Michael Daniel

MEHWEB VERB MORPHOLOGY

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The paper describes the morphology of the verbal inflection in Mehweb, a Dargwa lect of central Daghestan, Russia. The description is partly based on previous research and partly on the field data the author collected in 2009 to the present. Only formal morphology of synthetic verb forms is discussed.

Keywords: East Caucasian, Dargwa, verb, morphology

JEL classification: Z

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 with the gender (nominal class) of their nominative argument, distinguishing three primary classes – masculine (M), feminine (F) and neuter (N), 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 the subject of the first or second person, depending on the illocution. 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 the 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, -ur* or *-un*. The aorist stem is used in the participle and the forms derived from it. Many other forms, including all forms in the imperfective, are however formed in the same way for all verbs. 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, highly irregular, in Section 10.

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.

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. Marking of gender

	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 (polarity) or a derivational prefixes. 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   Pvb-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 *-ik-* synchronically means 'happen'.
The masculine marker is also lost in stems with the initial u-, such as:

(3)   d-uq-un   vs.   uq-un (<w-uk-un)
        F-enter.Pfv-Aor   M.enter.Pfv-Aor

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 ½). Unlike gender agreement, subject agreement shows accusative pattern and is controlled by the nominative NPs with intransitive verbs and the ergative NPs with transitive verbs. What is particular about subject agreement in Mehweb is that it is sensitive to the locutive type of the utterance. The subject suffix appears with first person subjects in declarative utterances but with second person subjects in the 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 (½) and non-subject (3) forms:

Table 2. Subject forms and their non-subject counterparts

		'come'		'put on'	
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
the perfective and imperfective paradigms

	perfective	imperfective
categories showing different marking in the perfective vs. imperfective paradigms		
past	-ib/-ur/-un/-ub	-ib
participle	past + -i(l)	-ul
converb	ptcp + -le	-uwe
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 2015). Other parallel categories in the two paradigms use the same markers.

To some extent, the opposition between the same forms is better viewed as the opposition between single vs. multiple event / habitual. The durative/progressive is expressed periphrastically by a combination of the auxiliary with the imperfective converb. Thus, the synthetic present and the synthetic imperfect with most verbs only yield habitual interpretation.

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', =*uʁes* '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* ~ =*uqes* 'go'. Another defective verb is the bound root **k'es* (probably from *uk'es* Ipfv 'say') that is used in some morphologically complex but un-analyzable verbs.

Some verbs have identical perfective and imperfective stems. These include *umces* 'weight, measure', *irxes* 'reap', *irc'es* 'weed', =*alces* 'spin (thread)', =*urh* '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: (=)*iž* '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 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' (animate) and *es* (Pfv) ~ =*uk'an* (Ipfv) 'say, tell', both of which are morphologically irregular. The latter verb may be considered two separate lexical items ('say' and 'tell').

Other verbs have two separate stems represented by different segments.

There are few highly irregular verbs, 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'-*	*gu-*	(=*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 morphological 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	Constraints & Tendencies	Exceptions, e.g.	No.
infixation in Ipfv	<l>	'fill' =ic'-~=ilc'-	none		18
infixation in Ipfv	<r>	'throw' ih-(ub)~irh^w-	labialization	'put' =ix-~=irx-	5
er- in Pfv		'drink' =erž-~=už-	labialization	'milk' =erz~iz	17
VlC ~ LuC	alC ~ luC elC ~ luC	'read' =elč'-(un)~luč'-	Aor in -un	'squeze' =alq'ˤ-~luq'-	9
ablaut	a-~i- e-~i-	'open' abx-~ibx- 'be enough' =eʔ~=iʔ	(Aor in -ib)		19
ablaut	a-~u- e-~u-	'sift' ar-(un)~ir- 'spin tread' =erg-~=urg	labialization Aor in -un or -ur	'find' =arg-~=urg- 'die' =ebk'-~=ubk'-	22

Infixation of *-l-* (18 verbs) is attested in all inflectional classes, while infixation of *-r-* (seven verbs) is present first of all in the few labialized perfective stem (labialized stems, alias aorist in *-ub*). More generally, both infixation of *-r-* in the imperfective stem and the *er-* strategy in the perfective stem seem to correlate with labialization, occurring either in stems with a final labialized consonant or i stems with a -u- in the aorist marker. 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 conjugation with the imperfective stem as the imperfective past, so in fact it may be considered to be simply a suffix of the past, while the perfective / imperfective interpretation is, 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 declensional properties of this 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*	'mow'
	=ic-ib	*=ilc-ib*	'sell'
1a	*=ig-ub*	*=igʷ-ib*	'burn'
2.	*arc-ur*	*urc-ib*	'fly'
	=emž-ur	*=umžib*	'get warm'
3.	*=erg-un*	*=ug-ib*	'eat'
	alʔ-un	*ulʔ-ib*	'cut'

Some verbs have *-o-* instead of *-u-* in the aorist marker. This results from the presence of pharyngealization (either as a lexical property of the verb or in the presence of a pharyngeal stop). Cf.

