Karata tense, aspect, and evidentiality

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1   Introduction

- Karata belongs to the Andic branch of the North East Caucasian family.

- Karata refers to a group of related languages traditionally spoken in ten villages in Daghestan, in the Akhvakhskij and Khunzarskij rayons (i.e. Tukita, Core dialects, Anchiq in Figure 1).

Figure 1: Karata varieties (minus Siukh) (Filatov, 2020, 6)
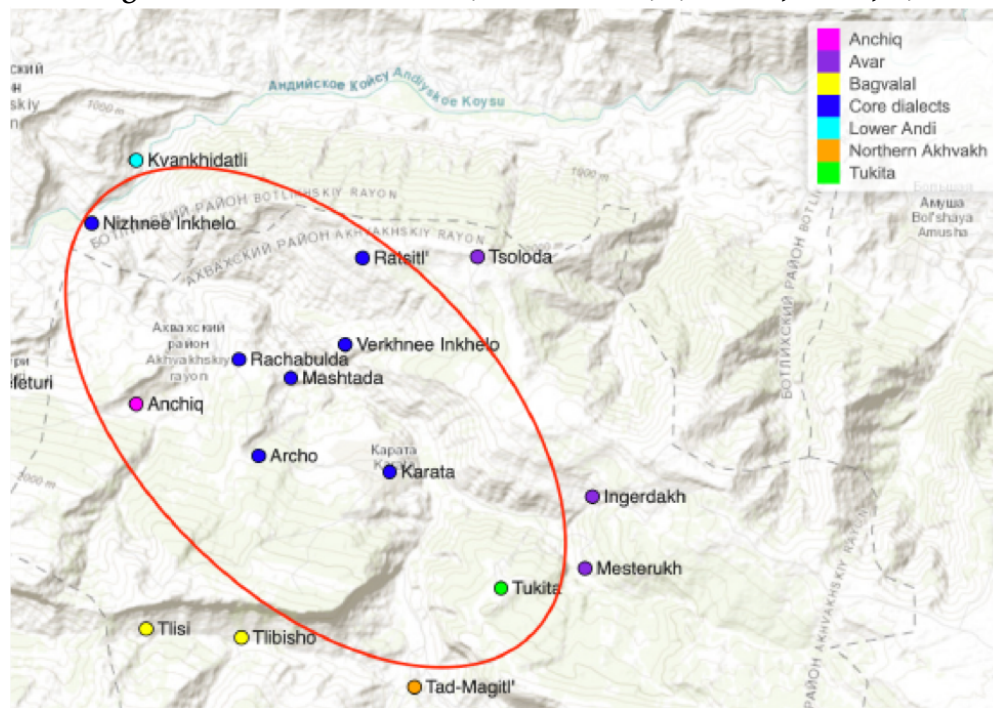
- This talk is about the language spoken in the Karata village (Akhvkhaskij rayon), a.k.a. Karata proper.

- The Karata proper variety is the most documented and described of all the varieties (grammatical sketch (Magomedbekova, 1971), dictionary (Magomedova and Khalidova, 2001), texts in the language (Magomedbekova (1971); Khalidova (2017) among others), linguistic publications (e.g. Mallaeva & Khalidova (2016), Khalidova (2018))

- …but there are still areas of the grammar of the language that do not have a basic description or whose empirical coverage is not full, e.g. the TAME system

- This language (as is generally the case in East Caucasian languages) has many verbal forms: a limited number of synthetic forms but high number of analytic forms due to aggregation and combination of forms

- This talk reports on my description of the tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality system focussing today on just the indicative mood of independent forms (i.e. forms which can occur in independent clauses).

  - Background on tense and aspect
  - Synthetic forms (including a morpheme restricted to motion verbs)
  - Analytic forms (including a "super-inflected' form)
  - Evidential analytic forms
  - (Appendices: 1. phasal verbs, 2. motion verbs as auxiliaries)

- Data: corpus (45 texts) + TAM questionnaire (Dahl, 1985)

2   A heuristic for tense and aspect

- As a heuristic (a tool, *not* a hypothesis about Karata tense and aspect, let alone an analysis), I use the neo-Reichenbachian view of tense and aspect (Cover and Tonhauser, 2015):

  - Clauses describe eventualities (i.e. events or states)
  - The eventuality Time (ET) of a clause is the time at which the eventuality that a clause describes is located
  - The utterance time (UT) is the time at which the matrix clause is uttered/evaluated
  - The topic time (TT) is the time the uttered clause is about

(1) a. Example:

Context: A judge is interrogating a witness in court. (Cover & Tonhauser 2015:309)

Judge: What did you notice when you looked into the room?

Witness: The light was on.

b. Temporal context of eventuality of *light being on* in witness's utterance (1a):

- ET = time when the light was on

- TT = time when witness looked into the room

- [TT<UT, TT⊆ET] (= past imperfective)

- Tense situates TT wrt ET

  – present TT=UT

  – past TT< UT

  – future UT<TT

- Grammatical aspect situates ET wrt TT (inclusion or precedence)

  – perfective ET⊆TT

  – imperfective TT⊆ET

  – perfect ET<TT

  – prospective TT<ET

- This framework as it is has many limitations and outright problems (e.g. it cannot model cases where two kinds of aspect (inclusion and precedence) combine e.g. perfect imperfectives) …

- …but it serves as a good starting point

3 Synthetic forms

- Synthetic forms involve marking of TAM distinctions on the predicate V itself.

