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# Copulas as formants of imperfective-based tenses in Khinalug

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# Khinalug verb types

- Khinalug verbs can be assigned to specific groups, according to their imperfective formation:

	short IPFV	long IPFV	IPFV.PTCP	HABIT	HORT.INCL	NEG. IPFV.PTCP	CVB:while.1	CVB:while.2
<b>z-type</b>		✓	<i>-z-i</i>	<i>-ar</i>	<i>-oa</i>	<i>-onində</i>	<i>-orini</i>	<i>-orşini</i>
<b>l-type</b>		✓	<i>-l-i</i>	<i>-ar</i>	<i>-oa</i>	<i>-onində</i>	<i>-orini</i>	<i>-orşini</i>
<b>r-type</b>	✓	✓	<i>-r-i</i>	<i>-tar</i>	<i>-toa</i>	<i>-tonində</i>	<i>-torini</i>	<i>-torşini</i>
<b>n-də-type</b>	✓	✓	<i>-də</i>	<i>-tar</i>	<i>-toa</i>	<i>-tonində</i>	<i>-torini</i>	<i>-torşini</i>

# Usage of the short and long IPFV

## Short:

- Negative IPFV-PTCP
- Habitual Present and Past
- Hortative Inclusive and one type of Jussive
- Two frequently used converbs of simultaneity

## Long:

- Positive IPFV-PTCP
- All forms derived from the IPFV-PTCP

# Forms derived from the IPFV-PTCP

- Verbal nouns, and adverbial expressions derived from verbal nouns
- One rarely used (only negative) converb of simultaneity
- Present in copula
- Future in proximal demonstrative
- Indefinite future (only r-type verbs)
- Imperfective past in copula + past marker
- Irrealis (apodosis predicate) in proximal demonstrative + past marker
- Tense-specific conditional, derived from any nominal or verbal predicate

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# The copulas

Khinalug has four copulas that take part in the tense formation:

Copula (original form)	Deictic reference	Form with declarative clitic <i>=mə</i>	Form with interrogative clitic <i>=u</i>
<i>at</i> ~ <i>aŧtə</i> ~ <i>a</i> (before past marker <i>-ʂə</i> )	neutral	<i>atmə</i> rarely: <i>aŧtamə</i>	<i>aŧtu</i>
<i>q-oa</i>	below	<i>qomə</i>	<i>qu</i>
<i>t-oa</i>	far / same level	<i>tomə</i>	<i>tu</i>
<i>oa</i>	above	<i>omə</i>	<i>u</i>

# Deictic Reference: Predicative vs. Attributable Forms

## Predicative forms

<i>at</i> (+ variants)	COP neutral / here
<i>q-oo</i>	COP below
<i>t-oo</i>	COP far / same level
<i>oo</i>	COP above
<i>*k-oo</i>	-/-
<i>ĕ-oo</i>	'be, become' (non-indicative finite)
[ <i>ĥ-oo</i> ]	'earth' (lexicalized) ]

## Attributable forms

<i>e-tsi</i>	DP neutral / here
<i>q-u-i</i>	DP below (PTCP of <i>qoo</i> )
<i>t-u-i</i>	DP far / same level (PTCP of <i>too</i> )
<i>t'-u-i</i>	1. DP above 2. PTCP.PFV of <i>t'ui</i> , <i>t'uli</i> 'bring into being, start existing; give birth, be born'
<i>k-u-i</i>	1. DP near 2. PTCP.PFV of <i>kui</i> , <i>kiri</i> 'put together; make; marry a bride to a groom'
<i>ĕ-u-i</i>	PTCP.IPFV of <i>q'i</i> , <i>ĕui</i> 'be, become'
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# Deictic Reference: Predicative vs. Attributable Forms

Lexicalization processes have opened two gaps in the predicative system:

- *\*t'-oa* 'COP above' was abolished and replaced by the unmarked form *oa*
- *\*k-oa* 'COP near' was abolished, but not replaced.

=> How are the remaining copulas used in tense formation?

Usage of the copulas in present tense

# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

- 1st person: subject or agent reference in contexts of present progressive

*paça t̂əq'q'rət̂mə*

*paça*            *t̂əq'q'i-r-i-at=mə*

foot            cut.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.neutral-DECL

"I'm cutting off the foot (of the sheep)"

(said while dismembering a sheep)

# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

- 1st person: subject or agent reference in contexts of present progressive

*şire cavan məʕlimirzu təşəkkür **kiretmə** ki...*

*şirə-e*                      *cavan*              *məʕlim-irz-u*                      *təşəkkür ki-r-i-at=mə*                      *ki...*  
we.OBL-GEN.AL    young              teacher-PL.OBL-DAT    thank    do.IPFV-IPFV-COP.neutral=DECL    PTCL

"I'm thanking our young teachers for..."

