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ANCHIQ INDICATIVE SYNTHETIC VERB MORPHOLOGY

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The paper provides a description of the indicative inflectional system of the synthetic (non-periphrastic) forms in the heavily underdescribed Anchiq dialect of Karata (< Andic < Avaro-Andic-Tsezic < Nakh-Daghestanian). The aim of the paper is to describe the inventory of tense and aspect markers and to identify all the distinctive inflectional features from the point of view of paradigm-based models as (Carstairs-McCarthy 1994), (Zaliznjak 2002). All Anchiq verbs can be divided into three conjugational macroclasses and several minor inflectional classes that are based on morphophonological features and different types of inflectional irregularities.

JEL Classification: Z.

Keywords: verbal inflection; paradigm structure; Karata; Andic languages; East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages.

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1. Introduction

Anchik is a dialect of the Karata language (< Andic < Avaro-Andic-Tsezic < Nakh-Daghestanian), spoken in the village of Anchik (Anchik) in the Akhvakhskiy district of the Republic of Daghestan. Karata is spoken in several villages of Akhvakhskiy and Khasavyurtovskiy districts and is divided into three dialect zones: Tukita Karata (spoken in the village of Tukita), Anchik Karata (Anchik) and Core Karata zone (Karata, Archo, Lower Inkhelo, Ratsitl, Chabakoro, Mashtada, Rachabulda, Siukh).

Up to now, most of the studies on the Karata language were based upon the Karata-proper dialect data, e.g. (Pasquereau 2011), (Magomedova & Xalidova 2001), so Anchik remains heavily underdescribed.

Although several paragraphs about Anchik phonology and morphology are present in (Magomedbekova 1971), this study should be treated as multidialectal comparison rather than description. Moreover, Magomedbekova's grammar is written in "traditional terms" at least in some parts. This means that Magomedbekova's approach often borrows some terms and descriptive labels from previous caucasiological tradition without language particular analysis and thus does not meet contemporary requirements to the linguistic description.

Magomedbekova (1971) mainly describes the Karata-proper dialect data with some supplements of data on the other dialects. The overall structure of description implemented in this work is traditional for Nakh-Daghestanian studies of the middle of the twentieth century. The traditional notion of a language often includes several dialects which are divergent to a different extent. The typical solution for this by the scientific community of that time was to choose one dialect (the biggest one or the least peripheral) and to describe all "deviations" that are present in the other dialects (e.g. similar structure could be found in (Ibragimov 1978)).

Thus this structure of such a research can bias the analysis and the explanation to a large degree for the following reasons:

- The border between the description and the comparison is blurred
- The description becomes diachronically oriented, as closely related languages are being considered

Magomedbekova (1971) provides a substantial phonological analysis of Karata dialects and different diachronically induced phonological and morphophonological alternations and their variation. With regard to morphology this grammar briefly mentions several differences between Anchik and Karata (amidst other dialects). Therefore the analysis of Anchik morphology becomes unsystematic. The descriptions of this kind fail to regard the

morphological system of a certain variety as a whole and disregard language-internal connections between morphological structures.

The book (Magomedbekova 1971) also contains 5 texts in the Anchiq dialect which formed the basis of my corpus of the Anchiq texts. The main advantage of these texts is that they were recorded in 1940s–1970s and thus reflect the earlier stage of language use.

Although the Anchiq dialect is acknowledged to be highly divergent from the most of other Karata varieties (Magomedbekova 1971), the detailed knowledge of the Anchiq is instrumental to the understanding of the history of Central-Andic languages (Karata, Bagvalal, Tukita) and their divergence and convergence scenarios. Therefore, it would be useful to provide some descriptive data on Anchiq in a systematic way and in language-internally established descriptive categories.

In consideration of these facts, this paper aims to describe as completely as possible the indicative system of the Anchiq verb from the morphological point of view.

This **main aim** can be naturally broken down into several tasks:

- To describe the inventory of synthetic means of the morphological exponence
- To describe the syntactics of the indicative verbal inflection i. e.:
 - o To describe morphophonological features of verbal roots and distributions of exponents with regard to these features
 - o To describe inflectional irregularities of the indicative system
- To represent the descriptive results in as the distinctive features of the inflectional classes and build up the description of the inflectional classification

The present research is based on field elicitation data and on corpus data. In addition, a lot of useful information was gathered from an unpublished dictionary by M. Z. Gadzhimagomedov. The manuscript was provided by the author himself, to whom I express my deepest gratitude, as without his data this description would be much less detailed.

The corpus comprises five texts already published in (Magomedbekova 1971: 204-210), one text from (Xalidova 2017). Four texts were recorded, transcribed and translated during the author's fieldwork. All texts were converted into standard caucasological transcription and provided with interlinear glossing.

Until now, two field trips to the village of Anchiq have been conducted: in July 2019 (5 days) and in November 2019 (14 days). The data were obtained from about 10 informants, both male and female, aged from 16 to 77.

The elicitation of morphological data was based on the control list of 200 verb lexemes that were selected according to the morphophonological properties of their stems: nasalization,

labialization, presence of fossilized imperfective stem marker, and the auslaut of the stem (either sonorant or non-sonorant). Lexically restricted features such as choice of the allomorphs of the Aorist or ablaut of the stem-vowel were also taken into account.

The following forms were elicited consistently for all the lexemes from the control list: Aorist, Habitualis, Perfective Participle, Imperfective Participle, Future Participle, General Perfective Converb, Synthetic Future, Masdar.

To avoid the confusion between description and comparison that is discussed in (Haspelmath 2018) I only use language-particular analysis. Moreover, this paper uses the notion “morph” in favour of “morpheme” by theoretical convention that was set up in (Haspelmath 2020). Some theoretical ideas and descriptive techniques on inflectional classes calculus as well as the baseline understanding of the notions “paradigm” and “inflectional class” were adopted from (Carstairs-McCarthy 1994), (Matthews 1972) and (Zaliznjak 2002).

I use the following conventions throughout this paper. «CL» denotes gender agreement slot. «**» is used to indicate non-existent, artificially constructed forms. Besides, the verb roots is referred to by the abstract (underlying) form, e.g. *-išq-* ‘to work’. This abstract form contains summarized information on morphophonology and morphotactics of the root in question that is relevant to the inflectional classification (cf. Section 11), e.g. labialization, nasalization, root vowel, etc..

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 discusses the basic notions on paradigm structure and root types. Section 3 presents the analysis of the gender marking morphology and morphophonology. Section 4 accounts for the descriptive problems with causative exponence in verbs. Sections 5–9 describe the morphology and the morphophonology of the perfective system, imperfective system, infinitive system, the formation of Masdar and Negation accordingly. Section 11 presents the inflectional classification of the Anchiq verb, which includes the discussion of inflectional distinctive features and specifies verbal inflectional classes and subclasses with regard to these features. Section 12 concludes the paper. This paper is mostly based on the BA thesis, defended in HSE University in 2020.

