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Abbreviations and interlinear conventions

The interlinearizing conventions for examples cited here (most of them taken from the Berkeley Ingush Corpus) were initially worked out in 1996 by Zev Handel and Ronald Sprouse for an example sentences database accompanying the lexical database on which Nichols & Sprouse 2004 is based. The example sentences database formed the core of BITC (Sprouse 1997), which holds the Berkeley Ingush Corpus described in Data Sources below.

Inflectional morpheme boundaries are generally not written in the Ingush forms (they are written only where the segmentation is at issue), and in the interlinear their categories are separated by periods (not hyphens). This is done in part because many inflectional categories are marked by ablaut, suppletion, and other unsegmentable phenomena; in part because it is not always clear whether the schwa vowels often found at inflectional morpheme boundaries should be segmented with the root or with the affix; and in part in order to ensure that words look as much as possible like readable words. Syntactically relevant derivational morphemes, especially verb prefixes and valence-affecting suffixes, are hyphenated off.

Syntax examples extracted from natural text have sometimes had pauses, corrections, etc. editorially removed where this does not affect the point at issue. In Chapter 35 (Texts), all such things are intact.

Transcribing and interlinearizing conventions include:

In Ingush forms:

- . (dot): Morpheme boundary between gender prefix and root (used only when segmentation is at issue and in citation forms)
- d. Citation form for gender-agreeing morphemes
- = Clitic boundary
- + Compound boundary
- Morpheme boundary (used for derivational morphemes: see text above)
- d.h. *dii hwuona*, turn holder and pause filler (§33.2.2). No interlinear, or *um*.
- dc.h. *diecii hwuona*, variant of above. No interlinear, or *um*.
- (Italics) Russian words in code switching.
- (Boldface) Words and phrases at issue (chiefly in syntax sections)
- Brief pause (usually with intonation reset, sometimes with syntactic restart)
- (Punctuation marks) Used more or less as in English.

In interlinears:

- . (dot) Boundary for inflectional morphemes
- Boundary for major derivational morphemes (chiefly, verb prefixes, valence-affecting suffixes, and nominalizing suffixes)
- = Clitic boundary

- : Coexponential or non-linearly marked categories, e.g. interlinear *go:PL* means the plural root for 'go', where plurality is marked by root suppletion or root vowel ablaut.
- [(near right margin) last few letters of interlinear carried over

Note the convention on interlinearizing complex tense forms made up of a converb plus one or two auxiliaries: the converb and any other non-final forms are interlinearized as converb (or whatever the form); the final auxiliary is interlinearized with the name of the tense as a whole (see §13.0.3).

Words that have no interlinears are: names, where recognizable; Russian loans, where obvious and recognizable; and the pause particles *dii hwuona*, *diecii hwuona*, etc. (§33.3.2).

Abbreviations. In a morphologically complex language like Ingush, it is a challenge to keep interlinear abbreviations short enough that more than three or four words can be accommodated in one print line when they are aligned with their interlinears. The undesirable alternatives are greatly spaced-out Ingush examples, expansion of the physical size of the grammar, or hard-to-read unaligned interlinears. The Berkeley Ingush Corpus practice has been to use two- and three-letter interlinears for the highest-frequency morphemes and in general to keep abbreviations as short as possible. The zero inflectional suffix for the nominative case is not interlinearized; a noun gloss with no case notation indicates nominative case.

Symbols:

& Coordinating or chaining clitic particle. There are two such particles, =*ji* and =*a*, both interlinearized =&.

(For boundary symbols see above.)

Numerals:

1s first person singular

1p first person plural

2s second person singular

2p second person plural

3s third personsingular

3p third person plural

10, 100, 1000, etc. Two-digit and higher numerals are word glosses: 'ten', 'one hundred', 'one thousand', etc.

(Note also numerals as second elements of complex interlinears: OPT1 'optative 1', likewise OPT2, OPT3; 3x, 3x3 in numerals, just below.)

Lower-case letters:

ant	anterior; in gloss CVant for the anterior converb (see CV below).
chez	(=French <i>chez</i>) adverb formative meaning 'at the home of...', 'at ...'s place'
fut	future tense (in combinations: PROGfut, IMPVfut)
irr	irrealis; in gloss CVirr below
mild	mild (imperative), in combination: IMPVmild 'mild imperative'
nw	nonwitnessed, in combinations: INFRnw, etc.
p	plural (in person-number combinations, e.g. 2p, second person plural)
pl	plural (more explicit form when needed for clarity, e.g. in tables)
s	singular (in person-number combinations, e.g. 2s, second personsingular)
sg	singular (more explicit form when needed for clarity, e.g. in tables)
seq	sequential; in gloss CVseq below
sim	simultaneous; in gloss CVsim below
um	(i.e. English <i>um</i>) pause words
x	(in plex numerals, e.g. 2x 'two times', 'twice'; in distributive numerals, e.g. 3x3 'in threes, three by three')

Other lower-case combinations of two or more letters are second elements of complex morphological interlinear names listed under their initial capital-letter sequences just below.

Capitals and small capitals:

ABL	ablative (secondary case suffix)
ADJ	adjective-forming derivational suffix
ADV	adverb (suffix on nouns forming adverbs)
ALL	allative (case)
B	gender agreement marker; gender class (marker is /b/)
CMP	comparative (degree of adjectives)
CND	conditional
COLL	collective (numeral)
CS	causative
CS*	causative morphology, where the meaning is non-literal. The gloss under the first element translates the entire verb. Example for a polysemous verb:

doala-dead

literal causative:	D.go-D.CS.NW.D	'brought (home), caused to go'
non-literal:	D.cite-D.CS*.NW.D	'cited'

CSind	indirect causative
CSN	comparison (case)
CUM	cumulative focus
CV	converb, with these subtypes:
CVant	anterior converb

CVbcs	'because' converb
CVbefore	'before' converb
CVconc	concessive converb
CVext	extent converb
CVirr	irrealis converb
CVjust	'just as', 'the very moment that...' converb
CVseq	sequential converb
CVsim	simultaneous converb
CVtemp	temporal converb
CVuntil	'until' converb
CVwhile	'while' converb
D	gender agreement marker; gender class (marker is /d/)
DAT	dative (case)
DEL	delimited (possible aktionsart type)
DEM	demonstrative
DX	deictic prefix to verb (since the set is small the four prefixes <i>hwa-</i> , <i>dwa-</i> , <i>wa-</i> , and <i>hwal-</i> are simply interlinearized "DX", and more specific interlinears are given as word glosses if this is relevant or at issue)
DISTR	distributive (numeral form)
EMPH	emphatic proclitic (§5.6.1)
ERG	ergative (case)
EX	exclusive; in combination 1pEX 'first person exclusive' (pronoun)
FOC	contrastive focus clitic (§33.1.1)
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive (case)
HORT	hortative
IMPF	imperfect (tense)
IMPV	imperative
IN	inclusive; in combination 1pIN 'first person inclusive' (pronoun)
INCP	inceptive
INF	infinitive
INFR	inferential (tense/evidential)
INFRnw	nonwitnessed inferential
INFRpst	past inferential
INGR	ingressive (phase auxiliary) (§§14.3.6, 25.15.1.2, 25.15.2.1)
INS	instrumental (case)
INTRSP	introspective particle
J	gender agreement marker; gender class (marker is /j/)
LAT	lative (case)
LOC	locative (secondary case; type of adverb)
LV	light verb

MIR	mirative
NARP	narrative past (tense)
NARPP	narrative past perfect, narrative pluperfect
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative (case)
NW	nonwitnessed tense
NZ	nominalizer
OBL	oblique (syncretic general non-nominative case of adjectives and participles)
OPT	optative
ORDMULT	multiple ordinal (of numerals)
PL	plural
PLC	pluractional
PNW	past nonwitnessed tense
PPL	participle
PROG	progressive
PROG.PST	past progressive
PROGocc	occasional progressive
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
Q	interrogative clitic particle (boundary usually not marked in the Ingush line, as the sandhi obscures it)
QUOT	quotative
RECIPR	reciprocal
RED	reduplicate (the fully interlinearized non-reduplicated copy follows the reduplicate, usually directly)
RFL	reflexive
SBJ	subjunctive
SUB	subordinator
V	gender agreement marker; gender class (marker is /v/)
VN	verbal noun
VZ	verbalizing derivational suffix (forms denominal and deadjectival verbs)
WP	witnessed past tense

Data sources

Most of the examples used here are from the Berkeley Ingush Corpus, which contains mostly natural speech of various kinds, chiefly from speakers from the oldest generations, recorded as part of my documentation project *Itt Ezar Sahwat* 'Ten thousand hours', whose goal is to create a very large corpus of spoken Ingush adequate for corpus and language processing research – some 100 million words or 10,000 hours – while speakers with full command of the native vocabulary and grammar and the traditional culture and usage can still be found. The corpus drawn on for this grammar has about 100,000 words of fully annotated text and about 150,000 partly annotated or transcribed but not annotated. Most of the transcribing and annotation has been done by myself with the assistance of native speakers, chiefly Sultan Mereshkov and Lilia Tarieva. Some spoken and folklore texts were transcribed by David A. Peterson and Ronald L. Sprouse in 1995-1999. Some of the fieldnotes were elicited by Peterson (especially work on verbal valence), Sprouse (adjectives, verbal valence), Heather Rose Jones (motion and position verbs), and Lisa Conathan (vocabulary). The Frog Story text was recorded, transcribed, and annotated by Jonathan Segal and Nancy Urban. Pear Story narratives were recorded by Sultan Mereshkov and transcribed by Zarina Molochieva in a project directed by Balthasar Bickel.

Examples from natural speech texts have source indications with a text number (e.g. 0204A); those from printed sources have letter abbreviations which are keyed to entries in Sources at the end of the book; those with no source indication are elicited; and those found in Internet searches have url's and access dates. To judge from the numbers of examples found in Internet searches, I estimate that the total amount of Ingush writing available online as of late 2010 is at most ten times the size of the Berkeley Ingush Corpus, i.e. a few million words, most of it journalistic with smaller amounts of folklore, literature, and chats. May it grow and flourish.

Acknowledgments

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Ronald Sprouse of the Linguistics Department, UC Berkeley has been technical director for this project and the related dictionary and text projects, and without his expertise and the electronic resources he has created no adequate grammar could have been written. In particular, the Berkeley Interlinear Text Collector (Sprouse 1997) has made it possible to gather, annotate, and search a sizable text corpus and thereby to find examples and identify and track grammatical phenomena – which would otherwise have taken years.

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I am also grateful to my students and colleagues and other scholars in the field of Slavic linguistics. There is little direct connection between Slavic linguistics and Ingush studies, though the Caucasus is part of Soviet and post-Soviet area studies, much literature on Ingush is in Russian, Ingush has interacted with Russian and is undergoing shift to Russian, and Russian serves as my main contact language with Ingush speakers and scholars; but years of

teaching and working on a "big" language and in a tradition that enjoys extensive knowledge about the structure and history of its languages have given me a different sense of what needs to go into a grammar than I would otherwise have had.

I am responsible for all analysis and interpretations, linguistic or other, offered here. Since in the course of linguistic work on grammar and vocabulary I have observed that my Ingush colleagues generally do not consider the language endangered and do not share my typological background, I will emphasize explicitly that in thanking the many Ingush speakers I have worked with I do not imply that they necessarily endorse any of my views.

CHAPTER 1

THE INGUSH LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

In 2007 I began a cross-linguistic survey of complexity across several domains of grammar (phonology, morphology, lexicon) using grammatical features already present in available databases and a genealogically based sample of languages including Ingush, my long-term field language. To my surprise, Ingush turned out to be the most complex language of my sample, besting even polysynthetic languages like Seneca, Lakota, and Halkomelem. Ingush is not polysynthetic; its complexity is due to large inventories of elements (phonemes, cases, tenses, etc.), a high degree of inflectional synthesis in the verb, and classification of various types – declension and conjugation classes, agreement genders, overt inherent genders, split verbal lexicon, split alignment, etc. Perhaps this complexity explains why it has taken thirty years to produce this grammar, during most of which time the project has in fact been on or near the front burner.

1.1. The Ingush language and people¹

Ingush is the native language of most of the approximately 300,000 Ingush people, most of whom live in or near the Republic of Ingushetia on the north slope of the Great Caucasus mountain range in the south of Russia. Their traditional land (Fig. 1) extends from the Assa River basin to the right Terek basin and vertically from highlands to plains including three major altitudinal environments: alpine and near-alpine *highlands*, the relatively level high *piedmont* in the vicinity of Vladikavkaz, and the *plains* at the transition from lower slopes to steppe in the vicinity of Nazran. (Traditional Ingush terms for these are the adverbs *loam* 'in the mountains' and *shearacha* 'in the piedmont' [*sheara* 'level, flat'] and the noun *aarie* 'steppe'.) Their neighbors are Georgians to the south, Ossetians to the west, and Chechens to the east. Other neighbors in recent centuries have been Kabardians to the northwest and, to the north, the Turkic-speaking Noghai and Kumyk of the steppe and, since the 16th century, Russian-speaking Cossacks. Russia became the major power in the 19th century.

The self-designation of the Ingush is *ghalghai* (singular *ghalghaa*). The term *Ingush* is a Russian coinage from the name of the important Ingush piedmont town Ongusht and has been used as an ethnonym in Russian ever since the first Russian-Ingush contact. The Ingush most often speak of their language simply as *vai mott* 'our (incl.) language' or *vai neaxa mott* 'our people's language', terms that subsume both Ingush and the closely related Chechen language.

¹ This section is largely taken from the introduction to Nichols 2004, with some updates.

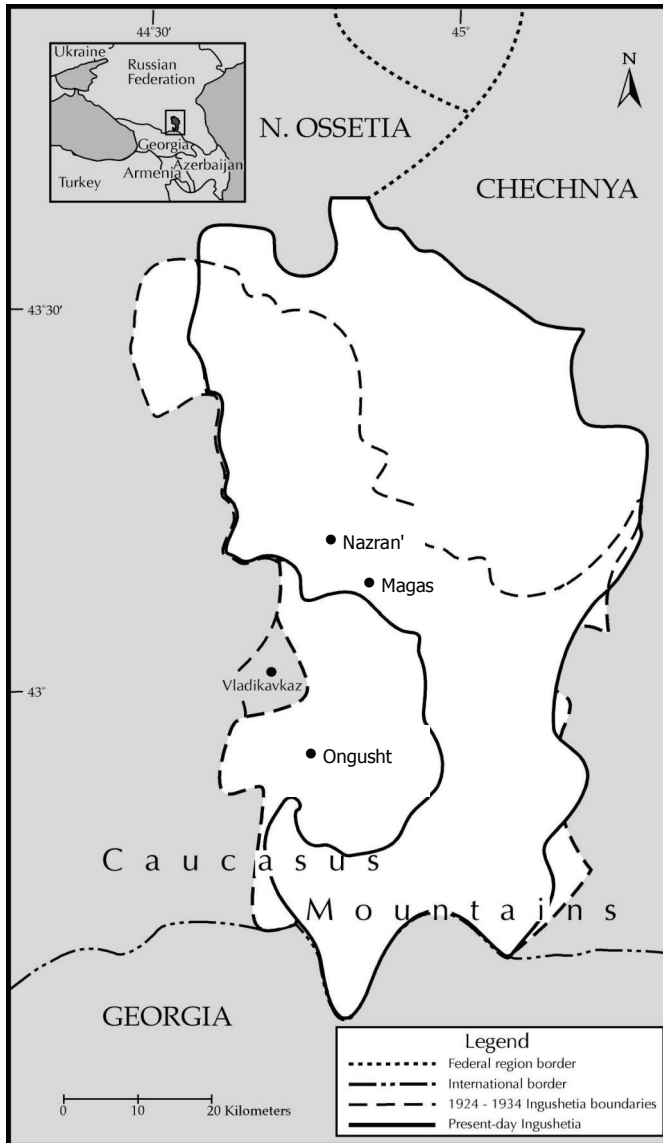


Figure 1. Map of Ingushetia. Schematic outline of present-day Ingushetia (solid line) and 1924-1934 boundaries (dashed line). The earlier boundary corresponds well to traditional Ingush territory in the south. The main Caucasus crest runs approximately along the border with Georgia. The area around Vladikavkaz was Ingush on the right bank of the Terek (which flows through Vladikavkaz) and Ossetian on the left; in the 18th century it was cleared of inhabitants, turned into a Russian fort, and settled with Cossacks, and until 1934 it was officially part of both Ingushetia and North Ossetia (Vladikavkaz served as the capital of each). Ongusht was officially renamed Tarskoe in 1944. The large lobe around Ongusht in the west is the Ingush piedmont lands that were transferred to North Ossetia in 1944 and mostly cleared of Ingush in 1992.

Ingush and Chechen are distinct languages and not mutually intelligible, but because of widespread passive partial knowledge of standard lowlands Chechen by Ingush they function to some extent as a single speech community. (Highland Chechen varieties are quite distinct.) Similarly, the Ingush and the Chechen refer to themselves as well as the Chechen-speaking Kisti of Georgia collectively as *vai nax* (in Ingush) / *vai naax* (in Chechen) 'our people' and recognize an overarching ethnic kinship despite their long-standing distinct national consciousnesses and distinct self-designations. The Tsova-Tush of northeastern Georgia speak Batsbi, a language closely related to Chechen and Ingush, but are not included in *vai nax* (nor do they follow Chechen or Ingush customs). These Chechen and Ingush terms have been adopted by linguists as names for language families: Chechen, Ingush, and Batsbi make up the Nakh language family (a branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian family), which divides into the Vainakh, or Chechen-Ingush, and Batsbi branches. Ingush, then, is the westernmost Nakh language and also the westernmost Nakh-Daghestanian language.

The Nakh-Daghestanian language family is ancient and indigenous to the Caucasus.² The ancestral Nakh language was almost certainly spoken in the highlands extending between the upper Alazani River (the Pankisi Gorge) in Georgia, the upper Argun River in Chechnya and Georgia, and the upper Assa River in Ingushetia and Georgia, at altitudes ranging to over 6000 feet or 2000 meters. Here the major rivers have their sources to the south of the crest and flow north through passes, making it natural for one ethnic group to occupy both north and south slopes. These highlands are rugged but lushly forested, and the soil is well watered and fertile though rarely level. As all Caucasus highlanders have done for millennia, the speakers of ancestral Nakh must have maintained winter pastures, fields, and trade connections in various parts of the piedmont and the plains. At least some men from every village spent half of the year in the lowlands while their families remained in the permanent highland towns (Wixman 1980:57). From time to time a family would settle permanently in one of the lowland towns. Thus, for at least the last millennium, the piedmont and some of the nearby plains have had a partly or mostly Ingush-speaking population that retained economic, family, cultural, and religious connections with the highlands, returned there at least for major festivals, and received regular immigrations from there. Over the last millennium political power in the central Caucasus lowlands has shifted from Alan to Mongol to Kabardian to Russian, and these changes affected availability of land in the piedmont and plains but probably not the ethnic structure of the population or its connection to the highlands.

Every highland town belonged was associated with one clan and contained the stone dwelling complex and five-story stone defense tower, slender but massive, of each of several subclans. For instance, the (now abandoned) town of Earzii near Dzheirax contains seven subclan towers. Every Ingush clan, even if it is now found only in the lowlands, traces its origin back to a particular highland village. In contrast, lowland towns generally contain a mix of clans – each, however, with its own street or quarter. Oral history preserves semilegendary traditions of settlement of highland towns, often by a distant ancestor from the

² The interpretation of prehistory in this and the next few paragraphs is from Nichols 2005.

south, as well as exact histories of construction of houses, mills, etc. in the lowlands. (In a tradition still generally observed in the Caucasus, people know the names and origins of their paternal ancestors at least seven generations back, so the histories of recent movement to the lowlands are firm and well corroborated.) A number of the highland stone towers still stand. The accompanying stone houses, less massively built, are mostly in ruins.

If at all times there have been occasional movements of people from highlands to lowlands, the spread of linguistic and economic influence has varied with the economic situation. During global warm periods, such as the early middle ages, the highlands enjoyed a long growing season and more reliable water than the lowlands, the highlanders prospered, and the highlands were the cultural and economic center of the area. In the Little Ice Age, a global cooling period that lasted from about 1500 to 1850, the growing season shortened, mountain glaciers advanced, farms and pastures at the highest altitudes failed, highland life became economically marginal, downhill migration increased, and the foothills and lowlands became economically central and linguistically prestigious.

The earliest towers in the Ingush highlands date to the early middle ages, but most were built from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, during the Little Ice Age when the highlands were economically dependent on the lowlands. Construction of towers was extremely expensive, and their long history in the Ingush highlands shows that traditional Ingush society was wealthy and that highlanders were able to marshal considerable resources from downhill even in times of disadvantage, which in turn makes clear the ethnic and economic unity of highlands and lowlands.

Shifts from highland to lowland economic and population centers or vice versa must have occurred with every major climate change since the Caucasus highlands were first settled, bringing about cultural and perhaps linguistic change in the lowlands without disrupting the essential cultural and ethnic continuity of Nakh-Daghestanian peoples and their languages in the highlands and piedmont. The most recent downhill shift, however, in the late Little Ice Age, coincided with the Russian advance on the Caucasus (which culminated in the wars of the nineteenth century), and ethnic groups with an economic geography like that of the Ingush, with the bulk of their population and resources in the piedmont and mutual dependency between piedmont and highlands, suffered tremendous economic and civilian losses in the Russian conquest. The Ingush piedmont town of Zaur was turned into the Russian fort of Vladikavkaz; highland Ingush were deported to the lowlands to clear the area of the Darial Pass of possible sympathizers with the allies of Shamil; lowlanders were forced off their land and replaced with Russian settlers; there were massacres of indigenous civilians by Russian troops; destruction of the lowland economy ruined highlanders as well; at the end of the war much of the surviving Ingush and Chechen population was deported to the Ottoman empire. (Their descendants, chiefly in today's Turkey and Jordan, speak dialects that are mutually intelligible with Chechen but not with Ingush, though they formed as a mixture of Chechen and Ingush and have evident Ingush influence in their phonology and grammar.) Hence, though the standard of living in the Caucasus prior to the Russian conquest had been

higher than that in the Russian countryside, the first ethnographic works on the Ingush, published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, show them living in poverty.

A short review of Ingush history in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries will help clarify the present status of the language.³ After the Russian Revolution, leaders of the North Caucasus formed a Mountain Republic which declared independence in 1918 and was recognized by the Central powers, and in which Ingush Visangirei Dzhabagiev was head of parliament. It was then occupied by the Red Army, incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1921 as the Soviet Mountain Republic with Vladikavkaz as its capital, and then gradually dismantled. By 1924 a separate Ingush autonomous region had been set up (with Vladikavkaz as a separate federal administrative district serving as capital to both Ingushetia and Ossetia), but in 1934 it was dissolved into a Chechen-Ingush ASSR. This ASSR was abolished during the 1944-56 deportation described below and reestablished afterwards, but with the most important and populous traditional Ingush lands removed to North Ossetia and some of the Chechen lands to Daghestan, and some Russian land added on in the north to dilute the indigenous ethnic component. In 1991 the Ingush voted to leave Chechnya and become a republic of Russia, and in 1992 the westernmost districts of the former Chechen-Ingush republic became today's republic of Ingushetia. Though the unified Ingush national consciousness dates back at least several centuries, only in 1918 and 1991 have the Ingush been able to take major steps toward their long-standing goal of ethnic autonomy, political neutrality, title to their own land, and an advantageous position in a larger state.

The early Soviet years saw orthographies created for previously unwritten languages of the Caucasus, including Ingush, and publication, schooling, and civic culture supported. A generation of notable Ingush intellectuals and public leaders soon appeared. Vladikavkaz became an important city and the cultural and economic center of Ingushetia and more generally the north Caucasus. The forcible imposition of collectivization in 1931 resulted in the deaths of nearly 10% of the Ingush, and the Great Terror of 1937-39 again nearly 10%, including most professionals and leaders. (Figures on this order, including the intellectual decapitation, were common among smaller Soviet nationalities.) In 1944 the Ingush were one of the five nationalities deported en masse to imprisonment in Central Asia and Siberia, and at least a quarter of the population died enroute; thousands, and probably tens of thousands, more died of starvation in the next few years. Thus the Ingush population has been approximately halved twice in the last two centuries: first in the Russian conquest of the Caucasus and then in Soviet repression.

Though the Ingush were allowed to return in 1957, the boundaries of the reconstituted Chechen-Ingush ASSR were redrawn so that essentially the entire Ingush piedmont territory,

³ This overview is drawn from published sources (chiefly Baddeley 1969, Conquest 1970, Dunlop 1998, Nekrich 1978, Wixman 1980) and news media. Since I have not traveled to Ingushetia since 1989 and have never done research or interviews on current events I have no factual information to add that is not already publicly available.

the densely populated roughly 500 sq. km. of land on the right bank of the Terek including Ongusht and several other towns as well as the eastern half of Vladikavkaz, was removed and placed in North Ossetia. Though the authorities hindered employment and legal residence of Ingush there, many Ingush did return to live as close as possible to their pre-deportation homes. In 1992 the Ingush were removed from the entire area; some have since returned. The last two decades have diminished the prospects for continued normal transmission of the Ingush language. Strong family and clan ties and institutions of reciprocity have always kept Ingush society able and willing to provide, through hospitality and charity, for its neediest members and recover from disasters, but the trauma of the deportation overwhelmed the survivors and weakened these traditional institutions. In the 1990's and early 2000's the combined refugee population from the Ingush piedmont and war in the Chechen Republic at times equaled or outnumbered the Ingush themselves (this is possibly the greatest refugee burden documented anywhere in the 20th or 21st centuries), again overwhelming Ingush capacity. Young people appear to have internalized the message that belonging to Ingush society was no guarantor of security and traditional hospitality could no longer bring either prestige or reciprocal ties to be called on if one's own fortunes reversed. The refugee population is now much diminished, but violence, very high unemployment, and economic depression are causing out-migration of young people in search of work and security, a brain drain, and raising of Ingush children in diaspora. The economic situation and the weakening of extended kin ties also mean that the families of young men cannot afford the brideprice that provides a financial nest egg and prestige to a marriage, so Ingush men marry late or marry into other nationalities and many more Ingush women remain unmarried than was ever the case in traditional society.

Though Ingush is now a republic language used in education, media, and the arts, and is therefore theoretically in the strongest position it has enjoyed for some time, it is nonetheless on the brink of endangerment. The brain drain and diaspora are disrupting its transmission. Children of mixed marriages are usually Russian speakers, and in every case I know of Ingush raised outside of Ingushetia have imperfect competence in Ingush. Though the dense and much-traveled social network of traditional Ingushetia linked sets of villages in a de facto distributed urban society, in the minds of many young people now the Ingush language and culture are associated with rural disadvantage. In the over 50 years since their return from exile the Ingush have not had access to a city where their language could be used in and associated with an urban environment. Until 1992 they were lumped with the Chechen in a Chechen-Ingush ASSR (later Republic), where, since they were a minority, their language was little used in the capital city of Grozny. Their natural urban center since the nineteenth century has been the city of Vladikavkaz, but they have been systematically hindered or outright prevented from living there since their return to the Caucasus. Well-educated Ingush often favored urban life and moved to Grozny or Vladikavkaz, but under Soviet educational policy the Ingush language was not taught in the schools of either city, so the children of the best-educated Ingush grew up illiterate in Ingush. In 1992 Nazran was made the capital of Ingushetia, and a new capital has been built in Magas nearby, but neither of these places has

any real urban life. Even now, despite its status as republic language, Ingush is taught in the schools and university of Ingushetia in the same way as foreign languages are: instruction is in Russian except in the two subjects of Ingush language and Ingush literature, in which there are a few hours per week of instruction in schools and none in institutions of higher education except for Ingush language majors. Attainment of good levels of literacy has therefore for some decades been a voluntary extracurricular activity pursued by a few rather than a basic goal of public education. A state examination in Ingush has recently been instituted, so literacy is now an official desideratum, though it is too soon to judge the efficacy of the examination.

Nearly all Ingush are bilingual in Russian. Those who were of school age during the 1944-1956 deportation, those who got their schooling in either Grozny or Vladikavkaz, and most of today's children and young people, are mostly Russian-dominant bilinguals and some have distinctly impeded competence in Ingush. In this situation, unless a strong literacy program is put in place and the brain drain ended, semi-speakers will predominate in the next generation and transmission of the Ingush language and culture will cease after that. This would be a great loss not only to the Ingush, for whom the language and culture are national treasures and links to their history and their land, but to all of humanity, as the Ingush language is of scientific and historical significance and the culture provides a potentially useful model for the graceful integration of traditional values and courtesy with modern urban life. Nor would even complete assimilation to Russian language and identity necessarily gain the Ingush equality in Russia.

Traditional Ingush society was egalitarian and classless, with a firm rule of law but no government. Clans and towns were autonomous. Legal cases were decided by judges following standard requirements of evidence and testimony, and the injured party or victim (or his or her family or clan) was required to carry out the punishment. Death sentences were mandated for the capital offenses of rape, murder, and disfigurement of a corpse, and fines for lesser offenses. The term 'blood feud' is often used in works about the North Caucasus to describe the practice whereby the victim's family carried out a death sentence, and it is therefore occasionally used here as a gloss for the Ingush terms *pwa* and *ch'ir*, but 'feud' is misleading; this was not spontaneous vengeance but a well-deliberated legal requirement. (Seeking vengeance on one's own initiative outside the legal institutions was murder and brought a return death sentence.)

Traditional Ingush society was clan-based: clans exhaustively classified the society; one belonged to one's father's clan (so if an Ingush woman married a non-Ingush her children were not Ingush because they belonged to no Ingush clan); and clans were strictly exogamous, so clan membership determined one's possible marriage partners. Over time, subclans continued to evolve into independent clans and the former clans became diffuse geographical groupings. In the eighteenth century Ingush society seems to have been composed of two clan confederations, the more northeastern Ghalghaii and the more southwestern Feappii. (These Ghalghaii and Feappii were known to Russian sources of the late nineteenth century as the two westernmost Vainakh clan confederations which had not

joined in Shamil's war of resistance to Russian conquest: Wixman 1984:82-3.) The Ghalghaai were centered on Ghalghaichie, the broad intersection of three valleys near the confluence of the Assa and its main tributary the Ghuloi-xii. The Feappii lived higher up and on the south slope. By now the Feappii have vanished, linguistically and ethnically, and all Ingush call themselves Ghalghaai. The two confederations between them subsumed four societies, probably former clans, each of which in turn consisted of a number of discrete clans which totaled about a dozen in the late nineteenth century. It is for the most part their subclans – the groups associated with highland towers – that function today as exogamous clans. To judge from the gazetteer of Mal'sagov 1963, there must have been about 30 or 40 such clans as of the early twentieth century, some of which must have undergone fission since then. Today's Ingush still generally follow the traditional rules of clan out-marriage.

Ingush ethnic identity and social structure rest on *ezdel*, or courtesy: principles of respect and deference to one's elders, formal and dignified relations between individuals and between clans, and courteous and formal public behavior. A man, for instance, shows respect (marked by formal posture, measured speech, and rising or standing if the other is not seated) in the presence of elders in general and elder kin in particular, including even his older brothers or father when others are present. He does not smoke or drink in the presence of senior kin. Relationships with one's mother and sisters are warm and open, though a man's behavior with his mother's siblings is more formal. Social relationships hold not just between individuals but between entire clans, so that, for instance, a man shows to all female members of his mother's clan the same deference and formality that he would show to his mother's older sister or brother. Since a man is able to gain the respect of other men by displaying respect for others, and this outweighs his or his family's wealth or achievements in determining social status, the Ingush social order is one that defuses interpersonal violence. Though traditional courtesy and dignity tend to fade out among Russified Ingush, they are still strong among fluent speakers.

A second cornerstone of Ingush social relations is hospitality: an Ingush gains prestige from receiving guests well and generously, and cooperative members of society are expected not only to extend hospitality but also to go visiting and thereby give others the opportunity to gain prestige. Traditional hospitality to a traveler not only brought prestige but also set up reciprocal guest-host relations that lasted for two or three generations and, cumulatively, interlaced all of Ingush society and those of neighboring groups in a dense network of social alliances. The nodes in the network are not so much individuals as households (or individuals as heads of households). A person's social standing depends on his or her courtesy and hospitality, on good judgment, and on financial competence and ability to maintain a well-ordered household. Proper hospitality, solvency, and the order of the household reflect the wife's work, so a man is dependent on his wife for a large part of his social standing. Stinting hospitality, an extramarital affair however discreet, indelicate language in public, or slack housekeeping on her part can tarnish his social standing. On the other hand, her standing does not depend on him, and there is virtually nothing he can do that might lower her status. A

married woman – especially a woman with children and in particular with adult children – is the most powerful and socially secure person in a traditional Ingush community.

The Ingush vocabulary gives evidence of the origins of the language and the influences on it over the years. There are ancient Nakh-Daghestanian words with cognates in the sister languages; these include the personal pronouns, the stems of simple verbs, and most of the nouns with any form of ablaut: e.g. *ust* 'bull', *ka* 'ram', *muq* 'barley', *txa* 'wool', *maalx* 'sun', *butt* 'moon', *c'i* 'fire', *dog* 'heart', *niq* 'road', *shu* 'year', *ahwar* 'grind (grain)', *d.uzar* 'fill', and many others. Ingush has taken over many words from neighboring languages. Words from Ossetic include *boardz* 'gravemound, kurgan', *fusam* 'household, home', *ford* 'sea, ocean', *sei* 'deer', and many others; words from Georgian include *zhwalii* 'dog', *zhwaarjg* 'cross', the day names *orshot* 'Monday', *p'earaska* 'Friday', *shoatta* 'Saturday', and *k'irandi* 'Sunday', and others. The spread of Islam to the Ingush beginning in the seventeenth century brought in many Arabic words, including much of the technical and scientific vocabulary: *hwisap* 'mathematics, calculation', *wilam* 'science', *dynie* 'world', *alap* 'letter of the alphabet'; terms for speech acts: *xabar* 'conversation, speech', *zhop/zhwop* 'answer'; and many others. Persian words have entered Ingush, sometimes as the result of Persian political and cultural influence in the south Caucasus and sometimes as part of the Islamic influence; everyday cultural words from Persian include *chaarx* 'wheel', *ezar* '1000', *keaxat* 'paper', *shahwar* 'large town', and *gaamazh / goamazh* 'water buffalo'. Turkic words, usually from Kumyk or Noghai, include *top* 'gun', *jaaz+d.ar* 'write' (only the stem *jaaz-* is Turkic), *ghum* 'sand', *ghaala* 'city; tower', *chon* 'wrought iron'. There are many Russian words, some of them old and well-assimilated borrowings such as *lispet* 'bicycle', *kinashjka* 'book', *karfent* 'candy', and *mashen* 'car' but newer ones hardly assimilated at all, such as *tilifon* 'telephone', *xaladiilnik* 'refrigerator', etc.

Traditional Ingush oral poetry includes epic songs, with a fixed line length but no clear metrical structure, and lyric songs, metrically strict and highly structured. The poetic canon relies on alliteration and other forms of assonance, kennings, and grammatical parallelism. Humor and word play pervade traditional and modern prose (and most conversation), including jokes featuring Cagen (the Ingush equivalent to Mullah Nasreddin),⁴ an ultimately Persian genre whose Ingush form and humor are quite close to their Persian originals compared to the variants from elsewhere in the Caucasus. Modern literature includes the standard European genres, and there have been a number of excellent writers in the roughly 80 years that Ingush has been a written language.

The Ingush respect education and knowledge, and despite the financial stringencies of the years since 1992 have managed to organize education and research and publish a good deal of quality work in literature, history, folklore, ethnography, and archaeology. Though in many ways quite traditional in their behavior and customs, they are cosmopolitan in outlook and discerning participants in the modern world. Educated Ingush are well versed in the cultures of both the European and the Islamic worlds and regard both of these heritages as their own.

⁴ In the Persian-influenced cultural world, Mullah Nasreddin stories are jokes in which Mullah Nasreddin pronounces the punch line.

This perspective, the value accorded to knowledge and learning and good speech, the public dignity, and the courtesy are closely bound up with the language, however, and unlikely to survive if the Ingush language ceases to be transmitted.

1.2. Typological overview of Ingush

Ingush has a fairly large consonant system with three manners of articulation (voiced, voiceless, ejective) and including uvulars and pharyngeals. Ejectives are not particularly forceful and plain voiceless stops are not aspirated, so plain-ejective contrast is less audible than in most languages of the Caucasus. Pharyngealization (phonetically, epiglottalization) is a phonation property of syllables, audible mostly on the vowel but its distribution based mostly on the onset consonant. There is a minimal tone system, and a distinctive descending "sawtooth" prosody that very demarcates phrases. The vowel system is large, with diphthongization of most of the long vowels and much centralization of the short vowels. There is an underlying long/short opposition which surfaces partly as length and partly as a tense/lax opposition; there is a schwa, whose elision produces long vowels in open syllables and thereby phonemicizes pure length at least for some speakers. Those speakers who can hear schwas seem to perceive them as something other than vowels; still, in chanting, other metric genres, and the speech of some of the oldest generations schwas are audible as vowels, and those schwas that occur in what I call *restressed position* are full vowels (and heard as such). This system of vowel-zero alternations, different sources of length, and schwas with unusual phonetic status makes it almost impossible to devise a writing system that is straightforwardly phonemic, a situation that makes it very difficult to achieve literacy given the way Ingush is taught. Other aspects of the Ingush orthography make it very difficult to sound out words or spell correctly based on pronunciation.

Ingush is a mostly dependent-marking language. Nouns and pronouns distinguish eight basic cases and some further secondary ones, whose endings are mostly monoexponential (i.e. non-cumulative) and, in the plural, follow a separate plural suffix. There are four gender agreement markers which distinguish, depending on how one counts them, up to eight genders. Gender agreement is a partial category: only about 30% of the verb roots and 10% of the adjective roots take gender agreement. Ingush also has overt inherent gender, where the gender-bearing noun itself has a prefix marking its gender; this is also a partial category, and is usually but not always the same as the agreement gender class of the noun.

Verbs distinguish a very large number of tenses, which blend aspect and evidentiality with pure tense. In addition to these there is stem-internal marking of plurality (of S/O) and/or pluractionality, both partial categories. Apart from the tenses, Ingush distinguishes various kinds of evidentiality and mirativity by other means such as suffixation and particles.

The three word classes of noun, verb, and adjective are strictly differentiated inflectionally, syntactically, and in terms of word formation, but they are not on equal footing in the language. Ingush has a noun-based lexicon: elementary noun roots are an open class,

while verb and adjective roots are closed classes (about 200 members each). The verbal lexicon is split: the basic verbs (the closed class) have consistently ergative alignment in their agreement and derivation, and take the full set of suffixal valence-affecting derivations; the open class is phrasal predicates with light verbs, and they are mostly accusative in alignment and limited in derivational possibilities (since most of the light verbs are transitive, while several derivational categories are limited to intransitives). Basic verbs are mostly intransitive and form semantic causatives by morphological transitivization; phrasal predicates and compound verbs form causatives by transitivity-neutral processes such as suppletion and change of light verb. Adjectives and manner adverbs are not formally distinct, and neither are converbs and participles. On the other hand, attributive and non-attributive adjectives, participals, and cardinal numerals are kept strictly distinct.

The numerals are base-ten for the first two decades and base-twenty thereafter. They form an unusually rich set of derivatives such as ordinals, distributives, nominalized forms, plex forms, and others.

Verbs form a large set of converbs: three basic ones (anterior, sequential, simultaneous) used in chaining and a large set used in various kinds of adjunct subordination. There is rather little finite subordination and almost no subordinating conjunctions; converb clauses and nominalization are the main devices for complementation and adjunct subordination.

Though verbs of perception generally have dative subjects and stative one-argument phrasal verbs often have ergative subjects, making it possible to classify Ingush as split intransitive, it is nonetheless consistently ergative overall, in the morphology of agreement, case, and verbal derivation, and in syntax. There are almost no valence alternations (such as a locative alternation). There are derivations that change valence or argument structure (inceptive, causative) but no inflectional or syntactically-based passivization or the like.

There is extensive and systematic long-distance reflexivization, accusative to neutral in its alignment, subject- and object-controlled, and partly working to overcome the coreference problems inherent in contexts of obviation.

Phrases are head-final. Clause word order is like that of early Germanic: verb-final with frequent verb-second order in main clauses (with prefixes and first elements of compound verbs left in clause-final position). In most kinds of complex sentences the finite clause follows the converb clauses. Where English would use clause or VP coordination with conjunction reduction, Ingush uses chaining and therefore imposes a grammatically rigid framework with argument sharing and strict choice of verb forms with sequence of tenses on what would, in English, be a much freer matter of juxtaposing or coordinating sentences with the same subject or topic. Relativization uses deletion, and unlike chaining and various forms of nonfinite complementation, which have strict case and/or valence constraints on sharing, there are almost no constraints on what can be relativized.

Sentences are also mostly head-final, in that most chained and many subordinate clauses precede the main clause. Controllers of coreference-constrained phenomena, and overt tokens of shared arguments, are generally in the main clause. Controlled phenomena themselves can and often do extend far to the left. Long-distance reflexivization and case-

based argument sharing in core chaining, in particular, can extend over many clauses. Logophoricity affects the immediately dominated clause. These and other factors that require calculating from the end of the sentence while producing it from the beginning indicate that fluent speech, especially narrative, requires a good deal of advance planning on the part of the speaker. Even the phrase and clause prosody require parsing starting from the right edge of the constituent. Though the Berkeley Ingush Corpus contains mostly the speech of the older, fully fluent generations and most of my elicitation has been done with fully fluent speakers, what information I have on the younger generations indicates that many of them are no longer in full command of the grammatical phenomena requiring this extent of advance planning. If this is indeed the case, and the younger generation cannot construct complex narrative in Ingush, the language is becoming restricted in its ability to handle one of the essential everyday functions.

1.3. History of writing in Ingush

Beginning about the 18th century with the conversion of many Ingush to Islam, some families had their oral traditions of clan origin and settlement of clan towns committed to writing. Generally these histories were in Arabic with Ingush names and toponyms transcribed in Arabic, but it is said that a few were written in Ingush using the Arabic alphabet. Most of these were destroyed in the 1944 deportation.

A Latin-alphabet spelling system for Ingush was devised early in the twentieth century by Mahamed Dzhabagiev, though it never received official sanction because he had emigrated and published mention of his name was forbidden in the USSR. Another was created by Zaurbek Mal'sagov in 1921 and used for publication in Ingushetia. Though phonologically astute, it used special symbols (e.g. æ) and diacritics (e.g. č, x'), did not distinguish vowel length, and used letters in idiosyncratic ways (e.g. "h" was used to spell both [h] and glottalization, so that "th" spelled [t']), properties that would eventually have hindered its mass use. It also left out some Ingush phonological regularities in an apparent attempt to unify Ingush and Chechen spelling. This system was then transliterated into Cyrillic in 1938, with some further loss of information about vowel qualities. Cyrillic is an alphabet for which there is no tradition and little possibility of using digraphic spellings of vowels (such as English *ea*, *oa*, German *ie*, *oe*, French *eu*, etc.), and therefore it is poorly adapted to languages like Ingush which have rich vowel systems. There was sentiment among the Ingush in favor of returning to a Latin script until non-Cyrillic orthographies were made illegal in Russia in 2002. Apart from the official orthography, however, a standard romanization is necessary if the scholarly and emigre communities, the interested public, and users of the Internet are to have any access to information about Ingush. The all-Latin, diacritic-free transcription used here presently serves the international scholarly community and might function in and for Ingushetia much as *pinyin* does in and for China. A return to the 1920's system is impractical in view of both difficult characters and non-correspondence to pronunciation.

From the first, spelling was conservative, e.g. writing schwas that are not normally pronounced. These schwas could easily be recovered by anyone familiar with singing, chanting, and other metric genres, as all Ingush were in the early 20th century. Vowel mergers that are ongoing in contemporary Ingush are not written, and restressed schwa vocalism is not reflected. Some aspects of the orthography were artificial from the very beginning: e.g. voicing of affix-final fricatives is not written, the deictic prefix *wa-* 'down' is written "wo" (in Cyrillic, *Io*). These spellings are not conservatism: the earliest recorded Ingush (§35.1 here), Dumézil 1936 (see §35.2 here) and Jabagi & Dumézil 1935 (transcribing late 19th-century language), and the speech of elders who were children at the time do not have these pronunciations. The spellings do in fact capture Pre-Ingush or Proto-Chechen-Ingush pronunciation, but that pronunciation would not have been recoverable to a monolingual Ingush for probably the last few centuries. These are the spellings that may reflect the wish of some Ingush intellectuals of that time to unify the Ingush and Chechen spelling systems insofar as possible.