- The predicate V can be a verb on its own (2a), or an adjective (2b) or an adposition (2c) or noun (2d) plus a light verb (e.g. the copula *idja*, *bikʷała* 'be', *gahała* 'do').

(2) a. V = Verb

mak'e zaraʁw-ā̄s   mena
child be_cold-CAUS.FUT 2SG.ERG

You'll make the child catch a cold.

b. V = Adj + idja

hududo-b handar herk'a-m idja.
DEM-N   house   big-N   COP

This house is big.

c. V = P + hesała 'want'

ho-w kaʔa-r hes-e.
DEM-M on-ALL want-PST

He went to get something.

d. V = N + gahała 'do'

iši-b   mašino-l awara gē
1PL[GEN]-N car$_0$-ERG   accident do.PST

Our car had an accident.

(3) List of synthetic-form forming suffixes

	Positive	Negative
past	-i/e/a	-i/e/a-č'e
present	-(i)da	-(i)da-č'e
future	-ā̄s	-ibič'e

3.1 Past

- The suffix -i/-e/-a is added to the root (i.e. infinitive minus -*ała*) depending on its inflection class.

- The past morpheme is used to describe:

  – an eventuality in the past that did not last long

(4) [The speaker has just seen the king arrive (earlier than was expected):] The king ARRIVE
     already. (Dahl 1985, 153)

χan herada w-ox̄-a

khan already M-come-PST

The khan arrived.

(5) azar-boɫē   hač'ʷa-bešan-boɫē inšt̄ʷac'adaɫob rešen̄ɫil hac'al inštudaɫob eli

     thousand-PCL nine-hundred-PCL   five-ten-ORD-N year-N-ERG ten   five-ORD-N mouth

     biɫē   riɫi,   reɫada saʕat ɫabda q̄'ot'i   gē   baʔanɫa

     N-hold-PRF.CVB moment-CFG[LOC] at_night hour three agreement do.PST H-go-INF

     harč'aq̄arar   x̄indaɫerowa   χirχir.

     Harchaqara-CFG-ALL fruit-OBL-CFG[LOC] after

*In the year 1950, on the fifteenth day of Ramadan, at three o'clock at night, we agreed to
go to Harchaqara for fruit.*

 – an eventuality in the past that lasted for a while.

(6) (95) [Q: What your brother's reaction BE when you gave him the medicine (yester-
     day)?] He COUGH for an hour.

ho-w šura-b s̄aʕat-il oħ-e

DEM-M whole-N hour-?   cough-PST

He coughed for an hour.

• It's not clear whether the simple past requires the eventuality it situates to have been wit-
  nessed. The following example, which was offered as one of three possible alternatives,
  suggests that it may not, but more work is needed.

(7) [The police are investigating a burglary. Seeing an open window and footprints beneath
     it, the police inspector says:] The thief ENTER the house by this window. (Dahl 1985,
     (60))

c'ohor eši-r   hinwar-q̄i-gal w-oh-an.

thief   house-ALL window-TOPO-ABL M-go-PST

*The thief entered the house by the window. SC: compared to wo'an (kuse) idja, wo'an implies
more certainty*

• More research needed to see whether the past tense morpheme in Karata is specified for
  aspect

3.2 Present

- The suffix is *-(i)da*, it is added to the root (i.e. infinitive minus *-ała*)

- It is used to describe an eventuality that is typical of an entity—gnomic imperfectivity (Bertinetto and Lenci, 2012, 860)—with the following sub-meanings:

  – eventuality is habitual (8).

(8) [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast? A:] He WRITE a letter. (Dahl 1985, 19)

ho-šu-l   kaʁat q̄ʷar-da
DEM-MOBL-ERG letter write-PRS

He writes a letter.

  – eventuality describes a behavior/attitude is typical, the attitudinal

(9) ħaduro-b cwab b-ik'-uda ho-šu-b
ready-N   answer N-be-PRS   DEM-M$_0$[GEN]-N

He (always) has an answer ready.

  – eventuality describes an ability/potential for something, the potential ().

(10) iši-b   rajunij-a ʕadã-di mina-minaro-b   mac'i-ƚi-l   ʁoda
1PL[GEN]-N rayon   person-PL different-different-N language-nM$_0$-ERG speak-PRS

People in our rayon speak different languages.

  – It is a marker used with individual-level predicates

(11) den biče-χise-rj-a   w-uk'-uda
1SG   sell-buy-MSD-TOPO[LOC] M-be-PRS

I am a tradesman.

  – The present *-da* is also used in generic statements (i.e. eventualities describing a permanent stative property independent of the specific referent they hold of).

(12) [Q: Do cats bark?] (No,) they not BARK. (Dahl 1985, 76)
īšo ħab-da-č'e
cat bark-PRS-NEG

Cats don't bark.

(13)   [What kind of sound do cats make?] They MEOW. (Dahl 1985, 73)
        išo-l   mjauɫ̄’-idja [1]

        cat-ERG meow-PRS

        Cats meow.

    It's typically used in saying like (15).

(15)   ʕedeʕa-b ẽχ̄e reɫa-ɫ̄i-r   b-aʔ-ida-č’e

        rushing-N   river sea-TOPO-ALL   N-reach-PRS-NEG

        He who is in a hurry does not reach his goal. (lit. A rushing river does not reach the sea.)

