i.e. I eat pears when they are fresh)
 [*# denni bo?unnibol hiⁿhiⁿl k’ammir*, ‘I eat fresh pears.’]

In this example, the secondary predicate *bo?unnibol* ‘fresh’ – identifiable as such thanks to both its position, which would be strange for attributive adjectives, and the semantics it contributes – displays agreement with the nominal it is predicated of, IV.PL *hiⁿhiⁿl* ‘pears’.

But it has long been noted that adjectival secondary predicates have the potential to resemble clausal adverbs in their function, and vice versa. For one thing, there is nothing illogical in the idea that an adverb may modify a whole clause while standing in a privileged semantic relationship with a single participant. To take an example from Geuder (2002: 22), so-called “transparent” adverbs, such as *angrily* in English *He angrily broke the door open*, do not simply characterize the manner of the activity: they also scope semantically over the subject in particular, which is why this

sentence cannot be used truthfully to refer to a scenario where a calm man deliberately chose to act in the manner of someone angry.

There is thus the potential for overlap between the functions fulfilled, on one hand, by expressions predicated of a particular argument (where agreement might be expected), and on the other, by clausal modifiers which are semantically oriented and involve the attribution of a property to that argument. This overlap has been used to account for the presence of agreement on adverbs in several languages where it has been observed. An example of this type of treatment is Butt et al. (2016), which looks at the emergence of adverb agreement in the Indo-Aryan languages Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi. In these languages, a small number of adverbs show agreement with the undergoer in the clause: only adverbs expressing manner modification are involved, and the adverbs in question are always homophonous with corresponding adjectives found in the language. Consider the Urdu example in (35):

(35) *roṭi acc^h-i pak-i*
bread.F.SG.NOM good-F.SG bake-PF.F.SG
(i) 'The bread baked well.'
(ii) 'The bread came out good.'

(Butt et al. 2016: 153)¹⁰

In synchrony, this sentence can be understood as in translation (i), featuring an adverb *acc^h-i* 'well' which agrees with the single argument *roṭi* 'bread' in gender and number. However, Butt et al. point out that (35) has another potential interpretation, namely (ii), where *acc^h-i* is to be understood as an adjectival secondary predicate. But these two interpretations are clearly very close in their semantics: under ordinary circumstances, if bread emerges *good* from the oven then it has baked *well*, and vice versa. Butt et al. (2016: 153, 157–158) thus suggest that agreement on manner adverbs in these languages originated from the potential for reinterpretation of what were originally resultative predicates as "pseudo-resultative" expressions of manner in ambiguous contexts such as (35). This explains the lexical restrictions on such agreement. And as pointed out in Geuder et al. (2019), the availability of the undergoer agreement pattern was extended gradually and in a semantically principled way; as a result, while it is now mandatory on those items with some level of semantic orientation towards the undergoer participant, it is not reliably found on pure manner adverbs, and is impossible if the manner adverb is semantically

¹⁰ These translations are my own: those provided by Butt et al. are less clearly analogous to the Urdu original and make the explanation rather less easy to follow. The glossing is also very slightly modified.

oriented towards the agent. Geuder et al. (2019: 4–5) thus propose that adverb agreement is only available in these languages when there is a low enough “conceptual distance” between (potential) controller and target, a purely semantic criterion.

A similar phenomenon can be seen in some of the Romance varieties of southern Italy, where again agreement is found only on a limited number of manner adverbs which are formally identical with adjectives, and a syntactic analysis which relies on the closeness of this relationship is provided by Ledgeway (2011, 2017). An important observation which informs Ledgeway’s account concerns the fact that under the right circumstances, it can occur that within a single variety both agreeing and non-agreeing forms of the adverb are grammatical in the same surface context, the morphological distinction correlating with a difference in the semantics. A minimal pair from Cosentino is presented in (36):

(36) a. *Anna miscava bone 'i carte*
Anna shuffled good.FPL the.PL cards.F
b. *Anna miscava buonu 'i carte*
Anna shuffled good.MSG the.PL cards.F
Both: ‘Anna shuffled the cards well.’

(Ledgeway 2011: 39)

The translation ‘Anna shuffled the cards well’ is equally appropriate for both of these sentences. However, the different gender-number exponence on the two instances of the adjectival manner adverb brings with it a nuanced distinction in meaning. In (36a), the form *bone* is in the feminine plural, agreeing with the object argument *'i carte* ‘the cards’, and this corresponds to a reading whereby the cards crucially end up in a well-shuffled state; meanwhile, in (36b), the adverb does not display agreement (thus appearing in the default masculine singular form *buonu*), and this corresponds to a different reading, characterized as event-oriented by Ledgeway (2017: 69), in which the important point is not the end state of the cards but the skill involved in the shuffling.

Ledgeway explains this difference by proposing that the adverb meaning ‘well’ can be generated in two different positions, each associated with a specific interpretation. When it is used in order to refer to the effect of the verbal event on the undergoer participant, it is generated alongside the internal argument as a resultative predicate inside the verb phrase, and since it retains its adjectival morphology it is able to agree with the argument it is associated with; however, for independent reasons the adverb subsequently raises into a higher position associated with event orientation. What emerges is an adverb with a “hybrid

resultative-eventive reading" (Ledgeway 2017: 68). Meanwhile, an adverb which is generated in this higher syntactic position in the first place has the eventive reading only, and simply surfaces in its default morphological form. Again, then, where adverb agreement is found it is connected with semantic orientation towards the argument controlling this agreement, reflecting the presence of a kind of modified predicational relationship.

How successfully might a semantically sensitive account of this type be applied to the Andi phenomenon? Interestingly, Polinsky (2016: 212–213) raises the possibility that an approach partially modelled on Ledgeway's can explain the behaviour of agreeing adverbs in a different Nakh-Daghestanian language, namely Archi from the Lezgic branch of the family. In Archi, the large majority of adverbs do not agree: however, a handful (13 out of 392, according to Bond and Chumakina 2016: 70) do show agreement for gender and number with the absolute-marked argument of the clause, cf. (37), in which *dit:aru* 'early' agrees with the absolute subject.

(37) *Pat'i dit:a·r·u da-q'a*
 Pati_{(II).SG.ABS} early_{<II.SG>} II.SG-COME.PFV
 'Pati came early.'

(Chumakina and Bond 2016: 113)

Polinsky's suggestion is that those adverbs which agree in Archi may make up a special semantic and functional class, more "adjectival" than others, in that they are distinctively able to modify the internal argument of the VP and take on its agreement features as a result. In this respect they are clearly supposed to resemble the Romance adverbs which Ledgeway takes to originate in the low position proper to resultative predication.¹¹

Polinsky does not pursue this analysis in detail, but its existence lends weight to the possibility that a similar approach could be adopted to deal with the facts of Andi. This might seem particularly appealing given that, as in the Indo-Aryan and Romance cases, some of the adverbs treated in Section 3 above are formally identical to

¹¹ It is worth noting here that the existence in Archi of "semantic agreement", in a very different sense, is uncontroversial (Chumakina 2014). In this well-known cross-linguistic phenomenon, agreement appears to privilege an aspect of the controller's meaning over its purely formal characteristics: a classic example in English is *the committee have decided* (Corbett 2006: 155), where the formally singular but "semantically plural" *committee* takes a plural verb form. Polinsky (2016: 216–220) provides an account of the phenomenon for Archi – which, however, is far removed from the present issue, namely whether (and how) semantic considerations can determine which item will serve as agreement controller in the first place.

adjectives, such as *šu-GN* ‘good; well’. For example, in the spirit of what we have just seen, the presence of agreement on *šujil* in the following example of adverb agreement from Gagatli Andi could be taken to reflect the fact that if someone grazes the sheep well, then what results is a flock of well-grazed sheep (cf. Example [36a] from Cosentino):

(38) *hele-š-di* *χor-ol* *šu-j-il* *j-eš:-ol-lo*
 DEM-I.SG.OBL-ERG sheep(III)-PL.ABS well-III.PL-PL III.PL-graze-CAUS-HAB
 ‘He grazes the sheep well.’
 (Salimov 2010 [1968]: 148)

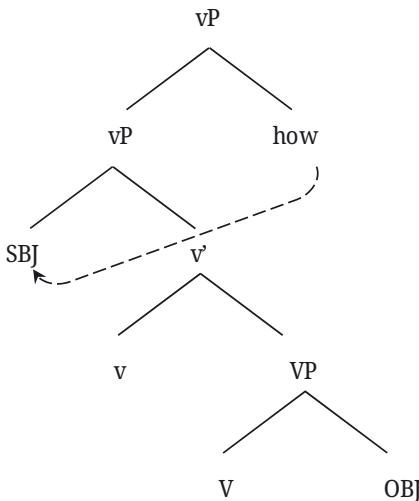
However, not all existing accounts of agreement on adverbs in the world’s languages link it to predication or participant orientation. Carstens and Diercks (2013) point to the presence of agreement with the subject on the interrogative adverb meaning ‘how?’, and the corresponding adverb meaning ‘thus’, in some Luyia varieties of Bantu. In Example (39) from Lubukusu (Western Kenya), *barie(na)* ‘how?’ shows agreement in noun class with the subject *babaana* ‘children’.¹²

