

Complementation in East Caucasian languages

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Preliminary remarks: Defining complementation

- (Noonan 1985: 52): complementation is viewed as a syntactic construction in which “a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate”.

TSAKHUR (LYUTIKOVA, BONCH-OSMOLOVSKAYA 1999: 491)

bajram	mat-ēx-e-wo=r	[jed-ē
Bajram.1	be.surprised-1.become-IPF-быть=1	mother- ERG
čoǰ	doXtur-u-k'le	hag ^w -ī-l-e].
brother.1	doctor-OBL- AFF	1 .show.PF- MSD -SUP-EL

Bajram was surprised that mother showed his brother to the doctor.

Complementizers in EC: most frequent patterns

- infinitive / potentialis
- masdar (nominalization)
- participle (with or without nominalization markers)
- converbs (simple converb, temporal converbs, purpose converbs, limitative converb, explicative converb)
- purposive (Qunqi & Ashty Dargwa)
- complementizers derived from verbs of speech
- asyndetic subordinate constructions

Complement clauses in EC: the most striking features

- non-finite clauses where all the arguments are encoded in the same way as in independent sentences,
- backward control (BC),
- long-distance agreement in complement clauses (LDA),
- long-distance reflexive pronouns / logophors,
- specific factive forms and constructions,
- specific patterns of direct speech encoding.

Non-finite clauses: all the arguments encoded in the same way as in independent sentences

TSAKHUR (LYUTIKOVA, BONCH-OSMOLOVSKAYA 1999)

rasul-ē hag-u-na což wuž-ē žu-k'le.

Rasul-**ERG** 1.show-PF-AA brother.1 refl.1-ERG refl.1.**OBL-AFF**

Rasul showed his brother to himself. (ibid.: 634)

bajram mat-ēx-e-wo=r [jed-ē

Bajram.1 be.surprised-1.become-IPF-быть=1 mother-**ERG**

což doXtur-u-k'le hag^w-ī-l-e].

brother.1 doctor-OBL-**AFF** 1.show.PF-MSD-SUP-EL

Bajram was surprised that mother showed his brother to the doctor. (ibid.: 491)

Backward control

Definition

- Control: the non-overt subject of the infinitival complement has to be identified with a DP in a matrix clause (Stiebels 2015: 412):

The_i girl began [\emptyset_i to feed the cow].

TSEZ

[kid-bā_i ziya b-išr-a] \emptyset_i y-oq-si.

girl.II-ERG cow.III.ABS III-feed-INF II-begin-PST.EVID

The girl began to feed the cow. (Polinsky, Potsdam 2002: 246)

Distribution in East-Caucasian languages

- This phenomenon has been attested in many Nakh-Daghestanian languages, e.g. Tsakhur: Ljutikova, Bonch-Osmolovksaya 1999; Bezhta: Polinsky 2002, Dargwa (Serdobolskaya 2010); see also case attraction in Ingush (Nichols 2011) and data of numerous lgs in Kibrik 2003.

Agreement of the matrix verb

- The matrix verb cannot agree with the clausal argument:

[Beḷiqan-ä kawu-bi ser-a] Ø-iḥu-n/*r-iḥu-n.

hunter-ERG gate-PL.ABS.nIPL unlock-INF I-begin-PST.nWIT/IV-begin-PST.nWIT

The hunter began to unlock the gates. (Polinsky 2015: 237)

*FC

- It is impossible to express the agent of the beginning event in the matrix clause:

*[Kawu-bi ser-a] beḷiqan Ø-iḥu-n.
gate-PL.ABS.nIPL unlock-INF hunter.ABS.I I-begin-PST.nWIT
The hunter began to unlock the gates.

- It is impossible to express both arguments simultaneously in both clauses:

*[Neḷ-ä bix kos-a] ža y-oq-no.
DEM.nI-ERG grass.ABS.III mow-INF DEM.ABS(.II) II-begin-PST.nWIT
She began to mow the grass. (ibid.: 238)

Possible analyses

[kid-bā_i ziya b-išr-a] Ø_i y-oq-si.
girl.II-ERG cow.III.ABS III-feed-INF II-begin-PST.EVID

The girl began to feed the cow. BC (after Polinsky, Potsdam 2002: 246)

NOT: kid-bā_i [Ø_i ziya b-išr-a] y-oq-si.
girl.II-ERG cow.III.ABS III-feed-INF II-begin-PST.EVID

