Specialized converbs and adverbial subordination in Axaxdərə Akhvakh

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Abstract

Northern Akhvakh, like other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, has a large inventory of converbs specialized in the expression of various semantic types of adverbial subordination: locative, temporal, conditional, concessive, similative, gradual, and purposive. After outlining the general characteristics of Akhvakh morphosyntax, this paper describes the morphology and the uses of the individual converbs, and discusses the possibility to reconstruct their origin. Attention is drawn to the high proportion of etymologically transparent converb, which suggests that the particular type of morphosyntactic organization characteristic of Nakh-Daghestanian languages favors grammaticalization processes that do not modify the overall organization of the adverbial subordination system, but result in a constant and relatively rapid renewal of the inventories of specialized converbs.

1. Introduction

Akhvakh (*ašʷaɫi mič'i*, Russian *axvaxskij jazyk*) belongs to the Andic (sub-)branch of the Northeast Caucasian (or Nakh-Daghestanian) family.[1] Like the other Andic languages, Akhvakh has no writing tradition.[2] According to Magomedova & Abdulaeva 2007, Akhvakh has approximately 20 000 speakers. Four dialects are traditionally recognized. One of them is designated as Northern Akhvakh, whereas the other three are grouped under the label of Southern Akhvakh.

Northern Akhvakh is spoken in four villages of the Axvaxskij Rajon in the western part of Daghestan (Tadmagitl', Lologonitl', Kudijab-Roso, and Izani), in recent settlements in the lowlands of Daghestan, and in Axaxdərə near Zaqatala (Azerbaijan), where I carried field work on Akhvakh. Axaxdərə Akhvakh (henceforth AD Akhvakh) is a variety of Northern Akhvakh very close to those spoken in the Axvaxskij Rajon of Daghestan (henceforth AR Akhvakh), presented in

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[1] The other Andic languages are Andi, Bagvalal, Botlikh, Chamala, Godoberi, Karata, and Tindi. None of them has a particularly close relationship to Akhvakh. Andic languages are traditionally grouped with Avar and Tsezic languages into a single branch of the Northeast Caucasian family. The other branches of the Northeast Caucasian family are Lak, Dargi (or Dargwa), Lezgi, Khinalug (sometimes considered a marginal member of the Lezgi branch), and Nakh.

[2] The transcription used in this paper departs from the API conventions on the following points: alveolar voiceless affricate *c*; palato-alveolar fricatives *š* (voiceless) and *ž* (voiced); palato-alveolar affricates *č* (voiceless) and *ǯ* (voiced); lateral voiceless affricate *ɫ*; the macron is used for long vowels and strong consonants.

Magomedbekova 1967 and Magomedova & Abdulaeva 2007.[3] The Southern Akhvakh dialects are spoken in one village each (Cegob, Tljanub and Ratlub), all situated in the Šamil'skij Rajon of Daghestan.

The analysis of the specialized converbs of Akhvakh proposed in this paper is based on texts collected in Axaxdərə between June 2005 and April 2008.[4]

In accordance with Nedjalkov (1995), the term 'converb' is understood here as referring to non-autonomous verb forms (i.e., verb forms devoid of the ability to head independent clauses) that depart from other types of non-autonomous verb forms (infinitives, masdars, participles) by the fact that they do not occur in complement clauses or in relative clauses. This broad definition follows the Altaicist tradition from which the term 'converb' originally stems. In the description of Daghestanian languages, a more restrictive definition according to which converbs are non-finite verb forms specialized in adverbial subordination (Haspelmath 1995a) may be problematic for the following two reasons:

– In the verbal system of Daghestanian languages, the distinctions morphologically expressed in verb forms may show no simple correlation with finiteness as a feature of predicative constructions (section 2.4.6 provides a brief discussion of the morphological correlates of finiteness in Akhvakh; for a more detailed discussion, see (Creissels To appear)).
– The reference to adverbial subordination in the definition of 'converb' is not problematic for the specialized converbs that constitute the main topic of this paper, but it may be problematic for the 'general converb', which at least in some languages occurs in constructions analyzable as instances of clause coordination (see section 3).[5]

The distinction between 'contextual' and 'specialized' converbs, put forward by Nedjalkov in a paper that appeared in 1990 in Russian and was later published in English in Haspelmath and König's volume on converbs (Nedjalkov 1995), has been used among others by Haspelmath (1995b) for Lezgian: contextual converbs 'leave the precise nature of the semantic link between the clauses open', whereas specialized converbs carry 'quite specific adverbial meanings'. Given the typological homogeneity of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family, it is not surprising that this distinction proves useful for the description of Akhvakh too. As pointed out by Bisang (1995:156), generally speaking, the distinction between contextual and specialized converbs must certainly be conceived as gradual rather than discrete.

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[3] Judging from Magomedbekova 1967 and Magomedova & Abdulaeva 2007, the variety of Akhvakh spoken in Axaxdərə does not differ significantly from the varieties of Northern Akhvakh spoken in the Axvaxskij Rajon, and this judgment was confirmed without any reservation by Indira Abdulaeva, co-author of the Akhvakh-Russian dictionary and a native speaker of Northern Akhvakh herself, who spent one week in Axaxdərə while I was carrying field-work there in April 2008. I have been able to find no precision about the time when Akhvakh migrants began to settle in Axaxdərə, but there are still in Axaxdərə old people who were born in Daghestan, and whose parents migrated to Azerbaijan at the end of the second world war, when the economic situation in Daghestan was particularly difficult.

[4] The analysis presented here has benefited from the comments and suggestions of Bernard Comrie, Misha Daniel, and Isabelle Bril. Any remaining faults are of course my own.

[5] For a general discussion of the notion of converb, see Haspelmath (1995a), Nedjalkov (1995), König (1995), Bisang (1995), van der Auwera (1998), Bickel (1998), Zúñiga (1998), Haspelmath (1999), Ylikoski (2003).

However, in Akhvakh, there is a clear-cut distinction between a multipurpose converb assuming a variety of functions, and converbs specialized in particular types of adverbial subordination.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the main characteristics of Akhvakh morphosyntax: clause structure (section 2.1), nouns and noun phrases (section 2.2), and verb inflection (section 2.3). Section 3 and 4 briefly present the general converb and the progressive converb respectively. Section 5 discusses the general properties of the specialized converbs. Sections 6 to 12 are devoted to individual converbs or semantic groups of converbs: locative converb (section 6), temporal converbs (section 7), conditional and concessive converbs (section 8), similative converb (section 9), gradual converb (section 10), explicative converb (section 11), and purposive converb (section 12). Each section or subsection includes not only illustrations of the use of the converbs, but also a discussion of the possibility to reconstruct their origin.

2. General remarks on Akhvakh morphosyntax

2.1. Clause structure

Akhvakh clause structure is characterized by flexible constituent order. Case marking and gender-number agreement between the verb and its core arguments are consistently ergative. In contrast, assertive agreement (see section 2.4) follows a split intransitive pattern.

Arguments whose identity is recoverable from the context can freely be omitted, and unexpressed arguments receiving an arbitrary interpretation are common too.

Causative is the only valency-changing mechanism systematically expressed via verb morphology or grammaticalized periphrases.

2.2 Nouns and noun phrases

Three semantically transparent agreement classes of nouns are distinguished in the singular: human masculine (M), human feminine (F), and non-human (N).[6] In the plural, the distinction *masculine* vs. *feminine* is neutralized, resulting in a binary opposition *human plural* (HPL) vs. *non-human plural* (NPL). Noun morphology shows only frozen vestiges of gender prefixes.

In canonical NPs, the head noun is in final position and is inflected for number and case. Noun dependents other than adjectives show no agreement mark, and the agreement morphology of attributive adjectives is reduced in comparison with AR Akhvakh or the other Andic languages.[7]

In the absence of a head noun, the last word of the NP, whatever its nature, is marked for gender, number and case.

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[6] The only exceptions to the semantic rule of class assignment are *ãde* 'person' and *mik'e* 'child', which in the singular trigger N agreement, whereas the corresponding plural forms *ãdo* and *mik'eli* regularly trigger HPL agreement.

[7] In AR Akhvakh, all noun dependents in canonical NPs optionally take class suffixes agreeing with the head noun, but in the data I collected in Axaxdərə, noun dependents other than adjectives never occur with agreement marks in canonical NPs, and suffixal agreement of adjectives never occurs in classes other than HPL.

Number inflection of nouns is irregular and involves considerable free variation.

The absolute form of nominals (used in the extra-syntactic function of quotation or designation and in S or P roles) has no overt mark. Case suffixes may attach to a stem identical with the absolute form, or to a special *oblique stem*. In the singular, the formation of the oblique stem is very irregular and involves considerable free variation. In the plural, the formation of the oblique stem is more regular. In particular, 'oblique stem markers' expressing class distinctions (M *-šu-*, F/N *-ti-*, HPL *-lo-*, NPL *-le-* ∼ *-li-*) are more systematically used in the plural than in the singular.

Case inflection includes the following cases:

– ergative *(-de)*,
– dative (*-ʟa*),
– genitive (Ø or *-īi*),[8]
– comitative (*-k'ena*),
– purposive (*-ʁana*),
– five series of spatial cases encoding different spatial configurations,[9] with three cases in each series: essive *-i* or *-e,* lative *-a,* and elative *-u(ne).*[10]

Personal pronouns have an irregular inflection but show the same case distinctions as nouns, and the distinction between three spatial cases applies to locative adverbs too.

There are two possible constructions for NP coordination: either "NP$_1$-*k'ena* NP$_2$", where *-k'ena* is the suffix of the comitative case (also used for comitative or instrumental adjuncts), or "NP$_1$-*la* NP$_2$-*la* ", where *-la* is an additive particle (glossed ADD) also found in contexts in which it corresponds to English 'also', 'in turn', or 'even'. See section 3 for more details on this particle.

2.3. Adjectives

Like verbs (see section 3.4.2), adjectives divide into those obligatorily including a class agreement prefix, and those devoid of it. Like nouns, they cannot bear TAM inflection and fulfill the predicate function by combining with the copula *godi* or with the verb *bik'uruʟa* 'be'.[11]

In Axaxdərə Akhvakh, adjectives in the role of noun dependent or in predicate function do not show suffixal inflection, whereas nominalized adjectives (i.e., adjectives occurring as the last word of a noun phrase) are inflected for plural and

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[8] In principle, zero-marked genitive characterizes M and HPL NPs, whereas *-īi* is used with F, N or NPL NPs, but this rule is not very strict, and variations are observed.

[9] The system of spatial cases of Akhvakh departs from the typical Daghestanian pattern in that one of the series (the *-g-* series) is a default series that does not encode a particular spatial configuration, and spatial configurations tend to be encoded by combining NPs showing default spatial case marking with locative adverbs showing parallel spatial case inflection, rather than via 'traditional' case marking. Moreover, the characteristic consonant of the *-g-* series is not always apparent, due to morphophonological processes (for example, *šaha-ti-ga* 'to the town' can optionally be realized *šaha-t-a*).

[10] Magomedbekova (1967) identified *-u* has as ablative proper, and *-une* as perlative, but in AD Akhvakh, these two endings are in free variation.

[11] In Akhvakh, non-verbal predications involving neither the copula nor the verb *bik'uruʟa* 'be' are exceptional in statements. By contrast, the omission of the copula regularly occurs in questions.

take suffixed class marks.[12] In the absolute form, the class marks suffixed to nominalized adjectives are M *-we,* F *-je,* N *-be,* HPL *-ji,* NPL *-re,* whereas in combination with overt case markers, the class marks suffixed to nominalized adjectives are identical to the 'oblique stem markers' found in the case inflection of some nouns (M *-s̄u-,* F/N *-ɨ̄i-,* HPL *-lo-,* NPL *-le- ~ -li-).*

2.4. Verb inflection

Independent verb forms are inflected for TAM, polarity, and gender-number agreement; TAM and polarity are conjointly expressed by portemanteau markers. Assertive agreement (see section 2.4.3 below) is morphologically distinct from gender-number agreement and occurs in one tense only.

