Clause combining in East Caucasian languages

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General overview

- In the broadest sense, **clause combining** refers to all types of coordination and subordination.
- I will focus on clause chaining / coordination and adverbial clauses, as complementation and relativization are covered by separate lectures.

Clause combining types

- Most East Caucasian languages have **no** constructions that structurally correspond to SAE coordination:
    - both clauses non-deranked / balanced (Cristofaro 2003), having the same form as independent clauses;
    - a conjunction that stands between the clauses.
- Similarly, there are (with a few exceptions) no subordinating conjunctions.
- Instead, EC languages use the following strategies:

general converbs	functional equivalent of coordination;
specialized converbs	specific types of adverbial subordination (temporal, causal, concessive, conditional etc.);
relational nouns	nouns with adjoined relative clauses that function as adverbial expressions;
juxtaposition	putting finite clauses together (in literary languages, the conjunctions *wa* 'and', *amma* 'but', from Arabic, may be used).

An illustration: Shiri Dargwa

- Imperfective
    - general converb:

(1) *ʔaki-le   w-ax-ul,   ʔali-ž=ra   murad čiʿwʾig-i*
    work-in[LAT] M-go.ipfv-cvb A.-dat=add M.   ‹m›see.ipfv-pret.3
    '**When** Ali **went** to work, he saw Murad from time to time.'
    - specialized conditional / temporal converb:

(2) *čawalal   ʔali ʔaki-le   w-ax-ardil,   har bari ga ʔišnik-li*
    in.the.morning A. work-in[LAT] M-go.ipfv-cvb.cond every day road.policeman-erg

    t'aš.iʁ-i
    stop.ipfv-pret.3
    '**When(ever)** Ali **drove** to work in the morning, the policeman stopped him every day.'
    - relational noun:

(3) *murad dubura-le-ka-guʿwʾa   kalq-un   zamana, ʔali lak*
    M.   mountain-in-el-down‹m› down:m:go.ipfv-ptcp time   A.   upwards

    w-ax-i
    m-go.ipfv-pret.3
    '**When** Murad **went down** from the mountain, Ali went up.'

- Perfective
    - General converb:
(4) *murad qil   **gur-sa-q'ˤ-un.ni**   kʷer.kejsː-ini*
    M.   home.ɪɴ[ʟᴀᴛ] back-ᴠᴇɴᴛ-g̃o.ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴄᴠʙ ᴍ:sleep.ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴘʀᴇᴛ.3
    'Murad **came back** home **and** went to sleep.'
    - Specialized converb:
(5) *ʕä-la   t'ama   **b-aq'ˤ-ib.qːil**,   razi   iχʷ-a-d-i*
    thou-ɢᴇɴ voice   ɴ-hear.ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴄᴠʙ.ᴛᴇᴍᴘ happy [ᴍ]become.ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴘʀᴇᴛ-1- sɢ
    '**When I heard** your voice, I became happy.'

General converts

- The term is due to Nedjalkov (1995). It describes a converb that has no specific adverbial clause function and whose exact function is determined by context:
  - temporal sequence;
  - manner;
  - cause;
  - adversativity ('but').
- In this respect, general converts are functionally similar to coordination.
- Importantly, there is **no** obligatory argument sharing: converb clauses have all arguments that main clauses have, which are expressed in exactly the same way.

Discourse function: Equivalent of coordination

(6) Qunqi Dargwa
    tilipun   *gu.r.heⱭbertː-ib*   *ca⟨d⟩i*   *ʔ-ib-ce*   *χalum-ʔumạr*
    telephone   ‹NPL›tear.away.PFV-PTCP   COP‹NPL›   say.PFV-PTCP-ATTR   Kh.-U.

