

Chapter 8

Specialized converbs in Mehweb

Maria Sheyanova

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Faculty of Humanities, School of Linguistics, masha.shejanova@gmail.com

This paper describes the semantic inventory and morphosyntactic properties of specialized converbs in Mehweb. The data for the description were collected during field trips to the village of Mehweb. Converbs with the following meanings are described: anteriority, immediacy, inceptivity, simultaneity, posteriority, hypothetical conditionality, counterfactuality, concessivity (and another meaning close to concessivity), causality, purpose and graduality. A participle-based form with the semantics of a locative converb is discussed.

Keywords: East Caucasian languages, adverbial subordination, converbs, specialized converbs, verbal morphology.

1 Introduction

Specialized converbs are a subtype of converbs that specify the semantic relation between the main and dependent clauses (e.g. purposive or causal); for a fuller definition see §2.2. This paper describes the inventory and morphosyntactic properties of specialized converbs in Mehweb. The structure of the paper is as follows: §2 introduces the subject of this study and defines the terms. §3 describes specialized converbs in Mehweb. §4 summarizes the morphology of the forms in two tables. §5 is the conclusion.

2 Defining the terms

2.1 Converb

According to Haspelmath (1995b: 3), a converb is “a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination”. In other words, one can un-



derstand converbs as “verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives”. The definition of converb in Nedjalkov (1995) is similar: “as a first approximation, we can define a converb as a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., it does not realize its semantic valencies”. In an example of a canonical converb provided by Nedjalkov (1), the verb form *uleta-des* ‘crossing’ is dependent on the main verb *poordus* ‘turned’, but is not its argument.

- (1) Estonian (Nedjalkov 1995)

uleta-des joge poordus ratsanik ulati paremale.

cross-CVB river turned horseman always right

‘Crossing the river, the horseman always turned right.’

The two definitions agree that a converb: 1) is a form of a verb, and 2) marks adverbial subordination (i.e. is not a semantic argument of the main verb).

2.2 Specialized converbs

Some languages distinguish specialized and general (contextual) converbs. As formulated in Haspelmath (1995a), unlike general converbs, which “leave the precise nature of the semantic link between the clauses open”, specialized converbs have “a quite specific adverbial meaning”, i.e. establish a specific semantic relation between the matrix and converbal clauses. The Lezgian sentences (2) and (3) taken from Haspelmath (1995a) exemplify general (contextual in Haspelmath 1995a) and specialized converbs, respectively.

- (2) *am ajwandi-k gazet k’el-iz aq̄waz-nawa.*

he:ABS balcony-SBESS [newspaper read-CVB] stand-PRF

‘He is standing on the balcony, reading a newspaper.’

- (3) *dide annidi ḡülü-z fi-daldi muallimwil-e*

mother Anni(ERG) [husband-DAT go-PSTR] teachership-INNESS

k’walax-na.

work-AOR

‘My mother Anni worked as a teacher until she got married.’

While the imperfective general converb *k’el-iz* ‘reading’ simply describes an additional action, the posterior specialized converb *fi-daldi* ‘after going’ expresses an action immediately preceding the action in the main clause.

The relations expressed by specialized converbs can be of a temporal, locative or logical nature. Converbs of logical relation normally also have a temporal

meaning. Specialized converbs are never used in clause chaining¹ or periphrasis, which are two other common functions of general converbs. For a discussion of general converbs in Mehweb, see Kustova (2019).

2.3 Problems in defining specialized converbs

After distinguishing between specialized and general converbs, problems remain with the definition of the category of specialized converbs. This includes distinguishing specialized converbs from other non-finite verb forms which introduce subordinate clauses with adverbial semantics. I discuss three verb forms that are problematic in this respect, namely infinitives, participles and action nominals inflected for case.

Distinguishing an infinitive clause from converbal clauses is problematic when the infinitive has purposive semantics. Here, the infinitive formally fits the definition of a converb. The issue is discussed in Haspelmath (1995b). According to Haspelmath, prototypical infinitives have a crucial property that converbs lack: they are primarily used in complement clauses, e.g. as arguments of modal or phasal verbs.

The issue of participles and action nominals is not so easy to solve. In this paper, I consider inflected participles heading subordinate clauses, such as *wak'ibičela* in example (4), to be specialized converbs.

- (4) *ʒaʕul w-ak'-ib-i-če-la* *ur-uwe* *le-r.*
 guest M-COME:PFV-AOR-PTCP-SUPER-EL rain:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-NPL
 'From the moment the guest arrived, it was raining.'

However, I do not count case-marked action nominals, like *berχ^wrilizela* in example (5), as specialized converbs.