(said while giving a speech at school)

# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

- 2nd person: subject or agent reference in contexts of present progressive

*vi çinəx əlk'isəttə hinel? vi çinəx xəskindəttə?*

*vi çinəx əlki<s>ş-i-əttə hinel? vi çinəx*  
you what-AD CIS.DOWN\_look<II>PTCP-COP.neutral there you what-AD  
*xə<s>kin-də-əttə*  
laugh<II>-PTCP.IPFV-COP.neutral

"Why are you looking down to me? Why are you laughing?"

(said to his wife, laughing at him out of the window)



# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

However, particularly questions with 2nd person subject or agent are predominantly formed with the verbal noun in its predicative function:

*vi çu kuval?*

<i>vi</i>	<i>çu</i>	<i>ku-i-val?</i>
you	where.to	go.IPFV-PTCP-ABST.N

"Where are you going?"

# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

However, particularly questions with 2nd person subject or agent are predominantly formed with the verbal noun in its predicative function:

*va çina sorşundəval?*

*va çina sorşun-də-val*

you why ask-PTCP.IPFV-ABST.N

"Why are you asking?"

# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

However, particularly questions with 2nd person subject or agent are predominantly formed with the verbal noun in its predicative function:

*va çina sorşundəval?*

*va çina sortsun-də-val*

you why ask-PTCP.IPFV-ABST.N

"Why are you asking?"

(Questions are the main contexts of 2nd person subjects or agents, since people usually don't describe what the addressee is doing)

# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

- 1st and 2nd person: Imminent future ('be about to do')

A native interviewer is asking a possible consultant to sit with him and talk in front of the recorder. The conversation goes on like this:

***ĉuvrəttimə va'a koetmə - vi çu koet? - yelaği***

*ĉuv-r-i-aŧt-i=mə*

*va'a koetmə*

sit-IPFV-PTCP-COP.neutral-NEG=DECL no go-IPFV-PTCP-COP.neutral=DECL

*vi çu koet?*

*yelaği*

you where.to go-IPFV-PTCP-COP.neutral summer pasture-SUPER

"I'm not sitting down, no, I'm about to go. - Where are you about to go? - To the summer pasture."

# Usage of the neutral Copula *at* (and variants)

- No attestation for the 3rd person!

# Usage of the copula *qoa*

- 1st and 2nd person: general present (not progressive, not habitual)

*hasım zağıllı yə ç'irqomə ki də kire Kəttidi ixer qədim torpağmə*

*hasım zağıllı yə ç'i-r-i-qo=mə*

*ki də kire*

such because I.ERG say.IPFV-IPFV-COP.below=DECL PTCL DP.PROX.II/III we.OBL-GEN.AL

*Kəttid-i ixer qədim torpağmə*

Khinalug-GEN very ancient land, soil=DECL

"Therefore I say that this our (land of) Khinalug is a very ancient land."

# Usage of the copula *qoa*

- 1st and 2nd person: general present (not progressive, not habitual)

*həki inqʰ q'ıdan vı Quba k̄uiqozimə ki!*

*həki inqʰ q'ıdan vı Quba k̄uiqozimə ki!*

now fear due to you Quba.INESS go.IPFV-PTCP-COP.below-II-NEG=DECL PTCP

"Now(adays), you don't go to Quba (any more) because you are too afraid!"

# Usage of the copula *qoa*

- 3rd person: near speaker, activities perceived by speaker (no distinction between progressive vs. general present)

*həkim dəryəz qermişkirqomə*

*həki-m dəryəz*

now-FOC skythe

*qermiş-ki-r-i-qo=mə*

sharpen(PTCP.PFV.AZ)-LV:do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.below=DECL

"Now he is sharpening the sykthe"

(said about a hay mower, sharpening his skythe next to the speaker)



# Usage of the copula *qoa*

- 3rd person: near speaker, part of the community, activities perceived by speaker (no distinction between progressive vs. general present)

*həkiğozi nə əməcə kirqomə nə q'alça q<sup>x</sup>ilqomə nə inç'amız*

*həki-ğoz-i                      nə              əməcə                      ki-r-i-qo=mə*

now-NMLZ.HPL-ERG    neither    collective work    do-IPFV-PTCP-COP.below=DECL

*nə q'alça    q<sup>x</sup>i-l-i-qo=mə                                      nə    inç'amız*

nor carpet    weave, knit-IPFV-PTCP-COP.below=DECL    nor    sock

"Today's people neither do collective work, nor do they weave carpets or knit socks"