    ʔ-ib-le,   *χalum-ʔumạr*   *ešt'e-la*   *pːartːurg*   *elʁ-un*
    say.PFV-CVB   Kh.-U.   Ashti-GEN   party.organizer   remain.PFV-PTCP

    caⱭwʔi,   ***ag-ul.le***   *iχe-šːa,*   ***b-aχː-ij***   ***b-iq-ib.le***
    COP‹M›   go.PFV-ANT-CVB   that.below-APUD[LAT]   N-know.PFV-INF   N-cause.PFV-CVB

    iš-tː.a-d,   ***χabar-b-arq'-ib.le,***   *iχe-li*   *χʷala-ce*   *ʔajib=ra*
    this-PL-ERG   news-N-do.PFV-CVB   that.below-ERG   big-ATTR   shame=ADD

    b-arq'-ib   *caⱭwʔi*   *niša-la*   *q'inq'an-t-ej*
    N-do.PFV-PTCP   COP‹N›   we-GEN   Qunqi.inhabitant-PL-DAT
    '(The person) **named** Khalum-Umar, who said that the telephone connection was cut
    off, Khalum-Umar was the party organizer in Ashti, they **went** to him, **let him know**,
    told him the news, and he shamed our Qunqi people a lot.'
    (lit. 'Telephone cut off **saying** Khalom Umar **having said**, Khalum-Umar was the
    party organizer of Ashti, them **having gone**, **having let him know** and **having told
    him the news**, he shamed our Qunqi people a lot.')   (spoken text)

- The morphological manifestations of general converbs are very diverse. In some (most?) languages, they are formed from the base stem and are homonymous with one of the basic TAM forms (which might also have other functions). Consider the example of Andi (Andic, Verhees 2019), verb 'be':

base	synthetic form	converb	participle
b-ik'o (past stem)	*b-ik'o* (aorist)	*b-ik'o*	*b-ik'o-b*
	b-ik'o-dːu (perfect)	*b-ik'o-dːu*	

- In such languages, in the general case, it is impossible to differentiate between juxtaposition of two finite forms and a converb construction:

(7) Tsakhur (Lezgic)
[*eminat-ē ma-n   žuwab **iwho***], *rasul   ark'ɨn-na*
A.-ERG   this-ATR.4CL word.4 say.PFC Rasul.1CL leave.PFC.1CL-ATR.1CL
'Aminat **having said** this word, Rasul left.'   (Kazenin and Testelec 2004)

- Note, however, that the text of Kazenin and Testelec (2004) makes it appear as if it is this ambiguity that gives rise to the coordination-subordination problem. As we will see below, this is not the case: even forms that are clearly "morphologically subordinating" may have coordinating syntactic or semantic properties.
- Still, the notion of finiteness in East Caucasian and what it takes to be a "finite form" is complex. See Kalinina and Sumbatova (2007) for a detailed discussion of this question.
- Both synchronically and diachronically, it is not clear which function (if any) is primary: the converb or the finite use.

- Some languages have a clearer differentiation between converbs and other forms. For example, Shiri Dargwa regularly derives converbs from corresponding participles via the adverbial suffix *-li*:

stem	participle	converb	finite form (3p.)
b-arq'- (pfv.)	*b-arq'-ib*	*b-arq'-ib-li*	*b-arq'-aj* (aor.) *b-arq'-ib-li caʲbʲi* (res.)
b-irq'- (ipfv.)	*b-irq'-u*	*b-irq'u-l*	*b-irq'ul caʲbʲi* (prs.)

- Note that, technically, Shiri does allow using the perfective participle in *-ib* as the Perfect form in the 3rd person (Aorist in other varieties, absent in Kubachi), but its semantics is very restricted, and it is distinct from the converb.
- Synchronically, the Perfect is a synthetic paradigm that is distinct from the Perfective Participle. For diachrony, see Belyaev (2018).

- Participle-converb polysemy is comparatively rare; it is found e.g. in Ingush (Nichols 2011), Kryz (Authier 2009). It is more typical for participles to double as independent / finite forms and for converbs to have distinct marking.

- In Ashti Dargwa, it is the result of a historical "accident": the converb marker *-li* was lost in converb forms, but retained in finite forms derived from them.

stem	participle	converb	finite form (3p.)
b-a:q'- (pfv.)	*b-a:q'-ib*	*b-a:q'-ib*	*b-a:q'-ip:i* (prf.)
b-i:q'- (ipfv.)	*b-i:q'-u*	*b-i:q'-u*	*b-i:q'ul* (prs.)

- In Ingush, the polysemy only holds for the Anterior converb (the main clause chaining form). Nichols (2011, 292): "distinguishing two forms is somewhat artificial".

		'read'	
stem	**participle**	**converb**	**finite form (3p.)**
d-iish- (pst.)	*d-iish-aa*	*d-iish-aa*	*d-iish-ar* (w. pst.)
d-iesh- (ipfv.)	*d-iesh-a*	*d-iesh-azh*	*d-iesh-ar* (ipf.)

