Mehweb

Selected essays on phonology, morphology and syntax

Editors:

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Abbreviations

1/2	locutive agreement
ABS	absolutive
AD	'near' (localization)
ADD	additive particle
ADVZ	adverbializer
AG	agent nominalization
ALL	allative (orientation)
ANT	anterior converb
AOR	aorist
APPR	apprehensive
APUD	'near' (localization)
ATR	attributivizer
CARD	cardinal
CAUS	causative
CAUSAL	causal converb
CL	class agreement slot
COLL	collective
COMIT	comitative
COMPL	complementiser
CONC	concessive converb
CONC2	concessive form in -ʔur
COND	hypothetical conditional converb
COP	copula
CTRF	counterfactual converb
CVB	general converb
DAT	dative
EL	elative (orientation)
EMPH	emphatic (particle)
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive (orientation)
F	feminine (agreement class)
F1	feminine (additional agreement class, unmarried women)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GRAD	gradual converb
HPL	human plural (agreement class)
IMM	immediate anterior converb
IMP	imperative
IN	'inside' (localization)
INCP	inceptive converb
INDEF	indefinite

INF	infinitive
INTER	'in a substance' or 'between' (localization)
INTJ	interjection
INTRG	interrogative
IPF	imperfect
IPFV	imperfective (verb stem)
IRR	irrealis
INTR	intransitive
LAT	lative (orientation)
LOC	localization
LV	light verb
M	masculine (agreement class)
N	neuter (agreement class)
NEG	negative
NEG.VOL	negative volitional
NMLZ	nominalization
NOM	nominative
NPL	non-human plural (agreement class)
OBL	oblique (nominal stem)
OBLG	obligative
OPT	optative
OR	orientation slot
PFV	perfective (verb stem)
PL	plural
PROH	prohibitive
PRS	present
PS	plural stem
PST	past
PST1	past on the copula
PSTR	posterior converb
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive converb
PV	preverb
QUOT	quotation
REPL	replicative
SELF	reflexive/logophoric pronoun
SG	singular
SMLT	simultaneous converb
SUPER	'on' (localization)
TR	transitive
TRANS	translative (orientation)
UNIV	universal
VOC	vocative
VOL.NEG	volitional negation

Preface

This volume presents several papers on Mehweb, a one-village language spoken in the central part of Daghestan, a republic of the Russian Federation. The language has a relatively low number of speakers (about 800) but is *not* directly endangered. The first contribution by Nina Dobrushina is an introduction to the sociolinguistic situation of Mehweb. It covers the geographical position of Mehweb and its economic situation, the official status of the language, the ethnic affiliation of the villagers, recent history of Mehweb, its neighbors and the patterns of multilingualism. While there are no visible signs of language loss, the paper shows that there is a strong tendency towards the loss of traditional patterns of multilingualism, with Russian substituting all other languages for interethnic communication.

Mehweb belongs to the Dargwa branch of the East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family. It is often considered as a dialect of Dargwa (Magometov 1982), as well as many other lects within the Dargwa branch. At the same time, there is a different tradition that treats Mehweb as a separate language (Khaidakov 1985, Koryakov, Sumbatova 2007). As follows from the survey of Dargwa idioms in (Sumbatova, Lander 2014), Mehweb is most often classified as belonging to the northern group of Dargwa dialects. Although the residents of Mehweb presently consider themselves to be descendants of a migration from the village of Mugi where Akusha dialect of Dargwa is spoken (Uslar 1892; see also Dobrushina, this volume), there is no linguistic analysis that shows affinity between Mehweb and Mugi. According to lexicostatistic analysis, Mehweb is a member of the north-central group of Dargwa and shows certain similarities to Murego-Gubden rather than Mugi (Koryakov 2013).

The first linguistic source on Mehweb is Uslar's description of Dargwa (Uslar 1892). This short grammar describes another dialect of Dargwa, but starts with a brief survey of different Dargwa languages and dialects. Among these dialects Uslar also mentions Mehweb, qualifying it as a dialect spoken in Mugi, but "notably degraded"[1]. Two descriptions of Mehweb appeared in the 1980s, both of which in Russian. The first one is a grammar of Mehweb which describes its phonology and morphology but not syntax (Magometov 1982). This description, extremely clear and explicit, considers only main morphological forms but not some less frequent ones, and does not provide a detailed analysis of their semantics. The second one, a book by Khaidakov, was written almost at the same time as Magometov's grammar. It compares formal morphology of several Dargwa languages and dialects, including Mehweb.

In the 1990, a field team came from the Moscow State University to work on Mehweb, but not publications followed. In the aftermath of this trip, however, in the 2000s, Nina Sumbatova started to work on Mehweb and, among other things, compiled a list of glosses and suggested an analysis of verbal inflection, some elements of which are integrated into this volume (Sumbatova manuscript).

The only dictionary of Mehweb which existed so far was a small vocabulary supplement in (Magometov 1982). One of the aims of this study was to compile a dictionary and document the main inflectional forms. The dictionary is being developed by Michael Daniel with participation of many members of the field team, especially George Moroz, and implemented as a web page by Aleksandra Kozhukhar'. The current version of the dictionary is available online - http://mehwebdict.wc.lt.

Mehweb texts were first published by Magometov (ibid.) with translation, but without morphological glossing; they were relatively few. New texts were recorded and glossed during this project by Michael Daniel, including a sample of Pear Stories. The corpus

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[1] "...Говорят наречием Муги, но весьма испорченным" ['(they) speak in the dialect of Mugi, but its very corrupt version'].

currently includes 35 texts (including 13 from Magometov) of about 1,000 sentences and 10,000 tokens and is being prepared for open access.

The following brief overview is intended for the reader who is not familiar with East Caucasian languages and provides essential background on most important features of the language.

The consonant inventory includes voiced and voiceless consonants. Stops (but not other consonants) also have the ejective series. Unlike some other Dargwa dialects, Mehweb lacks phonologically distinctive geminate stops. The vocalic system has four members with a gap in the mid back position [i, e, a, u]; [oˤ] only appears with pharyngealization and is a realization of [u] with pharyngeal feature. Velar, uvular and radical consonants may be labialized. In addition to the main radical consonants [ʔ, ħ, h] Mehweb also has epiglottal [ʜ, ʢ] which seem to be phonologically secondary - they appear only under pharyngealization and are pharyngealized counterparts of [ħ, ʔ], respectively. Pharyngealization is strongly associated with uvulars, but some words carry pharyngealization even though they have no uvulars. For further details on phonetic inventories and pharyngealization see the contribution by George Moroz, which discusses details on the inventory, syllable structure, stress placement, morphophonological alternations and pharyngealization.

Mehweb morphology is agglutinative. Mehweb is ergative both in terms of agreement and case marking. To start with the latter, the case inventory includes nominative (absolutive), ergative, genitive, dative, comitative; there are several additional case-like forms (see Chechuro, this volume). Spatial forms are bimorphemic, as typical of East Caucasian. The first category is that of localization, defining a spatial domain with respect to the ground (in Mehweb: 'on', 'near', 'at', 'in', 'between'). The second category is that of orientation, defining the figure's motion with respect to this domain (Goal, Source, Path) or absence thereof (Location). Unlike other branches of East Caucasian - but similar to the other lects of the Dargwa branch - the lative form (Goal) is zero marked and the essive form (location) is marked by a presence of a class agreement slot controlled by the nominative argument of the clause. Plural is expressed by a number of suffixes, sometimes accompanied by alternations and accent shift. For more on nominal morphology, see the contribution by Ilya Chechuro, dealing with plural formation, the oblique stem, case formation and formation of irregular locatives. There is also a brief discussion of the use of the case forms.

The verb inflection is by and large similar to that of other Dargwa languages. It resides upon the fundamental distinction of two stems, perfective and imperfective, from which all other forms are derived. The formal relation between the stems is irregular and involves alternations, infixation, loss of class agreement slots and other. Most forms are derived from both perfective and imperfective stems, exceptions including the prohibitive and the presence/habitual. The combination of irregular relation between perfective and imperfective stems and the almost perfectly parallel inflection based on the two stems partly assimilates the Mehweb (and generally Dargwa) aspectual system to that of derivational aspect. Irregular verbs include verbs of motion, the verb 'give', the verb 'say' and some other. For more on verbal morphology, see the contribution by Michael Daniel.

Zooming out on one fragment of the verb morphology, Nina Dobrushina provides a detailed analysis of both form and meaning in the domain of volitional and irrealis. Several features are typologically infrequent, although common for East Caucasian languages: the formal split between transitive and intransitive imperatives, the expression of negative imperative by a dedicated inflectional form (prohibitive), the presence of a dedicated inflectional optative used for the expression of blessings and curses. Dedicated apprehensive is rare in East Caucasian family as well as in the languages of the world. Jussive and hortative are expressed periphrastically. Another more detailed analysis of verbal

morphosyntax is the contribution by Daria Barylnikova. She provides a survey of periphrastic constructions based on 'drive' and 'let' and explains the ways in which these constructions show incipient signs of grammaticalization into factitive and permissive causation, respectively.

Class (gender) agreement in Mehweb follows strict semantic assignment: in the vast majority of cases, it is enough to know the noun's semantics to determine its agreement pattern. Mehweb class (gender) agreement distinguishes masculine, feminine and neuter in the singular and human and non-human in the plural. One complication is connected to mass nouns; although morphologically singular (and capable of forming morphological plurals), these nouns control non-human plural agreement. While this behavior of mass nouns is typical of Dargwa languages, the next twist is an innovation and probably results from contact with Lak. The majority of feminine nouns have moved from the original Dargwa feminine (*r-*, glossed as F in the book) class to the class identical to non-human plural (*d-*, glossed as F1). The distribution is roughly between married/old (F) and unmarried/young (F1) women. The choice between the two agreement patterns is still partly flexible - could be instrument of language game or insult. One could therefore speculate that the source of this development is some kind of indirect reference motivated by politeness. Another development in agreement is that personal agreement on the verb, well attested in Dargwa languages, developed into the typologically rare phenomenon of disjoint agreement; the suffix *-ra* (glossed 1/2) appears with first person subject in the affirmative and with the second person subject in the interrogative. Unlike class agreement, personal agreement works on the accusative rather than ergative basis. Syntactic properties of personal agreement are treated in the contribution by Dmitry Ganenkov.

Clause subordination is based on dependent verb forms, including action nominals, infinitives, participles and converbs, rather than on finite predication introduced by conjunctions. Converbs include two general converbs (perfective and imperfective) whose relation to the main clause is context-determined and special converbs that specify this relation (in Mehweb, immediate anteriority, gradual accumulation, cause, concession etc. - see the contribution by Maria Sheyanova.). Some important aspects of the syntax of general converbs are presented in the contribution by Marina Kustova who covers periphrastic converbs, independent uses of converbs and their use in imperative contexts, and different strategies of how the converb clause may share its arguments with the main clause. In the absence of true clause co-ordination, the respective discourse / narrative function is performed by chains of general converbs. The contribution attempts to address this issue by considering several tests on subordination - co-ordination distinction.

One exception to the non-use of finite predication in subordination are reported speech constructions. However, reported speech in Mehweb, as generally in East Caucasian, is structurally similar to direct reporting and typologically distant from true subordination. Mehweb has a pronominal stem *sa‹CL›i*, used in wide range of contexts from logophoric in reported speech to resumptives to reflexives, considered in the contribution by Alexandra Kozhukhar'. The author suggests that, in Mehweb, there is neither morphological nor (sharp) syntactic distinction between logophoric and long-distance uses of the pronoun.

The two other contributions on syntax are the chapter by Dmitry Ganenkov (syntax - case assignment and agreement - of the simple clause) and Yury Lander (a survey of the use of the focus-marking predicative particle). Ganenkov shows how distribution of personal and class agreement control classifies Mehweb verbs into several morphosyntactic classes, non-trivially connected to their transitivity, and demonstrates how this distribution is linked to conventional subject properties such as control of reflexivization. Lander argues that the

focus particle g^wa, formally identical to the imperative of 'see', surprisingly does not have to be adjacent to the constituent in the scope of the focus.

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<div align="right">Michael Daniel and Nina Dobrushina</div>

Maps of Mehweb

Yuriy Koryakov

Figure 1. Mehweb on the map of North-East Caucasus

Figure 2. Mehweb on the map of East Caucasian languages

Language and people of Mehweb

Nina Dobrushina[2]

Abstract: The paper describes the sociolinguistic situation of Mehweb, a lect of the Dargwa branch of East Caucasian, Republic of Daghestan. In the course of several field trips to the village of Mehweb (Megeb), sociolinguistic interviews were run there and in four neighbor Avar and Lak villages. The paper describes the demographic situation in Mehweb, the villagers' official status, their social and economic life in the past and at present. Multilingual repertoire of Mehwebs and their neighbors is described in both qualitative and quantitative terms. I conclude that, while there are no signs of language loss, but the traditional patterns of multilingualism in Mehweb have been completely lost.

Keywords: Daghestan, minority language, multilingualism, Mehweb, Avar, Lak

1. Introduction

Mehweb belongs to the Dargwa group of East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family. It is sometimes considered as a dialect of Dargwa (Magometov 1982), but more often treated as a separate language (Khaidakov 1985, Koryakov and Sumbatova 2007). Mehweb is spoken in the single village called Mehweb[3] which is geographically separated from all other Dargwa languages. While Dargwa languages generally constitute a continuous area, Mehweb is surrounded by speakers of Avar and Lak, languages of other branches of the family.

The village of Mehweb is located in Gunibskij rajon of the Republic of Daghestan, in the central part of Daghestan at the height of about 1800 meters above the sea level. The total number of speakers is estimated to be about 800-900, including those who live outside the village. 600 to 700 live in Mehweb itself, from 100 to 200 in the so called *kutan*[4] *kolkhoza imeni Gadzhieva* (located 350 km away from Mehweb, four kilometers away from the sea shore, near the village Krainovka). Kutan was not examined neither from linguistic point of view, nor from sociolinguistic. All data in this paper come only from Mehweb. There are also Mehweb families in Makhachkala, Kizlyar, and Bujnaksk, few elsewhere. All Mehweb-speaking families originate from the village Mehweb.

As most of Daghestanians, Mehwebs are Muslims.

Mehweb has no literacy tradition. The Mehwebs write in Avar or Russian. We have no evidence that Mehweb was ever written in Arabic or Cyrillic script, whether now or in the observable past.

So far, there are no indications of the loss of native language in Mehweb. All villagers speak Mehweb, and Mehweb is the first language acquired by children.

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[2] I am very grateful to Olesya Khanina and Francesca di Garbo who read the paper and gave valuable comments.

[3] Russian *Мегеб* – [megeb], the native term is [mehʷe], while [mehʷeb] is the Avar spelling which includes the final -b of the locative form.

[4] Originally, kutans were the territories for lowland herding in the winter. At the present time, people often prefer to stay in these lowland settlements for the whole year, thus establishing new villages.

The Mehwebs often suggest that their idiom is more conservative than other Dargwa lects and contains some archaic features. This opinion is expressed in some descriptions of Mehweb (Magometov 1982, Khaidakov 1985). Recent studies on Dargwa languages show that at least some phenomena (such as various properties of agreement) are innovative in Mehweb as compared to other Dargwa lects.

In Section 2, the official status of Mehweb is discussed. Sections 3 and 4 briefly describe social and economic life of Mehweb in the past and at the present time. Section 5 is devoted to the multilingual repertoire of Mehwebs and their neighbors. A brief conclusion summarizes the paper.

2. Mehweb oficially

Mehweb is located in the district where Avars are numerically dominant. As a result, Mehwebs are in some respects considered to be Avars (Тишков, Кисриев 2007: 98).

First, paradoxically, they are taught Avar at school during lessons called *mother tongue* (Russian *родной язык*, lit. native language), although Avar belongs to another group of East Caucasian and is, genealogically, distant from Mehweb. Mehweb children start learning two foreign languages already in their first grade - Avar and Russian, which, according to their parents, is not easy for them. Another result of learning Avar as a mother tongue is that Mehwebs are not acquainted with standard Dargwa, unlike most people who speak other lects of Dargwa.

Second, most of Mehwebs were registered as Avars in their passports. That continued to the 1990s, when the obligatory indication of ethnicity in passports was cancelled in Russia. The villagers explain that those Mehwebs who got their passports in the village council were registered as Avars, while those who got their passports in the cities were registered as Dargis.

In the 2002 and 2010 censuses Mehwebs are not mentioned. Residents of Mehweb were registered as Dargis or as Avars. In 2002, 747 Dargis and 98 Avars were reported as residents in Mehweb. In 2010 — 572 Dargis and 124 Avars. The difference between the data of the two censuses has no reasonable explanations. Mehweb is very homogenous both ethnically and linguistically, as are most villages of the highland Daghestan. There are almost no outsiders in the village except for several Avar women taken as wives. Most probably, the population of Mehweb did not change ethnically in at least the last one hundred years, and the information in the censuses does not reflect true ethnic structure of Mehweb in any way.

According to interviews with the villagers, Mehweb residents identify themselves as - Dargis. They are well aware about the closeness of their language to Dargwa, and have regular contacts with Dargwa people from the village Mugi (see Section 3).

For the native language, the data of the censuses are again controversial. Mehweb language is not mentioned. It follows from the 2002 census that 792 residents spoke Dargwa as their first language, while 53 spoke Avar. According to the 2007 census, this has changed: 566 spoke Dargwa as first language, and 113 - Avar. The mention of Dargwa as a first language can be explained - Mehweb is usually considered as a variation of Dargwa, and it could have happened that the residents of Mehweb called their native language Dargwa. But there are no reasonable explanations for the mentions of Avar as a first language: there is definitely no one in Mehweb who speaks Avar as a first language, apart from the two or three women who married in.

To sum up, neither Mehwebs as an ethnic group, nor Mehweb as a language are acknowledged at the official level.

3. The past of Mehweb

There is a common belief that the village of Mehweb was founded by the re-settlers from the Dargwa-speaking village of Mugi (Услар 1892). Mugi is located in Akushinskij district (central part of Daghestan, about 70 km; now it takes two to three hours by car). As far as I know, there is no tangible historical evidence for the connections between Mehweb and Mugi, apart from oral testimonies. Mehwebs are convinced that Mugi is their ancestral homeland, and have several versions of how they left it. One of the local stories reports that there was an isolated part of Mugi which happened to be on the way of Timur's (Tamerlane's) army. When they understood they can not resist Tamerlane, the residents fled from Mugi and settled higher in the mountains. According to this version, Mehweb was founded in the 14th century. Khajdakov (1985: 101) dates the migration of Mehwebs to 8th - 9th centuries, reporting an opinion of a respected Mehweb resident. An early report by Komarov says that Mehweb people are (descendants of) refugees, but Mugi is not named (Komarov 1868)[5].

According to lexicostatistic analysis, Mehweb belongs to the Northern-central group of Dargwa languages, and is closer to Murego-Gubden lects than to the dialect of Mugi (Koryakov 2013).

Although it is not clear whether this view on the origins of Mehwebs has historical grounds, the residents of the two villages are quite positive. They have established intensive contacts: they practice reciprocal group visits, and invite each other to important festivities. Most of Mehwebs I talked to say that they do not understand the dialect of Mugi and prefer communicating with the Mugis in Russian.

The relations of the Mehwebs with Avars were much more intensive. The main road to Mehweb went through a big Avar village Chokh through another, smaller Avar village of Obokh. In the 19th century, Mehweb was a part of the so-called Andalal free association which mainly consisted of Avar villages. After the revolution of 1917, Mehweb became a part of Charoda district. In 1928, it was transferred to Gunib district. Both districts are dominated by Avars. Between 1929 and 1934, it was transferred to Lak district, and then transferred back to Gunib. Therefore, from the administrative point of view, the Mehwebs were always connected with Avars.

Avars were and still are the closest neighbors of Mehwebs – a walk to Obokh takes about 40 minutes. Although more distant, Lak neighbours were also important for Mehweb, because the Mehwebs used to go regularly to the Kumukh market where the communication was in Lak. There is about 15 kilometers between Mehweb and Kumukh, and it took four to five hours to get to Kumukh by foot. Some women used to go there every Thursday. Visits to the market in Kumukh gradually became less frequent after the 1950-60s.

Mehweb was one of the biggest villages in the neighborhood. According to Komarov, in 1886 there were 727 residents. This number almost did not change over the 20th century: 710 in 1926, 780 in 2007.

The main occupation of Mehwebs was breeding sheep and cattle. They were also growing corn and potatoes. The specialty of Mehweb was black pea, yielding a good harvest. There were no fruit trees before the 1950s, although at the present moment Mehwebs grow apples, pears and apricots. Mehwebs were neither rich nor poor as compared to other settlements of the highland Daghestan.

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[5] «Недалеко от Чоха есть большое селение Меге, по преданию, основанное даргинцами, в разное время искавшими спасения от кровомщения». ['Not far from Chokh there is a big village of Mege which, according to the tradition, was founded by Dargwa people who, in different times, were taking refuge from blood feud']

Due to the fact that Mehwebs had enough corn, they did not need to look for jobs outside the village. According to the recollections of local people, seasonal employments outside the village were not customary in Mehweb. Only several Mehweb people are reported to practice tinsmithing, as their Lak neighbors. We were also told by the residents of neighbor village of Shangoda that Mehwebs were good stone masons and builders, also invited to other villages. Another reason for inter-ethnic contacts was shepherding on remote pastures (transhumance), which resulted in irregular contacts with Avars and Kumyks. In general, Mehweb people did not migrate a lot.

Mehweb people rarely married out. As in all Daghestan (Comrie 2008, Wixman 1980), the preference was for a marriage partner from Mehweb. Often the spouse was chosen from the same patrilineal clan (the so-called *tukhum*). In the infrequent cases of marrying out the wife was taken from one of the neighbor Avar villages. The tradition of endogamic marriages started to die away only in the beginning of the 21th century.

4. The present of Mehweb

Today, Mehweb has between 600 and 700 residents. The population did not decrease as severely as it happened in other villages. For example, Avar villages Obokh and Shangoda were twice bigger than they presently are. Lak villages Mukar and Uri are on the verge of the complete abandonment; several families still live in Lak villages Palisma and Kamakhal that recently were among the biggest in the neighborhood. The Avar village of Shitlib (Shitli) has been abandoned. The only village in the neighborhood which did not lose significant part of its population, apart from Mehweb, is Avar village Bukhty. Mehweb is the biggest and the most vital village in the vicinity, with many children living in the village, and a large school. Still, the locals report a slight population decrease: the school had more pupils in the 80s than now.

Apart from the regular school, Mehweb has a special boarding school for boys training in freestyle wrestling. There are usually about 10-15 boys from other places of Daghestan who live in Mehweb and study with local children. These boys have different native languages (most often, Avar), and communicate with the locals in Russian.

There is a kindergarten where local teachers communicate with children in Mehweb and in Russian. Mehweb boasts a large building of the so-called *dom kultury* (local social center). It hosts a billiard room and, on occasions, concerts and dances. A small medical centre employs three women.

As elsewhere in Daghestan, the Mehwebs complain about local unemployment. Those who are not employed at the school, kindergarten, social center or the medical center, can make their living only by going away for construction jobs, by selling meat and cheese. There are several small shops run by local families.

People in Mehweb, as in all other villages in the neighborhood, have TV since the 80s. Regular access to broadcast became possible from the 90s when a television transmitting tower was constructed in Sogratl'. The broadcast is mainly in Russian. Apparently it has influenced the level of bilingualism in Russian.

The Mehwebs take pride in the fact that several of its residents distinguished themselves during the WW2, two men being decorated as Hero of the Soviet Union for their military service during the war. Mehweb has a war memorial, and the Victory Day (May 9) is of special importance to the village.

5. Neighbors and language contact

The level of multilingualism was studied in Mehweb and in the four neighbor villages: Obokh and Shangoda (Avar) and Uri and Mukar (Lak) - see Figure 1[6]. During the fieldtrips in 2012 - 2015, a series of sociolinguistic surveys was conducted to study the multilingual repertoire of the residents[7].
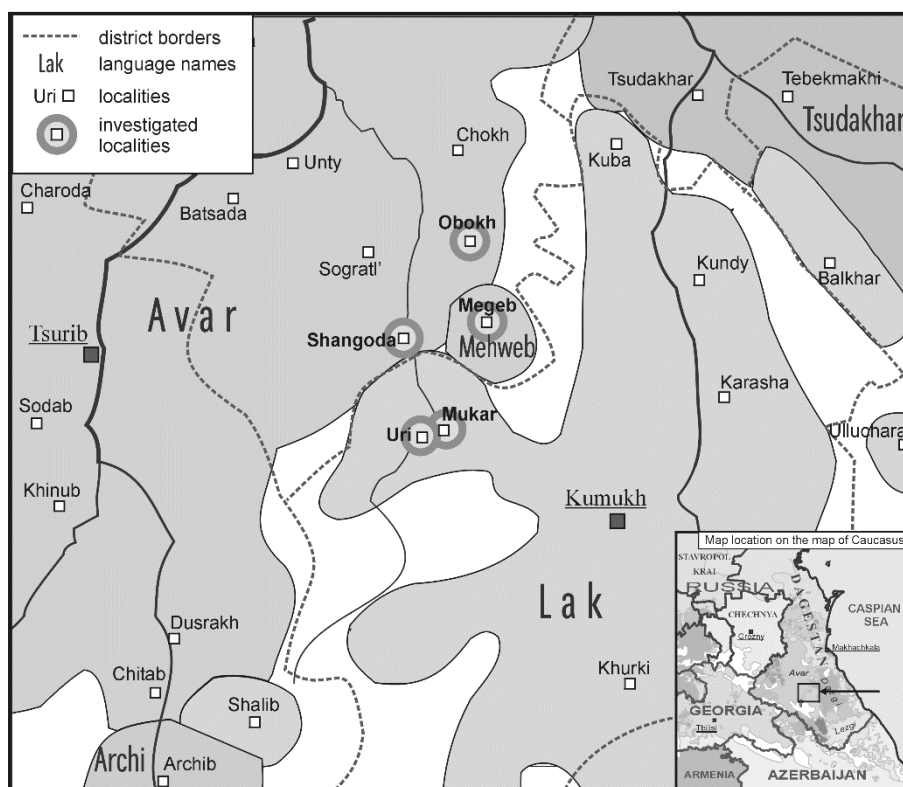
Figure 1. Mehweb and neighbor villages

5.1. Data and method

In order to obtain quantitative data about the command of other languages in each of these villages, the method of retrospective family interviews (introduced in Dobrushina 2013) was applied[8]. The dynamics of multilingualism is accessed through, and assessed basing on, short interviews with speakers of different generations, thus resembling apparent time studies (Bailey 2013). The important difference from the apparent time method is that data are obtained not only about the respondents themselves, but also about their older relatives – those who cannot be interviewed directly because they are not living.

The method aims at capturing multilingual repertoires of the speakers of the recoverable past in order to reconstruct traditional – i.e. previous to Sovietization – patterns of language contacts. It was typical for the highland Daghestan to have large families where

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[6] All maps in this paper are courtesy Yuri Koryakov.

[7] Sociolinguistic study of multilingualism in Mehweb and neighbor villages is a part of a larger project documenting patterns of multilingualism in Daghestan.

[8] The following people took part in the interviews on multilingualism: Darya Baryl'nikova, Ilja Chechuro, Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina, Violetta Ivanova, Aleksandra Khadzhijskaya, Marina Korshak, Aleksandra Kozhukhar', Marina Kustova, Olga Shapovalova, Marija Shejanova, Semen Sheshenin, Aleksandra Sheshenina

old parents lived together with their youngest son and communicated with other children on an every day basis, were looking after their grandchildren and helping to run the household. Younger generation was usually well acquainted with their grandparents. By asking 60 to 80 year old villagers about language repertoires of their grandparents, the data collected sometimes dates back to the end of the 19th century, and sometimes – exceptionally - even to mid 19th century. Table 1 provides an example of the questionnaire filled for one person.

Table 1. Example of a filled sociolinguistic questionnaire

questions	Answers
Name	Amin
year of birth	1908
year of death	1985
is a relative of	father of Mohammad, father-in-low of Mariam
information was given by	Mohammad (son of Amin)
education and occupation	studied in madrasah, was a sheepherder, a foremen in kolkhoz
command of Quranian Arabic	could read Arabic script, but did not understand text
Lak	yes
Avar	yes
Russian	no
other languages	Akusha dialect of Dargwa

The choice of respondents was more or less random. The aim of the study is to reconstruct the multilingualism of the past; so the eldest possible respondents were preferred, and younger generation was included for the sake of comparison. The controlled parameters of the sample were thus respondents age and gender.

The shortcomings of this method include, first of all, the subjective character of judgments about language proficiency. No test of proficiency of the respondent was used (and no such test was possible for his or her late relatives). Estimations of the level of bilingualism were based on the respondents' judgments. The second shortcoming is the fact that the respondent's memories of e.g. his mother and father refer to their adult or older life period. Third and probably most importantly, judgments may reflect stereotyped notions about past multilingualism widespread in the village rather than be based on personal memories of individual linguistic repertoires. For a further discussion, see (Dobrushina 2013).

Multilingualism is a social behavior developed in interaction. Hence sociolinguistic surveys were run not only in the village of Mehweb but also in the neighbor villages. The data from retrospective family interviews in neighbor villages help us to understand better how the communication between neighbors was performed. Were both languages of neighbors used for communication or one of them was preferred? For example, if we only find out that most Mehwebs spoke Avar and Lak, we still do not know whether Avar and Lak neighbors of Mehwebs could speak Mehweb or not, and can not estimate the role of Mehweb language in the area.

The closest neighbors of Mehweb are the Avar villages Obokh and Shangoda.

A walk to Obokh takes about 40 minutes. Obokh villagers talk a dialect of Avar. In their opinion, this variety differs from the dialects of other villages in the area. At school, the Obokhs learn standard Avar. There is an opinion among them that their village is the oldest

in the neighborhood. They support this idea by the size of the cemetery. Another fact which might prove that Mehweb is younger than Obokh is that Obokh possesses more lands than Mehweb, although the village itself is smaller.

Shangoda, an Avar village, is further away from Mehweb than Obokh. The track goes up and down, and it takes about 90 minutes to reach Shangoda. Slightly closer than Shangoda there was Avar village Shitlib, which is now abandoned. After Shangoda, there are Lak villages Palisma and Kamakhal, now also abandoned (walking distance from Shangoda of about 30 minutes). In the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, Shangoda belonged to the Kazikumukh okrug, dominated by Laks. It was connected to Kumukh by a mountain path. Untill the 1930s, when Shangoda was transferred to the Gunib district, the inhabitants of Shangoda had their administrative center in the village of Palisma. Therefore, relations with Laks were more important for Shangoda than relations with Mehwebs or with Avar villages.

Lak villages are further away from Mehweb than Obokh or Shangoda, but the contacts with them were essential for Mehwebs because of their regular visits to the Lak market in Kumukh. In Lak villages, Mewheb people had friends with whom they could stay on their way to Kumukh market.

All five villages are located at more or less same height above the sea level (1500-1800 meters). In the observable past, the economic life and the life standards of all these villages were similar.

In Mehweb, the sociolinguistic survey was the most extensive. Our database contains 240 entries, including 90 people who are not living. The databases for other villages have less entries: 80 in Shangoda, 80 in Uri, 103 in Obokh, 110 in Mukar. (Note that these villages presently are much less populated than Mehweb).

People were divided in two groups: those who were born before and those who were born after 1919. The reason for establishing 1919 as a cut-off point was that in the 1930s in all villages Soviet schools were opened. The teaching was done in Russian. The generation born after 1919 therefore usually had a secular schooling, often had some level of literacy, had less opportunities to learn Arabic script (because of the atheistic politics of the USSR), and most often spoke some Russian. The generation born before 1919 was closer to what we consider traditional patterns of multilingualism.

5.2. Multilingualism among the residents born before 1919

According to our study, Mehwebs communicated with Avars and Laks in Avar and Lak respectively. It follows from the level of mutual bilingualism of the Mehwebs and their neighbors. Almost 100 percent of Mehwebs born before 1919 spoke Avar and Lak (see Table 2). Their neighbors from Avar and Lak villages had no command of Mehweb at all. Some people from Obokh, the closest Avar village, were reported to speak Mehweb, but the ratio of people who spoke Mehweb in Obokh was not more than 8 percent of the sample (Table 2).

Mehwebs were acquiring Avar through the communication with the neighbor Avar villages, Obokh and Shangoda, and bigger villages which were more distant but important economically and socially, including Sogratl', Chokh, and Gunib. There were no Lak villages located close to Mehweb – as close as Obokh and Shangoda - and the main source of the knowledge of Lak was the market in Kumukh. The role of this market in the area was important enough to acquire Lak.

Occasionally, Mehwebs also mention the command of Kumyk. Kumyk was acquired by those who brought sheep to the lowlands where Kumyks lived. This practice was apparently not very common – only two to three percent of people born before 1919 spoke Kumyk.

About 45-50 percent of the Mehwebs born before 1919 could read Quran[9]. Note that the reported ability to read does not imply ability to understand Arabic. Very often, the knowledge of Arabic was limited to the knowledge of phonetic meaning of letters. If a person was reported to be able to read Arabic, the researchers asked more specific questions about the ability to translate (understand) Arabic text. According to our study, only 6 percent of Mehwebs could understand and translate Quran.

About 20 percent of Mehwebs in this generation spoke Russian. The command of Russian was much more common among men who traveled in order to earn money.

As for the residents of Avar villages, the knowledge of Lak was reported significantly more often in Shangoda (93%), than in Obokh (22%). This is not surprising. Lak villages were very close to Shangoda (30 minutes of walking distance), and the residents of Shangoda and Lak villages were socially and economically connected. For both Shangoda and Obokh, the market in Kumukh was very important, but Kumukh was much closer to Shangoda. Conspicuous is the difference between Obokh and Mehweb. The villages were almost at the same walking distance from Lak villages, but the difference in the level of Lak is striking: 95 percent in Mehweb and 22 in Obokh. There is only one plausible explanation for this discrepancy. Mehwebs as speakers of a minor language were disposed to speak other languages, while Avars, being the majority in their district, were in general oriented to use their own language in all circumstances.

The residents of Lak villages also had some command of Avar, but the level of their bilingualism was lower than in Avar villages (Table 2).

To sum up, Mehwebs were the most multilingual people as compared to the neighbor villages. The language contact between Mehwebs and their neighbors was asymmetrical. They spoke the languages of their neighbors, while the neighbors did not speak Mehweb. Presumably, Mehweb was never used as a second language (we cannot be positive because we have no information about more distant past). The reason for this asymmetry in the linguistic relations between neighbors was obviously the fact that Mehweb was spoken only in one village and had no importance at the supralocal level.

Table 2. The level of multilingualism in five villages: generations born before 1919.

	Mehweb	Avar	Lak	Russian
Mehweb	native	97%	95%	21%
Obokh	7%	native	22%	22%
Shangoda	0%	native	93%	50%
Uri	0%	78%	native	40%
Mukar	0%	40%	native	50%

5.3. Multilingualism among the residents born after 1920

In the second half of the 20th century, the knowledge of local languages was decreasing, while the knowledge of Russian increased significantly. People in Mehweb and Obokh spoke virtually no Lak anymore (Table 3). In Shangoda, the command of Lak persisted longer, but it was almost lost in the generation born after 1960. The command of Avar in Lak villages Uri and Mukar was also practically lost.

The drastic changes in local multilingualism were caused by several factors. First, the relations within the neighborhood started to loose their economic significance, being

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[9] See also Kozhukhar', Baryl'nikova 2013 about the dynamics of literacy in Mehweb.

substituted by connections with bigger towns. At present, the Mehwebs prefer going to the shop in Makhachkala rather than in Kumukh. Villagers also ceased cultivating fields, the borders with the neighbors have lost their significance, and communication became rarer. The second reason is the spread of Russian as lingua franca in the whole Daghestan. The command of Russian substituted local bilingualism.

There are rare cases of some Obokhs speaking Mehweb among those born in 1960-s. These are due to the fact that until the 2000s there was no senior school in Obokh, and some children continued their education in Mehweb. Several people reported their ability to understand Mehweb, acquired during their school years.

In Mehweb, people born after the 1950s almost do not speak Lak, but the command of Avar is still very high. Avar was supported by schooling and communication with neighbors and with Avar administration. Mehwebs born after 1990, however, do not speak Avar. This might be a manifestation of the same process of loss of local multilingualism as in other villages, but it can also be a pattern of age-based multilingualism, when neighbor language is acquired later - when people start to work. In the latter case, this generation will speak Avar after their professional socialization, at the age of 30-40. Only later research will show what pattern is followed by the now young Mehwebs.

Some Mehwebs report the command of Akusha dialect of Dargwa. In the 1950s – 1970s, Mehweb did not have enough shepherds, and the Dargis from Akushinskiy district worked in the Mehweb kolkhoz as sheepherders. The Mehwebs remember communicating with these shepherds and with their wives who came to see their husbands when they returned to Mehweb with the sheep. As a result, some of Mehwebs acquired the Akusha dialect of Dargwa which is otherwise not intelligible for Mehwebs.

Another change concerned literacy. Atheistic politics of the USSR resulted in a dramatic loss of Arabic literacy. Only five percent of Mehwebs born after 1920 knew Arabic script (as compared to the 48 percent in the generation born before 1919). Similar change happened in other villages. At the same time, most villagers became literate in Cyrillic and could read and write Russian and Avar.

Table 3. The level of multilingualism in the generation born after 1920.

	Mehweb	Avar	Lak	Russian
Mehweb	Native	85%	17%	91%
Obokh	4%	native	6%	83%
Shangoda	0%	native	42%	86%
Uri	0%	37%	native	96%
Mukar	0%	17%	native	88%

6. Summary

Mehweb is a minor language, spoken in only one village. As it was said in the introduction, there are no signs of language shift in Mehweb. In the village, everybody speaks Mehweb, and since the 19th century the number of speakers has not decreased. There is, however, a strong tendency towards the loss of traditional patterns of multilingualism. Over the 20th century, the knowledge of neighbor languages in highland villages was substituted by the knowledge of Russian, because Russian spread all over Daghestan and started to serve as a universal lingua franca (the level of bilingualism is shown on Figure 2). Good command of Russian was supported by the arrival of television and by intensive migration to towns: almost every family has relatives who live elsewhere and come to the village for vacations or

on some special occasions (weddings, funerals). Children who were born in cities usually only speak Russian, and pass Russian to their peers who live in the village (Daniel et al 2011). Therefore, until recently the languages that could influence the vocabulary and the grammar of Mehweb were Avar and Lak. This role has now been assumed by Russian.
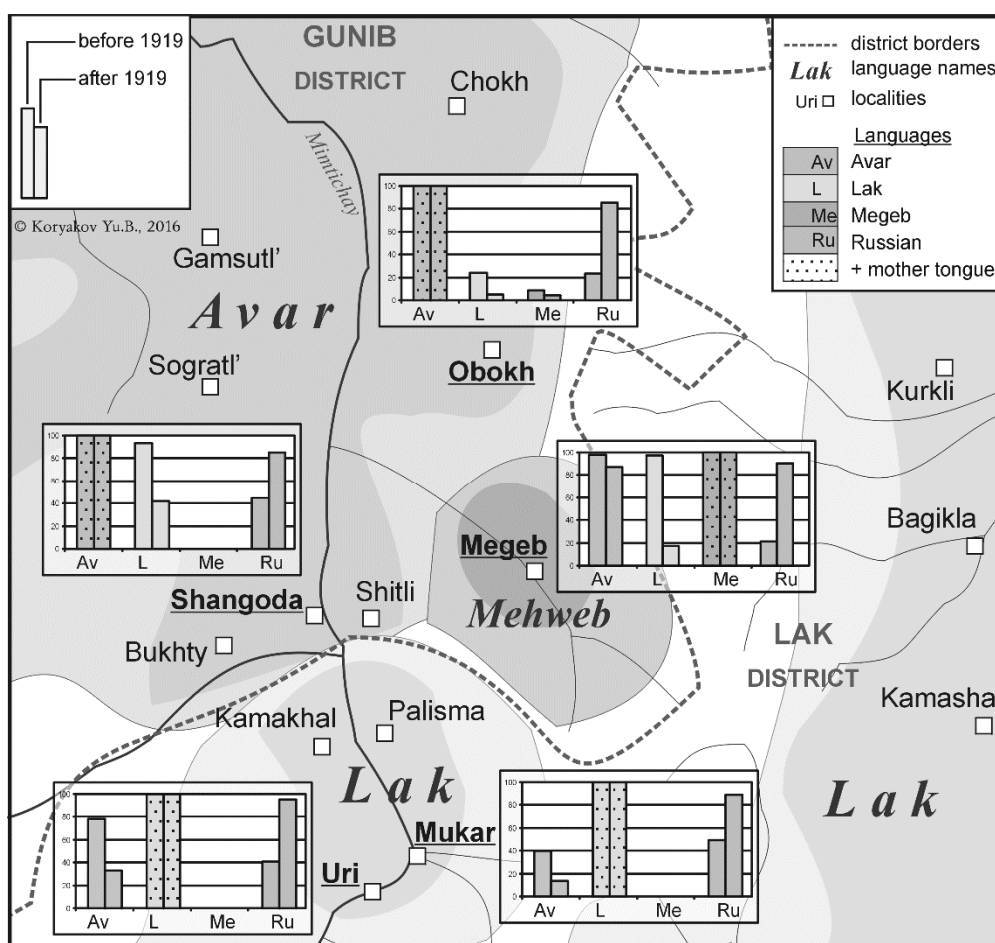
Figure 2. Multilingualism in five villages: before 1919 and after 1920.

Phonology of Mehweb

George Moroz

Abstract: In this paper, I describe the phonetic inventory of Mehweb, consonants and vowels, as well as the main productive alternations. Two separate sections treat the rules of syllable placement and gives a preliminary treatment of pharyngealization. In Mehweb, pharyngealization is a feature which extends the basic vowel inventory [i, e, a, u] to include [oˤ] (the pharyngealized variant of [u], along with pharyngealized [iˤ, eˤ, aˤ]) and the inventory of radical consonants by the process of epiglottalization (where [ʡ] is a pharyngealized variant of [ʔ] and [ʜ] is a pharyngealized variant of [ħ]).

1. Introduction

This paper[10] is an overview of the phonology of Mehweb. It is primarily descriptive and is intended to make phonological aspects of Mehweb clear to the reader. The paper is organized as follows. In Sections 2 and 3 I describe consonant and vowel systems. Section 4 is dedicated to syllable and word structure of Mehweb. Section 5 deals with stress. In Section 6 I introduce basic phonological and morphophonological alternations. In the last section I describe pharyngealization and how it effects on segments.

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[10] I would like to thank a number of people for reading this paper and discussing its contents with me; in particular, Michael Daniel and Alexandre Arkhipov.

2. Consonants

Table 1. Consonant system[11]

		labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar -lab	velar +lab	uvular -lab	uvular +lab	pharyngeal -lab	pharyngeal +lab	epiglottal -lab	epiglottal +lab	glottal -lab	glottal +lab
plosive	+v	b	d			g	gʷ								
	-v	p	t			k	kʷ	q	qʷ			(ʔ)	(ʔʷ)	ʔ	ʔʷ
	ej	p'	t'			k'	k'ʷ	q'	q'ʷ						
fricative	+v		z	š		(ɣ)		ʁ	ʁʷ					(ɦ)	
	-v		s	ž		x		χ	χʷ	ħ	ħʷ	(ʜ)	(ʜʷ)	h	hʷ
affricate	+v		(ʒ)	(ǯ)											
	-v		c	č											
	ej		c'	č'											
sonorant		m, w	n / l, r	j											

Most plosives and affricates form three-way oppositions (voiced vs. voiceless vs. ejective), but there are no radical and glottal voiced segments except some rare realizations of *h* as *ɦ*. All postvelar consonants and velar plosives have labialized counterparts, which occur in initial, medial intervocalic, medial preconsonantal and final position. Some Dargwa languages have voiceless geminate consonants. They correspond to voiced consonants in Dargwa languages lacking geminates. There are no geminates in Mehweb (contra (Magometov 1982: 8)). Sequences of homorganic consonants, however, become geminate:

(1) *ʔuˤgːil*
     ugly

(2) *it-di-ni > itːini*
     this-PL-ERG

The voiced velar fricative *ɣ* is attested only initially in a few roots and only in the speech of older consultants:

(3) *ɣan*
     'snake'

(4) *ɣuli*
     'hide'

(5) *ɣala*
     'pitchfork'

Voiced affricates *ʒ* and *ǯ* are allophones of voiced fricatives *z* and *ž*. They are attested only in the speech of older consultants.

The glottal stop *ʔ* is usually deleted in initial and intervocalic position. Some older speakers occasionally produce voiced glottal fricative *ɦ* instead of voiceless *h* in intervocalic position.

In non-final position epiglottal *ʡ* and *ʜ* are in most cases followed or/and preceded by a pharyngealized vowel[12]. The segments *ʔ* and *ħ* are never followed or preceded by a

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[11] In the table, +v stands for voiced, -v stands for voiceless, ej stands for ejective.

pharyngealized vowel. In the last section I will discuss some examples of *ʔ/ʡ- and ħ/ʜ-*alternations triggered by pharyngealization, where I will also consider evidence for the independent and suprasegmental nature of the pharyngeal feature. Cf. the following examples, that differ only in presence (as in (6) and (8)) vs. absence (as in (7) and (9)) of the pharyngeal feature.

(6) *ʔeˤ*
    'summer'

(7) *ʔe*
    'winter'

(8) *ʜaˤš*
    cow.droppings
    'cow droppings'

(9) *ħ-aš-an*
    neg-go.ipfv-hab
    'he walks'
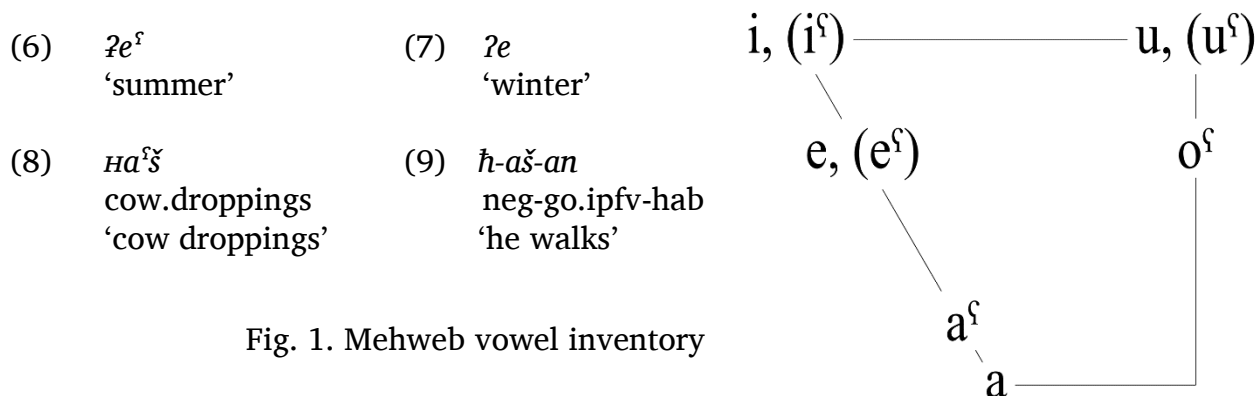
Fig. 1. Mehweb vowel inventory

3. Vowels

There are four plain vowels and five pharyngealized vowels. There are no long vowels in Mehweb. Pharyngealized vowels occur most often adjacent to, or in forms containing, epiglottals (*ʡ, ʜ*) or uvulars (*q, χ, ʁ*). However, *aˤ* is also attested in some stems without those segments:

(10) *laˤži*
    'cheek'

(11) *kʷaˤš*
    'handful'

(12) *taˤj*
    'foal'

    Pharyngealized vowels are not common in Mehweb, and some are rarer than others. For example Pharyngealized *iˤ* and *eˤ* are only attested in very few words. Pharyngealized *oˤ* seems to be a realization of *u* in pharyngealized syllables; however, while in some forms only *oˤ* is attested (13a), in other forms *uˤ* occurs as a variant (13b), and in some cases only *uˤ* is only available (13c).

(13a) *doˤʜoˤn*
     'cub'

(13b) *malʔuˤn, malʔoˤn*
     'wolf'

(13c) *ʜuˤli*
     'eye'

    Vowels, as well as radical consonants, rarely show clear evidence of independent behavior of the pharyngeal feature (as in autosegmental phonology). There are many examples of lexically determined vowel alternation (cf. example (14), showing no alternation, with various patterns of alternation in (15)-(19)).

(14a) *jaˤbu*
     horse
     'horse'

(14b) *jaˤb-ne*
     horse:PL-PL
     'horses'

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[12] In some loan words epiglottal *ʡ* can be followed by non-pharyngealized vowels: *ʡat'* 'dough, flour' (cf. Avar *ʕat'* 'flour'), *ʡaraq* 'haystack' (cf. Avar *ʕaraqχ* 'haystack'), *ʡamal* 'temper' (cf. Avar *ʕamal* 'temper'), *ʡarʁal* 'long', *ʡabat* 'behind', *maʡna* 'sense', *ʡaraʁa* 'last', *beʡʷes* 'seed'. This gives us pseudo minimal pairs: *ʡat'* 'dough' (Avar loan) vs. and *ʡaˤt'a* 'frog'.

(15a) *taˤj*
foal
'foal'

(15b) *tuˤj-re*
foal:PL-PL
'foals'

(16a) *č'aˤʔaˤ*
cane
'cane'

(16b) *č'aˤʔuˤ-be, č'aˤʔoˤ-be*
cane:PL-PL
'cane'

(17a) *č'uʔaˤ*
straw
'straw'

(17b) *č'uˤʔ-ne, č'oˤʔ-ne*
straw:PL-PL
'straw'

(18a) *uʔaˤ*
cottage.cheese
'cottage cheese'

(18b) *ʔaˤʔ-ne, ʔuˤʔ-ne, ʔoˤʔ-ne*
cottage.cheese:PL-PL
'cottage cheese'

(19a) *ʜuˤli*
fat
'fat'

(19b) *ʜaˤl-me*
fat:PL-PL
'fat'

Table 2 sums up vowel alternation patterns shown in (15) to (19). Pharyngealization-related processes are explained at the end of Section 6.

Table 2. Examples of alternation patterns

SG	$a^ˤ$ (14b)	$a^ˤ$ (15a)	u (16)	u (17a)	$u^ˤ$ (18a)
PL	$u^ˤ$ (14b)	$u^ˤ, o^ˤ$ (15b)	$u^ˤ, o^ˤ$ (16b)	$a^ˤ, u^ˤ, o^ˤ$ (17b)	$a^ˤ$ (18b)

Vowels differ in frequencies. Table 3 shows the vowel structures with a frequency of more than 5 percent in a list of over 390 two-syllable noun roots:

Table 3. Most frequent vowel structures in two-syllable nominal roots

a-a	*a-i*	*u-i*	*u-a*	*u-u*	other
19%	9%	7%	6%	5%	53%

As shown in Table 2, the most frequent structure includes *a*. Single vowel frequencies are as follows: *a* – 38%, *i* – 27%, *u* – 23%, *e* – 6%, $a^ˤ$ – 6%, other vowels less then 2%.

The most phonologically complex phenomenon in Mehweb is pharyngealization. Pharyngealization seems to be associated with radical or uvular consonants, but there are some cases where it is not (cf. (10)–(12)). Pharyngealized vowels typically appear after radical or uvular consonants (e.g. 17-19 a), but sometimes they may precede them (e.g. 17-19 b), or occur both preceding and following them (e.g. 16 a and b). It is not clear whether pharyngealized vowels are better treated as separate units opposed to other, plain vowels, or as a combination of plain vowels with an independent suprasegmental feature.

4. Syllable and word structure

Except in some borrowings, the syllable structure of most words can be described as (C)V(C)(C). In other words, possible syllables are: CV, CVC, CVCC, VC, VCC, and V. If the coda is complex, the first consonant is most frequently either a liquid or a nasal, as in examples (20) and (22). The longest consonant clusters consist of three segments, as in (25), and appear only at morphological boundaries, so that they are divided over two syllables.

(20) *ner?*
louse

(21) *bec'*
wolf

(22) *ims*
moth

(23) *u*
bottom

(24) *qi*
horn

(25) *ims-la*
moth-GEN

In Mehweb, the sonority sequencing principle formulated by (Selkirk 1984)[13] is rarely violated: codas are predominantly sequences of a sonorant and an obstruent. Sequences of sonorants or vowels are not allowed.

Although all native words can be divided into syllables according to the above schemata, no experiments with speakers' judgments on the location of syllable boundaries have been conducted. The two action nominals *w-ilsk'-ri* (M-look:IPFV-NMLZ) and *w-ebk'-ri* (M-die:PFV-NMLZ) are the only examples known so far to show a deviant syllable structure.

Nominal stems can have from one to five syllables (cf. (26)-(30)). Most common are one- or two-syllable roots. Table 4 shows the proportion of one-, two-, three-, four- and five-syllable noun stems, based on a list of over 500 noun entries:

(26) *bec'*
'wolf'

(27) *darša*
'thread'

(28) *urculi*
'wood'

(29) *pušduk'ani*
'sledgehammer'

(30) *urʁaˤdiq'ani*
'tail fat'

Table 4. Distribution of one-, two-, three-, four- and five-syllable noun stems

one-syllable	two-syllable	three-syllable	four-syllable	five-syllable	Total
132	284	65	22	1	504
26%	56%	13%	4%	<1%	100%

Most verbal stems are monosyllabic. Among 150 verbs, only five were disyllabic (cf. (36)); only five in a list of about 150 verbs, some of which are obvious results of fossilization of a formerly complex morphological structure. There are also five irregular verbal stems (cf. (31)-(36)) which, in some word forms, only consist of one consonant or, in the case of 'say' (cf. 32), may be considered to be realized as zero morphs. The vast majority of Mehweb verbs have two stems – perfective and imperfective. It is worth pointing out, all irregular mono-consonant stems are perfective.

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[13] This principle can be formulated as follows: the overall acoustic energy of segments should increase from the beginning of the syllable towards the syllable nucleus, and decrease from the nucleus toward the end of the word. We use a shortened version of the Sonority Hierarchy: obstruents < sonorants < vowels.

(31) *k-ib*	(32) *ib*	(33) *g-ub*
bring.to:PFV-AOR	say:PFV.AOR	see:PFV-AOR
'(s/he) brought (smth to smb)'	's/he said'	's/he saw'

(34) *g-ib*	(35) *χ-ib*	(36) *usaʔʷ-as*
give:PFV-AOR	bring:PFV-AOR	M.sleep:PFV-INF
's/he gave'	's/he brought'	'sleep'

5. Stress

In nearly all multisyllabic forms the stress is on the second syllable of the phonological word. There are however some exceptions and even some accentual minimal pairs.

(37) *bek'á*[14]	(38) *b-ék'-a*	(39) *dužé*	(40) *d-úž-e*
hill	HPL-choose:PFV-IMP.TR	night	NPL-drink:IPFV-IMP
	'choose (them)!'		'drink (it)!'

During derivational processes initially monosyllabic words, when possible, move the stress to the second syllable, as shown in (42)–(44).

(41a) *uq'láha*	(41b) *uq'láha-jni*	(41c) *uq'láha-li-če-r*
window	window-ERG	window-OBL-SUPER-ESS(N.SG)
		'on the window'

(42a) *béč'*	(42b) *beč'-lá*	(42c) *buč'-ré*
head	head-OBL.GEN	head-PL
	'(e.g. part) of a head'	'heads'

(43a) *w-ak'-íb*	(43b) *w-ak'-íša*	(43c) *w-ak'-ás*
M-come:PFV-AOR	M-come:PFV-1/2.FUT	M-come:PFV-FUT
'he came'	'I (male) will come'	'he will come'

(44a) *g-úb*	(44b) *gʷ-išá*	(44c) *gʷ-és*
see:PFV-AOR	see:PFV-1/2.FUT	see:PFV-FUT
'(s)he saw'	'I will see'	'he will see'

There are numerous Arabic borrowings and proper names which are stressed differently:

(45) *amanát*	(46) *paraq'át*	(47) *ʔáˤq'lu*	(48) *másala*
assignment	calm	wit	for.example

A form that goes against the stress-second-syllable generalization is the vocative. A special vocative form only exists for two-syllable stems which denote humans. Below, these forms are treated as a special stress pattern. An acoustic study is however necessary to find out whether this salience should be treated as stress or, alternatively, as a special vocative intonation.

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[14] The nucleus of the stressed syllable is marked by acute.

(49)	*adáj*	(50)	*ádaj*	(51)	*urší*	(52)	*úrši*
	father		father(VOC)		brother		brother(VOC)
	'father'		'father!'		'brother'		'brother!'

Another exception is the optative form: the optative marker is never stressed.

(53)	*lúč'-ab*	(54)	*úrc-ab*
	read:IPFV-OPT		fly:IPFV-OPT
	'if only he would read'		'if only he would fly'

Imperative forms never have the stress in the final position of the phonological (or morphological) word — as in the optative, in the imperative the stem is stressed. Plural forms, however, where the imperative is suffixed with the plural-of-addressee marker *-na*, have the common second stressed pattern.

(55)	*árc-e*	(56)	*arc-é-na*
	fly:PFV-IMP		fly:PFV-IMP-PL
	'fly!'		'fly! (to a group of people)'

Verbal prefixes influence the stress position, as they add initial syllables. In (57b) and (57c), as compared to (57a), after adding a syllable the stress shifts leftwards to the new second syllable position. Example (57d), the only type of structure where two initial syllables are added, shows that the stress, although moving leftwards, may not leave the verbal stem:

(57a)	*b-ik-íb*	(57b)	*ħa-b-ík-ib*
	N-become:PFV-AOR		NEG-N-become:PFV-AOR
	'he became'		'he didn't become'

(57c)	*ar-b-ík-ib*	(57d)	*ar-ħa-b-ík-ib*
	PV-N-become:PFV-AOR		PV-NEG-N-become:PFV-AOR
	'he fell'		'he didn't fall'

6. Some phonological and morphophonological alternations

In Mehweb hiatus is not allowed, and the underlying forms are changed in various ways whenever such configurations arise. If the verb stem is *iC* or *uC*, *i* becomes *j* (as in (58) and (59)) and vowel *u* (*uˤ*, *oˤ*) becomes *w* (as in (60)). Whenever the verbal stem consists of two consonants, the root-initial vowel deletes after the negation marker (as in (61) and (62)).

(58)	*ħajhub /ħa-ih-ub/*	(59)	*ħajgʷan /ħa-igʷ-an/*
	NEG-throw:PFV-AOR		NEG-burn:IPFV-HAB
	'(he) didn't throw'		'(it) doesn't burn'

(60)	*ħawcib /ħa-uc-ib/*
	NEG-M.catch:PFV-AOR
	'(he) didn't catch him'

(61) *ħarcib* /ħa-**u**rc-ib/
NEG-fly:IPFV-AOR
'he didn't fly'

(62) *ħalʔun* /ħa-**e**lʔ-un/
NEG-count:PFV-AOR
'he didn't count'

However, vowels *u* and *o*ˤ, when they are deleted or have become *w*, trigger the labialization of the following consonant or the final consonant of the following consonant cluster (cf. (60)-(61), (63)-(67)). Most labialized consonants that appear as a result of that rule also occur independently in the lexicon (see Section 1), but labialized *z*ʷ appears only as a result of this process.

(63) *ħaˤrχʷib* /ħa-**u**ˤrχ-ib/
NEG-M.stick.in:PFV-AOR
'didn't touch him'

(64) *ħabkʼʷan* /ħa-**u**bkʼ-an/
NEG-M.die:IPFV-HAB
'he doesn't die'

(65) *ħawrib* /ħa-**u**r-ib/
NEG-rain:IPFV-AOR
'it didn't rain'

(66) *ħaˤrχʷib* / ħa-**o**ˤrχ-ib/
NEG-M.stick:IPFV-HAB
'doesn't touch him'

(67) *ħarzʷan* /ħa-**u**rz-an/
NEG-M.praise:IPFV-AOR
'didn't praise him'

The marker of the prohibitive and the negative optative (NEG.VOL) *m*(V)- has an unspecified vowel that, when appearing before CVC or CL-VC roots, assimilates to the vowel of the root:

(68) *m**u**-luč-adi*
NEG.VOL-read:IPFV-PROH
'don't read'

(69) *m**i**-d-icʼ-adi*
NEG.VOL-NPL-thaw:IPFV-PROH
'don't thaw it'

(70) *m**a**-m-aš-adi-na* /mV-b-aš-adi-na/
NEG.VOL-M-walk:IPFV-PROH-PL
'don't go (to several people)'

A class agreement marker *b*- (but not the root -*b*-) assimilates to a NEG.VOL marker *m*V-:

(71) *mi-**d**-ilc-adi*
NEG.VOL-NPL-sell:IPFV-PROH
'don't sell'

(72) *mi-**m**-ilc-adi* /mV-**b**-ilc-adi/
NEG.VOL-N-sell:IPFV-PROH
'don't sell'

(73) *m-i**b**-adi* (*m-i**m**-adi)
NEG.VOL-sew:IPFV-OPT
'don't sew'

There are some assimilations triggered by *l* and involving *n* and *l*. Sequences *nl*V or *ll*V in final position can become *w* or *jj* after *u* (cf. (74)-(75) and (78)-(79)), and *jj* elsewhere (cf. (76) and (77)). There is a correlation between the age of the speaker and the type of alternation in nouns: older speakers tend to use the *w*-variant of the genitive, middle-aged speakers consider both *w*-variants and *jj*-variants as well-formed, and young speakers tend to

use *jj*-variant only. In some forms only the *w*-variant is used (as in the converb morpheme (78)-(79)).

(74) *xunuwa, xunujja /xunul-la/*
female-GEN

(75) *buk'uwa, buk'ujja /buk'un-la/*
shepherd-GEN

(76) *t'ajja /t'al-la/*
pillar-GEN

(77) *šaˤнbajja /šaˤнban-la/*
filbert-GEN

(78) *wik'uwe /w-ik'-ul-le/*
M-come:IPFV-PTCP.CVB
'coming (M)'

(79) *luč'uwe /luč'-ul-le/*
read:IPFV-PTCP.CVB
'reading'

In medial position, sequences *nli* or *lli* become *j* and cause vowel deletion:

(80) *xunujze /xunul-li-ze/*
female-OBL-INTER(LAT)

(81) *buk'ujze /buk'un-li-ze/*
shepherd-OBL-INTER(LAT)

(82) *t'ajze /t'al-li-ze/*
pillar -OBL-INTER(LAT)

(83) *šaˤнbajze /šaˤнban-li-ze/*
filbert-OBL-INTER(LAT)

Sequences *nVl* or *lVl* after *u* show deletion of a medial vowel, and that feeds *nl/ll* alternations mentioned above:

(84a) *huni*
road

(84b) *hujzé /hun-li-ze ← huní-li-ze/*
road-OBL-INTER(LAT)

(84c) *huwá /hun-la ← huní-la/*
road-GEN

When clusters *nVl* or *lVl* follow any other vowel, only an unstressed vowel can be deleted, and this deletion also feeds the *nl/ll/jj* alternation described above - cf. (85)–(88):

(85) *qarč'ájja /qarč'ál-la ← qarč'ála-la/*
shoulder-GEN

(86) *qarč'ájze /qarč'al-li-ze ← qarč'ála-li-ze/*
shoulder-OBL-INTER(LAT)

(87) *balá-la (*bajja)*
wool-GEN

(88) *čaná-la (*čajja)*
sledge-GEN

There are some exceptions to the vowel deletion rule. While (89) shows non-deletion of a stressed vowel, in (90)-(91) the stressed vowel is deleted:

(89) *culála*
tooth-GEN

(90a) *šajjá /šal-la ← šalí-la/*
side-GEN

(90b) *šajzé /šal-li-ze ← šalí-li-ze/*
side-OBL-INTER(LAT)

(91a) *ejjá /el-la ← elí-la/*
child-GEN

(91b) *ejzé /el-li-ze ← elí-li-ze/*
child-OBL-INTER(LAT)

In the word *cula* 'tooth' the vowel between *l_l* is not deleted, although there is a vowel *u* before the *lVl* cluster. In the words *šali* 'side' and *eli* 'child' the vowel deletion rule does apply, although the deleted vowel is stressed.

Finally, *r* can assimilate to *n* and *l* (cf. (93)–(97)), including after applying vowel deletion (cf. (98) and (99)), which then feeds the *r*-assimilation:

(93a) *qarlá, qalla /qar-la/*
sheepskin.coat-GEN

(93b) *qallize /qar-li-ze/*
sheepskin.coat-OBL-INTER(LAT)

(94) *šinná, šinrá /šin-ra/*
water-ADD

(95) *t'ulla, t'ulra /t'ul-ra/*
finger-ADD

(96) *belč'unna /b-elč'-un-ra/*
M-read:PFV-AOR-1/2
'I've read'

(97) *aħinna /aħin-ra/*
COP:NEG-1/2

(98) *batalla /batari-la/*
wing-GEN

(99) *batallize /batari-li-ze/*
wing-OBL-INTER(LAT)

The r-assimilation increases the number of forms to which nl- and ll-mutations could apply. This does not happen, however, so we can postulate that the r-assimilation applies after nl-/ll-mutations (counterfeeding order, see (Kiparsky 1968)):

Table 5. Interaction of *nl-/ll-* mutation rule and *r-* assimilation rule

	/belč'un-ra/	/buk'un-la/
nl- AND *ll*-MUTATION	not applied	*buk'uwa, buk'ujja*
r-ASSIMILATION	*belč'unna*	not applied
	belč'unna	*buk'uwa, buk'ujja*

The rules for vowel deletion between consonants *r, l* or *n* can be generalized as follows:

Vowel deletion rule: V → ∅ / [+cons; +son; DORSAL]_[+cons; +son; DORSAL]

To summarize all the rules discussed above:

Table 6. Interaction of *nl-/ll-* mutation rule and *r-* assimilation rule

	/belč'**un**-**r**a/	/buk'**un**-**l**a/	/batari-**l**a/	/hu**ni**-**l**a/
VOWEL DELETION	not applied	not applied	bata**rl**a	hu**nl**a
nl- AND *ll-*MUTATION	not applied	buk'**uw**a, buk'**ujj**a	not applied	hu**w**a
*r-*ASSIMILATION	belč'u**nn**a	not applied	bata**ll**a	not applied

7. Pharyngealization

I suggest that pharyngealization is a suprasegmental feature of a syllable. Pharyngealization causes centering of vowels and epiglottalization of the consonants *ʔ* and *ħ*:

Table 7. Influence of pharyngeal feature on vowels and consonants

underlying segments	/iˤ/	/eˤ/	/aˤ/	/uˤ/	/ʔˤ/	/ħˤ/
surface segments	[eˤ]	[ɛˤ]	[æˤ]	[uˤ], [oˤ]	[ʡ]	[ʜ]

The evidence that the surface segment *ʡ* and *ʜ* are underlyingly *ʔ* and *ħ* comes not only from the fact that the latter do not co-occur with pharyngealization (except in Avar loanwords – see note 3 above) but also from alternations. As stated above, the glottal stop *ʔ* in intervocalic position is often deleted. Sometimes, the glottal stop appears after a prefix is added to a vowel initial stem. I stipulate that at the underlying level these vowel initial morphemes have the initial glottal stop. I will show below that the pharyngeal feature can spread backward, so in those cases an underlying *ʔ* and *ħ* become epiglottal.

(100a) **u*ʔ*a**ˤ < /*ʔu*ʔ*a*ˤ/
    cottage.cheese
    'cottage cheese'

(100b) *ʡu*ˤ*ʡ-ne* < /*ʔu*ʔ*a*ˤ-ne/
    cottage.cheese:PL-PL
    'cottage cheese (plural)'

(101) **ar-b-u*χ*-ib**
    away-N-take.PFV-AOR
    'took it away'

(102) *ʡa*ˤ*r-d-a*ˤ*q'-un* < /*ʔar-d-a*ˤ*q'-un*/
    away-F-go.PFV.AOR
    'she is gone'

Glottal stops in initial and intervocalic position can be deleted. For examples (100)-(102) we can postulate a glottal stop *ʔ* which becomes *ʡ* in a pharyngealized syllable. In (101) and (102), the underlying representation of the prefix becomes uniform:

Table 8. Pharyngealization of underlying initial glottal stop

	/*ʔar-b-u*χ*-ib*/	/*ʔar-d-a*ˤ*q'-un*/
PHARYNGEALIZATION	not applied	*ʡa*ˤ*r-d-a*ˤ*q'-un*
DELETION OF INITIAL *ʔ*	**ar-b-u*χ*-un**	not applied
	ar-b-u*χ*-un	*ʡa*ˤ*r-d-a*ˤ*q'-un*

Postulating the initial glottal stop *ʔ* and its pharyngealization to *ʕ* seems to be a more natural solution than vice versa, postulating an epiglottal *ʕ* in some word-initial syllables. There is another argument for the *ʔ-to-ʕ* pharyngealization hypothesis. Examples of the sequences of the epiglottal *ʕ* and plain vowels are rare and seem to be detectable Avar borrowings (see note 3 above). This interpretation allows several simplifications in the underlying representation and creates some minimal pairs distinguished by the pharyngeal feature alone:

(103) *ʔe*
       winter

(104) *ʔeˤ < /ʔeˤ/*
       summer

(105) *d-irʔ-an*
       NPL-gather.IPFV-HAB
       'gather them'

(106) *d-irʔ-aˤn < /d-irʔ-aˤn/*
       F-freeze.IPFV-HAB
       'she is freezing'

In (106), the pharyngeal feature is associated with the second syllable of the root; therefore, the ending -*an* becomes pharyngealized.

Evidence for *ħ* becoming *ʜ* in a syllable with the pharyngeal feature is provided by the negation prefix *ħa-* in contexts of the pharyngeal feature spreading backward:

(107) **ħa**-*d-irʔ-an*
       NEG-NPL-gather.IPFV-HAB
       'do not gather them'

(108) **ʜaˤ**-*d-irʔ-aˤn*
       NEG-F-freeze.IPFV-HAB
       'she is freezing'

In nouns, the plural CV-morpheme may delete the stem-final vowel. If the deleted vowel is pharyngealized, pharyngeal feature moves to the previous syllable (109-111):

(109a) *č'uʔaˤ*
        straw
        'straw'

(109b) *č'uˤʔ-ne*
        straw:PL-PL
        'straws'

(110a) *uʔaˤ*
        cottage.cheese
        'cottage cheese'

(110b) *ʔuˤʔ-ne*
        cottage.cheese:PL-PL
        'cottage cheese (plural)'

(111a) *čiqʷaˤ*
        bird
        'bird'

(111b) *čiˤqʷ-ne*
        bird:PL-PL
        'birds'

Pharyngealization rules represent a complex phonological phenomenon that requires further study. I will only summarize its most prominent properties:

1) the pharyngeal feature shows a strong association with postvelar (uvular and glottal) consonants, but appears in some stems without those segments
2) acoustically, it is most visible on vowels adjacent to a postvelar, but may spread backward as far as the verbal prefixes (as in (100), (102), (107) and (108))
3) all vowels can be pharyngealized, but *iˤ* and *eˤ* are extremely rare, and *aˤ* is the most frequent
4) *ʕ* and *ʜ* can be treated as *ʔ* and *ħ* segments in syllables with the pharyngeal feature

8. Conclusion

This paper has explored several phononological characteristics of Mehweb. The principal results are as follows. Most plosives and affricates form three-way oppositions (voiced vs. voiceless vs. ejective). There are epyglottal segments and pharyngealized vowels that can be described as a result of the realization of the suprasegmental pharyngeal feature. The syllable structure if the most native Mehweb words can be described as (C)V(C)(C). Except in some exceptions, nearly all multisyllabic forms have the stress on the second syllable. There are several sound alternations in Mehweb such as vowel deletion, *nl-* and *ll-* mutation rules and *r-* assimilation.