# Usage of the copula *toa*

- 3rd person: far from speaker

*kili hala ink **âvurtomă** otujgə*

*kili-i*                    *hala*   *ink*    *âvu-r-i-to=mă*    *otujgə*  
colleague-ERG   still   hay   mow-IPFV-PTCP-COP.far/even-DECL   there:far/even

"(His) colleague is still mowing hay over there"

(compared to the man sharpening his scythe, the other is further away)

# Usage of the copula *toa*

- 3rd person: activities not perceived by speaker

*ancax doxturunzi ç'irtomə ki soyuğdəymu ksan dərmanmə*

*ancax doxtur-unz-i ç'i-r-i-to=mə ki*

however doctor-PL.OBL-ERG say.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.far/even=DECL PTCP

*soyuğdəymə-u ksan dərman=mə*

*cold-DAT good medicine=DECL*

"{In Khinalug, we don't know what strawberry leaves can be used for,} but the doctors say they are a good medicine against cold.

(The speaker never talked to the doctors in person: evidentiality type of hearsay)

# Usage of the copula *toa*

- 3rd person: foreground plot of fictional narratives

*Teymur tu kolu sa kolu ləkişiyə **daxitomə** ki, nə ucağ yuvurqomə, nədəm yemək xıliqomə.*

*Teymur tu kol-u sa kol-u*

Teymur DP.far/even side-SUPER DP.prox.OBL.NH side-SUPER

*ləkiş-i=yə dax-i-to=mə ki nə*

TRANS.LEVEL\_look(PFV)-PTCP=COORD see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.far/even=DECL PTCP neither

*ucağ y-uvu-r-i-qo=mə, nədə-m yemək*

hearthfire I/IV/NHPL-burn-PTCP-COP.below=DECL nor-FOC food

*xıliqomə.*

*cook-IPFV-PTCP-COP.below=DECL*

"Teymur looks to all sides and sees that neither a hearthfire is burning, nor any food is being cooked."

# Usage of the copula *toa*

- No attestation for *toa* with 1st or 2nd person subject or agent

# Usage of the copula *oa*

- above any speaker, any text genre, progressive and general present

*toe dæxiome as laççaķui*

*toe*                      *dæx-i-o=me*                      *as*

above\_look there! see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.above=DECL I.DAT

*laççaķu-i*

TRANS.LEVEL\_pass.PFV(SUPP)-LV:DUR-PTCP

"Look up there, I see them (the horses) passing (one by one). "

# Usage of the copula *oa*

- Above any speaker, any text genre, both progressive and general present

*dar t̂oqqazır post ĉəşoa, heç klam aṯṯiḱui **vaxirovi***

*dar t̂oqqaz-ır*                      *post*                      *ĉəş-i-oa*    *heç*                      *kla-m*

Dar Toqqaz-ESS/LAT    military post    put(PFV)-PTCP-COP.above    NEG.PTCP who-FOC

*aṯṯiḱu-i*    *v-axi-r-i-o-v-i*

TRANS.UP\_pass.IPFV-PTCP    III/HPL-let-IPFV-PTCP-COP.above-III/HPL-NEG.COP

"They installed a military post at Dar Toqqaz, they don't let anybody pass upwards (from there)."

# Usage of the copula *oa*

- Above any speaker, any text genre, both progressive and general present

*Yusif-i ts'oa gəçşiroa şaş // ħayvan vaqqındəoa azır baş*

*Yusif-i ts'oa gəçşi-r-i-oa şaş*

Yusif-ERG house build-IPFV-PTCP-COP.above Shahdag.IN

*ħayvan v-aqqın-də-oa azır baş*

animal, sheep III/HPL-keep-PTCP.IPFV-COP.above thousand head

"Yusif is building a house at Shahdag mountain, he's keeping (keeps) a thousand sheep."



# Summary: Copulas in present tense

*at*: 1st person present progressive

2nd person present progressive next to ABST.N *-val*

1st and 2nd person immediate future

*qoa*: 1st and second person general present

3rd person near speaker / self-witnessed: present

*toa*: 3rd person far from speaker / reported: present

Historical present for foreground events in fictional texts

*oa*: above speaker

Usage of the copulas in the imperfective past

# Imperfective past in copula + -şə

- Primary distinction between *a-şə* and *qoa-şə* (hundreds of examples)
- No sufficient data for *to-şə* (three examples in one translation from an Azerbaijani fictional text, none in natural speech, none in literature written directly in Azerbaijani - looks like imperfective foreground narration)
- No sufficient data for *o-şə* (one example in a legend, written in Khinalug language - looks like general 'above' reference)

# Functions of *a-şə*

- Repeated activities within a certain time frame in the far past (when the speaker was young / back in Soviet times etc.,  $\triangleq$  engl. "used to")

*i k'ull-ı vı məslim iştəmişkoatışu üstü məktəb-ir?*

*i k'ull-ı vı məslim*

I.GEN.INAL memory.OBL-SUPER you teacher

*ıştəmiş-ku-i-aftə-i-şə=u üstü məktəb-ir*

work(PTCP.PFV.AZ)-LV:be.IPFV-PTCP-COP.neutral-NEG-PST=QUEST upper school-ESS/LAT

"I remember, didn't you use to work as a teacher at the upper school?"

