

Online course on East Caucasian languages - 2020

https://ilcl.hse.ru/en/east_caucasian/



The verb in East Caucasian languages

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Nominal inflection: rich, complex?

Dozens of case forms, especially in the locative subparadigm.

⇐ Michael Daniel. *Nominal spatial morphology in East Caucasian languages*.

- from “nominal inflection galore” (Kibrik)
- to the “great Daghestanian case hoax” (Comrie & Polinsky)

Still, cf. a popular introduction to the languages of the world:

*Typologically, the East Caucasian languages are ergative, although they do show some nominative-accusative traits. Their basic word order is SOV. As opposed to the West Caucasian languages, **their verb morphology is very simple, whereas their noun morphology is very complex.***

Anatole V. Lyovin, Brett Kessler, William R. Leben.

An introduction to the languages of the world.

Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 77.

Verbal inflection: poor, simple?

In comparison to Kartvelian or West Caucasian: **probably yes**

Georgian (< Kartvelian), Boeder 2005: 23

da-g-a-c'er-in-eb-d-a-t (G)

PrevII(2)-2O(5)-Version(6)-write(7)-Caus(11)-CausTS(12)-EM(13)-3SgS-Pl(O)
(15) 's/he would make (Cond) you(Pl) write it'

Abkhaz (< West Caucasian), Chirikba 2003: 39

wə-lə-z-j-á-sə-r-c^oaž^oa-wa-jt'

you-her-BENF-him-RELA-I-CAUS-speak-PRES:DYN-FIN
'I shall make you speak with him about (it) for her'.

In general: **certainly not!**

Verbal morphology: simple

Verbal morphology can be quite simple in some languages
(or rather some subparadigms in some languages)

Kvanada **Bagvalal** (< Andic)

- Aorist is identical to the plain (perfective) stem.

heL 'i

say.AOR

‘said’

b-iki

N-stop.AOR

‘stopped’ (e.g. a car)

Nizh **Udi** (< Lezgetic)

- Perfect is suffixal; subject agreement is clitic-like.

tac-e=ne

go-PRF=3SG

‘s/he went’

te=ne

NEG=3SG

‘s/he didn’t go’

tac-e

go-PRF

Verbal morphology: not so simple

...but it can be quite complex as well

Itsari Dargwa (< Dargwa), Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 178

č̣i-w-iğ-a-ṭ:i=di

PV-**M**-see.IPFV-PROG-CVB=**2SG**

‘he can see you’

- *č̣i-w-iğ-* ‘see’ = preverb ‘onto’, gender marker, root
- both gender (prefix/infix) and person (enclitic) agreement

Huppuq’ Agul (< Lezgic)

aq’-a-je-f-e-j-č̣i

do-IPFV-PTCP:PRS-S-COP-CVB-COND

‘if (s/he) does’

- morphologized periphrastic form:
- *aq’ajefejč̣i* < *aq’aje-f* (participle) + *e-j-č̣i* (conditional copula)
- *aq’-a-je-f* < *aq’-a-j* (imperfective converb) +
a-je-f (participle of a locative verb ‘be in’)

Verbal morphology: rich paradigms

The verb in East Caucasian may be not so complex morphologically (e.g. in terms of an average number of affixes or categories expressed), but...

⇐ 48 cases in Tabasaran, 126 cases (“case combinations”) in Tsez?

Look at **Archi** (< Lezgetic):

Kibrik (1977: 35–37) writes about as many as 1,502,839 inflectional forms, which can be derived from a single verb root in Archi

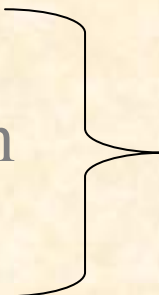
- both synthetic and periphrastic forms
- including all possible gender-agreeing forms, all case-number forms of regular nominalizations, all combinations of verb forms with a quotative marker
- without gender-number-case distinctions, there are 47 synthetic forms, 233 finite forms, 1725 forms in total

Таблица 1

Количество глагольных форм,
образующихся от одного глагольного корня

	Без КП		С учетом КП (для агентивного глагола)	
	без пад.форм	с учетом пад.форм	без пад.форм	с учетом пад.форм
-КОММ	1 725	12 405	22 663	188 463
+КОММ	12 603	94 673	203 096	1 314 376
+КОММ	14 328	107 078	225 729	1 502 839

Topics to be covered

- Verbal lexicon
 - simplex and complex verbs, derivational affixes
 - Verbal inflection: general structure of verb forms
 - morphological means
 - Agreement markers in the verb
 - gender, number, person
 - Periphrastic (analytic) forms in inflection
 - Negation strategies
 - Verbal categories: indicative system
 - Verbal categories: non-indicative system
 - Verbal categories: non-finite forms
- 
- left for
another
occasion*

Verbal lexicon: morphological classification

Simple(x) vs. complex verbs

Simplex verbs (stems)

- morphologically unanalysable stems
- (\pm) stems that include derivational prefixes or suffixes

Nizh Udi (< Lezgic)

