





PERSON AGREEMENT IN THE EAST CAUCASIAN LANGUAGES

HSE, DECEMBER 22, 2021

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- 
- in this talk, I only discuss person agreement (or at least cross-referencing), I do not discuss pronouns
 - by person agreement I also mean the person/number agreement
 - this is a relatively old work

PLAN

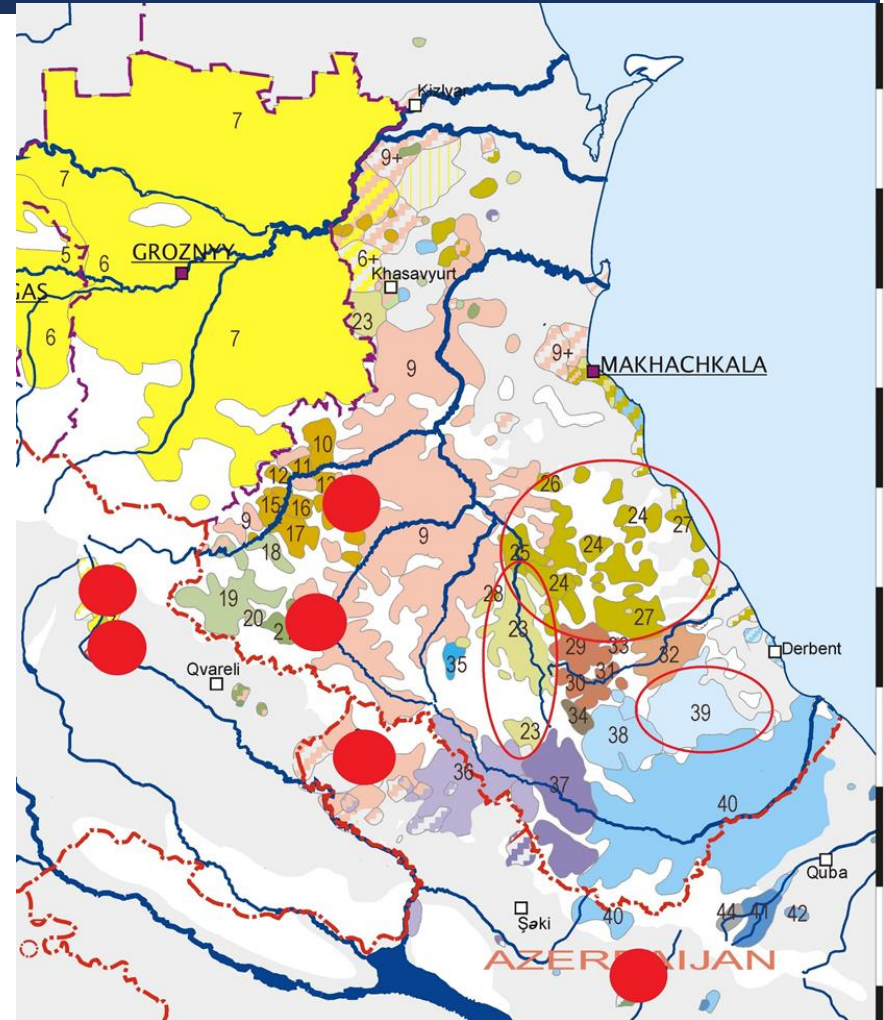
- general information on person agreement in the Nakh-Dagestanian languages
- short description of the person agreement in each language
- summary: three types of person marking and three groups of languages
- origin of the person agreement markers in Dargwa (some considerations)



INTRODUCTION

LANGUAGES SHOWING PERSON AGREEMENT

- Akhvakh (Andi < Avar-Ando-Tsezic)
- Bats (Nakh)
- Dargwa
- Hunzib (Tsezic < Avar-Ando-Tsezic)
- Lak
- Tabassaran (Lezgian)
- Udi (Lezgian)
- Avar and Chechen show some elements of person agreement in one or two of their dialects.



PERSON AGREEMENT: GENERAL

- no clear connection with the genetic classes
- some cases could be explained by language contacts (Udi, Bats, Zaqatala Avar, Kistin dialect of Chechen, Mehweb), but the properties of person in the Nakh-Dagestania languages are often different from those in the contacting languages
- although some authors thought that person in the Nakh-Dagestania languages is a relatively new category, at least in Lak and Dargwa it seems to be very old

AGREEMENT IN GENDER VS. AGREEMENT IN PERSON

Gender agreement

- Gender markers are prefixes, infixes or suffixes
- The presence of gender markers is a lexical property of a verb root or another morpheme
- The agreement domain is a predication or a noun phrase
- Agreement is controlled by the S/P argument (absolute)

Person agreement

- Person markers are usually suffixes or clitics
- The presence of person markers is conditioned by the syntactic construction or the verb form
- The agreement domain is a full clause
- Person markers tend to be controlled by the A/S argument

AGREEMENT IN GENDER VS. AGREEMENT IN PERSON

- Tanti Dargwa

[_{CP} [_{TP} [_{FocP} [_{VP} ʕaʕli rurs:i quli-r r-alt-un-ne]=sa-j]=d(e)]=i]
I:ERG girl house-F F-leave:IPF-PRS-CVB=COP-M=2=PQ

‘Are you leaving your daughter at home?’



PERSON AGREEMENT AND PERSON HIERARCHY

PERSON HIERARCHY

- A widely known tool of analyzing the personal agreement is the person hierarchy, also known as Silverstein's hierarchy
- Silverstein 1976:
 - '...a hierarchy of what might be called 'inherent lexical content' of noun phrases, 1st and 2nd person, as well as 3rd person. This hierarchy expresses the semantic naturalness for a lexically specified noun phrase to function as agent of a true transitive verb and inversely the naturalness of functioning as patient of such.'