1.4. Previous descriptions of Ingush

There has been some very good grammatical work on Ingush, but most of it is traditional grammar rather than modern linguistics and none of it comprehensive. Description of the Nakh languages began with Schiefner 1864 and Uslar 1888 on Chechen – the latter a superb field grammar for its day, but both of them traditional and neither describing Ingush. Mal'sagov 1925 (Ingush version 1926; Russian version with all Ingush translated into Cyrillic, 1963; reprint of the 1925 original complete with Latin spelling, 1998) presents mostly morphology and is accompanied by a lemma dictionary that is very well glossed with an excellent wordlist. Jakovlev 2001 (written in the 1930's but not published then) is an insightful traditional syntax with a wealth of data on rarely described points, but too closely cloned on his 1940 Chechen syntax (it is essentially the same text, with the Chechen examples transliterated into Ingush, though the differences between the two languages are not just phonological). There was a publishing hiatus during the deportation, 1944-1957, when the language was banned. Beginning in the late 1950's, various school grammars and scholarly work on Ingush were published; Dolakova 1967 and Axrieva et al. 1972 are good examples of the Ingush grammatical tradition. Nichols 1994a follows a 1970's-era functionally-inclined questionnaire; it is not complete and contains enough errors of transcription and analysis that it should not be used. Guérin 2001 is informed by current linguistics but is not comprehensive and has inconsistencies of transcription and analysis.

No description so far gives an adequate account of the phonology of schwa, clitic prosody, phrasal prosody, derivational morphology, valence, complementation, chaining, clefting, argument sharing, reflexivization, or word order, though without these things no grammar of Ingush can be coherent or describe the language properly. No grammar gives enough natural examples that a reader can form intuitions about a phenomenon, observe its

full grammatical and stylistic range, or use the grammar to compose teaching materials. (This latter is a fault not of linguists who have worked on Ingush but of the tradition of descriptive and field grammar generally, in my opinion.) In this grammar I have tried to cover phenomena known to me at least adequately and to give a good range of examples from different styles and sources.

CHAPTER 2

SOUND SYSTEM

2.1. Overview of the sound system

Ingush is unusual in having large inventories of both vowels and consonants. The vowel system is notable for the extreme shortness and great centralization of the short vowels and the shortening of long vowels in closed syllables, to the point that they are similar in length to short vowels though most of them remain qualitatively different. Two or three ongoing near-mergers and several contextual neutralizations of vowel contrasts further complicate recovery of the phonological structure from the phonetics. Stress is mostly word-initial, and the full array of vowels occurs only in tonic syllables. Posttonic short vowels neutralize to a single schwa phoneme which, however, has allophones that mimic the phonetics of several of the other short vowel phonemes (and pass for those phonemes in the Cyrillic orthography and in the linguistic consciousness of some speakers). Proclitics receive stress while preserving the quality of their unstressed vowels, and some words with both clitic and non-clitic functions appear to have generalized the clitic vowel quality to the non-clitic form; this vocalism (called *restressed schwa* here: §2.5.4), when it arose, would have been phonemic by a strict classical definition since minimal pairs exist, but would not have been phonemic on a morphologically sensitive approach since the 'minimal' contrast is predictable from clitic vs. non-clitic word classes. Subsequently, one or two other allophones have fallen in with restressed schwa quality, rendering it fully contrastive. Apart from where they are restressed, schwas are mostly devoiced and often lost entirely from the phonetics, though they are present in abstract representation as they open preceding syllables, thereby greatly affecting vowel quantity, and they have other strong phonetic side effects. Determining whether a word, affix, or clitic contains a schwa requires constructing a morphosyntactic context where the contextual effects of a schwa will show up unambiguously.

Vowel allophony is highly sensitive to adjacent consonants, and consonant allophony moderately sensitive to adjacent vowels, making it almost (but not quite) possible to analyze palatalization and labialization as word-level components. All in all, Ingush is unusual in the extent to which it recruits vowel allophony to assist in the identification of consonants, morphological structure, and prosodic structure, while still maintaining a large inventory of vowel phonemes. Put differently, its much-divided phonemic vowel space is crosscut by allophonic differences whose range and functions are what one expects in a language with a small vowel system but not what one expects in a language with nineteen vowel and diphthong phonemes.

Ingush has a very minimal tone system: a handful of morphemes (all of them grammatical formatives) carry a tone realized as a high fall on the tone-bearing morpheme or

(if it is suffixal or enclitic) the preceding syllable. Historically, this tone seems to have been stress; but now stress in Ingush is almost always word-initial. (The few exceptions, where stress is on the second syllable, are discussed in §4.1.1.)

The Ingush consonant system is complex by north Eurasian standards but not particularly complex compared to those of other indigenous languages of the Caucasus. There are four manners of stop and affricate articulation: voiceless (sometimes lightly aspirated), ejective, voiced, and geminate (unaspirated), of which all but geminates occur word-initially and all four occur postvocally (ejectives only rarely). There is a standard central European system of anterior points of articulation (labial, dental, alveolar, palatal, i.e. /p t c č/) and an elaborate non-anterior series (palatovelar, velar, uvular, pharyngeal, glottal, i.e. /k' k q ʕ ʔ/).⁵ There are two pharyngeal segmental phonemes, a voiceless fricative and an epiglottalized glottal stop; and phonemic pharyngealization, a phonation type affecting entire syllables and involving epiglottalization of the vowel and sometimes a delayed onset to the vowel with noisy, epiglottalized aspiration or murmur prior to the onset.⁶ The effects of pharyngealization on vowels are profound -- impressionistically greater than the effects of American English postvocalic /r/ on vowel quality. Ingush speakers are generally unaware of the allophonic effects of pharyngealization, though they are well aware of the allophonic effects of syllable closure on vowel length.

2.2. Transcription and spelling

The writing system used here is an approximately phonemic transcription for Ingush which is also designed for use as a practical orthography for linguistic purposes. It uses only the regular letters of the Latin alphabet, without diacritics, and can therefore be texted, typed on any keyboard, set in any existing font, transported between applications and platforms, etc., and typed as rapidly as any European language. Since Ingush has about twice as many phonemes as the Latin alphabet has letters, the only way to represent the phonemes of Ingush each with its own spelling is to use either diacritics or two-letter spellings of some sounds. The latter approach is used here. Letter combinations are modeled on those used in other languages with long histories of literacy and publishing: the spelling of the vowels and diphthongs is modeled on that of Finnish and Estonian, and the spellings of the consonants follow those of English insofar as possible. The spelling of the ejective stop and affricate series, for which there is no model in any language long written in the Latin alphabet, uses the apostrophe as is done in linguistic phonetic transcription and in the spelling systems for

⁵ I use the IPA symbol for a true pharyngeal, [ʕ], though this phoneme is actually a voiced epiglottal plosive [ʔ] or an epiglottalized glottal stop. I use [ʕ] because it is commonly used in Caucasianist transcription and is recognizable to many Ingush speakers.

⁶ Pure phonation, rather than delayed onset, seems to be the most common realization for Ingush, in contrast to Chechen, which seems to favor the delayed onset. The Ingush delay, when present, seems to be less than the typical Chechen delay.

various indigenous languages of the Americas. Pharyngealization and the two pharyngeal consonants also lack models in Latin spelling systems, and the system proposed here uses the letter "w" (not otherwise needed for Ingush, which has a /v/ written here as "v" but has no /w/) to indicate pharyngealization and to write the voiced pharyngeal consonant. (Latin "w" is also graphically similar to the letter used for the voiced pharyngeal in linguistic writings in the Georgian language. This symbol is widely used for transcription in writings in Russian on the Daghestanian languages as well.)

The spelling principles for this system are also intended to help foster linguistic awareness and language preservation by revealing the phonological structure of the Ingush language (e.g. in the consistent spelling of phonological features such as pharyngealization, glottalization, and vowel length, and in treating the glottal stop as a segment).

This is the Latin system used for Ingush in Nichols 2004. A similar system for Chechen is in use in Nichols and Vagapov 2004, Komen 2007, Molochieva 2010, and other works. Chechen cognates occasionally mentioned below are written in this system, and Batsbi cognates are written using the same principles.

Presently, Ingush is written in a Cyrillic orthography designed in the 1930's, which does not distinguish all vowels, does not write sounds consistently, does not write pharyngealization and glottalization consistently, and uses the numeral "1" or Roman numeral "I" in addition to alphabetic letters.⁷ (This numeral has the disadvantages of no capitalizability and either an awkward stretch on the keyboard or a font change for a fairly high-frequency letter.) Despite its phonological and graphic disadvantages, the Cyrillic orthography has the advantage of great similarity to the Chechen orthography, making it possible for a speaker of either language to read the other to some extent. It also makes economical use of the Cyrillic letters. In any case it is obligatory in today's Russia, where orthographies in any alphabet other than Cyrillic have been made illegal, halting some intelligent efforts of language planners toward Latin scripts. In Nichols 2004, words are given in both the Latin system and the standard orthography. The Latin system is intended as the primary representation for non-Ingush-speaking users, and as a phonemic transcription accompanying the standard orthography for Ingush speakers. (Given the distance between the Cyrillic orthography and phonemic reality, and the thin coverage given to Ingush language and literacy in Ingush schools, a phonemic transcription is indispensable in any dictionary of Ingush.)

⁷ In Soviet times Roman "I" was the standard form of the numeral one on Russian typewriters and in some printers' fonts. Since then, as computers have become widely used, Arabic "1" has become the standard form of the numeral. For writing Ingush, published materials most often use "I", while personal computer printouts (including manuscripts, handouts, abstracts, etc.) mostly use "1". Internet searches return different material for the two symbols, necessitating two searches and showing that the character that looks like "I" is now increasingly being typed as a capital Latin letter and not (as before) as a numeral. Searches using Arabic "1" generally return much more material, indicating that typing it as a numeral is still well established.

The all-Latin practical transcription is phonemic in the sense that the proper phonemic reading can always be inferred from the spelling and vice versa. It is more abstract than phonemic in some respects. It writes the Ingush schwa, an abstract element that opens syllables and affects the pronunciation of adjacent sounds, as a segment ("a"), though in fact it is often not pronounced as a vowel and where unpronounced seems not to be perceived as a segment by younger speakers. Phonetic vowel length is not written per se, but follows from syllable structure (aided crucially by the writing of schwa), e.g. (° = reduced or unpronounced schwa):

niisa	{ni:sə}	/ni:s°/	[ni:s°]	'straight, right'
iis	{i:s}	/i:s/	[i:s:]	'nine'

or, analyzed differently:

niisa	{ni:s}	/ni:s/	[ni:s°]	'straight, right'
iis	{i:s}	/i:s/	[i:s:]	'nine'

As this example shows, whether long and short vowels are in complementary distribution or not depends on whether schwa is taken to be segment-like. The practical transcription is designed for ease of reading and writing rather than for theoretical elegance, so it writes schwa as a segment and economizes on vowel letters by letting length be predicted by syllable structure. (There is also a vowel [ɪ] /i/ in addition to the two above that needs to be written with the single letter "i".)

2.3. Segmental inventory

The vowel and consonant phonemes of Ingush are shown in Tables 2-1 and 2-2, together with Cyrillic orthography and phonetic transcriptions. Table 2-3 gives transcription correlations.

Table 2-1. Vocalic phonemes. Vowels and diphthongs in practical Latin transcription.

i	ii	y		u	uu
e	ie			o	uo
ɛ / a ⁸		a			
ea	ea	aa	aa	oa	oa

Falling diphthongs: ei ai (aai) oi ou (aav)⁹

Vowels in current Cyrillic orthography. Entries are aligned with those above.

и	ий, уй	и		у	ув
е / э	е / э			о	о
е / э		а			
аь	аь	а	а	оа	оа
		ай	ай	(ай)	ой
				ов	(ав)

Vowel phonemes in transcription. Entries are aligned with those above. Entries are cardinal tonic allophones of the respective phonemes. Symbols are as in Ladefoged & Johnson 2011:39. Subscript _̣ marks the non-syllabic part of a diphthong. Phonetic transcriptions of words also contain a schwa symbol [ə] rendering the posttonic allophone of /a/, and a superscript schwa [^ə] representing the range of phonetic effects (chiefly, consonant release) of an elided schwa (§2.5, §3.2.2).

i	i:	ɪ		u	u:
^j ɛ	i:ɛ			o	u:o
ɛ/ʌ		ʌ			
ɣæ/ æ	ɣæ:	a	a:	ɔa	ɔa:
		e _̣	ʌ _̣	(a _̣)	o _̣
				o _̣ / ʌ _̣	(a _̣)

⁸ A merger or near-merger of what were two distinct phonemes a century ago; abstractly notated *ä* below when morphophonemic or morphological status is at issue.

⁹ The parenthesized diphthongs occur only in specific morphological contexts and are not independently phonemic.

Table 2-2. Consonants. Single consonants can be geminated by various morphophonemic processes. The geminates shown here are only those that occur in root morphemes. *w, hw* = pharyngeals.

p	t	c	ch	jk	k	q	w	'
	tt					qq		
p'	t'	c'	ch'	jk'	k'	q'		
b	d			g				
(f)		s	sh		x		hw	h
		ss						
v		z	zh			gh		
m		n						
	l	r						
		rh						
			j					

Consonants in current orthography. Note that palatovelars /jk/, etc. are not orthographically distinguished as consonants (though a preceding schwa is usually spelled "и" at least in suffixes, and this serves to indicate palatalization).

п	т	ц	ч	к	к	кх	л	ъ, --
	тт					ккх		
пl	тl	цl	чl	кl	кl	къ		
б	д	з	ж	г	г			
ф		с	ш		х		хъ	xl
		сс						
в		з	ж			гl		
м		н						
	л	р						
		рхl						
			й	(also included in е, ю, я)				

Consonant phonemes in transcription

p	t	c	č	k ^j	k	q	ʕ	ʔ
	t:					q:		
p'	t'	c'	č'	k' ^j	k'	q'		
b	d			g ^j	g			
f		s	š		x		ħ	h
		s:						
v		z	ž			ɣ		
m		n						
	l	r						
		ɾ						
			j					

2.4. Vowels and diphthongs

Two subdialects, or varieties of pronunciation, are current in Ingush. One has a phonemic opposition of plain /e/ to palatalizing /^je/ with an onglide often manifested as palatalization of a preceding consonant; the other has a merger or near-merger of plain /e/ with /a/ as [ʌ] in all environments except adjacent to pharyngeals and sometimes after labials. The variety correspondences are as follows (*abstract* = morphophonemic or reconstructed):

<i>Abstract</i>	{ ie	ä	a }
<i>Variety 1</i>	/ ^j e	e	a /
<i>Variety 2</i>	/ e	a/e	a /

In Variety 2 /e/ from either source palatalizes a preceding consonant, as do the other front vowels /i/ and /ea/. Also in Variety 2, a palatalized velar toward the end of the word subphonemically but quite perceptibly palatalizes susceptible consonants and fronts vowels throughout the word. (The two varieties also appear to have systematic differences in reduction and elision of schwas which have not been analyzed here.) The Cyrillic orthography writes "e" corresponding to both /e/ and /^je/ of the non-merging variety, so that it reflects the vowel quality of this variety but resembles the other in not distinguishing plain vs. palatalized consonants before [e]-quality vowels. Examples (*spelled* = the Latin spelling used here; *orthography* = the current Cyrillic orthography):

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>Spelled</i>	<i>No merger</i>	<i>*e/a merger</i>	<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
{sanna}	sanna	[sʌnn ^ə]	[sʌnn ^ə]	санна	like, as
{d.äanna}	danna	[dɛnn ^ə]	[dʌnn ^ə]	денна	having given
{d.ienna}	denna	[d ^j ɛnn ^ə]	[d ^j ɛnn ^ə]	денна	having intended

Both varieties are well represented in the speech of the older generation. The second variety – the one with the merger and the consistent palatalization of consonants before vowels of [e] quality – is taken as basic here because it appears to predominate in the speech of younger generations and, since it is based on a merger which is irreversible, it is bound to predominate in the long run. Where the distinction is morphophonemically important, tokens of /a/ in the merged variety which correspond to plain /e/ in the other are spelled *ä* below in this chapter and sometimes in other chapters.

Table 2-3. Correlations between practical, abstract, phonemic, and phonetic representations. Tonic syllables only. Main allophones only.

ii	{ii}	/ii:/	[i:]	In open syllables
		/ii/	[i]	In closed syllables
uu	{uu}	/uu:/	[u:]	In open syllables
		/uu/	[u]	In closed syllables
i	{i}	/i/	[i]	In most contexts
			[i]	Adjacent to palatals
y	{y}	/y/	[ɨ]	Most contexts
u	{u}	/u/	[ʊ]	Most contexts
ie	{ie}	/ie:/	[i:ɛ]	Open syllables
uo	{uo}	/uo:/	[u:o]	Open syllables
e	{e}	/e/	[ɛ]	Most contexts
	{ie}	/e/	[ɛ]	Closed syllables
a	{a}	/a/	[ʌ]	Most contexts
o	{o}	/o/	[o] / [ɔ]	Most contexts
	{uo}	/o/	[o] / [ɔ]	Closed syllables
ea	{ea}	/ea:/	[^ɛ æ:]	Open syllables
		/ea/	[æ]	Closed syllables
aa	{aa}	/aa:/	[a:]	Open syllables
		/a/	[a]	Closed syllables
oa	{oa}	/oa:/	[ɔa:]	Open syllables
		/oa/	[ɔa]	Closed syllables (for most speakers, not distinct from /o/; some speakers distinguish this vowel in a few words)

2.4.1. *Length and syllable type.* Vowel length is contrastive in Ingush. Long vowels have clear articulation and, in open syllables, are fairly long; short vowels are very short and strongly centralized. Long vowels are longest in open syllables where the vowel of the next syllable is a schwa (see §§2.5, 3.2.5, 3.2.6), shortest in closed syllables, and intermediate in length word-finally. For short vowels there is little difference in phonetic length regardless of syllable structure. Length differences caused by syllable structure are clearest in tonic syllables.

The following examples illustrate the three degrees of phonetic length for the long vowel /aa/. (Automatic gemination of word-final consonants occurs in certain forms; see §3.3.1.) Here and below, the symbol [ʔ] is used for a reduced schwa (for schwa see §2.5).

Open syllable, non-final:

daacar	[da:cʔr]	'wasn't'
naaxa	[na:xʔ]	'people' (erg.)

Closed syllable:

daac	[dac:]	'isn't'
daad	[dad:]	'lie, are lying' (pl.)
laatt	[lat:]	'stands'
daaz	[daz]	'father' (erg.) ¹⁰

Final, tonic:

daa	[da:]	'father'
-----	-------	----------

Compare the short vowel /a/:

Open syllable:

mala	[mʌlʔ]	'drink' (infinitive / imperative); 'who' (nom.)
latazh	[lʌtʔʒ]	'fighting, adhering' (converb)

Closed syllable:

lat	[lʌt:]	'fights, adheres'
bat	[bʌt:]	'face'
chaq-	[čʌq]	'through; finish' (prefix)

Final, tonic:

sha	[šʌ]	'ice'
sa	[sʌ]	'soul'

¹⁰ The vowel is slightly less short in words of this shape, where only one consonant precedes the syllable boundary.

Speakers are able to hear the difference in length of long vowels caused by open vs. closed syllables. Though in principle this is subphonemic, it is on the verge of phonemicization as unvocalized schwas disappear.

2.4.2. *Description of the individual vowel phonemes.* Each of the vowel phonemes is illustrated here in the same set of environments: (1) final and stressed (i.e. final in monosyllable), (2) final, unstressed (i.e. final in disyllable or longer word), (3) in closed syllable, (4) in open syllable. (Environment (2) does not exist for short vowels. More precisely, all short vowels are neutralized and reduced to schwa in this environment. For schwa see §2.5.) Cyrillic spellings are also given.

2.4.2.1. /ii/. A high, tense vowel, slightly diphthongized in open syllables and in word-final position; much like the vowel of English *see*. The clear [i] quality is retained in closed syllables.

(1) sii	'honor'	сий
(2) zhwalii	'dog'	жIали
(3) iis	'nine'	ийс
(4) biisa	'night'	бийса
niisa	'correct, right, straight'	нийса

2.4.2.2. /i/. Much like the vowel of English *sit* or *sister*, but very short and sometimes more centralized. In open monosyllables after pharyngeals, /i/ and /e/ are not in contrast (at least not for all speakers). After palatals, /y/ and /i/ are not in contrast. Both neutralizations can be phonemicized as /i/ on the basis of both phonetics and speaker intuitions. (The J gender copula *jy* = /ji/ = [ji] is, however, written more abstractly here, to capture the unity of the paradigm *vy* / *jy* / *dy* / *by* of this high-frequency word. The same practice is used in the Cyrillic orthography.)

(1) c'i	'name', 'fire'	цIи
di	'day', 'religion'	ди
bwi	'nest'	бIи
jy /ji/	'is, are' (J gender)	я
(3) itt	'10'	итт
ch'im	edible wild plant sp.	чIим
dig	'axe'	диг
gizjg	'bead; spider'	гизг
(4) dika	'good'	дика
lila	'bluing'	лила
istol	'table'	истол

2.4.2.3. /ie/ In open syllables, a diphthong with a long first component and a centralizing offglide: [i:e]. In the imperfect tense of verbs (which has rising tone on the first syllable: see §4.2), the first component is short and the second long: [ie:] or [je:]. (This distribution is a tendency rather than a fixed rule.)

(1)	die	'do' (inf., imper.)	де
	hwie	'yourself' (2sg refl.)	хье
(2)	dearie	'silk (fabric)'	даъре
	chuhwie	'interior'	чухье
(4)	bierazh	'children'	бераш
	dieshar	'reading' (verbal noun)	дешар
	qierazh	'being afraid' (converb)	кхераш
	hwiexarxuo	'teacher'	хьехархо

/ie/ does not occur in closed syllables; only /e/ occurs in this position. The following words have morphophonemic {ie}, as shown by long /ie/ in inflectional forms with open syllables (first set of words) or other morphophonemic alternations (second set).

(3)	ep	pl. iepazh	'rodent sp.'	эп	эпаш
	ber	pl. bierazh	'child'	бер	бераш
	desh	inf. diesha	'read'	деш	дешаш
	qer	inf. qiera	'be afraid, fear'	кхер	кхераш
	degh	pl. dieghazh	'body'	дег1	дег1аш
	hwex	inf. hwiexa	'teach'	хьех	хьеха
	bett, dett		'beat(s)' (B, D genders)	бетт, детт	
	lestazh		'waving, flapping'	лесташ	
	ellaa		'(having been) hung'	элла	

2.4.2.4. /e/. A short, lax vowel much like that of English *set* or somewhat higher.

/e/ does not occur word-finally in tonic monosyllables, with one exception: the tonic but unaccented preposed particle 'or' (§§2.5, 24.1.4).

/e/ and /i/ seem not to be in contrast after pharyngeals, but most speakers identify the vowel of 'frog' (below) as /e/ and not /i/ (despite the orthography, which uses "i").

In environment (4) of the following examples, (a) = initial position, (b) after labials, (c) pharyngealized, (d) after /j/.

(1)	je	'or' *	е
	=ji	'and' *	-и, -еи
(3)	jett	'cow' *	етт
	pwed	'frog'	пхьид, пхьед

	wedzh	'handle'	1 ерж
(4a)	ezar	'1000'	эзар
	ebarjg	'fugitive'	эбарг
	egahw	'downstream', 'lower'	эгахь
(4b)	mela	'warm'	мела
	ferta	'felt'	ферта
	petar	'down'	петар
(4c)	pwedarch	'frogs'	пхьедарч, пхьидарч
	dehwar(a)	'from the other side, from across'	дехьара
(4d)	jaxar	'she went' *	яхар

* = neutralization of /e/ - /a/ opposition after /j/ (see the introduction to §2.4). *jaxar* is spelled here with *a* in the first syllable for paradigmatic consistency with the other gender forms: *jaxar* [jɛx³r], *vaxar* [vɔx³r], *daxar* [dɔx³r], *baxar* [bɔx³r].

2.4.2.5. /ea/. A rising diphthong [ɛæ:] or [ɛa:], long in open syllables. In closed syllables it is a minimally diphthongized [æ] much like the vowel of English *cats* or *apple*. When pharyngealized it is backed and lowered and is similar to /aa/ (though the two do not merge).

(1)	dea	'done' (D)	даъ
(2)	---		
(3)	dead	'did' (D, nonwitnessed tense)	даъд
	meaq	'bread'	маькх
	beaccara	'green'	баьццара
	deatta	'butter'	даьтта
(4)	dealar	'went' (D)	даьлар
	meachezh	'shoes'	маьчеш

As is discussed in §2.4.2.13, the back vowel /aa/ in the vicinity of palatalized consonants has a somewhat fronted allophone that is similar to /ea/. It is occasionally (but not consistently) transcribed as /ea/ in published sources, and sometimes (but not consistently) heard as /ea/ by speakers.

2.4.2.6. /y/. A fairly high, lax central vowel rather like Polish *y* though usually shorter. It is found chiefly in restressed clitics (see §2.5.4) where it has originated in restressed schwa. Once morphosyntactic context and word classes are taken into consideration, it is rarely in contrast with /i/ (which is also lax and centralized). There are, however, minimal pairs such as /di/ 'day' : /dy/ 'is, are' (restressed clitic) which make the contrast technically phonemic. Apart from restressed clitics, /y/ originates from Proto-Nakh *u under conditions that are not entirely clear, and younger speakers have /y/ for more tokens of *u than older speakers do.

There is a merger or near-merger of /i/ and /y/ in the past tense forms and anterior converb of verbs like /duz/, where /i/ is written by Imnaishvili 1977 and Mal'sagov 1925 and in the orthography, but many speakers pronounce [y] and most hear /y/. Thus:

dyzaa < *dizaa	[dizæ:] ≈ [dɪzɑ:]	'filled' (converb) диза
dyzar < *dizar	[diz ^ɔ r] ≈ [dɪz ^ɔ r]	'filled' (wit. past) дизар

(In such words, even speakers who pronounce [i] and those who seem to hear /i/ do not have palatalization of the initial /d/. They do, however, palatalize /d/ in root words such as /di/ 'day' [dʲi].) I have transcribed these words, and some others with variation or near-merger, with /i/ or /y/ as I hear them, without attempting to settle on a standard spelling.

Consistent with its origin, in tonic words /y/ is usually spelled either “i” or “u” in the Cyrillic orthography. In restressed clitics it is spelled “a” (as schwa usually is).

(1) d.y	'is'	да
sy	'my'	са
fɥ	'what'	фу
cy=	negative	ца
my=	negative	ма
qy	'another'	кхы
(3) fɥ=dy /fɥd/	'what is (this/it)?'	фуд / фу да
yz	's/he, it'	из
(4) qycha	'another' (obl.)	кхыча
dyzaa	'full, filled' (≈ /dizaa)	диза

2.4.2.7. /a/. A lower-mid central vowel [ʌ], virtually identical to the vowel of American English *but*, *cup*, etc. It is lower and/or farther back when pharyngealized. After /j/ there is a merger with /e/ and the pronunciation is [ɛ]. As mentioned in §2.4.2.4, there is a near-merger of /a/ and /e/ in past tense forms of verbs.

(1) cha	'bear'	ча
sa	'soul'	са
(3) bat	'face'	бат
kast-kasta	'often'	каст-каста
massa	'how many'	масса
wazh	'apple'	Ӏаж
(4) mala	'who'	мала
latar	'fight; adhesion' (verbal noun)	латар
hwazaljg	'bird'	хъзилг
sahwat	'hour'	сахъат
vaxar	'he went'	вахар

2.4.2.8. /uu/. A high, tense, and slightly diphthongized vowel much like that of older-generation American English *too*, *loom*, etc. It retains its clear [u] quality when shortened, thus remaining distinct from the much more lax /u/.

(1)	luu	'speaks'	лув
	duu	'kills; sows' (D gender)	дув
	nuu	'broom'	нув
	ghuu	'well' (noun)	г1ув
(2)	buruu *	'drill bit, auger'	бурув
	urduu *	'brideprice'	урдув
	oaghuu *	'side; page'	оаг1ув
	doshuu *	'gold'	дошув
	veanna=v /veannuu/	'he has gone'	ваьннав / ваьнна ва
	mala=vy /maluu/	'who is it'	малав / мала ва
(3)	duuc	'tells, narrates'	дувц
(4)	duuca	'tell, narrate' (infinitive)	дувца

* For some speakers the final vowel in these words is not /uu/ but /uo/ (due to generalization of the oblique stem). It is an allophone of /uo/ with less marked diphthongization ([u:u] instead of the usual [u:ʌ] or [u:o]) and thus impressionistically midway between /uo/ and /uu/. It is phonetically different from the final vowels of both *veannuu* '(he) went' (see context (2) just above) and *saguo* 'person (ergative)', but identified phonemically as /uo/ when attention is directed to it. It is not clear what conditions this allophone. It occurs regularly in non-tonic syllables but also sometimes in tonic syllables as in the oblique and plural forms of *koch* 'dress, shirt' (e.g. nom. pl. [ku:uchəməzh]) and *kog* 'leg' (e.g. [ku:ugəzh]).

2.4.2.9. /u/. A lax and centralized vowel much like that of American English *put*.

(1)	fu	'breed, line; seed'	фу
	du	'does, makes' (D gender)	ду
	bu	'hut, doghouse'	бу
(3)	dulx	'meat'	дулх
	ull	'lies, is lying'	улл
	buc	'grass'	буц
	fu'	'egg'	фуъ
	burgac	'ball'	бургац
(4)	fusam	'household, host's home'	фусам
	bukara	'round-shouldered'	букара
	duhwal	'against'	духьал
	duqa	'much, many'	дукха

bustam	'measure; pattern' ¹¹	бустам
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A schwa is often pronounced the same as /u/ when the preceding syllable contains a round vowel and the intervening consonant is a velar or uvular (see §2.5.2):

mogazh [mogʊʒ]	'well, healthy'	могаш
bukara [bukʊr ^ə]	'round-shouldered'	букара
duqqadz [duq:ʊdz]	'many times'	дуккхаз

This is regularly reflected in the spellings of Mal'sagov (1925)1963.

/u/ is usually more tense before /r/ than in other contexts (see §3.3.8):

butt [but:]	'moon'
burgac [burgəc]	'ball'

In some contexts /u/ is so lax that it is very similar to /y/, e.g. third singular genitive *cyn*, where some speakers hear /cyn/, some /cun/.

2.4.2.10. /uo/. A diphthong with a long tense first component and a centralized offglide: [u:o], [u:ʌ]. When shortened (in closed syllables), it merges with /o/. The words illustrating context (3) below are all nominative singulars which have clear /uo/ vocalism in their oblique and plural forms and hence have morphophonemic {uo} which yields /o/ in closed syllables.

(1) muo	'like'; 'bad'	мо
cuo	3sg.ERG	цо
fuo	'air'	фо
(2) saguo	'person' (ergative)	саго
diesharxuo	'pupil', 'school student'	дешархо
(3) jol	'hay'	йол
dol	'gum' (anat.)	дол
kor	'window'	кор
koch	'dress, shirt'	коч
istol	'table'	истол
(4) juolaa	'hay' (dative)	йола
duolaa	'gum' (dative)	дола
kuorazh	'windows'	кораш
kuochazh	'dresses, shirts'	кочаш
kuorta	'head'	корта

Note that /-rt-/ does not close a syllable (§3.2.6), hence the last entry *kuorta* [ku:ort^ə] 'head'.

¹¹ Also 'gunpowder sleeve on Caucasian jacket', probably because each sleeve held a measure of gunpowder.

2.4.2.11. /o/. A mid rounded vowel of slight to moderate laxness. The words illustrating context (3) below have short /o/ in their inflectional forms with open syllables and hence have morphophonemic {o}.

(1) so	'I'	со
hwo	'you (sg.)'	хьо
(3) dogh/dogha	'rain'	догla
mol	'drink(s)' (present tense)	мол
dom	'dust'	дом
bos	'color, paint, dye'	бос
(4) molazh	'drinking' (converb)	молаш
komar	'berry, mulberry'	комар
chopaljg	'button'	чопилг

2.4.2.12. /oa/. A rising diphthong with an [o] or [ɔ] onglide and a fairly long [a:] nucleus. It retains a modicum of length even in closed syllables. *toap/top* and *zhwoap/zhwop/zhop* below are words in which a few speakers have /oa/ while most have /o/, the result of an occasional sound change favored by (in this case) a following labial.¹²

(1) doa	'wicker'	доа
(2)		
(3) toap / top	'rifle'	топ
zhwoap/zhwop/zhop	'answer'	жоп
loam	'mountain'	лоам
doal	'reign, rule'	доал
choazh	'abdomen'	чоаж
boardz	'gravemound'	боарз
oaz	'voice'	оаз
(4) doagha	'comes'	доагла
dwoagha	'key'	длоагла
qoana	'tomorrow'	кхоана
loamazh	'mountains'	лоамаш

2.4.2.13. /aa/. A long, low back vowel with vary little variation in quality. When shortened it remains distinct from /a/ in being low and back.

¹² Both are loan words, *zhop* from Persian *zhawab* and *top* from Turkic *top*. Both are likely to have entered Ingush from Chechen, and in Chechen both have the diphthongized short vowel [ʰo], so rather than a sound change the Ingush pronunciation with /oa/ may reflect the Chechen phonetics. For all speakers the oblique and plural stem has /uo/, not /oa/: pl. *tuopazh, zhuopazh*; unlike any native word with /oa/.

(1) daa	'father'	да
(2) loamaa	'mountain' (dative)	лоама
ghalghaa	'Ingush (person)' (noun)	г1алг1а
(3) daaz	'father' (ergative)	дас
laatt	'stands' (present tense)	латт
daac	'isn't' (D gender)	дац
maalx	'sun'	малх
(4) naaxa	'people' (ergative)	наха
daacar	'wasn't' (D gender)	дацар

In words with palatalized consonants, /aa/ has a fronted allophone. It is phonetically and phonemically distinct from /ea/ at least for some speakers, but is occasionally (though inconsistently) heard as /ea/ by native speakers and occasionally spelled or transcribed as /ea/. It is transcribed [æ] here.

ch'eaupaljg [č^{1æ}a:pil¹g¹] 'unleavened filled pan bread' (ч1аьпилг); spelled with /aa/ by Mal'sagov 1963, but with /ea/ by Ozdoev et al.1962 and Kurkiev 2004.
 sagaa [seg^{1æ}:] ≈ [seg^{1æ}a:] ≈ [sega:] ≈ [sega...] 'person' (dative); heard as /sagaa/ by speakers with merger of /e/ and /a/.
 jaashjkaa=chy/ [jæš¹k¹æ:č²] 'in the box' (box.DAT=in) (яшка чу)

The same allophone can sometimes be heard in anterior converbs of verbs whose tonic syllables formerly had *i and now have /y/ or a near-merger. Here there is no palatalized consonant, so the fronted allophone was apparently triggered by the former front vowel of the tonic syllable.¹³

*dizaa /dyzaa/ '(having been) filled' [dɪzæ:] ≈ [dɪzæ:] ≈ [dɪza:] (диза)

These partial palatalizations of /aa/ in words also containing a front vowel or palatalized consonant are more common and more thoroughgoing in the speech of older generations. This suggests that at an earlier time palatalization was a word-length phenomenon in Ingush.

2.4.2.14. Potential phoneme: [oo]. In the pronunciation of unassimilated Russian words, a stressed Russian /o/ in an Ingush open syllable is generally pronounced [oo]: *Evrópa* [jvroop²], *istórik* [ɪstoorik], *sórok* [soorək]. When speakers attend to this vowel (e.g. when asked to repeat a word) they generally replace [oo] with /uo/, but not always. Perhaps under the influence of this vowel, in a few Ingush words /oa/ is often pronounced [oo]. This is very common with *joax* 'say(s)' (present tense), which occurs very frequently as a quotative

¹³ The front vowel was itself earlier conditioned by the ending, Proto-Vainakh *-ina or *-ena (based on Chechen and Batsbi evidence).

and hearsay evidential (§13.6.1), but some speakers extend it to a few other words. (I have not heard anyone use it regularly for /oa/.) On one occasion a speaker prolongs /oa/ for emphasis and pronounces [o::]:

hwu jy jo-o-oqa hwa-juodazh
 forest J.be.PRS J.big up-J.go.CVsim
 A huge forest goes uphill from there ... (0415.12)¹⁴

This [oo] is not even a marginal phoneme but has the potential to become one.

2.4.3. *Diphthongs.* I regard the items in this section as diphthongs and not as sequences of vowel plus sonorant as this is consistent with the syllable canon and possible consonant clusters of Ingush.

2.4.3.1. /ei/. Most tokens of Cyrillic ай are actually pronounced /ei/.

sei	'deer'	сай
sei	1SRFL.GEN	сай
gheiba	'pillow'	г1айба
teipa	'clan'	тайпа

2.4.3.2. /ai/, though infrequent, is in contrast with /ei/. The known words with /ai/ are:

vai	'we' (inclusive)	вай
lai	'slave, servant'	лай
cwaitt	'11'	цхъайтт
Waishet	'Aisha'	1айшет

The known minimal and near-minimal pairs for /ai/ and /ei/ are:

vaina	'we (inclusive, dative)	[v ^w Λjn ^ə] ¹⁵	вайна
veina	'having seen him' (converb)	[vejn ^ə]	вайна
lai	'servant'		лай
lei	'snow' (genitive)		лай
Waishet	'Aisha'		1айшет
weishaa	'chewed' (< woush- 'chew')		1айша

¹⁴ [jo-o-oqa] is ordinarily /joaqa/. I do not know why the speaker pronounces /q/ rather than /qq/. In the last word, *hwa-* is a colloquial shortening of *hwal-* 'up' (§15.5.1).

¹⁵ /v/ is rounded (as it usually is before back vowels) in 'we (incl.)' but not in 'having seen' (as it never is before front vowels).

2.4.3.3. /aai/ Chiefly the result of affixation or cliticization of *-j* to forms in *-aa*, but also an unanalyzable segment in a few roots: see the last three examples here.

jaxaai {jaxaa=j}	'has gone' (J.go.NW.J)	яхай
ghalghaa, pl. ghalghaai	'Ingush'	гIалгIай
Muusaa, gen. Muusaai	(name)	Мусай
hwie, oblique stem hwaai-	2SRFL	хъай- (e.g. all. хъайга)
q'aaig	'crow'	къайг
d.waaixa	'hot'	дIайха
haai	'what?' 'huh?'	хIай

2.4.3.4. /oi/ Arises chiefly when nouns in *-uo* take the nominative-genitive plural {j}: *loalaxuo*, *loalaxoi* 'neighbor'.

2.4.3.5. /ou/. Ranges between [ow] and [ʌw]; could just as well be transcribed /au/. Appears only in major class roots: *louzar* 'play; game, party', *kou* 'courtyard', *gour* 'horse', *touttar* 'push (plural object)'.

2.4.3.6. /aav/ Chiefly (and probably exclusively) the result of cliticization of *-v-* (of the copula and tense marker in V gender *vy*) to converb stems in *-aa*: *vaxaa-v* '(he) went, has gone' (V.go.NW.V), cf. *daxaa-d*, *baxaa-b* in D and B genders. Since this is the only source and the morphology is quite transparent, I spell this diphthong "aav".

2.4.3.7. Orthographic (and abstract or underlying) “eai” (аьй) and “oai” (оай) are pronounced /ei/ or (the latter, for some speakers) /oi/.

dei	'fathers'	даьй
shei/shoi	3pRFL.GEN	шоай / шой

2.4.3.8. Residue. I have heard ergative singulars in *-v* for three nouns: *xii* 'water', erg. *xiv*; *chei* 'tea', erg. *cheav*; *shura* 'milk', erg. *shurev* or *shuriiv*. This ending is not mentioned in any source I have seen, though it is etymologically motivated.¹⁶ Speakers I have heard and seen pronounce it [v^w], with the same allophone of /v/ as can be heard word-finally in V gender nonwitnessed tense forms such as *vaxaav* 'he has gone'. For this reason and because it is transparently attached to the oblique stem, I spell it "v".

¹⁶ The productive ergative ending in Batsbi is *v*, where the ergative of 'water' is *xiv* (Holisky 1994:164-166). Ozdoev et al. 1961 give ergatives "cheava" (чаьва) and "shureva" or "shurieva" (шурева), but in the pronunciations I have heard the stem vowel is phonetically short, so there cannot be a final schwa on the ending. Kurkiev 2004 gives ergatives *xivuo*, *cheavuo*, *shuruo/shurievuo* (хиво, чаьво, шуро/шурево) with the productive ending *-uo* added to the *-v-*, and I have heard these as well.

2.5. Schwa

In this section, [ˆ] marks high pitch assigned by the clitic conjunction =*'a* (see §2.6 and §4.2); [ə̯] is an unvocalized schwa. These are specialized phonetic or more abstract transcriptions used chiefly in this section. The quasi-orthographic transcription of schwa in this grammar is not entirely phonemic. Some high-frequency morphemes with schwas are spelled at a level more abstract than the phoneme. Though the grounds for the spellings will be explained later in this section, it may be useful to summarize the relevant transcription principles and the main examples at the outset:

(1) Restressed schwa (§2.5.4) is written “y” even after /j/ (where it is actually pronounced /i/), for paradigmatic consistency:

vy, jy, by, dy 'is, are' (present tense copula) ва, йа, ба, да

(2) Clitics which alternate between restressed and posttonic (i.e. unstressed) position are written with a single vocalism, that of their restressed variants:

chy=, t'y= 'in', 'on' (verbal proclitics and clitic postpositions) чу, тла

(3) Posttonic schwas are written “a”, though they represent a neutralization of short vowels and have an indistinct and variable quality that makes them hard to ascribe to any one phoneme:

jurtazh	'towns'	юрташ
dieshazh	'reading' (converb)	дешаш
lazar	'pain, ache'	лазар

The spelling "ig" is used for the vocalized allomorph of the denominal noun-forming suffix consisting of a schwa followed by a palatalized velar. (The non-vocalized allomorph will be written "jg", where devoiced "jk", and after vowels "gj".)

burtig	'kernel'	/burtagj/	буртиг
darrig / derrig	'all'	/darragj/	дерриг
hwazaljg	'bird'	/hwazaljg/	хъазилг
cysjk	'cat'	{cys-jg} ¹⁷	циск
wagj	'spoon'		Iаг

¹⁷ Historically {cic-jg}, cf. Chechen *cick*, *cicig* and the Russified Ingush last name *Cickiev* from the clan name *Cysjka neaq'aan* < **Cicjka neaq'aan* (whose eponymous mythic ancestor was so nicknamed because he survived nine stabbings as an infant).

(4) Unstressed schwa in root-initial syllables is identical to /a/. It is [ɛ] = /e/ after /j/, in the preposed unaccented word *je* 'or'. It is /a/ [ʌ] elsewhere, e.g. in indirect causatives which are stressed on the second syllable (§4.1), e.g. *d.axiita* 'D.go.CSind' 'send, have go'. It is a lower /a/ when pharyngealized, as in the usually unstressed deictic prefixes:

dwa-	'away from speaker'	д1а-
hwa-	'toward speaker'	хьа-
wa-	'down'	1о-
hwal-	'up'	хьал-

and a few other words with non-initial stress, e.g. *waléamatie* 'extremely' (but not the place name *Pw(y)léaq'on-jurt* 'Plievo'; see §4.1). When pharyngealization attraction removes the pharyngealization from a deictic prefix, the schwa of the prefix surfaces with [ʌ] quality. For pharyngealization attraction see §3.3.6. That [ʌ] quality is to be expected is explained in §2.5.2.

dwa-aara-vealar	[dʌʎaɾ ³ veaɾ ³]	'went out'	д1аараваьлар
DX- out- V.went			

The allophony [e] after /j/, otherwise [ʌ] is the same in tonic syllables (see §§2.4.2.4, 2.4.2.7).

Both *je* 'or' and the deictic prefixes might be regarded as special clitics, but I analyze them simply as prosodically unaccented words and not as atonic. Enclitics are indubitable clitics and firmly atonic, and their schwa has higher, more centralized, and less distinct vocalism. The enclitic chaining/coordinating conjunction =*a* usually has an elided vowel, but whatever vowel quality can be heard after the glottal stop is at least as high as IPA [ə]. The schwa in the other coordinating enclitic =*ji* is more audible and sounds identical to /i/ [i].

