

On paradigmatic asymmetries in the imperfective system of Anchiq Karata

Konstantin Filatov, Linguistic
Convergence Lab, HSE University

**Imperfective Modalities in the Caucasus
and Beyond**, 12 sept. 2023

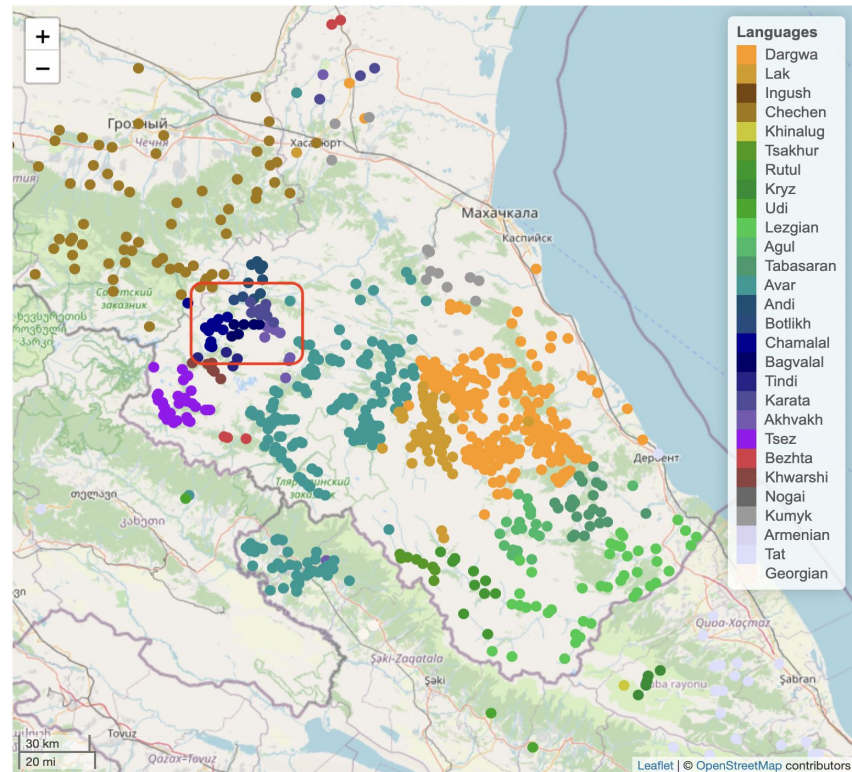
Outline

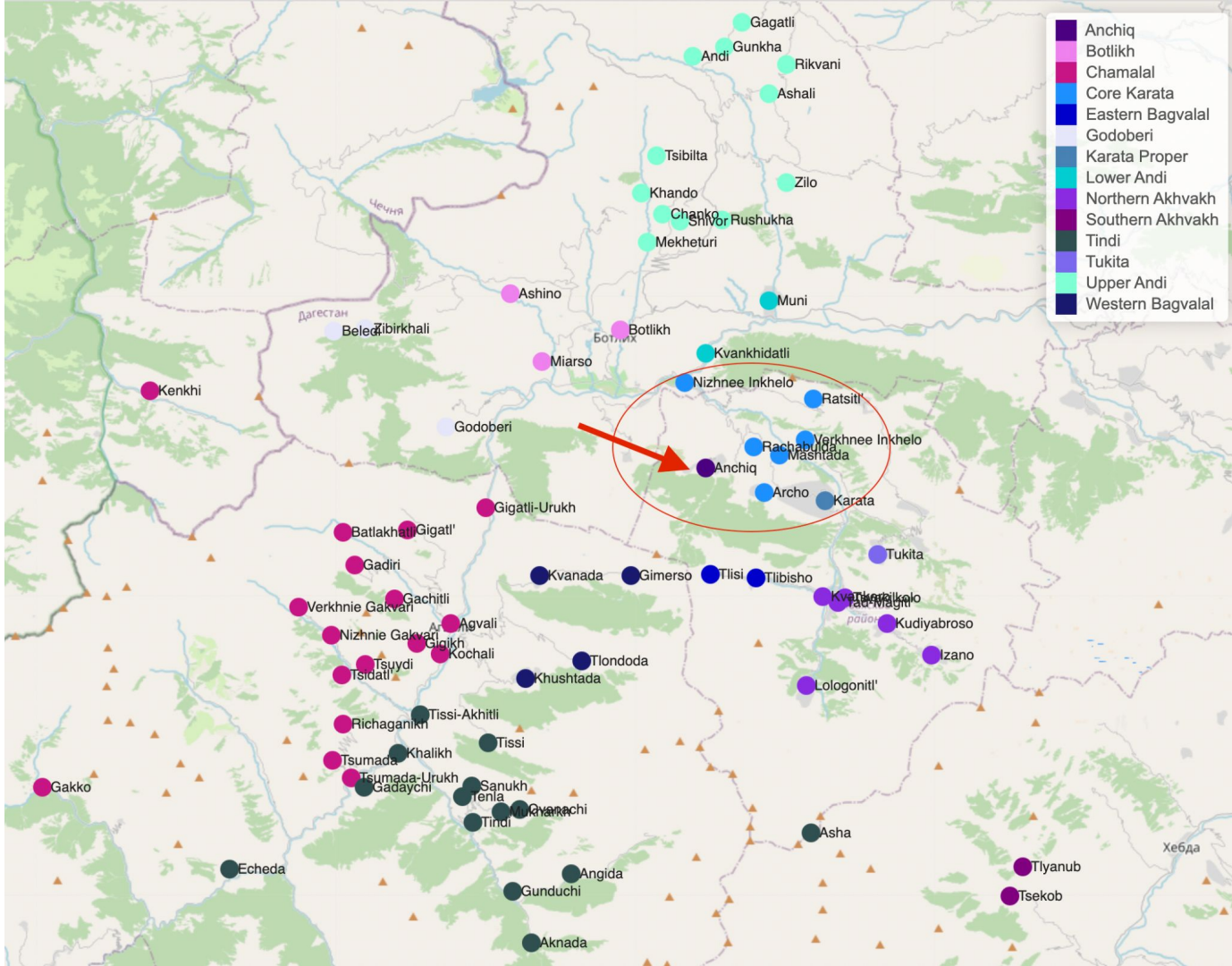
I will mainly focus on analyzing different kinds of **paradigmatic asymmetries** and irregularities that can be indicative for hypothetical diachronic processes.

- Anchiq dialect of Karata
- Imperfective system
- **The sonorant split**
- **Negative Imperfective gender infix**
- **Two layers of Imperfective Converb**

Anchiq Karata

- highly divergent “one-village” dialect of the Karata language
- Andic < Avar-Andic < Nakh-Daghestanian
- ca. 2000 speakers
- Field data (2019, 2023)
- Gadzhimagomedov, ms
— an unpublished Anchiq dictionary





Stem opposition

Typical for Andic languages:

Unmarked Perfective stem vs. Marked Imperfective stem

b-ik'^w-a

~

*b-ik'-**ur**-a*

N-**be**-AOR

N-**be-IPFV**-HAB

b-eL-e

~

*b-eL-**ir**-a*

N-**go**-AOR

N-**go-IPFV**-HAB

Imperfective system of Anchiq

- Imperfective	<i>-ir (-ur)/ -da</i>	IPFV
- and the forms derived from it:		
Habitual	<i>-ir-a</i>	IPFV-HAB
Praesens	<i>-ir gira</i>	IPFV + COP
Imperfect	<i>-ir bik^wa</i>	IPFV + be.AOR
Participle	<i>-ir-o-b</i>	IPFV-PTCP-N
General Converbs	<i>-ir-ara / -ir-en</i>	IPFV-CVB
Masdar	<i>-ir-ar</i>	IPFV-MSD

1. The “sonorant split”

The sonorant split

Two main types of IPFV marking:

- for roots in sonorants and /b/ *-da* *ɫar-da* ‘besoms’
- otherwise *-ir- / -ur-* [-lab / +lab] *gah-ir-a* ‘does’

Diachronically this split is a product of rhotacism (d > r intervocally).