1&2

3

Proper

Human

Animate

Inanimate

SAP IN THE PERSON HIERARCHY

- Especially interesting is the position of the speech act participants (SAPs), i. e. NPs of the 1st and 2nd person
- In Silverstein's variety of the hierarchy the 1st and 2nd person were placed in the top-left position, but they were not „ranked” with respect to each other
- Silverstein 1976: 118

‘...there is a question of which of [ego] or [tu] is the higher of the person features [...], as will be raised by the facts of split ergative systems, some of which distinguish ‘first person’ ([+ego]) forms of all the rest, others which distinguish ‘second person’ ([+tu]) forms of all the rest. In effect, while [+ego] presupposes the speaker and hence is a presupposing index, [+tu] creates the hearer as the referent and hence is relatively more performative.’

SAP IN THE PERSON HIERARCHY

- The 1st and 2nd person were equally ranked also in (Heath 1976), (Moravcsik 1978) and (Kozinsky 1980) (see also (Filimonova 2005)).
- However, some other authors, who suggest similar hierarchies, place the 1st person higher, cf. (Corbett 2000):

speaker > addressee > 3rd person > kin > human > animate > inanimate

FEATURES TO BE COMPARED

- Paradigm:
 - what is the configuration of the person agreement paradigm?
 - for each cell of the paradigm – is the corresponding feature overtly marked or unmarked (zero vs. non-zero)?
 - if it is marked, what type of marker is used (a suffix, a clitic, else)? is it homonymous with other markers?
- Control rule:
 - what constituent controls person agreement?
 - if different controllers are possible, how is the controller chosen?
 - if different controllers are possible, do they trigger different agreement markers?
- Additional features
- Person hierarchy



PERSON AGREEMENT: DESCRIPTION



UDI (LEZGIC)

- Paradigm
(Harris 2002: 27-31)

1SG -zu, -z	IPL -yan
2SG -nu, -n, -ru, -lu	2PL -nan, -ran, -lan
3SG -ne, -re, -le	3PL -q'un

- Control

The person agreement is in most cases controlled by the S/A argument.

- Hierarchy

In the domain of person agreement, Udi does not make any hierarchical differences between the three persons.

- The 3rd person is marked

UDI (LEZGIC)

- (1) kayuz-ax a-z-q'-e
letter-dat receive1-1sg-receive2-aorII
'I received the letter.' (Harris 2002: 125).
- (2) eyel nut' šam-k'-al=zu
sheep.ABS NEG slaughter-LV-FUT-1SG
'I will not slaughter a sheep' (Harris 2002: 29).
- (3) a. She cried and ran to the servant to tell of her misfortune and misery.
The servant was so mean angry, she said:
- b. xatin-ax un-nu be, un-a dı̇z-b-a
misfortune-DAT you-2SG do, you-and right-do-IMPER
'It was you who caused the misfortune, you make it right.'
(Harris 2002: 57)

UDI (LEZGIC)

(4) äylen a=**t'u**=k'-e k'učan-ax
child-ERG see1-INV 3SG-see2-AOR II puppy-DAT
'The child saw the puppy' (Harris 2002: 28).

(5) p'ə xunči **bez**=bu
two sister.ABS POSS1SG-be
'I have two sisters' (Harris 2002: 29).

TABASSARAN (LEZGIC)

- Paradigm

1SG	1PL
2SG	2PL
1+2(+3) (1INCLUSIVE)	
3 (unmarked)	

- Obligatory agreement:

- Control: S/A-argument
- Hierarchy: 1, 2 > 3 (obligatory agreement)

- Optional agreement (Dyubek):

3 (A-argument) > 1/2 (any other argument)

1 (A-argument) > 2 (any other argument)

- Control: non-S/A-argument
- Hierarchy: 2 > 1 > 3

TABASSARAN (LEZGIC)

- (1) izu uc^o'unu-**za**
I(ABS) <NN>enter-PFT-1SG.ABS
'I came in' (the verb agrees with the absolutive)
- (2) alqun-**is**
saw-1SG.DAT
'I saw (somebody)'
- (3) izu dumu uvč^o'unu-**za**
I(ERG) he(ABS) <N>beat-PFT-1SG.ERG
'I beat him' (the verb agrees with the agent)

(Kibrik, Seleznev 1982)

TABASSARAN (LEZGIC)

(4) dumu iziʔin alarxunu-**ziʔin**/ alarxunuv
he(ABS) I.SUPERESS attack-PFT-1SG.SUPERESS/ attack-PFT
'He attacked me' (optional agreement with the superessive NP).

(5) uvč^ounu-**zu-vu**
 beat-PFT-1SG.ERG-2SG.ABS
 'I beat you' (polypersonal agreement controlled by the 1st person agent
and 2nd person patient).

(Kibrik, Seleznev 1982)

BATS (NAKH)

- Paradigm

1SG	1PL
2SG	2PL
1+2 (1INCL)	1+2+3(1INCL.PL)
3	

- Control

With transitive verbs, the person is controlled by the A-argument.

With intransitive verbs, the person is controlled by the S-argument: if it is an agent, it triggers the “ergative” agreement markers; if it is a patient, it triggers “absolute” agreement markers.

- Additional options

A non-controlling argument of the 1st or 2nd person can be cross-referenced by a postpositional clitic personal pronoun.

- Hierarchy: 1, 2 > 3

BATS (NAKH)

- (1) **(as)** žagnǒ xait':-n-**as**
1SG/ERG book read-AOR-1SG
'I read the book' (Holisky, Gagua 1994: "ergative" agreement).
- (2) **(so)** xe-n-mak qac'-u-**sǒ**
1SG-NOM tree-DAT-ON hang-PRES-1SG.NOM
'I'm hanging on the tree' (Holisky 1987: "absolutive" agreement).
- (3) **(as)** dah'' japx.jail-n-**as**
1SG-ERG pvb undress-AOR-1SG.ERG
'I undressed' (Holisky 1987: "ergative" agreement).