- simplex stem *b-* ‘do’, *ak:-* ‘see’, *beʕ-* ‘look’, *arc-* ‘sit down’
- prefixed stem *la(j)-* ‘go up’, *lap-* ‘put on’ [*la-* SUPER]
 ba(j)- ‘enter’, *bap-* ‘pour into’ [*ba-* IN]
- suffixed stem *arc-**evk:-*** ‘seat, make sit’ < *arc-* ‘sit down’
- complex
 (compound)
 stem *kala-**bak-*** ‘grow, become big’ [*bak-* ‘become’]
 *xoχ-**b-*** ‘break (tr.)’ [*b-* ‘do’]
 *cam-**p-*** ‘write’ [*p-* ‘say’]

Verbal lexicon: spatial preverbs

Spatial prefixes (‘preverbs’)

- Lezgetic, Dargwa, Khinalug, Nakh
- up to three spatial preverbs in a verb stem
- parallel to the structure of spatial case forms: separate series of prefixes expressing localization and direction (also deixis or elevation)

Sanzhi Dargwa (< Dargwa), Forker 2020: 217–222

[(location)-(direction)]-(deixis/elevation)-root

č̣i-r-ka-jč̣-ib

č̣i-

r-

ka-

jč̣-

ib

SUPER- ABL- DOWN-

occur.PFV.M- PRET

‘fell from (the horse)’

Verbal lexicon: spatial preverbs

Sanzhi Dargwa (< Dargwa), Forker 2020: 217–222

Location-Direction	LAT	ABL	ESS
‘on’	<i>č̣i-</i>	<i>č̣i-r-</i>	<i>č̣i-GM-</i>
‘under, down’	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-r-</i>	<i>gu-GM-</i>
‘in front of’	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sa-r-</i>	<i>sa-GM-</i>
‘in, inside’	<i>GM-i-</i>	<i>GM-i-r-</i>	<i>GM-i-GM-</i>
‘behind, after’	<i>hit:i-</i>	<i>hit:i-r-</i>	<i>hit:i-GM-</i>
‘out, outside’	<i>t:ura-</i>	<i>t:ura-r-</i>	<i>t:ura-GM-</i>
‘in(to)/to, in(to) the hands’	<i>k^wi-</i>	<i>k^wi-r-</i>	<i>k^wi-GM-</i>

Deixis/Elevation

ha- ‘up, upwards’

ka- ‘down, downwards’

sa- ‘to the speaker, hither’

GM-it- ‘away from the speaker, thither’

(GM = gender marker slot)

Verbal lexicon: spatial preverbs

Spatial prefixes ('preverbs')

- sometimes the morphemes are cognate (esp. those marking localization, less so direction)
- preverbs can also be cognate with spatial postpositions (e.g. in Dargwa)

Spatial prefix ~ spatial case 'concord'

Tabasaran (< Lezgetic), Babaliyeva 2013: 37, 43

- localization marker *k:(V)-* SUB ('under') as a case and as a preverb
- direction markers (ELAT) are different

(1) *ča-n* *χil-ar.i-k:* *k:a-ʔ-u*
self-GEN hand-PL-SUB SUB-put-AOR
'{She has collected them and} put it under her arms.'

(2) *k:a-da-B-nu* *gardan.di-k:-an*
SUB-ELAT-<N>take-PFV.CVB neck-SUB-ELAT
'Having taken it from under his neck...'

Verbal lexicon: spatial preverbs

Simplex stems ~ prefixal stems: a continuum

- prefixal verbs develop idiomatic meanings, so that the original locative component is no longer evident
- prefixes can become lexicalized ('fossilized'), turning into phonological material associated with the verb roots

Huppuq' **Agul** (< Lezgetic)

- *-ix-* 'put' is a root which combines with many preverbs
- *quχ-* 'believe' looks just like a simplex verb stem
- (the postessive marking hints at the underlying prefixal structure)

- (1) *ruš.a* *gardan.i-q* *šarf* *q-ix-i-ne.*
girl(ERG) neck-POST scarf.ABS POST-put-PFV-AOR

'The girl put a scarf on (lit. behind) her neck.'

- (2) *č'in* *allah.t:i-q* *quχ-u-naje-f-e.*
we.EXCL Allah-POST believe-PFV-PTCP:PRF-S-COP

'We believe in Allah.'

Verbal lexicon: spatial preverbs

Final stage of lexicalization

Some dialects of **Agul** (< Lezxic)

- ‘to look’ is *qadurf-* / *qut:urf(an)-* [*qV-* POST?]
- the ‘object of looking’ encoded by the postessive

vs. the Huppuq’ dialect:

- ‘to look’ is *χut:urf-*
- the ‘object of looking’ encoded by the dative
- historical preverbal structure completely lost
(the verb changed both phonologically and syntactically)

χut:urf-u-ne

me

uč.i-n

t’ubal.i-s.

look-PFV-AOR

this(ABS)

self-GEN

ring-DAT

‘He looked at his ring.’