• It can also be used with future temporal reference.

(16)   (According to the contract,) we not WORK tomorrow. (Dahl 1985, 82)
        ho-ɫ̄ij-a   b-aq̄’ebχʷa, iɫ̄i aɫ̄e   b-išanq̄-ida-č’e

        DEM-nM$_0$-DAT N-as_per   1PL tomorrow H$^+$-work-IMPF-NEG

        According to it, we don't work tomorrow.

3.3   Future

• The future is formed by adding the suffix *-aš̄* to the root, or *ibič’e* if it's negative

• The simple future tense is used to indicate future temporal reference (17).

(17)   b-aχ̄-u-baj   ʕadã-di χirχir b-aχ̄w-aš̄

        H$^+$-PL\remain-PTCP-H$^+$ person-PL after   H$^+$-PL\come-FUT

        The others will come later.

(18)   gurħē b-aχ̄-ubič’e   iši du-χa-r

        no_way H$^+$-PL\come-FUT.NEG 1PL 2OBL-TOPO-ALL

        Of course, we'll come to your place.

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[1] The form is transparently a merger of *mjau* + quotative *ɫ̄’e* or verb of saying *keɫ̄’anɫa* but see unacceptability of full phrase in (14).

(14)   *išo-l mjau keɫ̄’-idja.

3.4 Unknown suffix

- The suffix *-ɫa* is found in some examples in synthetic constructions, with present or past time reference

(19) ha<b>ajdol, b-ax̄w-a-ɫa-l   iši
      voilà<H$^+$>   H$^+$-PL\come-PST-?-ADD 1PL

   There we are, we've arrived.

- In Godoberi, the suffix -aʟa is the"present indefinite" (Kibrik, 1996, 92) but see example (19) in the past.[2]

- Magomedbekova (1971: 174) mentions that, in Tukita, the suffix *-eɫ/-ɫa* corresponds to Karata proper *-lda* (see section 5) in that "it expresses that the event has not been witnessed", but that does not seem plausible given (20).

(20) hudu<w>aj c̄'e-w   w-ox̄-a-ɫa
      there<M>   guest-M M-come-PST-?

   There he is, the guest is coming.

- A most striking feature of this suffix is that it only ever goes on the verbs *b-oʔaɫa* 'go', *b-aʔaɫa* 'go to, reach', *b-ex̄^{w}aɫa* 'come'.

- In Andi, the suffix *-(j)ɫo* also appears with just verbs of motion to convey the progressive instead of the usual progressive suffix (Kaye, p.c.).

- In Karata, verbs of motion can occur in the present *-ida* (21) with an habitual meaning.

(21) iši ĩc̄-i-r   hãd-i-k'el b-aʔ-ĩdja
      1PL spring$_0$-TOPO-ALL dish-PL-COM H$^+$-PL\go-PST

   We go to the spring with dishes.

- Motion verbs with or without the suffix *-ɫa* can also be used in analytic forms to express the progressive and the habitual present (depending on the auxiliary used).

- This form seems to be able to be used equally well in dependent clauses (i.e. like a converb) without any changes to its morphology.

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[2]Though it could be that my analysis of 19is wrong and *ɫal* is not the same suffix as *ɫa*, which is how Magomedbekova analyzes them.

(22) це-б замана-лълъи-л гьаъ-ан в-охь-а-л1а ахран.
one-N time-nM$_0$-ERG see-PST M-come-PST-? watchman

At one point, we saw the watchman come. (Magomedova 1971, text 1, line 13)

4 Analytic forms of tense and aspect

Analytic forms involve a lexical verb in a particular form along with one or several auxiliaries in particular forms. I review these forms below and then present the meanings of their combinations.

4.1 Morphology of the components of the analytic forms

There are four forms that are used in analytic constructions:

• infinitives: V-ała

• converb (perfect/anterior, non perfect/non anterior)

(23)   List of positive and negative general converb forms of *q:'amała* 'eat'

	Positive		Negative
perfect cvb	V-i/e/a(-b-χ^{w}a)	V-i/e/a-ʁe(-b-χ^{w}a)	V-i/e/a-č'e(-b-χ^{w}a)
non perfect cvb	V-da-da	V-da-ʁe	V-da-č'e

The positive non perfect converb seems to be a very rare form: I only have one example in all my data. I have a few examples of the negative non perfect converb.

• participles (past, present, future)

Table 1: Participles

Type of participle	Positive	Negative
past	V-u/o/a-b	V-i/e/a-č'-o-b
present	V-(i)d-o-b	V-(i)da-č'-o-b
future	V-ī̱o-b / V-ała-ī̱o-b[3]	V-ibič'-o-b

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[3]Magomedbekova 1971 and Magomedova and Khalidova 2001 report that the suffix *-ī̱o-b* must be added to the infinitival form of the verb. In my texts, I have also found *-ī̱o-b* added to the stem of the verb.

4.2 Combinations and their meanings

Analytic forms involve a predicate V along with at least one auxiliary in a particular form (24; evidential analytic forms are discussed in section 5).

(24) V + auxiliaries

The predicate bears aspect morphology. The auxiliary bears tense morphology.