In addition to the synthetic forms listed in section 2.4.1, AD Akhvakh has analytic verb forms with the copula *godi* or the verb *bik'uruɫa* 'be' in auxiliary function.

2.4.1. TAM-polarity marking in independent verb forms

TAM/polarity inflection of verbs heading independent clauses includes the following possibilities:

– PF$_1$ (perfective$_1$): HPL *-iri,* other classes *-ari*
– PF$_2$ (perfective$_2$): HPL *-idi,* other classes *-ada(-CL)*
– PF.NEG (perfective negative): *-iɫa (-CL)*
– IPF$_1$ (imperfective$_1$): *-iri*
– IPF$_2$ (imperfective$_2$): HPL *-idi,* other classes *-ida(-CL)*
– IPF$_1$.NEG (imperfective$_1$ negative): *-iki*
– IPF$_2$.NEG (imperfective$_2$ negative): *-ika(-CL)*
– UW (past unwitnessed): M *-u-wi(di),* F *-i-wi(di),* N *-a-wi(di)* NPL *-ari-wi(di)*
– UW.NEG (past unwitnessed negative): M *-iɫ-u-wi(di),* F *-iɫ-i-wi(di),* N *-iɫ-a-wi(di),* NPL *-iɫ-ari-wi(di)*
– MIR (mirative): M *-u-wa,* F *-i-wa,* N *-a-wa,* HPL *-aji,* NPL *-ari-wa*
– MIR.NEG (mirative negative): M *-uš-u-wa,* F *-uš-i-wa,* N *-uš-a-wa,* HPL *-uš-aji,* NPL *-uš-ari-wa*
– POT (potential): M/N *-u-wa,* F *-i-wa,* HPL *-oji,* NPL *-uri-wa*
– IMP (imperative): *-a*
– PROH (prohibitive): *-uba*
– OPT (optative): *-a-ɨ̄'a*
– OPT.NEG (optative negative): *-uba-ɨ̄'a*

This list of independent synthetic verb forms calls for the following remarks:

a. The forms labeled 'perfective$_1$' and 'perfective$_2$' carry distinctions in the involvement of the assertor (i.e., the speaker in assertive clauses, the addressee in questions) in the event referred to: in assertions, PF$_2$ is typically used with transitive verbs involving a 1st person A, or intransitive verbs representing controllable events involving a 1st person S, whereas in questions, PF$_2$ is

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[12] In AR Akhvakh, attributive or predicative adjectives optionally show gender-number suffixes.

typically used with transitive verbs involving a 2nd person A, or intransitive verbs representing controllable events involving a 2nd person S (see Creissels 2008a & 2008b for more details). This distinction is neutralized in the negative.

b. The distinctions PF₁ vs. PF₂ and IPF₁ vs. IPF₂ seem to be historically related, since the PF₁ and IPF₁ suffixes have in common the ending *ri*, contrasting with *da* common to the PF₂ and IPF₂ suffixes. Moreover, PF₂ and IPF₂ share the possibility to be used as participles, whereas PF₁ and IPF₁ are strictly finite verb forms. However, functionally, the choice between IPF₁ and IPF₂ in their use as independent verb forms clearly puts into play aspecto-modal distinctions, and has nothing to do with distinctions in assertor's involvement, or more generally with person distinctions: both forms can express a habitual meaning, but there is a clear tendency (particularly strong in AD Akhvakh) to prefer IPF₂ as the marker of habitual aspect, whereas IPF₁ is used in modal contexts in which it is impossible to substitute IPF₂ for it. In AD Akhvakh, IPF₂ is particularly common as a narrative tense (historical present), whereas IPF₁ is never used in this function.

c. UW (past unwitnessed) is typically used to refer to events known by hearsay. It occurs in inferential contexts too, but this use is much less common. This tense has no HPL form, and in contexts in which it could be expected to occur with HPL agreement, Akhvakh speakers use the perfect (an analytic tense consisting of the general converb HPL of the auxiliated verb and the copula in auxiliary function).

d. MIR (mirative) is a verb form encountered mainly (but not exclusively) in questions. This form is particularly common (in fact, almost obligatory) in *why*-questions, which suggests analyzing it as expressing surprise.

2.4.2. Gender-number agreement

Gender-number agreement of verbs involves both prefixes and suffixes, with two different kinds of conditioning:

– The presence of gender-number *prefixes* in verb forms involves no grammatical conditioning. Verbs divide into two phonologically and semantically arbitrary morphological classes, those that cannot occur without a gender-number prefix indexing the S or P argument (i.e., to the argument encoded by an NP in the absolute form), and those that never take such a prefix.

– By contrast, the presence of gender-number *suffixes* indexing the S or P argument is conditioned by the grammatical nature of the verb form. The rules governing the presence and the phonological realization of gender-number suffixes in verb forms are complex. In some verb forms, gender-number suffixes do not occur at all; in others, obligatory gender-number agreement marks merge with TAM/polarity markers; in a third group of verb forms, gender-number suffixes are optional, and when they are present they may appear as distinct segments, or merge with TAM/polarity markers.

The presence of gender-number prefixes or suffixes in verb forms depends therefore on a complex combination of lexical and grammatical factors, but the agreement rule itself is very simple, at least in the general case: when gender-number marks are present in a verb form, they index the argument in S or P role, represented by an NP in the absolute form. Exceptions to this rule are however

observed in some complex constructions in which the suffixal agreement of dependent verb forms may be controlled 'externally'. Such a construction is presented here in section 3.

2.4.3. Participles

AD Akhvakh has four participles. Each of them is characterized by a stem homonymous with one of the independent verb forms listed above: perfective$_2$ *-ada*, perfective negative *-iʟa*, imperfective$_2$ *-ida*, and imperfective$_2$ negative *-ika*.

2.4.4. Dependent verb forms

Strictly dependent verb forms include an infinitive *-u(ruʟa)*, a general converb (M *-o(ho)*, F *-e(he)*, N *-e*, HPL *-i*, NPL *-ere*), a progressive converb (M *-ero*, HPL *-eri*, other classes *-ere*), and several specialized converbs whose description constitutes the topic of this paper.

AD Akhvakh also has a verbal noun *-e*, which however is rarely found with dependents treated like dependents of a verbal head. Contrary to the verbal noun (or 'masdar') of most Caucasian languages, the verbal noun of Akhvakh tends to behave like a noun with respect to its internal syntax too.

2.4.5. Morphological manifestations of finiteness

A striking particularity of Akhvakh is that there is no simple correlation between the morphological characteristics of verb forms and the finiteness properties of the predicative constructions they head (i.e., their ability to be used as independent clauses with particular illocutionary values and/or to be involved in particular types of complex structures).

In particular, there is no simple relationship between the way Akhvakh verb forms behave with respect to class agreement with the absolutive argument, and their ability to head independent clauses, as can be seen from the classification of AD Akhvakh verb forms according to the presence / absence of suffixed class marks given in (2). In this chart, verb forms are divided into those that have the ability to head independent clauses, and those that are only found in complex clause constructions.

Table 1. *Suffixed class agreement markers in Akhvakh verb forms*

		Independent verb forms	Dependent verb forms
a.	Suffixes expressing obligatory class agreement with more than two possible values	potential past unwitnessed mirative	general converb
b.	Suffixes including an obligatory *HPL vs. other classes* distinction, and compatible with additional suffixes optionally expressing	perfective$_2$ positive imperfective$_2$ positive	

class agreement with other classes		
c. Suffixes including no obligatory class agreement, but compatible with optional class marks	perfective negative imperfective$_2$ negative	progressive converb similative converb
d. Suffixes expressing an obligatory *HPL vs. other classes* distinction, but without the possibility of optional class agreement with other classes	perfective$_1$ positive	conditional converb posterior converb inceptive converb
e. Suffixes that never include marks of class agreement	imperfective$_1$ positive imperfective$_1$ negative imperative prohibitive	infinitive verbal noun verbal locative simultaneous converb immediate converbs imminent converb anterior converb non-posterior converb concessive converb gradual converb explicative converb purposive converb

3. The general converb

This section provides a brief account of the main characteristics of the general converb (glossed CVB). A more detailed analysis can be found in (Creissels Submitted).

The uses of the general converb can be classified into three broad types:

(a) It may add a manner specification to an event encoded by an independent verb form, as in ex. (1).

(1) a. *jaše q̓'eī̄-a   j-et-e   j-īni.*
       girl   home-LAT   F-run-CVB.F   F-go.IPF$_1$*[13]
       'The girl went home running.'

   b. *hu-be   ʕaq̓'ilo   b-ešq̄-aj-e   g-ūx̄-ida.*
       DEM-N   intelligence   N-work-CAUS-CVB.N do-OBLG-IPF$_2$*
       'This must be done cleverly.'

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[13] In the glosses of the examples, the asterisk signals verb forms involving morphophonological processes, the underlying representation of which is given in an annex at the end of the article.

(b) It may encode an event viewed as the first stage of a complex event whose second stage is encoded by an independent verb form, as in ex. (2).

(2) a. *ak̄'o-de riɬ'i b-iž-e   q̄'-ēni.*
   wife-ERG meat N-cook-CVB.N   eat-IPF₁*
   'The wife cooked the meat and ate it.'

   b. *molā-s̄ʷ-e   taχi-gunu ĩgora b-eχ-e   ĩhora-ge   geɬ̄-i   tũk-ini.*
   Molla-M-ERG   pocket-EL   bread N-take-CVB.N   lake-ESS   inside-ESS   dip-IPF₁*
   'Molla took some bread from his pocket and dipped it into the lake.'

(c) It combines with the copula or the verb *bik'uruɬa* 'be' in auxiliary function to give analytic tenses semantically similar to the English perfect, as in ex. (3).

(3) a. *iš̄ʷada-s̄ʷ-e   lãgi   b-iq̄ʷ-e   godi.*
   shepherd-M-ERG sheep N-kill-CVB.N   COP₁.N
   'The shepherd has killed a sheep.'

   b. *iš̄ʷada-s̄ʷ-e   lãgi   b-iq̄ʷ-e   b-ik'-awi.*
   shepherd-M-ERG sheep N-kill-CVB.N   N-be-UW.N
   'The shepherd (reportedly) had killed a sheep.'

The status of constructions that constitute the translational equivalent of English clause coordination but involve non-autonomous verb forms, as in ex. (2) above, is notoriously difficult to establish with respect to the traditional notions of coordination and subordination. In the literature, at least three different types of analyses can be found for similar constructions:

– They may represent instances of co-subordination, with coordinate (parallel) and subordinate (asymmetrical) properties co-occurring within one and the same sentence.
– Depending on semantic factors, they may show variations in their syntactic properties that justify analyzing them as instantiating coordination in some of their uses, and subordination in some others. Among Daghestanian languages, such an analysis has been advocated by Kazenin & Testelec (1999) for Tsakhur, and by Polinsky (2007) for Tsez.
– In spite of their translational equivalence with clause coordination, they may uniformly show a syntactic behavior consistent with a subordination analysis, as argued by Kazenin (2001) for Bagvalal, a close relative of Akhvakh.