Nominal morphology of Mewheb[15]

Ilya Yu. Chechuro

Abstract: This paper describes the nominal morphology of Mehweb. It deals with the following issues: noun structure, plural formation, the oblique stem, case formation and use, and irregular locatives. In this paper I analyse both the structure and the semantics of these forms.

Keywords: nominal inlfection, case, number, locative

1. Introduction

In this paper, I consider the following aspects of Mehweb grammar:
1) Word structure
2) Formation of plural
3) The oblique stem
4) Grammatical cases
5) Irregular locatives
6) The inflection of place names

2. Noun Structure

Mehweb nouns have three inflectional stems: the nominative, the oblique and the plural. Oblique and plural stems are derived from the nominative stem. Plural stems occur with plural suffixes. The rules of oblique stem formation are described in Section 4.

The paradigm consists of two parts: *grammatical*, or *functional*, cases and *locative forms*. The two types differ in their morphology: functional cases consist of one inflectional morpheme; locative forms include two inflectional slots: *localization* (LOC) and *orientation* (OR). There is also a number of forms that can be analyzed as former locatives but synchronically are monomorphemic. These are: comitative/instrumental, substitutive, replicative. Figure 1 describes the formation of plural and oblique stems:
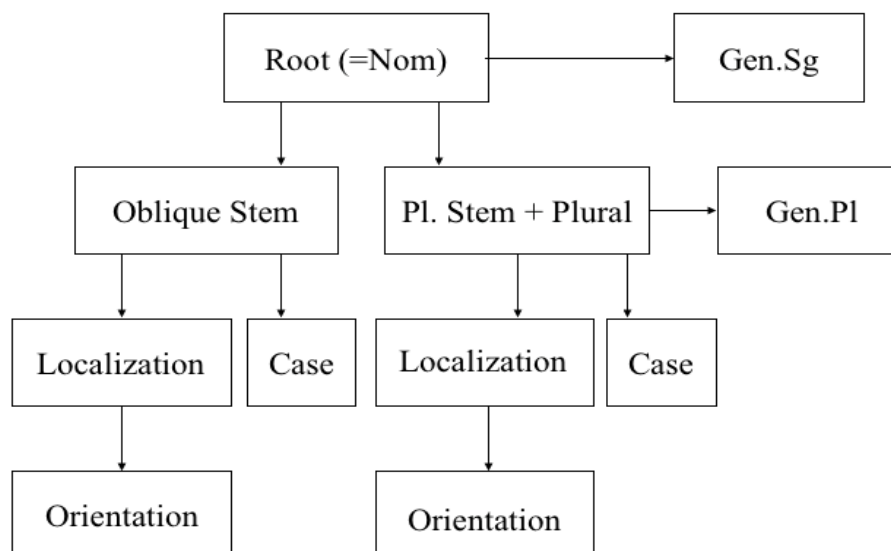
Figure 1. Plural and Oblique Stem Formation

Or, in a tabular form:

Table 1. Possible Noun Forms

STEM	SLOT 1	SLOT 2
Nominative STEM	(NOM)	
Nominative STEM	GEN	
Oblique STEM	DAT/ERG/COMIT(=INSTR)/REPL/SUBST	
Oblique STEM	LOC	OR
Plural STEM+PL	(NOM)	
Plural STEM+PL	DAT/GEN/ERG/COMIT	
Plural STEM+PL	LOC	OR

3. Plural

The description of plural formation in this chapter is based on wordlists presented in Magometov (1982) and lexical data collected by George Moroz during the 2013–2016 fieldtrips (Moroz MS).

The category of number distinguishes three values: singular, plural, and associative. Singular is not marked. Plural is marked with the following suffixes: *-t, -be, -me, -ne, -e, -le, -he, -re, -še, -nube, -tune, -urbe, -lume*. The associative plural suffix is *-qale*.

The suffixes *-t, -be, -me, -ne, -e* are frequent. The suffixes *-le, -he, -re, -še, -nube, -tune, -urbe,* and *-lume* are limited to small classes of nominal stems.

The choice of the plural suffix is lexical. In most cases, it cannot be predicted from either the formal properties of the stem or from the semantics of the noun. The plural stem formation is not always predictable either.

On the other hand, each plural suffix has some constraints on the phonotactic structure of the stem. There are different rules of plural stem formation for different affixes, which, however, involve partially similar patterns. An almost universal process is the final vowel syncope, which happens in all stems except for monosyllabic words and borrowings. Other processes may be frequent, but none of them is universal.

3.1. The Plural Suffix *-t*

The plural suffix *-t* is one of the most productive. With this suffix, the stem undergoes the following changes:

1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped. The [a] of the penultimate syllable changes to [u][16]. The rule does not apply to borrowed stems.
2) If a stem ends in a sonorant or [b], including after (1) is applied, the plural suffix *-t* can be attached directly to it.
3) If a stem is borrowed (or contains a borrowed morpheme), the plural stem is formed by attaching the morpheme *-r-*.
4) The word *uqna* 'old man' forms the plural stem by attaching -r- even though it is not borrowed.

Informally, these requirements can be described as follows: the suffix *-t* is attached after sonorants.

Table 2 illustrates vowel drop and vowel change (Rule 1):

Table 2. Rule 1

Translation	Sg	Pl
'a piece of firewood'	*urculi*	*urcul-t*
'broom'	*bu'škala*	*buškul-t*
'flue'	*zamari*	*zamur-t*
'border'	*durʔaˤri*	*durʔoˤr-t*
'mountain'	*dubura*	*dubur-t*
'sunny hillside'	*burhala*	*burhul-t*

Table 3 illustrates the second rule:

Table 3. Rule 2

Translation	Sg	Pl
'blacksmith'	*ustar*	*ustar-t*
'spoon'	*k'uc'ul*	*k'uc'ul-t*
'bridle'	*hurhur*	*hurhur-t*
'horse'	*ʔaˤbul*	*ʔaˤbul-t*
'a piece of dry dung'	*kupar*	*kupar-t*
'cauldron'	*qazam*	*qazam-t*
'sack'	*halban*	*halban-t*
'hand mill'	*ulχab*	*ulχab-t*
'waterfall'	*rurqaˤni*	*rurqoˤn-t*
'fairytale'	*χabar*	*χabar-t*
'dream'	*muʔer*	*muʔer-t*

Table 4 shows how the *-t* suffix interacts with borrowed stems ending with a vowel. The vowel drop does not apply here:

---

[16] If a vowel is pharyngealyzed, it changes into [oˤ], the phonetic realization of /uˤ/.

Table 4. Rules 3 and 4

Translation	Sg	Pl	Source
'reaper'	*irχˤanči*	*irχˤanči-r-t*	Turkic suffix –*či*
'hunter'	*awči*	*awči-r-t*	Turkic *avči* 'hunter'
'old man'	*uqna*	*b-uqna-r-t*[17]	
'time'	*zamana*	*zamana-r-t*	Arabic *zamaːn* 'time'
'sign'	*išara*	*išara-r-t*	Arabic *ʔiišara* 'sign'
'mine'	*šaxta*	*šaxta-r-t*	Russian *šaxta* (шахта) 'mine'
'car'	*mašina*	*mašina-r-t*	Russian *mašina* (машина) 'car'
'oppression'	*zulmu*	*zulmu-r-t*	Arabic *ðulm* 'injustice'
'carriage'	*ʔaˤraba*	*ʔaˤraba-r-t*	Arabic *ʕaraba* 'car'

Borrowed stems that end in a sonorant attach the *-t* suffix directly:

Table 5. Borrowed stems that attach the suffix -t directly

Translation	Sg	Pl
'sugar'	*čakar*	*čakar-t*
'sheet of paper'	*kaʁar*	*kaʁar-t*
'city'	*šahar*	*šahar-t*
'a bar of soap'	*sapun*	*sapun-t*
'person'	*insan*	*insan-t*
'cure'	*darman*	*darman-t*
'regent'	*ħakim*	*ħakim-t*
'agronomist'	*agranum*	*agranum-t*
'mem'ber'	*čilen*	*čilen-t*
'table'	*ustul*	*ustul-t*
'sack'	*čantaj*	*čantaj-t*

The plural suffix *-t* also forms plurals of the words that denote inhabitants of Mehweb and neighbouring villages. In (Magometov 1982) this use of the suffix *-t* is described as a separate suffix *-n-t*. However, such forms as *meħʷa-n* 'a Mehweb person', *surʁatla-n* 'a Sogratl' person' suggest that *-n* is a NMLZ suffix, and, therefore, not a part of the plural morpheme (See Table 38).

3.2. The Plural Suffix –*ne*

With the suffix *-ne*, the stem undergoes the following change:
1) If a stem ends with a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
2) One-syllable words form the plural stem by attaching the morpheme *-a-*.
3) If the stem has two or more syllables and ends in a consonant, including after (1) has been applied, the plural stem is derived by attaching the morpheme *-u-*.
   Table 6 illustrates the first rule:

---

[17] The word *uqna* also contains a class marker, which expressed the number and the gender of this word. Thus, in the singular the marker is 'masculine singular' *w-* (dropped before the [u] of the stem), while in the plural the 'human plural' marker *b-* occurs. Several other nouns in Mehweb and other Dargwa dialects also include a class marker.

Table 6. Rule 1

Translation	Sg	Pl
'axe'	*barda*	*bard-ne*
'spring'	*derga*	*derg-ne*
'dew'	*marka*	*mark-ne*
'honey'	*warʔa*	*warʔ-ne*
'stain'	*tˤabʁa*	*tˤabʁ-ne*
'pile'	*bek'a*	*bek'-ne*
'mosquito'	*k'ara*	*k'ar-ne*
'place'	*musa*	*mus-ne*
'cover'	*q'ap'a*	*q'ap'-ne*
'mouse'	*waca*	*wac-ne*
'voice'	*t'ama*	*t'am-ne*
'bird'	*čiqʷa*	*čiqʷ-ne*
'hedgehog'	*satkʷa*	*satkʷ-ne*

Table 7 illustrates the mechanism of the plural formation of one-syllable stems attaching the suffix *-ne* (2):

Table 7. Rule 2

Translation	Sg	Pl
'load'	*deχ*	*deχ-a-ne*
'herd'	*ħanq*	*ħanq-a-ne*
'manure'	*dekʷ*	*dekʷ-a-ne*
'wedge'	*č'ut'*	*č'ut'-a-ne*
'fist'	*χunk'*	*χunk'-a-ne*
'pupil (of the eye)'	*nur*	*nur-a-ne*
'place'	*merʔ*	*merʔ-a-ne*
'liver'	*k'ac'*	*k'ac'-a-ne*
'lightning'	*parx*	*parx-a-ne*
'shelter (of branches)'	*paž*	*paž-a-ne*
'yoke'	*duk'*	*duk'-a-ne*
'strut'	*t'al*	*t'al-a-ne*
'month'	*baz*	*baz-a-ne*
'drop', 'point'	*t'ank'*	*t'ank'-a-ne*

Table 8 illustrates (3):

Table 8. Rule 3

Translation	Sg	Pl
'scythe'	*č'inik'*	*č'inik'-u-ne*
'shock/stook'	*bizaq'*	*bizaq'-u-ne*
'chain'	*raχas*	*raχas-u-ne*
'kidney'	*urcec*	*urcec-u-ne*
'ploughshare'	*uʔab*	*uʔab-u-ne*
'glue'	*luʔmes*	*luʔmes-u-ne*
'trousers'	*waχčag*	*waχčag-u-ne*
'fork'	*χinč'ult'*	*χinč'ult'-u-ne*
'metal tray'	*sarʁas*	*sarʁas-u-ne*
'needle'	*bureba*	*bureb-u-ne*
'corpse'	*žanaza*	*žanaz-u-ne*
'pound'	*qilawka*	*qilawk-u-ne*
'alms'	*sadaq'a*	*sadaq'-u-ne*
'swallow'	*určuti*	*určut-u-ne*
'nose'	*šumšut'i*	*šumšut'-u-ne*
'whirligig'	*c'alači*	*c'alač-u-ne*
'jug'	*burbut'i*	*burbut'-u-ne*
'button'	*mičawi*	*mičaw-u-ne*

Rule 3 has one exception: the plural stem of the word *ʁamas* 'box' is formed by dropping the last vowel:

Table 9. Exception (Rule 1)

Translation	Sg	Pl
'box'	*ʁamas*	*ʁams-ne*

The nouns given in Table 10 undergo haplology:

Table 10. Haplology

Translation	Sg	Pl
'omelet'	*xajqane*	*xajq-u-ne*
'moustache'	*sersit'ane*	*sersit'-u-ne*
'lizard'	*šuršut'ani*	*šuršut'-u-ne*
'fat tail'	*urʁadiqaˤni*	*urʁadiq-uˤ-ne*
'bellows'	*pušduk'ani*	*pušduk'-u-ne*

The haplology here applies to the VR syllables next to each other: when after a derivation there are two VR syllables with the same R next to each other, the first is dropped, e.g. *urʁadiqaˤn-u-ne → urʁadiq-uˤ-ne*[18].

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[18] (Magometov 1982) does not treat these cases as haplology. He analyses the forms *xajq-u-ne* and *sersit'une* as follows: "There are cases, even though they are rare, when a word ending with *-e* in the plural differs [from singular] only by a vowel change in the stem. This vowel change, therefore, acquires a morphological meaning".

These words can also be analysed as attaching the suffix *-e* after dropping the final vowel. But the suffix *-e* prefers one-syllable stems, so that the analysis provided above is more accurate.

Several words form plural stems by changing the vowel in the first syllable (which is also the penultimate) into *-u-*:

Table 11. Vowel change in the root

Translation	Sg	Pl
'measure for grains'	*barxa*	*burx-ne*
'stomach'	*ʁaga*	*ʁug-ne*
'frog'	*ʔaˤtʼa*	*ʔoˤtʼ-ne*

3.3. The Plural Suffix *-tune*

The words *qašqar* 'a bald man', *wakil* 'lawyer', *arab* 'Arab' and *sabab* 'reason' attach the plural suffix *-tune*. Diachronically, these words employed the suffix *-t(e) -* the same words employ the plural suffix *-te* in other Dargwa dialects, e.g. in Kubachi. Presumably, this plural marking was then doubled by *-ne,* which required the plural stem marker *-u*. Together, these suffixes formed the structure *-tune,* which is synchronically monomorphemic:

Table 12. The plural suffix *-tune*

Translation	Mehweb Sg	Mehweb Pl	Kubachi Sg	Kubachi Pl
'bald'	*qašqar*	*qašqar-tune*	*qˤaˤšqˤaˤr*	*qˤaˤšqˤaˤr-te*
'lawyer'	*wakil*	*wakil-tune*	*wakil*	*wakil-te*
'arab'	*arab*	*arab-tune*	*warab*	*warab-te*
'reason'	*sabab*	*sabab-tune*	*sabab*	*sabab-te*

3.4. The Plural Suffix *-be*

With the suffix *-be*, the stem undergoes the following change:
1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
2) After dropping the final vowel, originally two-syllable words (mostly) with [a] in the first syllable often add *-u-* to form their plural stems.
   Table 13 illustrates (1):

Table 13. Rule 1

Translation	Sg	Pl
'bear'	*sinka*	*sink-be*
'crust'	*wankʼa*	*wankʼ-be*
'tooth'	*cula*	*cul-be*
'mill'	*šinqʼa*	*šinqʼ-be*

Table 14 illustrates (2):

Table 14. Rule 2

Translation	Sg	Pl
'leg'	*daga*	*dag-u-be*
'heel'	*qaˤč'a*	*qaˤč'-u-be*
'bone'	*liga*	*lig-u-be*
'sledge'	*čana*	*čan-u-be*
'stone'	*ʁarʁa*	*ʁarʁ-u-be*
'cheek'	*laˤži*	*laˤž-u-be*
'spike'	*canzi*	*canz-u-be*
'cradle'	*kʷahni*	*kʷahn-u-be*

Note that *liga* 'bone' also forms the plural stem by attaching *-u-* even though the first syllable is not an [a].

Several nouns form their plural stems by changing the root vowel to [u]. All of these words either have [e] in this syllable or contain a labial or labialized consonant:

Table 15. Vowel change in the root

Translation	Sg	Pl
'melted butter'	*nerx*	*nurx-be*
'cricket'	*c'erc'*	*c'urc'-be*
'tear'	*nerʁ*	*nurʁ-be*
'eyebrow'	*ned*	*nud-be*
'boar'	*t'erħ*	*t'urħ-be*
'armful'	*kʷec'*	*kuc'-be*
'lip'	*kʼʷet'*	*k'ut'-be*
'peach'	*qʼʷarč*	*q'urč-be*
'cattle-shed'	*derqʷ*	*durq-be*

The following assimilation occurs in the stems ending with [n]: /n+be/ → [mbe]:

Table 16. /n+be/ → [mbe]

Translation	Sg	Pl
'stall'	*t'eni*	*t'um-be*
'cooker'	*wana*	*wum-be*

If a stem ends with a labialized consonant, this consonant is delabialized:

Table 17. Delabialization

Translation	Sg	Pl
'cattle-shed'	*derqʷ*	*durq-be*

3.5. The Plural Suffixes *-nube* and *-urbe*

The plural suffixe *-nube* forms plurals of five lexemes. The plural suffix *-urbe* forms plurals four lexemes. They are similar to the *-tune* suffix in that the suffix maybe analyzed as *-ne* or *-re* to which another plural suffix *-be* was added. The *-u-* of the suffixes *-nube* and *-urbe* may be

considered the plural stem marker. Synchronically, *-nube* and *-urbe* are monomorphemic suffixes with a very limited lexical distribution:

Table 18. The plural suffixes *-nube* and *-urbe*

Translation	Sg	Pl
'thief'	*curku*	*curk-nube*
'small stone'	*ħarħa*	*ħarħ-nube*
'belt'	*irʔi*	*irʔ-nube*
'onion'	*šerši*	*šerš-nube*
'burned clay'	*t'arħa*	*t'arħ-nube*
'door'	*unza*	*unz-urbe*
'swamp'	*šinʔa*	*šinʔ-urbe*
'grapes'	*t'ut'i*	*t'ut'-urbe*
'wheat'	*anč'e*	*anč'-urbe*

3.6. The Plural Suffix *-me*

1) One-syllable words with CV structure usually attach the suffix *-me*.

Table 19. Rule 1

Translation	Sg	Pl
'fire'	*c'a*	*c'a-me*
'nit'	*q'i*	*q'i-me*
'horn'	*qi*	*qi-me*
'village'	*ši*	*ši-me*
'oath'	*qʷe*	*qʷe-me*
'blood'	*ħi*	*ħi-me*
'name'	*ʔu*	*ʔu-me*

2) If a stem consisting of two or more syllables ends with a vowel, this vowel is dropped:

Table 20. Rule 2

Translation	Sg	Pl
'turnip'	*q'aħa*	*q'aħ-me*
'(female) goat'	*q'aˤca*	*q'ˤaˤc-me*
'bolter'	*ʔula*	*ʔul-me*
'(male) sheep'	*kʷiha*	*kʷih-me*
'light'	*šala*	*šal-me*
'cliff'	*šuri*	*sur-me*
'scythe'	*čuri*	*čur-me*
'the bottom of a dress'	*suri*	*sur-me*

Some nouns form plural stems by attaching *-u-* after dropping the last vowel. All of them contain a [u] or a labial/labialized consonant. One may notice that in most cases, after the final vowel drop has been applied, [u] is inserted to avoid a consonant cluster". There is,

however, no consonant cluster in *uq'lah-u-me* (cf. *kʷih-me* 'sheep, PL'). Note that the Russian loanword *bidra* 'bucket' also belongs to this group.

Table 21. Plural stem formation by attaching *-u-*

Translation	Sg	Pl
'spoon'	*q'usla*	*q'usl-u-me*
'bullet'	*gulla*	*gull-u-me*
'bucket'	*bidra*	*bidr-u-me*
'window'	*uq'laha*	*uq'lah-u-me*
'shroud'	*bišri*	*bišr-u-me*
'thought'	*pikri*	*pikr-u-me*
'jewel'	*laˤwlu*	*laˤwl-u-me*
'mind'	*waq'lu*	*waq'l-u-me*

The words *laˤwlu* and *waq'lu* are also analyzed as dropping their last vowel and then attaching *-u-*:

laˤwlu →laˤwlu + me → laˤwl + me → laˤwl + -u- + -me → laˤwl-u-me

Under this analysis, the [u] in the plural form is not the same [u] as in singular.

3.7. The Plural Suffix *-lume*

The following words form the plural with the suffix *-lume*, which historically seems to be the plural suffix *-le* combined with the plural stem morpheme *-u* and the plural suffix *-me*:

Table 22. The plural suffix *-lume*

Translation	Sg	Pl
'garden'	*baxča*	*baxč-lume*
'corner'	*murʔa*	*murʔ-lume*
'shadow'	*daˤxc'i*	*daˤxc'-lume*
'ceiling'	*burxa*	*burx-lume*

3.8. The Plural Suffix *-e*

Rules for forming the plural stem:
1) The suffix *-e* attaches to one-syllable stems.
2) If a stem ends with a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
3) If a stem consists of more than one syllable, all the vowels, except for the first, undergo syncope.

The plural suffix *-e* can be attached directly to CVC(C) stems:

Table 23. Rule 1

Translation	Sg	Pl
'root'	*maqʷ*	*maqʷ-e*
'nut'	*xihʷ*	*xihʷ-e*
'finger'	*t'ul*	*t'ul-e*
'bread'	*t'ult'*	*t'ult'-e*
'bull'	*unc*	*unc-e*
'gut'	*rud*	*rud-e*
'khinkal'	*χinč'*	*χinč'-e*
'hand'	*naˤʁ*	*noˤʁ-e*

Table 24 illustrates (2):

Table 24. Rule 2

Translation	Sg	Pl
'horse'	*urči*	*urč-e*
'bee'	*mirqi*	*mirq-e*
'nettle'	*nizbi*	*nizb-e*
'ear'	*lugi*	*lug-e*
'sparkle'	*purχi*	*purχ-e*

Table 25 illustrates the vowel syncope described in (3):

Table 25. Rule 3

Translation	Sg	Pl
'worm'	*muleʁ*	*mulʁ-e*
'helminth'	*šulek*	*šulk-e*
'bull-calf'	*k'umeš*	*k'umš-e*
'toe'	*gubul*	*gubl-e*
'plank'	*ulq'uli*	*ulq'l-e*
'white (of an egg)'	*šuhari*	*šuhr-e*
'egg'	*žigari*	*žigr-e*

3.9. The Plural Suffix *-re*

This suffix has a limited lexical distribution. the rules of forming the plural stem using *-re* are similar to the rules of other "C*e*" suffixes (see also 3.4):

1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
2) One-syllable stems tend to form their plural stems by changing the vowel into [u]. Since I do not have any data concerning words consisting of more than one syllable after dropping the last vowel, I cannot say whether they do or do not undergo this vowel change.

The suffix *-re* prefers one-syllable words and two-syllable stems ending with [i].

Table 26 illustrates (1):

Table 26. Rule 1

Translation	Sg	Pl
'leaf'	*k'ap'i*	*k'ap'-re*
'cross-beam'	*duk'i*	*duk'-re*
'mouth'	*dubi*	*dub-re*
'nipple'	*ut'i*	*ut'-re*

Table 27 illustrates (2):

Table 27. Rule 2

Translation	Sg	Pl
'fly'	t'ant'	t'unt'-re
'fish'	k'as	k'us-re
'pocket'	č'ep	č'up-re
'paw'	k'ʷac	k'ʷuc-re

However, there are exceptions to rule number two. There are stems that contain [a] but do not undergo the vowel change:

Table 28. Exceptions (Rule 2)

Translation	Sg	Pl
'neck'	qaˤb	qaˤb-re
'manure'	qʷa	qʷa-re

The [r] in the suffix *-re* can assimilate to [l]:

Table 29. Assimilation /r/ → /l/

Translation	Sg	Pl
'house'	*qali*	*qul-le/qul-re*

3.10. The Plural Suffix *-le*

The plural suffix *-le* only occurs with four nouns. If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped. The vowel of the stem always changes into [u]:

Table 30. The plural suffix *-le*

Translation	Sg	Pl
'body'	*čarx*	*čurx-le*
'handle'	*arʔ*	*urʔ-le*
'worm'	*serhʷ*	*surhʷ-le*
'rope'	*ʁʷaˤrʁoˤ*	*ʁʷoˤrʁ-le*

3.11. The Plural Suffixes *-he* and *-še*

The suffix *-he* occurs with two nouns. Both have irregular plural stems, so the plural formation may be considered to be a weak form of suppletion:

Table 31. The plural suffix *-he*

Translation	Sg	Pl
'woman'	*xunul*	*xu-he*
'dog'	*χʷe*	*χur-he*

The plural suffix *-še* occurs with one noun, *qu* 'field':

Table 32. The plural suffix *-še*

Translation	Sg	Pl
'field'	*qu*	*qu-še*

3.12. The Associative Plural Suffix *-qale*

The plural suffix *-qale* is most probably the result of grammaticalization of the noun *qali* 'house'. In the case of Mehweb, this covers the so-called associative plural meaning 'X and his or her family' (in spontaneous texts also 'X and those with him/her', 'X and his/her group'). For Tanti Dargwa, Lander (Lander 2008) observes that the suffix *-qale* has developed a regular plural meaning. This evolution that is not reported for standard Dargwa. In Mehweb Dargwa, regular plural uses of *-qale* is attested on nouns for 'mother' and 'father'; for 'grandmother' and probably 'grandfather' both regular and associative plural reading is attested. Table 30 illustrates the use of this suffix:

Table 33. The plural suffix *-qale*

Translation	Sg	Pl	Translation
'mom'	*abaj*	*abaj-qale*	mums
'dad'	*adaj*	*adaj-qale*	dads
'grandma'	*baba*	*baba-qale*	grandmas *or* grandma and her family
'grandpa'	*dat̄a*	*dat̄a-qale*	grandpas *or* grandpa and his family
'Abakar (man's name)'	*Abakar*	*Abakar-qale*	Abakar and his family / his group

4. Oblique Stem

The genitive case morpheme attaches directly to the nominative stem, while other cases require an oblique stem. In the plural, all cases suffixes attach directly to the plural marker.

The oblique stem marker has 3 allomorphs: *-li*, *-j*, and *-i*. The *-li* marker is the default way to form an oblique stem and is applicable to almost any stem.

The marker *-i* occurs after consonants. In some words, both *-li* and *-i* are attested. The ability to attach both suffixes seems to be a lexically distributed:

(1) *muħammad-li-ni*   *muħammad-i-ni*
     Muhammad-OBL-ERG   Muhammad-OBL-ERG

The oblique stem marker *-li* may undergo *-li* → *-j* assimilation. The process is not obligatory, so that the oblique stem of the same word can also be formed with the regular suffix *-li*. Table 34 contains endings that license this assimilation. The first column shows the vowel preceding the last consonant. The second column shows the consonant and the vowel that can follow it:

Table 34. Possible stem endings for the *-li* → *-j* assimilation.

Second last syllable	Last syllable
a	*l/li/la/n/ni*
i	*l/li/la/n/ni*
oˤ	*l/li/la*
u	*l/n*

Example (2) illustrates the *-li* → *-j* assimilation:

(2) *rasul*   *rasuj-ni*
     Rasul   Rasul.OBL-ERG

As explained above, the oblique stem in (2) can also be formed with *-li*. See more on this assimilation in (Moroz, this volume).

5. Case System

The nominal paradigm of Mehweb Dargwa consists of two parts: *grammatical*, or *functional*, cases and *locative forms*. The two types differ in their morphology: functional cases consist of one inflectional morpheme; locative forms include one or two inflectional slots. The first morpheme of a locative form denotes the localization: an area of space where an object is located with respects to a landmark. The second morpheme within a locative marker denotes the orientation: the way the objects moves with respects to the area denoted by the localization. The core function of locative forms is to describe spatial relations between an trajector (figure) and a landmark (ground) (Langacker 1987). Functional cases are primarily used to express grammatical relations. However, in various Northeast Caucasian languages, both types (of cases) can be used in abstract as well as spatial contexts (Kibrik 2002). In Mehweb functional cases do not have any spatial uses but spatial cases do have grammatical uses.

The structure of the paradigm is shown in the two tables below. Table 35 shows functional cases, and Table 36 shows locative forms. Mehweb has five localization markers and five orientation markers. Table 36 shows the core meanings of each localization and orientation.

Table 35. Mehweb functional cases

CASE	Sg	Pl
NOM	ø	(Plural form)
ERG	-OBL-*ø/ni/iʔni/ini/ijni*	-Pl-*li/ni/iʔni/ini/ijni*
DAT	-OBL-*s*	-Pl-*s*
GEN	-*la/wa/jja*	-Pl-*la*
COMITATIVE	-OBL-*ču*	-Pl-*ču*
CAUSAL	-OBL-*čeble*	-Pl-*čeble*
SUBSTITUTIVE	-OBL-*čemadal*	-Pl-*čemadal*
REPLICATIVE	-OBL-*sum*	-Pl-*sum*

Table 36. Mehweb locative paradigm

Meaning	LAT 'to the area denoted by the localization'	ESS 'no movement'	ELAT 'away from the area denoted by the localization'	TRANS 'through the area denoted by the localization'	ALL 'in the direction of the area denoted by the localization'
SUPER **'on'**	*če*	*če*-CL	*če-la* *če*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*če-di*	*če-baˤʜ*
IN **'in a container'**	*ħe* *ø*	*ħe*-CL *ø*-CL	*ħe-la* *ħe*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)* *ø-la* *ø*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*ħe-di* *ø-di*	*ħe-baˤʜ* *ø-baˤʜ*
INTER **'in a substance'**	*ze*	*ze*-CL	*ze-la* *ze*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*ze-di*	*ze-baˤʜ*
AD **'near'**	*šu*	*šu*-CL	*šu-la* *šu*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*šu-di*	*šu-baˤʜ*
APUD **'in the functional area of a landmark'**	*ʔeˤ*	*ʔeˤ*-CL	*ʔeˤ-la* *ʔeˤ*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*ʔeˤ-di*	*ʔeˤ-baˤʜ*

5.1. Nominative

The nominative case marks the S of an intransitive verb and the P of a transitive verb:

(3) *ʔaˤli*   *w-ak'-ib*
     Ali(NOM)   M-come.PFV-AOR
     'Ali came.'

(4) *adaj-ni*　*mašinka-li-ni*　*muc'ur*　*b-erč-ur*
father-ERG　hair.cutter-OBL-ERG　beard(NOM)　N-cut.hair.PFV-AOR
'The father cut his beard with a hair cutter.'

Nominative is also used when addressing someone:

(5) *baba*　*nab*　*inc'ul*　*uk-es*　*ħa-d-ig-an*
granny　I.DAT　redundant　M.eat.PFV-INF　NEG-NPL-want.IPFV-PRS
'Granny, I don't want to eat anymore.'

Nominative is also used in constructions like (6):

(6) *χʷeli-če-la*　*ažda*　*b-uh-ub*
dog.OBL-SUPER-ELAT　crocodile　N-become.PFV-AOR
'The dog has become a crocodile.'

5.2. Ergative

Ergative marks the A of a transitive verb and the instrument:

(7) *adaj-ni*　*mašinka-li-ni*　*muc'ur*　*b-erč-ur*
father-ERG　hair.cutter-OBL-ERG　beard(NOM)　N-cut.hair.PFV-AOR
'The father cut his beard with a hair cutter.'

Ergative also marks periods of time:

(8) *kʷʷi-jal* *saʔaˤt-li-ni*　*rasul*　*ħule*　*w-ilz-uwe*　*le-w-re*　*ši-la*
two-ORD　hour-OBL-ERG　Rasul(NOM)　look　M-LV.IPFV-CVB　be-M-PST　village-GEN
surt.me-če
picture.PL-SUPER(LAT)
'Rasul has been looking at the photos of his village for two hours.'

5.3. Genitive

The genitive case marker is *-la*. It can undergo the following assimilation processes:
1) when attached to words ending in [ul], the marker can change into *-wa*: e.g. *rasul* 'Rasul' — *rasu-wa* 'Rasul-GEN';
2) when attached to words ending in [Vl], the marker can be change into *-jja*: *rasul* 'Rasul' — *rasu-jja* 'Rasul-GEN'. It is the only case when [jj] occurs in Mewheb.
3) when attached to words ending in [ala], the suffix *-la* can undergo haplology: the genitive form of *č'imič'ala* 'eyelash' can be either *č'imič'ala-la* or *č'imič'a-la*.
　　The genitive morpheme of place names is *-aja*, the *-la* form of the same words is elative:

Table 37. The Genitive of Place Names.

Placename	Translation	Genitive	Elative
meħʷe	Mehweb	*meħʷ-aja*	*meħʷe-la*
surʁatli	Sogratl'	*surʁatl-aja*	*surʁatli-la*
haˤnnuqara	Keger	*haˤnnuqar-aja*	*haˤnnuqara-la*
žixatli	Rugudzha	*žixatl-aja*	*žixatli-la*

The main function of the genitive case is to mark a noun which is dependent on another noun (possessive construction):

(9) *rasuj-ni*   *ar-d-uk-ib*   *muħammad-la*   *kʷih.me*
     rasul.OBL-ERG   away-NPL-lead.PFV-AOR   Muhammad-GEN   sheep.PL
     'Rasul took Muhammad's sheep.'

In possessive predication, the possessor genitive is "free" in that it does not make one constituent with the possessum.

(10) *nuša-la*   *d-iq'-an*   *qulle*   *ʁarʁu-be-la*
     we-GEN   NPL-do.IPFV-PRS   house.PL   stone-PL-GEN
     'In our village, they build houses of stones.'

In predicative possessive construction, Mehweb distinguishes two types of possessors: locative possessor and genitive possessor. Locative possession is only possible in predicative constructions, while genitive possession can both be adnominal and predicative. The semantical difference between the two is that the locative possessor simply keeps an object by herself even though it may belong to someone else, while the genitive possessor actually possesses an object, i.e. it belongs to her:

(11) *muħammad-la*   *kʷih.me*
     Muhammad-GEN   sheep.PL
     'Muhammad's sheep (PL)'

(12) *musa-la*   *qali*   *le-b*
     Musa-GEN   house   be-N
     'Musa has got a house.'

(13) *rasuj-ʑe-b*   *di-la* *dis*   *le-b*
     Rasul.OBL-INTER-N(ESS) I-GEN knife   be-N
     'Rasul has got my knife.'

This difference does not apply to adnominal possessive constructions, where the possessor is always marked by genitive. It is impossible to use the localization INTER in an adnominal possessive construction:

(14) * *rasuj-ʑe-b*   *di-la*   *dis*
         Rasul.OBL-INTER-N(ESS) I-GEN   knife
         'My knife that Rasul has got.'

5.4. Dative

The dative case marker is *-s*. It attaches to the oblique stem. Its basic function is to mark the recipient in a 'give' construction:

(15) *abaj-ni*   *gi-b*   *sadaq'ači-li-s*   *t'ult'*
     mother-ERG   give.PFV-AOR   pauper-OBL-DAT   bread
     'Mother gave bread to a pauper.'

Dative also marks benefactive and several other closely related roles:

(16) *har   duže   rasuj-ni   dursi-li-s   χabar-t   luč'-ib*
every   night   Rasul.OBL-ERG   girl-OBL-DAT   story-PL   read.IPFV-PST
'Every night Rasul read a story to his daughter.'

(17) *nuša-jni   qali   b-aq'-ib-i   rasuj-s*
we-ERG   house   N-do.PFV-AOR-ADJ   Rasul.OBL-DAT
'We built a house for Rasul.'

The two types of predicative possession described in Section 5.2 are paralleled by different strategies for encoding the recipient of an object, as shown in (18). The two types of transmission are encoded by dative vs. spatial form. If the rights of possession are transmitted together with the object, the recipient is encoded with the dative case. If they are not transmitted, the recipient is marked with *-ze* INTER(LAT):

(18) *rasuj-ni   gi-b   muħammadi-ze   dis*
Rasul.OBL-ERG   give.PFV-AOR   Muhammad.OBL-INTER(LAT)   knife
'Rasul lent a knife to Muhammad.'

Mehweb has two types of experiential verbs that have different case frames: [experiencer = INTER(LAT), stimulus = NOM] and [experiencer = DAT, stimulus = NOM]. The dative possessor is only possible with the verb *biges* 'love/want' and complex predicates:

(19) *ħu   nab   eba   uh-ub*
you   I.DAT   boring   M.become.PFV-PST
'You bored me.'

(20) *nu   ħad   eba   uh-ub*
I   you.DAT   boring   M.become.PFV-PST
'I bored you.'

(21) *jusupi-s   d-ig-uwe   le-r   pat'imat*
Jusup.OBL-DAT   F2-want-CVB   be-F   Patimat
'Jusup loves Patimat.'

5.5. Comitative

There is a special case form for the participant who performs an action together with the agent:

(22) *rasul   urʁes   w-ik-ib   muħammad.i-ču*
Rasul   fight.IPFV-INF   M-LV.PFV-AOR   Muhammad.OBL-COMIT
'Rasul fought together with Muhammad.'

This case also marks the role of an instrument and the role of a consumable substances:

(23) *rasuj-ni*   *ulq'uli*   *rasdisi-ču*   *b-elk-un*
    Rasul.OBL-ERG   plank   saw.OBL-COMIT   N-cut.PFV-AOR
    'Rasul sawed the plank with a saw.'

(24) *rasuj-ni*   *ħi*   *šin-ču*   *d-urʔ-un*   *d-aˤq'-ib*
    Rasul.OBL-ERG   blood   water-COMIT   NPL-wash.off.PFV-AOR   N-LV.PFV-AOR
    'Rasul washed the blood off with water.'

5.6. Causal

According to Magometov (1982), there is a case that marks the cause of a situation. My consultants did not confirm Magometov's examples and declined the *-čeble/-čible* forms that I tried to construct. Therefore, I assume that this case does not exist in Mehweb anymore. Examples 25 and 26 are cited from (Magometov 1982):

(25) *ʔse-li-čible*   *ħu*   *tusnaq'*   *w-aq'-ib-i*
    what-OBL-CAUSAL   you   arrest   M-do.PFV-AOR-ATR
    'Why did you get arrested?'

(26) *ʔdi-la*   *xuligan-deš-i-čible*   *nu*   *tusnaq'*   *w-aq'-ib*
    I.OBL-GEN   hooligan-MSD-OBL-CAUSAL   I   arrest   M-do.PFV-AOR
    'Because of my hooliganism, I got arrested.'

5.7. Substitutive

The morpheme *-čemadal* has substitutive semantics, i.e. performing an action instead of the person who was supposed to perform it:

(27) *nu*   *adaj-čemadal*   *tukaj-ħe*   *w-aˤq'-un-na*
    I   father-SUBST   shop.OBL-IN(LAT)   M-go.PFV-AOR-1/2
    'I went to the shop instead of father.'

Diachronically, this form can be analyzed as *-če-m-ad-al*, in which *-če-* marks SUPER localization, *-m-* is a morpheme that can occupy the localization slot although it does not appear to have a spatial meaning (footnote) and *-ad-al* marks elative orientation.

5.8. Replicative

The last non-spatial case morpheme is *-sum*. It conveys the semantics of performing an action in a way someone or something else does it, or in a way it is usually done in a given area. The form attaches to an irregular oblique stem:

(28) *dilaj-sum*   *b-aq'-a*
    I.OBL-REPL   N-do.PFV-IMP
    'Repeat after me.'

The following section treats spatial suffixes.

5.9. Super

The SUPER localization *-če-* is used in contexts like the following:

(29) *ustuj-če-b*   *ʁadara*   *le-b*
table.OBL-SUPER-N(ESS)   plate   be-N
'A plate is on the table.'

CONT is a functional label or a spatial configuration in which the object, the object is located on the surface of a landmark and stays there because of the nature of contact between the object and the landmark, or because it is a part thereof. Typical CONT contexts are: '(a picture) on the wall', '(a ring) on a finger', '(wings) on the back', '(a birthmark) on the face'. Many Northeast-Caucasian languages have a separate localization marker for the CONT disposition. In Mehweb, this configuration is divided between -*če*- (labelled SUPER) and -*ze*- (labelled INTER, see below):

(30) *iχija*   *b-arš-ib-i*   *t'uleka*   *le-b*
she.GEN   N-be.beautiful.PFV-AOR-ATR   ring   be-N
*t'uj-če-b/*t'uj-ze-b*
finger.OBL-SUPER-N(ESS)/ finger.OBL-INTER-N(ESS)
'She has a beautiful ring on her finger.'

(31) *surat*   *aqi-le*   *le-b*   *baˤħi-ze-b/*baˤħi-če-b*
picture   up-ADVZ   be-N   wall.OBL-INTER-N(ESS)/wall.OBL-SUPER-N(ESS)
'A picture is hanging on the wall.'

SUPER can be also used in the construction 'put against' (*a tree* etc.):

(32) *ʔaˤli-ni*   *mažar*   *baˤħi-če*   *b-iχ-ib*
Ali-ERG   rifle   wall.OBL-SUPER(LAT)   N-put.PFV-AOR
'Ali put the rifle against the wall.'

(33) *nu*   *baˤħi-če-la*   *ʔaˤq*   *ʔaˤr-aˤq'-un-na*
I   wall.OBL-SUPER-EL   far   away-M.go.PFV-AOR-1SG
'I stepped away from the wall.'

In comparative constructions, the object of comparison is marked with SUPER(LAT):

(34) *rasul*   *quwati*   *le-w*   *muħammadi-če*
Rasul   strong   be-M   Muhammad.OBL-SUPER(LAT)
'Rasul is stronger than Muhammad.'

SUPER(LAT) is used to mark the target, e.g. with the verbs such as 'hit', 'bark', 'shout at', 'be angry at', 'look at', 'laugh at':

(35) *rasul*   *laχu*   *uk'-uwe*   *le-w*   *muħammadiče*
Rasul   scream   M.LV.IPFV-CVB   be-M   Muhammad-OBL-SUPER(LAT)
'Rasul is shouting at Muhammad.'

SUPER-EL is used in the frames of the verbs of avoidance: 'run away', 'hide', 'fear', etc.:

(36) *rasul*   *w-aˤld-un*   *muħammad-i-če-la*
Rasul   M-hide.PFV-AOR   Muhammad-OBL-SUPER-EL
'Rasul hid from Muhammad.'

SUPER is also used to mark periods of time:

(37) *kʼʷi-jal*   *saʔaˤti-če*   *rasuj-ni*   *kung*   *b-elč-un*
two   hour.OBL-SUPER(LAT)   Rasul.OBL-ERG   book   N-read.PFV-AOR
'Rasul read the book in two hours.'

5.10. In

The locative morpheme *-ħe-* expresses the configuration when one object is inside another one, the latter being conceptualized as a container.

(38) *ħarši*   *kʼunkʼur-le-ħe-r*   *le-r*
soup   pot-OBL-IN-NPL(ESS)   be-NPL
'The soup is in the pot.'

The IN morpheme *-ħe-* causes vowel assimilation (i → e) in the oblique stem marker.

(39) *kʼunkʼur-le-ħe-r*
pot-OBL-IN-NPL(ESS)
'In the pot.'

IN also has a zero allomorph (in which vowel assimilation occurs *i → e*):

(40) *ħarši*   *kʼunkʼur-le-r*   *le-r*
soup   pot-OBL.IN-NPL(ESS)   be-NPL
'The soup is in the pot.'

This localization does not have any non-locative uses in any of the Dargwa dialects, including Mehweb.

5.11. Inter

INTER denotes the configuration when an object is within a landmark and the landmark is either a substance or a set of objects (e.g. 'forest'):

(41) *kʼas*   *ħarkʼʷi-ze-b*   *le-r*
fish   river.OBL-INTER-N(ESS)   be-NPL
'The fish are in the river.'

INTER is also used in some 'CONT' contexts (for the definition of 'CONT', see Section 5.6.1 on SUPER):

(42) *surat*   *aqi-le*   *le-b*   *baˤħi-ze-b*
picture   up-ADVZ   be-N   wall.OBL-INTER-N(ESS)
'A picture is hanging on the wall.'

INTER-EL marks an *involuntary agent* — a participant who performs an action without the intention to do it:

(43) *di-ze-la/*di-ze-b-adala*   *mašina*   *b-oˤrʔ-oˤb*
     I.OBL-INTER-EL/*I.OBL-INTER-N-EL   car   N-break.PFV-AOR
     'I accidentally broke the car.'

INTER-EL is also used in modal contexts:

(44) *rasuj-ze-la*   *aq*   *b-aq'-as*   *b-uh-es*   *ʁarʁa*
     Rasul.OBL-INTER-EL   up   N-do.PFV-INF   N-become.IPFV-FUT   stone
     'Rasul can lift the stone.'

INTER marks a temporary possessor/recipient and addressee with verbs of speech, as described in Section 5.4 on dative above:

(45) *rasuj-ni*   *gi-b*   *muħammadi-ze*   *dis*
     Rasul.OBL-ERG   give.PFV-AOR   Muhammad.OBL-INTER(LAT)   knife
     'Rasul lent Muhammad a knife.'

(46) *rasuj-ni*   *sik'al*   *ħa-ib*   *muħammadi-ze*
     Rasul.OBL-ERG   nothing   NEG-say.PFV-AOR Muhammad.OBL-INTER(LAT)
     'Rasul said nothing to Muhammad.'

Note that INTER is seems to be somehow connected to the low agentivity and low control; for more detail, see (Chechuro 2016). As shown above, various constructions that imply low level of control mark their quasi-agent with INTER. More generally, INTER has a variety of grammatical uses which do not seem to be related to its spatial meaning. Its non-locative uses do not imply a spatial metaphor, or this spatial metaphor is weak.

5.12. Ad

The AD (*-šu-*) localization is used to express the fact that one object is located in close proximity to another object:

(47) *nuša*   *ustuj-šu-b*   *ka‹bʲiʔi-ra*
     we   table.OBL-AD-N(ESS)   sit‹HPL›LV.AOR-1/2
     'We are sitting near the table.'

It is also used as a personal locative:

(48) *nu*   *w-aˤq'-un-na*   *aħmadi-šu*
     I   M-go.PFV-AOR-1/2   Ahmed.OBL-AD(LAT)
     'I visited Ahmed.'

5.13. Apud

The marker *-ʔeˤ-* (APUD) denotes an area close to an object, in which the figure is located when interacting with the object. This suffix shows a very restricted compatibility: it is only compatible with words designating landmarks that have such an area: 'table' *ustul,* 'water source' *iniz,* 'house' *qali*. In different languages, the same landmark may be conceptualized as

having such an area or not. In Mehweb the set of words to which this suffix is attached varies across speakers. The following examples illustrate the difference between the AD and APUD localizations:

(49) *nuša*   *ustuj-ʔeˤ-b*   *kaⳁbⳁiʔi-ra*
      we   table.OBL-APUD-N(ESS)   sit⟨HPL⟩LV.AOR-1/2
      'We are sitting at the table.'

(50) *nuša*   *ustu-j-šu-b*   *kaⳁbⳁiʔi-ra*
      we   table-OBL-AD-N(ESS)   sit⟨HPL⟩LV.AOR-1/2
      'We are sitting near the table.'

(51) *lut'i-le-ʔeˤ-b*
      bottom-OBL-APUD-N(ESS)
      'on the bottom.'

It also expresses the meaning of an exchange equivalent — one of the objects to be exchanged:

(52) *rasujni*   *bars*   *b-aq'-ib*   *q'ʷaˤl*   *šu-wal*   *kʷiha-le-ʔeˤ-b*
      Rasul   exchange   N-do.PFV-AOR   cow   five-ORD   sheep.OBL-APUD-N(ESS)
      'Rasul exchanged the cow for five sheep.'

The morpheme *-ʔeˤ-* may be used to designate the inner part of the landmark (similar to *-ħe*):

(53) *škaf*   *unza-le-ʔeˤ-di*   *b-aˤq'-un*
      wardrobe   door-OBL-APUD-TRANS   N-go.PFV-AOR
      'The wardrobe fitted through the door.'

In (54), *-ħe-* is used in the same meaning:

(54) *škaf*   *unza-le-ħe-di*   *b-aˤq'-un*
      wardrobe   door-OBL-IN-TRANS   N-go.PFV-AOR
      'The wardrobe went through the door.'

Also similar to *-ħe-*, *-ʔe-* causes vowel assimilation $i \rightarrow e$ in the oblique stem marker (cf. 53 and 54).

6. Irregular locatives

A limited number of nouns form locatives in an irregular way. Such irregular locatives usually mark the default location associated with the landmark. Below I provide the list of the irregular locatives attested so far:

Table 38. Irregular locatives.

Translation	Nominative	Locative
'forest'	*duz*	*duzani*-CL
'village'	*ši*	*ša*-CL
'room, house'	*qali*	*quli*-CL
'cattle-shed'	*derqʷ*	*durqe*-CL
'field'	*qu*	*qu*-CL
'road'	*huni*	*hunħe*-CL
'gorge', 'street'	*q'aq'a*	*q'aq'a*-CL
'grave'	*χʷaˤb* (PL = *χʷaˤrbe*)	*χʷaˤreb* — in a grave, *χʷarvezeb* — at a graveyard
'hole'	*tarqi*	*turqe*-CL

7. Place names

Names of local villages form a separate morphological class very close to adverbs; they lack functional cases (except genitive) and attach orientation markers directly to the stem. They also form plurals (in the sense of the inhabitants of the village). Locative forms of place names are given in Table 39:

Table 39. Place names.

	Quot	**Ess**	**El**
Mehweb	*meħʷe*	*meħʷe-*CL	*meħʷe-*CL*-adal meħwe-la*
Sogratl'	*surʁatli*	*surʁatli-*CL	*surʁatli-*CL*-adal surʁatli-la*
Obokh	*qʷaˁdulli*	*qʷaˁdulli-*CL	*qʷaˁdulli-*CL*-adal, qʷaˁdur.a-ja*
Gunib	*ʁuni*	*ʁuni-*CL	*ʁuni-*CL*-adal, ʁuni-la*
Keger	*haˁnnuqara*	*haˁnnuqara-*CL	*haˁnnuqara-awadal, haˁnuqara-la*
Rugudzha	*žixatli*	*žixatli-*CL	*žixatlibadal, žixatli-la*
Makhachkala	*anži*	*anži-li-*CL	*anži-li-*CL*-adal, anži-la*
Moscow	*maskaw*	*maskawi-ze-*CL	*maskawi-ze-la*

	Lat	**Gen**	**Pl**
Mehweb	*meħʷe*	*meħʷa-ja, meħʷe-la*	*meħʷa-n-t* (the Mehweb people)
Sogratl'	*surʁatli*	*surʁatle-la, surʁatla-ja*	*surʁatla-n-t* (the Sogratl' people)
Obokh	*qʷaˁdulli*	*qʷaˁdura-ja, qʷaˁdure-la*	*qʷaˁdura-n-t* (the Obokh people)
Gunib	*ʁuni*	*ʁuni-*CL*-adi-ja*	*ʁuni-*CL*-adil* (the Gunib people)
Keger	*haˁnnuqara*	*haˁnnuqara-ja*	*haˁnnuqara-n-t* (the Keger people)
Rugudzha		*žixatla-ja*	
Makhachkala	*anžili*	*anži-la*	?**anžili-*CL*-adil*
Moscow	*maskawi-ze*	*maskaw-la*	?**maskawi-ze-*CL*-adil*

Mehweb verb morphology

Michael Daniel

Abstract: The paper describes the morphology of the verb in Mehweb, a Dargwa lect of central Daghestan, Russia. The description is partly based on previous research (Magometov 1986, Sumbatova unpublished) and partly on the field data the author has been collecting from 2009 to the present. Mostly, formal morphology of synthetic verb forms and complex verbs are discussed.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I provide an overview of the verb morphology of Mehweb, a lect of the Dargwa branch of East Caucasian languages, spoken in the village of the same name in the Gunib district of the Republic of Daghestan. The paper is mostly focused on formal and synthetic morphology. Periphrastic forms are treated only peripherally, and the semantics of the TAME categories is not discussed at all. As a result, labels provided for different inflectional categories are conventional and to a large extent based on previous research. While formation of deverbal nominal forms – nominalizations and participles – is covered, their further inflection as nominals is also left out. The previous treatment of the Mehweb morphology, (Magometov 1986), provided basis for many analytic solutions.

The paper treats various elements of verbal inflection in the following order.

Mehweb verbs agree in gender (nominal class) with their nominative argument, distinguishing three primary classes – masculine (M), feminine (F) and neuter (N) in the singular, and human plural (HPL) and non-human plural (NPL) in the plural. There is an additional class of unmarried girls and women. Agreement marking is largely similar to agreement in adjectives, spatial forms, numerals etc., which are not treated in this paper. Agreement morphology is discussed in Section 2. Additionally, and unlike other parts of speech, some verbal forms show special inflection with first or second person subjects, depending on the illocutionary force (with first person in affirmative utterances and with second person in interrogative ones). The subject forms are discussed in Section 3.

The whole inflectional paradigm of the verb is divided into two parallel sets of forms, based on perfective and imperfective stems, whose relation to each other is complex and follows several different formal patterns with most verbs and is irregular with few irregular verbs. Many forms are formed from both stems. This is discussed in Section 4.

In Mehweb, there are three distinct verbal inflectional classes, distinguished by the suffix they take in the perfective past (aorist), *-ib* (*-ub*), *-ur* or *-un*. The aorist stem is used in the participle and the forms derived from it. Other forms, including all forms in the imperfective, are however formed in the same way for the verbs of all three classes. This is discussed in Section 5, which also provides a table showing all inflectional forms known so far.

Verbal negation is discussed in Section 6. The structure of the verbal paradigm as a whole is discussed in Section 7. Some of the forms follow specific rules, independent from

the classification into three inflectional classes. These include imperatives and infinitives and are described in Section 8. Inflection of the copula are discussed in Section 9. Verbs with irregular morphology are discussed in Section 1; and verbs of motion, some of them highly irregular, in Section 10. Section 11 presents data on transitivity, including regular morphological causativization and lexically constrained phenomena such as lability. Section 12 explains the morphological makeup of complex verbs, including verbs with vestigial prefixes, light verbs and verbalizers and bound verbal roots.

2. Gender agreement

Mehweb nouns belong to one of the three primary genders – masculine, feminine and neuter, glossed as M, F and N, respectively. Animate non-human nouns belong to the neuter gender. In the plural, all human nouns behave the same, so that only human plural (HPL) and non-human plural (NPL) are distinguished. Additionally, nouns and pronouns referring to girls or unmarried women (glossed as F1) show a special pattern of agreement – in the singular, they control the same marker as non-human plurals; note that F1 class is in fact more frequent in the texts. Similarly, many mass nouns and some abstract nouns, in the singular, control NPL agreement.

The morphology of gender markers is shown in the following table and is common to all targets of agreement – adjectives and verbs having a prefix agreement slot, locative nominal forms – a suffix slot, etc. Verbs may only have gender markers in the prefix position, and not all (though most) verbs have this slot.

Table 1. Gender agreement marking

	Sg	**Pl**	
M	w		
F	r	b	**HPl**
F1	d-r		
N	b	d-r	**NPl**

The marker of the masculine *w-* is lost in forms where it is preceded by a prefix, either grammatical (negation) or derivational. Cf.:

(1) *w-aχ-un*   vs.   *ħa-χ-un* (<*ħa-w-aχ-un*)
     m-foster.pfv-aor   neg-m.foster.pfv-aor

See more on morphology of negation in Section 6.

(2) *w-ik-ib*   vs.   *ar-ik-ib* (<*ar-w-ik-ib*)
     M-fall.PFV-PST   PV-fall.PFV-PST

Note that, synchronically, most combinations of preverbs with the root are not compositional. Thus, the preverb *ar-* etymologically means 'away', while the verb *-ik-* synchronically means 'happen' (etymologically most probably 'fall').

The masculine marker is also lost in stems with the initial *u-*, such as:

(3) *d-uq-un*   vs.   *uq-un* (<w-uk-un)
     F1-enter.PFV-AOR   M.enter.PFV-AOR

For more on preverbs, see Section 11.

3. Subject forms

Some categories of the verb vary depending on whether they have a subject in the first or second person or not. The forms signaling that their subjects are locutors will be called subject forms below (glossed as 1/2). Unlike gender agreement, subject agreement shows accusative pattern and is controlled by S/A arguments. The peculiar property of subject agreement in Mehweb is that it is sensitive to the illocutionary type of the utterance. The subject suffix appears with first person subjects in declarative utterances but with second person subjects in interrogative utterances. This distribution is sometimes dubbed disjoint vs. conjoint forms and, of all East Caucasian languages is only attested in Akhvakh (Creissels 2008; see also Sumbatova 2011).

All TAME categories that have subject forms are shown on Table 2, in both subject (1/2) and non-subject (3) forms:

Table 2. Subject forms and their non-subject counterparts

		'come'		'put on'	
		perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
pst	3	=ak'-ib	=ik'-ib	ik'-ub	irk'ʷ-ib
	½	=ak'-i-ra	=ik'-i-ra	ik'-ub-ra	irk'ʷ-i-ra
prs	3	-	=ik'an	-	irk'ʷ-an
	½		=ik'as		irk'ʷ-as
fut	3	=ak'-as	=ik'-es	ik'ʷ-es	irk'ʷ-es
	½	=ak'-iša	=ik'-iša	ik'ʷ-iša	irk'ʷ-iša
		'fly'		'read'	
pst	3	arc-ur	urc-ib	=elč'-un	luč'-ib
	½	arc-ur-ra	urc-i-ra	=elč'-un-na	luč'-i-ra
prs	3	-	urc-an	-	luč'-an
	½		urc-as		luč'-as
fut	3	arc-es	urc-es	=elč'-es	luč'-es
	½	arc-iša	urc-iša	=elč'-iša	luč'-iša

In the past, the subject forms are marked with the suffix *-ra*, assimilated to *-na* after the nasal auslaut in the aorist. In the imperfective past, the tense suffix *-ib-* irregularly drops its final *-b*. In the future, non-subject forms are identical to the infinitive, while the subject forms use a special suffix *-iša*. In simple present, there is an opposition of two special affixes, *-an* for non-subject and *-as* for subject forms. Following the idea that the basic distinction is between subject forms that are marked and non-subject unmarked forms, I am glossing *-an* simply as Prs, while *-as* as Prs.½ (similarly with other forms). Subject forms are also present with the present form of the copular auxiliary *lewra* (M), *lella* (<*ler-ra*, F and NPL), *lebra* (N and HPL) and the negative copula *aħinna* (<*aħin-ra*) – see 9 on inflection of auxiliaries.

4. Aspectual stems

In Mehweb, the vast majority of the verbal categories are formed from two different stems, perfective and imperfective. I will consider verbal inflection as divided into perfective and imperfective paradigms. The two paradigms are largely parallel. Most categories attested

both in the perfective and the imperfective paradigms use the same affixes. The exceptions are listed in the following table:

Table 3. Asymmetries between

perfective and imperfective paradigms

	perfective	imperfective
categories showing different marking in the perfective vs. imperfective paradigms		
past	*-ib(-ub)/-ur/-un*	*-ib*
participle	past + *-i(l)*	*-ul*
converb	past + *-le*	*-uʁe* (< ptcp + -le)
imperative	*-e/-a*	*-e*
infinitive	*-es/-as*	*-es*
categories only compatible with one of the stems		
present	-	*-an/-as*
prohibitive	-	*m*(V)- … *-di*
negative optative	-	*m*(V)- … *-ab*

On the choice of one of the markers in the same category see the relative sections. For the different markers of the aorist (perfective past) see Section 5; for the choice of the vowels in the imperative and the infinitive see Section 8; the second of the two affixes in the present tense is the subject form (see Section 2 above). For the asymmetries in the system of special converbs see (Sheyanova, this volume). Other parallel categories in the two paradigms use the same markers.

There are verbs that lack the perfective stem. When asked to produce perfective forms for these verbs, the consultants suggest a combination of the infinitive with perfective verbs, mostly *=aʔes* 'begin'. These defective verbs include states and some atelic activities, such as *izes* 'be ill', *=iges* 'want', *=ukes* 'itch', *ures* 'rain', *ruržes* 'be shivering' (also 'boil'), *rurkes* 'flow', *=uzes* 'work', *urʁes* 'fight', *=ulqes* 'dance'. Note that some of these verbs show morphological structure similar to one of the models of the imperfective stem derivation – infixation of *-r-* or *-l-* – and may historically go back to a regular two-stem verb. In fact, *=ulqes* 'dance' is identical to the imperfective stem of *=uqes* ~ *=ulqes* 'go, run'. Another defective verb is the bound root **k'es* (probably related to *uk'es* Ipfv 'say') that is used in some morphologically complex but unanalyzable verbs.

Some verbs have identical perfective and imperfective stems. These include *umces* 'weight, measure', *irxes* 'reap', *irc'es* 'weed', *=alces* 'spin (thread)', *=urhes* 'tell', *=uhes* 'scold', *=uʔes* 'be', *=isːes* 'weep', *=aˤldes* 'hide' (tr). Note again that some of these verbs have the -V(l/r)C-structure typical of imperfective stems.

There are also several verbs whose imperfective stem is distinct from the perfective stem in that it does not contain the gender prefix slot: (=)*ižes* 'lick', (=)*išqˤes* 'mow, peel', (=)*ites* 'beat', (=)*igʷes* 'burn'. More generally, there is an asymmetry between perfective and imperfective stem in terms of the presence of the gender agreement slot: imperfective stem may lack it with those verbs whose perfective stem has it, but not vice versa. Cf. the following table:

Table 4. Asymmetries between

the perfective and imperfective paradigms

		Imperfective	
		+	-
Perfective	+	66	29
	-	(2)	21

The two verbs who exceptionally have gender slot in the imperfective stem but lack it in the perfective stem are *kes* (Pfv) ~ *=ukes* (Ipfv) 'bring' and *es* (Pfv) ~ *=uk'es* (Ipfv) 'say, tell', both of which are morphologically irregular. The latter verb may be considered two separate lexical items ('say' and 'tell').

There are several highly irregular verbs, all shown on Table 5. Note that, again, with 'see' and 'give', the imperfective stems show one of the regular patterns of imperfective stem formation (see below) and are similar to their perfective stems, so that they represent a case of weaker suppletion than fully irregular 'say' and 'go'.

Table 5. Aspectual stems of the irregular verbs

	'say'	'see'	'give'	'go'
Pfv	*i-/e-/bet'-*	*gʷ-*	*(=e)g-*	*=aˤq'-/=uˤq'-/q'-/=eʔ-*
Ipfv	*uk'-*	*irgʷ-*	*lug-*	*=aš-*

The attested patterns of the connection between the perfective and the imperfective stems are summarized in Table 6. The choice of the pattern is not fully independent of other formal properties of the verb, first of all the perfective past formation and/or the presence of labialization (labialized final consonant or *u*); see the explanations below the table.

Table 6. Patterns of aspectual stems formation

Model	Subtype	Example	No.	Constraints & Tendencies	Exceptions to constraints
infixation in Ipfv	⟨l⟩	*=ic'-~=ilc'-* 'fill'	18	none	
infixation in Ipfv	⟨r⟩	*ih-(ub)~irhʷ-* 'throw'	5	labialization	*=ix-~=irx-* 'put'
er- in Pfv		*=erž-~=už-* 'drink'	17	none	
VlC~luC	*alC ~ luC* *elC ~ luC*	*=elč'-(un)~luč'-* 'read'	9	Aor in *-un*	*=aˤlq'-~luq'-* 'rinse'
ablaut	*a-~i-* *e-~i-*	*abx-~ibx-* 'open' *=eʔ~=iʔ* 'be enough'	19	(Aor in *-ib*)	
ablaut	*a-~u-* *e-~u-*	*ar-(un)~ur-* 'sift' *=erg-~=urg* 'spin tread'	22	labialization Aor in *-un* or *-ur*	*=arg-~=urg-* 'find' *=ebk'-~=ubk'-* 'die'

Infixation of *-l-* (18 verbs) is attested in all inflectional classes, while infixation of *-r-* (seven verbs) is present in five simple verbs four of which are labialized (aorist in *-ub*). The model VlC ~ luC is typical specifically of the verbs with aorist in *-un*. Vowel alternation in

V(C)C roots is usually *a-/e-* ~ *i-*, with *i-* changing to *u-* in verbs with the aorist in *-un, -ur* or -*ub*.

5. Conjugation classes and the issue of labialization

Mehweb verbs are grouped into three inflectional classes according to the marker of the perfective past they use – *-ib, -ur* and *-un*. Most verbs use the *-ib* suffix, which I will consider to be the default; the same suffix is used by verbs of all conjugations with the imperfective stem as the imperfective past, so in fact it may be considered to be simply a suffix (of the secondary derivational stem) of the past, perfective or imperfective, the choice between the perfective / imperfective interpretation being, in these forms, fully determined by the aspectual characteristic of the stem. A small additional fourth class is very similar to the 'default' conjugation except that all verbs in this class have labialization on the final consonant of the stem and the aorist marker is realized as –*ub*; it is shown as 1a on the following table. However, not all inflectional properties of this 1a class may be explained as it being a labialized variety of the first class; see below. Here are some representative forms:

Table 7. Verbal inflectional classes

	Pfv Past	Ipfv Past	
1.	*irx-ib*	*irx-ib*	'reap'
	=*ic-ib*	=*ilc-ib*	'sell'
1a	=*ig-ub*	=*ig^w-ib*	'burn'
2.	*arc-ur*	*urc-ib*	'fly'
	=*emž-ur*	=*umž-ib*	'get warm'
3.	=*erg-un*	=*ug-ib*	'eat'
	alʔ-un	*ulʔ-ib*	'cut'

In verbs with lexical pharyngealization, the *-u-* of the aorist marker may be realized as -*oˁ*- (on pharyngealization, see Moroz, this volume). Cf.:

(4)   =*oˁrʔ-oˁb* 'break' (variant of *-ub*)
(5)   =*iʔ-oˁn* 'steal' (variant of *-un*).

Labialized stems also exist in the *-un* and *-ur* classes, where the labialization is however lost before (absorbed by) the vowel of the aorist suffix. It is also lost in the imperfective forms if the stem vowel changes to *-u-* - apparently, the root vowel absorbs the labialization of the following consonant, including when there is another consonant that comes between. Depending on the form and class, labialization of the stem is thus realized as labialization of the last consonant of the stem (e.g. in the imperative), labialization of the stem vowel (in various imperfective forms) or labialization of the suffix vowel (in the *-ib* of the aorist).

Table 8. Labialized stems

	Perfective			Imperfective		
	Imp	Inf	Past	Imp	Inf	Past
'dig'	=erʁʷa	=erʁʷes	=erʁub	iʁʷe	iʁʷes	iʁʷib
'slaughter'	=erhʷa	=erhʷes	=erhun	=urhe	=urhes	=urhib
'burn'	=alkʼʷa	=alkʼʷes	=alkʼun	lukʼe	lukʼes	lukʼib
'go down'	=erχʷe	=erχʷes	=erχur	=urχe	=urχes	=urχib

Most verbs with *-ub* in the aorist also have labialization in other forms, so that one interpretation is that *-ub* results from the *-ib* marker meeting the final labialization of the stem. The two verbs that take *-ub* but do not show labialization in other forms - =orʔ- 'break' and =uh- 'become' – both have *-u-* as the vowel of the root. When comparing this to the fact that the *-u-* in the imperfective stem absorbs the labialization of the final consonant, as shown in Table 8 above, it seems appropriate to posit the deep form of the perfective stem of these two verbs as having the labialized consonant whose labialization changes the aorist marker *-ib* to *-ub* but is itself always absorbed *=orʔʷ-, *=uhʷ-. Then, all verbs that take *-ub* in the aorist have final labialization. On the other hand, none of the *-ib* verbs has a labialized final consonant.

Given this evidence, it seems that the *-ub* conjugation should merely be considered a formal subtype of the *-ib* conjugation. However, the conjugation of the *-ub* and *-ib* verbs diverge in two important points. First, both the aorist marker *-ib* and the homophonous imperfective past marker on all verbs lose the final consonant when followed by *-ra* in subject forms or the perfective converb marker *-le*. With *-ub*, both forms keep the final *-b*. Second, the *-ib* in the imperfective paradigm does not change to *-ub* after labialized stem – something which we would expect assuming that *-ub* in the perfective paradigm results from …ʷ + *-ib*.

Table 9. Divergence between

the default *-ib* and the *-ub* conjugations

		Imperative	Past	Past, subject form	Converb
'come'	Pfv	=akʼe	=akʼib	=akʼira	=akʼile
	Ipfv	=ikʼe	=ikʼib	=ikʼira	=akʼuwe
'put on'	Pfv	ikʼʷa	ikʼub	ikʼubra	ikʼuble
	Ipfv	irkʼʷa	irkʼʷib	irkʼʷira	irkʼuwe

In other words, the *-ub* shows morphophonological behavior which is significantly different from *-ib*.

Whatever the ultimate interpretation of the *-ub* aorist should be, it seems that this inflection type shows a position intermediate between a separate conjugation class and a subtype of the default. The full list of the attested labialized stems for all conjugations is as follows (in the aorist form): =eʔub 'seed', =erkun 'eat', gub 'see', ihub 'throw', =alkʼun 'take fire', =igub 'burn', ikʼub 'put on', =erhun 'slaughter', =usaʔun 'fall asleep', =erʔub 'dry up', =aˤħun 'get soaked', =erqʼub 'become worn', =erʁub 'dig out', =alħun 'wake up', =erχur 'come down'. As explained above, the verbs =oˤrʔoˤb 'break' and =uhub 'become' are only labialized in their underlying forms.

6. Polarity

Verbal negation is expressed by one of the two prefixes, the standard negation prefix *ħa-* and the volitive negation prefix *mV-*. The latter is only used in volitional moods including prohibitive (negative imperative) and negative optative, and the former is used elsewhere, both on finite and non-finite forms. Some speakers allow using *ħa-* in negative optative forms. The standard negation *ħa-* is however never used in prohibitive (alias negative imperative) forms.