- (5) *šahal-li-če* *b-uħna*
 town-OBL-SUPER(LAT) HPL-inside(LAT)
b-erχ^w-ri-li-ze-la *d-iq'-es*
 HPL-enter:PFV-NMLZ-OBL-INTER-EL NPL-do:IPFV-INF
d-aʔ-ib *zab.*
 NPL-begin:PFV-AOR rain
 'As soon as they entered the town, it started raining.'

¹In Haspelmath (1995b) clause chaining is defined as a sequence in which each converb depends on the verb that immediately follows it and which contains only one fully finite final verb.

There are two main reasons why participles and action nominals are treated differently. The first is the fact that case-inflected participles seem to be a more frequent source of specialized converbs (see e.g. Creissels 2010). Second, in adverbial subordination, case-inflected action nominals are in their prototypical syntactic position, similar to nominal adjuncts. Case-inflected participles, on the other hand, are not. In Mehweb, participles are prototypically used in adnominal position and are not inflected for case. To be used as heads of adverbial clauses, they thus need to change category, from an attribute to a nominal head. Although this is a productive syntactic process, its use to produce adverbial subordination may be considered evidence for grammaticalization. Note that there is no systematic data available on case inflection of headless participles; they appear to be infrequent in the corpus.

3 Specialized converbs in Mehweb

This section provides a description of specialized converbs in Mehweb. For each converb, I provide examples showing that the form can be used both when the subject of the converb is coreferential with the subject of the main clause and when the two clauses have different subjects. Some examples also show that the converb clause can be embedded to the main clause; this is considered to provide evidence for its subordinate status.

The section focuses on temporal converbs and converbs expressing logical relations. There is one occurrence in the corpus of what seems to be a locative converb, discussed at the end of the section, but this form needs further investigation. In §4, I provide a table showing the availability of each converb for perfective and imperfective verbal stems and provide examples of the relevant word forms.

3.1 Temporal converbs

3.1.1 Anterior converb

A converbal clause with an anterior converb expresses an event that takes place before the event in the main clause, and can be translated as ‘when P happened’ or ‘after P happened’. There are a number of variant markers of this converb – *-arvle*, *-avle*, *-ave*, *-arv*, *-av*, *-vale*, *-vela* – which are added to the participle. Speakers vary in the extent to which they consider each variant acceptable. Only *-avle*

is equally accepted by all speakers. It is possible that there are slight semantic differences between these markers, but I was unable to establish any. In general, a speaker accepts several variants, considering them to be interchangeable without any change in meaning. The form is derived from participles based on both perfective and imperfective stems. In perfective forms, a hiatus between the *-i* of the participle and the *-a* of the marker is eliminated by a more or less clearly articulated prothetic *j* (not reflected in the transcription).

- (6) *iχi-šu, barhi b-uq-un-i-aʔle, dursi*
 this-AD(LAT) sun N-enter:PFV-AOR-PTCP-ANTE girl
d-ak'-ib.
 F1-come:PFV-AOR
 'When the sun rose, a girl came to him.'
- (7) *unna-li-šu b-ak'-ib-i-ʔale iχ-di*
 neighbour-OBL-AD(LAT) HPL-come:PFV-AOR-PTCP-ANTE this-PL
cenhe b-ik-ib.
 together(LAT) HPL-happen:PFV-AOR
 'They met when they came to their neighbour.'
- (8) *il w-ik'-ul-aʔle, ʔa^hχ-le le-b-re.*
 this M-come:IPFV-PTCP-ANTE, good-ADVZ be-N-PST
 'Every time he came, it was good.'

3.1.2 Immediate anterior converb

The immediate anterior converb encodes an event which immediately precedes the event in the matrix clause. Its meaning is comparable to that of the English construction 'as soon as P happened'. The marker of the immediate anterior converb is the suffix *-rijal* attached to the perfective stem followed by the irrealis suffix.

- (9) *do^hhi, iχ unna-li-šu w-ak'-a-rijal,*
 snow this neighbour-OBL-AD(LAT) M-come:PFV-IRR-IMM
b-iq'-es b-aʔ-ib.
 N-do:IPFV-INF N-begin:PFV-AOR
 'Just after he got to his neighbour's, it began to snow.'

- (10) *sudi-če* *w-aʔ-a-rijal*, *šalʔu* *naʃB=ra*
 court-SUPER(LAT) M-arrive:PFV-IRR-IMM in.the.bosom(LAT) hand=ADD
b-aʃq-i-le, *sudija-li-s* *haraqʻe-r* *ʙaʀʙ-ube*
 N-hit:PFV-AOR-CVB judge-OBL-DAT in.front-NPL(ESS) stone-PL
χ^warčara d-iz-aq-i-le *le-r*.
 shake NPL-LV:IPFV-CAUS-AOR-CVB AUX-NPL

‘As soon as he got to the court, he put his hand under his arm and shook the stones (so they jingled like coins) in front of the judge.’ (Magometov 1982: p. 147, sentence 27)

This form cannot be derived from the imperfective irrealis stem, cf. **wikʻarijal* from imperfective *-ikʻes* ‘come’, **urcarijal* from imperfective *urces* ‘fly’.