In this respect, the situation of Akhvakh is similar to that described by Kazenin for Bagvalal. I came across no obvious case of a use of the general converb that would contradict the subordination analysis, whereas the texts I collected include many occurrences of the general converb in constructions in which the coreference relationships between full NPs and pronouns are organized in a way commonly considered incompatible with coordination. Additional observations incompatible

with a coordination analysis can be made on linear order, embedding, relativization, and negation, and a particularly strong argument in favor of the subordination analysis is that the general converb of Akhvakh may show 'double agreement', one of the agreement marks being then governed by the S/P argument of the main verb. As already explained, Akhvakh verbs may have two slots (a prefixal one and a suffixal one) for gender-number agreement. The availability of the prefixal slot is lexically determined, whereas the availability of the suffixal slot depends on the TAM value of the verb form. Prefixal agreement is invariably controlled 'internally', i.e., by the S/P argument of the verb. In most constructions, the same rule applies to suffixal agreement, but in complex constructions, it may happen that a dependent verb form shows 'external agreement', i.e. agreement controlled by an NP that does not belong to the clause headed by the dependent verb form. In particular, the suffixal agreement of the general converb may be controlled by the S/P agreement of the main verb, as illustrated by ex. (4).[14]

(4)   *moḹa rasadi   w-uɬ'-i   šʷela-ḹa   m-āne   ba-k'-i   goli.*
       Molla Rasadi   M-die-CVB.HPL   graveyard-ILLAT   HPL-go.PROG*   HPL-be-CVB.HPL   COP$_1$.HPL
       'Molla Rasadi died, and they were going to the graveyard.'

In this sentence, the masculine singular prefix of *w-uɬ'-i* 'having died' expresses agreement with the S argument *moḹa rasadi*, whereas the only possible explanation of the human plural suffix is that it expresses agreement with the understood S argument of the main verb.

4. The progressive converb

The progressive converb is characterized by a suffix *-ere*, glossed PROG, with optional class agreement in classes M and HPL: the form *-ere* can be used for all classes, and this is the only possible form in classes F, N and NPL, whereas M and HPL agreement can optionally be expressed via the forms *-ero* and *-eri* respectively.

Apart from its use in the formation of analytic tenses (see below), this converb occurs exclusively in combination with the copula or the verb *bik'uruɬa* 'be' in existential function, or one of the following three verbs: *biχuruɬa* 'remain', *hariguruɬa* 'see', and *mičunuɬa* 'find'. Note that *hariguruɬa* and *mičunuɬa* both imply an experiencer in the dative case.

The only possible construction for the progressive converb is a control construction in which the S / A argument of the progressive converb cannot be expressed and is obligatorily identified to the absolutive argument of the main verb, as illustrated by ex. (5) to (8).

Note that, with the progressive converb of transitive verbs, if suffixed agreement marks are present, they reflect the class of the A argument identified to the S

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[14] The analysis of external agreement in the converbal construction of Akhvakh constitutes the main topic of (Creissels Submitted). External agreement is also observed in the participial construction, in which verb forms in participle function agree both with their S/P argument and with the noun they modify.

argument of the higher verb, whereas class prefixes reflect the class of the P argument.

(5) a. *če   ruša-ɫi-ge   ʟ'a   če   ʁot'okiro   b-ik'-awi   [ruša-ɫi-ge   č'or-ere].*
    one   tree-N-ESS   on-ESS   one   woodpecker   N-be-UW.N   tree-N-ESS   knock-PROG
    'On a tree there was a woodpecker knocking on the tree.'

    b. *huʟe   [lãga   ũk-āno]   išʷada   w-uk'-uwi.*
      up.there.ESS   sheep.PL   eat-CAUS.PROG.M*   shepherd   M-be-UW.M*
      'Up there, there was a shepherd feeding his sheep.'

(6) a. *di-ʟa   mik'e   [ʕ-āre]   m-ič-ani.*
    1SG-DAT   baby   cry-PROG*   N-find-PF*
    'I found the baby crying.'

    b. *di-ʟa   hudu-we   w-ũč-ani   [q̄eleko   b-iq̄ʷ-ero].*
      1SG-DAT   DEM-M   M-find-PF*   cock   N-kill-PROG.M
      'I found him killing the cock.'

(7) a. *di-ʟa   bač'a   harigʷ-ari   [ħema   q̄'-āne].*
    1SG-DAT   wolf   see-PF   cow   eat-PROG*
    'I saw the wolf eating the cow.'

    b. *di-ʟa   hudu-we   harigw-ari   [ɬuda   b-uq̄'-ero].*
      1SG-DAT   DEM-M   see-PF   firewood   N-cut-PROG.M
      'I saw him cutting wood.'

(8)   *mik'e   [ʕ-āre]   b-iχʷ-ari.*
    baby   cry-PROG*   N-remain-PF
    'The baby kept crying.'

But, as already mentioned above, the progressive converb is mainly found in analytic tenses expressing a progressive meaning, as illustrated by ex. (9).

(9) a. *hudu-s̄ʷ-e ɬuda b-uq̄'-ere   godi.*
    DEM-M-ERG   wood   N-cut-PROG   COP$_1$.N
    'He is cutting firewood.'

    b. *hudu-s̄ʷ-e ɬuda b-uq̄'-ere   b-ik'-awi.*
      DEM-M-ERG   wood   N-cut-PROG   N-be-UW.N
      'He was (reportedly) cutting firewood.'

These analytic tenses quite obviously result from the grammaticalization of the construction in which the progressive converb is subordinated to the copula or the verb *bik'uruʟa* in existential predicate function. Note the following three differences between the progressive tenses and the construction from which they originate:

– The copula or the verb *bik'uɭa* in auxiliary function must be immediately preceded by the progressive converb of the auxiliated verb, whereas in the construction in which the progressive converb is subordinated to the copula or the verb *bik'uɭa* in existential predicate function, the verb phrase headed by the progressive converb has no fixed place within the matrix clause.

– In progressive tenses, with transitive verbs, the agreement of the progressive converb can reflect the class of the P argument, whereas the progressive converb of transitive verbs subordinated to the copula or the verb *bik'uɭa* in existential predicate function shows suffixal agreement with A.

– In progressive tenses, with transitive verbs, the NP representing the A argument can be in the ergative case, as in ex. (9), but when the progressive converb of transitive verbs is subordinated to the copula or the verb *bik'uɭa* in existential predicate function, the A argument must be in the absolute form, as in ex. (7b), since it is expressed as the S term of an intransitive predication.

I have no etymological hypothesis to put forward for this converb. Its syntactic distribution could suggest a participial origin, but there does not seem to exist any concrete evidence supporting this hypothesis.

5. The specialized converbs: introductory remarks

5.1. The expression of core arguments in converbal clauses

A general property of the specialized converbs described in the following sections is that their arguments can always be expressed exactly in the same way as in an independent clause, irrespective of the fact that converbs may behave very differently with respect to agreement with the absolutive argument. This is illustrated in ex. (10) by complex sentences involving the negative form of the posterior converb (a), the immediate converb (b), the imminent converb (c), and the conditional converb (d).

(10) a. [*maħmaʕali-de reɭ'a   dan-iɭ-eɫi]   imo-de   eɭ'-awi, "w-ãʔ-a!"*
         Mehmet-Ali-ERG   hand   draw.away-NEG-POST   father-ERG   say-UW.N   M-go-IMP
         'As Mehmet-Ali insisted (lit. did not draw away his hand), his father said, "Go!".'

     b. [*ɫẽ   ãχ^w-ik'ena]   χĩk'a   šãgi-ga   t'am-a!*
         water   boil-IMMED   dumpling.PL   cooking.pot-LAT   put-IMP
         'As soon as the water boils, put the dumplings in the cooking-pot!'

     c. [*c̄'ari   c̄'-ēdaɫa]   χ̄am-e   b-oč'il-āri.*
         rain   fall-IMMIN*   mow-VN   N-end-PF$_1$*
         'The hay-harvest was up just before it rained.'

     d. [*me-de ĩc̄'o-ge ɭ'a   q̄ãdiro gin-aj-e   m-ič-ala],*
         2SG-ERG door-ESS on.ESS   sickle   hang-CAUS-CVB.N   N-be-COND*
         'If you have hung a sickle on the door,

iši   eša   m-īda   golidi.
1PLE   away   HPL-go.IPF₂*   COP₂.HPL
we will go away.'

5.2. Missing arguments in clauses headed by specialized converbs

A missing argument in a clause headed by a specialized converb may be identified to an argument of the main verb, but the identification of missing arguments in the construction of specialized converbs is a purely pragmatic phenomenon, which does not put syntactic constraints into play. Depending on the context, a missing argument in the construction of a converb can always be identified to a speech act participant, or to any other salient referent.

For example, the sentence in (11) is given with the translation corresponding to its interpretation in the context in which I found it, but the same sentence in different contexts could equally be interpreted as 'While sleeping, I saw a ghost', 'While I slept, he saw a ghost', 'While he slept, I saw a ghost', 'While he$_i$ slept, he$_j$ saw a ghost', etc. The only constraint is that the missing argument of 'sleep' must be masculine singular, since the converbal form *ɫ'ũk'ideɫi* shows masculine singular argument; the interpretation of the missing argument of 'see' is totally open, since the form *harig^{w}iri* shows no agreement marking, and there is no co-reference or disjoint reference constraint between the missing argument of the converb and any of the arguments of the main verb.

(11)   [*raʟa   ɫ'‹ũ›k'-ideɫi*],   *če*   *b-ašida šãʟ'e-la*   *ič'-ada χotala harig^w-iri.*
        at.night ‹M›sleep-SIMULT one   N-white cloth-ADD   wear-PF₂ ghost   see-IPF₁
        'At night while sleeping, he saw a ghost wearing a white cloth.'

5.3. Linear order in constructions involving specialized converbs

5.3.1. Converbal clauses preceding the main verb

Most of the time, in complex constructions involving a converb, the converbal clause precedes the main verb. Converbal clauses in sentence initial position, followed by all other phrases belonging to the construction of the main verb, are particularly common. However, terms belonging to the construction of the main verb may precede the converbal clause, as in ex. (12).

(12) a. *imaχa-de* [*moɫa-s̄^{w}-e*   *eɫ'-eroqe*] *g^w-ēwi.*
        donkey-ERG   Molla-M-ERG   say-SIMIL   do-UW.N*
        'The donkey did as Molla had said.'

   b. *hadi ak'a-ɫ-e*   [*hadi-we   w-ũ̃k'ena*]   *dakumate b-eχ-e*
        DEM woman-F-ERG   DEM-M   M-go.IMMED*   document N-take-CVB.F
        'This woman, as soon as this man went, took her documents

j-it'-āhe	*j-īni*	*wašo-lo-īira*	*rasija-ɫ-a.*
F-go.straight-CVB.F*	F-go.IPF₁*	son.PL-HPL-ADLAT	Russia-N-LAT

and went directly to visit her sons in Russia.'

As illustrated by ex. (13), an NP representing an argument common to the two verbs may precede the converb and at the same time show the case mark required by the main verb. In sentence (a), *beq'idi ãdo* is in the absolute form required by the main verb *mīni* (< *mūnuɪa* 'go'), and not in the dative case that would justify its status as an argument of *ãɪik'ena* (< *ãɪunuɪa* 'hear'). In sentence (b), *dede* is in the ergative case required by the main verb *maq̄ʷida gʷeda* (< *maq̄unuɪa* 'dig'), and not in the dative case that would justify its status as an argument of *mičalaq'o* (< *mičunuɪa* 'find'). In sentence (c), *ek'ʷas̄ʷe* is in the ergative case required by the main verb *gʷije bik'ʷari* (< *gūruɪa* 'do'), and not in the absolute form that would justify its status as an argument of *wuɪ'ideɫi* (< *biɪ'uruɪa* 'die').