Verbal lexicon: other preverbs

No aspectual (perfectivizing) function

- unlike in Slavic, Ossetic or Kartvelian
- but: in **Tabasaran** (< Lezgian) two prefixes, *κ-* or *d-*, are used to derive a perfective stem (in prefixless verbs), e.g. *ap* 'do, make' > *κ-ap* '*nu* 'did' (aorist)

Repetitive prefix/infix ('again' or 'backward')

- **Lezgian** *q-* or *χ-*, southern **Agul** *q-*, **Rutul** *q-*
- seems to go back to the POST ('behind') preverb
- “so regular that it could even be considered an inflectional category of the verb” (Haspelmath 1993: 174)
- cf. 'RE-become' as 'get better, recover' and 'RE-do' as 'cure, repair'

<i>q-lahun</i> 'say again'	< <i>luhun</i> 'say'
<i>q-fin</i> 'go away, go back'	< <i>fin</i> 'go'
<i>χ-gun</i> 'give again'	< <i>gun</i> 'give'
<i>χu-taxun</i> 'take back'	< <i>tuxun</i> 'take, carry'
<i>a<χ>k:un</i> 'see again'	< <i>ak:un</i> 'see'

Verbal lexicon: suffixed stems

Suffixal derivation, e.g.:

- causatives – mostly (Andic, Tsezic, Dargwa...)
- decausatives (Batsbi, Udi, Budugh...)
- iteratives/detelicizers/antipassives (Avar, Godoberi, Tsezic...)

Bezhta (< Tsezic), Khalilov & Khalilova 2016: 3671–3672

- a rich inventory of suffixal derivations, namely:

Accidental/potential -*yc*’

helal ‘to cook’ → *heleyc’al* ‘to be able to cook, cook accidentally’

Potential -*yl*

gulal ‘to put’ → *gulyılal* ‘to be able to put’

Antipassive/iterative -*la/ā*, -*da/ā*, -*ya*

y-uⁿqal ‘to eat’ → *y-uⁿqdāl* ‘to eat (iteratively)’

Causative -*l* / -*ll*

y-egāl ‘to see’ → *y-ega-l-al* ‘to show’ → *y-ega-ll-al* ‘to cause to show’

(-*al* is the infinitive ending)

...but cf. e.g. **Agul** (< Lezxic): no suffixal verbal derivatives at all

Verbal lexicon: complex verbs

Complex verbs (light-verb constructions, phrasal verbs etc.)

- lexical part (coverb) + light verb
- lexical component can be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, an ideophone, a bound stem (including a borrowed verb)...
- light verbs are usually high-frequency verbs with generalized meanings like ‘be(come)’, ‘do’, ‘give’, ‘say’, ‘hit’, ‘go’...
- light verbs host all inflectional marking

Chechen (< Nakh), Nichols 1994: 48–49

<i>ja:z-d-</i> ‘write’	< <i>ja:z</i> ‘write’ (bound stem, Turkic)	+ <i>d-</i> ‘do, make’
<i>zakaz d-</i> ‘make an order’	< <i>zakaz</i> ‘order’ (noun, Russian)	+ <i>d-</i> ‘do, make’
<i>wojla j-</i> ‘judge, think’	< <i>wojla</i> ‘idea’ (noun)	+ <i>j-</i> ‘do, make’
<i>wojla xil-</i> ‘intend’	< <i>wojla</i> ‘idea’ (noun)	+ <i>xil-</i> ‘become’
<i>telefon tuox-</i> ‘phone’	< <i>telefon</i> ‘telephone’ (noun, Russian)	+ <i>tuox-</i> ‘strike’
<i>nwox da:qq-</i> ‘plow’	< <i>nwox</i> ‘plow’ (noun)	+ <i>da:qq-</i> ‘take’
<i>barkalla ba:x-</i> ‘thank’	< <i>barkalla</i> ‘thanks’	+ <i>ba:x-</i> ‘say, talk’
<i>žuop dal-</i> ‘answer’	< <i>žuop</i> ‘answer’	+ <i>dal-</i> ‘give’

Verbal lexicon: complex verbs

In some languages, complex verbs are the only means of expanding verbal vocabulary

- new verb stems are borrowed from dominant languages (e.g. Russian, Azeri, Avar)

Huppuq' **Agul** (< Lezgetic)

organizawat: aq'as 'to organize'

< Russian *organizovat'* 'organize' (inf.) + 'do'

jašamiš xas 'to live'

< Azeri *jašamiš* 'live' (ptcp.) + 'become'

Complex verbs are not a uniform class (!)

- some of them are close to free syntactic combinations
- some are lexicalized and approach simplex verb stems

Verbal lexicon: complex verbs

In transitive complex verbs with the transitive light verb ‘do’, the coverb typically occupies the position of a patientive argument.

- however, the lexical component may become an “incorporated” component of the complex verb, with an independent object noun phrase.

Huppuq’ **Agul** (< Lezgic)

- “help + do” as ‘to help’ [ERG]

(1) *kümek* *aq’-e* *wun* *za-s*
 help.ABS do-IMP you.SG I-DAT
 ‘You help me!’

- “piece + do” as ‘to cut, detach’ [ERG, ABS]

(2) *ruš.a* *uč-in* *jerxe* *č’ar-ar* *q’at’* *q’-u-ne.*
 girl(ERG) self-GEN [long hair-PL.ABS] piece do-PFV-AOR
 ‘The girl cut off her long hair.’