(39) *ba-ba-ana* *ba-kha-kule* *bi-tabu* *ba-rie(na)?*
 2-2-children 2SA-FUT-buy 8-books 2-how
 ‘How will the children buy books?’
 (Carstens and Diercks 2013: 214)

Carstens and Diercks (2013: 189–194) explicitly rule out any explanation in which agreement on the adverb is taken to correlate with orientation towards the participant in subject position. They instead propose a model which identifies agreement between adverb and subject as a purely structural reflex of the layout of the Lubukusu clause, based on the Minimalist conception of *Agree*, a mechanism to which I return in Section 4.3. In their model, agreement results when an item which enters the syntax with an unvalued feature – here, for noun class – has this feature valued by probing downwards within its c-command domain for the structurally closest item bearing that feature intrinsically. The general principle of subject agreement on *-rie(na)* ‘how?’, a vP adjunct, thus emerges simply because the subject is that closest item, being generated in the specifier position of vP. This is illustrated in (40), drawn with modifications from Carstens and Diercks (2013: 189) to show their analysis of the relevant portion of the syntactic structure: the arrow signals the fact that ‘how?’ probes for agreement features on the noun phrase in subject position.

¹² Class 2 is proper to human plurals. The reduplication of class 2 marking on the noun itself is not relevant here.

(40)



Within Nakh-Daghestanian, similar structural accounts are suggested by Polinsky (2016: 210–211) for Archi, as an alternative to her proposal mentioned above, and by Rudnev (2020) for Avar, discussed again below in Section 4.3. What is more, an anonymous reviewer points out that the influential Minimalist analysis of Luyia in Carstens and Diercks (2013) is in essence pre-empted by the presentation of Tanti Dargwa clausal agreement provided in Sumbatova (2010) and elaborated in Sumbatova (2013, 2014, 2023). Models which endorse a link between agreement and participant orientation, and others which do not, have thus been applied both inside and outside the family. It is worth asking the question, then, whether agreement on adverbs in Andi is better viewed as sensitive to participant orientation or not. In what follows I provide evidence which suggests it is not. That is, as in the Luyia varieties, a purely structural analysis is sufficient to account for the identity of the controller of clausal agreement on Andi adverbs.

4.2 Semantic orientation does not determine the agreement controller

It is certainly not difficult to identify instances of adverb agreement in Andi which could be interpreted, in isolation, as pointing to a role for participant orientation. Consider Example (41), where *šub* ‘well’ agrees with gender IV *keči* ‘song’:

(41) *Sakinati-di keči šu-b q'ori*
 Sakinat(II)-ERG song(IV)[SG.ABS] well-IV call.AOR
 ‘Sakinat sang the song well.’

The first thing to note is that *šub* here does not modify *keč'i* as an attributive: the sentence does not state that Sakinat sang a *good song*, which would ordinarily require the word order *šub keč'i*. This is demonstrated by a variant of (41) where the song is qualified as inherently *bad*:

(42) *Sakinati-di b-ič'o-b keč'i šu-b q'ori*
 Sakinat(II)-ERG IV-SG.die-PF.PTCP song(iv)[SG.ABS] well-IV call.AOR
 'Sakinat sang the rotten song well.'

However, bearing in mind the ambiguity of the agreeing item in the Urdu example (35) above and the existence of resultative and “pseudo-resultative” adverbs, one might take the agreement here as motivated by the semantics in the sense that Sakinat sang the song *such that it was good*, i.e. well sung, regardless of its inherent quality. The same interpretation could be extended to adverbs of other kinds, which are not formally identical to adjectives but can also be predicated of specific participants. Thus the agreeing adverb *pasatidoqiwa* ‘decadently’ in (43), repeated from (33) above, could potentially be treated in the same way – in effect, the subject (here the biblical character widely known as the Prodigal Son) behaved *in such a way as to be decadent*.

(43) *hegetu hege-w pasati-doqi-wa xʷadu-mado w-uk'o-ddu*
 there DEM-1[SG.ABS] decadent-MNR-DIR.I stray-PROG I-SG.be-PF
 'There he behaved decadently ...'
 (Luke 15:13)

But an interpretation of this kind is not always so appealing on semantic grounds. Take sentence (44), repeated from (22a) above:

(44) *Irbahin w-uhu hell-e*
 Ibrahim(i)[SG.ABS] i-much run-HAB
 'Ibrahim runs a lot, often runs.'

It is unappealing to imagine that the agreement of the adverb with the subject comes about because the property of being ‘much’ is predicated of Ibrahim himself. Meanwhile, consider (45), in which *het:urak:u* ‘thereabouts’ agrees with the gender V object *hunc':i* ‘honey’. In practical terms, if the activity of eating was located in a given area, then naturally so were its participants. But not only is there nothing like resultative predication involved here, there is no privileged semantic link between the location and the object ‘honey’ in particular.

(45) *het:u-ra-k:u još-uli-di hunc':i k'ammi*
 there-DIR.V-EL girl(II)-PL.OBL-ERG honey(v)[SG.ABS] eat.AOR
 'The girls ate honey around there.'

Although the object in this sentence is no more closely linked to the adverb in semantic terms than the subject is, agreement with the ergative subject is never observed, and constructed sentences such as (45') in which the adverb is inflected to agree with the subject are judged to be ungrammatical. This is not connected with the surface ordering of the constituents: agreement as envisaged in (45') would be impossible with any word order.

(45'): **het:u-ja-k:u još-uli-di hunc’:i k’ammi*
 there-DIR.II-EL girl(II)-PL.OBL-ERG honey(V)[SG.ABS] eat.AOR
 Intended: 'The girls ate honey around there.'

In such examples, it is not necessary to posit a role for participant orientation at all. But just as strikingly, even when the adverb does have the potential to be semantically oriented in more than one way, this *cannot* be signalled by a distinction in agreement behaviour in Andi. In the Zilo dialect, the Gagatli example (38) above looks as follows, the adverb again agreeing with *χorol* 'sheep (PL)'; but unlike in the Romance cases discussed above, this is the only agreement pattern available. It is not possible (with any word order) to use gender I singular agreement (*šuw*) to make clear that what is at issue is not how well-grazed the sheep end up, but how talented the agent is at his work as a shepherd. Nor is it possible for the adverb to fail to agree with either of the arguments, in which case it would be expected to appear in the default gender IV singular form *šub*.

(46) *hele-š-di χor-ol šu-j-il / *šu-w / *šu-b j-eš:-oll-e*
 DEM-I.SG.OBL-ERG sheep(III)-PL.ABS well-III.PL-PL well-I well-IV III.PL-graze-CAUS-HAB
 'He grazes the sheep well.'

What is more, in some examples agreement marking is required on the adverb which would be manifestly inappropriate as a signal of its semantic orientation. In (47), while the pagans themselves and their activity can be treated as 'around here', the same cannot be said for the Sun, and yet *miti* 'sun' is the only possible controller of agreement on the spatial adverb.

(47) *org-olu-di miti b-ec:iqi hot:u-ba-k:u*
 unbeliever(I)-PL.OBL-ERG sun(IV)[SG.ABS] IV-praise.AOR here-DIR.IV-EL
 'Pagans praised the Sun around here.'

The behaviour seen in (48), repeated from (20), is especially revealing. Here, as signalled by the translation, *rit'i* 'rightly' is used in agentive function; agentive adverbs do not qualify an event, but ascribe a quality to its agent for performing an action or, as in this case, for failing to perform it. Thus (48) does not state that the child *did not open the door rightly* (by not opening it widely enough, for example); rather, it states that he *acted rightly in not opening the door*. Nonetheless, the plural

marking on the adverb shows that it is inflected for agreement with the object *hinc':u* 'door', and not with the subject *moč'išdi* 'child' whose behaviour is being evaluated.

(48) *moč'i-š-di* *r-it'i* *arχon-č-igu* *hinc':u*
 child(1)-SG.OBL-ERG v-SG.straight open-PF.NEG door(v)[SG.ABS]
 'The child rightly did not open the door.'

The upshot of these examples is that agreement on Andi adverbs is generally insensitive to the potential orientation of the adverb itself. One ramification is that, as we have seen, the language does not resort to default exponence where it would have been used in the Indo-Aryan and Romance varieties treated in Section 4.1 – that is, Andi agreement with the absolute argument does not fail in contexts where there is no semantic justification for a formal link. Instead, where the adverb agrees at all, the agreement controller is found to be the S/P argument regardless of semantics.