(13) a. *b-eq'-idi*   *ãdo*   [*ha* *req'a* *ãɪ-ik'ena*] *eša* *m-īni.*
    HPL-come-PF₂.HPL   person.PL DEM word.PL hear-IMMED away HPL-go.IPF₁*

    'As soon as they heard these words, the visitors went away.'

    b. *de-de*   [*mišidi* *m-ič-alaq'o*] *m-aq̄ʷ-ida* *gʷeda.*
    1SG-ERG   gold   N-find-ANT*   N-dig-IPF₂*   COP₂.N

    'I will dig until I find gold.'

    c. *hudu*   *ek'ʷa-s̄ʷ-e* [*w-uɪ'-ideɫi*] *wasijati* *gwij-e* *b-ik'ʷ-ari,*
    DEM   man-M-ERG   M-die-SIMULT*   will   do-CVB.N N-be-PF₁

    'This man, when dying, expressed the will

    "*b-eχ-e*   *ači*   *o-x̄-a*"   *ɪ'-e.*
    N-take-CVB.N money   N-give-IMP   say-CVB.N

    that I should give you the money.'

Note however that a shared NP occurring sentence-initially may also have its case determined by the dependent verb, being thus presumably a constituent of the dependent clause, as in ex. (14).

(14) a. [*hudu-s̄ʷ-a*   *mašina* *b-iχ̄ʷ-iɪ-eɫi*]
     DEM-M-DAT   car   M-find-NEG-POST

    'As he didn't find any car,

    ak̄'i *imaχa-ge* *d‹i›k'-aj-e*   *q'eɪ-a*   *j-eɪ-ari.*
    wife donkey-ESS ‹F›sit-CAUS-CVB.F   home-LAT   F-take.away-PF₁

    he took his wife home on his donkey.'

    b. [*dene* *rošo-īa*   *w-ĩdeɫi*]   *χʷe* *ãɪ'o*   *b-eɪ-ide.*
    1SG   forest-ILLAT   M-go.SIMULT*   dog together N-take.away-IPF₂.N

    'When I will go to the forest, I will take the dog with me.'

5.3.2. Converbal clauses following the main verb

Although converbal clauses usually precede the main verb, the reverse order is possible too, as illustrated by ex. (15).

(15) a. *mene w-uɬ'-ida gʷido [du   imiχi   ɺoda miq̄'i-ɬi   ɺ̄'e   o-t-eɬ̄i].*
       2SG   M-die-IPF₂* COP₂.M 2SG(GEN) donkey three time-N.ESS fart N-let.out-POST
       'You will die at the third fart of your donkey.'

   b. *χʷe-de c̄'ar-awi   [b-eč'-alaq'o].*
       dog-ERG drink-UW.N N-be.full-ANT
       'The dog drank until it slaked its thirst.'

   c. *šoda b-ik'ʷ-ide [hage-s̄e-lo-gu   rãc̄'-ala].*
       good N-be-IPF₂.N here-ADJZ-HPL-EL ask-COND
       'It would be better if you asked local people.'

   d. *de-de   hušte gʷ-ēre gʷeda [q̄'imate ɬaloχo b-ik'-uʁana].*
       1SG-ERG so   do-PROG* COP₂.N price   up   N-be-PURP
       'I am doing so in order to keep the price high.'

This alternative order is however not equally usual for all converbs. Some of them (for example, the immediate converb) never follow the main verb in the data I collected. The semantics of the individual converbs probably plays a role, since for example the order main verb – converb is more common for the purposive converb than for the conditional converb, but the decisive factor seems to be the discourse function of the converbal clause.

6. The locative converb (or 'verbal locative')

The locative converb is marked by a suffix *-iɬ̄-* (glossed VLOC 'verbal locative') followed by one of the three spatial case suffixes *-i* (essive, glossed ESS), *-a* (lative, glossed LAT), or *-u(ne)* (elative, glossed EL). Its meaning can be rendered as 'at / to / from the place where *V-ing* occurs'. In other words, the locative converb shows exactly the same case inflection as locative adverbs, and a clause headed by the locative converb is entirely equivalent to a locative adverb with respect to its relation to the main verb. Ex. (16) to (18) illustrate the use of the locative converb in the essive, lative, and elative case, respectively.

(16) a. *de-de   tũhi [b-ik'ʷ-iɬ̄-i]   b-iɬ-ada.*
         1SG-ERG gun N-be-VLOC-ESS N-put-PF₂
         'I put the gun to its place.'

b. *k'eda reše-ɫi dene* [*če o-x̄-iɫ-i*] *w-ošq̄-ada.*
two   year-N.ESS   1SG   tea   N-sell-VLOC-ESS M-work-PF₂*
'I worked two years in a tea-house.'

(17) a. *w-ã̃ʔ-a* [*ĩgora o-x̄-iɫ-a*].
M-go-IMP   bread   N-sell-VLOC-LAT
'Go to the baker's.'

b. *moɫa* [*ak̄'o-de q̄'õhula gʷ-iɫ-a*] *w-ũ̃wi.*
Molla   wife-ERG   food   do-VLOC-LAT*   M-go.UW.M*
'Molla went to the place where his wife was preparing the meal.'

(18) a. *waša* [*ʁad‹u›k'-iɫ-une*] *kokor-iꞁo.*
boy   ‹M›sit-VLOC-EL   move-PF.NEG
'The boy did not move from the place where he was seated.'

b. *dene* [*baʕinaci-de ɫẽ c̄'ar-iɫ-une*] *w-oq'-ero gʷido.*
1SG   deer-ERG   water drink-VLOC-EL   M-come-PROG.M COP₂.M
'I am coming from the place where the deer drinks.'

As illustrated by several of the preceding examples, the locative converb by itself does not imply a particular temporal or aspectual meaning, but it constitutes the usual way of referring to places dedicated to professional activities (tea house, baker's, etc.).

Etymologically, a possible explanation for the locative converb is the contraction of a synonymous sequence consisting of a participial relative clause headed by the imperfective participle (suffix *-ida*) modifying *miša* 'place' (or another noun with the same meaning, or perhaps a locative adverb) inflected in one of the three spatial cases. Ex. (19) illustrates the synonymy between the locative converb (a) and the participial construction which constitutes its probable origin (b).

(19) a. *baʕinaci-de ɫẽ c̄'ar-iɫ-i*
deer-ERG   water drink-VLOC-ESS
'at the place where the deer drinks'

b. *baʕinaci-de ɫẽ c̄'ar-ida miša-ɫi*
deer-ERG   water drink-IPF₂   place-N.ESS
'at the place where the deer drinks'

7. Temporal converbs

7.1. The temporal reference of the temporal converbs

The temporal converbs express temporal relations between the event they denote and the event denoted by the main verb, but do not specify past, future or habitual

reference by themselves: this precision entirely depends on the tense of the main verb, and has no incidence on the morphological characteristics of the temporal converbs. Ex. (20) illustrates the use of the same simultaneous converb, marked by the suffix *-ideⱡi*, in sentences with different temporal reference (a: future, b: habitual, c: past).

(20) a. *ušt-e* [*ʕeropula-ge ʁad‹a›k'-ideⱡi*], *hirida* *knopka ič'-uba!*
    2PL-ERG plane-ESS ‹HPL›sit-SIMULT red knob push-PROH
    'When you will be sitting in the plane, don't push the red knob!'

  b. [*č'-īdeⱡi*]   *guⱡa*   *mene,* [*m-aq̄ʷ-ideⱡi*] *guⱡa*   *mene,*
    sow-SIMULT* COP.NEG.M 2SG   N-dig-SIMULT* COP.NEG.M 2SG
    'You are not here when we sow, you are not here when we dig the ground,

   q̄'-ōnuⱡa *čugu* *w-oq'-uwa?*
   eat-INF*   why M-come-MIR.M
   why are you coming to eat?'

  c. [*eχ̄ada ⱡuda* *b-eχ-o*   *w-oq'-ideⱡi*],
     back firewood N-take-CVB.M M-come-SIMULT
    'While he was returning with the wood,

   b-ašl-ēri   *imiχi* *ī'e* *o-t-uruⱡa.*
   N-begin-IPF₁* donkey fart N-let.out-INF
   the donkey started farting.'

7.2. The posterior converb

The posterior converb (glossed POST) is formed by means of a suffix showing the following three variants: HPL *-idiⱡi*, other classes *-eⱡi* (non-alternating stems) ~ *-adeⱡi* (alternating stems). It expresses that the event encoded by the main verb follows the event encoded by the posterior converb.

(21) a. [*č'ili-gune minaⱡ-idiⱡi*], *šī-la* *eśe-k'ena* *b-eq'-ari.*
     house-EL separate-POST.NPL bear-ADD 1PLE-COM N-come-PF₁
    'When we left the house, the bear came with us too.'

  b. [*raī'a-le-ge* *ⱬ'a-śe*   *kama* *harigʷ-eⱡi*],
     bone.PL-NPL-ESS on.ESS-ADJZ belt see-POST
    'When I saw the belt that was on the bones,

   di-ⱡa *ãⱬ'oda* *hula* *bič'il-āri.*
   1SG-DAT all   thing understand-PF₁*
   I understood everything.'

The meaning of posteriority can be emphasized by putting *qedo* 'after' immediately after the posterior converb, as in (22).

(22) a. [*rošo-ɫ̄-a*   *g‹u›č'-eɫ̄i*]   *qedo,*
      forest-N-LAT   ‹M›reach-POST   after
    'After arriving at the forest,

    če   *ĩk'a*   *ruša-ɫ̄-a*   *ʟ'ada*   *χ̄er-iri.*
    one   big   tree-N-LAT   on.LAT   climb-IPF$_1$
    he climbed a big tree.'

   b. [*hudu*   *ek'ʷa*   *w-ā̃deɫ̄i*]   *qedo,*   *moɫa*   *rasadi*   *w-uč-o*   *w-īni.*
     DEM   man   M-go.POST*   after   Molla   Rasadi   M-fall-CVB.M   M-go.IPF$_1$*
    'After the man had left, Molla fell down.'

The variations in the formation of the posterior converb are reminiscent of those in the formation of the variant of the perfective that can be used as a participle, which suggests that this form may result from the contraction of a sequence consisting of the perfective in participle function followed by a noun in the essive case, probably *riɫ̄i* 'at the moment'. As illustrated in (23), a meaning exactly identical to that of the posterior converb can be expressed by a construction in which *riɫ̄i* is modified by a relative clause with the verb in the perfective.

(23) a. *dene*   *ušku-ɫ̄-a*   *w-oq'-eɫ̄i*   'When I arrived at school, …'
     1SG   school-N-LAT   M-come-POST

          = *dene*   *ušku-ɫ̄-a*   *w-oq'-ada ri-ɫ̄i*
           1SG   school-N-LAT   M-come-PF$_2$ moment-N.ESS

   b. *iš̄i*   *ušku-ɫ̄-a*   *b-eq'-idiɫ̄i*   'When we arrived at school, …'
     1PLE   school-N-LAT   HPL-come-POST.HPL

          = *iš̄i*   *ušku-ɫ̄-a*   *b-eq'-idi*   *ri-ɫ̄i*
           1PLE   school-N-LAT   HPL-come-PF$_2$ moment-N.ESS

   c. *wašo-de*   *dene*   *ž-ādeɫ̄i*   'When the boy called me, …'
     boy-ERG   1SG   call-POST*

          = *wašo-de*   *dene*   *ž-āda*   *ri-ɫ̄i*
           boy-ERG   1SG   call-PF$_2$*   moment-N.ESS

   d. *wašo-de*   *iš̄i*   *žab-idiɫ̄i*   'When the boy called us, …'
     boy-ERG   1PLE   call-POST.HPL

          = *wašo-de*   *iš̄i*   *žab-idi*   *ri-ɫ̄i*
           boy-ERG   1PLE   call -PF$_2$.HPL   moment-N.ESS

This analysis is supported by the fact that forms with the suffix *-el̄i ~ -adel̄i ~ -idel̄i* do not appear in Magomedova & Abdulaeva's dictionary, which however includes many examples of sentences in which the same meaning is carried by forms with suffixes *-a(da)ril̄i* and *-idiril̄i*. These 'suffixes', in which *ril̄i* 'at the moment' is still clearly recognizable, quite obviously represent a less advanced stage in the grammaticalization process:

-a(da)ril̄i → *-el̄i*
-ādaril̄i   → *-ādel̄i*
-idiril̄i   → *-idil̄i*

7.3. The negative form of the posterior converb

The posterior converb is characterized by the complex suffix *-iʟ-el̄i*. A possible meaning of this form is to denote a habitual or virtual event whose consequences are described by the main verb. In this use, the negative form of the posterior converb is practically synonymous with the negative form of the conditional converb.