2. Verb paradigm and verb roots

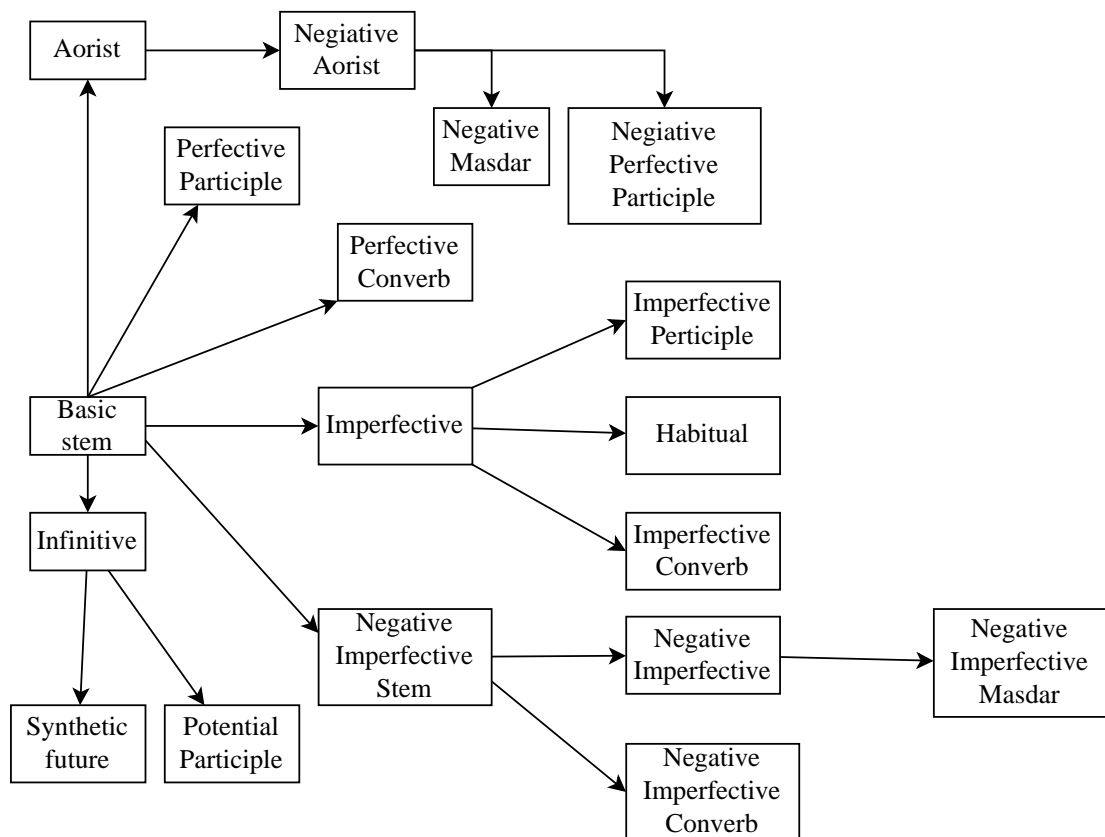
As the main aim of the paper is to describe systematically Anchiq synthetic inflection, it means that all the paradigmatic units discussed consist of the one full-fledged word-form.

The verb in Anchiq can agree in gender and number with its absolutive argument and distinguishes between 5 values in the category: male (M), female (F), neuter (N), human plural (HPL) and non-human plural (NPL).

All the synthetic forms are derived from the **basic stem** with a set of suffixal inflectional markers. The basic stem can either include agreement slot or not. Thus the gender agreement morphology, which is almost always expressed in prefix (for a handful of exceptions cf. Section 4), and the suffixal inflection by TAM-categories form two subparadigms. I refer to the former as **agreement paradigm** and to the latter as **main paradigm**.

Synthetic verb forms can be divided into affirmative and negative **polarity**. Forms of either polarity consist of three systems: **perfective**, **imperfective** and **infinitive**. Fig. 1 displays the overall structure of the synthetic paradigm in Anchiq (arrows depict derivational relations).

Fig. 1. Structure of Anchiq indicative synthetic paradigm



As it can be seen from Fig 1., the structure of the Anchiq synthetic paradigm is complex. There is no single derivation pattern for affirmative and negative forms. On the one hand, affirmative perfective forms (Aorist, Perfective Participle and Perfective converb) are derived from basic stem, while negative forms are derived from Aorist. On the other hand, in the imperfective system most affirmative forms (Imperfective Participle, Habitual and Imperfective converb) are derived from Imperfective proper form, while negative imperfective forms such as Negative Imperfective and Negative Imperfective Converb derive from specialized Negative Imperfective stem that is not a full-fledged form and can not be used without correspondent inflectional markers.

In Anchiq verb roots can bear morphophonological labialization and thus be labialized or non-labialized. Roots can also be nasalized or non-nasalized. Tab. 1 shows that all four possible combinations of labialization and nasalization values are possible.

Tab. 1. Labialization and nazalization of verb roots

Root	+ Nasalized	- Nasalized
+ Labialized	<i>-ũʔ^w-</i> 'to grow up'	<i>susuk^w-</i> 'to sift'
- Labialized	<i>hãʔ-</i> 'to see'	<i>-iʔ-</i> 'to know'

3. Gender marking

All the verb roots in the Anchiq dialect of Karata can be divided into two groups: roots that contain gender agreement slot (agreeing roots) and roots that does't contain one (non-agreeing roots). Tab. 2 exemplifies agreeing and non-agreeing roots.

Tab. 2. Agreeing and non-agreeing roots.

Non-agreeing root	Agreeing root
<i>c':ar-e</i> drink-AOR	<i>b-ah-e</i> N-take-AOR
<i>huld-a</i> deplume-AOR	<i>b-el'-e</i> N-plow- AOR
<i>hãʔ-ã</i> see-AOR	<i>m-is-a</i> N-find- AOR
<i>ebd-a</i> dance-AOR	<i>b-uq-u</i> N-slaughter-AOR
<i>am-e</i> eat_tr-AOR	<i>b-ol-e</i> N-become-AOR

Almost all agreeing verb roots have prefixal gender slot. In my data only two verbs have gender agreement infix: *aat-a:* (<N>move-INF) 'to move' и *hauž-a:* (<N>mix-INF) 'to mix (intr.)'.

Gender agreement markers are shown in Tab. 3. They distinguish three values in singular (masculine (M), feminine (F), neuter (N)) and two values in plural (human plural (HPL) vs. non-human plural (NPL)).

Tab 3. Gender agreement markers

	SG	PL
M	<i>w-</i>	<i>b-</i>
F	<i>j-</i>	
N	<i>b-</i>	<i>r-</i>

The gender agreement markers in certain conditions interact with the root vowel. Tab 4. demonstrates the case of root vowel /a/, where no interaction is observed — /a/ remains unchanged throughout the agreement paradigm.

Tab 4. /a/-root. The verb ‘to appear’

	SG	PL
M	<i>w-aq-a</i> M-appear-AOR	<i>b-aq-a</i> HPL-appear-AOR
F	<i>j-aq-a</i> F-appear-AOR	
N	<i>b-aq-a</i> N-appear-AOR	<i>r-aq-a</i> NPL-appear-AOR

When the root vowel is other than /a/ a morphophonological change occurs according to one of the following rules (1–4):

- (1) $e \rightarrow o / M_ _$
- (2) $i \rightarrow u / M_ _$
- (3) $o \rightarrow e / F_ _$
- (4) $u \rightarrow i / F_ _$

This rules can be generalized as follows. After masculine gender marker *w-* front non-labialized root vowels become non-front and labialized, while after feminine gender marker *j-*

non-front labialized root vowels become front and non-labialized. Tab. 5–8 illustrate this generalization and the rules (1–4).

Tab 5. /e/-root. The verb ‘to loose’

	SG	PL
M	<i>w-ot-a</i> M-loose-AOR	<i>b-et-a</i> HPL-loose-AOR
F	<i>j-et-a</i> F-loose-AOR	
N	<i>b-et-a</i> N-loose-AOR	<i>r-et-a</i> NPL-loose-AOR

Tab 6. /i/-stem. The verb ‘to know’

	SG	PL
M	<i>w-uʔ-a</i> M-know-AOR	<i>b-iʔ-a</i> HPL-know-AOR
F	<i>j-iʔ-a</i> F-know-AOR	
N	<i>b-iʔ-a</i> N-know-AOR	<i>r-iʔ-a</i> NPL-know-AOR

Tab. 7. /o/-stem. The verb ‘to ache’

	SG	PL
M	<i>w-olʔ-a</i> M-ache-AOR	<i>b-alʔ-a³</i> HPL-ache-AOR
F	<i>j-elʔ-a</i> F-ache-AOR	
N	<i>b-olʔ-a</i> N-ache-AOR	<i>r-alʔ-a</i> NPL-ache-AOR

³ About stem vowel in plural cf. this section below

Tab. 8. /u/-stem. The verb ‘to slaughter’

	SG	PL
M	<i>w-^wuq^w-a</i> M-slaughter-AOR	<i>b-aq^w-a</i> HPL-slaughter-AOR
F	<i>j-iq^w-a</i> F-slaughter-AOR	
N	<i>b-uq^w-a</i> N-slaughter-AOR	<i>r-aq^w-a</i> NPL-slaughter-AOR

The position after neuter (N) gender marker is the only context where the root vowel of a verb can be determined unambiguously, because it is the only context that do not induce morphophonological change and also the context that distinguish the values most. So the underlying form of the root vowel is identified further by the context of N gender marker.

