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SPECIALIZED CONVERBS IN MEHWEB

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SPECIALIZED CONVERBS IN MEHWEB²

This paper classifies the semantic inventory and describes the morphosyntactic characteristics of specialized converbs in Mehweb a lect of the Dargwa group of the East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family.

The data for this description were collected during a field trip to the village of Mehweb (Megeb)³. For Mehweb I describe converbs which have the following meaning: anteriority, immediacy, inceptivity, simultaneity, posteriority, hypothetical conditionality, counterfactuality, concessivity (and another meaning close to concessivity), causality, purpose and graduality.

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1 Introduction

Specialized converbs are a subtype of converbs which specify the semantic relation between the main and the dependent clauses (e.g. purposive or causal); for a strict definition see Section 2.2. This paper describes the semantic inventory and morphosyntactic properties of specialized converbs in Mehweb.

Mehweb is a lect of the Dargwa group of the East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family and is spoken in a village of the same name in Central Daghestan. The number of speakers is about 1,000 (counting both the village itself and migrants to the plains). The village is surrounded by Avar -and Lak-speaking villages. Most of its population is currently trilingual in Avar and Russian.

This paper consists of 5 sections. Section 2 presents the subject of this study and defines the terms. Section 3 is a survey of specialized converbs in some East Caucasian languages. Section 4 describes specialized converbs in Mehweb. Section 5 is the conclusion.

The data presented in this work were collected during a fieldtrip to Daghestan in August of 2015.

2. Defining the terms

2.1 Converb

According to [Haspelmath 1995a: 3], a converb is “a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination”. In other words, one can understand converbs as “verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives”.

Another definition of converb comes from [Nedjalkov 1995]: “as a first approximation, we can define a converb as a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., it does not realize its semantic valencies”.

Both these definitions agree in that a converb: 1) is a form of a verb; 2) depends on a verb of a main clause and 3) marks adverbial subordination (i.e. is not a semantic argument of the main verb).

2.2. Specialized converbs

For some languages, specialized and general (contextual) converbs have to be distinguished. As formulated in [Haspelmath 1995b], unlike general converbs, which “leave the precise nature of

the semantic link between the clauses open”, specialized converbs have “a quite specific adverbial meaning”, i.e. establish specific semantic relations between the matrix and the converbial clauses. The relations expressed by specialized converbs can be of temporal, locative or logical nature. A more detailed description of the semantic relations conveyed by specialized converbs found in East Caucasian languages is given in Section 3.

Further, unlike general converbs, specialized converbs

- are never used in clause chaining¹
- are never used in periphrasis

For a discussion of general converbs in Menweb, see [Kustova 2015].

2.3 Some problems in defining specialized converbs

Even after distinguishing between specialized and general converbs, there remain some problems with defining specialized converbs per se. The issue is telling specialized converbs apart from some other non-finite verb forms which form subordinate clauses with similar semantics. I discuss three verb forms that cause problems of this type, namely infinitives, participles and masdars inflected for case (or with other suffixation).

Distinguishing an infinitive construction from converbal clauses is difficult in sentences with purposive semantics. Here, the infinitive formally fits the definition of a converb. This issue is discussed in [Haspelmath 1995a]. Haspelmath argues that prototypical infinitives have a crucial property that converbs lack: they are primarily used in complement clauses.

The problem of participles and masdars is not as easy to solve. In this paper, I consider inflected participles, like *wak'ibičela* in the example below, to be a specialized converb.

3 In [Haspelmath 1995a] clause chaining is defined as a sequence in which each converb depends on the verb that follows it immediately and which contain only one fully finite final verb.

(1) Пяхул ваклибичела уруве лер.

[ʔa^hχul w-ak'-ib-i-če-la] ur-uwe le-r

guest M-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-TR-EL rain.IPFV-CVB COP-NPL

'From the moment the guest came, it was raining.'

However, I do not include masdars with case markers, like *berχ^wrilizela* in the example below, in specialized converbs.

(2) Шагъаличе бухІна берхврилизела, дикъес даиб заб.