2.5.1. *Reduction, elision, and vocalization of schwas.* All non-tonic short vowels merge into a single schwa phoneme whose pronunciation is highly variable and which in some positions is not audible as a segment (though it generally has audible effects on adjacent segments). Since it is the result of neutralization, it could be written with any vowel letter. Here in most contexts it is written with “a”, as is done in the Cyrillic orthography. The Ingush schwa has several of the properties associated with schwa phonemes cross-linguistically: variable quality, epenthesis, and positionally conditioned reduction or loss.

In Ingush, word-final schwas are devoiced or lost entirely. Nonetheless, a schwa opens a preceding syllable (providing an intersyllabic consonant cluster does not inherently close syllables), and it has other detectable phonological and morphological consequences, so its presence must be recognized. Schwas can be described as vocalized, unvocalized, and unpronounced, and these treatments follow from the phonological context.

(1) Vocalized (or strong). Pronounced as a true vowel with full voicing. This occurs in specifiable syllabic environments, e.g. where otherwise impermissible clusters would be formed (examples underlined):

doax <u>a</u> n	'cattle'	доахан
hwazal <u>j</u> g	'bird'	хъазилг
derrig {darragj}	'all'	дерриг

and also word-finally under question intonation:

han <u>a</u> ?	Why?	х1ана?
dika <u>a</u> ?	Good? (echo question)	дика?

after consonants geminated by focus gemination:¹⁸

dikka	(very) good	дикка
handdza	just now	х1анзза
eggara	the most... (superlative marker)	эггара

and where they count in metrics, e.g. in reading poetry and in singing and chanting.

(2) Unvocalized (or weak), the result of schwa elision (§3.2.2). When a schwa is unvocalized, the preceding consonant is released and a brief whispered vowel may be audible after it, but no fully syllabic vowel is audible. A final schwa opens the preceding syllable, so the length of the preceding vowel is often the strongest clue to the presence of a final schwa. Native speakers are usually aware that there is something following the consonant, but they are sometimes hard put to identify it as an actual vowel phoneme. Semispeakers and semi-literates are usually unaware of it. Examples of word-final unvocalized schwas (underlined):

ch'woagh <u>a</u>	'very'	ч1оаг1а
dika <u>a</u>	'good'	дика
ciga <u>a</u>	'there'	цига
wearzh <u>a</u>	'black'	1аьржа
baank <u>a</u> [baŋk ^ə]	'jar'	банка
cf. baank [baŋk:]	'bank'	банк
maara <u>a</u> [ma:r ^ə]	'except'	мара
cf. maar [mar]	'husband'	мар

(3) Completely absent. The preceding consonant is unreleased and nothing vocalic follows it. This occurs in particular environments, with some speaker variability:

(a) After word-final /gh/. Regularly after /gh/ following a posttonic syllable, and sometimes even when it follows a tonic syllable, provided that has short vowel. After a long

¹⁸ Focus gemination is described in §3.3.2. It is a word-level component which affects every non-initial consonant of the word but is most audible on the posttonic consonant. In *d.errig* 'all' gemination is not audible on the /r/ but nonetheless vocalizes the following schwa.

vowel – i.e. when the syllable-opening effects of a schwa are clearly audible – the allophonic effects of this schwa are audible, as in 'key' here:

dogha	[doɥ] = /dogh/	'rain'	доґла
dwoagha	[d ^h oa:ɥ ^ə] = /dwoagha/	'key'	длоаґла
dikagha	[dikay] ~ [dik ^h aɥ] = /dikagh/	'better'	дикаґла

Mal'sagov (1926)1973, whose orthography is in some details more phonemic than the modern standard, generally writes no schwa after /gh/ where it is not pronounced. For the first two words above he writes “dogh” and “dwoagha”. The modern orthography writes “a” after all three words, on morphological grounds: the declension of the first two words is the same, and it is the declension type that is regular for words ending in *-a*; comparatives (*dikagha* above), like other adjectives, end in *-a*. That spelling is also used here for adjectives.¹⁹

(b) After word-final posttonic /r/, at least in most words. The /r/ is absolutely final phonetically, but differs from a word-final /r/ not followed by a schwa, which is often devoiced to some extent (without, however, merging with /rh/; see §2.9).

suogara	[suogər]	1 sg.ALL	соґара
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(c) /N __ C (chiefly for C = obstruent, and especially over clitic boundary)

geana=t'y	[gæ:nt ^ə]/[gæ:nət ^ə]	'on a tree'	гӑна тла
seana=chy	[sæ:nč ^ə]	'in the corner'	сӑна чу

Note that unpronounced schwas in N __ C contexts still open syllables as in the words just above, in which the vowel of the first syllable is fully long though there is no release at all between the [n] and the [t].

Phonetic clues to the presence of a schwa are opening of the preceding syllable, release of the preceding consonant, and lack of word-final consonant gemination (§3.3.1). At least in normative grammar, the inflectional class of a word can indicate whether it has a final schwa: there is a special declension class of nouns in *-a* (see §6.1.1 (5)), adjectives always end in *-a*, and so on. The clitic conjunction =*'a* vocalizes a preceding schwa: *dika='a* [dikə^ə] 'good=&'.²⁰

¹⁹ For some speakers, the sequence of /gh/ plus unpronounced or unvocalized schwa is pronounced as a non-obstruent uvular continuant which often seems to be syllabic. For others /gh/ is always a uvular fricative, fully obstruent.

²⁰ However, the clitic does not provide an acid test for the presence vs. absence of a schwa, as there is a tendency to insert an automatic epenthetic schwa if the glottal stop of the clitic would otherwise be adjacent to a consonant: *sag='a* [sʌgə^ə].

Schwas are regularly written in the orthography (spelled "a"). The orthography was devised almost a century ago, when schwas were evidently still audible and traditional culture was still strong enough that all speakers were familiar with singing and chanting. It aims for grammatical consistency, for instance writing a final schwa on all adjectives and adverbs regardless of whether a phonological argument for the schwa can be given for every word. For instance, the following lexicalized adverbs are spelled with a schwa:

hwunagha	'in the forest'	< hwu 'forest'	хьунаг а
c'agha	'home, at home'	< c'aa 'house'	ц аг а

At least for some speakers there is some evidence that the adverb ending can be identified with the lative case ending *-gh* (with no schwa).²¹ The adverb *lurchagh* 'year before last' has a variant *lurchogh* reported by two consultants. /o/ quality in a non-tonic syllable necessarily reflects *uo = {uo} (if it were an original short vowel it would be reduced to schwa as all posttonic short vowels are). Therefore, if there were a schwa in this ending the word would be *[lurčuoŋ^ə] */lurchuogha/. The word is etymologically isolated, however, so it cannot be argued with certainty that the /gh/ represents the adverb suffix. Also relevant is two forms of the adverb derived from *Sibrie* 'Siberia': *Sibregh* and *Sibriegha*. For speakers with *Sibregh*, the adverb ending has no schwa (thus it closes the preceding syllable, producing short /e/).²²

The suffix forming ordinal numerals is spelled “-lagha” *-лаг|а* in the orthography, though pronounced /lagh/ and spelled “-lagh” *-лаг|* by Mal'sagov (1925)1963. Ordinals, however, take periphrastic declension and therefore need not be viewed as ending in the adjective inflectional schwa. There may be other such cases.

Word-final gemination of consonants in the nominative singular of nouns and the present tense of verbs (§3.3.1) is a strong perceptual cue for the absence of a word-final schwa, helping distinguish the imperative and present tense indicative of verbs that have the same ablaut grade in both forms but a schwa in the imperative vs. no ending in the present tense. If such a verb has a long vowel, or a stem-final voiced fricative that becomes an affricate when geminated, these are the clearest cues, but when there is a short vowel and a consonant not susceptible to affrication, gemination is the clearest cue.

	vuozha	[vuož ^ə]	'fall' (imperative, infinitive; V gender)	вожа
	vozh	[vož:]	'(he) falls' (present) {vuodzh}	вож
cf. also	vozh	[vož]	'other, the other' (no final gemination in pronouns)	вож
	jaaxa	[ja:x ^ə]	'live' (imperative, infinitive; J gender)	яха
	jaax	[jax:]	'(she) lives' (present)	ях

²¹ In Chechen both the lative case and the adverbs end in *-x*. In Batsbi the case ends in *-x* and the adverb in *-ɣ* (Holisky 1994:164). Since Ingush affix-final fricatives historically underwent voicing (§3.2.9), the Ingush endings could be derived from either the Batsbi or the Chechen forms.

²² Jakovlev 2001:166, 222-3 considers *-a* a suffix and *-gha* morphologically different from *-gh*.

lata	[lɑtʰ]	'fight; adhere' (imperative, infinitive)	лата
lat	[lɑt:]	'fights; adheres' (present)	лат

2.5.2. *Vowel quality of schwas*. Probably the most frequent allophone of schwa is a mid-high central vowel of much the same quality as the phoneme /y/.

bierazh	[bierʰž, bierʰž]	'children'	бераш
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In a word containing a palatalized consonant a schwa is generally pronounced [ɪ], identical to short /i/:

cysjkazh	[cɪsʰkʰiʒ]	'cats'	цискаш
hwazaljgazh	[hwaziʰgʰiʒ]	'birds'	хъазилгаш
kinashjka	[kɪniʃkʰʲ]	'book'	кинишка / книжка
mottig (i.e. mottagj)	[mottigʰ]	'place'	моттиг
burtig (i.e. burtagj)	[burtigʰ]	'kernel'	буртиг

All of these words end in the same diminutive/substantivizing suffix *-ig, whose form in modern Ingush is actually {-(a)gʰ}, i.e. a schwa followed by a palatalized velar. The schwa undergoes elision (with some exceptions; see §3.2.2). The orthography writes "-ig" (-иг) whenever the vowel is present, and it writes a schwa in the preceding syllable as "i" when the suffix itself has no vowel (see 'bird' above).

In a word with a labial tonic vowel, a schwa in the second syllable is [ʊ], frequently after /u/ (and regularly within root morphemes), optionally after /o/ and /uo/, and rarely after /oa/. The effect is strongest after velars, uvulars, and /l/, and it is most consistent in the speech of the oldest generation.

burgac	[burgʊc]	'ball'	бургац
ghulaq	[ghulʊq]	'deal, matter'	гʱулақх
jurtazh	[jurtʰiʒh ≈ jurtoʒh]	'towns'	юрташ
mogazh	[mogʰiʒh ≈ mogʊʒh]	'being able'	могаш
dogarazh	[dogʰiʒh ≈ dogʊʒh]	'axes'	догараш
joaqqazh	[joaqqʊʒh]	'taking'	йоаккхаш
loamazh	[loamʰiʒh]	'mountains'	лоамаш

Schwa is lower and sometimes backed, approximately [ʌ] or [ɑ], before /gh/:

loamagh	[loamɑʒ]	'mountain' (lative case)
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It is lower, approximately [a], adjacent to a pharyngeal (see §2.5.1):

nagahw sanna	[nʌgɑh sʌnːʰ]	'if'	нагахъ санна
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The rules for allophonic quality of schwa are summarized in Table 2-4.

Table 2-4. Allophony of vocalized schwa.

Prosodic type	Default allophone	Other allophones	Same as (non-schwa phoneme)
posttonic	[ɨ]	[ɪ] in words with palatalized velars [ʌ], [ɑ], [a] before uvulars and pharyngeals	/y/ /a/
pretonic	[ʌ]	[ɛ] / j __; [a] when pharyngealized	/a/
restressed	[ɨ]	[ɪ] / j __	/y/

2.5.3. *Sandhi phenomena involving schwa.* Stem-final schwa followed by *j-* of a clitic or affix becomes [i], i.e. the sequence /a=j/ or /a-j/ is realized as /ii/. Likewise, stem-final schwa becomes [u] before initial /v-/ of a clitic or suffix.

mala vy 'who is it' /mala=vy/ or /mala=v/ [maluu] мала ва

nonwitnessed tense:	'saw'	'went'
V [veinuu]	v.einə=v	[veannuu] v.eannə=v
J [jeinii]	j.einə=j	[jeannii] j.eannə=j
but D [dein ^ə d]	d.einə=d	[deann ^ə d] d.eannə=d
B [bein ^ə b]	b.einə=b	[beann ^ə b] b.eannə=b

other cliticizations of 'be':

fy=jy [fi:] ≈ [fi:ji] 'what is it? what's that?'
cf. fy=dy [f^w:ɨd] 'what is this? what's going on? what the huh?'

As a result of this sandhi, ends of different noun stems receive very different treatment before enclitic =*ji* 'and':

naana=ji daa=ji 'mother and father'
[naani:ji da:ji]

cysjk=ji zhwalii=ji chq'eara=ji hwazaljg=ji
[cysjk:ji zhwalii:ji chq'eari:ji hwazaljg:ji]

=*ji*, like several other clitics, assigns high tone to the preceding syllable (see §2.6, §4.2). The changed schwa in the sandhi context bears this high tone (marked here with a circumflex accent as described in §4.2):

naaniŋji	daâji	hwazâlĵji	chq'eariŋji
{naana=^ji}	{daa=^ji}	{hwazalĵg=^ji}	{chq'eara=ji}

A lengthened vowel with high pitch before =ji 'and' can also be pronounced /ie/.

In the Cyrillic orthography enclitic =ji 'and' is written *u* ("i") when it follows a consonant and *eu* when it follows and absorbs a schwa (Ozdoev 2003:94):

Уумари, Iаълеи
 {Wumar=ji Weala=ji}
 'Umar and Ali'

This orthographic rule does not coincide very well with the actual pronunciation, in which the choice of /ie/ vs. /ii/, insertion of epenthetic schwa or not, and pronunciation vs. elision of the vowel of =ji are determined as much by individual variation and phrasal prosody as by phonological context. (See §2.6.3 below for the prosody of coordinated phrases and numeral phrases using =ji.) Nor does it capture the fundamental lexical unity of the conjunction. The spelling =ji used here is more abstract than phonemic, and captures the unity of the word

2.5.4. Restressed schwa. Ingush has mostly initial stress, and proclitics attract word or phrase stress and have the same stress and much the same prosody as verbal prefixes. However, a proclitic, when stressed, retains the default phonetic vowel quality of a posttonic schwa -- raised and centralized compared to tonic /a/ -- and hence its vowel surfaces as /y/. The Cyrillic letter *ы* would be an excellent match for restressed schwa, but is not used for it in the orthography.

cy xouzħ	(i.e. cy=xouzħ)	ца ховш
not know.CVsim		
'not knowing'		
my velxa	(my=velxa)	ма велха
not V.cry.IMPV		
'don't cry'		
t'y-juux	(t'y=juux)	тIаювх
on-dress.PRS		
'puts on (garment)'		
chy-vealar	(chy=vealar)	чуваьлар
in-V.go.WP		
'went in, went indoors'		

The prefixes of the last two examples, *t'y-* 'on' and *chy-* 'in', are proclitic to the verb when not preceded by any other prefix, but enclitic to a preceding prefix (for prefix positions and kinds of prefixes see §15.0):

hwa=chy-vealar	хъачуваьлар
[hwa=ch ^o -vealɨr]	
DX=in-V.go.WP	
'came in'	
hwa=chy='a veanna	хъачу а ваьнна
[hwa=chy= ^o veanna]	
DX=in-& V.go.CVant	
'came in and ...', 'having come in, ...'	

Note that the deictic prefix *hwa-*, which is prosodically unaccented but not atonic, has /a/ and not /y/ vocalism (see (4) just before §2.5.1 above).

A number of tonic words are sometimes accented but often unaccented, and have restressed schwa vocalism:

d.y 'is, are' (present tense of 'be')	да
yz 'he, she, it; that, aforementioned' (nominative case of personal and demonstrative pronoun)	из
cynna, cynga (oblique forms of the same pronoun)	цунна, цунга
sy 'my' (genitive case of so 'I')	са
txy 'our' (genitive case of txo 'we (excl.)')	тха

There are other pronominal forms which have the same vowel: *fy* 'what', *qy* 'other', *yshta* 'thus', and other pronoun forms. There are numerous other pronoun forms with true /a/ vocalism, e.g. *mala* 'who', *massa* 'how many', *maca* 'when'. Therefore /y/ and /a/ must be recognized as fully contrastive in tonic syllables of pronouns.

Short /i/, which is strongly centralized in most contexts, shows a tendency to merge with /y/. In the speech of the two younger generations, the anterior converb and other past stem forms of verbs like *duz* 'fill', which have present stem /u/, is /y/: *dyzaa* 'having filled', *dyzar* 'filled'. Historically this vowel was /i/, and it is so spelled by Mal'sagov (1926)1963 and transcribed by Imnaishvili (1977:113), occasionally so pronounced by a few speakers, and more often so pronounced in recordings of older speakers. (See also §2.4.2.13 above.)

Restressed schwa has the same allophony that the independent phoneme /y/ does: after /j/ it merges with /i/. Hence *iy* 'is' (J gender) could just as well be written /ji/. (It is written *iy* here for morphological consistency with the other gender forms *by*, *dy*, and *vy*.)

2.5.5. *Epenthetic schwas*. A schwa can be automatically inserted after a consonant-final stem before a consonant-initial suffix or enclitic. The following examples show the instrumental case forms (instrumental ending is *-ca* / *-caa*) and nominative forms with clitic particle *'a*. The underlined schwas are epenthetic. The epenthetic schwa in the instrumental (and other oblique cases not shown here) could be analyzed away as a stem extension for consonant stems (though this is not the best analysis; see Chapter 4), but there is no alternative to recognizing an epenthetic schwa before the particle *'a*. The schwa before *'a*, on the other hand, is an option and for some speakers a dispreferred one, while the epenthetic schwa in the instrumental of consonant stem nouns is obligatory.

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Oblique stem</i>	<i>Instrumental</i>	<i>Nominative='a</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	
ghaala	ghaala-	ghaalaaca	ghaala='a	[ɣa:l̩ʔ ^o]	'fortress'
zhwalii	zhwalie-	zhwalieca	zhwalii='a	[ʒ ^h al̩i:ʔ ^o]	'dog'
aarie	aariena-	aarienaca	aarie='a	[a:riɛʔ ^o]	'field'
dottagh	dottaghchuo(n)-	dottaghchynca	dottagh='a	[dottâɣʔ ^o]	'friend'
ghaand	ghaand-	ghaand <u>a</u> ca	ghaand='a	[ɣand̩ʔ ^o], [ɣândʔ ^o]	'chair'
koch	kuoch-	kuoch <u>a</u> ca	koch='a	[k ^w oç̩ʔ ^o], [k ^w ôç̩ʔ ^o]	'dress'

Note that in the last two examples the epenthetic vowel before the instrumental ending opens the preceding syllable so that the first vowel is fully long, while the epenthetic schwa before the particle *'a* does not open the syllable.

The other coordinating enclitic, *=ji*, assigns an epenthetic schwa more readily; cf. §§2.5.3 and 3.2.5.

2.6. Tone

Ingush has a minimal tone system consisting of a high or, more precisely, rise-fall, tone that can occur on one syllable per word. Not all words have a high tone. The tone occurs only on about a dozen grammatical morphemes. It interacts in a rather complex fashion with stress, schwa, and clitics. Tone is described in §4.2.

2.7. Consonants

2.7.1. *Phonetics of consonant series*. /p/, /t/, etc.: Voiceless; can be slightly aspirated word-initially and before a final schwa.

/b/, /d/, etc.: Fully voiced.

/p/, /t/, etc.: Ejective; not particularly forceful.

/tt/, etc.: Geminate stops and affricates have a long closure and are not aspirated (though sometimes preaspirated after an underlying long vowel: /t'aaqqa/ [t'a^hq:ʔ] 'so, then'). The geminate fricative /ss/ is long and has a more fortis articulation than plain /s/. /ll/ is long and, impressionistically, fortis; it is often simplified to /l/.

/tt/, /qq/, and /ss/ are frequent and occur in many native roots.²³ * in the examples below marks words with synchronically unanalyzable roots that may be the result of focus gemination or borrowing. The others are native Nakh-Daghestanian or at least Proto-Nakh. Forms in curly brackets are morphophonemic or Proto-Vainakh forms.

laatt	'stands, is standing'	
ott	'stands, assumes standing position'	{uott}
ghatt	'gets up, flies away'	
d.ett	'beats, strikes' (PLC); 'milks (a cow)'	{d.iett}
d.ott	'bakes'	
d.ott	'pours', lays (foundation), stacks'	{d.uott}
wott	'stabs'	
mott	'thinks'	{muott}
sott	'bends'	
lott	'filters, strains'	
tott	'pushes, moves'	
xoatt	'asks'	
xott	'joins'	{xuott}
d.utt	'launders'	
mott	'tongue, language'	
mott-ig	'place'	
butt	'moon'	
leatta	'earth'	
dottagh	'friend'	
deatta	'oil, butter'	
ditt	'blade'	
jett	'cow'	
futta, fattan	'plane'	
nitt	'nettle'	
hwett, hwatt	'hives, shingles'	
eatta	'right'	
gotta	'narrow, tight'	
itt	'10'	

²³ /tt/ is particularly frequent because it reflects several different Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian geminate affricates, both plain and ejective. See Nichols 2003a.

d.oaqqa	'large'	
eqq	'jumps, rushes'	
eaqqie	'Akki' (ethnonym)	
eaqq	'informer, spy, traitor'	
t'aaqqa	'then, and then, so'	
chaqqam *	'lock of gun'	
boqqarjg *	'gizzard'	
taqqalcha *	'motionless'	
qoss	'jumps'; 'casts'	{quoss}
toss	'casts' (ultimately cognate to /qoss/)	
d.oss	'descends'	{d.uoss}
d.eassa *	'empty'	
massa *	'all'	
maassa *	'fast'	

The others are infrequent in roots. There are two instances of /kk/, both in evidently non-native roots:

ikk	'boot' (cf. Chechen <i>iatka</i>)
zhukkarjg	'drone'

and two tokens of /tt/, in words that may descend ultimately from the same root:

d.oatt'	'tears, rips' (intrans.)
ett'	id.

/ll/ occurs mostly in verbal roots (several of which are likely to be ultimately cognate to each other, e.g. the first three here):

d.oall	'is located, contained (in)'	
d.oll	'inserts'	{d.uoll}
ull	'lies'	
d.ell	'opens'	{d.iell}
loall	'drives'	
qoall	'swallows; eats a small amount'	
qoll	'covers, conceals'	{quoll}
tull	'puts on top'	
d.ull	'puts, places'	
qoll	'throws (onto), casts'	{quoll}

oll	'hangs'	{uoll}
qeallaa	'overcast (weather)'	
hilla	'cunning'	
dylla	'stock, bouillon'	

/t/, /d/, etc.: True dentals. Note that /n/, however, is alveolar (identical to English /n/).

/k/, /g/: Velars; see §2.7.2. on palatalized velars. Ejective /k/ is pronounced farther back in the mouth than prototypical velars; beginning field workers not infrequently mistake it for /q/, which, however, is even farther back and somewhat affricated.

/x/: Approximately midway between true velars and uvulars.

/q/, /q'/, /gh/: Uvulars. In their articulation there is little movement of the tongue body to the back of the oral tract; the active articulator is the very back part of the tongue. /gh/ is pronounced either as a voiced fricative or as an approximant (with individual speakers tending to favor one or the other).

/f/, /v/: labialized [f^w], [v^w] before back vowels, plain [f], [v] elsewhere. The plain (i.e. front-vowel) allophone occurs before pharyngealized vowels: *vvaashii* [v^ʕa:ʃi:] 'each other'.

/r/: An apical, slightly retroflexed tap (occasionally a two-tap trill). Word-finally it is often partly devoiced (§§2.5.1.(3b), 2.9, 3.3.5). Lack of this devoicing can be the main clue to a following schwa (which is usually not pronounced after /r/):

suogara	[suogər]	'from me'
duozhar	[duoʒər]	'fall(ing)' (verbal noun)

/rh/: Often a voiceless single tap, with audible aspiration. Sometimes it seems to be a prestopped or pretapped lateral fricative (produced by stopping the airstream entirely with the tongue in an alveolar articulation, then releasing the sides of the tongue). This latter pronunciation is phonetically similar to the Batsbi sequence /rlh/ ([rɬ]) that is its most common correspondent (e.g. Ingush *vorh* : Batsbi *vorlh* 'seven').

2.7.2. *Plain vs. palatalized velars.* Palatalized velars are frequently to be heard in Ingush. Palatalization of a final velar or one in the last syllable of the word often entails palatalization of any other velars in the word. Vowels in a word with palatalized velars are fronted: /i/ occurs and not /y/, and /aa/ approaches /ea/ though without actual merger. Palatalization of velars appears to be automatic after /i/ and possible but less regular after other front vowels.

dig	'axe'	[dɪg ^ɨ :]	(cf. pl. /dogarazh/ without palatalization)
meg	'can' (iter.)	[meg ^ɨ :]	
sag	'person'	[sʌg ^ɨ :]	(never *[sʌg ^ɨ :])

Some palatalization can sometimes be heard in other contexts as well, e.g. *gaalii* [g^ja:li:] 'sack'.

Palatalization disappears on any velar immediately followed by a rounded vowel: *cysjk* 'cat', ergative *cyskuo*.

These facts by themselves would indicate that palatalization is not phonemic, as they show it to be automatic in certain contexts and available as an option in some contexts. However, there is also evidence showing that palatalization is phonemic. Velars are always palatalized in the diminutive and nominalizing suffix Proto-Vainakh *-ig, Proto-Nakh *-ik'. The vowel of this suffix is actually now a schwa in Ingush, raised and fronted to [i] adjacent to the palatalized velar. The vowel drops out entirely wherever the resultant cluster is permissible in Ingush phonotactics.

d.arriga	'all'	[dɛrɪg ^j ɪ ^ə]	/darrag ^j a/, i.e. /darragja/
carjg	'tooth'	[cɛrɪg ^j]	/carg ^j /, i.e. /carjg/
cysjk	'cat'	[cɪsk ^j]	/cysjk/ (with voicing assimilation)
hwazaljg	'bird'	[ħazɪl ^j g ^j]	

There are near-minimal pairs showing that palatovelars are contrastive:

wagj	'spoon'	[ʎag ^j :] ²⁴	
sag	'person'	[sʌg:]	(never *[sʌg ^j :])
carjg	'tooth'	[cɛrɪg ^j] ²⁵	
barg	'hoof'	[bʌrɪg]	

There are several contexts where velars are never palatalized:

- (i) root -xk- sequence: pexk 'lung'
 diixk 'liver'

In these words /k/ is not palatalized though it follows a front vowel. The diminutive suffix can occur after -x-, and for some speakers palatalization can be heard in the two such known words:

²⁴ Proto-Nakh 'spoon' is *wabik', cf. Batsbi /wabik'/. This word must have contained the *ik' suffix, but that fact is not synchronically recoverable in Ingush. The root *wab- does not occur in any Nakh language except in this originally suffixed form.

²⁵ The -g in 'tooth', etc. is etymologically a diminutive or nominalizing suffix. The root /ca/ 'tooth' has some marginal existence in compound verbs: /ca tuox/ 'bite' (of horse), /cɛrjg tuox/ 'bite' (of any other animal, or of human); similarly the root of /lɛrjg/ 'ear' in /la-duugh/ 'listen'. Hence at least in some words the suffix may be marginally synchronically evident.

dixjk 'pine tree'
 juxjk 'stubble (in corn or hay field)'

(ii) In roots:	lorg, inf. larga	'shear'
	erga- in erga-d.oal	'become alienated, estranged'
	aag	'rock' (e.g. 'rock cradle')
	kag- in kag-d.u, kag-lu	'break'
	sag	'person'
	barg	'hoof'
	toargac	'trunk, large suitcase'
	baank	'bank' (Russian loan)
	baanka	'jar' (Russian loan)
	inkal	'camel' (loan)
	zhwonka	'edible plant sp.'
	wunkar	'upside down'
	hwonk	'wild garlic, ramson' (<i>Allium ursinum</i>)
	shonk	'blister'

except when immediately preceded by /i/ or /ii/:

dika 'good' [dik^ə] ~ [dikⁱ]

(iii) In the allative suffix, including after a front vowel:

cynga	[ciŋg ^ə]	'to him/her'
Muusaaiga	[mu:sa:jg ^ə]	'to Musa'
veshiiga	[veši:g ^ə]	'brother'

(Compare, by contrast, the subjunctive suffix -jga, which is always palatalized: /voljga/ [volⁱg^j] 'that he be', etc.)

The clusters -sk-, -shk- do not occur in native roots, and -ka of the following seems to be reanalyzed as a suffix similar to *-ig, but with pronunciation determined by the stem vocalism.

t'oarska	[t'oarsk ^ə]	'Morocco leather'
cf. kinashjka	[kinišk ^j]	'book' (< Russian)

All in all, palatalization is not sufficiently predictable to be ignored in a dictionary. It is classically phonemic, despite some contextual neutralization of this contrast.

2.8. Pharyngeals and pharyngealization

Ingush has both phonemic pharyngeal segments and phonemic pharyngealization, a phonation property of syllables. Two processes of pharyngeal attraction (§3.3.6) shift pharyngealization to an adjacent syllable under specific phonetic conditions. The pharyngeal quality of the pharyngeal segments and the pharyngeal phonation are phonetically identical. Both are more precisely epiglottalization, involving constriction low in the pharynx, with consequent tensing and lowering of the back of the tongue and raising of the front. Acoustically they entail compaction; they cause lowering and backing of the low vowels and centralization of the others (cf. Kingston & Nichols 1985 on Chechen).

2.8.1. Pharyngeal segments. There are two pharyngeal segments. Each can be described, both phonetically and phonologically, as a pharyngealized version of the corresponding glottal segment.

Note that a vowel immediately following a pharyngeal segment is pharyngealized throughout; a vowel immediately preceding one has some pharyngealization in its latter portion. This is not shown in the phonetic transcriptions. In words like *mawa* below the final whispered schwa is audibly pharyngealized.

The voiced pharyngeal segment [ʕ], technically an epiglottalized glottal stop [ʔ]²⁶, is written “w” in the Latin spelling used here. It occurs initially, where it is frequent:

wam	'lake, pond'	[ʕam]	1ам
wou	'accumulates, builds up'	[ʕow]	1ов
womad.u	'studies, learns'	[ʕom ^ə du]	1омаду
weadal	'custom; power; government'	[ʕæ:d ^ə l]	1аьдал
wi	'shade, shadow'	[ʕi]	1и
wiirie	'morning'	[ʕi:rie], [ʕiʝrie]	1уйре
wedzh	'handle'	[ʕeʝ]	1ерж
wu	'servant, worker'	[ʕu]	1у

and postvocally, where it is less frequent:

caw	'one'	[caʕ]	ца1
niw	'door'	[niʕ]	ни1
low	'disassembles, takes apart'	[loʕ]	ло1
vow	'son'	[v ^w oʕ]	во1
mawa	'male, masculine'	[maʕ ^ə]	ма1а
jiwig	'girl'	[jiʕig ^l]	йи1иг

²⁶ See again note 5.

muwa	'horn'	[mu ^ʕ ʔ]	myla
vowaa	'son' (dative)	[v ^w o ^ʕ a:]	vola

This is essentially the same distribution as the glottal stop has, though the pharyngeal segment is more common than the glottal stop postvocally and especially intervocalically.

The voiceless pharyngeal segment [ħ] or [h^ʕ], technically [h^ʔ] (epiglottalized voiceless laryngeal fricative), is written *hw* in the Latin spelling used here. It occurs initially:

hwu	'forest'	[ħu]	хьу
hwuu	'kneads'	[ħuw]	хьув
hwo	'you' (singular)	[ħo]	хьо
hwie	'yourself' (singular)	[ħie]	хье
hweasha	'guest'	[ħæ:ʕʔ]	хьаьша
hwazaljg	'bird'	[ħazilg ⁱ]	хьазилг
hwoa	'brain'	[ħoa]	хьоа
hwaastam	'nail'	[ħa:st ^o m]	хьастам

and postvocally:

cigahw	'here'	[ciɡ ⁱ ħ]	цигахь
muhw	'lard, animal fat'	[muħ]	мухь
qehw	'carries, brings' (PLC)	[qɛħ]	кхехь
ohw	'grinds (grain)'	[ʔoħ], [ʕoħ]	охь
nihw	'animal skin, hide'	[niħ]	нихь
sahwat	'hour'	[sʌħ ^o t]	сахьат
bahwan	'reason'	[bʌħən]	бахьан
ehwar	'ground (grain)' (past)	[ʔɛħir], [ʕɛħir]	эхьар

/hw/ has a wider distribution than the plain glottal /h/. Plain /h/ is not frequent and occurs only root-initially. Postvocalic root /hw/ is not frequent, and intervocalic /hw/ seems limited to inflected forms of words in which it is root-final and to loans such as *sahwat* 'hour', *bahwan* 'reason', and *shahwar* 'city, region' (the latter from Persian *shahar* with a plain /h/, apparently replaced by /hw/ in Ingush because /h/ does not occur postvocally).

2.8.2. Pharyngealization. Pharyngealization is the same epiglottal quality imposed on a vowel without an adjacent conditioning pharyngeal segment. (The degree of pharyngealization is the same as for an immediately preceding pharyngeal segment: §2.8.1.) In addition, a syllable-initial voiceless consonant is somewhat aspirated before a pharyngealized vowel and the aspiration phase is filled with fairly noisy epiglottalized frication. Speakers tend to perceive these voiceless onsets as sequences of initial consonant

plus voiceless pharyngeal /hw/.²⁷ Laryngeals /h, ' / cannot follow a pharyngealized vowel; pharyngeals occur instead (diachronically, this often means that a laryngeal has been pharyngealized). A few minimal and non-minimal pairs illustrating pharyngealization:

daa	'father'	dwaa	'over there'
doagha	D.come.PRS	dwoagha	'key'
tou	'fits, is appropriate'	twous	'falls asleep'
pitam	'intrigue'	pwid	'frog' ²⁸
ped	'barrel'	pwed	'frog'
bea	B.make.CVant	bwea	'100'
boal	'cherry'	bwoal	'furrow'
biexar	B.invite.VN	bwiexal	'snake'
zaarba	'printing press'	zwaar	'wicker gate'
zoq	'joke, humor'	zwok	'beak'
zamezh	'wedding procession'	zwam-	'small'
chaabaq	'roach, carp' (fish)	chwaaghar	'wine'
zha	'flock (of sheep)	zhwalii	'dog'
zhaaqqal	'muzzle' (of animal)	zhwaaka	'line; part (in hair)'
zhop	'answer'	zhwolam	'flood debris'

Pharyngealization can occur only after the more anterior onset consonants, and is most frequent (absolutely and as a percentage of lexical roots with that onset) after labials. Table 2-5 shows its distribution. In certain words some individuals have pharyngealization while others do not. Words found with such variation are *zikar/zwikar* 'Sufi dance', *zil/zwil* 'stone plate', *chonkar/chwonkar* 'mace, war club', *chouka/chwouka* 'hooded crow', *zhop/zhoap/zhwoap* 'answer', *zhouhwar/zhwouhwar* 'pearl'. Pharyngealization alternates with a harmonic cluster (§3.4.3.1) in *chq'or/ch'wor* 'bark'.

²⁷ Perhaps they are influenced by the orthography, which writes *twous* тхъовс, i.e. spelling a sequence of /t/ plus /hw/. But the Ingush speakers I have worked with are not comparably influenced by the orthography for voiced consonants, where pharyngealization is also spelled as a segment: *dwaa* дла. In Chechen, in contrast, all speakers I have worked with hear the pharyngealization as a segment in all contexts, and in their pronunciation there is a long interval of aspiration or (with voiced initials) murmur after the initial consonant and before full vowel onset, and the interval is pharyngealized.

²⁸ Some speakers have /i/, some /e/.

Table 2-5. Onsets attested with pharyngealization. Numbers are the number of roots with pharyngealization after that consonant.²⁹

					Total:	
Labials:		p (12)	b (23)	m (7)	v (4)	46
Dentals:	t' (1)	t (7)	d (7)	n (2)		17
Alveolars:		c (4)			z (9)	13
Palatals:	ch' (2)	ch (3)			zh (9)	14
Total:	3	26	30	9	22	90

2.9. Spectrograms

Figure 2 (opposite) contains spectrograms showing three phonological contrasts of interest:

(Top row) Tones (§2.6, Chapter 4): *latâr* '(adhere.WP) 'stuck (to), had a fight', *lâtâr* (adhere.IMPF) 'would stick, used to fight', *latar* (adhere.VN) 'a fight; adhesion'. *â* = /a/ with high tone (phonetically, rise-fall). The pitch contour is overlaid, with a frequency range of 50-250 Hz to enhance visibility. Note the higher second syllable in *latâr* (with high tone on the second syllable), the overall rise-fall contour on *lâtâr* (high tone on the first syllable), and the level first and lower second syllable on *latar* (with no high tone). The three words were pronounced with pauses in between but as a set, and therefore the sequence shows the effects of list intonation, namely some declination over the whole. Note also the high-frequency noise after the second syllable of each token, showing some word-final devoicing of /r/; it is especially noticeable after the first token, a witnessed past tense form, and my impression is that this partial devoicing is generally most evident in the witnessed past (§2.5.1.(3b), §3.3.5).

(Middle) Schwa (§2.5). The first token, *daaxa* [da:x^ə], has a phonetically long vowel because the schwa opens that syllable. The schwa itself is audible only as the release of the /x/. The prominent prevoicing of the initial /d/ is fairly common but to my knowledge not triggered by any phonological factor. The second token, without schwa, has a phonetically shorter vowel and no audible release of the /x/. The /x/ is longer in the second token because of word-final gemination (§3.3.1).

(Bottom) Pharyngealization (§2.8.2). The first token, *pwed*, has aspiration filled with epiglottalized noise followed by a centralized vowel. The second token, *ped*, has an unaspirated initial consonant with some palatalization visible in the formant transitions. In both tokens the closure of /d/ is fairly long due to word-final gemination (§3.3.1).

²⁹ Excluding onomatopoeic words and baby talk words. Based on a survey of my lexical database, July 2008.

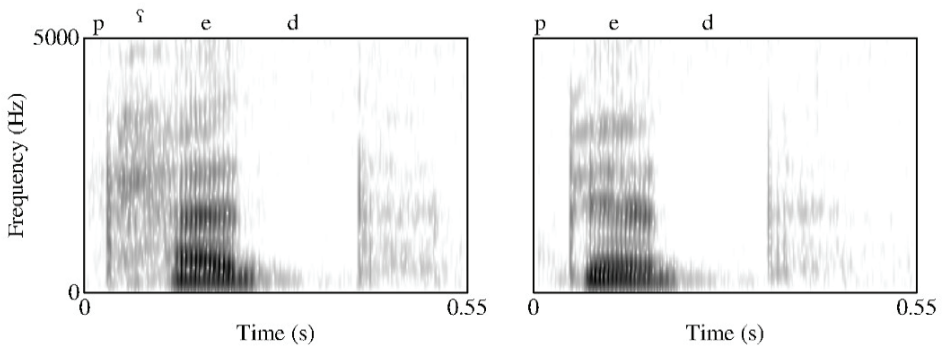
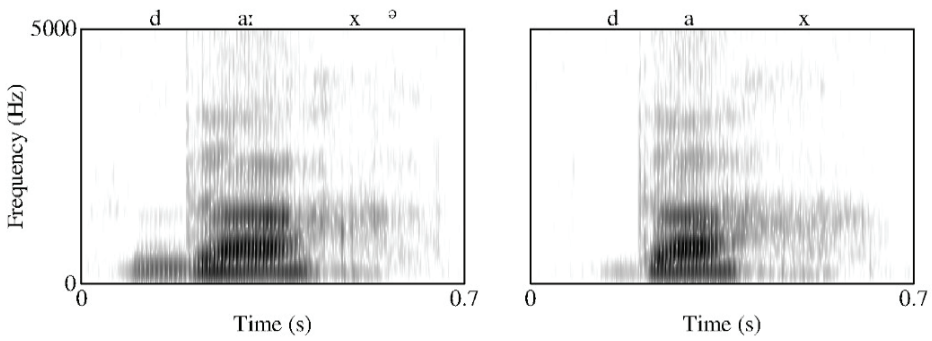
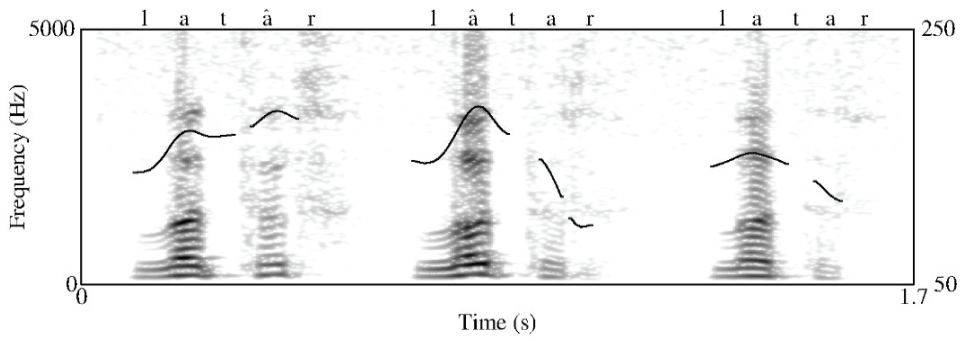


Figure 2. Spectrograms. See description on facing page.

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES, PHONOTACTICS, AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

This chapter describes the synchronic phonological alternations and constraints, starting with morphophonemic ones and ending with phonetic ones, including the impact of alternative phonological analyses and, where known and relevant, some discussion of the historical origin of synchronic alternations. Alternations involving tones and prosody are covered in Chapter 4.

3.1. Morphophonemic processes

3.1.1. Productive ablaut. All regular verb paradigms have alternations between back and front vowels, and between non-round and round vowels, in their conjugation; see Chapter 12. These alternations could be called *umlaut* for historical purposes (Desheriev 1963:347-353) as they arose diachronically from assimilation of a root vowel to a front or rounded vowel of an ending (see Imnajshvili 1977:12-172; Desheriev 1963:254-258, 302-3). The infinitive shows the historically original vocalism; some conjugation classes round that vowel in the present stem (classes VIII-IX and XIV-XVI of Table 12-1) and all front it in the past stem.³⁰ The conditioning environment in verbs has been entirely obscured by the merger of posttonic vowels to schwa and the loss of present-tense vowel endings, so that by now these patterns simply amount to ablaut. Schematically, the origins of two of the verb ablaut classes are as follows:

	<i>Proto-Vainakh</i>	<i>Ingush</i>	
Infinitive	*aalan	aala	'say' (VIII)
Present	*aalu	oal	
Witnessed past	*aalira	ealar	
Infinitive	*tooxan	tuoxa	'strike' (IV)
Present	*tooxu	tox	
Witnessed past	*tooxira	tiexar	

³⁰ More precisely, all used to front it; more recently, the near-merger of /e/ and /a/ as ä (§3.2.7) and the ongoing merger of /y/ and /i/ obscure the neatness of this pattern.

(Chechen dialects and Batsbi give good evidence for the protoforms: Imnajshvili loc. cit.)

There are two contexts in verb conjugation where ablaut alone marks inflectional categories. The opposition of witnessed past to imperfect is marked only by ablaut and tone shift; the ending *-ar* is identical. The same is true of the present and past sequential converbs. The following examples are forms of the verbs shown in Table 12-1, with tone added (marked by ^):

<i>Imperfect</i>	<i>Witnessed past</i>	<i>Sequential converbs:</i>		<i>Gloss</i>
		<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>	
d.îeshar	d.iishâr	d.ieshie	d.iishie	'read'
d.êttar	d.iittâr	d.ettie	d.iittie	'beat'
lâattar	leattâr	laattie	leattie	'stand'
tûoxar	tiexâr	tuoxie	tiexie	'strike'
ôttar	ettâr	ottie	ettie	'place'
d.ûucar	d.iicâr	d.uucie	d.iicie	'tell'
ôalar	ealâr	oalie	ealie	'say'
môlar	mâlâr	molie	mâlie	'drink'
lâtar	lâtâr	latie	lätie	'adhere'
lôuzar	leizâr	louzie	leizie	'play'
âllar	illâr	allie	illie	'lie'
d.ûzar	d.yzâr	d.uzie	d.yzie	'fill'
qûhwar	qehwâr	quhwie	qehwie	'carry'

For the following two verbs only the tone shift distinguishes the imperfect and witnessed past tenses, and there is no difference in the two sequential converbs. For 'call' this is true for all varieties of Ingush; for 'adhere' it is true only of the variety with near-merger of /e/ and /a/ (symbolized *ä*).

qêikar	qeikâr	qeikie	qeikie	'call'
lâtar	lâtâr	latie	lätie	'adhere'

(*qeik-* 'call' is unique; *lat-* 'adhere' represents a conjugation class containing 29 verb roots.)