I close this section by observing that this claim is corroborated by the details of agreement behaviour in syntactic contexts involving clausal complementation, where Andi *can* show default agreement on adverbs. Note first of all that under ordinary circumstances the S/P argument controls agreement on the verbal predicate, as well as on experiencer subjects bearing the affective suffix, which contains a GN slot (cf. Section 2.2.1); but in examples such as (49) this S/P role is unoccupied (or arguably occupied by a zero element). In the absence of an identifiable controller, default gender IV singular exponence is resorted to by those items that are required to show clausal agreement marking – in this instance both the affective subject *dibo* 'I' and the verb *bič':umado* 'understand'.

(49) *di-bo* *(Ø)* *b-ič':u-mado*
 I.OBL-AFF.IV Ø_{ABS} IV-SG.understand-PROG
 'I understand.'

This verb can be modified by an agreeing adverb, which likewise takes on IV.SG exponence:¹³

(50) *di-bo* *šu-b* *b-ič':u-mado*
 I.OBL-AFF.IV well-IV IV-SG.understand-PROG
 'I understand well.'

Crucially for our purposes, the same default behaviour can also be observed when the S/P role is occupied by a clausal complement, as in (51). Here again the verbal

13 I omit the possibility of a zero argument in this example, as placing it specifically either before or after the adverb would be unwarranted: this does not affect the observation being made here.

predicate marks IV.SG agreement on the matrix verb, and the affective case suffix on the subject also appears in the gender IV form.

(51) *Ajšati-bo b-ič':u-mado [moc'i w-ut'u-r]*
 Aisha(II)-AFF.IV IV-SG.understand-PROG child(i)[SG.ABS] I-SG.go_missing-MSD
 'Aisha understands that the child has got lost.'

But unlike in (49–50), where only IV.SG agreement is available, in the matrix clause of examples such as (51) another pattern of agreement marking is possible, instantiating an effect observed elsewhere in Nakh-Daghestanian and beyond and known as long-distance agreement (LDA), or in Russian *prozračnoe soglasovanie* ‘transparent agreement’. Both labels capture what is notable about the phenomenon: the item which controls agreement as expected inside a subordinate clause is also found to operate as the agreement controller for the higher clause within which it is embedded. This is exemplified in (52), which differs from (51) only in that the gender I singular noun *moc'i* ‘child’ now also controls agreement on the matrix verb *wič':umado* ‘understands’ and its affective subject.

(52) *Ajšati-wo w-ič':u-mado [moc'i w-ut'u-r]*
 Aisha(II)-AFF.I I-SG.understand-PROG child(i)[SG.ABS] I-SG.go_missing-MSD
 'Aisha understands that the child has got lost.'

Beyond this preliminary description I will not address the LDA phenomenon any further in this paper, merely observing that even within Nakh-Daghestanian¹⁴ numerous accounts have been proposed for LDA (in particular its optionality), and there is good evidence that cross-linguistically it is not licensed by a single underlying mechanism (Bhatt and Keine 2017). I raise the topic merely for what it tells us about adverb agreement, which interacts with LDA in a striking way. If an adverb modifying the matrix verb is introduced, only two agreement patterns are possible, as shown in (53):

(53) a. *Ajšati-bo šu-b / *šu-w b-ič':u-mado [moc'i w-ut'u-r]*
 Aisha(II)-AFF.IV well-IV well-I IV-SG.understand-PROG child(i)[SG.ABS]
 I-SG.go_missing-MSD
 b. *Ajšati-wo šu-w / *šu-b w-ič':u-mado [moc'i w-ut'u-r]*
 Aisha(II)-AFF.I well-I well-IV I-SG.understand-PROG child(i)[SG.ABS]
 I-SG.go_missing-MSD
 Both: 'Aisha understands well that the child has got lost.'

14 For varying accounts of LDA as it is found in the Nakh-Daghestanian language Tsez alone, cf. Bhatt and Keine (2017), Bošković (2003), Franks (2006), Koopman (2006), Lahne (2008), Polinsky and Potsdam (2001).

That is, if the matrix verb and its subject display default agreement, then so does the adverb, here *šub* ‘well’ (53a); on the other hand, in the context of LDA, where the matrix verb and its subject agree with the absolutive argument of the embedded clause, the adverb will too (53b). Hybrid variants, in which agreement on the adverb diverges from that on the subject and the matrix verb, are ungrammatical.

Whatever the mechanism underlying LDA in Andi, this pattern casts further doubt on the possibility that the agreement behaviour shown by Andi adverbs can be linked to participant orientation. It is especially hard to imagine that an adverb ostensibly modifying the verb in a higher clause could be semantically oriented towards an argument located inside that verb’s clausal complement. Instead, it is clear that agreement on the adverb here is determined in parallel with agreement on other elements of the clause.

4.3 Outlining a formal model

All of this leaves us in a position to state a simple generalization. Clausal agreement on adverbs in Andi is not sensitive to participant orientation. Instead, the controller is the same item as is relevant to other clausal agreement targets found in the language, namely the absolutive argument of the clause. This is true regardless of the type of agreeing adverb involved.

Precisely how this state of affairs should be modelled in formal terms is sensitive to underlying theoretical assumptions about the nature of agreement, and the present paper does not argue strongly in favour of a specific technical account (though see footnote 16 for more on some of the theoretical points at issue). However, I will recapitulate the features that any successful account of Andi clausal agreement on adverbs is required to have, given what has been presented so far. Firstly, the account must be able to accommodate the existence of agreement on adverbs as heads of the adverb phrase, a lexical category. At the same time, it should ensure that agreement with the absolutive argument is possible not only when the adverb is semantically relevant to this argument specifically, but also when it is to be interpreted as qualifying the event as a whole, or even the proposition that an event has or has not taken place. Conversely, it must also ensure that only those nominals that appear in the absolutive are able to serve as controllers of clausal agreement – distinguishing this phenomenon from agreement within the noun phrase, which operates regardless of the case of the nominal head.

A general approach which can handle this complex of features is couched in terms of syntactic Minimalism in two recent works, Rudnev (2020) and Clem (2022),

respectively addressing clausal agreement on adpositional phrases in Avar (Nakh-Daghestanian)¹⁵ and on complementizer phrases in Amahuaca (Panoan). These favour a view whereby clausal agreement on such typologically unusual targets, just as on verbs, results from Chomsky's (2000) *Agree* mechanism; *Agree* establishes a syntactic dependency – of which surface agreement is merely the overt expression – between a *probe* (agreement target), which “seeks out” one or more morphosyntactic features, and the structurally closest *visible goal* (controller) within its c-command domain, which already possesses those features.¹⁶ In particular, however, they propose (following Chomsky [1995] and Režić [2003]) that although probing is chiefly associated with syntactic heads, a phrase can inherit the ability to probe when its head has failed to establish an *Agree* relationship in its own right. Moreover, this approach allows for probing to be sensitive to case: that is, case is taken to be assigned to nominals before *Agree* operates (Bobaljik 2008), and on a language-specific basis, an item's case can be what then renders it visible or invisible as a potential controller of agreement.

The upshot is that adverb agreement in an Andi sentence such as (45) can be treated as in (54). In this structure, it is supposed that cases are assigned to absolute *honey* and ergative *girls* by the transitive functional head *v*. The agreeing adverb begins by probing for gender and number features in its own c-command domain, but this is empty, so it can identify no visible goal. As a result, the ability to probe is passed upwards to the adverb phrase, which is able to establish an *Agree* relationship – not with the structurally closest nominal it c-commands ('*girls*', which is not in the absolute and therefore not a visible goal), but with the more distant absolute nominal '*honey*'. This accounts for the agreement which surfaces on the adverb. Note that this approach does not envisage any syntactic distinction

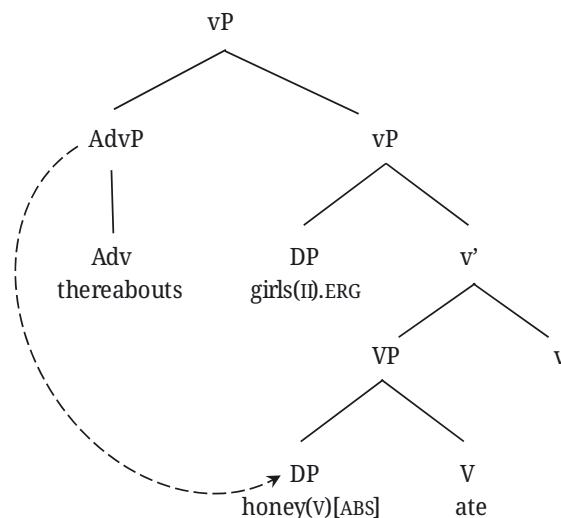
¹⁵ In fact, while the paper primarily treats agreement marking on adpositions, Rudnev (2020: 836 n. 6) recognizes that the same approach could be applied to a wider range of agreement targets, including adverbs.