(24) a. [*doroži t'-ẽ̄ʟ-el̄i*],   *at'aʟi   ẽʟ'-ike.*
         yeast   put-NEG-POST*   dough   rise-IPF$_2$.NEG.N
      'When one does not put yeast, the dough does not rise.'

   b. [*kʷani goʟ-el̄i*]   *televizor   b-ešq̄-ike.*
         light   COP.NEG.N-POST   TV.set   N-work-IPF$_2$.NEG.N
      'When there is no light, the TV does not work'

However, the negative form of the posterior converb may also refer to specific past events, and when this is the case, it more commonly expresses a causal rather than strictly temporal meaning ('as *V-ing* did not happen, …').

(25) a. [*hudu-s̄ʷ-a   mašina b-iχ̄ʷ-iʟ-el̄i*]
         DEM-M-DAT   car   M-find-NEG-POST
      'As he didn't find any car,

      ak̄'i imaχa-ge d‹i›k'-aj-e   q̄'eʟ-a   j-eʟ-ari.
      wife donkey-ESS ‹F›sit-CAUS-CVB.F home-LAT   F-take.away-PF$_1$
      he took his wife home on his donkey.'

   b. [*q̄'ačali q̄'eʟ-a   b-eq'-iʟ-el̄i*],   *raši   eχa   r-oʟ-ari*
         dragon home-LAT   N-come-NEG-POST young.PL out NPL-set.out-PF$_1$
      'As the dragon did not come back home, the young set out

      ĩ-di-ʟi-da   ila   eq̄ed-ōruʟa.
      ANA-NPL-GEN-INT   mother look.for-INF*
      to look for their mother.'

The choice between the two possible interpretations of the posterior converb entirely depends on the context. The form itself gives no clue to the choice. For example, in (24a), *mašina b-iχ̄ʷ-iꞮ-eꞮi* is interpreted as 'As he didn't find any car, …', but in a different context, *mašina b-iχ̄ʷ-iꞮ-eꞮi* could equally mean 'When one doesn't find any car, …'.

As illustrated by ex. (26), the etymological hypothesis put forward for the positive form of the posterior converb can account for the negative form too.

(26) *di-Ɪa   mašina b-iχ̄ʷ-iꞮ-eꞮi*   'As I didn't find any car, …'
      1SG-DAT car   M-find-NEG-POST

      < *di-Ɪa   mašina b-iχ̄ʷ-iꞮa   ri-ꞯi*
        1SG-DAT car   M-find-PF.NEG moment-N.ESS
        lit. 'At the moment when I found no car…'

7.4. The simultaneous converbs

Simultaneity is commonly expressed by means of a converb characterized by the suffix *-ideꞮi*, glossed SIMULT. The event denoted by this converb is presented as a temporal frame within which the event denoted by the main verb occurs.

(27) a. [*dene   rošo-ꞯa   w-ĩdeꞮi*]   *χ̄ʷe   ãꞮ'o   b-eꞮ-ide.*
        1SG   forest-ILLAT M-go.SIMULT*   dog   together N-take.away-IPF₂.N
        'When I will go to the forest, I will take the dog with me.'

   b. [*miq̄'o-ge ãdo   harigʷ-ideꞮi*] *naꞮ-ero   w-uk'-uwi.*
        road-ESS   person.PL   see-SIMULT]   insult-PROG.M   M-insult-UW.M
        'Whenever he saw people on the road, he kept insulting them.'

Similarly to the posterior converb, this form probably results from the contraction of a synonymous sequence consisting of the imperfective in participle function followed by *riꞮi* 'at the moment'.

(28) a. *waša   ušku-ꞯ-a   w-oq'-ideꞮi*   'While the boy was arriving at school, …'
        boy   school-N-LAT M-come-SIMULT

        = *waša   ušku-ꞯ-a   w-oq'-ida ri-ꞯi*
          boy   school-N-LAT M-come-IPF₂ moment-N.ESS

   b. *iꞮ-e   riꞮ'i q̄'-ẽ̄deꞮi*   'While we were eating the meat, …'
      1PLI-ERG meat   eat-SIMULT*

        = *iꞮ-e   riꞮ'i q̄'-ẽ̄da ri-ꞯi*
          1PLI-ERG meat   eat-IPF₂* moment-N.ESS

Here again, this hypothesis is supported by the fact that the suffix *-ideɫi* does not appear in Magomedova & Abdulaeva's dictionary, which however includes many examples of sentences in which the same meaning is carried by verb forms with the 'suffix' *-idariɫi*.

An apparently synonymous converb formed by means of a suffix *-adada* sporadically occurs in some of my texts – ex. (29), but most of my informants do not use it productively.

(29) [*w-ošq̄-ero   w-uk'-adada*] *če   ek'ʷa   w-oq'-ari.*
      M-work-PROG.M* M-be-SIMULT*   one   man   M-come-PF₁*
      'A man arrived while I was working.'

This converb seems to result from the combination of the perfective suffix *-ada* with the intensifying particle *-da*. However, this etymological analysis is semantically problematic.

7.5. The inceptive converb

The inceptive converb ('from the moment when *V-ing* began / begins onwards'), glossed INCEP, is characterized by a suffix *-ariɫoχa*. The main verb denotes an activity, and the event encoded by the inceptive converb marks the initial boundary of the time interval within which this activity takes place.

(30) [*kʷã   b-iq̄'ʷ-ariɫoχa*] [*rašiɫe   t'-ãloq'o*],
      light   N-cut-INCEP   whiteness throw-ANT*
      'From the moment when the light was cut up to dawn,

      r-ešq̄-ere   r-ik'ʷ-ari   ʕerepula-di.
      NPL-work-PROG   NPL-be-PF₁   plane-PL
      the planes kept flying.'

The probable origin of this converb is again the contraction of a synonymous construction involving an inflected form of *ri* 'moment' modified by a relative clause, as indicated in (31).

(31) *kʷã   b-iq̄'ʷ-ariɫoχa*   'From the moment when the light was cut onwards, ...'
      light   N-cut-INCEP

      = *kʷã   b-iq̄'ʷ-ada   ri-ɫ-u   eχa*
      light   N-cut-PF₂   moment-N-EL   away

7.6. The immediate converbs

Two forms can be designated as immediate converbs ('as soon as *V-ing* occurred / occurs'), and are equally glossed IMMED. Their characteristic suffixes are *-ik'ena* and

-ula. The event encoded by an immediate converb is presented as immediately preceding the event encoded by the main verb, both events being conceived as telic.

(32) a. [q̄'eɫ-a   g‹u›č'-ik'ena] ak̄'o-ga eɫ'-iri …
        home-LAT   ‹M›reach-IMMED wife-LAT tell-IPF₁
        'As soon as he arrived at home, he told his wife …'

   b. [duna   gʷãɫ-ik'ena], ɫalaχo heč'-ada.
        world   get.lit-IMMED   up   rise-PF₂
        'I rose at dawn (lit. as soon as the world got lit).'

(33) a. [molā eša w-ū̃la],   ħãki-s̄ʷ-e ũk'a q̄or-e
        Molla away M-go.IMMED*   judge-M-ERG finger thrust-CVB.N
        'As soon as Molla went away, the judge thrust his finger

        ĩχʷa-gune čãčada-be q̄'-ēni.
        butter-EL   little-N   eat-IPF₁*
        and ate a little butter.'

   b. [hudu ak̄'a   hida-s̄qe   s̄or-ula],
        DEM   woman   there-DIR   turn-IMMED
        'As soon as the woman went away,

        čuduka mik'e-ge ʟ'a   g‹o›c̄'-awi.
        eagle   child-ESS   on.ESS   ‹N›bump-UW.N
        the eagle attacked the baby.'

-ik'ena probably includes a second formative cognate with the suffix of the comitative case *-k'ena*, but I have no hypothesis to propose with respect to its first formative.

-ula probably results from the combination of the short variant of the infinitive suffix *-u* with the additive particle *-la* 'and, also, in turn, even'. This etymological analysis is supported by the semantic proximity between the comitative suffix and the additive particle.

7.7. The anterior converb

This converb may correspond to English 'before *V-ing* occurs / occurred', as in ex. (34), or 'until *V-ing* occurs / occurred', as in ex. (35). Its characteristic suffix, glossed ANT, is *-alaq'o* or *-aloq'o* (commonly realized *-alaʔo* or *-aloʔo*).

(34) me-de [iši b-eq'-alaq'o] č'ila-ɫi   kuq̄'ala gʷij-a!
        2SG-ERG 1PLE N-come-ANT   house-GEN work.PL do-IMP
        'Do the housework before we come back!'

(35) a. [*w-uʟ'-alaq'o*] *hidič-ike* *du* *šoɬe.*
      M-die-ANT*   forget-IPF$_2$.N 2SG(GEN) kindness
      'Until I die I will not forget your kindness.'

  b. [*dene*   *w-oq'-alaq'o*] *hage* *w-oʁ-a!*
      1SG   M-come-ANT   here M-stay-IMP
      'Stay here until I come!'

miq'ʷalaq'o, lit. 'until it grows', 'until it is sufficient' (anterior converb of *miq'unuʟa* 'grow, be sufficient'), has been lexicalized with the non-temporal meaning 'enough'.

(36)   *di-be*   [*m-iq'ʷ-alaq'o*] *šoda* *šãʟ'e*   *gʷeda.*
      1SG(GEN)-N N-grow-ANT   good cloth   COP$_2$.N
      'I have good clothes in sufficient quantity.'

I have no etymological hypothesis to put forward for this converb.

7.8. The imminent converb

The imminent converb expresses the meaning 'just before *V-ing* occurs / occurred'. Its characteristic suffix, glossed IMMIN, is *-idaɫa* or *-idaɫoq̄e*.

(37) a. [*išʷada*   *g‹ʋ›č'-idaɫa*], *šĩ-ɫ-e*   *čelada* *lãgi* *b-eχ-e*   *m-āwi.*
      shepherd ‹M›arrive-IMMIN bear-N-ERG another sheep N-take-CVB.N N-go.UW.N*
      'Just before the shepherd arrived, the bear took another sheep away.'

  b. [*moɫa* *lapatka-la* *b-eχ-o*   *w-oq'-idaɫoq̄e*],
      Molla   spade-ADD N-take-CVB.M   M-come-IMMIN*
      'Just before Molla brought a spade,

      ĩk̄'ot'i *če* *ĩk̄'o* *kat'i* *gʷeda* *miša-ɫ-a*   *geɫ-a*   *m-āwi.*
      mouse one small hole COP$_2$.N   place-N-LAT inside-LAT N-go.UW.N*
      the mouse went into a place where there was a small hole.'