There is another way to express the same meaning using an action nominal in the inter-relative form:

- (11) *šahal-li-če* *b-uħna*
 town-OBL-SUPER(LAT) HPL-inside(LAT)
b-erχ^w-ri-li-ze-la, *d-iqʻ-es*
 HPL-enter:PFV-NMLZ-OBL-INTER-EL NPL-do:IPFV-INF
d-aʔ-ib *zab*
 NPL-begin:PFV-AOR rain

‘As soon as they entered the town, it started raining.’

3.1.3 Inceptive converb

The event encoded by the inceptive converb is the initial boundary of the event described by the main clause. It can be translated into English as ‘from the moment when’ or ‘after’. The marker of the inceptive converb is *-čela*, which is attached to the perfective participle. The converb marker originates from a combination of the nominal suffixes *-če-la* (SUPER-EL), which literally means ‘from above’.

- (12) *dus, nu-ni kavar b-arx-ib-i-čela*, *ʔaʻr-b-aʻqʻ-un*.
 year I-ERG letter N-send:PFV-AOR-PTCP-INCP away-N-go:PFV-AOR
 ‘A year has passed since I sent the letter.’
- (13) *iχ w-akʻ-ib-i-čela* *i<w>aʻHaʻd, iχ*
 this M-come:PFV-AOR-PTCP-INCP <M>back this
duči-rkʻ-uwe *le-w*.
 laugh-LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-M
 ‘From the moment he came back was laughing.’

The form is impossible with the imperfective stem, cf. **wik'uličela* (from imperfective *-ik'es* 'come'), **urculičela* (from imperfective *urces* 'fly').

3.1.4 Simultaneous converb

Simultaneity is expressed by the converb marker *-ijadal* attached to the imperfective participle or to the aorist in the perfective. The form is probably related to one of the nominal elative markers *-adal*, with an *-i* of unclear origin and a prothetic *-j-*. On the other hand, while the elative appears in the corpus in the forms of *-ad*, *-adal* and *-adala*, the attested variants of the simultaneous converb include *-ijadal* and *-ijal*. In the examples below *-ijal* may be used without any change in meaning.

- (14) *nu, di-la uzi luč'-ul-ijadal, čaj*
 I(NOM) I.OBL-GEN brother read:IPFV-PTCP-SMLT tea
b-už-uwe le-l-la.
 N-drink:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-F-EGO

'I'm drinking tea while my brother is reading.'

- (15) *nu luč'-ul-ijadal, čaj b-už-uwe le-l-la.*
 I.NOM read:IPFV-PTCP-SMLT tea N-drink:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-F-EGO

'I'm drinking tea while reading.'

When/if formed from a perfective participle, the converb is semantically different from its imperfective counterpart in that it acquires a sense of immediacy:

- (16) *predloženiye b-elč'-un-ijadal, perewod b-aq'-ib.*
 sentence N-read:PFV-AOR-SMLT translation N-do:PFV-AOR

'As soon as (s)he read the sentence, (s)he translated it.'

Note however that not all speakers accepted (16).

3.1.5 Posterior converb

The posterior converb either marks the final boundary of the event in the main clause or indicates that the event in the converb clause takes place after the event in the main clause. It could be translated into English as 'before'. The form can be used with both perfective and imperfective verb stems. This converb is formed by the affix *-če* added to the perfective stem followed by a vowel, either *a*, as in (19)

or *e*, as in (17), (18) and (20). The distribution of the vowel is phonologically conditioned and is exactly the same as the distribution of the vowel of the infinitive in the same verbs (see Daniel 2019 [this volume]), which suggests derivation of the converb from the infinitive stem. The suffix of the converb can be identified with the nominal marker *-če* (SUPER).