3.1.2. *Unproductive ablaut.* Most of the vowel alternations involved in noun declension (shown in Chapter 4) differ from productive ablaut in form and go back to Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian morphologically conditioned alternations. Most of these ablaut alternations involve *a or *aa (or their productive ablaut alternants) in the oblique stem, corresponding to a variety of different vowels in the nominative. In noun declension, ablaut merely accompanies case inflection that is overtly marked by suffixes. Only in a small number of vowel-final stems, and only for nominative singular vs. genitive singular, does ablaut alone

signal case. (The examples from §4.1.1 are: nom. *hweira*, gen. *hweara* 'mill'; *sei*, *sea* 'deer'; *loa*, *lea/lei* 'snow'; *daa*, *dea* 'father', *naana*, *neana* 'mother'.)

3.1.3. **Vna* > *aa*. The Proto-Nakh sequence *-*Vna* in an ending normally yields *-aa* in Ingush, i.e. the nasal is lost and the two vowels coalesce as *aa*. (This change is limited to Ingush; Chechen and Batsbi have only *-(V)na*.) The result is allomorphy of *-na* ~ *-aa* in the dative singular and anterior converb. In the dative singular, *-na* is found on pronouns and monoconsonantal (CV) noun roots:

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Dative</i>	
daa	deana	'father'
kou	kouna	'yard, courtyard'
hwu	hwuna	'forest'
xa	xaana	'time'
soa	soana	'axle'
so	suona	1sg
vai	vaina	1pIN

some nouns in *-a*:

leatta	leattanna	'earth'
vosha	veshiina	'brother'

nouns and pronouns with *-n-* or *-an-* extensions:

bagie	bagenna	'mouth'
meaxa	meaxanna	'needle'
dynie	dynenna / dyniena	'world'
c'aa	c'enna / c'ienaa	'house'
di	denna	'day'
yz	cynna	3sg
yzh	caarna [caan ²]	3pl

nouns in *-ii* / *-ie-* and in *-uu* / *-uo-*:

zhwalii	zhwaliena	'dog'
dotuu	dotuona	'silver'

and nouns with the *-chu* extension:

dottagh	dottaghchynna / dottaghchoa	'friend'
---------	-----------------------------	----------

Evidently, when the dative ending was added directly to a root vowel or extension vowel, or to *-n*, the *-n-* is preserved. 137 nouns and pronouns in Nichols 2004 have *-na* at least as an option, and 65 have *-nna*.

In the plural, the ending **-na* is added directly, without an epenthetic vowel, to the plural suffix *-azh*. The *n* assimilates to the *-zh*, undergoing denasalization:³¹

*bierazh-na bierazhta cf. Chechen beerashna 'children.DAT'

-aa is used in all other nouns and is productive. It occurs on consonant-final nouns:

ber	bieraa	'child'
maar	maaraa	'husband'
vow	vowaa	'son'
max	meaxaa	'needle'
butt	bettaa	'moon'
dog	degaa	'heart'
ustagh	ustaghaa	'sheep'

including loans:

kuotam	kuotamaa	'hen'
burgac	burgacaa	'ball'
mashen	mashienaa	'car, vehicle'

and many suffixal derivatives:

diezal	diezala	'family'
biezam	biezamaa	'love, affection'

and nouns (including CV nouns) with extensions other than *-n-*:

wi	wanaraa	'steam'
ka	kuomaa	'ram'
dig	dogaraa	'axe'
nost	nastaraa	'shin'
jett	waattaa	'cow'

*-*Vna* remains intact in roots. There are not many native or old Nakh roots with final **-na*, but all of them preserve the *-n-* in Ingush:

naana	'mother'
nwana	'worm, earthworm'

³¹ The plural ending was originally **(a)sh* as in Chechen. In Ingush the **-sh* underwent affix-final voicing (§3.2.9). The actual historical sequence must have been denasalization of the ending to *-ta*, followed by final voicing of the plural suffix; otherwise the voiceless *-t-* is hard to explain.

kaana	'molt, molting period'
qoana	'tomorrow'
inaral	'general' (early loan from Russian)

There are a good number of adjectives in *-na*, suggesting that this element may have been suffixal at one time, but there is no synchronic or comparative Nakh evidence for internal structure in adjectives such as the following (all of which, if bimorphemic, in any event have *-na* following a CV root, an environment where *-n-* is preserved in nouns):

c'äna	'clean'
diina	'alive'
hweana	'filling, high in calories'
q'eana	'ancient, very old'
siina	'blue, green'
geana	'far away'
paana	'transitory, ephemeral'

The same sound change accounts for the allomorphy of the anterior converb, immediately below.

3.1.4. *Morphophonemics of the anterior converb.* This converb has *-na* / *-aa* allomorphy due to loss of the **n* in **-Vna*, but the allomorphy is not identical to that for the dative singular ending. The productive allomorph is *-aa*. The converb ending was Proto-Vainakh **-ina*, and Chechen preserves *-ina*. The **-i-* triggered palatal umlaut in the root vowel, then dropped out in some environments before the change of **-Vna* to *-aa* occurred. Whether the **-i-* was lost or retained depended on the root-final segment. In monoconsonantal (CV) roots (most of which are irregular), **-ina* is retained, though the **-i-* coalesces with the preceding vowel in a way that may leave it non-transparent. These converbs end in *-na*. They include two small but regular conjugation classes (see Chapter 12, Table 12-1):

d.uu	d.iina	'sow'
lou	leina	'want'

and the following irregular verbs (see Table 12-2):

gu	d.eina ³²	'see'
we	wiina	'stay'
d.oagha	d.iena	'come' (suppletive)
d.ahw	d.iena	'bring' (suppletive)

³² The converb was **d.ag-ina*. This is one of the few verbs that have gender agreement in only the past stem, so the final **-g* of the converb stem is the same as the initial of the present tense *gu*. Postvocalic lenition, a regular Vainakh sound change, has applied to the **-g*, causing it to disappear entirely. A lost medial consonant is reconstructible for 'come' and 'bring', where the Chechen past stem has a glottal stop: converb *d.e'ana*.

Several high-frequency verbs in *-l-* have *-na*, with assimilation of the *-l-* to form a geminate *-nn-*. Present-stem underlying vowels are shown for comparison to another allomorph set given immediately below.

ie	lel	liinna	'walk around'
	tel	tiinna	'give; put, pay'
oa	oal	eanna	'say'
uo	tol	tenna	'be victorious, surpass'
	d.ol	d.enna	'be about to, intend'; auxiliary
u	tul	tinna/tynna	'err, go off course'
	xul	xanna/xynna ³³	'be' (delimited); 'happen'

Most verbs in *-l* have the ending *-aa-* from **-ina*:

ie	d.iel	d.iilaa	'laugh'
oa	xoal	xealaa	(rare light verb)
	loal	lealaa	'liquefy, become molten'
	qoal	qealaa	'gild, plate'
ou	q'oul	q'eilaa	'close, cover, put lid on'
u	d.ul	d.ylaa	'wash'
	ch'ul	ch'ilaa	'unravel, undo (knit or weaving)'
	tul	tylaa	'wrap thread (on bobbin)'
uu	d.uul	d.iilaa	'stretch out'
	tuul	tiilaa	'interweave, plait'
	quul	qiilaa	'drive, lead' (pluractional)
a	xal	xālaa	'overeat; have indigestion'

There is no evident phonological (or other) conditioning factor that might account for *eanna* 'having said' vs. *qealaa* 'having gilded'. (The lists of *-l* verbs here are complete.) Since the verbs with *-nna* < **-l-na* are mostly high-frequency ones, it may be that all **-l* verbs once took this ending and the now productive ending *-aa* has been generalized to the others.

All verbs in *-ll* take *-aa*:

ie	d.iell	d.iillaa	'open'
oa	d.oall	d.eallaa	'be located'
	loall	leallaa	'drive (sg. obj.)'
	qoall	qeallaa	'take a bite'
uo	d.oll	d.ellaa	'insert'
	oll	ellaa	'hang up'
	qoll	qellaa	'cast' and homonym 'create'

³³ *xynna* is the expected vocalism for **xil-na*. In the past and infinitive stem of this verb, and in the infinitive stem of {ull} 'lie' (inf. *alla*), expected /y/ is /a/. The /a/ is regular for all speakers and written in the orthography for *alla* алла but not for *xanna* хинна, infinitive *xala* хила.

u	ulla	illaa	'lie'
	tull	tyllaa	'put on top; don'
	d.ull	d.yllaa	'put, lay'

Five verbs ending in dentals geminate the dental. (The three verbs 'run' are based on the same root.) The historical steps must have been: *d.ad-ina > *d.ed-na > *d.ed-da > d.ädda.³⁴

-d	d.od	d.ädda	'run'
	ud	idaa / idda	'run' (pluractional)
	d.oud	d.eidda	'run' (plural S)
-t	qiet	qiitta	'encounter'
	xiet	xiitta	'think, believe'

Other verbs in dentals take the productive ending *-aa*:

lat	lätaa	'adhere'; 'fight'
d.at	d.ätaa	'curdle, set up'
d.ut	d.ytaa	'leave'
oat	eataa	'mince, dice'
d.iett	d.iittaa	'beat'
d.oast	d.eastaa	'untie, unfasten'
ghiirt	ghiirtaa	'intend; try, strive'

-aa, from **-ina* as shown in §3.1.3, is the default ending, used after all other consonants.

labial:	lep	liipaa	'shine'
	d.eb	d.iibaa	'multiply, increase, breed'
	wom	wämaa	'learn, get accustomed'
dental:	lat	lätaa	'adhere; fight'
	laatt	leattaa	'stand'
	oard	eardaa	'thresh'
	xaad	xeadaa	'break off, tear off'
	d.oatt'	d.eatt'aa	'tear, rip'
alveolar:	d.uuc	d.iicaa	'tell'
	lous	leisaa	'sift; winnow'
	qoss	qessaa	'throw, eject'
	louz	leizaa	'play'

³⁴ This gemination is regular for all dental and alveolar stems in standard Chechen.

lateral:	d.el	d.iilaa	'laugh'
	ull	illaa	'lie'
palatal:	luuch	liichaa	'bathe'
	d.esh	d.iishaa	'read'
	d.aadzh	d.eazhaa	'graze'
velar:	qeik	qeikaa	'call'
	oaxk	eaxkaa	'dig, cultivate'
	teg	tiigaa	'sew'
	tox	tiexaa	'strike'
uvular:	loq	läqaa	'play (music, instrument)'
	d.oaqq	d.eaqqaa	'take'
	d.eq'	d.ieq'aa	'divide; share'
	latq'	lätq'aa	'complain'
pharyngeal:	low	lewaa	'disassemble'
	quhw	qehwaa	'carry'
glottal:	d.u'	d.i'aa	'eat'

3.2. Phonological processes

Phonological processes are mostly recent and sometimes still active sound changes which have consequences for the synchronic distribution of phonemes and sometimes also for their phonetics.

3.2.1. Posttonic vowel neutralization. All posttonic underlyingly short vowels merge to schwa, spelled *a* here. This process does not produce notable synchronic alternations, but accounts for the distribution of underlying short vowels. It applies in roots and suffixed forms, but in compounds the first syllable of the second element is also tonic and does not undergo it. Within the second element it applies regularly. ' , ` mark primary and secondary phrase stress (§4.1).

chq'earii + du'arjg fish.PL D.eat.PPL.NZ-DIM 'heron, stork' (lit. 'fish-eater')	[čq'æ:ri: dũ'ərg ^j]
xienagh + zwok + jettarjg tree.LAT beak J.beat.PPL.NZ-DIM 'woodpecker'	[xi:ɛnəχ z ^o k jɛttərg ^j]

3.2.2. *Schwa elision.* Schwas are regularly elided in the following environments. Phonetically, elided means either unvocalized (weak; sometimes whispered, but with all phonotactic effects, such as opening a preceding syllable, intact) or completely absent (not pronounced, not even whispered, and with some or all phonotactic effects lost), as these terms are defined in §2.5.1. Here and below, a superscript schwa transcribes an elided one.

(a) *Word final.* At the end of an unsuffixed root:

kuorta	'head'	[ku:ərt ^ə]
leatta	'earth'	[læt: ^ə]

At the end of an affix:

dika	'good'	[dik ^ə]
volcha	V.be. PPL.OBL	[volč ^ə]
suona	1s.DAT	[su:ən ^ə]
bierazhta	child. PL.DAT	[bi:erəžt ^ə]

At the end of a clitic:

dika='a	[dikə ^ʔ]
suona='a	[su:ənə ^ʔ]
istuola=t'y	[istu:ələt ^ʔ]
boxchaa=chy	[boxčæ:č ^ə]

There are only two situations in which word-final schwas are not deleted. One is after focus gemination (§3.3.2), where the final schwa not only is fully vocalized but also has some prosodic prominence. (The initial syllable also carries its usual stress. The final schwa does not carry the secondary stress of second elements of compounds; secondary stress usually has low pitch, while this one has the same pitch level as the primary stress.)

handdza	'right now, just now'
dikka	'very good, <i>good</i> '
yzza	'that very one'

The other is that the enclitic phrasal coordinator =*ji* 'and' generally seems to retain its vowel (except in the final coordinate in a string of three or more as in (1)). (For more on the phonology of this clitic see §3.2.4-5 below; also §4.3, §24.1.1)

Muusaa= <i>ji</i> , so= <i>ji</i>	
[mu:sâ:ji sôji]	
Musa=& 1s=&	
'Musa and I, Musa and me'	

- (1) Cyn xannad {Feara-hwazalǰ=jɪ, Mix-sedq'a=jɪ, Lehwa=jɪ}
 [fæ:r^əħazilǰi:jɪ mixsetq'i:jɪ lɛħi:]
 3s.GEN be. NW.D fortune-bird=& wind-star=&, serpent=&
 He was joined by (mythic bird name), (other mythic being), and Serpent. (8901)

(b) *Medial, between syllables.* A schwa is totally elided, so that not even a release is audible, between a nasal and an obstruent:

beana k'al [bæ:nk'ʌl] (grass.DAT under) 'under the grass'

However, a schwa is never elided between an obstruent and a resonant. Either it is a fully vocalized schwa or the resonant is syllabic:

kuotamazh	'chickens'	[ku:otəməʒ]	[kuotməʒ]
dieshğarazh	'readings'	[di:ešəɾəʒ]	[diəšəɾəʒ]

The schwa of the plural and simultaneous converb endings /-azh/ seems to always be vocalized: *bierazh* 'children', *dieshazh* 'reading'.

(c) *Alternating schwa elision:* A schwa before an elided schwa is vocalized. This happens chiefly in and before clitics.

istuola	istuola=t'y	istuola=t'yra
[ɪstuo:l ^ə]	[ɪstu:olət ^ə]	[ɪstu:ol ^ə t'ər ^ə]
table.GEN	table.GEN=on	table.GEN=on-ABL
dika	dika='a	
[dɪk ^ə]	[dɪkə ^ə]	
good	good=&	

- (2) c'agha='a, aara='a, vuodacha='a, voaghacha='a
 [c'ʌɣə^ə a:rə^ə vuɔ:dəčə^ə voa:ɣəčə^ə]
 home.ADV=& outside=& V.go.CVtemp=& V.come.CVtemp=&
 at home, in public, going, and coming (0379A)

For (2) cf. the pronunciations without clitic [c'ʌɣ^ə a:r^ə vuɔ:dəč^ə voa:ɣəč^ə].

3.2.3. *Reduction of *-ig.* This process is properly a subcase of schwa elision. The diminutive or individuating suffix is {-agj} in underlying form, its vowel merged with schwa as a result of posttonic vowel neutralization (§3.2.1). Its allomorphy is /ig/ ~ /jg/ ~ /jk/, with /ig/ occurring chiefly after consonant clusters or geminates and the others appearing after single consonants (and undergoing obstruent manner assimilation: §3.2.8). The following examples show first the voiced and then the voiceless allomorph.

kyljg	'hand'
gizjg	'spider'
wirshinjg, wershinjg	'sneeze'
carjg	'tooth'
woularjg	'winter-born lamb'
bwarjg	'eye'
bedarjg	'feather'
p'eljg	'finger'
boanjg	'trap'
wurjg	'hole, opening'
cysjk	'cat'
pishjk	'oven, fireplace' (<Russ. <i>pech</i>)
kirpishjk	'brick; roof tile' (Russ. <i>kirpich</i>)
hwamasjk	'medlar (<i>Mespilus germanica</i>)'
eashjk	'iron; metal'
t'easjk	'arrowhead'
paxashjk	'rag, piece of cloth'
xeashjk	'ember, smoldering log'
kishmishjk	'raisin'
juxjk	'stubble (corn, hay)'
wimeashjk	'bat (animal)'
peashjk	'winnowing tray'
t'ugasjk	'radish'
c'easjk	'yew'
shoashjk	'rennet'

As a component of the bimorphemic diminutive suffix *-iljg* {-*aljg*}:

hwaziljg	'bird'
choapiljg	'beetle, bug'
buriljg	'grain, kernel; ball bearing, marble'

One word shows variation: *xursig* / *xursjk* 'piglet'.

The allomorphic distribution suggests that schwa elision (§3.2.2) has applied to this suffix. However, there are a number of examples where the unreduced /ig/ allomorph appears after a single consonant:

k'uorig	'baby animal; chick, cub, pup, etc.'
jiwig	'girl, little girl'
kepig	'kopeck' (Russian loan)

buhwig	'tip, peak, top'
buodig	'clover; low plants at roadside'
iezig	'shrub or small tree sp.; core of plaited whip' (< <i>iezaa</i> 'pulled, taut')
iishig	'pitcher or jug with lid'

The word for 'all' is written in the orthography with geminate consonants (resulting from focus gemination), but in pronunciation the geminates is always simplified. Nonetheless, the suffix keeps its vowel as though it followed a phonetic geminate.

d.errig {d.arrajg} 'all' (< d.ar 'be. NZ ' + focus gemination, i.e. 'whatever there is')

The adjectival diminutive suffix *-ig(a)* has an optionally elided vowel in the few cases where the resulting cluster is possible:

k'eziga ~ k'ezjga	'little; a bit'
zwamiga ~ /zwamjga/	'young'
t'iixiga	'shallow'
d.eiga	'light (in weight)'
shortiga/shorttiga	'slow, still, quiet'
eardiga	'left, left-hand'
eattiga	'right, right-hand'

If the /i/ of this suffix were a true schwa, it would undergo alternating schwa elision in appropriate phonological contexts; but it never does.

3.2.4. *Schwa tensing*. Before /j/ a schwa (from any source) is raised and lengthened to /ie/ or /i:/ . This happens without exception before the {-j-} of some inflectional endings and declension class markers:

leatta 'earth' GENsg {leatta-j} /leattii/

and the clitic =j of the nonwitnessed tense endings:

{janna=j} J.go.CVant=J.NW /jennii/

regularly before the enclitic coordinating enclitic /=ji/ (see also §3.2.2(a) above):

chq'eara=ji, gaaza=ji fish=&, goat=& /chq'eariiji, gaaziiji/

and occasionally before the independent word *jiy* 'J.be.PRS'.

Analogous tensing turns {ə=v} into /uu/, as in the paradigm for the nonwitnessed tense:³⁵

{xanna=v}	xanna=j	xanna=d	xanna=b}	'was, has been'
xannuu	xannii	xannad	xannab	

There is no clitic of the form {=və} that might yield a sequence /-u:və/ analogous to the /-i:ji/ created by =ji.

3.2.5. *Schwa epenthesis.* Two high-frequency enclitics are the coordinating and chaining particle /=ʼa/ and the phrasal coordinating particle /=ji/. They never have stress and are almost always final in the clitic string, so they never surface with anything but an elided or (occasionally) vocalized schwa, and their vowels cannot be assigned to any particular phoneme. They carry high tone which they assign to the preceding syllable. Therefore their underlying forms might better be written {=ʼə} and {=jə} or {=ʼə} and {=jə}.

Frequently but not always, when one of these clitics follows a consonant an epenthetic schwa is inserted. The resulting sequence of schwa plus clitic undergoes alternating schwa elision (§3.2.2(c)) and schwa tensing (§3.2.4) and the schwa carries the high tone spread from the clitic.

(no epenthesis)	{hwazaljg=ʼjə}		[hazɪlʲg:ji]
(epenthesis)		/hwazaljga=ji/	[hazɪlʲgɪ:ji]
(epenthesis)	{yz=ʼa}	/yzə=ʼa/	[izəʔʲ]

- (3) Ilisxaa-jurtara **var=ji** ... Beisara **Mochq'a=ji**
 /vara=ji/ (no change)
 [vɬɪɪ:ji] [močq'ɪ:ji]
 (place name).ADJ V.NZ=& (patronym) (name)=&
 Kunta Hadji and Beisara Mochq'a (0418.36)³⁶

³⁵ The nonwitnessed tense consists of the anterior converb plus a gender marker in the form of a single consonant. Etymologically the marker derives from *d.y* 'be', and in the speech of conservative elders a few tokens of forms like *diishaa dy* (D.read.CVant D.be.PRS) occur in the corpus. However, I am not sure these are nonwitnessed tense forms; the converb could be functioning as an adjective with 'be' (thus 'is read'). Therefore I regard the gender markers of the nonwitnessed tense as etymologically but not synchronically derived from forms of 'be'.

³⁶ Kunta-Hadji (Kishiev) brought the Qadiriya (Ing. *Q'eadarii*) Sufi order to the Caucasus in the 1860's and preached non-violence and asceticism, and this movement drew many Ingush from their traditional religion (polytheism with Christian elements) to Islam. In Ingush he is known as *Ilisxaa-jurtara var* 'the one from Ilisxaa-jurt'. In this example the two coordinated phrases are separated by a relative clause; see §20.7 for the full sentence.

Before =*ji* the tensed schwa is often pronounced /ie/ rather than /ii/, especially in careful pronunciation. The prescriptive norm is /ie/ replacing a non-epenthetic schwa and /ii/ after a consonant (i.e. representing an epenthetic schwa), and the sequences of tensed schwa plus =*ji* are spelled *-eu* and *-u* respectively in the Cyrillic orthography, written as one word with the conjunct, e.g. (examples from Ozdov et al. 1961:10; for the full sentence see §20.7):

- (4) Ц1ердешаши, таьрахъдешаши доаладаьд
c'erdshaazh=ji, tearahwdshaazh=ji doaladead
 noun.PL=& numeral.PL=& D.cite-D.CS*.NW.D
 'Nouns and numerals have been cited ...'

- (5) цхьоален таьрахъа **ц1ерен,** **дерен** дожарий
 cwoalen tarahwa **c'era=ji** **diera=ji** duozharii
 [c'eri:ji] [dieri:ji]
 prescriptive: [c'erieji] [dierieji]
 singularity.GEN number.GEN **name.GEN=&** **action.GEN=&** case.PL.GEN
 '... of the nominative and ergative singular cases'

but my impression is that people use [-i:ji] in nearly all contexts, and [-i:] in the last of a series of three or more coordinates. (Certainly this is the pattern in the Berkeley Ingush corpus.)

3.2.6. *Vowel shortening in closed syllable.* A syllable is closed if followed by two or more consonants or by a word-final consonant; it is open if it is followed by a single consonant plus a vowel or schwa (including elided schwa). In closed syllables, underlying or etymological long vowels are shortened. Most of them retain their quality distinctions from the corresponding short vowels, and therefore the phonemic contrast is retained. Only {uo} merges completely with the corresponding short vowel /o/. {ie} does so to a considerable extent, though it retains its distinction from the short secondary /e/ (see §3.2.7) which has itself more or less merged with original /^he/ in some contexts (notably, after labials and adjacent to pharyngeals: see §3.3.7).

There is no appreciable change in either the quality or the length of (originally or underlyingly) short vowels in closed syllables compared to their counterparts in open syllables.

For clarity, the following examples write phonemic schwa as "ə" and phonetic elided schwa as superscript "ə̃". Each gives an underlying long vowel in open and then closed syllables, followed by the corresponding short vowel in open and then closed syllables.

{niisa}	/niisə/	[ni:s ^{ə̃}]	niisa	'straight'
{niis-}	/niis/	[nis]	niis-lu	'becomes straight'
{dika}	/dikə/	[dik ^{ə̃}]	dika	'good'
{itt}	/itt/	[it:]	itt	'10'

{d.uuca}	/duucə/	[du:c ^ə]	duuca	'narrate.INF'
{d.uuc}	/duuc/	[duc:]	duuc	'narrate.PRS'
{kuca}	/kucə/	[kuc ^ə]	kuca	'for show'
{buc}	/buc/	[buc:]	buc	'grass'
{d.iesha}	/dieshə/	[d ⁱ i:ɛš ^ə]	diesha	'read.INF'
{d.iesh}	/desh/	[d ⁱ ɛs:]	desh	'read.PRS'
{mela}	/melə/	[m ⁱ ɛl ^ə]	mela	'warm'
{mel-}	/mel/	[m ⁱ ɛl:]	mel-d.u	'make warm'
{tuoxa}	/tuoxə/	[tu:ox ^ə]	tuoxa	'hit.INF'
{tuox}	/tox/	[tox:]	tox	'hit.PRS'
{so}	/so/	[so]	so	'I'
{uott}	/ott/	[ot:]	ott	'stand up.PRS'
{eaqa}	/eaqə/	[æ:q ^ə]	eaqa	'wild animal'
{eaqq}	/eaqq/	[æq:]	eaqq	'traitor'
(No corresponding underlying short vowel.)				
{oalazh}	/oaləzh/	[^o a:ləʒ]	oalazh	'say.CVsim'
{oal}	/oal/	[^o al:]	oal	'say.PRS'
(No corresponding underlying short vowel.)				
{daacar}	/daacə/	[da:c ^ə r]	daacar	'wasn't'
{daac}	/daac/	[dac:]	daac	'isn't'
{maca}	/macə/	[mʌc ^ə]	maca	'when'
{nac}	/nac/	[nʌc:]	nac	'moth'

More examples of shortening can be seen in the inflectional paradigms of nouns (Chapter 4) and verbs (Chapter 10).

Geminate consonants, whatever their source (etymological geminates, products of focus gemination [§3.3.2], or products of assimilation in anterior converbs [§3.1.4]), close syllables, as shown by the shortening of underlying long /ea/:

{leatta}	/leattə/	[l ⁱ ætt ^ə]	leatta	'Earth'
{eal-na}	/eannə/	[ænn ^ə]	eanna	'having said'

The cluster /st/, though phonotactically patterning like a single consonant, nonetheless closes syllables:

{d.aasta}	/daastə/	[dast ^ə]	daasta	'separate.INF'
{d.oast}	/doast/	[d ^o ast:]	doast	'separate.PRS'
{d.oasta-d.u}	/doastədu/	[d ^o ast ^ə du]	doastadu	'separate.CS.PRS'

In compounds, the syllable boundary coincides with the morpheme boundary, so that in a compound of the shape CVV+CCV... (i.e. CV:+CCV...) the first syllable is not closed: *ii+pxa* (boards + ??) 'wooden door to burial niche in tomb' [i:pxΛ], not *[ipx^ə].

There are a few consonant clusters which do not close syllables: some with /r/ as first element, and some with uvulars as second element, such as the sequence /ztq'/ which forms the even decade numerals:³⁷

корта	/kuortə/	[ku:ort ^ə]	kuorta	'head'
сийрда	/siirdə/	[si:rd ^ə]	siirda	'bright, light'
I аьржа	/wearzhə/	[ʕæ:rʒ ^ə]	wearzha	'black'
дезткъа	/dieztq'ə/	[di:ɛztq' ^ə]	dieztq'a	'80'

A minimal pair is this set of Russian loans:

карта	/kaartə/	[ka:rt ^ə]	kaarta	'map; card'
карт	/kaart/	[kart:]	kaart	'go-cart'

As a minimal pair to 'head' cf. the infinitive of the verb 'strain, try', which in view of its ablaut pattern reflects etymological long *uo but always has a short vowel:³⁸

rIopta	/ghortə/	[ghort ^ə]	ghorta	'try.INF'
rIopt	/ghort/	[ghort:]	ghort	'try.PRS'

As a minimal pair to 'black' above, cf. the preverbal form used in compounds:

I аьрж	/wardzh/	[ʕærdʒ]	e.g. wardzh-d.u	'blacken'
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as well as a root verb with the same final cluster:

{daarzha}	/daarzhə/	[da:rʒ ^ə]	daarzha	'spread out.INF'
{daarzh}	/daardzh/	[dardʒ]	daardzh	'spread out.PRS'

Concerning *dieztq'a* '80', note that the /z/ found here and in the other even decades *shouztq'a* '40', *qouztq'a* '60' is the non-word-final form of the multiple numeral formative -dz, e.g. *shodz* 'twice' (see §§10.3, 10.4).

It might be possible to resolve these problems by adding a schwa to the spelling and underlying form of these clusters:

kuorata	/kuorətə/		siirda	/siirədə/
wearazha	/wearəzhə/		diezatq'a	/diezətq'ə/

However, the usual rules of schwa elision (§3.2.2) would produce incorrect forms:³⁹

³⁷ Sequences with uvulars as second element (/tx/, /chq', /tq'/, etc. pattern as single sounds phonotactically, appearing word-initially as in *txou* 'roof', *chq'eara* 'fish', *tq'o* '20', *pxi* '5'.

³⁸ Conjugation class V, head verb {uott}: see Chap. 12 and Table 12-1. The Chechen cognate inf. *ghortan*, pres. *ghurtu*, anterior converb *ghoertina* is in the same ablaut class. I have not found a Batsbi cognate.

* [kuorət ^ə]	(cf. correct [ku:ort ^ə])
* [ʕæ:rəʒ ^ə]	(cf. correct [ʕæ:rzʰ ^ə])
* [diezətq ^ə]	(cf. correct [di:etzq ^ə])

In addition, the form {wearazha} 'black' would be non-phonotactic and non-canonical for a root adjective, and the derivation of the compounding form *wardzh* (with its loss of the medial schwa) would be unorthodox. Literate Ingush who are accustomed to writing "a" where schwa effects are produced find the spellings "kuorata", "wearazha", "diezatq'a" (or for that matter "kuorat", "wearazh", "diezatq'") bizarre and completely unacceptable.

Therefore, adding schwas to account for the non-closure by these clusters is not possible. There are two possible solutions to the problem: (1) (Some or all) *-rC* clusters, and *-ztq'*, do not close syllables, except in verbs (including first elements of compound verbs); or (2) pure length – not the morphophonemic difference between {a} and {aa}, etc. but that between {aa} of *daac* [dac:] and that of *daacar* [da:c^ər] – is becoming phonemicized. This second solution is consistent with the ready awareness native speakers have of pure length.⁴⁰ Adopting the second solution more or less naturally accounts for the behavior of the discrepant clusters, in that incipient phonemicization of length should entail freezing of long and short variants and attenuation (and ultimately loss) of automatic length alternations with syllable closure. If pure length is set up as phonemic the vowel inventory is (using ":" to write length and the usual spellings "aa", etc. to spell what on this analysis are tense vowels):

³⁹ For the difference between {-razh-} and {-rzh-} cf. plurals of nouns in *-r*, e.g. *bierazh* 'children' [bierəzh], a clearly disyllabic word with a fully vocalized schwa before the /zh/. *Wearzha* 'black' is a phonetic monosyllable (underlyingly disyllabic only in the sense that it ends in a schwa) with no phonetic vowel between the /r/ and the /zh/. For the difference between {-rt-} and {-rat-} cf. *zierat* 'pilgrimage' [zierət], gen. *zierata* [zierət^ə] with a full second syllable, unlike *kuorta* [kuo:rt^ə] 'head'.

Even this difference could be removed by providing for systematic right-to-left schwa elision (eliding a schwa in a syllable before another schwa) and eliding final schwas separately:

Underlying	bierazh	wearazha	kuorata	zierat	ghuorta
Medial schwa elision		wea:rzha	kuo:rta		ghuorta
Final schwa elision		wea:rzʰ ^ə	kuo:rt ^ə		ghuort ^ə
Short(ened) vowel merger					ghort ^ə
Output:	bie:razh	wea:rzʰ ^ə	kuo:rt ^ə	zie:rat	ghort ^ə

⁴⁰ Further tangential evidence of the systematic presence of length in Ingush is the regular pronunciation of Russian stressed vowels as long in recent loans, a pronunciation which sometimes creates otherwise nonexistent vowels in Ingush: Russ. *telefon* 'telephone' > Ing. /tilifon/, pl. /tilifoonazh/ ~ /tilifuonazh/; Russ. *pochtal'on* 'mailman' > Ing. /pachtaali'on/, erg. /pachtaali'oonaz/ ~ /pachtaali'uonaz/. The pronunciations with [oo] are most usual in unmonitored speech, but when speakers attend to the phonemes they usually pronounce regular Ingush /uo/. That is, this is a near-split, with speakers aware only of /uo/ but using [oo] in systematic near-contrast (see §2.4.2.14).

i	ii	ii:	y	u	uu	uu:
e	ie	ie:		o	⁴¹	uo:
	a					
	ea	ea:	aa	aa:	oa	oa:

The oppositions /ii/ ~ /ii:/, /uu/ ~ /uu:/, etc. mostly show up in ablaut alternations:

duu:car	narrate.IMPF
duuc	narrate.PRS
daa:car	wasn't (be.NEG.IMPF)
daac	isn't (be.NEG.PRS)
bie:razh	children. PL
bier	child.NOM
die:shar	read. IMPF
desh	read.PRS

There are few minimal pairs, though many could be created by ceasing to write word-final schwa:

<i>Spelled with schwa</i>	<i>Spelled with no schwa</i>	
die:shar	die:shar	read.IMPF
die:sha	die:sh	read.INF
diesh	diesh	read.PRS
duu:car	duu:car	narrate.IMPF
duu:ca	duu:c	narrate.INF
duuc	duuc	narrate.PRS
bie:razh	bie:razh	children
bie:ra	bie:r	child.GEN
bier	bier	child

⁴¹ A possible short /uo/ appears in *koch* 'shirt, dress' [kwΛč], where the labialization of the /k/ may be due to the vowel diphthongization. Compare *kot* [kot] 'victory', *kog* [kog] 'foot' with no labialization. These words have the same /uo/ in the oblique stem where the syllable is open (*kuocha*, *kuoga*), making it harder to argue for an underlying difference of vowels.

3.2.7. *Merger and near-merger of {e} and {a}*. In the speech variety taken as standard here, a former three-way contrast of short /a/, /e/, and ^he/ has merged to a two-way contrast of /a/ vs. /e/ = [ɛ̃]~[ɛ]. Former undiphthongized */e/ has merged mostly with /a/, but with former *^he/ regularly after a palatal consonant, sometimes after a labial consonant, fairly regularly when pharyngealized, and in occasional other words (see §2.4.2.4). When it is useful for morphophonemic transparency, the near-merger is spelled *ä* here. Modern /e/ = [ɛ̃] is also the result of shortening of {ie} in closed syllables. The consequence of these mergers is that words with short /e/ in open syllables are few:

mela	'warm'	(/e/ follows labial)
meza	'louse'	(/e/ follows labial)
ezar	'1000'	(loan)
dehwa	'the other side, across, over' (adjacent to pharyngeal)	
wemaa	'learnèd; well-known' (anterior converb of {wom}) (adjacent pharyngeal)	

They include oblique and plural stems of a few nouns with ablaut:⁴²

nus, nes-/nesar-	'daughter-in-law'
dosh, desh-	'word'
dog, deg-	'heart'
vosh, vesh-, vezhar-	'brother'

The past stem of verbs of the {mol} and {lat} conjugations historically contained /e/ as a result of umlaut of *a (see Chapter 12 for verb conjugations and their history). At present this context has /a/~e/ in near-merger: *mälar* 'drank', *lätar* 'fought; adhered'. After a pharyngeal, however, we have only /e/ in *wemaa* 'learnèd; well-known' (above), *wehwaa/ehwaa* 'ground'.

Consistently after /j/, and variably after other palatals /sh/, /zh/, /ch/, /ch'/, /e/ and /a/ merge as [ɛ̃]. (See §§2.4.2.4, 2.4.2.7 for /e/, /a/, and their neutralization.) Thus there is regular variation within gender paradigms such as:

vaxar	[vʌxər]	'went'
jaxar	[jɛxər]	
baxar	[dʌxər]	
daxar	[bʌxər]	

This is analogous to the positional neutralization of /y/ and /i/ in this paradigm:

vy	[vɨ]	'is/am/are'
jy	[ji]	
by	[bɨ]	
dy	[dɨ]	

⁴² Historically, *meza* 'louse' belonged here; the vocalism of the nominative is generalized from the oblique stem.

Spellings *jaxar*, *jy* are used here for paradigmatic consistency.

/e/ quality is also consistent in words with suffixed *-jg*:

carjg	[cerjg]	'tooth'
larjg	[lerjg]	'ear'

3.2.8. *Obstruent manner assimilation*. A consonant assimilates to a preceding consonant in manner of articulation. A synchronically clear example is the form of the diminutive/individuating suffix **-jg* (§3.2.3) when the vowel is lost due to schwa elision: palatalized *-g* after a voiced consonant, *-k* after a voiceless one. (I know of no cases of this suffix after an ejective. The great majority of cases follow a sonorant: *r*, *l*, *n*.)

carjg	'tooth'	tonjg	'cub, young animal'
gizjg	'spider'	leazhjg	'wineskin, waterskin'
cysjk	'cat'	eashjk	'iron; metal'

The same process acts as a general constraint on consonant clusters (§3.4.3). It is a deep-seated phonological constraint that has been overridden by the phonetic details of ejective harmonic clusters like {tq'} (§3.4.3.1) and analogical extension of affix-final voicing throughout the plural paradigm of nouns (§3.2.9).

3.2.9. *Affix-final voicing*. Inflectional suffixes can end in voiced /z/ /zh/ /gh/ but not voiceless /s/ /sh/ /x/. This is the result of a sound change whereby word-final voiceless fricatives became voiced in affixes. The sound change is barely in evidence in synchronic Ingush but is clear from the comparative Nakh evidence. Affixal fricatives are mostly affix-final, hence word-final, and at first glance the process looks much like one of word-final voicing. However, it does not affect root consonants that are word-final.

<i>Ingush</i>	<i>Chechen</i>	
daa-z	daa-s	father.ERG
jurt-agh	jurt-ax	town.LAT
jurt-azh	jurt-ash	town.PL
dik-agh	dik-ax	good.CMP ('better', 'best')
diesh-azh	duesh-ush	read.CVsim

Compare root-final voiceless fricatives:

vaas	'distress'
max	'price'
dash	'lead' (mineral, Pb)
taamash	'surprise'

Variation occurs in the plural of 'sit down', sg. *xou* and pl. *xoush* ~ *xouzh*.

The root *s of the first person singular pronoun, which is word-final in the ergative case, has been reanalyzed as the productive animate ergative ending and has undergone voicing. (For the productive ergative ending see 'father' just above.)

<i>Ingush</i>	<i>Chechen</i>	
so	so	1 s.NOM
aaz	as	1 s.ERG
suona	suuna	1 s.DAT

Affix-final voicing affects the nominative plural ending *-azh*. In the speech variety taken as standard here this voicing is extended throughout the plural paradigm, even to the forms where the plural suffix is followed by a case ending beginning in a voiceless consonant that was earlier devoiced by manner assimilation (§3.2.6). Here is the history of three plural case forms of *kuotam* 'chicken':

	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Dative</i>	<i>Allative</i>
<i>Input</i>	kuotam-ash	kuotamash-na	kuotamash-ga
<i>Assimilation</i>		kuotam-ash-ta	kuotam-ash-ka
<i>Voicing</i>	kuotamazh	kuotamazhta	kuotamazhka

It should be noted that word-final voiced obstruents, including those produced by affix-final voicing, are in phonemic contrast to voiceless obstruents but are phonetically in fact only partly voiced (§3.3.5).

3.2.10. *Sandhi with gender enclitics.* When gender/tense/polarity marking in the form of enclitic 'be' =*d.y*, =*d.aac* is added to a verb stem the gender marker triggers distinctive sandhi and assimilation in a preceding consonant. Added to the verb stem *xal-* (older and Pre-Ingush *xyl-*) 'be' to form Optative 3, these produce this paradigm, with {j} undergoing metathesis:

xalvy	[xalv ^ɔ]	< <i>xal</i> 'be:DEL' + v.y 'V.be.PRS'
xaila	[xʌjɪ ^ɔ] ~ [xɛjɪ ^ɔ]	
xalda	[xʌld ^ɔ]	
xalba	[xʌlb ^ɔ]	

These forms have a single stress on the first syllable.

When the same enclitics are added to the future stem in {-rg}, there is complete assimilation to the stops =*d*, =*b* and loss of the /r/ and gemination of the /g/ before =*v*, =*j*:

{xurg} 'will be'	xugvy	xugjy	xuddy	xubby
	[xug:vɪ]	xug:ji	xuddɪ	xubbɪ]

identical to the result of focus gemination. Underlying {dz}, {dzh} retain their affrication when geminated. The basic context for this process is that whenever a root-final consonant is also word-final, and in a major lexical class word (noun, verb, numeral), it is geminated.

duuc	[duc:]	'narrate(s).PRS'
bat	[bʌt:]	'face'
mog	[mog: ^w]	'can.PRS'
modz	[mod:z]	'honey'
vorh	[voɾ:]	'seven'
mux	[mux: ^w]	'wind'

/r/, /gh/, and /w/ do not undergo gemination. /ʃ/ and /l/ seem not to always undergo it.

ber	[bɪr]	'child'
mugh	[muɣ]	'row'
baw	[baʃ]	'bur'
bu'	[buʔ] ~ [buʔ:]	'eat(s).PRS'
dul	[dʊl] ~ [dʊl:]	'wash(es)'

Some clusters seem to block it. Postconsonantal fricatives and the cluster /st/ generally do not undergo it, at least not conspicuously; postconsonantal affricates and stops do.

jaalx	[jalx]	*[jalx:]	'six'
chaarx	[čarx]	*[čarx:]	'wheel'
kust	[kust]	*[kust:]	'form, bearing, countenance'
borc	[borc:] ~ [borc]		'millet'
bordz	[bord:z] ~ [borz]		'wolf'
burch	[burč:] ~ [burč]		'pepper'
ford	[ford:]		'sea'

Word-final gemination occurs in the nominative singular of nouns, in numerals used alone (i.e. in the nominative of the nominalized form), in plex forms (e.g. *shodz* 'twice'), and in the present tense of verbs. It does not occur in, e.g., the nominative singular of pronouns:

yz	[yz]	*[yz:], *[yd:z]	3s.NOM
vozh	[vozh]	*[vodzh, voddzh]	'the other one'

in postpositions, adverbs, preverbs:

hwal	[ħal]	*[ħal:]	'up(wards)'
chaq	[čʌq]	*[čʌq:]	'completely, over'

or in suffixes, e.g. oblique cases of nouns:

daaz	[daz]	*[daz:], *[dad:z]	'father.ERG'
naanaz	[na:n ^ə z]	*[na:n ^ə z:], *[na:n ^ə dz]	'mother.ERG'

or any of the consonant-final suffixed forms of verbs:

hwazhal	[ħaʒəl]	*[ħaʒəl:]	'look.IMPV'
dezh	[dʲeʒ]	*[dʲeʒ:]	'do.CVsim'

3.3.2. *Focus gemination*. When certain words are in the scope of certain operators, the first postvocalic consonant of the word is geminated. The phonetics of this gemination is the same as for word-final gemination: lengthening (and some strengthening) of the consonant (the stop closure, for affricates), and /z/ and /zh/ from underlying {dz} and {dzh} become geminate affricates /ddz/, /ddzh/.

derriga	{d.arragja} [darigʲ] ~ [dɛrigʲ ^{ɪə}]	'all' ⁴³
uqqaza	'right here' (cf. uqaza 'here')	
sanna	'like, just like'	
handdza	'just now' (cf. handz 'now')	
duhhwal	'right ahead', 'straight ahead'	
d.yddzaa	'a whole; entire' (cf. d.yzaa 'full')	
hwaddzha	'consistent with, corresponding to' (cf. hwazha 'look, watch.INF')	

Focus gemination is accompanied by a distinctive prosody, with emphasis and high pitch on both syllables flanking the geminated consonant: the tonic syllable and the first posttonic one (which is usually a schwa). Impressionistically, it sounds as though both syllables are stressed. In adjectives and adverbs, the final schwa is vocalized. This prosody is not used on *d.erriga* 'all' and optional on *sanna* 'like', two words with lexicalized focus gemination.

The semantics that triggers focus gemination is often equivalent to English 'right...', 'clear (through)', 'way (e.g. up)', 'exactly'. (For the functions and semantics see §33.1.2.)