The immediate converb of *mūnuɫa* 'go', whose literal meaning is 'just before going', has postposition-like uses with the meaning 'before a particular length of time has passed' ('within').

(38)   [*ištuda* *ĩʟida* *žo* *m-īdaɫa*] *gʷ-ēda*   *mik'e-la*
      five   six   day N-go.IMMIN* make-PF$_2$*   child-ADD
      'A child born (lit. made) within five or six days

      [*ištuda* *ĩʟida* *žo* *m-īdaɫa*] *maktaba-ɫ-a-la* *m-īda-be.*
      five   six   day N-go.IMMIN school-N-LAT-ADD N-go.IPF$_2$-N*
      will certainly go to school within five or six days too.'

Etymologically, this is probably a complex suffix with the imperfective suffix *-ida* as its first formative. Consequently, a possible origin of *V-idaɫa* is the contraction of a sequence *V-ida ri-ɫ-a*, with the imperfective participle *V-ida* modifying the allative form of *ri* 'moment'.

As for *-idaɫoq̄e*, it probably results from the addition of the similative particle *-oq̄e* 'like, as' to *-idaɫa*.

7.9. The non-posterior converb

The suffix of the non-posterior converb, illustrated by ex. (39), is *-iɫeda*, glossed NPOST. It expresses that the event encoded by the main verb occurs so quickly that the event encoded by the converb does not occur before (and possibly does not occur at all, as in sentence (c).

(39) a. [*moɫa-s̄ʷ-e   q̄'-ẽɫeda*], *ak̄'o-de ĩ-ɫ-e-da   če   sīkʷa   c̄'ar-iri.*
       Molla-M-ERG   eat-NPOST* wife-ERG ANA-F-ERG-INT   one   spoon   drink-IPF₁
       'Before Molla started eating, his wife ate a spoonful [of soup] herself.'

   b. [*če   balahẽ-ɫi-ga   w-ux̄-iɫeda*], *ʁadi-ga   w-uš-a!*
       one   misfortune-N-LAT   M-fall-NPOST   down-LAT   M-come.together-IMP*
       'Calm down before something unpleasant happens to you!'

   c. [*k'eda gali   w-ĩɫeda*], *k'ebiɫa če   ãde-ɫ-e   šãɫ'e harigʷ-e   rãc̄'-ini …*
       two   step M-go.NPOST* second   one   person-N-ERG   cloth see-CVB.N   ask-IPF₁*
       'Before he walked two steps, a second person noticed his cloth and asked …'

The non-posterior converb of *muq̄'unuɫa* 'close (an eye)' occurs in the idiom *če k'eha muq̄'iɫeda* lit. 'before closing an eye' → 'in the twinkling of an eye'.

The suffix *-iɫeda* probably results from the combination of the negative form of the general converb (*-iɫe*) with the intensifying particle *-da*, lit. 'without even *V-ing*'. However, the fact that *-iɫeda* does not express class agreement provides evidence that it has grammaticalized as a distinct suffix.

8. Conditional and concessive converbs

8.1. The conditional converb

8.1.1. *The positive form of the conditional converb*

The conditional converb is marked by a suffix *-ala* (with the long variant *-alas̄ige* ~ *-alas̄q̄e*) or *-ãčala*, glossed COND.

Ex. (40) illustrates the use of the conditional converb referring to conditions whose realization can be considered in the future.

(40) a. [*hu-ji baza-ga m-aʔ-ij-ala*], *dene-la w-ĩ̃da gʷida.*
　　　 DEM-HPL market-LAT HPL-go-HPL-COND 1SG-ADD M-go.IPF₂* COP₂.M
　　　 'If they go to the market, I will go too.'

　 b. [*ha reqʼa beča-ʟa ã̃ʟ-ala*], *maɬeqʼ-ide.*
　　　 DEM word.PL mountain-DAT hear-COND be.vexed-IPF₂.N
　　　 'If the mountain hears these words, it will be vexed.'

The same construction is used in conditional sentences referring to the present, if the speaker is not in a position to know whether the condition is realized or not.

(41) a. [*ha-be riʟʼi m-ič-ala]* *keto haʟi?*
　　　 DEM-N meat N-be-COND* cat where.ESS
　　　 'If this is the meat, where is the cat?'

　 b. [*mene hušte ʕadada w-ũ̃č-ala*],
　　　 2SG thus mad M-be-COND*
　　　 'If you are as mad [as you pretend to be],

　　 du-ɬi-gune ekʼo-ɬi-ga čugu tʼ-õ̃š-awa?
　　 2SG(GEN)-N-EL another's.property-N-LAT why put- NEG-MIR.N*
　　 why don't you put [wheat] from your [bag] into [the bag] of other people?'

In conditional sentences with present reference but mentioning a non-realized condition, the same form of the conditional converb is used in the subordinate clause. The main verb is in an analytic form *imperfective of the auxiliated verb + perfective of* bikʼuruʟa *'be'*. This form is similar to the future, from which it differs by the use of the perfective of 'be' instead of the copula.

(42) [*du-ge heʟʼar-i-še čilo di-ge heʟʼar-i b-ikʼʷ-ã̃čala*],
　 2SG-ESS in.the.mouth-ESS-ADJZ tooth 1SG-ESS in.the.mouth-ESS N-be-COND
　 'If the tooth that is in your mouth were in my mouth,

　 ha q̄ʼada-ɬi-ge-la eχa b-eq̄-u tʼ-ẽ̃da b-ikʼʷ-ada.
　 DEM moment-N-ESS-ADD out N-take.out-INF throw-IPF₂* N-be-PF₂
　 I would have it out immediately.'

Ex. (43) illustrates the contrast between conditional sentences referring to a condition that may come true in the future, and a construction in which the conditional perfect (conditional converb of *bikʼuruʟa* 'be' preceded by the general converb of the auxiliated verb), combined with a main verb in the form *perfective of the auxiliated verb + imperfective of 'be'* is involved in the expression of the same counterfactual meaning as English conditional clauses in the past perfect.

(43) a. [jaše j-eq'-ala],   me-de čʷi gʷ-īda gʷeda?
         girl F-come-COND   2SG-ERG what do-IPF$_2$* COP$_2$.N
         'If the girl comes, what will you do?'

    b. [jaše j-eq'-e   j-ikʼʷ-ala],   me-de čʷi gʷ-īda b-ikʼʷ-ada?
         girl F-come-CVB F-be-COND   2SG-ERG what do-IPF$_2$* N-be-PF$_2$
         'If the girl had come, what would you have done?'

Ex. (44) provides another illustration of the use of the conditional perfect.

(44)   [žiži q-āda-s̄ʷ-a   o-x̄-e   b-ikʼʷ-ãčala],
        each ask-PF$_2$-M-DAT* N-give-CVB.N   N-be-COND
        'If I had given to every person who asked for it,

        hãže-laʔo b-ix̄ʷ-ida   b-ikʼʷ-iʟa-be.
        today-until N-remain-IPF$_2$ N-be-PF.NEG-N
        there would be none of it left now.'

More generally, analytic forms of the conditional converb are used to express aspectual shades of meaning. Note that, in the conditional, the use of *mičunuʟa* 'find', 'be found', 'be' in auxiliary function (rather than *bik'uruʟa* 'be') is particularly common.

(45) a. [w-ū̃x̄-o   w-ū̃č-ala],   u-t-a   w-ūnuʟa.
         M-go.OBLG-CVB.M* M-be-COND*   M-loosen-IMP   M-go.INF*
         'If he must go, let him go.'

    b. [hu-we ʟ-ēro   w-ū̃č-ala],   w-ū̃baʟ'a!
         DEM-M be.afraid-PROG.M* M-be-COND*   M-go.OPT.NEG*
         'If he is (being) afraid, let him not go!'

The conditional converb may also be involved in constructions expressing a concessive meaning.

(46) a. [beko-de q̄ali išʷič'-ala],   ʕama   išʷič'-ike.
         snake-ERG skin change-COND   character change-IPF$_2$.NEG.N
         'Although the snake changes its skin, it does not change its character.'

    b. [haštuda-la ĩk'a w-uk'-ala],   warani-gu ĩk'a w-uk'-iko.
         so.much-ADD big M-be-COND*   camel-EL big M-be-IPF$_2$.NEG$_M$*
         'Tall as he may be, he is not taller than a camel.'

Another possible use of the conditional converb is the expression of unrealized wishes, in sentences looking like the first part of conditional sentences whose main verb would be missing: they are headed by the conditional converb, but no main

verb is present. This use of the conditional converb can therefore be analyzed as an instance of 'insubordination' (Evans 2007).

(47) a. *di   ima   w-uk'-ãčala!*
      1SG(GEN) father M-be-COND*
      'If only he could have been my father!'

    b. *mitāq'ali   du-ga   dãdi   w-uχ̄-ada   miša-ɫ̄-e,*
      in.the.morning 2SG-LAT across M-remain-PF₂* place-N-ESS
      'This morning instead of meeting you, (lit. at the place where I met you)

      di-be   š̱ũk'a   b-iqʷ-e   b-ikʷ-ãčala,
      1SG(GEN)-N leg   N-cut-CVB.N N-be-COND
      I would better have cut my leg,

      du-be-la   mič̄'i   b-uq̄'-e   b-ikʷ-ãčala!
      1SG(GEN)-N-ADD tongue   N-dry-CVB.N N-be-COND
      and my tongue would better have dried!'

It is tempting to decompose the conditional suffix *-ala* into *-a* 'imperative' and *-la* 'additive particle', since the protasis of conditional sentences may be an imperative clause, as in (48).

(48) *herēši-k'ena di-ʟa   šahidiɫila gʷij-a,   du-ʟa   ač'ada ʁuruši o-χ̄-uwa.*
     lie-COM   1SG-DAT testimony do-IMP 2SG-DAT ten   ruble N-give-POT.N
     'Give a false testimony for me, and I'll give you ten rubles.'

This hypothesis is consistent with the fact that the conditional suffix *-ala* and the imperative suffix *-a* show the same phonological interaction with the verbal stem. However, the fact that the HPL marker *-ij-* can be inserted before the conditional suffix, whereas no agreement mark can be inserted before the imperative suffix, is a piece of evidence against this hypothesis.

As regards the *-ãčala* variant, it seems reasonable to assume that it results from the contraction of an analytic form including *mĩčala*, conditional converb of *mĩčunuʟa* 'find, be found, be' in auxiliary function.

8.1.2. The negative form of the conditional converb

There are two variants of the negative form of the conditional converb. One of them results from the insertion of the negative marker *-iʟ-* between the stem and the conditional suffix *-ala*, the other one, marked by a suffix *-ičiʟala*, lends itself to the same etymological explanation as the *-ãčala* variant of the positive conditional suffix.

(49) a. [*jaše j-eq'-iꞮ-ala*],　　*me-de　čʷi　gʷ-īda　gʷe-da?*
　　　　girl　F-come-NEG-COND　2SG-ERG　what　do-IPF₂*　COP₂.N
　　　　'If the girl does not come, what will you do?'

　　b. [*hu-be　di　　ʕaq'ilo-Ɪ̄i-ga　b-eq'-e　　　m-ič-iꞮ-ala*],
　　　　DEM-N　1SG(GEN)　mind-N-LAT　　N-come-CVB.N　N-be-NEG-COND*
　　　　'If it did not come to my mind,

　　　hu-s̄u　　　ʕaq'ilo-Ɪ̄i-ga-la　b-eq'-ike.
　　　DEM-M(GEN)　mind-N-LAT-ADD　　N-come-IPF₂.NEG.N
　　　it will not come to his mind either.'

Ex. (50) illustrates the possibility of a contextual interpretation of the negative form of the conditional converb 'except that …'.

