

Imperfective tenses in Karata (Karata village): morphology and meanings

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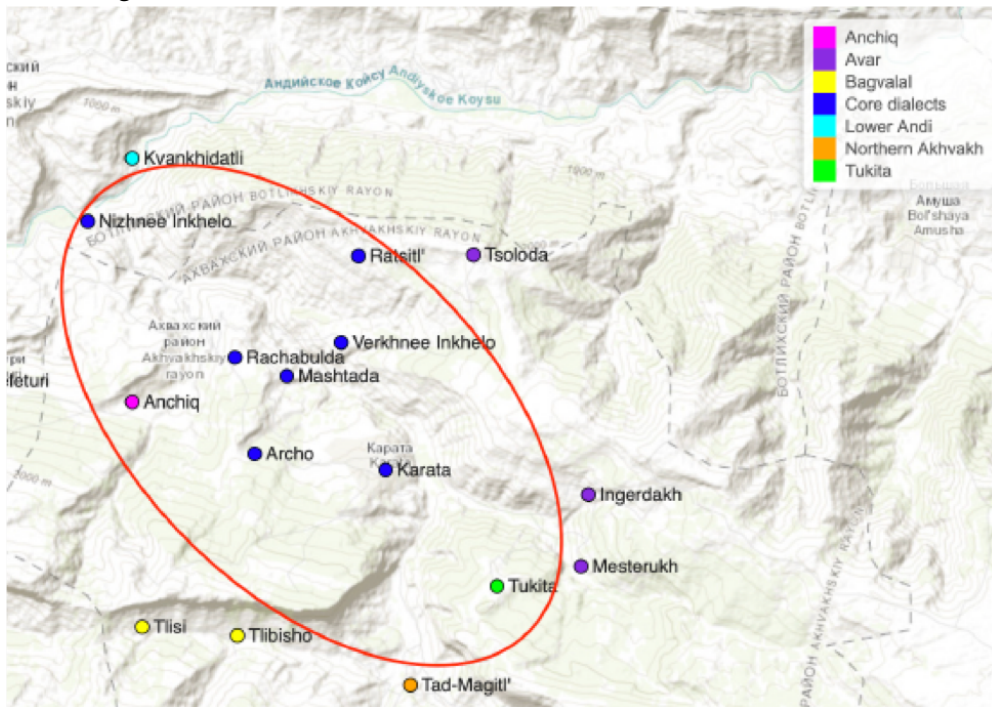
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0 Introduction

Karata belongs to the Andic branch of the North East Caucasian family.

Karata refers to a group of related languages traditionally spoken in ten villages in Dagestan, in the Akhvakhskij and Khunzarskij rayons (i.e. Tukita, Core dialects, Anchiq in Figure 1).

Figure 1: Karata varieties (minus Siukh) (Filatov, 2020, 6)



This talk is about the language spoken in the Karata village (Akhvkhaskij rayon), a.k.a. Karata proper.

The Karata proper variety is the most documented and described of all the varieties (grammatical sketch (Magomedbekova, 1971), dictionary (Magomedova and Khalidova, 2001), texts in the language (Magomedbekova (1971); Khalidova (2017) among others), linguistic publications (e.g. Mallaeva & Khalidova (2016), Khalidova (2018))

...but there are still areas of the grammar of the language that do not have a basic description or whose empirical coverage is not full, e.g. the TAMEP (tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality, pluractionality) system

This language (as is generally the case in East Caucasian languages) has many verbal forms: a limited number of synthetic forms but high number of analytic forms due to aggregation and combination of forms

Unlike in some other related languages, the TAMEP system in Karata proper is incredibly regular, i.e. compositional, additive.

This talk reports on my description of this system focussing on finite forms that realize imperfective aspect meanings (which are mostly found in the indicative mood and in forms which can occur in independent clauses).

Data: corpus (50 texts) + TAM questionnaire in (Dahl, 1985) with two consultants

OUTLINE:

1. A few definitions
2. Morphosyntax of tenses in Karata
3. Imperfective tenses in the indicative mood
4. Non-indicative imperfective tenses
5. Conclusion

1 Framework and definitions

Clauses describe events (short for events or states).