In periphrastic verbal forms, both the lexical and the auxiliary verb may be negated. The standard negation *ħa-* is placed immediately before the verbal stem, thus following the preverb with preverbal verbs. The full pre-root template of the verb is shown in the following example:

(6)   *har-ħa-d-uq-un*
        PV-NEG-F1-flee.PFV-AOR
        'She did not run away.'

Some of the negative forms of the verb *=ak'-as* 'come' are given in the following table as an example. As masculine forms morphophonologically interact with the prefix (see below), feminine (more specifically, F1 – girls class) forms are given instead.

Table 10. Some negative forms of *=ak'as* ~ *=ik'es* 'come'

stem	=ak'	=ik'
pst	*ħadak'ib*	*ħadik'ib*
inf	*ħadik'as*	*ħadik'es*
prs	-	*ħadik'an*
opt	-	*midik'ab (ħadik'ab)*
proh	-	*midik'ad(i)*
cond	*ħadak'ak'a*	*ħadik'ak'a*
ptcp	*ħadak'ibili*	*ħadik'uli*
cvb	*ħadak'ile*	*ħadik'uwe*
nmlz	*ħadak'ri*	*ħadik'ri*

The forms are morphophonologically straightforward except on vowel initial bases, including those resulting from the elision of the masculine prefix *w-*, where the vowel *-a* of the prefix interacts with the initial vowel of the stem. The elision of the masculine prefix *w-* occurs after all prefixal elements including the standard negation prefix itself. After this, the following processes occur:

(7)   initial a- or e- of the base is dropped:
                        ħa + aC… → ħa-C…
                        ħa + eC… → ħa-C…

(8)   initial i → j: ħa + iC… → ħa-jC…

(9)   …and then dropped before a cluster:
                        ħa-jCC → ħa-CC…

(10)   initial u → w: ħa + uC… → ħa-wC…

(11) …and then dropped before a consonant cluster leaving (probably optionally) labialization on one of the consonants:

$$ħa\text{-}wCC → ħa\text{-}C^{(w)}C^{(w)}$$

This labialization may only result from the initial *u-* of the root, not from the masculine prefix *w-*, which is dropped after prefixes leaving no trace. Cf. the following forms with different types of anlaut (masculine forms are given for the verbs with the initial gender agreement slot):

Table 11. Standard negation on verbal stems

with and without gender prefix slot

with	₌uC-	₌aC-	₌iC-	₌uCC-	₌aCC-	₌iCC-
gender slot	'enter' (pfv)	'nurture' (pfv)	'come' (ipfv)	'send' (ipfv)	'nurture' (ipfv)	'let go' (ipfv)
Pst Neg (M)	*ħa-wq-un*	*ħa-χ-un*	*ħa-jk'-ib*	*ħa-rxʷ-ib*	*ħa-lχ-ib*	*ħa-rq'-ib*
Pst (M)	*uq-un*	*w-aχ-un*	*ħa-d-ik'-ib*	*urx-ib*	*w-alχ-ib*	*w-irq'-ib*
without	#uC	#iC	#uCC-	#aCC-	#iCC-	#eCC-
gender slot	'sift' (ipfv)	'take' (ipfv)	'pour' (ipfv)	'open' (pfv)	'open' (ipfv)	'count' (pfv)
Pst Neg	*ħa-wr-ib*	*ħa-js-ib*	*ħa-lq'ʷ-ib*	*ħa-bx-ib*	*ħa-bx-ib*	*ħa-lʔ-un*
Pst	*ur-ib*	*is-ib*	*ulq'-ib*	*abx-ib*	*ibx-ib*	*ulʔ-ib*

The same processes apply to the optative forms when they use the standard negation marker, cf.:

Table 12. Standard negation on the optative forms

	Opt	Negative Optative
₌*ik'es* 'come' (Ipfv)	*w-ik'-ab* (M)	*ħa-jk'-ab* (M)
ures 'rain' (Ipfv)	*ur-ab*	*ħa-wr-ab*
ises 'take' (Ipfv)	*is-ab*	*ħa-js-ab*
₌*irqes* 'let go' (Ipfv)	*w-irq-ab* (M)	*ħa-rq-ab* (M)
₌*urxes* 'send' (Ipfv)	*urx-ab* (M)	*ħa-rxʷ-ab*

Attested forms of negation in periphrastic forms use the negative copula *agʷara*:

(12) negation in periphrasis:
    (a) *luč'-uwe*   *le-w*
          read.IPFV-CVB   AUX-M
          'He is reading.'
    (b) *luč'-uwe*   *agʷara*
          read.IPFV-CVB   AUX.NEG
          'He is not reading.'

The morphophonology of the forms with the dedicated volitive negation (Neg.Vol) marker is different. The prohibitive and the negative optative forms both take the same consonantal prefix *m-* (*m*V- before consonants) but two different suffixes. The masculine

prefix *w-* is lost after the negative volitional *m-*. When followed by consonant, either a class prefix or the initial consonant of the stem, the negative volitional copies the stem vowel. Finally, the neuter/human plural prefix *b-* is assimilated by the negative volitional and is represented by *m-*.

(13) morphophonology of the negative volitional prefix:
    (a)   *m-uz-adi*
          NEG.VOL-M.work.IPFV-PROH
          'Do not work' (to a man)
    (b)   *mu-d-uz-adi*
          NEG.VOL-F1-work.IPFV-PROH
          'Do not work' (to a woman)
    (c)   *mu-m-uz-adi*
          NEG.VOL-HPL-work.IPFV-PROH
          'Do not work' (to many people)

As to the suffix position, the negative optative and the prohibitive have different suffixes. The negative optative takes the suffix *–ab*, same as the positive optative; the prohibitive takes a dedicated suffix *–adi*, whose final vowel is optionally dropped. In both cases, the initial *-a-* of the suffix is analyzed below as a marker of a secondary derivational stem termed irrealis (see next Section)

The prohibitive forms show extremely frequent forms with what looks like reduplication; more specifically, a full copy of the stem together with the class marker placed to the left of the negative volitional prefix. All negative volitional forms are only possible in the imperfective paradigm. The following table shows forms of verbs with different stem structure (forms with no copy are shown).

Table 13. Volitional negation with different stem structure

	Verb (Ipfv)	Negative Optative			Prohibitive		
		M	F/NPl	N/HPl	M	F/NPl	N/HPl
=uC...	=*uzes* 'work'	*uzab*	*duzab*	*buzab*	*muzadi*	*muduzadi*	*mumuzadi*
=aC...	=*alχes* 'treat'	*walχab*	*dalχab*	*balχab*	*malχadi*	*madalχadi*	*mamalχadi*
=eC...	=*elk'es* 'choose'	*welk'ab*	*delk'ab*	*belk'ab*	*melk'adi*	*medelk'adi*	*memelk'adi*
=iC...	=*ilces* 'sell'	*wilc'ab*	*dilc'ab*	*bilc'ab*	*milc'adi*	*midilc'adi*	*mimilc'adi*
#VC	*izes* 'be ill'		*mizab*			*mizadi*	
CVC	*luč'es* 'read'		*muluč'ab*			*muluč'adi*	

The process called reduplication above should probably better called stem copying and is not reduplication sensu stricto. Structurally, the partial copy of the stem may be separated from the verb form by other verbs (Dmitry Ganenkov, p.c.). The forms with a non-separated copy are easily elicited for other categories, e.g. standard negation, and it is true that in the prohibitive they are optional:

(14) reduplication in non-prohibitive forms:
    d-ak'-ib-i   (also *d-ak'~ħa-d-ak'-ib-i*)
    F1-come.PFV-PST-ATR   F1-come.PFV~NEG-F1-come.PFV-PST-ATR
    'She did not come.'

(15) reduplication in the prohibitive:
d-iz~mi-d-iz-ad   (also *mi-d-iz-ad*)
F1-wash.IPFV~NEG.VOL-F1-wash.IPFV-PROH   NEG.VOL-F1-wash.IPFV-PROH
'Do not wash her'

Note that the stem copy shows the underlying form containing the masculine prefix, not the copy of the actual realization of the stem in this specific context:

(16) stem copy preserves the class marker lost after the negative prefix:
w-ak'~ħ-ak'-ib-i
M-come.PFV~NEG-M.come.PFV-PST-ATR
'the one who did not come', cf.

(17) *w-ak'-ib-i*   *ħ-ak'-ib-i*
M-come.PFV-PST-ATR   NEG-M.come.PFV-PST-ATR
'the one who came'   'the one who did not come'

However, it is in the prohibitive that these forms are very consistently produced as a first translation for Russian stimuli with the relevant meaning. This seems to be a result of grammaticalization of the special pragmatics of the stem copying, also present elsewhere in East Caucasian, and requires further investigation.

7. Synthetic paradigm

This section gives an overview of the synthetic paradigm of the Mehweb verb. A summary table is provided in the end of the section. Note that polarity and gender and subject agreement, as well as aspectual stem formation and the system of the conjugation classes, and the have been discussed above.

The derivation of forms is summarized in the following figure:

              ptcp (pfv)   → special converbs
 past   →
              cvb (pfv)   → special converbs

   ↑

              ptcp (ipfv)   → special converbs
 asp. stem → cvb (ipfv)   → special converbs

              inf (fut), prs (ipfv), imp, nmlz

   ↓

  *irrealis →   cond, appreh, proh, juss etc.
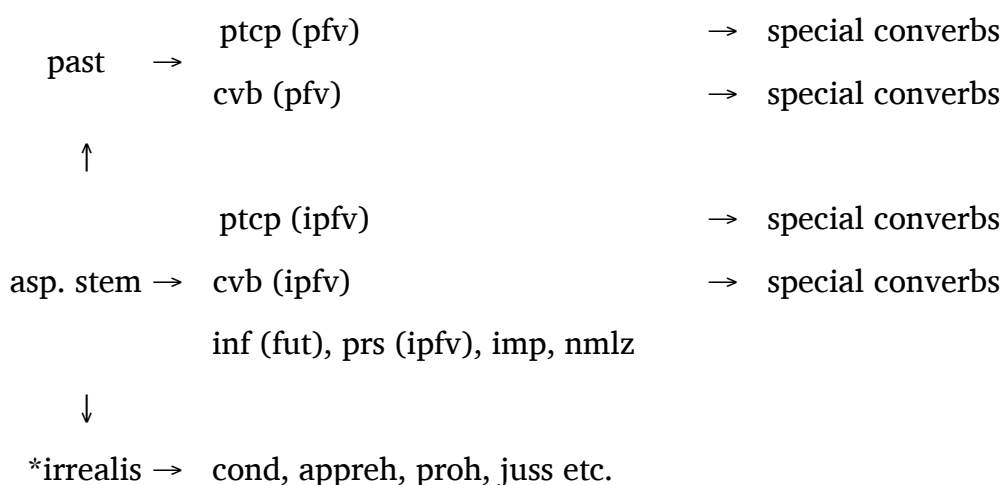
Figure 14. Derivation of verbal forms

The aspectual stem immediately derives the past (aorist in the perfective, imperfective past in the imperfective paradigm; note that the forms further derived from this secondary stem, e.g. converbs or participles, do not necessarily have past reference), present habitual (in the imperfective stem only), infinitive, the imperative, the nominalization in *-ri*.

Several other forms are based on a bound (hence *) base produced by adding -*a*- to the aspectual stem; this base may be considered the base of irrealis (potential in terms of Nina Sumbatova, unpublished), because it produces such forms as optative, conditional, apprehensive, counterfactual and some other (see Dobrushina, this volume). Support for this analysis, not confirmed diachronically by the data from other Dargwa lects, comes from the counterfactual form in -*are*, one of the irrealis series, segmentable into the irrealis marker -*a*- and the past marker -*re*. The latter is attested elsewhere, including on the copulas in the past forms (*lewre* and *agʷire*) but probably also on past forms (=*igibre* from =*igib* 'want' Pst, Ipfv) – see (Dobrushina, this volume). Note the morphophonological difference between counterfactual -*re* and the subject -*ra* – the latter causes the past marker -*ib* to drop the final -*b*, while in the counterfactual =*igibre* it is preserved, just as in the subject forms of the verbs in -*ub* subtype.

The general converb and the participle are formed differently in the perfective and the imperfective paradigms. In the perfective, the attributive marker -*i(l)* and the converb marker -*le* are added to the aorist. In the imperfective, the participle marker -*ul* and the converb marker -*uwe* are added directly to the imperfective stem. While -*l* of the imperfective participle marker -*ul* is always present, that of -*i(l)* is often dropped, and the distribution of the variants is not clear (though it seems that at least in the predicative use of the participle in -*i(l)* the full variant is impossible).

It seems plausible to differentiate between -*ul* as the participle marker proper, used only with the imperfective stem of the verb, and the attributive marker -*i(l)*, attached to the aorist but also used on infinitives (to form future participles, also used finitely), copula (to form periphrastic participles) and adjectives. Note that the imperfective converb ending -*uwe* is more or less straightforwardly analyzable into -*ul-le*, where -*le* is a general converb marker (also in the perfective paradigm) and, more generally, is used as a cross-categorial adverbializer, i.e. in forming adverbs from adjective roots.

Special converbs may be based on the general converb form, as the causal converb -*na*, or on the participle, as anterior converb -(*j*)*aвle*; see more on special converb formation in (Sheyanova, this volume).

Unlike the nominalization in -*ri*, which is formed directly from the aspectual stem, nominalization in -*deš* is formed from many forms, including finite past, future, present (habitual), participles – but not from volitional forms and not from the nominalization in -*ri*. Given that -*deš* is also attached to adjectives and nouns, the generalization seems to be that -*deš* is not a derivational morpheme but a cross-categorial predicate nominalizer. The suffix does not seem to combine with subject forms; this issue needs further research.

The table below summarizes synthetic verbal inflection. Forms are given without gender agreement marking; for gender agreement see Section 1. All forms in the table (except the imperative) may attach the negative prefix; morphology of polarity marking is discussed in Section 6. The marker -*na* is the marker of the plural of the addressee in volitional forms.

Table 15. Verbal inflection

	=ak'as 'come'		ik'ʷes 'put on'	
stem	=ak'	=ik'	ik'w	irk'w
prs (3)	-	=ik'an	-	irk'ʷan
{1/2}		=ik'as		irk'ʷas
imp	=ak'e(na)	=ik'e(na)	ik'ʷa(na)	irk'ʷe(na)
inf/fut	=ak'as	=ik'es	ik'ʷes	irk'ʷes
fut{1/2}	=ak'iša	=ik'iša	ik'ʷiša	irk'ʷiša
nmlz	=ak'ri	=ik'ri	ik'ʷri	irk'ʷri
ptcp	=ak'ibi(l)	=ik'ul	ik'ubi(l)	irk'ul
pst (3)	=ak'ib	=ik'ib	ik'ub	irk'ʷib
{1/2}	=ak'ira	=ik'ira	ik'ubra	irk'ʷira
cvb	=ak'ile	=ik'uwe	ik'uble	irk'uwe
proh	-	mi=ik'adi(na)		mirk'ʷadi(na)
opt	=ak'ab	=ik'ab	ik'ʷab	irk'ʷab
appreh	=ak'ala	=ik'ala	ik'ʷala	irk'ʷala
cond	=ak'ak'a	=ik'ak'a	ik'ʷak'a	irk'ʷak'a

	arces 'fly'		=elč'es 'read'	
stem	arc	urc	=elč'	luč'
prs (3)	-	urcan	-	luč'an
{1/2}		urcas		luč'as
imp	arce(na)	urce(na)	=elč'a(na)	luč'e(na)
inf/fut	arces	urces	=elč'es	luč'es
fut{1/2}	arciša	urciša	=elč'iša	luč'iša
nmlz	arcri	urcri	=elč'ri	luč'ri
ptcp	arcuri(l)	urcul	=elč'uni(l)	luč'ul
pst (3)	arcur	urcib	=elč'un	luč'ib
{1/2}	arcurra	urcira	=elč'unna	luč'ira
cvb	arculle	urcuwe	=elč'uwe	luč'uwe
proh	-	murc'adi(na)	-	muluč'adi(na)
opt	arcab	urcab	=elč'ab	luč'ab
appreh	arcala	urcala	=elč'ala	luč'ala
cond	arcak'a	urcak'a	=elč'ak'a	luč'ak'a

8. Imperative and infinitive

Both the imperative and the infinitive are formed from each of the two stems. While in the imperfective paradigm the suffixes are invariably *-e* and *-es*, respectively, the perfective imperative and the perfective infinitive have two markers whose choice is independent from the inflection class of the verb. These choices, although formally similar, are also mutually independent and driven by factors of different nature.

Table 16. Imperative and infinitive suffixes

	Markers	Choice
Perfective imperative	*-e/-a*	morphosyntactic
Perfective infinitive	*-es/-as*	phonological

The choice of the imperative vowel depends on transitivity of the verb: transitive verbs take -a and intransitive verbs take -e. Cf. =urs-a 'pound', =iʔa 'steal', but =alħʷ-e 'wake up', =uq-e 'go'. Note that the choice of the marker is primarily based on transitivity rather than control, as e.g. motion verbs all take -e.

P-labile verbs (i.e. verbs that are used with and without agentive argument) take -e or -a depending on the interpretation; cf. w-aˤld-e 'hide (intr)' (to a man) vs. w-aˤld-a 'hide it'. Other labile verbs also shows similar behavior; cf. abx-a 'open (it)' vs. abx-e 'open (intr.)'; b-oˤrʔ-a 'break (it)' vs. b-oˤrʔ-e 'break (intr.)'. Although in these cases the intransitive imperative might seem unlikely, it is readily interpreted by my consultants as when talking to something that resist acting on it, does not yield, or seems to take too long to achieve the result. There is evidence that A-labile verbs (i.e. verbs that may omit the patientive argument ascribing nominative to the agentive argument) may also take both markers; cf. =erq-a 'suck (e.g. milk)' vs. =erq-e 'suck' (implicit, out-of-focus patient).

Experiential verbs do not behave in a unified way. Generally, they prefer the intransitive suffix, but some also allow the transitive one, without a clear meaning shift; cf. qumart-a and qumart-e 'forget', =ah-e and =ah-a 'know'. One would expect an interpretation with the addressee's increased control over the situation but this is certainly not consistent through all the experiential verbs; some consultants report it e.g. in the verb =arg-e vs. =arg-a 'find'. The verb gʷes 'see' does not form a generally accepted imperative, but if it does, the form is gʷ-a.

There is no alternation in the imperfective imperative. One way to account for this is to note that imperfectives are crosslinguistically more Agent-oriented forms; for an ergative language like Mehweb, promoting the Agent may be interpreted as decrease in transitivity.

The imperative of the verb 'give' has two perfective stems, aga and =ega, depending on the Recipient. The first stem is used when the Recipient is the first person, otherwise the second stem is used. Both forms are suppletive with respect to the non-imperative stems, and the second additionally introduces an agreement prefix slot. This pattern or the verb 'give' is attested elsewhere in Dargwa and in East Caucasian at large (see Daniel et al. 2010). Another verb with an irregular imperative stem is es 'say' (inf) – betʼa 'say' (imperative). The verb uˤqʼes 'go' has two imperatives, the regular uˤqʼ-e and the irregular w=eʔ-e. The semantic distinction is not fully clear but probably has to do with the final point, the first better translated as 'go there' and the second as 'go away, leave'. The second form may be considered as a separate lexical item – an imperative interjection. Irregular imperatives only exist in the perfective paradigm.

Imperatives show plural marking based on the number of the addressees (thus showing, formally, an accusative pattern of agreement). Unlike in the prefix slot – and, for that matter, anywhere in Mehweb – this marking is independent from the gender. The suffix is -na and it is regularly attached to the imperative marker as well as to the irregular imperatives except in the verb =aš-e 'come here' vs. =aš-ina 'come here' (plural addressee). The availability of plural addressee marking does not depend on transitivity.

On imperatives in Mehweb, see more in (Dobrushina, this volume).

The choice of -es vs. -as in the infinitive, on the other hand, seems to have a purely formal motivation. The default marker is clearly -es, while -as is only attested in about twenty verbs who (a) have -a- as a stem vowel that is (b) followed by a stem final glottal, pharyngeal, uvular or velar consonant; cf. =usaʔʷ-as 'fall asleep', =aʔ-as 'begin', =ah-as 'know', =aħʷaˤs 'get wet', aqʼ-as 'pour', =aχ-as 'nurture', =ak-as 'smear'. Neither of (a) or (b) alone does not seem to require -a- as the vowel of the infinitive; cf. =uˤqʼ-es 'go' (condition b but not a) or =acʼ-es 'melt' (condition a but not b).

There is a number of verbs where the consonant of the required place of articulation is separated from the -a- of the stem by another consonant. In these cases, the default seems to be *-es*, including *ask'-es* 'catch on', *=alkʷ'-es* 'burn', *abx-es* 'open', *=arx-es* 'send', *=arχ-es* 'touch', *=alqʕ-es* 'rinse', *=alħʷ-es* 'wake up', *=aʕld-es* 'hide'. However, some verbs, including *=aʕlq-aʕs* 'give harvest', *=aʕbʡ-as* – 'kill', *=arʡ-as* 'freeze', *=arʕħ-as* 'copulate' do choose *-a-* as the vowel of the infinitive.

9. Copulas

Mehweb verbal inflection heavily relies on periphrasis. Periphrastic forms are used e.g. to form progressive / durative or resultative / perfective forms (combination of a converb with the copula), future (combination of the infinitive with the copula) and other. There are periphrastic forms based on auxiliary use of the verb *=uʔes* 'be' (Pfv=Ipfv), but most use one of the copulas. Complex forms (surcomposé) are also attested, using the copula as an auxiliary, the second auxiliary in a converb form and yet another converb of the lexical verb.

Periphrastic forms are also used to form jussive (combination of the imperative of the lexical verb with the imperative of the verb 'say'; see Dobrushina, this volume) and perfective forms from defective verbs that only have the imperfective stem.

Copulas are also used in locative, existential etc. predications. Inflection of the copular verbs is presented in the following table:

Table 17. Inflection of the copulas

	3	1/2	Pst	Atr	Ptcp	Cvb
M	*lew*	*lewra*	*lewre*	*lewi*	*lewili*	*lewle*
F/NPL	*ler*	*lella*	*lelle*	*leri*	*lerili*	*lelle*
3/HPL	*leb*	*lebra*	*lebre*	*lebi*	*lebili*	*leble*
Neg Loc	*agʷara*	*	*agʷire*	*agʷari*	*agʷarili*	*agʷalle*
Neg Equ	*aħin*	*aħinna*	**aħinne*	*aħini*	*aħinili*	*aħije*
Cop	*sabi*	*ˀsabi(ra)*	*ˀsabire*	*	*	*

The form *sabi* is included on the list but has a very marginal status in Mehweb. If used at all, it has the status of a particle rather than of a true auxiliary/copula. It is clear that the -*b*- of the stem, etymologically a gender marker, has been fossilized.

Some forms, such as the converb of imminence, are not attested. Other special converbs are well-formed: *le=ijaʁle, sabijaʁle, agʷirijaʁle* (but apparently not *aħinijaʁle*), causal *le=lena, agʷarlena*, concessive *le=leʔur* and *agʷarleʔur*, additive *le=lera* and *agʷarlera* etc. Nominalizations such as *le=deš, le=ideš, sabideš, aħindeš,* agʷ*iredeš, agʷarideš* etc. are easily produced.

10. Irregular verbs

There is a number of irregular verbs, including especially motion and caused motion verbs. Several irregular verbs show irregularly short root, consisting only of one consonant. In the case of *es* 'say' it may be argued that it has a zero stem in the perfective. With the exception of the bound verb **k'es* (cf. *uruχ k'es* 'to be afraid of'; the verb itself is probably historically a reduced version of the imperfective of *=uk'es* 'say, tell' Ipfv), all these verbs are irregular in the perfective stem, while their imperfective stem fits one of the regular patterns of stem formation (cf. *lug-* 'give' and *luk-* 'saw', *irgʷ-* 'see' and *irk'ʷ-* 'put on', *uk'-* 'say' and *uk-* 'eat').

Table 18. Inflection of the irregular verbs

stem	*k'ib (bound)	ib 'say'	uk' 'say'
	Ipfv	Pfv	Ipfv
prs (3)	k'an,	-	=uk'an
{1/2}	k'as		=uk'as
imp	k'e(na)	bet'a(na)	=uk'e(na)
inf/fut	k'es	es	=uk'es
fut {1/2}	k'iša	iša	=uk'iša
nmlz	?	ari	=uk'ri
ptcp	k'ul	ibi	=uk'ul
pst (3)	k'ib	ib	=uk'ib
{1/2}	k'ira	ira	=uk'ira
cvb	k'uwe	ile	=uk'uwe
proh	-	-	mu=uk'adi
opt	k'ab	(bet')ab	=uk'ab
appreh	k'ala	(bet')ala	=uk'ala
cond	k'ak'a	(bet')ak'a	=uk'ak'a

stem	gub 'see'	irgʷ	gib 'give'	lug
	Pfv	Ipfv	Pfv	Ipfv
prs (3)	-	irgʷan	-	lugan
{1/2}		irgʷas		lugas
imp	-	irgʷe(na)	aga(na) =ega(na)	luge(na)
inf/fut	gʷes	irgʷes	ges	luges
fut {1/2}	gʷiša	irgʷiša	giša	lugiša
nmlz	gʷari	irgʷri	gari	lugri
ptcp	gubi	irgul	gibi	lugul
pst (3)	gub	irgʷib	gib	lugib
{1/2}	gubra	irgʷira	gira	lugira
cvb	guble	irguwe	gile	luguwe
proh	-	mirgʷadi(na)	-	mulugadi(na)
opt	gʷab	irgʷab	gab	lugab
appreh	gʷala	irgʷala	gala	lugala
cond	gʷak'a	irgʷak'a	gak'a	lugak'a

Note that the marker of nominalization, usually *-ri*, is *-ari* on verbs that lack any vowel of the stem (*gari, gʷari, ari*), and the presence of two different imperatives of 'give' – 'give to me' and 'give to someone else'. The inclusion of the stem *-uk'-* as the imperfective counterpart to the verb *es* 'say' is controversial. The two stems differ in transitivity, the former being intransitive and the latter transitive, so that the two may be considered as separate lexical items. However, =*uk'es* is not an equivalent of 'talk (with/to)' but is an imperfective counterpart of *es* 'say'. In the perfective, it lacks any segment at all except in the imperative and irrealis series that share the stem *bet'*, which is however optional in irrealis forms.

Further, there are several highly irregular motion verbs. The first one is the basic verb of motion, =*aˤq'-(un)* ~ =*aš-* 'go', a non-ventive verb. In both perfective and imperfective subparadigms, two different stems are present. In the perfective, these are =*aˤq'-* (the

participle and forms based on the participle stem, including aorist and general converb) and ꞊*uˤq'* (imperative, infinitive, future, forms based on irrealis *a*-base and the action nominal). These are stems distributed between different perfective forms.

In the imperfective, in addition to the stem ꞊*aš* that possesses the full range of forms, there are several forms based on the stem *q'ˤ*-. Attested are the general converb, action nominal and the synthetic present forms; possibly, other were left unelicited. Unlike other stems, these forms lack the class prefix altogether. The regular perfective ꞊*aˤq'uwe* designates andative situations and implies absence of the subject at the place of speech ('he is gone'). The converb *q'uˤwe* is imperfective and designates an actual ventive situation ('he is coming'). The converb ꞊*ašuwe* is also imperfective but conveys multiple or habitual situations. The perfective ventive situation is conveyed by the perfective converb of the regular verb ꞊*ak'es*.

A similar meaning (probably implying that the situation of coming is visually attested) is conveyed by the present forms *q'aˤn* (non-subject) and *q'aˤs* (subject); unlike other synthetic presents that (at least tend to) have non-episodic (habitual) interpretations, these forms seem to be progressives. The same irregularities are observed in the andative verb *ar꞊aq'ˤ*-(*un*) (*ar꞊uq'ˤ*-, *ar-q'ˤ*-) ∼ *ar꞊aš*-, which is a derivation of ꞊*aq'ˤ*-.

Table 19. Inflection of the motion verb ꞊*uˤq'e*

	Pfv	?	Ipfv
prs 3,	-	*q'aˤn*	꞊*ašan*
{1/2}		*q'aˤs*	꞊*ašas*
imp	꞊*uˤq'e(na)*,		꞊*aše(na)*
	꞊*eʔe(na)*		
proh	-		*ma꞊ašadi*
opt	꞊*uq'aˤb*		꞊*ašab*
appreh	꞊*uq'aˤla*		꞊*ašala*
cond	꞊*uq'aˤk'a*		꞊*ašak'a*
inf/fut	꞊*uˤq'es*		꞊*ašes*
fut {1/2}	꞊*uˤq'iša*		꞊*ašiša*
nmlz	꞊*uˤq'ri*	*q'aˤri*	꞊*ašri*
ptcp	꞊*aˤq'uni*		꞊*ašul*
pst 3,	꞊*aˤq'un*		꞊*ašib*
{1/2}	꞊*aˤq'unna*		꞊*ašira*
cvb	꞊*aˤq'uwe*	*q'uˤwe*	꞊*ašuwe*

Further, there are two perfective imperatives. The difference between them is not very clear but is probably correlated to the presence or absence of the final point, as in 'go away' (꞊*eʔe*) and 'go there' (꞊*uˤq'e*). Imperfective imperative is interpreted either as a multiple going event (regular interpretation, as 'go visit them') or as a single ventive imperative event (as 'come here'). Single andative imperative event requires the use of the perfective imperative.

As to the caused motion verbs, there are two series of forms, one based on *k*-, the other on *χ*-. To the best of my knowledge, the two series of forms are strictly parallel and designate bringing / fetching events, the difference essentially being between fetching or bringing animate entities (*k*-) vs. bringing inanimate entities (*χ*-). I will further gloss them conventionally as lead vs. bring, though the contrast is not identical to the contrast between *lead* and *bring* in English. In both series, the monoconsonantal base expresses the meaning of ventive (*k*- and *χ*-) and is perfective, the ꞊*u*C- with a class prefix slot is perfective and

elsewhere-oriented (*=uk-*, *=uχ-*), and the *=iC* base with a class prefix slot is imperfective and orientation neutral (*=ik-*, *=iχ-*). The strictly andative meaning 'lead/bring away from here is expressed by a verb with a prefix (*ar=uk-* ~ *ar=ik-*; *ar=uχ-* ~ *ar=iχ-*).

In a sense, there are two pairs of stems, C~*=iC* and *u*C~*=iC*, with two perfective stems sharing one imperfective counterpart. However, similarly to the 'plain' motion verbs (see above), the relation between the stems is probably different from that in other perfective ~ imperfective stems. The *=iC* stem seems to convey the meaning of multiple events while the C and *=uC* stems designate single events. As a result, the monoconsonantal verb behaves irregularly in that it has two converbs, perfective *kile* and several specifically imperfective forms, including imperfective converb *kuwe*, general present forms (with actual interpretation) *kas* (non-subject) and *kan* (subject). Unlike the non-causative motion verb described above, the supplementary episodic imperfective forms *kas, kan, kuwe* (*χas, χan, χuwe*) in the imperfective share the stem with one of the perfective series. A different look at the paradigm would be to consider each of the verbs of caused motion as including two different verbs, the more or les regular Pfv$_2$ ~ Ipfv$_2$ and the highly defective Pfv$_1$ ~ (Ipfv$_1$), probably with the regular verb used as andative and the irregular as ventive – but this needs further research into semantic and usage of motion verb.

Table 20. Inflection of the caused motion verbs

kes 'bring (animate)' and *χes* 'bring (inanimate)'

	k-	=uk-	k-	=ik-	χ-	=uχ-	χ-	=iχ-
	Pfv$_1$	Pfv$_2$	Ipfv$_1$	Ipfv$_2$	Pfv$_1$	Pfv$_2$	Ipfv$_1$	Ipfv$_2$
Prs (3)	-	-	*kas*	*=ikas*	-	-	*χas*	*=iχas*
{1/2}	-	-	*kan*	*=ikan*	-	-	*χan*	*=iχan*
Imp	*ka(na)*	*=uka(na)*		*=ike(na)*	*χa(na)*	*=uχa(na)*		*=iχe(na)*
Inf/Fut	*kes*	*=ukes*		*=ikes*	*χes*	*=uχes*		*=iχes*
Fut {Loc}	*kiša*	*=ukiša*		*=ikiša*	*χiša*	*=iχiša*		*=iχiša*
nmlz	*kari*	*=ukri*		*=ikri*	*χari*	*=uχri*		*=iχri*
ptcp	*kibi*	*=ukibi*		*=ikul*	*χibi*	*=uχibi*		*=iχul*
pst (3)	*kib*	*=ukib*		*=ikib*	*χib*	*=uχib*		*=iχib*
{1/2}	*kira*	*=ukira*		*=ikira*	*χira*	*=uχira*		*=iχira*
cvb	*kile*	*=ukile*	*kuwe*	*=ikuwe*	*χile*	*=uχile*	*χuwe*	*=iχuwe*
proh	-	-		*mi=ikadi*	-	-		*mi=iχadi*
opt	*kab*	*=ukab*		*=ikab*	*χab*	*=uχab*		*=iχab*

Another irregularity of the caused motion verbs is morphosyntactic: their imperfective stem is A-labile with an antipassive pattern; see the following section.

11. Transitivity

In this section, I consider several transitivity related issues, first of all morphological causativization, but also change in argument structure or marking which is not marked by morphological means - binominative constructions and related lexical phenomena, labile verbs and antipassive verbs. I also briefly consider another type of verbal derivation, typologically rare, probably even limited to (and within) East Caucasian languages - the category of verificative.

The only regular process of valency change in Mehweb is causativization. Periphrastic causativization is weakly grammaticalized in Mehweb; it is based on verbs *aʔ(ib)* ~ *iʔ-* 'drive, cause to go', *=aq(ib)* ~ *=irq-* 'let go' and *=aq'(ib)* ~ *=iq'-* 'do', and is discussed in detail in (Barylnikova, this volume). This section limits the discussion to the causativization in morphological and lexical domains. The discussion of morphological causatives relies upon the data collected by Ekaterina Ageeva in 2012 (unpublished field report).

Mehweb verbs are very productively causativized through the suffixation of *-aq-*. The suffix is identical to the perfective stem of the verb *=aq(ib)* ~ *=irq-* 'let go'. Grammaticalization of 'let go' into a causative marker is not surprising, but the suffix does not have the agreement slot present on the verb. Even though the slot might have been lost in the process of grammaticalization, the suggested path remains somewhat speculative. The suffix may combine both with the perfective and imperfective stem, so that each form present in the paradigm of the original, non-causative verb, also have their causative counterpart. Note that all causative verbs follow the *-ib* inflectional class in the aorist, independently of the inflectional class of the lexical verb: *=aˤHun* 'get wet' - *=aˤHaqib* 'cause to get wet', *=arcur* 'stuck' - *=arcaqib* 'cause to stuck'; just as *=acʼib* 'melt' *=acʼaqib* 'cause to melt'; labialized verbs preserve labialization: *=erqʼub* 'tear apart' ~ *=erqʼʷaqib* 'cause to tear apart' (Ageeva 2014). In a periphrastic form, the lexical verb but not the auxiliary is causativized:

(18) *b-aš-aq-u-we*   *le-b-re*
      HPL-go.IPFV-CAUS-PTCP-CVB   AUX-HPL-PST
      'He made them go (repeatedly).'

Causatives are formed from verbs with all types of argument structure, including intransitive, experiential and transitive; cf.:

(19) causative from intransitive (Corpus)
      a-b-iz-aq-ib   *abzul-la*   *χalqʼ-ane*
      PV-HPL-stand.up.PFV-CAUS-PST   all-ADD   people-PL
      '(She) woke up everybody.'

(20) causative from experiential verb (Magometov's text)
      hanna   *uzi-li-ʔini*   *ruzi-li-ze*   *b-ah-aq-ib:*
      now   brother-OBL-ERG   sister-OBL-INTER(LAT)   N-know.PFV-CAUS-PST:
      'Then the brother announced (made it known) to the sister:…'

(21) causative from transitive verbs (Corpus)
      d-aqʼ-ib   *duboˤʔoˤr-t*   *niʔ-ane,*   *χajagun-t,*   *d-aqʼ-ib,*
      NPL-do.PFV-PST   dish-PL   milk-PL,   fried.egg-PL   NPL-do.PFV-PST
      si-kʼal   *ħa-b-erkʷ-aq-i-le*
      what-UNIV   NEG-N-eat.PFV-CAUS-PST-CVB
      w-aq-ħ-aq-ib
      M-let.go.PFV-NEG-M.let.go.PFV-PST
      '(She) prepared meals, milk products, fried eggs (she) made, without (me) eating something, she did not let me go.'

Causative from the ditransitive verb *g(ib)* ~ *lug-* 'give' is not attested in the corpus but is well-formed. It is however morphologically irregular, as with several other verbs with monoconsonantal stems, that form causatives by adding suffix *-aχ-*.

Table 21. Irregular perfective causatives

(from Ageeva 2014)

g(ib) 'give'	*g-aχaq-ib* 'cause to give'
g(ub) 'see'	*gʷ-aχaq-ib* 'cause to see'
χ(ib) 'bring'	*χ-aχaq-ib* 'cause to bring'
k(ib) 'lead'	*k-aχaq-ib* 'cause to lead'

Irregular causatives in the imperfective are not attested; the corpus shows forms like the following, which are morphologically regular:

(22) *ar-m-iχ-aq-adi*
      PV-NEG.VOL-bring.IPFV-PROH
      'Let (the river) not bring me away!'

(23) *ar-uχ-aq-iša*
      PV-M.bring.PFV-CAUS-FUT.1/2
      'I will cause you to be brought away (by the river).'

Morphologically possible and accepted by many speakers are double causatives (noted in Ageeva 2014), but the semantic contrast between simple and double causatives remains unclear. Double causatives are not attested in the corpus.

The semantics of the causative forms is usually compositional, unless the whole causative derivation is lexicalized. On the special use of the causative in optative constructions see (Dobrushina, this volume). Examples of lexicalized causatives are, e.g. *=aʔ-aq(ib)* 'bring back' and also 'hit' - cf. *=aʔ(ib)* 'reach' (the latter probably from 'reach with hand', lit. 'cause the hand to reach'), *=ik-aq(ib)* 'put right' (of a joint etc.) - cf. *=ik(ib)* 'happen' (probably from 'fall', thus 'make fall in place') etc.

Some verbs are equally available in transitive and intransitive constructions without any morphological marking of the (de)transitivization on the verb. There are two known types of labile verbs, P-preserving labile verbs and A-preserving labile verbs. Note that lability is strictly lexical and limited to small classes of verbs. Additionally, there is a phenomenon formally similar to A-labiles that includes one verb that may be called lexical antipassive.

Table 22. Lexical valency phenomena

	P-labiles	A-labiles	Antipassives
transitive	A-Erg verb P-Nom	A-Erg verb P-Nom	A-Erg verb P-Nom
intransitive	P-Nom verb	A-Nom verb	A-Nom verb P-Erg

In other words, in comparing intransitive uses of these verbs to the transitive ones, P-labiles suppress their A-argument; A-labiles lose their P-argument and re-assign nominative

marking to the A-argument; and, finally, antipassives re-assign nominative marking to the A-argument without suppressing their P-argument but demoting it to an oblique slot.

With P-preserving labiles, the problem is that, in an ergative language with prodrop, it is hard to distinguish between a transitive verb with an omitted A-argument and intransitive use of a labile verb.

(24)   '(He) cut it'
(25)   '(He) cooked it' / 'It cooked'

Although, in my experience, the speakers easily distinguish between the availability of intransitive reading and prodrop, some kind of formal diagnostic may also be used. This diagnostic is provided by the morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive imperatives in the perfective paradigm. I thus classify a verb as labile if it is judged grammatical with both imperative endings. The following labile verbs are attested:

(26)   *=ic'(ib)* ~ *=ilc'-* 'fill'
(27)   *=erx(un)* ~ *=urx-* 'cook'
(28)   *=erc'(ib)* ~ *=uc'-* 'fry' (in intransitive use with human subjects, also 'straighten up')
(29)   *miʔ aʔ(ur)* ~ *miʔ irʔ^w-* 'freeze' (?)
(30)   *=o^ʕrʔ(ib)* ~ *=o^ʕʔ-* 'break'
(31)   *=erq'(ub)* ~ *=iq'^w-* 'tear apart, wear off' (?)
(32)   *abx(ib)* ~ *ibx-* 'open'
(33)   *ʔa^ʕjk'(ib)* ~ *ʔa^ʕjk'-* 'lock'
(34)   *q'a^ʕbʔ(ib)* ~ *q'^ʕibʔ-* 'close'
(35)   *=a^ʕld(un)* ~ *=a^ʕld-* 'hide'
(36)   *=arʔ(ib)* ~ *=irʔ-* 'gather'

The labile verbs designate situations that may proceed unsupervised (as cooking events), may both be carried out on purpose or occur spontaneously (as breaking or open/closing events) or may involve both non-human/inanimate (thus non-intentional) or human undergoers (as 'hide' or 'gather'); on semantics of lability in East Caucasian, see (Haspelmath 1993, Daniel and Maisak 2012).

Another test that could have been applied to Mehweb labiles is subject marking. Because personal agreement works on the accusative rather than ergative basis (see Ganenkov, this volume), after the A-argument is suppressed, the remaining P-argument controls personal agreement on the verb. However, I have only applied the imperative test. Note that both tests are applied to labile verbs with some difficulty, or not equally well to all of them. Most labile verbs, in their intransitive uses, typically take inanimate subjects and thus are not compatible with first and second person subjects and are not easily compatible with imperatives. In the latter case, the speakers envisage a situation of urging a process to proceed (see Dobrushina, this volume) - and most of them very easily accommodate to this interpretation.

No special study of semantics of the transitive / intransitive pattern alternation with labile verbs has been carried out. The following two examples from the text indicate that, in some cases, it may be connected to the absence of the agent, the usually transitive situation proceeding in a spontaneous way:

(37) intransitive (Corpus)
urx-ne   q'-aˤb-ib   kʷan,   unza   ʔaˤj-k'i-le   b-ik-ib
key-PL   PV-lock.PFV-PST   QUOT   door   close-LV.PFV-CVB   N-happen.PFV-PST
'The lock has locked itself, the door closed (=locked).'

(38) transitive (Corpus)
abaj   hil-l-ix-i-le   r-arg-i-ra,   unza=ra
mother   PV-F-put.PFV-PST-CVB   F-find.PFV-PST-1/2   door=ADD
ʔaˤj-k'-i-le,   hil-l-ix-i-le   r-arg-i-ra   abaj
lock-LV-PST-CVB   PV-F-put.PFV-PST-CVB   F-find.PFV-PST-1/2   mother
'I found (my) mother already gone to bed - I discovered that, having locked the door, she lied down.'

Note that, in these examples, there is no direct morphosyntactic evidence of transitive vs. intransitive use. It is only the context that suggests these readings. The first episode describes a situation of spontaneous locking of the door, leaving the master of the apartment, unexpectedly, outside the door and unable to go inside. The second episode tells how the narrator, coming home quite late, discovered her mother already asleep, and the door locked (apparently, by her mother, prior to go to bed). Very often, however, the division of labour between transitive and intransitive constructions with labile verbs in East Caucasian languages is more complex, so this needs further research.

In Mehweb, most experiential verbs are intransitive, with the experiencer marked by the inter-lative case. Some of these verbs take either the transitive or intransitive imperative suffix (e.g. *=arg(ib) ~ =urg-* 'find'; *=ah(ur) ~ =alh-* 'know'; *qum-art(ur) ~ -urt-* 'forget'). For two verbs, this correlates with a change in argument marking - the experiencer changes from inter-lative to ergative, and its agentivity increases ('know'-CAUS = 'learn (so as to know)', 'forget'-CAUS = 'try to forget' - see Ganenkov, this volume).

A-preserving labiles are less prominent in Mehweb and, generally, in East Caucasian, and were not collected systematically, although, in principle, the same imperative test could have been applied. It seems that the following is an example of a verb that can may be used both intransitively and transitively while preserving its A-argument: *=erq(ib) ~ =uq-* 'suck (intr and tr - e.g. milk)'.

Finally, two caused motion verbs k(ib) ~ *=uk(ib) ~ =ik(ib)* 'bring (animate object)' and *χ(ib) ~ =uχ(ib) ~ =iχ(ib)* 'bring (inanimate object)' exceptionally follow antipassive pattern of valency change. The verb is primarily transitive, but, exclusively (or at least preferably) in the imperfective, it can also be used with the A-argument in the nominative and the P-argument in the ergative.

(39) transitive pattern (elicited)
iti-ni   mura   d-iχ-ib
this-ERG   hay   NPL-bring.IPFV-IPF

(40) antipassive pattern (elicited)
it   mura-li-ni   w-iχ-ib
this   hay-OBL-ERG   M-bring.IPFV-IPF
'He was bringing hay.'

The pattern, to the best of my knowledge not documented so far in other Dargwa varieties, was independently confirmed by several consultants; it is also attested, without lexical constraint, in Chirag Dargwa (Dmitry Ganenkov, personal communication)

Some morphologically simple verbs may be considered to be 'lexical causatives' with respect to other simple verbs - i.e. forming pairs of verbs whose mutual relation is more or less similar to that in causative pairs but whose stems are not morphologically related. The list can not be exhaustive because it largely depends on what pairs one considers to be in causative correlation. Moreover, in a language with highly productive causative derivation, lexical causatives are not many. One example is *=ebk'(ib)* ~ *=ubk'-* 'die' - *=aˁbʔ(ib)* ~ *=iˁbʔ* 'kill'; the other, already much more questionable, is *q1-* ~*=a1q'(un)* ~ *=aš-* 'go' - *k(ib)* ~ *=uk(ib)* ~ *=ik(ib)* 'lead'.

The last phenomenon related to transitivity is the binominative (alias biabsolutive) construction. In Mehweb, as in some other East Caucasian languages, including the languages of the Dargwa branch, periphrastic constructions license nominative marking of both A- and P-arguments. Binominative constructions are only available in periphrastic forms based on imperfective converbs (see Ganenkov, this volume).

(41)   binominative construction (Corpus)
      hanna   caj-li   b-ilc'-uwe   le-w-re
      now   one-ATR   N-fill.IPFV-CVB   AUX-M-PST
      'And now he was filling (with water) another one (the second jerrican).'

The alternation between the expected ergative ~ nominative and the binominative pattern in the periphrastic transitive construction has been noticed and discussed by Magometov (1986: 84ff.) The semantic effect that the binominative construction brings remains unclear; in fact Magometov suggests that, in Mehweb, it is the binominative construction that is more natural in imperfective periphrasis. For further discussion of the syntax of binominative constructions, see contributions by Ganenkov and Lander (this volume).

Finally, I provide some examples of what has come to be called, in recent research on East Caucasian, the verificative construction. This construction has not been controlled in elicitation; the only and few examples that I have come from the corpus. The verificative construction based on a verb P is a complex predicate whose meaning is, speaking formally, 'verify whether P is true' or 'check what/who is x such that P(x) is true', where x is the argument of P - see the examples below. The verbal complex essentially includes two elements - the lexical verb followed by the interrogative particle followed by a more or less grammaticalized form of the verb 'see'; literally, 'P-whether-see'. This construction has been previously attested in two distantly related Lezgic languages, Archi (Kibrik 1975) and Agul (Maisak, Merdanova 2004), and later also reported in Chirag by Dmitry Ganenkov. In (Daniel, Maisak 2014), we discuss various properties of the verificative construction, including that, while various forms may appear in elicitation, the verificative is primarily used in purposive contexts with the infinitive ('in order to check whether…') or in the imperative ('go and check whether…'). These are exactly the forms attested in the corpus; only the copula as the main verb is attested:

(42) infinitive verificative, no question word (corpus)
nomir=ra   *χal*   *b-aq'-i-ra*   *k'ʷan*   *šula-le*
number=ADD   seek   N-do.PFV-PST-1/2   QUOT   tight-ADVZ
le-b-u-g-es
be-N-INTRG-VERIF-INF
'I touched the number (plate), to see whether it sits tightly.'

(43) imperative verificative, question word (Magometov's texts)
w-eʔe,   *ħule*   *wize,*   *či-ja*   *le-b-u-g'ʷ-a*
M-go.PFV   look   M-LV.PFV-IMP   who-INTRG   be-N-INTRG-VERIF-IMP
'Go and look, see who is there.'

In all East Caucasian languages where it has so far been attested, the verificative results from univerbation of the interrogative form of the main verb with the verb 'see'. Our consultants tend to write these forms together in transcription; otherwise, the only formal indication of grammaticalization is the loss of labialization in infinitive verificatives (*g'ʷ-es* -> *-g-es*). In other languages the grammaticalization process is more advanced. To understand the position of the Mehweb verificative with respect to the parameters previously set up for Archi and Agul, further research is needed.

12. Complex verbs

In Mehweb, a verbal stem is a bound morpheme that typically consists of one syllable, followed by one or more inflectional suffixes (exception being the truncated optative, where no suffix follows; see Dobrushina this volume). Pre-root slots are optional. The presence of a class prefix is lexically determined - formally identical roots may be different in having or not having a class agreement prefix (cf. *umc-* 'weight (Ipfv)' and *=umc-* 'swell (Ipfv)'). After the agreement prefix, the next slot to the left is that of the inflectional marker of negation (either standard or volitional). Then may follow a preverbal element. I consider the position of the negation prefix to be a diagnostic of a morphologically complex verb - if it is inserted inside what otherwise seems a verbal stem that conveys single verbal meaning, then the morphological element preceding the negation marker is a preverbal part of the verb, however bound it is. For verbs possessing an agreement slot, the position of this slot is another such diagnostic. Cf. the verb *qumartes* 'forget' where neither *qum-* or *-art-* is used without the other part, yet the negation is inserted between them; and the verb *kajʔes* 'sit down'.

(44) 'forget' *qumartur - qum-art-ur* (Pfv), cf. negative *qum-ħa-rt-ur*
(45) 'sit down' *kajʔib - ka-j?-ib*, the masculine *w-* is lost after vowel- cf. feminine *ka-d-i?-ib* (see Section 2)

Unlike negation, positioning of a class prefix at the beginning of a verbal form does not prove its simplex status, because the preverbal element may have its own class agreement position. Then, the complex status of a verbal stem is only unambiguously tested by the position of the negation.

(46) 'pull' *bit'ak'ib* (N), *dit'ak'ib* (F1), cf. *b-it'-ħa-k'-ib*

There is only one bisyllabic simplex root recorded so far - a root with two syllables not split by negation:

(47) 'fall asleep' =usaʔ(un) ∼ =usulʔ-, cf. negative ħa-wsaʔun

  While all or most East Caucasian languages use some more or less bound preverbal morphemes, some but not all of them also have a more or less substantial set of true preverbs (derivational verbal prefixes). Preverbs constitute a specific subclass of preverbal elements in that they combine with several verbal stems - first of all, motion and posture verbs, and have an isolatable meaning - often, spatial. While many Dargwa languages possess a considerable inventory of preverbs, in Mehweb they all ceased to be productive, so that many verbs with preverbs ended up with non-compositional meanings. On the other hand, there is a set of verbal stems that are more or less productively used in complex verb formation. Finally, some complex verbs are combinations of a preverbal element and a verbal stem that are only used together, as *qum-art-* above. I will consider them in turn.
  Dargwa preverbs are identifiable in Mehweb first of all on etymological grounds. The only typical preverb formations are the prefix *ar-* 'away' (*ʔaˤr-* in roots with pharyngealization, see Moroz this volume) in various motion verbs, in which a prefix with a clear directional meaning combines with a motion verb. All other combinations show a strong degree of idiomatization. The presence of highly idiomatic combinations seems to contradict Magometov's (1986: 74) suggestion that, in Mehweb, the system of prefixes has not been fully developed - rather, it passed away, leaving behind few vestiges. Below, all preverb∼verb combinations attested so far are given as perfective and imperfective, the pefective also showing the aorist suffix in parentheses; the preverbs are provided with meaning labels suggested by Magometov (1986: 74-80), who based these suggestions on comparison with other Dargwa languages.

(48) Preverb ar- 'away'
    (a) ʔaˤr=aˤqʼ-(un) ∼ ar=aš- 'go away, leave' from =aˤqʼ- 'go'
    (b) ar=uk-(ib) ∼ ar=ik- 'lead away'; cf. =uk- ∼ =ik- 'lead'
    (c) ar=uχ-(ib) ∼ ar=iχ- 'bring away'; cf. =uχ- ∼ =iχ- 'bring'
    (d) ar=ik-(ib) ∼ ar=irk- 'fall down, fall out'; cf. =ik- ∼ =irk- 'happen' (etymologically probably 'fall')
    (e) ar=ih(ub) ∼ =irhʷ- 'throw away, out from somewhere'; cf. =ih(ub) ∼ =irhʷ- 'throw'
    (f) ar=as(ib) ∼ ar=is- 'take away' (Magometov's texts); cf. *as(ib)* ∼is- 'take away'
    (g) ar=uʔ- ∼ ar=ulʔ- 'lose'; cf. =uʔ- ∼ =ulʔ- 'spoil'

(49) Preverb ka- 'down'
    (a) ka-lʔ(un) ∼ k-ulʔ- 'remain'; cf. alʔ-(un) ∼ ulʔ- 'cut'
    (b) ka=at(ur) ∼ ka=alt- 'leave'; cf. =atur ∼ =alt- 'put on/under (?)' (the distribution of this verbal stem in Mehweb is further discussed below)
    (c) ka=iʔ(ib)- ∼ ka=irʔ- 'sit down'; the stem is not attested as a free verb

(50) Preverb har- (not discussed by Magometov, highly idiomatized)
    (a) har=ik(ib) ∼ har=irk- 'become first'; cf. =ik(ib) ∼ =irk 'happen' (etymologically probably 'fall')
    (b) har=uq(un) ∼ har=ulq- 'run away, flee'; cf =uq(un) ∼ =ulq 'come, enter'

(51) Preverb če- 'surface' (highly idiomatized)
    (a) če=uq(un) ∼ če=ulq- 'grow (of plants or hair)'; cf. =uq- ∼ =ulq 'come, enter'
    (b) če-di=uq(un) ∼ če-di=ulq- 'become arrogant'; cf. =uq- ∼ =ulq 'come, enter'

    (c)   *če꞊꞊arc-*(ur) ~ *če꞊꞊urc-*, the verb which is described as 'unmount a horse' by Magometov (1986: 76) but is only attested in his texts once meaning 'stay as a guest' (Magometov's texts, Brother and sister); cf. *꞊arc-* ~ *꞊urc* 'stuck'

(52)   Preverb *q'a-* (not discussed by Magometov)
    (a)   *q'-aˤbʔ(ib)* ~ *q'-ibʔˤ-* 'close'; cf. *ʔaˤbʔ(ib)* ~ *ibʔˤ-* 'shut someone up; cast someone a spell of not being able to urinate or defecate (?)'
    (b)   *q'a꞊ik(ib)* ~ *q'a꞊irk-* 'become silent, stop'; cf. *꞊ik(ib)* ~ *꞊irk-* 'happen'

Some preverbs are only attested with one verbal root, and thus synchronically undistinguishable from bound preverbal elements discussed below:

(53)   *hil꞊ixib* ~ *hil꞊irxib* 'lie down (intr)'; cf. *꞊ixib* ~ *꞊irxib* 'put'
(54)   *a꞊izur* ~ *a꞊ilzib* 'stand up'; cf. below on the status of the verbal stem

Like many East Caucasian languages, Mehweb has verbs that combine with various elements in preverbal position to form non-compositional (or not fully compositional) complex verbs. Complex verbs show different degree of univerbation, which may be viewed as decrease in compositionality of the complex and increase in the boundedness of the preverbal element. The latter includes the loss of categorical transparency of the preverbal element, from autonomous noun, adverb or adjective for which the verbal stem serves as a verbalizer, to a bound morpheme with no clear autonomous semantics or categorical status. Assumedly, intermediate cases are also possible, when the preverbal element is recognized by the speakers as a separate word but is much more often used in a verbal complex, but this issue has not been studied, so the orthographic solutions are somewhat arbitrary. Whenever I have no elicited evidence that the element is only used in this complex, I write it separately below.

    The most productive verbs include *꞊uh(ub)* 'become' and *꞊aq'(ib)* 'do'. When combining with adjectives (the short form, lacking the attributivizer *-(i)l*), the two verbs form inchoative ~ causative pairs. Cf. *ara ꞊uhes* 'recover' lit. 'healthy become', *ara ꞊aq'as* 'heal' lit. 'healthy do' from *ara(l)* 'healthy'. Other verbs are attested in inchoative constructions very exceptionally; I have only one example: *ʔaˤrʁa waʔib* 'stretch'; cf. *ʔaˤrʁa(l)* 'long' and *waʔas* 'begin'.

    The verbs *꞊uh(ub)* 'become' and *꞊aq'(ib)* 'do' also form less compositional derivations with nouns or elements of synchronically unclear categorical status, e.g. *deh buh(ub)* 'start stinking' (*deh* 'smell'), *gʷer baq'(ib)* 'rock (a cradle)', *χal-baq'(ib)* 'seek', *dam-baq'(ib)* 'beat up'.

    The verb *ib* 'say' (Pfv) is used in complex verbs designating sound production or similar (*šʷaˤt'* *ib* 'whistle', *tu ib* 'spit', *aˤmču ib* 'sneeze' etc.) The recorded complex verbs designating motion are based on the verb *꞊uq(un)* ~ *꞊ulq* 'come, enter' which has a limited distribution as a free verb but is also used with prefixes (see above), in combination with an adverbial element *dur(a)* 'outside' in *dura ꞊uq(un)* 'exit'. The complex verbs with *꞊uq(un)*~*꞊ulq* 'move, enter' include *t'aħ ꞊uq(un)* 'jump', *čaˤχ ꞊uq(un)* 'slip', *duc' ꞊uq(un)* 'run', *tir ꞊uq(un)* 'wander' - it seems such verbs tend to designate quick movement. The verb *꞊aˤq(ib)* ~ *꞊irqˤ* 'hit' is used in several complex verbs, from highly compositional *kʷama ꞊aˤq(ib)* 'churn butter' (*kʷama* 'butter') and *urculi ꞊aˤq(ib)* 'chop wood' (*urculi* 'firewood') to non-transparent verbs with no common semantic denominator, *kal ꞊aˤq(ib)* 'go stale, mouldy' (*kal* 'mold'), *ʔaˤš꞊aˤq(ib)* 'come back' and *uruχ ꞊aˤq(ib)* 'become afraid'. The meaning 'be afraid' in the imperfective may also be rendered by *uruχ k'-*, where *k'-* is a bound verbal stem only attested in the imperfective. It could be that the difference between the two imperfective verbs, *uruχ ꞊irqˤ(ib)* and *uruχ k'(ib)* is that between multiple episodic events

(true imperfective of *uruχ =aˤq(ib)*) vs. state, respectively - but the evidence for this is not sufficient.

Other verbs include completely non-compositional combinations with roots which do not serve as productive verbalizers, so that identification of a light verb with a lexical verb is fully formal. These include:

(55) *xar-b-aʔ(ib)* 'ask'   cf. *=aʔ(ib)* 'begin'
(56) *q'ac'-b-ik(ib)* 'bite'   cf. *=ik(ib)* 'happen' (<* 'fall'?)

While the common way of univerbation is the increase in boundedness of the preverbal adverb or nominal with the stem identifiable with a free verb, several complex verbs contain a stem whose identification is problematic. Attested cases are:

(57) *miʔ aʔur ~ irʷ-* 'freeze' (cf. *miʔ* 'ice')
(58) *dub aˤʔib ~ ilʔ-* 'eat' (cf. *dub d-at(ur)* or *b-uc(ib)* 'be fasting')
(59) *qum-art-(ur) ~ qumurt-* 'forget'
(60) *=uħ(a)-aq'-* (Ipfv only?) 'talk'
      (note the absence of the agreement slot, thus not *=aq'(ib)* 'do')
(61) *=it'(a)-ak'(ib) ~ =it'(a)-irk'-* 'drag'
(62) *ʔaˤ-jk'ib ~ ʔaˤ-rk'-* 'lock'

In (60) and (61), the (*a*) appears before the negative prefix, otherwise lost before the vowel of the stem. If the last verb has a pharyngealized root, the preverbal element could be the pharyngealized version of the prefix *a-* (see above); however, I have recorded the present habitual negative form as *ʔaˤj-ħa-jk'-an* 'does not (usually) lock', which suggests a different underlying structure, something like *ʔaˤj-ik'(ib)*.

Two cases have an especially unclear morphological status in terms of (un)boundedness of the verbal root.

First, the verbal root *=at(ur)~=alt* seems to mean 'put' (probably from the original meaning 'leave'), but it is a markedly rare choice in this meaning (the common verb for 'put' is *=ix(ib)*). The stem is much more common in several non-compositional structures, including the prefixal verb *ka=at(ur) ~ ka=alt-* 'leave behind, lose' (also causative *ka=at-aq-* 'kidnap (cause to be lost?)'), with designation of clothes meaning 'take off', the noun *ši* 'sting' (meaning 'sting (verb)'), the apparently bound element *dub* (meaning 'hold fast', cf. also *dub buc(ib)* 'hold fast' and *dub aˤʔib* 'eat'), the word *c'urʔa* in the sense 'become/leave orphan' and the spatial form *hune=* 'on the road' meaning 'see off' ('leave/put on the road'?). But it is also used in the construction *=atur =aʔas* 'let (someone pass/go)', where what appear an aorist, a finite form (*=atur*) is used in apparent subordination to the verb 'begin'/'arrive'. Another probable use is the complex verb *waˤb-aˤt(ur)~waˤb-aˤlt-* 'call out'. The verbal stem is similar, but, first, the putative *=at(ur)~=alt* is irregularly pharyngealized (probably, pharyngealization has spread from the preverbal component, but this is an irregular process, because pharyngealization in Mehweb usually spreads leftwards - see Moroz, this volume). And, second, in negative forms, the *b* splits in two (*waˤb-ħa-baˤt(ur)*). This may mean that the former class marker, now frozen because it was controlled by the lexical noun which was the source of the bound preverbal element *waˤb-*, fused with the final *-b* of this element when the was no intervening negation prefix. But this process, again, is irregular.

Second, the verbal root *=iz(ib) ~ =ilz-* is attested with a preverb (see *a=iz(ib)* 'stand up' above), in *tir =iz(ib) ~ =ilz-* 'turn around' (cf. *tir =uq(un)* 'wander, go in circles' above), and in the expression *ħule =iz(ib)*, where *ħule* is an unclear form related to the noun 'eye', while the

complex verb agrees with the subject - the one who looks). Otherwise, the verb *=iẑ(ib)/=ilẑ-* does not seem to be used alone.

Finally, there are some idiomatic combinations of words of different categories with verbs, showing more or less clear paths of semantic derivation, e.g. *liħi bixes* 'listen' - lit. 'ear put'; *surat diltes* 'draw', lit. 'take out image', ; *himi abizes* 'become angry', lit. 'the bill raises', *aqu ihʷes* 'cover', lit. 'throw up'; and less transparent synchronically *žuχ wiʔ(ib)* 'urinate' and *k'uč'e wiʔ(ib)* 'defecate' - cf. the same root as a bound root in *ka=iʔ(ib)* ~ 'sit down'; *ask'es =erχʷes* 'fight' (lit. 'catch/cling go') etc.

Moods of Mehweb

Nina Dobrushina[19]

Abstract: The paper is a description of moods in Mehweb, a lect of the Dargwa branch of East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages, Republic of Daghestan. The data were collected in the course of several field trips to the village of Mehweb (officially, Megeb). The forms of non-indicative moods and common constructions where these forms occur are described. Mehweb has inflectional forms for the Imperative, Prohibitive, Optative, Irrealis and Apprehensive. Hortative and Jussive are expressed periphrastically.

Keywords: modality, mood, imperative, hortative, jussive, optative, irrealis, conditional, apprehensive, volitional

1. Introduction

This paper is a description of non-indicative moods in Mehweb. Mehweb moods are briefly discussed in Magometov 1982, Khaidakov 1985 and in a sketch of Mehweb morphology by Nina Sumbatova (manuscript). The data for this paper were collected in the course of field trips to Mehweb in 2013, 2014 and 2015.

I describe morphological forms of non-indicative moods as well as periphrastic constructions used for the expression of some categories which are rendered by non-indicative moods in many languages of the world.

There are five forms which can be considered as inflectional forms of mood in Mehweb: second person Imperative, Prohibitive, Optative, Irrealis, and Apprehensive. I also briefly describe the converbs which are used in the subordinate part of conditional clauses, because these forms are functionally close to the non-indicative moods, and in many languages, non-indicative forms are used in these clauses. The hypothetical conditional converb is derived from the same irrealis stem in -*a*, as Optative, Irrealis, and Apprehensive.

I also consider two periphrastic constructions: one is used for the Hortative (=first person plural imperative, or inclusive imperative), and the second for the Jussive (third person imperative).

The paper is structured in accordance with the semantics of non-indicative forms and constructions. It starts with volitional categories. In Section 2, the formation of second person Imperative is considered, and typical constructions with second person Imperative are described. Section 3 described Prohibitive – the negative Imperative which is expressed, in Mehweb as in most East Caucasian languages, by a dedicated morphological marker. Several interjections with imperative meaning are considered in Section 4. Sections 5 and 6 describe the form and semantics of periphrastic constructions which are used for Hortative and Jussive. In Section 7, semantics of the Optative is discussed, as well as some typical constructions involving the Optative. After volitionals, the forms with the Irrealis meaning are considered in Section 8; as in most Daghestanian languages, they occur almost

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exclusively in conditional clauses. Last, I consider the Apprehensive form, used to introduce a situation the speaker is afraid of (Section 9). In Section 10 (Conclusion), I compare the system of Mehweb non-indicative moods with that of five other Dargwa languages and dialects.

2. Second person Imperative

Second person Imperative expresses commands and requests addressed to the hearer. In this section, I analyze the formation of second person Imperatives in their relation to transitivity and controllability of the verbs, the agreement of Imperatives with the addressee, and the forms of address in the Imperative constructions.

2.1. Formation of imperatives

Second person imperative of imperfective verbs is always marked by suffix *–e*, unlike perfective. Second person imperative of perfective verbs is marked either by *-e* or *-a* depending on the transitivity of the verb. Intransitive verbs take suffix *-e*, transitive verbs take suffix *-a* (see Table 1):

(1)   *niʔ*   ***urt'-e***
      milk   **pour.IPFV-IMP**
      'Pour the milk!'

(2)   *ħu*   ***w-aqnal***   ***duc'***   ***ulqe***
      you.sg(NOM)   **M-often**   **run**   M.LV.IPFV-IMP
      'Run more often!'

(3)   *niʔ*   ***art'-a***
      milk   **pour.PFV-IMP.TR**
      'Pour the milk!'

(4)   *bagažnik*   ***q'aˤbʔ -a***
      trunk   **close.PFV-IMP.TR**
      'Close the trunk' (Aspectual test 1, 1.145)

Table 1. Formation of second person imperatives

	transitive	Intransitive
Perfective	-a	-e
Imperfective	-e	-e

As *-e* as an imperative marker is an unmarked choice, it is glossed simply as IMP.

Labile perfective verbs can form two imperatives, one that follows the transitive pattern, the other that follows the intransitive one. Cf. *abxes* 'open, PFV', *(b)aˤldes* 'hide, PFV', *(b)erqʷes* 'become worn, PFV':

(5)   *Rasul, qali*   ***abx-a***!
      Rasul   house   **open.PFV-IMP.TR**
      'Rasul, open the house!'

(6)   *qali,*   **abx-e!**
      house   **open.PFV-IMP**
      'House, open up!'

(7)   *Ali,*   **b-aˤld-a**   ʁarʁa!
      Ali   **N-hide.PFV-IMP.TR**   stone
      'Ali, hide the stone!'

(8)   *Ali,*   **w-aˤld-e**   ʁarʁa-la   Ɂaᴎwᴎad
      Ali   **M-hide.PFV-IMP**   stone-GEN   ‹M›behind
      'Ali, hide behind the stone!'

(9)   *Ali,*   **b-erqʷ-a**   ħawa!
      Ali,   **N-tear.PFV-IMP.TR**   dress
      'Ali, tear the dress!'

(10) *ħawa,*   **b-erqʷ̈-e!**
      dress   **N-tear.PFV-IMP**
      'Dress, get torn!'

Some verbs have irregular and / or suppletive imperative forms, for example the verb *es* 'say' has imperative *bet'a*; other cases are considered in (Daniel, this volume).

Imperatives from the verbs that denote events and situations over which the speaker exerts no control are acknowledged as grammatical by some speakers only. In most cases speakers are able to come up with a special context. For example, one can say *Bemže!* 'Get hot!' as if (s)he were addressing a stove.

Imperatives of some perfective verbs which denote uncontrollable events are presented in the Table 2.

Table 2. Imperative of intransitive uncontrollable verbs

Verb	intransitive imperative
-ac'es (perf.) 'to melt'	*b-ac'e* (addressing snow)
-arχes (perf.) 'to touch' (unintentionally)	*w-arχe*
-ebk'es (perf.) 'to die'	*w-ebk'e*
-emžes (perf.) 'to become hot'	*b-emže* (addressing a stove)
-erħes (perf.) 'to become rotten'	*b-erħe*
-ertes (perf.) 'to curdle'	*d-erte* (addressing milk)
-erɁʷes (perf.) 'to become dry'	*b-erwɁe*
-ikes (perf.) 'to happen'	*b-ike*
-uɁes (perf.) 'to become spoilt'	**b-uɁe*
-emχes (perf.) 'to swell'	*b-emχe*
kalɁes (perf.) 'to be left' 'remain' udi	*kalɁe*
-arɁaˤs (perf.) 'to become cold, freeze'	*d-arɁeˤ*

Most experiencer verbs have two imperatives, with suffix *-a* and with suffix *-e*. There is no clear difference in the meaning between these two forms.

(11) *ħa-ʑe*   *arʁ-e*
      you-INTER(LAT)   understand.PFV-IMP
      '[You] understand!'

(12) *ħa-ʑe*   *arʁ-a*
      you-INTER(LAT)   understand.PFV-IMP.TR
      '[You] understand!'

Imperatives from experiencer verbs are shown in Table 3. Not all speakers acknowledge both imperative forms of these verbs; the less accepted forms are marked by question mark.