[šaha-li-če b-uĥna b-erχ^w-ri-li-ze-la] d-iq'-es

town-OBL-SUPER HPL-inside HPL-go.down.PFV-NMLZ-OBL-INTER-EL NPL-do.IPFV-INF

d-aʔ-ib zab

NPL-begin-PST rain

'As soon as they entered the town, it began to rain.'

The main reason why participles and masdars are treated differently is the fact that, unlike masdars, modified participles seem to be a frequent source for new forms of specialized converbs (see for example [Creissels 2010]).

It goes without saying that despite this, the decision is somewhat arbitrary. More research could reveal clearer criteria for defining a form as either a specialized converb or another non-finite verb form, or establish more distinct boundaries between this kind of converb, and masdars and participles.

3. A short survey of specialized converbs in East Caucasian languages

The languages of the East Caucasian family usually have relatively rich inventories of specialized converbs. In this section, I list the semantic contrasts which can be expressed by specialized converbs, based on an analysis of the data from five languages, namely Lezgian (Lezxic), Khinalug (family isolate), Akhvakh (Avar-Andic), Ingush (Nakh) and Khwarshi (Tsezic). The description below is based on grammatical descriptions of these languages.

As above, specialized converbs may be divided into three semantic groups, namely temporal converbs, converbs of logical relation and locative converbs. Among temporal specialized converbs, the following can be distinguished: the (neutral) anterior converb, the anterior converb of recent past (as described for Khwarshi in [Khalilova 2009]), the immediate converb, the inceptive converb, the posterior converb, the imminent converb, the terminative converb, the non-posterior converb, the durative converb, the punctive converb. Specialized converbs of logical relation include the causal converb, the purposive converb, the converb of negative purpose, the simulative converb, the converb of hypothetical probability, the converb of high probability, the counterfactual converb and the concessive converb. The systems of locative converbs are set apart. They are usually formed by an affix common to all locative converbs followed by a marker of motion (essive¹, lative, versative, translative, terminative, etc.), the same as used in nominal locative forms (see, for example, [Creissels, 2010:15]). Thus, a language has as many specialized locative converbs as there are orientation categories.

Note that among the converbs listed above some are typologically rare and unusual, like the anterior converb of the recent past and the converb of high probability in Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009:412) or the non-posterior converb in Akhvakh (Creissels, 2010). On the other hand, there are also extremely widespread converbs like the neutral anterior converb and the causal converb, which are present in all five languages. The semantics of those that are present in Mehweb is discussed in the next section.

4. Specialized converbs in Mehweb

This section provides a detailed description of the specialized converbs found in Mehweb. Each converb comes with two examples that show that the form can be used both when the subject of the converb is coreferent with the subject of the main clause and when the two clauses have different subjects. Each different subject example shows the possibility for the converbal clause to be embedded into the main clause in order to show its subordinate nature.

Only temporal converbs and converbs of logical relations are described, while locative converbs are left to further research.

4 Commonly zero. However, this is not true for the Dargwa branch.

At the end of the section I provide a table showing the possibility of forming each specialized converb from perfective and imperfective verbal stem, together with examples of the relevant word forms.

4.1 Temporal converbs

4.1.1 Anterior converb

The converbal clause with the anterior converb expresses an event which takes place before the event in the main clause and can be translated as 'when X happened' or 'after X happened'. There are a number of variants for markers of this converb: *-a(r)kʌle*, *-akʌe*, *-a(r)kʌ*, *-kʌle*, *-kʌla*. The speakers vary as to the extent to which they would consider each variant acceptable. Only *-akʌle* is equally accepted by all speakers. As there are so many variants, it is possible that there are subtle semantic distinctions between these markers, but I do not have data on these. In general, a speaker accepts several variants considering them to be interchangeable without any change in the meaning of the sentence. The markers of the anterior converb are added to the participle. The form is derived from participles formed from both perfective and imperfective stems.

(3) Ихишу, бархи бухъуниагъле, дурси дакиб.

iχ-i-šu, [barħi b-uq-un-i-akʌle], dursi d-ak'-ib
 this-OBL-AD sun N-thrust.PFV-PST-PTCP-ANT girl F-come.PFV-PST

'When the sun rose, a girl came to him.'