# Functions of *a-ʃə*

- Events observed in their progression, opening a time frame within which other events can happen

*hinel tencıbıǵsını cinəm gəfreʃəmə*

*hinel tencı<bı>ǵ-i-sini*

*cinə-m*

there CIS.LEVEL\_get off<III/HPL>.PFV-PTCP-CVB.when world-FOC

*gəf-r-i-a-ʃə=mə*

fall(rain)-IPFV-PTCP-COP.neutral-PST-DECL

"When we got off there, it was raining cats and dogs."

(from a narration about the speaker's journey, when he was young)

# Functions of *a-ʃə*

- Introductory and background narration of fictional texts

*Q'ebiri sa q'ə sa kaçal aʃə.*

*Ĝoa kaçal*i* kosamiçəş çinə taciru anbarval kireşə.*

*Ĝoa kaçal-i kosamiçəş çinə tacir-u*

this.H.OBL baldie-ERG thinbearded one.OBL merchant-DAT

*anbar-val ki-r-i-a-ʃə.*

warehouse-ABST.N do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.neutral-PST

"One day of the days, there was a baldie. This baldie worked in the warehouse of a thinbearded merchant."

# Functions of *qo-a-ṣə*

- Expresses activities that fill a certain time frame in the near past (yesterday, this morning, before you came and interrupted me  $\triangleq$  engl: "I spent this time doing X")

*lağın ukujgə zıyə qoci dalıg kirqoṣəmə divarṣəmə gəçiṣri...*

*lağın ukujgə zı=yə qoca-i dalıg*

yesterday there.near I-COORD old man-ERG work

*ki-r-i-qo-ṣə=mə divar-ṣə=mə gəçiṣ-r-i*

do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.below-PST-DECL wall-PST-DECL build-IPFV-PTCP

"Yesterday, me and the old man spent the day working there (near), we built a wall..."

# Functions of *qoa-şə*

- Expresses activities that fill a certain time frame in the near past (yesterday, this morning, before you came and interrupted me  $\triangleq$  engl: "has been doing X")

*va hək'an x̂u il çəkmişkirqoaşəma*

*va        hək'an    x̂u     il        çəkmişkirqoaşəma*

you.ERG just now water here draw(PTCP.PFV.AZ)-LV:do-IPFV-PTCP-COP.below-PST-EXCL

"Oh, so you've just been building a water pipeline here!"

(said the interviewer, who had interrupted the worker)



# Summary:

## Distinction between *a-ṣə* and *qoa-ṣə*

*a-ṣə*: Imperfective far past

"used to do"

"was doing, when X happened"

*qoa-ṣə*: Imperfective near past

"spent a certain (recent) time doing X"

"has been doing X, until interrupted now"

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<i>ku-i</i>	1. DP near 2. PTCP.PFV of <i>kui</i> , <i>kiri</i> 'put together; make'
<i>ĕu-i</i>	PTCP.IPFV of 'be, become'
<i>ĥu-i</i>	PTCP.IPFV of 'be (located), exist'

# What happened with the gap in the system?

The copula *q-oo* has lost its primary deictic meaning "below"; instead, it expresses what can be expected from a copula "near":

- third person located near speaker
- events witnessed by speaker
- near past

=> *q-oo* has moved into the gap left by *\*k-oo*, which may have been the first step of the whole re-grammaticalization process

# Outlook and further research requirements

The imperfective past in *-a-ṣə* can express "used to do X". Further research is needed to identify the functional distinction between this form and the past habitual in *(t)ar-ṣə*.

# Outlook and further research requirements

The copulas do not only combine with the imperfective participle, to form present and imperfective past. They also combine with the perfective participle (with and without  $-\text{ʃ}\text{ə}$ ). Further past-related forms are constructed with proximal demonstratives (with and without  $-\text{ʃ}\text{ə}$ ), and the bare perfective participle with  $-\text{ʃ}\text{ə}$ .

Nothing is known so far about the functional distinction between these eleven (!) past tense forms!

Thank you for your attention!