(4) *=orʔ-ob* 'break' (variant of *-ub*)

(5) *=iʔ-on* 'steal' (variant of *-un*).

Again, labialization plays a major role in the morphological behavior of the verb, among other things through interaction with the marker of the aorist.

Table 8. Labialized stems

	Perfective			Imperfective		
	Imp	Inf	Past	Imp	Inf	Past
'slaughter'	*=erhʷa*	*=erhʷes*	*=erhun*	*=urhe*	*=urhes*	*=urhib*
'burn'	*=alkʾʷa*	*=alkʾʷes*	*=alk'un*	*luk'e*	*luk'es*	*luk'ib*
'go down'	*=erχʷe*	*=erχʷes*	*=erχur*	*=urχe*	*=urχes*	*=urχib*

As the table shows, labialization is lost before (absorbed by) *-un* and *-ur* of the aorist but preserved in other perfective forms. 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.

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 chooses *-ub* as the aorist marker but itself is always absorbed *=orʔ^w-, *=uh^w-. 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 at several few but important points. 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*.

Table 9. Divergence between
the default *-ib* and the *-ub* conjugations

		Imperative	Past	Past, subject form	Converb
'come'	Pfv	=ak'e	=ak'ib	=ak'ira	=ak'ile
	Ipfv	=ik'e	=ik'ib	=ik'ira	=ak'uwe
'put on'	Pfv	ik'ʷa	ik'ub	ik'ubra	ik'uble
	Ipfv	irk'ʷa	irk'ʷib	irk'ʷira	irk'uwe

The same table shows that 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*. 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', =alk'un 'take fire', =igub 'burn', ik'ub 'надеть', =erhun 'заколоть', =usaʔun 'заснуть', =erʔub 'высохнуть', =aˤhun 'намокнуть', =erq'ub 'become worn', =erʁub 'dig out', =alhun 'wake up', =erχur 'come down'. As explained above, the verbs =orʔob '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 *ħa-* and the volitive negation *m-*. 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 (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 thus looks like follows:

(6)   har-ħa-d-uq-un
        PVB-Neg-F-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 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:

$$\hbar a\text{-wCC} \rightarrow \hbar a\text{-C}^{(w)}\text{C}^{(w)}$$

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 gender slot	₌uC-	₌aC-	₌iC-	₌uCC-	₌aCC-	₌iCC-
	'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 gender slot	*#uC*	*#iC*	*#uCC-*	*#aCC-*	*#iCC-*	*#eCC-*
	'sift' (ipfv)	'take' (ipfv)	'pour' (ipfv)	'open' (pfv)	'open' (ipfv)	'count' (pfv)
Pst Neg	*ħa-wr-ib*	*ħa-js-ib*	*ħa-lqʼʷ-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*   (b) *luč'-uwe*   *agʷara*
     read.Ipfv-Cvb Aux-M   read.Ipfv-Cvb Aux.Neg-M
     'He is reading'   'He is not reading'

Availability of other negation strategies in periphrasis (negation on the lexical verb, negation on auxiliaries other than copula).

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-* 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-F-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. 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*)
F-come.Pfv-Pst-Atr   F-come.Pfv~Neg-F-come.Pfv-Pst-Atr
'she did not come'

(15) reduplication in the prohibitive
d-iz-mi-d-iz-ad   (also   *mi-d-iz-ad*)
F-wash.Ipfv~Neg.Vol-F-wash.Ipfv-Proh   Neg.Vol-F-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)

