ALIGNMENT TYPOLOGY, REFLEXIVES, AND RECIPROCALS IN TSEZIC LANGUAGES

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A. Introduction

Nakh-Daghestanian languages are usually described has being (morphologically) ergative. However, a closer look at the grammatical roles reveals many instance of neutral or accusative alignment. In this talk we want to take a closer look at the alignment typology in the Tsezic languages (Hunzib, Bezhta, Khwarshi, Tsez and Hinuq).

The talk is structured in the following way: First, we will look at coding properties such as case marking and verb agreement in various clause types (Section B). Then behavioral properties such as control will be treated (Section C). A special focus will be on reflexive and reciprocal constructions since these constructions exhibit interesting variations among the Tsezic languages (Section D).

B. Clause structure types

Intransitive

Khwarshi
1.   *hadam*   *b-odo-še*   *b-eč-un.*
     people(IPL.ABS)   IPL-work-IPFVCVB   IPL-be-PSTUNW
     'The people have been working.'

Bezhta
2.   *kid*   *y-eⁿλ'e-yo.*
     girl(II.ABS)   II-go-PST
     'The girl went.'

Transitive

Khwarshi
3.   *heč'č'e* *atɣul*   *Madinat-i*   *ōⁿču*   *b-ez-un.*
     most   in.front   Madinat-ERG   hen (III.ABS)   III-buy-PSTUNW
     'First Madinat bought the hen.'

Bezhta

4.   *mexanik-li*   *radio*   *y-it'il-lo.*
       mechanic-I.ERG   radio(II.ABS)   II-repair-PST
       'The mechanic repaired the radio.'

Affective

Khwarshi

5.   *bet'erhan-il*   *b-ak-un*   *boc'o.*
       owner-LAT   III-see-PST   wolf(III.ABS)
       'The owner saw the wolf.'

Bezhta

6.   *di-l*   *kid*   *y-ac-ca.*
       I-LAT   girl(II.ABS)   II-love-PRS
       'I love the girl.'

Other clause structure types, e.g. Hinuq Potential construction

7.   *łac-qo*   *ac*   *y-aɣi-ł-o*   *gom.*
       wind-AT.ESS   door(IV.ABS)   IV-open-POT-IPFVCVB   be.NEG
       'The wind cannot open the door.'

Case marking

S	ABS		
P	ABS	A	ERG
Stim	ABS	Exp	LAT

- Lative: distinct from Absolutive for all noun phrases
- Ergative: distinct from Absolutive for all noun phrases
  - ➢ except some first/second-person pronouns
  - ➢ in all languages except Bezhta
  - ➢ though morphological details often intricate:
    - ❖ Ergative suffix
    - ❖ no suffix, but distinct Oblique stem

Table 1: First- and second-person pronouns

	1SG		2SG		1PL		2PL	
	S/P	A	S/P	A	S/P	A	S/P	A
Khwarshi	do	de	mo	me	ílʸo	ilʸé	mížo	mižé
Tsez	di	di	mi	mi	eli	elā	meži	mežā
Hinuq	de	de	me	me	eli	eli	meži	meži
Bezhta	do	do	mi	mi	ile	ile	miže	miže
Hunzib	də	də	mə	mə	ile	ile	miže	miže

Nouns in Bezhta
- ABS SG same as ABS stem
- ERG SG same as OBL stem
- for many nouns, ABS stem = OBL stem and therefore ABS SG = ERG SG
- no correlation with proposed hierarchies
- lack of opposition has no syntactic consequences

Table 2: Some case forms and oblique stem forms in Bezhta

	ABS SG	OBL stem	ERG SG	LAT SG
'brother'	*is*	*ist'i-*	*ist'i*	*ist'i-l*
'sister'	*isi*	*isi-*	*isi*	*isi-l*
'fox'	*sora*	*sorali-*	*sorali*	*sorali-l*
'horse'	*soyya*	*soyya-*	*soyya*	*soyya-l*
		soyyali-	*soyyali*	*soyyali-l*
'forest'	*wan*	*wana-*	*wana*	*wana-l*
'river'	*e^{n}xe*	*e^{n}xe-*	*e^{n}xe*	*e^{n}xe-l*