- (17) *zab, iχ-di šahal-li-ħe b-erχ^w-eče,*
rain this-PL town-OBL-IN(LAT) HPL-enter:PFV-PSTR
d-aʔ-ib d-iq'-es
NPL-begin:PFV-AOR NPL-do:IPFV-INF
‘It started raining before they entered the town’
- (18) *iχ-di-li-ni karawat b-aq'-ib hil-b-ix-eče*
this-PL-OBL-ERG bed HPL-do:PFV-AOR PV-HPL-lie.down:PFV-PSTR
‘They made the bed before going to bed’
- (19) *iχ-di šahal-li-ze b-ak'-ače*
this-PL town-OBL-INTER(LAT) HPL-come:PFV-PSTR
iχ-di-li-ze hun-ħe-di d-aq-il si-k'al
this-PL-OBL-INTER(LAT) road-IN-TRANS NPL-much-ATR what-PTCL
gu-b
see-AOR
‘They saw a lot before they entered the town.’
- (20) *luk'-eče, nuša-jni deč' b-aq'-i-ra*
write:IPFV-PSTR we-ERG song N-do:PFV-AOR-EGO
‘Before writing, we sang a song.’

3.2 Conditional and counterfactual converbs

In this section I present a brief description of the morphosyntactic properties of the conditional and counterfactual converbs. For more information on the semantics of the conditional forms see Dobrushina (2019) [this volume], which is the source of most examples in this section.

3.2.1 Hypothetical conditional converb

The marker of the conditional converb *-k'a* attaches to the irrealis stem. The form is used with both perfective and imperfective verb stems.

- (21) *nu-ni žat' g-a-k'a, ħu-ni na-b t'ult'*
 you.sg-ERG flour give:PFV-IRR-COND you-ERG I.OBL-DAT bread
b-aq'-iša=w?
 N-do:PFV-FUT.EGO=Q
 'If I bring the flour, will you make bread for me?'
- (22) *nu, di-la urši-li-ni xunul k-a-k'a,*
 I I.OBL-GEN boy-OBL-ERG wife bring:PFV-IRR-COND
iḡ-di-li-šu-r d-uʔ-es-i.
 that-PL-OBL-AD-HPL(ESS) F1-be-INF-ATR
 'If my son marries, I will live at their place.' (Dobrushina 2019)

In example (23), the main clause and the converb clause share the subject:

- (23) *anwar w-ak'-i-le w-arg-a-k'a, abaj-šu*
 Anwar M-come:PFV-AOR-CVB M-find:PFV-IRR-COND mother-AD(LAT)
uʔq'-es-i.
 M.go:PFV-INF-ATR
 'If Anwar comes, he will go to his mother.' (Dobrushina 2019)

This conditional use of 'find' in (23) is discussed in Maisak & Daniel (2018). Example (24) shows the same converb formed from the imperfective stem:

- (24) *d-aq-il kung-ane luč'-a-k'a, d-aq-il*
 NPL-much-ATR book-PL read:IPFV-IRR-COND NPL-much-ATR
si-k'al nuša-ze d-alh-ul.
 what-INDEF we-INTER(LAT) NPL-know:IPFV-PTCP
 'If we read many books, we will know many things.'

3.2.2 Counterfactual converb

The affix *-q'alle* forms the converb of counterfactual condition (that is, the event in the main clause could have taken place if the event in the converbal clause had taken place – but this did not happen). It attaches to the perfective stem (25, 26) or to the imperfective participle (27).

- (25) *ħu anawaje w-aq'-un-q'alle, nuša-jni muħammad*
 you.sg(NOM) fast.ADVZ M-do:PFV-AOR-CTRF we-ERG Muhammad
ulc-a-re.
 M.catch:IPFV-IRR-PST
 'If you had driven fast, we would have caught Muhammad.'

- (26) *nu=ra iχ w-ebk'-ib-q'alle, d-ubk'-a-re.*
 I(NOM)=ADD this M-die:PFV-AOR-CTRF F1-die:IPFV-IRR-PST
 'If he had died, I would have also died.' (Dobrushina 2019)

Examples (27) shows this converb formed from the imperfective stem:

- (27) *iχ išbari ?a^sš-w-irk-ul-q'alle ?a^sχ-le b-u?-a-re.*
 this today PV-M-come.back:IPFV-PTCP-CTRF good-ADVZ N-be-IRR-PST
 'If he had come today, it would have been good.' (Dobrushina 2019)

3.2.3 Concessive converb

The concessive converb is formed by the complex suffix *-k'a-ra* (-COND-ADD) preceded by the irrealis suffix *-a-*, as exemplified in (28–30).