Table 3. Imperative from experiencer verbs

experiencer verb (the meaning)	transitive imperative	intransitive imperative
-ahas (perf.) 'to know'	*b-ah-a*	*b-ah-e*
-arges (perf.) 'to find'	*b-arg-a*	*b-arg-e*
(-)*iges* (ipfv.) 'love, want'	??*d(-)ig-a*	*d(-)ig-e*
arʁes (perf.) 'to understand, hear'	*arʁ-a*	*arʁ-e*
gʷes (perf.) 'to see'	?*gʷ-a*	**gʷ-e*
qumartes 'forget'	*qumart-a*	?*qumart-e*
uruχ k'es (ipfv.) 'be afraid'	**uruχ k'-a*	*uruχ k'-e*

Notably, verbs that show semantic restrictions on the formation of imperatives easily produce imperatives within the Jussive construction. Jussive is built a combination of an imperative of the main verb with the imperative of the verb *es* 'say' (see Section 6):

(13) **gʷ-e**   *bet'-a*
      see.PFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR
      'Let him see!' (he should make attempts to see)

Some intransitive verbs that allow just one form of second person imperative, have Jussive construction with two imperative forms, the one in *-e* and the one in *-a*. Speakers' first choice is usually the form in *-e*. They do not see any semantic difference between the construction based on imperative in *-e* and the construction with imperative in *-a*. Cf. the example (13) and (14):

(14) **gʷ-a**   *bet'-a*
      see.PFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR
      'Let him see!' (he should make attempts to see)

Examples of Jussive constructions with intransitive and experiencer verbs are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Examples of Jussive construction with uncontrollable verbs

Verb	Jussive construction with imperative in -e	Jussive construction with imperative in -a
gʷes (perf.) 'to see'	*gʷe bet'a*	*gʷa bet'a*
-ac'es (perf.) 'to melt'	*b-ac'e bet'a*	*b-ac'a bet'a*
-emxes (perf.) 'to become swollen'	*b-emxe bet'a*	*b-emxa bet'a*
-ertes (perf.) 'to curdle'	*d-erte bet'a*	*d-erta beta*
-emžes (perf.) 'to become hot'	*b-emže bet'a*	*b-emža bet'a*

2.2. Number and gender of the addressee

All verbs in the imperative obligatorily add a dedicated imperative plural suffix *-na* to convey the plurality of the addressee.

Intransitive verbs which have a prefixal agreement slot agree in gender and number with the nominative argument; and since this nominative argument and the addressee coincide in intransitive verbs, the plural imperative suffix *-na* agrees with the same argument (17).

(15) *w-ak'-e*
      M-come.PFV-IMP
      'Come to me (addressing a men)!'

(16) *d-ak'-e*
      F1-come.PFV-IMP
      'Come to me (addressing a women)!'

(17) *b-ak'-e-na*
      HPL-come.PFV-IMP-IMP.PL
      'Come to me (addressing several people)!'

Transitive verbs with a prefixal agreement slot also agree with their nominative argument. Here, however, the addressee is the agent in the ergative case. The prefixal agreement and the plural imperative suffix are then triggered by different arguments (19).

(18) **b-aˤbʔ-a**   *urš-be*
      HPL-kill.PFV-IMP.TR   boy-PL
      'Kill these boys (addressing one person)!'

(19) **w-aˤbʔ-a-na**   *rasul*
      M-kill.PFV-IMP.TR-IMP.PL   Rasul
      'Kill Rasul (addressing several people)!'

The suffix *-na* as a plurality of addressee marker is also used on prohibitive forms (see Section 3).

In some Dargwa dialects (e.g. in Tanti – Sumbatova, Lander 2014: 146) the imperative form is not used if the P of the transitive construction is the first person. Optative is used

instead. It is not true for Mehweb – there is no restriction on the usage of the imperative with the first person:

(20)   *nu*   *dub*   *aˤʔ-aq-a*
       I   eat   LV-CAUS-IMP.TR
       'Feed me!'

2.3. Subject and forms of address

The agent of the imperative is not usually expressed, but it can be indicated by an overt second person pronoun if it is stressed:

(21)   *ħu*   *učitel*   **uʔ-e**
       you.sg(NOM)   teacher   **M.be.PFV-IMP**
       '[You] become a teacher!'

(22)   *ħu-ni*   *dečʼ*   **b-aqʼ-a**
       you.sg-ERG   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**
       '[You] sing the song!'

An imperative utterance can include nominal address. The form of address is in the nominative even when referring to the agent of transitive verbs:

(23)   *Muħammad,*   *dečʼ*   **b-aqʼ-a**
       Mohammad(NOM)   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**
       'Mohammad, sing the song.'

(24)   *Muħammad,*   *učʼitel*   **uʔ-e**
       Mohammad(NOM)   teacher   **M.be.PFV-IMP**
       'Mohammad, become a teacher!'

Second person pronouns and demonstratives (used as third person pronouns) cannot be used as forms of address:

(25)   * *ħu*   *dečʼ*   **b-aqʼ-a**
       you.sg(NOM)   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**

(26)   * *it*   *dečʼ*   **b-aqʼ-a**
       this(NOM)   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**

The second person imperative construction can however include a third person NP which is not a form of address. It is marked by the ergative with transitive verbs and by the nominative with intransitive verbs. Although the construction formally includes a third person NP, it is addressed to the hearer:

(27)   *Muħammadi-ni*   *dečʼ*   **b-aqʼ-a**
       Mohammad-ERG   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**
       '[Mohammad] sing the song.'

(28) *iti-ni*   *deč'*   **b-aq'-a**
this-ERG   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**
'[He] sing the song.'

(29) *it*   **w-ak'-e**
that(NOM)   **M-come.PFV-IMP**
'[He] come.'

Speakers often build this construction with additive particle *-ra*:

(30) *Muħammadi-ni-ra*   *deč'*   **b-aq'-a**
Mohammad-ERG-ADD   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**
'[Mohammad] sing the song.'

(31) *it-ra*   **w-ak'-e**
that(NOM)-ADD   **M-come.PFV-IMP**
'[He] come!'

The construction with a third person NP and the imperative is primarily used when the speaker addresses to several people. The following sentences can be uttered by the teacher who is addressing the whole class and chooses the pupils to perform certain actions:

(32) *Pat'imat-ra*   **d-ak'-e,**   *Asijat-ra*   **d-ak'-e**
Patimat(NOM)-ADD   **F1-come.PFV-IMP**   Asijat(NOM)-ADD   **F1-come.PFV-IMP**
'Patimat come, and Asijat come.'

(33) *Pat'imat-li*   *deč'*   **b-aq'-a,**   *Asijat-li*   *deč'*   **bel'č'-a**
Patimat-ERG   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**   Asijat-ERG   song   **read.PFV-IMP.TR**
'Patimat sing the song, and Asijat read the rhyme.'

(34) *mallarasbadi-jni*   *ib*   *iš-di-li-ze :*   *ca*   *udi-di*
Mulla Nasreddin.OBL-ERG   say.PFV.AOR   that-PL-OBL-INTR(LAT)   one   below-TRANS
w-iz-e-na,   *ca*   *aqu-di*   *w-iz-e-na,*   *urga-w*
M-stand.IPFV-IMP-IMP.PL   one   up-TRANS   M-stand.IPFV-IMP-IMP.PL   between-M
nu   *w-iz-iša,*   *nu-ni*   *ħuša*   *k'ʷi-jala*
I(NOM)   M-stand.IPFV-FUT.1/2   I-ERG   you.pl   two-COLL
χʷasar   *b-aq'-iša*   *ca-ca*   *ʁuruši-ze*
rescue   HPL-do.PFV-FUT.1/2   one-one   rouble-INTER(LAT)
'Molla Nasreddin told them: one of you stand higher, the other stand lower, I will stand between you two, I will rescue the two of you for one rouble each.'

2.4. Imperative with particles

The Imperative can be used with particles *-w* and/or *-ca*. Although the particle *-w* resembles the masculine class marker, it does not depend on the gender of the addressee:

(35) *deč'*   **b-aq'-a-w**
song   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL**
'Sing a song! (addressing women or men)'

The particle *-w* is identical to the question particle *-w/-u*. The particle *ca* is formally identical to the word *ca* 'one' and probably originates from it.

(36)   *ħaˤramir-ti-la*   *ʁuša-ne*   **elʔ-a-ca**
       Haramirt-PL-GEN   house-PL   **count.PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL**
       'List the families of the Haramirt (clan).' (Text 19. Clans, 1.6)

Neither of the particles can be used if the imperative utterance expresses permission:

(37)   *abaj,*   *b-uh-es-u*   *nu-ni* *g-es*   *rasuj-s*   *k'amp'it'*
       mother N-become.PFV-INF-INTRG I-ERG give.PFV-INF Rasul-DAT sweet
       '- Mother, can I give a sweet to Rasul?'
       b-uh-es   *b-ega*   */??b-ega-w*   */??b-ega-ca*
       N-become.PFV-INF   N-give.PFV.IMP   N-give.PFV.IMP.TR-PTCL   N-give.PFV.IMP.TR-PTCL
       '- You can, give it to him.'

The particle *-w* expresses a more categorical demand than that expressed by the particle *-ca*. Therefore, it is not used in the situations when the speaker has a status lower than the addressee, or when the speaker has no right to demand. In the following example, the child asks her mother to give her the sweet; with the particle *-w* she is straightforward, as if her mother must give it to her; with the particle *-ca* the utterance sounds as a mild request.

(38)   *abaj*   **ag-a**   */ag-a-ca*   */?ag-a-w*
       mother   **give.PFV-IMP.TR**   give.PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL   **give.PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL**
       nab   *k'amp'it'*
       I.DAT   sweet
       'Mother, give me a sweet.'

In example (39), the imperative with the particle *-w* would have been completely inappropriate, since the pupil addresses his request to the teacher. The imperative with particle *–ca* is better, although it is not the typical way to address the teacher.

(39)   *?Maisarat* *Magomedovna*   **ag-a-ca**   *di-ze*   *k'ung*
       Maisarat   Magomedovna   **give.PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL** I-INTR(LAT) book
       'Maisarat Magomedovna, give me the book please.'

Particles *-w-* and *-ca* can occur together:

(40)   *Pat'imat* *ħu*   *d-ak'-e-w-ca*
       Patimat you.sg(NOM)   **F1-come.PFV-IMP-PTCL-PTCL**
       'Patimat, [you] come!'

According to the corpus, the particle *-ca* is used very frequently; the particle *-w* was not found in the corpus.

2.5. Coordinated constructions with imperatives

If several imperatives are combined, the chain of verb forms can either consist of imperatives or combine imperative(s) with converb(s):

(41)   ***b-uc-a***   *maza*   ***aʔ-a***   *b-uħna*
       N-**catch.PFV-IMP.TR** sheep **drive.PFV-IMP.TR** N-inside(LAT)
       'Catch the sheep, let it inside'.

(42)   *Pat'imat* *kaltuška-ra* *d-urʔun*   ***d-aq'-i-le***   *ħarši* ***d-aq'-a***
       Patimat potato-ADD NPL-clean **NPL-do.PFV-AOR-CVB** soup **NPL-do.PFV-IMP**
       'Patimat, peel the potato and make the soup!'.

(43)   *k'amp'it'-une* ***as-i-le***   *tukaj-ħe-la* *ħu-ni-jal*
       sweet-PL   **take.PFV-AOR-CVB**   shop-IN-EL you.sg-ERG-EMPH
       mu-d-uk-adi
       PROH-NPL-eat.IPFV-PROH
       'Buy some sweets, (but) don't eat them'.

Further examples and some discussion of the contrast between the chains with imperatives and the chains with converbs can be found in (Kustova, this volume).

3. Prohibitive

The Prohibitive is a negative imperative which is expressed by a dedicated affix. It is formed with the prefix *mV-* with an unspecified vowel which assimilates to the next vowel (see discussion in Moroz, this volume, and Daniel, this volume), and the suffix *-adi,* sometimes truncated to *-ad*. In Section 10, I give some information on the origin of this marker. A class agreement marker *b-* (N or HPL) assimilates to the NEG.VOL marker *mV-* (see Moroz, this volume). Sometimes, prohibitive formation involves reduplication, as in (46) – see discussion in Daniel, this volume.

(44)   *deč'*   ***mi-m-iq'-ad(i)***
       song   **PROH-N-do.IPFV-PROH**
       'Don't sing!'

The Prohibitive can be derived only from imperfective stems. Therefore, each verb has two imperatives but only one prohibitive. There is no distinction between transitive and intransitive prohibitives.

(45)   ***mu-lug-adi***   *d-uk'-a-k'a-ra,*   *maja*
       NEG.VOL-give.IPFV-PROH   F1-say.IPFV-IRR-COND-ADD   Maja
       g-i-le   *le-l-le*   *hub-li-s*
       give.PFV-PST-CVB   COP-F-CVB   husband-OBL-DAT
       'Although she said: 'Don't give', they still married Maja'. (Text 14. Laces, 1.3)

(46)   *gurda* *b-ik'-uwe*   *le-b*   *sinka-li-ze*
       fox   N-say.IPFV-CVB   COP-N   bear-OBL-INTER(LAT)
       b-is-mi-m-is-adi   *ħu*
       N-cry-NEG.VOL-N-cry-PROH you.sg(NOM)
       'The fox told [to the bear]: "Don't cry".' (Text M. A bear, a wolf and a fox, 1.11)

The prohibitive has the same marker of plurality *-na* as in the imperative:

(47) *deč'*   **mi-m-iq'-adi-na**
      song   **PROH-N-do.IPFV-PROH-IMP.PL**
      'Don't sing!' (addressing several speakers)

The prohibitive suffix can not be truncated before the plural marker:

(48) *deč'*   **mi-m-iq'-ad-na*
      song   PROH-N-do.IPFV-PROH-IMP.PL
      Intended: "Don't sing!' (addressing several speakers)

The prohibitive can be used with the forms of address as the imperative is (Section 2.3):

(49) *pat'imat,   deč'*   **mi-m-iq'-adi**
      Patimat   song   **PROH-M-do.IPFV-PROH**
      'Patimat, don't sing the song'.

Constructions with third person subject are also available for the prohibitive:

(50) *pat'imat-li*   *deč'*   **mi-m-iq'-adi**
      Patimat-ERG   song   **PROH-M-do.IPFV-PROH**
      '[Patimat] don't sing the song'.

The prohibitive can take the particle *-ca*:

(51) **mi-m-iq'-adi-ca**   *hel*   *deč'*
      PROH-M-do.IPFV-PROH-PTCL   this   song
      'Don't sing this song!'.

4. Imperative interjections

There are several words which function as imperatives although they are not related to any verb. They are used to urge the addressee to perform an action, and some of them can attach the imperative plural marker *-na*.
        The interjection *ma* 'take, hold' is known in various languages of Daghestan (e.g. Archi, Aghul). In Mehweb, it may attach the plural marker *-na*:

(52) *ma*!
      INTJ
      'Take!'

(53) *ma-na!*
      INTJ-IMP.PL
      'Take (addressed to several people)!'

The interjection *ma* can be combined with other imperative form:

(54) *ma*   *as-a!*
      INTJ   take.PFV-IMP.TR
      'Take!'

(55) *ma-na*   *as-a-na!*
      INTJ-IMP.PL   take.PFV-IMP.TR-IMP.PL
      'Take (addressed to several people)!'

The imperative interjection *hara* is used to attract visual attention of the addressee. It also can attach the plural marker *-na*:

(56) *hara!*
      INTJ
      'Look!'

(57) *hara-na!*
      INTJ-IMP.PL
      'Look! (addressing several people)'

Two imperative interjections are used to urge the addresses to be quite and keep silence. For example, the teacher can use them in order to make children silent: *q'ah!* 'Shhh!' and *c'it'!* 'Shhh!'. These interjections cannot combine with the plural marker *-na*.

5. Hortative (first person inclusive imperative)

The term *hortative* is used here for the constructions which express the inducement to perform an action together with the speaker, cf. English *Let's go*. There is no dedicated hortative morphology in Mehweb, but the periphrastic construction which is used for the inducement to a common action is highly grammaticalized.

Hortative construction consists of the infinitive of the main verb and the form *CL-aš-e*, where CL is a class marker.

(58) **w-aš-e**   *χal*   **w-aq'-as**   *ħa-la*   *urtaq'*
      M-go.IPFV-IMP   seek   **M-do.PFV-INF**   you.sg.OBL-GEN   friend
      'Let's look together for your friend' (Aspectual test 1, 1.121)

The form CL-*aš-e* is an Imperative of the verb CL-*aš-es* 'go/come (IPFV.)'. Alone, this form can be used as a second person Imperative and as a Hortative. There are no other words in Mehweb which combine these two meanings in one form; there are also no other Hortatives which are expressed lexically, in one word.

(59) *pat'imat,* **d-aš-e**   *di-šu*
      Patimat,   **F1-go.IPFV-IMP**   I.OBL-AD(LAT)
      'Patimat, come to me!'

(60) **d-aš-e**   *tukaj-ħe*
      F1-go.IPFV-IMP   shop-IN(LAT)
      'Let's go to the shop!' (addressing a woman)

(61) *ali,*   **w-aš-e**   *di-šu*
      Ali,   **M-go.IPFV-IMP**   I.OBL-AD(LAT)
      'Ali, come to me!'

(62) **w-aš-e**   *tukaj-ħe*
     M-go.IPFV-IMP   shop-IN(LAT)
     'Let's go to the shop!' (addressing a man)

     This pattern of Hortative construction - with an infinitive and a particle originating from an Imperative or Hortative form of a motion verb – is attested in some other East Caucasian languages (Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009), Lak and Rutul (personal fieldnotes)).

     The imperative CL-*aš-e* followed by the plural marker *-na* is used as a second person plural imperative or as an inducement to several addressees to perform an action together. There is an irregular change of *-e* to *-i* when the plural suffix is added: *waše - bašina*:

(63) **b-aš-ina**   *tukaj-ħe*
     HPL-go.IPFV-IMP.PL   shop.OBL-IN(LAT)
     'Go to the shop!' / 'Let's go to the shop!' (addressing several people)

     In the Hortative construction, the form *CL-aš-e* agrees with the addressee, while the infinitive of the main verb agrees with the nominative. In the constructions with intransitive imperatives, the addressee and the nominative participant coincide (64, 65). In the constructions with transitive imperatives, the addressee coincides with the ergative participant; therefore the main verb and the auxiliary form *CL-aš-e* agree with different arguments (66 - 69).

(64) *w-aš-e*   *uz-es*
     M-come.IPFV-IMP   M.work.IPFV-INF
     'Let us work! (addressing a boy)'

(65) *d-aš-e*   *d-uz-es*
     F1-come.IPFV-IMP   F1-work.IPFV-INF
     'Let us work! (addressing a girl)'

(66) *d-aš-e*   *deč' b-aq'-as*
     F1-come.IPFV-IMP   song   N-do.PFV-INF
     'Let's sing a song! (addressing a girl)'

(67) *w-aš-e*   *deč' b-aq'-as*
     M-come.IPFV-IMP   song   N-do.PFV-INF
     'Let's sing a song! (addressing a boy)'

(68) *d-aš-e*   *urši w-it'-es*
     F1-go.IPFV-IMP   boy   M-draw.PFV-INF
     'Let's draw a boy! (addressing a girl)'

(69) *w-aš-e*   *dursi d-it'-es*
     M-go.IPFV-IMP   girl   F1-draw.PFV-INF
     'Let's draw a girl (addressing a boy)'

     Plural suffix *-na* is added to the verb CL-*aše* when the Hortative construction is addressed to several people and the action is thus meant to be performed by more than two participants, including the speaker:

(70)   **b-aš-ina**   *dečʼ*   **b-aqʼ-as**
       HPL-come.IPFV-IMP.PL   song   **N-do.PFV-INF**
       'Let's sing a song (addressing several people)!'

The Hortative construction can contain the first person plural pronoun as a subject:

(71)   **d-aš-e**   *nuša*   *tukaj-ħe*   **b-uˤqʼ-as**
       F1-go.IPFV-IMP   we   shop.OBL-IN(LAT)   **HPL-go.PFV-INF**
       'Let's go to the shop (addressing a girl)'

(72)   **b-aš-e**   *sinka*   *b-erkʷ-es*   *nuša-jni*
       N-go.IPFV-IMP   bear   **N-eat.PFV-INF**   we-ERG
       'Let's eat the bear!' (fox addressing wolf) (Text M. A bear, a wolf and a fox)

In Hortative construction, negation is marked on the main verb, since the illocution is not under the scope of negation:

(73)   **d-aš-e**   *dečʼ*   **ħa-b-aqʼ-as**
       F1-come.IPFV-IMP   song   **NEG-N-do.PFV-INF**
       'Let's not sing a song (addressing a girl)'

(74)   **d-aš-e**   *urši*   **ħa-jtʼ-es**
       F1-go.IPFV-IMP   boy   **NEG-M.draw.PFV-INF**
       'Let's not draw a boy (addressing a girl)'

Constructions with the negated verb of motion are not interpreted as Hortatives:

(75)   **mi-d-ikʼ-adi**   *dečʼ*   **b-aqʼ-as**
       PROH-F1-come.IPFV-PROH   song   **N-do.PFV-INF**
       'Don't come to sing a song'.

If a Hortative occurs in coordinative construction, one of the predicates can be expressed by a perfective converb (76), or both predicates are expressed by infinitives (77); in the latter case, one hortative auxiliary can belong to both infinitives:

(76)   **b-aš-ina**   *qali-ra*   **b-aqʼ-ile,**   *qʼʷaˤl*   **as-es**
       HPL-go.IPFV-IMP.PL   house-ADD   **N-do.PFV-CVB**   cow   **buy-INF**

(77)   **b-aš-ina**   *qali-ra*   **b-aqʼ-as,**   *qʼʷaˤl-ra*   **as-es**
       HPL-go.IPFV-IMP.PL   house-ADD   **N-do.PFV-CVB**   cow-ADD   **buy-INF**
       'Let's build the house and buy the cow.'

The motion verb almost always takes the first place in hortative constructions (78), but its final position is not completely ungrammatical (79).

(78)   **b-aš-ina**   *qali*   **b-aqʼ-as,**
       HPL-go.IPFV-IMP.PL   house   **N-do.PFV-CVB**
       'Let's build the house.'

(79) ʔqali **b-aq'-as** **b-aš-ina**
house **N-do.PFV-CVB** **HPL-go.IPFV-IMP.PL**
'Let's build the house.'

The particle of mild request *-ca* can be used with Hortative:

(80) **w-aš-e-ca** *heč'* *xunul* *ʔaˤχ* *r-aq'-as*
M-go.IPFV-IMP-PTCL that.higher woman good **F-do.PFV-INF**
'Let's help that women.' (Text 06. Mahmud Omar who was friends with devils, 1.11)

6. Jussive (third person imperative)

Jussive is a form or construction which is used to express an inducement to a third person, most often transferred via the addressee. Some East Caucasian languages have a dedicated form for this meaning; often, the meaning of Jussive is covered by Optative (Dobrushina 2012). In Mehweb, the meanings of the Jussive and Optative are expressed separately, by a periphrastic construction and by an inflectional form respectively. In Section 6.1, the structure of the Jussive construction is described. Section 6.2 discusses the semantics of the Jussive construction. Optative is considered in Section 7.

6.1. Jussive construction

The Mehweb Jussive consists of the Imperative of the verb 'to say' *bet'a* (irregular form; see Daniel, this volume) and the Imperative of the main verb. The Jussive is thus conceived as a transfer of a command or request to the non-locutor via the addressee (Tell him "Go!" → Let him go!):

(81) *Musa* **uz-e** **bet'-a**
Musa **M.work.IPFV-IMP** **say.PFV-IMP.TR**
'Let Musa work'.

(82) *saˤwˀi-jal* **uq'-e** **bet'-a** *heʔʷan-i* *ʁiz-be-ču*
‹1›self-EMPH **M.go.PFV-IMP** **say.PFV-IMP.TR** similar-ATR hair-PL-COMIT
'With this kind of hair, let him drive on his own.' (Aspectual test 1, 1.141)

Jussive semantics does not require the verb to designate a controllable action (see Section 6.2). Therefore those verbs which denote uncontrollable actions can be used in Jussive construction in the form which is morphologically imperative, while in the second person imperative construction this form is not used (see also Section 2.1):

(83) *d-aq-a,* *niʔ* **d-ert-e / d-ert-a** *bet'-a*
NPL-let.PFV-IMP.TR milk **NPL-spoil.PFV-IMP/IMP.TR** say.PFV-IMP.TR
'Leave it, let the milk spoil.'

The imperative of the verb 'say' does not have an agreement slot. It can only agree with the addressee in number, as all imperatives:

(84)   *urš-be-jni*   *deč'*   **b-aq'-a**   **bet'-a**
        boy-PL-ERG   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP**   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**
        'Let the boys sing a song (addressing one person).'

(85)   *urš-be-jni*   *deč'*   **b-aq'-a**   **bet'-a-na**
        boy-PL-ERG   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP**   **say.PFV-IMP.TR-PL**
        'Let the boys sing a song (addressing several people).'

The Jussive construction shows some evidence of grammaticalization. The agent of the Jussive construction can bear A or S marking (ergative with transitive verbs and nominative with intransitive verbs):

(86)   *Muħammadi-ni*   *deč'*   **b-aq'-a**   **bet'-a**
        Mohammad.OBL-ERG   song   **N-do.PFV-IMP**   **say.PFV-IMP**
        'Let Mohammad sing a song.'

The subject addressee of the verb 'say' is marked by Inter-Lative. The availability of S or A marking shows that the Jussive has developed into a periphrastic form distinct from the complement construction of the verb 'say'. Cf. next two sentences where the first example illustrates Jussive construction, and the second a complement clause-like structure:

(87)   *Musa*   *uz-e*   **bet'a**
        Musa   M.work.IPFV-IMP   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**
        'Let Musa work'.

(88)   *musa-ze*   *uz-e*   **bet'a**
        Musa-INTER(LAT)   M.work.IPFV-IMP   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**
         'Tell Musa to work'.

In Jussive constructions, the verb 'say-IMP' takes second position, after the imperative of the main verb. The following sentence is ungrammatical:

(89)   * *musa*   **bet'-a**   **uz-e**
        Musa   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**   **M.work.IPFV-IMP**

As with Hortative, negation is marked on the lexical verb of the Jussive construction:

(90)   *muħammadi-ni*   *deč'*   **mi-m-iq'-adi**   **bet'-a**
        Muħammad.OBL-ERG   song   **PROH-N-do.IPFV-PROH**   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**
        'Let Mohammad not sing a song'.

6.2. Semantics of the Jussive

Jussive is used in exhortations to actions by third person agents:

(91)   *išbari*   *muħammadi-ni*   *t'ult'*   **b-aq'-a**   **bet'-a**
        today   Mohammad.OBL-ERG   Bread   **N-do.PFV-IMP.TR**   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**
        'Let Mohammad bake bread today.'

Jussive can also express permission:

(92) b-uh-es-u   muħammadi-ni   k'amp'it'   as-es?
      3-become.PFV-INF-INTRG   Mohammad.OBL-ERG   sweet   take.PFV-INF
      '- May Mohammad take a sweet?'

      b-uh-es,   as-a   bet'-a
      N-become.PFV-INF   take.PFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR
      '- (He) may, let him take.'

Jussives can have inanimate subject. The Jussive construction with an inanimate subject expresses the speaker's indifference towards the situation (indifference is semantically close to permission). The implication is that the addressee should not interfere with the realization of the situation; for instance, s/he should not take the boiling soup from the stove:

(93) rurž-e   bet'-a   ħarši
      boil.IPFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR   soup
      'Let the soup boil.'

(94) d-uh-e   bet'-a   dig-uj-s
      F1-become.PFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR   love-PTCP.OBL-DAT
      'Let her get married with anyone (lit. become to whoever she wants).'

Constructions with inanimate subject show again that the Jussive construction is highly grammaticalized, because the imperative bet'a has lost its original meaning 'say!'.
      The Jussive is available only in third person. First and second person pronouns cannot occur in Jussive constructions:

(95) iti-ni   as-a   bet'-a   k'ampit'
      that.OBL-ERG   take.PFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR   sweet
      'Let him take your sweet.'

(96) * nu-ni   as-a   bet'-a   k'ampit'
      I-ERG   take.PFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR   sweet
      Intended: 'Let me take a sweet.'

(97) * ħu-ni   as-a   bet'-a   k'ampit'
      you.sg-ERG   take.PFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR   sweet
      Intended: 'Let you take a sweet '.

The semantics of indifference is the source for the constructions where the Jussive has a concessive meaning:

(98) uʐ-e   bet'-a,   saʁʷa-l-la   miski-je
      M.work.IPFV-IMP   say.PFV-IMP.TR   how-ATR-ADD   poor-ADVZ
      uʔ-es-i   it
      1.be.IPFV-INF-ATR   that
      'Let him work, he will still be poor (=Even if he works, he will still be poor)'

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(99) **d-uʔ-e**   **bet'-a**   *xʷaldili*   *amma*   *quli-b*
      F1-be.IPFV-IMP   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**   beautiful   but   home.IN-N(ESS)
      ħaˁnči   *ħa-b-iq'-an*
      work   NEG-N-do.IPFV-PRS
      'Let her be beautiful, but she does not make her work at home (Though she is beautiful, she does not work at home)'.

Unlike the Optative, the Jussive is not used to express wishes. Accordingly, the example (100) is acknowledged to be grammatical, but semantically inappropriate; one of the speakers suggested that this sentence can be uttered by an atheist who thinks that God can be forced to perform an action. The correct choice would be to use the Optative (101).

(100) *aradeš* **ag-a**   **bet'-a**
       health   **give.PFV-IMP.TR**   **tell.IPFV-IMP.TR**
       '?Let [Allah] make [you] healthy'

(101) *aradeš*   **g-a-b**
       health   **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May [Allah] make [you] healthy!'

When the Jussive is used do denote uncontrollable situations, they are interpreted as expression of indifference or allowance but not as wishes. The following utterance can be pronounced when the speaker does not care about the rain, e.g. because he has already done his work in the field:

(102) **d-aq'-a**   **bet'-a**   *zab*
       NPL-do.PFV-IMP.TR   **say.PFV-IMP.TR**   rain
       'Let it rain'.

If the speaker wants the rain to fall, he would rather use the form of Optative:

(103) **d-aq'-a-b**   *zab*
       NPL-do.PFV-IRR-OPT   rain
       'May it rain!'

7. Optative

The Optative is used to convey good and bad wishes. In Mehweb, as in many other East Caucasian languages, the Optative is expressed by a dedicated inflectional form (for a discussion of optatives in languages of the Caucasus see Dobrushina 2011). The formation of the Optative is described in Section 7.1, its semantics in Section 7.2, and typical constructions involving the Optative form - in Section 7.3.

7.1. Morphology of the Optative

The Optative is marked by the suffix *-b* added to the irreal stem in *-a*:

(104) *aradeš*   **g-a-b**
       health   **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May [Allah] make [you] healthy!'

The Optative can be derived from both the perfective and imperfective stems: *g-a-b* (give.PFV-IRR-OPT) - *lug-a-b* (give.IPFV-IRR-OPT); *d-ic-a-b* (NPL-sell.PFV-IRR-OPT) - *d-ilc-a-b* (NPL-sell.IPFV-IRR-OPT).

The Negative Optative is derived from the imperfective stem with the prefix *mV-*, the negative volitional marker used in the Prohibitive. The negative Optative may also be formed with the regular negative prefix *ħa-*. The negative Optative with the prefix *mV-* usually comes as a first choice of the speaker when s/he translates wishes with negation, but the forms with the prefix *ħa-* are also often considered grammatical. Forms in *ħa-* are more easily accepted from perfective verbs, thus filling the gap of the perfective negative Optative. Sometimes, however, imperfective negative Optative with the prefix *ħa-* is also accepted by the speakers (see Table 5).

Table 5. Forms of the positive and negative Optative

	Positive		Negative	
	perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
'give'	*g-a-b*	*lug-a-b*	*ħa-g-a-b*	*mu-lug-a-b* ??*ħa-lu-ga-b*
'sell'	*d-ic-a-b*	*d-ilc-a-b*	*ħa-dic-a-b*	*mi-d-ilc-a-b* **ħa-d-ilc-a-b*
'find'	*b-arg-a-b*	*b-urg-a-b*	*ħa-b-arg-a-b*	*mu-m-urg-a-b* **ħa-b-urg-a-b*
'eat'	*b-erkʷ-a-b*	*b-uk-a-b*	*ħa-b-erkʷ-a-b*	*mu-m-uk-a-b* *ħa-b-uk-a-b*
'drink'	*b-erž-a-b*	*b-už-a-b*	*ħa-b-erž-a-b*	*mu-m-už-a-b* *ħa-b-už-a-b*
'happen'	*b-ik-a-b*	*b-irk-a-b*	*ħa-b-ik-a-b*	*mi-m-irk-a-b* *ħa-b-irk-a-b*

Some Optatives have a reduced form: *w-ebk'-a-b* 'may [he] die!' - *w-ebk'* 'may [he] die!'

(105) *kapul-le*   *w-ebk'-a-b*
        pagan-ADVZ   **M-die.PFV-IRR-OPT**
        'May he die impious!'

(106) *kapul-le*   *w-ebk'*
        pagan-ADVZ   **M-die.PFV(OPT)**
        'May he die impious!'

(107) *ħa-la*   *abaj*   *r-ebk'*
        you-GEN   mother   **F-die.PFV(OPT)**
        'May your mother die!' [...can be addressed to a child if something bad is going to happen to her/him – i.e. may I die in your stead!]'

Apart from the verb 'to die', the reduced form was attested for the verbs (*b*)*erʔʷes* 'become dry', *če*(*b*)*uqes* 'grow', and (*b*)*alqaqas* 'grow (causative)'. However, not all speakers accept all these examples (unlike *webk'* which is frequent).

(108)   *ma⁣ʕqʼʷ*   ***b-erʔʷ-a-b***
        root   N-**become.dry.PFV-IRR-OPT**
        'May the roots dry out.' (a bad wish, suggesting that the addressee's clan should disappear)

(109)   *maʕqʼʷ*   ***b-erʔʷ***
        root   N-**become.dry.PFV(OPT)**
        'May the roots dry out.' (same as (109))

(110)   *maʕqʼʷ*   *ha-b-le*   ***če-b-uq-a-b***
        root   front-N-ADVZ   **grow-N-LV.PFV-IRR-OPT**
        'May it all grow roots up'.

(111)   *maʕqʼʷ*   *ha-b-le*   ***če-b-uq***
        root   front-N-ADVZ   **grow-N-LV.PFV(OPT)**
        'May it all grow roots up'.

(112)   *qu*   ***b-alq-aq-ab***
        field   N-**grow.IPFV-CAUS-OPT**
        'May the field grow!'

(113)   *qu*   ***b-alq-aq***
        field   N-**grow.IPFV-CAUS(OPT)**
        'May the field grow!'

     Truncated forms of the Optative are also attested in Akusha (van der Berg 2001: 34), Ashty (Belyaev, manuscript), Shiri (Belyaev, manuscript), and Tanti (Sumbatova, Lander 2014) lects of Dargwa.
     Some Optative forms have a causative suffix which is not motivated semantically. Cf. examples (112), (113), (114), (115), (116) and (117). When the speakers discuss the difference between the Optative with and without the causative suffix, they usually say that the sentences with causative suffix *-aq-* imply an appeal to God:

(114)   *qu*   ***b-alq-a-b***
        field   N-**grow.IPFV-IRR-OPT**
        'May the field grow!'

(115)   *qu*   ***b-alq-aq-a-b***
        field   N-**grow.IPFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT**
        'May the field grow [with the help of Allah]!'

(116)   *hum-be*   *ʔaʕχ*   ***d-uh-a-b***
        road-PL   good   NPL-**become.PFV-IRR-OPT**
        'May you have a good trip!'

(117)   *hum-be*   *ʔaʕχ*   ***d-uh-aq-a-b***
        way-PL   good   NPL-**become.PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT**
        'May Allah give you a good trip!'

This semantic difference between the ordinary and the causative Optative is due to the fact that the causative derivation adds a new participant to the situation. The sentences with the causative suffix may include the ergative of Allah (118, 119). If the participant is not overtly expressed in the sentence, this new participant in causativized Optative construction is by default understood as Allah. In another Daghestanian language, Archi (Lezgic), the ergative of Allah can be included even in intransitive Optative constructions meaning 'with the help of Allah', where the ergative may be interpreted as the ergative of the cause, one of the functions of the ergative case (Dobrushina 2011). In Mehweb, most speakers reject intransitive Optative sentences with Allah in the ergative (120, 121).

(118) *allah-li-ni*   *huˤm-be*   *ʔaˤχ*   **d-uh-aq-ab**
       Allah-OBL-ERG   way-PL   good   NPL-**become.PFV-CAUS-OPT**
       'May Allah give you a good trip!'

(119) *allah-li-ni*   *qu*   **b-alq-aq-ab**
       Allah-OBL-ERG   field   N-**grow.IPFV-CAUS-OPT**
       'May the field grow with the help of Allah!'

(120) * *allah-li-ni*   *huˤm-be*   *ʔaˤχ*   **d-uh-a-b**
       Allah-OBL-ERG   way-PL   good   NPL-**become.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       Intended: 'May Allah give you a good trip!'

(121) * *allah-li-ni*   *qu*   **b-alq-ab**
       Allah-OBL-ERG   field   N-**grow.IPFV-OPT**
       Intended: 'May the field grow with the help of Allah!'

If there is another overt ergative participant in the sentence, the clause is interpreted as an ordinary causative construction; cf. (124):

(122) *Rasul*   **w-ebk'-a-b**
       Rasul   M-**die.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May Rasul die!'

(123) *Rasul*   **w-ebk'-aq-a-b**
       Rasul   M-**die.PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT**
       'May Allah make Rasul die!'

(124) *Patimati-ni*   *Rasul*   **w-ebk'-aq-ab**
       Patimat.OBL-ERG   Rasul   M-**die.PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT**
       'May Patimat make Rasul die!'

7.2. Optative constructions

The Optative form is available for all persons, but with the first person the construction is pragmatically less felicitous.
       Third person Optative construction:

(125) *dursi*   *d-arš-i-le*   **kalʔ-a-b**   *ħa-la*
       girl   F1-be.beautiful-PST-CVB   **stay.PFV-IRR-OPT**   you.sg.OBL-GEN
       'May your daughter be beautiful'.

(126)   *urši q'uwat le-b-le*   **kalʔ-a-b**   *ħa-la*
       boy strength be-N-CVB **stay.PFV-IRR-OPT** you.sg.OBL-GEN
       'May your son be strong'. (lit. May your boy stay having strength)

Second person Optative construction:

(127)   *d-arš-ib-i*   **kalʔ-a-b**   *ħu*
       F1-be.beautiful.PFV-PST-PTCP **stay-IRR-OPT** you
       'May you be beautiful'.

(128)   *q'uwat le-w-i*   **kalʔ-a-b**   *Ħu*
       strong be-M-PTCP **stay.PFV-IRR-OPT** You
       'May you be strong'.

First person Optative construction:

(129)   *nu*   **r-ebk' / r-ebk'-ab**
       I   **F-die.PFV(OPT) / F-die.PFV-OPT**
       'May I die [but not you - addressing the child]!'

In Optative constructions, typical are frozen formulae, and central participants are often left implicit. Cf. examples (108), (114), (116) where neither the addressee nor the actor are overtly expressed. However, mentioning the addressee is not ungrammatical, as in the following examples:

(130)   **muħammad-is**   *hum-be*   *ʔaˁχ*   **d-uh-aq-a-b**
       Mohammad-DAT   way-PL   good   **NPL-become.PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT**
       'May Mohammad have a good trip!'

(131)   **muħammad-ini**   *ʁačne* *ʔaˁχ-le*   **d-ic-a-b**
       Mohammad-ERG   calf.PL good-ADVZ **NPL-sell.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May Mohammad sell calves with a profit'.

Another possible participant of the optative situation is Allah. Most often it occurs in optative sentences as a form of address:

(132)   **ja-allah**   *ħušab*   *taliħ* **g-a-b**
       PTCL- Allah(NOM) you.pl.DAT luck **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May [Allah] give [you] luck!'

In transitive constructions, Allah can also be expressed as an Agent, assuming ergative marking:

(133)   *allah-li[20]*   *ara-deš*   **g-a-b**
       Allah-OBL(ERG) healthy-NMLZ **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May [Allah] give [you] health!'

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[20] The ergative forms *Allahlini ~ Allahli* are morphological variants.

(134) **m-irq-ab**   *ħu*   *allah-li*
       PROH-1.let.go.IPFV-OPT you.sg(NOM)   Allah-OBL(ERG)
       'May Allah stay with you.' (=may Allah not let something bad happen to you) (Aspectual test 1, 1.156)

The Ergative form of the word *Allah* cannot co-occur with another agent in the ergative case:

(135)   * *allah-li*   *ħu-ni*   *b-iẓ-il*   *t'ult'* **b-aq'-a-b**
        Allah-ERG   you.sg-ERG   N-tasty-ATR bread **N-do.PFV-IRR-OPT**
        Intended: 'May you make good bread with the help of Allah.'

7.3. Semantics of the Optative

Optative forms are dedicated to the expression of good or bad wishes.

(136)   *ʔaq'*   **lug-a-b,**   *b-alh-ni*   **g-a-b**
       intellect **give.IPFV-IRR-OPT** 3-know.IPFV-NMLZ **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May [Allah] give [you] intellect, may [Allah] give [you] knowledge.'

Unlike the Jussive, the Optative does not denote an action which is meant to be fulfilled by the addressee or by a third person. If the Optative is derived from the verb which typically denotes controllable actions, the sentence is interpreted as a wish that God fulfills the action. The following example can be interpreted as a wish which can be made real by God, but not as an indirect command to the third person to give money:

(137)   *d-aqil*   *arc*   **g-a-b**
       NPL-a.lot   money   **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May you be given [by Allah] a lot of money '.

The Optative cannot refer to the past, cf. examples (139) and (140):

(138)   **w-ebk'-a-b**   *nu*
       M-die-IRR-OPT   I
       'May I die!'

(139)   * *dag*   **w-ebk'-a-b**   *nu*
        yesterday   **M-die-IRR-OPT**   I
        Intended: 'I wish I have died yesterday!'

Optative forms are widely used in everyday life. Below are some traditional optative formulae:

(140)   *q'uwat*   **g-a-b**
       strength   **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May [Allah] give [you] strength!'

(141) *k’ʷabaq’ala*   ***g-a-b***
       god.help[21]   **give.PFV-IRR-OPT**
       'May you have enough strength [to do your work]'

(142) ***w-ebk’-a-b***   *ħu*
       M-die.PFV-IRR-OPT   you.sg
       'May you die!'

(143) *ja-allah*   ***d-alq-aq-a-b***
       PTCL-Allah   **NPL-grow.IPFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT**
       'May [it] grow! (wish formula addressed to the person who is planting something)'

7.4. Expression of wish by means of forms in *-q’alle*

The wish of the speaker can also be expressed by forms ending in *-q’alle*. The derivation of these forms is described in Section 8. Forms in *-q’alle* show some properties of converbs (see Section 8, and Shejanova, this volume); the wish-constructions with forms in *-q’alle* must be considered as cases of insubordination (in terms of Evans 2007).

The counterfactual conditional converb in *-q’alle* can be used in a main clause in order to express the speaker's wish (similar to the forms of the conditional protasis in many European languages, as well as other language of the East Caucasian family, cf. Belyaev 2012). Independent converbs in *-q’alle* differ semantically from the Optative. While the Optative form expresses blessings and curses, constructions with conditional converbs denote dreams and desires of speaker about some uncontrollable events. In Dobrushina 2011, these two types of Optative were referred to as Performative Optative and Desiderative Optative. East Caucasian languages often have dedicated inflectional form for the former, but the latter is usually expressed by conditional forms, as in Mehweb.

(144) *ca*   *di-la*   *qali*   ***b-uʔ-ib-q’alle***
       PRTCL   I.OBL-GEN   house   **N-become.PFV-AOR-CTRF**
       'If only I had a house!'

(145) *di-la*   *adami*   *žaˁwal*   ***ʔaˁš-w-irq-ul-q’alle***
       I.OBL-GEN   husband   early   **PV-M-come.back.IPFV-ATR-CTRF**
       'If only my husband came back soon!'

The speaker's wish can also be expressed by a combination of the infinitive with the counterfactual marker *-q’alle*:

(146) *nu-ni*   *čaj*   ***d-erž-es-q’alle***
       I-ERG   tea   **NPL-drink.PFV-INF-CTRF**
       'I wish I had some tea!'

Unlike other converbs in *-q’alle*, the converb derived from infinitive is not used in reference to the past:

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[21] This word occurs only in this formula and so far seems to be unanalyzable.

(147) *dag*   **w-ebk'-ib-q'alle**   *nu*
      yesterday   **M-die.PFV-PST-CTRF**   I.SG
      'May I have died yesterday!'

(148) * *nu-ni*   *dag*   *čaj*   **d-erž-es-q'alle**
      I-ERG   yesterday   tea   **NPL-drink.PFV-INF-CTRF**
      Intended: 'I wish I had some tea yesterday!'

The hypothetical conditional converb in *-k'a* (see Section 8) cannot be used in independent constructions.

(149) * *nu-ni*   *čaj*   **d-erž-a-k'a!**
      I-ERG   tea   **NPL-drink-IRR-COND**
      Intended: 'I wish I had some tea yesterday!'

(150) *nu-ni*   *čaj*   **d-erž-a-k'a,**   *ʕaˤχ-le*   *b-uʔ-a-re*
      I-ERG   tea   **NPL-drink-IRR-COND**   good-ADVZ   N-become-IRR-PST1
      'If I had some tea, it would be good'.

8. Irreal forms

Cross-linguistically, forms with irreal meaning are most often found in conditional constructions and in complement clauses (Mauri, Sanso 2016). In Mehweb, as in many other languages of Daghestan, complement clauses do not employ irreal forms. Mehweb conditional constructions have non-finite forms in the subordinate clause (conditional converbs), and a finite form in the main clause (Irrealis). In this Section, derivation of conditional converbs (8.1) and Irrealis (8.2) will be discussed. In Sections 8.3, 8.4, and 8.5, conditional constructions of different types will be considered.

8.1. Conditional converbs

There are two markers of conditional clause in Mehweb. They are distributed according to the degree of (ir)reality: the suffix *-k'a* is used in the conditional clauses which may come true (hypothetical marker), the suffix *-q'alle* designates situations which did not and can not take place (counterfactual marker).

Suffix *-k'a* presumably origins from the particle *k'a*. The particle *k'a* is used for topicalization of words of different classes. In example (151), it attaches to the noun *sinkala*, in example (152) – to the perfective stem of the verb. In the latter example, the particle is used together with reduplication, typical for predicate topicalization (Maisak 2010): *dargk'a dargira*.

(151) *sinka-la*   **k'a**   *abzul-le*   *ʁʷaˤn-ne*
      bear-GEN   **PTCL**   all-ADVZ   lie-PL
      d-elʔ-un-na   *wahaj-le-l*   *ʁʷaˤn-ne*   *luʔ-es*   *w-aʔ-i-ra*
      NPL-tell.PFV-AOR-1/2   very-ADVZ-EMPH   lie-PL   tell.IPFV-INF   M-begin.PFV-PST-1/2
      'As for the bear, I did actually tell fibs.' (Aspectual test 1, 1.89)

(152) **d-arg-k'a**   il-di   qulle   di-ze
     NPL-find.PFV-PTCL   this-PL   house.PL   I.OBL-INTER(LAT)
     d-arg-i-ra   *huni-ra*   *b-arg-i-ra*
     NPL-find.PFV-PST-1/2   road-ADD   N-find.PFV-PST-1/2
     'As for getting there, I did reach those houses and found the street.' (Aspectual test 1,
     1.164)

Elicitation gave examples with predicate topicalization marked by the particle *k'a* alone, without reduplication:

(153) **luč'-ib-k'a**   il   ʔaˤχ-le
     learn.IPFV-PST-PTCL   this   good-ADVZ
     'As for studies, he did study well.'

(154) **luč'-an-k'a**   il   ʔaˤχ-le   amma   abaj-s
     learn.IPFV-PRS-PTCL   this   good-ADVZ   but   mother.OBL-DAT
     zahmat   *d-urh-an*   *il*   *d-ax-as*
     difficult   F1-be.IPFV-PRS   this   F1-support-INF
     'As for studies, she makes good progress. But it is difficult for her mother to support
     her.'

That the suffix of conditional clause originates from the topicalization particle is in conformity with the close relation between topic and condition as described in (Haiman 1978). It is likely that the suffix of counterfactual condition *-q'alle* also originates from the marker of topicalization. In Mehweb, the only function of *-q'alle* is to mark counterfactual conditional converbs, but in some other Dargwa languages there is a particle *q'al* (*q'alli*) with a wide range of meanings including topicalization (Maisak 2010, Sumbatova and Mutalov 2003). The following examples come from two Dargwa dialects:

(155) DARGWA (Khuduts village) (Maisak 2010; example elicited by D. Ganenkov)
     buč'=q'al   *buč'unni*   *cab*   *cik'al*   *hankalgunnek:u*
     read.IPF=PTCL   read.IPF.CONV   COP   nothing   remember.IPF.CVB + COP.NEG
     'As for reading, he reads (the book), but does not remember anything.'

(156) DARGWA (Icari village) (Maisak 2010; example suggested by R. Mutalov)
     buč'-ni-la   *q'alli* *buč'aƚa*   *cacajnaq:illa behelra…*
     read.IPFV-MSD-GEN   PTCL   read.PRS.1 sometimes   however
     'As for reading, I read (books), but...'

Forms in *-q'alle* and in *-k'a* can be embedded. This is an argument in favor of their converbial status.

(157) *nu*   [*di-la*   *urši-li-ni*   *xunul*
     I   I.OBL-GEN   boy-OBL-ERG   wife
     k-a-k'a]   *iχ-di-li-šu-r*   *d-uʔ-es-i*
     bring.PFV-POT-COND   that-PL-OBL-AD-F(ESS)   F1-be.PFV-INF-ATR
     'If my son gets married, I will live at their place'.

(158) *nu-ra* [*iχ* **w-ebk'-ib-q'alle**] *d-ubk'-a-re*
     I-ADD   this **M-die.PFV-PST-CTRF**   F1-die.IPFV-POT-PST1
     'If he died, I would have also died.'

In Sections 8.1.1 and 8.1.2, derivation of conditional converbs in *-k'a* and *-q'alle* will be considered in more detail.

8.1.1. Hypothetical conditional converb

The Hypothetical conditional converb shows the suffix *-k'a* added to the Irreal stem of imperfective and perfective verbs. Therefore, every verb has two conditional converbs in *-k'a*: (*b*)*elč'es* 'read, pfv' - *belč'ak'a; luč'es* 'read, ipfv' - *luč'ak'a.*

Conditional clauses with converbs in *-k'a* denote that the situation can come true in the future:

(159) *hel*   *deħ*   **b-aq'-a-k'a**   *sinka-li*
     this   smell   **N-do.PFV-IRR-COND**   bear-OBL(ERG)
     nuša   *k'ʷi-jal-la*   *b-erg-es*
     we   two-CARD-and   HPL-eat.PFV-INF
     'If the bear can smell this, he will eat us both.' (Text M. A bear, a wolf and a fox, 1.6)

Followed by the additive particle *-ra,* hypothetical conditional converbs are used in concessive clauses (160). This pattern of marking concessive clauses - by a combination of conditional converb and emphatic or additive particle, also well known in Latin and Romance languages – is attested in the majority of Nakh-Daghestanian languages (cf. Tanti (Sumbatova, Lander 2014: 138, Aghul (Dobrushina, Merdanova 2012)).

(160) *iti-s*   *rasul*   *hune-če*   **w-ik-a-k'a-ra,**
     this.OBL-DAT   Rasul   way-SUPER(LAT)   **M-happen.PFV-IRR-COND-ADD**
     iti-ni   *beʁi-če*   *waˤb-нaˤ-baˤt-ur*
     this.OBL-ERG   wedding.OBL-SUPER(LAT)   call-NEG-LV.PFV-AOR
     'Although she met Rasul, she did not call him to the wedding.'

(161) **mu-lug-adi**   *d-uk'-a-k'a-ra,*   *maja*
     PROH-give.IFV-PROH   F1-say.IPFV-IRR-COND-ADD   Maja
     g-i-le   *le-l-le*   *hub-li-s*
     give.PFV-PST-CVB   COP-F-CVB   husband-OBL-DAT
     'Although she said: 'Don't give', they still married Maja'. (Text 14. Laces, 1.3)

8.1.2. Counterfactual conditional converb

The counterfactual marker *-q'alle* can be added to all finite forms excluding the "Present". The speakers of Mehweb sometimes consider *-q'alle* as a separate word, but it cannot be separated from the verb. In this description, we consider *-q'alle* as a suffix. Table 6 summarizes the combinations of the verbal stems and the suffix *-q'alle*: possible combinations are marked as (+), impossible combinations are marked as (-), shaded is the form which does not exist in Mehweb.

Table 6. Stems which can add counterfactual suffix *q'alle*

	past	present	infinitive	participle
imperfective	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)
perfective	(+)		(+)	(+)

Examples are presented in the Table 7:

Table 7. Examples of the forms with the counterfactual suffix *-q'alle*

		past	infinitive	participle
'find'	imperfective	*b-urg-ib-q'alle*	*b-urg-es-q'alle*	*b-urg-ul-q'alle*
	perfective	*b-arg-ib-q'alle*	*b-arg-es-q'alle*	*b-arg-ib-i-q'alle*
'read'	imperfective	*luč'-ib-q'alle*	*luč'es-q'alle*	*luč'-ul-q'alle*
	perfective	*b-elč'-un-q'alle*	*b-elč'-es-q'alle*	*b-elč'-un-i-q'alle*

Counterfactual converbs in *q'alle* are used in subordinate clauses of conditional constructions (162), more details in Section 8.3), and in independent clauses with the meaning of wish (163), more details in Section 7.4). This latter usage may be considered a case of insubordination, typical for the forms used in conditional clause.

(162) *hete-r*   *hed-di*   *malʔun-ti-ni*   *r-uc-es*
      there-F(ESS)   that.far.away-PL   devil-PL-ERG   F-catch.PFV-INF
      q'-oˤwe   *le-l-le*   *kʷan,*   *nu*   *ca-ʁida*
      go.IPFV-CVB   COP-NPL-CVB   QUOT   I(NOM)   one-few
      ajʁaj   **r-uh-ub-q'alle**
      tarry   **F-become.PFV-AOR-CTRF**
      'If I would tarry there for just a minute, these devils would get to me for sure.' (Text 03, Story told by Aminat, 1.29)

(163) *ca*   *di-la*   *urši-li-ni*   *xunul*   **d-ik-ul-q'alle**
      PTCL   I.OBL-GEN   boy-OBL-ERG   wife   **F1-bring.IPFV-PTCP-CTRF**
      'If only my son got married!'

8.2. Irrealis

The predicate of the main clause of conditional constructions is expressed by the form with suffixal cluster *-a-re*: *dubk'are* 'would die'. The cluster consists of the suffix of the Irreal stem *-a-* and the suffix of the Past *-re* (*-a-re* - IRR-PST1). The marker *-are* is used only for the expression of Irrealis, so the form must be considered as a dedicated irrealis. The past suffix *-re* is not productive. Apart from irrealis, suffix *-re* occurs regularly only in two lexemes: in the past copula *le-CL-re* and in the form *digibre* 'would like':

(164) *k'ala-li-ze-b*   **le-b-re**   *doˤнi*
      Kala-OBL-INTER-N(ESS)   **COP-N-PST1**   snow
      'There was snow in Kala.' (Text 15, Lost Donkeys)

(165) *nab*   **d-ig-ib-re**   *čaj*
      I.DAT   **NPL-want.IPFV-PST-PST1**   tea
      'I would like some tea.'

Some speakers acknowledge other forms in *-re* derived from past stem of imperfective verbs as grammatical, such as *luč'ibre* (*luč'es* 'read, study, ipf.'), *isibre* (*ises*, 'take, buy, ipf.'), *urcibre* (*urces* 'fly, ipf.'). These forms are also interpreted as irrealis:

(166) ʔtukaj-ħe-la   si-k'al   **is-ib-re**   nu-ni-ra,   arc
        shop-IN-EL   what-INDEF   **buy.IPFV-PST-PST1**   I-ERG-ADD   money
        d-uʔ-ib-q'alle
        NPL-be.IPFV-AOR-CTRF
        'I would have bought something in the shop, if (I) had some money.'

These forms however are never used spontaneously, do not occur in texts, and many speakers do not recognize them at all. Even the speakers who can come up with an example using one of these forms, tend to replace it by the regular irrealis in *-are*.

The Irrealis form in *-are* is used in the main clause of conditional clause (most often counterfactual) (167) as well as for the expression of irreal situations in independent clauses beyond conditional constructions (168):

(167) *iχ*   *w-ebk'-ib-q'alle,*   nu-ra   **d-ubk'-a-re**
        this   M-die.PFV-AOR-CTRF   I-ADD   **F1-die.IPFV-IRR-PST1**
        'If he had died, I would have also died'.

(168) *rasuj-ni*   *qu*   **išq-aˤ-re**   *dag,*
        Rasul-ERG   field   **mow.IPFV-IRR-PST1**   yesterday
        amma   *наˤ-q'-un*
        but   NEG-M.go.PFV-AOR
        'Rasul could have mowed the field yesterday, but he didn't go'.

8.3. Counterfactual conditional clauses

Counterfactual conditional clauses contain a converb in *-q'alle* in the protasis, and the Irrealis in the apodosis. The constructions with the converb in *-q'alle* and Irrealis in *-are* denote situations which did not take place in the past (169), and most likely will not take place in the future (170).

(169) *urši-li-ni*   *χunul*   **k-ib-q'alle,**   *nu*
        boy-OBL-ERG   wife   **take.PFV-PST-CTRF**   I
        iχ-di-li-šu-r   *d-uʔ-a-re*
        that-PL-OBL-AD-HPL   F1-become.PFV-IRR-PST1
        'If my son had got married, I would have lived at their place.'

(170) *c'able*   **w-ebk'-ib-q'alle,**   *nu-ra*   **d-ubk'-a-re**
        tomorrow   **M-die.PFV-PST-CTRF**   I-ADD   **F1-die.IPFV-POT-PST1**
        'If you should die tomorrow, I would also die'.

A conditional clause with a counterfactual converb derived from an aorist refers to the past; if the converb is derived from an imperfective participle, it refers to the present:

(171) *iχ*   *dag*   *ʔaˤš-w-aqˤ-ib-q'alle*   *ʔaˤχ-le*   *b-uʔ-a-re*
      this   yesterday **PV-M-go.PFV-PST-CTRF**   good-ADVZ N-be.PFV-POT-PST1
      'If he had come yesterday, it would have been good.'

(172) *iχ*   *išbari*   *ʔaˤš-w-irq-ul-q'alle*   *ʔaˤχ-le*   *b-uʔ-a-re*
      this   today   **PV-M-come.back.IPFV-PTCP-CTRF** good-ADVZ N-be.PFV-POT-PST1
      'If he comes today, it would have been good.'

Converbs in *-q'alle* based on infinitives refer to the future, but there is an additional meaning of wish. They are also used in independent clauses (Section 7.4) to express wish. In conditional protasis, they denote desirable situations (173). Therefore, the converb "infinitive + *-q'alle*" is not appropriate if the conditional construction denotes non-desirable situation (175):

(173) *nu-ni* *čaj* *d-erž-es-q'alle*   *nu* *wana* *urh-a-re*
      I-ERG tea NPL-drink.PFV-INF-CTRF I   warm 1.become.IPFV-IRR-PST1
      'If I had tea, I would get warm'.

(174) *abaj*   *d-ebk'-ib-q'alle,*   *il*   *eh-il*   *urh-a-re*
      mother **F1-die.PFV-PST-CTRF** this bad-ATR 1.become.IPFV-IRR-PST1
      'If his mother had died, he would have become a bad person'.

(175) * *abaj*   *d-ebk'-es-q'alle,*   *il*   *eh-il*   *urh-a-re*
      mother **F1-die.PFV-INF-CTRF** this bad-ATR 1.become.IPFV-IRR-PST1
      Intended: 'If his mother had died, he would have become a bad person'.

8.4. Hypothetical conditional constructions

Hypothetical conditional constructions denote situations which can either be true in the present, can be realized in the future, or are habitual. The protasis of a hypothetical construction is expressed by the converb in *-k'a*. The apodosis can have different forms depending on the semantics of the clause.

(176) *iχ-ini*   *b-arx-le*   *b-urh-a-k'a,*   *iχ*
      that-ERG 3-be.right-CVB N-tell.IPFV-POT-COND   that(NOM)
      w-atur   *aʔ-as-i*
      M-free   drive.PFV-INF-ATR
      'If he tells the truth, they will let him go'.

Clauses with perfective and imperfective hypothetical conditional converbs in *-k'a* contrast as denoting single *vs.* multiple actions:

(177) *het*   *kung*   *b-elč'-a-k'a*   *nu-ni*   *ħa-ze*
      that book **N-read.PFV-POT-COND**   I-ERG   you.OBL-INTER(LAT)
      b-urh-iša   *hel-li-ja*   *χabar*
      N-tell.IPFV-FUT.1/2   this-OBL-GEN   story
      'If you read this book, I will tell you his story'.

(178) *d-aqil*   *kung-ane*   **luč'-a-k'a**   *d-aqil*
      NPL-a.lot   book-PL   **read.IPFV-POT-COND**   NPL-a.lot
      si-k'al   *nuša-ze*   *d-alh-ul*
      what-UNIV   we-INTER(LAT)   NPL-know.IPFV-PTCP
      'If we read many books, we know many things'.

8.5. Real conditional constructions

Real conditional clauses presuppose that the state of affairs in the subordinate clause is true. Real conditionals are sometimes treated as reason clauses, since they lack the main feature of conditionals – the lack of knowledge about the state of affairs denoted in the subordinate clause. In Mehweb, this type of conditionals has a special mode of marking, using an analytic construction with the verb (*b*)*arges* 'find, pfv'. This verb is found in many languages of Daghestan in semi-grammaticalised constructions designating direct (visual) evidence (cf. Maisak, Daniel 2016).

Conditional clauses of real conditional construction have an auxiliary verb *warges* marked by the conditional suffix *-k'a*, and the lexical verb.

The main clause of real conditional constructions can have different indicative forms depending on the semantics of the situation. In example (179), the situation of the matrix clause belongs to the past, in examples (180) and (181) it belongs to the future:

(179) *ili-s*   *hune-če*   *w-ik-i-le*   **w-arg-a-k'a**
      this-DAT   way-SUPER(LAT)   M-happen.PFV-PST-CVB   **M-find.PFV-IRR-COND**
      rasul, *ili-ni*   *beʁi-če*   *waʕb-aʕt-ur-i*   *il*
      Rasul   this-ERG   wedding.OBL-SUPER(LAT)   call-LV.PFV-AOR-PTCP   this
      'If she met Rasul [according to what you know about it], she called him to the wedding.'

(180) *anwar* *w-ak'-i-le*   **w-arg-a-k'a,**   *abaj-šu*   *uʕq'-es*
      Anwar   M-come.PFV-CVB   **M-find.PFV-POT-COND** mother-AD(LAT)   M.go-FUT3
      'As [it turned out that] Anwar came, he will go to his mother '.

(181) *rasuj-ze*   *arc*   *kʷe*   *d-ik-i-le*
      Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)   money   in.hands(LAT)   **NPL-happen.PFV-PST-CVB**
      d-arg-a-k'a,   *ili-ni*   *abaj-s*   *sajʁat*   *as-es*
      NPL-find.PFV-IRR-COND   this-ERG   mother-DAT   gift   buy.PFV-INF
      'As Rasul [as it turned out] has got the money, he will buy the gift to his mother.'

9. Apprehensive

Mehweb has a dedicated form to express apprehension. When used in independent clauses, the Apprehensive means that the speaker is afraid that some undesirable situation may come true. The Apprehensive is formed with the suffix *-la* attached to the irrealis stem: *-a-la*.

(182) *d-arʔ-a*   *mura,* *zab* **d-aʕq'-a-la**
      NPL-gather.PFV-IMP.TR   hay   rain   **NPL-go.PFV-IRR-APPR**
      'Collect the hay, it might rain'.

Apprehensive has a negative counterpart:

(183) *zab*   **ħa-d-aˤqʼ-a-la**   *hab,*   *d-aˤq-a*   *šin*
      rain   **NEG-NPL-go.PFV-IRR-APPR**   ahead   NPL-hit.PFV-IMP.TR   water
      agarod-le-ħe
      vegetable.garden-OBL-IN(LAT)
      'Turn on the water in the garden, [because/ in case] it might not rain'.

Apprehensive forms are commonly used to express warnings about something that may happen to the addressee:

(184) *q'eju,*   **w-igʷ-a-la**
      slow   **M-burn.PFV-IRR-APPR**
      'Be careful, beware not to get burnt'.

(185) *q'eju,*   **ar-d-ik-a-la**
      slow   **down-F1-fall.PFV-IRR-APPR**
      'Be careful, beware not to fall down'.

Apprehensives are often accompanied by the particle *ʔaj*:

(186) *ħu*   *ʁanq'*   **uh-a-la**   *ʔaj*
      you   drown   **1.become.PFV-IRR-APPR**   PTCL
      'Beware not to drown.'

First and third person subjects are also available in the apprehensive constructions:

(187) *nu*   *ʁanq'*   **uh-a-la**
      I   drown   **1.become.PFV-IRR-APPR**
      'May I not drawn'.

(188) *hara*   *nu*   **ar-d-uk-a-la**
      PART   I(NOM)   **away-F1-lead.PFV-IRR-APPR**
      'Be careful, someone may abduct me!'

(189) *žanawal-li-ni*   *maza*   **ar-b-uk-a-la**
      wolf-OBL-ERG   sheep   **away-N-lead.PFV-IRR-APPR**
      'The wolf can steal the sheep'.

The Apprehensive has an inherent negative value. If it is used with reference to situations which are usually viewed as positive, the situation changes its value from positive to negative. The example (190) is grammatical only if the speaker wants to have a daughter more than a son (which is unusual), the example (191) - only if the speaker does not want to recover from his illness.

(190) *urši* **w-aq'-a-la**   *ħu-ni*   *d-aq'-a*   *dursi*
      boy   **M-do.PFV-IRR-APPR**   you-ERG   F1-do.PFV-IMP.TR   girl
      '[I am afraid that] you give birth to a boy, [better] give birth to a girl!'

(191) *ara*   ***d-uh-a-la***
       health   **F1-become.PFV-IRR-APPR**
       '[I am afraid that] I become healthy!'

Apprehensive predicates are regularly used in the complement clauses of the verbs of fear followed by the complementizer *ile*:

(192) *nu*   *uruχ*   *k'u-we*   *le-w-ra*   *žanawal-li-ni*
       I   be.afraid   LV.IPFV-CVB   be-M-1/2   wolf-OBL-ERG
       maza   ***ar-b-uk-a-la***   *Ile*
       sheep **away-N-LEAD.PFV-IRR-APPR**   COMPL
       'I am afraid that wolf steals a sheep'.

(193) *nu*   *uruχ*   *k'-as*   *ħu*   *ize-s*
       I   be.afraid   LV.IPFV-FUT.1/2   you   be.ill.IPFV-INF
       d-aʔ-a-la   *ile*
       F1-begin.PFV-IRR-APPR   COMPL
       'I am afraid that you might fall ill'.

If the subject of the apprehensive complement clause is coreferent to the subject of the main clause, the logophoric pronoun *sa-CL-i* is used (see Kozhukhar', this volume). This is a phenomenon common to other cases of subordination with *ile* (which is the perfective converb of the verb 'say').

(194) *baba*   *uruχ*   *k'-uwe*   *le-r*   *xʷe*
       granny be.afraid   LV.IPFV-CVB COP-F dog
       q'ac' ***b-ik-a-la***   *Ile*
       bite   **N-LV.PFV-IRR-APPR** COMPL
       'My grandmother is afraid that the dog bites her'.

(195) *baba*   *uruχ*   *k'-uwe*   *le-r,*   *sa-r-i*
       granny be.afraid LV.IPFV-CVB COP-F   self-F.SG
       ar-d-ik-a-la   *ile*
       PV-F1-fall.down.PFV-IRR-APPR   COMPL
       'The grandmother is afraid of falling down'.

Apprehensives cannot refer to a situation in the past. The next example is ungrammatical (196), and has to be modified as in (197).

(196) **nu* *uruχ*   *k'a-s*   *dag*   *anwal-li-če*
       I   be.afraid LV.IPFV-FUT1/2   yesterday Anwar-OBL-SUP(LAT)
       xʷe *q'ac*   ****b-ik-a-la***
       dog   bite   **N-LV.PFV-IRR-APPR**
       Intended: 'I am afraid that the dog bit Anwar yesterday.'

(197) *nu   uruχ   k'a-s   dag-ʔʷanal   anwal-li-če*
       I   be.afraid LV.IPFV-FUT.1/2   yesterday-like Anwar-OBL-SUP(LAT)
       *xʷe   q'ac   **b-ik-a-la**   ile*
       dog   bite   **N-happen.PFV-IRR-APPR**   COMPL
       'I am afraid that the dog might bite Anwar as yesterday.'

The construction with the apprehensive and complementizer can be embedded:

(198) *Musa-ni   mura   d-arʔ-ib   [dunijal **ur-a-la**   ile]*
       Musa-ERG   hay   NPL-gather.PFV-AOR(3) world   **rain-IRR-APPR** COMPL
       'Musa collected the hay out of fear that rain starts'.

(199) *Musa-ni   [dunijal **ur-a-la**   ile]   mura   d-arʔ-ib*
       Musa-ERG   world   **rain-IRR-APPR** COMPL   hay   PL-gather.PFV-AOR(3)
       'Musa collected the hay out of fear that rain starts'.

The Apprehensive construction without the complementizer cannot be embedded.

(200) *eli   šula-le   b-uc-a   [ʁadara b-oˤrʔ-aq-a-la]*
       child tight-ADVZ N-hold.PFV-IMP.TR   dish   N-break.PFV-CAUS-IRR-APPR
       'Hold the child tight so that it does not break the dish.'

(201) **eli   [ʁadara b-oˤrʔ-aq-a-la]   šula-le   b-uc-a*
       child   dish   N-break-CAUS-IRR-APPR   tight-ADVZ N-hold.PFV-IMP.TR
       Intended: 'Hold the child tight so that it does not break the dish.'

(202) *sumka   b-ux-a   matħ   **ar-d-uʔ-a-la***
       Bag   N-bring.PFV-IMP.TR   money   **PV-NPL-lose.PFV-IRR-APPR**
       'Take the bag not to lose the money.'

(203) **sumka   [matħ   **ar-d-uʔ-a-la**]   b-ux-a*
       bag   money   **NPL-lose.PFV-IRR-APPR**   N-bring.PFV-IMP.TR
       Intended: 'Take the bag not to lose the money.'

Apprehensive is used to express negative purpose:

(204) *w-aˤld-e   adaj-ni   ħu   dam **w-aq'-a-la***
       M-hide.PFV-IMP   father-ERG   you.sg(NOM)   beat **M-do.PFV-IRR-APPR**
       'Hide, so that your father does not beat you'.