The auxiliary can be:

• an existential verb: copula, *bik'wała* 'be', *bisanła* 'find (oneself)'

• a phasal verb: *bałała* 'begin', *b-aq̄eⁿła* 'finish' (appendix 1)

• a lexical verb: *b-oʔaⁿła* 'go', *b-oī̱ała* 'walk', *b-ex̄ʷała* 'come', *b-ix̄ʷała* 'stay' ... (appendix 2)

For now, I only talk about analytic forms where the auxiliary is an existential verb (see appendices for other cases).

Table 2: List of independent indicative analytic verb forms

	progressive	habitual
present	V-da idja/bik'-uda	V-ptcp idja/bik'-uda
past	V-da bik'ʷ-a	V-ptcp bik'ʷ-a
future	V-da bis-ã̄s̄	V-ptcp bis-ã̄s̄

	perfect	prospective
present	V-prf(-b-χ^wa) idja/bik'-uda	V-ała idja/bik'-uda
past	V-prf(-b-χ^wa) bik'ʷ-a	V-ała bik'ʷ-a
future	V-prf(-b-χ^wa) bis-ã̄s̄	V-ała bis-ã̄s̄

Progressive/habitual seem to be able to combine with perfect/prospective by aggregating two auxiliaries. (I only have two example.)

	prospective progressive	perfect progressive
present	V-da bik'ʷ-ała idja	V-da bik'w-a-(-b-χ^wa) idja

4.2.1 Progressive

Present If the auxiliary is the copula *idja*, the resulting construction can be used in a present progressive meaning (TT=UT, TT⊆ET).

(25) [Q: What your brother DO right now? (=What activity is he engaged in?) A by
      someone who can see him] He WRITE a letter. (Dahl 1985, 6)

      Гьо-щу-л   кагъат хъвар-да идя.
      DEM-M$_0$-ERG letter   write-IMPF COP

      He is writing a letter.

If the auxiliary is *bik'waɫa* 'be' in the present tense however, the meaning seems to be more
habitual than progressive.

(26) [A: My brother works at an office. B: What kind of work he DO?] He WRITE letters.
      (Dahl 1985, 25)

      Гьов   кагъатди хъварда вук1уда.
      DEM-M$_0$-ERG letter-PL   write-IMPF M-be-PRS

      He writes letters.

Past   In the past, the auxiliary must be one that can be inflected for tense, e.g. *bik^{w}aɫa* 'be'.
Examples like (27) are clear examples of the past progressive ((TT<UT, TT⊆ET)).

(27) When I COME home (yesterday), he WRITE two letters (=that is the activity he was
      engaged in) (Dalh 1985, (140))

      Ден в-охь-ала, гьов   суни   к1е-да кагъат хъварда вук1а.
      1SG M-come-   DEM-M yesterday two-INT letter   write-IMPF M-be-PST

      When I came home, yesterday, he was writing two letters.

(28) anšel huguw   χidi woʔa^n, iši   e^{n}χaɫi   bačunda   bak'wa.
      then   dem-low-m away m-go-pf 1pl.excl stream-inter-loc n-wash.pl-impf n-be.pl-pf

      Then he went away, we bathed in the river. (Magomedbekova 1971, text , line 27.1)

Future   Analytic constructions with future temporal reference are not constructed with the
auxiliary *bik^{w}aɫa* 'be' in the future tense, rather the verb *bisa^{n}ɫa* 'find' is used (29).

(29)   [Q: What your brother DO if you don't go to see him today, do you think? A:] He
        WRITE a letter (to me). (Dahl 1985, (15))
        Гьо-в   кагъат-ди хъвар-да в-ус-ансс
        DEM-M letter-PL   write-IMPF M-be_found-FUT

        He will be writing letters.

This same analytical construction can be used with present temporal reference to convey
uncertainty (30).

(30)   [Neither A nor B can see B's brother. A: What he DO right now, do you think? (=What
        activity will he be engaged in?)] He WRITE letters (I think so because because he does
        that every day at this time.) (Dahl 1985, (24))
        Гьо-щу-л   кагъат-ди хъвар-да р-ис-ансс.
        DEM-M_0-ERG letter-PL   write-IMPF nH$^+$-be_found-FUT

        He'll be writing letters.

4.2.2 Habitual

Present   The habitual present is constructed by putting the V in a participial form: past (31)
or present (32).

(31)   ... ħulo-baj hede   b-oɫ-ibar-el   b-ič'-a-č'-o-baj   idja=ɫ'e.
        bald-H$^+$ something N-happen-COND-ADD H$^+$-die-PST-NEG-PTCP-H$^+$ COP=QUOT

        *... baldies are tenacious (lit. they don't die if something happens) (The bald's tale, transla-
        tion, line 48)*

(32)   In a village, A would stop in front of every house and the following dialogue would
        take place. (Khalidova 2017, T1yка, lines 21-23)
        A: Гьаб ид-ол дуб   мисйа?=кье.
            DEM   COP-Q   2SG[GEN]-N house=QUOT

            Is this your house?
        B: Гьач1е=кье   кекьиндоб   бик1ва идйа вашащул.
            COP.NEG=QUOT speak-IMPF-PTCP-N N-be-PST COP   boy-M_0-ERG

            No, the boy would say.

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- I don't have examples of the future participle in an analytic construction.

- More research is need to understand the distribution of past vs present participle in analytic constructions

- I don't have an example where the auxiliary is *bikʷała* 'be': is this gap accidental?

