

Formation and functions of the imperfective stems in Khinalug

1. Formation of the perfective and imperfective forms

Khinalug verbs can be classified into several types with regard to the relation between the stems used in the formation of perfective and imperfective forms.

The basic type shows derivation of the imperfective stem from the perfective stem by suffixation. The perfective stem itself has no morphologic perfectivity marker, whereas imperfectivity is expressed by adding the suffix *-r* to the perfective stem. For example, this applies to the complex verbs formed with the light verbs *ši-* > *ši-r-*, *fi-* > *fi-r-*, *pi-* > *pi-r-*, *vuu-* > *vuu-r-*, *k^hui-* > *k^hui-r-*, *k'u-* > *k'u-r-*, *q^uu-* > *q^uu-r-*, *vu-* > *vu-r-*, *yu-* > *yu-r-*.

Some verbs show weak suppletion, i.e. the perfective and the imperfective stem are etymologically related, yet phonetically different. A part of these verbs add the imperfective suffix *-r* to the form that is used as an imperfective base. This applies for example to the complex verbs that are formed with a light verb that has a palatalized velar or uvular consonant: *k^hu-* / *k^hi-r-*, *k'u-* / *k^hi-r-*, *q'u-* / *q^xi-r-*, *vu-* / *vi-r-*, *yu* / *yi-r-*, *χu* / *χi-r-*, *xu* / *xi-r-*.

However, not all verbs form their imperfective stems with the suffix *-r*. A range of verbs has a stem ending in *-n* in both the perfective and imperfective base, and adds the suffix *-dä* in order to form the imperfective stem. This applies, for example, to the complex verbs formed with the light verbs *k^hin-* > *k^hin-dä*, *q^xin-* > *q^xin-dä*, *χun-* > *χun-dä*, *vuun-* > *vuun-dä*.

Among the verbs of this type, there is at least one verb that shows weak suppletion: *q'in-* / *q'an-dä* 'eat'.

Another case of weak suppletion is given in a range of simple verbs that derive the imperfective stems with stem extensions in *-l* or (less often) *-z*. These verbs do not take any further imperfective suffix to form the imperfective stem, e.g. *fi-* > *fil-* 'braid', *xi-* > *x(u)l-* 'boil', *k^hi-* > *k^h(u)l-* 'hear', *q^xi-* > *q^xil-* 'weave', *t'ü-* > *t^hül-* 'be born; give birth', *q'u-* > *q'ul-* 'break', *c'i-* > *c'il-*, and *ki-* > *kiz-* 'burn', *qi-* > *qiz-* 'become cold'. The difference between imperfective stem extension and imperfective suffix will be discussed in the following section.

Weak suppletion in the form of a vowel change can be observed for *t'un-* > *t'än-* 'cry'.

Several other verbs show strong suppletion, i.e. the perfective and imperfective stem are not etymologically related. This applies e.g. to *li* > *č'i-r-* 'say', *zav-* > *däx-* 'see', *χi* > *kui* 'go', *q'i* > *kui* 'be'. Among these, only the imperfective base of 'say' takes the imperfective suffix *-r*.

2. Functions of the imperfective forms

The imperfective forms can be assigned to two types. Most combine with the imperfective stem including the suffix *-r* or *-dä* (whenever the respective verb belongs to the type that takes such a suffix), whereas at least six forms (including habitual present, habitual past, two converbs that express simultaneity, and the hortative inclusive) combine with the imperfective base without the suffix *-r* or *-dä*. The imperfective base can only be distinguished from the perfective stem in verbs with weak or strong suppletion. Otherwise, the unmarked imperfective base is identical with the perfective stem.