Specialized converbs

- Very rich inventories. Cf. Akhvakh (Andic, Creissels 2010):

marker	meaning	explication
-iƛ̄-	locative	'where V'
-idiƛ̄i / *-eƛ̄i* / *-adeƛ̄i*	"posterior"	'after V'
-ideƛi	simultaneous	'at the same time as V'
-ariƛ̄oχ̄a	inceptive	'from the moment when V began'
-ik'ena, *-ula*	immediate	'as soon as V'
-alaq'o	anterior	'before V'
-idaƛ̄a	imminent	'just before V occurs'
-iɭeda	non-posterior	'before V could occur'
-ala, *-āčala*	conditional	'if V'
-ala=la, *aloʁola*	concessive	'although V'
-eroq̄e	similative	'in the same way as V'
-ūda	gradual	'the more ..., the more ...'
-erogu	explicative	'because'
-uʁana	purposive	'in order that'

- The specialized converb systems are diverse in detail, but broadly similar. They typically include:
    - a set of converbs expressing various temporal relations;
    - conditional, concessive (of which there may be several types: realis, irrealis, etc.);
    - causal, purposive;
    - locative;
    - some typologically unusual meanings that recur nonetheless: similative ('like V'), gradual ('the more ... the more ...').

Some "unusual" converbs

■ locative

(8) Akhvakh (Andic)
k'eda reše-ɨ̄i   dene [*če   **o-x̄iɨ̄-i**   ] *w-ošq̄-ada*
two   year-n.ess I   tea n-sell-vloc-ess m-work-pf2
'I worked two years in a tea-**house**.'   (Creissels 2010, 121)

■ gradual

(9) Shiri (Dargwa)
*nuxːa   dubur-t.a-cːi   aq.ha«ɂ»irχ-**u.sat**,   buχːar b-irχ-u.l=di*
we.incl mountain-pl-inter[lat] ‹npl›climb.ipfv-cvb.grad   cold   n-be.ipfv-cvb=pst
'The higher we **climbed**, the hotter it became.'

- similative

(10) Khwarshi (Tsezic)
∅-*ah-un*   *γoλ'o*   *sasaqa, b-us-un*   [*užá*   ***iλλ-uhol***]
I-stand-PFV.CVB morning.SUP early   III-find-PST.UW boy.OBL.ERG say-SIMIL.CVB

   mada-had soyro
   outside-AD horse(III)
'The father got up early in the morning, and found the horse outside **as** the son **had said**.'   (Khalilova 2009, 411)

- imperative

(11) Archi (Lezgic)
xiṭa-xir   *šːəɪle-kul*   ***c'a-lli***   *eca*
then-after be.fat-MSD melt.IMP-CVB.IMP pour.IMP
'Then **melt** the fat and pour (it in).'   (Dobrushina 2007)

Relational nouns

- The border between relational nouns (and words of other parts of speech used in adverbial function) and specialized converbs is somewhat fuzzy.
- Relational nouns may grammaticalize. Even synchronically, some of the "converb" markers are borderline between nouns / other parts of speech and "affixes".
- Consider the use of "converb" markers with adjectives and nouns in Ashti Dargwa:

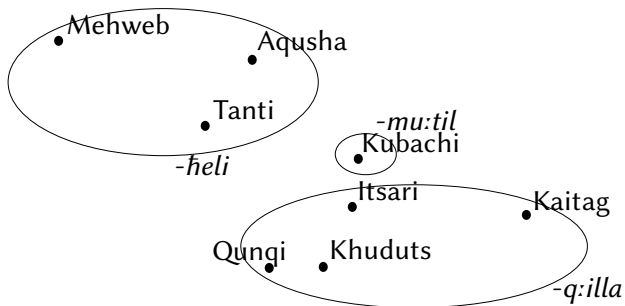|	temporal	'since'	simul.	ant.	causal	conc.
'do'	b-aːqʼ-ib-muːtil	baːqʼib-žila	baːqʼib-heː	baːqʼib-hilaj	baːqʼib-maː	baːqʼib-xːaː
'drunk'	kep-muːtil	*kep-žila	kep-heː	*kep-hilaj	kep-maː	kep-xːaː
'evening'	*darχːi-muːtil	darχːi-žila	darχːi-heː	darχːi-hilaj	darχːi-maː	*darχːi-xːaː

Diversity

- Specialized converb systems are broadly similar in their typology, but formally diverse. Based on differences between two Akhvakh varieties Creissels (2010) observes that these systems probably undergo constant renewal and replacement.