Complex verbs ~ simplex verbs as a continuum

A. Complex verbs > simplex verbs

Light verb disappears

Lezgian (< Lezxic), Haspelmath 1993: 178

- complex verbs with the light verb *awun* ‘do’

<i>k'walaχ</i> <i>awun</i>	“work + do”	‘to work’
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full form: the light verb is present

<i>k'walaχ</i> <i>awu-na</i>	[work do-AOR]	‘worked’
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reduced form: the light verb is not visible

<i>k'walaχ-na</i>	[work-AOR]	‘worked’
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Whole “coverb + light verb” complex as an input to derivational processes

Huppuq’ **Agul** (< Lezxic)

- repetitive derivation from (some) complex verbs

<i>un-aq'as</i>	‘to call’	[sound do]
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→ <i>un</i> <i>q</i> - <i>aq'as</i>	‘to call again’	[sound RE-do], but also:
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→ <i>qa</i> - <i>un-aq'as</i> (!)	‘to call again’	[RE-sound-do]
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Complex verbs ~ simplex verbs as a continuum

B. Simplex verbs > complex verbs

In Udi, simplex verbs were reanalysed as bipartite, probably by analogy with the (historically bipartite) complex verbs

- many light verbs have the monoconsonantal structure (*b-*, *p-*, *d-*, *c-*)
- the reanalysis has led to the rise of endoclysis (clitics occurring inside words, including not only intermorphemic, but also intramorphemic position)

Vartashen **Udi** (< Lezgetic), Harris 2002: 122, 125

(1) *aš*=*ne*=*b*-*sa* < *aš-b-* “work (noun) + do (light verb)”

work=3SG=do-PRS

‘s/he works’

(2) *beʹ*=*ne*=*k*-*sa* < *beʹk-*, simplex stem

look₁=3SG=look₂-PRS

‘s/he looks’

- while in (1), the part detached is the light verb, in (2) it is just the last consonant of the simplex stem, which is devoid of any meaning on its own.

Verbal inflection: morphological means

Affixation in inflection

SUFFIXES (besides derivational) – mostly

PREFIXES (besides derivational)

- gender markers in verb stems
- negation markers
- aspectual prefixes (rare), e.g. perfective prefixes in Tabasaran, repetitives

INFIXES (rare)

- gender markers in verb stems
- aspectual markers (especially imperfective)

Clitics, especially enclitics

- person agreement
- auxiliaries (especially copulas), also past / ‘retrospective shift’ markers
- modal and evidential markers (e.g. reportatives)
- negation (e.g. preposed markers in Udi, Nakh)

Verbal inflection: morphological means

Vowel alternations (peripheral), e.g.

- agreement with the plural absolutive (Andi), see below
- perfective / imperfective stem distinction (Dargwa) – one of the means

Itsari Dargwa (< Dargwa), Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 60

PFV *b-**ar**h-* ‘sew’ ~ IPFV *b-**ur**h-*

- iterative stem derivation (Chechen)

Chechen (< Nakh), Nichols 1994: 39

qwoss ‘throw’ ~ ITER *qi:s*

mal ‘drink’ ~ ITER *mi:l*

Verbal inflection: morphological means

Partial stem reduplication (peripheral), e.g.

- pluractionality (Avar, Andic, Tsezic...)

Chamalal (< Andic), Plungian 1989

<i>χuxuda</i>	‘drinks (every day)’	← <i>χudi</i>	‘drink’
<i>w-oʔiʔida</i>	‘(he) often comes here’	← <i>b-eʔa</i>	‘come’
<i>r-ukukeda</i>	‘(potatoes) fall one by one’	← <i>b-uku</i>	‘fall down’
<i>r-uq’uq’u</i>	‘cut (bread) into little pieces’	← <i>b-uq’u</i>	‘cut’

(prefixes are gender agreement markers)

- negation (some Dargwa): one of the means alongside prefixation etc.

Itsari Dargwa (< Dargwa), Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 62

historically, prefix **-a* + stem reduplication

b-ert:ērt- PFV.NEG ‘mow’ ← *b-ert:-* PFV

Verb stems

Synthetic verb forms can be grouped according to the stem they are derived from.

Perfective vs. imperfective stem (Lezgic, Dargwa, Lak, Khinalug)

- morphologically distinguished in various ways: suffixation, apophony, infixation (usually *-r-* or *-l-*), reduplication, etc.
- the markedness relation is often equipollent, although sometimes IPFV is clearly more marked; see Daniel (2018).
- high-frequency verbs ('go', 'come', 'say', 'give', 'do', 'be, become') tend to have suppletive aspectual stems

Formal relations between perfective and imperfective stems

- see the table (next slide)