- (28) *iχ-ini, iχ-di-li-ni ?at' ĥa-g-a-k'ara, pirog*
 this-ERG this-PL-OBL-ERG flour NEG-give:PFV-IRR-CONC pie
b-aq'-ib.
 N-do:PFV-AOR
 'Although they didn't given her any flour, she baked a pie.'
- (29) *dunijal zab-li ur-a-k'ara nuša quli*
 world rain-OBL(ERG) rain:IPFV-IRR-CONC we home(LAT)
ĥa^s-b-a^sq'-un-na.
 NEG-HPL-go:PFV-AOR-EGO
 'Although it was raining, we didn't go home.'
- (30) *nu-ni b-iq'-a-k'ara, ĥu razi ĥa-rh^w-an.*
 I.ERG N-do:IPFV-IRR-CONC you.NOM agree NEG-M.become:IPFV-HAB
 'Although I do (this), you are not happy.' (Magometov 1982)

3.2.4 Second concessive converb

The marker *-le?ur* conveys a meaning close to concession and causality. It is used when the event described by the converbal clause was unlikely to happen and probably undesirable; but since it nevertheless did happen, the action in the main clause takes place. The structure of the form is unclear. In regular verbs, it may be analysed as the participle followed by the suffix *-le?ur*. For the auxiliary *-le-CL*, however, the suffix seems to attach directly to the finite form (*le-CL-le?ur*). This form is attested in Magometov's texts but is, at best, marginal. All my examples

are elicited. Not all speakers accept this form, and even those who find it acceptable with some verbs are unable to think of examples with other verbs.

- (31) *ħu w-ak'-i-leʔur, nuša-ni ħa-d*
 you.sg(NOM) M-come:PFV-AOR-PTCP?-CONC2 we-ERG you-DAT
ʔoʕlad-deš d-aq'-iša.
 hospitable-NMLZ NPL-do:PFV-FUT.EGO
 'As you have come here, we will show you hospitality.'
- (32) *ħu b-ak'-i-leʔur, b-ug-e.*
 you.sg(NOM) N-come:PFV-AOR-CVB-CONC2 N-eat:PFV-IMP
 'Since you have come here, eat.' (addressed to an animal)
- (33) *χ^{we} har-b-ulq-u-leʔur, b-uc-a.*
 dog PV-N-flee:IPFV-CVB.IPFV-CONC2 N-catch:PFV-IMP.TR
 'Since the dog is running away, catch it!'

3.3 Other converbs of logical relations

3.3.1 Causal converb

The causal converb describes an event which is the cause of the situation described in the main clause. The causal converb affix *-na* is attached to the general converb. The converb is formed from both perfective (cf. 34 and 35) and imperfective (cf. 36) stems.

- (34) *iχ, doʕhi b-aq'-i-le-na, ruzi-li-šu*
 this snow N-do:PFV-AOR-CVB-CAUSAL sister-OBL-AD(LAT)
w-aʕq'-un.
 M-go:PFV-AOR
 'Because it started to snow, he went to his sister.'
- (35) *xunuj-ni sual-t xar d-i-uwe le-l-le*
 wife.OBL-ERG question-PL ask NPL-LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-NPL-PST
iχi-ze, quli ʔaraba w-ak'-i-le-na.
 he-INTER(LAT) home(LAT) late M-come:PFV-AOR-CVB-CAUSAL
 'His wife asked him questions because he came home late.'
- (36) *murad w-ik'-uwe-na, nuša ħule b-uʔ-i-ra.*
 Murad M-come:IPFV-CVB.IPFV-CAUSAL we eye HPL-be:PFV-AOR-EGO
 'We were waiting because Murad was due to come.'

3.3.2 Purposive converb

The purposive converb expresses an event conceptualized as the purpose of the action described in the main clause ('in order to'). It is formed by the affix *-alis* added to the bare verb stem and can be formed with both perfective and imperfective stems. The marker is likely to originate from *-a-li-s* (-IRR-OBL-DAT). Indeed, cross-linguistically, the dative often expresses a purposive meaning (see for example, Haspelmath 1995a), and purposive meaning is related to the irrealis domain (see for example Palmer 2001: 131).

- (37) *iχ-di-li, dursi hil-d-ix-alis, buruš b-aq'-ib.*
 this-PL-ERG girl PV-F1.lie.down:PFV-PURP bed N-do:PFV-AOR
 'They made the bed so that the girl could go to sleep.'
- (38) *dursi-li-ni buruš b-aq'-ib, hil-d-ix-alis.*
 girl-OBL-ERG bed N-do:PFV-AOR PV-F1.lie.down:PFV-PURP
 'The girl made the bed in order to go to sleep.'
- (39) *žali w-ik'-alis nu-ni igruš-une as-i-ra.*
 Ali M-come:IPFV-PURP I-ERG toy-PL take:PFV-AOR-EGO
 'I brought the toys so that Ali would come.'

The semantics of purpose can also be expressed by the infinitive, as in (40) and (41). Just as the construction with *-alis*, the infinitive construction may have the same subject as in the main clause or a different one. The difference in meaning between the two constructions, if it exists, has not been studied.

