Timur Maisak & Solmaz Merdanova

Institute of Linguistics, RAS (Moscow)

Repetitive prefix in Agul and its areal/genetic background
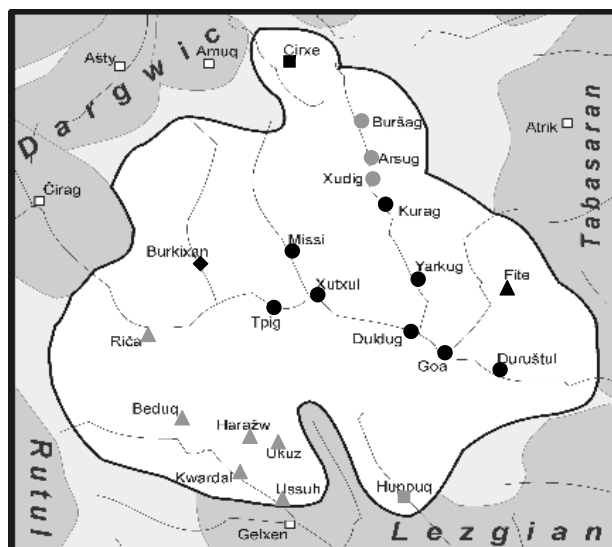
1. Agul and its prefixes

❖ **Agul (Aghul)** < Lezgic < East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian)

Mostly spoken in the Agul and the Kurah districts of Daghestan, Russia (20 mountain villages) and people resettled on the lowlands.

● Central ■ Cirxe ▲ Fite ◆ Gequn ■ Huppuq ▲ Keren ● Qushan

Seven dialects:
(i)   CENTRAL AGUL,
(ii) CIRXE,
(iii) FITE,
(iv) GEQUN (BURKIXAN),
(v)   **HUPPUQ**,
(vi) KEREN,
(vii) QUSHAN.

The QUSHAN dialect (close to Tabasaran-speaking area) is hardly understandable by speakers of other varieties.

Rich system of nominal inflection (absolutive, ergative, dative, genitive, comitative and ~20 locative cases).

Rich system of verbal prefixes, both derivational (locative, repetitive) and inflectional (negative, prohibitive).

❖ **Locative prefixes**

In the Huppuq dialect, there are two sets of locative prefixes:
○ LOCALIZATION:
ʔ- 'In', ʕ- 'Inter', ḥ- 'Ante', q- 'Post', f- 'Apud', al- 'Super' and k- 'Sub/Cont' (the same form and meaning as locative case markers)
○ DIRECTION (optional slot):
-č- 'Lative', -at:- 'Elative', -ʁ- 'Up' and -a- ‖ -da- 'Down'

(1) ruš.a   gardan.i-q   šarf   qix.i-ne
girl(ERG)   neck-POST   scarf   {POST}put.PF-PFT
'The girl put ['behind'+'put, lay'] a scarf on her neck'

(2) šünük:̥.i-l   jurʁan   alčaq!
child-SUPER   shawl   {SUPER-LAT}pour(IMP)
'Cover ['on-to'+'pour, scatter'] the child with a shawl!'

• locative prefixes are attested in all dialects, though there is some variation in the form/meaning of affixes and the number of slots (two or three)
• not fully productive: the combinability with verbal roots is restricted, many derived prefixed verbs have idiomatic meaning
• in the Huppuq dialect, there are ca. 350 prefixed verbs (of 120 verbal roots, only about a half has prefixed derivatives, and about 30 roots have more than one prefixed derivative)

(3) zun wa-q   quχ.a-dawa
I   you.SG-POST believe.IPF-PRS:NEG
'I don't believe [POST-???] you'

(4) za-l   sa   idemi   alčarx.u-ne
I-SUPER one man   meet.PF-PFT
'I met [SUPER-LAT-get.to] a man'

❖ **Negative prefixes**

d- ‖ da-   Narrow scope negation (non-finite and some non-indicative forms)
m- ‖ ma-   Prohibitive (morphologically unrelated to the Imperative)

• attested in all dialects
• unrestrictedly productive with non-stative verbs

(5) d-aʁ.a-s
NEG-say.IPF-INF
'not to say'

(6) m-aʁ.a!
PROH-say.IPF
'don't say!'

(7) d-up.u-raj
NEG-say.PF-JUSS
'let him not say!'