Verb indexing

- nearly all vowel-initial verbs (incl. ʕV-initial verbs in some languages, perhaps to be analyzed as pharyngealized vowel)
- verbs take a prefix indexing the gender–number of the absolutive argument, i.e. S, P, Stim

Table 3: Gender-number prefixes in Tsez

SG				PL	
I	II	III	IV	I	non-I
Ø-	y-	b-	r-	b-	r-

Khwarshi lexicon
- Initial vowel with indexing   23%
- Initial vowel without indexing   7%
- No initial vowel, no indexing   70%

Tsez folktale *The Rainbow*
- Total word count   281
- Agreeing verb forms   53
- Non-agreeing verb forms   35   (incl. 8 vowel-initial)

C. Syntactic alignment I
Many phenomena neutral, e.g. accessibility to relativization

Control

Tsez
8.   *dā̃-r*   *[new-ā-γor*   *Ø-ik'-a]*   *r-eti-x.*   S
      me-LAT   Mokok-IN-DIR   I-go-INF IV-want-PRS
      'I want to go to Mokok.'

9.   *dā̃-r*   *[kaγat*   *cax-a]*   *y-eti-x.*   A
      me-LAT   letter(II.ABS)   write-INF   II-want-PRS
      'I want to write a letter.'

10.   *uži-r*   *[kid*   *y-ukad-a]*   *y-eti-s.*   Exp
      boy-LAT   girl(II.ABS)   II-see-INF   II-want-PSTWIT
      'The boy wanted to see the girl.'

Imperative

Khwarshi
11.   *Ø-oⁿk'-o,*   *obu.*   S
      I-go-IMP   father(I)
      'Go, father!'

12.   *miže*   *l-i-yo.*   A
      you.PL(ERG) IV-do-IMP
      'You do it!'

Hinuq (likewise Bezhta, also Khwarshi but with lexical exceptions)
13.   *debe-z*   *hado*   *uži*   *Ø-eti.*   Exp
      you-LAT   this   boy(I.ABS)   I-love(IMP)

14.   *me*   *hado*   *uži*   *Ø-eti-r-o.*   A
      you(ERG)   this   boy(I.ABS)   I-love-CAUS-IMP
      'You love this boy!'

Tsez (likewise Hunzib, also Khwarshi for 'find', 'see')
15.   *mežu-l   *mežu-s*   *tušman-bi*   *b-eti.*   *Exp
      you.PL-LAT   you.PL-GEN   enemy-PL(ABS)   IPL-love(IMP)

16.   *mež-ā*   *mežu-s*   *tušman-bi*   *b-eti-r.*   A
      you.PL-ERG   you.PL-GEN   enemy-PL(ABS)   IPL-love-caus(IMP)
      'Love your enemies!'

Anaphora (pronouns, zeros) requires further work

D. Syntactic alignment 2: Reflexives and Reciprocals

Canonical pattern:	Antecedent	Reflexive/Reciprocal
	A	P
	Exp	Stim

		Antecedent		Reflexive	
		A	Sbj	A	Sbj
17.	John hit himself.	+	+	−	−
18.	*Himself hit John.	−	−	+	+
19.	?John was hit by himself.	−	+	+	−
20.	*Himself was hit by John.	+	−	−	+

		Antecedent		Reflexive	
		A	Sbj	A	Sbj
21.	John and Mary hit each other.	+	+	−	−
22.	*Each other hit John and Mary.	−	−	+	+
23.	?John and Mary were hit by each other.	−	+	+	−
24.	*Each other were hit by John and Mary.	+	−	−	+

Reflexives

Tsez   Antecedent   Reflexive
25.   *ʕal-ā   nesā̱_že   žek'-si.*
      Ali(I)-ERG   REFL(ABS)   hit-PSTWIT   A   P
      'Ali hit himself.'