- (40) *iχ-di-li buruš b-aq'-ib dursi hil-d-ix-es.*
 this-PL-OBL bed N-do:PFV-AOR girl PV-F1.lie.down:PFV-INF
 'They made the bed for the girl to go to sleep.'
- (41) *dursi-li-ni buruš b-aq'-ib, hil-d-ix-es.*
 girl-OBL-ERG bed N-do:PFV-AOR PV-F1.lie.down:PFV-INF
 'The girl made the bed in order to go to sleep.'

However, for the reasons discussed above in §2, I do not count the infinitival construction as converbal, though, in this case, it fits the definition from a functional point of view. For further detailed discussion, see Haspelmath (1995b: 28).

3.3.3 Gradual converb

The affix *-cad(i)* attaches to the participle to express graduality. Clauses with this converb can be translated into English using the expression ‘the more..., the more ...’. This affix also exists in standard Dargwa as a nominal marker expressing the meaning ‘as much as, about’ (called “equative” in van den Berg 2001: 25). It also occurs with verb forms and in this case shows nearly the same semantics as in Mehweb. Historically, the first part of this marker (*-ca-*) may derive from the spatial marker meaning ‘from the speaker’ (translocative), but the origins of the second part *-di* are not clear. A possible cognate of this affix is *-cat* in Tanti Dargwa, which conveys the meaning of approximation and similarity (Sumbatova & Lander 2014). The form can be derived from both the perfective and imperfective participles.

- (42) *urši, d-aqnal dursi luč'-ul-cadi, w-aqnal*
 boy F1-often girl read:IPFV-PTCP-GRAD M-often
uk-uwe le-w.
 M.eat:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-M
 ‘The more the girl reads, the more the boy eats.’
- (43) *it kung b-elč-un-i-cad, nab b-elč-es*
 this book N-read:PFV-AOR-PTCP-GRAD I.DAT N-read:PFV-INF
dig-an.
 want:IPFV-HAB
 ‘The more I read this book, the more I want to read.’

Apart from the semantics described above, this form may also have a temporal interpretation of simultaneity, as shown in (44):

- (44) *dursi ša^s-ba^sH q'-u^swe le-r-cad, iχija pikru-me*
 girl village-DIR go:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-F-GRAD this.GEN thought-PL
le-l-le ruzi-li-če-r.
 be-F-PST sister-OBL-SUPER-F(ESS)
 ‘While going to the village, the girl was thinking about her sister.’ (lit.
 her thoughts were about the sister)

3.4 Locative converb

The form that can be interpreted as locative converb was only identified in the corpus after the field phase of the research. Cf. the second wordform in (45):

- (45) *nu q'o^s-j-ħe w-arg-a-k'a*
 you.sg(NOM) go:IPFV-PTCP-IN(LAT) M-find:PFV-IRR-COND
uk-iša.
 M.bring:PFV-FUT.EGO

'If it turns out that (you are going) where I am going, I will give you a ride.'

Morphologically, it is a participle followed by the suffix of localization inside a hollow container. For the reasons discussed above in §2.3, I consider this form together with converbs. The form only occurs in the corpus two more times (e.g. *dig-uj-ħe* 'to where one wants', 'wherever one wants (to go)'), also based on the imperfective participle (*-uj < -ul*). Under elicitation, the same form has also been produced for the perfective stem:

- (46) *nu-ni uʒa^s b-ix-ib-i-ħe-w it kajʔ-ib.*
 I-ERG cheese M-put:PFV-AOR-PTCP-IN-M(ESS) this M.sit:PFV-AOR
 'He sat down where I had put the cheese.'

4 Examples of the forms

This section contains two tables. Table 1 shows the compatibility of converbal markers with different stems and the verb forms serving as the base for the cor-

Table 1: Compatibility of converbal markers with perfective or imperfective verb stems

converb	marker	perfective		imperfective	
		example	base	example	base
IMM	<i>-a-rijal</i>	(6), (7)	irrealis stem	–	–
PURP	<i>-a(-)lis</i>	(34), (35)	irrealis stem	(36)	irrealis stem
COND	<i>-k'a</i>	(18), (19), (20)	irrealis stem	(21)	irrealis stem
CONC	<i>-k'a-ra</i>	(25)	irrealis stem	(26), (27)	irrealis stem
PSTR	<i>-a/e(-)če</i>	(15), (16)	infinitive stem	(17)	infinitive stem
SMLT	<i>-ijadal</i>	(13)	aorist	(11), (12)	participle
CTRF	<i>-q'alle</i>	(22), (23)	aorist	(24)	participle
INCP	<i>-čela</i>	(9), (10)	participle	–	–
LOC	<i>-ħe</i>	(46)	participle	(45)	participle
ANTE	<i>-a(r)ʋle, -aʋe, -a(r)ʋ, -ʋale, -ʋela</i>	(3), (4)	participle	(5)	participle
GRAD	<i>-cad(i)</i>	(39)	participle	(40)	participle
CAUSAL	<i>-na</i>	(31), (32)	general converb	(33)	general converb
CONC2	<i>-leʒur</i>	(28), (29)	general converb	(30)	general converb

responding converbs, with references to the examples above. Table 2 provides an example of each of the specialized converb forms.