❖ **Repetitive (refactive) prefix** q- ‖ qV-

• attested only in two southern dialects – the Huppuq dialect (spoken in 1 village) and the Keren dialect (spoken in 6 villages).
• unrestrictedly productive with non-stative verbs

(8) aʁ.a-s
say.IPF-INF
'to say'

(9) q-aʁ.a-s
RE-say.IPF-INF
'to say again, to tell more'

2. Morphology of the Repetitive prefix

❖ Variants

The distribution is partly phonetically, partly lexically conditioned:

- *q-* before stems in /a/ (and sometimes in other vowels), cf. (6)
- *qa-* before stems in consonants and /i/, /u/, /e/, cf. (10), (11)
- *qu-* with the Imperfective stems of motion verbs *ʕ̥as* 'go/come' and *χas* 'bring/take', the Imperative *qu-jaχ* of 'go away' and with the verb *hatas* 'send' (12)
- *qi-* with the Imperative *qi-šaw* of 'come'

(10) qa-fac.u-ne   (11) qa-uχ.a-s   (12) qu-hat.a-s-e
RE-seize.PF-PFT   RE-drink.IPF-INF   RE-send.IPF-INF-COP
'seized again'   'to drink again'   'will send back'

❖ Position

In Huppuq, Repetitive precedes locative prefixes and follows negation markers[1]:

NEGATION [REPETITIVE [LOCALIZATION (DIRECTION) [ROOT]]]

(13) da-q-laːarx.a-guna,   hal eχir čara a-dawa…
NEG-RE-{SUPER-ELAT}get.to.IPF-TEMP now at.last way.out {IN}be-PRS:NEG
'As he doesn't leave (them) in peace, there is no way out...'

Repetitive *qV-* is close in form to the 'Post' localization prefix *qV-*, but (at least synchronically) they clearly represent two distinct morphemes:

- Repetitive and 'Post' derivatives are not identical:
  - o 'Post' prefix attaches to roots, including bound roots (i.e. those that do not occur without locative prefixes) ~ Repetitive attaches to stems already containing locative prefixes, not to bound roots

(14) q-íx.a-s   (15) qa-íx.a-s
{POST}put.IPF-INF   RE-{IN}put.IPF-INF
'put behind, lean against' 'put inside again'
(< bound root *-ix-* 'put') (< stem *ʔix-* ‖ *ix-* 'put inside')

  - o Repetitive and 'Post' derivatives can differ in stress position

(16) qá-ʁut'.a-s   (17) qa-ʁút'.a-s
{POST}stand.IPF-INF   RE-stand.IPF-INF
'stand leaning one's back on smth.' 'stand up again'

---

[1] There are very rare occurrences when negative prefixes or Repetitive follow the locative prefixes. Given that in the Keren dialect the latter situation is normal, the position of the negation and Repetitive before the locative prefixes can be regarded as a comparatively recent "externalization" of these affixes.

- Repetitive and 'Post' can co-occur in one and the same derivative verb:

(18) q-árx.a-s   + RE > (19) qa-qárx.a-s
{POST}get.to.IPF-INF   RE-{POST}get.to.IPF-INF
'fall behind'   'fall behind again'

❖ Productivity

Unlike locative prefixes, Repetitive is **unrestrictedly productive** and can co-occur with any verbal stems, including those that already have locative prefixes. On the whole, Repetitive is "so regular that it could even be considered an inflectional category of the verb" (Haspelmath 1993: 174, said about the Lezgian Repetitive, see below). The exception is stative verbs ('be in', 'stay in', 'know', etc.), which do not co-occur with the Repetitive prefix – although there are a couple exceptions, cf. *qa-kːandea* 'wants again', *qa-itːaa* 'is ill again'.

The **token frequency** of Repetitive verbs is high. In a corpus of Huppuq texts containing ca. 73,000 words there are 1521 tokens of Repetitive verbs. The number of non-stative verb forms in the corpus is around 18,880, so every 12th or 13th non-stative verb form bears the Repetitive prefix.