BATS (NAKH)

- (4) ʔoqus viko=**sǒ**
it:ERG V:take:FUT=1SG:NOM
'(S)he will take me'. (Kojima 2008)
- (5) ʔequin nax ʔix=**soⁿ**
this:DAT people:ABS come:PRES=1SG.DAT
'People come to me for this.' (Kojima 2008)

BATS, TABASSARAN, UDI: COMMON FEATURES

- Source of person agreement: personal pronouns
- Paradigm: a well-developed person/number paradigm with six or seven members
- Control: S/A-argument (subject)
- Hierarchy: **1 = 2**
 - Exception: optional agreement in Tabassaran (Dyubek)
 - Udi: possible influence of Azerbaijani
 - Bats: possible influence of Georgian

ZAQATALA (AVAR < AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

- Paradigm

1
2/3

- Control

With transitive verbs, person agreement is controlled by the ergative NP; with intransitive verbs, agreement is controlled by the agentive subject (S_A/A -argument)

- Hierarchy: 1 > 2, 3

ZAQATALA (AVAR < AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

(1) (Helmbrecht 1996)

- a. di-xa mun xo w-o'a-ra-w
 I-ERG (M).you.ABS catch M-AUX-PAST.PTC-M
 'I was catching you (M).'
- b. du-xa dun xu-ll'a w-o'a
 you-ERG (M).I.ABS catch M-AUX.PRS
 'You were catching me (M).'

ZAQATALA (AVAR < AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

(2) (Helmbrecht 1996)

- a. dun du-'a **bala-ra-w**
I.ABS(M) you-LOC look.at-PAST.PTCP-M
'I (M) looked at you'.
- b. du-'a dun j-eǰi-l'a
you-LOC me.ABS(F) F-see-PAST
'You saw me (F).'

TSAKHUR: ON THE WAY TO PERSON MARKING

- In Tsakhur, the main predicate ofthetic sentences is normally expressed by a participle.
- An attributive form in the position of the main clause predicate marks the sentence asthetic.
- The 1st person pronoun is in many cases the default topic of the sentence. Being topical, it is easily dropped. The resulting sentence is then indivisible into topic and focus.
- This results in a frequency correlation between 1st person arguments, and a participle as the head predicate of an independent clause: most sentences with a 1st person argument are headed by a participle.
- In Tsakhur, the correlation between participles as main predicates and the 1st person arguments is just a statistical tendency, which cannot yet be viewed as a case of agreement.

TSAKHUR (LEZGIC)

- (1) bajram-ē zuhra hēʔ-as-**da**
 Bayram-ERG Zuhra.2 2.marry-POT-ATR
 ‘Bayram is marrying Zuhra’ (Kalinina, Toldova 1999: 395).
- (2) iwho wo-d: “hajna^ϕχu-d.
 say.PF be-N so-N
 ma-n-G-ē magazin baʋlamiš-āʔ-a-ni waχt-a-l_j,
 this.2-A-OBL.2-ERG shop.3 close-3.do-IPF-AOBL time-OBL-SUP
 ič’-u-**na** magazin_y-ē-qa
 1.enter-PF-ATR shop-IN-ALL
 ‘Ibrahim-pasha says: “So, when she was closing the shop, I entered it’ (Kibrik (ed.) 1999: 790).

AKHVAKH (AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

- Paradigm:

conjunct/disjunct (egophoric evidentiality)

- Control

The conjunct/disjunct choice is controlled by the A/S_A-argument.

- Hierarchy: 1_{DECLARATIVE}/2_{INTERROGATIVE} ~ rest

- Source of the assertive agreement

D. Creissels showed that the source of the conjunct marker is the morpheme marking the perfective participle (Creissels 2008).

1 _{DECLARATIVE} /2 _{INTERROGATIVE}
rest

AKHVAKH (AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

- a. eλ'-ada “di-λα q'abuλ-ere goλα”,
say-PFV_{1D/2Q} 1SG-DAT agree-PROG COPNEG_N
- me-de-la eλ'-ari “di-λα-la”
2SG-ERG-ADD say-PFV 1S-DAT-ADD
- ‘I said: «I don’t agree», and you said: «Neither do I».’
- b. de-de čũda eλ'-ari ha-be?
1SG-ERG when say-PFV DEM-N
- ‘When did I say that?’
- c. me-de ču-gu eλ'-ada ha-be?
2SG-ERG why say-PFV_{1D/2Q} DEM-N
- ‘Why did you say that?’

AKHVAKH (AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

The conjunct marker coincides with the participle marker:

- a. ek'wa-šw-e ž-āda kitabi
man-O_M-ERG read-PFV_{PTCP} book
'the book read by the man'
(ž-āda < ž-a(b)-ada)
- b. de-de ž-āda kitabi
1SG-ERG read-PFV_{PTCP} book
'the book read by me'

ZAQATALA AND AKHVAKH: COMMON FEATURES

- Source of person agreement: participle markers
- Paradigm: a binary opposition of the type
‘1 ~ 2/3’ or ‘1declarative/2interrogative ~ rest’
- Control: agent (SA/A-argument)
- Hierarchy: 1 > 2, 3
(or 1 declarative/2 interrogative > rest)

MEHWEB DARGWA

- opposition: conjunct/disjunct
- the conjunct markers is cognate with the 1st person clitic in other dialects of Dargwa
- the conjunct/disjunct feature is controlled by the subject (A/S-argument)
- influence of Lak (?)

MEHWEB DARGWA

- sija b-iq'-uwe le-w-ra ħu?
what(ABS) N-do.IPF-PRS.CONV COP-M-1D/2Q you.SG(ABS)
- bazal-li-če ar-q'ʕ-ül χalq' ħark' -i-če-di
market-OBL-SUPER EL-go.IPF-PRS.ATR folk river-OBL-SUPER-PROL
- χ_was:ar b-iq'-uwe le-w-ra
rescue N-do.IPF-PRS.CONV COP-M-1D/2Q

‘What are you doing? – I am accompanying people going to the market across the river’ (Magometov 1982: 144).