Past   Past habituals are constructed with V in the participial form and the auxiliary in the past tense.

(33)   [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast last summer? A:] He WRITE letters. (Dahl 1985, 20)

Гьо-щу-л   кагъат-ди   хъвар-д-о-рай   р-ак1в-а.

DEM-M$_0$-ERG   letter-PL   write-IMPF-PTCP-nH$^+$ nH$^+$-PL\be-PST

He would write letters.

(34)   haʔ-ind-o-le,   ila,   biskin-di-low-a,   kumak   geh-e-b-oχa,   dena   hedela

see-IMPF-PTCP-Q   mother   poor-PL-PL$_0$-DAT   help   give-PST-N-PRF.CVB   1SG.ERG   thing

b-ek̄edajingil,   men   zigar-d-o-j   j-ik'w-a.

N-give-   2SG   complain-IMPF-PTCP-F   F-be-PST

You see, mother, I helped the poor and needy, when I gave them something, you complained. (Magomedbekova 1971, text , line 41.1)

Future   Future habituals are formed like other habitual analytic forms except that the auxiliary is in the future tense.

(35)   ho-š̄to-ʔo-da   č'ikʷar-a   baq̄'an   b-eł-ała   duw-a-č'e   bał-e-č'-o-b

DEM-such-like-INT   beautiful-ADV   melody   N-sing-INF   2SG$_0$-DAT-only   be_able-PST-NEG-PTCP-N

b-is-anš̄,   du-raj   č'ikoro-raj   hark'a-j-a-č'e   hošda   č'ikʷarā   hanī̱'e   k̄'ān̄ła

N-happen-FUT   2SG$_0$[GEN]-NPL   beautiful-NPL   eye-PL-DAT-only   such   beautiful   song   sing

ʟ'ek'u   łow-a-ʕagi   b-ał-e-č'-o-b   bis-anš̄=ī̱'e.

more   who-DAT-INDF   be_able-PST-NEG-PTCP-N   N-happen-FUT=QUOT

Surely you alone[4]will not be able to sing so beautiful a melody, surely your eyes alone will be able to sing so beautiful a song better than anyone. (Khalidova 2017, Сарел гъавгъал, line 9.2)

4.2.3 Perfect

Present   The present perfect construction can be used to convey two types of meanings: a present perfect proper (UT = TT, ET < TT) and a non-witnessed indirect evidential past (see section 5).

When used to convey the present perfect meaning, it is found in the following contexts:

- existential/experiential (describes an eventuality that's occurred at least once before TT (Verhees, 2018, 262), UT = TT, ET < TT

(36) tusnaᵴij-a-gal   heq̄'er it-a   idja ho-w

     prison$_0$-TOPO-ABL   out   let-PRF.CVB   COP   DEM-M

     They've let him out of prison.

- perfect of result (describes a state that obtains as the result of a past event (Verhees 2018: 262))

(37) [Q: Why is it so cold in the room? The window is open but the person who asks does not know. The person who opened the window answers:] I OPEN the window.

     dena   hingʷar rohā-m-χʷa   ida.

     1SG.ERG window   open.PST-N-PRF.CVB ida

(38) [Q: Your brother WRITE a letter right now?(= Is that the activity he is engaged in?)] (No,), he not WRITE a letter (he's asleep).

     how   kaʁat   q̄ʷar-da hač'e   ɫ'ihaⁿ-w-χa   ida

     DEM-M letter   write-IMPF COP.NEG sleep.PST-M-PRF.CVB ida

(39) [A person who has heard (135) but not seen the event says:] The king ARRIVE (Dahl 1985, 136)

     Хан в-охь-а   идйа.

     khan M-come-PRF.CVB COP

     The king has arrived.

- universal perfect / perfect of persistent situation (describes an eventuality that started before TT and still holds at TT (Verhees 2018: 262))

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[4]The construction translated as 'alone' involves suffixing *č'e* on two elements of a clause: on the item that 'alone' qualifies, and on the main verb of the clause said item is part of.

(40) erešina q̄'ina   haj it-a-b-χwa   idja
      this_year this_summer heat let-PST-N-PRF.CVB COP

      This year the summer has been hot.

The present perfect is also used in resultative constructions (resultative proper).

(41) ho-ɫi-raj   mak'i c'aq̄'a kuc'ā-r-χwa   idja
      DEM-nM[GEN]-nH⁺ child.PL very   raise.PST-nH⁺-PRF.CVB COP

      Her children are well brought up.

(42) hĭda den w-ox̄-ubar-el   hugi-do-b   hĩč'u kerš̌-e-m-χwa   bik'uda
      when 1SG M-come-COND-ADD DEM-H⁺₀[GEN]-N door   close-PST-N-PRF.CVB N-be-PRS

      Whenever I came, their door was closed.

Past The past perfect form can be used to describe an eventuality that occurred before a TT in the past, TT < UT, ET < TT.

(43) [Q: Why is it so cold in the room? The window is open but the person who asks does not know. The person who opened the window answers:] I OPEN the window. (Dahl 1985, (69))
      Дена   гьингвар рогь-а̄н(-м-хва) б-ик1в-а.
      1SG.ERG window   open-PST-N-PRF.CVB N-be-PST

      I had opened the window. SC: It's not clear whether the window is open or closed now.