Table 2: Examples of specialized converbs

	PFV	IPFV
IMM	<i>w-ak'-a-rijal</i> (6) M-come:PFV-IRR-IMM 'just after he came'	–
PURP	<i>hil-d-ix-alis</i> (34), (35) PV-F1-lie.down:PFV-PURP 'in order for her to go to sleep'	<i>w-ik'-alis</i> (36) M-come:IPFV-PURP 'in order for him to come'
COND	<i>g-a-k'a</i> (18) give:PFV-IRR-COND 'if (s)he gave'	<i>luč'-a-k'a</i> (21) read:IPFV-IRR-COND 'if (s)he gave'
CONC	<i>ħa-g-a-k'ara</i> (25) NEG-give:PFV-IRR-CONC 'though (s)he did not give'	<i>b-iq'-a-k'ara</i> (27) N-do:IPFV-IRR-CONC 'though (s)he does'
PSTR	<i>b-ak'-aĉe</i> (16) HPL-come:PFV-PSTR 'before they came'	<i>luk'-eĉe</i> (17) write:IPFV-PSTR 'before reading'
SMLT	<i>b-elĉ'-un-ijadal</i> (13) N-read:PFV-AOR-SMLT 'as soon as (s)he reads'	<i>luč'-ul-ijadal</i> (12) read:IPFV-PTCP-SMLT 'while (s)he reads'
CTRF	<i>w-aq'-un-q'alle</i> (22) M-do:PFV-AOR-CTRF 'if he had done'	<i>ʔaʕš-w-irk-ul-q'alle</i> (24) PV-M-come.back:IPFV-PTCP-CTRF 'if he comes'
INCP	<i>w-ak'-ib-i-ĉela</i> (10) M-come:PFV-AOR-PTCP-INCP 'since the moment he came'	–
LOC	<i>b-ix-ib-i-ħe-w</i> (46) N-put:PFV-AOR-PTCP-IN-M(ESS) 'where I put it'	<i>q'oʕ-j-ħe</i> (45) go:PFV-PTCP-IN(LAT) 'to where (s)he goes'
ANTE	<i>b-ak'-ib-i-bale</i> (4) HPL-come:PFV-AOR-PTCP-ANTE 'when they came'	<i>w-ik'-ul-able</i> (5) M-come:IPFV-PTCP-ANTE 'when he came'
GRAD	<i>b-elĉ-un-i-cad(i)</i> (40) N-read:PFV-AOR-PTCP-GRAD 'the more (s)he has read'	<i>luč'-ul-cad(i)</i> (39) read:IPFV-PTCP-GRAD 'the more (s)he reads'
CAUSAL	<i>d-ak'-i-le-na</i> (32) F1-come:PFV-AOR-CVB-CAUSAL 'because she came'	<i>w-ik'-uwe-na</i> (33) M-come:IPFV-CVB.IPFV-CAUSAL 'because he came'
CONC2	<i>w-ak'-i-leʔur</i> (28) M-come:PFV-AOR-PTCP?-CONC2 'since he came'	<i>ħar-b-ulq-u-leʔur</i> (30) PV-N-flee:IPFV-PTCP?-CONC2 'since it is running away'

5 Conclusion

Mehweb has a relatively rich inventory of specialized converbs, with five temporal converbs (anterior, immediate anterior, inceptive, simultaneous and posterior), seven converbs expressing logical relations (hypothetical conditional, counterfactual, concessive, converb expressing another meaning close to concessive, causal, purposive and gradual) and, probably, a locative converb. The anterior converb marker shows strong phonological variation. Other variants of converb markers include two variants for the simultaneous converb marker (*-jadal/-jal*) and two variants for the gradual converb (*-cad/-cadi*).

Specialized converbs are formed in several different ways, with the converb marker attached to either:

- 1) irrealis stem: immediate, anterior, concessive converbs and possibly also the purposive converb;
- 2) infinitive stem: posterior converb (probably);
- 3) aorist in the perfective and participle in the imperfective: simultaneous and counterfactual converbs;
- 4) participle in both perfective and imperfective: anterior, gradual and locative converb;
- 5) general converb: causal and second concessive converbs.

