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DARGWA
Gender

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General

- ✓ Gender is very typical of the East Caucasian languages
- ✓ Gender markers are non-standard morphemes: as a rule, their presence is triggered by another morpheme
- ✓ if, for example, a verbal root triggers gender agreement, it always appears with a gender marker, with no exceptions

B-erk 'eat' (verbal root, perfective):

b-erk-es 'eat' (infinitive), **b-erk-un** 'ate' (aorist), **b-erk-en** 'eat!' (imperative), **b-erk-un-si** 'eaten' (participle), **b-erk-ala** 'food, course, nutrition', **b-erk-b-erž** 'food and drinks', etc.

Gender system of Dargwa

SINGULAR	
masculine ⟨w⟩ (> ∅), -j	feminine ⟨r⟩
non-human (neutral) ⟨b⟩	

PLURAL	
1/2 person NPs ⟨d⟩	human ⟨b⟩
non-human ⟨d⟩	

Semantics of genders

SINGULAR	
men	women
singular non-human entities	

PLURAL	
1/2 person NPs	human beings
non-human plural entities and masses	

Semantic agreement

- ✓ NPs that can refer to different type referents agree with the current referent:

(1) direktur w-ač'-ib / r-ač'-ib
director M-COME:PFV-PRET F-COME:PFV-PRET
'The director (M/F) came.'

(2) a. dila ač'i le-d
 I:GEN wheat EXST-NPL
'I have wheat.'

 b. dila ač'i le-b
 I:GEN wheat EXST-N
'I have a wheat field.'

Semantic agreement

✓ NPs referring to 1st vs. 3rd person:

a. d-ikʰ-u-se dila gul-e!
1/2PL-love.IPFV-PRS-ATR I:GEN child-PL

(address:) 'My dearest children!'

b. b-ikʰ-u-se dila gul-e
HPL-love.IPFV-PRS-ATR I:GEN child-PL

b-ač'-ib

HPL-come.PFV-PRET

'My dearest children came.'

Gender marking

- ✓ Normally, gender is not manifested in the noun. The category of noun class is only expressed via gender agreement.

Tanti Dargwa

[b-iqꞌ-a [di-la ʔaꞌpꞌaꞌsi]_i
N-give.PFV-IMP |-GEN abbas

[∅_i ʔaꞌʔni-b-ič-ib-le=sa-b dam]
(it) necessary-N-get.PFV-PRET-CVB=COP-N |:DAT

‘Give me my abbas, I need it.’

Gender marking

- ✓ Gender markers can be prefixed, suffixed and even infix. It depends on the morpheme that triggers their presence:

PREFIX B-arx 'straight, slender, correct': w-arx-se durħa^f 'slender boy' ~ r-arx-se rurs:i 'slender girl' ~ b-arx-se k:alk:a 'straight tree'

INFIX sai (copula): sai ~ sa<r>i ~ sa<d>i

SUFFIX derivational ornative marker -če-B:
dawla-če-w-se ~ dawla-če-r-se ~ dawla-če-b-se 'rich' (< dawla 'wealth, richness')

Gender agreement targets

- ✓ most verbal roots: **w-ic'**-/r-ic'-/b-ic'-/d-ic'- 'fill' (cf. ark'- 'set fire')
- ✓ in complex and preverbal verbs – the nominal part of the verb stem/the preverb: **b-u^hna^f-b-erk'** - 'put in'
- ✓ identificational copula sai and existential copulas le-b, te-b, č'e-b, xe-b
- ✓ some adjectives: **b-arx-se** 'straight'; dawla-če-w-se 'rich'
- ✓ some pronouns and quantifiers: **sa-j** 'self'; liil 'all, whole'

- ✓ essive forms of nouns and locative adverbials: **lacliija** 'on the wall' (lative, motion)
– **lacliija-b** 'on the wall' (essive, position)

Gender marking

- ✓ Nouns with gender markers

Itsari Dargwa

w-ah ~ r-ah ~ b-ah 'owner, proprietor' (*d-ah)

∅-uc:i 'brother' ~ r-uc:i 'sister' ~ b-uc:i 'relation' (*d-uc:i)

w-aʕ ~ r-aʕ ~ b-aʕ ~ d-aʕ 'face'

w-ark:◌ ~ r-ark:◌ ~ b-ark:◌ ~ d-ark:◌ 'inside'

w-ag ~ r-ag ~ b-ag ~ d-ag 'waist, middle'

Control of gender agreement

Nouns, pronouns, quantifiers

- ✓ Independent pronouns and quantifiers “agree” with their referents:

ħa ^ɸ na	talqan	le-w-q'-un-ne	te-w,
now	padishah	HITHER-M-go:IPF-PRS-CONV	EXST-M

sun-ni-la	χ ^ɪ ala-se	ħa ^ɸ skar=ra	sa-j=ra
self-OBL-GEN	big-ATR	army=ADD	self-M=ADD

‘Now the padishah is coming here with his great army’.