(205) *c'a-li-če   ħule w-iz-e,   **b-uš-a-la***
       fire-OBL-SUP(LAT)   look M-LV.PFV-IMP   **N-die(of.fire).PFV-IRR-APPR**
       'Watch the fire so that it does not go out'.

The purpose converb in *-alis* is also used to express negative purpose. Unlike apprehensive, negation in the purpose converb is overtly marked by prefix *ħa-*:

(206)   *w-aˁld-e*   *adaj-ni*   *ħu*   *dam*   **ħa-w-aq'-a-lis**
       M-hide.PFV-IMP   father-ERG   you.sg(NOM)   beat   **NEG-M-do.PFV-IRR-PURP**
       'Hide, so that your father don't beat you'.

(207)   *c'a-li-če*   *ħule*   *w-iz-e*   **ħa-b-uš-a-lis**
       fire-OBL-SUP(LAT)   look   M-LV.PFV-IMP.ITR   **NEG-N-die(of.fire).PFV-IRR-PURP**
       'Watch the fire so that it does not go out'.

As some other verbal forms, apprehensives can be part of construction with topicalizing reduplication.

(208)   *it*   **w-erχʷ**   **ħa-rχʷ-a-la**   *nu*
       this   **M-enter.PFV**   **NEG-M.enter.PFV-IRR-APPR**   I
       le-l-la   *uruχ*   *k'-uwe*
       COP-F-1/2   afraid   be.afraid.IPFV-CVB
       'I worry that he may not enter [the university].'

10. Conclusion

In the conclusion, I will compare the Mehweb system of non-indicative forms with that of several other Dargwa lects (languages or dialects): Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari. Akusha is especially interesting for this study, because it is suggested that Mehwebs came to the place where they now live from the areas where the Akusha dialect is spoken (Dobrushina, this volume). If this hypothesis is true, we might expect that Mehweb will show more similarity with Akusha than with other Dargwa lects. Another object for the comparison is Avar – the language which is spoken in the vicinity and which could have influenced Mehweb.

The main prominent feature of Mehweb is the absence of personal endings in all non-indicative forms. In this respect, Mehweb is presumably unique among Dargwa languages and dialects. Akusha, Tanti, Shiri, Ashty, Icari – all distinguish persons in the forms of Optative and Conditional forms. The loss of personal endings may be due to the influence of Avar, since the latter has no personal paradigm.

Some traces of the former personal endings are still present in the grammar of non-indicative mood forms. Mehweb Prohibitive ends in –*ad(i)*. In Akusha Dargwa, -*ad* of Prohibitive coincides with the second person Future marker (van der Berg 2001: 36). Shiri, Ashty and Icari use the endings –*t/-tː* in Prohibitive, which are the markers of the second person in some other forms of these lects (Belyaev manuscript, Sumbatova, Mutalov 2001). Mehweb, however, has marker -*ad(i)* only in Prohibitive, hence synchronically it does not denote person. Sumbatova suggested that the Mehweb prohibitive marker originates from the second person ending (Sumbatova, Lander 2014: 590).

In other respects, however, Mehweb prohibitive is similar to that of the other Dargwa lects: it is formed by a special negative prefix *ma-* (used only for the Prohibitive and the negative Optative) and the suffix -*ad(i)*. In Avar, the Prohibitive is expressed by a suffix.

There are several more features which distinguish Mehweb non-indicative mood forms from what is typical for Dargwa lects.

The system of imperative marking is simpler in Mehweb than in other Dargwa dialects. In Akusha, Tanti, Ashty, Shiri, and Icari, the choice of the imperative marker is triggered by three factors: transitivity, aspect and the formal class of the verb. In Mehweb, the formal class is irrelevant for the choice of the imperative marker. The only relevant factors are transitivity and aspect.

It is interesting that the marker of the imperative itself is formally identical to that of Tanti but not to that of Akusha (which is supposed to be closest to Mehweb). In Akusha, Ashty, Shiri and Icari, the marker for perfective transitive imperatives is -*a*, other types of imperative have –*i* or some other marker depending on the class of verb (van der Berg 2001: 48, Belyaev manuscripts; Sumbatova, Mutalov 2003). In Mehweb, the second class of imperatives takes –*e*, like Tanti dialect (Sumbatova, Lander 2014: 142). The marker –*e* in Mehweb could have been supported by imperative of Avar, but the distribution of Avar markers is opposite to that of Mehweb: -*e* for transitive imperatives, -*a* for intransitive (Charachidze 1981: 105).

Mehweb differs from other Dargwa idioms in using marker –*na* for the plural imperative and prohibitive. Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari also mark the plurality of the addressee by a special ending, but in these dialects this marker is identical to the marker of the second person plural in other forms. Mehweb imperative / prohibitive plural marker differs from other Dargwa lects even formally. In Mehweb, plural imperative / prohibitive is –*na*; compare to -*ja* / -*aja* in Akusha (van der Berg 2001: 48, -*a:* in Ashty (Belyaev manuscript), -*aja* in Shiri (Belyaev manuscript), -*a* / -*ja* in Tanti (Sumbatova, Lander 2014: 142), -*aja* in Icari (Sumbatova, Mutalov 2003). Note that Avar has no special endings for the second plural imperative. For the moment, I have no suggestions as to the origin of the marker –*na*.

Unusual for Dargwa idioms are also Mehweb conditional markers. In Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari, conditional forms are marked by suffix –*li* or –*le*. Counterfactual conditionals in all these lects are derived from hypothetical conditionals with the marker of the past tense. Mehweb conditionals differ both in terms of content and in terms of structure. Mehweb conditional have other markers than these Dargwa dialects (-*k'a* for hypothetical conditional converb and –*q'alle* for counterfactual; see Section 8.1 on the probable origin of these markers). Counterfactual form is not formally related to hypothetical. It seems therefore that the proto-Dargwa conditonal forms were completely substituted in Mehweb by new forms.

Optative of Mehweb has the same marker -*b* as other Dargwa lects. Another similarity is the presence of truncated optative forms in Mehweb as well as in Akusha, Ashty, Shiri and Tanti (see references in 7.1). The difference from other Dargwa lects is that the Mehweb Optative has one form for all persons, as I mentioned before. Another way where the Mehweb system is simpler than the related idioms is that it does not use the Optative for commands which have first person object, as do Tanti, Shiri, Ashty, and Icari (I have no information about this construction in Akusha).

As most other Dargwa dialects, Mehweb lacks a dedicated form for the Hortative. The meaning of the Hortative is regularly expressed by the combination of the particle based on the imperative of 'go' and the infinitive. Unfortunately, there is no sufficient information on how the hortative is expressed in Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari.

As for the Jussive, Mehweb uses a periphrastic construction to express it. The combination of the imperative of the verb with the imperative of the verb of speech (lit. 'verb-imp say') is found in several East Caucasian languages (Akhvakh (Creissels, manuscript), Lak and Archi (Dobrushina 2012)), but not among the Dargwa lects discussed above.

Apprehensives seem to be rare in East Caucasian (as well as in other languages of the world). To my knowledge, apart from Mehweb, Apprehensive is attested only in Archi (Kibrik 1977). These forms however are rarely looked for by linguists, so the reason for the infrequency of these forms can as well be their undocumentedness.

As this study has shown, there are several features which show the special position of Mehweb among other Dargwa lects. In several cases, Mehweb differs from other five lects used for comparison, while those five show affinity between them. The study of non-indicative moods did not show any special similarity between Mehweb and Akusha. The influence of Avar, however, is also not attested in these forms. The only feature of Mehweb system of non-indicative moods which can result from intensive contact with other languages is that, in several respects, it is simpler than the system of other Dargwa lects.

Periphrastic Causative Constructions in Mehweb

Daria V. Barylnikova

Abstract: In Mehweb, it is possible to build a causative construction by using a causative predicate and a predicate of caused action. Originally such verbs conveyed the meaning of physical causation of motion. However, constructions of this kind do not qualify as canonical analytic (periphrastic) causatives, because some tests show that they are still in the process of grammaticalization. A single utterance usually contains either a morphological or a periphrastic causative marker. Mehweb shows some evidence for double causative marking by combining a separate verbal form as the main causative predicate with a dependent verbal form which is marked with a morphological causative affix, producing only one causative meaning.

1. Introduction[22]

According to Comrie (1989: 165–166), Nedjalkov and Silnitsky (1973) and Kulikov (2001), the causative construction is a linguistic expression which denotes a complex situation consisting of two component events: (1) the event that causes another event to happen; and (2) the result of that causation. In other words, the first situation refers to the causer's action and the second explains the effect of that causation on the causee's state.

Causativization is a valency-increasing derivation which is applied to the simple structure of the clause. In the resulting construction, the causer corresponds to the subject and the causee is shifted to the position of direct object (or, more generally, to a non-subject position). The set of semantic roles does not necessarily remain the same (this is exactly what makes the causative a voice in the broader sense). It means that with a new argument added, we have to redistribute the roles taking into account how these participants semantically relate to each other. The general scheme of the causative derivation always implies a participant that is treated as a causer (someone or something that spreads his/her/its control over the situation and 'pushes the button'). At the same time, there must be someone who is forced to execute the action induced by the causer. With originally transitive predicates (or intransitive predicates with an indirect object), there is another participant who does not interact with the causer directly and does not play a role in the redistribution of grammatical relations. Such a participant retains the marking that it had in the original sentence. The following English examples illustrate these options.

(0)   a. *The professor made his student work hard.* (originally intransitive)

     b. *The professor made his student drop a course this semester.* (originally transitive)

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[22] I would like to express my gratitude to all Mehweb consultants who agreed to help in this research. I also thank Denis Creissels his comments on the draft of this paper.

c. *The professor made his student laugh at his joke.* (originally intransitive with an indirect object).

As described in Ageeva (2014), the morphological causative is widely spread in Mehweb. The aim of the current research is to identify and investigate other means of building constructions with causative semantics, for instance, with causative verbs that function as a separate cause predicate in the construction. The use of causative verbs leads to the grammaticalization problem. As it was noted in Harris, Campbell (1995: 151-194), biclasual structures may undergo certain simplification throughout the history of a language and end up as a fusioned clause. This usually happens when a biclausal construction is being grammaticalized. In this paper I shall briefly discuss how high grammaticalization is in Mehweb causative constructions and how many clauses it is possible to detect.

In order to examine this functional domain, I propose the following research questions.
1) Are there any grammaticalization effects in constructions with causative verbs?
2) What are the central meanings these constructions express?
3) Are there any syntactic constraints on building a periphrastic causative, and what is the syntactic structure of such constructions?
4) Is there any difference between constructions with animate and inanimate causees?

The paper is divided into five sections. Each section presents the results of several syntactic tests which were applied in order to diagnose whether these constructions are periphrastic causatives. Section 2 observes the possible ways of expressing the causative meaning, including synthetic and suppletive causatives. Section 3 introduces lexical verbs participating in periphrastic causative constructions. Section 4 looks at the syntax of such constructions in more detail, in particular, what types of verbs are allowed to be used with a causative verb. In Section 5, some aspects of building negative clauses are outlined. Finally, Section 6 shows that Mehweb has a double causative construction.

2. The expression of causative meaning in Mehweb

The formation of causative constructions does not follow a single formal strategy. Generally, there are three possible ways of expressing causative meaning in a language: synthetic (morphological), analytic (periphrastic) and suppletive (lexical) causatives.

2.1. Synthetic causative

Synthetic causatives are formed by adding an affix to the verbal base. Cross-linguistically, this is one of the most common features to be discussed in the literature. Synthetic means of expressing causation usually produce monoclausal structures, since there is no additional predicate added to the syntactic structure. In Mehweb, the causative affix -aq- is used; it has an allomorph *-aχaq-* with a very limited distribution. The affix can be added to both perfective and imperfective verb bases. Consider following example:

(1) *abaj-ni*   *urši*   *kung*   **b-aʕld-aq-ib**
     mother.OBL-ERG   boy.ABL   book.ABL   **N-hide.PFV-CAUS-AOR**
     'Mother made her son hide a book.'

This particular way of derivation is highly productive in Mehweb. The affix can be added to all kinds of verbs. A discussion of morphological causative is presented in Ageeva (2014).

2.2. Suppletive causative

Suppletive causatives are 'covert' causatives (Kulikov, 2001), since they are built through suppletion and do not have an otherwise overt marking. Suppletive causatives imply causation on a lexical level. The English pair *kill* and *die* is commonly treated as an example of lexical causativization. In Mehweb, the pair CL-*aˤbʔaˤs* 'to kill' and CL-*ebk'es* 'to die' is also an example of lexical causativization.

3. Causative by lexical verbs

The constructions considered represent complementation with a specific type of matrix verbs. In Mehweb, it is possible to express causative meaning analytically with the following verbs[23]:

1) *ʔes* 'drive.IPFV' – *aʔas* 'drive.PFV'
2) *CL[24]-irqes* 'leave.IPFV' – *CL-aqas* 'leave.PFV'
3) *CL-iq'es* 'do.IPFV' – *CL-aq'es* 'do.PFV'

Compare the two causative constructions in (2). In example (2a) repeated here from section 2.1., illustrates the synthetic causative expression. (2b) has the same meaning, but is formed in a different way, since two verbs are used here. The main predicate is a verb from the list above (*aʔib* 'drove'), and its dependent argument is the verb of caused action (CL-urhes 'to tell').

(2)　　a.　*abaj-ni*　　　　*urši*　　*kung*　　**b-aˤld-aq-ib**
　　　　　　mother.OBL-ERG　boy.ABL　book.ABL　　N-hide.PFV-CAUS-AOR
　　　　b.　*abaj-ni*　　　　*urši*　　*kung*　　**b-aˤld-aq-ib**　　　　　　*aʔib*
　　　　　　mother.OBL-ERG　boy.ABL　book.ABL　　N-hide.PFV-CAUS-AOR　　drive.PFV-AOR
　　　'Mother made her son hide a book.'

The lexical meaning of the verbs *aʔas* 'drive' and *CL-aqas* 'leave' are connected to physical movement and, in particular, caused motion. Basically, the verb aʔas 'drive' describes an action when a herd is driven away from its usual place. The verb *CL-aqas* 'leave' expresses leaving an object in any place.

Consider a few examples of non-causative usage of these lexemes:

(3)　*adaj-ni*　　*aʔ-ib*　　　　*maza*　　*ʔajne*
　　　father-ERG　drive.PFV-AOR　ram　　yard
　　　'Father drove ram into the yard.'

(4)　*adaj-ni*　　*b-aq-ib*　　　　*inc*　　*ustu.j-če-b*
　　　father-ERG　N-leave.PFV-AOR　apple　table.OBL-SUP-N(ESS)
　　　'Father left an apple on the table.'

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[23] Further, verbal forms from the list will be cited with the perfective stem.
[24] Here and further I will use glossing *CL* to refer to a noun class marker. In Mehweb language such prefix agrees with masculine, feminine or inanimate noun class.

According to Song (2001), analytic causatives consist of two predicates. One is the **predicate of cause,** namely a verb that expresses causative influence. It has two important functions: (1) to introduce a new argument (the causer), and (2) to establish the new position of the causee. The other predicate which functions as a lexical argument to the predicate of cause is called the **predicate of effect**. It fills the slot established by the predicate of cause. For instance, in *The concierge made the lobby boy carry the bags on his own* the predicate of cause is the verb *made* and *carry* is the predicate of effect. This terminology is used below.

Further I will discuss the constructions in Mehweb which are built by means of cause and effect predicates. However, there are some difficulties with identifying a grammaticalization pattern which should be a base for analytic causatives. There is no evident fusion in meaning, because the causative verb may be used in its direct meaning. Constructions with cause predicates discussed in this particular survey could also be described as lexical constructions which do not involve grammaticalization to express causative meanings and, hence, may be considered as contextually dependent material. Previously (Barylnikova 2015), in order to avoid ungrounded statements, I termed these constructions quasi-causative. In the current paper I shall avoid such suggestions, since this idea has not been confirmed in further research.

3.1. The structure of the periphrastic construction

In Mehweb the syntactic structure of causative constructions requires using a finite predicate of cause and a non-finite predicate of effect. Predicates of cause function as predicates of a simple transitive sentence, having a subject (the causer) in ergative case and a direct object (the causee) in the absolutive case. The effect predicates are represented by infinitives, either perfective or imperfective (see (5a)–(5b)). Other verbal forms are considered to be ungrammatical (examples (5c)–(5e) with aorist, imperfective and past participle forms, respectively).

(5) a. *adaj-ni*   *kung* *urši*   **b-elč'-es**   *aʔ-ib*
        father.OBL-ERG   book   son/boy **N-read.PFV-INF**   drive.PFV-AOR

    'Father made his son read [once] the book.'

   b. *adaj-ni*   *kung* *urši*   **luč'-es**   *aʔ-ib*
        father.OBL-ERG   book   son   **read.IPFV-INF**   drive.PFV-AOR

    'Father made his son read [for years] the book.'

   c. **adaj-ni*   *kung*   *urši*   **b-elč'-un**   *aʔ-ib*
        father.OBL-ERG   book   son   **N-read.PFV-AOR**   drive.PFV-AOR

    'Father made his son read [once] the book.'

   d. **adaj -ni*   *kung*   *urši*   **luč'-ib**   *aʔ-ib*
        father.OBL-ERG   book   son   **read.IPFV-IPF**   drive.PFV-AOR

    'Father made his son read [for years] the book.'

   e. **adaj -ni*   *kung* *urši*   **b-elč'-i-le**   *aʔ-ib*
        father.OBL-ERG   book   son/boy **N-read.PFV-PST-CVB** drive.PFV-AOR
    'Father made his son read [once] the book.'

The word order is not strict, but there is a preference for SOV. The finite verb is in the final position, while the dependent infinitive precedes it. These two forms cannot be separated by an additional syntactic phrase, for instance, a temporal adverb (see (6c)). This rule is relevant only in case if both verbal forms are drawn to the end of the phrase.

(6) a. *abaj-ni*   *rasul*   *q'ar*   ***išqˤ-es***   ***iʔ-an***   [*har*   *barħi*]
      mother.OBL-ERG   Rasul   grass   mow.IPFV-INF   drive.IPFV-PRS   every   day

    b. [*har*   *barħi*]   *abaj-ni*   *rasul*   *q'ar*   ***išqˤ-es***   ***iʔ-an***
      every   day   mother.OBL-ERG   Rasul   grass   mow.IPFV-INF   drive.IPFV-PRS

    c. *abaj-ni   *rasul*   *q'ar*   ***išqˤ-es***   [*har*   *barħi*]   ***iʔ-an***
      mother.OBL-ERG   Rasul   grass   mow.IPFV-INF   every   day   drive.IPFV-PRS

    'Mother makes Rasul mow the lawn every day.'

The scope of the temporal phrase is strongly context-dependent. There are cases when the temporal or adverbial phrase belongs to the first predication, and others when it belongs to the second one. The confusion happens when the temporal phrase is placed at the end of the first (or matrix) clause. Consider the next example:

(7) *adaj-ni*   *urši*   *aʔ-ib*   *har*   *barħi*
    father.OBL-ERG   son/boy   drive.PFV-AOR   every   day
    mašina   *as-es*   /   *is-es*
    car   buy.PFV-INF   /   buy.IPFV-INF

    'Every day father made his son buy/keep buying a car.'

What is important in (7) is that even if the cause predicate has perfective aspect, there are no restrictions on the aspect of the effect predicate. In (7) we may have both aspectual forms in the dependent clause, whereas the main clause contains a perfective form of the verb *aʔas* 'drive'. The same tendency is observed in constructions with an imperfective cause predicate, where either imperfective or perfective effect predicate is allowed.

    Causative semantics are divided into two major subtypes: (a) something is made/urged to be done/happen (factitive causative), and (b) something that is not prevented from being done (permissive causative). The first meaning is associated with the verb *aʔas* 'drive'. The second meaning is associated with the verb CL-*aqas* 'leave'.

3.2. The use of *aʔas* 'drive'

Factitive causatives (cf. English constructions with *make, force, get* or *have*) are formed by means of the verb *aʔas* 'drive'. The causee usually is an animate object (however, further we will focus on some exceptions). Inanimate objects are incompatible with the semantics of coercion, they cannot be urged to do something. The causer is marked with the ergative, while the causee carries the absolutive. Consider examples (8)-(10):

(8) *pat'imati-ni*   *anwar*   *uˤq'-es*   *aʔ-ib*
    Patimat.OBL-ERG   Anwar   M.go.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
    'Patimat made Anwar go away.'

(9) *sovet-ini*   *direktur*   *uškul*   *q'aˤbʔ-es*   *aʔ-ib*
administration-ERG   principal   school   close.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
'Administration made principal close the school.'

(10) **anwal-li-ni*   *inc'*   *b-erħ-es*   *aʔ-ib*
Anwar-OBL-ERG   apple   N-rot.IPFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
'Anwar made the apple rot.'

The causer is typically represented by an animate agent. However, in some cases it is possible to have an inanimate causer. These contexts may be related to personification; cf.:

(11) *iza-j-ni*   *abaj-la*   *beč'*   *ulč'-es*   *aʔ-ib*
illness-OBL-ERG   mother.OBL-GEN   head   balden.IPFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
'The illness made mother bald.'

In (12) the causer expressed by the snow operates as a living character and not as natural force.

(12) a. *doˤʜi-ni*   *ħarkʼʷ*   *χʷala*   *b-aq'-as*   *aʔ-ib*
snow-ERG   river   big   N-do.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
'Snow has made a river become [*lit.* to be done] bigger.'

Though if the situation would have reflected a real life event that happened for instance after the meltdown in the mountains, then the sentence would be as in (12b).

(12) b. *doˤʜi-ni*   *ħarkʼʷ*   *χʷala*   *b-aq'-ib*
snow-ERG   river   big   N-do.PFV-AOR
'Snow has made a river bigger.'

The examples with an inanimate causee are not really widespread (judging on interviews with language consultants), but it is not that hard to compose them. The consultants produce them freely and do not have any trouble in identifying the participants' roles.

(13) *ʔali-ni*   *adaj-la*   *sune-če-l*   *naˤʁ*   *aq*   *b-aq'-as*
Ali-ERG   father.OBL-GEN   self.OBL-SUP-EMPH   hand   up   N-raise.IPFV-INF

aʔ-ib
drive.PFV-AOR
'Ali caused his father to raise a hand against him.'

Another example that was produced by some consultants also refers to an inanimate causer.

(14) *iza-j-ni*   *anwar*   *balnica-le-ħe*   *uqˤ-es*   *aʔ-ib*
illness-OBL-ERG   Anwar   hospital-OBL-IN   M.go.IPFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
'The illness caused Anwar to go to hospital.'

What we observe in the examples above is that the causative construction with the verb *aʔas* is quite flexible. Mehweb allows using an inanimate as well as an animate causer. The same applies with the causee. In particular, in example (11) illness is presented as something physically real which functions as a living creature. Consultants allow such use of this verb, however, they do not produce this sentence as the first answer to the elicitation task. They tend to accept a sentence already built by myself according to the main rules of the grammar. This is why such sentences look more artificial but not commonly used. In any case, it is important to note that there are no strict constraints on grammatical animacy of the causer.

3.3. Permissive causative with *CL-aqas* 'leave'

In the permissive construction, the causer permits rather than causes the causee to bring about the caused event. In Mehweb, it is usually expressed by means of the verb *CL-aqas* 'leave'. The causer carries ergative marking, while the causee is in the absolutive. Consider some examples with different embedded verbs (15)-(17):

(15) *sovet-ini*   *direktur* *uškul* *q'aʕbʔ-es*   *w-aq-ib*
      administration-ERG   principal school   close.PFV-INF M-leave.PFV-AOR
      'Administration let the principal close the school.'

(16) *ada.j-ni*   *dursi*   *urši*   *qumart-es*   *d-aq-ib*
      father.OBL-ERG   girl   boy   forget.PFV-INF F1-leave.PFV-AOR
      'Father let his daughter forget the boy.'

One of the main contexts for the permissive is a positive response to request. For instance, in (17), it is presupposed that, before kissing Patimat, Anwar actually asked a permission about this particular action.

(17) *pat'imat-ini*   *anwar*   *w-aq-ib*   *uma*   *d-aq'-as*
      Patimat   Anwar   M-leave.PFV-AOR   kiss   NPL-do.PFV-INF
      'Patimat let Anwar kiss her.'

On the other hand, there may be no inquiries or requests, and the causer is introduced as an independent agent. Inanimate causees are widespread in such contexts. Consider some examples:

(18) *rasuj-ni*   *šin*   *rurq-es*   *d-aq-ib*
      Rasul.OBL-ERG   water   flow.IPFV-INF   NPL-leave.PFV-AOR
      'Rasul let the water flow.'

(19) a. *rasuj-ni*   *ulq'laha* *abx-es*   *b-aq-ib*
          Rasul.OBL-ERG   window   open.PFV-INF   N-leave.PFV-AOR
          'Rasul let the window open.'

On the other hand, examples like (18) and (19a) could be described in terms of a physical situation, when the causer does not interfere with the situation of the causee. The confusion with such physical 'leaving on its own' may be solved by introducing another participant that becomes a cause in the matrix clause. Cf.:

(19) b. *rasuj-ni*   *ulq'laha abx-es*   *b-aq-ib*
         Rasul.OBL-ERG   window   open.PFV-INF N-leave.PFV-AOR
         'Rasul let wind open the window.'

There are some types of predicates that denote natural processes. For instance, verbs like *ulč'es* 'to become bald', *miʔawas* 'to freeze', *CL-ic'es* 'to melt' in causative constructions usually are found in combination with the cause predicate *CL-aqas* 'leave'.
    Consider the following examples:

(20)   *anwal-li-ni*   *diʔ* *miʔaʔʷ-as*   *b-aq-ib*   /   *aʔ-ib*
         Anwar-OBL-ERG   meat freeze.PFV-INF N-leave.PFV-AOR /   drive.PFV-AOR
         'Anwar froze the meat'

(21)   *anwal-li-ni*   *kʷama*   *b-ac'-es*   *b-aq-ib*   /   **aʔ-ib*
         Anwar-OBL-ERG   butter   N-melt.PFV-INF   N-leave.PFV-AOR /   drive.PFV-AOR
         'Anwar melted butter'

The permissive constructions in Mehweb are closely connected to the original meaning of the word *CL-aqas* 'leave'. The causer literally leaves the causee on its own without taking any part in changing its state. The examples above illustrate such use. This is especially relevant when the causer is an inanimate object (compare (18)-(21)). However, in cases where it is clearly a person (such as in (17)), the permissive causation is evident. The permissive is then understood in a metaphorical sense 'leaving it be' and not preventing the action from happening. The construction with the verb *CL-aqas* 'leave' may be interpreted as a permissive causative.

3.4. Case marking and gender agreement

The relation between case assignment and class agreement is relevant only for the verb *CL-aqas* 'leave', because *aʔas* 'drive' does not carry any class markers. Periphrastic causative constructions allow using two agreement strategies. The first one is apparently prototypical, since the causee retains the absolutive case as usual (see (22a)). Note that class agreement on verbs correlates with absolutive participant (consequently, the masculine noun class marker appears on the verb 'leave'). The second strategy offers causee-marking with oblique interlocative[25] case, but the class agreement undergoes certain change. As a result, for the verb there is no absolutive participant in the matrix clause to agree with, and we observe distant agreement between matrix predicate and absolutive argument from the dependent clause. In both (22a) and (22b) the translation is absolutely the same with no crucial semantic change.

(22)   a. *sovet-i-ni*   **direktur**   *uškul* *q'aˤbʔ-es*   **w-aq-ib**
           administration-OBL-ERG   principal   school close-INF   M-leave.PFV-AOR
        b. *sovet-i-ni*   **direktur-li-ze**   *uškul*   *q'aˤbʔ-es* **b-aq-ib**
           administration-OBL-ERG   principal-OBL-INTER   school   close-INF   N-leave.PFV-AOR
         'The administration let the principal close the school.'

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[25] Interlocative case denotes the configuration when an object is inside a landmark and the landmark is a substance or a set of related objects (e.g. forest) (see (Chechuro 2015: 32). It is also used in constructions with experiential verbs to mark the subject.

The evidence for distant absolute agreement we gather from examples like (23), where the causative verb coordinates with the plural number of absolute arguments from the dependent clause.

(23)   *pat'imat-ini*   *urši-li-ze*   **d-aq-ib**   *d-iχ-es*
        Patimat   son/boy-OBL-INTER   NPL-leave.PFV-AOR   NPL-carry.PFV-INF

       heš-ti   *karavatʉ-ne*   *ca-jli*   *quli*
       near.the.speaker-PL   bed-PL   one-OBL   room.IN(LAT)
       'Mother let boy carry these beds to another room.'

There is a potential opportunity to discover the gender of a participant in the matrix clause by the agreement marker on the matrix verb. If an absolute argument is dropped in the main clause (in the transitive construction), then it is possible to put a feminine, masculine or neutral class marker on matrix causative predicate. This tendency, of course, can be detected only in constructions with the verb which has an agreement slot in its structure (i.e. *CL-aqas* 'leave').

3.5. Adjectival causative

Adjectives may form causatives by means of 'do'-periphrasis, adding the verb *CL-aq'as* 'do' (as in (24b)). Note that the adjective itself lacks the attributive affix in such causative constructions, cf. (24b) and (24c).

(24)   a. *musa*   *zuba-l*
        Musa   blind-ATR
        'Musa is blind.'

      b. *χaj-ni*   *musa*   *zuba*   *w-aq'-ib*
        khan.OBL-ERG   Musa   blind   M-do.PFV-AOR

        'Khan blinded Musa.'

      c. * *χaj-ni*   *musa*   *zuba-l*   *w-aq'-ib*
        khan.OBL-ERG   Musa   blind-ATR   M-do.PFV-AOR
        'Khan blinded Musa.'

4. The syntax of causatives

4.1. Biclausality

While morphological causative constructions are monoclausal, periphrastic causatives are biclausal. It means that they have a main clause that introduces a causer, a causative predicate and a dependent clause that describes the caused event. The causee belongs to the matrix clause. In Mehweb the dependent clause is headed by an infinitive (see (25)).

(25)   [*anwal-li-ni*   *rasul*   *abaj-ze*   [*b-arx-le*   *b-urh-es*]
       Anwar-OBL-ERG   Rasul mother.OBL-INTER(LAT)   N-right-ADVZ   N-tell.PFV-INF
       a?-ib]
       drive.PFV-AOR
       'Anwar made Rasul tell mother the truth.'

In order to prove that there are two syntactic clauses in periphrastic causative constructions, I use the following tests.

The first test deals with the case marking of the causer. In (26), two participants are presented. The causer's case depends on the predicate of cause. In the example, the agentive arguments of the predicate of cause and of the predicate of effect behave differently. The causer is marked with the ergative, and no other participant is. While the verb *aʔib* 'drove' takes the causer in the ergative, the verb *CL-erhʷes* 'to cut' also requires an ergative agent. But in a context like 'Rasul made his brother cut the ram' it is impossible to mark the causee with the ergative (and thus to have both the causer and the causee marked the same way). In other words, the main verb corresponds to the structurally closest participant in the absolutive. It is impossible to have two ergative arguments in one clause.

(26) a. *rasuj-ni*   *uzi*   *maza*   *b-erhʷ-es*   *aʔ-ib*
        Rasul.OBL-ERG   son/boy   ram   N-slaughter.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR

    b. **rasuj-ni*   *uzi-ni*   *maza*   *b-erhʷ-es*   *aʔ-ib*
        Rasul.OBL-ERG   son/boy-ERG   ram   N-slaughter.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR

    'Rasul made his son slaughter the ram.'

The second test deals with the agreement in class. The class affix on the verb is controlled by the absolutive participant. If there were only one clause, then it would be possible for a verbal form which is marked with a noun class marker to agree in class with the sole absolutive argument. In (27), the predicate of cause agrees with the absolutive argument (i.e. the causee) in the upper clause, whereas the predicate of effect agrees in class with the other absolutive argument, the lowest element in the structure. Formally, the verb agrees in noun class with the absolutive participant of its clause. As we can see, the change of nominal classes in the opposite direction (the predicate of cause agrees with *kung* 'book', while the predicate of effect does with *urši* 'boy') is unacceptable. It is expected that such distant agreement is available, basing on the examples provided in chapter 3.4, where the matrix verb acquired a class marker of an embedded absolutive argument.

(27) *adaj-ni*   *urši*   *kung*   *b-elč'-es*
     father.OBL-ERG   son/boy   book   N-read.PFV-INF
     iʔ-uwe   *le-w*   */ le-b*
     drive.IPFV-CONV   COP-M   / COP-N
     'Father made his son read the book.'

Biclausal analysis is based on one more observation. The whole periphrastic causative construction has two absolutive arguments. Only one of them determines agreement of the causative verb, whereas the other one triggers agreement of the predicate of effect.

4.2. Types of predicates of effect

The predicate of effect fills the valency of the causative verb. In all periphrastic causative constructions the causer gets ergative marking, while the causee appears in the absolutive or inter-lative case. All other arguments keep their case marking the same. In the next subsections different possible types of effect predicates with the verb *aʔas* 'drive' with the

factitive meaning are presented. The permissive causative verb *CL-aqas* 'leave' behaves in exactly the same way.

4.2.1. A-intransitive verbs and P-intransitive verbs

In general, intransitive verbs are more frequently causativised. An agentive intransitive verb takes one lexical subject in the absolute case and often represents an action, as *duc' uqes* 'to run' in (28).

(28)   a. *anwar   duc'   uq-un*
           Anwar   run   M.go.PFV-AOR

          'Anwar ran.'

       b. *učite-j-ni   anwar duc'   uq-es   aʔ-ib*
           teacher-OBL-ERG   Anwar run   M.go.PFV-AOR drive.PFV-AOR
           'The teacher made Anwar run.'

     The essential difference between A- and P-intransitive verbs is the degree of participation of the lexical subject. While the A-intransitive main argument controls the action that he/she does, the P-intransitive subject is less responsible for a situation. P-intransitive predicates are closely related to uncontrolled actions, as it is shown in (29):

(29)   a. *inc'   b-erħ-ib*
           apple   N-rot.PFV-AOR
           'The apple has rotted.'

       b. *anwal-li-ni   inc' b-erħ-es   b-aq-ib*
           Anwar-OBL-ERG   apple N-rot.PFV-INF   N-leave.PFV-AOR
           'Anwar let the apple rot.'

4.2.2. Experiential verbs

Experiential verbs require special case marking for their subject. In Mehweb, they are coded with the inter-lative case (as it is shown in (30a)). In constructions with the verb *CL-iges* 'want' the subject requires the dative.

(30)   a. *dursi-li-ze   urši   qumart-ur*
           girl-OBL-INTER(LAT)   boy   forget.PFV-AOR

           'The girl forgot the boy.'

     However, when the causativization is applied, the potential causee switches its case from inter-lative to absolutive, according to the general scheme of quasi-causative constructions.

(30)   b. *adaj-ni   dursi/   dursi-li-ze   urši*
           father.OBL-ERG   girl /   girl-OBL-INTER(LAT)   boy
           qumart-es   aʔ-ib
           forget.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
           'Father made his daughter forget the boy.'

Note that when the morphological causative marker is used in constructions with experiential effect predicates the causee retains its inter-lative case. Consider an example from Ageeva (2014: 8):

(31) a. *ʔali-ze*   *χabar arʁ-ib*
          Ali-INTER(LAT)   tale   hear.PFV-AOR

          'Ali heard a tale.'

    b. *pat'imati-ni*   *ʔali-ze*   *χabar arʁ-aq-ib*

          Patimat.OBL-ERG   Ali-INTER(LAT)   tale   hear.PFV-CAUS-AOR
          'Patimat told Ali a tale.'

Unlike morphological causative, in analytic construction (30b) the original interlocative marking on the causee is ungrammatical.

4.2.3. Transitive verbs

In transitive constructions, in comparison with the previous verbal types important changes in case marking are observed. The subject of a transitive verb takes the ergative case, while the direct object takes the absolutive.

(32) a. *uzi-li-ni*   *maza*   *b-erh-un*
          brother-OBL-ERG   ram   N-slaughter.PFV-AOR
          '(His) brother slaughtered the ram.'

In derived periphrastic causatives the causer takes ergative, leaving the absolutive slot to the causee (32b). Having two ergative arguments in one utterance is not allowed (32c).

(32) b. *rasuj-ni*   *uzi*   *maza* *b-erhʷ-es*   *aʔ-ib*
          Rasul.OBL-ERG   son/boy   ram   N-cut.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR

    c. **rasuj-ni*   *uzi-ni*   *maza* *b-erhʷ-es*   *aʔ-ib*
          Rasul.OBL-ERG   son/boy-ERG ram   N-cut.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR

          'Rasul made his brother cut the ram.'

4.2.4. Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs take three arguments that correspond to the subject and the direct and indirect objects. The same scheme applies here.

(33) a. *urši-li-ni*   *abaj-ze*   *arc*   *g-ib*
          son/boy-OBL-ERG   mother.OBL-INTER(LAT)   money   give.PFV-AOR
          'The boy gave his mother the money'

    b. *anwal-li-ni*   *urši*   *abaj-ze*   *arc*   *g-es*   *aʔ-ib*
          Anwar-OBL-ERG son/boy   mother-INTER(LAT)   money give.PFV-INF drive.PFV-AOR
          'Anwar made his son give his mother the money.'

As discussed earlier, there are no individual rules for different types of predicates. We see the same scheme, when the causativization introduces a typical transitive construction with the causer in ergative and the causee in absolutive.

5. Negation

Forming a negative clause is one of possible tests to examine the degree of grammaticalization of quasi-causative constructions. The negation in constructions with *aʔas* 'drive' is only allowed on the matrix predicate, that is, the predicate of cause. The dependent predicate cannot take the negation prefix *ħa-*.

(34) a. *abaj-ni*   *rasul* *q'ar* *išqˤ-es*   *aʔ-ib*   *har* *barħi*
          mother.OBL-ERG Rasul grass mow.IPFV-INF drive.PFV-AOR every day

      'Mother made Rasul mow the lawn every day.'

      b. *abaj-ni*   *rasul* *q'ar* *išqˤes*   *ħ-aʔ-ib*   *har* *barħi*
          mother.OBL-ERG Rasul grass mow.IPFV-INF NEG-drive.PFV-AOR every day

      c. * *abaj-ni*   *rasul* *q'ar* *ħa-šqˤ-es*   *aʔib*   *har* *barħi*
          mother.OBL-ERG Rasul grass NEG-mow.IPFV-INF drive.PFV-AOR every day

      d. * *abaj-ni*   *rasul* *q'ar* *ħa-šqˤ-es*   *ħ-aʔ-ib*   *har* *barħi*
          mother.OBL-ERG Rasul grass NEG-mow.IPFV-INF NEG-drive.PFV-AOR every day

      'Mother does not make Rasul mow the lawn every day.'

The examples (34c) and (34d) are considered ungrammatical by consultants no matter what meaning is implied (whether the negation scopes over the embedded predicate or the matrix verb). Another example shows the same process.

(35) a. *učitel-ti-ni*   *nuša*   *meħʷe-la*   *mezi-sum*
          teacher-PL-ERG we   Mehweb-GEN language-REPL
          b-uħaˤq'-as   *ħ-aʔ-ib*
          N-talk.IPFV-INF   NEG-drive.PFV-AOR
          'Teachers do not make us speak Mehweb [at school].'

      b. *učitel-ti-ni*   *nuša*   *meħʷe-la*   *mezi-sum*
          teacher-PL-ERG we   Mehweb-GEN language-REPL
          ħa-b-uħaˤq'-as   *aʔ-ib*
          NEG-HPL-talk.IPFV-INF drive.PFV-AOR
          'Teachers make us not speak Mehweb [at school].'

On the other hand, in constructions with *CL-aqas* 'leave' it is possible to use a negative prefix on a predicate of effect.

(36) *adaj-ni*   *urši*   *zul*   *kak*
father-ERG   son/boy   in.the.morning   pray
ħa-b-iq'-es   *w-aq-ib*
NEG-N-do.IPFV-INF   M-leave.PFV-AOR

'Father let his son not to do the morning pray.'

(37) *adaj-ni*   *urši*   *zul*   *kak*
father-ERG   son/boy   in.the.morning   pray
b-iq'-es   ***ħa-aq-ib***
N-do.IPFV-INF   NEG-leave.PFV-AOR
'Father did not let his son do the morning pray.'

The next pair of examples illustrates the same observation.

(38) *abaj-ni*   *urši*   ***ħ-aq-ib***   *uškuj-ħe*   *w-aš-es*
mother.OBL-ERG   son/boy   NEG-M.leave.PFV-AOR school.OBL-IN(ESS)   M-go.IPFV-INF
'Mother does not let her son go to school.'

(39) *abaj-ni*   *urši*   *w-aq-ib*   *uškuj-ħe*   ***ħ-aš-es***
mother.OBL-ERG   son/boy   M-leave.PFV-AOR   school.OBL-IN(ESS)   NEG-M.go.IPFV-INF
'Mother let her son not to go to school.'

Here we are dealing with a less bound type of construction. The examples above show the possibility of putting a negative prefix on either the causative or effect predicate. On the other hand, it is considered ungrammatical to build a negative form from the infinitive dependent of the verb *aʔas* 'drive'. The verb *CL-aqas* 'leave' seems to be less grammaticalized than *aʔas* 'drive'.

6. Double causative

Both morphological and analytic causatives may co-occur. In other words, if a construction already contains a predicate of cause (i.e. *aʔas* *'drive'* or *CL-aqas* *'leave'*), the predicate of effect can be additionally marked with a causative affix *-aq-*. In (40a) and (40b), the morphological marker is optional and may be dropped, while the analytic causative predicate remains in the sentence and the meaning of the whole does not change.

(40) a. *adaj-ni*   *urši*   *kung*   *b-elč'-aq-es*   *aʔ-ib*
       father-ERG   son/boy   book   N-read.PFV-CAUS-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
       'Father made his son read a book'

    b. *adaj-ni*   *urši*   *kung*   *b-elč'-es*   *aʔ-ib*
       father-ERG   son/boy   book   N-read.PFV-INF   drive.PFV-AOR
       'Father made his son read a book.'

Constructions with an inanimate causee show a similar phenomenon.

(41) a. *anwal-li-ni*   *inc'*   *b-erħ-aq-as*   *b-aq-ib*
       Anwar.OBL-ERG   apple   N-rot.PFV-CAUS-INF   N-let.PFV-AOR

       'Anwar let an apple rot.'

b. *anwal-li-ni   inc'   b-erħ-es   b-aq-ib*
   Anwar-OBL-ERG apple N-rot.PFV-INF   N-let.PFV-AOR
   'Anwar let an apple rot.'

The examples above illustrate an analytic double causative. Ageeva (2014: 10) points out that it is possible to build a double morphological causative by adding an additional causative affix (cf. *barʔaqaqib* 'freeze'). The meaning remains the same, with no clear distinction from a regular morphological causative. Here we have a similar meaning under the guise of periphrasis. Constructions with double causative marking are quite familiar to native speakers and are produced spontaneously during elicitation. Using redundant double marking is not limited by any semantic feature. Consultants easily derive double causatives from all causative constructions discussed previously in this paper.

7. Conclusions

To sum up, periphrastic causative constructions co-exist in Mehweb with synthetic causatives. There is no difference in meaning between analytic and morphological markers. However, there are some structural limitations of causative constructions.

First, it is important to define the semantic division of labour between the causative predicates. Factitive causativization is expressed by means of the verb *aʔas* 'drive'. The permissive meaning is expressed by *CL-aqas* 'leave'. Both predicates introduce an infinitive verbal form, which expresses the predicate of effect. In some adjectival causativization contexts it is possible to use *CL-aq'as* 'do' in combination with adjectives.

Second, there are still some peculiarities of cause predicates' behaviour. The verb *aʔas* 'drive' allows only animate causees, while *CL-aqas* 'leave' can take both animate and inanimate causees.

The negation is another reason to distinguish between the two predicates. In both constructions, it is grammatical to attach the negation marker to the matrix predicate. However, the verb *CL-aqas* 'leave' also allows applying negation to the dependent clause.

These differences are briefly summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of the causative predicates.

	causer		causee		negation	
	animate	inanimate	ainmate	inanimate	on the matrix predicate	on the dependent predicate
aʔas 'make.PFV'	+	+ (personif.)	+	+ (rare)	+	
(b)aqas 'leave/let.PFV'	+		+		+	+

Third, it does not matter what syntactic type the predicate of effect is. Verbs of all morphosyntactic classes are allowed.

Fourth, case marking follows a scheme that is identical for all periphrastic causative constructions. In particular, the causer always is marked by the ergative, and the causee is assigned the absolutive. The rest of the arguments keep their original marking. It does not matter whether the predicate of effect requires non-canonical case marking (for instance, the inter-lative for experiential verbs), the causee would always be in the absolutive. On the

contrary, if a morphological causative marker is used in constructions with experiential effect predicate, the causee will keep the non-canonical subject marking (dative or interlative, depending on the verb).

Fifth, causative constructions in Mehweb may combine a morphological and an analytic causative in one construction. Apparently, the meaning of such constructions does not differ from the usual causative construction with either only a synthetic or only an analytic form. Causative doubling seems to be simply redundant.

Native speakers treat periphrastic causatives as fully grammatical utterances. The constraints in their syntactic structure illustrate that analytic formation of a causative is more complex than morphological derivation. In morphological causative we are faced with regularity and productivity, apparently, without any exceptions.

The tests discussed in the paper did reveal some ambiguities and divergences between the constructions under consideration. On the one hand, the lexical shift that cause predicates have undergone mostly reflects a change in meaning, not in their grammatical behaviour. On the other hand, the results of the negation test showed that the factitive causative construction, apparently, is more grammaticalized than the permissive causative. It is not possible to apply negation to the dependent verb form in constructions with the verb *aʔas* 'drive'. At the same time *CL-aqas* 'leave' allows a negative infinitive in the dependent clause.

These criteria were considered crucial in the previous study and have led to defining such constructions as quasi-causative ones. The negation test and agreement tests show quite different results. As it was mentioned above, negation in factitive causative revealed a monoclausal (grammaticalized) structure, whereas class agreement highlights two separate clauses. Thus, the grammaticalization of periphrastic causatives in Mehweb can be observed only in a negative construction. Factitive and permissive causatives may be interpreted in terms of lexical constructions, because, as it was discovered, periphrastic causatives are not very frequent in Mehweb.

Case and agreement in Mehweb

Dmitry Ganenkov

Abstract: The chapter deals with patterns of case marking and agreement in Mehweb. Based on morphosyntactic coding and binding, the system of five valency classes is described for Mehweb. The chapter covers basic monoclausal structures with verbs of the five valency classes as well as their interaction with several specific constructions, such as reciprocal, causative, and bi-absolutive.

The present chapter deals with basic morphosyntax of Mehweb. In many respects, Mehweb is a fairly typical representative of the Dargwa branch of Nakh-Daghestanian, and of the whole family in general. In certain respects, however, the language displays rare features only attested in a few other languages of the family. Three linguistic phenomena – argument case marking, gender agreement, and person agreement – are in focus of this chapter. The three coding properties are interrelated in many ways and together constitute major surface evidence about grammatical functions and subjecthood supported by other diagnostics, like binding of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. They also generally determine the breakdown of Mehweb verbal lexicon to verb (valency) classes. The notion of *core argument* will be key to capturing the system of valency classes. In this chapter, I define *core argument* as a clausal constituent expressed by a noun phrase that is able to determine at least one type of verbal agreement, either gender or person, or both. Depending on the number of core arguments and their morphosyntactic behavior with respect to coding properties, the Mehweb verbal lexicon is divided into the following valency classes:

(1)   Mehweb valency classes
   a. *Intransitive verbs* have a single core argument in the absolutive that triggers both person and gender agreement.
   b. *Transitive verbs* feature two core arguments. One core argument, the subject, is in the ergative case and triggers person agreement on the finite verb; the other core argument, the direct object, is in the absolutive case and determines morphological exponence in gender agreement slot.
   c. *Locative subject verbs* are also bi-valent verbs with two core arguments. However, instead of an ergative argument, as with transitive verbs, they possess a core experiencer argument in the spatial case called *inter-lative*, see Chechuro (this volume) for details of the nominal paradigm. Like the ergative subject of a transitive verb, the inter-lative (henceforth, locative) subject of a locative subject verb also triggers person agreement.
   d. *Dative subject verbs* have one core argument in the absolutive that only triggers gender agreement. No argument of a dative subject verb is able to determine person agreement on its own.

e. *Inter-elative subject verb buhes* 'manage, be able' features one core argument in the inter-elative case which optionally triggers person agreement, but cannot control gender agreement.

The rest of this paper provides empirical evidence about the behavior of various types of verbal arguments that motivates the above classification. Section 1 describes patterns of case marking and provides evidence from reflexive binding about the relative structural prominence of verbs' arguments. Sections 2 and 3 deal with rules of gender and person agreement, respectively. Section 4 presents an overview of case marking and agreement in reciprocal constructions. Section 5 deals with causative constructions. Section 6 describes basic properties of bi-absolutive construction. The conclusion briefly summarizes main issues described in the chapter.

1. Case marking and structural prominence

Mehweb is a morphologically ergative language where the sole argument (S) of intransitive verb is grouped together with the direct object (P) of transitive verb with regard to morphological case marking, but separately from the subject (A) of transitive verb: S and P arguments are in the unmarked absolutive case, while A arguments bear the ergative case morphology.

(2) *ʔali   w-ak'-ib.*
     Ali(ABS)   M-come:PF-AOR
     'Ali came.'

(3) *sinka-ni ʔali   uc-ib.*
     bear-ERG   Ali(ABS)   (M)catch:PF-AOR
     'A bear seized Ali.'

(4) *ʔali-ini sinka   b-aˁbʔ-ib.*
     Ali-ERG bear(ABS)   N-kill:PF-AOR
     'Ali killed a bear.'

In (2), the DP *ʔali* 'Ali (a man's name)' is in its unmarked form and functions as the core argument of the intransitive verb *bak'es* 'come'. In (3), the same form is used to express the direct object (patient) of the transitive verb *buces* 'catch, seize'. In (4), however, the DP functions as the subject of the transitive verb *baˁbʔes* 'kill' and thus must be in ergative case.

Absolutive case is present in almost every Mehweb clause. In intransitive clauses, the absolutive argument is the highest one from the structural point of view, as seen from the fact that it can bind reflexive pronouns in any other position, but cannot be bound itself by any other argument.[26] Example (5) show the intransitive verb *ħulebizes* 'look' with an oblique

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[26] In this paper, to diagnose structural prominence, I employ sentences with *wh*-pronouns serving as antecedents of reflexive pronouns. This is necessary in order to exclude the possibility of the co-reference relation between the antecedent and the reflexive (Reinhart 1983). Co-reference is normally available with referential antecedents and works on pragmatic rather than strictly syntactic grounds in Mehweb. In particular, the "antecedent" can appear in a structurally lower position in co-reference, as in (i), which is not a grammatical option under semantic binding by non-referential (quantified, wh-pronouns) antecedents, cf. (5b).

(i) *sune-la-l   urši   madina-če   ħule⟨w⟩iz-ur.*
     REFL-GEN-EMPH   son(ABS)   Madina-SUP   ⟨M⟩look:PF-AOR
     'Her_i son looked at Madina_i (a woman's name).'

(dative) argument which is diagnosed as structurally less prominent than the clause-mate absolutive argument.

(5)   *ħulebizes* 'look': absolutive > super-lative
    a.   *čija*   *ħule‹b›iz-ur-a*   *sune-la-l*   *urši-li-če ?*
        who(ABS)   ‹F›look:PF-AOR-Q   REFL-GEN-EMPH   son-OBL-SUP
        'Who$_i$ looked at her$_i$ son?'
    b.   **sune-la-l*   *urši*   *hi-če*   *ħule‹w›iz-ur-a?*
        REFL-GEN-EMPH   son(ABS)   who-SUP   ‹M›look:PF-AOR-Q
        'Who$_i$ did her$_i$ son look at?'

The absolutive argument is not restricted to expressing any particular thematic role: it can denote an agentive participant, a patientive participant, or an experiencer. Unergative and unaccusative verbs in Mehweb thus are not distinguished by case marking. (6) lists more intransitive verbs.

(6)   Intransitive verbs
    a=izes 'stand up', *arces* 'fly', *aqas* 'raise, climb', *=alħʷes* 'wake up', *=ebk'es* 'die', *=erʔʷes* 'become dry', *=isses* 'cry', *=usaʔʷas* 'fall asleep', *=urdes* 'become worn', *=ušes* 'die out (of fire)', *=uzes* 'work', *kalʔes* 'remain', *uruχ =aʕqes* 'get afraid'

Two-place verbs are the verbs that mark their structurally highest argument with a morphological case other than absolutive. As suggested in (1) above, depending on the particular case of the highest argument, two-place verbs fall into three classes: transitive verbs with ergative subjects, locative subject verbs with inter-lative subjects, and dative subject verbs with dative subjects.

With transitive verbs, the ergative-marked argument is structurally the most prominent, as evidenced by its ability to bind a reflexive pronoun in any other position in the clause, including the absolutive argument, (7a-8a). The reverse binding of the ergative reflexive by an oblique or absolutive argument is impossible, (7b-8b).

(7)   *haraq'e ihʷes* 'deceive': ergative > absolutive
    a.   *hinija*   *haraq'e*   *ihʷ-es-a*   *sune-la-l*   *urši?*
        who(ERG)   forward   throw:PF-FUT-Q   SELF-GEN-EMPH   son(ABS)
        'Who$_i$ will deceive his$_i$ son?'
    b.   **sune-la-l*   *urši-li-ni*   *čija*   *haraq'e*   *ihʷ-es-a?*
        SELF-GEN-EMPH   son-OBL-ERG   who(ABS)   forward   throw:PF-FUT-Q
        'Who$_i$ will his$_i$ son deceive?'

(8)   *kumak baq'es* 'help': ergative > dative
    a.   *hinija*   *sune-la-l*   *urši-li-s*   *kumak*   *b-aq'-ib-a?*
        who(ERG)   SELF-GEN-EMPH   son-OBL-DAT   help(ABS)   N-do:PF-AOR-Q
        'Who$_i$ helped his$_i$ son?'
    b.   **sune-la-l*   *urši-li-ni*   *hi-sa*   *kumak*   *b-aq'-ib-a?*
        SELF-GEN-EMPH   son-OBL-ERG   who-DAT   help(ABS)   N-do:PF-AOR-Q
        'Who$_i$ did his$_i$ son help?'

Apart from agents, the ergative argument of a transitive verb can also denote a non-agentive causer (see also Chechuro, this volume, on the instrumental function of the ergative).

(9) *ʒab-li-ni   mura   d-aˤħʷ-aˤq-ib.*
     rain-OBL-ERG   hay(ABS)   NPL-become wet:PF-CAUS-AOR
     'The rain made the hay wet.'

(10) *ʁʷaˤl-li-ni   ʁutʼ-be   šiš   d-ukʼ-aq-uwe   le-r.*
     wind-OBL-ERG   tree-PL(ABS) move   NPL-LV:IPF-CAUS-CONV   COP-NPL
     'The wind is waving trees.'

(11) *cʼa-li-ni   qul-le   ig-uwe   le-r.*
     fire-OBL-ERG   house-PL(ABS)   burn:IPF-CONV   COP-NPL
     'Fire is burning houses.'

Ergative case is thus tightly associated with agentive and causative semantics and is not employed to express participants with other thematic roles. Almost every transitive clause contains an absolutive argument. Exceptions are very few and can be summarized as follows.

With verbs of contact like *baʔaqas* 'hit' and *baˤqas* 'hit (an animal)', the absolutive argument expresses the instrument. Generally, instruments are never obligatory and can be freely omitted from overt expression. The absolutive argument in the instrumental function thus often does not appear overtly.

(12) *it-i-ni   qʼʷaˤj-če   (derxa)   b-aˤq-ib.*
     DEM-OBL-ERG   cow+OBL-SUP   stick(ABS) N-hit:PF-AOR
     'She hit the cow (with a stick).'

(13) *ʔali-ni (χunkʼ)   unza-li-ze   b-aʔaq-ib.*
     Ali-ERG fist(ABS) door-OBL-INTER   N-hit:PF-AOR
     'Ali hit the door with his fist (lit. his fist into the door).'

Arguably, when omitted from overt expression, it is still present in the sentence, as evidenced by the possibility of non-default (plural) gender agreement.

(14) *ʔali-ni unza-li-ze   d-aʔaq-ib.*
     Ali-ERG door-OBL-INTER   NPL-hit:PF-AOR
     'Ali hit the door (with his fists).'

In (14), the plural gender marking on the verb reflects plurality of the instrumental DP in the absolutive.

With some transitive verbs of speech and thought, the absolutive argument denotes content of speech/thought.

(15) *ħu-ni   sija   i-ra?*
     you.sg-ERG   what(ABS)   say:PF+AOR-1/2+Q
     'What did you say?'

(16) *nu-ni b-urh-iša   ca   χabar.*
　　 I-ERG　N-tell:PF-FUT.1/2 one　story(ABS)
　　 'I will tell (you) one story.'

Likewise, many such verbs alternatively subcategorize for either an absolutive DP argument or a clausal argument. In the latter case, again, no absolutive argument is present in the clause.

(18) *rasuj-ni   abzulaj-ze   b-urh-ib   mašina   as-i-ra   ile.*
　　 Rasul + OBL-ERG all + OBL-INTER N-tell:PF-AOR car(ABS) take:PF-AOR-1/2 COMP
　　 'Rasul told everyone that he had bought a car.'

With some complex transitive verbs, a nominal constituent in the unmarked form functions as a non-verbal component.

(19) *mallarasbadij-ni   žawab   b-aq'-i-le   le-b.*
　　 Molla Nasreddin-ERG   answer   N-do:PF-AOR-CONV   COP-N
　　 'Molla Nasreddin answered.'

(20) *nu-ni di-la-l   urši-li-s   kumak   b-aq'-i-ra.*
　　 I-ERG I-GEN-EMPH   son-OBL-DAT   help(ABS)   N-do:PF-AOR-1/2
　　 'I helped my son.'

The morphosyntactic status of such unmarked nominals is not clear. In principle, they can be analyzed as absolutive-cased DPs, on the one hand, or as (pseudo)-incorporated caseless NPs, on the other hand. More work is needed to decide on this question.

Two other classes of two-place verbs are locative subject verbs and dative subject verbs. The locative subject class includes verbs *arʁes* 'hear, understand', *bahes* 'know', *barges* 'find', *gʷes* 'see'.

(21) *ʔali-ze it   dehʷ   arʁ-ib.*
　　 Ali-INTER DIST word(ABS) hear/understand:PF-AOR
　　 'Ali heard / understood this word.'

(22) *rasuj-ze   ʔali   w-alh-an.*
　　 Rasul + OBL-INTER Ali(ABS) M-know:IPF-HAB
　　 'Rasul knows Ali.'

(23) *ʔali-ze arc   d-arg-ib.*
　　 Ali-INTER money(ABS) NPL-find:PF-AOR
　　 'Ali found money.'

(24) *rasuj-ze   ʔali   g-ub.*
　　 Rasul + OBL-INTER Ali(ABS) see:PF-AOR
　　 'Rasul saw Ali.'

The dative subject class includes verbs *biges* 'want, love', *bikes* 'happen', *eba buhes* 'get bored', *určeb leb* 'remember', *urče bak'as* 'recall', *urče bikes* 'recall'.

(25) *madina-s   rasul   w-ig-an.*
Madina-DAT Rasul(ABS)   M-love:IPF-HAB
'Madina loves Rasul.'

(26) *ʔali-s   ʔaˤχ-il   q'immat   b-ik-ib.*
Ali-DAT good-ATR   grade(ABS)   N-happen:PF-AOR
'Ali got a good grade.'

(27) *madina-s   rasul   eba   uh-ub.*
Madina-DAT Rasul(ABS)   bore   (M)become:PF-AOR
'Madina got bored with Rasul.'

(28) *madina-s   ʔali   urče-w   le-w.*
Madina-DAT   Ali(ABS) on.heart-M   COP-M
'Madina remembers Ali.'

(29) *rasuj-s   hel dehʷ   urče   b-ak'-ib.*
Rasul + OBL-DAT DEM   word(ABS)   on.heart N-come:PF-AOR
'Rasul recalled that word.'

The verb *qumartes* 'forget' alternatively allows for either the locative or the dative case marking of its subject.

(30) {*ʔali-ze   /   ʔali-s*}   *deč'   qumart-ur.*
Ali-INTER   Ali-DAT   song(ABS)   forget:PF-AOR
'Ali forgot the song.'

The inter-lative (locative) and dative arguments are the highest arguments in their respective clauses. Again, this is evidenced by the ability of the locative/dative argument to bind any other argument, including absolutive, while the reverse binding pattern is ungrammatical.

(31) *gʷes* 'see': inter-lative > absolutive
a. *hi-ze   g-ub-a   sune-la-l   urši?*
who-INTER   see:PF-AOR-Q   SELF-GEN-EMPH   son(ABS)
'Who$_i$ saw her$_i$ son?'
b. **sune-la-l   urši-li-ze   čija   g-ub-a?*
SELF-GEN-EMPH   son-OBL-INTER   who(ABS)   see:PF-AOR-Q
'Who$_i$ did her$_i$ son see?'

(32) *biges* 'love': dative > absolutive
a. *hi-sa   ħa-d-ig-ul   sune-la-l   abaj?*
who-DAT   NEG-F-love:IPF-PART   REFL-GEN-EMPH   mother(ABS)
'Who$_i$ does not love his$_i$ mother?'
b. **sune-la-l   abaj-s   čija   ħa-d-ig-ul?*
REFL-GEN-EMPH   mother-DAT   who(ABS)   NEG-F-love:IPF-PART
'Who$_i$ does his$_i$ mother not love?'

Again, while absolutive generally must be present in a clause with a locative or dative subject verb, it may be absent in case the corresponding semantic argument is expressed by another constituent. Most locative and dative subject verbs allow a clausal complement instead of the absolutive argument.

(34) *bahes* 'know' with nominalized (factive) complement
      ʔali-ze   b-alh-an   abaj   iz-uwe   le-r-deš.
      Ali-INTER N-know:IPF-HAB mother(ABS) be sick:IPF-CONV COP-F-NMLZ
      'Ali knows that mother is sick.'

(35) *arʁes* 'hear' with finite complement
      ʔali-ze   arʁ-ib   abaj   iz-uwe   le-r   ile.
      Ali-INTER hear:PF-AOR mother(ABS)   be sick:IPF-CONV COP-F   COMP
      'Ali heard that mother was sick.'

(36) *biges* 'want' with infinitival complement
      rasuj-s   dig-uwe   le-b   anži-li   uqˤ-es.
      Rasul+OBL-DAT want:IPF-CONV COP-N   Makhachkala-IN (M)go:PF-INF
      'Rasul wants to go to Makhachkala.'

(37) *bikes* 'happen' with a finite complement
      abzulaj-s   b-ik-ib   ʔali   w-ebk'-i-le   ile.
      everyone+OBL-DAT N-happen:PF-AOR Ali(ABS) M-die:PF-AOR-CONV   COMP
      'Everyone thought (it occurred to everyone) that Ali was dead.'

Finally, the verb *buhes* 'manage, be able' is the only verb in Mehweb that licenses a core argument in the inter-elative case.

(38) *rasuj-ze-la   ajz-es   ħa-b-urh-an.*
      Rasul+OBL-INTER-ELAT (M)rise:PF-INF   NEG-N-manage:IPF-HAB
      'Rasul cannot stand up.'

(39) *rasuj-ze-la   ħa-b-uh-ub   ʁarʁa   aq-b-aq'-as.*
      Rasul+OBL-INTER-ELAT NEG-N-manage:PF-AOR stone(ABS) up-N-do:PF-INF
      'Rasul did not manage to lift the stone.'

To summarize, Mehweb features five verb classes depending on the case of the structurally highest argument: (i) intransitive verbs with absolutive subject, (ii) transitive verbs with ergative subject, (iii) locative subject verbs with inter-lative subject, and (iv) dative subject verbs with dative subject, and (v) one inter-elative subject verb *buhes* 'manage, be able'. Argument structure of all verbs, with a few exceptions, also includes an absolutive argument. As will be shown below, the subject and the absolutive argument (if they are different) play a special role in gender and person agreement, and thus are called *core arguments*. All other arguments are *oblique*.

2. Verbal gender agreement

Two morphological slots for gender agreement are potentially available in the Mehweb clause. One is the prefixal (or infixal, with verbs hosting a locative prefix) gender agreement marker on lexical verbs. Every verbal stem is specified to host or not the prefixal (infixal)

gender agreement slot. Most verbs are specified to host this agreement marker in their perfective stems. In imperfective stems, the slot is often absent. For more on agreement morphology and its relation to stems, see Daniel (this volume).

(40) a. *urši-li-ni*   *kaʁar-t*   *d-elk'-un.*
          boy-OBL-ERG   letter-PL(ABS) NPL-write:PF-AOR
          'The boy wrote letters.'
      b. *urši-li-ni*   *kaʁar-t*   *luk'-an.*
          boy-OBL-ERG   letter-PL(ABS) write:PF-HAB
          'The boy writes letters (every day).'

Example (40) shows that the verb 'write' has a prefixal slot for gender agreement in its perfective stem, (40a), but lacks any such slot in its imperfective stem, (40b). If a stem features gender agreement, it is obligatory in any verbal form based on this stem, be it finite or non-finite.

The other morphologic slot for gender agreement in the verbal complex is the suffix on the copula within periphrastic verbal forms.

(41) *urši-li-ni*   *kaʁar-t*   *luk'-uwe*   *le-r.*
      boy-OBL-ERG letter-PL(ABS) write:IPF-CONV COP-NPL
      'The boy is writing letters.'

The rule of thumb for gender agreement in monoclausal structures is to agree with the clause-mate absolutive argument. With regard to gender agreement on lexical verbs, this means that agreement is always with the absolutive subject of an intransitive verb or with the absolutive direct object of other verb classes (transitive, locative subject, and dative subject), as shown below.

(42) a. *urši*   *w-ak'-ib.*
          boy(ABS) M-come:PF-AOR
          'The boy came.'
      b. *dursi*   *d-ak'-ib.*
          girl(ABS) F-come:PF-AOR
          'The girl came.'

(43) a. *ʕali-ini sinka*   *b-aˤbʔ-ib.*
          Ali-ERG bear(ABS) N-kill:PF-AOR
          'Ali killed a bear.'
      b. *sinka-li*   *ʕali*   *w-aˤbʔ-ib.*
          bear-ERG   Ali(ABS)   M-kill:PF-AOR
          'A bear killed Ali.'

(44) a. *abaj-ze*   *urši*   *w-arg-ib.*
          mother-INTER boy(ABS) M-find:PF-AOR
          'Mother found her son.'
      b. *adaj-ze*   *dursi*   *d-arg-ib.*
          father-INTER   girl(ABS)   F-find:PF-AOR
          'Father found his daughter.'

(45) a. *madina-s   ?ali   w-ig-ib.*
     Madina-DAT   Ali(ABS)   M-love:IPF-PST
     'Madina loved Ali.'

   b. *?ali-s   madina   d-ig-ib.*
     Ali-DAT   Madina(ABS)   F-love:IPF-PST
     'Ali loved Madina.'

If a clause lacks an absolutive argument, as observed with some types of formally transitive verbs, gender agreement on the lexical verb appears as the default singular neuter agreement marker *b-*. This is also observed with intransitive impersonal predicates. See examples in Section 1 above.

The verb *buhes* 'manage, be able' subcategorizes for the inter-elative subject and the infinitival complement and thus does not have an absolutive argument. This verb, therefore, always invariably appears with the default (singular neuter) marker *b-*, see examples (38)-(39) above.

The second morphological slot for gender agreement appears on the copula within periphrastic verbal forms like Present and Past Progressive, Present and Past Resultative. This slot cross-references the gender-number features of the highest absolutive argument. In clauses with one absolutive argument and in clauses with no absolutive argument, gender agreement on the copula patterns with gender agreement on the lexical verb, that is, agrees with the absolutive in the former case and shows default agreement in the latter case.

(46) a. *urši   iz-uwe   le-w.*
     boy(ABS)   be.sick:IPF-CONV   COP-M
     'The boy is sick.'

   b. *dursi   iz-uwe   le-r.*
     girl(ABS)   be.sick:IPF-CONV   COP-F
     'The girl is sick.'

(47) a. *madina-ze   rasul   w-alh-uwe   le-w.*
     Madina-INTER   Rasul(ABS)   M-know:IPF-CONV   COP-M
     'Madina knows Ali.'

   b. *rasuj-s   madina   d-alh-uwe   le-r.*
     Rasul+OBL-DAT   Madina(ABS)   F-know:IPF-CONV   COP-F
     'Rasul knows Madina.'

(48) a. *madina-s   rasul   w-ig-uwe   le-w.*
     Madina-DAT   Rasul(ABS)   M-love:IPF-CONV   COP-M
     'Madina is loving Rasul.'

   b. *rasuj-s   madina   d-ig-uwe   le-r.*
     Rasul+OBL-DAT   Madina(ABS)   F-love:IPF-CONV   COP-F
     'Rasul is loving Madina.'

(49) *urši-li-ni   i-le   le-b   ...*
     boy-OBL-ERG   say:PF+AOR-CONV   COP-N
     'The boy said that ...'

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In complex verbs that include an adjectival stem specified for prefixal gender agreement as a non-verbal component, the adjective always agrees with the absolutive argument.

(50) a. *adam-ule-ni   huni   b-aʡu   b-aq'-ib.*
      man-PL-ERG   road(ABS)   N-wide   N-do:PF-AOR
      'Men widened the road.'
   b. *adam-ule-ni   hun-be   d-aʡu   d-aq'-ib.*
      man-PL-ERG   road-PL(ABS)   NPL-wide   NPL-do:PF-AOR
      'Men widened the roads.'

If a sentence contains two absolutive arguments, as attested in bi-absolutive constructions, the copula agrees with the subject, see Section 6.

3. Verbal person agreement

3.1. Intransitive, transitive, and locative subject verbs in synthetic indicative forms

In synthetic indicative tense-aspect forms (aorist, imperfect, habitual, future), person agreement operates on nominative-accusative basis and cross-references the person of the subject: the absolutive argument of intransitive verbs, the ergative argument of transitive verbs, or the inter-lative argument of locative subject verbs.

(51) *nu   usaʡ-un-na.*
   I(ABS) fall asleep:PF-AOR-1/2
   'I fell asleep.'

(52) *nuša-jni qali   b-aq'-i-ra.*
   we-ERG   house(ABS)   N-do:PF-AOR-1/2
   'We built a house.'

(53) *di-ʑe sinka   g-ub-ra.*
   I-INTER   bear(ABS)   see:PF-AOR-1/2
   'I saw a bear.'