These types may be interpreted as reflecting an increasing degree of grammaticalization of the forms. The irrealis and the infinitive stems are bound (cannot appear without further marking). The third pattern includes converb suffixes that are selective in terms of the stem they attach to (aorist in the perfective, participle in the imperfective). The fourth type includes converbs derived from stems that also function as free forms (participles). However, as discussed in the introduction, participles do not typically function as nominal adjuncts in the clause, and their inflection is different from the converb markers, so a certain degree of grammaticalization is still present. Finally, in the fifth type, the forms to which the converb markers (causal and second concessive) are attached are not only free forms but are already marked for adverbial subordination. Their only function is to further specify the general converb in terms of its relation to the main clause, which makes these markers functionally similar to particles. On the other hand, they are bound and must be considered as derivational suffixes.

List of abbreviations

ABS	absolutive
AD	spatial domain near the landmark
ADD	additive particle
ADVZ	adverbializer
DIR	motion directed towards a spatial domain
ANTE	anterior converb
AOR	aojist
ATR	attributivizer
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CAUSAL	causal (case form)
CL	gender (class) agreement slot
CONC	concessive
CONC2	concessive
COND	conditional
CTRF	counterfactual
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
EGO	egophoric
EL	motion from a spatial domain
ERG	ergative
ESS	static location in a spatial domain
F	feminine (gender agreement)
F1	feminine (unmarried and young women gender prefix)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GRAD	gradual converb
HAB	habitual (durative for verbs denoting states)
HPL	human plural (gender agreement)
IMM	immediate converb
IMP	imperative
IN	spatial domain inside a (hollow) landmark
INCP	inceptive converb
INDEF	indefinite particle
INESS	location inside
INF	infinitive

INTER	spatial domain between multiple landmarks
IPFV	imperfective (derivational base)
IRR	irrealis (derivational base)
LAT	motion into a spatial domain
LOC	locative converb
LV	light verb
M	masculine (gender agreement)
N	neuter (gender agreement)
NEG	negation (verbal prefix)
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NPL	non-human plural (gender agreement)
OBL	oblique (nominal stem suffix)
PFV	perfective (derivational base)
PL	plural
PRF	perfect
PST	past
PSTR	posterior converb
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive converb
PV	preverb (verbal prefix)
Q	question (interrogative particle)
SBESS	subessive (location under)
SMLT	simultaneous converb
SUPER	spatial domain on the horizontal surface of the landmark
TR	transitive
TRANS	motion through a spatial domain

References

- Creissels, Denis. 2010. Specialized converbs and adverbial subordination in Axaxdərə Akhvakh. In Isabelle Bril (ed.), *Clause linking and clause hierarchy: Syntax and pragmatics* (Studies in Language Companion Series 121), 105–142. Amsterdam Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Daniel, Michael. 2019. Mehweb verb morphology. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 73–115. Berlin: Language Science Press.

- Dobrushina, Nina. 2019. Moods in Mehweb. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 117–165. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1995a. Contextual and specialized converbs in Lezgian. In Martin Haspelmath & Ekkehard König (eds.), *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*, 415–440. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1995b. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In Martin Haspelmath & Ekkehard König (eds.), *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*, 1–55. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kustova, Marina. 2019. General converbs in Mehweb. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 255–270. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Magometov, Aleksandr. 1982. *Megebskij dialekt darginskogo jazyka: Issledovanie i teksty* [Mehweb Dargwa: Grammar survey and texts]. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.
- Maisak, Timur & Michael Daniel. 2018. Černaja koška grammatikalizacii: Konstrukcii s glagolom ‘najti’ v dagestanskix jazykax [A black cat of grammaticalization. Constructions with ‘find’ in some Daghestanian languages]. In D. A. Ryzhova, B. V. Orehov, N. R. Dobrushina, T. I. Reznikova, A. A. Bonch-Osmolovskaja, A. S. Vyrenkova & M. V. Kjuseva (eds.), *Èvrika! Sbornik statej o poiskax i naxodkax k jubileju E. V. Raxilinoj*, 120–149. Moscow: Labirint.
- Nedjalkov, Vladimir. 1995. Some typological parameters of converbs. In Martin Haspelmath & Ekkehard König (eds.), *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*, 97–136. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Palmer, Frank R. 2001. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sumbatova, Nina & Yury Lander. 2014. *The Dargwa variety of the Tanti village. A grammatical sketch. Issues in syntax*. Research Paper No. WP BRP, 12. Higher School of Economics.
- van den Berg, Helma E. 2001. *Dargi folktales: Oral stories from the Caucasus with an introduction to Dargi grammar* (CNWS Publications 106). Research School of Asian African & Amerindian Studies, Universiteit Leiden.