Another paradigmatic feature can be seen in Tab. 7–8. In some verb paradigms root vowel after HPL and NPL gender markers is always /a/, while in the others it coincides with the root vowel after N- marker. This phenomenon I call a-ablaut.

It should be noted that a-ablaut is intermediate between morphophonological change and non-concatenative exponence of PL grammatical meaning. The morphophonological account of this phenomenon is supported by the fact that this feature can only be found in verbs with underlying /o/ and /u/ as the root vowel. Tab. 9 presents the exhaustive list of such verb roots that undergo a-ablaut in Anchiq. Only four of them have the /o/ as the underlying root vowel and the rest of 7 are the /u/-verbs. However, the a-ablaut can be treated as the additional morphological means of PL exponence, as far as it can be found only in presence of HPL and NPL gender markers.

Tab. 9. List of /o/- and /u/-verb roots that demonstrate a-ablaut.

/o/-verbs	/u/-verbs
<i>-olʔ-</i> ‘to ache’	<i>-uc’:-</i> ‘to strain’
<i>-oL-</i> ‘to become’	<i>-ũč^w-</i> ‘to wash’
<i>-oL’-</i> ‘to beat’	<i>-uq^w-</i> ‘to slaughter’
<i>-oq^w-</i> ‘to cut’	<i>-ut^w-</i> ‘to detach’
	<i>-už-</i> ‘to grow’
	<i>-uʔ^w-</i> ‘to break’
	<i>-ũʔ^w-</i> ‘to grow up (of hum.)’

All the precedent discussion about root vowel change is summarized in the Tab. 10. The table shows all the possible sets of root vowels with respect to underlying root vowel and its interaction with gender markers. Cases of a-ablaut is indicated by the bold outline.

Tab 10. Root vowel change. Interaction with gender markers and a-ablaut

Underlying root vowel = N- _{__}	M- _{__}	F- _{__}	HPL- _{__}	NPL- _{__}
u	u	i	a	a
o	o	e	a	a
a	a	a	a	a
e	o	e	e	e
i	u	i	i	i

The last topic that should be discussed with respect to gender exponence is the change of gender markers themselves in present of nasalization. If agreeing root is nasalized, its agreement paradigm appears as follows (Tab. 11). The gender markers N-, HPL- and NPL- (*b-*, *b-*, *r-* respectively), being attached to the nasalized root, become *m-*, *m-*, *n-* and the root vowel lose its nasalization. I propose the lable ‘Nasal shift’ to this phenomenon, as it can be described as the morphophonological “shift” of the nasalization feature from the root vowel to the left, where it appears as the nasal feature of the consonant gender marker. The shift retains the place of articulation of the gender marker consonant. Thus, labial become labial nasal (*b-* → *m-*) and the coronal become coronal nasal (*r-* → *n-*).

Tab. 11. Nasal shift in agreement subparadigm. The verb ‘to work’

	SG	PL
M	<i>w-ũšq-a</i> M-work-AOR	<i>m-išq-a</i> HPL-work-AOR
F	<i>j-ĩšq-a</i> F-work-AOR	
N	<i>m-išq-a</i> N-work-AOR	<i>n-išq-a</i> NPL-work-AOR

4. Causative

Causative in Anchiq is expressed cumulatively with TAM categories. As (Pasquereau 2011) shows causative verb form can be derived from intransitive and transitive verbs. In Anchiq causative derivation is available for all transitives and intransitives.

Causative is a valency-increasing derivation that introduces into a diathesis a new participant. A former S-argument of the intransitive construction become an A-argument in a causativized construction and gets a Ergative marking. The new Absolutive marked P-argument is introduced alongside (5a–5b). The new participant of a causativized transitive construction gets a Causer semantic role and is marked with Ergative. The former Agent of non-causative construction gets the Dative marking (6a–6b).

(5) Causativized intransitive verb

a.	<i>m-ak'-o-b</i>	<i>ž^wala</i>	<i>b-ač^w-as</i>	<i>b-el-e</i>
	N-bend-PTCP.INCR-N	coil[ABS]	N-uncoil-PCVB	N-go-AOR
	‘Bent coil unbent.’			

b.	<i>ho-l:i-l</i>	<i>ɞ^want'a</i>	<i>b-ač-o</i>	<i>it-a</i>
	MED-OBL.NM-ERG	braid	N-uncoil-PCVB.INCR	release-AOR
	‘She loosened her braid’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)			

(6) Causativized transitive verb

a.	<i>de</i>	<i>hīc:o</i>	<i>āχ-o</i>	<i>gira</i>
	I[ERG]	door[ABS]	open-PCVB	COP
	‘I opened the door.’			

b.	<i>de</i>	<i>ho-š:^w-a</i>	<i>hīc:o</i>	<i>āχ-o:</i>	<i>gira</i>
	I[ERG]	MED-OBL.M-DAT	door[ABS]	open-PCVB.INCR	COP
	‘I made him open the door.’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)				

The control of gender agreement is changed accordingly. The non-causativized intransitive verb agrees in gender with its S-argument (7a), while the causativized verb — with newly introduced P-argument (7b).

(7) Agreement control in causativized construction

- a. *qoč-ibi r-ah-ir-en de harda-r w-ok:-u*
 book-PL NPL-take-IPFV-TMP I[NOM] on_ground-LAT M-fall-AOR
 ‘When I was taking the books, I fell on the ground.’
- b. *de qoča ustul-i-l’i-r b-ek:ʷ-a*
 I[ERG] book table-OBL-SUB-LAT N-fall-AOR.INCR
 ‘I drop the book under the table.’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

5. Perfective system

The perfective system consists of three forms that expose perfective aspect meaning. These are Aorist (AOR), Perfective Participle (PTCP-CL) and Perfective Converb (PCVB). The forms of perfective system, unlike imperfective or infinitive systems, are organized into conjugations with respect to what kind of suppletive morph sets are compatible with certain verb root. The conjugations are three: U-conjugation, E-conjugation and A-conjugation, their markers for each form are represented in Tab. 12.

Tab. 12. Perfective conjugations

Form / Conjugation	U	E	A
AOR	-u / -ũ	-e / -ẽ	-a / -ã
PTCP	-u-CL / -ũ-CL	-o-CL / -õ-CL	-a-CL / -ã-CL
PCVB	-us / -ũs	-o / -õ	-as / -ãs

It can be seen from Tab. 12 that a verb of each conjugation can attach either nasalized or non-nasalized morphs. This choice depends on the root nasalization. For the agreeing roots a nasalized morph is chosen only in those paradigm cells that is not exposed to Nasal shift rule.

As it was noted in Section 4, the Causative grammeme is expressed cumulatively with the TAM grammemes. Thus for each root two morph sets are available: the increased set that is used to denote that the verb is causativized, and the standard set that is used in non-causativized constructions. The choice of a morph from either of these sets signalize that the verb should be interpreted as causativized or non-causativized. The distinction between standard and increased morphs is reflected in the interlinear glossing by adding .INCR to the morphs that express Causative. The morphs of the increased set are also distributed between U-, E- and A-conjugation. For example, if a non-causativized verb selects -u as the marker of Aorist, then for Perfective Converb, Perfective Participle it attaches morphs from the same U-conjugation of the

standard set, i. e. the morphs *-u*-CL (-PTCP-CL) and *-us* (PCVB). Being causativized, this verb can select only the morphs from the increased set of U-conjugation: *-a* (AOR), *-o*-CL (-PTCP-CL), *-o* (PCVB). Tab. 13 displays the morphs of the increased set together with standard set morphs.