KISTIN (CHECHEN < NAKH)

- Paradigm

(Arsakhanov 1969)

1/2
3

INFINITIVE

PRESENT: 1st/2nd PERSON

PRESENT: 3rd PERSON

laca 'keep'

läc

loc

mala 'drink'

mel

mol

dat:a 'fry'

det

dot:

HUNZIB (TSEZIC < AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

- Paradigm

1/2
3

- Control: A/S-argument

(van den Berg 1995: 83)

HUNZIB (TSEZIC < AVARO-ANDO-TSEZIC)

- a. də hɥaa-č ə:cu
me open-PRES door/3
'I open/will open the door.'
- b. oɭu-l hɥaa ə:cu
that/OBL-ERG open:PRES door/3
'(S)he opens/will open the door.'
- c. mə b-ok'o.l-č heɽe
you 4-gather-PRES walnut/4
'You are/will be collecting nuts.'
- d. oɭu-l b-ok'o.l heɽe
that/OBL-ERG 4-gather:PRES walnut/4
'(S)he is/will be collecting nuts.'

LAK: THE FIRST GROUP OF TAM-PARADIGMS

- Paradigm
(Kibrik 2003)

1/2SG	1/2PL
3	

- Control
 - Conditioned by the person of the core arguments: if one of them is in the 1st or 2nd person, and the other in the 3rd person, then the agreement marker shows at the 1st/2nd person argument.
 - If both core arguments are 1st/2nd person, then the agreement is controlled by the agent.
- Hierarchy: 1, 2 > 3 (A > P)

LAK:

THE FIRST GROUP OF TAM-PARADIGMS

(1)

- a. na/ina but:a \emptyset -at:a-ra
 I/you.ERG father.CL1.ABS CL1-beat.PRES-1/2
 'I/you beat the father.'
- b. nit:i-l but:a \emptyset -at:aj- \emptyset
 mother-ERG father.CL1.ABS CL1-beat.PRES-3
 'The mother beats the father.'
- (Kibrik 2003: 467).

LAK: THE SECOND AND THIRD GROUP OF TAM-PARADIGMS

- Paradigm

	The second TAM-group			The third TAM-group		
Person	P	S	A	P	S	A
1		-ra/-ru	-w/-rdu		-da/-du	
2	-da/-du			-ra/-ru		
3	-di			-r		

- Control

The preferable controller is the 1st person transitive agent; if it is not found in the clause, the person agreement is controlled by the S/O argument.

- Hierarchy: 1A > rest

LAK

- Intransitive verbs

- (2) a. na i:z(u)=**ra**
I.ABS(M) (M)stand.up.AOR-1
'I stood up' (Kibrik 2003: 468).
- b. ina i:zun=**da**
you.SG.ABS(M) (M)stand.up.AOR-2
'You (SG) stood up' (Kibrik 2003: 468).
- c. goa i:zun=**di**
he.ABS(M) (M)stand.up.AOR-3
'He stood up' (Kibrik 2003: 468).

LAK

- Transitive verbs

- (3) a. na ina /g_oa at:a-**w**
 I.ERG you.SG/he.ABS(M) (M)beat.AOR-1
 ‘I (F) beat you(SG)/him’ (Kibrik 2003: 468) (the verb controlled by
 the 1st person agent).
- b. ina/ g_oana-l but:a awt:un=**di**
 you.SG.ERG/he-ERG father.ABS(M) (M)beat.AOR-3
 ‘You (SG)/ he beat the father’ (Kibrik 2003: 468) (the verb
 controlled by the patient).

PERSON AGREEMENT IN LAK

- The first TAM-group
 - an opposition of the type 1/2 ~ 3
 - the control is oriented towards the SAPs
- The second and third TAM-group
 - the top ranked argument, the 1st person agent, marked by a special morpheme **-w**
 - the intransitive verbs clearly differentiate three persons and, in the 1st and 2nd person, also two numbers.
 - the origin of the 1st person agent marker **-w** is, tentatively, a participle marker
- The origin of other person markers of Lak is still unknown.

DARGWA

- Dargwa is well-known for its dialectal divergences.
- The category of person agreement is closely connected to the TAM-system: there are several person marking sets distributed across the TAM-paradigms.
- In the singular, Dargwa consistently opposes the 1st and 2nd person (except Mehweb).

DARGWA: PARADIGM

- Clitic set

The clitic set opposes the 2nd person singular (=di/=de, =ri/=re) to the 1st person singular and plural plus 2nd person plural.

Southern dialects	
1SG/1PL/2PL: =da	
2SG: =di	

Northern dialects	
1SG/1PL/2PL: =ra	
2SG: =ri	

- This is a typologically unique type of person paradigm, ‘the Dargwa type’ (Cysouw 2003: 129).

DARGWA: PARADIGM

- Aqusha (Xajdakov 1985: 195–196)

- (1) a. nu w-ak'-i=**ra** quli
I(ABS) M-come.PF-AOR-1 home
'I came home'.
- b. nu=**ra** w-ak'-ib-si quli
I(ABS)-1 M-come.PF-AOR-ATR home
'It was I who came home'

- Itsari

- (2) nuš:a urk'-bi ač χalq:=**da**
we(ABS) heart-PL(ABS) open folk(ABS)-1
'We are a people with open hearts.'

DARGWA: PARADIGM

- “Optative” set

1SG/1PL/2PL: -a	
2SG: -i	

This set includes suffixes that are used to mark person in the prohibitive, optative and some other paradigms, usually with modal meanings.

DARGWA: PARADIGM

- Aqusha (van den Berg 2001: 191; 138)

(3) ħu ara-w-ir-ab-i talqan
you.SG(ABS) healthy-M-be-OPT-2SG chief.ABS
'Let you be healthy, chief!'

(4) ca hat'i b-ur-yači w-at-ab-a
one(ABS) still N-stay-until M-leave.PF-OPT-1
'Let me stay, until I tell you another story!'