(50)　　[*warani　　ꞯib-ēꞮ-ala*]　　　　*koša ʕaza b-ik'ʷ-iꞮa.*
　　　　camel.PL　be.afraid-CAUS.NEG-COND*　bad　pain　N-be-PF.NEG
　　　　'Apart from the fact that the camels frightened me, nothing bad happened.'

The meaning 'whether … or not' can be expressed in Akhvakh by putting the negative form of the conditional converb immediately after the positive form of the conditional converb of the same verb.

(51)　　*du-ꞯa　ču-bi,*　[*di　　　raq'oꞮi b-oꞮ̄'-ala　　b-oꞮ̄'-iꞮ-ala*]?
　　　　2SG-DAT　what-N　1SG(GEN)　back　　N-ache-COND　N-ache-NEG-COND
　　　　'What does it matter to you, whether my back is aching or not?'

8.2. The concessive converbs

Two suffixes, equally glossed CONC, can be used to form a concessive converb: *-alala* (resulting from the adjunction of the additive particle *-la* to the conditional suffix *-ala*), and *-aloʁola ~ -aloʁona*.

(52) a. [*w-ošq̄-aloʁola*] *čegaza　χe　b-oꞮ̄-iꞮa.*
　　　　M-work-CONC*　　　nothing　profit　N-occur-PF.NEG
　　　　'Although I worked, I got no result.'

　　b. [*b-ix̄-aloʁola*]　*imiχi　zor-e　　b-oꞮ̄-ere　　　　b-ik'ʷ-iꞮa.*
　　　　N-hold-CONC　　　donkey　slip-CVB.N　N-move.forward-PROG　N-be-PF.NEG
　　　　'Although we held it, the donkey slipped and did not move forward.'

An etymological analysis of this suffix can be imagined on the basis of the observation of its variations. In addition to the forms *-aloʁola* and *-aloʁona* I have found in AD Akhvakh, the variants *-eroʁona* and *-eroʁana* also occur in Magomedova & Abdulaeva's dictionary. The crucial observation is that the last two syllables of the variant *-eroʁana* are identical with *-ʁana*, the suffix of the purposive case. It seems

therefore reasonable to consider that the suffix of the concessive converb was originally a complex suffix with -ʁana as its second formative, and that, given the semantic proximity, the forms -aloʁona and -aloʁola developed as hybrids of -eroʁana and -alala. Concerning the first formative of the complex suffix -ero-ʁana, the hypothesis of a relationship with the verbal noun is contradicted by the selection of the short allomorph of alternating stems, but I have no other etymological hypothesis to put forward.

9. The similative converb

This converb can be translated as 'in the same way as …'. It is characterized by a suffix -eroq̇e ~ -ereq̇e, glossed SIMIL.

(53) a. [šuni   gʷ-ēroq̇e]   žeʟa-la   gʷij-a!
      yesterday   do- SIMIL*   today-ADD   do-IMP
      'Do today as you did yesterday!'

   b. [di-gune   ači   q-āroq̇e]   de-de-la   mašina   q-āda.
       1SG-EL   money   ask-SIMIL*   1SG-ERG-ADD car   ask-PF₂*
       'As he asked me for money, I myself asked him for the car.'

Etymologically, the suffix of the similative converb quite obviously includes the similative particle -oq̇e 'like' as its second formative. As for the first formative of this suffix, the selection of the short allomorph of alternating verb stems contradicts an otherwise possible etymological analysis according to which the similative converb would originate from the verbal noun, and rather points to a relation with the suffix of the progressive converb -ere.

10. The gradual converb

This converb, marked by a suffix -ũda ~ -ũdaɫe (glossed GRAD), expresses the meaning rendered in English as 'in proportion as …', 'the more …, the more …'.

(54) a. [hudu-we   ī'-ṹdaɫe]   taɫ-ari.
      DEM-M   dance-GRAD*   get.tired-PF₁
      'The more he danced, the more he got tired.'

   b. [heč'aɫ-ũda]   w-uč-o   w-ĩda   gʷida.
       rise-GRAD   M-fall-CVB.M   M-go.IPF₂*   COP₂.M
       'The higher you rise, the more likely it is that you will fall.'

I have no suggestion of any possible etymology for this converb.

11. The explicative converb

11.1. The positive form of the explicative converb

The explicative converb ('because ...') is marked by a suffix *-erogu* ~ *-eregu*, glossed EXPLIC. The identification of this form as a converb is somewhat problematic in the sense that it often occurs in constructions that might be analyzed as involving complementation rather than adverbial subordination (for example, with *ʟūruʟa* 'be afraid', or *reči gūruʟa* 'thank'). However, ex. (55a) shows that it also occurs in contexts unambiguously involving adverbial subordination.

(55) a. [*moͻa*   *makʷač-o*   *w-uk'-erogu*],
      Molla   be.hungry-CVB.M   M-be-EXPLIC*
    'Because Molla was hungry,

    k'eda   *reʟ'a-ͻi-k'ena*   *q̄'-āne*   *b-ik'-awi*.
    two   hand-N-COM   eat-PROG*   N-be-UW.N
    he ate with both hands.'

  b. *dene* ʟ-*ēro*   *gudi*   [*mik'e* *rešaͻero-ge*   *di-ga*,
      1SG   be.afraid-PROG.M*   COP$_1$.M   baby   beauty-ESS   1SG-LAT
    'I am afraid that the baby will resemble me as regards beauty,

    ʕaq̄'ilo-ge   *du-ga*   *ẽͻ-enogu*].
    intelligence-ESS 2SG-LAT   resemble-EXPLIC*
    and you as regards intelligence.'

  c. [*s̃ī-de*   *q̄'alaq̄'ala* *eχa* *eq̄-erogu*] *dene damaͻil-āri*.
      bear-ERG   often   out   look-EXPLIC 1SG   be.surprised-PF$_1$
    'I was surprised that the bear often looked outside.'

Morphologically, the explicative converb can be identified as the elative form of the verbal noun, and the meaning it expresses is consistent with its morphological make-up, but there are three reasons for treating it as a converb distinct from the inflected form of the verbal noun it originates from:

– in the inflection of the verbal noun, the original oblique stem formative *-ro-* tends to be replaced by the standard oblique stem formative *-ͻi-*, whereas the suffix of the explicative converb is never found with *-ͻi-* instead of *-ro-* or *-re-*;
– the verbal noun is rarely found with its core arguments in the ergative or absolute cases, and tends to behave syntactically like ordinary nouns, whereas the explicative converb consistently shows a verbal behavior with respect to its modifiers.
– the explicative converb has a synthetic negative form (see section 11.2), whereas the verbal noun only has an analytic negative form.

11.2. The negative form of the explicative converb

The negative suffix *-iɫ-* can be inserted between the verb stem and the suffix of the explicative converb.

(56) a. [*me-de ači o-x̄-iɫ-erogu*] *ʕazi b-eq̄-ere godi.*
      2SG-ERG money N-give-NEG-EXPLIC complaint N-take.off-PROG COP₁.N
      'He is complaining that you do not give him money.'

    b. *hu-ɫi-ʁana reči gʷ-ēre gʷeda,*
      DEM-N-PURP thanks do-PROG* COP₂.N
      'The reason why I am thanking [God],

      [*imaχa-ge ɬ'a w-uk'-iɫ-erogu [b-uq-ideɫi]*]].
       donkey-ESS on.ESS M-give-NEG-EXPLIC* N-disappear-SIMULT
      is that I was not sitting on the donkey when it disappeared.'

Note also that *-erogu* can attach to the negative form of the copula.

(57) *moɫa* [*q̄'eɫ-i čegaza goɫ-erogu*] *damaɫil-ēri.*
     Molla home-ESS nothing COP.NEG.N-EXPLIC be.surprised-IPF₁
     'Molla was surprised that there was nothing at home.'

12. The purposive converb (or 'supine')

12.1. The positive form of the purposive converb

The meaning of purpose expressed by this converb ('in order to …') can also be expressed by the infinitive, and it is always possible to replace the purposive converb by the infinitive without changing the meaning.[15] The difference between these two forms is that the infinitive has a variety of uses, whereas the purposive converb is more specialized, occurring in adverbial clauses of purpose exclusively.
    The suffix of the purposive converb is *-uʁana* (glossed PURP).

(58) a. *raɫaq̄u ũk-i c̄'ar-i qedo, [ɫ'ãk'-uʁana] reɫ'ʷa t'-ēni.*
      at.night eat-CVB.HPL eat-CVB.HPL after ‹HPL›sleep-PURP bed put-IPF₁*
      'At night after eating and drinking, they made the bed in order to sleep.'

    b. [*hudu miša-ɫ-unu ɫeni b-eχ-uʁana*],
      DEM place-N-EL water N-take-PURP
      'In order to (be allowed to) take water from this place,

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[15] For a general discussion of the possible historical connections between purposive and infinitive, see Haspelmath 1989.

žodoᴌi   če-če   jaše   ažaho-ga   zor-ēda.
every.day   one-one girl   dragon-LAT   throw-CAUS.IPF₂*
they throw a young girl to the dragon every day.'

The sporadic occurrence of synonymous forms with a suffix *-uruᴌaʁana* confirms that, etymologically, *-uʁana* is a complex suffix consisting of the infinitive marker *-u(ruᴌa)* and the purposive case marker *-ʁana*. However, within the frame of a synchronic analysis at least, this converb cannot be described as an inflected form of the infinitive, since the infinitive cannot combine with any other case suffix. The explanation is that the status of *-ʁana* as a case suffix is probably recent. In AD Akhvakh, *-ʁana* occurs in the same morphosyntactic slot as the other case suffixes, but in AR Akhvakh, *ʁana* is a postposition combining with nouns in the dative case. In addition to that, although a precise etymological analysis of the infinitive suffix *-uruᴌa* does not seem possible, a connection with the dative case suffix *-ᴌa* is probable. Consequently, historically, the purposive converb results from the evolution of a construction involving the derived nominal form in the dative case that gave rise to the infinitive of present-day Akhvakh, followed by the postposition from which the purposive case suffix originates.

12.2. The negative form of the purposive converb

The purposive converb has a negative counterpart marked by the complex suffix *-iᴌ-uk'uʁana*, which results from the contraction of *-iᴌe bik'uʁana*, i.e., the suffix of the negative form of the converb *-iᴌe* followed by the purposive converb of *bik'uruᴌa* 'be' in auxiliary function.

(59)   [*k̄’ʷet-iᴌ-uk'uʁana*]   *moᴌa-s̄ʷ-e   ᴌe   ruša-ᴌ-a   k'ar-aj-e   b-ik'-awi.*
       run.away-NEG-PURP   Molla-M-ERG calf tree-N-LAT   be.fixed-CAUS-CVB.N   N-be-UW.N
       'Molla had tied the calf to a tree so that it would not run away.'

12.3. The emergence of a new purposive converb

When the infinitive is used in adverbial clauses of purpose, but not in its other uses, it may combine with *ᴌ'e*, reduced form of the general converb *eᴌ'e* of *eᴌ'uruᴌa* 'say', as in ex. (60).

(60) a. *ʕodak'a harigʷ-eᴌi,   [če-be   b-ix̄-uruᴌa]   ᴌ'-e   ĩhʷara-ga geᴌ-a   kas-iri.*
        duck.PL see-POST   one-N   N-catch-INF   say-CVB.N   lake-LAT   inside-LAT   jump-IPF₁
        'When he saw the ducks, he jumped into the lake to catch one of them.'

     b. *riᴌ'i čab-e   b-iᴌ-ada   isto-ᴌi-ge   ᴌ'a   [č'a k'on-uruᴌa]   ᴌ'-e.*
        meat   wash-CVB.N   N-put-PF₂   table-N-ESS   on.ESS   fire light-INF   say-CVB.N
        'I washed the meat and put it on the table to light the fire.'