- ✓ The nouns with a flexible gender marker fall into two small groups:
 - nouns denoting people “agree” with their referents
w-ah ~ r-ah ~ b-ah ‘owner, proprietor’
 - nouns denoting body parts “agree” with their possessors
w-ag ~ r-ag ~ b-ag ~ d-ag ‘waist, middle’

Verbs

- ✓ Verbs (verbal stems) agree with their absolutive arguments:

a. ʒeʿla ʔaʿp:aʿsi b-ebč'-ib=q'ale
you:GEN abbas(ABS) N-die.PFV-PRET=ACTL

'But your abbas is dead!'

b. dali ʔaʿt ka-r-irž-i-d [talqan-na rurs:i]
I:ERG you:DAT DOWN-F-marry.IPFV-TH-1 paddishah-GEN girl(ABS)

'I will marry you to the paddishah's daughter.'

Adjectives

✓ In the attributive position, adjectives agree with the NP head:

a. **b**-arx-se **juldaš**
N-straight-ATR friend
'a/the good friend'

✓ In the construction of the type shown in (b), adjectives agree with their overt absolutive arguments:

b. [**ɤes** **d**-uqen-se] rurs:i
hair NPL-long-ATR girl
'a/the long-haired girl'

Adjectives and verbs

✓ Adjectives have an absolutive argument:

a. [_{AP} **bes** d-uqen-se] rurs:i
hair NPL-long-ATR girl
'a/the long-haired girl'

✓ It can be represented by a resumptive pronoun:

b. [_{AP} **sa-j** kep-se] admi-li juldaš quli uč-ib
self-M drunk-ATR man-ERG friend home:LOC lead:PF-PRET
'Being drunk himself, (this) man took his friend home.'

✓ In the “usual” attributive construction, the absolutive argument is deleted similar to the deletion of the relativization target in the relative construction:

c. [~~Juldaš~~ **b**-arx-se] **Juldaš**
N-straight-ATR friend
'a/the good friend'

Verbs: long-distance agreement

- ✓ In case of LDA, the matrix verb agrees with the absolutive argument of the dependent argument clause:

a. neš-li rurs:i-li-c:ie [q'a¹mk'uc'ul d-irc-aq-iž]
mother-ERG girl-OBL-IN dishes NPL-wash.IPFV-CAUS-INF

qar-b-arq'-ib

<order>LS-N-do.PFV-PRET

b. neš-li rurs:i-li-c:ie [d-irc-aq-iž q'a¹mk'uc'ul]
mother-ERG girl-OBL-IN NPL-wash.IPFV-CAUS-INF dishes

qar-d-arq'-ib

<order>LS-NPL-do.PFV-PRET

'The mother told the girl to wash dishes.'

Copulas

- ✓ In an intransitive verbal clause, the copula agrees with the absolutive:

χ̣ːalatːatːi ka-jž-ib-le žuž-li-c̣e-r-kale
grandfather DOWN-(M)sit.PFV-PRET-CVB book-OBL-IN-EL-DOWN

uč'-un-ne kalg-un-ne=sa-j
(M)read.IPFV-PROG-CVB stay.PFV-PRET-CVB=COP-M

‘(My) grandfather was sitting and reading from the book’ (lit. ‘was staying [sitting [reading from the book]]’).

Copulas

- ✓ In a transitive or affective clause, the copula agrees either with the absolutive or with the ergative/dative:

a. **murad-li** t'ant'i-b qali b-irq'-u-le=sa-**j**
Murad-ERG Tanti-N(ESS) house N-make:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-M

b. murad-li t'ant'i-b **qali** b-irq'-u-le=sa-**b**
Murad-ERG Tanti- M(ESS) house N-make:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-N

'Murad is building a house in Tanti.'