(4) Унналишу баклибигъале ихди ценхе бикиб.

[unna-li-šu b-ak'-ib-i-kʌle] iχ-di cenħe b-ik-ib
 neighbor-OBL-AD HPL-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-ANT this-PL together HPL-happen.PFV-PST

'They met, when they came to their neighbour.'

(5) Ил виклулагъле, ахле лебре.

[il w-ik'.ipfv-ul-akʌle], aħle le-b-re
 this M-come.IPFV-PST-ANT, good COP-N-PST

'Every time he came, it was good.'

It appears that the last example shows that the anterior converb formed from the imperfective stem conveys the sense of multiplicity, while the meaning of anteriority seems to fade away.

4.1.2 Immediate converb

The immediate converb encodes an event which immediately precedes the event in the matrix clause. Its semantics is comparable to that of the English 'as soon as X happened'. The marker of the immediate converb is the suffix *-rijal*, which is attached to the perfective potential stem.

(7) ДяхИи, их уналишу вакIариял, бикъес баиб.

Daʰhi, [iχ unna-li-šu w-ak'-a-rijal], b-iq'-es b-aʔ-ib.

Snow this neighbor-OBL-AD M-come.PFV-POT-IMM N-do.IPFV-INF N-become-PST

'Just after he got to his neighbour's, it began to snow.'

(8) Ихди уналишу бакIариял ихди ценхе бикиб.

[iχ-di unna-li-šu b-ak'-a-rijal], iχ-di cenħe b-ik-ib

this-PL neighbor-OBL-AD HPL-come.PFV-POT-IMM this-PL together HPL-happen.PFV-PST

'They met, as soon as they got to their neighbour's.'

Note that the form may not be derived from the imperfective potential stem, cf. **wik'arijal*, **urcarijal*.

There is another way of expressing the same meaning using a masdar in the inter-relative form:

(9) Шагъаличе бухIна берхврилизела, дикъес даиб заб.

[šaha-li-če b-uħna b-erχ^w-ri-li-ze-la], d-iq'-es

town-OBL-SUPER HPL-inside HPL-go.down.PFV-NMZ-OBL-INTER-EL NPL-do.IPFV-INF

d-aʔ-ib zab

NPL-ripen.PFV-PST rain

'As soon as they entered the town, it began to rain.'

4.1.3 The inceptive converb

The event encoded by the inceptive converb is the initial boundary of the event described by the main clause. It can be translated into English as 'from the moment when' or 'since'. The marker of the inceptive converb is *-čela*, which is attached to the perfective participle. The converb marker comes from the case markers *-če-la* (SUPER-EL), which literally means 'from above'.

(10) Дус, нуни кагъар бархъибичела, гИярбякъун.

duš, [nu-ni kahar b-arch-ib-i-čela], ʔaʳ-b-aʳq'-un
 year I-ERG letter N-send.PFV-PST-PTCP-INCP away-N-go.PFV-PST

'A year passed since I sent the letter.'

(11) Их вакибичела ивахИяд, их дучиркИуве лев.

[iχ w-ak'-ib-i-čela iwaʳħaʳd], iχ dučirk'-uwe le-w
 this M-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-INCP back this laugh.IPFV-CVB COP-M

'From the moment he came back he laughed.'

The form is impossible with the imperfective stem, cf. **wik'uličela*, **urcuričela*.

4.1.4 Simultaneous converb

The semantics of simultaneity can be expressed by a converb marker *-ija(da)l* attached to a participle⁵. The form exists for both perfective and imperfective verb stems. There are two examples for *-ijadal* below, in each case *-da-* can be dropped without any change in the semantics.

(12) Ну, дила узи лучИулиядал, чай бужуве лелла.

nu, [di-la uzi luč'-ul-ijadal], čaj b-už-uwe le-l-la.
 I.NOM I.OBL-GEN brother read.IPFV-PTCP-SMLT tea N-drink.IPFV-CNV COP-F-1/2

'I drink tea while my brother reads.'

5 The most convincing description of the derivation of this form from perfective participle is that when the perfective participle (with final *-i*) is followed by this marker, the two vowels assimilate (Yuri Lander, pers.com).