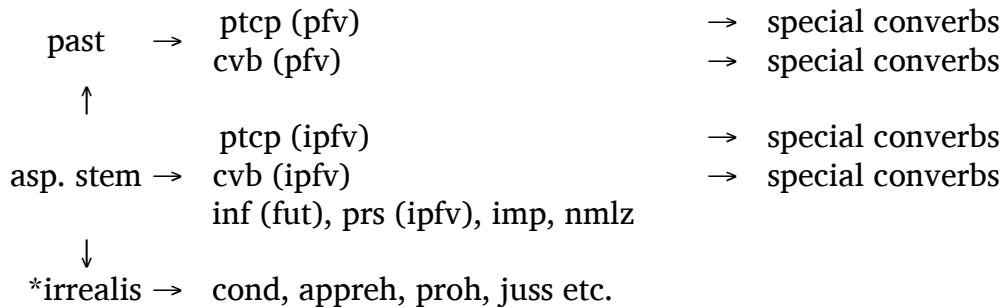| *w-ak'-ib-i*	*ħ-ak'-ib-i*
M-come.Pfv-Pst-Atr	Neg-M.come.Pfv-Pst-Atr
'the one who came'	'the one who did not come'

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:

Figure 14. Derivation of verbal forms

past →	ptcp (pfv)	→	special converbs
	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.		

The aspectual stem immediately derives the past (aorist in the perfective, imperfective past in the imperfective paradigm), 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 2015). The same element *-a-* is also used in the immediate converb (*-arijal*), whose meanings seems to lack the irrealis component; the *-a-* will be considered as part of the suffix of the converb.
The counterfactual form in *-are*, one of the irrealis series, is analyzable into the irrealis marker *-a-* and *-re*. The latter is indeed attested elsewhere, including on the copulas (*lewre* and *ag^wire*) but probably also on past forms (=*igibre* from =*igib* 'want' Pst, Ipfv) – see (Dobrushina 2015). If the latter pattern is confirmed to be productive, there is an important 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, and so it is in the subject forms of the verbs in *-ub* type.

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 perfective 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 the parallel in the converb formation – while *-uwe* in the imperfective paradigm is dedicated to verbal morphology and forms only converbs, *-le* in the perfective paradigm is also used as a cross-categorial adverbializer.

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 2015).

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*. As participles are used in finite clauses, the generalization seems to be that *-deš* is a predicative nominalizer. Note, however, that it 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) {loc}	-	*�ik'an* *�ik'as*	-	*irk'ʷan* *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{loc}	*�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) {loc}	*�ak'ib* *�ak'ira*	*�ik'ib* *�ik'ira*	*ik'ub* *ik'ubra*	*irk'ʷib* *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) {loc}	-	*urcan* *urcas*	-	*luč'an* *luč'as*
imp	*arce(na)*	*urce(na)*	*�elč'a(na)*	*luč'e(na)*
inf/fut	*arces*	*urces*	*�elč'es*	*luč'es*
fut{loc}	*arciša*	*urciša*	*�elč'iša*	*luč'iša*
nmlz	*arcri*	*urcri*	*�elč'ri*	*luč'ri*
ptcp	*arcuri(l)*	*urcul*	*�elč'uni(l)*	*luč'ul*
pst (3) {loc}	*arcur* *arcurra*	*urcib* *urcira*	*�elč'un* *�elč'unna*	*luč'ib* *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 are irregular viz. 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) – *bet'a* 'say' (imperative). The verb *uˤq'es* 'go' has two imperatives, the regular *uˤq'-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 2015).

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 have (a) have *-a-* as a stem vowel (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' (b but not a) or *=acʼ-es* 'melt' (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 *askʼ-es* 'catch on', *=alkʼʷ-es* 'burn', *abx-es* 'open', *=arx-es* 'send', *=arχ-es* 'touch', *=alqʼˤ-es* 'rinse', *=alħʷ-es* 'wake up', *=aˤld-es* 'hide'. However, some verbs, including *=aˤlq-aˤs* 'give harvest', *=aˤbʔ-as* – 'kill', *=arʔ-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 2015) 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	Loc	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=leˀur* and *agʷarleˀur*, 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 probably historically being 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 irregular verbs