The girl began to feed the cow. F(orward)C(ontrol)

NOT: [kid-bā_i ziya **[b-išr-a y-oq-si].**
girl.II-ERG cow.III.ABS III-feed-INF II-begin-PST.EVID

The girl began to feed the cow. Monoclausal structure

Why not FC

- The ergative DP can change positions with elements of the dependent clause:

[Beḷiqan-ä	kawu-bi	ser-a]	Ø-iḥu-n/*r-iḥu-n.
hunter-ERG	gate-PL.ABS.nIPL	unlock-INF	I-begin-PST.nWIT/IV-begin-PST.nWIT
[Kawu-bi	beḷiqan-ä	ser-a]	Ø-iḥu-n.
gate-PL.ABS.nIPL	hunter-ERG	unlock-INF	I-begin-PST.nWIT

The hunter began to unlock the gates. (Polinsky 2015: 238)

- and it cannot do so with the elements of the matrix clause

a. *[Kawu-bi	ser-a]	Ø-iḥu-n	beḷiqan-ä.
gate-PL.ABS.nIPL	unlock-INF	I-begin-PST.nWIT	hunter-ERG
b. *[Beḷiqan-ä	ser-a]	Ø-iḥu-n	kawu-bi.
hunter-ERG	unlock-INF	I-begin-PST.nWIT	gate-PL.ABS.nIPL

Why not monoclausal structures

- Long-distance agreement can only cross one clause boundary at a time. Thus, in the following example a silent absolutive subject needs to be postulated in the clause immediately dominated by the verb 'know':

Dä-r	[[debe-z	kidi-b-ä _i	micxir	b-is-a]
1SG-LAT	2SG-GEN2	girl-OS-ERG	money.ABS.III	III-take-INF
— _i	y-äq-ru- _{ti}]	y-iy-x.		
	II-begin-PST.PTCP-NMLZ	II-know-PRS		

I know that your daughter began to receive money. (ibid.: 240)

The ergative DP is the semantic argument of the matrix verb

- Idiom chunks are impossible

*[T'ont'oĥ-ä buq' b-ac'-a] b-iči-x.
darkness-ERG sun.ABS.III III-eat.TR-INF III-stay-PRS

(The solar eclipse continues.) (ibid.: 238)

- This evidence shows that the referent introduced by the ergative DP is the semantic argument of the matrix verb.

Long-distance agreement

Definition

LDA in
number

(a) dammij aw-ne **d**=ikː-a-l-da asː-ij.
 I.DAT dress-PL NPL=want.IPF-POT-ATR-1 buy-SUBJ.1/3

I want to buy dresses. (Serdobolskaya 2011)

(b) dammij aw-ne **b**=ikː-a-l-da asː-ij.
 I.DAT dress-PL N=want.IPF-POT-ATR-1 buy-SUBJ.1/3

I want to buy dresses. (ibid.)

local
agreement
with the clause

Possible analyses

- Is the construction biclausal?
- Is the NP in question syntactically in the dependent clause?
- Maybe the NP in question is originally the argument of the matrix verb?

Why not monoclausal

t:at:i-li	s:a	q:ar-če- d =arq'-ib	gal-li-c:e
father-ERG	yesterday	order-PV-NPL=do:PF-PRET	son-OBL-INTER
<u>ijale</u>	<u>patinka-be</u>	<u>as:-uj.</u>	
today shoe-PL		buy:PF-SUBJ.3/3	

The father ordered yesterday his son to buy shoes today. (ibid.)

NP raising to the matrix clause?

Ellipsis of a group of words is used in some works (Postal 1974 and others) as a constituency test:

a. ajba-li-j murad w=aχ:-w=aχ:-uj ʔaʕʊn ca=**b**-i, a azaj-li-j
 mother-OBL-DAT Murad M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3 must COP=**N**-COP and sister-OBL-DAT
 ʔaʕʊn-ak:u.
 must-NEG.PRS.3

b. ?? ajba-li-j murad w=aχ:-w=aχ:-uj ʔaʕʊn ca=**w**-i,
 mother-OBL-DAT Murad M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3 must COP=**M**-COP
 a azaj-li-j ʔaʕʊn-ak:u.
 and sister-OBL-DAT must-NEG.PRS.3

c. ajba-li-j murad w=aχ:-w=aχ:-uj ʔaʕʊn ca=**w**-i,
 mother-OBL-DAT Murad M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3 must COP=**M**-COP
 a azaj-li-j w=aχ:-w=aχ:-uj ʔaʕʊn-ak:u.
 and sister-OBL-DAT M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3 must-NEG.PRS.3

The mother has to, and the sister doesn't have to [wash Murad]. (ibid.)