Morphologically, person inflection only distinguishes two options: one is a form overtly specified for person (*-iša* in the Future, *-s* in the Habitual, *-ra* in the rest of indicative tense-aspect forms), the other is a non-agreeing form. A peculiar feature of Mehweb is that person agreement is sensitive to the illocutionary force of the utterance. In declarative sentences, the overt person marker points to the first person of the subject, whereas non-agreeing forms are observed with second and third person subjects; by contrast, in interrogative sentences, the same overt person marker indicates second person subject, while first and third person subject do not trigger overt person marking on the verb. The following question-answer pairs illustrate.

(54) Q: *ħu   dag   kuda   {w-aˤq'-un-na   /   *w-aˤq'-un-a}?*
      you.sg(ABS)   yesterday where   M-go:PF-AOR-1/2(Q)   M-go:PF-AOR-Q
      'Where did you go yesterday?'

A: *nu   anži-li   {w-aˤq'-un-na   /   *w-aˤq'-un}.*
   I(ABS) Makhachkala-IN   M-go:PF-AOR-1/2   M-go:PF-AOR
   'I went to Makhachkala.'

(55) Q: *dag   nu-ni sija   {b-aq'-ib-a   /   *b-aq'-i-ra}.*
      yesterday I-ERG what(ABS) N-do:PF-AOR-Q   N-do:PF-AOR-1/2+Q
      'What did I do yesterday?'
   A: *ħu-ni   paˤrun   {b-urʔ-aq-ib   /   *b-urʔ-aq-i-ra}.*
      you.sg-ERG glass(ABS) N-break:PF-CAUS-AOR   N-break:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2
      'You broke a window.'

Example (54) shows that second person subjects in interrogatives and first person subjects in declaratives obligatorily bear the overt person marking, whereas subjects in reverse combinations of person and illocutionary force – first person subjects in interrogatives and second person subjects in declaratives – can never be overtly marked for person, as example (55) demonstrates (see the discussion of one notable exception in Section 3.4 below).

Person marking on synthetic tense-aspect forms is obligatory with intransitive absolutive subjects and transitive ergative subjects and cannot be omitted. Locative subject verbs display variation on this point. The verb *gʷes* 'see' patterns with transitive and intransitive verbs in requiring person agreement, whereas with the rest of the locative subject verbs, person marking is optional.

(56) *di-ze   urx-ne   {d-arg-i-ra   /   d-arg-ib}.*
    I-INTER key-PL(ABS)   NPL-find:PF-AOR-1/2   NPL-find:PF-AOR
    'I found the keys.'

(57) *di-ze   rasu-wa   t'ama   {arʁ-i-ra   /   arʁ-ib}.*
    I-INTER Rasul+OBL-GEN sound(ABS)   hear:PF-AOR-1/2   hear:PF-AOR
    'I heard Rasul's voice.'

(58) *di-ze   rasul   {w-alh-as   /   w-alh-an}.*
    I-INTER Rasul(ABS)   M-know:IPF-HAB.1/2   M-know:IPF-HAB
    'I know Rasul.'

Similar to locative subject verbs, the inter-elative subject of the verb *buhes* 'manage, be able' triggers overt person marking only optionally.

(59) *di-ze-la   ajz-es   {ħa-b-urh-an   /   ħa-b-urh-as}.*
    I-INTER-ELAT (M)rise:PF-INF   NEG-N-manage:IPF-HAB   NEG-N-manage:IPF-HAB.1/2
    'I cannot stand up.'

(60) *di-ze-la   ħa-b-uh-ub(-ra)   ʁarʁa   aq-b-aq'-as.*
    I-INTER-ELAT NEG-N-manage:PF-AOR-1/2   stone(ABS) up-N-do:PF-INF
    'I did not manage to lift the stone.'

Non-subjects, including absolutive direct objects, inter-lative indirect objects (addressee, causee), inter-elative arguments (including involuntary agents) and other oblique arguments can never trigger person agreement.

(61) *ʡali-ini   nu   {w-it-ib   /   *w-it-i-ra}.*
Ali-ERG   I(ABS)   M-beat:PF-AOR   M-beat:PF-AOR-1/2
'Alit beat me up.'

(62) *madina-ze   nu   {g-ub   /   *g-ub-ra}.*
Madina-INTER I(ABS)   see:PF-AOR   see:PF-AOR-1/2
'Madina saw me.'

(63) *rasuj-ni   di-ze   ca   χabar   {b-urh-ib   /   *b-urh-i-ra}.*
Rasul-ERG I-INTER one story(ABS)   N-tell:PF-AOR   N-tell:PF-AOR-1/2
'Rasul told me a story.'

(64) *abaj-ni   di-ze   ʁadur-me   {d-az-aq-ib   /*
mother-ERG I-INTER dish-PL(ABS)   NPL-wash:PF-CAUS-AOR
d-az-aq-i-ra}.
NPL-wash:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2
'Mother made me wash dishes.'

(65) *di-ze-la   guruška   b-urʡ-ub(-*ra).*
I-INTER-ELAT cup(ABS)   N-break:PF-AOR-1/2
'A cup broke on me.'

3.2. Dative subject verbs

Unlike subjects of intransitive, transitive, and locative subject verbs, dative subjects do not trigger overt person agreement.

(66) *nab   rasul   {w-ig-an   /   *w-ig-as}.*
I(DAT) Rasul(ABS)   M-love:IPF-HAB   M-love:IPF-HAB.1/2
'I love Rasul.'

(67) *nab   ʡaˁχ-il   q'immat   {b-ik-ib   / *b-ik-i-ra}.*
I(DAT) good-ATR   grade(ABS)   N-happen:PF-AOR   N-happen:PF-AOR-1/2
'I got a good grade.'

(68) *nab   rasul   eba   {uh-ub   /   *uh-ub-ra}.*
I(DAT) Rasul(ABS) bore   (M)become:PF-AOR   (M)become:PF-AOR-1/2
'I got bored with Rasul.'

(69) *nab   ʡali   urče-w   {le-w   /   *le-w-ra}.*
I(DAT) Ali(ABS) on.heart-M   COP-M   COP-M-1/2
'I remember Ali.'

(70) *nab   hel   dehʷ   urče   {b-ak'-ib   /   *b-ak'-i-ra}.*
I(DAT) DEM word(ABS) on.heart N-come:PF-AOR   N-come:PF-AOR-1/2
'Rasul recalled that word.'

(71) *nab* {*b-ik-ib* / **b-ik-i-ra*} *ʔali w-ebk'-i-le ile.*
I(DAT) N-happen:PF-AOR N-happen:PF-AOR-1/2 Ali(ABS) M-die:PF-AOR-CONV COMP
'I thought (it occurred to me) that Ali was dead.'

The contrast between locative and dative subject verbs is clearly seen in sentences with the verb *qumartes* 'forget'. Recall that this verb allows both the locative and dative subjects. With a first person locative subject, the verb has optional person agreement, as with other locative subject verbs. With a first person dative subject, the verb cannot show overt person marking, as is usual with dative subject verbs.

(72) a. *di-ze ʔali qumart-ur(-ra).*
     I-INTER Ali(ABS) forget:PF-AOR-1/2
   b. *nab ʔali qumart-ur(-*ra).*
     I(DAT) Ali(ABS) forget:PF-AOR-1/2
     'I forgot Ali.'

In sentences with dative subjects, absolutive direct objects do not trigger person agreement either.

(73) *madina-s nu* {*w-ig-an* / **w-ig-as*}.
   Madina-DAT I(ABS) M-love:IPF-HAB M-love:IPF-HAB.1/2
   'Madina loves me.'

(74) *madina-s nu eba* {*uh-ub* / **uh-ub-ra*}.
   Madina-DAT I(ABS) bore (M)become:PF-AOR (M)become:PF-AOR-1/2
   'Madina got bored with me.'

(75) *madina-s nu urče-w* {*le-w* / **le-w-ra*}.
   Madina-DAT I(ABS) on.heart-M COP-M COP-M-1/2
   'Madina remembers me.'

(76) *rasuj-s nu urče* {*b-ak'-ib* / **b-ak'-i-ra*}.
   Rasul+OBL-DAT I(ABS) on.heart N-come:PF-AOR N-come:PF-AOR-1/2
   'Rasul recalled me.'

This is especially unexpected given the fact that many of the dative subject verbs clearly go back to intransitive structures where absolutive arguments diachronically go back to intransitive subjects, and thus could act as agreement triggers, contrary to fact.

(77) a. *X Y eba b-uh-es*
     DAT ABS bore N-become:PF-INF
     'For X, Y becomes boring.'
   b. *X Y urče-b le-b*
     DAT ABS on.heart-N(ESS) COP-N
     'To X, Y is on heart.'
   c. *X Y urče b-ak'-as*
     DAT ABS on.heart(LAT) N-come:PF-INF
     'To X, Y comes to heart.'

The clear contrast between intransitive and dative subject constructions with respect to person agreement is observed in a construction with the verb *haraq'e bak'as* (lit. 'come forward') that denotes illusionary seeing like in dreams or hallucinations, see (70).

(78) *rasuj-s*   *tamaša-l*   *si-k'al-t*   *haraq'e*   *d-ik'-uwe*   *le-r.*
Rasul+OBL-DAT surprising-ATR what-INDEF-PL forward NPL-come:IPF-CONV COP-NPL
'Rasul is seeing something bizarre.' (lit. 'Something bizarre is coming forward to Rasul.')

Like in other dative subject structures, neither of the two arguments, the dative subject or the absolutive direct object, is able to trigger person agreement on the verb.

(79) a.   *nab*   *tamaša-l*   *si-k'al-t*   *haraq'e*   {*d-ak'-ib*   /
     I(DAT)   surprising-ATR what-INDEF-PL forward   NPL-come:PF-AOR
     *d-ak'-i-ra}.
     NPL-come:PF-AOR-1/2
     'Something bizarre appeared to me.'
   b.   *rasuj-s*   *nu*   *haraq'e*   {*w-ak'-ib*   /   **w-ak'-i-ra*}.
     Rasul+OBL-DAT I(ABS)   forward   M-come:PF-AOR   M-come:PF-AOR-1/2
     'I appeared to Rasul (in a hallucination).'

Overt person marking on the verb *bak'as* 'come' in the latter example, however, is grammatical but only in the literal sense of physical movement.

(80) *rasuj-s*   *nu*   *haraq'e*   {*w-ak'-i-ra*   /   **w-ak'-ib*}.
Rasul+OBL-DAT I(ABS) forward M-come:PF-AOR-1/2   M-come:PF-AOR
'I came forward to Rasul.' (not: 'I appeared to Rasul (in a hallucination).')

We therefore have a minimal pair: in the same construction with *haraq'e bak'as* 'come forward', person agreement with the first person absolutive argument is either obligatorily required when denoting physical movement or completely banned when referring to imaginary visions.

To sum up, neither of the two arguments of a dative subject verb – the dative subject or the absolutive direct object – can control person agreement. Strikingly enough, overt person marking on a finite dative subject verb is nevertheless possible in constructions where both the dative subject and the absolutive direct object are first person (i.e. in reflexive constructions with first person subject).

(81) *nab*   *nu-wal*   *w-ig-as.*
I(DAT) I(ABS)-EMPH   M-love:PF-HAB.1/2
'I love myself.'

The syntax of dative subject constructions and mechanisms of person agreement therein require further syntactic analysis.

3.3. Agreement in the Present Progressive

Present Progressive forms demonstrate a different pattern of person agreement in sentences with transitive and locative subject verbs. Unlike other indicative forms, not only the person

feature of the subject is taken into account here, but also the person feature of the direct (absolutive) object.

The descriptive generalization is that overt person agreement with the first person subject is only possible (and obligatory) when the absolutive direct object is local (first or second person); otherwise, with third person direct objects, person agreement is ungrammatical, and the finite verb is in the unmarked form.[27]

(82) a. *nu-ni kung   luč'-uwe   le-b(*-ra).*
        I-ERG book(ABS) read:IPF-CONV COP-N-1/2
        'I am reading a book.'
    b. *nu-ni ħu   ulc-uwe   le-w-*(ra).*
        I-ERG you.sg(ABS) (M)catch:IPF-CONV COP-M-1/2
        'I am catching you (male).'

(83) a. *di-ze sinka   irg-uwe   le-b(*-ra).*
        I-INTER bear(ABS) see:IPF-CONV COP-N-1/2
        'I am seeing a bear.'
    b. *di-ze ħu   irg-uwe   le-w-*(ra).*
        I-INTER you.sg(ABS) see:IPF-CONV COP-M-1/2
        'I am seeing you.'

Examples (82a)-(83a) show that agreement with first person subjects is impossible in the presence of a third person absolutive direct object. By contrast, agreement is obligatory when the direct object is also local. Relative specification of the subject and the direct object for number plays no role in availability of person agreement.

(84) a. {*nu-ni / nuša-jni*} *ħuša   b-ulc-uwe   le-b-*(ra).*
        I-ERG   we-ERG   you.pl(ABS) HPL-catch:IPF-CONV COP-HPL-1/2
        '{I am / we are} catching you all.'
    b. *nuša-jni ħu   ulc-uwe   le-w-*(ra).*
        we-ERG you.sg(ABS) (M)catch:IPF-CONV COP-M-1/2
        'We are catching you.'

(85) a. {*nu-ni / nuša-jni*} *ul-e   b-ulc-uwe   le-b(-*ra).*
        I-ERG   we-ERG   child-PL(ABS) HPL-catch:IPF-CONV COP-HPL-1/2
        '{I am / we are} catching the kids.'
    b. *nuša-jni qazam   b-iz-uwe   le-b(-*ra).*
        we-ERG you.sg(ABS) N-wash:IPF-CONV COP-N-1/2
        'We are washing the cauldron.'

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[27] In transitive clauses with third person direct objects, such as (82a), first person marking is marginally accepted by some native speakers. It is not clear where such marginal acceptability stems from. One option could be that optional person agreement in these configurations is actually a part of Mehweb grammar. Another option, however, is that it arises from contamination with bi-absolutive constructions where person agreement with the subject is obligatory in the Present Progressive (see Section 6). Indeed, many speakers, when accepting person agreement in examples like (82a), tend to re-phrase the ergative construction of (82a) into the corresponding bi-absolutive construction with the absolutive subject, with subject-controlled person and gender agreement on the copula. Note that with locative subject verbs which are not easily allowed in bi-absolutive constructions, person agreement in the Present Progressive is definitely out for all speakers, see (83a).

3.4. Matrix infinitival questions

One exception to the generalization that only second, but not first, person subjects trigger person agreement in interrogative sentences concerns agreeing forms of the Future which may co-occur with first person subjects in interrogatives, yielding questions with modal semantics.

(86) *nu-ni ħad   sija   g-iša?*
      I-ERG you.sg(DAT) what(ABS) give:PF-FUT.1/2+Q
      'What should I give you?' (not: 'What will I give you?')

(87) *nu   uˤq'-iša-w?*
      I(ABS) (M)go:PF-FUT.1/2-Q
      'Should I go?' (not: 'Will I go?')

Examples like (86)-(87) are remarkable in two respects. First, they are only available in the Future, but not in other tense-aspect forms.

(88) **nu-ni ħad   sija   g-i-ra?*
       I-ERG you.sg(DAT) what(ABS) give:PF-AOR-1/2+Q
       intended: 'What should I have given you?' (or 'What did I give you?')

Second, the modal interpretation of the questions in (86) and (87) only arises with first person subjects, but never with second person subjects, cf. the contrast between (89) and (90).

(89) *nu   kuda uˤq'-iša?*
      I(ABS) where (M)go:PF-FUT.1/2+Q
      'Where should I go?' (not: 'Where will I go?')

(90) *ħu   kuda uˤq'-iša?*
      you.sg(ABS) where (M)go:PF-FUT.1/2+Q
      'Where will you go?' (not: 'Where should you go?')

This contrast raises a question whether the two sentences in (89) and (90) contain the same verb form or two different verb forms. The question is especially relevant in the light of the fact that the infinitive in Mehweb is formally identical to non-agreeing forms of the future (which appear e.g. in declarative sentences with second/third person subjects), as shown in (91).

(91) a. *ʡali   ša-baħ   uˤq'-es.*
          Ali(ABS) village-ALL (M)go:PF-FUT
          'Ali will go to the village.'
      b. *ʡali-s*ᵢ *[pro*ᵢ *ša-baħ   uˤq'-es]   dig-uwe   le-b.*
          Ali-DAT ABS   village-ALL (M)go:PF-INF want:IPF-CONV COP-N
          'Ali wants to go to the village.'

The infinitive and the future, however, are normally distinguished in contexts with overt person marking (e.g. declarative sentences with first person subjects): the future takes the overt person marking, while the infinitive never does so, see (92).

(92) a. *nu   ša-baħ   uˤq'-iša.*
I(ABS)   village-ALL   (M)go:PF-FUT.1/2
'I will go to the village.'

    b. *nab$_i$*   [pro$_i$ *ša-baħ*   *uˤq'-es*]   *dig-uwe*   *le-b.*
I(DAT)   ABS   village-ALL   (M)go:PF-INF   want:IPF-CONV   COP-N
'I want to go to the village.'

Note now the fact that across Dargwa languages, the modal semantics found in the Mehweb examples in (86), (87), (89) is commonly expressed by a special form where the first person marker is added on top of the infinitive, see an example from Chirag Dargwa.

(93)   Chirag Dargwa
di-cːe   χabar-e   d-urs-i-da-j?
I-ERG   story-PL(ABS)   NPL-tell:PF-INF-1/2-Q
'Should I tell the stories?'

Furthermore, the same modal semantics is characteristic of matrix infinitival questions cross-linguistically (cf. English *Where to go?* or German *Wohin gehen?,* Bhatt 2012: 108, 110).

Given two facts: (i) the formal identity between the infinitive and the future in non-agreeing forms and (ii) the morphological evidence that the combination of infinitive with first person marking may yield the modal semantics of 'should', it is natural to suggest that the Mehweb modal questions like in (86) actually involve a combination of the infinitive and overt person marking, but not the formally identical agreeing form of the future.

3.5. Agreement shift in embedded reports

Person agreement as described above is only available in finite clauses: no non-finite clause can feature person agreement marker. The following examples show that person agreement is unavailable in complements headed by nominalizations.

(94)   *rasuj-ze*   *b-alh-an ...*
Rasul + OBL-INTER   N-know:IPF-HAB
'Rasul knows …'

    a. *nu-ni kung*   {*b-elč'-un-deš*   /   **b-elč'-un-na-deš*}.
I-ERG   book(ABS)   N-read:PF-AOR-NMLZ   N-read:PF-AOR-1/2-NMLZ
'… that I read (past) the book.'

    b. *nu-ni ħu*   *ulc-uwe*   {*le-w-deš*   /   **le-w-ra-deš*}.
I-ERG   you.sg(ABS)   (M)catch:IPF-CONV   COP-M-NMLZ   COP-M-1/2-NMLZ
'… that I am catching you.'

    c. *nu-ni kung-ane*   {*luč'-an-deš*   /   **luč'-as-deš*}.
I-ERG   book(ABS)   read:IPF-HAB-NMLZ   read:IPF-HAB.1/2-NMLZ
'… that I read (habitual) books.'

Apart from independent finite clauses described above, Mehweb also features complement finite clauses with the complementizer *ile*. Etymologically, the complementizer goes back (and is still synchronically identical) to the perfective converb of the verb *es* 'say'. Functionally, it is used with verbs of speech and thought to introduce reported speech (attitude reports).

(95) a. *abaj-s   b-ik-ib …*
    mother-DAT   N-happen:PF-AOR
    'Mother thought …

 b. *abaj-ni   b-urh-ib …*   *ca   insan   w-ak'-ib   ile.*
    mother-ERG   N-tell:PF-AOR   one person(ABS) M-come:PF-AOR COMP
    'Mother said / told …   … that someone came.'

 c. *abaj   uruχ‹d›aˤq-ib …*
    mother(ABS)   ‹F›fear:PF-AOR
    'Mother feared …

Personal pronouns and person agreement in embedded reports under the complementizer *ile* are subject to *person shift* (*indexical shift* and *agreement shift*, respectively).

Indexical shift affects the interpretation of first and second person pronouns and is always optional: personal pronouns in embedded reports may refer not only to the participants (speaker and addressee) of the actual speech act, as in independent finite clauses, but also to the participants of the speech act denoted by the matrix clause. On the latter option, the first person pronoun refers to the reporter (attitude holder) expressed as the subject of the matrix clause, while the second person pronoun denotes the addressee of the matrix reporter.

(96) *rasuj-ni   ib   di-la   mašin   b-urʔ-ub   ile.*
    Rasul+OBL-ERG   say:PF+AOR   I-GEN   car(ABS) N-break:PF-AOR   COMP
    a. 'Rasul$_i$ said that my$_j$ car is broken.' (unshifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)
    b. 'Rasul$_i$ said that his$_i$ car is broken.' (shifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)

(97) *madina-ini   rasuj-ʒe   ib   ħa-la   mašin*
    Madina-ERG   Rasul+OBL-INTER   say:PF+AOR   you.sg-GEN   car(ABS)
    b-urʔ-ub   ile.
    N-break:PF-AOR   COMP
    a. 'Madina said to Rasul$_i$ that your$_j$ car is broken.' (unshifted reading of the 2nd person pronoun)
    b. 'Madina said to Rasul$_i$ that his$_i$ car is broken.' (shifted reading of the 2nd person pronoun)

With matrix verbs selecting for a complement clause with *ile* but lacking addressee, such as matrix verbs of thought, only first person pronouns can be shifted, while second person pronouns only denote the addressee in the actual speech act.

(98) *rasul uruχ‹w›aˤq-ib   di-la mašin   b-urʔ-ub   ile.*
    Rasul (M)fear:PF-AOR   I-GEN car(ABS) N-break:PF-AOR COMP
    a. 'Rasul$_i$ fears that my$_j$ car is broken.' (unshifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)
    b. 'Rasul$_i$ fears that his$_i$ car is broken.' (shifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)

(99) *rasul uruχ‹w›aˤq-ib   ħa-la   mašin   b-urʔ-ub   ile.*
    Rasul (M)fear:PF-AOR   you.sg-GEN   car(ABS) N-break:PF-AOR COMP
    'Madina$_i$ fears that your$_j$ car is broken.' (only unshifted reading of the 2nd person pronoun)

Person agreement in finite embedded clauses is subject to obligatory *agreement shift*: only arguments denoting the participants of the reported speech act can control person agreement; all other arguments including those representing the participants of the actual speech act can never trigger agreement. In declarative embedded clauses, only embedded subjects denoting the closest reporter / attitude holder trigger overt agreement on the verb. One possibility is that the embedded subject is expressed by the shifted first person pronoun.

(100) *rasul   uruχ‹w›aˤq-ib   nu-ni   mašin   b-urʔ-aq-i-ra   ile.*
Rasul(ABS) ‹M›fear:PF-AOR   I-ERG   car(ABS) N-break:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2 COMP
'Rasul$_i$ feared that he$_i$ broke the car.'

In (100), the subject is expressed by the first person pronoun that undergoes indexical shift, that is, refers not to the speaker of the actual speech act, but rather to the attitude holder Rasul expressed as the subject of the matrix clause. The embedded verb thus shows obligatory overt agreement for person.

The other possibility is that the embedded subject is expressed by the long-distance reflexive pronoun bound by the matrix subject representing the attitude holder. The long-distance reflexive thus ends up being co-referent with the attitude holder, and the verb obligatorily shows overt person marking.

(101) *rasul   uruχ‹w›aˤq-ib   sune-jni   mašin   b-urʔ-aq-i-ra   ile.*
Rasul(ABS) ‹M›fear:PF-AOR   SELF-ERG car(ABS) N-break:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2 COMP
'Rasul$_i$ feared that he$_i$ broke the car.'

No other argument can trigger person agreement on the finite verb in embedded reports, including unshifted first person pronouns denoting the speaker of the actual speech act. Example (102) illustrates.

(102) *rasul   uruχ‹w›aˤq-ib   nu-ni   mašina   {b-urʔ-aq-ib   /*
Rasul(ABS) ‹M›fear:PF-AOR   I-ERG   car(ABS)   N-break:PF-CAUS-AOR
*b-urʔ-aq-i-ra}   ile.
 N-break:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2   COMP
'Rasul$_i$ feared that I$_j$ broke the car.'

Kozhukhar' (this volume) reports that overt person marking with unshifted first person pronoun is also possible in examples like (102). Indeed, consultants sometimes judge such sentences acceptable. I maintain, however, that overt person agreement with an unshifted first person pronoun is ungrammatical, and the judgments must stem from confusion. First person pronouns strongly tend to shift their reference in embedded reports, and consultants usually have a hard time recognizing that the pronoun could refer to the actual speaker. So, when presented with a sentence containing a first person pronoun and overt person marking on the verb, some consultants judge it acceptable due to the fact that they have a different reference in mind: instead of the reference to the speaker of the actual speech act, they interpret the pronoun as denoting the attitude holder. However, if a suitable example is constructed where the confusion is not possible because of overt morphological marking, overt person marking with unshifted first person pronouns is uniformly judged unacceptable. Consider examples (103) and (104).

(103) *abaj-s*   *b-ik-ib*   *nu*   *usaʔ-uwe*   *le-w(-*ra)*   *ile.*
       mother-DATN-happen:PF-AOR I(ABS)   (M)fall asleep:PF-CONV COP-M-1/2   COMP
       'Mother$_i$ thought that I$_j$ fell asleep.'

(104) *abaj*   *uruχk'-uwe*   *le-r*   *nu*   {*arik-es*   /
       mother(ABS)be.afraid:IPF-CONV COP-F   I(ABS)   (M)fall:PF-FUT
       *arik-iša}   *ile.*
       (M)fall:PF-FUT.1/2   COMP
       'Mother$_i$ is afraid that I$_j$ am going to fall down.'

In (103) and (104), the first person pronoun in the embedded clause is unambiguously interpreted as denoting the actual speaker, not the attitude holder, since masculine gender marking appears on the embedded verb (both the converb of the lexical verb and the copula) indicating that the referent of the first person pronoun is a man. Since the attitude holder ('mother') is unambiguously female, the embedded first person pronoun may only receive a disjoint reference, and thus be co-valued with the speaker of the actual speech act. In this configuration, overt agreement was unanimously considered definitely unacceptable.

Agreement shift thus makes possible mismatches between the "lexical" person feature of an argument and verbal person agreement. On the one hand, third person reflexive pronouns trigger overt person marking, as in (101); on the other hand, first person pronouns referring to the actual speaker cannot ever trigger overt person agreement, (102)-(104).

The examples above show that the attitude holder can be lexically expressed in the embedded clause as either a shifted first person pronoun or a long-distance reflexive pronoun. However, these two options cannot co-occur within the same embedded clause: in the presence of a long-distance reflexive bound by the matrix subject, first person pronouns are obligatorily interpreted as referring to the speaker of the actual speech act.

(105) *rasul*   *uruχ⟨w⟩aˤq-ib*   *nu-ni*   *sune-la*   *mašina*
       Rasul(ABS) ⟨M⟩fear:PF-AOR   I-ERG   SELF-GEN   car(ABS)
       b-urʔ-aq-i-ra   *ile.*
       N-break:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2   COMP
       a. *'Rasul$_i$ feared that he$_i$ broke his$_i$ car.'
       b. 'Rasul$_i$ feared that he$_i$ broke his$_j$ car.'
       c. *'Rasul$_i$ feared that I$_j$ broke his$_i$ car.'

In (105), the embedded clause includes both the first person pronoun in the ergative subject position and the possessive reflexive pronoun that modifies the direct object. The two cannot be interpreted as denoting the same participant (105a), so two options are available: either the first person pronoun or the reflexive is interpreted as denoting the attitude holder. In the former case, the reflexive must then have a disjoint reference (long-distance bound by an even higher subject or a free logophor, see Kozhukhar', this volume), as in (105b). In the latter case, the first person pronoun must refer to the actual speaker which is not possible in this sentence, since unshifted first person pronouns do not trigger verbal person marking, (105c). Should the finite verb in the embedded report be in the unmarked form *burʔaqib*, reading (105c) becomes available.

In interrogative embedded clauses, a similar distribution is observed: only arguments co-valued with the addressee of the reporter (expressed as the addressee argument of the matrix verb) show overt person marking on the embedded verb, whereas unshifted second person pronouns cannot trigger overt person marking.

(106) *rasuj-ni madina-ze xarba-ib ħu kuda {d-aš-as-a /*
Rasul-ERG Madina-INTER ask:PF-AOR you.sg(ABS) where F-walk:IPF-HAB.1/2-Q
*d-aš-an-a} har barħi ile.
  F-walk:IPF-HAB-Q every day COMP
'Rasul asked Madina_i where she_i goes every day.'

(107) *rasuj-ni madina-ze xarba-ib ħu kuda {w-aš-an-a /*
Rasul-ERG Madina-INTER ask:PF-AOR you.sg(ABS) where M-walk:IPF-HAB-Q
*w-aš-as-a} har barħi ile.
  M-walk:IPF-HAB.1/2-Q every day COMP
'Rasul asked Madina where you go every day.'

Again, in examples like (107), the second person pronoun in the embedded clause may only be interpreted disjoint from the matrix addressee argument due to a gender mismatch between the feminine gender of the matrix addressee and the masculine gender agreement on the embedded verb. When so, overt person agreement is ungrammatical with a second person pronoun in interrogative embedded clauses.

For the sake of completeness, a few words are in order about availability of indexical shift and agreement shift. As said above, both are only possible in finite complement clauses with the complementizer *ile* under verbs of speech and thought, but not in other types of complements. The examples below demonstrate that indexical shift and agreement shift are possible in the finite complement with the verb *arʁes* 'hear', but not in the factive non-finite (nominalized) complement with the same verb.

(108) *rasuj-ze arʁ-ib di-la mašin b-urʔ-ub ile.*
Rasul + OBL-INTER understand:PF-AOR I-GEN car(ABS) N-break:PF-AOR COMP
a. 'Rasul_i realized that my_j car is broken.' (unshifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)
b. 'Rasul_i realized that his_i car is broken.' (shifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)

(109) *rasuj-ze arʁ-ib di-la mašin b-urʔ-ub-deš ile.*
Rasul + OBL-INTER understand:PF-AOR I-GEN car(ABS) N-break:PF-AOR-NMLZ COMP
a. 'Rasul_i realized that my_j car is broken.' (unshifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)
b. *'Rasul_i realized that his_i car is broken.' (shifted reading of the 1st person pronoun)

Whether or not a matrix verb combines with ile-complements is not lexically determined, but rather depends on the semantics (speech or thought report). This is clearly seen in case like those shown in the following examples.

(110) *rasuj-ze b-ah-ur abaj iz-uwe {le-r-deš /*
Rasul-INTER N-know:PF-AOR mother(ABS) be.sick:IPF-CONV COP-F-NMLZ
*le-r ile}.
  COP-F COMP
'Rasul found out that mom was sick.'

(111) *madina-ini   rasuj-ze   b-ah-aq-ib   abaj   iz-uwe*
      Madina-ERG Rasul-INTER N-know:PF-CAUS-AOR mother(ABS) be.sick:IPF-CONV
      {*le-r-deš   /   le-r   ile*}.
       COP-F-NMLZ   COP-F COMP
      'Madina let Rasul know that mom was sick.'

Example (110) shows that the factive matrix verb *bahes* 'know' does not combine with finite *ile*-complements. In (111), the causative *bahaqas* of the same verb is normally understood as denoting a speech act ('let know, inform) and therefore is compatible with an *ile*-complement.

4. Reciprocals

Reciprocal pronouns consist of two instances of the numeral *ca* 'one' adjacent to one another.

(112) *uz-be-ni   ca-li-ni   ca-li-če   b-aaq-ib.*
      brother-PL-ERG one-OBL-ERG one-OBL-SUPER(LAT) N-hit:PF-AOR
      'The brothers hit each other.'

As seen from the example above, the two components of the reciprocal bear independent case marking. One component is always in the case of the subject, the other component bears the case of the reciprocized argument. The distribution of case marking on the two components of the reciprocal pronoun depends on a particular argument/case combination.
Absolutive case, whether it corresponds to the subject or to the direct object, is always marked on the second component of the reciprocal, the first component therefore bears the case of the other argument participating in the reciprocal construction.

(113) *uz-be   ca-li-če   ca   ħule‹b›iz-ur.*
      brother-PL(ABS) one-OBL-SUPER one(ABS) ‹HPL›look:PF-AOR
      'The brothers looked at each other.'

(114) *uz-be-ni   ca-li-ni   ca   b-aˤbʔ-ib.*
      брат-PL-ERG one-OBL-ERG   one(ABS) HPL-kill:PF-AOR
      'The brothers killed each other.'

In (113), the intransitive verb *ħulebizes* 'look' is used in the reciprocal construction. The absolutive case of the subject is marked on the second part of the reciprocal, whereas the case of the oblique argument is marked on the first part. In (114), the transitive verb *baˤbʔas* 'kill' participates in the reciprocal construction. Again, the absolutive case, which is the case of the direct object here, is marked on the second part of the reciprocal pronoun, while the ergative case of the transitive subject is marked on the first part.
When no absolutive argument participates in a reciprocal construction, the case marking on the reciprocal pronoun is determined by structural prominence: the first component is in the case of the higher argument, while the second component is in the case of the lower argument, see (112) above and the following examples.

(115) *ul-e-jni   ca-li-ni   ca-li-s   kumak   b-aq'-ib.*
      child-PL-ERG   one-OBL-ERG one-OBL-DAT   help(ABS) N-do:PF-AOR
      'The kids helped one another.'

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(116) *ul-e-jni*   *ca-li-ni*   *ca-li-ze-la*   *arc*   *ar-is-an.*
child-PL-ERG one-OBL-ERG   one-OBL-INTER-ELAT   money(ABS) PV-take:IPF-HAB
'The kids take money away from one another.'

The case of the overt antecedent NP also depends on the presence of an absolutive argument in the construction. As a rule, the overt antecedent stands in the case of a more structurally prominent argument. Examples (112) and (114)-(116) above show that in the reciprocal construction with transitive verbs, the overt antecedent is in the ergative case. Example (113) shows that the reciprocal construction with intransitive verbs requires the overt antecedent in the absolutive case. Example (117) below illustrates the reciprocal construction with locative subject verbs.

(117) *uz-be-ze*   *ca-li-ze*   *ca*   {*g-ub*   /   *b-ah-ur*   /
brother-PL-INTER one-OBL-INTER one(ABS) see:PF-AOR   HPL-know:PF-AOR
b-arg-ib   /   *qumart-ur*}.
HPL-find:PF-AOR   forget:PF-AOR
'The brothers {saw / recognized / found / forgot} each other.'

The only exception to this rule is dative subject verbs where the absolutive marking of the overt antecedent is preferred over the dative marking.

(118) {*it-ti*   / ^{??}*it-ti-li-s*}   *ca-li-s*   *ca*   *b-ig-uwe*   *le-b.*
DEM-PL(ABS)   DEM-PL-OBL-DAT   one-OBL-DAT   one(ABS) HPL-love:IPF-CONV   COP-HPL
'They love each other.'

(119) {*it-ti*   / ^{??}*it-ti-li-s*}   *ca-li-s*   *ca*   *eba* *b-uh-ub.*
DEM-PL(ABS)   DEM-PL-OBL-DAT   one-OBL-DAT   one(ABS) bore HPL-become:PF-AOR
'They got bored with each other.'

The absolutive marking of the overt antecedent is also possible in reciprocal constructions with two core (subject and absolutive direct object) arguments of two-place verbs.

(120) *uz-be*   *ca-li-ni*   *ca*   *b-aˤbʔ-ib.*
brother-PL(ABS) one-OBL-ERG   one(ABS) HPL-kill:PF-AOR
'The brothers killed each other.'

(121) *uz-be*   *ca-li-ze*   *ca*   {*g-ub*   /   *b-ah-ur*   /
brother-PL one-OBL-INTER   one(ABS)   see:PF-AOR   HPL-know:PF-AOR
b-arg-ib   /   *qumart-ur*}.
HPL-find:PF-AOR   forget:PF-AOR
'The brothers {saw / recognized / found / forgot} each other.'

We therefore have two possibilities of overt antecedent marking in constructions with the two core arguments of two-place verbs. The antecedent can be marked by the morphological case of the higher argument (i.e. the subject) or by the absolutive case, even though the absolutive is the morphological case of the lower argument (i.e. the direct object) in such configurations. With dative subject verbs, the first option is severely degraded and

the second option is preferred, while with other two-place verbs (transitive and locative subject), the two options are equally acceptable.

No other reciprocal construction allows the overt antecedent in the case of a lower argument. Example (122) illustrates this claim for a combination of the intransitive subject and an oblique argument, cf. (113); example (123) shows a reciprocal construction with the transitive subject and dative recipient, cf. (115).

(122) *uz-be-če   ca-li-če   ca   ħule⟨b⟩iz-ur.
       brother-PL-SUPER   one-OBL-SUPER   one(ABS)   ⟨HPL⟩look:PF-AOR
       'The brothers looked at each other.'

(123) *ul-e-s   ca-li-ni   ca-li-s   kumak   b-aq'-ib.
       child-PL-DAT one-OBL-ERG one-OBL-DAT help(ABS) N-do:PF-AOR
       'The kids helped one another.'

In transitive constructions where the absolutive direct object does not participate in reciprocal relation, the absolutive case cannot be used to mark the overt antecedent either.

(124) *ul-e   ca-li-ni   ca-li-s   kumak   b-aq'-ib.
       child-PL(ABS)   one-OBL-ERG   one-OBL-DAT   help(ABS) N-do:PF-AOR
       'The kids helped one another.'

Gender agreement in reciprocal constructions works according to the general rule of agreement with the absolutive argument. In structures with an overt absolutive NP, this is straightforward, see examples (113) and (118)-(121). In structures with no overt absolutive NP, as in (114) and (117), the verb shows the gender and number features of the overt antecedent.

Person agreement also works normal in constructions where the overt antecedent is in the morphological case of the subject; that is, first person intransitive absolutive, transitive ergative, and locative subjects trigger overt person marking on the finite verb.

(125) nuša   ca-li-če   ca   ħule⟨b⟩iz-ur-ra.
       we(ABS)   one-OBL-SUPER one(ABS) ⟨HPL⟩look:PF-AOR-1/2
       'We looked at each other.'

(126) nuša-jni ca-li-ni   ca   b-iˤbʔ-iša.
       we-ERG   one-OBL-ERG one(ABS) HPL-kill:IPF-FUT.1/2
       'We will kill each other.'

(127) nuša-ze   ca-li-ze   ca   {g-ub-ra   /   b-ah-ur-ra}
       we-PL-INTER one-OBL-INTER one(ABS)   see:PF-AOR-1/2 HPL-know:PF-AOR-1/2
       'We {saw / recognized} each other.'

In structures with the overt antecedent in the absolutive case corresponding to the direct object, as in (118)-(121), first person pronouns also triggers obligatory person marking.

(128) *nuša   ca-li-ni   ca   b-iˁbʔ-iša.*
we(ABS) one-OBL-ERG one(ABS) HPL-kill:IPF-FUT.1/2
'We will kill each other.'

(129) *nuša   ca-li-ʒe   ca   {g-ub-ra   /   b-ah-ur-ra}*
we-INTER one-OBL-INTER one(ABS) see:PF-AOR-1/2   HPL-know:PF-AOR-1/2
'We {saw / recognized} each other.'

The reciprocal construction with the absolutive marking of the antecedent thus behaves like an intransitive structure with respect to person agreement.

5. Causative construction[28]

Morphologically, causative construction is formed by means of the suffix *-aq* (*-aχaq*) attached to an aspectual stem of the causativized verb, see Daniel (this volume). Syntactically, the causative morpheme introduces an additional participant which is interpreted as the participant causing the event described by the lexical stem to happen. The causer is always marked by ergative case. Case marking of the causee depends on the class of the causativized verb. Absolutive subjects of intransitive verbs always remain in the absolutive case; the causative construction of an intransitive verb thus features two arguments: the ergative causer and the absolutive causee, as with regular transitive verbs.

(133) a. *ʔali   w-alħ-un.*
Ali(ABS) M-wake.up:PF-AOR
'Ali woke up.'
   b. *pat'imat-i-ni   ʔali   w-alħ-aq-ib.*
Patimat-OBL-ERG Ali(ABS) M-wake.up:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Patimat woke up Ali.'

Ergative subjects of transitive verbs obligatorily receive locative (inter-lative) marking in causative construction. Case marking of the causee with transitive causativized verbs does not depend on the degree of agentivity, both agentive and non-agentive transitive causees are in the inter-lative.

(134) a. *ʔali-ni ʁarʁa   b-alc'-un.*
Ali-ERG stone(ABS) N-pick.up:PF-AOR
'Ali picked up a stone.'
   b. *pat'imat-i-ni   {ʔali-ʒe   / *ʔali-ni} ʁarʁa   b-alc'-aq-ib.*
Patimat-OBL-ERG Ali-INTER   Ali-ERG stone(ABS) M-pick.up:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Patimat made Ali pick up a stone.'

(135) a. *ħark'ʷ-i-ni   urculi   d-erʁ-ib.*
river-OBL-ERG wood(ABS) NPL-sweep.away:PF-AOR
'The river swept away the wood.'

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[28] The description of case marking in causative constructions in this section is based on Ageeva (2014).

b. *rasuj-ni* {*ħark'ʷ-i-ze* / ???*ħark'ʷ-i-ni*} *urculi*
Rasul + OBL-ERG river-OBL-INTER river-OBL-ERG wood(ABS)
d-erʁ-aq-ib.
NPL-sweep.away:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Rasul floated the wood down the river.' (lit: 'Rasul made the river sweep away the wood.'

Locative subjects of verbs 'see', 'hear, understand', 'find', 'know', and 'forget' are marked with inter-lative case when occur as a causee in causative construction. This is the same marking as they have in the baseline construction.

(136) *rasuj-ni* *di-ze sune-la-l* *qali* *gʷ-aχaq-ib.*
Rasul + OBL-ERG I-INTER SELF-GEN-EMPH house(ABS) see:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Rasul showed me his house.'

(137) *t'ahil-li di-ze* *χabar* *b-ah-aq-ib.*
Tahir-ERG I-INTER news(ABS) N-know:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Tahir let me know the news.'

(138) *rasuj-ni* *di-ze dars* *arʁ-aq-ib.*
Rasul + OBL-ERG I-INTER lesson(ABS) understand:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Rasul explained the lesson to me.'

(139) *ʔali-ni di-ze* *urx-ne* *d-arg-aq-ib.*
Ali-ERG I-OBL-INTER key-PL(ABS) NPL-find:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Ali made me find the keys.'

(140) *ʔali-ni di-ze* *hel* *dehʷ* *qumart-aq-ib.*
Ali-ERG I-INTER DEM word(ABS) forget:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Ali made me forget that word.'

It is not immediately clear whether the locative case of the causee in causative constructions with locative subject verbs reflects the inter-lative subject marking assigned by the lexical verb or the inter-lative causee marking assigned in the causative construction.

Causatives of two locative subject verbs exhibit special behavior as they can denote a situation with no additional causer of the event. Instead, the experiencer subject acquires a higher degree of agentivity and is marked by ergative case.

(141) *ʔali-ni q'urʔan* *b-alh-aq-uwe* *le-b.*
Ali-ERG Qur'an(ABS) N-know:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-N
'Ali is studying Qur'an.'

(142) *ʔali-ni uzi* *qumart-aq-ib.*
Ali-ERG brother(ABS) forget:PF-CAUS-AOR
'Ali forgot the brother (as a result of conscious intention to do so).'

When a dative subject verb is causativized, the experiencer participant can either remain in the dative, as in the original construction, or bear inter-lative marking assigned to the causee in the causative construction.

(143) a. *nab*   *it*   *dehʷ*   *urče*   *b-ik-ib.*
         I(DAT) DEM   word(ABS)   on.heart   N-happen:PF-AOR
         'I recalled that word.'
     b. *abaj-ni*   {*di-ze* / *nab*}   *it*   *dehʷ*   *urče*   *b-ik-aq-ib.*
         mother-ERG   I-INTER   I(DAT) DEM   word(ABS)   on.heart   N-happen:PF-CAUS-AOR
         'Mother reminded me that word.'

The interpretational difference between two variants of causee marking relates to the degree of control exhibited by the causer over the caused situation. The dative marking implies a lesser degree of involvement of the causer, while the inter-lative marking indicates a more direct causation on the part of the causer.

The causative form of the verb *biges* 'want, love' does not normally have a causative interpretation. Neither the number of arguments nor their case marking change. The semantics is usually conveyed as 'like' rather than 'love' as with underived forms of *biges*.

(144) *nab*   *it*   *dursi*   *d-ig-aq-uwe*   *le-r.*
         I(DAT) DEM   girl(ABS)   F-love:IPF-CAUS-CONV   COP-F
         'I like this girl.'

The causative reading of the causative form of the verb *biges* 'want, love' is also accepted by many speakers, though not by all of them and often not without doubts. Like in causatives of other dative subject verbs, the causee can be marked by either dative or inter-lative case (with no sharp interpretational differences between the two variants).

(145) *adaj-ni*   {*di-ze* / *ʔnab*}   *it*   *dursi*   *d-ig-aq-uwe*   *le-r.*
         father-ERG   I-INTER   I(DAT) DEM   girl(ABS)   F-love:IPF-CONV   COP-F
         'Father makes me love this girl.'

Gender and person agreement in the causative construction follows the rules operative in transitive clauses. Gender agreement on the lexical verb is always with the absolutive argument. Gender agreement on the copula in progressive verb forms is also with the absolutive argument.

(146) a. *pat'imat-i-ni*   *ʔali*   *w-alħ-aq-ib.*
         Patimat-OBL-ERG   Ali(ABS)   M-wake.up:PF-CAUS-AOR
         'Patimat woke up Ali.'
     b. *ʔali-ni*   *pat'imat*   *d-alħ-aq-ib.*
         Ali-ERG   Patimat(ABS)   F-wake.up:PF-CAUS-AOR
         'Ali woke up Patimat.'

(147) a. *nu-ni urši-li-ze*   *inc*   *b-uk-aq-uwe*   *le-b.*
         I-ERG boy-OBL-INTER   apple(ABS)   N-eat:IPF-CAUS-CONV   COP-N
         'I am making the boy eat an apple.'
     b. *nu-ni urši-li-ze*   *inc-be*   *d-uk-aq-uwe*   *le-r.*
         I-ERG boy-OBL-INTER   apple-PL(ABS)   N-eat:IPF-CAUS-CONV   COP-N
         'I am making the boy eat apples.'

Person agreement is controlled by the ergative causer according to the rules described above in Sections 3.1 and 3.3, including the restriction on overt marking in the Present Progressive, cf. example (147a) above. The inter-lative causee or the absolutive argument can never control person agreement (see also examples (136)-(140) above).

(148) *nu-ni   c'a   {d-uš-aq-i-ra   /   *d-uš-aq-ib}.*
      I-ERG   fire(ABS)   NPL-die.out:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2   NPL-die.out:PF-CAUS-AOR
      'I extinguished the fire.'

(149) *pat'imat-i-ni   nu   {w-alħ-aq-ib   /   *w-alħ-aq-i-ra}.*
      Patimat-OBL-ERG   I(ABS)   M-wake.up:PF-CAUS-AOR   M-wake.up:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2
      'Patimat woke up me.'

(150) *pat'imat-i-ni   di-ze   ʁarʁa   {b-alc'-aq-ib   /*
      Patimat-OBL-ERG   I-INTER   stone(ABS)   M-pick.up:PF-CAUS-AOR
      *b-alc'-aq-i-ra}.
       M-pick.up:PF-CAUS-AOR-1/2
      'Patimat made me pick up a stone.'

Note, however, that despite the absence of an overt ergative argument in causative constructions based on transitive verbs, it is possible to show that they do contain an unexpressed ergative subject of the transitive lexical verb. This is seen from case marking that appears on reciprocal pronouns. As explained in Section 4 above, the two parts of the reciprocal pronoun always bear two different morphological cases corresponding to the case marking of the arguments in the reciprocal relation. When used in causative construction describing a reciprocal relationship between the causee and the absolutive direct object, one part of the reciprocal pronoun shows up in the ergative case, even though no overt ergative argument appears on the surface.

(151) *madina-jni   {ul-e   /   ul-e-ze}   ca-li-ni   ca*
      Madina-ERG   child-PL(ABS)   child-PL-INTER   one-OBL-ERG   one(ABS)
      b-az-aq-ib.
      HPL-wash:PF-CAUS-AOR
      'Madina made the kids wash one another.'

Note in example (151) that the causee in the causativized reciprocal construction of the transitive verb can be expressed by the absolutive or by the inter-lative. This corresponds to two possibilities observed in non-causativized reciprocals: the overt subject is marked by the absolutive, and the whole construction behaves as an intransitive structure, or the overt subject is marked by the ergative, and the whole reciprocal construction is a transitive structure. Under causativization, the intransitive variant of the reciprocal construction yields the absolutive marking of the causee, whereas the transitive variant of the reciprocal construction yields the inter-lative marking of the causee.

6. Bi-absolutive construction

Periphrastic verbal forms with durative semantics (present and past progressive) allow for an alternative layout of argument case marking with transitive verbs. Instead of the standard transitive pattern with an ergative subject and an absolutive object, transitive verbs can

participate in *bi-absolutive construction* where both the subject and the direct object are expressed by the absolutive case. Changes in argument case marking are accompanied by a change in gender agreement of the copula which is controlled by the absolutive subject; gender agreement of the lexical verb is invariably controlled by the absolutive direct object.

(152) Q: *sija* *b-iq'-uwe* *le-w-a* *rasul?*
    what(ABS) N-do:IPF-CONV COP-M-Q Rasul(ABS)
    'What is Rasul doing?'
  A: *rasul*   *kung* *luč'-uwe* *le-w.*
    Rasul(ABS) book(ABS) read:IPF-CONV COP-M
    'Rasul is reading a book.'

Unlike ergative constructions with periphrastic forms, the bi-absolutive construction shows no restrictions on person agreement of the absolutive subjects: overt person marking with the absolutive subject is obligatory.

(153) *nu* *kung* *luč'-uwe* *le-w-ra.*
   I(ABS) book(ABS) read:IPF-CONV COP-M-1/2
   'I am reading a book.'

Unlike what is attested in related languages (Forker 2012), there seem to be no observable difference in semantics between the ergative and bi-absolutive alignment of transitive clause. In fact, bi-absolutive construction is often used as a resort when person agreement with the subject fails in certain subject-object combinations in periphrastic forms, see Section 3.3.

Synthetic verbal forms with imperfective semantics do not allow bi-absolutive construction with transitive verbs.

(154) {*nu-ni* / **nu*} *kung-ane* *luč'-as.*
   I-ERG   I(ABS) book-PL(ABS) read-HAB.1/2
   'I read books (every day).'

(155) {*nu-ni* / **nu*} *kung-ane* *luč'-iša.*
   I-ERG   I(ABS) book-PL(ABS) read-FUT.1/2
   'I will be reading books.'

Only clauses with agentive subjects normally participate in bi-absolutive construction, whereas clauses with non-agentive subjects are either considerably degraded or completely ungrammatical.

(156) *⁇ʁwaˤr* *ʁut'-be* *šiš* *d-uk'-aq-uwe*   *le-b.*
   wind(ABS) tree-PL(ABS) move NPL-LV:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-N
   'Wind is waving trees.'

(157) **c'a*   *qul-le* *ig-uwe* *le-b.*
   fire(ABS) house-PL(ABS) burn:IPF-CONV COP-N
   'Fire is burning houses.'

(158) *zab   mura   d-aˤlħʷ-aˤq-uwe   le-r.
      rain(ABS) hay(ABS) NPL-moisten:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-NPL
      'The rain is moistening the hay.'

In a similar way, non-agentive subjects of locative subject verbs are not allowed to participate in bi-absolutive construction for many speakers, though some sentences are judged more acceptable. The acceptability of locative subject verbs in the bi-absolutive construction may depend on semantic and pragmatic factors and requires further investigation.

(159) *nu   sinka   irg-uwe   le-w-ra.
      I(ABS) bear(ABS) see:IPF-CONV COP-M-1/2
      'I am seeing a bear.'

(160) ?*urši   d-aˤld-un-i   arc   d-urg-uwe   le-w.
      boy(ABS) NPL-lose:PF-AOR-PART money(ABS) NPL-find:IPF-CONV COP-M
      'The boy finds lost money.'

(161) ??rasul   het   dehʷ   b-alh-uwe   le-b.
      Rasul(ABS) DEM word(ABS) N-know:IPF-CONV COP-N
      'Rasul knows that word.'

The dative subject verb *biges* 'love, want' can occasionally participate in bi-absolutive construction.

(162) nu   het   urši   w-ig-uwe   le-l-la.
      I(ABS) DEM boy(ABS) M-love:IPF-CONV COP-F-1/2
      'I love this boy.'

Despite initial appearance, bi-absolutive construction contains an unexpressed ergative argument of the lexical verb which can be seen in reciprocal constructions. Similar to what is found in causative constructions, one of the two components of the reciprocal pronoun in bi-absolutive always bears the ergative case licensed by the lexical verb, despite the phonological absence of an ergative argument, cf. example (115) above.

(163) ul-e   ca-li-ni   ca-li-s   kumak   b-iq'-uwe   le-b.
      child-PL(ABS)one-OBL-ERG one-OBL-DAT help(ABS) N-do:IPF-CONV COP-HPL
      'The kids help one another.'

Syntactically, the bi-absolutive construction may thus be analyzed as consisting of two layers: the lower layer is headed by the lexical verb and contains the lexical verb itself and all of its arguments in their respective cases; the higher layer is headed by the copula and contains the absolutive subject. Bi-absolutive construction thus has two important properties: (i) it requires the subject have the agent theta-role, and (ii) it includes an unexpressed ergative argument which is obligatory interpreted as having the same reference as the overt absolutive subject. The two properties make bi-absolutive construction look like an obligatory control construction. The schematic representation of the syntactic structure of the bi-absolutive construction is given in (164).

(164) a. [*rasul*ᵢ [Δᵢ *kung* *luč'-uwe*] *le-w*].
 Rasul(ABS) ERG book(ABS) read:IPF-CONV COP-M
 'Rasul is reading a book.'
 b. [_CopP ABSᵢ [_VP ERGᵢ ABS V] COP]

The causative construction may also be transformed into a bi-absolutive construction. With causatives of intransitive verbs, the bi-absolutive construction works the same way as with bi-absolutives of ordinary transitive verbs: both the causer and the causee are in the absolutive case; the former controls gender and person agreement on the copula, while the latter controls gender agreement on the lexical verb.

(165) *rasul* *c'a* *d-uš-aq-uwe* *le-w*.
 Rasul(ABS) fire(ABS) NPL-die.out:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-M
 'Rasul is extinguishing the fire.'

With causatives of transitive verbs, there are three options of case marking in bi-absolutive construction. One option is to mark the causer with absolutive case, like with causatives of intransitive verbs above. Gender and person agreement on the copula are determined by features of the higher absolutive; in this case the causer. Example (166) shows the baseline causative construction in (a) and the bi-absolutive construction with the absolutive marking of the causer in (b).

(166) a. *abaj-ni* *urši-li-ze* *kung* *luč'-aq-uwe* *le-b*.
 mother-ERG boy-OBL-INTER book(ABS) read:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-N
 b. *abaj* *urši-li-ze* *kung* *luč'-aq-uwe* *le-r*.
 mother(ABS) boy-OBL-INTER book(ABS) read:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-F
 'Mother makes the boy read the book.'

The second option is to mark the causee with the absolutive case, whereas the causer bears its usual ergative case. Again, gender and person agreement on the copula are determined by features of the higher absolutive, which is the causee in this case.

(166) c. *abaj-ni* *urši* *kung* *luč'-aq-uwe* *le-w*.
 mother-ERG boy(ABS) book(ABS) read:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-M
 'Mother makes the boy read the book.'

Finally, the third option is to mark both the causer and the causee by absolutive case. We therefore have three absolutive arguments in the same clause. Again, gender and person agreement on the copula is determined by the highest absolutive, that is, the subject causer.

(166) d. *abaj* *urši* *kung* *luč'-aq-uwe* *le-r*.
 mother(ABS) boy(ABS) book(ABS) read:IPF-CAUS-CONV COP-F
 'Mother makes the boy read the book.'

The possibilities of case marking shown in (166c-d) require further investigation. In standard bi-absolutive constructions described in Section 6, the absolutive marking of the transitive subject apparently becomes available due to the presence of a second clausal layer headed by the copula. It is not quite clear how the copula in the progressive could license the absolutive marking of the transitive causee in (166c) and, especially, the absolutive marking

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of both the ergative causer and the transitive causee in (166d). Any syntactic speculations on this question, however, require more specific assumptions about the clause structure and mechanisms of case licensing which lay outside of the scope and goal of the present work. I, therefore, leave this issue for another occasion.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed major morphosyntactic properties of monoclausal Mehweb sentences, including case marking, gender and person agreement. The paper describes the system of Mehweb verbal (valency) classes on the basis of their arguments' morphosyntactic behavior and ability to bind reflexive pronouns and distinguishes (i) intransitive verbs with absolutive subjects, (ii) transitive verbs with ergative subjects, (iii) verbs with inter-lative subjects, (iv) verbs with dative subjects, and (v) one verb with the inter-elative subject. Gender agreement operates on the ergative-absolutive basis, whereas person agreement has nominative-accusative syntax.

Mehweb person agreement is unique in that it is sensitive to the illocutionary force of the utterance. Like in other Daghestanian languages with person agreement, verbal person marking is also sensitive to the syntactically introduced logophoric center, as in finite logophoric clauses with the complementizer *ile*. In such environments, personal pronouns undergo optional indexical shift, whereas person marking is obligatorily shifted to the perspective of the syntactic logophoric center.

Although traditionally Mehweb person agreement is considered to be purely subject-oriented, this chapter argues that several constructions, such as agreement in sentences with dative subject verbs and agreement in the Present Progressive, reveal a sensitivity of person agreement to the person feature of the absolutive direct object.

I also describe case marking and agreement in causative and bi-absolutive constructions. Despite overall semantic and syntactic difference between the two, they demonstrate a similar behavior with respect to the ergative subject of the lexical verb which, while absent from the phonological expression, still can be diagnosed by means of case marking on reciprocal pronouns. Finally, I identify a previously unattested construction with three absolutive arguments.

Specialized converbs in Mehweb

Maria V. Sheyanova[1]

Abstract: This paper describes the semantic inventory and morphosyntactic properties of specialized converbs in Mehweb. The data for the description were collected during field trips to the village of Mehweb (Megeb)[2]. Converbs with the following meanings will be described: anteriority, immediacy, inceptivity, simultaneity, posteriority, hypothetical conditionality, counterfactuality, concessivity (and another meaning close to concessivity), causality, purpose and graduality.

Keywords: adverbial subordination, special converbs, conditional, counterfactual, concession, cause, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

Specialized converbs are a subtype of converbs which specify the semantic relation between the main and the dependent clauses (e.g. purposive or causal); for the definition see Section 2.2. This paper describes the inventory and morphosyntactic properties of specialized converbs in Mehweb. The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 introduces the subject of this study and defines the terms. Section 3 describes specialized converbs in Mehweb. Section 4 is the conclusion.

2. Defining the terms

2.1. Converb

According to (Haspelmath 1995a: 3), a converb is "a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination". In other words, one can understand converbs as "verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives". Another definition of converb comes from (Nedjalkov 1995): "as a first approximation, we can define a converb as a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., it does not realize its semantic valencies". Both definitions agree in that a converb: 1) is a form of a verb, and 2) marks adverbial subordination (i.e. is not a semantic argument of the main verb).

2.2. Specialized converbs

For some languages, specialized and general (contextual) converbs are distinguished. As formulated in (Haspelmath 1995b), unlike general converbs, which "leave the precise nature of the semantic link between the clauses open", specialized converbs have "a quite specific adverbial meaning", i.e. establish a specific semantic relation between the matrix and the converbal clauses. The relations expressed by specialized converbs can be of temporal,

locative or logical relation nature. Converbs of logical relation normally also have a temporal meaning).

Furthermore, specialized converbs are never used in clause chaining[1] or periphrasis, which are two other common functions of general converbs.

For a discussion of general converbs in Mehweb, see (Kustova this volume).

2.3. Problems in defining specialized converbs

Even after distinguishing between specialized and general converbs, some problems remain with defining specialized converbs per se. This includes distinguishing specialized converbs from other non-finite verb forms which produce subordinate clauses with adverbial semantics. I discuss three verb forms that are problematic in this way, namely infinitives, participles and masdars (action nominals) inflected for case.

Distinguishing an infinitive clause from converbal clauses is difficult when the infinitive has purposive semantics. Here, the infinitive formally fits the definition of a converb. This issue is discussed in (Haspelmath 1995a). According to Haspelmath, prototypical infinitives have a crucial property that converbs lack: they are primarily used in complement clauses, e.g. as arguments of modal or phasal verbs.

The problem with participles and masdars is not so easy to solve. In this paper, I consider inflected participles heading subordinate clauses, such as *wak'ibičela* in the example below, to be specialized converbs.

(1) *ʔaˤχul*   *w-ak'-ib-i-če-la*   *ur-uwe*   *le-r*
      guest   M-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-SUPER-EL   rain.IPFV-CVB   COP-NPL
      'From the moment the guest has come, it was raining.'

However, I do not include masdars with case markers, like *berχʷrilizela* in the example below, in specialized converbs.

(2) *šaha-li-če*   *b-uħna*   *b-erχʷ-ri-li-ze-la*   *d-iq'-es*
      town-OBL-SUPER   HPL-inside(LAT)   HPL-enter.PFV-NMLZ-OBL-INTER-EL   NPL-do.IPFV-INF
      d-aʔ-ib   *zab*
      NPL-begin.PFV-PST   rain
      'As soon as they entered the town, it began to rain.'

There are two main reasons why participles and masdars are treated differently. The first is the fact that case-inflected participles seem to be a more frequent source for specialized converbs (this is described for East Caucasian in Creissels (2010)). Second, in adverbial subordination, case-inflected masdars are in their prototypical syntactic position. Case-inflected participles, on the other hand, are not. Participles are prototypically used in adnominal position and are not inflected for case. To be used as heads of adverbial clauses, they thus need to change category, from an attribute to a nominal head. Although this is a productive syntactic process, its use to produce adverbial subordination may be considered evidence for grammaticalization. The decision is, however, to a certain extent arbitrary, in that it only provides a proxy for measuring grammaticalization.

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[1] In (Haspelmath 1995a) clause chaining is defined as a sequence in which each converb depends on the verb that follows it immediately and which contain only one fully finite final verb.

3. Specialized converbs in Mehweb

This section provides a description of specialized converbs in Mehweb. For each converb, I provide examples that show that the form can be used both when the subject of the converb is coreferent with the subject of the main clause and when the two clauses have different subjects. Some examples also show that the converb clause can be embedded into the main clause; this shows its subordinate status.

Only temporal converbs and converbs expressing logical relations are described, as there is no evidence of locative converbs in Mehweb.

In 3.4 I provide a table showing the availability of each converb for perfective and imperfective verbal stems and provide examples of the relevant word forms.

3.1. Temporal converbs

3.1.1. Anterior converb

A converbal clause with an anterior converb expresses an event that takes place before the event in the main clause and can be translated as 'when X happened' or 'after X happened'. There is a number of variant markers of this converb: *-arвle, -aвle, -aвe, -arв, -aв, -вale, -вela*, which are added to the participle The speakers vary in the extent to which they consider each variant acceptable. Only *-aвle* is equally accepted by all speakers. It is possible that there are semantic differences between these markers, but I do not have enough data to establish them. In general, a speaker accepts several variants considering them to be interchangeable without any change in meaning. The form is derived from participles formed from both perfective and imperfective stems. In perfective forms, a hiatus between the *-i* of the partciple and the *-a* of the marker is eliminated by a more or less clearly articulated prothetic *j* (not reflected in the transcription).

(3)   *iχ-i-šu,*   *barħi b-uq-un-i-aвle,*   *dursi d-ak'-ib*
       this-OBL-AD(LAT)   sun   N-enter.PFV-AOR-PTCP-ANT   girl   F-come.PFV-PST
       'When the sun rose, a girl came to him.'

(4)   *unna-li-šu*   *b-ak'-ib-i-вale*   *iχ-di cenħe*
       neighbor-OBL-AD(LAT)   HPL-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-ANT   this-PL   together(LAT)
       b-ik-ib
       HPL-happen.PFV-PST
       'They met when they came to their neighbour.'

(5)   *il*   *w-ik'-ul-aвle,*   *ʔaˤχ-le*   *le-b-re*
       this   M-come.IPFV-PTCP-ANT,   good-ADVZ   COP-N-PST
       'Every time he came, it was good.'

3.1.2. Immediate anterior converb

The immediate anterior converb encodes an event which immediately precedes the event in the matrix clause. Its semantics is comparable to that of the English construction 'as soon as X happened'. The marker of the immediate anterior converb is the suffix *-rijal* attached to the perfective stem followed by the suffix of irrealis.

(6)   *daˤʜi, iχ*   *unna-li-šu*   *w-ak'-a-rijal,*   *b-iq'-es*   *b-aʔ-ib.*
         snow   this   neighbor-OBL-AD(LAT)   M-come.PFV-IRR-IMM   N-do.IPFV-INF   N-begin.PFV-PST
         'Just after he got to his neighbour's, it began to snow.'

(7)   *sud-i-če*   *w-aʔ-a-rijal*   *šalʔu*   *naˤʁ=ra*

         court-OBL-SUPER(LAT)   M-arrive.PFV-IRR-IMM   in.the.bosom(LAT)   hand= ADD

         sudija-li-s   *haraq'e-r*   *ʁarʁ-ube χːʷarčara*   *d-iz-aq-i-le*   *le-r.*

         judge-OBL-DAT   in.front-NPL(ESS)   stone-PL shake.pst   NPL-LV.IPFV-CAUS-PST-CVB   COP-NPL
         'As soon as te got to the court, putting his hand to the bosom, he shook the stones
         behind the judge.' (Magometov 1982, p. 147, sentence 27)

The form can not be derived from the imperfective irrealis stem, cf. **wik'arijal, *urcarijal*, which seems to be rather expected, because the semantics of immediate anteriority suggests that the events are conceptualized as points rather than as intervals on the time scale. There is another way of expressing the same meaning using a masdar in the inter-elative form:

(8)   *šaha-li-če*   *b-uħna*   *b-erχʷ-ri-li-ze-la,*   *d-iq'-es*
         town-OBL-SUPER   HPL-inside(LAT)   HPL-enter.PFV-NMLZ-OBL-INTER-EL   NPL-do.IPFV-INF
         d-aʔ-ib   *zab*
         NPL-begin.PFV-PST   rain
         'As soon as they entered the town, it began to rain.'

3.1.3. The inceptive converb

The event encoded by the inceptive converb is the initial boundary of the event described by the main clause. It can be translated into English as 'from the moment when' or 'since'. The marker of the inceptive converb is *-čela*, which is attached to the perfective participle. The converb marker originates as a combination of the nominal suffixes *-če-la* (SUPER-EL), which literally means 'from above'.

(9)   *dus,*   *nu-ni*   *kaʁar*   *b-arx-ib-i-čela,*   *ʔaˤr-b-aˤq'-un*
         year   I-ERG   letter   N-send.PFV-PST-PTCP-INCP   away-N-go.PFV-PST
         'A year passed since I sent the letter.'

(10)   *iχ*   *w-ak'-ib-i-čela*   *i⟨w⟩aˤʜaˤd,*   *iχ*   *duč-irk'-uwe*   *le-w*
         this   M-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-INCP   ⟨m⟩back   this   laugh-LV.PFV-CVB   COP-M
         'From the moment he came back he laughed.'

The form is impossible with the imperfective stem, cf. **wik'uličela* (participle *wik'ul*), **urculičela* (participle *urcul*).

3.1.4. Simultaneous converb

Simultaneity is expressed by a converb marker *-ija(da)l* attached to the imperfective participle or to the aorist in the perfective. The form is probably related to one of the nominal elative markers *-adal*, with an *-i* of unclear origin and prothetic *-j-*. In the examples below *-da-* can be dropped without any change in the semantics.

(11) *nu,   di-la   uzi   luč'-ul-ijadal,   čaj   b-už-uwe   le-l-la.*
I.NOM I.OBL-GEN brotherread.IPFV-PTCP-SMLT tea N-drink.IPFV-CNV COP-F-1/2
'I drink tea while my brother reads.'

(12) *nu   luč'-ul-ijadal,   čaj   b-už-uwe   le-l-la.*
I.NOM read.IPFV-PTCP-SMLT tea N-drink.IPFV-CNV COP-F-1/2
'I drink tea while reading.'

When/if formed from a perfective participle, the converb is semantically differentfrom the imperfective one in that it acquires semantics of immediateness:

(13) *predloženije   b-elč'-un-ijadal,   perevod   b-aq'-ib*
sentence   N-read.PFV-AOR-SMLT   translation   N-do.PFV-PST
'As soon as (s)he read the sentence, (s)he translated it.'

Note however that not all speakers accepted (13).

3.1.5 Posterior converb

The posterior converb either marks the final boundary of the event in the main clause or it indicates that the event in the converb clause happens after the event in the main clause. It could be translated to English as 'before'. The form can be used with both perfective and imperfective verb stems. This converb is formed by the affix -*če* added to the perfective stem followed by a vowel which is the same as the first vowel of the inifinitive of the respective verb, that is, either *a*, like in (16) or *e*, as in (14), (15) and (17). The vowel of the infinitive is distributed phonetically (see Daniel this volume). The converbal suffix can be identified with the case marker -*če* (SUPER).

(14) *zab,   iχ-di   šahar-li-ħe   b-erχʷ-eče,   d-aʔ-ib   d-iq'-es*
rain   this-PL town-OBL-IN(LAT) HPL-enter.PFV-PSTR NPL-begin.PFV-PST NPL-do.IPFV-IIN
'It started raining before they entered the town'

(15) *iχ-di-li-ni   karawat   b-aq'-ib   hil-b-ix-eče*
this-PL-OBL-ERG bed HPL-do.PFV-PST down-HPL-lay.PFV-PSTR
'They made the bed before going to bed'

(16) *iχ-di   šahar-li-ze   b-ak'-ače*
this-PL town-OBL-INTER(LAT) HPL-come.PFV-PSTR
iχ-di-li-ze   hun-ħe-di   d-aqil   si-k'al   g-ub
this-PL-OBL-INTER(LAT) road-IN-TRANS NPL-a.lot what-UNIV see.PFV-AOR
'They saw a lot before they entered the town.'

(17) *luk'-eče,   nuša-jni   deč   b-aq'-i-ra*
write.IFPV-PSTR we-ERG song N-do.PVF-PST-1/2
'Before writing, we sang a song.'

3.2. Conditional and counterfactual converbs

In this section I present a brief description of the morphosyntactic properties of the conditional and counterfactual converbs. For more information on the semantics of

conditional forms see (Dobrushina this volume). Most examples in this section are taken from there.