Tab. 13. Standard and increased morph sets by conjugation

Form	Standard set			Increased set		
Conjugation	U	E	A	U	E	A
AOR	<i>-u / -ũ</i>	<i>-e / -ẽ</i>	<i>-a / -ã</i>	<i>-a / -ã</i>	<i>-a / -ã</i>	<i>-a: / -ã:</i>
PTCP	<i>-u-CL / -ũ-CL</i>	<i>-o-CL / -õ-CL</i>	<i>-a-CL / -ã-CL</i>	<i>-o-CL / -õ-CL</i>	<i>-o:-CL / -õ:-CL</i>	<i>-o-CL / -õ-CL</i>
PCVB	<i>-us / -ũs</i>	<i>-o / -õ</i>	<i>-as / -ãs</i>	<i>-o / -õ</i>	<i>-o: / -õ:</i>	<i>-o / -õ</i>

In general, the feature of U-conjugation is attributed to the verbs that have /u/ as their root vowel, but it contains a handful of verbs that have /e/ and /a/. The distribution of the rest of the verbs between E- and A-conjugations is purely lexical, i. e. one can not predict that a verb belong to one of these inflectional classes from any overt phonological or morphophonological information.

6. Imperfective system

The imperfective system consists of the forms that is related to the imperfective aspect exponence. These are Imperfective (IPFV), Habitual (HAB), Imperfective Participle (IPFV-PTCP-CL) and Imperfective Converb (ICVB).

The Imperfective form is composed of basic stem and the imperfective stem marker. The Imperfective form can not be used by itself, but is used only in periphrastic forms (e.g. together with the copula *gira* or the verb *b-ik'^w-a* (N-be-AOR) 'to be'). The marker of Imperfective is also cumulated with Causative and its means of exponence also form two sets of morphs: the standard and the increased one. The selective properties is arranged as follows (Tab. 14). If a stem ends in /m/, /n/, /r/, /l/ or /b/, then morph *-da* (*-da:* in case of cauzativization) is attached. For the sake of simplicity I call these stems sonorant. Otherwise a stem selects *-ur-* / *-ũr-*, when labialized and *-ir-* / *-ĩr-*, when non-labialized. A non-sonorant stem always selects *-er-* / *-ẽr-* as a morph of the increased set.

Tab. 14. The morphs of Imperfective

Stem type	Standard set	Increased set
Stem ends with /m/, /n/, /r/, /l/, /b/	-da	-da:
Non-labialized stem	-ir- / -ĩr-	-er- / -ẽr-
Labialized stem	-ur- / -ũr-	-er- / -ẽr-

Tab. 15 exemplifies the Imperfective formation. As Imperfective can not be used independently it is illustrated as a part of the periphrastic Praesens form that is composed from Imperfective and the copula *gira*.

Tab. 15. The Imperfective formation from different stem types

Stem type	Allomorph	Standard set	Increased set
Sonorant stem	-da	<i>am-da gira</i> eat_tr-IPFV COP 'is eating'	<i>am-da: gira</i> eat_tr-IPFV.INCR COP 'is feeding'
Plain stem	-ir-	<i>b-iq'iš:-ir gira</i> N-hide-IPFV COP 'is hiding'	<i>b-iq'iš:-er gira</i> N-hide-IPFV.INCR COP 'is hiding (smth.)'
Nasalized stem	-ĩr-	<i>hãʔ-ĩr gira</i> see-IPFV COP 'is watching'	<i>hãʔ-ẽr gira</i> see-IPFV.INCR COP 'is showing'
Labialized stem	-ur-	<i>b-eq'-ur gira</i> N-dry-IPFV COP 'is drying'	<i>b-eq'^w-er gira</i> N-dry-IPFV.INCR COP 'is drying (smth.)'
Labialized and nasalized stem	-ũr-	<i>w-ũʔ-ũr gira</i> M-grow_up-IPFV COP 'is growing up'	<i>w-ũʔ^w-ẽr gira</i> M-grow_up-IPFV.INCR COP 'is bringing up (smb.)'

Some of the verbs demonstrate an irregularity with regard to Imperfective formation. These verbs (8a–8g) choose an alternative morph *-er-* as a morph of the standard set, i. e. without being causativized.

(8) The verbs that choose the alternative *-er-* Imperfective marker in the standard set

a. *nik'*- 'to be small'

m-uč-en *gordi* ***nik'-er-a***
 N-wash-TMP dress be_small-IPFV-HAB

'A dress shortens after being washed.'

b. *-āṭ:-* 'to be similar'

di-ja *biš:di* *c'aq'e* ***m-āṭ:-er-a***
 I-DAT you very HPL-be_similar-IPFV-HAB

'You seem to me very similar.'

c. *-eχ:el-* 'to be long'

biš:di-b *ho-b* *χabar* *L'ani* ***b-eχ:el-e*** *gira*
 you-N MED-N talk many N-be_long-IPFV COP

'This talk of yours is too long.'

d. *-iš-* 'to be fat, thick'

roša ***b-iš-e*** *gira*
 tree N-be_fat-IPFV COP

'The tree is becoming thick.'

e. *hič'uχ^w-* 'to be big, great'

ili-č' *baL'i* *manzil* ***hič'uχ^w-e*** *gira*
 we.INCL-CONT in_middle distance be_great-IPFV COP

'The distance between us is increasing.'

f. *kam-* 'to lack'

di-ja *uns-o-L* *relʔa* ***kam-e*** *gira*
 I-DAT ox-OBL-GEN hand lack-IPFV COP

'I lack an ox's foreleg.'

g. *q'war-* 'to want, be needed'

q'war-er-o-b=al *erel* *χ:eχ:e* *b-iB-a:*

want-IPFV-PTCP-N=ADD thing aback N-stop-INF
 ‘to provide with everything needed’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

Another important feature can be observed from (8c–8f). The speakers of Anchiq can freely omit the final /r/ in the Imperfective marker word-finally and it turns into *-i- / -ĩ-, -u- / -ũ-, -e- / -ẽ-*.

Habitual is derived from Imperfective by attaching *-a* (HAB): *hel’-ir-a* (say-IPFV-HAB) ‘says’, *gah-ir-a* (do-IPFV-HAB) ‘does’, *w-uk’-ur-a* (M-be-IPFV-HAB) ‘happens’, *b-ah-ir-a* (N-take-IPFV-HAB) ‘buys’. For the verbs with sonorant roots the Habitual form is identical to the Imperfective form (9a–9b) — for the verb *q^war-* ‘to write’ both Imperfective (9b) and Habitual (9a) are *q^war-da* (write-IPFV[HAB]) ‘writes’.

(9) Imperfective and Habitual with sonorant root verbs

- a. *wac:o kaβar-di q^war-da*
 brother letter-PL write-IPFV[HAB]
 ‘Brother writes letters’ (D13)
- b. *ho-š:u-l kaβar q^war-da gira*
 MED-OBL.M-ERG letter write-IPFV COP
 ‘Brother is writing a letter {at the moment}’ (D5)

Imperfective Participle is derived from the Imperfective stem by means of agreeing participial marker (PTCP-CL). Non-sonorant root verbs use standard set morph *-o-CL* in all cases to form Imperfective Participle, as far as Causative is already expressed cumulatively with the Imperfective marker: *ebd-ir-o-w* (dance-IPFV-PTCP-M) ‘dancing (of man)’, *b-ak’ar-er-o-b* (N-gather-IPFV.INCR-PTCP-N) ‘being gathered’ As for the sonorant root verbs, they use standard *-o-CL* marker and increased *-o:-CL* marker that attach to the Imperfective marker *-da* with truncated /a/: *am-d-o-b* (eat_tr-IPFV-PTCP-N) ‘that can be eaten’, *c’:ar-d-o-b* (drink-IPFV-PTCP-N) ‘that can be drunk’, but *ic:o-l qam-d-o:-b* (cat-ERG take_away-IPFV-PTCP.INCR-N) ‘being taken away by cat (e. g. meat)’.

The Imperfective converb form is extremely marginal in language use. This form is derived differently for sonorant and non-sonorant verbs. For non-sonorant root verbs, it is derived from Imperfective by attaching *-ara* morph: *ik-ur-ara* (eat_intr-IPFV-ICVB) ‘eating’, *b-olʔ-ir-ara* (N-ache-IPFV-ICVB) ‘aching’, *gah-ir-ara* (do-IPFV-ICVB) ‘doing’. The verbs with

sonorant root derive this form from Imperfective Participle by means of *-da*: *c':ar-d-o-b-da* (drink-IPFV-PTCP-N-ICVB) ‘drinking’, *lar-d-o-b-da* (besom-IPFV-PTCP-N-ICVB) ‘sweeping’.