By LDA ellipsis of the dependent clause with the absolute NP is not acceptable.

Why not control

- The traditional idioms' test:

I believe the cat to be out of the bag.

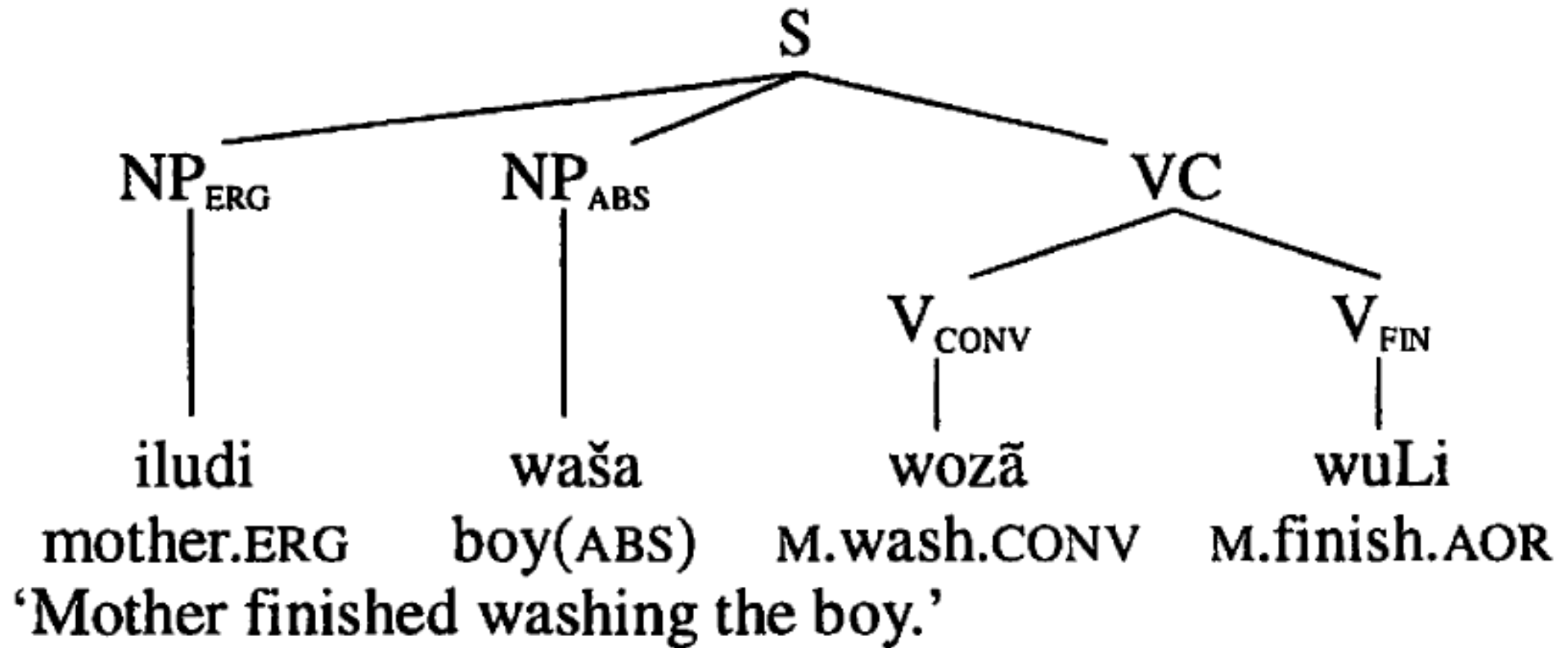
?? I persuaded the cat to be out of the bag.

- In LDA constructions the controller NP can be part of an idiom, which gives evidence for the raising analysis.