¹⁶ A goal may have to possess the relevant features *intrinsically* in some sense – for example, a nominal may be lexically specified for a gender feature – or, in some versions of the theory as widely adopted since Legate (2005), it may have acquired them in the course of a previous round of *Agree* operations; Rudnev (2020: 836–837) explicitly allows for both possibilities, suggesting that the *v* head may operate as an “intermediate goal”. I do not adjudicate between these two variant conceptions of *Agree* in the present article, but for simplicity the sketch given here omits the possibility of intermediate goals. Another lively debate in Minimalist theorizing on the *Agree* operation concerns its directionality. With Carstens and Diercks (2013), I make the standard assumption following Chomsky (2000, 2001) that probing applies downwards (i.e. an agreeing target must c-command the controller of its agreement), but as an anonymous reviewer observes, all other logically possible configurations have also been suggested, not only upwards probing (Zeeijlstra 2012) but also bidirectional and hybrid models (Baker 2008; Bjorkman and Zeeijlstra 2019). Preminger and Polinsky (2015) and Rudnev (2020, 2021) provide arguments defending the traditional view.

between those adverbs that agree and those that do not: in Andi whether an adverb has the morphological capacity to show clausal agreement in the first place is a matter of lexical assignment rather than syntactic structure, just as is observed for verbs, as discussed in Section 2.

The sketch of a formal treatment presented here evidently belongs in the tradition inaugurated by Carstens and Diercks (2013) to account for adverb agreement in Luyia, cf. (40) above. This brings out the similarity between the Andi and Luyia phenomena as regards the structural assignment of the controller. The crucial difference is that in Andi a specific case value, absolutive, is additionally required for an item to be eligible for clausal controller status.

(54)



This complex of characteristics lies behind the general principle stated at the beginning of this section, namely that clausal agreement on adverbs is controlled by the same item as on the verb. However, in the introduction to this paper I pointed out that in one particular morphosyntactic context, labelled the biabsolutive construction, this generalization fails – because here the adverb can appear to enjoy a choice between two potential clausal agreement controllers, while the verb does not. This exceptional behaviour is the topic of Section 5, which points out that it is not shown by all agreeing adverbs. As I will show, once the nature of the biabsolutive clause is properly understood, both the apparently unexpected agreement behaviour and its restricted availability make sense in the light of the absolute argument's unique morphosyntactic status in Andi, and the phenomenon provides additional support for the claim that clausal agreement in Andi is determined structurally.

5 Clausal structure and adverb agreement in the biabsolutive construction

In Examples (55a–b), repeated from (2), the adverb *het:u-GNa-k:u* ‘thereabouts’ is apparently free to inflect for agreement with either the object or the subject of a transitive verb – that is, gender IV *dungil* ‘hole’ and gender I *kunt'a* ‘man’ respectively.

(55) a. *kunt'a* *het:u-ba-k:u* *dungil* *b-uxi-r*
 man(i)[SG.ABS] there-DIR.IV-EL hole(iv)[SG.ABS] IV-SG.dig-PROG
 b. *kunt'a* *het:u-wa-k:u* *dungil* *b-uxi-r*
 man(i)[SG.ABS] there-DIR.I-EL hole(iv)[SG.ABS] IV-SG.dig-PROG
 Both: ‘The man is digging a hole thereabouts.’

This seems to call into question the principle articulated in Section 4, whereby the identity of the adverb’s agreement controller is fixed by a fundamental morphosyntactic principle of the language that applies equally to the verbal predicate. While the agreement marking on the adverb in (55a) is as expected according to that principle, in (55b) there is an obvious mismatch between the verb form *buxir*, marked for gender IV, and the adverb *het:uwak:u*, marked for gender I.

But aside from the behaviour of agreement on the adverb, what marks out the sentences in (55), and identifies them as instances of the biabsolutive construction, is easy to state: although we seem to be dealing with a transitive clause, both of the arguments present – subject *kunt'a* ‘man’ and object *dungil* ‘hole’ – appear in the absolutive case, rather than the transitive subject appearing in the ergative as is usual in Andi. This is clearly a crucial observation if we wish to account for the variability in agreement shown by the adverb. Given our claim that only arguments in the absolutive case can control clausal agreement, it makes sense that a rivalry between potential agreement controllers would arise, if anywhere, precisely in the situation where two absolutive arguments coexist. Nonetheless, to understand what allows each of them to control agreement requires us to move beyond this initial observation and analyse the workings of the construction: this is the goal of Sections 5.1 and 5.2, before Section 5.3 turns back to the behaviour of adverbs in this morphosyntactic environment.

5.1 The Andi biabsolutive construction in its Nakh-Daghestanian context

The existence of a biabsolutive construction, alongside the standard ergative construction, is commonplace across Nakh-Daghestanian, as is demonstrated by the

overview provided in Forker (2012). The properties of the Andi construction are in keeping with those generally seen in its counterparts elsewhere in the family. In Andi, as in almost every other Nakh-Daghestanian language which possesses it,¹⁷ the biabsolutive construction is only ever found optionally, in the sense that there is no TAM form with which its use is mandatory. Rather, any sentence featuring the biabsolutive is available in parallel with an equally grammatical sentence whose alignment is ergative-absolutive. This is illustrated by (56a–b) below, where (56b) exemplifies the biabsolutive variant existing alongside (56a); and of these two constructions, the biabsolutive is by far the less frequent. Note that these examples feature an auxiliary, the invariable present copula *ži*, but in fact this element is optional and almost always absent from the present progressive, whether alignment is biabsolutive or not.

(56) a. *Rasul-di* *χur* *r-eL'i-r* *(ži)*
 Rasul(I)-ERG field(v)[SG.ABS] v-plough-PROG AUX.PRS
 b. *Rasul* *χur* *r-eL'i-r* *(ži)*
 Rasul(I)[ABS] field(v)[SG.ABS] v-plough-PROG AUX.PRS
 Both: 'Rasul is ploughing the field.'

As is signalled by the fact that only one translation is provided, these two sentences refer to the same state of affairs, and the propositions they express are true under the same conditions. The difference between them is connected with discourse structure. While (56a) is pragmatically unmarked, the biabsolutive variant (56b) is most suitable in contexts where the subject, here *Rasul*, is treated as a topic and the new information imparted concerns the situation he finds himself in. For example, (56b) would be an appropriate response to an open-ended question such as 'What is Rasul doing?' or even 'Where is Rasul?'. Again this fits with what is commonly found for other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, summarized by Forker (2012: 80) with the words that "[t]he agent is the semantic centre of the [biabsolutive] construction"; Ganenkov (2018: 557) states that the construction "shift[s] the focus of attention from the event itself to the state of the subject". It also goes hand in hand with the fact that in Andi not all TAM forms are able to appear in the biabsolutive construction: only those which are suitable for expressing an ongoing state or activity engaged in can do so, such as the present and past progressive. This is also in line with what is observed elsewhere.¹⁸

¹⁷ The only exception known to me is Archi, which possesses a continuous converb in *-mat* that can be used only in the biabsolutive construction (cf. Chumakina and Bond 2016: 91).

¹⁸ It has been noted that biabsolutive constructions are overwhelmingly restricted to the imperfective aspect both within and outside Nakh-Daghestanian (cf. Chumakina and Bond 2016: 91; Coon 2010, 2013; Forker 2012). Gagliardi et al. (2014: 145), following Kazenin (1998), note that in Lak, exceptionally, the biabsolutive construction can be used in perfective contexts, but only "when a completed event is viewed as having an effect on or consequences for the agent".

On the surface, the paired sentences seen in (56) differ only in terms of the case marking on the subject. However, the Andi biabsolutive and ergative constructions in fact diverge in their agreement behaviour even before agreement on adverbs is considered. The parallel sentences in (57) bring out the contrast. In each the verb is in the past progressive form, which consists of the progressive accompanied by the past auxiliary (identical with the aorist of *GN-iži* 'stay, stand'), which takes prefixal GN agreement and shows number alternation in the stem. In (57a), instantiating the normal transitive construction, both verbal forms (*reži’ir* and *rži*) show agreement with the only absolutive argument, namely the gender V object *χur* 'field', as signalled by the prefix *r-*. Meanwhile, in biabsolutive (57b) the situation is more intricate. Here, the progressive continues to agree with the absolutive-marked object; but the auxiliary agrees with the other absolutive argument, the gender I subject *Rasul*.

(57) a. *Rasul-di* *χur* *r-eži’ir* *r-iži*
 Rasul(i)-ERG field(v)[SG.ABS] v-plough-PROG V-SG.AUX.AOR
 b. *Rasul* *χur* *r-eži’ir* *w-uži*
 Rasul(i)[ABS] field(v)[SG.ABS] v-plough-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 Both: 'Rasul was ploughing the field.'