DARGWA: PARADIGM

- “Irreal” set

	Southern dialects		Northern dialects	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-d		-d	
2	-t:		-t:	-t:-a(ja)

The “irreal” set consists of suffixes used in the general present/future, habitual past, conditional and some other paradigms.

DARGWA: PARADIGM

- Itsari

r-uc-u-**t**:a-da-l

F-catch.PF-TH-2-PL-PAST-COND

‘if he/she had caught you (F)’, ‘if you had caught me (F)’

TANTI DARGWA: EXAMPLES

- Clitic set:

Aorist b-uc-ib=**da**, b-uc-ib=**di**, b-uc-ib

Present b-urcule(=sa-j)=**da**, b-urcule(=sa-j)=**di**,
b-urcule=sa-j

- “Optative” set:

Optative b-uc-ib-**a**, b-uc-ib-**i**, b-uc-ib

- “Irreal” set:

Future b-urc-i-**d**, b-urc-e-**he**,
b-urc-i-**t**, b-urc-i-**t**:a,
b-urc-u

DARGWA: CONTROL

- Person agreement can be controlled by any core argument.
- Core arguments are A, S and P arguments as well as the experiencer in the affective construction and both absolutive NPs in the nominal predicate clauses.
- The rules determining the choice of the controller are distributed across dialects, but each dialect applies only one rule in all TAM-paradigms.

ITSARI, KAJTAG, QUNQI, XUDUTS

Person hierarchy 2 > 1 > 3

■ Itsari

- a. du-l u r-uc-ib=**di**
I-ERG you.SG(ABS) F-catch.PF-PRET-2
'I caught you (F).'
- b. u-l du r-uc-ib=**di**
YOU.SG-ERG I(ABS) F-catch.PF-PRET-2
'You caught me (F).'
- c. du-l ʁuʁ b-uc-ib=**da**
I-ERG hare(ABS) N-catch.PF-PRET-1
'I caught a hare'.
- d. murad-il ʁuʁ b-uc-ib
Murad-ERG hare(ABS) N-catch.PF-PRET
'Murad caught a hare'.

STANDARD DARGWA, AQUSHA, URAXI, TANTI, HAPSHIMA , MUIRA

(1, 2 > 3) > (Abs > Erg)

■ Aqusha

- a. nu-ni ħu r-it-i=**ri**
me-ERG you.SG(ABS) F-beat-AOR-2
'I beat you (F).' (the verb is in the 2nd person form)
- b. ħuni nu riti=**ra** 'You beat me (F).' (1st person)
- c. dudešli nu riti=**ra** 'Father beat me (F).' (1st person)
- d. nuni rursi riti=**ra** 'I beat the girl.' (1st person)
- e. dudešli rursi ritib 'Father beat the girl.' (3rd person, zero marking)

CHIRAG

(1, 2 > 3) > (Erg > Abs)

- Chirag

- a. dicce ʒu r-iqqan=**da**
me-ERG you.SG(ABS) F-lead-1
'I lead you (F).' (the verb in the 1st person form)
- b. ʒicce du riqqan=**de** 'You lead me (F).' (2nd person)
- c. dicce it riqqan=**da** 'I lead her.' (1st person)
- d. ite du riqqan=**da** 'He/she leads me (F).' (1st person)
- e. ite russe riqqle 'He/she leads the girl.' (3rd person)

KUBACHI

A/S >> (1, 2 > 3)

- Kubachi

- a. dudil u gap w-i:q'-ul=**da**
I.ERG you.SG(ABS) praise M-do.IPF-PRS-1
'I am praising you.' (the verb in the 1st person form)
- b. udil id gap wi:q'ul=**de** 'You are praising him.'
- c. udil du gap wi:q'ul=**de** 'You are praising me (M).'
- d. iddil du gap wi:q'ul=saw 'He is praising me (M).'
- e. iddil u gap wi:q'ul=saw 'He is praising you (M).'
- f. iddil id wītul=saw 'He is praising him.'
- g. iddil du gap wi:q'ul=**da** 'He is praising me (M).'
- h. iddil u gap wi:q'ul=**de** 'He is praising you (M).'

MEHWEB

A/S

- a. nuni ħu w-arz-ur-**ra**
I:ERG YOU.ABS M-praise:PF-PRET-1D/2Q
'I praised you.'
- b. nuni it warzur-**ra**
'I praised him.' (1D/2Q marker)
- c. ħuni nu warzur
'You praised me.' (no 1D/2Q marker)
- d. ħuni it warzur
'You praised him.' (no 1D/2Q marker)
- e. iti'ini it warzur
'(S)he praised him.' (no 1D/2Q marker)

DARGWA: CONTROL

Person agreement can be controlled by any core argument.

The rules determining the choice of the controller are distributed across dialects, but each dialect applies only one rule in all TAM-paradigms.

- Person hierarchy 2 > 1 > 3 (Icari, Kajtag, Qunqi, Amux)
- (Person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3) > (Abs > Erg) (Standard Dargwa, Aqusha; Uraxi; Tanti; Muira)
- (Person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3) > (Erg > Abs) (Chirag)
- Ergative control > (Person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3) (Kubachi)

DARGWA: HIERARCHY

- the 2nd person differentiates singular and plural forms much more frequently than the 1st person
- only the 2nd person has a special plural morpheme
- some dialects have mixed marker sets combining person markers of different types; in this case the maximum differences are observed in the 2nd person
- in the dialects where agreement control is based on the personal hierarchy, it either gives priority to the 2nd person or ranks both SAPs equally

2 > 1 (mainly in South-Western dialects)

2 = 1



THREE TYPES OF PERSON MARKING

AND, RESPECTIVELY, THREE GROUPS OF NAKH-DAGESTANIAN LANGUAGES

GROUPS OF LANGUAGES ACCORDING TO THE PERSON PARADIGMS

Group 1

Udi, Bats, Tabassaran:

- S/A (subject) control
- oppositions of three persons: 1 ~ 2 (~ 3)
- the 1st and 2nd person equally ranked: 1=2
- source of the agreement markers: personal pronouns