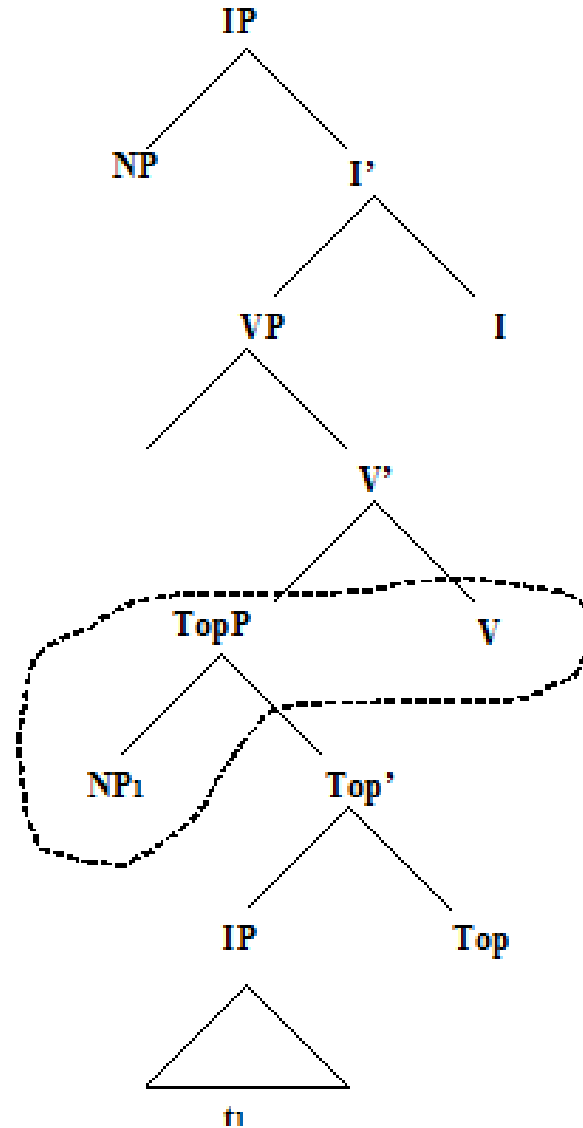
Two types of LDA in EC lgs

- 1) Clause union verbs: phasal, modal etc.: Godoberi, Bezhta, Archi, Kryz, Budukh, Akhvakh, Gunzib, Lak, Chamalal, Tindi (according to the data in Kibrik 2003)
 - no apparent semantic difference
- 2) Mental, emotive verbs: Tsez, Hinuq, Khwarshi, Tsakhur
 - topical/emphasized NPs trigger LDA

LDA in Godoberi: analysis in Haspelmath 1999



LDA in Tsez: analysis in Potsdam, Polinsky 1999



Semantics of specific
complementizers

Facts vs. propositions

- In many SAE languages, the same complementizers are used to encode facts and propositions:

*He knew **that** Smith was the murderer.* (It is true that Smith was the murderer)

*He didn't know **that** Smith was the murderer.* (It is true that Smith was the murderer)

*He believed **that** Smith was the murderer.* (It may be true or not)

*He didn't believe **that** Smith was the murderer.* (It may be true or not)

Propositions vs. events

- Events are perceived by the senses and are located in space and time, while propositions are information units.
- Propositions (including facts) can contain negation, epistemic expressions, unlike events.

TSAKHUR

a. iči-k'le Ga=w=x-u-na almale anRimiš-ōx-e.
 girl-AFF 3=hear-PF-ATTR donkey.3 shout-3.become-IPF

The girl heard the donkey shouting (perceived the event of shouting).

b. iči-k'le Gajx-i almale anRimiš-ōx-e-wi.
 girl-AFF 4.hear-PF ocel.3 shout-3.become-IPF-COMPL

The girl heard that the donkey can shout (someone told her). (Lyutikova, Bonch-Osmolovskaya 1999: 516)

Propositions vs. facts vs. events

BAGWALAL: quotative particles vs. participle vs. masdar (Kalinina 2001)

iṭi	hurhiri-č'i-rā,	o-ru-ba	c' ^w an-ā-ṭ-o=b
we.INCL	move-NEG-COND	this-OBL.HPL-AFF	think-POT-FUT-PART=N
ek' ^w a,	ari q'at'al	b=ac'-irā-X	weč'e- di .
COP	[here bullet	N=reach-IPF-CONV	NEG.be- DI]

If we don't move they will think that the bullet does not reach here. (ibid.: 531) PROP

ʕali-la	q'očan-č'i	jaš	š' ^w ā	j=eṭ- u=b .
Ali-DAT	want-NEG	[girl	run.away	F=go.away- PART=N]

Ali didn't like it that the girl ran away from him. (ibid. 524) FACT

Events vs. generic events

ʕali-la q'očan-č'i rasul-i-r e=w w=aXa
Ali-DAT want-NEG [Rasul-OBL-ERG LOG=M M=away
w=it'ē-r.

