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**DARGWA**

Person agreement

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# Languages showing person agreement

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Person agreement is not typical of the Nakh-Dagestanian language family.

Of about 30 languages (and much more dialects), only 7-10 different lects show person agreement.

- ✓ Akhvakh
- ✓ Bats
- ✓ Dargwa
- ✓ Hunzib
- ✓ Lak
- ✓ Tabassaran
- ✓ Udi
- ✓ Avar and Chechen show some elements of person agreement in one or two of their dialects.

# Agreement in gender vs. agreement in person

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| Gender agreement   | Person agreement   |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>✓ Gender markers are prefixes, infixes or suffixes</li><li>✓ The presence of gender markers is triggered by a verb root or another morpheme</li><li>✓ The agreement domain is a predication</li><li>✓ Agreement is controlled by the S/P argument (absolute)</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>✓ Person markers are suffixes or clitics</li><li>✓ The presence of person markers is conditioned by the syntactic construction or the verb form</li><li>✓ The agreement domain is a full clause</li><li>✓ Person agreement can be controlled by the A/S argument and the experiencer</li></ul> |

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# Agreement in gender vs. agreement in person

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✓ Tanti Dargwa

[<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ʒaʎi rurs:i quli-r r-alt-un-ne]=sa-j]=d(e)]=i] ?  
I:ERG girl house-F F-leave.IPFV-PRS-CVB=COP-M=2=PQ

‘Are you leaving your daughter at home?’

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# Dargwa: paradigm

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✓ Clitic set

The clitic set opposes the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular (=di/=de, =ri/=re) to the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and plural plus 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural.

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Southern dialects |  |
| 1SG/1PL/2PL: =da  |  |
| 2SG: =di          |  |

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Northern dialects |  |
| 1SG/1PL/2PL: =ra  |  |
| 2SG: =ri          |  |

✓ This is a typologically unique type of person paradigm, ‘the Dargwa type’ (Cysouw 2003: 129).

# Dargwa: paradigm

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✓ Aqusha (Xajdakov 1985: 195–196)

- (1) a. nu                    w-ak'-i=**ra**                    quli  
I(ABS)                    M-come.PF-AOR-1                    home  
'I came home'.
- b. nu=**ra**                    w-ak'-ib-si                    quli  
I(ABS)-1                    M-come.PF-AOR-ATR                    home  
'It was I who came home'

✓ Itsari

- (2) nuš:a                    urk'-bi                    ač                    χalq:=**da**  
we(ABS)                    heart-PL(ABS)                    open                    folk(ABS)-1  
'We are a people with open hearts.'

# Dargwa: paradigm

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- ✓ “Optative” set

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| 1SG/1PL/2PL: -a |  |
| 2SG: -i         |  |

This set includes suffixes that are used to mark person in the prohibitive, optative and some other paradigms, usually with modal meanings.

# Dargwa: paradigm

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✓ Aqusha (van den Berg 2001: 191; 138)

a.    ħu                    ara-w-ir-ab-**i**                    talqan  
      you.SG(ABS)    healthy-M-be-OPT-2SG    chief(ABS)  
      ‘Let you be healthy, chief!’

b.    ca            hat’i            b-ur-yači            w-at-ab-**a**  
      one(ABS)    still            N-stay-until            M-leave.PFV-OPT-1  
      ‘Let me stay, until I tell you another story!’



# Dargwa: paradigm

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✓ “Irreal” set

|   | Southern dialects |    | Northern dialects |           |
|---|-------------------|----|-------------------|-----------|
|   | SG                | PL | SG                | PL        |
| 1 | -d                |    | -d                |           |
| 2 | -tː               |    | -tː               | -tː-a(ja) |

The “irreal” set consists of suffixes used in the general present/future, habitual past, conditional and some other paradigms.

# Dargwa: paradigm

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✓ Itsari

r-uc-u-**t**-a-da-l

F-catch.PF-TH-2-PL-PAST-COND

‘if he/she had caught you (F)’, ‘if you had caught me (F)’

# Tanti Dargwa: examples

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Forms of the verb *B-uc/B-urc* 'catch'

✓ Clitic set:

**Aorist**            b-uc-ib=**da**, b-uc-ib=**di**, b-uc-ib

**Present**            b-urcule(=sa-j)=**da**, b-urcule(=sa-j)=**di**,  
b-urcule=sa-j

✓ "Optative" set:

**Optative**            b-uc-ib-**a**, b-uc-ib-**i**, b-uc-ib

✓ "Irreal" set:

**Future**            b-urc-i-**d**, b-urc-e-**he**,  
b-urc-i-**t**, b-urc-i-**t**:**-a**,  
b-urc-u

# Dargwa: paradigm

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- ✓ the clitic marker set is used in the present and perfect as well as in other forms derived from full converbs and participles; it can be combined with existential verbs, with the affirmative copula and with non-verbal predicates
- ✓ the “optative” set is characteristic of optative and other modal forms
- ✓ the “irreal” set is attested in the conditional forms and in the general present/future

# Dargwa: control

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- ✓ person agreement can be controlled by any core argument
- ✓ core arguments are S, A and P arguments as well as the experiencer in the affective construction and both absolutive NPs in the nominal predicate clauses
- ✓ the rules determining the choice of the controller are distributed across dialects, but each dialect applies only one rule in all TAM-paradigms