3.2.1. Hypothetical conditional converb

The marker of the conditional converb *-k'a* attaches to the irrealis stem. The form is used with both perfective and imperfective verb stems.

(18) *nu-ni   ʔat'   g-a-k'a,   ħu-ni   na-b   t'ult'   b-aq'-iša-w*
you-ERG flour give.PFV-IRR-COND you-ERG I.OBL-DAT bread N-do.PFV-FUT.1/2-INTRG
'If I bring the flour, will you make bread for me?'

(19) (Dobrushina this volume)
nu   di-la   urši-li-ni   xunul   k-a-k'a,
I   I.OBL-GEN   boy-OBL-ERG   wife   bring.PFV-IRR-COND

iχ-di-li-šu-r   d-uʔ-es-i
that-PL-OBL-AD-HPL(ESS)   F1-be-INF-OBLIG
'If my son marries, I will live at their place.'

In the following example, the main clause and the converb clause share the subject:

(20) (Dobrushina this volume)
anwar w-ak'-i-le   w-arg-a-k'a   abaj-šu   uq'-es-i
Anwar M-come.PFV-AOR-CVB   M-find.PFV-IRR-COND   mother-AD(LAT)   go.PFV-INF-OBLIG
'If Anwar comes, he will go to his mother.'

The following example shows the same converb formed from the imperfective stem:

(21) *d-aqil   kung-ane   luč'-a-k'a   d-aqil*
NPL-a.lot   book-PL   read.IPFV-IRR-COND   NPL-a.lot
si-k'al   nuša-ʒe   d-alh-ul
what-UNIV   we-INTER(LAT)   NPL-know.IPFV-PTCP
'If we read many books, we will know many things.'

3.2.2. The counterfactual converb

The affix *-q'alle* forms the converb of counterfactual condition (that is, the event in the the main clause could have taken place if the event had taken place). It attaches to the perfective stem or to the imperfective participle.

(22) *ħu   anawaje w-aq'-un-q'alle   nuša-jni   muħammad ulc-a-re.*
you.NOM fast.ADVZ M-do.PFV-PST-CTRF   we-ERG   Magomed   M.catch.IPFV-IRR-PST
'If you had driven fast, we would have caught Magomed.'

(23) (Dobrushina this volume)
nu-ra   iχ   w-ebk'-ib-q'alle,   d-ubk'-a-re
I-ADD   this   M-die.PFV-PST-CTRF   F-die.IPFV-IRR-PST
'If (he) had died, I would have also died.'

The following example shows this converb formed from the imperfective stem:

(24) (Dobrushina this volume)

iχ   *išbari*   *aš-w-irk-ul-q'alle*   *ʔaˤχ-le*   *b-uʔ-a-re*
this   today   PREV-M-happen.IPFV-PTCP-CTRF   good-ADVZ   N-be-IRR-PST
     'If he had come today, it would have been good.'

3.2.3. The concessive converb

The concessive converb is formed by the complex suffix *-k'a-ra* (-COND-ADD) preceded by the irrealis suffix *-a-*.

(25) *iχ-ini,*   *iχ-di-li-ni*   *ʔaˤt*   *ħa-g-a-k'ara,*   *pirog*   *b-aq'-ib*
this-ERG   this-PL-OBL-ERG   flour   NEG-give.PFV-IRR-CONC   pie   N-do.PFV-PST
     'Although they haven't given her flour, she baked a pie'

(26) *dunijal*   *zab-li*   *ur-a-k'ara*   *nuša*   *quli*   *ħaˤ-b-aˤq'-un-na*
world   rain-OBL(ERG)   rain.IPFV-IRR-CONC   we   home(LAT)   NEG-HPL-go.PFV-AOR-1/2
     'Although it was raining, we didn't go home.'

(27) (Magometov 1982)

nu-ni   *b-iq'-a-k'ara,*   *ħu*   *razi*   *ħa-rhʷ-an*
I.ERG   N-do.IPFV-IRR-CONC   you.NOM   agree   NEG-M.become.IPFV-PRS
     'Although I do (this), you are not happy.'

3.2.4. The *-ʔur* converb

The marker *-ʔur* conveys semantics close to concession and causality. It is used when the event described by the converbal clause was unlikely to happen and probably undesirable; but since it nevertheless did happen, the action in the main clause takes place. The suffix *-ʔur* attaches to the general converb. Being attached to the general converb, it differs significantly from other converbs discussed in this paper. However, elicitation shows that the marker is neither an adverb nor a free particle, because 1) the speakers do not recognize it is a separate word; 2) it does not attach forms other than general converb; 3) it is attached to the form of the general converb only and cannot move to other words   (*ħu wak'ileʔur*, but **ħuʔur wak'ile*[29]). In general, the position after the converb usually belongs to the main clause.

     Not all speakers accept this form and even those who find it acceptable with some verbs are unable to think of examples with other verbs. This form is thus marginal.

(28) *ħu*   *w-ak'-i-le-ʔur,*   *nuša-ni*   *ħa-d*
you.NOM   M-come.PFV-PST-CVB-CONC2   we-ERG   you-DAT

ʔoˤχlad-deš   *d-aq'-iša*
hospitable-NMLZ   NPL-do.PFV-FUT
     'As long as you came here, we will treat you.'

(29) *ħu*   *b-ak'-ile-ʔur,*   *b-ug-e*
you.NOM   N-come.PFV-CVB-CONC2   N-eat.PFV-IMP
     'Since you (to an animal) came here, eat.'

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[29] The translation of these forms can be found in (28)

(30) χʷe   har-b-ulq-ule-ʔur,   b-uc-a.
      dog   away-N-run.IPFV-CVB-CONC2   N-catch.PRF-IMP
      'Since the dog is running away, catch it!'

3.3. Other converbs of logical relations

3.3.1. The causal converb

The causal converb describes an event which is the cause of the situation described in the main clause. The affix of the causal converb -na is attached to the general converb. The converb is formed from both perfective and imperfective stems.

(31) iχ,   doˤни b-aq'-i-le-na,   ruzi-li-šu   w-aˤq'-un.
      his   snow   N-do.PFV-PST-CVB-CAUSAL   sister-OBL-AD(LAT)   M-go.PFV-AOR
      'Because it started to snow, he went to his sister.'

(32) xunuj-ni   sual-t   xar-d-i-uwe   le-l-le   iχi-ze,
      wife.OBL-ERG   question-PL ask-NPL-LV.IPFV-CVB   COP-NPL-PST   he-INTER(LAT)
      quli   ʔaraва   w-ak'-i-le-na
      home.IN(LAT)   LATE   M-come.PVF-CVB-CAUSAL
      'His wife asked him questions, because he came home late.'

(33) murad   w-ik'-uwe-na,   nuša   ħule   b-uʔ-i-ra
      Murad   M-come.IPFV-CVB-CAUSAL   we   eye   HPL-be-PST-1/2
      'We were expecting Murad, because he was coming.'

3.3.2. The purposive converb

The purposive converb expresses an event conceptualized as the purpose of the action described in the main clause ('in order to'). It is formed by the affix -alis added to the bare verb stem and can be formed with both perfective and imperfective stems. The marker is likely to originate from -a-li-s (-IRR-OBL-DAT), taking into account that cross-linguistically, the dativeoften expresses a purposive meaning; see for example, (Haspelmath 1995b); and the purposive meaning is related to irrealis domain (see for example (Palmer 2001: 131).

(34) iχ-di-li,   dursi   hil-d-ix-alis,   buruš b-aq'-ib
      this-PL-ERG   girl   down-F-lie.PFV-PURP   bed   N-do.PFV-PST
      'They made the bed so that the girl could go to sleep.'

(35) dursi-li-ni   buruš b-aq'-ib,   hil-d-ix-alis.
      girl-OBL-ERG   bed   N-do.PFV-PST down-F-lie.PFV-PURP
      'The girl made the bed in order to go to sleep.'

(36) ali   w-ik'-alis   nu-ni   igruš-une   as-ira
      Ali   M-come.IPFV-PURP   I-ERG   toy-PL   take.PFV-PST
      'I brought the toys so that Ali would come.'

The semantics of purpose can also be expressed by the infinitive; this construction may have the same subject as in the main clause or a different one.

(37) *iχ-di-li buruš b-aq'-ib dursi hil-d-ix-es.*
this-PL-OBL bed N-do.PFV-PST girl DOWN-F-lie.PFV-INF
'They made the bed for the girl to go to sleep.'

(38) *dursi-li-ni buruš b-aq'-ib, hil-d-ix-es*
girl-OBL-ERG bed N-do.PFV-PST DOWN-F-lie.PFV-INF
'The girl made the bed in order to go to sleep.'

However, for the reasons given in Section 2, I do not consider the infinitive construction to be a specialized converb, though in this case it fits the definition from a functional point of view. For a more detailed discussion, see (Haspelmath 1995a: 28).

3.3.3. The gradual converb

The affix *-cad(i)* attached to the participle expresses graduality. Clauses with this converb can be translated into English using the expression 'the more … , the more …'. This affix also exists in standard Dargwa as a nominal marker expressing the meaning 'as much as, about', called "equative" in (van den Berg 2001: 25). It occurs with verb forms and in this case shows nearly the same semantics as in Mehweb. Etymologically, the first part of this marker (*-ca-*) may derive from the spatial marker meaning 'from the speaker' (translocative), though the origins of the second part *-di* is not clear. Another possible cognate of this affix is *-cat* in Tanti Dargwa, which conveys the semantics of approximation and similarity (Sumbatova, Lander 2014). The form is derived from the participle of both perfective and imperfective verbs/verb stems.

(39) *urši, d-aqnal dursi luč'-ul-cadi, w-aqnal uk-uwe le-w*
boy F-often girl read.IPFV-PTCP-GRAD M-often M.eat.IPFV -CVB COP-M
'The more the girl reads, the more the boy eats.'

(40) *it kung b-elč-un-i-cad na-b b-elč-es dig-an*
this book N-read.PFV-PST-PTCP-GRAD I-DAT N-read.PFV-INF want.IPFV-PRS
'The more I read this book, the more I want to read.'

Apart from the semantics described above, this form may also have a temporal interpretation with semantics of simultaneity, as shown in the example below.

(41) *dursi šaˤbaˤн q'-uwe le-r-cad iχija pikr-u-me le-l-le*
girl village go.PFV-CVB COP-F-GRAD this.GEN thought-PS-PL COP-F-PST
ruzi-li-če-r
sister-OBL-SUPER-F(ESS)
'While going to the village, the girl was thinking about her sister.' (lit. her thoughts were on the sister)

3.4. Examples of the forms

This section contains two tables. Table 1 shows the compatibility of converbal markers with different aspectual verb stems and the verb forms which serve as the base for the corresponding converbs, with references to the examples above. Table 2 provides examples of each of the specialized converb forms described above with perfective and imperfective verb stem.

Table 1. Compatibility of converbal markers with perfective or imperfective verb stems

converb	marker	perfective		imperfective	
		+/– (example)	base	+/– (example)	base
ant	-a(r)ʁle, -aʁe, -a(r)ʁ, -ʁale, -ʁela	+ (3,4)	participle	+ (5)	participle
imm	-a-rijal	+ (6, 7)	irrealis stem	–	–
incp	-čela	+ (9, 10)	participle	–	–
smlt	-ijadal	+ (13)	aorist	+ (11, 12)	participle
pstr	-a/e(-)če	+ (15, 16)	infinitive stem?	+ (17)	infinitive stem?
cond	-k'a	+ (18, 19, 20)	irrealis stem	+ (21)	irrealis stem
ctrf	-q'alle	+ (22, 23)	aorist	+ (24)	participle
conc	-k'a-ra	+ (25)	irrealis stem	+ (26, 27)	irrealis stem
conc2	-ʔur	+ (28, 29)	general converb	+ (30)	general converb
causal	-na	+ (31, 32)	general converb	+ (33)	general converb
purp	-a(-)lis	+ (34, 35)	irrealis stem	+ (36)	irrealis stem
grad	-cad(i)	+ (39)	participle	+ (40)	participle

Table 2. Examples of each of the specialized converb

	pvf		ipvf	
	example	translation	example	translation
ant	*b-ak'-ib-i-ʁale* (4) PL-come.PVF-PST-PTCP-ANT	'when they came'	*w-ik'-ul-aʁle* (5) M-come.IPFV-PTCP-ANT	'when he came'
imm	*w-ak'-a-rijal* (6) M-come.PFV-IRR-IMM	'just after he came'	–	–
incp	*w-ak'-ib-i-čela* (10) M-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-INCP	'since he came'	–	–
smlt	*b-elč'-un-ijadal* (13) N-read.PFV-PST-SMLT	'as soon as X read'	*luč'-ul-ijadal* (12) read.IPFV-PTCP-SMLT	'while X read'
pstr	*b-ak'-a-če* (16) HPL-come.PFV-IRR-PSTR	'before they came'	*luk'-e-če* (17) write.IFPV-?-PSTR	'before reading'
cond	*g-a-k'a* (18) give.PFV-IRR-COND	'if X gave'	*luč'-a-k'a* (21) read.IPFV-IRR-COND	'if X read'
ctrf	*w-aq'-un-q'alle* (22) M-do.PFV-PST-CTRF	'if he had done'	*aš-w-irk-ul-q'alle* (24) PREV-M-come.back.IPF-PART-CTRF	'if he comes'
conc	*ħa-g-a-k'ara* (25) NEG-give.PFV-IRR-CONC	'though X didn't give'	*b-iq'-a-k'ara* (27) N-do.IPFV-IRR-CONC	'though X does'
conc2	*w-ak'-i-le-ʔur* (28) M-come.PFV-PST-CVB-CONC2	'since he came'	*har-b-ulq-ule-ʔur* (30) away-N-run.IPFV-CNV-CONC2	'since the dog is running away'
causal	*d-ak'-i-le-na* (32) F-come.PFV-PST-CVB-CAUSAL	'because she came'	*w-ik'-uwe-na* (33) M-come.IPFV-CVB-CAUSAL	'because he came'
purp	*hil-d-ix-alis* (34, 35) down-F-lie.PFV-PURP	'in order to go to sleep'	*w-ik'-alis* (36) M-come.IPFV-PURP	'in order for him to come'
grad	*b-elč-un-i-cad(i)* (40) N-read.PFV-AOR-PTCP-GRAD	'the more X have read'	*luč'-ul-cad(i)* (39) read.IPFV-PTCP-GRAD	'the more X reads'

4. Conclusion

Mehweb has a relatively rich inventory of specialized converbs, with five temporal converbs (anterior, immediate anterior, inceptive, simultaneous and posterior) and seven converbs expressing logical relations (hypothetical conditional, counterfactual, concessive, converb expressing another meaning close to concessive, causal, purposive and gradual). There is a strong phonetic variation of the anterior converb marker. Other variants of converb markers include two variants for the marker of the simultaneous converb (*-jadal / -jal*) and two variants for the gradual converb (*-cad / -cadi*).

Specialized converbs are formed in several different ways, with the converb marker attached to:

1) the bare stem (as the purposive converb, although, as discussed in 3.3.2, it seems likely that the "a" in the purposive converb suffix "alis" is originally an irrealis stem suffix);
2) to the aorist form (the counterfactual converb);
3) to the irrealis stem (as, for example, the immediate anterior and the concessive converbs, and also, in some cases, the purposive converb);
4) to the participle (the anterior, the inceptive, the simultaneous and the gradual converbs);
5) to the general converb[1] (the second concessive converb and the causal converb).The fourth way of forming a specialized converb — from the participle — is the most widespread. Etymologically, converb markers often come from case markers, which also seems to be typologically widespread.

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[1] Strictly speaking, the resulting form should probably be considered as a secondary converb (in the sense that the marker in this case does not form a converb but only **semantically modifies an** already existing general converb).

General converbs in Mehweb

Marina Kustova

Abstract: This paper deals with the morphological and syntactic properties of general converbs in Mehweb, including the markers used to form a general converb and the alternations they undergo, periphrastic converbs, independent uses of converbs, their behaviour in combination with verbs in imperative, different strategies of how the converb clause shares its arguments with the main clause, and coordination/subordination properties of the general converb construction. The description of the morphological features is mostly based on the existing studies of Mehweb. The description of their syntactic properties is based on elicited examples and corpus evidence.

Keywords: general converbs, co-ordination, subordination, finiteness, argument sharing

1. Introduction

According to (Haspelmath 1995: 3), "a converb is a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination"; in other words, "converbs are verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives" (Haspelmath 1995: 3). In Mehweb, there are specialized converbs, which specify the semantic relation between the main and the converb clause (e.g. causal, immediate precedence in time, other temporal relations and so on). There are also general converbs which do not specify this relation — or, at least, do it in a more subtle way, leaving some room for contextual interpretation. For more on specialized converbs in Mehweb, see (Sheyanova, this volume).

In section 2, the basic uses and the morphology of perfective and imperfective converbs will be discussed, section 3 describes periphrastic converbs and section 4 deals with independent use of general converbs in Mehweb. Section 5 discusses different strategies of how the converb clause can share its main arguments with the main clause. Finally, in Section 6 I discuss the coordination and subordination properties of the Mehweb general converb.

2. Perfective and imperfective converbs: morphology

General converbs in Mehweb Dargwa are derived from perfective and imperfective stems. Below I will refer to them as perfective and imperfective converbs respectively. The perfective converb is formed by adding the converb marker *-le* to the verb in the aorist (Magometov 1982:110); the affix undergoes morphonological alternations described in detail in (Moroz, this volume; Daniel, this volume).

Table 1. The formation of the perfective converb

	1st conjugation class	2nd conjugation class	3rd conjugation class
Aorist	*b-at-ur* N-leave.PFV-AOR 'left'	*b-ic-ib* N-sell.PFV-AOR 'sold'	*b-elč'-un* N-read.PFV-AOR 'read'
Perfective converb	*b-at-ul-le* (<*b-at-ur-le*) N-leave.PFV-AOR-CVB 'having left'	*b-ic-i-le* (<*b-ic-ib-le*) N-sell.PFV-AOR-CVB 'having sold'	*b-elč'-uwe* (<*b-elč'-ul-le*) N-read.PFV-AOR.CVB 'having read'

The imperfective converb is formed by adding *-uwe* to the imperfective stem. Here, the process is the same for all the verbs and could be interpreted as a combination of the participle suffix *-ul* and the converb suffix *-le* (Magometov 1982: 112).

Table 2. The formation of the imperfective converb

	1st conjugation class	2nd conjugation class	3rd conjugation class
Present participle	*b-alt-es* N-leave.IPFV-INF 'leaving'	*b-ilc-es* N-sell.IPFV-INF 'selling'	*luč'-es* read.IPFV-INF 'reading'
Imperfective converb	*b-alt-uwe* N-leave.IPFV-PRS.CVB '(while) leaving'	*b-ilc-uwe* N-sell.IPFV-PRS.CVB '(while) selling'	*luč'-uwe* read.IPFV-PRS.CVB '(while) reading'

The perfective converb is used to describe an event that precedes the situation described in the main clause. Situations that take place simultaneously with the main event are described by the imperfective converb. Both imperfective and perfective converbs can be combined with finite verbs with present or past time reference, cf.:

(1) *deč'=ra*   *b-aq'-ile*   *musa*   *w-aˤq'-un*   *quli*
     song=ADD   N-do.PFV-CVB   Musa   M-go.PFV-AOR   house(LAT)
     'Having sung a song, Musa went home.'

(2) *deč'=ra*   *b-iq'-uwe*   *musa*   *w-aˤq'-un*   *quli*
     song=ADD   N-do.IPFV-CVB   Musa   M-go.PFV-AOR   house(LAT)
     'Singing a song, Musa went home.'

(3) *deč'꞊ra*   *b-aq'-ile*   *musa*   *ʔaˤr-q'-uwe*   *le-w*   *quli*
     song꞊ADD   N-do.PFV-CVB   Musa   away-go.IPFV-CVB   COP-M   house(LAT)
     'Having sung a song, Musa is going home.'

(4) *deč'꞊ra*   *b-iq'-uwe*   *musa*   *ʔaˤr-q'-uwe*   *le-w*   *quli*
     song꞊ADD   N-do.IPFV-CVB   Musa   away-go.IPFV-CVB   COP-M   house(LAT)
     'Singing the song, Musa is going home.'

In sentence (1), a perfective converb is combined with a finite verb in aorist, in (2) an imperfective converb is combined with a verb in aorist, in (3) a perfective converb is combined with a verb in present tense, and in (4) an imperfective converb is combined with a verb in present tense.

3. Periphrastic converbs

Apart from the perfective and imperfective converbs described above, most speakers of Mehweb allow forms consisting of a converb and a copula in the converb form, which essentially are converbs formed from periphrastic verb forms. Below I refer to such forms as periphrastic converbs. The labels for periphrastic forms are translations from (Magometov 1982).

A periphrastic converb that consists of a perfective converb and a copula in the converb form corresponds to the resultative, a finite periphrastic form composed of a perfective converb and a tensed copula.

(5) *jaˤbu* *b-ic-ile*   *le-b-le*   *maˤħmud-i-ni*   *χʷe*   *asː-ib*
     horse   N-sell.PFV-CVB   COP-N-CVB   Mahmud-OBL-ERG   dog   buy.PFV -AOR
     'Having sold a horse, Mahmud bought a dog.'

The same construction with an imperfective converb corresponds to the present progressive, which was described in (Magometov 1982: 87) as "definite imperfect".

(6) *jaˤbu* *b-ilc-uwe*   *le-b-le*   *maˤħmud* *le-w*   *w-isː-uwe*
     horse   N-sell.IPFV-PRS.CVB   COP-N-CVB   Mahmud   COP-M   M-weep-PRS.CVB
     'While selling a horse, Mahmud is crying.'

The speakers also allow sentences like (7) and (8), where the copula in the converb form is preceded by a perfective or an imperfective infinitive. Morphologically, these forms correspond to the future resultative (composed of a perfective converb and a copula in the converb form) and the future progressive (an imperfective converb and a copula in the converb form). The semantic difference between the two periphrastic converbs remains unclear.

(7) *jaˤbu* *b-ic-es*   *le-b-le*   *maˤħmud-i-ni*   *χʷe*   *asː-ib*
     horse   N-sell.PFV-INF   COP-N-CVB   mahmud-OBL-ERG   dog   buy.PFV-AOR
     'Going to sell a horse, Mahmud bought a dog.'

(8)   *jaˤbu b-ilc-es   le-b-le   maˤħmud le-w   w-isː-uwe*
       horse N-sell.IPFV-INF COP-N-CVB mahmud   COP-M   M-weep-CVB
       'Going to sell a horse, Mahmud is crying.'

4. Independent use

In most cases, converbs are used in polypredicative constructions that also contain main finite clauses. However, some speakers allow sentences that contain only converbal predication.
     When used independently, the perfective converb can have resultative semantics.

(9)   *urši-ni   diʔ b-erk-uwe*
       boy-ERG   meat N-eat.PFV-CVB
       'A boy has eaten the meat (he finished it, so there is none left for me).'

Imperfective converbs can have the same semantics as habitual forms, i.e. sentences (10) and (11) have the same meaning.

(10)   *urši-ni   diʔ   b-uk-uwe*
       boy-ERG   meat   N-eat.IPFV-CVB
       'A boy eats meat.'

(11)   *urši-ni   diʔ   b-uk-an*
       boy-ERG   meat   N-eat.IPFV-HAB
       'A boy eats meat.'

Even though sentences containing only converbal predication are allowed by some Mehweb speakers and sometimes can be elicited, the corpus (about 900 sentences) does not contain any instances of such sentences.

5. Argument sharing

In Mehweb, the S, A, P or other argument of the converb clause may – but does not have to - be referentially identical to the S, A, P or other argument of the main clause. This common argument can be expressed in any of the two clauses. Below I will refer to such situations as *argument sharing*. In this part I discuss sharing of core arguments, including S, A and P. Logically, a large list of different argument sharing configurations could be derived by alternating syntactic parameters including the grammatical relation in the main clause, the grammatical relation in the converb clause and the locus of expression. However, not all of them are grammatical. In the following I will classify different argument sharing strategies in accordance with the consultants' ability to interpret them. Note that some of the sentences may be grammatical when interpreted in a different way, so I checked not just grammaticality but also the availability of the intended interpretation with shared arguments.
     Generally, all configurations which include sharing of two S-arguments or an S-argument and an A-argument, regardless of the clause where it is expressed (the main or the converb clause), are interpretable, cf (12), (13).

(12) The S-argument of the intransitive converb clause is coreferent to the A-argument of the transitive main clause and is expressed in the converb clause

musa   w-ak'-ile   rasuj-če   b-aˤq-ib
Musa   M-come.PFV-CVB   Rasul-SUP(LAT)   N-hit.PFV-AOR
'When Musa came, (he) hit Rasul.'[30]

(13) Two intransitive clauses sharing their S-argument, which is expressed in the converb clause

dag   χʷe   har-b-uq-uwe   išbari   ʔaˤš-b-aˤq-ib
yesterday dog   away-N-run.PFV-CVB   today   back-N-come.PFV-AOR
'Yesterday the dog ran away, today it returned.'

In example (12), the fact that the common argument is expressed in the converb clause is obvious from case marking. The verb *#ak'es* 'to come' is intransitive and takes an S-argument, while *#aqˤas* 'to hit' is transitive, with its A-argument in the ergative. Since the common argument takes S-marking, it is a dependent of the converb, not of the main verb. Therefore, it belongs to the converb clause.

As for (13), this fact can be established on the basis of word order. The word *dag* 'yesterday' belongs to the converb clause, thus the common argument stands between the converb and its dependent. Therefore, I conclude that the common argument belongs to the converb clause.

Sentences that include no argument sharing at all, like (14) and (15), are perfectly grammatical as well.

(14) *maħmud-i-ni   diʔ   as:-ile   pat'imat-i-ni   χʷe*
     Mahmud-OBL-ERG   meat   buy.PFV-CVB   Patimat-OBL-ERG   dog
     dub   aˤʕ-aq-ib
     eat   LV.PFV-CAUS-AOR
     'Mahmud bought some meat, Patimat fed the dog.'

(15) *adami-li-ni   q'ar   b-išq-ile   xunu.j-ni   buruš   b-aq'-ib*
     husband-OBL-ERG   hay   N-mow.PFV-CVB   wife.OBL-ERG   bed   N-make.PFV-AOR
     'The husband mowed the hay, the wife made the bed.'

Sharing that involves P-arguments and/or no sharing of S-arguments, like (16) and (17), seem to have different readings among the speakers (i.e. intended vs. other).

In (16), both clauses are transitive, the P-argument of the converb clause is coreferent to the A-argument of the main clause, the common argument is expressed in the main clause (which can again be seen from the case marking of the common argument):

(16) *maħmud-i-ni   as-ile   gatu-i-ni   waca   b-uc-ib*
     Mahmud-OBL-ERG   buy.PFV-CVB   cat-OBL-ERG   mouse   N-catch.PFV-AOR
     'Mahmud bought a cat and it caught a mouse.'

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[30] The verb *#aqˤas* 'to hit' takes the instrument as S, though it may not be expressed in the sentence. This is why the noun *Rasul* is not marked as S and the verb has a neutral class agreement marker.

In (17), both clauses are transitive and share their A- and P-arguments, the common A-argument is expressed in the converb clause, the common P-argument belongs to the main clause (evidence based on word order, as in (13)):

(17) *dag*   *ħamzat-i-ni*   *as-ile*   *išbari*   *kʷiha* *b-erh-un*
      yesterday Hamzat-OBL-ERG   buy.PFV-CVB   today   lamb   N-slaughter.PFV-AOR
      'Yesterday Hamzat bought a lamb, today he slaughtered it.'

Sentences where A- and P-arguments of one transitive clause were coreferent to the P- and A-arguments of the other transitive clause were not interpreted in the way we would expect by any of the speakers. Cf. (18) where A- and P-arguments of one clause are coreferent to the P- and A-arguments of the other and in each clause its own P-argument is expressed:

(18) *rasul*   *uc-ile*   *musa*   *w-aˤbʔ-ib*
      Rasul   M.catch.PFV-CVB   Musa   M-kill.PFV-AOR
      *'Musa caught Rasul, Rasul killed Musa.'[31]

Table 3 shows the distribution of different argument sharing strategies by native speakers' ability to interpret them in the intended way.

Table 3. The acceptability of different core argument sharing strategies

Configurations that were always interpreted correctly	Configurations that were ambiguous for some speakers	Configurations that were never understood in the expected way
S = S	S = P	A = P & P = A
S = A	A = A	
no sharing	P = P	
	A = P	
	A = A & P = P	

Note that not all the imaginable configurations are included in the resulting table. It appears that configurations where the X-argument of the converb clause is coreferent to the Y-argument of the main clause behave in exactly the same way as those where the X-argument of the main clause coincides with the Y-argument of the converb clause. The locus of expression did not seem to matter, either. The configurations in the table are thus only represented by the arguments which are shared.

6. Coordination and subordination properties

It has been noticed that a close translation equivalent for a converb construction would be English clause coordination (Haspelmath 1995: 8). The syntactic status of the former is

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[31] A possible translation: 'Rasul was caught, Musa was killed.'

however unclear (Kibrik 2007). Below I will explore syntactic properties of the Mehweb converb construction in terms of coordination vs. subordination.

6.1. Three syntactic tests

To find out whether the converbal construction in Mehweb is subordinate to the main verb or not, three syntactic tests were applied to sentences (19) and (20), including changing the linear order (6.1.1), embedding the converb clause inside the main one (6.1.2), and relativization (6.1.3)[32].

In sentence (19), the converb clause shares its A argument with the main clause, while sentence (20) has no argument sharing.

(19) *musa-i-ni   qali   b-ic-ile   iz-es   w-aʔ-ib*
musa-OBL-ERG house N-sell.PFV-CVB   be.ill.IPFV-INF M-begin.PFV-AOR
'Musa, having sold the house, became ill.'

(20) *adami-li-ni   q'ar b-išq-ile   xunu.j-ni   buruš b-aq'-ib*
husband-OBL-ERG hay N-mow.PFV-CVB   wife.OBL-ERG bed   N-do.PFV-AOR
'The husband mowed the hay, the wife made the bed.'

6.1.1. Linear order of the clauses

When two or more coordinate clauses describe a sequence of events, their order is iconic and cannot be changed without changing the sense of the entire sentence. In contrast, if one of the clauses is subordinate, the order can be changed with no influence on the general meaning. For instance, *I came, I saw, I conquered* is not semantically identical to *I came, I conquered, I saw*. However, sentences *Having seen, I conquered* and *I conquered, having seen* are both possible and have identical meaning. In this respect, Mehweb general converbs seem to behave more like English subordinate clauses:

(21) *iz-es   w-aʔ-ib   musa-i-ni   qali   b-ic-ile*
be.ill.IPFV-INF M-begin.PFV-AOR Musa-OBL-ERG house   N-sell.PFV-CVB
'Musa became ill, because he had sold the house.'

(22) *xunu.j-ni   buruš b-aq'-ib,   adami-li-ni   q'ar b-išq-ile*
wife.OBL-ERG bed   N-make.PFV-AOR husband-OBL-ERG hay   N-mow.PFV-CVB
'The wife made bed, because the husband had mowed the hay.'

As it can be seen from the examples above, in both cases the main and the converb clause can change places. It does not affect the order of the events, which is the same as in the original sentences (21) and (22). However, note that the translations provided by native speakers for both modified sentences included the word 'because'. This fact will be discussed further in the paper.

6.1.2. Embedding

Another evidence for subordination analysis is the possibility of embedding the converb clause into the main one.

In Mehweb, it is perfectly fine to place a converb clause that shares its A-argument with the main clause between the main verb and its dependents, cf. (23):

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[32] The tests were described in (Creissels 2012: 143-145)

(23) *musa qali b-ic-ile iz-es w-aʔ-ib*
　　 Musa house N-sell.PFV-CVB be.ill.IPFV-INF M-begin.PFV-AOR
　　 'Musa, as he sold the house, became ill.'

In this sentence, it is clear that the common argument belongs to the main clause because of its case marking. The verb *izes #aʔes* 'to become ill' is intransitive, which is why its only argument stands in absolutive. If the noun belonged to the converb clause, it would be marked by ergative, cf. (24):

(24) *musa-i-ni qali b-ic-ib*
　　 Musa-OBL-ERG house N-sell.PFV-AOR
　　 'Musa sold the house.'

In the absence of argument sharing, however, center embedding is severely degraded: speakers tend to either assign another interpretation or judge it as unacceptable:

(25) *#xunu.j-ni, adami-li-ni q'ar b-išq-ile, buruš b-aq'-ib*
　　 wife.OBL-ERG husband-OBL-ERG hay N-mow.PFV-CVB bed N-make.PFV-AOR
　　 'The wife and the husband, having mowed the hay, made the bed.'

In (25), the converb clause with no argument sharing is embedded into the main clause. When the ergative arguments of the different clauses are placed one after the other as in (25), they are interpreted as belonging to one and the same clause (which can be either the converb clause or the main clause). As a result, the whole sentence is re-interpreted.

6.1.3. Relativization

Generally, clause coordination tends to place much more severe restrictions on the use of relativization strategies than clause subordination. For instance, English sentence *The boy cried when his sister punched him* can be relativized as *The boy, who cried when his sister punched him, came in*, whereas no such construction is possible with a sentence like *The boy's sister punched him, and he started crying* (*The boy, whose/who sister punched (him) and cried, came in*). Thus, where the relative construstion is allowed, I will consider this an argument for the subordinate status of the converb. Unavailability of relativization will considered as evidence in favor of coordination.

In Mehweb, relativization is allowed if the converb clause shares its S- or A-argument with the main one:

(26) *qali b-ic-ile iz-es w-aʔ-ib-i musa w-ebk'-ib*
　　 house N-sell.PFV-CVB be.ill.IPFV-INF M-begin.PFV-AOR-ATR Musa M-die.PFV-AOR
　　 'Musa, who became ill because of selling the house, died.'

As for the sentence without argument sharing, none of the speakers suggested the expected interpretation ('The wife, who made bed after her husband mowed the grass, came here').

(27) *#adami-li-ni q'ar b-isq-ile*
　　 husband-OBL-ERG hay N-mow.PFV-CVB
　　 buruš b-aq'-ib-i xunul iše r-ak'-ib

bed   N-make.PFV-AOR-ATR wife   here   F-come.PFV-AOR
'The husband mowed the hay and made bed (for his wife), the wife came here.'

I conclude that, with respect to relativization, sentences with no argument sharing display more coordinate properties, while those with sharing tend to behave more like subordinate. With respect to clause order, the constructions behave similarly regardless of the presence or absence of a shared argument: they both allow main clause – converb clause order, but the speakers then specify the causal relation between the two events.

6.2. Semantic properties of the converb clause

If two or more clauses are coordinated, each of them has a range of properties of its own, which means that features like tense, aspect and mood (and some others) are assigned for each predicate independently. The subordinate clause can, however, inherit some features from the main clause — or, in other words, fall under their scope. In this section, I will explore some of the converb clause properties which can potentially be inherited from the main clause. For each of the (non-)shared features, I will suppose that the inheritance of the feature implies that the construction behaves more in subordinate way, and the absence of such inheritance will make an argument for the coordination analysis.

6.2.1. Tense and taxis

As it was mentioned in Section 2, the perfective converb describes the event or situation described in the main clause, whereas the imperfective converb describes an event taking place simultaneously with the main event. To put it in other words, the converb clause usually does not have a tense of its own, and its time reference fully depends on that of the main clause.

Sentences which imply the presence of independent time reference within the converb clause can nevertheless be accepted as fully grammatical, cf. (28):

(28) *išbari   d-učirk'-uwe   dag   pat'imat   pašmaje   le-l-le*
     today   F1-smile.IPFV-PRS.CVB   yesterday Patimat   sad.ADV   COP-F-CVB
     'Today Patimat is smiling, yesterday she was sad.' ('Today smiling, yesterday Patimat was sad.')

Note that, however, such sentences are judged ungrammatical if the converb clause is embedded into the main one, cf. (29):

(29) * *dag   pat'imat išbari   d-učirk'-uwe   pašmaje   le-l-le*
       yesterday   Patimat today   F1-smile.IPFV-PRS.CVB sad.ADV   COP-F-CVB
       'Today Patimat is smiling, yesterday she was sad.'

The same happens when the converb clause is placed after the main one: sentence (30) is ungrammatical as well.

(30) * *dag   pat'imat   pašmaje   le-l-le   išbari d-učirk'-uwe*
       yesterday   Patimat   sad.ADV   COP-F-CVB   today F1-smile.IPFV-PRS.CVB
       'Today Patimat is smiling, yesterday she was sad.'

Overall, it seems that the Mehweb converb is capable of having a tense of its own, i.e. be tensed independently of the main clause. However, converbs inflected for a different tense

than the main verb can not be embedded into the main clause or placed after it. In other words, they fail the test on subordination. In this case, the converb clause is less clearly subordinate to the main verb.

6.2.2. Illocutionary force

When a subordinate predication depends on an imperative, it may or not inherit the illocutionary force of the main clause. This means that the situation described in that predication can either be a part of the situation that the speaker wants to happen, or not. For instance, English sentence *Having drunken the wine, don't drive* does not mean that the speaker wants the addressee to drink the wine and then not to drive, which means that *Having drunken the wine* does not inherit the illocutionary power of the main predication. On the contrary, the sentence *Having cut the tomatoes, add them to the salad,* which can easily be a part of a bigger instruction, does imply that the speaker wants the addressee both to cut the tomatoes and to add them into the salad. In this case, the subordinate clause inherits the main clause's illocutionary force.

In Mehweb, a converb depending on an imperative form may or may not inherit the illocutionary force of the main clause.

(31) *aquli   hu.ji-s   nuša-la   ša-baˁħ   w-ak'-ile,   nuša-šu*
      next   time.OBL-DAT   we-GEN   village-ALL   M-come.PFV-CVB   we-AD
      quli   w-ak'-e
      house(LAT)   M-come-IMP
      'When you arrive at our village next time, come at our place.'

(32) *kaltuška   d-išq-iˁle   ħarši   d-aq'-a*
      potato   NPL-peel.PFV-CVB   soup   NPL-do.PFV-IMP
      'Having peeled the potatoes, cook the soup.'

In the contexts where the converb falls under the scope of the main verb's illocutionary force, using another imperative instead of the converb is possible. Thus, sentence (33) has almost the same reading as sentence (32).

(33) *kaltuška   d-išq-a   ħarši   d-aq'-a*
      potato   NPL-peel.PFV-IMP   soup   NPL-cook.PFV-IMP
      'Peel the potatoes and cook the soup.'

The meaning of the two, however, is slightly different. Some speakers claim that (32) implies that potatoes should be peeled and then added to the soup, whereas (33) does not have this implication. Probably, using converbs with imperatives implies that there is a closer semantic link between the two events than there would be in a sentence with two imperatives. A similar phenomenon is described in (Dobrushina 2008) for Archi.

6.2.3. Negation

Another feature to be analysed is negation. As with other properties, the converb can either inherit it from the main predicate or not, cf. (34-35).

(34) *quli*   *w-ak'-ile*   *urši-li-ni*   *diʔ*   *ħa-b-erk-un*
house(LAT) M-come.PFV-CVB boy-OBL-ERG meat NEG-N-eat.PFV-AOR
'Having come home, the boy did not eat the meat.'

(35) *ʔaˁli-ni*   *arc*   *ħ-as-ile*   *šamil*   *ʔaˁr-ħaˁ-wqʼ-es*
Ali-ERG money NEG-take.PFV-CVB Shamil away-NEG-M.go.PFV-INF
'Ali not having taken the money, Shamil will not go.' (= 'Unless Ali takes the money, Shamil will not go.')

In sentence (34), the scope of negation on the main predicate does not spread to the converb clause. Thus, in most cases the sentence is translated like *Having come home, the boy did not eat the soup,* i.e. the fact that the boy came home is not negated. On the contrary, sentence (35) displays a case where the converb falls under the scope of the negation attached to the main verb. Since the converb clause has a negation of its own, its meaning doubles, which renders the meaning *Unless Ali takes the money, Shamil will not go.* If the main clause negation scope did not spread over the converb clause (i.e. if both clauses had a negation of their own), the meaning would change, and the translation would be 'Ali did not take the money, and Shamil will not go', which is not the case here.

6.3. Coordination vs. subordination

According to (Creissels 2010), when it comes to constructions whose syntactic status is difficult to determine within the coordination vs. subordination dichotomy, there is a number of analytic possibilities. In particular, if one and the same construction within the same sentence can show both co-ordinate and subordinate properties, this would represent an instance of what he calls co-subordination. If a construction shows either co-ordinate or subordinate properties depending on the context, this is analysed as co-ordination in some of its uses and subordination in others.

After applying the tests to different sentences containing converbal predication, it seems that Mehweb converbal construction displays different coordination/subordination properties under different circumstances. I will take a closer look at the conditions that influence the syntactic properties of the constructions.

First, as it can be seen from examples (21-23) and (26), in all the cases where the subordination tests worked, some sort of causal relation between the main and the converb clause is implied. I suggest that the coordinate or subordinate characteristics of the construction mostly depend on the semantic relationship between the main and the converb clauses. In other words, when a semantic link between the two appears, the converb construction is very likely to become subordinate.

Another important factor seems to be the presence of argument sharing between the main and the converb clause. Examples (25) and (27) show that if the embedding test and the relativization test are applied to sentences with no argument sharing, the results may include the re-interpretation of the intended syntactic structure and lead to a different semantic interpretation. Relativisation and center embedding of converb clauses without argument sharing is ungrammatical.

All in all, it seems that the behavior of the converb construction depends on (a) the semantic relation between the main and the converb clause and (b) the absence of argument sharing between the clauses.

This seems very similar to the situation in Tsakhur as described by Kazenin and Testelets (Kazenin, Testelets 2004). In this paper, the authors applied several tests on coordination vs. subordination to sentences containing general converbs. The tests turned out

to give different results for one and the same sentence, depending on whether there was a causal relation between the converb and the main clauses. If a Tsakhur sentence contains a converb construction and its semantics may imply some causal relation between the main and the converb clause, then embedding the converb clause into the main one is only possible with causal interpretation. To put it differently, subordination tests produce positive results only if there exists a causal relation between the main and the converb clauses. However, center embedding can also work with no causal relation between the clauses, if they both have the same subject.

7. Conclusion

In this paper I considered the properties of general converbs in Mehweb Dargwa. I described the converb marker and its morphophonological features, the distribution of perfective and imperfective converbs, the use of periphrastic converbs, independent use of converbs, the way they can combine with imperatives and share their S, A or P arguments with the main clause. Coordination and subordination properties of the Mehweb general converb were discussed. The syntactic status of converb clauses is either coordinate or subordinate depending on (a) whether there is a causal relation between the main and the converb clause and (b) whether the converb clause shares its main argument with the main clause or not. Which of the principles (a) and (b) is prior, however, is still a question to be discussed.

The self-pronoun in Mehweb

Aleksandra Kozhukhar'

Abstract: This study deals with the phenomenon of the pronominal multifuctionality in Mehweb language (Dargwa group, Northeast Caucasian languages). Pronominal stem observed has three functions (reflexive, logophoric, intensifier and resumptive) which are described in some detail.

Keywords: logophoricity, reflexivization, long-distance reflexives

1. Introduction

In many typologically distinct languages, a formal relationship between reflexive, logophoric pronouns and intensifiers is attested; see (König et al. 2013). In Mehweb these functions are fulfilled by the pronominal stem *sa‹CL›i*, 'self', which can also be used as a resumptive.

In this paper I will describe the formal and functional aspects of the pronoun sa‹CL›i, starting with a description of the structure of the relevant forms in Section 2. In Section 3 I will discuss their reflexive and logophoric usages, followed by a description of free logophors in Section 4. Section 5 is dedicated to the usage of *sa‹CL›i* as an intensifier and in Section 6 some examples of the resumptive function will be discussed.

2. Morphology

The pronoun *sa‹CL›i* can appear in the form of what I refer to as a «bare pronoun», consisting of a pronominal stem inflected for number and case. A «complex pronoun» can be formed by adding the suffix *-al* to the bare pronoun. Both forms are described below.

2.1. Bare stem

Mehweb employs the bare pronoun to refer to the antecedents in the long-distance domain (see Section 3.3.) and possessive domain (see Section 3.2.). The pronoun *sa‹CL›i* agrees in number, person and class with the antecedent and can attach case suffixes; see Table 1.

Table 1. The paradigm of the bare pronoun

NUMBER	NOUN CLASS[33]	NOM	ERG	DAT	GEN	INTER-LAT	COMIT
SG	M	*sa‹w›i*	*sune-jni*	*sune-s*	*sune-la*	*sune-ze*	*sune-ču*
	F	*sa‹r›i*					
	N	*sa‹b›i*					
PL	HPL	*sa‹b›i*	*ču-ni*	*ču-s*	*ču-la*	*ču-ze*	*ču-ču*
	NPL	*sa‹r›i*					

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[33] In Table 1 the noun classes are given as abbreviations that stand for: M – masculine (i.e. men), F – feminine (i.e. women), N – neutral (i.e. all inanimate objects and animate non-human objects), HPL – human plural objects, NPL – non-human plural objects.

Bare pronoun has three superpletive allomorphs. The first, *sa‹CL›i* is the nominative stem which is the same in the singular and in the plural and carries a class marker infix, agreeing with the antecedent of the pronoun. The second, *sune-* is the oblique stem of the third person singular and can attach case suffixes. The third, *ču-* is the oblique stem of the third person plural and can attach case suffixes.

2.2. Complex pronouns

The stem *sa‹CL›i* attaches a suffix *-al,* whose functions include emphasis when attached to nominal stems and demonstratives[34]:

(1) *it*   *dursi-li-če-l*   *ħule-w-iz-ur*
     this   girl-OBL-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH   look-M-LV.PFV-AOR
     '(S)he looked only at this girl'.

(2) *urši*   *iti-če-l*   *ħule-w-iz-ur*
     boy   this-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH   look-M-LV.PFV-AOR
     'The boy$_i$ looked only at him$_y$/her$_y$'.

A partial paradigm of the complex pronoun is given in Table 2. For the sake of comparison, inflected forms of the first and second person pronouns are also presented.

Table 2. The paradigm of the complex pronoun

NUMBER	PERSON	NOUN CLASS	NOM	ERG	DAT	GEN	INTER-LAT	COMIT
SG	1	-	*nu-wal*	*nu-ni-jal*	*nab-al*	*di-la-l*	*di-ze-l*	*di-ču-wal*
	2	-	*ħu-wal*	*ħu-ni-jal*	*ħad-al*	*ħu-la-l*	*ħu-ze-l*	*ħu-ču-wal*
		M	*sa‹w›i-jal*					
	3	F	*sa‹r›i-jal*	*sune-jni-jal*	*sune-s-al*	*sune-la-l*	*sune-ze-l*	*sune-ču-wal*
		N	*sa‹b›i-jal*					
PL	1	-	*nuša-l*	*nuša-jni-jal*	*nušab-al*	*nuša-la-l*	*nuša-ze-l*	*nuša-ču-wal*
	2	-	*ħuša-l*	*ħuša-jni-jal*	*ħušad-al*	*ħuša-la-l*	*ħuša-ze-l*	*ħuša-ču-wal*
	3	HPL	*sa‹b›i-jal*	*ču-ni-jal*	*ču-s-al*	*ču-la-l*	*ču-ze-l*	*ču-ču-wal*
		NPL	*sa‹r›i-jal*					

The suffix *-al* is preceded by an epenthetic consonant or deletion of the vowel in the suffix. If the last vowel of the stem is *-u-* the epenthetic consonant is *-w-* (e.g. *nuwal*). If the last vowel of the stem is *-i-*, the epenthetic consonant is *-j-* (e.g. *sawijal*). If *-al* follows *-e-* or *-a-* then the vowel in the suffix is dropped (e.g. *ħušal* and *sunezel*). In the dative case, *-al* is simply attached to the case suffix. The distribution of these forms is discussed in the following sections.

3. Logophoric and reflexive contexts

In this section, I will discuss the reflexive and logophoric function of the pronominal stem.
Reflexives are typically used to show the coreference of the non-subject argument of the clause to another clause-mate argument (König et al. 2013). Testelets and Toldova in

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[34] Suffix -al also marks cardinal numerals (Magometov 1982: 58).

(1998) argue that reflexives may be bound by a higher syntactic priority position which occurs in the same sentence. Logophoric pronouns are used to indicate «coreferenciality or conjoint reference with the argument of a higher predicate of communication or mental experience» (Sells 1987).

3.1. Local domain

The reflexive is bound within the local domain if it occurs within the same clause as its antecedent. Mehweb demonstrates no constraints on the syntactic position a reflexive can take in the clause. It can occupy the position of P as in (3) and (6), the indirect object position as in (4), or it can fulfill the role of adjunct (5). The antecedent, however, has to be the subject. This means it requires ergative marking with a transitive predicate, nominative for intransative and dative, interlative or interelative for experiential predicates (cf. examples (3), (4) and (6)). Within the local domain, the form of the pronoun is constrained: a bare pronoun with an antecedent in the local domain is considered ungrammatical and can only be interpreted as having logophoric meaning (compare (3) and (8)).

(3) *rasuj-ni*   *sa‹w›i-jal*   *w-it-ib*
    rasul.OBL-ERG   ‹M›SELF-EMPH   M-beat:PFV-AOR
    'Rasul$_i$ beat himself$_i$'.

(4) *rasul*   *sune-če-l*   *ħule‹w›iz-ur*
    rasul   SELF.OBL-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH   ‹M›look:PFV-AOR
    'Rasul$_i$ looked at himself$_i$'.

(5) *rasul*   *sune-če-w-al*   *duč'irq'-uwe*   *le-w*
    rasul   SELF.OBL-SUPER-ESS-EMPH   laugh:PFV-CVB   COP-M
    'Rasul$_i$ laughed at himself$_i$'.

(6) *rasuj-ze*   *sa‹w›i-jal*   *da²ħmic'aj-ħe-w*   *gu-b*
    rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)   ‹M›SELF-EMPH   mirror-IN-ESS   see:PFV-AOR
    'Rasul$_i$ saw himself$_i$ in the mirror'.

(7) a. **sune-jni-jal*   *rasul*   *w-it-ib*
        SELF.OBL-ERG-EMPH   rasul   M-beat:PFV-AOR
        'Rasul$_i$ beat himself$_i$'.
        lit. 'Himself$_i$ beat Rasul$_i$'.

    b. **sune-ze-l*   *rasul*   *gub*
        SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)   rasul.OBL-ERG   see:PFV-AOR
        'Rasul saw himself'.
        lit. 'Himself$_i$ saw Rasul$_i$'.

(8) **rasuj-ni*   *sa‹w›i*   *w-it-ib*
    rasul.OBL-ERG   ‹M›SELF   M-beat:PVF-AOR
    'Rasul$_i$ beat himself$_i$'.

    Because Mehweb is a pro-drop language, the reflexive can get a zero-antecedent, which is obligatorily in the subject position, as in (9).

(9)   a.   *it-ini*   *sune-s-al*   *ja^{ʕ}bu*   *as-ib*
               that-ERG   SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH   horse   buy:PVF-AOR

      b.   *sune-s-al*   *jabu*   *as-ib*
               SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH   horse   buy:PVF-AOR
               '(He$_i$) bought himself$_i$ a horse'.

The reflexive pronoun can be bound by a quantified NP.

(10)   *har-il*   *urši-li-ni*   *sune-s-al*   *jabu*   *as-ib*
         each-ATR   boy-OBL-ERG   SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH   horse   buy:PVF-AOR
         'Each boy$_i$ bought himself$_i$ a horse'.

Subordinate clauses work the same way. In a subordinate clause, the bare pronoun cannot be bound within the subordinate clause (11), while the complex pronoun has to be bound within it (12).

(11)   *rasuj-s*   *dig-uwe*   *le-w*   *adaj-ze*
         rasul.OBL-DAT   want:PVF-CVB   COP-M   father-INTER(LAT)
         sa⟨w⟩i   *da^{ʔ}нmic'aj-ħe-w*   *g^w-es*
         ⟨M⟩SELF   mirror-IN-ESS   see:PFV-INF
         'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see him$_i$ in the mirror'.

(12)   *rasuj-s*   *dig-uwe*   *le-w*   *adaj-ze*
         rasul.OBL-DAT   want:PVF-CVB   COP-M   father-INTER(LAT)
         sa⟨w⟩i-jal   *da^{ʔ}нmic'aj-ħe-w*   *g^w-es*
         ⟨M⟩SELF-EMPH   mirror-IN-ESS   see:PFV-INF
         'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see himself$_y$ in the mirror'.

In example (12) the antecedent of the reflexive is within the local domain, whereas in (11) it is located in the distant domain (the latter will be discussed further in Section 3.3). The two domains differ as to which pronoun is used: the local domain utilizes the complex pronoun, whereas for an antecedent in the distant domain the bare pronoun is used.

3.2. Possessive domain

The possessive domain contains contexts where a genitive reflexive occurs in an NP within the same clause as its antecedent. In Mehweb, this domain is distinguished from the local domain in that both bare pronouns and complex pronouns can be employed[35], as in (13).

(13)   a.   *sune-la*   *quli-w*   *ħa-jʑ-ur*
               SELF.OBL-GEN   house-ESS   NEG-live-AOR
               '(He$_i$) did not live in his$_i$ house'.

      b.   *sune-la-l*   *quli-w*   *ħa-jʑ-ur*
               SELF.OBL-GEN-EMPH   house-ESS   NEG-live-AOR
               '(He$_i$) did not live in his$_i$ house'.

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[35] This fact may serve as evidence for the idea that the possessive domain is a transition point between the local domain and the distant domain.

(14)   (corpus, Brother and Sister: 1.34 (Magometov 1982))
        sune-la   *xunul*   *quli-r*   *r-aq'-a*
        SELF.OBL-GEN   woman   house-ESS   F-leave.PFV-IMP
        'Leave your wife at home'.

(15)   (corpus, Two Sons: 1.86 (Magometov 1982))
        hel-di   *zamaj-ze-b*   *ib*   *urši-li-ni*
        this-PL   time-INTER-ESS say:PFV.AOR   boy-OBL-ERG
        sune-la-l   *gurda-li-ze*
        SELF.OBL-GEN-EMPH   fox-OBL-INTER(LAT)
        'Then the boy$_i$ said to his$_i$ fox'.

Consider also the following examples where the complex and the bare pronoun are used in similar contexts by the same speaker:

(16)   (corpus, Two Sons: 1.126 (Magometov 1982))
        sunela   *ħalmic'er-t-iču⟨w⟩ijal*   *urši*   *helle*   *w-erχ-ur*
        SELF.OBL-GEN   animal-PL-COMIT⟨M⟩   boy   here(LAT)   M-enter.PFV-AOR
        'The boy$_i$ entered with his$_i$ animals'.

(17)   (corpus, Two Sons: 1.198 (Magometov 1982))
        habala-habal   *sune-la-l*   *ħalmic'ir-t*   *d-aχ-un*
        start-start   SELF.OBL-GEN-EMPH   animal-PL   NPL-feed.PFV-AOR
        'First he$_i$ fed all his$_i$ animals'.

Examples (14) to (17) prove that in natural texts the bare pronoun is available in possessive contexts. Consultants provide contradictory grammaticality judgements of constructed stimuli with the reflexive genitive. The majority consider (13a) and (13b) to have the same meaning and to be fully grammatical. Some consultants suggest that *sunelal* adds emphatic meaning ('his own'), whereas *sunela* simply indicates possession. Other consultants suggest that the bare pronoun *sunela* is not bound within the sentence (for further discussion see Section 4), i.e. (13a) can be translated as ´He is living in his (someone else's) house´. Finally, some consultants consider *sunela* to be ungrammatical, apparently extending the constraints on the occurrence of bare pronouns in the same clause as their antecedents to possessive NPs.

3.3. Distant domain

Distant domain contexts are sentences in which the pronoun and its antecedent occur in different clauses. In Mehweb, the order of the antecedent and the pronoun is relevant within the local domain. The pronoun cannot precede its antecedent, otherwise it gets the free logophoric reading (more on free logophors in Section 4).
    The distant domain requires using the bare pronoun (see (18)).

(18)   *sune-s*   *dig-uwe*   *le-w*   *adaj-ze*   *rasul*
       SELF.OBL-DAT   want:PVF-CVB   COP-M   father-INTER(LAT) rasul
      daˀħmic'aj-ħe-w   *gʷ-es*
      mirror-IN-ESS   see:PFV-INF
      'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see him$_i$ in the mirror'.
      lit. 'Himself$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see Rasul$_i$ in the mirror'.

The bare stem can take subject and non-subject positions (P, IO, adjunct) in the subordinate or main clause and can be used in both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses, as shown in the following section.

3.4. Finite subordinate clauses

Mehweb employs finite subordinate clauses with predicates of speech and thought. Finite subordinate clauses in Mehweb may or may not be followed by the converb *ile* 'having said' and utilize either personal pronouns or a bare pronoun.

(19)   *adaj-ni*   *ib*   *sune-ze*   *žanawar gu-b*   *(ile)*
      father-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)   wolf   see:PFV-AOR   say:PFV.CVB
      'Father$_i$ said he$_i$ saw a wolf'.

(20)   *adaj-ni*   *ib*   *sune-ze*   *žanawar*
      father-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT) wolf
      gu-b-ra   *(ile)*
      see:PFV-AOR-1/2   say:PFV.CVB
      'Father$_i$ said he$_i$ saw a wolf'.

Considering Chechen and Ingush, Nichols (2000) refers to such contexts as (20) as semi-direct speech. In semi-direct speech «quoted matter is identical to the reported speech act except that coreferents to the speaker are reflexivized and the clause is marked with a quotative particle» (Nichols 2000). According to Nichols, Chechen uses reflexives to refer to the speaker, i.e. the subject of the main clause, only if subordinate finite clauses marked by quotation clitic *eanna*, while direct speech contexts use personal pronouns (1SG pronouns) and do not use the clitic.

In Mehweb, the quotative converb *ile* is optional with both types of reference. Compare the pronouns in (19) and (20) to those in (21) and (22); in all of these cases, the use of *ile* is optional.

(21)   *adaj-ni*   *ib*   *di-ze*   *žanawar gu-b*   *(ile)*
      father-ERG   say:PFV.AOR I.OBL-INTER(LAT)   wolf   see:PFV-AOR say:PFV.CVB
      'Father$_i$ said he$_i$ saw a wolf'.

(22)   *adaj-ni*   *ib*   *di-ze*   *žanawar gu-b-ra*   *(ile)*
      father-ERG   say:PFV.AOR I.OBL-INTER(LAT)   wolf   see:PFV-AOR say:PFV.CVB
      'Father$_i$ said he$_i$ saw a wolf'.

Table 3 provides a summary of options for a pronoun used in a subordinate finite clause. It shows that *dize* behaves as a personal pronoun, since it can change its antecedent between the actual and the reported speaker. The pronoun *suneze* on the other hand, behaves as a logophoric pronoun and always refers to the subject of the main clause.

(23)   *adaj-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ze*   *di-ze*   *žanawar*
         father-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.OBL-INTER(EL)   I.OBL-INTER(LAT)   wolf
         gu-b   *(ile)*
         see:PFV-AOR   say:PFV.CVB
         'Father$_i$ said to Rasul that he$_i$ saw a wolf'.

(24)   *adaj-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ze*   *di-ze*   *žanawar*
         father-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.OBL-INTER(EL)   I.OBL-INTER(LAT)   wolf
         gu-b-ra   *(ile)*
         see:PFV-AOR-1/2   say:PFV.CVB
         'Father$_i$ said to Rasul that he$_i$ saw a wolf'.

(25)   *adaj-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ze*   *sune-ze*   *žanawar*
         father-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.ERG-INTER(EL)   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)   wolf
         gu-b-ra   *(ile)*
         see:PFV-AOR-1/2   say:PFV.CVB
         'Father$_i$ said to Rasul that he$_i$ saw a wolf'.

Table 3. Summary on the stimuli and antecedents

stimulus	antecedent of the pronoun
adajni ib dize žanawar gub	actual speaker
adajni ib dize žanawar gubra	subject of the main clause
adajni ib suneze žanawar gub	subject of the main clause
adajni ib suneze žanawar gubra	subject of the main clause

Examples (26) and (27) additionally show subordinate clauses headed by different matrix predicates.

(26)   *iti-ni*   *pikri*   *b-aq-ib*   *saⱳi*   *q'am*
         that-ERG   thought   N-do:PFV-AOR   ⟨M⟩SELF   late
         uh-ub-le   *le-w*   *(ile)*
         become:PFV-AOR-CVB   COP-M   say:PFV.CVB
         'He$_i$ had a thought that he$_i$ was late'.

(27)   *iti-s*   *b-ik-ib*   *saⱳi*   *q'am*
         that-DAT   N-think:PVF-AOR   ⟨M⟩SELF   late
         uh-ub-le   *le-w*   *(ile)*
         become:PFV-AOR-CVB   COP-M   say:PVF-CVB
         'He$_i$ thought that he$_i$ was late'.

3.5. Non-finite subordinate clauses

Non-finite subordinate clauses in Mehweb can employ converbs, nominalizations or infinitives, depending on the predicate of the matrix clause. Non-finite clauses can occur with a bare pronoun or with a zero pronoun in the subject position. Grammaticality of first person personal pronouns referring to the subject of the main clause in non-finite subordinate clauses is a matter of variation among the consultants (cf. 28 and 31). In non-finite subordinate clauses, the self-pronoun can occupy subject and non-subject positions (cf. 32).

Examples (28) and (29) demonstrate the use of the self-pronoun in subject and non-subject position in a subordinate clause headed by an infinitive.

(28)　*it*　　　　*uruχ k'-uwe*　　　*le-w*　　*saꞇwɨ*　　(*ʔnu*)
　　　　this　　be.afraid-CVB　　COP-M　⟨M⟩SELF　(ʔI)
　　　　ʁaʔm-le　　　*w-ik-es*　　　　(*ile*)
　　　　wrong-ADVZ　　M-become:PFV-INF　say:PVF.CVB
　　　　'He is afraid to make a mistake'.

(29)　*rasuj-s*　　　　　　　*dig-uwe*　　　*le-b*　　　*adaj*
　　　　rasul.OBL-DAT　　　　want:PVF-CVB　COP-N　　father
　　　　sune-če-l　　　　*ħule-w-iz-es*
　　　　SELF.OBL-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH　LOOK-M-LV:PFV-INF
　　　　'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to look at himself$_y$ in the mirror'.

Subordinate clauses with an infinitive in Mehweb are employed as a strategy for marking sentential arguments, and can also express an aim (see (30)-(32)). In (31), the personal pronoun *nu* 'I' is grammatical.

(30)　*ali-ni*　*g-ib*　　　　*rasuj-ze*　　　　*arc*　　*il*
　　　　ali-ERG　give:PFV-AOR　rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)　money　that
　　　　armi-li-ze　　　　　*uꞇq'-es*
　　　　army-OBL-INTER(LAT)　M.go:PFV-INF
　　　　'Ali bribed Rasul so that he (Rasul or another person) go to the army'.
　　　　lit. 'Ali gave money to Rasul in order that Rasul (or another person) went to the army'.

(31)　*ali-ni*　*g-ib*　　　　*rasuj-ze*　　　　*arc*　　*nu*
　　　　ali-ERG　give:PFV-AOR　rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)　money　I
　　　　armi-li-ze　　　　　*uꞇq'-es*
　　　　army-OBL-INTER(LAT)　M.go:PFV-INF
　　　　'Ali bribed Rasul to go the army'.
　　　　lit. 'Ali gave money to Rasul in order Ali went to the army'.

(32)　*ali-ni*　*g-ib*　　　　*rasuj-ze*　　　　*arc*　　*saꞇwɨ*
　　　　ali-ERG　give:PFV-AOR　rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)　money　⟨M⟩SELF
　　　　armi-li-ze　　　　　*uꞇq'-es*
　　　　army-OBL-INTER(LAT)　M.go:PFV-INF
　　　　'Ali bribed Rasul to go the army'.
　　　　lit. 'Ali gave money to Rasul in order Ali went to the army'.

Examples (33) and (34) demonstrate the self-pronoun in a subordinate clause headed by a specialized converb.

(33)   *abaj-ni*   *g-ib*   *dursi*   *ruzi-li-ze*
        mother-ERG   give:PFV-AOR   girl   sister-OBL-INTER(LAT)
        sune-s   *ʡaˤχ-le*   *b-uʔ-alis*
        SELF.OBL-DAT   good-ADVZ   N-be:PFV-PURP
        'Mother$_i$ gave her$_i$ daughter$_y$ to her$_i$ sister$_z$ in order she$_i$ felt good'.

(34)   *baba*   *uruχ-k'-uwe*   *le-r*   *saˤʡʷi*   *ar-d-ik-ala*   (*ile*)
        grandmother   frighten-LV.IPFV-CVB   COP-F   ⟨F⟩SELF   FALL-F-LV.IPFV-APPR   say:PFV.CVB
        'Grandmother$_i$ is afraid of falling down'.

Examples (35), (36) and (37) show the use of the bare pronoun in a subordinate clause headed by an action nominal (masdar). In Mehweb there are two suffixes available for the derivation of action nominals: *-ri* and *-deš*. In most cases, these suffixes are interchangeable.

(35)   *ali-ze*   *b-ah-ur*   *rasuj-ze-la*   *sune-s*   *premia b-ak'-ri*
        ali-INTER(LAT)   N-know:PFV-AOR   rasul-INTER-EL   SELF.OBL-DAT   money   N-arrive:PFV-NMLZ
        'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul that he$_i$ got money'.

(36)   *iti-ze-la*   *b-ah-ur-ra*   *sune-jni*
        that-INTER-EL   N-know:PFV-AOR-1/2   SELF.OBL-ERG
        maza   *b-erħ-un-deš / b-erħ-ri*
        ram   N-slaughter:PFV-AOR-NMLZ / N-slaughter:PFV-NMLZ
        '(He$_i$) found out from him$_y$ that he$_i$ killed a ram'.

(37)   *it-i-ni*   *pikri*   *b-aq-ib*   *saˤʡʷi*   *q'am*
        that-OBL-ERG   thought   N-do:PFV-AOR   ⟨M⟩SELF   late
        uh-ub-le   *le-w-deš*   (*ile*)
        become:PFV-AOR   COP-M-NMLZ   say:PFV.CVB
        'He$_i$ thought that he$_i$ was late'.

The purpose of the examples above is to show that bare pronouns can be used in non-finite subordinate clauses. This fact blurs the distinction between the two functions the bare pronoun fulfills – that of the long-distant reflexive and the logophoric pronoun.

3.6. Subject orientedness of the self-pronoun

In a finite subordinate clause, the bare pronoun occurring in subject position is subject oriented. This means it is co-referent to the subject of the main clause, as in (25). Non-finite subordinate clauses on the other hand, show variation in what is interpreted to be the referent of the pronoun, depending on the presence of the suffix *-al*.

Most consultants interpret the self-pronoun with the suffix *-al* as subject oriented as well (see Section 3.3.4.). In the case of two embedded predications, both the bare pronoun and the personal pronoun *nu* choose the subject of the embedded matrix clause; cf. (38) and (39) to (40).

(38)   *ali-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ni*   *ib*   *sune-jni*   *eža as-i-ra*
        ali-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.OBL-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   SELF.OBL-ERG   goat   buy.PFV-AOR-1/2
        'Ali$_y$ said that Rasul$_i$ said that he$_i$ bought a goat'.

(39)   *ali-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ni*   *ib*   *nu-ni*   *eža*   *as-i-ra*
           ali-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.OBL-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   I-ERG   goat   buy:PFV-AOR-1/2
           'Ali$_y$ said that Rasul$_i$ said that he$_i$ bought a goat'.

(40)   *ali-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ni*   *ib*
           ali-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.OBL-ERG   say:PFV.AOR
           sune-jni-jal   *eža*   *as-i-ra*
           SELF.OBL-ERG-EMPH   goat   buy:PFV-AOR-1/2
           'Ali$_y$ said that Rasul$_i$ said that he$_i$ bought a goat'.

If a demonstrative is used instead of the self-pronoun or a personal pronoun, it does not take an antecedent in the same sentence:

(41)   *ali-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ni*   *ib*
           ali-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.OBL-ERG   say:PFV.AOR
           il-i-ni-jal   *eža*   *asi-ra*
           this-OBL-ERG-EPMH   goat   buy:PFV-1/2
           'Ali$_i$ said that Rasul$_y$ said that he$_z$ bought a goat'.

The subject of the external embedded clause can be the antecedent of the logophoric pronoun if and only if the subject of the first embedded clause does not agree in person and/or number with the logophoric pronoun.

(42)   *ali-ni*   *ib*   *nu-ni*   *ib*
           ali-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   I-ERG   say:PFV.AOR
           sune-jni   *eža*   *asi-ra*
           self-OBL-ERG-EPMH   goat   buy:PFV-1/2
           'Ali$_i$ said that I said that he$_i$ bought a goat'.

3.7. Non-subject orientedness: a hypothesis

A bare pronoun in subject position in a subordinate clause, whether it is finite or non-finite, is always 'subject oriented'. This means it is coreferent to the subject of the closest embedded clause (unless there is a mismatch in person or number properties).

In some speakers, the complex pronoun behaves in the same way. In other speakers, however, the complex pronoun has to be coreferent to the non-subject argument of the matrix clause (when present) (cf. 43, 44, 45, 46).

(43)   *ali-ni*   *ib*   *rasuj-ze*   *saʕwʼi-jal*
           ali-ERG   say:PFV.AOR   rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)   ⟨M⟩SELF(-EMPH)
           cʼab-le   *išq-eʕs*   *uʕqʼ-es-i*
           hay   mow:PFV-INF   M.go:PFV-INF-ATR
   'Ali$_i$ said to Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ should go mow the grass'.

(44)   *ali-ze*   *b-ah-ur*   *rasuj-ze-la*
           ali-INTER(LAT)   N-know:PFV-AOR   rasul.OBL-INTER-EL
           sune-s-al   *premia*   *b-aqʼ-ri*
           SELF.OBL-DAT(-EMPH)   money   N-do.PFV-NMLZ
           'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ got money'.

(45) *ali-ni*   *g-ib*   *rasuj-ze*   *arc*
      ali-ERG   give:PFV-AOR   rasul-INTER(LAT)   money
      saʕⱳi-jal   *armi-li-ze*   *uˤqʼ-es*
      ⟨M⟩SELF(-EMPH)   army-OBL-INTER(LAT)   M.go:PFV-INF
      'Ali_i gave Rasul_y money for him_y to go to the army'.

(46) *abaj-ni*   *g-ib*   *dursi*   *ruzi-li-ze*
      mother-ERG   give:PFV-AOR   daughter   sister-OBL-INTER(LAT)
      sune-s-al   *ʔaʔχ-le*   *b-uʔ-alis*
      SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH   good-ADVZ   N-be:PFV-PURP
      'Mother_i gave her_i daughter_y to her_i sister_z in order for her_y to feel good'.