Copulas: zero controller

✓ Copulas agree with their own absolutive argument, which can be zero in verbal constructions:

a. [$\Delta_{i(ABS)}$ [murad-li_i t'ant'i-b qali_j b-irq'-u-le]=sa-j_i]
Murad-ERG Tanti-N(ESS) house N-make.IPFV-PRS-CVB=COP-M

b. [$\Delta_{j(ABS)}$ [murad-li_i t'ant'i-b qali_j b-irq'-u-le]=sa-b_j]
Murad-ERG Tanti-M(ESS) house N-make.IPFV-PRS-CVB=COP-N

'Murad is building a house in Tanti.'

Essive adverbials

- ✓ When essive adverbials are located within a verbal predication, they agree with the absolutive argument (like verbs):

Δ_j (ABS) [rasul-li ma^ʕħa^ʕmmad-li-š:u-**b** **dig** b-uk-un-ne]=sa-j
Rasul-ERG Magomed-OBL-APUD-N(ESS) meat N-eat:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-M

‘Rasul is eating meat at Magomed’s.’

Essive adverbials

- ✓ When essive adverbials are placed within the constituent headed by the copula, they agree with the absolutive argument of the copula:

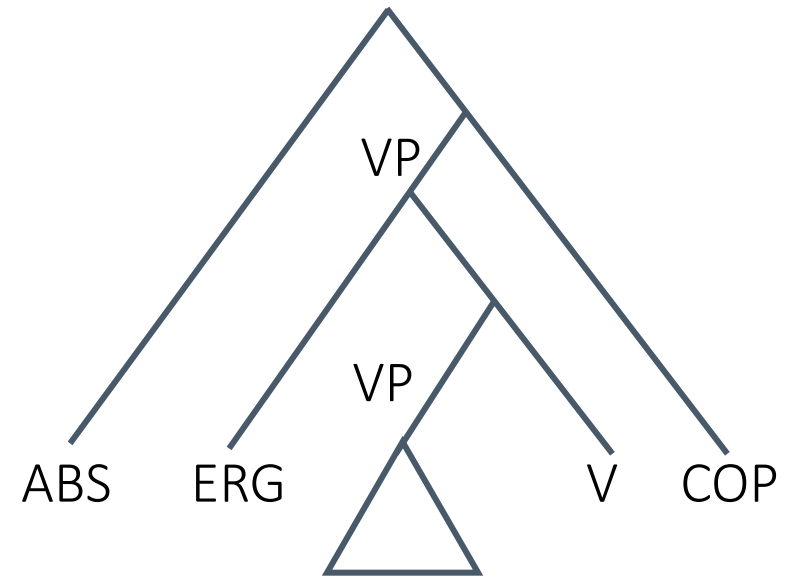
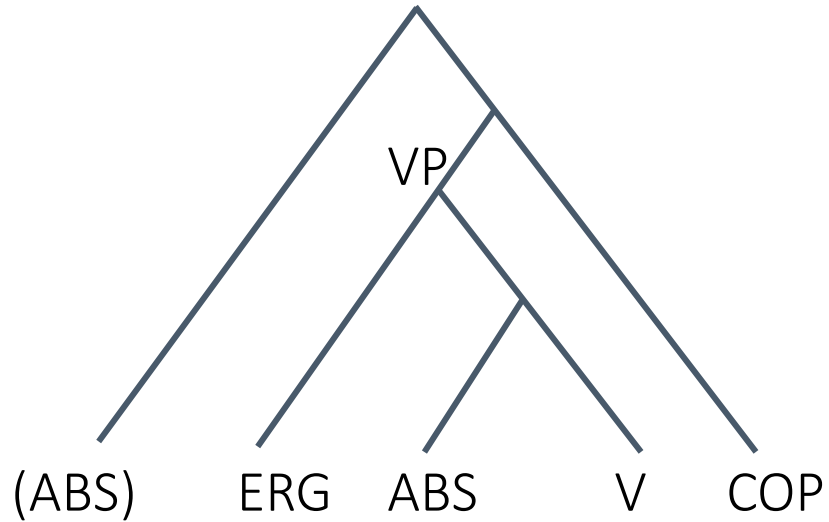
a. [maʰhaʰmmad-li-š:u-**w** Δ_j [rasul-li_j dig_k b-uk-un-ne]=sa-**j**]
Magomed-OBL-APUD-M(ESS) Rasul-ERG meat N-eat:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-M

b. [maʰhaʰmmad-li-š:u-**b** Δ_k [rasul-li_j dig_k b-uk-un-ne]=sa-**b**]
Magomed-OBL-APUD-N(ESS) Rasul-ERG meat N-eat:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-N

‘Rasul is eating meat at Magomed’s.’

Control rule

- ✓ Gender agreement is controlled by the closest absolutive NP



this lecture

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