If this form is really a past perfect, the following example is a bit odd.

(44) [Conversation takes place in the afternoon: Do you know my brother?] (Yes,) I MEET him here this morning. (Dahl 1985, (143))
      В-уъ-идйа, дий-а   гьо-в рагьада   гьарге гьаъ-ан(-в-хва) в-ук1-а.
      M-know-PRS, 1SG₀-DAT DEM-M this_morning here   see-PST-M-PRF.CVB M-be-PST

      I met him here this morning.

Future   The future perfect describes an eventuality that occurs before a future TT (45). All the examples I have seem to use this construction to convey uncertainty.

(45)   [The speaker knows the boy was expecting money, but he doesn't know if he got it] If the boy GET the money (yesterday), he BUY a present for the girl. (Dahl 1985, (105))

Г1арсе	б-ехьв-а	б-исс-имар,	гьо-щу-л	йаше-лълъй-а	сайгъат	б-ē
money	N-come-PRF.CVB	N-find-COND	DEM-M_0-ERG	girl-nM_0-DAT	present	N-buy.PRF.CVB

б-ис-ансс.
N-find-FUT

If he got money, he will have bought a present for the girl.

4.2.4   Prospective

Present   The prospective present is formed by combining the infinitival form of V with an auxiliary in the present tense.

(46)   [Q: What are you planning to do right now? A:] I WRITE letters. (Dahl 1985, (22))

Дена	кагъат-ди	хъвар-алъа	ида.
1SG.ERG	letter-PL	write-INF	COP

I'm going to write letters.

Past   The prospective present is formed by combining the infinitival form of V with an auxiliary in the past tense.

The prospective past is used to indicate "future in the past"

(47)

ʟʼabaɬ-aɬa-l	ʟʼabaɬ-ebχʷa	čʼikoroj	jašeɬil	oba	gē-čʼeda,	den	šakibo-ɬerj-a-gal
love-INF	love-PRF.CVB	beautiful-F	girl–	kiss	do-SP.CVB	1	bird

ʕadamj-a-r	s̄or-aɬa	w-ukʼ-a-čʼe,	barkala	duw-a=ɬʼe	keɬʼeⁿ	idja	hošul
person-topo-ALL	turn-INF	M-be-PST-NEG	thanks	2SG-DAT=QUOT	say-PST	COP	DEM-MOBL-ERG

As long as I was not/Before I was kissed and loved by a beautiful girl, I was not going to turn into a person from a bird, thank you, he said. (Khalidova 2017, Насихан, line 29)

It is also used to convey a more modal meaning

(48) ꝇ'wani-s̄-al   b-ah-aɫa b-ik'w-a-b-dela   b-eč-eda   biχu
     much-ATTBZ-? N-buy-INF N-be-PST.PTCP-N-thing N-forget-IMPF N-stay-PST

I forgot a lot of what needed to be bought.

Future   Finally, the future prospective is expected to describe an eventuality occurring after a future TT (UT<TT, TT<ET).

(49) šũk'-ibdi idja jã-da,   ꝇ'orčaɫa   bisã̄s
     leg-PL   COP ache-IMPF get_bad-INF N-be_found-FUT

(Your) legs ache, the weather is about to get bad. (lit. will be about to)

One example does not fit this description very well.

(50) [Q: What your brother DO when we arrive, do you think? (=What activity will he be
     engaged in?)] He WRITE letters. (Dahl 1985, (16))
     Гьо-щу-л   кагъат-ди хъвар-альа р-ис-ансс.
     DEM-M_0-ERG letter-PL   write-INF nH^+-find-FUT

He'll be about to write letters.

4.2.5   Two-aspect forms

Present progressive prospective   An analytic form can specify two aspect values.

(51) [A: My brother has got a new job. He'll start tomorrow. B: What kind of work he DO
     there?] He WRITE letters. (Dahl 1985, 27)
     ho-w   kaʁat-di q̄ʷar-da w-uk'-aɫa idja
     DEM-M letter-PL write-PRS M-be-IMPF COP

He is going to be writing letters.

Present progressive perfect   The form in (52) is rather wild (cf expected *oħoda wuk'awχʷa idja*).

(52)   [(Of a coughing child:) For how long has your son been coughing?] (Dahl 1985, (148))

Шураб сагӏат, макӏе охӏ-ода-в-ха   идйа.
whole-N hour   child   cough-IMPF-M-PRF.CVB COP

The child's been coughing for an hour.

5   Evidentiality

As in other NE languages (Verhees 2018), the present perfect form has two meanings:

- present perfect proper (i.e. ET < TT, TT = UT, see above)

- evidentiality: a past eventuality described by the sentence has not been witnessed (53; main cue in translated texts is the use of *оказывается* 'it seems')

(53)   Present perfect form used with an evidential past meaning

эшхъа гьане идйа-б   замана-лълъи-л гьалби-ло-в   хан в-охь-а
Eshqa   village COP.PTCP-N time-nM$_0$-ERG   Khunzakh-H$^+{}_0$[GEN]-M khan M-come-PRF.CVB

  идйа каъа-р кӏанцӏа̄лъа
  COP   on-ALL jump.INF

When Eshqa was a village, the khan of the Khunzakh came, it seems, to attack it. (Magomedova 1971, text 3, line 1)

Other forms, namely past forms, have non ambiguous evidential counterparts.