(8) **Merddza** dwa-mala!

sweet:FOC DX-drink.IMPV

Drink it sweet. Drink it very sweet. (Hostess encouraging guest to put plenty of sugar in her tea.) (cf. /merza/)

(9) **Burgac laqqa** hwal-qossa.

ball high:FOC up-throw.IMPV

Throw the ball way high up. (cf. /laqa/)

(10) **Handdza** leatta oaga-dalar

now:FOC earth shake-D.INCP.WP

We just had an earthquake. There was an earthquake just now.

⁴³ The "rr" of {d.arragj} is not phonetically geminate, but the vocalization of the schwa following it shows that the "rr" is geminate; if it were simple, a cluster /rjg/ would be formed (§3.2.3).

- (11) Shoazh **jaaxxar** dez h vola daa hwogh
 3p.RFL.ERG say: FOC. PPL.NZ D.do.CVsim V.PROG. PPL father 2s. LAT
 vie boaxk yzh.
 V.make.INF B.PROG:PL 3p

They want to make an obedient father out of you. ('They're making a father who does just as they say out of you') (PL 4.2)

- (12) **Duhhwal** dwa-vaxacha, ...
 ahead: FOC DX-V.go.CVtemp
 If you go straight ahead... Go straight ahead and ... (giving directions)

- (13) Vai **dikka** daaxar handz='a geana dy
 1pIN well: FOC D.live.VN now=& far D.be.PRS
 We're still far from living well. Living well is still far in the future. ('For us to live just fine is even now far away.' (cf. /dika/'good'))

A number of words contain what is evidently lexicalized focus gemination, e.g. *beaccara* 'green' from *buc*, obl. *beaca-* 'grass'; *sanna* 'as, like, as if', *yshtta* 'thus', *duqqadz* 'many times' (*duqa* 'many, much')⁴⁴, *mallagh* / *mollagh* 'any kind, any at all' (*malagha* 'some, any'), *learhhaa* 'on purpose, deliberately' (*loarh*, CVant *learhaa* 'consider, reckon'), *edztaa* 'taut, tight' (*uoz*, CVant *iezzaa* 'pull').

3.3.3. *Lenition of /dz/, /dzh/*. The voiced affricates /dz/, /dzh/ occur only word-finally in careful Ingush. Medially they become fricatives.

xodz	'hear.PRS'	modz	'honey'
xozazh	'hear.CVsim'	mezaa	'honey.DAT'
vodzh	'V.fall.PRS'	modzh	'beard'
vuozhazh	'V.fall. CVsim'	mozhaa	'beard.DAT'

The contexts where /dz/ and /dzh/ are to be heard are contexts of word-final gemination (§3.3.1): present tense forms of verbs, as above, and nominative singulars of nouns such as *bordz*, gen. *berza* 'wolf', *modz*, *meza* 'honey', *merdz*, *merza* 'horsehair', *nidz*, *niza* 'strength'; *modzh*, gen. *mozha* 'beard', *nadzh*, *nazha* 'acorn, oak', *ch'odzh*, *ch'ozha* 'ravine'. /dz/ is always pronounced in multiple numerals (§10.3): *shodz* 'twice', *qodz* 'three times', *pxidz* 'five times', etc. In the ordinal forms where the multiple suffix is not final, /z/ is pronounced: *shuozalagh* 'the second time', *pxiezalagh* 'fifth time'.

⁴⁴ *duqqadz* can undergo ordinary productive focus gemination to form *duqqaddza*.

Occasionally an intervocalic /z/ or /zh/ is recorded as [dz] or [dzh] (chiefly with older speakers), but when speakers' attention is called to the pronunciation they insist it is /z/ or /zh/. There has been a merger of the affricates with the voiced fricatives, and intervocalic affricates are relict pronunciations which speakers no longer hear. The affricate pronunciation never occurs with original /z/ and /zh/ (as in *wazh* 'apple').

There are no alternations proving that /dz/ and /dzh/ once occurred word-initially, but Russian forms of place names such as Dzeirax and family names such as Dzaraxov, fixed in the form in which they were first recorded one to three centuries ago, show that voiced affricates existed until recently. They are written consistently in Dumézil 1936 and Jabagi & Dumézil 1935, which reflect late 19th-century pronunciation.

3.3.4. *Degemination of /ss/ and /ll/.* In verb stems, /ss/ of the basic stem corresponds to /s/ in a stem with pluractional /uu/ / /ii/:

tassa	toss	tassaa	'throw'
tuusa	tuus	tiisar	id. (PLC)
qossa	qoss	qassaa	'throw, cast'
quusa	quus	qiisaa	id. (PLC)

Some speakers pronounce a single /s/ even in *tassa*, *qossa*, etc., apparently the result of analogy.

There is a strong tendency to degeminate /ll/ at least after short vowels, e.g. *ullazh* 'lying' (lie.CVsim) [uləʒ]. After long vowels length is usually preserved; if it is lost the vowel retains its closed-syllable short allophone. Thus the following minimal pair retains its contrast:

doalar	[doa:lər]	D.go:INGR.IMPF	'used to go'
doallar	[doallər], [doalər]	D.PROG.IMPF	'was (<i>Verb-ing</i>)'

Neither of these degemination processes affects the output of focus gemination.

3.3.5. *Word-final partial devoicing.* Any voiced obstruent in word-final position is partly devoiced. It remains in contrast with the corresponding voiceless obstruent, but the phonetics of the contrast is attenuated.

sag	[sag:]	'person'
dezh	[dʲeʒ̥]	'doing' (D.do.CVsim)

For some speakers there is a near-merger, in that they hear the consonant as voiceless though they do not pronounce it identically to the corresponding voiceless phoneme.

/t/ also undergoes partial devoicing word-finally, though never merging with /rh/. Partial devoicing seems to be especially audible in the witnessed past tense suffix *-ar*. See Figure 2 in §2.9.

3.3.6. *Pharyngeal attraction.* Pharyngealization (§2.8.2; recall that phonetically it is epiglottalization) is audible in the release of the pharyngealized consonant and continues throughout the following vowel (tapering off somewhat in long vowels). When that vowel is followed by an underlying glottal stop, the pharyngealization moves to the glottal stop, turning it into the pharyngeal phoneme (more precisely an epiglottalized glottal stop: §2.8):

{cwa-}'	/caw/	[caʕ]
one-NZ		
dwa-aara-vealar		[dʌ ʕa:rʰ væ:lər]
DX- out- V.go.WP		
'he went out'		

In *caw* 'one' the pharyngealization shifts entirely to the final consonant, which is phonemically the ordinary voiced pharyngeal. In *dwa'aaravealar* the pharyngealization is entirely gone from the first syllable but somehow colors the glottal stop without turning it into the full pharyngeal phoneme, and the quality is less epiglottal than pharyngeals usually are. There is a noticeable difference between the beginning of this word and *däwaa* 'pruned, castrated'. The distinctive pronunciation of *dwa'aaravealar* probably has to do with its prosody and morphological structure, in which *dwa-* is unaccented, *aara* is accented and has primary stress, and the boundary between the two is more word-like than that of the suffixed form *caw* {cwa-}'.

The phonetic detail of pharyngealization is different in a closed syllable like *caw* 'one' and an open one like *mawa* 'male'. In *mawa* pharyngealization is concentrated on the second syllable since it is associated with the release of the *w*. (The vowel of that second syllable is a pharyngealized schwa, whispered but still audibly pharyngealized.) In the closed syllable *caw*, the pharyngealization is on the sole vowel and increases toward the end of the vowel.

For some speakers, pharyngealization spreads from a root-final pharyngeal to a root-initial glottal stop: *ohw* 'grind (grain)' [ʔoʕ ~ ʕoʕ], *Ahwmad* [ʔʌʕməd ~ ʕʌʕməd] 'Ahmed'.

3.3.7. *Vowel allophony adjacent to pharyngeals.* Pharyngeals and pharyngealization distort the phonetics of vowels, centralizing nonlow vowels and producing a muffled quality, lowering /a/ from [ʌ] to [a], and backing low vowels. In one context, a pharyngeal lowers /e/ to [æ]: the locative suffix *-hw* added to *-ie*, as in various adverbs and the concessive converbs (in these examples pharyngealization of vowels is shown with a raised pharyngeal symbol):

maalxboalie	'the east'	[malxboa:li:ε]
maalxboalehw	'east, in the east'	[malxboa:li:εʕ]
mollazhie='a	'even if he drinks'	[mɔl:əʒi:ε ʔə]
mollazhehw	'even though he drinks'	[mɔl:əʒæʕ]

This does not happen in any other sequence of ...*ehw*, e.g. *ehw* 'shame, shyness'. Recall also that a preceding pharyngeal, far from lowering it, favors the preservation of original *e (underlying {ä}) as [e] and disfavors its merger with /a/ (§3.2.7). For details of vowel allophony adjacent to pharyngeals see various subsections of §2.4.

3.3.8. *Labialization spread*. A velar or uvular consonant is somewhat labialized adjacent to a rounded vowel. Labialization of a root vowel is transmitted through a consonant to a following schwa. This happens especially when the consonant is a velar, uvular, or /l/. (For more examples see §2.4.2.9, §2.5.2.)

/burgac/	[burgoc]	'ball'
ghulaq	[ɣʊlɔq]	'matter, deal, affair, business'
/mog/	[mog: ^w]	'can, is able'

Perhaps as part of the same process, when short /u/ is followed by /rg/ it is pronounced [u] rather than, as usual, [ʊ]. Cf. 'ball' above, and this near-minimal pair:

/xudar/	[xudar]	'oatmeal, porridge'
/xud=dy/	[xud:i]	(not *[xud:i]) {xurg=dy} 'will be.J'

The tenser pronunciation [u] is always used even though the /r/ drops out in the future stem. It occurs even in the forms where the velar assimilates to the following consonant (s.a. §§13.2.1, 3.2.10):

{xurg=jy}	/xug=jy/	[xug:jl]
{xurg-by}	/xub=by/	[xub:y]

3.3.9. *Palatalization spread*. In a word containing a palatovelar, and especially the suffix *-ig (§3.2.3), palatalization spreads to an adjacent schwa:

hwazaljg	[ħazi ^l g ⁱ]	'bird'
bwarjgazh	[b ^ʃ arg ⁱ ž]	'eyes'

and often spreads to the tonic syllable of the word, fronting the vowel slightly:

ch'aapaljg	[č'a:pi ^l g]	'flatbread'	(see §2.4.2.13)
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3.3.10. *Wackernagel reduction*. Interrogative words and certain others are normally in phrase-second or clause-second position (Wackernagel's position) (see §15.5.4.1). Whenever such combinations are grammaticalized or lexicalized, the tonic vowel of the second-position element is usually reduced to /a/. It is tonic (and sometimes accented), and Wackernagel

position does not entail cliticization, so the quality of the vowel is [a] rather than the [y] of stressed clitics (§2.5.4; for prosody see Chapter 4).

mel 'how much' is lexicalized in various expressions meaning 'all':

shie mal dar

3s:RFL. how_much D.be: PPL.NZ

'all (of them)', lit. 'however many of them there were', 'however much of it there was'

dwa mal iiqaar

DX how_much bolt. PPL.NZ

'all (of them)', lit. 'however many (of them) tore (in/out/away)'

A few compound verbs have variants with /a/ vocalism in the first element. Since preverbal position is also often phrase-second or clause-second, this vocalism may also be a manifestation of Wackernagel reduction.

c'ogha tuox ~ c'agh tuox

shout strike

'shout' (all dictionaries have only *ɣlozla c'ogha*)

Note also *sagatd.u* 'be lonely, bored, depressed' from *sa* 'soul' + *gott-* 'narrow' + *d.u* 'make'. The element *-gat-* is derived from *gott-a* by preverbal simplification and Wackernagel reduction. (There is also an adjective *sogata* 'boring, depressing' from **sagot-a* by umlaut.)

Possibly also related to Wackernagel reduction is the change of vocalism from original *o to /a/ in the deictic prefix /wa/ 'down'. It is still spelled "wo" (Cyrillic *Io*) and the Chechen cognate is /ohwa/.⁴⁵ Alternatively, the vocalism of /wa/ may be the result of analogy among the four deictic prefixes, which are marked as a paradigmatic set by their shared monosyllabic structure with /a/ vocalism and pharyngealization (§15.5.1).

3.3.11. *Length adjustment.* Word-internally, a long vowel in an open syllable is often shortened when the next syllable also contains an underlying long vowel (whether in an open or closed syllable). The process is especially frequent when underlyingly identical vowels are involved.

laaghaazh [layaʒ] 'stairs'

zaamaazh [zamaʒ] 'times'

⁴⁵ I have not heard this prefix pronounced /wo/ except as a spelling pronunciation. This is a form whose spelling may have been artificial, relative to actual piedmont and highland Ingush pronunciation, from the start (see §1.3).

Note that the first vowel is shortened to [a], not to [ʌ] = /a/. The raised dot is intended to show that the vowel of the second syllable, though somewhat shortened in the closed syllable, is still longer than the first vowel.

Shortening is much less likely to occur with sequences of different vowels as in:

bieraa	[bi:ɛra:]	'child.DAT'
c'uokaazh	[c'u:okaʒ]	'hides, pelts, pieces of leather'
deaq'ie	[dæ:q'i:ɛ]	'part, portion.ADV'
xaanuo	[xa:nu:ɔ]	'time.ERG'

Length adjustment is optional and variable.

3.4. Phonotactics and syllable structure

3.4.1. Distribution of consonants in roots. Of the four consonant manners of alternation (voiceless, voiced, ejective, geminate), geminates absolutely never occur morpheme-initially. Ejectives other than /q'/ are almost entirely limited to initial position. There are a few exceptions:

d.oatt'	'rip'
iet't'	id. (PLC)
lärt'a ~ lärtt'a	'proper, appropriate'
hwalt'am	'corn flour dumpling'
mut'ahw	'dedicated, devoted, adherent' (<Arabic)
sheit'a	'devil, Satan' (<Arabic)
q'uot'a	'dummy' (term of mild abuse)
sit'ara	'frightened, terrified'
mearjk'azh	'twilight, dusk'
xump'ar	'holster'
ipp'aalii	(exclamation of startled surprise, used only by women)

/q'/ is very common in non-initial position:

niq'	'path, route, road'
juq'	'middle'
daaq'a	'part, piece, section'
d.aq'a	'dry' (adjective)
loq'	'dry up' (verb)
d.iq'a	'thick, viscous'
lochq'	'conceal'

latq'	'complain'
lotq'am	'complaint'
q'ouq'	'it thunders; lightning flashes'
muq'a	'free'
shoq'	'ecstasy, frenzy'
aaq'al	'face down'
baq'	'truth'

This distribution is the result of a sound change (postvocalic lenition) whereby all non-initial ejectives other than *q' (and probably also *tt') turned into the corresponding voiced consonants (for the Nakh dialectal distribution see Nichols 2005).

3.4.2. *Distribution of pharyngealization in roots.* The following consonant classes can be pharyngealized:

Labials	pwid	'frog'	
	pwu	'male dog; large dog'	
	pwagal	'hare, rabbit'	
	bwarjg	'eye'	
	bwoagha	'post'	
	bweastii	'springtime'	
	vwaashii	'each other'	
	vwou	'defense tower'	
	mwaara	'fingernail, claw'	
	mwad	'dirt'	
	mwaghaljg	'terraced field'	
	Dentals	twous	'fall asleep'
		twamka	'tobacco'
		twudzh	'playing field (for ball games)'
		dwa-	deictic prefix
dwoagha		'key, lock'	
dwaam		'stoneworking chisel'	
t'wirjg		'cord, shoelace'	
Alveolars	cwea	'alone, by oneself'	
	cwuogal	'fox'	

	zwaar	'wattle; gate made of wattle'
	zwy	'chain, link; telegraph; beam, ray (of light)'
	zwamiga	'small'
	zwok	'beak'
Palatals	chwaaghar	'wine'
	chwaghalq	'jackal'
	chwonkar/chonkar	'mace, war club'
	zhwalii	'dog'
	zhwou	'mallet, sledgehammer'
	zhwonka	edible plant sp.
	ch'woagha	'firm; very'
	ch'wor/chq'or	'peel; nutshell; crust of earth; scales of fish'

Velars and uvulars are never pharyngealized. Pharyngealized glottals can be said to occur in a purely phonetic sense: a pharyngealized glottal stop or fricative is phonetically the same as a pharyngeal segment *w*, *hw*. However, these do not have the phonotactic and lexical distribution of pharyngealization.

Ejectives are only very rarely pharyngealized. The three known examples are *ch'woagha* 'firm; very', *ch'wor* 'peel', and *t'wirjg* 'cord, shoelace', above. There are no examples of pharyngealized voiceless fricatives.

Gender prefixes can be pharyngealized: *d.waaixa* 'hot', *d.weaxa* 'long'.

Pharyngealization is not evenly distributed across the lexicon. Noun, adjective, demonstrative, and numeral roots can contain pharyngealized consonants; verb roots, personal pronouns, and suffixes cannot. (Verbs derived from other parts of speech can, e.g. *d.woax-lu* 'get hot' from *d.waaixa* 'hot'.) No local prefixes have pharyngealized consonants; all deictic prefixes have pharyngealized or pharyngeal consonants. The pharyngeal segments do not have these restrictions; they can occur in all morpheme types.

3.4.3. Consonant clusters. Ingush has a fairly simple syllable structure with rather few possible clusters -- which, however, include some cross-linguistically unusual sequences. The consonant sequences described here are possible in roots. (In addition, probably any sequence of consonants can occur at word boundaries and medially in compounds.) Since noun and verb roots both occur in isolation (noun roots in the nominative singular, verb roots in the present tense), the root canon is also the syllable canon.

3.4.3.1. Harmonic clusters. This is the standard Caucasianist term for clusters consisting of an anterior obstruent followed by a velar or uvular of the same manner of articulation. The whole functions as a single consonant phonotactically. Ingush harmonic clusters chiefly

occur root-initially. The non-initial tokens mostly occur in words long enough to consist of more than one morpheme, though the internal structure of most of these is entirely opaque. (Initial *px-* and *tx-* in many cases result from accretion of an overt inherent gender prefix as discussed below in §7.3. Genders are shown on nouns here to indicate where this is and is not a diachronic explanation for the cluster.)

px-	pxo (B)	bullet
	pxo (J)	bottom, base (of container)
	pxa (B)	vein, artery, sinew, tendon
	pxead (J)	coultter (vertical cutting blade of moldboard plow)
	pxean (J)	hornbeam
	pxar (J)	shield
	pxoara	pregnant
	pxi'	five
tx-	txou (B)	ceiling, roof
	txyr/txar (D)	dew
	txa (D)	unspun wool, wool fleece
	txo (D)	we (exclusive)
	txiina	sharp (like a blade with a slightly roughened edge)
-tx-	oatxal (J)	part of mechanism or machine
	baatxar/baxtar (D)	carrying strap
	baatxar (J)	metal cleats on shoe heel (for walking on snow or ice)
-stx-	distxarjg (D)	strap of backpack
	ustxaljg (J)	ratchet
cx-	cxaral (B)	lace
-cx-	picxa (B)	butter churn
	nacxa (B)	edible root of wild plant sp. (<i>chximazh</i> , below)
	cicxa (D)	splash, spatter
	cicxoljg (J)	rat
	k'arcxal (J)	acacia; (D) thorn
	marcxaljg (D)	scratch (on skin)
	mecxaljg (D)	swift (bird) (<i>Apus</i> sp.)
	coacxal (D)	furnace or pit for burning lime
jecxamazh (J)	lingonberry (<i>Vaccinium vitis idaea</i>)	
chx-	chxar (J)	cliff
	chximazh (J)	herb sp.
	chxandar (J)	snout of pig

-chx-	mochxal (D)	jaw
	chachxam (J)	cartilage, gristle
	chachxar (J)	stone with pitted or rough surface
pq'-	pq'i/pq'e/pq'a (J)	beestings, colostrum
tq'-	tq'ou (J)	slush, sleet
	tq'ouruo (J)	branch (of tree)
	tq'aam (B)	wing
	tq'o	twenty
-tq'-	watq' (verb)	affect, influence, have impact on
	latq' (verb)	complain
	d.itq'a	thin, fine
	shirtq'a (J)	weasel
	hwotq'azh (D)	herb sp.
	bartq'a (B)	low stone wall; stone foundation of house
	meztq'a (J)	plant sp.
	setq'a (B)	star (also <i>sedq'a</i>)
cq'-	cq'a	once
	cq'un (J)	sewage, mire, slime, filth
	cq'arjgazh (D)	wild onion sp. (<i>Allium</i> sp.)
-cq'-	barcq'a (D)	garment (also <i>barzaq'</i>)
chq'-	chq'eara (B)	fish
	chq'or / ch'wor (J)	peel; shell (of nut); crust (of earth); scale
	chq'ord (J)	skylark (<i>Alauda</i> sp.)
	chq'oIt	plunk, plink, splash (onomatopoeic)
	chq'oig (J)	mammal sp. (polecat or gopher)
	chq'ashtarjg/ch'ashtarjg (J)	tree or shrub sp. (possibly <i>Berberis</i> or <i>Euonymus</i>)
-chq'-	lochq' / lachq'	hide (verb)

The clusters in *-q'* are not phonetically straightforward sequences of two ejectives. One common pronunciation is an ejective stop or affricate followed by a uvular element which is a continuant, fairly lenis, and not a true fricative, followed by the voicing onset (which does not begin with a sharp glottal release as vowels do after single ejectives). Initial, medial, and final clusters can be pronounced this way. Medial ones can also be pronounced as a voiced stop or affricate followed by an ejective /q'/. The Cyrillic spellings of the medial ones are not entirely consistent. The words from above found in Ozdov 2003 are below. Some speakers hear what is spelled in the orthography (*dq'* vs. *tq'*, etc.), but I believe there is no contrast.

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Phonemic</i>
седкъа	sedq'a	setq'a
барзкъа	barzq'a	barcq'a
барткъа	bartq'a	bartq'a
хъаткъа	hwatq'a	hwotq'azh
шурткъа	shurtq'a	shurtq'a
латкъар, латкъ	latq'ar, latq'	latq'
латкъар, латкъ	watq'ar, watq'	watq'
диткъа	ditq'a	d.itq'a
лачкъар, лачкъ	lachq'ar, lachq'	lachq'

The first two words are spelled with voiced first elements, and the others voiceless. Perhaps this is because the first two have variants or related forms with a voiced first element and no uvular element (discussed just below). (There are some discrepancies of vocalism between Ozdov's forms and my recordings, for a few less common words.)

A few of the words with initial *px-* and *tx-* may have overt inherent gender prefixes (§7.3) preceding an original initial *x*; the Daghestanian cognates suggest this strongly for *txa* 'unspun wool' and *txo* 1pEX, and Batsbi has many more examples of plausible gender markers in initial clusters (Batsbi has a less restricted syllable canon). These are only a small minority of the Ingush forms, however, and of course the cluster initials *c-* and *ch-* have no connection to any gender prefix. For a few words, there are cognates or related words indicating that the cluster formed when a schwa was elided: *barcq'a* 'clothing' has a related form *barzaq'* 'mail, armor'; *txousar* 'this evening, tonight' is an old compound of the root of *taxan* 'today' + *bus* 'night' (cf. Batsbi *txabus*, and also *txa* 'today'). *setq'a/sedq'a* 'star' has a related poetic word *sieda* (likely borrowed from, or influenced by, Chechen *sieda*).⁴⁶

3.4.3.2. Other clusters. A few other consonant clusters occur non-initially in roots (and in unanalyzable though polysyllabic words that may once have been compounds or suffixal derivatives). All can occur between vowels so that a syllable boundary arguably separates the consonants. Some can also occur word-finally; these are notated below. Words listed in this section include some nativized loans (most ultimately from Arabic, usually via a intermediary such as Kumyk [Turkic] or Avar [Nakh-Daghestanian: Avar-Andic]).

Fricative + stop or affricate. All are voiceless. (There is no contrast between plain and ejective stops after fricatives.)

⁴⁶ Proto-Nakh postvocalic ejectives underwent lenition in Vainakh to become voiced stops or affricates, except that *q' did not undergo lenition. The forms *sieda* and *barzaq'* must have had those forms early enough to undergo lenition. They are different (though related) words and not just alternative forms of *setq'a* and *barcq'a*. Any ejective harmonic cluster, when medial, can lose the uvular element in casual or rapid speech, but then the result is an ordinary ejective, e.g. *barcq'azh* [bʌrc'əʒ].

-xk- Often final. This cluster is quite frequent. Its sources appear to include the Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian fortis ejective lateral affricate (a single phoneme, not a cluster).

diixk	'liver'
t'exk	'bone'
oaxk	'dig, cultivate'
d.exk	'tie, bind'
qexk	'boil'

-xk- replaces a final -ll- in plurals of some verbs (see §14.1.1):

d.oaxk	'be located, be contained' (sg. d.oall)
loaxk	'drive, chase' (sg. loall)
oxk	'hang up' (sg. oll)

-st- Often final. This cluster is also quite frequent. It reflects Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian *-st-, a cluster that patterned phonotactically as a single consonant (Nichols 2003).

d.ust	'measure'
d.oast	'untie, unravel'
cast	'chop, mince'
ust	'bull'
jost	'dust, sand, fine dry earth'
nost	'shin'
ost	'chisel'
mista	'sour, tart'
oast	'year-old spring-born kid'

-st- can follow -r-:

d.arst	'get fat, gain weight'
dirst	'bridle'

-sk- Mostly stem-final.

syskal	'corn bread'
nuskal	'bride, daughter-in-law'
tuskar	'basket'
eskar	'army, troops'
peska/pesjka	'oar, spatula' (perhaps suffix -jk < *-ig)
moska/mosk	'hub of wheel, nave'
baaskaljg	'grasshopper, locust' (-aljg is a diminutive suffix)
miska / misjka	'poor, unfortunate'

-sht- Mostly final.

xesht	'otter'
yshta	'thus' (and other demonstratives)

gesht	'forgiveness, mercy' (with light verb)
hwasht	'need, necessity' (with light verb)
-shk-	fashkal 'honeycomb'
	ishk 'cornmeal'
	ch'ashkal (with light verb) 'shave one's head'
-xt-	appears in two or three roots, one of them a loan:
	chuxta 'type of traditional woman's headscarf'
	baxtar/baaxtar/batxar 'carrying strap'
	nabaxta 'in jail, prison' (< Russ. <i>na vaxte</i> 'on watch, on guard duty')
-xc-	appears in only two roots, the second etymologically suffixed:
	nexca plant sp.
	oxca / oaxza 'irritable, peevish' (-za privative suffix)

-xch- appears in a few words, all loans or long enough to derive from more than one morpheme (though all are morphologically opaque).

axcha	'money' (< Turkic)
boxcha	'wallet' (< Turkic)
naxcha	'cheese'
daxcha	'wood, logs, firewood'
moxcha	'maternal second cousin'

Resonant plus obstruent. Ejectives are rare as second elements.

-rp-	turpal 'hero'
	chorpa 'bouillon, broth, meat stock'
	saarpal 'beam'
	kirpishjk 'brick' (< Russ. <i>kirpich</i>)
-rb-	daarba 'medical treatment, healing, curing'
	ch'orbal 'wooden reinforcement for pack (part of pack saddle)'
	darbal 'large earth clod'
	tarbaq 'sap (of a specific tree)'
	gharbaash 'giant, evil monster' (in myth)
	vaarbast/varbast 'sledgehammer; handle for softening leather'
	shaarbal 'baggy trousers' (traditional Turkish clothing)
	Ghurba 'Kurban (religious holiday)' (via Kumyk)
	turba 'pipe, stovepipe' (< Russ. <i>truba</i>)
	xarbaz/xarbus 'watermelon'
	derbat 'tanning'
	zaarba 'printing, press'

-rm-	ch'orma-	'peel' (with light verbs) (suffixed? cf. <i>chq'or</i> 'peel')
	larma / laram	'cellar'
	t'ormii	'duffel bag, suitcase, purse'
	k'ormac	'butterfly; moth'
	sormast	'horsehair rope'
	sermii	'malted cracked corn'
	germii	'cleaning cloth, rag; cork, stopper'
	saarmak	'dragon' (< Pers.)
	zurma/zuram	'horn, wind instrument'
	hwurmat	'economy, thrift'
-rt-	Occurs finally.	
	bart	'agreement, accord; mouth'; also in <i>bart-al</i> 'face down'
	surt	'picture, portrait' (< Arabic)
-rd-	Occurs finally.	
	lard	'foundation; sole, horseshoe'
	ford	'sea, ocean' (< Ossetic)
	berd	'riverbank, bluff'
	chq'ord	'skylark (<i>Alauda</i> sp.)'
	urduu	'brideprice'
	vorda	'cart, oxcart'
	bārda	'millwheel, water wheel'
	k'orda	'bored, irritated' (with light verb)
	siirda	'light, bright'
	earda	'left (side)'
	kerda	'new, fresh'
	qaard	'disdain, despise'
	oard	'thresh'
	serd	'curse'
	d.oard	'slice (into several slices)'
	q'erd	'pick out, choose'
-rn-	barnii	'orphan lamb'
	sarnal	'bird sp.'
	purnii	'bakery'
-rs-	Often final.	
	urs	'knife'
	pwaars	'arm'
	maars	'sickle'

naars	'cucumber'
turs	tree sp.
birsa	'strict, fierce'
morsa/moarsa	'coarse, scratchy, harsh'
hwoarsa	'red (of hair)'
tars	'doze off, nap' and 'neigh'
sars	'drizzle'
-rc-	Often final.
borc	'millet'
borcaq	'badger'
oarc	'beam supporting roof'
morc	'singe'
xaarc	'false, wrong; upside down'
xoarc	'collapse, cave in'
hwoarc	'sift, sprinkle'
oarc	'alarm' (in light verbs 'help, come to aid')
-rdz / -rz-	Often final.
bordz, berz-	'wolf'
gerdz	'firearm, gun'
girdz	'ringworm, mange'
mordz	'whey, skim milk'
daardz	'drizzle, sleet'
boardz	'gravemound' (< Ossetic)
erdz	'reeds, rushes'
merdz	'horsehair; string, fishing line'
-rst-	(see above) Final.
-rsh-	Sometimes final.
borsh	'young bull'
xorsha/xorsh	'fever'
wirshinjg	'sneeze'
xarsh	'furrow' (in plowed field)
maarsh	'intestine; hose; sausage'
bershie	'in heat, in season'
darsha	'without horns' (breeds of sheep and cattle)
mearsha	'safe; in peace; healthy, well'
sharsh	'skate, glide'

-rzh- / -rdzh Often final.

bwarzh	type of traditional shoe (high felt boots, soft leather soles)
kurzham	'switch, rod, withe' (chiefly ceremonial)
turzhaw	'mayhem'
tarzham	'translation'
wearzha	'black'
d.aarzh	'spread out'
xorzha	'choose, elect'
zherzh	'bellow' (of animals)

-rch- Often final.

burch	'pepper'
karch	'roll over; wallow'
baarch	'opening of sack; fly, waistband (of pants)'
quurch	'hearth, fireplace'
merchii	'shroud'
koarcham	'gift of food (e.g. from visitor to host)'
iircha	'ugly, unattractive'
hwaarch	'get tangled, enmeshed; cling to'
lurchagh/lurchogh	'year before last'

-rk- Occurs finally. Not particularly common.

berkat	'abundance, plenty, fortune' (< Arabic)
kirk	'kiln'
ghark	'merlin' (bird: <i>Falco columbarius</i>)
nark	'sea buckthorn' (plant: <i>Hippophae rhamnoides</i>)
terk-	in suffixed <i>terkam</i> , <i>terkuo</i> 'attention, alert'
tork/tark	'rock, shake'

-rg- Often final.

k'irg / k'ark'ar	'regulator of grain flow in mill'
burgac	'ball'
barg	'hoof'
morga	'wooden dish for dog food'
zorgaz	'smith'
oargam	'young shoots of wild garlic'
erg-	(with light verbs) 'alienation, estrangement'
t'oargac	'trunk, foot locker'
earga	'unripe, green'
garga	'nearby, close'
lorg	'shear (sheep)'

-rq-	Often final.	
	aarquu/oarquu	'plate, dish, vessel'
	turq	'head of sufi brotherhood'
	ghurq	'pole, shaft; piece of brushwood'
	maarqal	'solution, poultice, gel'
	paarq	'forkful, armful (of straw, hay)'
	qurqoljg	'waterfall, eavespout'
	ghaarqam	'fleece with short hair (from recently shorn sheep)'
-rq'-	maarq'-aljg	'top (child's toy)'
	aarq'al	'face up'
	q'urq'al	'hernia, rupture'
	jeaparq'	'dye for tanned leather'
	birq'a	'shabby, threadbare'
	hworq'anjg	'kneecap'
-rx-	Often final.	
	morx	'cloud'
	chaarx	'wheel' (< Persian)
	maarxa	'fast, fasting'
	urx	'rein'
	xerx	'saw, ripsaw'
	k'arx	'type of shoe (women's, light leather)'
	korx	'combed wool ready for spinning'
	tarx	'boulder', 'piece of ice'
	tarxii	'niche, recessed shelf'
	ferx	'leopard'
	boarxa	'spotted, speckled, brindle'
	darx-	'angry' (with light verb)
	earxa/earha	'dull'
-rgh-	Occasionally final.	
	sirgha	'young bull, male calf'
	argha	'haystack; rolling grassy hills'
	borghal	'rooster'
	mergh-aljg	'stalk, blade (of grass, hay)'
	hwargha	'raven'
	zhirgha	'drum'
	zhargha	'sow (female pig)'
	bargha	'herb sp.'
	jorgha	'amble (horse gait)'

	zirgh	'maggots (in meat)'
	ghorgha	'coarse-ground; faceted'
	ghergh	'cry of Caucasian mountain goat'
-rhw-	One token only, with variation:	
	kalhwar/karhwar	'hand mill, hand grinder'
-rw-	⁴⁷ is found only in two Arabic loans:	
	Q'orwa	'Koran'
	pirwou	'Pharaoh'
-lp-	One token:	
	choalpa	'popcorn (popped)'
-lb-	talba	'saddle blanket, pad (for pack saddle)'
	t'oalba	'rammer, beetle' (tool)
	jilbaz	'devil' (< Arabic)
	q'ulba	'compass' (< Arabic)
	choalba	'turban'
	xalbatie	'hermit's cave, hermitage'
-lm-	wilam/wilma	'science' (< Arabic)
	ghaalmaqie	'Kalmyk' (< Kumyk (Turkic))
	talmach	'(oral) translator, interpreter' (< Turkic)
	tealmii	(with light verb) 'brood, sit on eggs'
	aalmaz/aalmas	'female spirit' (mythology)
-lt-	shaalta	'dagger'
	chq'olt	'plunk' (onomatopoetic)
	aaltam	'hinge; face plate of lock'
	hwalt'am	'corn flour dumpling'
	faltii	'straw mattress'
	zheltii	'Greek (ancient)'
-ls-	taals	'saddlebag, pannier'
-lch-	bolchaq	'handbarrow, stretcher'
	xulchii	'type of shoe' (rawhide with plaited sole)
	aalcha	'gelding'

⁴⁷ Sequence of /r/ plus /w/, i.e. /r/ plus pharyngealized glottal stop: [rʔ]. This spelling may appear to suggest a pharyngealized /r/, but /r/ is never pharyngealized in Ingush.

	elcha	'prophet; the prophet Mohammed'
	paalchaq	'hood'
	hwoalchagh	'wedding gift from groom's family to bride's family'
-lk-	iemalk	'untamed horse, mustang'
	mulk	'property, possessions, wealth' (< Arabic)
	joalkam	in <i>joalkama ghadzh</i> ('joalkam shaft'), part of cart
-lg-	belgal	'characteristic, distinction, feature'
	elgac	'pagan shrine, sanctuary'
-lq-	ghaalqa	'earring'
	baalqaruo	'Balkar' (< Turkic)
-lq'-	sholq'a	'lizard'
	melq'a	'lizard sp.'
	delq'ie	'noon, midday'
	xalq'	'nation, nationality, people; public wealth' (< Arabic)
-lx-	maalx	'sun'
	bolx	'work, job'
	dulx	'meat, flesh'
	ealx	'sharpening stone, whetstone'
	molxa	(J) 'medicine'; (D) 'gunpowder'
	jaalx	'six'
	niiilxa	'sparse'
	d.elx	'weep'
	oalx	'comb wool'
	talx	'spoil, rot, get damaged'
	xalx	'dance'
-lgh-	joalghuu	'skillet'
	ghalghaa	'Ingush'
	mulgha	'part of harness (strap under horse's tail)'
	talghie	'wave'
	bwaalgha/bwaallagh	'sculpture'
	zaalgha	'chaos, mess, disorderly heap'
-lhw-	jolhwanjg	'rake'
	k'allhwaazh	'charlock' (wild plant, <i>Brassica</i> sp.)
	pelhwa	'tightrope walker'
	sulhwa	'rosary, prayer beads'

kalhwar/karhwar	'hand mill, hand grinder'
melhwazh	'breed of sheep (black and white fleece)'

-lw-⁴⁸ One word only, variant:

melwa	'lizard sp.' (cf. melq'a)
-------	---------------------------

There appear to be no restrictions on the clusters that can be formed at the internal boundary of a compound or prefixed verb. All of the above clusters can occur here, e.g.:

-lx-	diezaxuo	'family member; offspring, son, daughter'
-rb-	vir+bwardz	'mule' (lit. 'donkey mule')
-rx-	baazar+xuo	'merchant'

including infrequent ones:

-shk-	bash+kart	'garden fence' (garden + fence)
-xt-	ax+tum	'5 rubles' (half + 10.rubles)
-rv-	mear+vow	'stepson, husband's son'
-lg-	shol+goara	'double-barreled'
-lq-	hwal+qoud	'reach up'
-lgh-	hwal+ghott	'stand up'

as can sequences not otherwise permitted:

-rn-	maar+naana	'mother-in-law (husband's mother)'
	ber+naanaljg	'midwife'
-rj-	mear+jisha	'sister-in-law (husband's sister)'
-lv-	k'al-vytar	'abandoned (him)'
-lj-	k'al-jytar	'abandoned (her)'
-ghb-	hwagh+buc	'plant sp.'
-ttk-	ditt+komar	'mulberry; mulberry tree'
-ln-	qaal+nax	'women'
-rch'-	vir+ch'im	'plant sp.' (lit. 'donkey <i>ch'im</i> ', where <i>ch'im</i> is a plant name)

and various three-consonant sequences (the three below also have discrepant manner of articulation in adjacent obstruents, which does not occur within roots):

-lxb-	maalx+boalie	'east'
-stb-	dist+buc	'plant sp.'
-stc'-	ust+c'ei	'wife's relatives' (often /ucc'ei/)

⁴⁸ Sequence of /l/ plus /w/, i.e. pharyngealized glottal stop. This spelling may appear to suggest a pharyngealized /l/, but /l/ is never pharyngealized in Ingush.

CHAPTER 4

PROSODY AND PROSODIC WORDHOOD

Ingush prosody consists of *stress*, usually initial but in a few instances on the second syllable; a rule of *phrasal accent* that parses certain phrase types, from right to left, into a two-stress or two-word minimal prosodic unit or intonational phrase (IP); a minimal *tone* opposition (high vs. unmarked), distinct from stress; and pitch *declination* over the entire clause or sentence or utterance. Stress, phrasal accent, and tone are three separate phonemic categories. Pitch and declination are phonetic notions: pitch is the absolute pitch of the fundamental frequency, and declination is its regular drop over some domain.

The following symbols are used in this chapter for prosodic transcription:

´	Stress (tonic syllable); or, in compounds and phrases, primary stress
˘	Secondary stress
^	High tone
[IP]	Boundaries of prosodic IP

4.1. Stress

4.1.1. Stress: the tonic syllable. Nearly every Ingush simplex word⁴⁹ has a tonic syllable, and in nearly all Ingush words the tonic syllable is the initial syllable. Phonetically, stress is marked by greater prominence and the capacity to bear phrasal accent; a word pronounced in isolation has primary phrasal accent on its stressed syllable, which is therefore higher in pitch than the rest. Phonologically, stress is marked by the fact that posttonic vowel reduction (§3.2.1) turns all posttonic short vowels to schwa. The following are simplex words, unsuffixed and suffixed, all having stress on the first syllable and no secondary stress.

(1) kúotam	'chicken'	
táamash	'surprise'	
k'ézig	'a little'	(-ig diminutive derivational suffix)
kúotamazh	'chickens'	(-azh plural ending)
kúotamazhka	'chickens' (allative)	(-azh plural, -ka allative)
lóalaxuochyngara	'neighbor' (ablative)	(-chyn- extension; -ga allative; -ra ablative)

⁴⁹ As defined in §5.10. A simplex word has only one lexical root; complex words (compounds, phrasal verbs, etc.) have more than one lexical root. A simplex word can be either monomorphemic or (if it has derivational or inflectional suffixes) polymorphemic.

Two sets of words have stress on the second syllable: forms of the indirect causative, which have the stress on the causative suffix *-(i)it*, e.g. *moliit* 'have someone drink'; and the disyllabic teen numerals *jalxéitt*, *vuríitt*, *baréitt* '16, 17, 18', which have the suffix *-eitt / -iitt*. These numerals have some vowel reduction in the initial syllables (cf. *jaalx* 'six', *vorh* 'seven', *baarh* 'eight'), but this is phonologically different from posttonic vowel reduction as the output vowels are not schwas. It is difficult to know whether this partial reduction is due to the lack of stress, as these are the only three words with this alternation. The *-ei-/ii-* alternation in the suffix is also unique. There is no comparable change in the stem or suffix vowels of indirect causatives.

Another word that has stress on the second syllable is *waleamat* 'a marvel, a wonder; something wonderful' and its more common derivative *waleamatie* 'amazingly, surprisingly, extremely'. This is an Arabic loan; but note that Russian loans invariably have initial stress in Ingush, regardless of their Russian stress position and their Ingush vowel length. Another word is the place name *Pw(y)leaq'on-jurt* 'Plievo' (derived from the clan name *Pwylieq'ongii*, which, however, has initial stress). The unstressed first vowel is sometimes elided like a schwa, leaving the strange cluster /pwl/ (pharyngealized /pl/ sequence).

For some speakers the pluperfect tense seems to have stress on the first suffixal syllable: *vaxáavar* 'had gone', *diisháadar* 'had read'. For other speakers this syllable has high tone (see §4.2; marked ^ˆ) but the stress is initial: *vaxáavar*, *diisháadar*. For all speakers the non-witnessed tense from which the pluperfect is derived have initial stress and high tone on the suffix: *vaxáav*, *diisháad*.

In all of these words with non-initial stress, the stressed syllable has a long vowel. In native words it is a suffixal morpheme.

The verbal deictic prefixes *hwa-* 'here, to speaker', *dwa-* 'there, away from speaker', *hwal-* 'up', and *wa-* 'down' have no phrasal accent but are not atonic and not clitics: they have the vowel quality of phonologically independent words (§2.5.1), and they can themselves host clitics (*dwa=chy* DX=in 'down, down into').

- (2) júxa dwa- 'áara - v.ealar
back DX out V.go.WP
'he went back out'

4.1.2. *Primary and secondary stress; prosody of compounds and phrases.* Compounds of various types have primary stress on the first element and secondary stress on the second. Primary stress has distinctly higher pitch, more amplitude, and more prominence overall. Secondary stress has low pitch, at about the same level as the unstressed syllables in the phrase. In women's speech primary stresses are higher relative to low pitch than in men's speech. Here and below, ´ marks primary stress, ` secondary.

- (3) bwárjga+gù 'see(s)' (eye + see.PRS) (compound verb)
d.óa+d.ie 'destroy' (D.lose+D.CS.IINF) (causative verb)

áaravèalâr	'went out' (out-V.go.WP) ⁵⁰	(prefixed verb)
dáa-nàana	'parents' (father + mother)	(coordinate compound)

- (2') júxa dwa- 'áara - v.èalâr
 back DX out V.go.WP
 He went back out (=2) with full prosodic transcription)

A small set of compounds have less stress on the second element. I call this tertiary stress and provisionally transcribe it here with \sim , but it is probably a variant of secondary stress (the conditioning environment is uncertain).

- (4) qáalsăg 'woman' (qaal 'female' + sag 'person')
 máwasăg 'man' (mawa 'male' + sag 'person')

Adjective + noun phrases⁵¹ have the same prosody as compounds, i.e. primary + secondary stress. This is true of both free and lexicalized phrases.