M=drive-**MSD**]

Ali didn't like the way Rasul drove him away. [ibid. 524]

Masdar with A/S in genitive: generic events

ʕali-la q'oč-in-ōb [ima-š^uub keč' b=ihī-r].
Ali-DAT want-NEG father-OBL.M=**GEN.N** song N=take-**MSD**

Ali didn't like the way Rasul drove him away. [ibid. 525]

Qunqi Dargwa: facts vs. propositions

- The masdar is most often used to encode facts, while the complementizer *in* introduces propositions:

dam b=ux̣̌-al-da [u dars-le hadul-le **a-iχ̣̌-ni**].

I.DAT N=know.IPF-ATR-1 you lesson-SUPER ready-CONV NEG-become.PF-MSD

I know that you are not ready for the lesson. (Field notes)

du pikri ik'-al-da [Murad burš serg-an-ne **ible**].

I think say.IPF-ATR-1 Murad tomorrow SUPER+move.IPF-POT-FUT COMPL

I think that Murad will come tomorrow. (Field notes)

NB. The masdar can take negation, unlike the converb in relevant contexts.

Events

- Events are encoded with the simple converb:

dammij	qum.ert-ur-la-da	[nuš:a	erq' -li	hijra=d
I.DAT	forget.PF-PRET-ATR-1	we.INCL	river-OBL	above=1/2PL
waj	d=ax- le].			
walk	1/2PL=go.IPF-CONV			

I forgot the way we used to walk along the river. (Field notes)

[ijale	bajram	b=iχ - ni	qum.ert-ur	dammij.
today	holiday	N=become.PF-MSD	forget.PF-PRET	I.DAT

I forgot that it is a holiday today. (Field notes)

Khwarshi (Xalilova 2009)

- The list of verbs that allow the participle only includes factive verbs:

Zaynabiḷ iṣ žohoqʼʼemḷ ø-otʼuqʼqʼ-u I-iqʼ-i.
Zaynab.LAT sibling(I) backwards I-come-PST.PTCP IV-know-PST.W
Zaynab knew that (her) brother came back. (ibid. 373)

iṭe žu cʼodora-w λun qʷi-še ø-eč-i.
that.OBL.ERG that.ABS clever-I QUOT consider-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
She considered him to be clever. (ibid.: 437)

- QUOT “can be combined with utterance, emotional, and propositional predicates, but it is never used with the knowledge verb liqʼa ‘to know’ “ (ibid. 372)

Hinuq (Forker 2013)

- The Abstract verbal form refers to facts with verbs of knowledge, ‘understand’, ‘forget’, ‘remember’, ‘hate’ and perception verbs:

hayłoy [ʁerba-be b-aq'e-s-ɬi] di-qo
he.ERG guest-PL HPL-come-RES-ABST I.OBL-AT
c'ałer-iš-me
inform-PST-NEG

He did not inform me that the guests came. (Forker 2013: 609)

Perception verbs' complements

- Many reference grammars claim that the “masdar is used with the knowledge and perception predicates”. However, converbs are largely used in this function (Qunqi & Xuduc Dargwa, Ingush, Khwarshi):

INGUSH

Muusaa	qeika- vezh	xazar	suona.
M.	cough-V.CS.CVsim	hear.WP	1s.DAT

I heard Musa cough. (Nichols 2011: 561)

Kinashjka	deirii	hwuona	uqaza	ullazh?
book	D.see.WP=Q	2s.DAT	here	lie.CVsim

Did you see a book lying here? (Nichols 2011: 561)

Indirect speech encoding

Quotative particles = complementizers in EC

- The prescriptive norm of SAE languages is to use the indexical shift of deictic pronouns and adverbs:

He said: I was here yesterday.