Verb stems

Language	Verb	PFV	IPFV	Morphological Strategy
Archi (< Lezgif)	‘die’	<i>k’a</i>	<i>k’a-r</i>	<i>r</i> -suffixation
	‘wash’	<i>oc:’u</i>	<i>o<r>c:’u-r</i>	<i>r</i> -infixation + <i>r</i> -suffixation
	‘freeze’	<i>qa</i>	<i>qe<r>qī-r</i>	<i>r</i> -infixation + <i>r</i> -suffixation + stem reduplication + vowel alternation
Tsakhur (< Lezgif)	‘do’	<i>haʔ-u-</i>	<i>haʔ-a-</i>	vowel suffixation
	‘beat’	<i>iʕχ-i-</i>	<i>iʕχīχ-a-</i>	vowel suffixation + stem reduplication
	‘give’	<i>hiwo-</i>	<i>hele-</i>	suppletion
Mehweb (< Dargwa)	‘open’	<i>abx-</i>	<i>ibx-</i>	vowel alternation
	‘fill’	<i>-ic’-</i>	<i>-i<l>c’-</i>	<i>l</i> -infixation
	‘throw’	<i>ih^w-</i>	<i>i<r>h^w-</i>	<i>r</i> -infixation
	‘reap’	<i>irx-</i>	<i>irx-</i>	(no distinction)

Gender agreement in the verb

Gender (“class”) is a hallmark of East Caucasian languages

- three (M, F, N) or more genders
- manifested through agreement on verbs, adjectives, demonstratives, etc.
- only in three Lezgian languages, gender is lost altogether

Gender controllers:

- for verbs, clause-mate arguments/adjuncts – the absolutive (S/P) argument
- for NP dependents – the NP head

Gender agreement is a property of particular morphemes

- e.g. if verbs agree, it is generally not predictable which of them happen to have an agreement slot and which do not
- ...and where the gender slot will be

Gender agreement in the verb

Andi **Andi** (< Andic)

- no gender slot
arχon ‘opened’, *ihi* ‘did’, *hit'on* ‘said’, *rac':in* ‘asked’, *q^wardi* ‘wrote’
- prefixal slot
w-uk 'wo / *j-ik* 'wo / *b-ik* 'wo / *r-ik* 'wo etc. ‘was’
- infixal slot (rare)
a<w>ža / *a<j>ža* / *aža* etc. ‘started’

If there is a gender slot in a verb stem, the verb agrees in any form.

Gender slots can be found not only in verb stems,
but also in **verbal affixes** (recall e.g. Dargwa preverbs).

- different gender agreement slots in one verb form can be associated with different agreement controllers (!)

Gender agreement in the verb

Participles with a gender slot

- the stem slot agrees with the verb's absolutive argument
- participial suffix agrees with the head noun

Tindi (< Andic), Magomedova 2012: 176

- (1) [*bac'a* *b-ix:ʃu-w*] *hek'wa*
 wolf.ABS(**N**) **N**-catch-PTCP(**M**) man.ABS(**M**)
 'a man who caught a wolf'

Converbs with a gender slot

- the stem slot agrees with the verb's absolutive argument
- converbial suffix agrees with the absolutive argument in the main clause

Tlondoda **Bagvalal** (< Andic), Gudava 1971, texts

- (2) [*kwah=la* *b-ehi-w-o*], _____
 spoon.ABS(**N**)=ADD **N**-take-**M**-CVB.PFV (he.**M**)
 t:it: *q'e:n-a* *a<w>atita*
 butter.ABS eat-INF <**M**>move.AOR
 'Having taken the spoon, he prepared to eat.'

Gender agreement in the verb

Gender slots in different morphemes combined in one verb form:
“exuberant exponence” or “multiple exponence” (Harris 2009)

Batsbi (< Nakh), Harris 2009: 268

- the verb root *-ex-* ‘destroy’
- the gender marker *d-* agrees with the absolutive noun phrase ‘old house’
- and occurs three times, as both a prefix and a suffix to the root

<i>tišⁿ</i>	<i>c’a</i>	<i>daḥ</i>	<i>d-ex-d-o-d-an-iš</i>
old	house.ABS	PV	V-destroy-V-PRS-V-EVID1-2PL.ERG

‘You all are evidently tearing down the old house.’

The structure of the verb is: [[[*d-ex*] -*d-o*] -*d-an*] -*iš*

- in *d-ex-*, gender slot (“preradical”) is part of the verb stem *CL-ex-*
- in *-d-o-*, gender slot is part of the transitivity marker *-CL-i-*
- (final *-i* is lost before the present tense suffix *-o-*)
- in *-d-an-*, gender slot is part of the present evidential marker *-CL-ano* (< auxiliary ‘be’ in the aorist evidential)

Number agreement in the verb

Number agreement is often conflated with gender.

The morphological independence of number agreement from gender agreement:

Andi **Andi** (< Andic)

Suffixal marking of the plural

- agreement is with the absolutive argument

<i>sir-dos:ub</i>	~	<i>sir-dos:ub-ul</i>
be.afraid-PROH		be.afraid-PROH-PL
'don't be afraid' (singular ~ plural subject)		

Cf. the same suffix in agreeing attributive forms:

<i>ho-w</i> 'this-M'	~	<i>ho-w-ul</i> 'this-M-PL'
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Number agreement in the verb

Andi **Andi** (< Andic)

Plural marking by means of apophony (/i/ > /o/, /u/ > /a/)

- restricted to a small number of verbs with stem-initial vowels
- agreement is with the absolutive argument
- (NB: in most genders, gender markers don't distinguish number)

*j-ik'*_{wo} ~ *j-ok'*_{wo}

F-be.AOR F-PL\be.AOR

'she was' 'they(F) were'

*w-uk'*_{wo} ~

M-be.AOR

'he was'

*w-ok'*_{wo}

M-PL\be.AOR

'they(M) were'

Cf. both strategies in one word:

w-ogidos:ub-ul !