# Itsari, Kajtag, Qunqi, Xuduts

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Person hierarchy 2 > 1 > 3

✓ Itsari

- a.     du-l     u                             r-uc-ib=**di**  
I-ERG     you.SG(ABS)             F-catch.PF-PRET-2  
'I caught you (F).'
- b.     u-l                     du             r-uc-ib=**di**  
you.SG-ERG     I(ABS)             F-catch.PF-PRET-2  
'You caught me (F).'
- c.     du-l     bu<sup>r</sup>                     b-uc-ib=**da**  
I-ERG     hare(ABS)             N-catch.PF-PRET-1  
'I caught a hare'.
- d.     murad-il             bu<sup>r</sup>             b-uc-ib  
Murad-ERG             hare(ABS)             N-catch.PF-PRET  
'Murad caught a hare'.

# Standard Dargwa, Aqusha, Uraxi, Tanti, Hapshima , Muira

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(1, 2 > 3) > (Abs > Erg)

✓ Aqusha

- a.      nu-ni            ħu                    r-it-i=**ri**  
me-ERG        you.SG(ABS)        F-beat-AOR-2  
'I beat you (F)' (the verb is in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person form)
- b.      ħuni nu riti=**ra** 'You beat me (F)' (1<sup>st</sup> person)
- c.      dudešli nu riti=**ra** 'Father beat me (F)' (1<sup>st</sup> person)
- d.      nuni rursi riti=**ra** 'I beat the girl' (1<sup>st</sup> person)
- e.      dudešli rursi ritib 'Father beat the girl' (3<sup>rd</sup> person, zero marking)

# Chirag

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(1, 2 > 3) > (Erg > Abs)

✓ Chirag

- a.     dicce     ɣu                     r-iqqan=**da**  
me-ERG    you.SG(ABS)    F-lead-1  
          ‘I lead you (F).’ (the verb in the 1<sup>st</sup> person form)
- b.     ɣicce du riqqan=**de**           ‘You lead me (F).’ (2<sup>nd</sup> person)
- c.     dicce it riqqan=**da**           ‘I lead her.’ (1<sup>st</sup> person)
- d.     ite du riqqan=**da**           ‘He/she leads me (F).’ (1<sup>st</sup> person)
- e.     ite russe riqqle             ‘He/she leads the girl.’ (3<sup>rd</sup> person)



# Kubachi

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Ergative control > (Person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3) (Kubachi)

✓ Kubachi

- a. dudil            u                                  gap            w-i:q'-ul=**da**  
I.ERG            you.SG(ABS)            praise            M-do.IPF-PRS-1  
'I am praising you.' (the verb in the 1st person form)
- b. udil id gap wi:q'ul=**de** 'You are praising him.'
- c. udil du gap wi:q'ul=**de** 'You are praising me (M).'
- d. iddil du gap wi:q'ul=saw 'He is praising me (M).'
- e. iddil u gap wi:q'ul=saw 'He is praising you (M).'
- f. iddil id witul=saw 'He is praising him.'
- g. iddil du gap wi:q'ul=**da** 'He is praising me (M).'
- h. iddil u gap wi:q'ul=**de** 'He is praising you (M).'
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# Mehweb

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## A/S control

- a. nuni ħu w-arz-ur-**ra**  
I:ERG you.ABS M-praise:PF-PRET-1D/2Q  
'I praised you.'
- b. nuni it warzur-**ra**  
'I praised him.' (1D/2Q marker)
- c. ħuni nu warzur  
'You praised me.' (no 1D/2Q marker)
- d. ħuni it warzur  
'You praised him.' (no 1D/2Q marker)
- e. iti'ini it warzur  
'(S)he praised him.' (no 1D/2Q marker)

# Dargwa: control

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Person agreement can be controlled by any core argument.

The rules determining the choice of the controller are distributed across dialects, but each dialect applies only one rule in all TAM-paradigms.

- ✓ Person hierarchy 2 > 1 > 3 (Icari, Kajtag, Qunqi, Amux)
- ✓ (Person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3) > (Abs > Erg) (Standard Dargwa, Aqusha; Uraxi; Tanti; Muira)
- ✓ (Person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3) > (Erg > Abs) (Chirag)
- ✓ Ergative control > (Person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3) (Kubachi)

# Dargwa: person hierarchy

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- ✓ the 2<sup>nd</sup> person differentiates singular and plural forms much more frequently than the 1<sup>st</sup> person
- ✓ only the 2<sup>nd</sup> person has a special plural morpheme
- ✓ some dialects have mixed marker sets combining person markers of different types; in this case the maximum differences are observed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person
- ✓ in the dialects where agreement control is based on the personal hierarchy, it either gives priority to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person or ranks both SAPs equally

2 > 1 (mainly in South-Western dialects)

2 = 1

# On the origin of person markers

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The etymologies of the “irreal” person suffixes (Nikolaev, Starostin 1994)):

- ✓ 1sg: -s < Proto-North-Caucasian \*zo ‘I’;  
-d < Proto-Dargwa \*du ‘I’;
- ✓ 2sg: -d, -tː < Proto-North-Caucasian \*dū (oblique base of the 2nd person singular pronoun)
- ✓ 1pl: -Hā < Proto-Dargwa \*x:a ‘we (incl.)’

The etymologies of the clitic and “optative” markers are unknown.

# this lecture

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