- A similar pattern is found in Dargwa:

	Itsari	Qunqi	Ashti	Shiri
temporal	*-qːilla*	*-qːalle*	*-muːtil*	*-qːil*
immediate	*-kat(la)*	*-(h)er*	*-maː-le*	*-maʔlal*
simultaneous	*-(h)eːr*	*-na-r*	*-heː*	*-her*
anterior	*-le-hetːi*	*-le-hitːi*	*-tabeːli*	*-letːi*
			-hilaj	
'since'	*-la*	*-le-hilarka*	*-ži-la*	—
limitative	—	—	*-ti⟨b⟩all*i	*-el*
concession	—	*-xːar(=ra)*	*-xːaː*	*-xːar*
comparison	*-satːi*	—	—	*-sat*
cause	*-bahandan*	—	*-maː*	*-bahandan*

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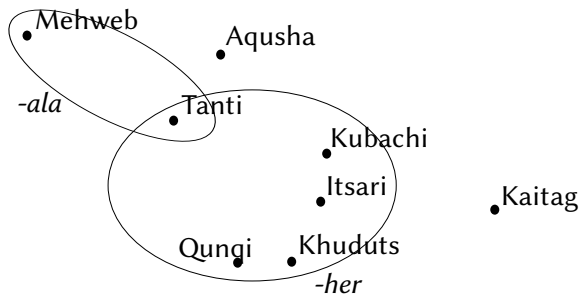
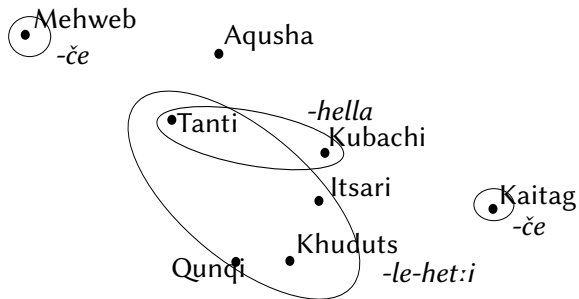# Distributions of some Dargwa converbs

'When'

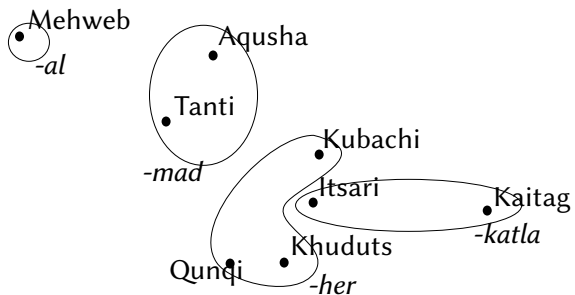# Distributions of some Dargwa converbs

Simultaneous

Distributions of some Dargwa converbs

'After'

Distributions of some Dargwa converbs

'As soon as'

Coordination vs. subordination
The distinction

- As we saw above, East Caucasian general converbs are usually *translation equivalents* of coordination.
- But this does not mean that their *properties* are the same.
- The distinction itself is problematic, especially for converbs. Some references include: Foley and Van Valin (1984), Haspelmath (1995), Culicover and Jackendoff (1997), Yuasa and Sadock (2002), Bickel (2010), Belyaev (2015).
- As in other areas, the "battery of tests" approach that was popular in the 1990s-2000s has not proved useful, as the tests do not (generally) cluster in any meaningful way, see Bickel (2010). The issue is till very much an open question.

Some properties and illustrations

- A few properties are commonly used in the literature:
  - center-embedding
    - *Last year,* [*when she entered the university*], *Mary was very happy.*
    - [*Last year Mary entered the university*] *and* [*was very happy*].
    - **Last year,* [*and she was very happy*], *Mary entered the university.*

      (Kazenin and Testelec 2004, 230)
  - linear order
    - [*When you came*], *I saw you.*
    - *I saw you* [*when you came*].
    - [*You came*], *and* [*I saw you*].
    - *#* [*I saw you*], *and* [*you came*].
  - "morphosyntactic locus"
    - *I demand that* [*John ask / *asks questions*] *and* [*Bill answer / *answers them*].
    - *I demand that Bill answer / *answers questions* [*when John asks / *ask them*].