- (5) díka sàg 'good person'
 (6) vóaqqa sàg 'elder, senior, old man' (lexicalized); 'big person, important man' (free)

Genitive noun + noun phrases have the same prosody:

- (7) qúorii gâ 'pear tree' (pear.GENpl tree)
 ghálghaai mòtt 'the Ingush language' (Ingush.GENpl language)
 déa c'ì 'patronym, father's name' (father. EN name)
 Múusaai àxcha 'Musa's money' (Musa.GEN money)

The element *sag* in the following words has a near-minimal contrast of secondary, tertiary, and no stress.

- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|-------------|
| (8) vóaqqa sàg | 'old man' | (phrase) | [voaq:sʌg] | (secondary) |
| qáalsăg | 'woman' | (compound) | [qalsʌg] | (tertiary) |
| Máalsag | (man's name) | (single word) | [malsəg] | (none) |

In phrases with numerals, the last word of the numeral is parsed together with the head noun and forms an IP with the same prosody as a compound:

⁵⁰ The witnessed past ending has high tone. See §4.2.

⁵¹ If there is more than one adjective, this prosody applies only to the last one plus the head noun. Similarly for genitive + noun phrases just below.

- (9) c'ie pxí gòur
red five horse (i.e. red [_{IP} five+horse])
'five red horses'
- (10) diezq'ie qó màshen (diezq'ie [_{IP} qó màshen])
80 three car
'83 cars'
- (11) ezarî=jî jaalxbwêa=j qouztq'îi [_{IP} vórh dòsh]
1000=& 600=& 60=& 7 word
'1667 words' (0531)

The structure and prosody of numeral phrases are discussed again in Chapter 20. The prosody and phonological treatment of =*ji* in numeral phrases are similar to those of coordinated NP's, described in §2.5.3 above.

4.1.3. *Accent and prosodic parsing.* The foregoing describes words pronounced in isolation, but the high and low pitches of the stressed syllables actually represent the working of phrase and clause prosody, which assigns what I will call primary and secondary accents to stressed syllables. Any phrase or clause tends to be parsed so that the last two accentable words constitute a minimal intonation phrase (IP) with the same prosody as compounds. Those last two words can be a compound, a phrase, or the last word of a numeral sequence plus the quantified word, all illustrated above. They can also be the object and verb or the two elements of a light verb construction. The IP is bracketed in the following examples.

- (12) Aaz [_{IP} bólx bù]
1s.ERG work B.LV.PRS
I work (light verb construction)
- (13) Muusaaz kast-kasta duqa [_{IP} kínashjkaazh dèsh]
Musa.ERG often many book.PL D.read.PRS
Musa often reads many books. (object + verb)

or the light verb and a postverbal word (for word order changes see Chapter 30):

- (12') ... bolx [_{IP} bú àaz]
work B.LV.PRS 1s.ERG
I work

In all of these two-accent sequences, the first word has what I call *high accent* with relatively high pitch, and the second has *low accent* and relatively low pitch. The pitch of the high accent is somewhat less high than that assigned by high tone (§4.2), and the low pitch is

4.2. Tone

Ingush has a minimal tone system which is interesting precisely for being so minimal and yet so clearly a tone system.⁵³ The Ingush tone system has correspondents in the other two Nakh languages Chechen and Batsbi, though the Batsbi system is one of mobile stress apparently without separate phonemic tone. Several languages of the Daghestanian branch of Nakh-Daghestanian have been described as having tone (Kodzasov 1990), but tones have not been reported in the descriptions of Daghestanian languages available in English and their presence in Daghestan is not well known outside of Russia. The Ingush system, though minimal, is of the same general type as the Daghestanian systems, supporting Kodzasov's analysis.

In Ingush a handful of morphemes (all of them grammatical formatives) carry a tone realized as high or rise-fall on the tone-bearing morpheme or (if it is enclitic) on the preceding syllable (even if that is an epenthetic schwa). See §2.9 for spectrograms. Historically, this tone may have been non-initial stress; but now stress in Ingush is almost invariably word-initial (and non-initial stress, in the few words that have it as described in §4.1.1, is not phonetically identical to high tone).

The tone-bearing morphemes of Ingush are:

Proclitics

cy=	Negative (converb)
my=	Negative (imperative)

Suffixes

-ac	Negative (present and imperfect tenses)
-andz-	Negative (witnessed past tense)
-ar	Witnessed past tense
-a.d, -aa.d	Nonwitnessed tense (.d = gender suffix in D gender citation form)
-al	Imperative

Enclitics

= 'a	chaining particle and coordinating conjunction
=ji	'and' (NP coordinating clitic)
=j / -ii	interrogative

Also high-toned are the root syllables of verbs in the imperfect tense, and (with less consistency) present and past forms of 'be' (including tense auxiliaries). Examples (^ marks

⁵³ I believe the first description of a Nakh language as having tone is Nichols 1998 (an earlier version of this section). Komen 2007 describes tone for two Chechen clitics cognate to identically toned Ingush ones.

high tone; it is placed over the syllable before the tone-bearing clitic, above the first vowel letter in a falling diphthong or long vowel, above the second letter in a rising diphthong):

- | | | | |
|------|--|--|---|
| (24) | aara-vealândzar
diishândzar | '(he) didn't go out'
'didn't read' | (out-V.go.NEG.WP)
(D.read.NEG.WP) |
| (25) | ... aara-vealâr Muusaa
... aara-voâlar Muusaa | '...Musa went out' (witnessed past)
'...Musa used to go out' (imperfect) | |
| (26) | aarâ='a veanna
bwarjgâ='a veina | '(he) went out and ...', 'having gone out, ...'
'saw him and ...', 'having seen him, ...' | |
| (27) | naaniî=ji daâ=ji
hwazâl'jg=ji chq'eariî=ji | 'father and mother'
'a bird and a fish' | { naanə=jə daa=jə }
{ hwazalg=jə chq'earə=jə } |
| (28) | jaazdezh vîi ?
jaazdôî ?
jaazdÿrii ? | 'is (he) writing?'
'does (he, she) write?'
'did (he, she) write?' | { vy=j }
{ du =j }
{ dÿr=îi } |
| (29) | dika dÿ
good D.be
Good. That's good. | dika xuddÿ
good be.D.fut
That'll be good. | |

The interrogative clitic =*ii* is somewhat prone to carry the high tone itself rather than transferring it to the preceding syllable, especially when attached to a monosyllable:

- (30) diec=iî ~ diêc=ii ? 'isn't it?'

High tone is not an automatic property of certain morpheme classes. The witnessed past negative carries it while the negative past participle does not.⁵⁴

- (31) qeikandza 'uninvited' (cf. qeikândzar 'didn't invite')

The proclitic negative (prohibitive) *my* has high tone while the segmentally homophonous proclitic emphatic particle does not:

⁵⁴ The tonal difference between the two negative morphemes is interesting, as the morphemes themselves are cognate. The Proto-Nakh morpheme was *c(V). In the witnessed past tense this *c has been voiced after /n/, which is the only remnant in Ingush of the ancient Nakh recent past tense suffix *-in (which survives in Batsbi and marginally in Chechen). (For voicing of *c after /n/ cf. Chechen *hinca*, Ing. *handz* 'now'.) This recent past suffix has high pitch in Batsbi (in my own field notes) cognate to the high tone in the Ingush nonwitnessed and witnessed past suffixes.

- (32) mÿ=aala my=aal=ii cuo
 NEG=say.IMPV EMPH=say=Q 3s.ERG
 Don't say (it). Don't tell. (After all,) he said (it).

The witnessed past ending *-âr* carries high tone while the homophonous ending of the imperfect does not. The two tenses differ in vowel grade in some conjugations, but only in tone in others:

- (33) tiexâr 'struck'
 tuôxar 'used to strike'
- (34) latâr 'fought' (*lätar*)
 lâtar 'used to fight' (*latar*)
- (35) vaxiitâr 'sent (him), had (him) go' (go.CSind.WP)
 vaxiitar 'used to send (him), used to have (him) go' (go.CSind.IMPV)

On a long vowel as in (33) the tone is a clear rise on the tonic syllable and fall on the next.

The three enclitics listed above (the chaining particle, coordinating enclitic, and interrogative enclitic) have the high tone, but other enclitics such as the contrastive particle =*m* and the cumulative focus particle =*q* do not. Therefore, though Ingush cannot be said to have a tone *opposition* of even a minimal sort, it does seem to have a contrast between presence and absence of tone on some clitics and suffixes (but, interestingly, no major-class root morphemes have lexically contrastive tone).

The mild imperative ending *-l* also carries high tone which surfaces on the preceding vowel. Native speakers mostly consider the high tone of the mild imperative to be the question intonation contour and optional, but in natural speech it seems to be invariably present.

- (36) Juxa aalâl.
 back say.IMPVmild
 Say it again (please).
- (37) Hwa-vêl uqaza.
 DX-V.come.IMPVmild here
 (Could you) come here (please).

Compare the plain imperatives:

- (38) Juxa aala.
 back say. IMPV
 'Say it again.'

- (39) Hwa-vie uqaza.
 DX-V.come.IMPV here
 'Come here.'

The same tone is carried by most of the same morphemes in standard Chechen (which, however, lacks the suffixal negative). The Chechen-Ingush high tone of the mild imperative corresponds to stress on the relevant syllable in Batsbi (Holisky 1994:181), and Proto-Nakh non-initial stress may well be the source of Chechen-Ingush high tone. At least for Ingush high tone cannot easily be analyzed as stress: Ingush has mostly fixed initial stress whose side effects are prototypically those of stress and not tone, such as reduction of unstressed vowels to schwa; some of the high-tone morphemes contain this schwa, and those that assign the actual high pitch to a preceding syllable easily assign it to a schwa:

- (40) leatta='a {leattə =^'ə} leattâ='a [lættâ'ə]
 land=&
 'and land'
- (41) jaazdŷr=ii ?
 write.WP=Q
 'Did (he, she) write?'

Hence Ingush has both stress (mostly fixed initial) and tone (high vs. lack of tone). Distinctive high tone appears most often on unstressed syllables. The finite verb bears a pitch contour unique to it: a sharp rise-fall located on the tonic syllable or a high-toned suffix. The precipitous fall to low tone on the syllable after this rise-fall is especially audible in the witnessed past negative, where the tone-bearing syllable is followed by another in the same word. In the following example the low tone is underlined:

- (42) vealândzar '(he) didn't go' (negative, witnessed past)

At a more abstract level I believe that all finite verb forms may have high tone on the root or suffix. In the present tense it is not readily audible as the present tense is generally monosyllabic so there is no adjacent non-high syllable for comparison. In (12) and (12') the pitch contour is not identical: *bú* in (12') is higher than *bólx* in (12), and *bù* in (12) is higher than *àaz* in (12'). In (12') the first accented word has high accent and high tone, so it is higher in pitch than the first accented word of (12).

Though this is less certain, it appears that in clauses with verb-second word order (§30.2.3) the verb has high accent and its separated prefix or preverbal word, which is clause-final, has low accent. That is, a verb-second clause does not have an orthodox IP consisting of the rightmost two tonic syllables; rather, the same accent contour spans the entire clause. A simple example with a short clause is in (43), where forms of *d.ieza* 'need, want' are in

second position.⁵⁵ For clarity the high accent mark is placed before the entire verb, not on the tonic syllable.

(43)	axcha	‘diêza	cynna	'he needs money' (present)
	money		3s.DAT	
		‘diezâc		'he doesn't need money' (negative)
		‘diêzar		'he used to need money' (imperfect)
		‘diizâr		'he needed money (e.g. yesterday)' (witnessed past)
		‘diizândzar		'he didn't need money (e.g. yesterday)' (negative)
		‘diizâad		'he (evidently) needed money' (nonwitnessed)

The rise-fall pitch is imposed by the tone, and the syllable of a verb that it falls on is determined by the tone of the verb form. As a result, there is actually a phonetic contrast in tone on stressed syllables, as the imperfect (with its rise-fall on the root syllable) differs in tone from nonfinite forms, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, etc. (with stress on the initial syllable). A minimal triad, shown in (44), comes from the conjugation type in which witnessed past, imperfect, and verbal noun all have the same root vocalism (all have the same segmental suffix or ending *-(a)r*). Here the circumflex is used for the rise-fall and the acute accent for the pitch accompanying ordinary stress.

(44)	lâtar	'used to fight' (imperfect)
	latâr	'fought' (witnessed past) (<i>lâtar</i>)
	lâtar	'fighting, a fight' (verbal noun)

On all three of the forms the tonic syllable is the first one, as indicated by its amplitude and the reduction of all posttonic vowels (in the witnessed past the second syllable has the same schwa quality as in the other two forms). Impressionistically, the witnessed past sounds rather like a Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian disyllable with rising pitch (though the sharp fall to a low tone in the following word, i.e. after the high-fall tone, is unlike Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian). The verbal noun sounds like an initial-stressed word in any stress language, or like a word with a falling tone in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The imperfect, with its sharp rise (clearly audible even on a short vowel) and sharp fall to a low pitch on the following syllable, sounds like something one expects to find only in a language with a system of contrastive contour tones.

There is a tendency for diphthongs to be pronounced as rising under the rise-fall tone and falling under ordinary stress:

(45)	diêzar	[d'ê:zar]	'was supposed to', 'used to like' (imperfect)
	díezar	[di:ɛzar]	'obligation'; 'liking' (verbal noun)

⁵⁵ For the tense-based vowel ablaut see Chapter 12.

In the following, from a recorded conversation, the schwa of the high-tone mild imperative ending is reduced, leaving only a voiced /l/ and transferring its high tone to the preceding syllable, where again the diphthong is rising:

- (46) mielalazh {mielâlazh} [miêl:ž] 'drinking' (drink:PLC.IMPVfut.PL)

(The first part of the geminate [l:] also has high tone.)

The contrast of rise-fall vs. ordinary high tone on the first syllables of the imperfect and verbal noun is phonemicized, given that it is part of the ordinary pronunciation of these forms in isolation. Not all speakers perceive it as pitch, however; one of my consultants perceives it as something like stress, and the rest, though they are aware of it or can be made aware of it, seem to think of it as part of the phrasal prosody and not as part of the sound system.

4.3. Special prosody of coordinated NP's

In sequences of NP's coordinated with =*ji* 'and' (§24.1.1), especially sequences of three or more, all but the last conjunct have high tone (due to spreading) before =*ji* and have a vocalized schwa in =*ji*, and the last has no high tone and no vocalized schwa:

- (47) ghalghaaï mettal dola **literaturîi=jî**, xudozhestvenni
 Ingush.GENpl language.ADV D.be.PPL literature=& artistic
literaturîi=jî, ghalghaaï mottii=j
 literature=& Ingush.GENpl language=&

'...Ingush literature, [world] artistic literature, and Ingush language' (list of university subjects) (0531) {literatura=jî, mott=jî}

- (48) Ilisxaa-jurtara **varîe=jî**, cyn kabinietiera
 (place name).ABL V.be.PPL.NZ=&, 3s.GEN office.ABL
 yz volchara hwa-aara-veanna **Beisara Mochq'îe=j** ...
 3s V.be.PPL.NZ.ABL DX-out-V.go.PPL (name) (name)=&

Kunta Hadji ("the one from Ilisxan-Jurt") and Beisara Mochq'a, who had just come out of his office... (0418) {var=jî, Mochq'a=jî}

- (49) Cyn xannad **Fearahwazaljgii=jî**, **Mixedq'ii=jî**, **Lehwii**.
 {feara+hwazaljg=jî mix+sedq'a=jî, lehwa=j}
 3s.GEN be.NW.D (mythic bird)=& (mythic entity)=& Serpent=&
 He had with him (mythic bird name), (another mythic being), and Serpent. (8901)

This prosody is similar but not identical to that of long numeral phrases (§20.3), which also (at least etymologically) contain =*ji*. The phonetics of high pitch, schwa allophony, and vocalization of *je* are identical, but applied differently: in coordinates it is quite regular for high pitch and vocalized *ji* to be found on all but the last conjunct, where in numerals there is less consistency (cf. (1) above in §4.1). Presumably this is because complex numerals such as *qouztq'ii vorh* '67' in (11) are recurrent phrases and quasi-lexicalized (arguably fully lexicalized in the case of those figuring in important historical dates), while coordinated phrases are produced syntactically, generally not lexicalized, and hence more transparent.

This prosody is hard to bring to the attention of speakers. When asked about the phonology of coordinates they tend to repeat them all with /...*ŋe=ji*/, and all formulations of prosodic rules that I have submitted to speakers (including linguists) are rejected and replaced with generalizations that do not reflect actual unstudied usage. It appears that the phonetics of schwa epenthesis, the realization of {...*a=j*} as /*ii(j)*/, and the tone assignment by =*ji* are late operations on the syntax rather than properties of the phonological inventory or the accessible lexical representation.

4.4. Declination

Declination (or downdrift) occurs between prosodic phrases (§4.1.2) within the same clause and between clauses within a sentence. Each high accent receives successively lower pitch. Impressionistically, phrase-to-phrase declination is about a full step or a minor third. Clause-to-clause declination is optional; various kinds of pauses and emphases can effect a reset. In the following examples, // before a phrase boundary marks declination and brackets delimit IP's.

- (50) *sy doáqqa* ' [_{IP} *qó zhwàlii*]
 1s.GEN D.big three dog
 'my three big dogs'
- (51) *dieztq'ii=ji* ' [_{IP} *qó zhwàlii*] {*d.ieztq'a=^ji*}
 D.80 & three dog
 '83 dogs'
- (52) [*díka sàg*] ' [_{IP} *vŷ Mūsaa*]
 good person V.be.RS Musa
 'Musa is a good person'
- (53) *Yz bólx bŷr* ' [_{IP} *sy náanaz*]
 DEM work B.do.WP 1s.GEN mother.ERG
 'My mother did this job.' (=18)

High tone interacts phonetically with phrasal accent in ways that complicate the description of these and declination in purely pitch terms. In (51), the pitch of /diez/ (not in an IP, so without phrasal accent) is similar to of /qo/, though /qo/ bears high accent while *dieztq'ii=ji* is not in the IP. In (53), the pitch of *bÿr* can be similarly slightly higher than that of *bolx*, because *bÿr* has high tone but bears low accent.

- (54) [IP Dá dika] '[IP xálda hwà]
 day good be.OPT 2s.GEN
 'Hello', 'Good day'

In emphatic utterances with every word emphasized, declination applies to every word. Here the number of tick marks indicates the degree of declination. (Cf. ex. (24) above without declination marking.)

- (55) Yz 'díka "ság "'vý.
 3s good person V.be.PRS
 'HE IS a GOOD PERSON!'

4.5. Prosodic wordhood

There is no simple notion of prosodic wordhood in Ingush. The simplex word (major class root ± suffixes) is the domain of tonic stress assignment. The compound or prosodic two-stress phrase is the domain of primary and secondary stress assignment, and can be anything from a true morphological compound to a free syntactic phrase or even (since parsing for primary and secondary stress assignment begins at the right of the phrase) a non-constituent comprising the last two tonic words of a phrase. For more on wordhood see Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

WORD CLASSES

Ingush has three major lexical classes of words: nouns, verbs, and modifiers. "Modifier" is a single lexical class in that there is no formal difference between adjectives and manner adverbs, or between participles (which are verbal adjectives) and chaining converbs (which are in some respects like verbal adverbs). Other words with lexical content are postpositions and numerals, of which postpositions are a distinct word class while numerals can probably best be regarded as a subtype of modifier.

5.1. Verbs

Verbs head clauses and have argument structure and valence. Finite forms have tense, mood, and evidentiality, and some agree in gender with the S/O. Inflectional forms of verbs include indicative forms, imperatives, subjunctive, optatives, an infinitive, verbal noun, present and past participles, and a number of converbs used in chaining and subordination. Derivational categories include number, pluractionality, causatives, and inceptive. (See Chapters 12-15.)

Ingush has a split verbal lexicon with two major types of verbs: simple and compound. Simple verbs take suffixes directly; compound verbs consist of a grammatically inert, semantically heavy first element and a light verb which takes all the inflectional and derivational suffixes. Examples of simple verbs: e.g. *tuox* 'strike', *mol* 'drink', *d.iesh* 'read', *d.u* 'make', *d.uozh* 'fall', *qier* 'fear, be afraid'. These are a closed class of under 300 items (closer to 200 if plural and pluractional derivatives are not counted separately). The canonical structure for simple verb roots is CV(R)C(C), except for a few irregular verbs with CV(V). Simple verb roots are subject to several phonological restrictions on their shape: pharyngeal segments are permitted in verb roots but pharyngealization is not; there are no initial clusters; final clusters are restricted; all verb roots are monosyllabic. The full inventory of valence types and aktionsart classes is found among simple verbs, and simple verbs (or at least the intransitive ones) undergo the full array of suffixal valence-related derivations. (The resultant suffixed verbs are a subclass of simple verbs.) The derivational behavior of this component of the verb lexicon is ergative in the sense that derivations can add a dative or ergative A or change the case of an A but never add or remove a nominative S/O or change its case. All aktionsart types found in Ingush can be found among simple verbs. (For A, S, O see Chapter 21 and Table 21-1.)

Examples of compound verbs: *bolx bu* 'work' (light verb *d.u* 'do/make'), *nab ju* 'sleep' (same light verb), *telefon tuox* 'call (by phone), telephone' (light verb 'strike'), *basar hwoq* 'paint, apply paint' (*hwoq* 'rub, swipe'). Compound verbs are an open class and are a highly productive way of coining new verbs and borrowing verbs (the borrowed element is the heavy

piece and a native light verb is used, e.g. 'call, phone' above). There are no phonological or morphological constraints on the first (heavy) element. Since many of the high-frequency light verbs are transitive, the derivational possibilities of compound verbs using them are restricted to those that can apply to transitives (this precludes the direct causative), and their overall derivational behavior is accusative, with an S/A pivot. An example is *nab ju* 'sleep', lit. 'do sleep': since the light verb is transitive 'do, make' the subject case is ergative:

- (1) Cuo nab +ju
 3S.ERG sleep+J.LV.PRS
 'he is sleeping, napping'

Aktionsart classes seem to be somewhat restricted for compound verbs: most are activity, telic, or resultative verbs, and there are few if any ingressives and inchoatives. (For the derivational patterns of simple vs. compound verbs see Chapter 15.)

5.2. Nouns

Nouns have inherent gender, and decline for case and number. Gender is arbitrary for those with non-human referents; for those with human referents, gender is predictable from the sex of the referent. In fact the best description is probably to say that human nouns, together with personal names and personal pronouns, lack inherent gender and take their gender from the sex of the referent. (A few human nouns do have arbitrary and therefore inherent gender, e.g. *ber* 'child, baby', *adam* 'person', *nuskal* 'bride', all D; *jiwig* 'little girl', J with plural J when all other nouns referring to human females are J with plural B.)

A minority of nouns have **overt inherent gender**: the initial consonant of the noun is the same as the agreement marker of its gender class. For gender, including overt inherent gender, see Chapter 7; for declension see Chapter 6.

Morphosyntactically, nouns are distinguished by being able to head an NP without any overt nominalization; other parts of speech, notably adjectives, numerals, and verbs, must be nominalized. Nominalization is fairly frequent, occurring in clefting, headless relatives, detached modifiers, postposed modifiers, and other contexts; see Chapter 28.

5.3. Modifiers

Modifiers may agree in gender: for every class of modifiers, a minority take gender agreement and a majority do not take it. Most of them make a nominative/oblique case distinction and agree in case with any noun they modify (the oblique case syncretizes the seven non-nominative cases and agrees with any of them). Only two adjectives distinguish number. Modifiers can function as attributive modifiers to nouns and as manner adverbs,

modifying verbs. They have nominalized forms which enable them to head NP's (though nominalized modifiers differ from basic nouns in not having inherent gender; they agree in gender with their referent or antecedent). Modifiers include the basic modifiers:

Adjectives, e.g. *wearzha* 'black', *dika* 'good', *loaca* 'short'.

Numerals, e.g. *shi* 'two'. (All numerals require the singular of the counted noun.)

Demonstratives and interrogatives: e.g. *yz*, obl. *cu* 'that, the aforementioned, the'; *je*, obl. *uq* 'this', *malagha* 'which one'.

and derived modifiers:

Participles and chaining converbs, e.g. *d.yzaa* 'full; filled'

De-adverbial adjectives (see §11.9.1.3), formed by adding to a locative adverb an ending *-ra* homophonous to the ablative ending, e.g. *jiq'ie* 'in the middle': *jiq'iera* 'central, middle' and also 'from the middle'; *jurt* 'village, town', *jurtara* 'urban, municipal'.

Genitive singular case, e.g. *neana* 'mother's; maternal'

Genitive plural, e.g. *bierii* 'children's; childlike, childrens', for children'

Other oblique case forms, e.g. *bettala* 'moonlit' (a fossilized local case of *butt* 'moon').

Of these, all but the genitive case and other obliques agree in case with the head noun, making a nominative / oblique distinction. In (3) compare the genitive in the first conjunct with the oblique participle in the second, both agreeing with an instrumental noun.

(2) *neana* *mott*
 mother.GEN language
 'mother tongue, native language'

(3) *hwaai* ***neana*** ***mettaca*** ... *je* *womabeacha* *mettaca*
 2s.RFL.GEN mother.GEN language.INS or learn-B.CS.PPL.OBL lang.INS
 '(do you answer) in your native language or one you studied?' (0379A.19.14)

(4) *yz* *bettala* *biisa*
 DEM moonlit night
 'the/that moonlit night'

(5) *cu* *bettala* *biisanna*
 DEM.OBL moonlit night.DAT
 'on that moonlit night'

Though there is no formal difference between adjectives and manner adverbs, or between participles and chaining converbs, this applies to these word classes as classes; individual members, and individual types of participles and converbs, vary in their syntactic behavior. The past participle and anterior converb are a single form; the simultaneous converb is more

often a clause head than a modifier; the sequential converb is never a modifier; the present participle is only a modifier; the adjective *d.oaqqa* 'big' is only a noun modifier, while *dika* 'good; well' is equally frequent as noun or verb modifier. For this reason, and to clarify parsing for readers, converbs and participles are interlinearized differently (e.g. CVant 'anterior converb', PPL 'participle').

Adjectives are the word class that most frequently takes the comparative degree suffix *-agh*: *dika* 'good', *dikagh* 'better'. The degree word *eggara* is added to this to form the superlative: *eggara dikagh* 'the best'. Other types of modifiers can also take the comparative suffix, however: e.g. *tuolazhagh* 'superior' (tuol-azh-agh surpass-CVsim-CMP).

Ingush has a probably closed class of basic adjectives, numbering around 300. All the semantic types of adjectives described in Dixon 2004 are well represented among the basic adjectives. Basic adjectives cannot be borrowed. Borrowed nouns provided with the participial/converbial light verb form *d.ola-* 'being/having' are a productive source of derived adjectives in Ingush, e.g. *hweaq'al dola(zh)* 'intelligent', lit. 'having intelligence'. What appear to be borrowed adjectives at first glance are actually first elements of compound nouns, e.g. *busalba sag* 'Muslim', lit. 'Muslim person' (oblique cases *busalba sagaa*, *busalba saguo*, etc., with no oblique case form in the first element; this lack of case agreement shows that this is a compound and the first element cannot be identified as an adjective). Russian nationality adjectives are often borrowed in an invariant form (corresponding to the Russian masculine nominative singular, the Russian citation form): *latinskii* 'Latin', *fraancuskii* 'French', etc.:⁵⁶

- (6) *latinskii alapazhca jaaz-duora vei*
 Latin letter.PL.INS write-D.VZ.IMPF 1pIN.ERG
 we wrote in Latin letters (0392)

Native Ingush ethnonyms and well-nativized loans are basically nouns whose genitive plural is used as a noun modifier: *ghalghaa* 'an Ingush person' (noun); gen. pl. *ghalghaai* 'of the Ingush', e.g. *ghalghaai mott* 'the Ingush language', lit. 'the language of the Ingush'; *ersii* 'Russian person'; homophonous genitive plural in *ersii mott* 'the Russian language'. Nationality adjectives borrowed from Russian are anomalous in Ingush: they are borrowed as adjectives, and there is no Ingush morphology that can form an adjective from an adjective and thereby nativize a borrowed adjective. Therefore the adjective is borrowed whole cloth and not nativized. One might analyze the element *-ski* as a morpheme in Ingush that marks Russian adjectives as adjectives. Note that it does not *derive* adjectives but simply *marks* them as such.

⁵⁶ Spelled in Ingush with a short final *-i*, e.g. латински "*latinski*" /latinskii/, французски "*francuzski*" /fraancuskii/. The final vowel is in fact /ii/, though phonetically short (due to posttonic shortening). I take the middle vowel of *latinskii* to be /i/, though in a native or fully nativized word this posttonic short vowel would have been reduced to schwa (§3.2.1). Russian words have Ingush initial stress. Russian tonic /a/ is borrowed as Ingush /aa/, and non-tonic /a/ as short /a/.

Native Ingush adjectives often correspond to pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs derived with *-lu* (intransitive) and *-d.u* (transitive) (§15.2.4). A few such sets have different vocalism in the adjective and verbs: *shiila* 'cold', verbs *shal-lu* 'get chilled, get cold', *shal-d.u* 'make cold, chill' (several of these are listed in §15.2.4). The vocalism of the verb base is historically original, and the adjective has undergone umlaut and/or ablaut together with taking a schwa suffix. Thus, at least diachronically and arguably also synchronically, in these triads none of the three semantic classes static (adjective), change of state (intransitive verb), and causative (transitive verb) is morphologically basic in Ingush; all three are derived, the verbs by suffixation and the adjective by ablaut and suffixation.⁵⁷

5.4. Adverbs

"Adverb" is not a true word class in Ingush but a large and varied set of non-inflecting words with a variety of functions including modifier of verb and various argument functions. Most are full lexical words. For more examples see Chapter 16.

Manner adverbs are the same word class as adjectives, as described in §5.3.

Local adverbs include those of location, goal, time. (* = underived, or at least opaque)

c'agha	'at home' (cf. noun <i>c'aa</i> 'house, home')
hwogga*	'recently, not long ago'
balxa	'at work' (cf. noun <i>bolx</i> 'work')
selxan	'yesterday' (and other relative day adverbs: §9.3.2)
kasta*	'soon, quickly'

Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs (see §9.2):

uqaza	'here'	myshta	'how'
ciga*	'there'	mycha	'where'
handz*	'now'	maca	'when'

Degree words:

ch'woagha	'very' (= adjective/adverb 'strong, firm')
k'ezig	'a little' (quantifier and adverb)
duqa	'a lot; much, many' (quantifier and adverb)
waleamatie	'extremely' (Arabic loan <i>waleamat</i> 'miracle' + suffix)

⁵⁷ If the verb-deriving suffixes *-lu* and *-d.u* are taken to mark a valence distinction in the verbs rather than deriving verbs from adjectives, then the verb stem has an even stronger claim to be basic. In that case, as in other parts of the lexicon (§34.3), change-of-state predicates (here, the verbs, which are inchoative and causative) are derivationally more basic than stative ones. Thus stem *shal-* '(get) cold': verbs intrans. *shal-lu*, trans. *shal-d.u*, derived adjective (stative) *shiila*.

Miscellaneous others:

c'eaxxaa*	'suddenly'
cq'a*	'once'

Locative nouns. Many place names appear to be adverbs in origin, and in conservative usage some of these function only as location adjuncts. At least some of them can function as nouns, and when so used they have gender. In texts they function as location adjuncts much more often than as nouns. An example is words for 'Siberia'. In (7) the first token of *Sibreghie* 'Siberia' is a noun (J gender in *bwarjga+jeina* 'having seen' agrees with *Sibreghie*, which must therefore be a noun in the nominative case) and the second is an adverb (a location adverbial with *liinna* 'having walked around').

- (7) **Sibreghie** bwarjga+jeina my dii vai, **Sibreghie** liinna='a dy vai
 Siberia eye+J.see.CVant EMPH D.NW=Q 1pIN Siberia walk.CVant=& D.NW 1pIN
 We saw Siberia and we lived through ('walked around in') Siberia (0380A.28)

For the form and derivation of this and similar nouns see §8.3.8.1-2. Such words are like adverbs in that they do not decline but appear only in the one fixed form, while they are unlike other adverbs in that they can also be used as nouns.

Thus locative nouns and local adverbs function rather like cases of nouns. They differ from cases in being less regular and having more allomorphy.

5.5. Adpositions

True adpositions have argument structure and valence (one argument, whose case is assigned to it by the postposition) and can head a PP. They can also function as verbal prefixes, and without objects as adverbs. E.g. *jiq'ie* 'in the middle; among; inside':

- (8) cu loamazhta **jiq'ie**
 DEM.OBL mountain.PL.DAT among
 in the mountains (postposition, governing dative)
- (9) ghalghaazhta **jiq'ie** ch'woagha c'i+jolazh q'uonax
 Ingush.PL.DAT among very name+J.be.CVsim man
 'a very well-known man among the Ingush' (0246B.1) (postposition taking dative)
- (10) yshtta ira='a dolazh, **jiq'ie** wa=chy-bullazh ch'ii bolazh
 thus sharp=& D.be.CVsim inside DX=in-B.put.CVsim bobbin B.be.CVsim
 'sharp with a bobbin inside' (0216B.3) (adverb)

- (11) Yz xalaxietar **jiq'ie**-dealar cy ghulaqaa
 DEM problem inside-D.go.WP DEM.OBL matter.DAT
 This problem came up in the course of the matter. (verb *jiq'ie-d.oal*) (prefix)
- (12) Yz dosh **jiq'ie**-deannadar
 DEM word inside-D.go.PNW.D
 That expression became popular / came into vogue. (verb *jiq'ie-d.oal*) (prefix)
- (13) Biisa **jiq'ie**-joala xa jy
 night inside-J.go.PPL time J.be.PRS
 It's past midnight (verb *jiq'ie-d.oal*) (prefix)

5.6. Particles, etc.

"Particle" is as good a term as any for this formally diverse but functionally unified set of uninflected words. All are uninflected in the sense that they do not form the standard noun and verb inflectional paradigms, though some of them bear frozen inflection, and some of them enter into functional paradigmatic sets with other words such that they can be considered inflectional. None has an independent clause word order position; all are positioned relative to the clause boundaries, the clause head (the inflected verb form), or the word in the particle's scope. All have scope but no arguments or valence. (In their scope and positioning they differ from interjections, which largely stand outside of clause and sentential syntax: §5.7.) They lack lexical meaning and can be described as grammatical elements. Here they are grouped by prosodic type.

5.6.1. *Clitics*. Clitic coordinating and chaining conjunctions: =*a*, =*ji* 'and' (Chapter 24). Both have high tone which spreads to the preceding syllable, and the vowel of the conjunction itself is a schwa which undergoes elision (§§2.5.1, 3.2.2).

Focus and attenuative focus clitic particles: =*m*, =*q*. These are special clitics which are positioned relative to particular words: =*m* follows the word in focus, and =*q* immediately follows the inflected verb. It is difficult to prove that they are clitics, since they lack vowels and therefore cannot show clitic vocalism. They are unlike affixes in that they begin with consonants but never take an epenthetic vowel. In Ingush orthography they are written with a hyphen, i.e. not as affixes.

Negative proclitics indicative *cy*= and imperative (prohibitive) *my*= (Chapter 31). These have high tone which does not spread as their vowels are never elided.

The emphatic proclitic *my* (§§16.2.1, 32.4.2, 33.2.1), segmentally homophonous to the prohibitive negative but without high tone.

Interrogative =*ii* (after consonant), =*i* (after vowel). This particle is enclitic to verbs. It has high tone which does not spread as the vowel of the particle is never elided. See Chapter 32 for examples.

Phrase-initial *qy* 'another, more, else; (not) any more'. Unaccented and probably proclitic, most often preposed to the first word in the phrase; it can host clitics: *qy=t'y* 'moreover, besides', *qy=a* 'another, more, else'.

- (14) **Qy** malagh louzarazh bar shyn?
 other what kind game.PL B.be.PST 2p.DAT
 What other games were there (during your childhood)? (0392B.1)
- (15) Shi='a, **qy** duqagh='a louza jish jy=q, veshta ealcha.
 two.NZ=& more much.CMP=& play.INF possibility J.be.PRS=CUM otherwise say.CVtmp
 In other words, two or more can play. (0392B.1)
- (16) Cyn **qy** ber xalandzar.
 3s.GEN any_more child be.NEG.WP
 She never did have any children. (0776)
- (17) **Qy** Daala qellaa hama='a jaac suoga.
 any more God.ERG create.PPL anything=& J.be.NEG.PRS 1s.ALL
 I don't have another blessed thing. (0776)
- (18) Yz maara **qy** suona xaac hwuona dwaaxuochogh
 3s only any_more 1s.DAT know.NEG MIR farther.LAT
 That's all I know. ('Apart from that, I don't know any farther.') (0398B.1)

qy can be clause-final as the result of verb-second order (§30.2.3):

- (19) Suona daga='a doaghazh, xannadaac qy.
 1s.DAT remember=& D.LV. CVsim be.NW.D.NEG any more
 As I remember, no one else ever had it (a disease). (0776)

Qy seems to be basically a modifier, but unlike any other modifier it is clitic in its nominative attributive form but normally tonic in its oblique and nominalized forms and other derivatives:

qycha bessa
 other.OBL color:FOC.GEN
 another type (lit. 'color')

qycha teipaara
 other.OBL type.ABL
 'of a different sort'

qy+d.ar
 another-D.NZ
 'another one', 'other ones'

qychahwa 'elsewhere'
 qymettel 'even'

5.6.2. *Unaccented non-clitics* are phonologically isolating formatives of verb inflection:

Evidentials (miratives, quotatives): *hwuona/shoana* (second person mirative), *vaina* (first person mirative); *joax* (quotative and hearsay evidential); *tesh*, *hwogh*, *vanagh* (introspectives). All immediately follow the inflected verb form. (See §13.6.) These never have phrasal accent, and the miratives *hwuona/shoana*, *veina* may even be atonic. Their pronunciation has full vowel quality but is otherwise often quite reduced, with the second syllable nasalizing the preceding vowel but more or less dropping out itself: *hwuona* [hɔ]. The evidentials include a number of frozen pronominal and verbal forms.

Deictic prefixes: *hwa* 'toward speaker', *dwa* 'away from speaker', *wa* 'down', *hwal* 'up'. In basic word order these immediately precede a local prefix or (if that is lacking) the inflected verb stem (§15.5.1) and are tonic but usually unaccented. In verb-second order (§30.2.3) they are clause-final and accented (they have low accent: §4.1.3). When hosting a clitic local prefix =*chy* or =*t'y* they are tonic and have high accent.

5.6.3. *Tonic words*. Comparison: *sanna*, *muo* 'like'. (Phrasal scope. §23.1.)

Delimiting: *maara* 'only, except' (§31.5), *duhhwal* 'chiefly, primarily'. (Phrasal scope.)

Local: *gholla*, *daa*, both 'along', following a postposition (§17.1.6).

Subordinating conjunctions occur in the subordinate clause and mark it as subordinate of some particular type. There are very few of them in Ingush; the clearest examples are *nagahw sanna* 'if' (§27.2.2), *hana ealcha* 'because' (§27.2.1.), and *xaana* 'time.DAT', which takes a modifying oblique participial clause, the whole meaning 'at the time that/when...'. The anterior and sequential converbs of 'say' *eanna/ealie/oalie* function as complementizer with speech verbs (§25.3). Most subordinate clauses are marked by nonfinite verb forms, specifically converbs if they are adjunct subordinates (such as clauses of time, reason, etc.).

Linking conjunctions: *t'aaqqa* 'then, so then', *heata* 'then, so', *yshta* 'so', *cuduhwa* 'therefore, so', etc. These occur in the main clause and mark it as having a subordinate clause or more generally as a main clause with an event that is semantically contingent on that main clause. For examples see §16.2.3.4. It is worth noting that the subordinating conjunctions *hana ealcha* and *eanna/ealie/oalie* are often prosodically in the main clause, which may mean that they are turning into linking conjunctions.

Paraneticals: These are adverbs that clarify the logical status and logical sequence of phrases, clauses, or sentences and their sequence in reasoning. They differ from linking and subordinating conjunctions in that they do not identify the function of one clause in relation to another, though some of them can have phrases clauses or sentences in their scope. They are usually positioned at clause or sentence edges, or adjacent to the word in their scope. Examples include *xietarjgahw* 'probably', *gheahhwaa* 'exactly, precisely', *deara* 'of course'. For examples see §16.2.3.5.

5.7. Interjections and similar utterance introducers

Interjections are much like paraneticals except that they can easily be self-standing utterances and generally do not have grammatical scope over particular words or constituents. Some have prosodic and/or segmental phonological peculiarities not found in the rest of the vocabulary, and some have distinctive pragmatic restrictions. For examples see §16.3.

5.8. Ideophones

Ideophones chiefly describe sounds and manner of motion or action. They are the heavy elements of light verb constructions, usually with the light verbs *joax* 'say', *oal* 'say', or *d.uoll* 'insert'. The light verb construction is usually a converb clause. Many are transparently onomatopoeic, and many reduplicate easily. They are distinctive in their semantics and onomatopoeia, but in their morphosyntactic behavior they are ordinary first parts of compound verbs. For a list and more examples see §15.2.7.

(20) **Zou eanna** oarqanjg diezhar
ring say.CVant plate D.fall.WP
The plate fell with a ringing sound.

(21) **Parx eanna** diexar cynca diicaar
ruin say.CVant D.break.WP 3s.INS D.talk.PPL.NZ
Everything he had agreed on fell apart. All his plans fell apart.

5.9. Prosodic word classes more generally

There are three types of words based on their prosodic properties, illustrated in §5.6 above for non-inflecting words and defined more generally here. TONIC WORDS have tonic stress (usually on the first syllable) and, if in the right syntactic position, can enter into an IP and be accented. The tonic syllable has an unreduced vowel; posttonic syllables undergo

schwa neutralization. Most words, and all major class words, are tonic. UNACCENTED WORDS never have accent, though they generally have a tonic syllable. Examples are the deictic prefixes (§15.5.1) and evidential markers (§13.6). CLITICS are atonic; if under high pitch, as they are before a chaining or coordinating clitic (§§24.1.2, 2.4.4) and when prefixed to verbs (§15.5), they have restressed schwa vocalism /y/.

5.10. Wordhood

There is no single definition of phonological word in Ingush that is the domain of all phonological processes, though the non-compound word is the domain for a number of the processes. The following is a list of domains, from smallest to largest, and processes that apply to them.

5.10.1. Root morpheme:

Initial glottal stop. Every vowel-initial root morpheme begins with a glottal stop in pronunciation, regardless of the phonological or morphological context:

- (22) Yshta hwa-aara-eq yz
 /'yshta hwa-'aara-'eq 'yz/
 so DX-out-jump 3s
 (Then/so) he jumps/tears/rushes out.

As a there are many examples of root-initial, word-medial glottal stops following a consonant: *t'ex-'eqqar* 'dashed/ran/tore past', *wa-k'al-eqqa* 'get down! (e.g. to cat).

5.10.2. Unaffixed simplex word (root plus inflection) (prefixed or unprefixed):

Word-final gemination (when root has no overt inflection) (§3.3.1)

5.10.3. *Simplex word, suffixed or unaffixed, unaffixed:* This is the domain of most segmental phonological and morphophonemic processes:

Umlaut (§3.1.1)

Palatalization and labialization spread (§§3.3.8, 3.3.9)

Posttonic vowel neutralization (§3.2.1)

Stress assignment (there is one tonic syllable in this domain) (§4.1)

Focus gemination (§3.3.2)

Length adjustment (§3.3.11)

Morphophonemics of suffixes:

*Vna > aa (post-root) (§3.1.3)

*-l-n- assimilation (§3.1.4)

Reduction of *-ig (diminutive and nominalizing suffix) (§3.2.3)

Syntactic process: movement of verb to clause-second position (§30.2.3)

5.10.4. *Word plus preposed unaccented word:*

Pharyngeal attraction (§3.3.6). The only morpheme sequence that meets this definition is deictic prefix plus verb root, but I have described the domain as generally as possible here.

5.10.5. *Simplex word plus any enclitics:*

Schwa elision (§3.2.2)

High tone spread (leftward from enclitic) (see Chapter 4, especially §4.2)

5.10.6. *Any inflected form (simplex or compound):*

Affix-final voicing (§3.2.9)

Word-final partial devoicing (§3.3.5)

5.10.7. *Prefixed verb form, compound, or similar two-word syntagma:* Primary and secondary stress assignment (§§4.1.1, 4.1.2)

5.10.8. *Parsing into IP, high and low accent assignment:* No storable domain, but just the last two stressed words or stems in the phrase or clause (§4.1.3)

5.10.9. *The minimal free form* in Ingush is the inflected verb form. An underived simplex verb root with zero inflection, i.e. the present tense form, can be a self-standing utterance, e.g. in an answer to a question:

(23) A: Ahwmad	oalii	cynagh?	B: Oal.
Ahmed	say.PRS=Q	3s.LAT	say.PRS
Is his name Ahmed?	Is he called Ahmed?		Yes.