There are also some verbs that derive the imperfective system forms non-trivially. In these verbs Causative is cumulated with root. The causativized and non-causativized forms are distinguished by /i/ ~ /a/ ablaut alternation: *k'uc':ir-* ‘to sit’ vs. *k'uc':ar-* ‘to seat (smb.)’; *aš:ir-* ‘to be sharp’ vs. *aš:ar-* ‘to whet’; *L'wahir-* ‘to explode’ vs. *L'wahar-* ‘to shoot’. These are causative root pairs. In each pair the former verb root is called the standard root and the latter — the increased root. In all cases the increased root attaches the increased morphs and the standard — morphs from the increased set. It is important to note that causative root pairs do not follow the sonorant vs. non-sonorant distribution, while forming Imperfective. In other words, causative root pairs, despite having sonorant /r/ in auslaut, do not attach the *-da* morph, but use *-ir-* / *-er-* instead, similarly to the non-sonorant roots. Thus, the following forms are rendered: *L'wahir-ir-a* (explode-IPFV-HAB) ‘explodes’ и *L'wahar-er-a* (shoot-IPFV.INCR-HAB) ‘shoots’, instead of expected ***L'wahir-da* (**explode-IPFV[HAB]) and ***L'wahar-da* (**shoot-IPFV[HAB]).

7. Infinitive system

Three forms constitute the infinitive system — Infinitive, Synthetic Future and Potential Participle. There are no specific morphophonological interactions between the basic stem and the infinitive system markers. Infinitive is derived from the basic stem by means of *-a:*.

Synthetic Future is derived from Infinitive using *-s:e* (FUT), Tab. 16.

Tab. 16. Infinitive and Synthetic Future

Infinitive	Synthetic Future
<i>w-ol-a:</i> M-go-INF ‘to go’	<i>w-ol-a:-s:e</i> M-go-INF-FUT ‘he will go’
<i>gah-a:</i> do-INF ‘to do’	<i>gah-a:-s:e</i> do-INF-FUT ‘he will do’
<i>w-uk'^w-a:</i> M-be-INF ‘to be’	<i>w-uk'^w-a:-s:e</i> M-be-INF-FUT ‘he will be’

Potential Participle is derived from Infinitive using *-lo-cl* (PTCP.FUT-CL), Tab. 16.

Tab. 17. Infinitive and Potential Participle

Infinitive	Potential Participle
<i>b-ol-a:</i> N-become-INF 'to become'	<i>b-ol-a:-lo-b</i> N-become-INF-PTCP.FUT-N 'that will become'
<i>w-aqin-a:</i> M-to_end-INF 'to end'	<i>w-aqin-a:-lo-b</i> M-to_end-INF-PTCP.FUT-N 'that will end'
<i>b-ilʔ-a:</i> N-die-INF 'to die'	<i>b-ilʔ-a:-lo-b</i> N-die-INF-PTCP.FUT-N 'that is foreordained for death'
<i>orč-a:</i> to_rain-INF 'to rain'	<i>orč-a:-lo-b</i> to_rain-INF-PTCP.FUT-N 'that will rain'

8. Masdar

The Masdar form is derived from Aorist by means of *-r* marker (Tab. 17).

Tab. 17. Masdar formation

Aorist	Masdar
<i>am-e</i> eat_tr-AOR 'ate'	<i>am-e-r</i> eat_tr-AOR-MSD 'the eating'
<i>b-iʔ-a</i> N-know-AOR 'knew'	<i>b-iʔ-a-r</i> N-know-AOR-MSD 'the knowing'
<i>b-uq-u</i> N-slaughter-AOR 'slaughtered'	<i>b-uq-u-r</i> N-slaughter-AOR-MSD 'slaughter'
<i>hãʔ-ã</i> see-AOR 'saw'	<i>hãʔ-ã-r</i> see-AOR-MSD 'the seeing'

The manuscript (Gadzhimagomedov 2019) contains also two examples of forms that I tend to interpret as Imperfective Masdar (10a–10b). This form, however, is highly marginal and I was not able to elicit it. It seems that Imperfective Masdar is derived from Habitual by means

of the Masdar marker *-r*. In both cases (10a) and (10b) Affirmative and Negative⁴ Imperfective Masdars are paired, so it is possible that the observed marginality of this form can be explained by the fact that use of Imperfective Masdar is restricted to this specific construction (Affirmative Imperfective Masdar + Negative Imperfective Masdar).

(12) Imperfective Masdar

- a. *gah-ibis:e ukol, alergija b-ik'-ur-a-r*
do-PROH injection allergy N-be-IPFV-HAB-MSD
b-ik'-ua-č'a-r b-i?>a:-č'e
N-be-IPFV<N>-NEG.INCR-MSD N-know-AOR.INCR-NEG
‘Do not give an injection, until you find out whether you have allergy or not.’

- b. *xoh-ir-a-r xoh-ia-č'a-r*
be_good-IPFV-HAB-MSD be_good-IPFV<N>-NEG.INCR-MSD
‘Is it permitted or not?’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

9. Negation

In synthetic paradigm there are negative counterparts for all affirmative verb forms. These are forms of Negative Aorist, Negative Habitual, Negative Synthetic Future, as well as non-finite Negative Perfective Participle, Negative Imperfective Converb and Negative Perfective and Imperfective Masdars (Tab. 18). Like the forms of affirmative polarity, the negative forms can be divided into perfective, imperfective and infinitive systems.

Tab. 18. The morphology of negation

System	Form	Standard morph set	Increased morph set
Perfective system	Negative Aorist	<i>-u-č'e</i> <i>-i-č'e</i> <i>-a-č'e</i>	<i>-e-č'e</i>
	Negative Perfective Participle	<i>-u-č'-o-CL</i> <i>-i-č'-o-CL</i> <i>-a-č'-o-CL</i>	<i>-e-č'o-CL</i>

⁴ The formation of Negative Imperfective Masdar is touched upon in Section 9.

	Negative Masdar	<i>-u-č'e-r</i> <i>-i-č'e-r</i> <i>-a-č'e-r</i>	<i>-u-č'a-r</i> <i>-i-č'a-r</i> <i>-a-č'a-r</i>
Imperfective system	Negative Imperfective	<i>-u<CL>a-č'e</i> <i>-i<CL>a-č'e</i>	<i>?-e<CL>a-č'e</i>
	Negative Imperfective Converb	<i>-u<CL>a-ʙo</i> <i>-i<CL>a-ʙo</i>	<i>?</i>
	Negative Imperfective Participle	<i>?-u<CL>a-č'-o-b</i> <i>-i<CL>a-č'e-r</i>	<i>?</i>
Infinitive system	Negative Synthetic Future	<i>-ubič'e</i> <i>-ibič'e</i>	<i>-ebič'e</i>
	Negative Potential Participle	<i>?-ubič'-o-b</i> <i>-ibič'-o-b</i>	<i>?</i>

Causative in the forms of negative polarity is also cumulated with TAM-markers and they also form two sets — the standard negative set and the increased negative set.

Negative Aorist is derived from the Aorist by attaching negation marker *-č'e* (NEG). The verbs of A- and U-conjugations use the regular Aorist form: e.g. A-conjugation: *hãʔ-ã-č'e* (see-AOR-NEG) 'didn't see', *b-ik'w-a-č'e* (N-be-AOR-NEG) 'was not', *m-is-a-č'e* (N-find-AOR-NEG) 'didn't find'; U-conjugation: *b-uχ:-u-č'e* (N-remain-AOR-NEG) 'didn't remain', *m-aʔ-u-č'e* (NPL-grow_up-AOR-NEG) 'didn't grow up'. The Aorist marker of the E-conjugation verbs undergo morphophonological change *-e* → *-i*: *w-ol-i-č'e* (M-go-AOR-NEG) 'didn't go', *b-iβ-i-č'e* (N-stop-AOR-NEG) 'didn't stop', *k':ob-i-č'e* (kill-AOR-NEG) 'didn't kill', *gah-i-č'e* (do-AOR-NEG) 'didn't do'.

Negative Aorist can also be derived from Increased Aorist: *b-aχ:-e-č'e* (N-demolish_intr-AOR.INCR-NEG) 'didn't demolish (smth)', *ik^w-e-č'e* (eat_intr-AOR.INCR-NEG) 'didn't feed'.