This distinction seems to be purely morphophonological,

... however

The bound Imperfective

For non-sonorant roots exists a special form that participates only in periphrastic forms with auxiliaries and can not be used in isolation:

- (1) **gah-ir* (do-IPFV)
- (2) ^{oK}*gah-ir gira* (do-IPFV COP) ‘is doing’
- (3) *gah-ir-a* (do-IPFV-HAB) ‘does’
- (4) **gah-ir-a gira* (do-IPFV-HAB COP)

Moreover, this “bound” Imperfective is often rendered even without final /r/:

- (5) *mede* *š:ird-i* *gira*
booze ferment-IPFV COP
‘The booze is fermenting’

The bound Imperfective

For sonorant roots no such form exists, periphrastic forms use the da-form identical to the habitual:

- (6) *wac:o* *kaβar-di* *q^war-da*
brother letter-PL write-IPFV[HAB] Habitual
'Brother writes letters' (D13)
- (7) *ho-š:u-l* *kaβar* *q^war-da* *gira*
that-OBL-ERG letter write-IPFV COP Periphrastic Praesens
'Brother is writing a letter' (D5)

The origins of bound Imperfective

- Evidently, this bound Imperfective for non-sonorant roots is an “eroded” Habitual with the lost final /a/
- This /a/ in question, however, can be «recovered» in certain morphophonological conditions, for example, in presence of quotative marker (8-9), as the regular allomorph of the QUOT marker after consonant is =*ero*.

(8) *gah-ir* *w-uk’w-as*
do-IPFV=QUOT M-be-PCVB

‘having done’

(9) *ho-w=el* *ha-gi-b=da* *q’aʕida-t:-a* *aperaci* *gah-ira=ro* *w-uk’w-as, [...]*
MED-M=ADD PROX-LOW-N=EMPH method-OBL-DAT surgery do-IPFV=QUOT M-be-PCVB

‘Having operated this way, [...]’ (Magomedbekova 1971:204, azar_botlob)

Different forms of the Old Imperfective Converb

What is more peculiar is that the verbs of these two inflectional classes have completely different patterns of Old Imp. Converb formation:

(10) non-sonorant — from **Imperfective**

ĩk-ur-ara

eat_intr-IPFV-ICVB ‘eating’

b-olʔ-ir-ara

N-ache-IPFV-ICVB ‘aching’

(11) sonorant — from **Imp. Participle**

c':ar-d-o-b-da

drink-IPFV-PTCP-N-ICVB ‘drinking’

ʔar-d-o-b-da

besom-IPFV-PTCP-N-ICVB ‘besoming’

or, alternatively, from Habitual:

ĩk-ur-a-ra

The sonorant split

- The non-sonorant Imperfective (*-ir, -i*) is eroding faster than the *-da* allomorph
- The different inflection classes grammaticalized forms from different sources

2. Negative Imperfective asymmetry

Negative Imperfective forms

The Negative Imperfective forms contain a gender slot in the Imperfective stem:

(12) *di-ja* *me* *hark'i-lo-L'i* *hãʔ-i⟨w⟩a-č'e*

I-DAT thou eye-OBL.PL-SUB see-IPFV⟨M⟩-NEG

‘I do not see you at all {lit. under eyes}’

(13) *χ:εχ:ob* *ẽχα* *ret-a=ra* *b-aʔ-i⟨b⟩a-č'e*

fast river sea-SUP=EMPH N-reach-IPFV⟨N⟩-NEG

‘The swift river does not reach the sea. (prov.)’

(14) *s:ams:im* *r-el-i⟨r⟩a-ko* *r-ik'w-a* *ho-re*

at_all[R] NPL-go-IPFV⟨NPL⟩-NEG.CVB NPL-be-AOR MED-NPL

‘They [the wolves] did not want to leave at all.’

-ir-a

-d-a

-IPFV-HAB

Habitual

-i⟨b⟩a-č'e

-NEG.IPFV⟨N⟩-NEG

Negative Habitual

Usual negation

-ir-o-b

-d-o-b

-IPFV-PTCP-N

Imperfective Participle

-i⟨b⟩a-č'-o-b

-NEG.IPFV⟨N⟩-NEG-PTCP-N

Negative Imp. Participle

-ir-ara

-IPFV-IPFV.CVB

-d-o-b-da

-IPFV-PTCP-N-IPFV.CVB

Old Imperfective Coverb [rare]