The most frequent Repetitive verbs are motion verbs: Repetitives from three verb stems – 'go/come', 'go away' and 'come' – account for 50% of all uses. Verbs that occur in texts with the Repetitive prefix 10 times and more are listed below:

'come' (PF)*	337	'take, seize'	25
'go/come' (IPF)	295	'reach'	22
'go away' (PF)	130	'carry away' (PF)	20
'bring' (PF)	82	'put inside'	14
'bring/carry away' (IPF)	71	'get out'	13
'do'	69	'say, tell'	13
'give'	52	'let in'	11
'send'	42	'put on, above'	11
'become'	32	'gather, collect'	10
'find'	29	'see'	10

* The two basic motion verbs 'come' and 'go away' have identical imperfective stems; in the table perfective and imperfective stems are counted separately. The same is true for the verbs 'bring'/'carry away' which are derived from the basic motion verbs; see Appendix for details.

[The distinction between locative prefixes and Repetitive in Agul is similar to the distinction between **lexical vs. superlexical** (or internal vs. external) prefixes, which is often made for the Slavic languages. Internal/lexical prefixes are tightly connected to the lexical semantics of the root, they can induce argument structure changes and many combinations with them have idiomatic meaning. External/superlexical prefixes contribute more predictable aspectual meanings like inceptive, delimitative, repetitive, etc.]

3. Semantics of the Repetitive prefix

We will distinguish between the following main meanings associated with the Repetitive prefix (as a rule, each Repetitive verb can have several meanings)[2]:

- REDITIVE – 'movement backwards'
- REPETITIVE proper – 'one-time repetition of an event' (same participants)
- ADDITIVE – 'repetition of the event of the same type' (different participants)
- CONSECUTIVE – 'an event is added to the series of events'
- RESPONSIVE – 'an action produced in response to some previous action'
- RESTITUTIVE – 'reversion of an earlier event by which an earlier state is restituted'

❖ Reditive: 'V back'

With motion verbs, 'give' and some others. Very frequent, given the high token frequency of motion verbs.

(20) qaj-ne χul.a-s, uq'.u-ne ustːul.i-q, ʕut'.u-b – uχ.u-b.
RE:come:PF-PFT house-DAT sit.PF-PFT table-POST eat.PF-MSD drink.PF-MSD
*We **came back** home, sat at the table, (there is) food and drink.*

(21) me ʁ̥an-ar faqš.u-na me-wur.i qa-jc'.a-j-e…
DEMM stone-PL RE:take.away.PF-CONV DEMM-PL(ERG) RE-give.IPF-CONV-COP
me baw.a-l-di=na sus.a-l-di.
DEMM mother-SUPER-LAT=and bride-SUPER-LAT
*{The main hero sends jewels to his family with the merchants.} They **take** the jewels (back to the village), and **give** them (back) to his mother and wife.*

❖ Repetitive proper: 'V again'

The most productive meaning, available to all verbs.

(22) qa-du.u-ne ʔu-d-pu sefer.i penʒeg.
RE-pull.PF-PFT two-S-ORD time(TMR) coat
*We **pulled** his coat for the second time.*

(23) aq'.u-ne zun ʔüš.i qːulgun, gena bagijmi=ra q-aq'.u-ne qːulgun…
do.PF-PFT I night(TMR) prayer more in.the.morning=& RE-do.PF-PFT prayer
*I prayed (performed "namaz") at night, and in the morning I **prayed again**…*

(24) χab q-agᵒ.a-j-e mi-s ʔemk'.
again RE-see.IPF-CONV-COP DEMM-DAT dream
*Then she **has a dream again**.*

❖ Additive: 'and X V', 'more X V'

Additive is the repetitive in the broader sense: situation of the same type is repeated but involves another participant(s) – or another "portion" of the object[3].

(25) aχpːa če dad=ra qa-k'.i-ne, itːar-x.u-na.
then our:EXCL father=& RE-die.PF-PFT be.ill-become.PF-CONV
*{Soon after telling about her mother's death.} Then our father fell ill and **also died**.*

(26) sara fi q-aʁ.a zu wa-s, sara fi.tːi-k-as qa-raχ.a
else what RE-say.IPF I you.SG-DAT else what-SUB/CONT-ELAT RE-talk.IPF
zu wa-s, на-j-dewa za-s.
I you.SG-DAT know-CONV-COP:NEG I-DAT
*What **else** can I **tell** you, about what **else** can I **speak**, I don't know.*

❖ Consecutive: 'and (in addition) V'

This is close to the additive meaning, but what is "added" is not another participant, but the situation as a whole – it is viewed as additional in the series of events.