Habitual present:

k^hi-t^h(o)-a-r-mä 'do.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-DECL' 'usually does'

q'an-t^h(o)-a-r-mä 'eat.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-DECL' 'usually eats'

č'i-t^h(o)-a-r-mä 'say.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-DECL' 'usually says'

Habitual past:

k^hi-t^h(o)-a-r-šä-mä 'do.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-PST-DECL' 'used to do'

q'an-t^h(o)-a-r-šä-mä 'eat.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-PST-DECL' 'used to eat'

č'i-t^h(o)-a-r-šä-mä 'say.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-PST-DECL' 'used to say'

Converb 1 for simultaneity:

k^hi-t^ho-(a)r-šuni 'do.IPFV-COP-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while' 'while doing'

q'an-t^ho-(a)r-šuni 'eat.IPFV-COP-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while' 'while eating'

č'i-t^ho-(a)r-šuni 'say.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while' 'while saying'

Converb 2 for simultaneity:

k^hi-t^ho-(a)-r-uni ‘do.IPFV-COP-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while’ ‘while doing’
q’an-t^ho-(a)-r-uni ‘eat.IPFV-COP-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while’ ‘while eating’
č’i-t^ho-(a)-r-uni ‘say.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while’ ‘while saying’

Hortative incl.:

k^hi-t^ho-a ‘do-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go’ ‘let’s go (you and me)’
q’an-t^ho-a ‘eat.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go’ ‘let’s eat (you and me)’
č’i-t^ho-a ‘say.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go’ ‘let’s say (you and me)’

Jussive:

jaχ k^hi-t^ho-a ‘let do.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go’ ‘may (s/he,it) do’
jaχ q’an-t^ho-a ‘let eat.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go’ ‘may (s/he,it) eat’
jaχ č’i-t^ho-a ‘let say.IPFV-COP.FAR/EVEN-AUX:be/go’ ‘may (s/he,it) say’

The verbs that form their imperfective stem by adding *-l* or *-z* behave differently from those that take the suffixes *-r* or *-dä*. In the above-mentioned habitual, simultaneous and hortative forms, they do not drop the element *-l* or *-z*. Thus, these elements cannot be considered as separable suffixes, rather are they inseparable stem extensions, i.e. weak suppletion. Besides, they behave similarly to *t^hän-* ‘cry’ and *däχ-* ‘see’ in that they combine with the auxiliary verb *a-* in the habitual forms directly, without an intermediate copula *t^ho-*:

Habitual present (Habitual past respectively with *-šä*):

k^hl-a-r-mä ‘hear.IPFV-AUX:be/go-IPFV-DECL’ ‘usually hears’
kiz-a-r-mä ‘burn.IPFV-AUX:be/go-IPFV-DECL’ ‘usually burns’
t’än-a-r-mä ‘cry.IPFV-AUX:be/go-IPFV-DECL’ ‘usually cries’
däχ-a-r-mä ‘see.IPFV-AUX:be/go-IPFV-DECL’ ‘usually sees’

In the forms for the converbs expressing simultaneity and the hortative incl. and jussive, these verbs combine with the copula *o-* and not *t^ho-*:

Converb1 for simultaneity (Conv. 2 respectively with *-uni*):

k^hl-o-(a)-r-šuni ‘hear.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while’ ‘while hearing’
kiz-o-(a)-r-šuni ‘burn.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while’ ‘while burning’
t’än-o-(a)-r-šuni ‘cry.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while’ ‘while crying’
däχ-o-(a)-r-šuni ‘see.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go-IPFV-while’ ‘while seeing’

Hortative incl. (Jussive respectively with *jaχ* ‘let’)

k^hl-o-a ‘hear.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go’ ‘let’s hear (you and me)’
kiz-o-a ‘burn.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go’ ‘let’s burn (you and me)’
t’än-o-a ‘cry.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go’ ‘let’s cry (you and me)’
däχ-o-a ‘see.IPFV-COP.ABOVE-AUX:be/go’ ‘let’s see (you and me)’