In order to understand why two controllers of adverb agreement are potentially available in the biabsolutive construction but not elsewhere, it must be relevant that in a sentence such as (57b) both absolutive arguments are able to serve as agreement controllers already, each determining agreement on one part of the verbal complex. But note that there is no variability here as was seen on the adverb *həl:ubak:u*/*həl:uwak:u* in (55a–b). Example (57b) shows the only possible configuration of verb agreement marking available to the biabsolutive construction: neither **w-eži’ir* [i-plough-PROG], in which the lexical verb agrees with the subject *Rasul*, nor **r-iži* [v-SG.AUX.AOR], in which the auxiliary agrees with the object *χur*, is grammatical in the biabsolutive context, cf. the full range of ungrammatical options in (58). We cannot simply say, then, that the presence of two absolutive arguments results in a situation where clausal agreement targets in general are free to agree indiscriminately with either potential controller.

(58) a. **Rasul* *χur* *r-eži’ir* *r-iži*
 Rasul(i)[ABS] field(v)[SG.ABS] v-plough-PROG V-SG.AUX.AOR
 b. **Rasul* *χur* *w-eži’ir* *r-iži*
 Rasul(i)[ABS] field(v)[SG.ABS] i-plough-PROG V-SG.AUX.AOR
 c. **Rasul* *χur* *w-eži’ir* *w-uži*
 Rasul(i)[ABS] field(v)[SG.ABS] i-plough-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 Intended: 'Rasul was ploughing the field.'

I claim that both of the notable agreement phenomena identified for the Andi biabsolutive construction – the fixed agreement of the progressive and auxiliary forms with their respective controllers, and the existence of variation in adverb agreement in examples such as (55) – fall out from its internal structure. Specifically, while the standard transitive construction is headed by a verb form which may be periphrastic (such as *reL'ir rizi* ‘was ploughing’), in biabsolutive constructions the two verbal elements retain greater syntactic independence, each one contributing its own argument structure and subevent to the predicate, and following Polinsky (2015: 168–174) I take the auxiliary element to encode ‘be in the state of, be engaged in’; the agreement marking found on the adverb depends on its structural position with respect to these two layers. That is, to take Example (57b) as a model, although essentially monoclausal the Andi biabsolutive construction can be represented schematically in the form [*Rasul.ABS* [*χur.ABS r-eL'i-r*] *w-usbij*]; each of the layers involved contains just one absolutive argument, and this absolutive controls agreement only on those agreement targets proper to its own layer. In Section 5.2, which treats the structure in more detail, I provide evidence in support of this analysis; in Section 5.3 I show that, as the analysis predicts, the agreement marking of adverbs in the biabsolutive construction depends on which of the two subevents they are intended to modify.

5.2 Structure of the Andi biabsolutive construction

5.2.1 Indicators of monoclausality

In many ways, Andi biabsolutes behave just like their straightforwardly monoclausal ergative-absolutive counterparts. In both constructions the auxiliary element is optional in the present tense; in both, the temporal reference is determined solely by this auxiliary; and in principle it may appear difficult to justify seeing two distinct subevents being referred to in biabsolutes, if one of these is merely supposed to consist of ‘being engaged in’ (see Ganenkov 2018: 554 for similar observations). Just as in an ordinary transitive clause, the two verb forms in the biabsolutive cannot be negated independently: in both constructions negation can only appear once, on the auxiliary element, in the form of the negative copula *s:u*. What is more, even if questions of agreement are left aside, examples such as (59), where *hol:uwak:u* ‘hereabouts’ is able to appear in any of the positions in parentheses, show that adverb placement can display considerable freedom within the biabsolutive construction just as it does in a standard clause, again pointing to a monoclausal interpretation.

(59) *(hoł:u-wa-k:u) adam (h.) milki (h.)*
 here-DIR.I-EL people(I)[PL.ABS] here-DIR.I-EL house(IV)[SG.ABS] here-DIR.I-EL
židi-r (h.)
 do-PROG here-DIR.I-EL
 'People are building a house around here.'

The Andi biabsolutive construction also has properties that are treated as indicators of monoclausality by Gagliardi et al. (2014), who argue convincingly (in response to Forker 2012: 90–96) that no single syntactic account can be applied to Nakh-Daghestanian biabsolutive constructions in general. They do so by pointing specifically to differences in this domain between Lak and Tsez, which they identify as having *monoclausal* and *biclausal* biabsolutive constructions respectively. Like monoclausal Lak, and unlike the Tsez construction they describe, Andi allows the biabsolutive construction to be headed by a single verb form (cf. Gagliardi et al. 2014: 145). Also allying Andi with Lak is the fact that the absolutive-marked object in the biabsolutive construction can be placed in focus and questioned using a fronted *wh*-word (cf. Gagliardi et al. 2014: 148), just as it can in the ergative construction:

(60) a. *ib=zi Ali-di židi-r?*
 what(iv)[ABS]=Q Ali(I)-ERG do-PROG
 b. *ib=zi Ali židi-r?*
 what(iv)[ABS]=Q Ali(I)[ABS] do-PROG
 Both: 'What is Ali doing?'

Undeniably, then, the biabsolutive construction closely parallels the standard transitive construction in Andi, and in many ways it makes sense to label it as a monoclausal structure. However, clausal integration is a matter of degree.¹⁹ Nothing that has been said so far rules out the possibility that the two verbal elements which can be found in the Andi biabsolutive construction nonetheless belong to different levels of structure in a way that is directly relevant to agreement behaviour. In fact, various lines of evidence converge to suggest that this is precisely the situation we find in Andi.

5.2.2 Evidence for structural layers

One indication that the language does draw an important distinction between the biabsolutive and ergative constructions – besides the differences they show in case marking and agreement on the past auxiliary – is seen in the different word order

¹⁹ Note that Ganenkov (2018: 557), making the very same point but with a different emphasis, chooses to label an analogous transitive construction in Aqusha Dargwa as *biclausal* – while acknowledging that it differs hardly at all from a “fully integrated monoclausal structure”.

possibilities they allow. In the ergative construction, word order is entirely free. In a simple transitive sentence such as *Rasuldi χur rel'ir* 'Rasul is ploughing the field', all six logically possible orders of subject, object and verb would be grammatical; and when an auxiliary is present, it is not restricted to appearing after the lexical verb, cf. Example (61), where it intervenes between the direct object and the lexical verb.

(61) *Rasul-di χur r-i-i-r r-el'i-r*
 Rasul(i)-ERG field(v)[SG.ABS] V-SG.AUX.AOR v-plough-PROG
 'Rasul was ploughing the field.'

This is not the case for the biabsolutive construction, in which only certain word orders are available. For example, the S-O-Aux-V order seen in (61) is not permitted when alignment is biabsolutive rather than ergative (62). The appropriate generalization is that the auxiliary cannot intervene between the object and the lexical verb: this is why (63) is also ruled out, although OVS ordering in the biabsolutive construction is not ungrammatical in general (64).

(62) **Rasul χur w-ubi r-el'i-r*
 Rasul(i)[ABS] field(v)[SG.ABS] I-SG.AUX.AOR v-plough-PROG
 Intended: 'Rasul was ploughing the field.'

(63) **χur w-ubi r-el'i-r Rasul*
 field(v)[SG.ABS] I-SG.AUX.AOR v-plough-PROG Rasul(i)[ABS]
 Intended: 'Rasul was ploughing the field.'

(64) *χur r-el'i-r w-ubi Rasul*
 field(v)[SG.ABS] v-plough-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR Rasul(i)[ABS]
 'Rasul was ploughing the field.'

Similarly, in the biabsolutive construction it is ungrammatical for the subject to appear between the object and the verb. This restriction rules out OSV and VSO ordering, and applies whether or not an auxiliary is present, cf. Examples (65–67).

(65) **χur Rasul r-el'i-r w-ubi*
 field(v)[SG.ABS] Rasul(i)[ABS] v-plough-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 Intended: 'Rasul was ploughing the field.'

(66) **χur Rasul r-el'i-r*
 field(v)[SG.ABS] Rasul(i)[ABS] v-plough-PROG
 Intended: 'Rasul is ploughing the field.'

(67) **r-el'i-r Rasul χur*
 v-plough-PROG Rasul(i)[ABS] field(v)[SG.ABS]
 Intended: 'Rasul is ploughing the field.'

These observations might suggest that in the Andi biabsolutive construction, the object and the lexical verb are syntactically inseparable; this in turn could be taken to point to an analysis of the construction in terms of pseudo noun incorporation (or “noun stripping” [Forker 2012]), a kind of incorporation of the internal argument into the verb, resulting in a tightly knit entity uninterruptable by other lexical material.²⁰ However, this is not the case. While the absolutive subject and the copula *are* barred from appearing between the direct object and the lexical verb, adverbs are not, as seen in biabsolutive (68) and (69) as well as (59) above.

(68) *Ali=lo* *Ashab=lo* *q'en* *b-oL'u* *bušo-r*
 Ali(i)[ABS]=ADD Ashab(i)[ABS]=ADD fence(iv)[SG.ABS] iv-in_common paint-PROG
 ‘Ali and Ashab are jointly painting the fence.’