(+ the TAM-paradigms of Dargwa attaching the “irreal” markers)

GROUPS OF LANGUAGES ACCORDING TO THE PERSON PARADIGMS

Group 2

Akhvakh, Zaqatala dialect of Avar; the second and third group of tenses in Lak:

- agent or S/A (subject) control
- paradigms with an opposition of '1 vs. 2/3' or '1_{DECLARATIVE}/2_{INTERROGATIVE} (conjunct) vs. rest (disjunct)'
- 1 > 2, 3 or 1D/2Q > rest
- source of the agreement markers: participle markers
- (+ Mehweb Dargwa)

GROUPS OF LANGUAGES ACCORDING TO THE PERSON PARADIGMS

Group 3 (?)

the person agreement in Hunzib and the Kistin dialect of Chechen;
the person agreement in the first group of TAM-paradigms of Lak;
the person clitics in Dargwa

- Control: 1, 2 > 3 (+ other factors)
- Oppositions: 1/2 vs. 3, 1/2SG vs 1/2PL vs. 3, 1SG/2SG/2PL vs 2SG vs 3
- Hierarchy: 1, 2 > 3, 2 > 1 > 3

The source of these agreement systems is unknown.



THE ORIGIN OF THE PERSON AGREEMENT IN DARGWA (AND LAK)

SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

DARGWA: PARADIGM CONFIGURATION

- Two types of person paradigms
- 1 vs. 2 (1SG vs. 1PL vs. 2) + plural marker)

SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
-d		-d		-d	-he
-t:		-t:	-t:-a(ja)	-t:	-d-a(ja)

- 2SG vs. 1SG/1PL/2PL

1SG/1PL/2PL: =da
2SG: =di

ON THE ORIGIN OF PERSON MARKERS

The etymologies of the “irreal” person suffixes (Nikolaev, Starostin 1994))

- 1sg: -s < Proto-North-Caucasian *zo ‘I’;
 -d < Proto-Dargwa *du ‘I’;
- 2sg: -d, -t: < Proto-North-Caucasian *dū (oblique base of the
 second person singular pronoun)
- 1pl: -Hā < Proto-Dargwa *x:a ‘we (incl.)’

The etymologies of the clitic and “optative” markers are unknown.

I cannot suggest an etymology but could suggest some ideas concerning the origin of the configuration of the person paradigm.

NUMBER MARKERS

The modern dialects of Dargwa have a special 2nd person plural marker: **-a, -ā, -ja, -j, -aja**.

- Itsari (B-uc/B-urc ‘catch; B-iš: ‘sleep)

	2SG	2PL
General present	b-urc-i-t:	b-urc-i-t:-a
Past habitual	b-urc-a-t:-i	b-urc-a-t:-a
Optative	b-uc-ab-i	b-uc-ab-a(-ja)
Imperative (tr)	b-uc-a	b-uc-aja
Imperative (itr)	w-iš:-(i)	d-iš:-aja

NUMBER MARKER

The distribution of this marker varies across the dialects:

- in all or almost all dialects it is attested in the imperative and optative where it stands after the imperative morpheme or after the 2nd person plural marker of the “optative” series
- in several dialects it can be found in other TAM-paradigms as well (in the present, perfective and imperfective past, general present), where it attaches both to clitics and person suffixes
- in the dialect of Tanti, it has a different function (see below)

PLURAL ADDRESSEE

- Tanti

- (1) d-uč-iž ka-d-ig-are,
1/2PL-eat:PF-INF PVB-1/2PL-sit.down:PF-before
nuq-be ic-a=**ja**
hand-PL wash:IPF-IMP.PL-PL.ADR
'Before you sit down at the table, wash your hands!'
- (2) čet:i-ma-d-irk-u-t:-a=**ja**!
PVB-PROH-1/2PL-win-TH-2-PROH-PL.ADR
'Do not win!'
- (3) ʔux:a arale d-at-ab-a=**ja**!
you.PL healthy 1/2PL-leave:PF-OPT-2PL-PL.ADR
'May you be healthy!'

PLURAL ADDRESSEE

In Tanti, **=ja** marks plurality of the addressee:

- (4) du učitel=da=**ja**
I teacher=1=PL.ADR
'I am a teacher' (addressing several people)
- (5) čaj čiž d-ik:-ul=da=**ja**?
tea who:DAT NPL-want-PRS=2PL=PL.ADR
'Who wants tea?' (addressing several people)
- (6) mašina či-la le-b=a? / le-b=a=**ja**?
car who-GEN EXST-N=Q / EXST-N=Q=PL.ADR
'Who has a car?' (addressing one person / several people)

ALLOCUTIVE MARKER

The clitic **=ja** is an allocutive marker.

In Tanti, the allocutive marker marks the plurality of the addressee. It is most common in the imperative and similar forms. In the imperative, the addressee of the utterance coincides with the subject (A/S-argument) of the verb. The marker pointing at the plurality of the addressee can be grammaticalized as a marker pointing at the plurality of the 2nd person argument.

This is what seems to have happened in most dialects of Dargwa.

allocutive plural

→ **2nd person plural (imperative, optative)**

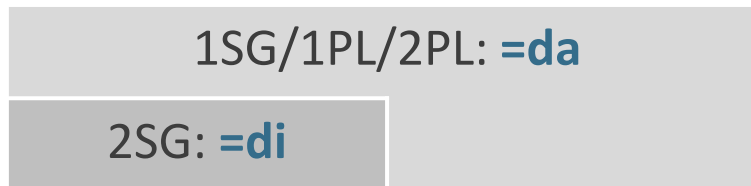
→ **2nd person plural (indicative)**

It is very probable that the number opposition in the plural appeared in the same way.