	-r- verbs	-r-verbs, weak suppletion	-dä-verbs	-dä-verbs, weak suppletion	-l/-z- verbs	t’An/DaX
perfective stem	-š <i>i-</i>	-k ^h <i>u-</i>	-k ^h <i>in-</i>	<i>q’in-</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>t’un,</i> <i>zak-</i>
imperfective stem	-š <i>i-r</i>	-k ^h <i>i-r</i>	-k ^h <i>in-dä</i>	<i>q’an-dä</i>	<i>ki-z</i>	<i>t’än,</i> <i>däx-</i>
habitual extended stem	-š <i>i-t^ha-r</i>	-k ^h <i>i-t^ha-r</i>	-k ^h <i>in-t^ha-r</i>	<i>q’an-t^ha-r</i>	<i>ki-z-a-r</i>	<i>t’än-a,</i> <i>däx-a</i>
cvb sim.	-š <i>i-t^ho-r</i>	-k ^h <i>i-t^ho-r</i>	-k ^h <i>in-t^ho-r</i>	<i>q’an-t^ho-r</i>	<i>ki-z-o-r</i>	<i>t’än-o-r,</i> <i>däx-o-r</i>
juss/hort extended stem	-š <i>i-t^ho-</i>	-k ^h <i>i-t^ho-</i>	-k ^h <i>in-t^ho-</i>	<i>q’an-t^ho-</i>	<i>ki-z-o</i>	<i>t’än-o,</i> <i>däx-o</i>

All other imperfective series are based on the full imperfective stem, i.e. imperfectivity is morphologically marked by a imperfective suffix *-r* or *-dä*, wherever the verb belongs to the type that takes this kind of suffix:

Present tense

at speakers position:

k^hi-r-et^h-mä < *k^hi-r-i-at^h-mä* ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP-DECL’ ‘is doing (here)’
q’an-det^h-mä < *q’an-dä-at^h-mä* ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP-DECL’ ‘is eating (here)’
k^hl-et^h-mä < *k^hul-i-at^h-mä* ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP-DECL’ ‘is hearing (here)’
däχ-et^h-mä < *däχ-i-at^h-mä* ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP-DECL’ ‘is seeing (here)’

near / below:

k^hi-r-i-qo-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-DECL’ ‘is doing (near, below)’
q’an-dä-qo-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-DECL’ ‘is eating (near, below)’
k^hl-i-qo-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-DECL’ ‘is hearing (near, below)’
däχ-i-qo-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-DECL’ ‘is seeing (near, below)’

above:

k^hi-r-i-^o-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.ABOVE-DECL’ ‘is doing (above)’
q’an-dä-^o-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP.ABOVE-DECL’ ‘is eating (above)’
k^hl-i-^o-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP.ABOVE-DECL’ ‘is hearing (above)’
däχ-i-^o-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.ABOVE-DECL’ ‘is seeing (above)’

far/even:

k^hi-r-i-t^ho-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-DECL’ ‘is doing (far, even)’
q’an-dä-t^ho-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-DECL’ ‘is eating (far, even)’
k^hl-i-t^ho-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-DECL’ ‘is hearing (far, even)’
däχ-i-t^ho-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-DECL’ ‘is seeing (far, even)’

Imperfective past

at speakers position:

k^hi-ret^h-šä-mä < *k^hi-r-i-at^h-šä-mä* ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP-PST-DECL’ ‘was doing (here)’
q’an-det^h-šä-mä < *q’an-dä-at^h-šä-mä* ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP-PST-DECL’ ‘was eating (here)’
k^hl-et^h-šä-mä < *k^hul-i-at^h-šä-mä* ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP-PST-DECL’ ‘was hearing (here)’
däχ-et^h-šä-mä < *däχ-i-at^h-šä-mä* ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP-PST-DECL’ ‘was seeing (here)’

near / below:

k^hi-r-i-qo-šä-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-PST-DECL’ ‘was doing (near, below)’
q’an-dä-qo-šä-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-PST-DECL’ ‘was eating (near, below)’
k^hl-i-qo-šä-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-PST-DECL’ ‘was hearing (near, below)’
däχ-i-qo-šä-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.NEAR/BELOW-PST-DECL’ ‘was seeing (near, below)’

above:

k^hi-r-i-^o-šä-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.ABOVE-PST-DECL’ ‘was doing (above)’
q’an-dä-^o-šä-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP.ABOVE-PST-DECL’ ‘was eating (above)’
k^hl-i-^o-šä-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP.ABOVE-PST-DECL’ ‘was hearing (above)’
däχ-i-^o-šä-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.ABOVE-PST-DECL’ ‘was seeing (above)’

far/even:

k^hi-r-i-t^ho-šä-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-PST-DECL’ ‘was doing (far, even)’
q’an-dä-t^ho-šä-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-PST-DECL’ ‘was eating (far, even)’
k^hl-i-t^ho-šä-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-PST-DECL’ ‘was hearing (far, even)’
däχ-i-t^ho-šä-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-COP.FAR/EVEN-PST-DECL’ ‘was seeing (far, even)’

Future:

k^hi-r-i-ž-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-DPR-DECL’ ‘will do’
q’an-ž-du-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-DPR-DECL’ ‘will eat’
k^hl-i-ž-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-DPR-DECL’ ‘will hear’
däχ-i-ž-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-DPR-DECL’ ‘will see’

Future Irrealis (apodosis in conditional constructions):

k^hi-r-i-ž-šä-mä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-DPR-PST-DECL’ ‘would have done’
q’an-dä-ž-šä-mä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-DPR-PST-DECL’ ‘would have eaten’
k^hl-i-ž-šä-mä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-DPR-PST-DECL’ ‘would have heard’

däχ-i-ž-šä-mä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-DPR-PST-DECL’ ‘would have seen’

Obligative

k^hi-r-et^h-koa < *k^hi-r-i-at^h-kui-a* ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP-do.IPFV-AUX:be/go’ ‘must do’
q’an-dät^h-koa < *q’an-dä-at^h-kui-a* ‘eat. do.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-COP-do.IPFV-AUX:be/go’ ‘must eat’
k^hl-et-koa < *k^hul-i-at^h-kui-a* ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-COP-do.IPFV-AUX:be/go’ ‘must hear’
däχ-et-koa < *däχ-i-at^h-kui-a* ‘see.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-COP-do.IPFV-AUX:be/go’ ‘must see’

Clause chaining converb:

k^hi-r-i-yä ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-CC.CVB’ ‘is doing and’
q’an-dä-yä ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-CC.CVB’ ‘is eating and’
k^hl-i-yä ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-CC.CVB’ ‘is hearing and’
däχ-i-yä ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-CC.CVB’ ‘is seeing and’

Final converb1:

k^hi-r-i-su ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-VN:DAT’ ‘in order to do’
q’an-dä-su ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-VN:DAT’ ‘in order to eat’
k^hl-i-su ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-VN:DAT’ ‘in order to hear’
däχ-i-su ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-VN:DAT’ ‘in order to see’

Final converb2:

k^hi-r-i-sä-χ ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-VN-AD’ ‘in order to do’
q’an-dä-sä-χ ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-VN-AD’ ‘in order to eat’
k^hl-i-sä-χ ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-VN-AD’ ‘in order to hear’
däχ-i-sä-χ ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-VN-AD’ ‘in order to see’

Adtemporal converb:

k^hi-r-i-sä-q’-illi ‘do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP-VN-COMP-EL’ ‘since (s/he,it) did’
q’an-dä-sä-q’-illi ‘eat.IPFV-IPFV:PTCP-VN-COMP-EL’ ‘since (s/he,it) ate’
k^hl-i-sä-q’-illi ‘hear.IPFV-PTCP-VN-COMP-EL’ ‘since (s/he,it) heard’
däχ-i-sä-q’-illi ‘see.IPFV-PTCP-VN-COMP-EL’ ‘since (s/he,it) saw’

Overview

Forms that combine with the imperfective base (without –r or –dä)	Forms that combine with the full imperfective stem (including –r or –dä)
Habitual present Habitual past Converb 1 for simultaneity Converb 2 for simultaneity Hortative inclusive Jussive	Present tense Imperfective past tense Future tense Future irrealis Obligative Mode Clause chaining converb Final converb, type 1 Final converb, type 2 Adtemporal converb

Literature:

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