The categories that manipulate events and that are overtly distinguished in Karata in the verbal paradigm are:

- temporal reference (= tense): the localization of (the point of view from which) the described event is reported
- viewpoint/grammatical aspect: the point of view taken on the reported event e.g. presented from the inside vs from the outside, as upcoming, etc (= *not the meaning of aspect in the Slavic tradition*, see Bertinetto 2001; Borik and Reinhart 2004 among others)
- pluractionality (derived actionality/Aktionsarten): whether the event is conceptualized as being composed of smaller events

Tenses (\neq tense) are morphologized combinations of values in the above categories (see e.g. Bybee and Dahl 1989; Bertinetto 1994, 2020), e.g. the present tense in Karata proper lexicalizes present temporal reference, imperfective aspect, and indicative mood.

* * * more detail below * * *

I use the neo-Reichenbachian conceptualization of tense and aspect (Reichenbach, 1947; Klein, 1994):

- The Event Time (ET) of a clause is the time at which the event that a clause describes is located
- The Utterance Time (UT) is the time at which the matrix clause is uttered/evaluated
- The Topic Time (TT) is the time the uttered clause is about; the point of view from which the event is reported

Tense linearly situates Topic Time with respect to Utterance Time (by precedence/overlapping):

- present $TT = UT$
- past $TT < UT$
- future $UT < TT$

Aspect situates Topic Time with respect to Event Time (by inclusion or precedence/overlapping):

- perfective $ET \subseteq TT$
- imperfective $TT \subseteq ET$
- perfect $ET < TT$
- prospective $TT < ET$

(1) a. Example:

Context: A judge is interrogating a witness in court. (Cover and Tonhauser, 2015, 309)

Judge: What did you notice when you looked into the room?

Witness: The light was on.

b. Temporal context of eventuality of *light being on* in witness's utterance (1a):

- $ET =$ time when the light is on
- $TT =$ time when witness looked into the room
- $[TT < UT, TT \subseteq ET]$ (= past imperfective)

This framework as it is has many limitations and outright problems (e.g. it cannot model cases where two kinds of aspect (inclusion and precedence) combine e.g. perfect imperfectives) ...

...but it serves as a good starting point

2 Morphology, overview of the system

Karata has both synthetic and analytic tenses:

- synthetic tenses have one form (the lexical verb) which bears tense and mood inflection
- analytic tenses have at least one lexical verb, and one auxiliary which bears tense and mood inflection

2.1 Synthetic forms

In **synthetic forms**, there is only one verb, TAMEP markers are thus affixed to the stem of this verb, in most cases the root (root = V-*ał̥a*), but in some cases the stem has other formatives.

(2) List of indicative synthetic-form forming suffixes

	Positive	Negative
past	-i/e/a	-i/e/a-č'e
present	-(i)da	-(i)da-č'e
future	-aš	-ibič'e
andative?	PST + -l̥a	?

Sometimes, past and present are called 'perfective' and 'imperfective', I have used these terms as well and in fact I still use them for glosses in my corpus, as labels.

While there's good reason to think that 'present' lexicalizes imperfectivity (see section 3.1), it's not so clear that 'past' specifies perfective aspect (see appendix A.2).

Karata has a number of morphophonological rules which apply here and elsewhere, eg:

- the present morpheme *-(i)da* is realized *-da* after /b/ and sonorants (V, nasals, liquids),
- a root with a nasal feature will trigger nasalization of /b/, /l/, /r/ in suffixes
- a root with a labial feature will trigger rounding of root-adjacent V in V-initial suffixes

2.2 Analytic constructions

Analytic constructions involve different forms of the V:

1. infinitive: V root + *-ał̥a*
2. converb (perfect/anterior, non perfect/non anterior)

(3) List of positive and negative general converb forms of *q:'amał̥a* 'eat'

	Positive	Negative
perfect cvb	V-i/e/a(-b-χ ^w a)	V-i/e/a-ʋe(-b-χ ^w a) V-i/e/a-č'e(-b-χ ^w a)
non perfect cvb	V-(i)da-da	V-(i)da-ʋe V-(i)da-č'e

The positive non perfect converb is relatively rare compared to the perfect.

The *-b-χ^wa* ending is very often omitted.