(13) Ну лучІулиядал, чай бужуве лелла.

[*nu luč'-ul-ijadal*], *čaj* *b-už-uwe* *le-l-la*.

I.NOM read.IPFV-PTCP-SMLT tea N-drink.IPFV-CNV COP-F-1/2

'I drink tea while reading.'

Formed from perfective participle, the converb shows semantic difference from the one formed from imperfective participle by getting the immediate semantics:

(14) Предложение белчІуниядал, перевод бакъиб.

[*predloženije b-elč'-un-ijadal*], *perevod* *b-aq'-ib*

sentence N-read.PFV-PTCP-SMLT translation N-do.PFV-PST

'As soon as (s)he read, (s)he translated.'

4.1.5 Posterior converb

The posterior converb either marks the final boundary of the event in the main clause or means that the event in the main clause happens before the event in the converbal clause. The English equivalents are 'before' or 'until'. This converb is formed by the affix *-če* added to the perfective stem followed by a vowel whose origin is hard to identify. There are no data concerning the existence of the form with the imperfective verb stem. The converbal suffix can be identified with the case marker *-če* (SUPER). The absence of the class marker allows us to consider it as, originally, the superlative marker¹.

(15) Заб, ихди шагъарлихе берхвече, даъиб дикъес.

zab, [*iχ-di šahar-li-ħe b-erχ^w-e-če*], *d-aʔ-ib* *d-iq'-es*

rain this-PL town-OBL-IN(LAT) HPL-go.down.PFV-?-PSTR NPL-do.PFV-PST NPL-do-IN

'It started raining before they entered the town'

6 Given that lative is unmarked in Mehweb.

(16) Ихдилини карават бакъиб гъилбихъече.

iχ-di-li-ni *karawat* *b-aq'-ib* [*hil-bix-e-če*]
this-PL-OBL-ERG bed HPL-do.PFV-PST down-hpl-lay.PFV-?-PSTR

'They made the bed before going to bed'

(17) Ихди шагъарлизе бакъаче ихдилизе гъунхъеди дахъил сикъал губ.

[*iχ-di* *šahar-li-ze* *b-ak'-a-če*] *iχ-di-li-ze*
this-PL town-OBL-INTER HPL-come.PFV-POT-PSTR this-PL-OBL-INTER(LAT)

hun-he-di *d-aqil* *si-k'al* *gub*
way-IN-TRANS NPL-a.lot what-UNIV see.PST

'They saw a lot before they entered the town.'

4.2 Conditional and counterfactual converbs

In this section I present a brief description of morphosyntactic properties of the conditional and counterfactual converbs. For more information on conditional forms see [Dobrushina 2015], where most examples in this section are taken from.

4.2.1 Hypothetical conditional converb

The marker of the conditional converb *-k'a* attaches to the potential stem. The form exists for both perfective and imperfective verb stems.

(18) Нуни гъатъа гакъа, хъуни наб тълъа бакъишав.

[*nu-ni* *ʔat'* *g-a-k'a*], *ħu-ni* *na-b* *t'ult'* *b-aq'-iša-w*
you-ERG flour give.PFV-POT-COND you-ERG I.OBL-DAT bread N-do.PFV-FUT-Q

'If I bring the flour, will you make chudu⁷?'

⁷ A traditional dish of Dagestania cuisine, something resembling a fried pie.

(19) Ну дила уршилини хьунул какIа, ихдилишур дуъеси.

nu *[di-la* *urši-li-ni* *xunul* *ka-k'a]*,
I I.OBL-GEN boy-OBL-ERG wife bring.PFV-COND

iχdi-li-šu-r *d-uʔ-es-i*
that.PL-OBL-AD-HPL(ESS) HPL-become-INF-OBL

'If my son gets married, I will live at their place.'

(Dobrushina 2015)

In the following example, the main and the converbal clause share the subject:

(20) Анвар вакIиле варгакIа абайсу икъэси.

[anwar *w-ak'-ile* *w-arg-a-k'a]* *abaj-šu* *uq'-es-(i)*
Anwar M-come.PFV-CVB M-find.PFV-POT-COND mother-AD go-INF-(OBL)

'If Anwar came, he would go to his mother.'