26.   *pat'i   nełā_neło-r   y-eti-x.*   STIM   EXP
      Pati(II.ABS) REFL-LAT   II-love-PRS
      'Pati loves herself.'   [also: *nełā nełor pat'i yetix*.]

Bezhta
27.   *murad-i   žu   Ø-uɣo-l-lo.*   A   P
      Murad(I)-ERG   REFL(ABS)   I-die-CAUS-PST

28.   *murad   hinis_hin-i   Ø-uɣo-l-lo.*   P   A
      Murad(I.ABS) REFL-ERG   I-die-CAUS-PST
      'Murad killed himself.'

29.   *ist'i-l   žu   Ø-at'-ca.*   Exp   Stim
      brother(I)-LAT   REFL(ABS)   I-like-PRS

30.   *is   hinis_hini-l Ø-at'-ca.*   Stim   Exp
      brother(I.ABS) REFL-LAT   I-like-PRS
      'Brother likes himself.'

				Antecedent	Reflexive

Khwarshi

31. *ražab-i*   *žu_žuč*   *Ø-uwox-i.*   A   P
    Rajab(I)-ERG   REFL(ABS)   I-kill-PST

32. *ražab*   *ise_iseč*   *Ø-uwox-i.*   P   A
    Rajab(I.ABS)   REFL.ERG   I-kill-PST
    'Rajab killed himself.'   [also: *ise iseč ražab uwoxi.*]

33. *musa-l*   *žu_žuč*   *Ø-iyōq'.*   Exp   Stim
    Musa(I)-LAT   REFL(ABS)   I-know.GNT

34. *musa*   *ise_isu-l*   *Ø-iyōq'.*   Stim   Exp
    Musa(I.ABS)   REFL-LAT   I-know.GNT
    'Musa knows himself.'   [also: *ise isul musa iyōq'.*]

Hinuq

35. *maħama-y*   *zo*   *Ø-uher-iš.*   A   P
    Mahama(I)-ERG   REFL(ABS)   I-kill-PSTWIT
    'Mahama killed himself.'

36. *madina-z*   *zon-ez*   *zo*   *y-eq'i-yo.*   Exp   Stim
    Madina(II)-LAT   REFL-**LAT**   REFL(ABS)   II-know-PRS
    [Combinations like *zonez zo*, where the first component of the reflexive echoes the case of the antecedent, occur only in affective and a few other similar constructions (e.g. potential).]

37. *madina*   *zoni_zone-z*   *y-eq'i-yo.*   Stim   Exp
    Madina(II.ABS)   REFL-LAT   II-know-PRS
    'Madina knows herself.'

Reciprocals

Bezhta

38. *kid-na*   *öžö-na*   *sid<i>_hos*   *b-iyaƛ'e-yo.*
    girl(ABS)-and   boy(ABS)-and   RECIP<ERG>   1PL-kill.PL-PST
    'The girl and the boy killed each other.'   P   A

39. *Pat'imat-na*   *Rasul-na*   *sidi<l>_hosso*   *b-āt'-na.*
    Patimat-and   Rasul-and   RECIP<LAT>   IPL-like-PST
    'Patimat and Rasul like each other.'   Stim   Exp

Khwarshi

40. *ɣˤʷe-bo*   *hadiyad-za*   *haⁿhaⁿn-i.*   P   A
    dog-PL.ABS   RECIP-ERG   bite-PST   [also: *hadiyadza ɣˤʷebo haⁿhaⁿni.*]

				Antecedent	Reflexive

41. *ɣˤwe-za*   *hadiyad-ba* *haⁿhaⁿn-i.*   A   P
     dog-PL.ERG RECIP-ABS   bite-PST
     'The dogs bit each other.'

42. *izzu*   *hadiyadi-l* *goq-še.*   Stim   Exp
     they(ABS) RECIP-LAT   like-PRS   [also: *hadiyadil izzu goqše.*]

43. *izzu-l*   *hadiyad-ba* *goq-še.*   Exp   Stim
     they-LAT RECIP-ABS   like-PRS
     'They like each other.'