The omission of *-i* in *-ida* follows the same conditioning as the present marker, i.e. *-i* is omitted after /b/ and sonorants (V, /n, m, l, r/)

3. participles (past, present, future, *though it might make more sense to speak of perfect/anterior, overlapping, prospective*)

Table 1: Participles

Type of participle	Positive	Negative
past	V-u/o/a-b	V-i/e/a-č'-o-b
present	V-(i)d-o-b	V-(i)da-č'-o-b
future	V-Īo-b / V-aĭa-Īo-b ¹	V-ibič'-o-b

In **analytic forms**, there is at least one verb in a non-finite form, and an auxiliary (I leave evidential forms aside).

(4) V + auxiliaries

The auxiliary bears tense and mood morphology (see above); the auxiliary can be:

- an existential verb: copula, *bik'wata* 'be', *bisanta* 'find (oneself)'
- a phasal verb: *baĭata* 'begin', *b-aqēⁿta* 'finish'
- a lexical verb: *b-o?aⁿta* 'go', *b-oĪata* 'walk', *b-eχ^wata* 'come', *b-iχ^wata* 'stay' ...

In this talk, I only talk about analytic forms where the auxiliary is an existential verb.

The predicate V bears aspect morphology:

- progressive: V-PRS, V-(i)da
- habitual: V-PTCP, past -u/o/a-b, or present -id-o-b, no future participle attested here
- perfect: V-PRF.CVB, V-i/e/a-(-b-χ^wa) (lots of allomorphs due to phonological rules)
- prospective: V-INF, V-aĭa

The progressive is further allowed to combine with perfect and prospective aspect by aggregating two auxiliaries. (I only have two example.):

- perfect progressive: V-PRS + AUX-PST.CVB
- prospective progressive: V-PRS + AUX-INF

¹Magomedbekova 1971 and Magomedova and Khalidova 2001 report that the suffix -Īo-b must be added to the infinitival form of the verb. In my texts, I have also found -Īo-b added to the stem of the verb.

Table 2: List of indicative analytic form-forming suffixes

	progressive	habitual
present	V-(i)da idja/bik'-uda	V-PTCP idja/(bik'-uda?)
past	V-(i)da bik' ^w -a	V-PTCP bik' ^w -a
future	V-(i)da bis-ã̄s	V-PTCP bis-ã̄s
	perfect	prospective
present	V-PRF(-b-χ ^w a) idja/bik'-uda	V-ała idja/bik'-uda
past	V-PRF(-b-χ ^w a) bik' ^w -a	V-ała bik' ^w -a
future	V-PRF(-b-χ ^w a) bis-ã̄s	V-ała bis-ã̄s
	perfect progressive	prospective progressive
present	V-(i)da bik' ^w -a-(-b-χ ^w a) idja	V-(i)da bik' ^w -ała idja

3 Focus on imperfective tenses in the indicative

3.1 Simple present

The suffix is *-(i)da*, it is added to the root (i.e. infinitive minus *-ała*)

It is used to describe an eventuality that is typical of an entity—gnomic imperfectivity (Bertinetto and Lenci, 2012, 860)—with the following sub-meanings:

- eventuality is habitual (5).

(5) [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast? A:] He WRITE a letter. (Dahl 1985, 19)

ho-šu-l kaʁat q̄^war-**da**
DEM-MOBL-ERG letter write-PRS

He writes a letter.

- eventuality describes a behavior/attitude is typical, the attitudinal

(6) haduro-b cwab **b-ik'-uda** ho-šu-b
ready-N answer N-be-PRS DEM-M₀[GEN]-N

He (always) has an answer ready.

- eventuality describes an ability/potential for something, the potential (7).

(7) iši-b rajunij-a řadã-di mina-minaro-b mac'i-ři-l **řo-da**
1PL[GEN]-N rayon-TOPO[LOC] person-PL different-different-N language-nM₀-ERG speak-PRS

People in our rayon speak different languages.

- It is a marker used with individual-level predicates

(8) den biče-χise-rj-a **w-uk'-uda**
 1SG sell-buy-MSD-TOPO[LOC] M-be-PRS

I am a tradesman.