M-PL\come-PROH-PL

'don't you(PL) come here!'

Person agreement in the verb

Innovation found in some East Caucasian branches

- Batsbi, Lak, Dargwa, Tabasaran, Udi, Akhvakh, Avar dialects
- marked by suffixes or enclitics
- (some) person agreement markers bear an obvious resemblance to personal pronouns (e.g. in Tabasaran, Udi)
- in some languages, person markers are hosted by focused constituents and can be placed on non-verbal phrases as well

Lak, Kazenin 2002: 293

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| a. | <i>na</i> | <i>q:atri</i> | <i>d-ullali-s:a=ra</i> |
| | I | house.ABS | IV-build.DUR-PTCP=1SG |
| | ‘I am building a house.’ | | |
| b. | <i>na</i> | <i>q:atri=ra</i> | <i>d-ullali-s:a</i> |
| | I | house.ABS=1SG | IV-build.DUR-PTCP |
| | ‘I am building A HOUSE.’ | | |

Periphrastic forms in inflection

Periphrastic (analytic) forms:

- non-finite component + postposed auxiliary
- most common non-finite components – participle, converb, infinitive
- most common auxiliaries – copula, existential verb ‘be’ or ‘be inside’ (both morphologically deficient), regular verb ‘be, become, happen’ in various forms
- the number of potentially possible combinations can be very high
- but: not all the potentially possible periphrastic constructions are frequently used or even attested in natural speech at all

Periphrastic forms in inflection

Mishlesh **Tsakhur** (< Lezgetic), Kibrik & Testelec 1999: 86–89, 240

- synthetic aorist (syncretic with the perfective converb)
- periphrastic perfect with the present copula as an auxiliary
- periphrastic pluperfect with the auxiliary ‘be(come)’ in the aorist form

- a. *maʕhammadʷ-ē* *gulʲ* *āqi*
Muhammad-ERG window.ABS 4.open.PFV
‘Muhammad opened the window.’
- b. *maʕhammadʷ-ē* *gulʲ* *āqi* *wo-d*
Muhammad-ERG window.ABS 4.open.PFV COP-4
‘Muhammad has opened the window.’
- c. *maʕhammadʷ-ē* *gulʲ* *āqi* *ixa*
Muhammad-ERG window.ABS 4.open.PFV 4.become.PFV
‘Muhammad had opened the window {and now it is closed again}.’

Periphrastic forms in inflection

Gradual drift towards synthetic, morphologically bound forms with the (former) auxiliary becoming affixed to the main verb

Huppuq' **Agul** (< Lezgetic), Merdanova 2004: 72

- all the core indicative tense and aspect forms are originally periphrastic
- mostly appear as highly morphologized
- fusion of the main verb and the auxiliary (vowel drops, elision of glides, vowel coalescence)

a.	<i>ruχ-u-ne</i>	<	<i>*ruχ-u-na</i>	<i>e</i>
	read-PFV-AOR		read-PFV-CVB	COP
	'read' (aorist)		perfective converb +	copula, present
b.	<i>ruχ-u-na(j)a</i>	<	<i>*ruχ-u-na</i>	<i>aa (aja)</i>
	read-PFV-PRF		read-PFV-CVB	IN.be.PRS
	'has read' (perfect)		perfective converb +	'be in', present
c.	<i>ruχ-a-(j)a</i>	<	<i>*ruχ-a-j</i>	<i>aa (aja)</i>
	read-IPFV-PRS		read-IPFV-CVB	IN.be.PRS
	'is reading' (present)		perfective converb +	'be in', present

Periphrastic forms in inflection

The balance between synthetic and periphrastic forms in the core indicative paradigm:

- high variation among the languages of the family
- some languages show preference for synthetic forms
- in others periphrasis plays a major role
- most languages combine the two

Agul (< Lezgetic) can be placed at the “periphrasis pole” of the continuum.

The synthesis pole: **Andi** vs. other Andic

- the core tense and aspect system is synthetic
- some finite forms are syncretic with non-finite ones
- no periphrastic forms with the (present) copula
- (former) copula *i* / *ži* / *ži* occurs mostly in locative and possessive clauses
- periphrastic forms do exist (e.g. with the auxiliary ‘be(come)’ in the past)

Periphrastic forms in inflection

Rikvani **Andi** indicative system (verb ‘be, become’)

Aorist	<i>bik'o</i>
Perfect	<i>bik'o-d</i>
(= perfective converb)	
Progressive present	<i>bik'o-rado</i>
Present	<i>bik'u-duq</i>
Prospective	<i>bik'u-dulq</i>
Intentional	<i>bik'u-dukojd</i>
Counterexpectation present	<i>bik'u-david</i>
Habitual present	<i>bik'u-do</i>
Future (= imperfective participle)	<i>bik'u-dja</i>