      (Kazenin and Testelec 2004, 229)
  - Coordinate Structure Constraint
    - *What does John do _* [*when David irritates him*]*?*
    - **What does John buy _* [*when David sells _*]*?*
    - *What does* [*John buy _*] *and* [*David sell _*]*?*
    - **What does* [*John buy _*] *and* [*David sell cars*]*?*

General tendencies

- The tests give diverse results, even in closely related languages.
- In some, general converbs are consistently subordinating:
  - Bagvalal (Kazenin 2001), Akhvakh (Creissels 2012), Qunqi Dargwa (field data), Hinuq (Forker 2013).
- In others, they have mixed properties:
  - Tsakhur (Kazenin and Testelec 2004), Tsez (Polinsky 2015), Mehweb Dargwa (Kustova 2019), Itsari Dargwa (Sumbatova and Mutalov 2003; Mutalov p.c.), Ashti Dargwa (field data).

Trends in mismatches

- A common trend in all the "mismatch" languages is that **subordinating properties are associated with causal semantics**.

- E.g. embedding in Itsari Dargwa:

(12) a. *murad* ***saˤʁ-ib.li,***   *nušːa ag-ur-da*
          M.   [м]come.PFV-CVB we   go.PFV-AOR-1
          'Murad **arrived and** we left.'

    b. *nušːa,* [*murad saˤʁ-ib.li*],   *ag-ur＝da*
        we   M.   [м]come.PFV-CVB go.PFV-AOR-1
        'We left **because** / *when Murad arrived'

    c. *nušːa ag-ur＝da,*   [*murad saˤʁ-ib.li*]
        we   go.PFV-AOR-1   M.   [м]come.PFV-CVB
        (id.)

- Another common property is the tendency to have subordinating properties when the clauses share arguments (usually, subjects). This is observed (at least) in Tsakhur, Mehweb Dargwa and Ashti Dargwa.

- In Ashti, this influences embedding. In Mehweb and Tsakhur, also relativization; in Tsakhur center-embedding "overrides" causal semantics for the relevant criteria.

- Hence, to center-embed or relativize, in Tsakhur there must be **either** argument sharing or causal semantics.

(13) Ashti Dargwa
      *saleħ, [ʔali **saˤ-q'ˤ-un**   ], w-id.až-i
      S.   A.   VENT-go.PFV-PCVB   M-go.away.PFV-PRET.3
      ('Saleh went out **because/after** Ali **came in**.').

(14) unwersitet-li,   [ʔali-dil aːs   **b-ič̠-ib**   ], keːχʷ-i
      university-IN[LAT]   A.-ERG money N-give.PFV-PCVB   [M]enter.PFV-PRET.3
      'Ali **gave** money **and** entered the university.'

Intragenetic diversity

- Below is a (very sketchy) table of criteria for Dargwa varieties, from a handout from 2010:

	Itsari	Qunqi	Ashti
embedding	S: causal semantics	S	S: same subject
	C: sequential semantics		C: different subject
linear order	S: causal semantics	S	S: causal semantics
	C: sequential semantics		C: sequential semantics
matrix verb	C	S	C
focus	?	S	S: causal semantics
			C: sequential semantics
CSC	S	S	S

- There are problems with some criteria, but it is a fair illustration that even within one branch, geographically adjacent varieties may have drastically different properties.

Dealing with inconsistency

- **Cosubordination**? (Foley and Van Valin 1984)

  subordination [+dependent,+embedded]

  coordination [−dependent,−embedded]

  cosubordination [+dependent,−embedded]

- However, **all subordinating constructions are alike; each mixed construction is mixed in its own way**.

- "Cosubordination" becomes a generic name for whatever doesn't fit the pattern.

Multilevel approach?

- A possible alternative:

  Culicover and Jackendoff (1997) semantic coordination, syntactic subordination (**pseudocoordination**);

  Yuasa and Sadock (2002) semantic subordination, syntactic coordination (**pseudosubordination**);

  Belyaev (2015) three levels:

  c-structure embedding vs. non-embedding [linear order, center-embedding, position of conjunction, etc.];

  f-structure dependence vs. symmetry [CSC, "morphosyntactic locus"];

  semantics discourse relation vs. at-issue truth conditions [scope of focus, negation, etc.].