- The present *-ida* is also used in generic statements (i.e. eventualities describing a permanent stative property independent of the specific referent they hold of).

(9) [Q: Do cats bark?] (No,) they not BARK. (Dahl 1985, 76)
 išo **hab-da-č'e**
 cat bark-PRS-NEG

Cats don't bark.

(10) [What kind of sound do cats make?] They MEOW. (Dahl 1985, 73)
 išo-l **mjauī'-idja**²
 cat-ERG meow-PRS

Cats meow.

It's typically used in saying like (12).

(12) ředeřa-b ēχe reřa-īi-r **b-a?-ida-č'e**
 rushing-N river sea-TOPO-ALL N-reach-PRS-NEG

He who is in a hurry does not reach his goal. (lit. A rushing river does not reach the sea.)

It can also be used with future temporal reference.

(13) (According to the contract,) we not WORK tomorrow. (Dahl 1985, 82)
 ho-řij-a b-aq'ebχ^wa, iīi aīe **b-iřanq-ida-č'e**
 DEM-nM₀-DAT N-as_per 1PL tomorrow H⁺-work-IMPF-NEG

According to it, we don't work tomorrow.

²The form is transparently a merger of *mjau* + quotative *ī'e* or verb of saying *keī'anla* but see unacceptability of full phrase in (11).

(11) *išo-l mjau keī'-idja.

3.2 Progressive

Present If the auxiliary is the copula *idja*, the resulting construction can be used in a present progressive meaning (TT = UT, TT ⊆ ET).

- (14) [Q: What your brother DO right now? (=What activity is he engaged in?) A by someone who can see him] He WRITE a letter. (Dahl 1985, 6)

ГЪО-ЩУ-Л кагъат хъвар-да идя.
DEM-M₀-ERG letter write-IMPF COP

He is writing a letter.

If the auxiliary is *bik'waḷa* 'be' in the present tense however, the meaning seems to be more habitual than progressive.

- (15) [A: My brother works at an office. B: What kind of work he DO?] He WRITE letters. (Dahl 1985, 25)

ГЪОВ кагъат-ди хъвар-да в-ук1-уда.
DEM-M₀-ERG letter-PL write-IMPF M-be-PRS

He writes letters.

Past In the past, the auxiliary must be one that can be inflected for tense, e.g. *bik^waḷa* 'be'. Examples like (16) are clear examples of the past progressive ((TT < UT, TT ⊆ ET)).

- (16) When I COME home (yesterday), he WRITE two letters (= that is the activity he was engaged in) (Dahl 1985, (140))

Ден в-охъ-ала, ГЪОВ суни к1е-да кагъат хъвар-да в-ук1-а.
1SG M-come-SP.CVB DEM-M yesterday two-INT letter write-IMPF M-be-PST

When I came home, yesterday, he was writing two letters.

- (17) anšel hu-gu-w χidi woʔ-aⁿ, iši eⁿχa-lī **b-ač-unda** **b-ak^w-a**.
then DEM-LOW-M away M-go-PST 1PL.EXCL stream-TOPO[LOC] N-wash.PL-IMPF N-be.PL-PST

Then he went away, we bathed in the river. (Magomedbekova 1971, text, line 27.1)

Future Analytic constructions with future temporal reference are not constructed with the auxiliary *bik^waḷa* 'be' in the future tense, rather the verb *bisaⁿḷa* 'find' is used (18).

- (18) [Q: What your brother DO if you don't go to see him today, do you think? A:] He WRITE a letter (to me). (Dahl 1985, (15))

ГЪО-В кагъат-ди хъвар-да в-ус-ансс
DEM-M letter-PL write-IMPF M-be_found-FUT

He will be writing letters.

This same analytical construction can be used with present temporal reference to convey uncertainty (19).

- (19) [Neither A nor B can see B's brother. A: What he DO right now, do you think? (= What activity will he be engaged in?)] He WRITE letters (I think so because because he does that every day at this time.) (Dahl 1985, (24))

ГЪо-щУ-л кагъат-ди хъвар-да р-ис-ансс.
DEM-M₀-ERG letter-PL write-IMPF нН⁺-be_found-FUT

He'll be writing letters.