There are two verbs in the data *q'war-* 'to want, to like' and *kam-* 'to lack' that use alternative morph *-e-* instead of expected ***i-* in non-cauzative Negative Aorist forms (11–12).

- (11) *s:ward-o* *ho-ł:-a* *aram=el* *m-is-a-č'e*
spin-PCVB MED-OBL-DAT person=ADD N-find-AOR-NEG
b-ik'w-a-b=al *ho-ł:-a* *ha-gi* *ãler-di*
N-be-PTCP-N=ADD MED-OBL-DAT PROX-LOW word-PL
c'aq'e *q'war-e-č'e*
very want-AOR-NEG

‘And when she turned back, [those] people was not there, but she really disliked the words that were told there.’ (Magomedbekova 1971: 209)

- (12) *kam-e-č'e* *uškul-a* *x^ward-a:*
 lack-AOR-NEG school-SUP walk-INF
 ‘To go to school without missing [a day]’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

Negative Perfective Participle derives from Negative Aorist with *-o*-CL marker. The segment /e/ in the Negation morph *-č'e* is truncated: *b-ek:-u-č'-o-b* (N-fall-AOR-NEG-PTCP-N) ‘undue, improper’, *b-iʔ-a-č'-o-b* (N-know-AOR-NEG-PTCP-N) ‘ignorant’. Negative Participle can also be formed from the Increased Aorist: *s:^ward-e-č'-o-b ũsa* (spin-AOR.INCR-NEG-PTCP-N ox) ‘uncastrated ox’.

Z. Magomedbekova (1971: 153) notes that Negative Perfective Participle functions also as Negative Imperfective Participle, as the specialized Negative Imperfective Participle is absent in Anchiq dialect. This fact can be shown by the pair of antonymous participles *am-d-o-b* (eat_tr-IPFV-PTCP-N) ‘edible’ vs. *am-i-č'-o-b* (eat_tr-AOR-NEG-PTCP-N) ‘inedible’ that denote two types of apricot kernels for making traditional nut butter. It can be seen from the morphology of *am-i-č'-o-b* (eat_tr-AOR-NEG-PTCP-N) ‘inedible’ that there are no imperfective marker involved, while the semantics of the participle is clearly habitual ~ ‘that is being usually eaten’.

Negative Masdar is derived from Negative Aorist with the Masdar morph *-r* (13).

- (13) *hãʔ-ã-b=es:o=χe* *du-wa* *hor-do-b* ***b-ec'-i-č'e-r***
 see-PTCP-N=Q.HM=PTCL thou-DAT MED-OBL.PL-N N-be_full-AOR-NEG-MSD
 ‘Have you seen their voracity?’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

The Negative Aorist form functions as Negative Perfective converb and I was not able to elicit any specialized form. Examples (14–17) demonstrate that a subordinate clause is headed by the *-č'e* form.

- (14) *hark'a q^wab-i-č'e,* *hinč'-o-b* *m-as-ir-a*
 eye blink-AOR-NEG be_untrue-PTCP-N N-tell-IPFV-HAB
hor-do-l
 MED-OBL.PL.H-ERG
 ‘They lie, without blinking an eye.’ (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

- (15) *ce-b sekunde-ł:i-l k'uc':ir-i-č'e, m-išq-a:*
 one-N second-OBL-ERG sit-AOR-NEG HPL-work-INF
 'To work, without having a seat even for a second' (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)
- (16) *hamd-i-č'e, b-ik-a:*
 be_open-AOR-NEG N-stop-INF
 'To be silent {lit. to stand, without opening}' (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)
- (17) *kebek b-ič'-e-č'e, farce kard-a b-ıl-a:*
 kopeck N-go_out-AOR.INCR-NEG money on_ground-SUP N-put-INF
 'To save money, without having spend a kopeck' (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

The Negative Imperfective form is derived from specialized negative imperfective stem that contains gender agreement slot: *-i<CL>a-*, *-u<CL>a-* by attaching the *-č'e* Negation marker. The negative imperfective stem marker attaches, in its turn, to the basic stem, so the sonorant vs. non-sonorant root opposition, which is important for the affirmative imperfective forms neutralizes under negation: *w-ol-i<w>a-č'e* (M-go-IPFV<M>-neg) 'doesn't go' for non-sonorant root and *am-ia-č'e* (eat_tr-IPFV<N>-NEG) 'doesn't eat' for the sonorant one.

Negative imperfective converb is derived from negative imperfective stem by means of non-finite negation marker *-BO* (18).

- (18) *s:ams:im r-el-i<r>a-bo r-ik'w-a ho-re*
 clearly[R] NPL-go-IPFV<NPL>-NEG.CVB NPL-be-AOR MED-NPL.PL
 'They clearly didn't feel like going. {lit. were not going}'
 (Magomedbekova 1971: 205)

The presence of Negative Imperfective Masdar is indicated by the same constructionalized forms that was already discussed in Section 8 (12a–12b). It seems that these forms are derived from Negative Imperfective with *-r* marker.

Negative Synthetic Future derives from the basic stem with *-ibič'e*, *-ubič'e* markers (19–20).

- (19) *inalaʔola bož-ubič'e de du-wa*
 never believe-NEG.FUT I thou-DAT
 'I will never believe you.' (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)
- (20) *hera kor-ibič'e ho-j ili-k'e*
 now talk-NEG.FUT MED-F we.INCL-COM
 'Now she won't talk to us.' (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

The presence of Negative Potential Participle is demonstrated by one example from (Gadzhimagomedov 2019) (21).

- (21) *heč:-ibič-o-w w-ũs-i*
 stand-NEG.FUT-PTCP-M M-find-IMP
 'I wish you can not stand up!' (Gadzhimagomedov 2019)

10. Copula

Copula *gira* in Anchiq is the only verb that have deficient paradigm. It has only Praesens, Masdar and Participle, both affirmative and negative. The Praesens of *gira* in fast speech can be rendered often as *gija*, sometimes as *gä (gja) / gi*, and very rarely as *gie*. For example, the forms *ek:ogi* и *hel'ogi* that was erroneously recorded in (Khalidova 2017) are, in fact, combinations of Perfective Converb and the truncated form of Copula: *ek:-o gi[ja]* (give-PCVB COP) 'has given', *hel'-o gi[ja]* (say-PCVB COP) 'has said'. Tab. 19 displays the conjugation of Copula.

Tab. 19. Conjugation of Copula

Form	Affirmative	Negative
Praesens	<i>gira</i> COP	<i>gač'e</i> COP.NEG
Participle	<i>gira-b</i> COP-N	<i>gač'-o-b</i> COP.NEG-PTCP-N
Masdar	<i>gira-r</i> COP-MSD	<i>gač'e-r</i> COP.NEG-MSD

11. Conjugation classes

This section describes the conjugation classes of the Anchiq verbs. These classes are distinguished from each other by means of inflectional distinctive features. The full list of 200

verbs and the corresponding inflectional features are present in an online “Index of Anchiq verbs and their inflectional properties”⁵.

There are several sources of distinctive features in different inflectional classes. The most salient feature that distinguish the largest classes of verbs is conjugation. It forms three verb classes: U-, E- and A-conjugations. As it was already said the distribution of the verbs between conjugations is lexical and can not be predicted from any root or stem properties.

(Magomedbekova 1971: 121-122) notes that the Aorist morphs *-e* and *-u* are in complement distribution: *-u* attaches to the labialized stems and *-e* to non-labialized. This claim is supported by my data and should be a piece of evidence that these morphs are morphophonologically distributed variant morphs, and thus, U- and E- conjugations should be treated as one conjugation. However, the Perfective Converb *-us* marker of the U-conjugation and the *-o* marker of the E-conjugation are suppletive and can not be accounted as variant morphs. Due to this fact we treat U- and E- conjugations separately as different inflectional classes. The information about the Aorist form is sufficient to establish conjugation class of a given verb.

There are also some subtler inflectional distinctions that group together different verbs within a conjugation into inflectional subclasses. I classify the subclass distinctive features into two types: morphophonological features and deviation features. The morphophonological features are: root agreement, root nasalization, root labialization, root vowel and auslaut type. The deviation features are additional imperfective marker, alternative imperfective marker and only increased and only standard morphology. Below each subclass feature is discussed.