(24) B: Dwa-aara-vealar=ii yz?	B: Vealar.
DX-out-V.go.WP=Q 3s	V.go.WP
Did he go out (e.g. of the building)?	Yes.

or a tag question:

(25)(a) ... dwa=chy-joxkacar, joxkar=ii?
 DX=in -J.insert:PL.NEG.IMPF J.insert:PL.IMPF=Q
 ... he penned them up, didn't he? (lit. 'didn't he pen them up, did he?') (0409.22)

A numeral (in nominalized form) can also be a free form, in the special context of counting and doing arithmetic:

(26) Caw, shi', qo', ji', pxi'.
 one.NZ, two.NZ, three.NZ, J.four, five.NZ
 One, two, three, four, five (counting).

Otherwise, a free form must have a finite verb. A nominal (noun, pronoun, nominalized adjective, etc.) cannot be a free form in ordinary usage, though of course it can be pronounced alone in metalinguistic usage. Even in answers to questions and other contexts involving close repeats, a noun is not used without a verb.

(27)A: Fy oal uqanagh?
 what say.PRS 3s.LAT
 What's this called?

B: Ferta **oal**. / *Ferta.
 say.PRS
 It's called a *ferta* ('felt piece, felt rug, felt overcoat').

(28) T'aaqqa, shollagh busa, qollagh busa, biisa mychaa
 so second night.ADV third night.ADV night where
 jeaqqaai wa, chyhwanahw **jeaqqaai** wa?
 J.spend.NW.J 2s.ERG indoors J.spend.NW.J 2s.ERG

Where did you spend the second and third nights -- indoors? (0240)

(29) Dikagh malagha xodz, hwalxara-dar **xodz** je t'ehwara-dar **xodz**?
 good.CMP which sound.PRS first-D.NZ sound.PRS or following.D.NZ sound.PRS
 Which sounds better, the first or the second? ('... the first one sounds or the second one sounds?')

(30) A: Meaqalie oal cogh?
 (place name) say 3s.lat
 Is it called Meaqalie?

B: Meaqalie **jy**.
 (place) J.be.PRS
 Right, Meaqalie. (0743)

(31) A: Qycha teipan nax baaxarii?
 other.OBL clan.GEN people B.live.IMPF=Q
 Did people of other clans live there too?

B: **Baaxar** deara.
 B.live.IMPF EMPH
 Sure they did. (0409.22)

A related phenomenon is repetition of the verb with more than one of the arguments:

(32) **Voudz** suona, yz='a **voudz**
 V.know.PRS 1s.DAT 3s=& V.know.PRS
 I know him too. (0246B)

CHAPTER 6

NOUN DECLENSION

6.1. Noun case declension

Ingush nouns have eight regular cases marked by the endings shown below. Endings separated by a comma are more or less automatic alternants; a semicolon separates lexically determined differences of declension; a slash separates stylistic variants. Main functions of the cases are listed here to clarify their names; see Chapter 18 for case functions and Chapter 21 for the abbreviations A, S, O, G, T.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Main functions</i>
Nominative	(no ending)	-azh; -ii, -i; -rch	S, O, T; citation form
Genitive	-a, -n	-ii, -i	Possessor
Dative	-na, -aa	-azh-ta	Indirect object (G)
Ergative	-uo; -z, -aa, -a	-ash-a / -azh	A
Allative	-ga	-azh-ka	Indirect object (G)
Instrumental	-ca	-azh-ca	Instrument
Lative	-x / -gh	-ex / -egh	Second object (G), other
Comparison	-l	-el	Standard of comparison

A number of nouns also have an adverb form that is almost case-like; see §16.1.2, Table 16-1, and §18.9. It is not included here since neither its existence nor its formation is regular.

If the stem ends in a consonant and the ending begins with a consonant, an epenthetic vowel *-a-* is inserted (e.g. *kuotam* 'chicken' plus allative *-ga*: *kuotam-a-ga*).

The genitive singular allomorphs are *-a* for consonant-final stems and *-n* for vowel-final ones. In the dative the forms are *-aa* for consonant-final stems and *-na* for vowel-final ones.

The ergative singular allomorphs are distributed as follows. *-uo* is productive in normative usage and is added to any consonant-final stem. *-aa* is a conservative normative ending in declensions 5 and 6 (for declension numbers see below), often replaced even in normative usage by *-uo*. *-z* in normative usage is found only on personal names and a handful of kin terms and other nouns referring to humans; in contemporary colloquial usage it is productive, used especially on vowel-final nouns and animate nouns. *-a* is found in conservative usage on consonant-final personal names (which otherwise follow declension 1). A few monosyllabic vowel-final stems use the allomorph *-uo*; they add an epenthetic consonant, usually *-v-* but occasionally *-n-*. A very few monosyllabic vowel-final stems use the allomorph *-v*. In several paradigms with extensions, the extension is truncated in the ergative and the ending added directly to the stem.

The lative allomorph in normal usage is *-gh*. It is spelled "-x" (-x) in the orthography, however, and the spelling pronunciation /x/ is occasionally heard, especially where speakers are reading or attending to the phonology.⁵⁸

If the case endings show little variation and that rather straightforward, noun stems change considerably in the course of case inflection. The principal changes they make are *ablaut*, or change of the stem vowel in some or all oblique cases and/or in the plural, and addition of an *extension* or pre-case suffix in the oblique cases and/or the plural. Some nouns have both ablaut and extension. The changes made in the singular oblique stem are largely independent of those made in the plural stem, so plurals are described separately in §6.2.

The description of declension classes here follows that used in Nichols 2004. It is minimally abstract. In this approach, nouns fall into 16 declension classes according to their kind of stem change. (Dictionary entries in Nichols 2004 show the numbered declension class of the noun, and where there are stem vowel changes an oblique case as well.)

The classification given here is rather conservative, reflecting the literary language of the early to mid 20th century and the language of traditional folklore. For many nouns there is no clear norm, and different sources give different oblique and/or plural stems even for this conservative style. In everyday usage, variation is considerable. In addition, the declension classes are being simplified, with more and more nouns declining in the simple class 1. Perhaps most important, not all nouns are used frequently in all cases. Many inanimate and (especially) abstract nouns are used mostly as objects of verbs and might best be regarded as compounding forms, bound nouns, or first elements of compound verbs.

The 16 declension classes are based on stem behavior in the singular. There are four stem shapes of nouns relevant to describing declension: nouns that end in a consonant in the nominative singular (such as *kuotam* 'hen' or *buc* 'grass'), nouns that end in *-a* (and are disyllabic or longer, i.e. the *-a* is not the only vowel in the word; e.g. *maza* 'louse', *shura* 'milk'), nouns that end in a vowel other than *-a* (and are not monosyllabic, e.g. *dynie* 'world', *eattuo* 'success'), and monosyllabic vowel-final nouns (CV stems) (e.g. *cha* 'bear', *xii* 'water', *doa* 'wicker').

Declension of compounds is identical to that of the final element of the compound. Declension of suffixed forms is usually predictable, as derivational suffixes impose their own declension classes. These are mostly the most common and regular Declension 1, or one of a few other frequent and non-ablauting classes. Ablaut, irregularities, and most of the extensions characterize only underived nouns.

Singular declension classes are as follows. (For declension tables see also Appendix 1.)

⁵⁸ The Proto-Nakh form was *x. Affix-final voicing of fricatives (§3.2.9) antedated the first Ingush writing and is audible in earliest known audio recording of Ingush from the very early 20th century (§35.1) and is regularly written in Dumézil 1936 and Jabagi & Dumézil 1935, which transcribe late 19th-century speech. The orthography is probably not so much conservative as a deliberate choice of a norm that is not the present Ingush spoken norm (see §1.3).

(1) *No change* in stem vowel, no extension. This declension is productive, with about 700 simple nouns and many derived ones. The last example here is derived (a verbal noun with suffix *-(a)r*).

	<i>hen</i>	<i>louse</i>	<i>wool</i>	<i>food</i>
Nominative	kuotam	maza	txa	da'ar
Genitive	kuotama	mazan	txan	da'ara
Dative	kuotamaa	mazaa	txanaa	da'araa
Ergative	kuotamuo	mazuo	txavuo	da'aruo
Allative	kuotamaga	mazaga	txaga	da'araga
Instrumental	kuotamaca	mazaca	txaca	da'araca
Lative	kuotamagh	mazagh	txagh	da'aragh
Comparative	kuotamal	mazal	txal	da'aral

Palatalization of the final velar in nouns with diminutive/singularizing $\{-(i)gj\}$ is found throughout the paradigm, and the epenthetic schwa is pronounced [ɪ], except for the ergative singular, where the velar is unpalatalized:

	<i>hand</i>	
Nom	kyljg	[kɪl ^ɪ g ^ɪ]
Gen	kyljga	[kɪl ^ɪ g ^ɪ (ɪ)]
Dat	kyljgaa	[kɪl ^ɪ g ^ɪ ea]
Erg	kylguo	[kɪl ^ɪ guo]
All	kyljgaga	[kɪl ^ɪ g ^ɪ g(ə)]
Ins	kyljgaca	[kɪl ^ɪ g ^ɪ c(ə)]
Lat	kyljgagh	[kɪl ^ɪ g ^ɪ gh]
Csn	kyljgal	[kɪl ^ɪ g ^ɪ l]

(2) *Shortened vowel in nominative*, corresponding long or diphthong elsewhere. All such nouns are consonant-final. Historically, the vowel alternation results from shortening of the stem vowel in a closed syllable. The nominative is the only form where the stem syllable is closed. Thus, historically, declension 2 is a variant of declension 1. The vowel alternation could almost be considered a type of ablaut, except that shortening is a regular phonological process (§3.2.6). There are under 200 such nouns in the dictionary.

	<i>child</i>	<i>window</i>
Nom	ber	kor
Gen	biera	kuora
Dat	bieraa	kuoraa
Erg	bieruo/bieraz	kuoruo
All	bieraga	kuoraga

Ins	bieraca	kuoraca
Lat	bieragh	kuoragh
Cs.	bieral	kuoral

(3) *Ablaut*, but no extension, in all of the oblique cases. Ablaut is unproductive; there are under 50 such nouns in the dictionary. The 13 nouns given here show all of the vowel alternations found. Most often the oblique cases have the vowel /e/ or /ea/.

	<i>price</i>	<i>part</i>
Nom	max	daaq'a
Gen	meaxa	deaq'a
Dat	meaxaa	deaq'aa / -an
Erg	meaxuo	deaq'uo
All	meaxaga	deaq'aga
Ins	meaxaca	deaq'aca
Lat	meaxagh	deaq'agh
Csn	meaxal	deaq'al

	<i>moon</i>	<i>grass</i>	<i>road</i>
Nom	butt	buc	niq'
Gen	betta	beaca	neaq'a
Dat	bettaa	beacaa	neaq'aa
Erg	bettuo	beacuo	neaq'uo
All	bettaga	beacaga	neaq'aga
Ins	bettaca	beacaca	neag'aca
Lat	bettagh	beacagh	neaq'agh
Csn	bettal	beacal	neaq'al

	<i>wolf</i>	<i>head</i>
Nom	bordz	kuorta
Gen	berza	kerta
Dat	berzaa	kertaa
Erg	berzuo	kertuo
All	berzaga	kertaga
Ins	berzaca	kertaca
Lat	berzagh	kertagh
Csn	berzal	kertal

	<i>mill</i>	<i>deer</i>	<i>snow</i>
Nom	hweira	sei	loa
Gen	hweira	sea	lea or lei

Dat	hweara	seana	leana	leina
Erg	hwearuo	seavuo	leavuo	leivuo
All	hwearaga	seaga	leaga	leiga
Ins	hwearaca	seaca	leaca	leica
Lat	hwearagh	seagh	leagh	leigh
Csn	hwearal	seal	leal	leil
	<i>flock</i>	<i>wheat</i>	<i>water</i>	
Nom	zha	kaa	xii	
Gen	zhen	k'i(n)	xin / xyn	
Dat	zhiena	k'ina	xina / xyna; also xinaa / xynaa	
Erg	zhievuo	k'ivuo	xivuo/xiv / xyvuo/xyv ⁵⁹	
All	zhiega	k'iga	xiga / xyga	
Ins	zhieca	k'ica	xica / xyca	
Lat	zhegh	k'igh	xigh / xygh	
Csn	zhel	k'il	xil / xyl	

(3x) *Partial ablaut*. Seven such nouns have been found: the following plus *jow* 'daughter' (which declines like *vow* 'son') and *nax/naax*- 'people' (which declines like *maar* except that it has /a/ vocalism in the nominative singular). In 'father' and 'God' the ergative case does not change its vowel. In the others, only the genitive case has a changed vowel.

	<i>father</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>husband</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>God</i>
Nom	daa	naana	maar	vow	Deala
Gen	dea	neana	meara	viwii	Deala
Dat	deana	nanna	maaraa	vowaa	Dalla / Daalla ⁶⁰
Erg	daaz	naanaz	maaru	vowuo	Daala
All	deaga	neanaga	maaraga	vowaga	Dealaga
Ins	deaca	neanaca	maaraca	vowaca	Dealaca
Lat	deagh	neanaga	maaraga	vowagh	Dealagh
Csn	deal	neanal	maaral	vowal	Dealal

(4) *Nouns with stem-final -ii or -uu in the nominative singular but -ie or -uo in the oblique cases*. Some speakers pronounce a true /uu/ in the nominative singular of words like 'silver' while others pronounce a vowel midway between /uu/ and /uo/ (technically an allophone of

⁵⁹ See the discussion of the ending -v under declension class 13.

⁶⁰ The dative ending of this word is unique (*daal-na should yield *daanna* as in the anterior converb: §3.1.4) and the ergative, with the rare zero allomorph and different ablaut grade, is odd. The dative form appears to be Chechen, which implies that the entire word with its anomalous paradigm may have been taken over from Chechen.

/uo/, but in a near-merger with /uu/ and usually not perceived as /uo/). In modern usage the ergative singular of nouns in *-ii* is quite likely to take *-z*. There are about 25 nouns of declension 4.

	<i>dog</i>	<i>silver</i>
Nom	zhwalii	dotuu
Gen	zhwalie	dotuo
Dat	zhwaliena	dotuona
Erg	zhwalie / zhwalez	dotuo
All	zhwaliega	dotuoga
Ins	zhwalieca	dotuoca
Lat	zhwalegh	dotogh
Csn	zhwalel	dotol

(5) *-aa- / -an-*. Nouns with *-a* in nominative singular and *-an-* or *-aa-* extension in the oblique cases. Except for the most frequently used words, nouns of this declension are also likely to be delined as in declension 1. The lative and comparison cases are quite likely to lack the *-aa-* (though in normative usage they should always have it). The two italicized forms below are quite unlikely for the noun shown here, but are moderately likely for other nouns.

	<i>mullah</i>
Nom	molla
Gen	mollaa
Dat	mollanna / mollaana
Erg	mollaa / <i>mollanuo</i> / <i>molluo</i>
All	mollaaga / mollanga
Ins	mollaaca / mollanca
Lat	mollaagh / mollagh
Csn	mollaal / mollar

(6) *The same -an- or -aa- extension and ablaut.* I have found only two such nouns:

	<i>needle</i>	<i>silk thread, filament</i>
Nom	maaxa	hwoasa
Gen	meaxaa	hweasa
Dat	meaxanna	
Erg	meaxuo	hweasuo
All	meaxaaga	
Ins	meaxaaca	
Lat	meaxaagh	
Csn	meaxaal	

Hwoasa 'filament' by now seems to have shifted entirely to declension 5: gen. *hwoasaa*, ins. *hwoasaaca*, etc.

(7) *-n-* extension. Nouns ending in a vowel other than *-a*, and with *-n-* extension in all the oblique cases (though, again, in actual usage the *-n-* is often missing in the lative and comparative: forms such as *tq'ourogh* and *pxogh* are often to be heard).

	<i>world</i>	<i>branch</i>	<i>bullet</i>
Nom	dynie	tq'ouruo	pxo
Gen	dynen/dyniena	tq'ouron / tq'ouruona	pxon / pxona
Dat	dynenna/dyniena	tq'ouruona / tq'ouronna	pxona / pxonna
Erg	dynienuo	tq'ouruonuo	pxonuo
All	dynenga	tq'ouronga	pxonaga
Ins	dynenca	tq'ouronca	pxonca
Lat	dynienagh	tq'ouruonagh	pxonagh
Csn	dynienal	tq'ouruonal	pxonal

(8) *-n-* extension and ablaut. The following seven nouns show all of the vowel alternations attested for this declension.

	<i>room, house</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>corner, angle</i>
Nom	c'aa	di	sa	sa
Gen	c'en	den	sin	sean
Dat	c'ienaa / c'enna	denna	sina	seana
Erg	c'ienuo	dienuo	sinuo	seanuo
All	c'ienaga	denga/dienaga	singa	seanaga
Ins	c'ienaca	denca/dienaca	sinca	seanaca
Lat	c'ienagh	dienagh	sinagh	seanagh
Csn	c'ienal	dienal	sinal	seanal

	<i>blood feud</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>bridge</i>
Nom	pwa	xa	t'ii
Gen	pwiena	xaan	t'ea
Dat	pwiena	xaana	t'eana
Erg	pwienuo	xaanuo	t'eanuo / t'eavuo
All	pwienaga	xaanaga	t'eanaga
Ins	pwienaca	xaanaca	t'eanaca
Lat	pwienagh	xaanagh	t'eanagh
Csn	pwienal	xaanal	t'eanal

Other nouns that decline like 'day' are *xi* 'tree, log', *bwi* 'nest', and *wi* 'shadow'. Like 'light': *q'a* 'sin'. Like 'corner': *ga* 'tree', *pxa* 'vein', *xa* 'side of body, hip'. Like 'time': *gha* 'dream', *la* 'horseshoe', *ka* 'head of grain'.

(9) *-chu-* extension (with regular phonological changes to *-chy-*, *-cho-*, etc.). There are two types of nouns with this extension: words referring to humans (including ethnonyms as well as derivatives in *-xuo* and other suffixes, such as 'neighbor' here); and nominalized participles (such as 'truth' here, literally 'that which is true'). The comparison case varies between *-chul* and *-chyl*, and the genitive is sometimes also to be heard as *-chun*.

	<i>friend</i>	<i>neighbor</i>	<i>truth</i>
Nom	dottagh	loalaxuo	baq'dar
Gen	dottaghchyn	loalaxuochyn	baq'dolchyn
Dat	dottaghchynna/-choa	loalaxuochynna/-choa	baq'dolchynna/-choa
Erg	dottaghchuo	loalaxuochuo	baq'dolchuo
All	dottaghchynga	loalaxuochynga	baq'dolchynga
Ins	dottaghchynca	loalaxuochynca	baq'dolchynca
Lat	dottaghchogh	loalaxuochogh	baq'dolchogh
Csn	dottaghchul	loalaxuochul	baq'dolchul

(10) *-ar-* extension and no ablaut. Others: *lol* 'loop', *mugh* 'row', *muq* 'pocket knife', *boxk* 'bellyband (of saddle)' *nab / naab-* 'sleep',⁶¹ a total of about six such nouns.

	<i>beak</i>
Nom	zwok
Gen	zwokara
Dat	zwokaraa
Erg	zwokaruo
All	zwokaraga
Ins	zwokaraca
Lat	zwokaragh
Csn	zwokaral

(11) *-ar-* extension and ablaut. There are 25 such nouns in the dictionary. The following nouns show all the attested vowel alternations.

⁶¹ The only oblique form that seems to occur in natural text is lat. *nabaragh / naabaragh* 'while asleep, in one's sleep'. This could be analyzed as an adverb and the noun *nab* as a bound noun used only with a light verb: *nab ju* 'sleep, take a nap'. If the lative is analyzed as a case, then for speakers who pronounce it *naabaragh* this noun has ablaut as well and belongs to declension 11.

	<i>axe</i>	<i>sand</i>	<i>skin</i>	<i>fire</i>	<i>male dog</i>
Nom	dig	ghum	nihw	c'i	pwu
Gen	dogara	ghomara	nahwara	c'era	pwara
Dat	dogaraa	ghomaraa	nahwaraa	c'eraa	pwaraa
Erg	dogaruo	ghomaruo	nahwaruo	c'eruo	pwaruo
All	dogaraga	ghomaraga	nahwaraga	c'eraga	pwaraga
Ins	dogaraca	ghomaraca	nahwaraca	c'eraca	pwaraca
Lat	dogaragh	ghomaragh	nahwaragh	c'eragh	pwaragh
Csn	dogaral	ghomaral	nahwaral	c'eral	pwaral
	<i>broom</i>	<i>shin</i>	<i>lard</i>	<i>hives</i>	<i>windrow</i>
Nom	nuu	nost	muhw	hwett	kes
Gen	noura	nastara	mahwara	hwattara	kaasara
Dat	nouraa	nastaraa	mahwaraa	hwattaraa	kaasaraa
Erg	nouruo	nastaruo	mahwaruo	hwattaruo	kaasaruo
All	nouraga	nastaraga	mahwaraga	hwattaraga	kaasaraga
Ins	nouraca	nastaraca	mahwaraca	hwattaraca	kaasaraca
Lat	nouragh	nastaragh	mahwaragh	hwattaragh	kaasaragh
Csn	noural	nastaral	mahwaral	hwattaral	kaasaral

Another noun that declines like 'axe' is *niq* 'hive'. Nouns that decline like 'sand' are *nux* 'plow' and *tum* 'corn cob; nut meat'. Like 'skin': *niw* 'door', *shim* 'udder', *zhim* 'kidney', *lich* 'flake', *zwim* 'threshing tool'. Like 'broom': *ghuu* 'bar, bolt'. Like 'lard': *muhw* 'shout'. Like 'windrow': *k'edzh* 'braid'.

(12) *-nar-* extension and *ablaut*. There are two such words in the dictionary.

	<i>steam</i>	<i>link</i>
Nom	wi	zwy
Gen	wanara	zwanara
Dat	wanaraa	zwanaraa
Erg	wanaruo	zwanaruo
All	wanaraga	zwanaraga
Ins	wanarca	zwanaraca
Lat	wanaragh	zwaanaragh
Csn	wanaral	zwanaral

(13) *-ii-* extension (alternating regularly with *-e-* in closed syllables). All such nouns have *-a* in the nominative singular. Only two nouns regularly take *-ii-* throughout the paradigm for all

speakers: 'sister' and 'brother' (the latter also has ablaut). This extension is truncated in the ergative singular, where the ending is added to the bare stem.

	<i>sister</i>	<i>brother</i>
Nom	jisha	vosha
Gen	jishii	veshii
Dat	jishiina	veshiina
Erg	jishaz	voshaz
All	jishiiga	veshiiga
Ins	jishiica	veshiica
Lat	jishegh	veshegh
Csn	jishel	veshel

For all other nouns of this declension, endings of declension 5 are quite likely to appear in contemporary usage. Different speakers have different propensities to use endings of declension 13 with one or another case: some speakers regularly use the declension 13 ending *-iica* in the instrumental, others regularly use declension 13 *-iiga* in the allative, and so on. The ergative is quite variable; dictionaries give forms in *-uo*, *-ievuo*, *-ieva*, and *-aa*, and *-iiv* has also been elicited. This plethora of forms amounts to the productive allomorph *-uo*, unproductive allomorphs *-v* and *-aa*, and variation in whether the extension is retained in the ergative.⁶²

	<i>milk</i>	<i>stone</i>
Nom	shura	qiera
Gen	shurii	qierii
Dat	shuriina	qieriina
Erg	shuruo / shuriiv	qieruo
All	shuriiga	qieriiga
Ins	shuriica	qieriica
Lat	shuregh	qieregh
Csn	shurel	qierel

In nouns of this declension the lative and comparison singular endings are identical to the plurals.

⁶² The ending *-v* is an unproductive archaism but firmly attested in *cheav* 'tea.erg', *xiv* 'water.erg', *shuriiv* / *shurev* 'milk.erg' from more than one speaker. It is indirectly attested in otherwise anomalous dictionary spellings and supported etymologically by the productive Batsbi ending. See §2.4.3.8.

(14) *-m extension*. There is one noun with this extension.

	<i>ram</i>
Nom	ka
Gen	kuoma
Dat	kuomaa
Erg	kuomuo
All	kuomaga
Ins	kuomaca
Lat	kuomagh
Csn	kuomal

(15) *Initial j- drop*. Eight nouns have initial *j-* in the nominative singular which is lost (with ablaut) in the other forms. (All but one belong to J gender, so this is an overt inherent gender prefix: see §7.3. The exception is *jett* B 'cow'.)

	<i>cow</i>	<i>melody</i>
Nom	jett	jish
Gen	watta	aashara
Dat	wattaa	aasharaa
Erg	wattuo	aasharuo
All	wattaga	aasharaga
Ins	wattaca	aasharaca
Lat	wattagh	aasharagh
Csn	wattal	aasharal

The others are *jol*, gen. *eala* 'hay'; *jexk*, *axkara* 'comb'; *jis*, *aasara* 'frost'; *jost*, *aastara* 'dust'; *juu*, *oura* 'awl'; *joq'*, *ouq'ara* (*wouq'ara*) 'ashes'.

(16) *Personal names*. Those ending in a consonant follow declension 1 except for the ergative ending. Those ending in *-aa* (which are numerous, including female names like borrowed *Luiizaa* and the Russian loan *paapaa* 'dad') add an *-i-* extension.

	<i>Mohammed</i>	<i>Musa</i>
Nom	Mohwmad	Muusaa
Gen	Mohwmada	Muusaa <i>i</i>
Dat	Mohwmadaa	Muusaa <i>ina</i>
Erg	Mohwmada	Muusaa <i>z</i>
All	Mohwmadaga	Muusaa <i>iga</i>
Ins	Mohwmadaca	Muusaa <i>ica</i>
Lat	Mohwmadagh	Muusaa <i>igh</i>
Csn	Mohwmadal	Muusaa <i>il</i>

6.2. Plurals of nouns

Since the plural stem is often not predictable from the singular stem and is more stable and more frequently used than the singular oblique cases, it is included as a principal part in Nichols 2004. Plural oblique case endings are always regular. The only lexically conditioned allomorphy is the choice of *-(i)i* vs. *-azh* in the nominative plural. Some nouns have no plural: mass nouns (e.g. *borc* 'millet', *zhuur* 'corn meal', *buolat* 'Damascus steel'), abstract nouns (*dienal* 'courage', *berkat* 'abundance'), and unique nouns (*q'ylbasieda* 'north star, polar star', *maalx* 'sun'). Plural declension is as follows. (Numerals show the declension class the noun belongs to in the singular.)

	<i>hen</i>	<i>earth</i>	<i>friend</i>	<i>neighbor</i>
	kuotam (1)	leatta (5)	dottagh (9)	loalaxuo (9)
Nom	kuotamazh	leattaazh	dottaghii	loalaxoi
Gen	kuotamii	leattaai	dottaghii	loalaxoi
Dat	kuotamazhta	leattazhta	dottaghazhta	loalaxozhta
Erg	kuotamazh	leattaazh	dottaghazh	loalaxozh
All	kuotamazhka	leattaazhka	dottaghazhka	loalaxozhka
Ins	kuotamazhca	leattaazhca	dottaghazhca	loalaxozhca
Lat	kuotamegh	leattaajegh	dottaghegh	loalaxuojegh/ -xoigh
Csn	kuotamel	leattaajel	dottaghel	loalaxuojel / -xoil
	<i>head</i>	<i>river</i>	<i>dog</i>	
	kuorta (3)	xii (1)	zhwalii (4)	
Nom	kuortozh	xizh / xyzh	zhwalezh	
Gen	kuortoi	xii	zhwalii	
Dat	kuortozhta	xizhta / xyzhta	zhwalezhta	
Erg	kuortozh	xizh / xyzh	zhwalezh	
All	kuortozhka	xizhka / xyzhka	zhwalezhka	
Ins	kuortozhca	xizhca / xyzhca	zhwalezhca	
Lat	kuortuojegh/-toigh	xigh / xygh	zhwalegh	
Csn	kuortuojel-toil	xil / xyl	zhwalel	

There are two plural suffixes: *-zh* and *-i/-j-*. The choice of formative is determined by the case: *-i/-j-* in the genitive, lative, and comparison and for some nouns also the nominative, and *-zh* elsewhere. These suffixes might also be regarded as extensions. They are followed by the case endings: zero in the nominative, genitive, and ergative, overt endings elsewhere. The overt endings are identical to those of the singular, with some phonological adjustments: dative *-na* undergoes progressive assimilation – denasalization

and devoicing – following the plural suffix *-zh-* (which was voiceless in Proto-Nakh: see again §3.2.9), and allative *-ga* undergoes devoicing.

The plural formative *-zh-* is spelled "sh" in the normative Cyrillic orthography and often so pronounced as a spelling pronunciation. Also in the normative spelling, the ergative plural has an ending *-a* which (in normative or spelling pronunciation) opens a preceding syllable and allows a preceding vowel to be long:

Usual pronunciation:	leattaazh	loalaxozh	kuortozh
Cyrillic spelling:	лаѣтташа	лоалахоша	кортоша
Spelling pronunciation:	leattaasha	loalaxuosha	kuortuosha

The disyllabic lative and comparison cases also have a monosyllabic pronunciation:

leattaajegh	loalaxuojegh	kuortuojel
leattaaigh	loalaxoigh	kuortoil

The inventory of nominative plural endings is as follows.

-zh Productive; thousands of nouns take this ending. The vowel that precedes it is determined by the stem:

- azh* with epenthetic vowel, added to consonant-final stems (like *kuotam*, above)
- ezh* nouns with stem-final *-ie-*, e.g. *zhwalii* 'dog', Gsg *zhwalie*, Npl *zhwalezh*
- ozh* nouns with stem-final *-uo-*, e.g. *porduu* 'interface', Gsg *porduo*, Npl *pordozh*

-aazh (i.e. extension *-aa-* plus plural suffix *-zh*) Hundreds. In normative descriptions nearly all nouns of declension 5 take this ending (though in fact *-azh* is also frequent on such nouns in actual usage).

-ii About 100 nouns, most of them animate and most of them belonging to declensions 1, 3, and 5 in the singular, take this nominative plural ending. Unproductive.

-oi Nouns with the derivational suffix *-xuo* and nouns with plural extension *-uo-*. This nominative plural is unproductive (and where it occurs it more often takes the nominative ending *-zh*: see 'head', below), though the derivational suffix *-xuo* is productive. Example *maar* 'husband', Gsg *meara*, Dsg *maaraa*, etc. (no *-uo-* extension); pl. *moaroi*, Dpl *moarozhta*, etc.

-ozh (i.e. extension *-uo-* plus ending *-zh*) The sequence *-ozh* occurs when nouns ending in *-uo* take the plural extension *-zh* (e.g. *tq'ouruo* 'root', pl. *tq'ourozh*), but also when nouns not ending in *-uo* take the extension *-uo-* in the plural only. Example: 'head' above.

-rch This is actually an extension, followed by a plural suffix in the oblique cases. About three dozen nouns take this extension. They include a number of animal names:

	<i>pig</i>	<i>bear</i>
	hwaqa (1)	cha (3)
Nom	hwaqarch	cherch
Gen	hwaqarchii	cherchii
Dat	hwaqarchazhta	cherchazhta
Erg	hwaqarchazh	cherchazh
All	hwaqarchazhka	cherchazhka
Ins	hwaqarchazhca	cherchazhca
Lat	hwaqarchagh	cherchagh
Csn	hwaqarchal	cherchal

-amazh (i.e. extension *-am* plus plural extension *-azh*) About three dozen nouns add this extension: e.g. *bes* 'garden', Dsg *bieshaa*; pl. *bieshamazh*; *koch* 'shirt, dress', Gsg *kuocha*, pl. *kuochamazh*. (The sequence *-amazh* also occurs when a noun ending in *-am* takes the regular plural extension *-zh*, e.g. *q'oalam* 'pencil', Npl *q'oalamazh*. *-am* is a productive suffix forming deverbal nouns, so there are many such nouns: *boaxam* 'property, wealth' < *d.aax* 'live', *lotq'am* 'complaint' < *latq'* 'complain', *bustam* 'measure' < *d.ust* 'measure').

Nominalizations in *+d.ar* (§§11.6, 11.7), take the plural extension *-chaar-* and decline the same as nominalized pronouns (e.g. §9.1.3) and associatives (Appendix 1).

Suppletion. A few nouns have suppletive plurals: *sag* 'person', pl. *nax* (which declines like a singular, in declension 3x); *jett* 'cow', pl. *doaxan* (which declines like a singular, in declension 1). A few have irregular stem changes in the plural, e.g. *jisha* 'sister', pl. *jizharii*; *vosha* 'brother', pl. *vezharii*.

CHAPTER 7

GENDER

This chapter is partly taken from Nichols 2007, which describes gender in Chechen and gives Chechen-Ingush-Batsbi comparison and reconstruction. Only the gender classification of nouns and its marking are described here; for the morphosyntax of gender agreement and gender resolution see Chapter 19.

Gender in Nakh-Daghestanian languages is sometimes called *class* or *noun class*, but I follow Corbett 1991 in using the term *gender*.

Gender in Ingush (and its close sisters) takes two forms, which I call *agreement gender* and *overt inherent gender*. Agreement gender (§7.1) is the marking of gender on some verbs and modifiers in agreement with the inherent gender of a noun or pronoun. Overt inherent gender (§7.3; abbreviated OIG) is overt marking of gender on the gender-bearing noun itself. Elsewhere in this grammar, *gender* refers to agreement gender unless otherwise indicated; OIG is discussed mostly in §7.3, and is always explicitly called OIG.

Gender of all kinds is a partial category. A minority of verb roots and a smaller minority of adjective roots take gender agreement. All nouns (or nearly all; see §7.2) trigger agreement gender, but a minority of nouns have OIG. That is, the majority of words in the agreeing parts of speech lack the agreement slot; agreement gender characterizes nearly every noun but is not overt; and OIG occurs on a small minority of nouns (and the agreement gender class of a noun is not necessarily the same as its OIG). Though it might seem that opportunities to discover the gender of a noun would be fewer than learners need, in fact gender marking in phrases and (especially) clauses is quite frequent. That minority of verbs that agree in gender include most of the auxiliaries; gender-agreeing affixes or clitics are part of the marking of certain tenses; and in Ingush, which disfavors utterance of any phrase without a predicate (§5.10), noun phrases that might be syntactically independent or uttered in isolation in a western European language are accompanied by gender-agreeing forms of 'be'.

7.1. Agreement gender

There are four gender markers: *v-*, *j-*, *b-*, and *d-*, interlinearized V, J, B, and D. Under one-third of the simple verb roots, and under 10% of the simple adjectives, take gender agreement in the form of initial prefixation.⁶³ Agreement of verbs is on the ergative pattern,

⁶³ 90/294 verbs (30.6%). The 294 are all of the non-pluractional, non-plural simple verb roots. If pluractionals and plurals are included the count is 109/393 = 27.7%. (These and other figures in this chapter are based on a query of my Ingush lexical database, August 2006.)

with the nominative argument (which is usually S/O). The following examples show the intransitive verb *aara-d.oal* 'go out' and its causative 'bring, lead'.

- (1) a. jett aara-b.ealar
cow B.out-go.WP
'the/a cow went out'
- b. zhwalii aara-d.ealar
dog D.out-go.WP
'the/a dog went out'
- c. sy loalaxuo aara-v.ealar
1s.GEN neighbor V.out-go.WP
'my neighbor (masc.) went out'
- d. sy loalaxuo aara-j.ealar
1s.GEN neighbor J.out-go.WP
'my neighbor (fem.) went out'
- (2) a. aaz jett b.oala-b.yr
1s.ERG cow B.go-B.CS.WP
'I led the/a cow'
- b. aaz zhwalii d.oala-d.yr
1s.ERG dog D.go-D.S.WP
'I led the/a dog'
- c. Muusaaз sag j.oala-j.yr
Musa.ERG person J.go-J.CS.WP
'Musa got married' (lit. 'led someone (female) home')
- d. Peat'mataз Ahwmad chy-v.oala-v.yr
P.ERG (name) in-V.go-V.CS.WP
'Fatima brought Ahmed home'

The verbs that take gender agreement are distributed more or less randomly among the conjugation classes, valence patterns, and semantic classes. Some examples are *d.iett* 'hit, strike, beat' (pluractional; but not the corresponding simulfactive *tuoxa* 'hit, strike'), *d.oaqq* 'extract', *d.aarzha* 'spread out, expand', *d.u* 'eat', *d.ash* 'melt', *d.iek* 'sound, ring', *d.iesh* 'read; study', *d.iest* 'swell up', *d.iex* 'ask', *d.ouz* 'know, recognize', *d.uox* 'break (intrans.)', *d.aax* 'live'.

Adjectives that take agreement include *d.oaqqa* 'large', *d.weaxa* 'long', *d.ei* 'lightweight, cheap', *d.eassa* 'empty', *d.iq'a* 'thick, viscous, dry, hard', *d.itq'a* 'thin, fine', *d.waaixa* 'hot'.

Every noun belongs to a gender (with the possible exception of a few of what may be genderless nouns; see §7.2). For nouns referring to humans, gender is predictable from sex: nouns referring to males belong to V gender, those referring to females J gender. Only nouns with human male referents belong to V gender;⁶⁴ only nouns with human female referents belong to J gender in the singular and B in the plural; the other genders have no specific semantic content. For nouns and pronouns with human referents, the gender prefixes in the plural differ from those in the singular, based on person:

(3)	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>so</i> 'I', <i>hwo</i> 'you'; <i>txo</i> 'we.EXCL', <i>vai</i> 'we.INCL'	V/J	D
<i>yz</i> 'he/she'; <i>yzh</i> 'they' (human)	V/J	B
<i>daa</i> 'father', <i>vosha</i> 'brother'; <i>yz</i> 'he' / <i>yzh</i> 'they'	V	B
<i>naana</i> 'mother', <i>jisha</i> 'sister'; <i>yz</i> 'she'/ <i>yzh</i> 'they'	J	B ⁶⁵

For non-human nouns, D and J genders have the same marker in singular and plural. Nouns of B gender mostly have D agreement in the plural (e.g. *kuorta* 'head', *q'oalam* 'pencil, pen', *ust* 'ox, bull', *wagj* 'spoon', *maza* 'louse') but a few have B (*wazh* 'apple', *beg* 'joke', *toppar* 'clay, plaster', *nitt* 'nettle', *oaghuu* 'side'; deverbal nouns in *-am* such as *tiesham* 'faith, trust'). For a very few, speakers are uncertain and/or both B and D are possible in the plural: *kog* 'foot, leg', *cu* 'roasted barley flour').

- (4) Plural of singular B gender nouns. ("None" = mass nouns with no plural and nouns whose plural gender is unknown.)

	<i>B</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>Total</i>
All B nouns	36 (8%)	347 (77%)	67 (15%)	450
Only those with plurals:	36 (9%)	347 (91%)		383

One can set up the six abstract gender classes shown in (5) based on the singular vs. plural gender membership. In the terms of Corbett 2007 these are *target genders*.

⁶⁴ Also *Deala* 'God'. A few nouns referring to humans are of D gender: *adam* 'person, human being', *ber* 'child', *nuskal* 'bride'. One is of nonhuman J gender with J plural: *jiiwig* 'little girl'.

⁶⁵ In pejorative usage, human males are J, plural J and females B, plural J. E.g. *Yz jiiwig by*. 'It's a girl' (*jiiwig* 'girl' J, here B). (Birth attendant to father of newborn, in pre-modern times. Whatever their actual attitudes, traditionally fathers were socially expected to want only sons, and the attendant adopts his stance.) Jakovlev 2001:267-268 gives several elicited examples and describes pejorative usage for non-human nouns: J and B gender are replaced by D, and D by B.

(5) Gender class (Target gender)	Singular	Plural
First and second person	V/J	D
Human	V/J	B
(various non-human)	B	B
(various non-human)	B	D
(various non-human)	D	D
(various non-human)	J	J

In Corbett's terms (1991:150-154, 2007:274) Ingush has four controller genders in the singular (V, J, B, D), three in the plural (J, B, D), and the six target genders shown in (5).

Alternatively, and probably most satisfactory, one sets up three or four non-human genders (four if the two plural treatments of B are considered to be separate genders) plus a single human gender in which the singular marker is V or J depending on the sex of the referent and the plural is B or D depending on the person.⁶⁶

The approximate percentages of underived inanimate nouns in the genders are as in (6).

	B	D	J	N
(6) % underived nouns in inanimate genders:	20%	40%	40%	1600

The semantics of the gender classes of non-human nouns can be described as arbitrary, though there are some consistencies and semantically-based clustering of genders: implements and tools are often J class, abstractions D, and some large animals B. A noun of unknown gender or a new loan word is likely to be given the gender of a near-synonym or an obvious immediate generic.

The D plural gender of first and second person pronouns overrides predicate noun gender agreement. Ordinarily, the copula in a predicate nominal clause agrees with the predicate and not with the subject (see §19.1.3):

- (7) Uq spektaklehw Marem **Muusaa** vy
 this.OBL performance (F name) (M name) V.be.PRS
 'In this (theater) performance Mariem (F) plays Musa (M).'

However, the verb agrees with the subject if that is a first or second person plural pronoun. *nax* 'people' is B gender, and in (8)-(9) the verb does not agree with it.

⁶⁶ This is one of four places in which person is relevant to the grammar of Ingush. Note that it is a matter of gender classification, not number agreement. The other places are the verb 'say', whose present tense is *jaax* for a first or second person subject, *joax* for a third person subject (§19.2); deictic prefixes, which are partly sensitive to person (§15.5.1); and the imperative of 'give', which is *d.aa* for first or second person indirect object, *lie* for third.

- (8) vai duqa **nax dy**
 1pIN many people D.be.PRS
 There are a lot of us. We are many (lit. 'We are many people')
- (9) q'uonaxii, xoza xa='a jeanna **nax dar** txo
 man.PL good time=& J.pass.PPL people D.be.PST 1pEX
 We were men, mature adults. (0542)

Compare the same noun with a third person subject:

- (10) yzh duqa **nax by**
 3p many people B.be.PRS
 'There are a lot of them', 'They are many' (lit. 'They are many people')

7.2. Genderless nouns?

A handful of words appear from their declension and syntax to be compound nouns but have no gender of their own, taking on the gender of the referent. Some of them form plurals, suggesting that they are nouns; they take the oblique ending of adjectives with difficulty or not at all, suggesting that they are not adjectives; and they head NP's, suggesting that they are nouns. Those that refer to animals have whatever gender the referent animal has:

- (11) sie hama 'female (animal)' (B, J, D)
 qaal hama 'female (animal)' (B, J, D)
 mawa hama 'male (animal)' (B, J, D)
 borsha hama 'male (animal)' (B, J, D)

(*Mawa, sie*, etc. by themselves are adjectives.) Perhaps these are best regarded as pronouns.

Misjka 'poor' can be either an adjective as in (12) or a noun ('poor thing') as in (13), where it has the plural ending of nouns and not the plural morphology of nominalized adjectives (this would be *misjka-barazh* 'those who are poor').

- (12) T'aaqqa, sei **miskacha fusama** jiga='a jigaa
 so, 1SRFL.GEN **poor.OBL household.ADV** RED=& J.lead.CVant
 uqun iraz doadie laac shiina,
 3s.GEN happiness D.destroy-D.CS.INF want.NEG.PRS 3SRFL.DAT
 ealar joax Ucyga Maalsaguo.
 say.WP QUOT (name) (name).ERG

I don't want to destroy her happiness by bringing her (in marriage) into **my** poor house, said Ucyga Maalsag. (0408)

(13) A (speaker): ... udazh xanna xannii yzh='a.
flee.CVsim be.CVant PROG.incho.NW.J 3p=&

B (listener): Misjkaazh.
poor.PL

A: ... and it turned out they too (wolves) were fleeing.

B: The poor things.

There are three genderless property nouns, which have the semantics of adjectives but seem to be used only as predicates and lack the final schwa of adjectives. A simple noun of this type is *c'alx* 'very sour fruit'. The verb ordinarily agrees in gender with a predicate noun (see §19.1.3), but in (14-16) it agrees with the subject (*wazh* B 'apple', *limon* J 'lemon'). It forms a plural in (15), unlike adjectives and like nouns.