3.3 Habitual

Present The habitual present is constructed by putting the V in a participial form: past (20) or present (21).

- (20) ... ħulo-baj hede b-oĪ-ibar-el **b-ič'-a-č'-o-baj** idja = Ī'e.
bald-H⁺ something N-happen-COND-ADD H⁺-die-PST-NEG-PTCP-H⁺ COP = QUOT

... baldies are tenacious (lit. they don't die if something happens) (The bald's tale, translation, line 48)

- More research is need to understand the distribution of past vs present participle in analytic constructions
- I don't have clear examples where the auxiliary is *bik^{tw}aġa* 'be': is this gap accidental?

Past Past habituals are constructed with V in the participial form (past or present) and the auxiliary in the past tense.

- (21) [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast last summer? A:] He WRITE letters. (Dahl 1985, 20)

ГЪо-щУ-л кагъат-ди хъвар-д-о-рай р-ак1в-а.
DEM-M₀-ERG letter-PL write-IMPF-PTCP-нН⁺ нН⁺-PL\be-PST

He would write letters.

- (22) haʔ-ind-o-le, ila, biskin-di-low-a, kumak geh-e-b-oħa, dena hedela
see-IMPF-PTCP-Q mother poor-PL-PL₀-DAT help give-PST-N-PRF.CVB 1SG.ERG thing
b-ekedajngil, men **zigar-d-o-j** **j-ik'w-a.**
N-give- 2SG complain-IMPF-PTCP-F F-be-PST

You see, mother, I helped the poor and needy, when I gave them something, you complained. (Magomedbekova 1971, text, line 41.1)

(23) In a village, A would stop in front of every house and the following dialogue would take place. (Khalidova 2017, Т1ука, lines 21-23)

A: Гъаб ид-ол ду-б мисѝа? = кье.

DEM COP-Q 2SG[GEN]-N house = QUOT

Is this your house?

B: Гъач1е = кье **кекь-инд-о-б б-ик1в-а идѝа** ваша-щү-л.

COP.NEG = QUOT speak-IMPf-PTCP-N N-be-PRF.CVB COP boy-M₀-ERG

No, the boy would say (it seems).

Future Future habituals are formed like other habitual analytic forms except that the auxiliary is in the future tense. I don't have examples with a present participial form.

(24) ho-što-ʔo-da č'ik^war-a baq'an b-eł-ała duw-a-č'e bał-e-č'-o-b
 DEM-such-like-INT beautiful-ADV melody N-sing-INF 2SG₀-DAT-only be_able-PST-NEG-PTCP-N
 b-is-anš, du-raj č'ikoro-raj hark'a-j-a-č'e hošda č'ik^warā hanl'e
 N-happen-FUT 2SG₀[GEN]-NPL beautiful-NPL eye-PL-DAT-only such beautiful song
 k'āⁿła l'ek'u łow-a-łagi **b-ał-e-č'-o-b b-is-anš = l'e.**
 sing more who-DAT-INDF be_able-PST-NEG-PTCP-N N-happen-FUT = QUOT

Surely you alone³ will not be able to sing so beautiful a melody, surely your eyes alone will be able to sing so beautiful a song better than anyone. (Khalidova 2017, Сапел гъавгъал, line 9.2)

3.4 Two-aspect tenses

Present progressive prospective In (25), the event of writing letters is presented as in progress at some point later than *now*.

(25) [A: My brother has got a new job. He'll start tomorrow. B: What kind of work he DO there?] He WRITE letters. (Dahl 1985, 27)

ho-w kawat-di q^war-da w-uk'-ała idja

DEM-M letter-PL write-PRS M-be-IMPf COP

He is (going/about) to be writing letters.

Present progressive perfect In (26), the event of writing letters is presented both as taking place before *now* and as in progress.

The form in (26) is rather wild (if anything, we'd have expected *oħoda wuk'awχ^wa idja*).

³The construction translated as 'alone' involves suffixing *č'e* on two elements of a clause: on the item that 'alone' qualifies, and on the main verb of the clause said item is part of.

(26) [(Of a coughing child:) For how long has your son been coughing?] (Dahl 1985, (148))

Шураб саг1ат, мак1е ох1-ода-в-ха идйа.
 whole-N hour child cough-IMP-F-M-PRF.CVB COP

The child's been coughing for an hour.