Aorist	<i>hec'i</i>
(perfective converb)	<i>hec'i-bo</i>
Perfect	<i>hec'i-bo</i> <i>ek'wa</i>
(imperfective converb)	<i>hec'i-ra:χ</i>
Present	<i>hec'i-ra:χ</i> <i>ek'wa</i>
Habitual present (= imperfective participle)	<i>hec'i-r-ob</i>
Future, synthetic	<i>hec'a-s:</i>
Prospective	<i>hec'a:-dibo</i> <i>ek'wa</i>
Intentional	<i>hec'a:-tiχ</i> <i>ek'wa</i>
(future participle)	<i>hec'a:-lob</i>
Future, analytic	<i>hec'a:-lob</i> <i>ek'wa</i>

Kvanada **Bagvalal** indicative system (verb ‘stand up, rise’)

- the core tense and aspect system is both synthetic and periphrastic
 - a number of periphrastic forms with the (present) copula
 - the copula occurs in all types of “non-verbal” clauses

Periphrastic forms in inflection

The synthesis pole: **Udi** vs. other Lezgi

- the core tense and aspect system is synthetic
- some finite forms are syncretic with non-finite ones
- no periphrastic forms with the (present) copula
- (former) copula *bu* occurs mostly in locative and possessive clauses
- periphrastic forms do exist (e.g. with the auxiliary ‘be(come)’ in the past)

Nizh **Udi** indicative system
(verb ‘go away’)

Perfect	<i>tac-e</i>
Aorist	<i>tac-i</i>
Perfect II	<i>tac-ijo</i>
Present	<i>taj-sa</i>
Potential Future	<i>ta_K-o(n)</i>
General Future	<i>ta_K-al</i>
Debitive Future	<i>ta_K-ala</i>

Periphrastic forms in inflection

Kina **Rutul** indicative system (verb ‘do’)

- the core tense and aspect system is periphrastic
- periphrastic forms with both the copula *i* and the locative verb *a* ‘be (in)’
- the copula *i* / *jiʔi* is a “normal” identification copula

Aorist	<i>hiʔi-r(-i)</i>	< perfective converb + copula
Perfect	<i>hiʔi-r-a</i>	< perfective converb + ‘be (in)’
Experiential	<i>hiʔi-t'-i</i>	< perfective participle + copula
Present Habitual	<i>haʔa-r(-i)</i>	< imperfective converb + copula
Present	<i>haʔa-r-a</i>	< imperfective converb + ‘be (in)’
Generic Habitual	<i>haʔa-t'-i</i>	< imperfective participle + copula
Future	<i>haʔa-s-i</i>	< infinitive + copula
Prospective	<i>haʔa-s-di i</i>	< future participle + copula

Negation strategies

Suffixal

Avar (< Avar-Andic)

<i>c'al-ula</i>	[read-PRS]	~ <i>c'al-ula-ro</i>	[read-PRS-NEG]
<i>c'al-ila</i>	[read-FUT]	~ <i>c'al-ila-ro</i>	[read-FUT-NEG]
<i>c'al-ana</i>	[read-AOR]	~ <i>c'al-ič'o</i>	[read-AOR.NEG]

Prefixal (/ infixal)

Tanti **Dargwa** (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 144, 224)

***ʁaʕ**-b-ač'-ib*

<

b-ač'-ib

NEG-N-come.PFV-PRET

N-come.PFV-PRET

‘(it) didn’t come’

‘(it) came’

***ma**-d-uč'-i-t*

PROH-NPL-read.IPFV-TH-2

‘don’t read (them)!’

(not derived from the imperative)

Negation strategies

Prefixal negation tends to occur after locative preverbs (Lezgif, Dargwa)...

Kina Rutul (< Lezgian)

- Simplex stem: just prefixed

1. *ž-ac 'a-biš-e* *hac 'a-biši-s (...)*
 NEG-4.know.IPFV-OBL.PL-ERG 4.know.IPFV-OBL.PL-DAT
 'Those who don't know (teach) those who know'

- Preverbal stem: locative-repetitive-negative-√

2. *χa-q-ǂ-aq 'i-r-ijden*
 APUD-RE-NEG-1.catch.PFV-CVB-CTRF
 'if they hadn't caught him' (stem *χ-aq* - [APUD-catch])

...but can also precede them:

Huppuq' Agul (< Lezgitic)

- Preverbal stem: negative-repetitive-locative-√

3. *da-q-l-at:-arx-a-guna*
 NEG-RE-SUPER-ELAT-get-IPFV-TEMP
 ‘because he didn’t leave us alone’ (stem *al-at:-arx-* [SUPER-ELAT-get])

Negation strategies

Clitic / function word

Nizh **Udi** (< Lezgif)

- Declarative negator *te*= obligatorily hosts person agreement markers

<i>te</i> = <i>z</i>	<i>ak</i> :- <i>sa</i> ,	<i>te</i> = <i>nu</i>	<i>ak</i> :- <i>sa</i> ,	<i>te</i> = <i>ne</i>	<i>ak</i> :- <i>sa</i>	etc.
NEG=1SG	see-PRS	NEG=2SG	see-PRS	NEG=3SG	see-PRS	
'I don't see'		'you don't see'		's/he does not see'		