(Dobrushina 2015)

The following example shows this converb formed from the imperfective stem:

(21) Дахъил кунгане лучIакIа вфкъил сикал, нушазе далгъил.

[d-aqil *kung-ane* *luč'-a-k'a]* *d-aqil*
NPL-a.lot book-PL read.IPFV-POT-COND NPL-a.lot

si-k'al *nuša-ze* *d-alh-ul*
what-UNIV we-DAT NPL-know.IPFV-PTCP

'If we read many books, we will know many things.'

4.2.2 The counterfactual converb

The affix *-q'alle* marks the counterfactual conditional converb. It attaches to the perfective stem or to the imperfective participle.

(22) Хи анавайе вакъункъале, нушайни Магомет улцаре.

[*ħu anawaje w-aq'-un-q'ale nuša-jni magomet ulc-a-re.*
you.NOM fast M-do.PFV-PST-CTRF we-ERG Magomet M.catch.IPFV-POT-PST

'If you had driven fast, we would have caught Magomet.'

(23) Нура их вебкИибкъалле, дубкIаре.

nu-ra [iħ w-ebk'-ib-q'alle], d-ubk'-a-re
I-ADD this M-die.PFV-PST-CTRF F-die-POT-PST

'If (he) had died, I would have also died.'

(Dobrushina 2015)

The following example shows this converb formed from the imperfective stem:

(24) Их ишбари ашвиркулкъалле ахIе буIаре.

[*iħ išbari aš-w-irk-ul-q'alle aħle b-uʔ-a-re*
this today PREV-M-come.back.IPFV-PTCP-CTRF good N-be-POT-PST

'If he had come today, it would have been good.'

(Dobrushina 2015)

4.2.3 The concessive converb

The concessive converb is formed by the complex suffix *-k'a-ra* (-COND-ADD), added to the potential stem.

(25) Ихини, ихдилини гІят хІагакІара, пирог бакъиб.

Iχ-i-ni, [iχ-di-li-ni ʔaʔt ħa-g-a-k'ara], pirog b-aq'-ib
this-OBL-ERG this-PL-OBL-ERG flour NEG-give.PFV-POT-CONC pie N-do-PST
'Although they haven't given her flour, she baked a pie'

(26) Дунял забли уракІара нуша хъули хІябакъунна.

[dunaʕl zab-li ur-a-k'ara] nuša quli ħaʕ-b-aq'-un-na
world rain-OBL sift.IPFV-POT-CONC we home(LAT) NEG-HPL-do.PFV-PST-ADD
'Although it was raining, we didn't go home.'

(27) Нуни бикъакІара, хІу рази хІаргъван

[nu-ni b-iq'-a-k'ara], ħu razi ħa-rhw-an
I.ERG N-do.IPFV-POT-CONC you.NOM agree NEG-?-PRS
'Although I do (this), you are not happy.'

(Magometov 1982)

4.2.4 The *-ʔur* converb

The form *-ʔur* conveys concessive semantics. It is used when the event described by the converbal clause was unlikely to happen and probably undesirable; but since it nevertheless did happen, the action in the main clause takes place. The suffix *-ʔur* attaches to the general converb.

Not all speakers accept this form and even those who find it acceptable with some verbs are unable to think of any example with other verbs. This form in Mehweb is thus marginal.

There are a limited number of words for which this form is reported, and there is not enough information to support the claim that such forms are either possible or impossible with imperfective verb stem.

(28) XIy вакИлеГур, нушани хИад, гIехладдеш дакъиша.

[ħu w-ak'-ile-ǰur], nuša-ni ħa-d
you.NOM M-come.PFV-CVB-CONC2 we-ERG you-DAT

ǰo^hlad-deš d-aq'-iša
hospitality-NMLZ NPL-do.PFV-FUT

'As long as you came here, we will treat you.'

(29) XIy бакИлеГур, буге.

[ħu b-ak'-ile-ǰur], b-ug-e
you.NOM N-come.PFV-CNV-CONC2 N-eat.PFV-IMP

'Since you (to an animal) came here, eat.'