(27) χab x.u-či šuw=ra q-alčarx.u-ne itːa-jde.
back become.PF-COND husband=& RE-{SUPER-LAT}get.to.PF-PFT be.ill-PART3
*{Telling about troubles in her life.} **Besides**, I got a husband who was ill.*

(28) me χaʒalat=ra qa-x.a-j-e šuw.a-s.
DEMM suffering=& RE-become.IPF-CONV-COP husband-DAT
*{The man returned and saw that his wife is gone.} (Apart from other things,) the husband **also had to go through** this suffering.*

❖ Responsive: 'do in response'

Responsive belongs to the same "counterdirectional" family of meanings as reditive. In this case the action is directed symmetrically to the agent of the preceding action.

(29) ti qa-ix.a-a za-s pul reqː.ü-ʔ.
DEMT(ERG) RE-{IN}put.IPF-PRS я-DAT money road-IN
*{I sent that woman some sheep wool.} She **send** me (back) the money.*

(30) mi=ra t'ap' q'.u-na t'ul ladaʁ.u-ne me
DEMM(ERG)=& IDEOPH do.PF-CONV stick {SUPER}draw.out.PF-PFT DEMM
büнünč'aj.i-l-as, mi=ra sa-d q-aladaʁ.u-ne gi-l-as.
clown-SUPER-ELAT DEMM(ERG)=& one-S RE-{SUPER}draw.out.PF-PFT DEMG-SUPER-ELAT
*And she – bang! – stroke the "clown" with a stick, and he **stroke** her (back).*

---

[2] The terminology used here is taken mainly from Lichtenberk 1991, Wälchli 2006 and Stoynova 2009.

[3] According to Arkadiev & Korotkova 2010, the additive use of repetitive (refactive) prefix *-ž'ə* is widely spread in Adyghe.

❖ Restitutive: 'restitute the state by V'

The difference with the repetitive proper is in the focus on the resultant state, and not on the action itself: it is not the action that is repeated, but the earlier state is restituted.

(31) waʔ, suwar, me q:enfet-ar qa-gunt'-q'.a-s, xe-s te idemi-s
no Suwar DEMM candy-PL **RE**-<gather>-do.IPF-INF we:INCL-DAT DEMT man-DAT
c'.a-jde šeʔ k:an-du…
give.IPF-PART3 thing need-COP:NEG:Q
{After the candies fell and scattered all over the ground.} "No, Suwar, we have to **gather** *all these candies* **again**, *we need something to give to that man"…*

(32) adark.a-j-e ge-wur sift:a sa-d, ʔu-d, xibu jaʁ.a
look.for.IPF-CONV-COP DEMG-PL at.first one-S two-S three day(TMR)
aruc.u-na – aruc.u-na qa-ǯik'.a-j-dewa jac-ar.
look.for.PF-CONV look.for.PF-CONV **RE**-find.IPF-CONV-COP:NEG ox-PL
{The oxen were lost in the mountains.} They are searching for one, two, three days, they keep searching but they cannot **find** *the oxen.*

In locative contexts, the meanig is close to 'back' and is not clearly distinguished from the reditive (which can be viewed as a sub-type of restitutive meaning).

(33) q:uj.di-as qa-at:.a-j-e gada.
pit-(IN)ELAT **RE**-{IN}take.out.IPF-CONV-COP son
He **takes** *his son* **out** *of the pit.*

(34) ge jaʁ.a ča-f-as rub qa-ket:.a-s
DEMG day(TMR) we:EXCL-APUD-ELAT needle **RE**-{SUB/CONT}take.out.IPF-INF
x.u-ndawa gi-k-as, ge q-uš.u-ne χul.a-s.
can.PF-PFT:NEG DEMG-SUB/CONT-ELAT DEMG **RE**-go.away.PF-PFT house-DAT
That day we did not manage to **take** *the needle* **out** *of him, and he went home.*

❖ Other meanings

• 'do in turn to someone else'

(35) dars.una-k-as wuri ʁawur.di arx.a-j x.u-čin=na
lesson-SUB/CONT-ELAT all understanding(IN) {IN}get.to.IPF-CONV become.PF=COND=&
qa-qat:q'.a-s x.a-dawa…
RE-recount.IPF-INF can.IPF-PRS:NEG
{Many children don't speak Russian well.} Even if they understand everything during the lessons, they cannot **retell** *this (to others)…*