Ingush (< Nakh), Nichols 2011: 310

- Proclitic non-finite negation *cy*=, prohibitive *ma*=

<i>Q'ameal</i>	<i>cy</i> ='a	<i>ezh</i>
speech	NEG=&	D.do.CVsim
'not even saying a word'		

(=& is a coordinating clitic)

Negation strategies

Negative “dummy verb”

Lezgian (< Lezxic), Haspelmath 1993: 134

- only a closed set of verbs takes prefixal (non-finite/non-indicative) negation
- most verbs use a combination of a special “periphrasis form”* of a lexical verb and a negative form of the verb *awun* ‘do’

ta-gun ‘not giving’ (negative “masdar” in *-n*)

te-fin ‘not going’

BUT:

kis t-awun ‘not falling silent’, lit. ‘fall-silent not-doing’

t’ün t-awun ‘not eating’, lit. ‘eat not-doing’

*NB: this is not a “connegative” form, as it occurs in some other contexts as well

Negation strategies

Periphrastic forms: negative forms of auxiliaries

- NB: as a rule, copulas have suppletive negative forms

Huppuq' **Agul** (< Lezgic)

- Present habitual = imperfective converb + present copula

ruχaj-e 'reads' < *ruχ-a-j* [read-IPFV-CVB] + *e* [COP]

ruχaj-dewa 'does not read' < *ruχ-a-j* [read-IPFV-CVB] + *dewa* [COP]

...but non-finite forms can also be negated

- e.g. the imperfective converb:

ruχaj 'while reading' ~ *da-ruχaj* 'while not reading'

Negation strategies

Periphrastic forms: negative forms of auxiliaries

...and negative non-finite forms can also occur in periphrastic forms

Huppuq' **Agul** (< Lezgic)

- negative imperfective converb + affirmative auxiliary

da-ruχaj-e lit. 'is not-reading' < *da-ruχaj* + *e*

'what takes place is not reading' (but smth. else)

- negative imperfective converb + negative auxiliary

da-ruχaj-dewa lit. 'isn't not-reading' < *da-ruχaj* + *dawa*

'it's not that s/he does not read' (s/he does not do something else)

Negation strategies: splits

Most East Caucasian languages have more than one negation marker / strategy.

A split may occur between

- synthetic and periphrastic forms (e.g. prefix vs. negative auxiliary)
- finite and non-finite forms (e.g. non-finite negator *nu* in Udi)
- different TAM forms (e.g. past vs. non-past tenses in Avar)
- “strong” and “weak” verbs (e.g. prefixal negation in Lezgian)

Prohibitives have a distinct negation marker

- and are usually NOT derived from the imperative
- (but tend to belong to the imperfective subsystem)

Kvanada **Bagvalal** (< Andic), Kibrik et al. 2001: 96

ašt-a [listen-IMP] ~ *ašti-**bis:e*** [listen-PROH]

Mishlesh **Tsakhur** (< Lezgic), Kibrik et al. 1999: 77, 84

heʔ-e [do-IMP] ~ *h<**im**>aʔ-a* [<PROH>do-IPFV]

...to be continued

More on the use of verb forms: in subsequent lectures

- ⇒ **Samira Verhees.** *The encoding of evidentiality in East Caucasian: different types of marking and areal distribution.*
- ⇒ **Marina Chumakina.** *Agreement in East Caucasian languages.*
- ⇒ **Diana Forker.** *Information structure in East Caucasian languages.*
- ⇒ **Denis Creissels.** *Valency alternations and voice in East Caucasian.*
- ⇒ **Oleg Belyaev.** *Clause combining in East Caucasian languages.*
- ⇒ **Natalya Serdobolskaya.** *Complementation in East Caucasian languages.*
- ⇒ **Yury Lander.** *Relativization in East Caucasian languages.*

č^we jurk' šad x-u-raj, čun sak-di š-u-raj !
your(pl) heart joyful become-pfv-juss you(pl) healthy-adv go-pfv-juss



The village of Khpyuk (*Huppuq*'), August 2018

Appendix 1: two caveats

1.

Not all East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) branches/languages have been covered in the talk in equal detail.

- Bias towards those languages I have worked with (esp. Lezgic, Andic).
- No comprehensive reference for the topic; for general overviews, see van den Berg (2005: 165–170) and Hewitt (2004: 90–104), also Xajdakov (1975) with a focus just on three languages.

2.

The presentation partly follows the section “Verb morphology” in the forthcoming paper:

- Dmitry Ganenkov & Timur Maisak. Nakh-Dagestanian languages. In Maria Polinsky (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the languages of the Caucasus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

(to appear in December, 2020 or maybe later)

I also rely on the following papers not referred to in the slides:

- Arkadiev & Maisak 2018, Maisak 2018, Maisak 2020a, Maisak 2020b.

Appendix 2: references

- Arkadiev, Peter & Timur Maisak. 2018. Grammaticalization in the North Caucasian languages. In Heiko Narrog & Bernd Heine (eds), *Grammaticalization from a typological perspective*, 116–145. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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