4.3 Other converbs of logical relations

4.3.1 The causal converb

The causal converb describes an event, which caused the situation in the main clause. The affix of the causal converb *-na* is attached to the general converb. The form is possible for both perfective and imperfective stems.

(30) Их, дяхИ бакъилена, рузилишу вякъун.

iħ, [da^hħi b-aq'-i-le-na], ruzi-li-šu w-a^hq'-un.
this snow N-do.PFV-PST-CVB-CAUSE sister-OBL-AD M-go.PFV-PST

'Because it started to snow, he went to his sister.'

(31) Хъунуйни суалт хъардиуве лелле ихизе, хъули гІарагъа дакІилена.

xunuj-ni s^wal-t xardi-uwe le-l-le [ixi-ze, quli ʒarava
 wife-ERG question-PL ask-CVB COP-NPL-PST he-INTER home(LAT) late

d-ak'-i-le-na]

F-come.PVF-CVB-CAUSE

'His wife asked him questions, because he came home late.'

(32) Мурад викиувена, нуша хІуле буъира.

[murad w-ik'-uwe-na], nuša ħule b-uʔ-i-ra
 Murad M-come.IPFV-CVB-CAUSE we eye HPL-be-PST-1/2

'We were expecting Murad, because he was coming'

4.3.2 The purposive converb

The purposive converb expresses an event conceptualized as the purpose of the action in the main clause ('in order to', 'so that'). It is formed by the affix *-alis* added to the bare verb stem and is possible with both perfective and imperfective stems. The marker is likely to originate from *-a-li-s* (-POT-OBL-DAT), taking into account that dative cross-linguistically often expresses the purposive meaning (see, for example, [Haspelmath 1995b]). As the purposive meaning, on the other hand, is not unrelated to irrealis domain, the use of the potential *-a-* may not be coincidental (Michael Daniel, pers.com). So, it could be better to analyse this converbal form as [verb stem]-POT-PURP.

(33) Ихдили, дурси гъилдихъалис, буруш бакъиб.

ix-di-li, [dursi hil-d-ix-alis], buruš b-aq'-ib
 this-PL-ERG girl down-F-lie.PFV-PURP cloth N-do-PST

'They made the bed so that the girl could go to bed.'

(34) Дурсилини буруш бакъиб, гьилдихъалис.

dursi-li-ni buruř b-aq'-ib, [hil-d-ix-alis].
girl-OBL-ERG cloth N-do.pfv-PST down-F-lie.pfv-PURP

'The girl made the bed in order to go to bed.'

(35) Али викъалис, нуни игрушуне асира.

[ali w-ik'-alis] nu-ni igruř-une as-ira
Ali M-come.IPFV-PURP I-ERG toy-PL take.PFV-PST

'I brought Ali the toys so that he would come.'

The semantics of purpose can also be expressed by the infinitive.

(36) Ихдили буруш бакъиб дурси гьилдихъес.,

iř-di-li buruř b-aq'-ib [dursi hil-d-ix-es].
this-PL-OBL cloth N-do-PST girl DOWN-F-lie.PFV-INF

'They made the bed for the girl to go to bed.'

(37) Дурсилини буруш бакъиб, гьилдихъес.

dursi-li-ni buruř b-aq'-ib, [hil-d-ix-es]
girl-OBL-ERG cloth N-do-PST DOWN-F-lie.PFV-INF

'The girl made the bed in order to go to bed.'

However, for the reasons given in Section 2, I do not consider the infinitive construction to be a specialized converb, though in this case it does fit its definition from the functional point of view. For more detail, see the discussion in [Haspelmath 1995a: 28].

4.3.3 The gradual converb

The affix *-cad(i)* attached to the participle expresses the semantics of graduality. Such clauses can be translated into English using the expression 'the more ... , the more ...'. The affix also

exists in standard Dargwa as a nominal marker expressing the meaning 'as much as, about', (equative, [van den Berg 2001: 25]). It also occurs with verb forms, having nearly the same semantics as in Mehweb. Etymologically, the first part of this marker (-*ca*-) derives from the locative marker meaning 'from the speaker', but the etymology of the second part is not clear. The form can be derived from the participle of both perfective and imperfective verb stems.