• 'continue doing (after a break)'

(36) ha-ge aχp:a qa-qat:q'.a-s-e zun...
ha-DEMG then **RE**-recount.IPF-INF-COP I
I will later **continue telling** *about that…*

• 'do to completion'

(37) ha-le=ra qa-ʕut', q:učma p.u-na-a, ha-le=ra qa-ʕut'...
ha-DEML=& **RE**-eat(IMP) friend say.PF-RES-PRS ha-DEML=& **RE**-eat(IMP)
{You've eaten a lot.} **Eat up** *this one, my friend,* **eat** *it* **up**, *– he said.*

• 'already'

(38) jeri-d-pu is qa-x.u-naje-f-e sara.
seven-S-ORD year **RE**-become.PF-PART2-S-COP PTCL
Seven years **have passed already** *{since she died}.*

❖ Idiomatic Repetitives

xas 'become' > *qa-xas* 'get better, recover' (also 'become again')
aq'as 'do, make' > *q-aq'as* 'heal, cure, repair' (also 'do again')

(39) ha-ti-č fajš.u-na, ha-te pir.a-l-di,
ha-DEMT-LAT take.away.PF-CONV ha-DEMT sanctuary-SUPER-LAT
qa-x.a-s-e zübejdat…
RE-become.IPF-INF-COP Zibejdat
If they take her to the local sanctuary, Zibejdat **will recover** *(from illness)...*

(40) we ruš q-aq'.u-na-wa zun, aʁ.a-a zun.
your.SG daughter **RE**-do.PF-RES-PRS:Q I say.IPF-PRS I
Didn't I **heal** *your daughter? – said I.*

The same meanings of repetitive 'become' and 'do' are attested in Lezgian and in Adyghe (Wälchli 2006: 95-96).

4. Repetitive prefixes in other Lezgic languages

❖ LEZGIAN

Prefixes *q-* / *χ-* 'back', 'again' (probably go back to the same source):
• *q-*, *qi-* – restricted to a handful of verbs: *q-uwun* 'do again', *q-lahun* 'say again', *qi-wehun* 'throw again', *q-fin* 'go away; go back' and some others
• *χ-* (also an infix), *χu-* – productive: *χ-gun* 'give again', *χ-kun* 'bring again, bring back', *χu-taχun* 'take back', *a-χ-kun* 'see again', *ru-χ-gun* 'boil again' etc.

According to Alekseev (1985: 121), the prefix goes back to the Proto-Lezgian *q-* 'Post': its original meaning ('behind') is lost, repetitive is the derived secondary meaning.

❖ TABASARAN

Locative prefix *q*- with 'Post' meaning ('behind', also 'back').
No uses of *q*- or any other prefix as repetitive marker.

Literary Tabasaran (Khanmagomedov, Shalbuzov 2001)
qiwub 'put behind', *qtibt'ub* / *qtit'ub* 'tie behind (e.g. a belt)'
qebgub / *qergub* 'run behind, pursue'
qtabkub / *qtakub* 'come back, return', *qtap'ub* / *qtaʔub* 'give back'

❖ RUTUL and TSAKHUR

Locative prefix *qV*- 'behind'/'back', can also mean 'again'

Rutul (Ibragimov 1978: 98; Makhmudova 2001: 107-108):
q-aʔas 'pour behind', *q-ijes* 'throw behind', *qu-udq'as* 'cut, tear from behind'
qi-χis 'bring back', *qɨ-wɨs* 'give back'
q-ešes 'cry, weep again', *q-aχas* 'run again', *ha-qa-gus* 'find again'

Tsakhur (Ibragimov 1990: 124-125):
qa-les 'come back', *qe-q:as* 'ask (to give) back'
qe-zas 'plough again', *qa-ʔas* 'do again; repair'

❖ UDI

According to Alice Harris (2003a, 2003b), historical derivational analysis can reveal the prefix *qa(j)*- 'back, reverse action', going back to the Proto-Lezgian **q*- 'behind, back'. However, it occurs only in the element *qaj* as part of complex verbs:

|		
qaj-bak-	'return (INTR), come back'	[*bak*- is a light verb 'be, become']
qaj-d-	'return (TR), give back'	[*d*- is a causative light verb]
qaj-p-	'open'	[*p*- is a light verb 'say']
qaj-ec-	'be opened, be untied'	[*ec*- is a decausative light verb]

It is not clear whether there is really a verbal prefix here or rather a bound adverb/adjective/noun with no obvious etymology[4]. There is no cognate to *qaj*- 'return' in Old Udi (language of Caucasian Albanian palimpsests), where another element *k'or*- is used in complex 'return'-verbs (Gippert et al. 2009).