(69) *Ali* *kazar* *iši-ra* *qʷari-r* *w-uži*
 Ali(i)[ABS] paper(v)[SG.ABS] home-DIR.V write-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 ‘Ali was writing a letter home.’

Rather than attributing any special syntactic status to the combination of verb and direct object, then, we should see the special status in the biabsolutive construction as lying with the subject and the auxiliary, which are to remain at the periphery of the clausal structure.

Importantly, this state of affairs is in keeping with a monoclausal interpretation of the construction, which does not entail that it will enjoy the full freedom of word order that is seen on its ergative counterpart. Although Gagliardi et al. (2014) take Tsez as their model example of a language with a *bi-clausal* biabsolutive construction, Polinsky's (2015) comprehensive syntactic description of Tsez also identifies a separate, *monoclausal* biabsolutive in the language; this construction shows a great deal of freedom with regard to the placement of adverbs (2015: 173–174), but is otherwise subject to severe word order restrictions in comparison with the ergative construction, permitting only SOV and OVS order (2015: 170; the restrictions identified there could also be stated in terms of the peripherality of absolutive subject and auxiliary). The Andi biabsolutive shares these characteristics.

The subject in the Andi biabsolutive construction is also subject to a restriction that does not apply in the standard ergative construction, underlining its distinctive

20 In this scenario, whose key features are laid out in Massam (2009), an example such as (64) would not instantiate a transitive verb meaning ‘to plough’ with two syntactic arguments, but a complex verbal entity *χur rež'i-* meaning ‘to field-plough’ and taking a subject argument only; naturally, this single argument would appear in the absolutive case. Gagliardi et al. (2014: 162–164) show that an incorporation account is not generally applicable to Nakh-Daghestanian biabsolutes, being inappropriate to treat the Lak and Tsez biabsolutive constructions. It is equally inappropriate for Andi, for the same reasons as are given there.

Table 2: Andi biabsolutive and ergative constructions: salient shared and distinct properties.

| Both constructions | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Lexical verb agrees with the absolute object | |
| Clause can be headed by a single verb form | |
| Lexical verb and auxiliary cannot be negated independently | |
| Adverbs have substantial freedom of movement | |
| Object can be focused and questioned using a fronted wh-word | |
| Biabsolutive construction | Ergative construction |
| Subject appears in absolute case | Subject appears in ergative case |
| Auxiliary agreement is with subject | Auxiliary agreement is with object |
| Adverbs agree clausally with object or subject | Adverbs agree clausally with object |
| Centres the activity of a topical subject | Pragmatically unmarked |
| Subject/Aux cannot appear between object and lexical verb | All constituent orders acceptable |
| Inanimate subjects unacceptable | Inanimate subjects acceptable |

status. In the biabsolutive construction it is ungrammatical for the subject to be inanimate: thus contrast (70a), with an ergative subject *mitirdi* 'sun', with the unacceptable (70b) in which the same noun is cast as a subject in the absolutive. Polinsky (2015: 170–171) likewise notes a restriction against inanimate and non-volitional agents in the Tsez biabsolutive construction.

(70) a. *miti-r-di* *t:en* *uns:a-jdi-r*
 sun(IV)-SG.OBL-ERG Water(v)[SG.ABS] warm-FACT-PROG
 'The sun is warming up the water.'
 b. **miti* *t:en* *uns:a-jdi-r*
 sun(IV)[SG.ABS] water(v)[SG.ABS] warm-FACT-PROG
 Intended: 'The sun is warming up the water.'

The main similarities and differences noted so far between the Andi biabsolutive and ergative constructions are summed up in Table 2.

But paradoxically, one final characteristic which the Andi biabsolutive construction unexpectedly *shares* with the ergative construction points in the direction of an underlying structure which can make sense of the restrictions distinctive to biabsolutive clauses. Andi possesses a logophoric/reflexive pronoun which can be used as a floating nominal modifier in intensifying function. This pronoun is suppletive for case, with an absolutive root *ži-* and a non-absolutive root *en-*, and it bears the same case as the noun phrase it is coreferent with, regardless of position: thus *žiwgu* 'himself' appears in the absolutive case in intransitive (71), while *ennidigu* 'themselves' is in the ergative in transitive (72).

(71) *toχtur* *ži-w=gu* *w-uč'o*
 doctor(i)[SG.ABS] LOG.ABS-I=INT I-SG.die.AOR
 'The doctor himself died.'

(72) *još-uli-di* *boc'o* *b-ič:i-j* *en-ni-di=gu*
 girl(ii)-PL.OBL-ERG wolf(iii)[SG.ABS] III.SG-SG.catch-PF LOG-NI.PL.OBL-ERG=INT
 'The girls caught the wolf themselves.'

The only exception to this generalization known to me comes in the biabsolutive construction. Here, although the subject nominal appears in the absolutive case, the intensifying pronoun that corresponds to it appears in the ergative (*enšdigu*), just as it would in the ergative construction.

(73) *mič'i wošo* *en-š-di=gu* *χ:uča* *ba?i-rado* *w-uši*
 small boy(i)[SG.ABS] LOG-I.SG.OBL-ERG=INT book(v)[SG.ABS] read-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 'The small boy was reading the book himself.'

The use of an ergative form here is illuminating, because by definition the biabsolutive construction involves no ergative-marked argument on the surface, and absolutive subjects can never be accompanied by ergative intensifiers in other contexts. The same anomalous behaviour can be seen in (74). This brings together the biabsolutive construction with one of the usual means of encoding reflexivity in Andi, namely the “complex reflexive” expression in which the same pronoun appears twice, each instance displaying the case appropriate to a different argument of the verb. Here, even though the nominal subject *učitel* ‘teacher’ of transitive *GN-ec:iqi* ‘praise’ appears in the absolutive case, the complex reflexive still features ergative morphology (*enšdigu*):

(74) *učitel* *en-š-di=gu* *ži-w=gu* *w-ec:iqi-r* *w-uši*
 teacher(i)[SG.ABS] LOG-I.SG.OBL-ERG=INT LOG.ABS-I=INT I-praise-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 'The teacher was praising himself.'

This cannot be explained on the grounds that the first element of this reflexive is morphologically fixed in the ergative form, as is the case in some Nakh-Dagestanian languages, such as Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009: 161). Both parts of the Andi complex reflexive are sensitive to the argument structure of the predicate, as in (75): the lexical verb *GN-ejqu-* ‘scold’ takes a subject in the absolutive and an object in the superlative case, and accordingly this is what we find on the two parts of the complex reflexive here, with no ergative form present.

(75) *učitel* *ži-w=gu* *en-š:u-?o=gu* *w-ejqu-r* *w-uši*
 teacher(i)[SG.ABS] LOG.ABS-I.SG=INT LOG-I.SG.OBL-SUP.LAT=INT I-scold-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 'The teacher was scolding himself.'

I therefore take the fact that *enšdigu* can appear in (73), (74) to indicate the presence of a covert ergative subject, coreferential with the overt absolutive subject within the syntactic structure of the Andi biabsolutive; otherwise there would be no reason for the pronoun to bear ergative case in this context. The upshot of this is that in the biabsolutive construction, a transitive verb still projects *both* subject and object arguments in the usual cases (ergative and absolute respectively), but the ergative subject does not surface in its own right. What appears instead is a subject in the absolute.

Taken together with the evidence of constituent order seen above, and the pattern of agreement marking shown by the auxiliary and the lexical verb (where this applies), this points to a layered syntactic structure of the kind seen in (76). In the inner layer is found the lexical verb together with its expected arguments; however, the ergative subject argument projected by the lexical verb goes unexpressed, and its presence can only be detected when an intensifying pronominal element recapitulates this covert argument. Meanwhile, the auxiliary projects its own absolute subject, which must refer to an entity capable of acting voluntarily (cf. Polinsky's gloss 'be engaged in') and must corefer with the subject of the lexical verb.

| | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| (76) | <i>AuxP</i> [<i>Rasul</i> , | <i>vpl</i> [\emptyset_i | χur | <i>r-el'i-r]</i> | <i>w-uzi]</i> |
| | <i>Rasul</i> (i)[SG.ABS] | \emptyset [ERG] | field(v)[SG.ABS] | v-plough-PROG | I-SG.AUX.AOR |
| 'Rasul was engaged in {Rasul} ploughing the field.' | | | | | |

This analysis follows that provided for Lak and Avar by Ganenkov (2016, 2018: 555–556). He highlights similar evidence for the covert presence of an embedded ergative subject in the biabsolutive construction in those languages; cf. also Ganenkov (2019: 230) for a parallel in the heavily Avar-influenced Dargwa variety of Mehweb, and cf. Chumakina and Lyutikova (2023) on Khwarshi. I propose that this analysis suggests a way to understand the behaviour of adverbs in the Andi biabsolutive construction – but conversely, the differing agreement on adverbs according to their function also represents further evidence in favour of the analysis. This is the subject of Section 5.3.