(38) Урши, дахънал дурси лучІулцади, вахънал укуве лев.

urši, [d-aqnal dursi luč'-ul-cadi], w-aqnal uk-uwe le-w
 boy [F-often girl read.IPFV-PTCP-GRAD] M-often M.eat.IPFV -CVB COP-M
 'The more the girl reads, the more the boy eats.'

(39) Ит кунг белчІуницад, наб белчІес диган.

it kung b-elč-un-i-cad na-b b-elč-es d-ig-an
 this book N-read.PFV-PST-PTCP you-DAT N-read.PFV-INFNPL-want.IPFV-PRS
 'The more I read this book, the more I want to read.'

Note that, apart from this logical relation, this form may also have a temporal interpretation (with semantics of simultaneity), as shown in the example below.

(40) Дурси шябяхІ къуве лерцад ихия пикруме лелле рузиличер.

[dursi ša'baħ q'-uwe le-r-cad zama-jni iħija pikr-u-me le-l-le
 girl village go-CVB COP-F-GRAD time-OBL this.GEN thought-PS-PL COP-F-PST

ruzi-li-če-r

sister-OBL-SUPER-F(ESS)

'While going to the village, the girl was thinking about her sister.'¹

8 Literally: her thoughts were about her sister.

4.4 Examples of the forms

This section contains two tables. Table 1 shows the compatibility of converbal markers with perfective or imperfective verb stems and the verb forms which serve as the base for the corresponding converbs. Table 2 provides examples of each of the specialized converb described above with perfective and imperfective verb stem.

Tab. 1. Compatibility of converbal markers with perfective or imperfective verb stems

converb	marker	perfective		imperfective	
		+/- (example)	base	+/- (example)	base
ant	<i>-a(r)ʋle, -aʋe, -a(r)ʋ, -ʋale, -ʋela</i>	+ (3,4)	<i>participle</i>	+ (5)	<i>participle</i>
imm	<i>-rijal</i>	+ (7, 8)	<i>potential stem</i>	–	–
incp	<i>-čela</i>	+ (10, 11)	<i>participle</i>	–	–
smlt	<i>-ijadal</i>	+ (14)	<i>participle</i>	+ (12, 13)	<i>participle</i>
pstr	<i>-a-če</i>	+ (17)	?(<i>potential stem</i>)	?	?
cond	<i>-k'a</i>	+ (18, 19, 20)	<i>potential stem</i>	+ (21)	<i>potential stem</i>
ctrf	<i>-q'ale</i>	+ (22, 23)	<i>aorist form</i>	+ (24)	<i>participle</i>
conc	<i>-k'a-ra</i>	+ (25)	<i>potential stem</i>	+ (26, 27)	<i>potential stem</i>
conc2	<i>-ʔur</i>	+ (28, 29)	<i>general converb</i>	?	?
cause	<i>-na</i>	+ (31)	<i>general converb</i>	+ (32)	<i>general converb</i>
purp	<i>-alis</i>	+ (33, 34)	<i>verb stem</i>	+ (35)	<i>verb stem</i>
grad	<i>-cad(i)</i>	+ (39)	<i>participle</i>	+ (38)	<i>participle</i>