He said that he had been at this place the day before. - COMPLEMENTIZER

He was like, oh, I was here yesterday. - PARTICLE

Quotative particles = complementizers in EC

- In most EC languages, the same complementizer used with “finite” (s-like) complements can introduce both constructions:

KHWARSHI

hobože hibo-q'e **de** I-i-yalu **λin** iλ-in ise
now what-QUES 1SG.ERG IV-do-DELIB QUOT say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG

‘He said: now what will I do. (Xalilova 2009: 86)

isx-in hobože xan-i **izzuqo** **židuṭi**
ask-PST.UW now khan-ERG that.PL(P).CONT that.PL(D).INTER
heč'č'e hunar gollu žik'o hibo-k goli **λin.**
most feat be.PRS.PTCP man what-QUES be.PRS QUOT

The khan asked which of them is most talented for the feat. (ibid.: 68)

Reference to the main clause participants: first/second person pronouns vs. logophors

INGUSH

Ha 'eanna	saangaragh	t'ex-eqqazhie	aftamaat	tiexar	aaz
INTERJ	ditch.LAT	past-jump.CVjust	machine.gun	strike.WP	1s.ERG
eanna	ealar				
SUB	say.WP				

"I shot just as he was jumping across the ditch..." he said. (Nichols 2011: 556)

- logophoric pronouns (=3d person reflexive)

Aaddaac	shie,	ealar	joax
say-D.FUT.NEG	LOG	say.WP	QUOT

I won't tell you, he said. (ibid.: 556)

Semi-direct speech patterns

- The same referent is introduced in one and the same sentence by the logophor and by the 1/2 person agreement markers on the verb:

Cuo ch'woagha diexar deadar suoga, **shiina** axcha **daa** eanna
3s.ERG very request D.make.WP 1s.ALL LOG.DAT money give:**1-2**.IMPV SUB

He implored me to lend him money. (ibid.: 557)

This is “one of the few verbs that indicate person (of its indirect object): d.aa 'give me/us', lie 'give (him/her/them)’. “

- The deictic prefix hwa- below reflects the first person indirect object “toward speaker”, which indicates the same referent as encoded by the logophoric pronoun:

Cyn zadaani jar eanna ealar **shiina** **hwa-jennar**
3s.GEN task J.be.PST SUB say.WP LOG.DAT DX-J.give.PPL.NZ

He i said he j was the one who had given him i this assignment. (He i said it was his j assignment that had been given to him i .) (ibid.: 557)

Use of the imperative in indirect commands

EC lgs largely use the imperative to mark commands with speech verbs:

KHW ARSHI

y-oⁿk'-un abaxar yuq'ʰuč'eγol-in uq'ʰuč'eγol-in
II-go-PST.UW neighbor(II) old.woman.APUD.LAT-AND Old.man.APUD.LAT-AND

iɬeɬol madaɬul žu kad y-ešt'-o λin.
that.APUD.LAT outside.VERS that.ABS girl(II) **II-let-IMP** **QUOT**

The neighbor went to the grandmother and grandfather, asking to let the girl go outside with her. (Xalilova 2011: 82)

- The use of the participants marking strategy does not go in line with the use of the verbal form.

Biclausal constructions without a matrix verb

The quotative may function as the matrix predicate introducing its own arguments in Agul (Merdanova 2007, Daniel 2007), Archi (Daniel 2007, Chumakina 2019), Bagwalal (Kalinina 2001) and Hinuq (Forker 2013):

AGUL: two ergatives

dada	Hüni	bawa	uza-se- ʋaj
father(ERG)	cow	mother(ERG)	milk.IPF-FUT-REPORTED

Dad said mom will milk the cow (i.e. don't worry about it). (Merdanova 2007)

ARCHI: the quotative has its own paradigm and introduces the agent argument

zumzum-li	za-r-ši	bošor-mi	χ ^ʰ on	χir	
Zumzum.II-SG.ERG	1sg-CONT-ALL	husband(I)-SG.ERG		cow(III)[SG.ABS]	behind

au-le=r

<III.SG>drive.PFV-EVID=QUOT

Zumzum told me that (her) husband brought the cow (with him). (Chumakina 2019: 289)

Parenthetical use of the verb speech

- In many lgs, one form of the verb of speech (often present or past) is used in narratives parenthetically after each chunk of information encoding that events were unwitnessed (Ingush, Xuduc Dargwa, Archi etc.):

ARCHI

«walláh,— bóli,— zon xúwti os túwmurak»,— bóli, úq^ʃali.