5.3 Adverbs and the Andi biabsolutive

We have seen that under normal circumstances, Andi adverbs are not free to "choose" between agreement controllers: if an adverb shows clausal agreement, the controller is reliably the S/P argument of the clause, whether or not the adverb is semantically oriented towards that argument. In the biabsolutive setting, meanwhile, examples of both A and P arguments controlling agreement are found, meaning that a rivalry apparently exists between two possible agreement controllers within the same construction. This might suggest the operation of some kind of

non-structural deciding factor. But if two layers are present within the biabsolutive construction, each one featuring a single absolutive argument, this makes plausible an account in keeping with what is seen elsewhere in the language. The evidence of Section 5.2 suggests that each of the absolutive positions is projected by a separate verb form with its own argument structure. What I propose here is simply that clausal agreement proceeds as normal *within the argument structure projected by each verb*, meaning that each absolutive noun phrase is able to act as controller over any agreeing adverbs that modify its own structural layer – although this relationship may be obscured on the surface by the freedom of movement already observed for adverbs, in biabsolutives as elsewhere.

This conception of the structure of the Andi biabsolutive accounts for the fact that each verb form can agree with its own absolutive independently, creating the mismatch in agreement marking between the two which was noted in (57b) above. But it also makes a prediction as to what kinds of agreement marking should be available to different adverbs in biabsolutive contexts (cf. Polinsky 2015: 169–170 on Tsez). Specifically, it predicts that the possibility of an apparent choice between rival agreement controllers should not apply to all adverbs, but only those which are equally suitable to refer to either subevent, and can thus be used to modify either structural layer. From this point of view, it is easy to understand why variability is found on adverbs of approximate location in *-GNa-k:u*, as illustrated above in (2) = (55a–b) and again in (77a–b), where *hoł:u-GNa-k:u* ‘hereabouts’ can show gender V agreement with *enš:ur* ‘flour’ or gender II agreement with *jošibol* ‘women’.

(77) a. *jošibol* *enš:ur* *r-axotli-rado* *hoł:u-ja-k:u*
 woman(II).PL.ABS flour(v)[SG.ABS] v-sell-PROG here-DIR.II-EL
 b. *jošibol* *enš:ur* *r-axotli-rado* *hoł:u-ra-k:u*
 woman(II).PL.ABS flour(v)[SG.ABS] v-sell-PROG here-DIR.V-EL
 Both: 'The women are (engaged in) selling flour hereabouts.'

This variation is possible because if the spatial setting ‘hereabouts’ characterizes the subject’s state of engagement in the activity then it also characterizes the activity itself, and vice versa, with the result that *hol:u-GNa-k:u* can reasonably modify either layer: the difference in agreement reflects an underlying structural distinction, but one which does not correspond to any substantial difference in meaning. Logically, of course, there is no reason why this characteristic should be restricted to spatial adverbs, and in fact it is not. Among agreeing adverbs I have identified only two more which behave in this way, namely *berq'a* ‘early’ and *GN-eč'ugu* ‘for free’, but others are likely to exist. Agreement on *GN-eč'ugu* in the biabsolutive context is illustrated in (78a–b):

(78) a. *Ali* *ħalt'i* *w-eč'ugu* *židi-r*
 Ali(i)[SG.ABS] work(iv)[SG.ABS] I-for_free do-PROG
 b. *Ali* *ħalt'i* *b-eč'ugu* *židi-r*
 Ali(i)[SG.ABS] work(iv)[SG.ABS] IV-for_free do-PROG
 Both: 'Ali is (engaged in) doing the work for free.'

At the same time, we can also predict that adverbs which qualify the activity engaged in, as opposed to the agent's engagement in it, should reliably belong to the lower layer in the biabsolutive construction, and hence agree with the object of the lexical verb whether or not they have any significant semantic orientation towards it, just as we have seen throughout. Such adverbs would not be expected to show agreement with the subject, despite the fact that it is in the absolutive. This is the pattern of behaviour we do in fact observe for a large number of items, as illustrated by *šu-GN* 'well' and *iši-GNa* 'homewards' in Examples (79) and (80) respectively.

(79) *Rasul* *zadil-di* *ħajman-ol* *šu-j-il* / **šu-w*
 Rasul(i)[ABS] pen(iv)-IN.LAT sheep(III)-PL.ABS well-III.PL-PL well-I
 j-aq'i-r *w-uzi*
 III.PL-PL.drive-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 'Rasul was (engaged in) driving the sheep into the pen well.'

(80) *Ali* *kazar* *iši-ra* / **iši-wa* *qʷard-i-r* *w-uzi*
 Ali(i)[ABS] paper(v)[SG.ABS] home-DIR.V home-DIR.I write-PROG I-SG.AUX.AOR
 'Ali was (engaged in) writing a letter home.'

This analysis makes the further prediction that it should be possible for a single instance of the biabsolutive construction to contain adverbs whose agreement is controlled by different arguments, and this possibility is also realized:

(81) *oχ:odoro* *berq'-ol* *woc:u-l* *kazar* *iši-ra*
 in_early_morning early-PL brother(i)-PL.ABS paper(v)[SG.ABS] home-DIR.V
 qʷard-i-r *w-oχi*
 write-PROG I-PL.AUX.AOR
 'Early in the morning the brothers were (engaged in) writing a letter home.'

In Example (81), *berq'ol* 'early' and *išira* 'homewards' are controlled by the outer absolutive *woc:ul* 'brothers' and the inner absolutive *kazar* 'letter' respectively, which is in line with the fact that only 'early', and not 'homewards', can logically apply to the brothers' engagement in the activity.

It is important to emphasize the difference between the behaviour we see in the biabsolutive construction and what we have seen elsewhere. In (77), the single adverb meaning 'hereabouts' is able to agree with either the subject or the object of the construction; taken on its own, this could be treated as evidence that Andi

adverbs can “choose” their agreement controller directly, using agreement to signal orientation towards a given participant in a manner akin to predication. The full picture only emerges when we recall that analogous examples using the ergative construction offer no such flexibility: the plausibility of the given orientation is not enough, cf. Examples (45–47). That is to say, arguments cannot control clausal agreement unless their (absolutive) case permits it.

The existence of a clause type in which either the subject or the object can control agreement on adverbs poses an obvious challenge for the idea that this agreement can be understood in purely structural terms, without any role for semantic orientation towards one argument or the other, and the purpose of Section 5 has been to address this challenge. As it is a serious one, I have investigated the nature of Andi biabsolutives at some length, developing an analysis of the construction which does not rely on the evidence of adverb agreement behaviour. This analysis takes the biabsolutive clause to feature two argument-structural layers, each of which contains a single absolutive that controls agreement on clausal targets in the usual way. But as well as accounting for the divergent agreement seen on lexical and auxiliary verb forms in the biabsolutive construction, this also has consequences for what we might expect from agreement on adverbs in the same context. The fact that the attested agreement behaviour of adverbs turns out to make sense in the light of this analysis lends weight to the account presented here.

6 Conclusions

This paper has surveyed the morphological and syntactic properties of a typologically unusual phenomenon – clausal agreement on adverbs – in Andi, a little-studied language belonging to a linguistic family in which unusual agreement phenomena are notably prevalent. It reveals what is in some ways a very complex picture, capturing a system which plays an important role in the language. The phenomenon of agreement affects adverbs belonging to a range of derivational types and fulfilling different semantic functions in the clause; adverb targets can express agreement by various morphological means, all familiar from elsewhere in the grammar, and it is partly a lexical question whether a given item will display agreement at all, and if so what form its exponence will take. In these respects, the phenomenon treated here is entirely in keeping with what is observed for agreement targets elsewhere in Andi, as demonstrated by the detailed description of inflectional gender and number exponence in Sections 2 and 3. That is, the concept of agreement undeniably applies to Andi adverbs just as clearly as to more familiar types of target.

However, while the agreement system as it concerns Andi adverbs is complex in its deployment of morphological material, it is a simpler matter to sum up the nature

of the relationship between an agreement target and its controller. The evidence provided in this paper identifies Andi as a clear example of an “automatic” agreement language, in the sense that clausal agreement of an adverb with a noun phrase does not imply any semantic connection or compatibility between the two. While agreement can be observed in predicative constructions, this paper has shown that adverbs can display clausal agreement in circumstances where no predication is being made of the agreement controller, and even where the possibility of semantic orientation towards the controller is ruled out entirely. On the contrary, an agreeing adverb can show a clear semantic orientation towards a participant other than that expressed by the controller of its agreement.

Thus the situation in Andi differs from that seen in Romance and Indo-Aryan varieties whose adverb agreement phenomena have been the subject of recent analyses, where one can identify semantic limits on the operation of clausal agreement. In Andi, the right generalization to make about clausal agreement on adverbs has no semantic component: the controller is simply the absolutive argument of the clause that the adverb modifies. With the appropriate caveats, this structural account holds even in the context of the morphosyntactically and pragmatically marked biabsolutive construction. Indeed, the fact that an apparent choice between potential controllers is found exclusively in contexts featuring multiple absolutives favours the claim that the licensing of agreement is a structural issue, anchored in the principle that only absolutives can serve as clausal controllers. Conversely, the proposal that the Andi biabsolutive involves two distinct argument structures, each projected by a different verbal component, is given extra support by the fact that agreement with the subject is possible only for adverbs which can qualify the state of *engagement in* the activity described.