- Mismatches are allowed *between* levels, but not *within* levels.
- This handles diachronic change and "mixed" constructions fairly well.
- At first glance, there seem to be no obvious violations of this approach.
- But a more important challenge is to provide an explanation for why exactly the same factors influence the criteria in different languages?
    - why does causality influence embedding and linear order, which is supposed to be independent from semantics?
    - why does CSC depend on causality?

Linear order in discourse

- As we discussed above, in languages where general converbs have coordinating syntax, linear order *generally* mirrors the sequential order of events.
- However, just as with coordination, this seems more of an implicature that can be violated in the syntax, especially if temporal order is explicitly marked by adverbials ('before', etc.).
- Moreover, even the anterior taxis meaning of perfective converbs seems to be cancellable.

- Consider the following examples:

(15) Shiri Dargwa
      le⟨d⟩žu-d   *di-la*   *at̪a-qal-la*   *du̱rqˤa̱-b-ẕi-b*   *ħajwan* *urči* (.)
      all⟨NPL⟩-NPL me-GEN father-ASSOC-GEN barn.IN-N[ESS]-ATTR-N cattle horse

      uc (.) *le⟨d⟩žu-d* **t̪uraʁ-ib.li**   **d-erk-ib.li**   **ca⟨d⟩i**
      ox   (.) all⟨NPL⟩-NPL outside[LAT]:drive.PFV-CVB NPL-take_away.PFV-CVB COP⟨NPL⟩

      hel-t̪-a.d   … **d-iʔ-u̱n.ni**
      that-PL-ERG   NPL-steal.PFV-CVB
      'They **drove out**, **took away**, **stole** all of my father's family's cattle, horses, oxen.'
      (lit. '**Having driven out** all of my father's cattle, horse, oxen, they **took** (it) **away**,
      having stolen (it).')   (Shiri_14_08_2012_OB_001)

(16) *hel-tːi*   **d-iʔ-un.ni**   **d-erk-ib.li**   (..) *urči*   **k'e-pː-irχʷ-i**
      that-PL NPL-steal.PFV-CVB NPL-take_away.PFV-CVB   horse that.above-N:N-be.PFV-PRET

    (.) *di-la*   *atːa-qal-la*   …
        me-GEN   father-ASSOC-GEN
    'They **stole** and **took** (them), and my father **had** a horse ...'
    (lit. 'having stolen and taken, my father had a horse ...')

                            (Shiri_14_08_2012_OB_001)

(17) *d̪awi-le*   **w-erq-b.ak:ʷar-ri**   *čer-sarq'-ib.li*   *aba-ž,*
      war-IN[LAT] M-carry.PFV-NEG-CVB   back-HITHER:M:do.PFV-CVB mother-DAT

    tusnaq-le   **ik-ib.li**   *heti-salaka it,*   *xu dus tusnaq-aq-ib.li = di*
    prison-IN[LAT] [M]fall.PFV-CVB   that-after   that five year prison-disappear.PFV-CVB=
    'They **didn't take** him to the war, they **brought** him back, my dear, he **had gotten**
    into prison before that, he had spent five years in prison.'

Coreference patterns

- Kibrik (2007): an extensive study of coreference patterns in coordinating and converbal constructions across Daghestanian languages.
- Some parameters:
    - syntactic ergativity vs. accusativity vs. neutrality;
    - linear vs. structural licensing of anaphoric relations;
    - participant marking: zero vs. pronoun vs. full NP;
    - additive particle marking.