In such constructions, *ᴌ'e* is optional in the sense that it can always be deleted, and its deletion does not modify the meaning, but its presence underscores the

purposive function of the infinitive. Syntactically, this use of *ɫ'e* can be grouped with other complementizer-like uses of the same converb, either in its full form *eɫ'e* or in its reduced form *ɫ'e* – ex. (61).

(61) a. *eɫ'-uba* [*de-de eɫ'-iɫa*]   *ɫ'-e!*
         say-PROH 1SG-ERG say-PF.NEG say-CVB.N
         'Don't say that I didn't tell you!'

    b. *j-eχ̄ʷ-ere*   *gida* [*mik'e b-ik'ʷ-ida gʷeda*] *ɫ'e.*
         F-rejoice-PROG COP$_2$.F baby   N-be-IPF$_2$ COP$_2$.N   say-CVB.N
         'I am happy that we are going to have a baby.'

Consequently, in the present state of the system, there are arguments for describing this use of *ɫ'e* as a particular aspect of the syntax of the infinitive. But the same facts could equally be described by positing a second purposive converb characterized by a complex suffix *-uruɫa-ɫ'e*.

13. Conclusion

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this survey of the specialized converbs of AD Akhvakh is the high proportion of etymologically transparent converbs. In addition to that, the available data on AR Akhvakh suggests that there are interesting differences between the specialized converbs of these two Akhvakh varieties, in spite of their remarkable closeness in most areas of the grammar. Since massive recourse to rich inventories of specialized converbs to express various semantic types of adverbial subordination is probably ancient among Nakh-Daghestanian languages, this observation confirms that, in languages of this type, grammaticalization processes such as those recognized above for AD Akhvakh are constantly at work, resulting in a relatively rapid renewal of the inventories of specialized converbs. A possible consequence of this situation is the proliferation of synonymous forms. We have seen for example that, in AD Akhvakh, a construction involving the infinitive and a converbal form of *eɫ'uruɫa* 'say' is grammaticalizing into a new purposive converb, in spite of the fact that two forms (the infinitive and the purposive converb) are already available as heads of adverbial clauses of purpose.

Abbreviations

1PLI: 1st person plural inclusive	ADJZ: adjectivizer	COP: copula
1PLE: 1st person plural exclusive	ADLAT: adlative	CVB: general converb
	ANA: anaphoric pronoun	DAT: dative
1SG: 1st person singular	ANT: anterior converb	DEM: demonstrative
2PL: 2nd person plural	CAUS: causative	DIR: directional
2SG: 2nd person singular	COM: comitative	EL: elative
	COMP: complementizer	ERG: ergative
	CONC: concessive converb	ESS: essive
ADD: additive	COND: conditional converb	EXPLIC: explicative converb

F: feminine singular
GEN: genitive
GRAD: gradual converb
HPL: human plural
ILLAT: illative
IMMED: immediate converb
IMMIN: imminent converb
IMP: imperative
INCEP: inceptive converb
INF: infinitive
INT: intensifying particle
IPF: imperfective

LAT: lative
M: masculine singular
MIR: mirative
N: non-human singular
NEG: negation
NPL: non-human plural
NPOST: non-posterior
OBLG: obligative
OPT: optative
PF: perfective
PL: plural
POST: posterior converb

POT: potential
PROG: progressive converb
PROH: prohibitive
PURP: purposive case /
    converb
SG: singular
SIMIL: similative converb
SIMULT: simultaneous
    converb
UW: past unwitnessed
VLOC: verbal locative
VN: verbal noun

Annex: Underlying representation of verbal forms involving morphophonological processes, signaled by an asterisk in the glosses of the examples

(1) *j-īni < |j-ṽ-iri|*,[16] *g-ux̄-ida < |gʷi(j)-ux̄-ida|*
(2) *q̄'-ēni < |q̄'ã(b)-iri|, tũk-ini < |tũk-iri|*
(4) *m-āne < |b-ã?-ere|*
(5) *w-uk'-uwi < |w-ikʼʷ-uwi|, ũk-āno < |ũk-a(j)-ero|*
(6) *ʕ-āre < |ʕa(b)-ere|, m-ič-ani < |b-ĩč-ari|, w-ũč-ani < |w-ĩč-ari|*
(7) *q̄'-āne < |q̄'ã(b)-ere|*
(8) *ʕ-āre < |ʕa(b)-ere|*
(10) *c̄'-ēdaƚa < |c̄'a(b)-idaƚa|, b-oč'il-āri < |b-oč'ila(j)-ari|, m-ič-ala < |b-ĩč-ala|, m-īda < |b-ṽ-ida|*
(12) *gʷ-ēwi < |gʷi(j)-awi|, w-ũk'ena < |w-ṽ-ik'ena|, j-it'āhe < |j-it'a(j)-ehe|, j-īni < |j-ṽ-iri|*
(13) *m-īni < |b-ṽ-iri|, m-ič-alaq'o < |b-ĩč-alaq'o|, m-aq̄ʷ-ida < |b-ãq̄ʷ-ida|, w-uʟ'-ideƚi < |w-iʟ'-ideƚi|*
(14) *w-ĩdeƚi < |w-ṽ-ideƚi|*
(15) *w-uʟ'-ida < |w-iʟ'-ida|, gʷ-ēre < |gʷi(j)-ere|*
(16) *w-ošq̄-ada < |w-ešq̄-ada|*
(17) *gʷ-īƚ-a < |gʷi(j)-iƚ-a |, w-ũwi < |w-ṽ-uwi|*
(20) *č'-īdeƚi < |č'i(b)-ideƚi|, m-aq̄ʷ-ideƚi < |b-ãq̄ʷ-ideƚi|, q̄'-ōnuʟa < |q̄'ã(b)-uruʟa|, b-ašl-ēri < |b-ašla(j)-iri|*
(21) *bič'il-āri < |bič'ila(j)-ari|*
(22) *w-ãdeƚi < |w-ṽ-adeƚi|, w-īni < |w-ṽ-iri|*
(23) *ž-ādeƚi < |ža(b)-adeƚi|, ž-āda < |ža(b)-ada|*
(24) *t'-ẽʟ-eƚi < |t'ã(b)-iʟ-eƚi|*
(25) *eq̄ed-ōruʟa < |eq̄eda(j)-uruʟa|*
(27) *w-ĩdeƚi < |w-ṽ-ideƚi|*
(28) *q̄'-ẽdeƚi < |q̄'ã(b)-ideƚi|, q̄'-ẽda < |q̄'ã(b)-ida|*
(29) *w-ošq̄-ero < |w-ešq̄-ero|, w-uk'-adada < |w-ikʼʷ-adada|, w-oq'-ari < |w-eq'-ari|*
(30) *t'-ãloq'o < |t'ã(b)-alaq'o|*
(33) *w-ũla < |w-ṽ-ula|, q̄'-ēni < |q̄'ã(b)-iri|*
(35) *w-uʟ'-alaq'o < |w-iʟ'-alaq'o|*
(37) *w-oq'-idaƚoq̄e < |w-eq'-idaƚoq̄e|, m-āwi < |b-ṽ-awi|*
(38) *m-īdaƚa < |b-ṽ-idaƚa|, gʷ-ēda < |gʷi(j)-ada|, m-īda-be < |b-ṽ-ida-be|*
(39) *q̄'-ẽʟeda < |q̄'ã(b)-iʟeda|, w-uš-a < |w-iš-a|, w-ĩʟeda < |w-ṽ-iʟeda|, rãč'-ini < |rãč'-iri|*
(40) *w-ĩda < |w-ṽ-ida|*
(41) *m-ič-ala < |b-ĩč-ala|, w-ũč-ala < |w-ĩč-ala|, t'-õš-awa < |t'ã(b)-uš-awa|*
(42) *t'-ẽda < |t'ã(b)-ida|*
(43) *gʷ-īda < |gʷi(j)-ida|*
(44) *q-āda-s̄ʷ-a < |qa(b)-ada-s̄u-ga|*

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[16] *ṽ* represents the unspecified nasal vowel which constitutes one of the allomorphs of the root of *mūnuʟa* 'go'.

(45) w-$\tilde{\bar{u}}\bar{x}$-o $<$ $|w$-$\tilde{v}$-$u\bar{x}$-$o|$, w-$\tilde{u}\check{c}$-ala $<$ $|w$-$\tilde{i}\check{c}$-$ala|$, w-$\tilde{u}nu\textit{ʟ}a$ $<$ $|w$-$\tilde{v}$-$uru\textit{ʟ}a|$, $\textit{ʟ}$-$\bar{e}ro$ $<$ $|\textit{ʟ}i(b)$-$ero|$, w-$\tilde{u}ba\textit{ʟ}$'a $<$ $|w$-$\tilde{v}$-$uba\textit{ʟ}$'$a|$

(46) w-uk'-ala $<$ $|w$-ik'^{w}-$ala|$, w-uk'-iko $<$ $|w$-ik'^{w}-ika-$we|$

(47) w-uk'-$\tilde{a}\check{c}ala$ $<$ $|w$-ik'^{w}-$\tilde{a}\check{c}ala|$, w-$u\chi$-ada $<$ $|w$-$i\chi^{w}$-$ada|$

(48) g^{w}-$\bar{\imath}da$ $<$ $|g^{w}i(j)$-$ida|$, m-$i\check{c}$-$i\textit{ʟ}$-ala $<$ $|b$-$i\check{c}$-$i\textit{ʟ}$-$ala|$

(49) $\textit{ʟ}ib$-$\bar{e}\textit{ʟ}$-ala $<$ $|\textit{ʟ}i(b)$-$a(j)$-$i\textit{ʟ}$-$ala|$

(52) w-$o\check{s}\bar{q}$-$alo\textit{ʁ}ola$ $<$ $|w$-$e\check{s}\bar{q}$-$alo\textit{ʁ}ola$ $|$

(53) g^{w}-$\bar{e}re\bar{q}e$ $<$ $|g^{w}i(j)$-$ere\bar{q}e|$, q-$\bar{a}re\bar{q}e$ $<$ $|qa(b)$-$ere\bar{q}e|$, q-$\bar{a}da$ $<$ $|qa(b)$-$ada|$

(54) $\bar{\textit{ʟ}}$'-$\tilde{u}da\textit{ɬ}e$ $<$ $|\bar{\textit{ʟ}}$'$i(b)$-$\tilde{u}da\textit{ɬ}e|$, w-$\tilde{\imath}da$ $<$ $|w$-$\tilde{v}$-$ida|$

(55) w-uk'-$eregu$ $<$ $|w$-ik'^{w}-$eregu|$, $\bar{q}$'-$\bar{a}ne$ $<$ $|\bar{q}$'$\tilde{a}(b)$-$ere|$, $\textit{ʟ}$-$\bar{e}ro$ $<$ $|\textit{ʟ}i(b)$-$ero|$, $\tilde{e}\bar{\textit{ɬ}}$-$enogu$ $<$ $|\tilde{e}\bar{\textit{ɬ}}$-$erogu|$

(56) w-uk'-$i\textit{ʟ}$-$eregu$ $<$ $|w$-ik'^{w}-$i\textit{ʟ}$-$eregu|$, g^{w}-$\bar{e}re$ $<$ $|g^{w}i(j)$-$ere|$

(58) t'-$\bar{e}ni$ $<$ $|t$'$\tilde{a}(b)$-$iri|$, zor-$\bar{e}da$ $<$ $|zor$-$a(j)$-$ida|$

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