The simplest case (“irreal” marker set):



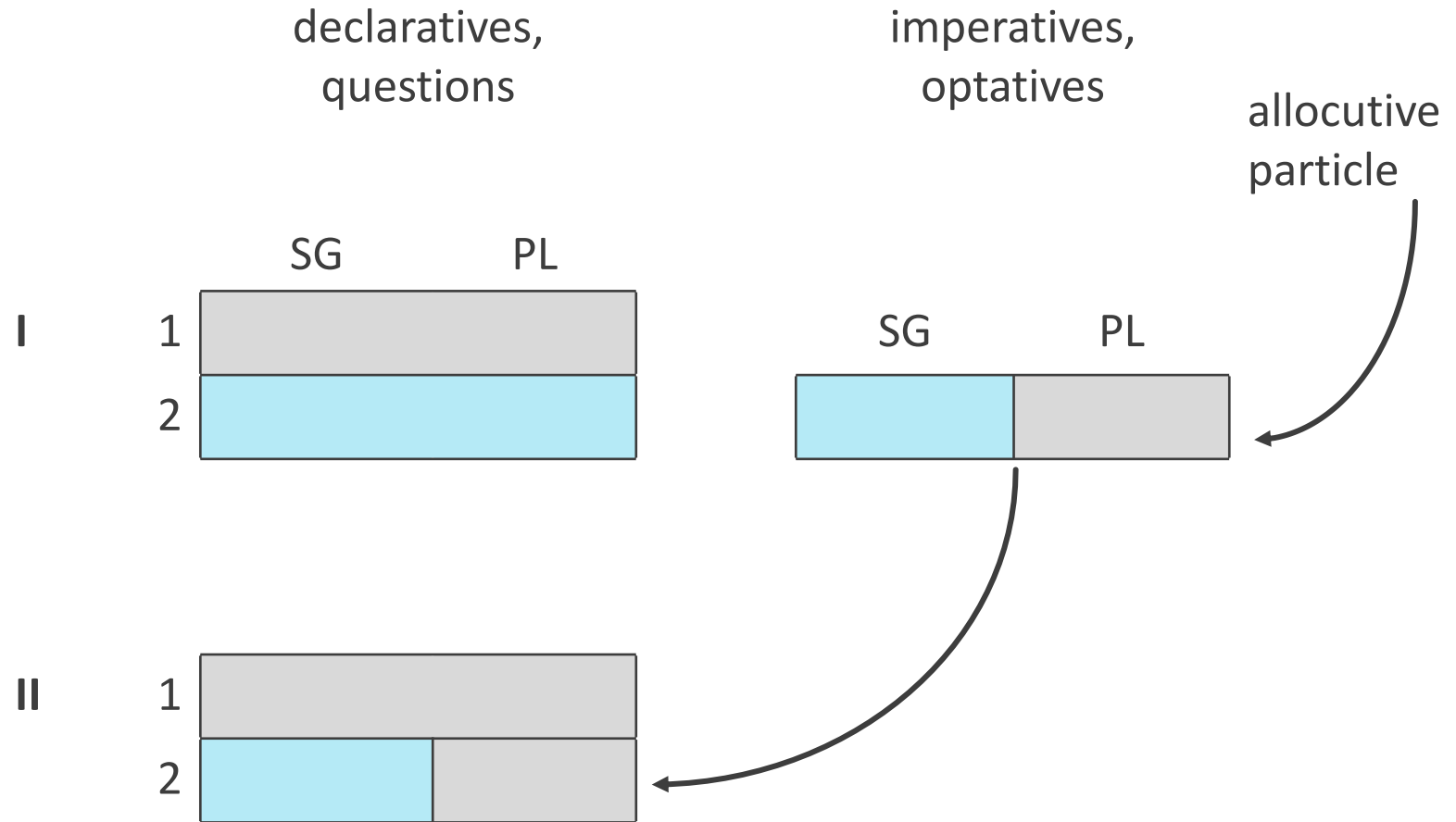
A less obvious case:



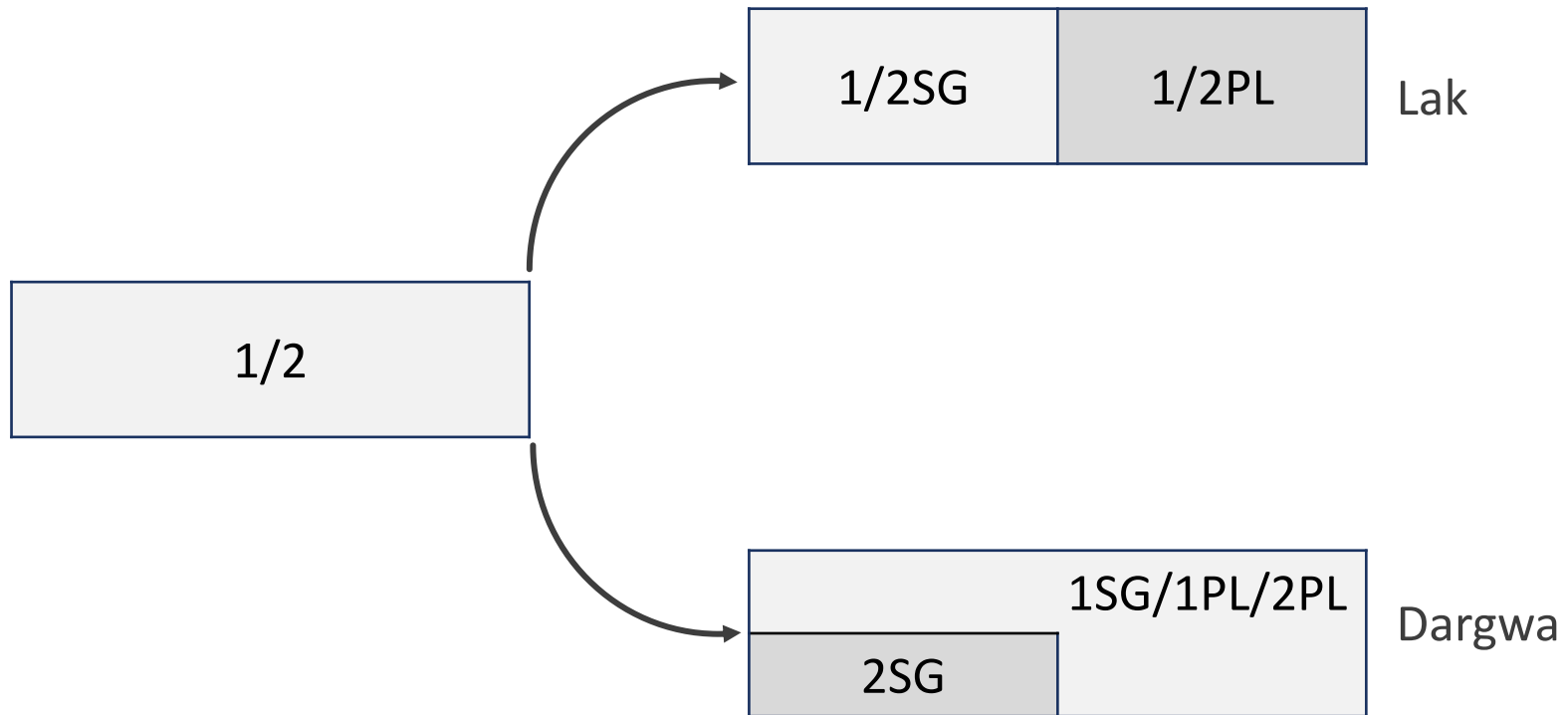
- In the imperative, the reanalysis of the allocutive marker created an opposition of singular forms ending in **i** (**e**) and plural forms ending in **a** or **ja**:

	ITSARI	TANTI
2SG	w-iṣ̌:-i	urc-e
2PL	d-iṣ̌:-aja	urc-a(-ja)

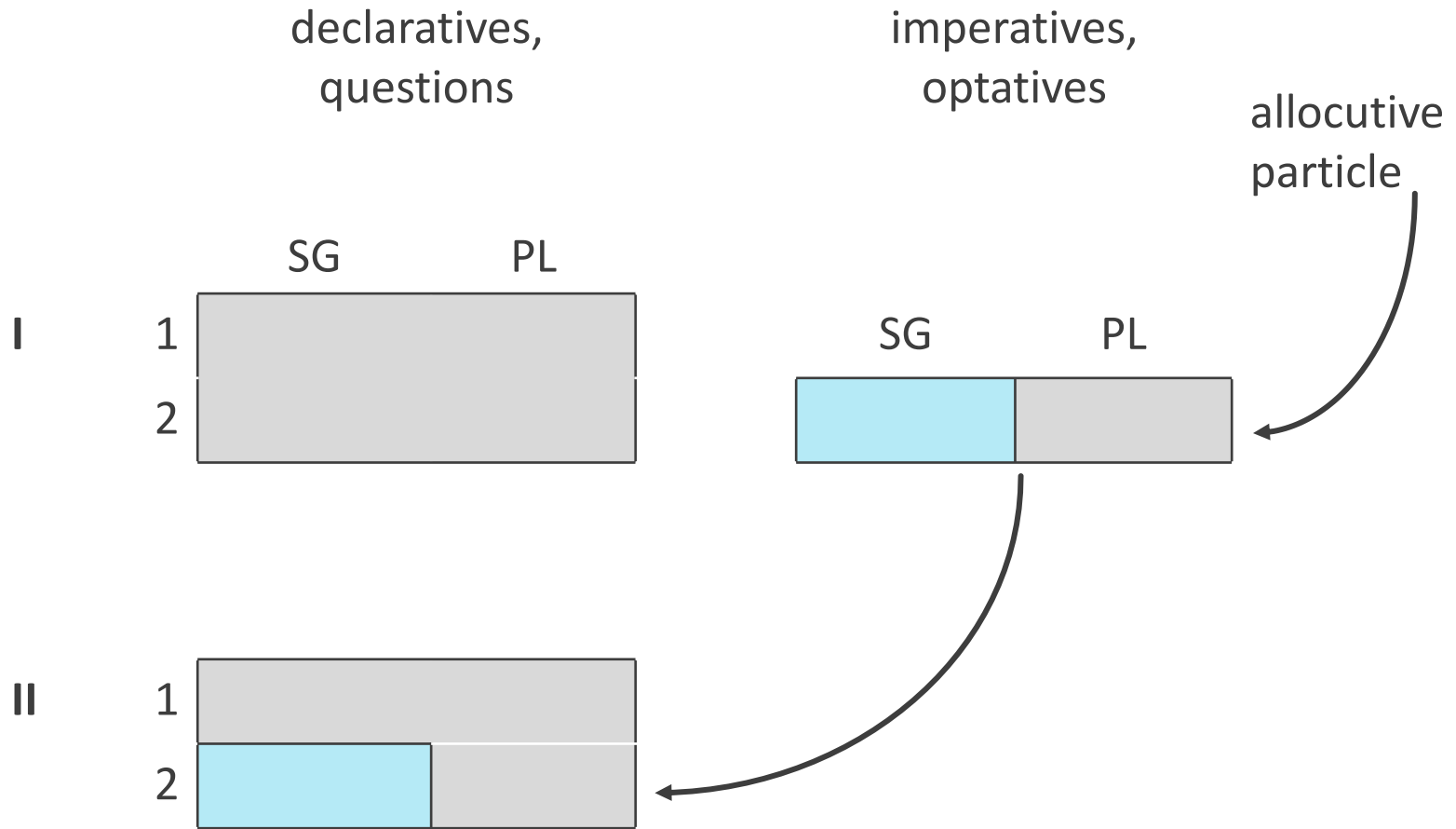
A possible way of developing the Dargwa-type agreement paradigm (variant 1):



LAK AND DARGWA: COMMON SOURCE OF PERSON AGREEMENT?



A possible way of developing the Dargwa-type agreement paradigm (variant 2):





THANK YOU!