stem		*k'ib* *	*ib* 'say'	*uk'*
		Ipfv	Pfv	Ipfv
prs (3) {loc}		*k'an,* *k'as*	-	*꞊uk'an* *꞊uk'as*
imp		*k'e(na)*	*bet'a(na)*	*꞊uk'e*
inf/fut		*k'es*	*es*	*꞊uk'es*
fut {loc}		*k'iša*	*iša*	*꞊uk'iša*
nmlz		?	*ari*	*꞊uk'ri*
ptcp		*k'ul*	*ibi*	*꞊uk'ul*
pst (3) {loc}		*k'ib* *k'ira*	*ib* *ira*	*꞊uk'ib* *꞊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) {loc}	-	*irgʷan* *irgʷas*	-	*lugan* *lugas*
imp	-	*irgʷe(na)*	*aga(na)* *꞊ega(na)*	*luge(na)*
inf/fut	*gʷes*	*irgʷes*	*ges*	*luges*
fut {loc}	*gʷiša*	*irgʷiša*	*giša*	*lugiša*
nmlz	*gʷari*	*irgʷri*	*gari*	*lugri*
ptcp	*gubi*	*irgul*	*gibi*	*lugul*
pst (3) {loc}	*gub* *gubra*	*irgʷib* *irgʷira*	*gib* *gira*	*lugib* *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. As with other irregular forms, it is only irregular in the perfective, where three variants of the stem are present. Two of them are *-aˤq’-* (aorist, general converb, participle and forms based on the participle) and *=uˤq’* (imperative, infinitive, future, forms based on irrealis a-base and the action nominal).

However, similarly to the caused motion verbs (see below), there is additionally the stem *q’ˤ-* which is used in the general converb and in the synthetic present forms. Note that synthetic presents are not formed from perfective stems. Unlike the two 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 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 present forms; unlike other synthetic presents that (at least tend to) have non-episodic (habitual) interpretations, these forms seem to be limited to duratives. 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, loc	-	*q’aˤn* *q’aˤs*	*=ašan* *=ašas*
imp {pl}	*=uˤq’e,* *=eʔe*		*=aše* *=ašina*
inf/fut	*=uˤq’es*		*=ašes*
fut {loc}	*=uˤq’iša*		*=ašiša*
nmlz	*=uˤq’ri*		*=ašri*
ptcp	*=aˤq’uni*		*=ašul*
pst 3, loc	*=aˤq’un* *=aˤq’unna*		*=ašib* *=ašira*
cvb	*=aˤq’uwe*	*q’uˤwe*	*=ašuwe*
proh	-		*ma=ašadi*
opt	*=uq’aˤb*		*=ašab*
appreh	*=uq’aˤla*		*=ašala*
cond	*=uq’aˤk’a*		*=ašak’a*

The difference between the two perfective imperatives is not very clear but is probably correlated to the presence or absence of the final point, as in 'go away' and 'go there'. 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 monoconsonant base expresses the meaning of ventive (*k-* and *χ-*) and is perfective, the *=uC-* 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 *uC*~*=iC*, with two perfective stems sharing one imperfective counterpart. However, similarly to the 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, and fully similar to the main motion verb described above, the monoconsonant 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).

Table 20. Inflection of the caused motion verbs
kes and *χes*

	k-ib-		**=uk-**	**=ik-**	**χ-**		**=uχ-**	**=iχ-**
	Pfv	?	Pfv	Ipfv	Pfv	?	Pfv	Ipfv
Prs	-	**kas**	-	=ikas	-	**χas**	-	=iχas
Loc	-	**kan**	-	=ikan	-	**χan**	-	=iχan
Ptcp	kibi		=ukibi	=ikul	χibi		=uχibi	=iχul
Pst {Loc}	kib		=ukib	=ikib	χib		=uχib	=iχib
	kira		=ukira	=ikira	χira		=uχira	=iχira
Cvb	kile	**kuwe**	=ukile	=ikuwe	χile	**χuwe**	=uχile	=iχuwe
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 {Loc}	kib		=ukib	=ikib	χib		=uχib	=iχib
	kira		=ukira	=ikira	χira		=uχira	=iχira
Cvb	kile	**kuwe**	=ukile	=ikuwe	χile	**χuwe**	=uχile	=iχuwe
Proh	-		-	mi=ikadi	-		-	mi=iχadi
Opt	kab		=ukab	=ikab	χab		=uχab	=iχab

One more irregularity of the caused motion verbs is that their imperfective stem is A-labile with an antipassive pattern: the bringer may be coded by the ergative (the theme is then coded by nominative) or by nominative (the theme is then optional and, when present, is coded by the ergative).

11. Conclusion

Above, I have presented an analysis of the data on the morphology of the verb in Mehweb, a Dargwa lect of central Daghestan. The presentation only dealt with formal synthetic inflectional morphology. Accordingly, periphrasis, derivation and the use of morphological forms was outside my scope. Further study is needed to cover all these topics.

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