Hinuq

44. *haze-y*   *sedi.hes*   *haƛi-š*   A   P
     they-ERG RECIP(ABS)   push-PSTWIT
     'They pushed each other.'

45. *hagze-z* *sedi.hes*   *b-eti-yo.*   Exp   Stim
     they-LAT RECIP(ABS)   IPL-love-PRS

46. *hagbe*   *sedi.sed-ez* *b-eti-yo*   Stim   Exp
     they(ABS) RECIP-LAT   IPL-love-PRS
     'They love each other.'

Tsez

47. *sidä*   *sis*   *esnabi*   *bexursi*   P   A
     one.ERG   one(ABS)   brother-PL   I.PL-kill-PSTWIT
     'The brothers killed each other.' (Father_and_sons.077)

Table 4: Case marking in transitive constructions involving reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

	Reflexive		Reciprocal	
	Antecedent	Reflexive	Antecedent	Reciprocal
Hinuq	A	P	A	P
Tsez	A	P	P	A
Khwarshi	A	P	A	P
	P	A	P	A
Bezhta	A	P		
	P	A	P	A
Hunzib	A	P	?	?
	P	A		

Tsudakhar Dargi (Dargi, East Caucasian; data from Amina Ramazanova)

49. *ittali*   *calica*   *kabušˠib.*   A   P
     they.ERG RECIP(ABS)   kill.PST
     'They killed each other.'

Avar (Avar-Andi, East Caucasian; data from Hisanari Yamada)

48. *ɣol   coc-az   č'wa-na.*   P   A
    they(ABS) RECIP-ERG kill-PST
    'They killed each other.'

Table 5: Case marking in affective constructions involving reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

	Reflexive Antecedent	Reflexive	Reciprocal Antecedent	Reciprocal
Hinuq	Exp	Stim	Exp	Stim
	Stim	Exp	Stim	Exp
Tsez	Stim	Exp	?	?
Khwarshi	Stim	Exp	Stim	Exp
	Exp	Stim	Exp	Stim
Bezhta	Exp	Stim		
	Stim	Exp	Stim	Exp

E. Conclusion

Khwarshi and partially Tsez distinguish between Ergative and Absolutive for the first and second-person pronouns, the other languages don't. Bezhta is special because it lacks an Ergative marker (similar to Lezgi). The possibility for verb indexing depends on the verb, but it is only Absolutive arguments that are indexed.

In all Tsezic languages there is no difference between S, A and Exp arguments with regard to control. Hinuq, Khwarshi and Bezhta allow the addressee of the Imperative to be an experiencer, at least with some affective verbs.

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions vary among the Tsezic languages. In transitive reflexive constructions almost all languages show the canonical pattern. Additionally, Khwarshi, Bezhta and Hunzib show a typologically unusual pattern where the roles are 'reversed'. In reflexive construction with affective verbs the reversal of roles is allowed (and in Tsez required) in all Tsezic languages that we have data for. A similar phenomenon is found in reciprocal constructions, but here Bezhta again only allows the 'reversed' construction for transitive as well as for affective verbs. However, more data is needed, especially for reciprocal constructions.

Abbreviations

A	Agent-like argument	NEG	Negative
ABS	Absolutive	OBL	Oblique
AT	locative 'at'	P	Patient-like argument
CAUS	Causative	PL	Plural
ERG	Ergative	POT	Potential
ESS	Essive (location)	PRS	Present
Exp	Experiencer-like argument	PST	Past
GEN	Genitive	PSTUNW	Past unwitnessed
GNT	General tense	PSTWIT	Past witnessed
IMP	Imperative	RECIP	Reciprocal
IN	locative 'in'	REFL	Reflexive
INF	Infinitive	S	Single argument of intransitive
IPFVCVB	Imperfective converb	SG	Singular
LAT	Lative (motion to)	Stim	Stimulus-like argument