Some findings

Syntactic neutrality

- Most languages do not show evidence for either syntactic ergativity or accusativity, i.e. all zero – full NP coreference patterns are licensed:

(18) Chamalal (Andic)

  a. $\mathcal{S}_{\text{main}} = \mathcal{A}_{\text{dep}}$
     wac$_i$,   [∅$_i$ *jac-la*   *č'ĩn,*   ] *w-eχa wu-na*
     brother.(1CL).NOM ERG sister.NOM=ADD beat.CVB 1CL-leave.AOR
     '**The brother**, having beaten the sister, left.'

  b. $\mathcal{S}_{\text{main}} = \mathcal{P}_{\text{dep}}$
     jac$_i$,   [*wacud-la*   ∅$_i$ *č'ĩn,*   ] *j-eχa j-na*
     sister(2CL).NOM brother.ERG-ADD 2CL.NOM beat.CVB 1CL-leave.AOR
     '**The sister**, the brother having beaten (**her**), left.'

  c. $\mathcal{S}_{\text{dep}} = \mathcal{A}_{\text{main}}$
     [*wac$_i$*   *wi-ʔa,*   ] ∅$_i$ *jac*   *č'in*
     brother.NOM 1CL-come.CVB ERG sister.NOM beat.AOR
     '**The brother** came and beat the sister.'

  d. $\mathcal{S}_{\text{dep}} = \mathcal{P}_{\text{main}}$
     [*jac$_i$*   *ni-ʔa,*   ] *wacud*   ∅$_i$ *č'in*
     sister(2CL).NOM 2=come.CVB brother.ERG 2CL.NOM beat.AOR
     '**The sister** came, and the brother beat (**her**).'   (Kibrik 2007, 89)

Shift to accusativity?

(19) Kryz (Lezgic)
   a. $\mathcal{A}_{dep}$ = $\mathcal{S}_{main}$
      [*gädär$_i$ rišuχ χoki*] ∅$_i$ *ɢäč'-ži*
      boy.ERG girl.ESS call.PF 1CL.NOM 1CL.leave-AOR
      '**The boy** called the girl and left.'

   b. $\mathcal{P}_{dep}$ = $\mathcal{S}_{main}$
      [*gädär rišuχ$_i$ χoki*] *ad$_i$* / *riš$_i$* *ɢäɸ'č'i-žu*
      boy.ERG girl.ESS call.PF PRON girl(2CL).NOM ‹2CL›leave-AOR
      'The boy called **the girl**, and **she** / **the girl** left.'

   c. $\mathcal{S}_{dep}$ = $\mathcal{A}_{main}$
      [*gädä$_i$ ʕuχi*] ∅$_i$ *rišuχ χokur-ži*
      boy(1CL).NOM 1CL.come.PF ERG girl.ESS call-AOR
      '**The boy** came and called the girl.'

   d. $\mathcal{S}_{dep}$ = $\mathcal{P}_{main}$
      [*riš$_i$ ʕuɸʲχi*] *gädär anuχ$_i$ χokur-ži*
      girl(2CL).NOM 2CL-come.PF boy.ERG PRON.ESS call-AOR
      '**The girl** came, and the boy called **her**.'   (Kibrik 2007, 112)

Additive particles

- Some languages regularly use additive particles in converbal clauses.
- Sometimes, as in Bezhta, they are only used with absolutive (nominative) NPs:

(20) Bezhta (Tsezic)

    a.   [∅$_i$ **kid-nä** *j-äʟ'en-nä,*] *öže$_i$*   *eʟ'erö*
           ERG girl-ADD 2CL-beat-CVB boy(1CL).NOM 1CL.leave.AOR
           'Having beaten the girl (**add.**), the boy left.'

    b.   [*öždi*   ∅$_i$ *j-äʟ'en-nä,*] *kid$_i$*   *j-eʟ'erö*
           boy.ERG 2CL.NOM 2CL-beat-CVB girl(2CL).NOM 2CL-leave.AOR
           'The boy (**no add.**) beat (her), and the girl left.'   (Kibrik 2007, 86–87)

- For complexities in the use of particles in converb constructions, see Verhees (2019) on Andi.

Wrapping up

- The take-home message of this lecture:
    - East Caucasian languages have complex converb systems consisting of a small set of **general converbs** and a large set of **specialized converbs** denoting various adverbial relations.
    - The systems themselves are similar, but the forms are different, even among closely related languages.
    - General converbs can be used as a translation equivalent of coordination (clause-chaining), but their syntactic properties can be mixed.
    - A satisfactory solution to this last problem is yet to be developed.

Thank you!

t̲ut̲u   *b-uc-a,*   *bek'*   *b-erc-a*
mouth   N-catch.PFV-IMP[SG]   head   N-save.PFV-IMP[SG]
'Keep your mouth shut, and you will save you head.'   (A Shiri proverb)

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