Root agreement feature (+/- Agr) is responsible for the distinguishing between those verbs that have agreement paradigm and the verbs that don't have one. In the 200-verb list 48% of verbs are agreeing and 52% are non-agreeing. The fact that non-agreeing roots do not have agreement paradigm implies that all the inflectional features that are connected to the agreement morphophonology are not applicable to the class of non-agreeing roots.

Nasalization (+N / -N) is a feature that regulates the Nasal shift rule application and the choice of nasalized / non-nasalized set of morphs. It should be noted that not every verb that contain a nasalized vowel in the root is morphophonologically nasalized. For example, the verbs *ãχuxw-* ‘to boil’ and *ĩk^w-* ‘to eat (intransitive)’ choose always non-nasalized morphs, so I treat morphophonological nasalization as lexically restricted feature.

As the rule of Nasal shift applies only in N, NPL and HPL paradigm cells of agreement paradigm, there are three inflectional subclasses that are established by interaction between Root

⁵ The index is available at: <https://triolo.github.io/anchiq-verb-index/index.html>

agreement and Nasalization features. {-Agr + N} subclass chooses nasal set of markers in all paradigm cells. The verbs that are morphophonologically nasalized and have an agreement slot (i. e. {+Agr +N} subclass) get nasalized set of morphs in M and F paradigm cells, while in N, HPL and NPL cells, where Nasal shift rule applies, the non-nasalized set of morphs is chosen. The “default” {-Agr -N} subclass verbs choose non-nasalized morphs throughout all the paradigm.

Root vowel feature has the {i, e, a, o, u} values and induces the following classes. In {u} and {o} classes there are instances of A-ablaut in the plural cells of the agreement paradigm, as well as root vowel delabialization before F gender marker. {i} and {e} classes contain only root vowel labialization before M gender marker. The verbs of {a} class do not undergo any prefixal morphophonological changes.

The **Labialization** feature (+L / -L), interacting with other inflectional features, induces several inflectional phenomena that have complex distributions in a paradigm. In short, the problem is to establish the distributions of the consonant labialization at different morph boundaries. As a rule of thumb, the inherently labialized consonant loses its labialization in presence of a labialized vowel /o/ or /u/ in the right or left context. For example, in the verb *-ut^w* ‘to untie’ some forms contain labialized /t^w/, as in the non-human plural infinitive form *r-at^w-a*: (NPL-untie-INF), and some forms contain plain /t/, as in *b-ut-a*: (N-untie-INF) or *r-at-u* (NPL-untie-AOR). The one possible account for this fact can be that labialisation is not lost on a consonant, but rather distributed between consonant and vowel(s). The other possible way to describe this kind of distribution is to apply the notion of neutralization in Trubetzkovian sense. The consonant is neutralized with respect to its labialization feature in the context of a labialized vowel. So one can distinguish between two types of contexts: the neutralizing contexts and the contexts where the opposition between labialized and non-labialized consonants is preserved.

I call these types of contexts labialization loci. By **labialization locus** I mean those segments in a word-form, where labialization feature is localized. For example, labialization can be localised within one segment as in *aq^w-a* (overlay-AOR) ‘overlayed’, where only /q^w/ is labialized. It can also be distributed between several segments as in *aq^w-u-b* (overlay-PTCP-N) ‘being overlayed’, where segments /q^w/ and /u/ share the labialization. The cases, where the labialization feature is concentrated on the consonant segment I call **narrow labialization locus** and the cases, where labialization is shared by multiple segments, are the instances of **wide labialization locus**. This implies that in the cells, where wide locus is present the inherently labialized consonant lose its surface labialization. So the problem is thus reduced to the description of distributions of narrow and wide labialization loci in a paradigm. The most obvious solution is to describe, in which cells labialization locus is restricted. Labialization locus

can be restricted from the left (i. e. by segments that precede the labialized consonant, for example a root vowel /i/, /e/, /a/), or it can be restricted from the right (i. e. by segments of suffixal inflectional markers that do not contain /o/ or /u/).

Firstly, **left restrictors** should be described. For non-agreeing roots the restriction rule is trivial, as they don't have the agreement paradigm. The locus for non-agreeing roots is always restricted from the left, if the precedent segment is not /o/ or /u/, or never restricted from the left if the precedent segment is /o/ or /u/.

For agreeing roots the left restriction rule is as follows. The labialization locus is restricted from the left in all agreement paradigm cells, except for M and N cells, where /o/ or /u/ precede the labialized consonant (Tab. 20). As it can be seen from Tab. 20, there are special cases, where this generalization should be refined. The verb 'to slaughter' in M and N cells and the verbs 'to fall' and 'to be' in M cell violate this rule. Having /u/ or /o/ in the left context to the labialized consonant, they do not neutralize the consonantal labialization. The thorough examination of the available data shows that all the verbs that have velar, uvular, or laryngeal as the root labialized consonant exhibit the similar morphophonological behaviour. For these types of consonants the precedent /o/ or /u/ can not neutralize consonantal labialization. I call this specific type of labialization "robust labialization" and it is indicated in the inflectional index as +L_r.

Tab. 20. Left restricting contexts for labialization locus.

Verb	Root vowel = N- __	M- __	F- __	HPL- __	NPL- __
to wash	m-uč-a:	w-ũč-ã:	j-ič ^w -ã:	m-ač ^w -a:	n-ač ^w -a:
to slaughter	b-uq ^w -a:	w-uq ^w -a:	j-iq ^w -a:	b-aq ^w -a:	r-aq ^w -a:
to close	b-ac ^w -a:	w-ac ^w -a:	j-ac ^w -a:	b-ac ^w -a:	r-ac ^w -a:
to fall	b-ek ^w -a:	w-ok ^w -a:	j-ek ^w -a:	b-ek ^w -a:	r-ek ^w -a:
to be	b-ik ^w -a:	w-uk ^w -a:	j-ik ^w -a:	b-ik ^w -a:	r-ik ^w -a:

The other deviant morphophonological behaviour with respect to labialization show two verbs with the /o/ root vowel: *b-oq^w-a* 'to cut' and *b-oq^w-a* 'to draw, to take out'. Interestingly, no verb with /o/ root vowel is morphophonologically labialized and can not attach labialized morphs. These two verbs are no exception: their root consonant is not inherently labialized. However, the consonantal labialization is rendered on their root uvulars in the context of left /o/, i. e. in the N and M genders. I call this phenomenon "**parasitic labialization**", as far as it has

secondary, coarticulatory nature and has no morphophonological consequences for the choice of suffixal morphology. These two verbs form small inflectional subclass and have the label +L_p in the index.

As for the right restrictors of the labialization locus they are listed in Tab. 21. The labialization locus is restricted from the right in those forms that contain a marker from restricting list.

Tab. 21. Permitting and restricting markers for the labialization locus.

Permitting markers	Restricting markers
-ur (IPFV)	-a: (INF)
-u<CL>a- (IPFV.NEG)	-ebič'e (NEG.FUT.INCR)
-ubi- (NEG.FUT)	-e (NEG.AOR.INCR)
-o (PCVB.INCR) — U- and A-conjugations	-er (IPFV.INCR)
-o-CL (PTCP.INCR-CL) — U- and A-conjugations	-e<CL>a- (IPFV.NEG.INCR)
-u (AOR) — U-conjugation	-a (AOR.INCR) — U-conjugation
-us (PCVB) — U-conjugation	-a (AOR) — A-conjugation
-u-CL (PTCP-CL) — U-conjugation	-a: (AOR.INCR) — A-conjugation

Thus the classes that are induced by different distributions of labialization loci in a paradigm can be described.

1. **Parasytic labialization subclass {+L_p}**. Labialization is present on a root consonant in M and N genders. In all other conditions inflect as non-labialized verbs.
2. **Left restricted subclass** contain the verbs with root vowels {a}, {e}, {i} and those verbs that have {u} root vowel and the label of the robust labialization. This subclass can be split in two types according to the distribution of the right restrictors in a paradigm (i. e. the conjugation type of the verb): “*bex^{wa}*: type” (A-conjugation) and “*beq'wa*: type” (U-conjugation).
 - a. *bex^{wa}*: type exhibit narrow labialization locus everywhere in a paradigm, except for the forms of Increased Perfective Converb and Increased Perfective Participle that contain permitting markers -o and -o-CL. This subclass also contain the sole verb of the A-conjugation that have robust labialization -*ũB^w*- ‘to swell’.
 - b. The paradigms of the *beq'wa*: type contain the wide locus everywhere, except for Increased Aorist form and the forms that are derived from it. All the verbs with robust labialization of U-conjugation belong to *beq'wa*: type as well.