Tab. 2. Examples of each of the specialized converb

	pvf		ipvf	
	example	translation	example	translation
ant	<i>b-ak'-ib-i-ɤale (4)</i> <i>Pl-come.PVF-PST-PTCP-ANT</i>	'when they came'	<i>w-ik'-ul-aɤle (5)</i> <i>M-come.IPFV-PTCP-ANT</i>	'when he came'
imm	<i>w-ak'-a-rijal (7)</i> <i>M-come.PFV-POT-IMM</i>	'just after he came'	–	–
incp	<i>w-ak'-ib-i-čela (11)</i> <i>M-come.PFV-PST-PTCP-INCP</i>	'since he came'	–	–
smlt	<i>b-elč'-un-ijadal (14)</i> <i>N-read.PFV-PST-PTCP.SMLT</i>	'as soon as X read'	<i>luč'-ul-ijadal (12)</i> <i>read.IPFV-PTCP-SMLT</i>	'while X read'
pstr	<i>b-ak'-a-če (17)</i> <i>HPL-come.PFV-POT-PSTR</i>	'before they came'	?	?
cond	<i>g-a-k'a (18)</i> <i>give.PFV-POT-COND</i>	'if X gave'	<i>luč'-a-k'a (21)</i> <i>read.IPFV-POT-COND</i>	'if X read'
ctrf	<i>w-aq'-un-q'al (22)</i> <i>M-do.PFV-PST-CTRF</i>	'if he had done'	<i>aš-w-irk-ul-q'alle (24)</i> <i>PREV-M-come.back.IPF-PART-CTRF</i>	'if he comes'
conc	<i>ħa-g-a-k'ara (25)</i> <i>NEG-give.PFV-POT-CONC</i>	'though X didn't give'	<i>b-iq'-a-k'ara (27)</i> <i>N-do.IPFV-POT-CONC</i>	'though X does'
conc2	<i>w-ak'-i-le-ɯur</i> <i>M-come.PFV-PST-CVB-CONC2</i>	'since he came'	?	?
cause	<i>d-ak'-i-le-na (31)</i> <i>F-come.pVF-PST-CVB-CAUSE</i>	'because she came'	<i>w-ik'-uwe-na (32)</i> <i>M-come.IPFV-CVB-CAUSE</i>	'because he came'
purp	<i>hildix-alis (33, 34)</i> <i>lie.PFV-PURP</i>	'in order to go to sleep'	<i>w-ik'-alis (35)</i> <i>M-come.IPFV-PURP</i>	'in order for him to come'

grad	<i>belč'-un-i-cad(i)</i> (39) <i>read.PFV-PST-PTCP-GRAD</i>	'the more X have read'	<i>luč'-ul-cad(i)</i> (38) <i>read.IPFV-PST-GRAD</i>	'the more X reads'
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5 Conclusion

Mehweb has a relatively rich inventory of specialized converbs, with five temporal converbs and seven converbs of logical relations. There are a great number of variants of the anterior converbal marker, while other converbal markers are more or less uniform: there are only two variants for the marker of the simultaneous converb (*-jadal / -jal*) and two variants for the gradual converb (*-cad / -cadi*).

There are five morphological structures for forming a specialized converb. The converb marker can be attached:

- 1) to a bare verbal stem (this is the case with the purposive converb);
- 2) to an aorist form (the counterfactual converb);
- 3) to a potential stem (for example, the immediate converb);
- 4) to a participle (the anterior, the inceptive, the simultaneous and the gradual converbs);
- 5) to a general converb¹ (the second concessive and the causal converbs).

In Mehweb, the fourth way of forming a specialized converb—from the participle—is the most widespread.

Etymologically, the converb markers often come from case markers, which also seems to be typologically widespread.

6 Abbreviations

AD	‘near’ (localization)	INF	infinitive
ADD	additive	INTER	‘inter’ (localisation)

9 Strictly speaking, the resulting form should probably be considered as a secondary converb (in the sense that the marker in this case does not form a converb but only **semantically modifies an** already existing general converb).

ANT	anterior converb	IPFV	imperfective
AOR	aurist	LAT	lative
CAUSE	causal converb	M	masculine
COND	hypothetical conditional converb	N	neutral
COP	copula	NEG	negative
CONC	concessive converb	NMLZ	nominalization
CONC2	the -ʔur converb	NOM	nominative
CTRF	counterfactual converb	OBL	oblique stem
CVB	general converb	PTCP	participle
DAT	dative	PFV	perfective
EL	elative	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	POT	potential
ESS	essive	PRS	present
F	feminine	PS	plural stem
FUT	future	PST	past
GEN	genitive	PSTR	posterior converb
GRAD	gradual converb	PURP	purposive converb
H	human	SG	singular
HPL	human plural	SMLT	simultaneous converb
IMM	immediate converb	SUPER	super (localization)

IMP	imperative	TRANS	‘through’ (orientation)
IN	‘inside’ (localization)	Q	question
INCP	inceptive converb	UNIV	universal

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