- The evidential meaning is conveyed through a specific construction in the past tense.

- The specific past evidential construction is productively derived by taking the corresponding (non evidential) past construction and putting its (past) auxiliary in the present perfect (54)

- Aspect is specified on V in both constructions

(54)   Evidential formation

Past form	Evidential past form
V $\boxed{\text{Aux}}_{Past}$	-> V $\boxed{\text{Aux}_\text{PRF.CVB} \text{ AUX}_\text{PRS}}_{Present\_perfect}$

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AUX$_{PRS}$ for unwitnessed past constructions is most often the copula *idja*.

Below I give examples of past evidential constructions across aspects.

(55) Past progressive evidential

daran b-ek̄-u-č'e-gil   χan-šu-w   waša bazar-ʟ'a   s̄or-da

trade N-happen-PST-NEG-SP.CVB khan-M$_0$[GEN]-M son market-TOPO[LOC] turn-IMPF

    w-uk'-a   idja.

    M-be-PRF.CVB COP

Since the trade didn't take place, the khan's son walked around in the market, it seems. (Magomedova 1971, text 7, line 10)

(56) Past habitual evidential

hor-dow-a   b-ek̄-id-o-b   b-ik'ʷ-a   idja maʁalo

DEM.PL-PL$_0$-DAT N-give-PRS-PTCP-N N-be-PRF.CVB COP tribute

They would give them a tribute, it seems. (Magomedova 1971, text 5, line 2)

(57) Past perfect evidential (eventuality occured before a past TT and has not been witnessed)

k̄irʟe šanχ̄ʷal-šu-w   q̄'urwaħama w-oʔ-an   w-uk'-a   idja t'ukij-a-r.

Karata Shanxwala-M$_0$[GEN]-M Kurawaxama M-go-PRF.CVB M-be-PRF.CVB COP Tukita-TOPO-ALL

Kurawaxama, the son of Shanxwala, a Karata, had been to Tukita apparently. (Magomedova 1971, text 4, line 1)

(58) Past prospective evidential
Missing

All the evidential examples we've seen so far have the (rightmost) auxiliary *idja*, but others can stand in (e.g. anɬaɬa 'hear', bisaⁿɬa 'find')

(59) Past progressive evidential with *anɬidja* as evidential auxiliary
[A: I talked to my brother on the phone yesterday. B: What he DO? (=What activity

was he engaged in?)] He WRITE a letter.

how   ŝ-uni   kaʁat q̄ʷar-da w-uk'-a   aⁿɬ-ida.
3sg-M yesterday letter write-PRST M-be-PF.CVB hear-PRST

He was writing a letter.

(60)   Present perfect *anɬidja* as evidential auxiliary
       [A person who has heard (133) but not seen the event says:] (Have you heard the
       news?) The king ARRIVE (Dahl 1985, (134))

Хан вохьа   анлъидйа.

khan M-come-PRF.CVB hear-PRS

The khan arrived I hear.

On the other, perhaps such constructions with *anɬidja* should not be analyzed on a par with
those using *idja*.

This verb is still used with its full meaning

(61)   c'ijo-m χ̄abar hã-ɬi   barq̄'a ã̄ɬ-idja
       new-N   news   village-TOPO[LOC] fast   hear-PRS

The news spread fast in the village.

In some examples, it occurs in a construction that is not a perfect construction.

(62)   maduhal boʟ'-idja, ã̄ɬ-idja
       neighbor be_sick-PRS hear-PRS

The neighbor is sick.

Unlike *idja, anɬaɬa* 'hear' can be inflected for tense and it is as in (63).

(63)   (68) [Q: What did you find out when you came to town yesterday? A:] The king BE
       KILLED.

Корол к̄1об-е=кье   анлъ-е.

king   kill-PST=QUOT hear-PST

The king died I heard.

(past perfect, with raqan instead of bik'wa) (past perfect, with raqan instead of bik'wa, and bisanła instead of idja)

In addition to these constructions, several morphemes seem to convey evidentiality:

1. -Ḹ'e

   This suffix is the quotative suffix.

(64)   [A person who has heard (135) but not seen the event says:] The king ARRIVE (Dahl 1985, (136))
       Хан в-охь-а=кье   идйа.
       khan w-come-PRF.CVB=QUOT COP

       The khan arrived apparently.

2. -lda (only in one text and on one analytical form in Dahl's questionnaire)

(65)   waziršul b-iʔ-ā-lda   χan-šuw-a-r: ...
       counsellor n-know-caus.pf- khan

       The counsellor notified the khan. (Magomedova 1971, text 8, line 19.3)

   Magomedbekova (1971: 174) has this suffix in the particle section, she says "it expresses that the event has not been witnessed".

(66)   [A: I just talked to my brother on the phone. B: What he do right now? A answers:] He write letters. (Dahl 1985, 7)
       Гьощул   кекьен инщул   кагъатди хъварда ида-лда-кьен.
       DEM-M$_0$-ERG say-PST LOGO-M$_0$-ERG letter-PL   write-IMPF COP-?-QUOT

       He said he is writing letters. SC: This give the impression that he was writing letters a long time ago.