But there's another example, suggesting that this is not a lexical peculiarity of the verb *cough*, see (30).

4 Imperfectivity in non-indicative moods, in progress

I still don't completely understand the non-indicative system, there is way fewer data points.

Non-indicative tenses do not make tense distinctions, only aspectual ones.

They all distinguish synthetic and analytic tenses:

- synthetic tenses have one form (the lexical verb) which bears mood inflection
- analytic tenses have at least one lexical verb, and one auxiliary which bears mood inflection

(27) List of indicative synthetic-form forming suffixes

	Positive	Negative
imperative	-a (tr) / -i (intr)	-ibis:e
jussive	IMP-Ī'a	?
optative	-o-b	-ibis:o-b
hypothetical	PST -bar	?
desiderative	PST -χoror	?
conditional	V-FUT V-PST	?

So far no evidence that hypothetical and desiderative mood distinguish aspectual forms.

4.1 Imperative, jussive moods

(28) Mood forming suffixes

	Positive	Negative
imperative	-a (tr) / -i (intr)	-ibis:e
jussive	-a (tr) / -i (intr) -Ī'a	?

In (29) is an example of a synthetic jussive construction.

(29) Алла-щү-л хь̄б-б-ал хьвар-а-къа
 Allah-MOBL-ERG good-N-SELECT write-IMPTR-JUS

Дай, Аллах, счастливой судьбы (букв. Чтоб Аллах хорошее написал)

The analytic construction in these moods contains:

- the verb *bik^{tw}ata* ‘be’ as auxiliary bearing mood morphology
- the lexical verb in the PRF.CVBform

The analytical construction in (30), gives the possibility to further specify imperfective aspect by adding the progressive aspect morpheme.

(30) (Khalidova, 2017), Analazi l. 10.2
 Же-б идйа ч̄ликоро-б жими-л къам-е-бхва рахлати-к̄лел глачо-б ъолва,
 logo-n cop beautiful-n grass-add eat-pf-n-pf.cvb quiet.obl-com green-n ?
 гьельа-л ин-лъльй̄-а гь̄о-б къ̄лале къам-е-б-хва, къ̄лале
 why-q logo.obl-nM.obl-topo3[loc] dem-n leaf eat-pf-n-pf.cvb leaf
б-ик1-у-къа ин-лъльй̄-б-да парпар-ид-а-б-хва.
 n-be-imp[intr]-jus logo.obl-nM.obl[gen]-b-int flap-impf-n-pf.cvb

Я резвлюсь на зеленом лугу, щиплю сочную траву, незачем мне листочек откусывать, пусть он себе развеваётся на ветру.

This concatenation of progressive and perfect aspect suffixes on one and the same base, though infrequent, is exactly the configuration found for the present progressive perfect in section 3.4.

4.2 Optative mood

The optative mood is marked on the verb or auxiliary by suffixing past or present/imperfective participial morphology to the root.

(31) List of indicative synthetic-form forming suffixes

	Positive	Negative
optative	-o-b	-ibis:o-b

In **synthetic constructions**, the main verb is the only verb, *-o-CM* or *(i)d-o-CM* is suffixed to the root.

(32) икъбал талих1 дув-а б-екк-о-в.
 luck luck 2SGOBL.ТОРО[LOC] N-end_up-PTCP-M

Чтоб удача и здоровье были спутниками везде.

- (33) Илйа имйа члаго б-ахх-уд-о-в.
 mother father alive PŁ.remain.PL-IMPF-PTCP-M

Чтоб родители были живы.

The analytic construction in the optative mood contains:

- the verb *bik^waḷa* ‘be’ as auxiliary bearing mood morphology
- the lexical verb in the PRFCVB form

- (34) Magomedbekova 1971, p. 138

- a. *k̄^wab-e w-oḫ-a-w*
 hit-PRFCVB M-come-PTCP-M

May you arrive beaten up. (Да придешь убитым.)

- b. *j-ič'-a j-is-a-j.*
 F-die-PRFCVB F-end_up-PTCP-F

May she be found dead.

It's not clear if imperfective can also be specified on the V.