wallah **bo-li** zon xu^wti os tu-w-mu-ra-k **bo-li** uqIa-li

by.God	say.PF-	I.NOM	⟨1⟩go.POT	one	thot-1-OBL.1-	say.PF-	1.go.PF-
	EVID				CONT-LAT	EVID	EVID

«By God, I'll go to him», — Isa decided and started moving.
(<https://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/languages/archi/texts/>)

Indirect question encoding

Typologically frequent patterns

Polar questions (He is asking if you are here)

- quotative + interrogative particle or morpheme: Archi, Khwarshi, Tsez, Hinuq
- interrogative particle: Ingush
- conditionals: Lezgian

Constituent questions (He is asking who you are)

- wh-word + quotative (+ interrogative particle): Khwarshi, Tsez, Hinuq
- wh-word only: Ingush, Archi, Hinuq
- conditionals: Lezgian

Not so frequent and rare patterns

- Two-predicate constructions

LEZGIAN

Gomer haq:iq:at.d-a âa-ji-di **ja-ni,** **tuš-ni**
[Homer reality-INESS be-AOP-SBST.SG COP-Q COP:NEG-Q]
hele sada-waj-ni tamam-diz subutar-iz âa-nwa-č
yet one-ADEL-even [perfect-ADV prove-INF] can-PRF-NEG

No one has been able yet to prove conclusively whether Homer existed in reality or not. (Haspelmath 1993: 426)

- Attributive: Dargwa Qunqi and Xuduc, Ashty

XUDUC DARGWA

at:a-l x:ar-b=iɁ-ib d=ax-an-da-**lla** nus:a maʼħačkala-le.
father-ERG ask-N=drive.IPF-PRET 1=go.IPF-1-**IQ** we Mahachkala-IN

Father asked if we were going to Mahachkala. (Field notes)

Rarer patterns

- Nominalization + wh-word

TSEZ

Eni-y-ä	[xex-za-r	šebi	r-ukäy- ru-ti]
mother-OS-ERG	child-PL.OS-LAT	what.ABS.IV	IV-see- PST.PTCP-NMLZ
eŋi-s	/	esir-si.	
say-PST.WIT	/	ask-PST.WIT	

Mother said/asked what the children saw. (Polinsky 2015: 20)

Rarer patterns

TSAKHUR

A specific dubitative particle is only used with a sub-type of embedded questions, with ‘not know, doubt, wonder, not remember etc.’ and not with ‘ask’ (indefinite subordinate clauses in terms of Heine, Kuteva 2006):

ič-ē fikir ha=w=?-u jed-i-s j=iķan-**naXa-wi**.
girl.ERG idea.33=do=PF mother-OBL-DAT 2=love.IPF-**NAXA-COMPL**

*The girl wondered **whether** her mother loved her.* (Lyutikova, Bonch-Osmolovskaya 1999: 493)

This form is only used in complement clauses, together with the complementizer.

Typologically rare patterns: counterfactuals

- Counterfactuals

RUTUL

said-a uq' saxa-r-i-**jden** zɨ ɣal-a
Said-ERG grass 4.mow.IPFV-CVB-COP2-IRR I home-IN
 su<r>q'u-s-i-j
 <2>stay-INF-FUT-PST

If Said mowed the grass, I would have stayed at home. (Dobrushina 2019)

za-s Ɂ-agu-r-diš ubul mɨs jiq'i-r-i-**jden**
I-DAT PV-4.see.PFV-CVB-NO wolf when <4>come.PFV-CVB-COP2-IRR

I didn't see when a wolf came. (Konovalova in prep.)

Typologically rare patterns: specific verbal forms

- A specific form, the verificative is used in Archi, Lezgian, Agul (Daniel M.A., Maisak T.A. 2014; Maisak 2016 Chumakina 2019) to mark both polar and wh-questions:

ARCHI

ašba bo buwa-r-ši han war-k'u-s
wait.IMP say.PFV mother(II)-CONT-ALL what(IV)[SG.ABS] say.IPFV-VERIF-FIN

‘You wait, I said, and see what I say to mother.’

zari to-r-mi gat' b-a<r>ča-r-k'u-qi
1SG.ERG that-II.SG-SG.ERG scarf(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>put.on-IPFV.Q-VERIF-POT

I will check whether she puts on a head scarf. (Chumakina 2019: 295-296)

- As well as the quotative, it can be used without an overtly expressed matrix verb licensing its own arguments and has a reduced verbal paradigm.

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