In the four examples above, the self-pronoun takes the non-subject argument of the main clause as its antecedent. The referent of the embedded subject shifts from the subject to the non-subject argument of the embedded clause if the main clause contains more than one argument that can serve as an antecedent for the self-pronoun and matches it in person and number.

If all these conditions are satisfied, then, the bare pronoun takes its reference from the subject of the main clause whereas the complex pronoun takes its reference from another argument of the main clause. These rules apply to all complementation strategies and all predicates of the main clause that allow a second argument or adjunct as a potential antecedent. If the main clause lacks other arguments or if the arguments of the main clause do not match the self-pronoun in person and number, the subject-to-non-subject shift does not occur.

The complex pronoun cannot take an argument outside the clause as its antecedent. The non-subject argument of the main clause thus may not be an immediate antecedent of the complex pronoun inside the subordinate clause. Examples (43) to (46) can be explained by introducing a zero pronoun in the subject position of the subordinate clause. This zero pronoun is non-subject-oriented (see Figure 1). On the other hand, the reference of the bare pronoun combined with an intensifier (*sunejni sunejnijal),* is always subject-oriented (that is, whenever the nearest subject matches the self-pronoun in person and/or number) – see (49).

[S intransitive predicate IO][self non-finite predicate]

[S intransitive predicate IO][∅ self-EMPH non-finite predicate]

[S intransitive predicate IO][self self-EMPH non-finite predicate]

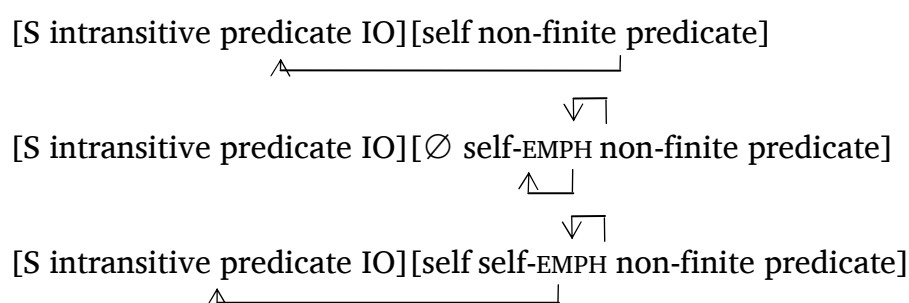Figure 1. Non-subject-oriented zero pronoun

(47) *ali-ze*   *b-ah-ur*   *rasuj-ze-la*
      ali-INTER(LAT)   N-know:PFV-AOR   rasul.OBL-INTER-EL
      sunes   *premia*   *b-aqʼ-ri*
      SELF.OBL-DAT   money   N-get:PFV-NMLZ
      'Ali_i found out from Rasul that he_i got money'.

(48) ali-ze   b-ah-ur   rasuj-ze-la
     ali-INTER(LAT) N-know:PFV-AOR   rasul.OBL-INTER-EL
     ∅   sune-s-al   premia   b-aq'-ri
     ∅   SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH money   N-get:PFV-NMLZ
     'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ got money'.

(49) ali-ze   b-ah-ur   rasuj-ze-la
     ali-INTER(LAT) N-know:PFV-AOR   rasul.OBL-INTER-EL
     sune-s   sune-s-al   premia   b-aq'-ri
     SELF.OBL-DAT   SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH money   N-get:PFV-NMLZ
     'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ got money'.

An alternative explanation is that the complex pronoun in the subject position in the subordinate clause serves as the real subject of the clause and, unable to be bound within the local domain, takes the closest argument outside its clause as an antecedent. However, there is no evidence that an intensifier can serve as a subject of the clause.

4. Discourse usage

In discourse the bare pronoun[36] can be used to refer to the narrator of a story. In the following contexts, the bare pronoun is used in various syntactic positions and does not have an antecedent within the sentence[37].

(50) (corpus, Poisoning: 1.20)
     saⱹi   duc'   d-uq-un-na   kʷʼan   ʔaj   illi-šu
     ⟨F⟩SELF   run   F-go:PFV-AOR-1/2 QUOT   perhaps   that-AD(LAT)
     'I$_i$ (the narrator) ran to her$_y$'.

(51) (corpus, Poisoning: 1.8)
     sune-jni   i-ra   kʷʼan   abaj-la   heš   dursi=ra
     SELF.OBL-ERG say:PFV-1/2   QUOT   mother-GEN   this   girl=and
     d-aχ-uwe   d-uʔ-a-k'a   ħu   d-u-es   ʔaj
     F1-look.after:PFV-CVB NPL-be-POT-COND   you.sg   F1-be:PFV-INF   perhaps
     'She$_i$ (the narrator) said that, my$_y$ daughter, you$_y$ better take care of her daughter'.

(52) (corpus, Poisoning: 1.17)
     sune-jni   i-ra   kʷʼan   marijan   ħad   d-ig-a-k'a
     SELF.OBL-ERG say:PFV-1/2   QUOT   marijan   you.sg.DAT   F1-want:PFV-POT-COND
     d-uh-e   ʔaj   ħad   ʔaˤχ-le   b-uʔ-a-re
     F1-become.pfv-IMP   perhaps   you.sg.DAT   good-adv   N-be:PFV-POT-PST
     'She$_i$ (the narrator) said: Marijam$_y$, if you$_y$ want (to do this) marry him, maybe it would be good for you$_y$'.

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[36] There is evidence that the bare pronoun in its free logophoric function can be intensified with the suffix -al without changing the reference of the pronoun. The corpus, however, does not provide appropriate examples.
[37] It can also be hypothesized that the bare pronoun in its free logophoric function may refer to other participants of the narrative. The texts from the corpus do not provide any evidence in superport of this, however, and the topic thus requires further investigation.

(53) (corpus, Poisoning: 1.32)
sune-s   k'ʷan ʔaj   urče   c'a   aq'-ur
SELF.OBL-DAT   QUOT   perhaps heart.ESS fire   pour:PFV-AOR
'She (the narrator) felt bad'.

(54) (corpus, Speaking Lak: 1.14)
hanna   raχk'ʷar   r-uh-ub-le   umma   r-uk'-uwe
now   man   F-become:PFV-AOR-CVB then   F-say:IPFV-CVB
g'ʷa   k'ʷan   ʔaj   sune-če   hel   xunul
PTCL   QUOT   perhaps SELF.OBL-SUPER(LAT) this.here   woman
'Then the woman started to kiss him (the narrator)'.

5. Intensifier

The complex pronoun in Mehweb can be used as an intensifier. The intensifier is used in adposition to its antecedent, which it emphasizes (cf. 55). This pronoun is formally identical to the reflexive pronoun[38]. The bare pronoun alone cannot be used as an intensifier (see 56).

(55) *iti-ni   sune-jni-jal   d-erk-un   χinče*
this-ERG   SELF.OBL-ERG-EMPH   N-eat:PFV-AOR   khinkal
'He$_i$ himself$_i$ ate all khinkals'.

(56) *di-ze   it-ize-la   b-ah-ur-ra   ali-ni   cula*
I-INTER(LAT)   this-INTER-EL   N-know:PFV-AOR-LCT   ali-ERG   only
ahin-i   it-i-ni   sune-jni-jal=ra   maza   b-erh-ri
NEG.COP-ATR   this-OBL-ERG   SELF.OBL-ERG-EMPH=and   ram   N-slaughter:PFV-NMLZ
'I found out from him$_i$ that not only Ali$_y$ but he$_i$ himself$_i$ slaughtered the ram'.

(57) **di-ze   it-i-ze-la   b-ah-ur-ra   ali-ni   cula*
I.OBL-INTER(LAT) this-OBL-INTER-EL   N-know:PFV-AOR-LCT   ali-ERG   only
ahin-i   it-i-ni   sune-jni=ra   maza   b-erh-ri
NEG.COP-ATR   this-OBL-ERG   SELF.OBL-ERG=and   ram   N-slaughter:PFV-NMLZ
Intended 'I found out from him$_i$ that not only Ali$_y$ but he$_i$ himself$_i$ slaughtered the ram'.

The complex pronoun may intensify an overt NP (cf. 58), demonstratives (cf. 59), as well as pro-dropped pronouns in the subject position (cf. 60). Intensifier agrees in number, case and class with its antecedent. It can be used in all syntactic positions, including subject, P and other positions.

(58) *rasuj-ni   sune-s-al   muhamad-i-s   eža   as-ib*
rasul.OBL-ERG   SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH   muhammad-OBL-DAT   goat   buy:PFV-AOR
'Rasul$_i$ bougth to Muhammad$_y$ himself$_y$ a goat'.

(59) *it-i-ni   sune-jni-jal   d-erk-un   χinče*
this-OBL-ERG   SELF.OBL-ERG-EMPH   N-eat:PFV-AOR   khinkal
'He$_i$ himself$_i$ ate all khinkals'.

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[38] The functions of intensification and reflexivization are similarly combined in personal pronouns followed by the suffix -al; also cf. Table 2

(60)   *sune-jni-jal*   *d-erk-un*   *χinče*
         SELF.OBL-ERG-EMPH   N-eat:PFV-AOR   khinkal
         '(He) himself ate the khinkals'.

Some speakers are reluctant to accept intensification of NPs with low animacy:

(61)   *ʔrasuj-ni*   *muħamad-i-s*   *sa‹b›i-jal*   *eža*   *as-ib*
         rasul.OBL-ERG   muhammad-OBL-DAT   ‹N›SELF-EMPH   goat   buy:PFV-AOR
         'Rasul bought to Muhammad this the very goat'.

The intensifier may be preposed to its antecedent;

(62)   (corpus, The story of Akula Ali: 1.7)
         sa‹w›i-jal   *wazil-li*   *b-arg-ib*   *kʼʷan*   *ʔilla=ra*
         ‹M›SELF-EMPH   chief-OBL(ERG)   N-find:PFV-AOR   QUOT   reason=and
         'The chief$_i$ himself$_i$ found the reason'.

The intensifier can co-occur with complex pronouns used as reflexives, as in (63) and (64). In such contexts, they seem to show a free relative order. However, (65) shows that the compound consisting of two complex pronouns cannot be split.

(63)   *rasuj-ze*   *sune-ze-l*   *sa‹w›i-jal*   *gu-b*
         rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)-EMPH   ‹M›SELF-EMPH   see:PFV-AOR
         'Rasul$_i$ saw himself$_i$'.

(64)   *rasuj-ze*   *sa‹w›i-jal*   *sune-ze-l*   *gu-b*
         rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)   ‹M›SELF-EMPH   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)-EMPH   see:PFV-AOR
         'Rasul$_i$ saw himself$_i$'.

(65)   **rasuj-ze*   *sune-ze-l*   *gu-b*   *sa‹w›i-jal*
         rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)-EMPH   see:PFV-AOR   ‹M›SELF-EMPH
         'Rasul$_i$ saw himself$_i$'.

The intensifier can also be combined with a bare pronoun and can either precede or follow it, with no semantic contrast (cf. (66) and (67).

(66)   *rasuj-s*   *dig-uwe*   *le-b*   *sa‹w›i*
         rasul.OBL-DAT   want:PVF-CVB   COP-N   ‹M›SELF
         sune-če-l   *ħule‹w›iz-es*
         SELF.OBL-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH   ‹M›look:PFV-INF
         'Rasul$_i$ wants to look at himself$_i$'.

(67)   *rasuj-s*   *dig-uwe*   *le-b*   *sune-če-l*
         rasul.OBL-DAT   want:PVF-CVB   COP-N   SELF.OBL-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH
         sa‹w›i   *ħule‹w›iz-es*
         ‹M›SELF   ‹M›look:PFV-INF
         'Rasul$_i$ wants to look at himself$_i$'.

The intensifier can take the subject position in the subordinate clause since subject pro-drop is also acceptable in subordinate clauses (cf. 43, 44, 45, 46 above). The reference of the intensifier in subject position is discussed in Section 3.3.4.

6. Resumptive

The resumptive function of the self-pronoun is discussed in (Lander and Kozhukhar' 2016). Resumptive pronouns are optionally used in the position that is relativized (cf. 68, 69).

(68) *nu-ni*   *ču-s*   *kung*   *gib-i*   *ule*
I-ERG   SELF.PL.OBL-DAT   book   give.PFV-ATR   child.PL
b-aˤq'-un   *uškuj-ħe*
HPL-go:PFV-AOR   school-IN(LAT)
'The children_i to whom_i I gave a book went to school'.

(69) *šejtan*   *ču-ze*   *gu-b-i*   *buk'unu-me*
demon   SELF.PL.OBL-INTER(LAT)   see.PFV-AOR-ATR   shepherd-PL
uruχ   *b-aˤq-ib*
fear   N-do.PFV-AOR
'The shepherds_i who_i saw a demon were scared'.

In resumptive contexts, the self-pronoun may also attach the suffix *-al*. As a result, the relativized argument is emphasized (cf. 70 and 71).

(70) *nu-ni*   *sune-ze*   *arc*   *g-ib-i*   *insaj-ni*
I-ERG   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)   money   give:PFV-AOR-ATR   man.OBL-ERG
nab   *arc*   *ħa-lug-an*
I.DAT   money   NEG-give:IPFV-HAB
'The man_i to whom_i I gave the money doesn't give it back to me'.

(71) *nu-ni*   *sune-ze-l*   *arc*   *g-ib-i*   *insaj-ni*
I-ERG   SELF.OBL-INTER(LAT)   money   give:PFV-AOR-ATR   man.OBL-ERG
nab   *arc*   *ħal-ug-an*
I.DAT   money   NEG-give:IPF-HAB
'This very man_i to whom_i I gave money doesn't give me them back'.

Some consultants tend to use resumptives only with animate relative heads (72 and 73).

(72) *ʔsune-s*   *ʔadidi*   *ħarkʷ*   *b-aš-uwe*   *le-b-i*
SELF.OBL-DAT   behind   river   N-go:IPFV-CVB   COP-N-ATR
qali   *le-b*   *rasuj-ja*
house   COP-N   rasul.OBL-GEN
'The house_i behind which_i the river flows belongs to Rasul'.

(73) *ʔadidi*   *ħarkʷ*   *b-aš-uwe*   *le-b-i*   *qali*   *le-b*   *rasuj-ja*
behind   river   N-flow:IPFV-CVB   COP-N-ATR   house   COP-N   rasul.OBL-GEN
'The house_i behind which_i there is a river belongs to Rasul'.

For further discussion on resumptives see (Lander and Kozhukhar' this volume).

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have considered the form and functions of the pronominal stem *sa‹CL›i in* Mehweb. This stem at least has the following functions: reflexive and long-distant reflexive, logophoric (including free logophoric), intensifier and resumptive. These functions, which are distinct from both syntactic and semantic perspectives, show different constraints on their antecedents.

The complex pronoun functions as a locally bound reflexive and may occupy any non-subject slots. The intensifier pronoun is homophonous to the reflexive and receives the same case, number and class values as its antecedent. The possible antecedents of an intensifier include locally bound reflexives, long-distance reflexives and logophoric pronouns; it can also be pro-dropped.

According to (Reuland 2011) and (Sells 1987), logophoric pronouns are pronouns used in finite subordinate clauses embedded under predicates of speech and mental experience. For (Clements 1975) and (Toldova 1999), the main function of the logophoric pronoun is to define the point of view. There are no typologically universal constraints on the syntactic position the logophoric pronoun, while there is a strong tendency for the antecedent to be in the subject position of the embedded clause. When discussing long-distance reflexives on the other hand, (Cole, Herman and Huang 2000) argue that these take either subject or non-subject position within non-finite subordinate clauses. They also argue that long-distance reflexives manifest subject orientation: their antecedents have to be subjects of the main clause.

The pronoun *sa‹CL›i* covers both functions and fits both the description of the logophoric pronoun and that of the long-distance reflexive. Therefore I suggest that in Mehweb, there is neither a morphological nor a (sharp) syntactic distinction between logophorics and long-distance reflexives.

Relative clause and resumptive pronouns in Mehweb

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Abstract: East Caucasian relative clause constructions (RCCs) are sometimes viewed as constructed mainly on the basis of semantic and pragmatic information and not on the syntax of the relative clause. In this paper, we consider RCCs in Mehweb and argue that, despite the fact that the interpretation of some of them may rely exclusively on the semantics, the syntactic mechanisms may alao come into play in their organization. In particular, we present evidence that Mehweb has grammaticalized resumptive use of reflexive pronouns, which thus can be contrasted with other uses of reflexive pronouns due to the restrictions on animate antecedents observed only in RCCs.

Keywords: relative clause, relativization, resumptive pronoun

1. Introduction

Relativization is usually thought of as a mechanism which operates on an argument of a subordinate clause (see, for example, de Vries 2004). For example, in *the paper we are writing* _ the relativized argument is the direct object of the verb, while *the person that* _ *wrote this sentence* presupposes that the relativized argument is the verb's subject.[39] Note that many scholars of relative clause constructions (RCCs) think of relativized arguments as syntactic positions and not as semantic roles. Indeed, studies of RCCs have revealed a number of restrictions on their formation which clearly have syntactic nature. These restrictions include, for instance, the continuous distribution of relative constructions along the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH) Subject › Direct object › Indirect object › Oblique object › Possessor › Object of comparison (Keenan and Comrie 1977)[40] and non-relativizability of arguments embedded in syntactic islands, like indirect questions and parts of the coordinating construction (Ross 1967).

The universality of this conception was called into question by Comrie (1996, 1998), who proposed, following Matsumoto (1988, 1997), that some languages construct what is, in their descriptions, usually considered an RCC on a semantic rather than on a syntactic basis. Such languages only need to establish a semantic link between the head of the noun phrase and the subordinate clause which would be sufficient for the characterization of this head. This link sometimes involves an argument of the subordinate clause but it need not necessarily. Hence a new term was coined for this phenomenon, namely *generalized noun modifying clause constructions*. Naturally, such constructions do not display the syntactic restrictions proposed for languages with "canonical" relative clauses.

As we will see below, the contrast between RCCs proper and generalized noun-modifying clause constructions is not a clear-cut one. That is why in this paper we will use

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[39] In both examples a gap is shown in the place of the relativized argument.
[40] This hierarchy was later extended and modified (for example, for ergative languages it was argued that the transitive undergoer may have preference over the ergative argument); see Lehmann 1984: 211ff, Liao 2000, and specifically for Daghestanian languages, Lyutikova 1999, 2001.

the terms *relative clause* and *relative clause construction* irrespectively of our stance as to the mechanisms behind the attributive patterns we discuss.[41] Nonetheless, we will distinguish between *syntactically-oriented RCCs* and *semantically-oriented RCCs* depending on whether or not we believe that, in a given case or set of cases, the syntactic information is relevant.

This paper presents a preliminary description of Mehweb RCCs in the perspective outlined above. At the clause level, Mehweb, as other Dargwa languages, is double-marking: it has case marking and verb agreement. Both kinds of marking display the ergative system, a remarkable exception being person marking, the rules for which vary across Dargwa varieties (Sumbatova 2011; for discussion of the Mehweb system of personal agreement, see Ganenkov this volume). As for the word order, Mehweb can be characterized as left-branching, although showing considerable freedom in independent clauses.

This paper is based on our fieldwork in Mehweb in 2013, 2015 and 2016. Most data were obtained through elicitation sessions. The structure of the paper is as follows: in Section 2 we describe the context in which we discuss Mehweb RCCs; in Section 3 we provide background information on relative clauses in this language; Section 4 is devoted to certain aspects of Mehweb RCCs that point to their syntactic nature; and Section 5 discusses these data from a theoretical point of view. The last section presents conclusions.

2. East Caucasian relative clauses

As is typical for a left-branching language, the basic RCC in East Caucasian languages involves a relative clause preceding its head (if any).[42] In grammars, the form of the verbal predicate of the subordinate clause is traditionally described as a participle, although its real place in the verb paradigm may vary. The difficulties in the attribution of these forms are related primarily to the fact that in many languages they coincide with some finite forms.

At first glance, East Caucasian RCCs seem like good candidates to be considered semantically-oriented. Alexander Kibrik (1980:33) noticed that the syntactic characteristics of the relativized argument are not crucial for these constructions. Indeed, the role of the relativized argument cannot be deduced from the form of the predicate of the relative clause, neither can it be unambiguously recovered on the basis of any other grammatical property of the construction. There are no dedicated relative pronouns that mark the relativized argument, and the absence of a corresponding NP cannot serve as a reliable clue, since East Caucasian languages easily omit argument NPs even in independent clauses. Hence Comrie and Polinsky (1999), who analyzed RCCs in Tsez (Tsezic branch of East Caucasian), argued that they are constructed on the basis of semantic frames. Daniel and Lander (2008, 2010) also proposed that RCCs in East Caucasian languages are not based on syntactic information. In this section we will illustrate the argumentation concerning these points with examples from Tanti Dargwa, a language belonging to the same branch of the family as Mehweb (see Sumbatova and Lander 2014 for details).

In general, Tanti Dargwa does not show any restrictions on what grammatical role is relativized. In this language, not only does the RCC relativize all roles in NPAH, but it is also not sensitive to syntactic islands. The following examples (both elicited) demonstrate what should presumably be described as relativization out of relative clauses and coordination constructions:[43]

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(1)   *dam*   *č-ib-se*   *k:ata* *b-ibš:-ib*   *x:unul*
           I.DAT bring.PFV-AOR-ATR   cat   N-run.away.PFV-AOR woman
           simi   *r-ač'-ib*
           anger F-enter.PFV-AOR
           Lit., 'The woman which the cat that she brought to me ran away got angry.'

(2)   *ʔaˤħmad-li=ra*   *sun-ni=ra*   *mura* *d-ert:-ib*   *admi*
           Ahmad-ERG=ADD   self-ERG=ADD   hay   NPL-mow.PFV-AOR   man
           dila   *χ:ut:u=sa-j*
           I.GEN   father.in.law=COP-M
           'The man with whom Ahmad mowed the hay (lit., Ahmad and who mowed the hay) is my father-in-law.'

Therefore it seems that Tanti Dargwa lacks syntactic constraints on relativization. Moreover, a relative clause can appear even if there is no argument in the subordinate part that could be relativized. Cf. (3):

(3)   *ʕuˤ*   *dam*   *muher-li-c:e-r*   *r-iž-ib-se*   *dila*   *ʔaˤmru*
           you(SG) I.DAT   dream-OBL-INTER-F(ESS) F-sit.PFV-AOR-ATR I.GEN   life
           alžana=ʁuna=sa-t:e
           heaven=LIKE=COP-NPL + PST
           'My life when I dreamt about you (lit., when you were sitting in my dream) was heaven-like.'

It is impossible to describe (3) as a result of any syntactic operation which deals with an argument of the relative clause. Hence, this RCC is likely to be semantically-oriented.

Still, it is doubtful that East Caucasian relatives never fall back on syntactic information. As Daniel and Lander (2013) argued, the frequency of relativization of a syntactic position may depend on whether a language displays ergative features or not, even within this family. Thus it may be that syntax is still engaged, even though, sometimes, these relatives may only rely on semantics and pragmatics.

In addition, constraints on relativization have been reported for some East Caucasian languages. For example, according to Tatevosov (1996: 215), Godoberi does not relativize possessors, objects of comparison and objects of postpositions. Sumbatova and Mutalov (2003) note that in Itsari Dargwa "[r]elativization is impossible only for constituents of coordinate clauses and at least doubtful for constituents of adverbial clauses". Lyutikova (1999, 2001) reports that Tsakhur and Bagwalal prohibit relativization for the positions mentioned for Itsari as well. Moreover, athough the syntactic limits of relativization are always quite loose, it is worth noting that informants do not always accept relativization of all syntactically peripheral participants without an appropriate context, even in languages whose RCCs are commonly believed to be semantically-oriented.

Another problem for a purely semantic treatment is posed by the fact that in many East Caucasian languages the relativized argument may be expressed within a relative clause by a reflexive pronoun, as in (4). Such pronouns look like resumptive pronouns, which directly point to the *syntactic* position that is relativized.

(4) *du (sun-ni-š:u)*   *q'ʷ-aˤn-se*   *qali*
      I   self-OBL-AD(LAT) go.IPFV-PRS-ATR house
      'the house where I am going'

Still, these pronouns differ from typical resumptives in various significant ways.

First, to refer to relativized aruguments, East Caucasian languages use reflexive pronouns, while typical resumptives cited in the typological literature seem are non-reflexive.[44] Yet the appearance of reflexive pronouns in RCCs may be related to the fact that reflexive pronouns in this family have very wide distribution: for example, they are used as logophoric pronouns or in independent clauses both as intensifiers and as pronominals (Testelets and Toldova 1998). This means that reflexive pronouns in East Caucasian languages may be much more neutral means of pronominal reference than their counterparts in Standard Average European languages.

Second, and more importantly, East Caucasian languages sometimes even allow resumptive reflexive pronouns in the most privileged syntactic positions occupying the top of NPAH, such as those of the intransitive subject (5), transitive actor (6) and transitive undergoer (7). Cf. the following Tanti Dargwa examples:

(5) *(sa⟨r⟩i) dam-š:u*   *r-ač'-ib*   *rurs:i*
      self⟨F⟩   I.OBL-AD(LAT) F-come.PFV-AOR girl
      'the girl that came to me'

(6) *(sun-ni) ču:tu*   *b-erk:-un*   *umra*
      self-ERG chudu[45] N-eat.PFV-AOR neighbor
      'the neighbor who ate chudu'

(7) *(sa⟨b⟩i) umra-li*   *b-erk:-un*   *ču:tu*
      self⟨N⟩   neighbor-ERG N-eat.PFV-AOR chudu
      'the chudu that the neigbor ate'

Typical resumptive pronouns in relative clauses prefer the positions that occur lower in syntactic hierarchies (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 92; Maxwell 1979). Hence, East Caucasian resumptives are different from typical resumptives.[46]

Daniel and Lander (2008) suggested that reflexives in relatives do not serve to mark the relativized position, i.e. they are only anaphoric devices, independent of relativization. If so, their existence does not contradict the idea that East Caucasian RCCs do not apply to syntactic information. The data from Mehweb we proceed to present make the issue of the use of reflexives more intriguing and return us to the idea that, after all, these can be treated as resumptives.

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[44] Note, however, that reflexives used as resumptives are found outside the East Caucasian family as well. For example, Lee (2004) provides a detailed discussion of the resumptive use of a reflexive pronoun in Korean, Csató and Uchturpani (2010) describe reflexive resumptives in Uyghur, and Csató and Johanson (1998: 219) report the resumptive function of reflexives in Turkish.

[45] Chudu is a local thin pie.

[46] Again, there certainly do exist languages which allow resumptives in the subject position, but these uses are usually considered exceptional. We do not have information on the degree of markedness of such uses as (5)–(7) in East Caucasian languages.

3. Relatives in Mehweb: first glance

The basic RCC in Mehweb Dargwa involves a relative clause which precedes the head of the noun phrase, if any. The predicate of the relative clause is marked with an attributive suffix, which has allomorphs *-il, -i,* and *-l.* The same suffix is found with some other attributes, such as adjectival attributes. Some examples of RCCs are given in (8)–(9):

(8)   *naˤʁ iz-u-l   insan*
       hand hurt.IPFV-PRS-ATR   person
       'a person whose hand hurts'

(9)   *nu q'-oˤ-we   d-uʔ-ub-i   huni*
       I   go.IPFV-PRS-CVB   F1-be.PFV-AOR-ATR   road
       'the road I was going with'

According to Magometov (1982: 112–115) and Khajdakov (1985: 105–107), Mehweb distinguishes between three types of the participles with respect to the stem they are formed with and the variant of the attributive suffix they adjoin; cf. Table 1.

Table 1. Participles in Mehweb Dargwa

Participle	Base	Marker
Past	aorist	*-i*
Present	bare verbal stem + epenthetic vowel *-i-*	*-u-l*
Future	infinitive	*-i*

While the past and future participles are morphologically transparent and include just the corresponding base and the attributive suffix, the present participle also contains the former marker of the present tense *-u,* which is found in present converbs.[47] While it is glossed simply as PRS in this paper, one should bear in mind that its distribution is limited to few non-finite forms and it can be used as a marker of a relative tense rather than as an absolute tense.[48]

We may take the participles listed above as the canonical predicates of relative clauses. However, it should be noted that the predicates of relative clauses are not confined to these participles. For example, we also have RCCs where the attributive suffix is added to the copula / existential verb, as in (10)–(11):

(10)   *kʷiha b-erh-u-we   le-w-i   adami-li-ze   nu g-ub*
       ram   N-slaughter.PFV-PRS-CVB   COP-M-ATR   man-OBL-INTER(LAT)   I   see.PVF-AOR
       'The man who had slaughtered a ram saw me.'[49]

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[47] Michael Daniel (pers. com.) noted that it is most likely that imperfective converbs are actually derived from imperfective participles.

[48] The finite present tense is expressed periphrastically by a combination of the present converb with a copula.

[49] The example is additionally interesting because it relativizes one of the arguments of the so-called bi-absolutive construction. Cf. the original independent construction:

(i)   *adami kʷiha b-erh-u-we   le-w*
       man   ram   N-slaughter.PFV-PRS-CVB   COP-M
       'The man slaughtered a ram.'

(11) *qali   le-b-i   dursi d-ak'-ib*
      house COP-N-ATR   girl   F1-come.PFV-AOR
      'The girl who has her own house came.'

As shown by examples, the relativized argument need not be expressed overtly within the relative clause. As in Tanti Dargwa, it is not difficult to construct an example where the relation between the relative clause and the head should be established by the context:

(12) *nu-ni   b-erk-un-na   itti b-urʁ-es   b-aq-ib-i   t'ult'*
      I-ERG   N-eat.PFV-AOR-1/2   that HPL-fight.ipfv-INF HPL-let.PFV-AOR-ATR   bread
      'I ate the bread which served as the reason for them to fight.'

If the relativized argument can be reconstructed, it usually can be expressed with a pronoun *sa‹CL›i* (here CL is a noun class marker), which has several suppletive forms and whose partial paradigm is given in Table 2. This pronoun may also serve as a reflexive pronoun (also as a long-distance reflexive), as a logophoric pronoun, and as an intensifier (see Kozhukhar' this volume).

Table 2. Case-number-gender forms of the pronoun *sa‹CL›i*

		NOM	ERG	GEN	DAT	INTER-LAT
	M	*sa‹w›i*				
3SG	**F/F1**	*sa‹r›i*	*sune-jni*	*sune-la*	*sune-s*	*sune-ze*
	N	*sa‹b›i*				
3PL	**HPL**	*sa‹b›i*	*ču-ni*	*ču-la*	*ču-s*	*ču-ze*
	NPL	*sa‹r›i*				

Some examples of the use of *sa‹CL›i* as a resumptive are given below. In (13) it appears in the indirect object position, in (14) it serves as the possessor of the intransitive subject, and in (15) it refers to the experiencer with the experiential verb:

(13) *nu-ni ču-s   kung gib-i   ule*
      I-ERG self.PL.OBL-DAT book give.PFV-ATR child.PL
      b-aˤq'-un   uškuj-ħe
      HPL-go.PFV-AOR   school.OBL-IN(LAT)
      'The children to whom I gave a book went to school.'

(14) *sune-la   kʷač' b-oˤrʦ-aq-ib-i   gatu*
      self.OBL-GEN leg   N-break.PFV-CAUS-AOR-ATR   cat
      'the cat whose leg broke'

(15)   *šejtan*   *ču-ze*   *g-ub-i*   *buk'unu-me*
        demon   self.PL.OBL-INTER(LAT)   see.PFV-AOR-ATR   shepherd-PL
        uruχ   *b-aq'-ib*
        afraid   HPL-LV.PFV-AOR
        'The shepherds who saw a demon were scared.'

4. Syntactic orientedness

Even though Mehweb data show considerable resemblance to Tanti Dargwa, there are also important differences between the two idioms which suggest that relativization in Mehweb may be syntactically-oriented.

4.1. Resumptives at the top of NPAH

Unlike in Tanti Dargwa, the pronoun *sa‹CL›i* is sometimes considered infelicitous at the top of NPAH. Cf. the following example where the position relativized into is the actor of a transitive clause:

(16)   *(*sune-jni)*   *kʷiha*   *b-erh-un-i*   *adami-li-ze*   *nu g-ub*
        self.OBL-ERG   ram   N-slaughter.PFV-AOR-ATR   man-OBL-INTER(LAT)   I   see.PFV-AOR
        'The man who slaughtered the ram saw me'.

When used as intensifier, *sa‹CL›i* is normally accompanied by the emphatic clitic *=al*. Crucially, the same speaker who found the use of the resumptive in (16) infelicitous allows the pronoun followed by *=al* in the same position:

(17)   *sune-jni=jal*   *kʷiha*   *b-erh-un-i*   *adami-li-ze*
        self.OBL-ERG=EMPH   ram   N-slaughter.PFV-AOR-ATR   man-OBL-INTER(LAT)
        nu g-ub
        I   see.PFV-AOR
        'The man who himself slaughtered the ram saw me'.

This example demonstrates that the impossibility of using *sa‹CL›i* in this position cannot be attributed to any morphosyntactic rule that prohibits this pronoun in this position in general: after all, it may occur there as an intensifier.

Notably, there are also speakers who have no problems with the use of the resumptive (lacking the emphatic particle) in all core syntactic positions, including the positions of the intransitive subject (18) and transitive actor (19):

(18)   *sa‹b›i*   *dupi-če-b*   *b-urh-uwe*   *b-uʔ-ub-i*
        self‹HPL›   ball-SUP-HPL(ESS)   HPL-play.IPFV-CVB   HPL-be.PFV-AOR-ATR
        ule   *quli*   *ʔaˤr-b-aˤq'-un*
        child.PL   home.IN(LAT)   away-HPL-go.PFV-AOR
        'The children who played with the ball went home.'

(19)   *ħaˤnči*   *ču-ni*   *b-aq'-ib-i*   *xuhe*
        work   self.OBL.PL-ERG   N-do.PFV-AOR-ATR   woman.PL
        нaˤr-b-aˤq'-un   *quli*
        away-HPL-go.PFV-AOR   house.IN(LAT)
        'The women who did all their work went home'.

Our data concerning the possibility of the use of a resumptive at the top of NPAH are not definitive. The fact that some speakers are more restrictive in the use of *sa‹CL›i* in the resumptive function suggests, however, that this function may be governed by syntactic rather than semantic rules.

4.2. Coordinate structure constraint

Mehweb does not allow relativization out of a conjunct in the coordination construction and hence follows one of the island constraints, namely the coordinate structure constraint. (20a) illustrates the coordination construction marked with the additive clitic *=ra*. (20b) demonstrates an unsuccessful attempt at relativizing one of the coordinands.

(20) a. *musa-ni=ra   di-la   uzi-li-ni=ra   heš   kung   b-elč'-un*
Musa-ERG=ADD   I.OBL-GEN   brother-OBL-ERG=ADD   this   book   N-read.PFV-AOR
'Musa and my brother read this book.'

b. **nu-ni=ra   sune-jni=ra   heš   kung   b-elč'-un-i*
I-ERG=ADD   self.OBL-ERG=ADD   this   book   N-read.PFV-AOR-ATR
adami   w-ak'-ib
man   M-come.PFV-AOR
(Expected: 'The man who read this book together with me (lit., I and who read this book) came.')

This contrasts Mehweb with Tanti Dargwa, where the coordinate structure constraint does not apply (cf. (2) above), and again suggests that syntactic rules might be at work here.

4.3. The argument for resumptive function

In general, reflexives in Dargwa languages and in Mehweb in particular are insensitive to the animacy or humanness of their antecedent. This is shown in (21)–(22), where in the first example *sunes* has an animate (human) antecedent and in the second example *sunela* has an inanimate antecedent:

(21) *iti-ni   sune-s   kung   as-ib*
this-ERG   self.OBL-DAT   book   buy.PFV-AOR
'He bought a book for himself.'

(22) *nu-ni g-i-ra   mažar   sune-la   w-eħi-ze*
I-ERG give.PFV-AOR-1/2   gun   self.OBL-GEN   M-owner-INTER(LAT)
'I returned the gun to its owner.'

However, by some consultants, the appearance of *sa‹CL›i* in the resumptive function is claimed to be only possible if the head of the relative clause is animate. Examples (23)–(24) show the possibility of the use of the pronoun in RCCs with human and non-human animate antecedents:

(23) *nu-ni sune-s   diʔ   g-ib-i   ħanq'aka-jni...*
I-ERG self.OBL-DAT   meat   give.PFV-AOR-ATR   shepherd-ERG
'the shepherd whom I gave the meat'

(24) *sune-la   kʷač'   b-oˤrʔ-aq-ib-i   gatu*
self.OBL-GEN leg   N-break.PFV-CAUS-AOR-ATR cat
'the cat whose leg broke' (= (14))

On the contrary, (25) demonstrates that a resumptive reflexive with an inanimate antecedent is infelicitous:

(25) *(ᵗᵗᵗsune-la)   baʔн   ar-k-ib-i   qali*
self.OBL-GEN wall   fall.down.PFV-AOR-ATR house
'the house whose wall crashed down'

Interestingly, this restriction is independent from the gender system of Mehweb which contrasts humans and non-humans rather than animates and inanimates (see fn. 14).

The restriction of *sa‹CL›i* to animates is crucial exactly because it is not observed in non-resumptive uses. As such, it separates the resumptive function from the other functions of the pronoun and goes against Daniel and Lander's (2008) hypothesis that reflexive pronouns in Daghestanian RCCs are not used as resumptives per se. If, according to some consultants' intuition, Mehweb has developed a dedicated resumptive use of pronouns characterized by specific restrictions, the RCCs involving such pronouns should be recognized as syntactically oriented. Again, no constraint of this kind is observed in Tanti Dargwa, where the reflexive pronoun easily occurs in the place of a relativized argument with an inanimate antecedent (4).

4.4. Realizations of functions of *sa‹CL›i*

In theory, when referring to a relativized argument within a relative clause, *sa‹CL›i* may fulfill not only the resumptive function but also the intensifier function and the reflexive proper function. These functions could in theory be distinguished on the basis of (i) the restriction to animates in the resumptive function, and (ii) the presence of the clitic *₌al* in the intensifier function. In reality, however, the picture is more complex.

The intensifier function of *sa‹CL›i* is indeed observed, for example, in the following example:

(26) *ʁarʁu-be   ar-d-ik-ib   sa‹r›i(*₌jal)   d-uʔ-ub-i*
stone-PL   PV-NPL-fall.down.PFV-AOR   self‹CL›(*₌EMPH)   NPL-be.PFV-AOR-ATR
merʔ-an-i-če-la
place-PL-OBL-SUP-EL
'The stones rolled from their own places.'
(Lit., 'The stones rolled from the place they themselves occupied.')

In (26) *sari* refers to the intransitive subject and requires the emphatic clitic. Its inability to function as a resumptive (without the clitic) may be explained either by its high position in NPAH or by its inanimate reference. Importantly, the inanimate reference does not block its appearance in the intensifier function.

The realization of the reflexive function within a relative clause, on the other hand, turns out to be impossible, as (27) shows:

(27) *nu-ni (*sune-la)*   *w-eħi-ze*   *g-ib-i*
      I-ERG self.OBL-GEN M-owner-INTER(LAT)   give.PFV-AOR-ATR
      mažar   b-oˀrˀ-oˀb
      gun   N-break.PFV-AOR
      'The gun that I returned to its owner broke.'

In this example, *sunela* could be expected to mark the coreference of the possessor with the undergoer argument (which is then relativized), yet it does not. Since the reflexive is possible in the same position in the independent clause (22), we suspect that the effect observed in (27) is due to the fact that the pronoun is interpreted as a resumptive, in which case it violates the animacy restriction.

Thus the resumptive function blocks the reflexive interpreation. This rule is not likely to be based on any semantic principle independent of the grammar, so we take it to be another piece of evidence for grammaticalization of the resumptive function in this language.

5. Towards an explanation of the Mehweb pattern

To sum up, even though RCCs in Mehweb can be built on a semantic basis, in many cases their functioning relies upon strict syntactic mechanisms and constraints. At least when the relativized argument is animate, the construction may resemble RCCs described for better known languages in a traditional fashion much more closely, since this argument can be expressed with a resumptive pronoun proper. These data support the conclusion made by Daniel and Lander (2013) that the borderline between RCCs involving syntactic mechanisms and RCCs which are based on the semantic information may not be strict.

We have no obvious explanation for the Mehweb pattern we observed above. Nonetheless, below we present some speculations.

First, note that there are quite a number of languages where resumptive pronouns are found in RCCs mostly or even only when the relativized argument is animate; cf. Bošković 2009 on Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian (Slavic), Csató and Uchturpani 2010 for Uyghur (Turkic), Erteschik-Shir 1994: 104–105 for Hebrew (Semitic), Kawachi 2007 for Sidaama (Cushitic). It may be that the Mehweb system results from grammaticalization of a similar tendency. Still, there are languages where at least in some contexts resumptives tend to be used for inanimates rather than animates, such as Arabic (Al-Zaghir 2013). Sometimes this also can be grammaticalized. Lyutikova (1999: 474–475) reports that in another East Caucasian language, Tsakhur, the construction relativizing the object of a postposition only requires a resumptive pronoun if the relativized argument is inanimate.

Second, we may suspect that the most typical uses of relatives are associated with high accessibility of the relativized argument. This is partly reflected in NPAH but can also manifest itself in other parameters such as animacy, which is said to correlate with conceptual accessibility (see some discussion in van Nice and Dietrich 2003). Since more typical uses are more likely to be grammaticalized (see Lander 2015 for discussion), it is expected that relativization based on syntactic (i.e. grammatical) information is found for more accessible arguments. Note, however, that the construction with resumptives retains more semantic transparency (Keenan 1975) and therefore shows less grammaticalization than constructions with the most accessible arguments. In other words, the absence of resumptives at the top of NPAH may be explained by the fact that this top is less based on semantics, but the absence of resumptives for less accessible arguments may be explained by the fact that these constructions do not elaborate on syntactic information.

Still, this approach has a notable shortcoming. The evidence that relativization prefers animate arguments is somewhat scarce,[50] since most studies of the interaction between animacy and relativization are devoted to the way in which animacy affects the predictability of what is relativized. Moreover, things may be turned the other way round. The most accessible arguments are not normally described with a complex noun phrase with a modifier, since their accessibility allows them to be more economically expressed (such as by means of pronouns, proper names, simple noun phrases, etc.), cf. Ariel 1990. Since the inherent accessibility features of the antecedent and the relativized argument are (normally) identical, this would imply that the target of relativization need not necessarily be accessible, at least as far as animacy is concerned. In any case, it is clear that more research is needed on the issue of the interaction between animacy and relativization.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we provided a sketch of relativization in Mehweb against the background of the remarkable freedom of relativization in (at least some) other East Caucasian languages. In particular, we gave preliminary evidence for the idea that this language has grammaticalized resumptives and relies on syntactic information during relativization.

To be sure, these conclusions should not be taken for granted. In fact, even for resumptives, which we specifically addressed above, it is not clear whether all their uses should be considered alike; as argued by Erteschik-Shir (1994) among others, there are different types of resumptives which may occur even in one and the same language. A deeper investigation of the functioning of relatives in Mehweb and other East Caucasian languages, including both corpus analysis and psycholinguistic experiments, certainly may help to refine the conclusions presented here.

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[50] For example, in Tsakhur, during elicitation the choice of what is relativized is sometimes influenced by animacy (Lyutikova 1999: 476–477), and for Turkish it is reported that headless RCCs by default have animate reference (Kerslake 1998). The latter, of course, may be just the property of headless relatives.

The Mehweb "assertive" copula *gʷa*: a sketch of a portrait

Yury Lander

Abstract: In this paper, I consider the syntactic property of the Mehweb predicative marker *gʷa*. This is a focus particle that serves as a finite predicate, supplementing the auxiliary in periphrastic form - a phenomenon attested in a number of East Caucasian languages. What is less common - or at least less documented - are the rules of how the particle is placed in the clause. The aim of the paper is to show that, while it can be placed, expectedly, after the lexical verb or after the focused constituent, it may also appear on a constituent other than the focus.

Keywords: focus, predicative particle, word order

1. Introduction[51]

This paper presents a preliminary description of the particle *gʷa* in Mehweb, a language of the Dargwa branch of the East Caucasian family. The following examples illustrate the use of this marker in a verbal clause (1) and in an equative clause (2):

(1) *ʔudidi-li   ħarkʼ'ʷ-li   ar-χ-uwe   **gʷa***
     under.EL-ATR river-ERG   PV-bring.IPFV-CVB.IPFV   ASRT
     'The river carries away the lower one!' (Texts M, Molla Rasbaddin goes to the market place: 1.11)

(2) *hel   čudu **gʷa**   di-la*
     this   chudu ASRT   I.OBL-GEN
     'This pie is mine.'

The function of *gʷa* is not obvious. Etymologically, this particle is likely to originate from the imperative of the verb 'see' (which, as an imperative, is not fully felicitous – see Dobrushina, this volume). Magometov (1982: 128) translated *gʷa* by the Russian particles *ved'* and *že*, whose semantics is by no means clear. The speakers often suggest that *gʷa* is frequent in disputes and emphasizes a claim ("подчёркивает утверждение"). Given this, I will tentatively label it an *assertive* marker. Further research is needed for an exhaustive description of the rules that govern its use. What I will argue are the following two specific points:

(i) *gʷa* is a copula,
(ii) the position of *gʷa* does not necessarily depend on the position of the predicate or of the focus.

The latter makes *gʷa* look quite peculiar against the background of what we know about copulas in many East Caucasian languages and in Dargwa languages in particular.

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[51] I am grateful to all my consultants in Mehweb for their patience.

The issue of copula-ness is addressed in Section 2. In Section 3, I discuss the use of the marker in verbal predications and describe syntactic restrictions on its position. Section 4 describes the use of *gʷa* in non-verbal predications. The last section presents conclusions.

2. Assertive marker as a copula

Many East Caucasian languages have elements that are often described as copulas or predicative markers, i.e. as markers which are normally added to some lexical material in order to form complete predications (finite, unless these copulas themselves take a subordinate form).[52] Although their individual morphological and syntactic properties may vary, these elements are clearly distinguishable from verbs. There are typically several predicative markers in a single language: for example, many languages have dedicated predicative markers used in questions in addition to those used in simple declaratives.

Predicative markers appear both in verbal and non-verbal predications. Below I will illustrate their use with a few examples from Udi, a language belonging to the Lezgic branch of the East Caucasian family, thus being only distantly related to Mehweb.[53]

Predicative markers in Udi are highly grammaticalized and now commonly described as clitics (Harris 2000, 2002). They include personal markers which usually show agreement with the subject (either the intransitive subject or the transitive agent) and the question marker, which only appears in the interrogative contexts and is not discussed here (but see Harris 1992). The following examples illustrate the use of the 1ˢᵗ person plural personal marker *=jan* in a non-verbal predication (3) and in verbal predications (4)-(5):[54]

(3) *jan=al   tɕe   χalg-aun   mand-i   χalg=jan*
     we=ADD   that   nation-ABL   remain-AOR(PTCP)   nation=1PL
     'We are the nation that continue (lit. remain from) that nation.'

(4) *me äš-urχo   lap   mat   mand-e=jan*
     this affair-PL(DAT) very   surprised   remain-PERF=1PL
     'We really remained surprised at these facts.'

(5) *pajiz-e   dirij-a=jan   kašˤ-e*
     autumn-DAT   vegetable.garden-DAT=1PL   dig-LV:PRS
     'In autumn, we dig in the vegetable garden.'

Note that predicative markers may attach not only to the lexical predicate (4) but also to the focused element (5). This can be viewed as a kind of competition for acquiring head

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[52] Some important studies addressing the behaviour of predicative markers in East Caucasian (especially with respect to their interaction with focus) include Harris (2000; 2002) on Udi, Kazenin (2002) on Lak, Sumbatova (2011) and Sumbatova and Lander (2014) on Tanti Dargwa. Forker (2013) discusses question particles which typically represent a kind of predicative markers in these languages. Testelec (1998), Kalinina and Sumbatova (2007) and Belyaev and Forker (2016) describe the influence of the position of some predicative markers on the overall clause structure.

[53] Here I omit some important details of the Udi system, including the existence of a series of dative clitics and a more verb-like copula-like element used in existential, possessive, and identificational clauses, which also takes a predicative marker.

[54] The Udi examples are from the corpus of text in the Nizh dialect of Udi collected by Dmitry Ganenkov, Timur Maisak and the author.

properties between the semantic head (the predicate) and the most relevant element of the clause (i.e. focus).[55]

In Dargwa languages, predicative markers are less grammaticalized than in Udi. In particular, they show some properties of autonomous words. Many such markers readily constitute autonomous expressions (such as 'yes' or 'no'). Some of them may take attributive and adverbial morphology and hence are akin to content words.

The primary Mehweb predicative marker is the copula *le*-CL (for morphology, see Daniel, this volume), with a "class" (i.e. gender) marker controlled by the absolutive argument. Its use in non-verbal predications is shown in (6)-(7), while its use in verbal predications is illustrated in (8)-(9).

(6) (corpus, A blind judge: 1.11)
ʁača ħa-la   *aħin,*   *di-la*   **le-b**
calf you.sg.OBL-GEN   COP.NEG   I.OBL-GEN   COP-N
'The calf is not yours, (it) is mine.'

(7) (corpus, The Story of Akula Ali, 1.21)
arci-ze-b   **le-b-re**   *ħa-la*   *daˁħ-la*   *surat*
money-INTER-N(ESS)   COP-N-PST   you.sg.OBL-GEN   face-GEN   picture
'On the coin (lit., money), there was a picture of your face.'

(8) (corpus, A brother and sister: 1.6)
xunuj-s   *ruzi*   *ħa-d-ig-es*   *d-aʔ-i-le*   **le-r**
wife.OBL-DAT   sister   NEG-F1-love.IPFV-INF   F1-start.PFV-PST-CVB   COP-F
'The wife disliked (her husband's) sister.'

(9) (corpus, Two sons: 1.65)
wallahi, k'as   **le-b**   *q'-oˁwe*
Allah   big.fish   COP-N   go.IPFV-CVB.IFV.IPFV
'My God, a whale is going (here).'

Like in Udi, the Mehweb predicative marker in verbal clauses may follow either the verb or the focused constituent. However, unlike in Udi, the Mehweb copula requires that a verb be in a non-finite form (a participle, the neutral converb, or the infinitive), while finite verb forms do not combine with the predicative marker. In fact, combinations of a copula and a lexical verb look like periphrastic forms, although the issue of monoclausality of these constructions may be tricky.[56]

Turning to the assertive marker *gʷa*, it can be shown that it has the distribution of a copula. There are two pieces of evidence for this. First, similarly to *le*-CL, the assertive marker cannot appear in clauses that contain finite verb forms (10).

(10) a. *doˁʜi*   *ar-b-ik-ib*   (**gʷa*)
     snow   PV-N-fall.PFV-PST   ASRT
     'The snow fell.'

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[55] See Lander 2009 for some discussion of competition between semantically obligatory elements and the most relevant elements for the head properties.
[56] See Sumbatova and Lander 2014 for a detailed discussion of this issue in Tanti Dargwa, another Dargwa variety.

b. *mator*   *b-uz-an*   (**g^wa**).
   engine   N-work.IPFV-PRS   ASRT
   'The engine is working.'

Second, the assertive marker cannot combine with a copula (11a-b), unless the latter does not appear in a non-finite form, as in (11c). If we assume that *g^wa* is a copula, this is explained: a clause cannot contain two copulas.

(11) a. *dag*   *it*   *derbenti-ze-la*   *w-ak'-i-le*   **le-w**   (**g^wa**).
        yesterday that Derbent-INTR-ELAT   m-come.PFV-PST-CVB COP-M   ASRT
     b. *dag*   *it*   *derbenti-ze-la*   *w-ak'-i-le*   **g^wa**   (**le-w**)
        yesterday that Derbent-INTR-ELAT   M-come.PFV-PST-CVB ASRT   COP-M
     c. *dag*   *it*   *derbenti-ze-la*   *w-ak'-i-le*   **le-w-le**   **g^wa**
        yesterday that Derbent-INTR-ELAT   M-come.PFV-PST-CVB COP-M-CVB ASRT
     'Yesterday he came from Derbent.'

It is worth mentioning, however, that *g^wa* differs from *le*-CL in that it does not take any morphology.

3. Verbal predications

Just like the copula *le*-CL, the assertive marker need not follow the verb but can appear after focused elements:

(12) a. *nuša-jni*   **g^wa**   *kulubi-s*   *remont*   *b-aq'-i-le*
        we-ERG   ASRT   club-DAT   renovation N-do.PFV-PST-CVB
        'It was us who made the renovation for the club.'
     b. *nuša-j-ni*   *kulub-i-s*   **g^wa**   *remont*   *b-aq'-i-le*
        we-OBL-ERG club-OBL-DAT   ASRT   renovation N-do.PF-PST-CVB
        'It was the club for which we made the renovation.'

I will distinguish between the wide scope use of *g^wa*, where it has a scope over the whole sentence or over the predicate and follows this predicate, and the narrow scope use of *g^wa*, where it should follow exactly the focused phrase. In verbal clauses, the wide scope *g^wa* is found with the neutral converb (13) and with the infinitive (14)-(15) but not with the participle (cf. the infelicitous (16) with (19) below):[57]

(13) (corpus, Widow)
     q^we   *b-iq'-uwe*   **g^wa,**   *ħu*   *ħa-k-i-le*   *ħa-w?-iša*
     vow   N-do.IPFV-CVB.IFV.IPFV ASRT   you.sg NEG-bring.PFV-PST-CVB NEG-M.be-FUT.1/2
     'I swear I will take you as a wife.'

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[57] Presumably, the assertive marker should combine with the participle where it functions as the head of the nominal predicate in a nominal clause. However, I lack relevant examples.

(14) (corpus, Widow)
dur?a *uh-ub-i-li* *derqʷ* *uh-ub-i-s*
losing M.become.PFV-AOR-ATR-ERG winning M.become.PFV-AOR-ATR-DAT
ca dus-li *quli-w* *w-at-ul-le* *uz-es* ***gʷa***
one year-ERG house.LOC-M(ESS) M-put.IPFV-PTCP-ADVZ M.work.IPF-INF ASRT
'The one who will lose will work as a servant for the one who will win, for one year.'

(15) *ħad* *hete* *ħunt'a-l* *qul-le-šu* *uˁq'-es* ***gʷa***
you.sg.DAT there(LAT) red-ATR house-PL-AD(LAT) M.go.PFV-INF ASRT
'You should go there, to the red houses.'

(16) **musa-ni* *poˁroˁm* *b-oˁr?-aq-ib-i* ***gʷa***
Musa-ERG glass N-break.PFV-CAUS-AOR-ATR ASRT
'Musa broke the glass.'

If the assertive marker follows a constituent other than the predicate, the choice of the verb form is less restricted. In particular, in this construction not only the converbal form (17) and the infinitive (18) but also the participial form (19) are allowed:

(17) *maħmudi-ni* ***gʷa*** *b-ilt'-uwe* *heš* *surat*
Mahmud-ERG ASRT N-take.out.IPFV-CVB.IFV that picture
'It was Mahmud who is drawing that picture.'

(18) *rasuj-ni* ***gʷa*** *nu* *k-es*
Rasul.OBL-ERG ASRT I bring.PFV-INF
'It is Rasul who will bring me here.'

(19) *musa-ni* ***gʷa*** *poˁroˁm* *b-oˁr?-aq-ib-i*
Musa-ERG ASRT glass N-break.PFV-CAUS-AOR-ATR
'It was Musa who broke the glass.'

In the examples (17)-(19) we observe the assertive copula following focused NPs. (20)-(22) demonstrate that *gʷa* may follow other kinds of constituents, such as adverbs and embedded clauses:

(20) *išbari* ***gʷa*** *nuni* *praznik* *b-aq'-ib-i* / *b-aq'-i-le*
today ASRT I.ERG feast N-do.PFV-AOR-ATR N-do.PFV-CVB
'It was today when I organized the feast.'

(21) *it* *q'aju* ***gʷa*** *w-aš-uwe*
that slowly ASRT M-go.IPFV-CVB.IPFV
'He is moving SLOWLY.'

(22) *musa* *rasuj-šu* *quli* *w-ak'-ib-i-jaʁe* ***gʷa***
Musa Rasul.OBL-AD(LAT) house.LOC(LAT) M-come.PFV-AOR-ATR-CVB.ANT ASRT
χamis *g-ub-le*
Khamis see.PFV-AOR-CVB
'After MUSA'S COMING TO RASUL, he saw Khamis.'

Still, we do find restrictions on what can be focused by means of *g^wa*.[58] For example, the assertive marker cannot immediately follow postpositional objects; rather, it should occur after the whole postpositional phrase:

(23) a. *_heč' dubur-li-če_   _g^wa_   _aqu-r_   _dirig^w_   _xaʔ_   _d-uh-ub-le_
     that mountain-OBL-SUP(LAT)ASRT up-NPL(ESS) cloud appear NPL-become.PFV-AOR-CVB
   b. _heč' dubur-li-če_   _aqu-r_   _g^wa_ _dirig^w_ _xaʔ_   _d-uh-ub-le_
     that mountain-OBL-SUP over-NPL(ESS) ASRT cloud appear NPL-become.PFV-AOR-CVB
     'It is over that mountain that the cloud appeared.'

Further, the assertive marker cannot be embedded in an NP. In particular, it cannot occur immediately after an adjective attribute (24), an attributive demonstrative (25) and a quantifier (26) when they precede the head noun:

(24) a. *_ħunt'a-l_   _g^wa_   _burχa-li-če-r_   _ʁarʁ-ube_
     red-ATR   ASRT   roof-OBL-SUP-NPL(ESS)   stone-PL
   b. _ħunt'a-l_   _burχa-li-če-r_   _g^wa_   _ʁarʁ-ube_
     red-ATR   roof-OBL-SUP-NPL(ESS)   ASRT   stone-PL
     'There are stones on the RED roof.'

(25) a. *_heš_ _g^wa_ _ʁ^wet'i-če-r_   _d-aqil_   _inc-be_   _d-urh-uwe_
     that ASRT tree-SUP-NPL(ESS)   NPL-much apple-PL NPL-become.IPFV-CVB.IPFV
   b. _heš_ _ʁ^wet'i-če-r_   _g^wa_ _d-aqil_   _inc-be_   _d-urh-uwe_
     that tree-OBL-SUP-NPL(ESS) ASRT NPL-much apple-PL NPL-become.IPFV-CVB.IPFV
     'There are many apples growing on THAT tree.'

(26) a. *_har-il_   _g^wa_   _urši-li-s_   _midal_   _g-i-le_
     each-ATR ASRT   boy-OBL-DAT   medal   give.PFV-AOR-CVB
   b. _har-il_   _urši-li-s_   _g^wa_   _midal_   _g-i-le_
     each-ATR boy-OBL-DAT   ASRT   medal   give.PFV-AOR-CVB
     'He gave a medal to EACH boy.'

One natural way to focus an attribute is to place the assertive copula after the whole NP. Alternatively, one can split the description of a participant into two NPs with a semantic attribute being nominalized and taking its own case marker. Since the semantic attribute itself constitutes a complete NP in this construction, it becomes possible to place *g^wa* immediately after it (27). Notably, for absolute NPs this may result in the illusion of the embedment of the assertive marker in an NP (28), but this is likely to be a consequence of the fact that absolutive NPs do not receive overt case marking, so the two adjoined absolutive NPs may look as a single phrase.

(27) _ħunt'a-j-če-r_   _g^wa_ _burχa-li-če-r_   _ʁarʁ-ube_
     red-OBL-SUP-NPL(ESS) ASRT roof-OBL-SUP-NPL(ESS)   stone-PL
     'There are stones on the RED roof.'
     (Lit., 'There are stones on the red one, on the roof.')

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[58] I hypothesize that these restrictions hold for the neutral copula as well, but I lack the necessary data.

(28)   *b-urq'-il*   **gʷa**   *bartbisu iχi-ni*   *ħa-s:-i-le*
       N-old-ATR   ASRT   carpet   that-ERG   NEG-take.PFV-AOR-CVB
       'He did not buy the OLD carpet.'

Further, *gʷa* cannot occur within syntactic islands. For example, it cannot be embedded in a coordination construction (29) or in a converbal clause (30).

(29)   **rasuj-ni⸗ra*   **gʷa**   *nu-ni⸗ra*   *past'an*   *b-erʁ-u-le*
       Rasul.OBL-ERG⸗ADD   ASRT   I-ERG⸗ADD   vegetable.garden N-dig.PFV-AOR-CVB
       'RASUL and I digged the vegetable garden.'

(30)   a.   **b-urq'-il*   *bartbisu*   **gʷa**   *b-ic-i-le,*
           N-old-ATR   carpet   ASRT   N-sell.PFV-AOR-CVB
           d-aqil   *arc*   *d-aq'-i-le*
           NPL-much   money   NPL-do.PFV-AOR-CVB
      b.   *b-urq'-il*   *bartbisu*   *b-ic-i-le*   **gʷa,**
           N-old-ATR   carpet   N-sell.PFV-PST-CVB   ASRT
           d-aqil   *arc*   *d-aq'-i-le*
           NPL-much   money   NPL-do.PFV-AOR-CVB
       'After selling THE OLD CARPET, he got much money.'

Unlike most Dargwa varieties, Mehweb has developed a biabsolutive construction[59]. In this construction, a transitive verb appears as a converb and requires a copula but the actor appears in the absolutive, same as the undergoer. This construction is possible with *gʷa* (31a-b), yet the assertive copula cannot occur between the P-argument and the converb (31c).[60] This contrasts the biabsolutive construction with a simple combination of the converb with a copula and suggests that this pattern contains an embedded converbal clause which is an island, at least with respect to *gʷa*:

(31)   a.   *musa kaš*   *d-uk-uwe*   **gʷa**
           Musa   kasha   NPL-eat.IPFV-CVB.IPFV   ASRT
           'Musa is eating kasha.'
      b.   *musa*   **gʷa**   *kaš*   *d-uk-uwe*
           Musa   ASRT   kasha   NPL-eat.IPFV-CVB.IPFV
           'It is Musa who is eating kasha.'
      c.   **musa kaš*   **gʷa**   *d-uk-uwe*
           Musa   kasha   ASRT   NPL-eat.IPFV-CVB.IPFV
           Intended 'It is kasha that Musa is eating.'

With clausal complements, the situation is less obvious: some (but by no means all) speakers allow positioning *gʷa* within a clausal complement (32)-(33).

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[59] Biabsolutive (binominative) constructions are quite widespread in the East Caucasian family, but are not typical for the Dargwa branch, where they have been previously only reported for Itsari Dargwa (Sumbatova and Mutalov 2003). See Forker (2012) and Gagliardi et al. (2014) for surveys of some properties of this kind of constructions as well as for a discussion of their diversity and possible analyzes.
[60] The same set of facts is observed for the simple copula *le*-CL.

(32) %*it kaltuška **g^wa** d-elʔ^w-e^ʕs d-aʔ-i-le*
that potato ASRT NPL-seed.IPFV-INF NPL-start.PFV-PST-CVB
'She started to plant potatoes.'

(33) %*heš k^wiha **g^wa** b-eq^w-es aħmadi-ni di-ze*
that ram ASRT N-cut. PFV-INF Ahmad-ERG I.OBL-INTR(LAT)
hari b-aq'-i-le
request N-do.PFV-AOR-CVB
'Ahmed asked me to cut this ram.'

While the placement of *g^wa* after a constituent other than the predicate usually indicates the focus shift, even in this case it does not need to follow the constituents that are (likely to be) focused. Consider the following example:

(34) *χadižati-ni꞊ra heš kung **g^wa** b-elč-u-we*
Khadizhat-ERG꞊ADD that book ASRT N-read.PFV-AOR-CVB
'Even Khadizhat has read that book.'

In (34) one can hypothesize that the focused constituent is the ergative NP, since it is marked with the additive clitic meaning 'even', but the assertive copula follows the absolutive argument. These examples suggest that focus is possibly not the only factor which determines the position of *g^wa*. More generally, we can conclude that in verbal clauses the grammatical position of *g^wa* should be determined neither by the predicate nor by focus.

4. Non-verbal predications

Non-verbal predications include existential clauses and non-existential clauses with non-verbal predicates (nouns, adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, etc.). In Mehweb, the latter allow the absence of a copula while the former normally do not.[61] The assertive copula may appear in both types.

(35)-(36) show examples of the use of *g^wa* in existential predications that assert the existence of entities or events described by an NP. Note that, in Mehweb, this type includes possessive predication (37).

(35) *ʁuni-b **g^wa** muzej*
in.Gunib-N(ESS) ASRT museum
'There is a museum in Gunib!'

(36) *išbari meħ^we-b beʁ **g^wa***
today in.Megeb-N(ESS) wedding ASRT
'There is wedding in Mehweb today!'

(37) *pat'imat-la q'^wa^ʕl **g^wa***
Patimat-GEN cow ASRT
'Patimat has a cow!'

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[61] An important exception is the use of NPs denoting events, which allow the absence of copula, as in (i):
(i) *išbari meħ^we-b beʁ*
today in.Mehweb-N(ESS) wedding
'There is wedding in Mehweb today.'

The assertive copula may also be found in clauses emphasizing the existence of the already known entities (sometimes in combination with the converbal form of the copula; cf. (38)) or describing the location of the already known entities (39):

(38) *meħ^we*   *(le-b-le)*   **g^wa**
      in.Mehweb COP-N-CVB   ASRT
      'Mehweb does exist!'

(39) *musa ʁuni-w*   **g^wa**
      Musa in.Gunib-M(ESS) ASRT
      'Musa is in Gunib.'

(40)-(41) show examples of the use of *g^wa* in clearly non-existential predications.

(40) (corpus, Two sons)
      heš-di hum-be **g^wa**   *ʜaˤb dek'ar-i*
      that-PL road-PL ASRT   three different-ATR
      'These roads are three different (roads).'

(41) (corpus, Molla Rasbaddin and the neighbour's cauldron, 1.5)
      ħa-la   *k'unk'ul-li-ʔini* *b-aq'-ib-il*   *k'unk'ur* **g^wa**   *iš*
      you.sg.OBL-GEN   cauldron-ERG   N-do.PFV-AOR-ATR   cauldron ASRT   that
      'This (cauldron) is the cauldron originating from (lit., made by) your caldron.'

At least if the assertive marker follows the demonstrative, their combination may be embedded within the alleged subject phrase. In (42) the phrase *heš g^wa* 'that is' is embedded within the relative clause construction 'the house which Rasul built'.

(42) *rasuj-ni*   [*he.š* **g^wa**] *b-aq'-ib-i*   *qali*
      Rasul.OBL-ERG that   ASRT   N-do.PFV-PST-ATR house
      'The house that Rasul built is that one.'

Negative non-verbal predications in Mehweb contain a dedicated negative copula. If *g^wa* is needed, this copula appears in a converbal form:

(43) *it   učitil aħi-je*   **g^wa**
      that teacher COP.NEG-CVB   ASRT
      'He is not a teacher!'

For equative clauses, determining what is the predicate may be a complex issue because of the formal similarity between the subject and the nominal predicate. However, one can find indirect evidence for the predicate status of one of the noun phrases based on various semantic and syntactic tests. By using these tests, it is also possible to show that, like in verbal predications, here, too, the assertive marker does not have to immediately follow the syntactic predicate.

First, if a nominal phrase in an equative clause includes a reflexive bound by the other part of the clause, it is likely that it is a predicate and the reflexive is bound by the subject. Curiously, *g^wa* need not adjoin such a nominal predicate:

(44) *šamil* ***gʷa*** *sune-s-al* *w-eʔ*
Shamil ASRT SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH M-boss
'Shamil is a boss of himself.'

Second, in an equative clause, an expression with a true distributive quantifier arguably should not function as a predicate (Partee 1987; but see Arkadiev and Lander 2013 for counterevidence). Yet, *gʷa* is possible with the quantified NP:

(45) *har* *insan* ***gʷa*** *sune-s-al* *uħna-w* *rasul ħamzatow*
every personASRT SELF.OBL-DAT-EMPH M.inside-M(ESS) Rasul Gamaztov
'Everyone is Rasul Gamzatov (a famous Daghestanian writer) deep inside.'

Finally, if an equative clause contains an adjunct, the assertive copula may follow this adjunct:

(46) *anwar* *meħwe-ja* *uškuj-ħe-w* ***gʷa*** *učitil*
Anwar in.Mehweb-GEN school.OBL-IN-M(ESS) ASRT teacher
'Anwar is a teacher at the Mehweb school.'

Thus, the assertive marker need not follow the predicate. At the same time, it is not obvious that *gʷa* always follows the focus. For instance, in the elicited dialog (47), *gʷa* is attached to the first part of the clause 'Shamil is a singer', while its focus is constituted by its second part. Also, in answers to content questions, *gʷa* is by default attached to the part of the utterance which does not contain new information, as in (48) and (49).

(47) *šamil* *učitil.* — *aħin!* *šamil* ***gʷa*** *dalaj* *uk'-an-či!*
Shamil teacher COP.NEG Shamil ASRT song M.say.IPFV-HAB-AG
'Shamil is a teacher. — No! Shamil is a singer!'

(48) *meħʷe-la* *χʷalajli či-ja?* — *meħʷe-la* *χʷalajli* ***gʷa*** *Israpil*
in.Mehweb-GEN chief who-INTRG in.Mehweb-GEN chief ASRT Israpil
'Who is the head of Mehweb? — The head of Mehweb is Israpil.'

(49) *israpil i-ja?* — *israpil* ***gʷa*** *meħʷe-la* *χʷalajli*
Israpil who-INTRG Israpil ASRT Mehweb-GEN chief
'Who is Israpil? — Israpil is the head of Mehweb.'

Thus, we find that, in non-verbal predications as well as in verbal predications, the assertive copula does not necessarily follow the predicate and the focused element.

5. Conclusion

To sum up, the assertive marker *gʷa* has the distribution of a copula (though lacking non-finite forms which are available for the copula), but its position does not fit into the picture that is usually documented in East Caucasian languages in that it does not need to be linked to the predicate and the focus. At the same time, we observe some constraints on its distribution in complex constructions (in particular, its reluctance to occur in syntactic islands), which may be, however, subject to variation. I conclude that more research is

needed both to approach the functions of g^wa and to understand the principles that govern its syntactic position.

Further, it seems that our assumed knowledge of the principles regarding other kinds of predicative markers is overestimated. Indeed, while the idea of focus-determined positions of copulas is important for East Caucasian, I am aware of no detailed corpus-based study of the position of predicative markers for any language of the family. Given the fact that during the last years the amount of corpora of East Caucasian languages has been increasing, one may hope that such studies will soon appear.

Moreover, as I emphasized in Section 2, predicative markers may differ in their behavior, both within a single language and cross-linguistically. For East Caucasian, we need a more elaborated intragenetic typology of predicative markers. The present paper is to be considered a contribution to this line of investigation.

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