3. **Partly left restricted subclass** contain the rest of the morphophonologically labialized verbs with {u} root vowel. This subclass can also be split in two types: “*muča* type” and “*buta* type” according to the conjugation of its verbs.

- a. *muča* type (A-conjugation) demonstrate wide labialization locus in the forms of Increased Perfective Converb and Increased Perfective Participle, as well as in M and N genders.
- b. *buta* type (U-conjugation) contain the wide locus everywhere, except for Increased Aorist form and the forms that are derived from it.

Tab. 22 displays all discussed subclasses in four diagnostic paradigm cells: neuter Infinitive, non-human plural Infinitive, neuter Aorist and non-human plural Aorist. In the green cells consonantal labialization is neutralized, in the red ones is present.

Tab. 22. Subclasses, induced by labialization loci

Form / Verb	-oq’- ‘cut’	-ex^w- ‘come’	-eq^w- ‘dry’	-ũč^w- ‘wash’	-ut^w- ‘untie’
INF.N	<i>boq^wa:</i>	<i>bex^wa:</i>	<i>beq^wa:</i>	<i>muča:</i>	<i>buta:</i>
INF.NPL	<i>raq’a:</i>	<i>rex^wa:</i>	<i>req^wa:</i>	<i>nač^wa:</i>	<i>rat^wa:</i>
AOR.N	<i>boq^we</i>	<i>bex^wa</i>	<i>beq^wu</i>	<i>muča</i>	<i>butu</i>
AOR.NPL	<i>raq’e</i>	<i>rex^wa</i>	<i>req^wu</i>	<i>nač^wa</i>	<i>ratu</i>

Auslaut type (+R / -R) feature accounts for the inflectional differences in the imperfective system.

Such differences summarized in Tab. 23. Sonorant verbs use the Imperfective marker *da*, while non-sonorant expose Imperfective with *ir-* marker. In sonorant verb class there is an instance of paradigmatic syncretism between Imperfective and Habitual; in non-sonorant verbs there is no such syncretism. With regard to Imperfective converb derivation, sonorant verbs derive this form from Imperfective Participle, while non-sonorant ones — from Imperfective.

Causative verb pairs are treated as morphophonologically non-sonorant (cf. Section 7), as far as they do not exhibit any inflectional properties of the sonorant class.

Tab. 23. Differences in inflection of sonorant and non-sonorant verbs

Form	Sonorant class	Non-sonorant class
Imperfective	<i>c':all-da</i> learn-IPFV	<i>it-ir</i> release-IPFV
Habitual	<i>c':all-da</i> learn-IPFV[HAB]	<i>it-ir-a</i> release-IPFV-HAB
Imperfective Participle	<i>c':all-d-o-w</i> learn-IPFV-PTCP-M	<i>it-ir-o-w</i> release-IPFV-PTCP-M
Imperfective Converb	<i>c':all-d-o-w-da</i> learn-IPFV-PTCP-M-ICVB	<i>it-ir-ara</i> release-IPFV-ICVB

Several inflectional classes should be postulated due to morphological irregularities of different kinds. The verbs of these classes are labeled with special **deviation features**.

Some verbs use **additional imperfective marker** *-a* (AddIPFV) alongside with regular marker *-ir-*. This additional form, however, is available only with respect to the Imperfective proper form, which can not be used in isolation and participate only in analytic forms. For example, the verb *-išq-* ‘to work’ form the Analytic Praesens *m-išq-a gira* (N-work-IPFV COP), alongside with the regular *m-išq-i(r) gira* (N-work-IPFV COP). The Habitual form is derived without the deviation described and exists only as *m-išq-ir-a* (N-work-IPFV-HAB).

Several verbs use **alternative imperfective marker** *-e(r)* (AltIPFV) instead of regular *-i(r)*. These verbs were discussed in detail in Section 7. Instead of having expected Imperfective ***kam-i gira* (**lack-IPFV COP), the verb *kam-* ‘to lack’ use the alternative marker *kam-e gira* (lack-IPFV COP). This kind of verbs form all of the forms in the imperfective system by means of the alternative marker *-e(r)*. It should be noted that in my data, at least for the verb *kam-* ‘to lack’, the alternative marker is used also to form Negative Aorist *kam-e-č'e* (lack-AOR-NEG), cf. example (12). This fact may indicate that this inflectional feature embraces more forms than only the imperfective system. Nevertheless, the data is insufficient to make stronger claims on the distribution and diachrony of this inflectional irregularity.

The third and the last inflectional irregularity that appeared in my data is called “**only standard or only increased morphology**”. The feature concerns the Causative verb pairs. In these pairs the exponence of Causative cumulated with root: *L'wahir-* ‘to explode (intr.)’ and *L'waha-* ‘to shoot’. The standard root can attach only morphs form the standard set, and the increased root — only from the increased one. As far as the Causative pairs are accounted for in this paper as different lexemes, the paradigm of the verb with the standard or the increased root is deficient: standard verbs lack the subparadigm of the increased forms, while the increased

ones lack the standard subparadigm. Each verb having this deficiency marked in the index with ‘Std’ or ‘Incr’ labels. This means that, for example, the verb *L’wahir-* ‘to explode (intr.)’ have the ‘Std’ label as it is non-causativized and has only standard morphology, while its corresponding increased root *L’wahar-* ‘to shoot’ gets the ‘Incr’ label, as far as it can attach only causativized morphology.

12. Conclusion

In this paper, the description of verbal inflectional morphology of the indicative system in the Anchiq dialect of Karata was presented. All the previous work on Anchiq, especially (Magomedbekova 1971), provided only fragmentary information on Anchiq verbal morphology as the background for multi-dialectal comparison. This paper, in contrast, proposes the synchronic and systematic account of the inflection for the indicative categories in a single dialect of Anchiq.

The key component of the description outlined above is the inflectional classification. The classification divides all the verbs in the Anchiq dialect into three major classes — conjugations (A, E and U). There are also several minor inflectional classes based on morphophonological features. The morphophonological distributions behind these features were established and discussed in detail. Some minor inflectional classes are based on morphological irregularities like use of alternative or additional imperfective marker. The special focus on morphophonology and inflectional deviation makes the description presented useful for historical-comparative purposes — both for internal and external comparison.

The description, however, is by no means comprehensive. Covering only 200 the most inflectionally diverse verbs it can lack some rare inflectional features. Even though that 200-list is not comprehensive, I reckon that grasps the substantial amount of inflectional diversity. The systematic design of the description allowed to cover several previously undescribed phenomena: such as Causative root pairs, Additional and Alternative IPFV marker, *-ʁo* as the marker of Negative Imperfective Converb, the gender slot in the Negative Imperfective stem.

Abbreviations

[R] — Russian loanword	IPFV — imperfective
ABS — absolutive	LAT — lative
ADD — additive particle	LOW — lower than the speaker
AOR — aorist	M — masculine gender
CL — gender (agreement class) marker	MED — medial deictic
COM — comitative	MSD — masdar (nomen actionis)
CONT — localization ‘be in contact’	N — neuter gender
COP — copula	NEG — negation
CVB — converb	NM — non-masculine
DAT — dative	NPL — non-human plural gender
ERG — ergative	OBL — oblique stem
F — feminine gender	PCVB — perfective converb
FUT — future	PL — plural
GEN — genitive	PROH — prohibitive
H — human	PROX — proximal deictic
HAB — habitual	PTCL — particle
HM — male hearer index	PTCP — participle
HPL — human plural gender	Q — question marker
ICVB — imperfective converb	SG — singular
IMP — imperative	SUB — localization ‘under’
INCL — inclusive	SUP — localization ‘on surface’
INCR — increased (causativized)	TMP — temporal converb
INF — infinitive	

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