-i⟨b⟩a-BO

-NEG.IPFV⟨N⟩-NEG

Negative Imp. Converb

Idiosyncratic
negation

The diachrony of the slot

- The initial idea was that this slot formed directly from /r/ in Imperfective ~ Habitual *-ira*, which coincides with NPL gender marker (*r-*, as in *r-ik* 'w-a). However, it seemed unnatural for not-so-frequent and not pragmatically salient gender marker.
- In the meanwhile, (Maisak, Verhees, ms) proposed a hypothesis, considering the origins of the *-ko* Negative Imperfective Converb
- The source is alleged agreeing root **b-aκ-*, which gave rise for Zilo Andi phasal polarity form 'Counterexpectation Present' *-b-aκ-ij* and several *b-aκ-* Negative auxiliaries in Botlikh, Tindi, Chamalal, Bagvalal
- Still, the Authors do not mention the gender slot, which clearly came from the verbal prefixal agreement slot

Negative Imperfective forms

-ir-a

-d-a

-IPFV-HAB

Habitual

-ir-o-b

-d-o-b

-IPFV-PTCP-N

Imperfective Participle

-ir-ara

-IPFV-IPFV.CVB

-d-o-b-da

-IPFV-PTCP-N-IPFV.CVB

Old Imperfective Coverb [rare]

*****-ira-č'e***

-ia-č'e

-NEG.IPFV<N>-NEG

Negative Habitual

*****-ira-č'-o-b***

-ia-č'-o-b

-NEG.IPFV<N>-NEG-PTCP-N

Negative Imp. Participle

-ia-ko

-NEG.IPFV<N>-NEG

Negative Imp. Coverb

****gah-ir b-av-o* > *gah-ia-ko***

The slot analogically extended from the Negative Imp. Coverb towards the Participle and Negative Habitual

The Negative asymmetry

- The direction of this analogical change is centripetal, from non-finite to finite forms
- The analogical spread increased the morphological complexity of these forms
- The Negative auxiliary analysis is impossible, as far as the regular *-č'e* negation of the Negative Habitual is clearly an affix

3. Two layers of the Imperfective Converb

Old Converb and New Converb

(15) *-ir-ara*

-IPFV-IPFV.CVB

-d-o-b-da

-IPFV-PTCP-N-IPFV.CVB

Old Imperfective Converb [rare]

To date, the forms of Old Converb are almost out of use: they are not produced by younger speakers, but some older ones are able to identify the forms. Instead of Old Converb, the New Imperfective Converb forms came to use. Speakers use interchangeably two forms: *-ir-en* and *-ir-ek'en* (16).

(16)	<i>miq'-a-q</i>	w-OL-ir-en	/	^{OK} w-OL-ir-ek'en	<i>ho-w</i>	<i>w-uk-e</i>
	road-SUP-APUD	M-go-IPFV-CVB		M-go-IPFV-CVB	MED-M	M-stop-AOR
	'Walking down the road he stopped.'					

New Converb origins & Comitative

We suggest that both of these forms are different stages of contraction of Imperfective Masdar, marked for Comitative case (17).

(17) **w-OL-ir-ar-ik'en* > *w-OL-ir-ek'en* > *w-OL-ir-en*
M-go-IPFV-MSD-COM M-go-IPFV-CVB M-go-IPFV-CVB
'Walking'

Possibly, through the stage of *-ir-a-jk'en* > with regular monophthongization *aj* > *e*

Bagvalal data

Interestingly, Bagvalal grammar (Kibrik et al. 2001) suggests the opposite direction for the cognate *=e:na* marker: from converbial subordination marker to Comitative

But

- this is quite unexpected typologically
- A bunch of Andic languages have cognate Comitative marker:
 - Kar. pr.: *-k'el* < *-k'en* + *-l* (add)
 - Tuk.: *-k'in*
 - S. Akhv. *-k'ena*
 - Tind.: *-k'a*
 - Cham.: *-č'ã*

Immediate Converb

A possible parallel to New Imp. Converb — Immediate Converb that is, diachronically a Comitative form of Perfective Masdar with emphatic particle =*ara*

de heq'a-r *w-OL-e-r-ik'en=ara,* *orčir* *b-ah-e*
I outside-LAT M-go-AOR-MSD-COM=EMPH rain N-take-AOR

‘As soon as I went outside, it rained immediately.’

The two layers

- The Old Converb is almost ultimately replaced by the New Converb originating in a case form of Masdar
- Which is quite typical for Andic languages

Thank you!