4.3 Conditional mood

The conditional mood is found in the consequent of a conditional construction to express counterfactuality.

It is an analytic construction which follows the pattern V + aux.

As in other languages, the counterfactual is ‘composed’ of both past and future:

- The auxiliary is in the simple past form, and
- V is in the simple future form (35) or infinitive (36; which marks the prospective aspect in indicative tenses).

- (35) Khalidova 2017, X1уловщвагал гѳб мугъа, l. 110
 Ден-къе-ч1е-хорор ди-в минарк1ва **в-уч1-асс в-ук1-а.**
 1SG-QUOT-NEG-DESID 1SGOBLGEN-M husband M-die-FUT M-be-PST

Если бы не я, мой господин умер бы!

- (36) Khalidova 2017, K1к1ирдал1ай масхъарди - Бeжур гъач1об бергъо, l. 17
 Гѳ-б къот1й-а й-ис-ан шишав бѳ б-ик1-о-хорор,
 do.PTCP-N agreement-TOPO[LOC] F-end_up-PRF.CVB bottle buy.PRF.CVB N-be-DESID
 гъеде-глаги **б-ол1-алъа б-ик1в-а-ч1е** = къе.
 something-INDF N-happen-INF N-be-PST-NEG-QUOT

Ничего не случилось бы, если бы Ашура, сдержав свое слово, купила мне бутылку.

Like the indicative mood, the conditional mood has a habitual form which is formed by adding PTCP morphology to V.FUT.

- (37) Х1уловщвагал гѳб мугъа, l. 59
 Х1уло-щү-ч1о бешанда гъурущ б-ик1в-а-хорор, гъо-в ссигал
 bald-МOBL-ТОPO[LOC] hundred money N-be-PST-DESID DEM-M in_front.ABL
в-ушанхъ-ибич1-о-в в-ук1-а.
 M-work-FUT.NEG-PTCP-M M-be-PST

Будь у Лысого сто манатов, он бы не работал слугой!

4.4 As the complement of *begin*

This verb always takes a verb complement in *-(i)da*. (Its homonym meaning “be able to” takes a verb complement in the infinitive form.) The verb *ba1a1a* itself bears tense morphology.

- (38) a. mak'e **во-да** b-a1-e
 child speak-IMPF N-begin-PST
The child started to speak.
- b. aχi1'i seb řuri ā1ilja χwaj **habda** ba1ida : услышав шорох в саду, собака начинает лаять
- c. kwat'eč'eda **kwā1ida** ba1aš : скоро начнет светать

5 Conclusion

Synthetic form mark tense and aspect; more research needs to check whether they are also specified for aspect and evidentiality

Analytic forms mark tense, aspect (, and evidentiality—no shown here).

- Analytic forms with two components have the following structure

- (39) V-aspect Aux-tense

- Some analytic forms can mark two aspects (e.g. progressive prospective in 51), each on their own verb (V and *b-ik^wa1a* ‘be’)

- (40) V-aspect₁ b-ik^wa1a-aspect₂ Aux-tense

- Imperfective aspect is marked (always!) through the simple present morpheme *-(i)da*

Things to do:

- more work on non-indicative finite constructions
- meanings of non-finite constructions (participles, converbs)

The system is so compositional and systematic (especially by comparison with that of related languages, cf Anchiq Karata Filatov 2020, Akhvakh Creissels 2018), Andi Maisak 2020, Bagvalal (Kibrik, 2001), Godoberi (Kibrik, 1996)), it looks brand new. But there are a few irregularities here and there worth looking at in a comparative perspective.