---

[4] The element *qaj*- 'open' (cf. *aχaj*- 'open' in Caucasian Albanian) in the second causative/decausative pair is probably etymologically unrelated to *qaj*- 'return' but is cognate to roots meaning 'open' in other Lezgic languages (cf. Lezgian adjective *aqa*, Agul verb *d-aq*- etc. in Nikolayev, Starostin 1994).

5. Possible origin of the Agul repetitive

❖ **Proto-Lezgic Repetitive?**

The possibility of tracing the origin of *q*-like repetitive (distinct from 'Post' marker) to the proto-Lezic stage is dubious: there seems to be no trace of such marker in some languages of the group, neither as a productive morpheme, nor even as part of lexicalized verbal stems with repetitive meaning.
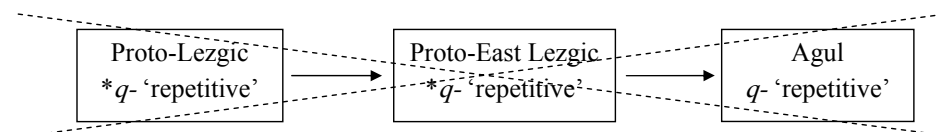
❖ **Repetitive and the 'Post' localization**

Though in (Southern) Agul the two prefixes – Repetitive and 'Post' — are formally and paradigmatically distinct, the diachronic connection between these two markers is highly probable. The connection between the meanings 'back' and 'again' is attested cross-linguistically, cf. a widely spread grammaticalization path from 'return, go back' to 'do again' (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 259-260) or the polysemy of Latin, Romance and English prefix *re*-.

In principle, irrespective of parallel developments in Lezgian and Rutul/Tsakhur, the Agul Repetitive might have an independent origin, following the 'back' > 'again' grammaticalization path. However, it is strange that only Southern dialects display such development.
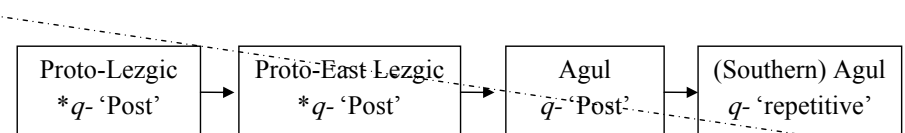
❖ **Contact-induced nature of the Agul Repetitive**

• South Agul dialects having the Repetitive prefix are in a tight contact with neighboring Lezgian-speaking villages; most speakers of these dialects have a good command of Lezgian (a dominant language of the Kurah district of Daghestan)

• It is most plausible to assume that in South Agul dialects the repetitive was borrowed from Lezgian.

• Two cognate morphemes *q*- 'post' and *q*- 'repetitive' in Agul are thus "etymological doublets".
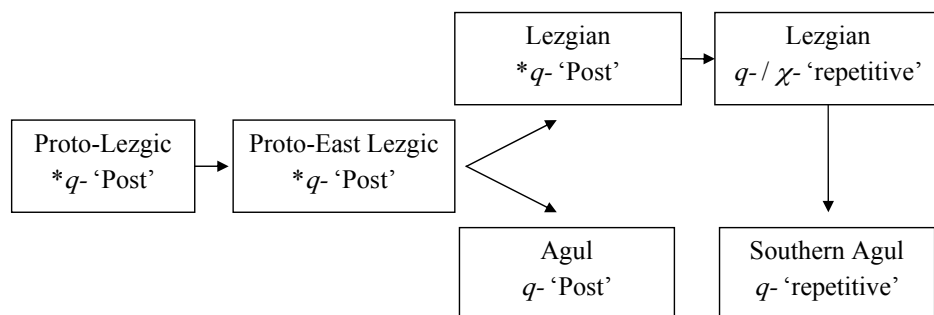
- Parallel cases of semantic development from 'behind' to 'back' and 'again' in West Lezgic languages (Rutul and Tsakhur) are probably independent and represent typological similarity rather than a family-internal contact influence.