3. kuꞩe

(67)   [The police are investigating a burglary. Seeing an open window and footprints beneath it, the police inspector says:] The thief ENTER the house by this window. (Dahl 1985, (60))
       Ц1огьор ешир   гьинвар-х̄ьи-гал в-огь-ан   куссе идйа.
       thief   house-ALL window-TOPO-ABL M-go-PRF.CVB ?   COP

       The thief went into the house through the window apparently.

6   Conclusion

- Synthetic form mark tense; more research needs to check whether they are also specified for aspect and evidentiality

- Analytic forms mark tense, aspect, and evidentiality

  – Analytic forms with two components have the following structure

(68)   V-aspect Aux-tense

  – Some analytic forms can mark two aspects (e.g. progressive prospective in 51), each on their own verb (V and *b-ik'ʷała* 'be')

(69)   V-aspect$_1$ b-ik'ʷała-aspect$_2$ Aux-tense

  – Analytic forms with three components, and which contain a present perfect construction, describe a non-witnessed past eventuality

(70)   V-aspect $\boxed{\text{Aux AUX}}_{present\_perfect}$

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Glossary

0	oblique
ADD	additive
ATTBZ	attributivizer
H$^+$	human plural
INT	intensive
LOGO	logophoric pronoun
MSD	masdar
SP.CVB	specialized converb
TOPO	topological marker
ABL	ablative
ADV	adverbial
ALL	allative
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
COP	copula

CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
ERG	ergative
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMPF	imperfective
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negative
OBL	oblique
PL	plural

PRF	perfect	Q	question particle
PRS	present	QUOT	quotative
PST	past	SG	singular
PTCP	participle		

7   Appendix 1: Phasal verbs

7.1   *bałała* 'start'

This verb always takes a verb complement in -da. The verb *bałała* itself bears tense morphology.

7.1.1   Past

(71)   mak'e ʁoda bałe : ребенок начал говорить

7.1.2   Present

(72)   aχiɫ̄'i ceb šuri ãɫilja χwaj ħabda bałida : услышав шорох в саду, собака начинает лаять

7.1.3   Future

(73)   kwat'ēč'eda kwã̄ɫida bałaš̄ : скоро начнет светать

7.2   *baꝗenɫa* 'finish'

This verb always takes a verb complement in the perfect converb. The verb *b-aꝗanɫa* itself bears tense morphology.

7.2.1 Past

(74)   When I COME home (yesterday), he WRITE two letters (=that is what he accomplished during my absence) (Dahl 1985, (139))
Ден вохьула, кагъатди хъваре рахъан гьощул

7.2.2 Present

(75)   hobel bičeboχa baqᵉnda idja.
dem sell   end   cop

И её продажа заканчивается. (Magomedbekova 1971, text 1, line 45.1)

(76)   [Q: Has your brother finished the letter?] (No,) he still WRITE it. (Dahl 1985, (155))
Ваци гьерал кагъат хъваре вахъен гьач1е.

7.2.3 Future

(77)   (107) [Talking to someone who is leaving in a while] When you RETURN, I WRITE this letter (=I FINISH it already at that time)
Мен ц1иенда вохьула, дена гьаб кагъат хъваре бахъанс̄.

8   Appendix 2: Lexical verbs used as auxiliaries in analytical constructions

The auxiliary verb in analytical constructions can be lexical verbs, e.g. *b-oʔaⁿɫa* 'go' (), *b-eχ̄ʷaɫa* 'come', *b-oīɫaɫa* 'walk, go', *t'amaɫa* 'throw', *biχ̄ʷaɫa* 'stay'

(78)   present perfect with *b-oʔaⁿɫa* 'go'
men jeχ̄ulaʔ gwã̄ʁebχwa boʔĩdja dunjal : с твоим приходом вокруг становится светло

(79)   present perfect with *b-eχ̄ʷaɫa* 'come'
        šišawigal ɫ̄ēj pũš̄ābχwa beχ̄wa : из бутылки вода разбрызгалась сильной струей

(80)   present perfect with *b-oɪ̄aɫa* 'walk, go'
        kaʔatoɪ̄ ɪ̄'eχwa boɪ̄e : от бумаги остался один пепел

(81)   present perfect with *t'amaɫa* 'throw'
        biɪ̄'ob mučulal roša boršemχwa t'ame : сильным ветром дерево с корнями вырвало

Like other auxiliaries in analytic constructions, the lexical verb acting as auxiliary can appear in different tenses and in the evidential construction.

(82)   past perfect
        dunjal zaraʁubχwa boʔã̄ : стало холодно

(83)   past perfect evidential
        гьав кавка вахъенласс енххал къвапа хъамāбоха боъан идйа.
        Пока он молился речкой унесло шапку оказывается. (Magomedbekova 1971, text 7, line 21)

(84)   future perfect
        Хьōб идйа илйа, дийа гидабда бич1ч1ē, ден гьек1ва гьаъинāда эртанмхва боъанс-кье идйа гъандол1 балъол. (Khalidova 2017, Балъа кь1абоб илйа,line 11)
        — Хорошо, мамочка. Я взлечу, даже если увижу человека издали,— ответил вороненок.

It seems that most of these constructions involve the perfect aspect, though see (85).

(85)   Past prospective with *b-eχ̄ʷaɫa* 'come'
        dija reɫeχ̄aɫa beχ̄wa : на меня напал смех

More research needs to look at the extent to which only the perfect construction licences the use of motion verbs as auxiliaries