Glossary

0	oblique	EXCL	exclusive
ADD	additive	F	feminine
H ⁺	human plural	FUT	future
INT	intensive	GEN	genitive
JUS	jussive	IMP	imperative
LOW	lower than speaker	IMPF	imperfective
MSD	masdar	INDF	indefinite
SELECT	selectional particle	INF	infinitive
SP.CVB	specialized converb	LOC	locative
TOPO	topological marker	M	masculine
ABL	ablative	N	neuter
ADV	adverbial	NEG	negative
ALL	allative	OBL	oblique
AUX	auxiliary	PL	plural
COND	conditional	PRF	perfect
COP	copula	PRS	present
CVB	converb	PST	past
DAT	dative	PTCP	participle
DEM	demonstrative	Q	question particle
DESID	desiderative	QUOT	quotative
ERG	ergative	SG	singular
		TR	transitive

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A Appendix: Is (im)perfectivity specified? Unclear cases

A.1 Unclear case 1: andative

The suffix *-īa* is found in some examples in synthetic constructions, with present or past time reference

- (41) *hudu* <w> aj *č'e-w* **w-o \bar{x} -a-īa**
there <M> guest-M M-come-PST-ANDTV

There he is, the guest is coming.

A most striking feature of this suffix is that it only ever goes on the verbs *b-o?atā* ‘go’, *b-a?atā* ‘go to, reach’, *b-e \bar{x} atā* ‘come’.

In Andi, the suffix *-(j)īo* also appears with just verbs of motion to convey the progressive instead of the usual progressive suffix (Kaye, p.c.), which seems compatible with the example above.⁴

But what about uses as in (42) where the event is not presented as imperfective (ongoing or habitual)?

- (42) *ha* ajdol, **b-a \bar{x} w-a-īa-l** *išī*
voilà <H⁺> H⁺-PL\come-PST-ANDTV-ADD 1PL

There we are, we've arrived.

Motion verbs with or without the suffix *-īa* can also be used in analytic forms to express the progressive and the habitual present (depending on the auxiliary used).

This form seems to be able to be used equally well in dependent clauses (i.e. like a converb) without any changes to its morphology.

- (43) *це-б* замана-лълъи-л гъаъ-ан **в-охъ-а-лīа** ахран.
one-N time-nM₀-ERG see-PST M-come-PST-ANDTV watchman

At one point, we saw the watchman come. (Magomedova 1971, text 1, line 13)

⁴In Godoberi, the suffix *-ala* is the “present indefinite” (Kibrik, 1996, 92) but see example (41) in the past.

Magomedbekova (1971: 174) mentions that, in Tukita, the suffix *-eī/-īa* corresponds to Karata proper *-lda* (see section 5) in that “it expresses that the event has not been witnessed”, but that does not seem plausible given the examples in which it is found.

A.2 Unclear case 2: simple past

The suffix -i/-e/-a is added to the root (i.e. infinitive minus *-a*) depending on its inflection class.

The past morpheme is used to describe:

- an eventuality in the past that did not last long

(44) [The speaker has just seen the king arrive (earlier than was expected):] The king ARRIVE already. (Dahl, 1985, 153)

χan herada w-oḫ-a
khan already M-come-PST

The khan arrived.

- an eventuality in the past that lasted for a while.

(45) (95) [Q: What your brother's reaction BE when you gave him the medicine (yesterday)?] He COUGH for an hour.

ho-w šura-b šaḥat-il oḥ-e
DEM-M whole-N hour-? cough-PST

He coughed for an hour.

The simple past is in competition with a marked imperfective past form (among others; see below).

It is traditionally glossed *perfective* in descriptions, and I have followed this tradition in glossing my texts and in certain papers.

But it's not clear to me that it is actually specified for aspect, i.e. I'm not aware of (negative) data that show that the simple past is not acceptable in an unambiguously imperfective context.

Some examples raise the question whether past truly is specified for perfective aspect

(46) Magomedbekova 1971 - text 8, line 11

воџан ида цеб гџанлџир. гџорге бисан ида маклџи багџода. цебай члечлџулџай
балџе, цебай солосололџай балџе, цебай кџвапа тлџандобай балџе.
(He arrived in a village.) Там дети игрались. Одни **играли** в полочке, другие
в мяч, в закидование шапок.

Some simple past marked for evidentiality:

(47) Magomedbekova 1971 - text 9, line 1

цеб городийџа **вуклџа идџа** хан. гџошџув **џиклџва идџа** цей џаше. гџобда городийџа
вуклџа идџа цев памешџик, гџошџув **вуклџа идџа** ваша. В этом городе **был** хан.
И **была** у него одна дочь. В этом же городе, **жил** один помешџик, у него **был**
сын.

More research needed to see whether the past tense morpheme in Karata is specified for aspect