References

Alekseev M. E. 1985. Voprosy sravnitel'no-istoricheskoj grammatiki lezginskikh jazykov. Morfologija. Sintaksis. Moskva: Nauka.

Arkadiev P. M., Korotkova N. A. 2010. The suffix -ž'ə: a refactive story. Ms.

Gippert J., Schulze W., Aleksidze Z., Mahé J.-P. 2009.The Caucasian Albanian palimpsest from Mt. Sinai. Edition and interpretation. Turnhout: Brepols.

Harris A. 2003a.The prehistory of Udi locative cases and locative preverbs. In: Holisky D. A., Tuite K. (eds) Current trends in Caucasian, East European and Inner Asian linguistics. Papers in honor of Howard I. Aronson. Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Harris A. 2003b.Preverbs and their origins in Georgian and Udi. In: Booij G. E., van Marle J. (eds) Yearbook of morphology 2003. Dordrecht: Springer.

Haspelmath M. 1993. A grammar of Lezgian. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heine B., Kuteva T. 2002. World lexicon of grammaticalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ibragimov G. Kh. 1978. Rutul'skij jazyk. Moskva: Nauka.

Ibragimov G. Kh. 1990. Tsakhurskij jazyk. Moskva: Nauka.

Khanmagomedov B.-G. K., Shalbuzov K. T. 2001. Tabasaransko-russkij slovar'. Moskva: Nauka.

Lichtenberk F. 1991. Semantic change and heterosemy in grammaticalization. In: Language 67(3). Pp. 474-509.

Makhmudova S. M. 2001. Morfologija rutul'skogo jazyka. Moskva: Sovetskij pisatel'.

Nikolayev S. L., Starostin S. A. 1994. A North Caucasian etymological dictionary. Moscow: Asterisk.

Stoynova N. 2009. Repetitives: a cross-linguistic study. Talk delivered at Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig.

Wälchli B. 2006. Typology of light and heavy 'again', or the eternal return of the same. In: Studies in Language 30 (1). Pp. 69–113.

Abbreviations

APUD – 'near' localization; COND – conditional; CONV – converb; COP – copula; DAT – dative; DEMM/DEML/DEMT/DEMG – demonstratives (M, L, T, G-series); ELAT – elative; ERG – ergative; EXCL – exclusive; IDEOPH – ideophone; IMP – imperative; IN – 'inside' localization; INCL – inclusive; INF – infinitive; IPF – imperfective; JUSS – jussive; LAT – lative; MSD – masdar; NEG – negation; ORD – ordinal; PART – participle; PF – perfective; PFT – perfective past; PL – plural; POST – 'behind' localization; PROH – prohibitive; PRS – present; PTCL – particle; Q – question; RE – repetitive; RES – resultative; S – substantivizer; SG – singular; SUB/CONT – 'under'/'in contact' localization; SUPER – 'on top' localization; TEMP – temporal converb; TMR – temporal form (noun); & – additive particle. Aspectual stems of verbs and oblique stems of nouns are separated by dots. Unmarked values (Absolutive, Singular) are not glossed. Bound stems are in square brackets < >. Locative prefixes are in curly braces { } and are not glossed in highly idiomatized lexemes.

Appendix

Repetitive derivatives of the most frequent motion verbs
(suppletive stems, one imperfective stem vs. two perfective):

	PRESENT (IPF)	PERFECTIVE PAST (PF)	
		ventive verbs	**itive verbs**
'go/come'	*ʕₒaa*	*adine*	*ušune*
RE + 'go/come'	*qu-ʕₒaa*	*q-ajne*, *q-ajine* (< **q-adine*)	*q-ušune*
'bring/carry away'	*χaa*	*fajne, fajine, fajdine* (< *faj adine*)	*fajšune* (< *faj ušune*)
RE + 'bring/carry away'	*qu-χaa*	*faqajne, fajqajne, fajqajine* (< *faj qajine*)	*faqšune* (< *faj q-ušune*)

The pair 'bring/carry away' is derived from the pair 'go/come' and represents morphologized combinations with the converb *faj* of the stative verb *faa* describing temporary possession ('have with onself, have at hand') and 'Apud' location ('be close, near').

Contacts