The results of this study of agreement in the little-known language of Andi are of more general interest from several perspectives. First of all, Andi provides perhaps the most extensive and diverse array of agreeing adverbs yet found, adding to our understanding of what is possible in this challenging morphosyntactic domain. The evidence displayed here shows that the time is ripe to move on from asking whether adverbs can properly be said to agree at all, and to investigate instead what the typological landscape of agreeing adverbs is like. Important parameters of variation evidently include not only the intricacy of the formal exponence system that agreeing adverbs employ, but also the range of meanings they can take and the nature of the principles identifying their controller: in some languages clausal agreement on adverbs does semantic “work” of some kind, while in others, including Andi, it is entirely syntacticized. As a separate typological point, the Andi material corroborates the observation that agreement can be “sporadic” in Fedden’s (2019) sense, in that it is available to a given part of speech without applying to all of its lexical items. The fact that adverbs in Andi *can* agree does not mean that they all do,

and this is an inherently morphological issue as it is for other parts of speech in the language: the syntax appears to have no say in the fact that *šu-GN* ‘well’, *hoł:u-GNa-k:u* ‘hereabouts’ inflect for clausal agreement while *heł’ej* ‘in that manner’, *hoł:u* ‘here’ do not. The behaviour of the agreement we find, meanwhile, does speak in favour of particular syntactic approaches, at least within the broad framework of Minimalism in which it was modelled in Section 4.3. In particular, it shows the need for a conception of agreement which allows the adverb phrase to serve as probe – in line with proposals such as Režač’s (2003) “cyclic Agree” – and which allows for probes to be case-sensitive, entailing that case must be assigned before agreement takes place, both of which have long been disputed issues within syntactic theory. On these points, the present research concurs with the recent and more technically oriented work of Rudnev (2020) and Clem (2022).

Finally, the synchronic treatment provided here suggests angles relevant to the diachronic study of clausal agreement on adverbs. We might envisage a scenario in which this first emerges as a semantically functional phenomenon (e.g. as suggested for the Indo-Aryan languages of Section 4.1), but then comes to be reinterpreted as subject to a more fundamental syntactic generalization – for Andi, the ancestral and widespread Nakh-Daghestanian pattern of absolutive control over clausal agreement. At the same time, the behaviour of the biabsolutive suggests one potential route for development *away* from a fully “automatic” clausal agreement system. Under the analysis in Section 5, adverb agreement in the biabsolutive is simply with the argument belonging to the relevant structural layer; but in diachrony it is not hard to imagine the biabsolutive becoming a fully integrated monoclausal structure, bringing with it the potential for reanalysis of this surface flexibility of agreement as directly motivated by semantics. Such speculations clearly go beyond the scope of this paper, and I have not explored them here. However, Andi provides some of the best evidence yet that cross-linguistically, from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives, in this aspect of the grammar there are still many fascinating questions waiting to be investigated.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| I, II, III, IV, V | genders |
| 2, 8 | (Bantu) noun classes |
| ABS | absolutive |
| AD | case ‘at’ |
| ADD | additive |
| AFF | affective |
| AOR | aorist |

| | |
|---------|-----------------------------|
| AUX | auxiliary |
| CAUS | causative |
| CONT | case ‘in contact with’ |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DIR | directional |
| EL | elative |
| ERG | ergative |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| F | feminine |
| FACT | factive |
| FUT | future |
| GEN | genitive |
| GN | gender-number |
| HAB | habitual |
| IMP | imperative |
| IN | case ‘in (hollow area)’ |
| INT | intensive |
| INTER | case ‘in (dense substance)’ |
| INTR | intransitive |
| LAT | lative |
| LOG | logophor |
| M | masculine |
| MNR | manner adverb |
| MSD | masdar |
| NI | non-first gender |
| NOM | nominative |
| OBJ | object |
| OBL | oblique stem |
| ORD.ADV | ordinal adverb |
| PF | perfect |
| PFV | perfective |
| PL | plural |
| PROG | progressive |
| PROH | prohibitive |
| PRS | present |
| PTCP | participle |
| Q | question particle |
| REP | reportative |
| SA | (Bantu) subject agreement |
| SBD | subordinator |
| SBJ | subject |
| SG | singular |
| SUP | case ‘upon’ |
| TAM | tense-aspect-mood |
| TR | transitive |

Acknowledgments: First and foremost I would like to thank my hospitable, patient and knowledgeable Andi consultants in the village of Zilo, in particular Aligadži Magomedov, Kazbek Magomedov and Batal Gadžiev. I am also grateful to Oliver Bond and Marina Chumakina for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this work, and to Emily Clem, Silvio Cruschina, David Erschler, Dmitry Ganenkov, Ekaterina Lyutikova, Timur Maisak and Marieke Meelen for many discussions of issues connected to the topics dealt with here, even if much of what we discussed has not made it into the present paper. The research presented here was carried out within the framework of the Surrey Morphology Group project “External Agreement”, funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, grant AH/R005540/1: this institutional and financial support is gratefully acknowledged.

Research funding: This work was supported by Arts and Humanities Research Council (<http://dx.doi.org/10.13039/501100000267>, AH/R005540/1).

Appendix

This appendix brings together all the clausally agreeing adverbs that I have investigated in Zilo Andi, accompanied by a representative list of adverbs on which agreement marking appears to be impossible. Adverbs are grouped in terms of the three types of agreement exponence found in the language, namely stem alternation, GN marking, and *-Vl* marking, as presented in Section 2.2. Note that a distinction is drawn between the *mandatory* expression of plural agreement by means of the suffix *-Vl*, and its *optional* marking with the same suffix (cf. Section 3.2.3, footnote 7).

Not all imaginable patterns of exponence have been observed: for instance, I have so far identified no adverbs which mandatorily show *-Vl* marking without also showing GN marking. However, this is far from a complete list of agreeing adverbs in Zilo, leaving open the possibility that other patterns are still to be found. Those adverbs that are known to be able to agree “high” as well as “low” (i.e. with either absolutive argument) in biabsolutive constructions are marked here with the obelus (†), but they are unlikely to be the only adverbs showing this behaviour.

| Agreement marking attested | Items identified |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Optional <i>-Vl</i> marking only | <i>č'ilo</i> ‘crookedly, wrongly (inc. as sentential adverb)’ <i>t'ulu</i> ‘badly’ <i>x:ex:i</i> ‘quickly’ <i>q'eča</i> ‘secretly’ <i>bašu</i> ‘beautifully’ <i>zudi</i> ‘upright’ <i>zolo</i> ‘very much’ <i>ek'u</i> ‘additionally, any longer’ <i>†berq'a</i> ‘early’ |

(continued)

| Agreement marking attested | Items identified |
|---|--|
| GN marking only | <i>GN-o?oc'uldu</i> 'fourthly' <i>GN-oL'u</i> 'communally, in between' <i>GN-exudu</i> 'behind' <i>GN-eqidu</i> 'around' <i>thet:u-GNa-k:u</i> 'thereabouts' <i>thot:u-GNa-k:u</i> 'hereabouts' |
| GN marking and optional - <i>V</i> marking | <i>ori-GNa</i> 'sideways' <i>iši-GNa</i> 'homewards' <i>to-GNa</i> 'upwards' <i>ogi-GNa</i> 'downwards' <i>ho-GNa</i> 'to here' <i>i"-GNa</i> 'to where?' <i>her-GNa-di</i> 'away in that direction' <i>hor-GNa-di</i> 'away in this direction' <i>GN-exudu-GNa</i> 'in return, backwards' <i>GN-exu:GN>eq'udi-GNa</i> 'inside out, the wrong way round' |
| GN marking and mandatory - <i>V</i> marking | <i>šu-GN</i> 'well' <i>se-GN-koči</i> 'somewhat' <i>GN-ihu</i> 'much' <i>†GN-ec'ugu</i> 'for free' |
| GN marking, mandatory - <i>V</i> marking and stem alternation | <i>GN-it'</i> 'straight, rightly (inc. as sentential adverb)' |
| None | <i>hot:u</i> 'here' <i>he'ej</i> 'so, in that manner' <i>oχ:odoro</i> 'in the early morning' <i>hinže</i> 'now, presently' <i>žełal</i> 'today' <i>onš:ilo</i> 'then, next' <i>rexudu</i> 'afterwards' <i>es:edu</i> 'firstly' <i>č'ec'uldu</i> 'secondly' <i>(etc.)</i> |

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Supplementary Material: This article contains supplementary material (<https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2022-0168>).