(14) Mista **c'alx** **bar** yz wazh
sour sour fruit B.be.PST DEM apple
'That apple was a very sour one'

(15) Mista **c'alxazh** **bar** yzh wazhazh
sour sour fruit.PL B.be.PST DEM.PL apple.PL
'Those apples were very sour ones'

(16) Mista **c'alx** **jar** yz limon
sour sour fruit J.be.PST DEM lemon
'That lemon was a very sour one'

Another genderless property noun is *gilavodzh* 'crooked, uneven (of scythe blade edge, from careless sharpening)'.

(17) Maangal **gilavodzh** **baxaab**
scythe (B) crooked B.go.NW.B
The scythe blade is uneven (from improper sharpening).

(18) Maangalazh **gilavodzh** **daxaad**
scythe.PL (D) crooked D.go.NW.D
The scythe blades are uneven.

The archaic color term *ergazh* 'spotted or bicolored breed of sheep or horse; distinctively colored (of various animals and a few other nouns)' seems to be of this type. Few people know it well enough to be confident of its use. Kurkiev 2004 labels it as an adjective. With its final *-azh* it looks like a plural.

- (19) Je mashen ergazh jy cul
 this car different J.be.PRS that.CSN
 'This car is different (in color) from that one'

7.3. Overt inherent gender

Overt inherent gender (OIG) has been called head class (Evans 1997), morphological class (Evans et al. 2002), head gender (Nichols 2007), and source gender (Nichols 2008). It is the marking of gender on the noun itself, as in Bantu, some northern Australian languages, and a few others. In Bantu languages the OIG classes are generally isomorphic to the agreement genders, in the classification of nouns and in most of the OIG marking itself. In Mayali (northern Australia, discussed by Evans 1997 and Evans et al. 2002) there is somewhat less isomorphy, and some nouns have no OIG prefix (that is, OIG is a partial category). In Ingush, OIG is still less isomorphic to gender than in Mayali, and it is much more a partial category. It can be described as fossilized, though it should be emphasized that probably never in the history of the Nakh-Daghestanian family has OIG been anything other than partial. With greatly more chance frequency, Ingush simple nouns of B gender tend to have initial labial consonants, nouns of D gender initial dentals, and nouns of J gender initial /j-/ (see Table 7-1). Examples of B nouns with initial labials: *mott* 'language, tongue', *moza* 'fly, housefly', *mux* 'wind'; *boardz* 'mound, hillock, kurgan', *bei* 'grass, lawn, turf', *bolx* 'work', *butt* 'moon, month'; *pen* 'wall', *pxa* 'arrow', *p'el'jg* 'finger', *p'enda* 'rib'. Examples of D nouns with initial dentals: *dogha* 'rain', *duq'* 'yoke, mountain crest', *dig* 'axe', *dog* 'heart', *dulx* 'meat, flesh'; *nihw* 'skin, hide', *nadzh* 'oak, acorn', *nux* 'plow'; *txyr* 'dew', *turs* 'shield', *t'ii* 'bridge', *tux* 'salt'. Nouns of J gender with initial j-: *juq'* 'middle, interval', *jish* 'song, melody', *jexk* 'comb', *juu* 'awl', *jis* 'frost, hoarfrost', *jurt* 'town'. Some of these are ancient Nakh-Daghestanian words, and for some of them the gender initial reconstructs to the protolanguage (Nichols 2003a); some are loans; for some the etymology is unknown. Comparative Chechen-Ingush-Batsbi reconstruction yields more examples of OIG than Ingush currently has; see Nichols 2007.

7.3.1. Strict OIG. The rest of this chapter deals with only the nouns whose initials are identical to the agreement marker for their gender (like *dig* 'axe' D), and not those beginning in other consonants at the same point of articulation (like *moza* 'fly' B). Table 7-1 counts frequencies for such nouns. It counts simple and derived nouns together, but very similar results were achieved on tests of only underived nouns.

7.3.2. Split OIG. Eight nouns have case-split OIG. All have ablaut between the nominative and oblique stems, and all have initial *j-* in only the nominative. This *j-* in all but one echoes the gender marker and is therefore a strict OIG marker. It appears in the only case that can trigger gender agreement on verbs, nominative (for the syntax of agreement see Chapter 19).

j- is of about average frequency as an initial consonant (116 nouns; mean is 108, median 96), so its raw lexical frequency does not explain why it should be the only overt case-split gender initial. In (20) the first row is the nominative case and the second genitive. All oblique cases use the same stem as the genitive.⁶⁷

Table 7-1. Frequency of initial *j-*, *d-*, and *b-* in nonhuman nouns of *J*, *D*, and *B* gender. Harmonic (bold) = same initial consonant as gender marker. % = percent of total in column.

Gender	<i>J</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>B</i>
<i>j-</i>	46 (4.3%)	29 (3%)	4 (0.1%)
<i>d-</i>	39 (3.7%)	151 (16%)	17 (4%)
<i>b-</i>	115 (11%)	47 (5%)	77 (17%)
other	1064	954	444
TOTAL	1110	1105	521

$p < 0.0001$ for harmonic vs. other, individual harmonic consonants vs. total for this table, and individual harmonic consonants vs. total of all nouns, except that for *J* gender and *j-* initial vs. all *J* nouns $p < 0.0035$ ($X^2 = 11.33$ for this cell, from 20.03 to 123 for others; $df = 2$).

(20)	Nom	jett	'cow'	B	
	Gen	watta			
	Pl	doaxan		D	(suppletive)
	Nom	jexk	'comb'	J	
	Gen	axkara			
	Pl	axkarazh			
	Nom	jish	'song'	J	
	Gen	aashara			
	Pl	aasharazh			

⁶⁷ The first person plural exclusive pronoun *txo*, erg. *oaxa* may also be an example. Like most of the personal pronouns, it has its root consonant initial in most forms but preceded by a vowel in the ergative. Unlike any other pronoun, the root consonant changes: *tx-* initial, *-x-* medially in the ergative. There is no reason to expect a consonant cluster to be simplified medially but retained initially; the reverse is more common in Chechen-Ingush. Therefore, perhaps the *t-* element is a reflex of a D OIG marker (recall that first person pronouns trigger D gender agreement). On the other hand Batsbi has *-tx-* in the ergative. For the etymology of this pronoun see Nichols 2003a.

There is also *juhwig* 'beginning' with fixed gender, and I have found discordant examples of *juhwig* 'end, point' as in *shaalta* (D) *juhwig* 'point of dagger'.

7.3.4. *OIG in word formation.* OIG replaces agreement gender in certain derivatives of agreeing verbs. Abstract nouns and fact nominalizations in *-am* are always B gender, and when they are formed from agreeing verbs the OIG prefix is *b-*. The following list shows the source verbs and their valences. Especially for nouns like *bielam* 'laughter' and *biezam* 'love', B gender (mostly found in inanimates) is unlikely for a typical nominative argument (subject of 'laugh', object of 'love'), and this shows that the prefix of these nouns is true OIG and not lexicalized agreement gender. Thus the gender imposed by the nominalizing suffix is not connected to verb agreement and is not fossilized agreement gender but is determined by the productive morphological rules.

(24)	<i>bielam</i> 'laughter'	(d.iel 'laugh' Nom)
	<i>boaxam</i> 'property'	(d.aax 'live' Nom)
	<i>buoxam</i> 'disruption'	(d.uox 'break' Nom)
	<i>bustam</i> 'measure; unit pattern'	(d.ust 'measure' Erg Nom)
	<i>buuzam</i> 'connection, affinity'	(d.uuz 'knit' Erg Nom)
	<i>bieqam</i> 'revenge, retribution'	(d.ieq 'avenge' Erg Nom)
	<i>biezam</i> 'love, affection'	(d.iez 'love, like' Dat Nom)

Likewise for nouns like *viezarjg* 'lover (male)' and *jiezarjg* 'lover (female)', the gender is that of the referent and not that of an argument, and is determined by the productive modern rules assigning gender to human nouns; it is not fossilized agreement gender.

On the other hand, some derivatives have lexicalized and frozen agreement gender prefixes that are not OIG markers: *vaaxar* 'life, human life' and *valar* 'death (of human)'. Both of these are verbal nouns and have D gender. They can refer to the life or death of a male, or of any human or humans in general. In the following examples *vaaxar* refers to the lives of many people:

(25)	Handz yzh	berrigazh='a,	caaregh leacaa,	caar	vaaxaragh ='a,
	now	DEM.PL B.all.PL=&	3p.LAT capture.CVant	3p.GEN	V.life.LAT =&
	caar	lieladear='a ...	hwa-vwaashagh='a tiexaa,	cwa joazuu	dicha ...
	3p.ERG	do.PPL.NZ=&	DX-together=&	strike.CVant	one publication D.do.CVtemp

If all these things about them, about their **lives** and what they did ... could be brought together and published somehow ... (0246B)

(26)	... shei	vaaxaragh	biexaa	nax
	3pRFL.GEN	life.LAT	B.break.PPL	people (B)
	'people whose lives have been ruined' (0380A)			

CHAPTER 8

DERIVATION AND FORMATION OF NOUNS

Ingush nouns have gender, decline for case, and can head NP's. Nouns are an open word class in Ingush; there are at least about 2000 underived simplex nouns and thousands of derived nouns and compounds in regular use. Nominalization is widely used in syntactic processes such as clefting, complementation, and headless relativization, and consequently nominalization of verbs, variously using the verbal noun and nominalized participles, is productive and frequent.

8.1. Root nouns

Root nouns, or underived simplex nouns, are an open class in that nouns are easily borrowed. Here and below, nouns are cited in the nominative with oblique stem if different and with gender. Native simplex nouns include the following (grouped semantically):

leaatta 'earth' (D)	maalx 'sun' (B)
xii 'water; river' (D)	butt 'moon' (B)
c'i 'fire' (J)	hwu 'forest' (J)
loam 'mountain' (B)	
daa 'father' (V)	vosha 'brother' (V)
naana 'mother' (J)	jisha 'sister' (J)
ber 'child' (D)	sag 'person' (VJ)
kuorta 'head' (B)	diixk 'liver' (D)
dog 'heart' (D)	kog 'foot, leg' (B)
ust 'ox' (B)	gour 'horse' (J)
jett 'cow' (B)	kuotam 'chicken' (J)
ka 'ram' (B)	chq'eara 'fish' (B)
muq 'barley' (B)	wazh 'apple; apple tree' (B)
k'aa 'wheat' (D)	nadzh 'oak; acorn' (J)
c'i 'name' (J)	xa 'time' (D)
dosh 'word; matter, deal' (D)	wa 'winter' (D)
niq' 'road' (B)	c'aa 'house, apartment, room, building' (D)
dig 'axe' (D)	urs 'knife' (D)

Native words that are synchronically underived but historically deverbal (judging from Daghestanian cognates):

- daq'a 'corpse' (D)
- maasha 'homespun woolen fabric' (B)

Loanwords come from a number of historically important languages:

Arabic (often via Persian and/or Kumyk):

- hwakim 'boss, director' (V/J)
- hwisap 'arithmetic; calculation' (D)
- ruzq'a 'fate' (D)
- sahwat 'hour' (D)
- surt 'picture; image' (D)
- xabar 'conversation, rumor, news' (D)
- zaama 'time, era, epoch' (J)

Persian (sometimes via Kumyk):

- chaarx 'wheel' (J)
- ezar 'thousand'
- shahwar 'town; main settlement of macroclan territory'⁶⁸ (J)
- shiekar 'sugar' (D)
- top 'gun' (J)
- xiila 'a lot, very many'

Turkic (chiefly Kumyk):

- axcha 'money' (D)
- gaaza 'goat' (J)
- ghaala 'stone tower; fortress, city' (J)
- ghum 'sand' (J)
- kiema 'airplane, vessel' (D)
- soughat 'gift' (D)
- talmazh 'translator, oral interpreter' (V/J)

Georgian:

- k'ira 'week' (Greek via Georgian) (D)
- kuotam 'chicken, hen' (J)
- zhwalii 'dog'⁶⁹ (D)

Ossetic:

- fusam 'household, home' (J)
- boardz 'gravemound' (B)

⁶⁸ Plain [h] in the Persian source *shæhr*, pharyngealized because Ingush has no plain /h/ except root-initially.

⁶⁹ Standard Georgian *dzaghli* 'dog'. The Ingush word is from a dialect or perhaps via some now extinct southern Nakh variety.

Assimilated Russian loans:⁷⁰

- kinashjka 'book' (D)
- mashen 'car, vehicle' (J)
- istol 'table' (via Turkic) (D)
- koartol 'potato(es)' (J)
- karfent 'candy' (J)
- lispet 'bicycle' (J)

Unknown source, ultimately Indo-European:

- kart 'fence' (J)
- maar 'husband' (V)
- nus 'daughter-in-law'⁷¹ (J)

8.2. Prefixed nouns

See overt inherent gender in Chapter 7. Several of the native nouns listed above have overt inherent gender.

8.3. Suffixed nouns

8.3.1. *-jg / -jk / -ig* (< *-ig). Diminutive and individuating suffix which does not change the noun's gender. The vowel is actually a schwa and the consonant a palatalized velar, which raises the schwa (§3.2.3). This suffix is often lexicalized, but also highly productive and much used to form diminutives. Pairs where the *-jg / -ig* is clearly diminutive:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| t'ormii (BD) 'suitcase, duffel bag' | t'ormig (BD) 'purse, shopping bag' |
| buhw (B) 'peak, cupola' | buhwig (B) 'tip, point' |

Unpaired and clearly lexicalized:

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| kyljg (D) | 'hand; signature, handwriting' |
| cerjg {carjg} (J) | 'tooth' |
| lerjg {larjg} (B) | 'ear' |
| p'eljg (B) | 'finger' (also, less commonly, <i>t'eljg</i>) |
| giig (J) | 'belly' |
| wagj (B) | 'spoon' |

⁷⁰ Unassimilated Russian loans are frequent in the speech especially of younger Ingush. It is hard to know whether they should be considered loans or code switching. They are generally pronounced with Ingush initial stress but otherwise have mostly Russian phonology.

⁷¹ Possibly borrowed into Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian (Tuite & Schulze 1998) and inherited in Ingush.

cysjk (D)	'cat'
gizjg (J)	'spider; bead'
boabashjk (J)	'duck'
xursjk / xursig (J)	'piglet'
k'uorig (J)	'baby animal or bird'
bedarjg (J)	'feather'
genarjg (D)	'seed (especially sunflower seed)'
hwamasjk (J)	'medlar'
hwandarjg (J)	'wild rose hip'
burtig (BD)	'grain, kernel'
boanjg (J)	'trap'
eashjk (D)	'iron; metal'
searjg (B)	'wire, cable, cord'
t'easjk (D)	'arrow; arrowhead'
t'wirjg (J)	'cord, shoelace'
jiwig (J)	'girl, little girl' (< jow 'girl, daughter')
eattig (D)	'right hand, right side'
eattig (V/J)	'right-handed person'

including loans:

pishjk (J) 'oven, stove, fireplace'	(Russ. <i>pech'</i> , <i>pechka</i> 'stove')
kirpishjk (J) 'brick'	(Russ. <i>kirpich</i> 'brick')
faazjg (J) 'fez, skullcap'	(Turkish, intermediary uncertain)
kishmishjk (J) 'raisin'	(Turkic)
zhwaarjg 'cross; plus sign, X'	(Georgian <i>dzhviri</i> 'cross')
kepig (D) 'kopeck'	(Russ. <i>kopejka</i>)

-aljg (spelled *-илг* "-ilg"), extended version of the same suffix. Paired words:

k'aaza (D) 'puppy'	k'aazaljg id.
baq' (J) 'colt'	baq'aljg (J) 'foal'
taaka (D) 'path'	taakaljg (D) 'path; hyphen, dash'
ii (*ui) 'floor'	iljg / yljg (D) 'board, plank, lumber'
sedq'a (BD) 'star'	sedq'aljg (BD) 'asterisk'

Unpaired:

hwazaljg (D)	'bird' (also 'sparrow')
choapaljg (J)	'beetle, bug'
k'uopaljg (J)	'small box'
tungaljg (J)	'chimney'
ch'eapaljg (D)	'thin unleavened pan bread'

8.3.2. *-xuo*. Agent, actor, subject nominalizations; people identified by characteristic or association. All are human nouns and of V/J gender.

Denominal; formed from the oblique stem of root nouns where that differs from the nominative stem:

noanaxuo	maternal relative; mother's clan relative (<i>naana</i> 'mother')
unxuo	patient, sick person (<i>u, un-</i> 'pestilence')
baazarxuo	merchant (<i>baazar</i> 'bazaar, market')
c'arxuo	namesake (<i>c'i, c'ar-</i> 'name')
diezaxuo	offspring, child; son or daughter (<i>diezal</i> 'family')
douxuo	enemy, offender (<i>dou</i> 'feud, legal dispute')
sudaxuo	judge, magistrate, referee (<i>sud</i> 'trial, court' < Russian)
qielaxuo	judge; elder called to be decide case or issue (<i>qel, qiel-</i> 'council, decision, judgment')
t'emaxuo	warrior (<i>t'om, t'em-</i> 'war')
jurtaxuo	fellow villager, townsman; person from same town (<i>jurt</i> 'town')
wilmanxuo	scholar, scientist (<i>wilma/wilam</i> 'science')
surtxuo	painter, artist (<i>surt</i> 'picture')
eskarxuo	soldier; military man (<i>eskar</i> 'army')
hwearaxuo	miller (<i>hweira, hwear-</i> 'mill')
ghearaxuo	gang member, bandit (<i>ghear</i> 'band of thieves')
ghishlonxuo	builder, contractor (<i>ghishluo, ghishluon-</i> 'building')
maangalxuo	reaper, mower (<i>maangal</i> 'scythe')

There are no direct deverbal derivatives using this suffix; it is attached to nominalized forms of verbs:

diesharxuo	student (pre-university), pupil (<i>d.iesh</i> 'read, study')
hwiexarxuo	teacher (<i>hwiex</i> 'teach')
aaxarxuo	plowman, peasant, farmer (<i>oax</i> 'plow')
xeaxuo	guard, watchman, caretaker (? <i>xa, xaa-</i> 'time')
jaazdarxuo	writer, author (<i>jaaz-d.u</i> 'write')
joazanxuo	writer (<i>joazan</i> < * <i>joazon</i> , gen. sg. of <i>joazuu</i> 'script')
joxkarxuo	seller (<i>d.oxk</i> 'sell')
qollarxuo	creator (<i>quoll</i> 'create')
toxkamxuo	researcher, investigator (<i>toxk</i> 'investigate, study')

Uncertain derivation:

loalaxuo	neighbor (cf. advs. <i>loalax</i> and <i>lala</i> 'next door')
doaraxuo	wounded person, injured party, medical patient (cf. <i>dou du</i> 'use a weapon, commit violence')

8.3.3. **-ghuo* (?) Abstract nouns from adjective or numeral. *Niisxuo* 'equality' has undergone voicing assimilation and therefore appears to have the suffix *-xuo* described in §8.3.2, but if so classified it would be the only *-xuo* noun that is deadjectival and the only non-human one. I have found only one other noun with this suffix, a denumeral noun.

niisxuo (J)	equality (cf. <i>niisa</i> 'even, level, straight, right')
cwoaghuo (J)	unity (cf. <i>cwa</i> 'one')

8.3.4. *-uo*. Forms abstract nouns from various sources, all of J gender. Deadjectival:

belgaluo (J)	feature, characteristic, mark, sign	belgala 'distinctive'
c'ano (J)	cleanliness, purity	c'āna 'clean'
kiichuo (J)	store, stock, spare	kiicha 'ready'
xaluo (J)	difficulty, difficult situation	xala 'difficult'
niisuo (J)	justice, fairness	niisa 'fair, right'
aattuo (J)	relief, ease	aatta 'easy'
ch'woaghuo (J)	contract, agreement	ch'woagha 'strong'
morzuo (J)	sweetness; temptation, treat	merza 'sweet'
taruo (J)	possibility; financial prospects, material prospects	? tara 'similar, compatible'

Denominal:

baq'uo / boq'uo (J)	law, rights	(baq' 'truth')
ch'woaghaluo (J)	strength, firmness, rigor	(ch'woaghal id.)
daguo (J)	axe handle	(dig, dog-/dag- 'axe')

From first elements of light verb constructions (part of speech indeterminate):

xaarcuo (J)	injustice, unfairness
shiekuo (J)	doubt
sagatuo, sagotuo (J)	boredom; longing, homesickness

8.3.5. *-luo*. Actor denominals and abstract deadjectivals. Denominal:

bolxluo (V/J)	employee, worker	bolx 'work'
doshluo (V/J)	horseman, rider	di, pl. obl. stem dosh- 'horse'

Deadjectival:

serdaluo (J)	light; enlightenment
eghazluo (J)	anger, indignation, outrage
gargaluo (J)	relation, relatedness, kinship
(?) ketarluo (J)	trick, ruse (cf. <i>ketar</i> 'fur coat, winter coat')

8.3.6. *-ii* in some kin terms, chiefly used as familiar vocatives:

naanii	grandmother, grandma; Mom
daadii	grandfather, grandpa; Dad

8.3.7. Denominal and deadjectival nouns.

8.3.7.1. The suffix *-al* (J or D gender; occasionally B) forms a denominal or deadjectival noun of quality, extent, or fact. J gender is standard where the noun is one of quality or extent, or is strongly lexicalized, or has fairly concrete reference. D gender is possible for nouns that are more abstract, and for less lexicalized fact nominalizations. Adjectives with gender agreement form gender-varying noun stems, and for these the gender marker is always that of the derived noun's own gender (D or J), i.e. it is OIG (§7.3; examples asterisked below). Deadjectival nouns sometimes have /o/ grade ablaut. Denominal:

dottagh	'friend'	dottaghal (D)	'friendship'
moastagh	'enemy'	moastaghal (D)	'enmity, hatred'
epsar	'officer'	epsaral (D)	'officer's commission; post, office'
wu	'servant'	wunal (D)	'servitude'
lor	'doctor'	luoral (D)	'doctoring, practice of medicine'
sudaxuo	'judge'	sudaxol (D)	'judge's seat, judgeship'
ber	'child'	bieral (D)	'childhood; childishness'

Deadjectival:

dika	'good'	dikal (J)	'goodness'
c'ena	'clean'	c'enal (J)	'cleanliness, purity'
d.aza	'heavy'	dazal (D) *	'heaviness; weight; value' ⁷²
ezdii	'noble, courteous'	ezdel (D)	'nobility, courtesy'
kura	'arrogant'	kural (J)	'pride, arrogance'
sonta	'conceited'	sontal (J)	'conceit, pride'
laqa	'tall, high'	laqal (J)	'height'
gouza	'skillful, crafty'	gouzal (J)	'artistry, skill; craft, profession'
mawa	'male'	mawal (D)	'courage'
q'eana	'elderly'	q'eanal (J)	'old age'
q'uona	'young'	q'uonal (J)	'youth'
sutara	'gluttonous'	sutara (D)	'gluttony'
aastagha	'lame'	aastaghal (J, D)	'lameness', 'a limp'
aatta	'light, easy'	aattal (J)	'lightness; ease'
d.aq'a	'dry'	joq'al (J) *	'drought'
t'eada	'wet'	t'oadal (J)	'moisture, humidity'
xaza	'beautiful'	xozal (J)	'beauty'
hweana	'fatty, filling'	hweanal, hwoanal (J)	'high caloric value'
mearsha	'healthy'	moarshal (D)	'health, success'
d.waaixa	'hot'	jwouxal (J) *	'heat, warmth; warm weather'

⁷² Ozdoev et al. 1962: *dozal*.

Locative nouns in *-gh*:

- aatagh 'canyon, river valley' (J) (also aataghie (J), declined in Ozdoev et al. 1962 and Kurkiev 2004).
Sibregh 'Siberia; Central Asia'

The word for 'Siberia' has an interesting derivational history. Its complete word family is:

- Sibrie* (listed in dictionaries as a noun of J gender and *-n-* declension)
Sibregh (lative of that noun) adverb 'in Siberia; to Siberia'; rarely noun
Sibriegha (variant of that lative) adverb, same meanings; rarely noun
Sibreghie, Sibrieghie (lative + *-ie*) adverb, same meanings; noun

There are about 90 tokens of these words for 'Siberia' in the Berkeley Ingush Corpus, none of them in any case form other than *-ie* or *-gh(a)* and none interpretable as anything other than a nominative noun or locative adverb. In the first clause of (7) in §5.4 a word for 'Siberia' is clearly used as a noun. Another example is (1):

- (1) Suona shi' jar yz Sibreghie
1s.DAT two.NZ J.be.PST 3s Siberia
For me that was two Siberias.

Elsewhere these forms are used as adverbs, functioning syntactically as locations and goals:

- (2) cu Siinacha Sibrieghie qalxaa
DEM.OBL blue.OBL Siberia perish.PPL
'(the people) who perished in Siberia' ('Blue Siberia' because of the cold) (0207A.3)
- (3) vai Sibriegha wadaxalie dar yz
1pIN Siberia DX-D.go.CVbefore D.be. PST 3s
It was before we went to Siberia (0409.22)
- (4) vai Sibregh hwaldohwtacha xaana
1pIN Siberia DX-take away.CSind.PPL.OBL time.DAT
when we were deported to Siberia
- (5) diina vy, vaac='a jaaxazh maar Sibregh='a vihwaa ... zhieruo
alive V.be.PRS V.be: NEG =& say.CVsim husband Siberia=& V.take.CVant...widow
a woman whose husband had been sent to Siberia and no one knew whether he was
alive or not (HwSV)

8.3.8.2. *Deadverbal nouns*. Some nouns, particularly those referring to times of the day, times of the year, and the like, are derived from adverbs. The noun stem usually shows ablaut

that was originally unlaut triggered by the suffix. Synchronically, the adverb can often be described as the quasi-inflectional adverb form of the noun, but diachronically the ablaut and derivational suffix show that the noun is derived from the adverb.

Adverb:	sehwa	'on this side (of a canyon or body of water)'
Noun:	sehwie (J)	'this side', 'the land on this side'
Adverb:	gura, gurahw	'in autumn, in fall'
Noun:	giirie (J); also giira	'autumn, fall'
Adverb:	bus	'at night'
Noun:	biisa (J)	'night'
Adverb:	wura	'in the morning'
Noun:	wiirie (J); also wiira	'morning' ⁷³

The suffix that derives these true nouns from adverbs is obviously the same suffix as the one that forms locative nouns.

8.3.9. Deverbal nouns

8.3.9.1. *-(a)r*. The regular verbal noun in *-(a)r*, which forms fact and event nominalizations (§25.5), is often lexicalized. It is built on the infinitive stem.

malar	'beverage, drink; alcoholic drink'	(mol 'drink')
da'ar	'food'	(d.u' 'eat')
vaaxar	'life, human life' ⁷⁴	(d.aax 'live')
valar	'death (of human)'	(le, d.al- 'die')
tuoxar	'a blow, a hit'	(tuox- 'strike, hit')
duucar	'story, narrative, history'	(d.uuc 'talk, tell, narrate')
iecar	'purchase; reception'	(ieci- 'take, buy')
uozar	'stretch, give; pull, tension'	(uoz- 'pull')
q'axietar	'sympathy, compassion, pity'	(q'a+xiet 'feel sorry, sympathize')
baq'dar	'truth'	(baq' d.y 'it's true')
qeikor	'consumption, tuberculosis'	(qeika-d.u 'cough') ⁷⁵
d.iexar	'request, invitation' (e.g. <i>viexar</i> 'invitation (to man)'; <i>sag jiexar</i> 'engagement (of woman)')	(d.iex- 'ask, request')

⁷³ *giirie* 'fall' and *wiirie* 'morning' have a former *ui diphthong, still so spelled in Cyrillic: *zyüpe*, *Iyüpe*.

⁷⁴ The initial *v-* of this noun and the next is lexicalized agreement gender (see §7.3.4).

⁷⁵ Modern infinitive *qeika-d.ie*, older *qeik-uo*. The noun is formed from the older stem form.

8.3.9.2. *-am*. These deverbal nouns are all lexicalized, usually with a meaning suggesting a result nominalization. The suffix triggers rounding umlaut. The noun is B gender, and when derived from a gender-agreeing verb has lexicalized OIG *b-* (see §7.3.4).

biezam	'love, affection'	(d.ieza 'like, love')
boaxam	'property'	(d.aax 'live')
bustam	'measure'	(d.ust 'measure')
lotq'am	'complaint'	(latq' 'complain')
qietam	'understanding, awareness'	(qiet 'understand')
loarham	'account'	(loarh 'count')
oalam	'legend, story'	(oal 'say')
qieram	'danger; fear'	(qier 'fear')
xoadam	'conclusion'	(xaad 'break off, cut off')
tuolam	'victory'	(tuol 'win, defeat, be victorious')
xoattam	'polite question in greeting'	(xoatt 'ask')
loadam	'help, support'	(stranded; no source verb)

8.3.9.3. *Lexicalized nominalized participle in -r-jg*. 'Cuckoo' has an OIG prefix that is different from its attested gender.

viezarjg, jiezarjg	'lover, beloved'	(d.iez 'love') (OIG: §7.3.4)
uuzorjg (D)	'rubber band; elastic'	(uuz 'pull.PLC')
biekarjg (J)	'cuckoo'	(d.iek 'sing, call' (of bird, etc.))

Derivations from compounds (see §6.4.1):

xiidettarjg (J)	'watering can'	(xii 'water' + d.iett- 'sprinkle')
bwaarazhdu'arjg (J)	'squirrel'	(bwaarazh 'nut.PL' + d.u'- 'eat')
qosabarjg (J)	'triangle'	(qo 'three' + sa 'corner' + B.be.PPL) (Prosody: /qó+[sá+bàrjg]/, with declination.)

Occasionally the nominalized participle is lexicalized without the *-jg*:

weaxar 'lamb' (also, more commonly, weaxarjg) (waax 'cry' of animals)

8.3.10. *Nominalization of genitives and other obliques*. Genitive case forms of nouns and pronouns, ablatives, and various adverbial forms can add nominalizing morphology with the semi-periphrastic declension (§§11.6, 11.7), in which the nominative adds the nominalized form of 'be' and the oblique cases take the extension *-chu-*. The process appears to be fully productive for genitives. The word is a headless relative and the meaning is generally possessive, with an anaphoric or generic possessum. (For more pronoun forms see §9.1.3.) The following examples are from *sy* 'my' and the genitives of 'brother', 'Musa', and 'someone else'.

	'mine'	'(my) brother's'	'Musa's'	'someone else's'	
Nom	sy+d.ar	veshii+d.ar	Muusaai+d.ar	neaxa+d.ar	
Gen	sy-chyn	veshii-chyn	Muusaai-chyn	neaxa-chyn	
Dat	sy-choa	veshii-choa	Muusaai-choa	neaxa-choa	
Erg	sy-chuo	veshii-chuo	Muusaai-chuo	neaxa-chuo	etc.

The same derivation can apply to ablatives:

cu xaanara d.ar
 DEM.OBL time.ABL D.be.PPL.NZ
 '(the one(s)) from those days', 'that time's'

suogara d.ar
 1s.ALL.ABL D.be.PPL.NZ
 'mine, the one for me, the one I have'

and to adverbs:

Nom	handz+d.ar	'today('s), current, contemporary' (handz 'now')
Gen	handz-chyn	[handzčɨn] or [hanč:ɨn], etc.
Dat	handz-choa	
Erg	handz-chuo	
Csn	handz-chyl	etc.

In all of these forms, the nominative is prosodically a compound (with secondary stress on the *-d.ar*) and the other forms have the prosody of ordinary suffixed nouns. However, as the oblique forms of *handzd.ar* show, the extension *-chu-* can be added to a consonant-final stem, forming a cluster that cannot occur stem-internally and is found only between words and in compounds. It is commonly simplified in pronunciation, however, as shown above. In Ingush spelling, the adjectives derived from genitives are written as one word (*neaxadar naɣxadap*) and the others as two words (*suogara dar coɣapa ɔap*), though there is no difference in prosody, degree of lexicalization, etc. Examples showing the use of nominalized genitives:

(6) Je wazhazh hwanii by? -- **Sy+barazh** by yzh.
 DEM apple.PL who.GEN B.be.PRS 1s.GEN+B.NZ.PL B.be.PRS 3p
 Whose apples are these? -- **Mine**.

(7) Yz mashen xoza jy, **hwa+jar** jaac.
 this car pretty J.be.PRS, 2s.GEN+J.NZ J.be.PRS
 This car is pretty, but **you**s isn't.

- (8) Sy mashienuo duqa niq' byr cu diinahw, **hwa-chuo**
 1s.GEN car.ERG much road B.do.WP DEM.OBL day.LOC 2s.GEN-NZ.ERG

byndzar.

B.do.NEG.WP

My car put on a lot of miles that day, **yours** didn't.

- (9) Yz='a vyssaavar, cweaqa **neaxa+var='a** vyssaavar
 3s=& V.leave.PNW one more someone else's+V.NZ=& V.leave.PNW
 He was left behind, and **someone else's** (son) was left behind too. (0409.22)

- (10) Zirkuo cul dikagh hwaaina hwiexar doi,
 wise man.ERG 3s.CSN better 2s.RFL.DAT instruction D.do.CVirr

sy+dar juxa-luddy wa.

1s.GEN+D.NZ back-give.D.FUT 2s.ERG

If a wise man gives you better advice than this, give **mine** back. (PL 2.4)

Ablatives:

- (11) **Hwaagara +jar** qoach-jennii hwa ghealie?
 2s:RFL.ABL +J.NZ finish-J.INCP.NW.J 2s.GEN cigarette
 Had you run out of cigarettes? (Had you run out of **your own** cigarettes?)
 (0395A; nominalized because detached due to topicalization: §§28.8, 30.5)

- (12) yz cu **xaanara +dar='a** dikagh daga+doagha
 DEM DEM.OBL time.ABL +D.NZ=& good.CMP remember+D.LV.PRS
 handzchyl
 now.NZ.OBL.CSN

You remember things from those days better than today's. (0409.22)

Adverbs (s.a. *handzchyl* in (12) just above):

- (13) **handzchyl** tq'ea itt shu, tq'ea pxiitt shu hwaalkagh
 now-NZ.CSN 20 10 year, 20 15 year earlier
 '30 or 35 years ago' (lit. '30 or 35 years earlier than now')

- (14) ... **handzchyl** t'ehwagh hwa-qie diezazh bolcha k'eanjkel
 now-NZ.CSN after DX-grow.INF D.should.CVsim B.be. PPL.OBL boys.CSN
 '... than the boys who are growing up now' ['who are to grow up now'] (0409.22)

Note that *handzchyl* 'now-NZ.CSN' has possessive meaning ('than today's, than now's) in (13) but not in (14)-(15), where the nominalizing morph seems to simply serve to add the case suffix that *t'ehwagh* 'later' requires (the adverb *handz* 'now' does not decline).

8.3.11. *Associatives*. Associatives, forms meaning 'so-and-so and his/her family/ associates/ colleagues/entourage', can be formed from personal names as well the interrogative pronoun 'who' and the personal pronouns. Associative nouns have a suffix *-aar* and optionally a semi-periphrastic declension paradigm that is periphrastic in the nominative and takes the *-chaar*-extension (otherwise mostly used in pronominal plurals) in the oblique forms. For full paradigms see Appendix 1. Some examples:

Nom.	Easiet-aar	or (not accepted by all speakers)	Easiet-aar+barazh
All.	Easiet-aar-ga		Easiet-aar-chaar-ga

'Easet and her friends', 'Easiet and her relatives', etc.

Associatives of pronouns are the plural forms of nominalized genitive pronouns (§8.3.2):

Nom.	malagh+b.arazh	sy+d.arazh
All.	malagh-chaarga	sy-chaarga
	'whose (friends, relatives, etc.)'	'mine, my (friends, family, etc.)'
	(<malagh- 'which one')	(< sy 'my')

- (15) **Easietaarga** vaxaav so
Ea.ASSOC.ALL V.go.NW.V 1s
I went to Easet's relatives' place

- (16) **Hwamzaataara** jishii vow var
H.ASSOC.GEN sister.GEN son V.be.PST
He was a nephew of Hamzat's relatives (0380A.13.36)

- (18) Je Xouta-neaq'aan+jar, **Borzaar** chy-baaxazh jar vai
DEM (clan name) J.NZ B.ASSOC in-B.live.CVsim J.PROG 1pIN
wa-dolxacha xaana
DX-D.go: PLNZ.PPL.NZ.OBL time.ADV

Bordz and his family were living in the Xautiev one (tower) when we were deported.
(The Xautiev one, Bordz and his family were living (in it) when...') (0743)

- (19) Shogh qietie, **sychaaregh** qietie='a, ...
2p.LAT meet.CVirr 1s.GEN-NZ.PL.LAT meet.CVirr=&
If I meet with any of you or any of my relatives ... (0202A.1)

Associatives form an adverb of location (equivalent to French *chez*) in *-ciga*:

- (20) Aa, **Beksoltaarciga** daxa dieza txy ...
 No B.ASSOC.ADV D.go.INF D.need 1p.GEN
 No, we need to get to Beksolta's place (Beksolta's family's place) ... (0415.12)

Associatives are formed only from human nouns. For non-human nouns expressions such as 'X and those', 'X and things', 'X and those things' are used:

- (21) Uqaza cwacca **q'amealazh**, **yzhazh='a** dar caw
 here some conversation.PL 3p=& D.be.PST one.NZ
 to'addarii-hwogh jaaxazh.
 suffice-D.CND=Q-INTRSP say.CVsim

There were **conversations and so forth** here to the effect that one (newspaper) was enough. (0379A.19.14)

8.4. Univerbated compounds

There is no clear grammatical dividing line between compounds that are written as single words and compounds written as two (or more) words. It appears that, where the first element of a compound is in the nominative or bare stem form, the compound is likely to be written as one word, but where the first element is in a suffixed inflected form it is likely to be written as a separate phrase. There are exceptions, however, and the question of whether compounds should be written as one word or not continues to be debated. For convenience, conventionally univerbated and conventionally non-univerbated compounds are discussed in separate sections here.

8.4.1. Compound verbs. The various kinds of prefixed and compound verbs are described in Chapter 15 but are mentioned here for completeness. They include verbs with local/directional prefixes:

aara-d.oal	out-D.go:INCH	'go out'
chy-d.oagha	in-D.come	'come in; come home'

verbs with adverbial first elements:

axka+d.uoda	abyss.ADV + D.go	'fall into abyss; fall over cliff, fall from mountain trail'
c'a+d.uoda	home+D.go	'go home' ⁷⁶

⁷⁶ c'a- is a shortened form of c'aa 'house' or its oblique stem, found only as a preverb.

and phrasal predicates with nominal first elements and light verbs (§15.2):

telefon+tuox	'phone, call up on telephone'
paida+iee	'benefit, derive benefit (from); utilize'
k'edzh+joaqq	'boil, come to a boil'

8.4.2. *Compound nouns.* All unverbated compound nouns are subcompounds. All consist of two (occasionally more) lexical stems or roots, with or without suffixation of one or both. Suffixation of the first element is limited to a few examples with a case or plural suffix. The second element can be derived, determines the word's gender, and bears the word's inflection. Nearly all unverbated subcompounds are endocentric.

8.4.2.1. *Noun + noun.* The first noun is semantically a modifier or possessor of the second. The first element is in the (etymological) nominative, though in a phrase of comparable meaning the first element would generally be genitive. The only exceptions are *nennaana* 'maternal grandmother' (mother + mother), where the first element is an ablauted form of *naana* 'mother' probably derived from the genitive *neana*; and *mearnaana*, *meardaa* 'mother-in-law', 'father-in-law' (husband + mother, husband + father), where the first element is the ablauted oblique root and clearly derived from the genitive *meara* 'husband.GEN'.

c'eisag	'priest' (in pre-Muslim pagan Ingush religion) (<i>c'ei</i> 'pagan holiday; pagan shrine' + <i>sag</i> 'person')
ustnaana	'mother-in-law' (wife's mother) (<i>ust</i> 'wife, woman' + <i>naana</i> 'mother')
fusamdaa	'host, head of household' (<i>fusam</i> 'household' + <i>daa</i> 'father')
bwarjgseanazh	'eyeglasses' (<i>bwarjg</i> 'eye' + <i>seanazh</i> 'sight.PL')
axsom	'half ruble, 50 kopecks' (<i>ax</i> 'half' + <i>som</i> 'ruble')
dittkomar	'mulberry' (<i>ditt</i> 'tree' + <i>komar</i> 'berry')
mashenniql'	'railroad' (<i>mashen</i> 'vehicle' + <i>niq</i> 'road')
beskart	'fence, garden fence' (<i>besht</i> 'garden' + <i>kart</i> 'fence')
virnaxcha	'mushroom sp.' (<i>vir</i> 'donkey' + <i>naxcha</i> 'cheese')
gaazabuc	'goatsrue' (plant sp., <i>Galega officinalis</i>) (<i>gaaza</i> 'goat' + <i>buc</i> 'herb')
sagalbuc	'wormwood' (<i>sagal</i> 'flea' + <i>buc</i> 'grass, herb')
Chabordz	man's name, lit. 'bear-wolf' (<i>cha</i> 'bear' + <i>bordz</i> 'wolf')

Noun + noun, where the first element is a genitive (or derived from a genitive, or a form identical to the oblique stem):

mearnaana	'mother-in-law' (husband's mother)
meardaa	'father-in-law' (cf. <i>meara</i> 'husband' + <i>daa</i> 'father')
nennaana	'maternal grandmother' (<i>neana</i> 'mother.GEN' + <i>naana</i> 'mother')
deimoxk	'homeland, native land' (< father.GENpl + land)
noqarmoza	'bee, honeybee' (<i>niq</i> , obl. <i>noqar</i> - 'hive' + <i>moza</i> 'fly')
deimoxk	'homeland, native land' (ancestor.GENpl + land)
hwazhajuq'	'forehead' (forehead.GEN + middle)

daxchanpwaar	'carpenter' (wood.GEN + craftsman)
xaandosh	'verb' (time.GEN + dosh word)
beacakomar	'strawberry' (grass.GEN + berry)

8.4.2.2. Adjective + noun

zwamsag	'young man' (<i>zwam(iga)</i> 'young' + <i>sag</i> 'person')
c'enachq'eara	'trout' (<i>c'ena</i> 'clean' + <i>chq'eara</i> 'fish')

8.4.2.3. Numeral + noun (exocentric)

qokog	'tripod' (<i>qo</i> 'three' + <i>kog</i> 'foot, leg')
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8.4.2.4. *Compounding form + noun*. The first element is a noun-like form found only in compounds and without any determinable gender of its own (also found in genderless nouns, §7.2):

siesag	'wife' (<i>sie-</i> from Proto-Nakh * <i>pstie</i> 'woman'; <i>sag</i> 'person')
qaalsag	'woman' (<i>qaal</i> 'female (of certain animals)'; <i>sag</i> 'person')

8.4.2.5. Unidentifiable element + noun

c'untuo	'yearling ram' (?? + <i>toa</i> 'young ram' with changed vocalism)
q'azhq'aaig	'magpie' (?? + <i>q'aaig</i> 'crow')
t'ormwaarazh	(?? + <i>mwaar-azh</i> 'finger-PL ') 'numbness (of fingers, from cold)'
nwoucysjk	'caterpillar' (?? + <i>cysjk</i> 'cat')

A word whose first element is a non-Ingush Vainakh variant of a known Ingush noun:

sielawad	'rainbow' (<i>siela</i> , cf. <i>sigal</i> 'sky' + <i>wad</i> 'bow')
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8.4.2.6. *Noun + unidentifiable noun*. In these examples the second element is not identifiable, but since it contributes the gender to the whole, which is a noun, it can only be a noun.

wadseaq (D)	'bow' (<i>wad</i> 'bow' (D) + ??)
mushkaart (J)	'vine, ivy' (<i>mush</i> 'rope' (B) + ??)
iipxa (D)	'board, log, or flat stone used to close off the burial niche in a tomb' (<i>ii</i> 'floor' < 'board.PL' (D) + ??)
fatancha (V/J)	'drummer' (<i>fatán</i> 'drum.GEN' (J) + ??) ⁷⁷
wymeashjk (D)	'bat' (animal) (<i>wi/wy</i> 'shadow'? (D) + ??-DIM)

⁷⁷ Possibly influenced by the Turkic nominalizer *-chi*. If this element had been borrowed as a suffix, neutralization of its short vowel to schwa (§3.2.1) would be expected; but the words containing it are clearly compounds in their prosody: *fátan+chà*, with secondary stress on the second element.

8.4.2.7. *Noun or adverb + nominalized verb*. In all such compounds the first element is the semantic object or adjunct of the second. The compound is an agent or instrument noun.

c'iltorjg	c'i + liet-uo-r-jg	fire + light:PLC - CS-NZ-DIM 'match'
bosbu'arjg	bos + b.u'-ar-jg	cheek + B.eat-NZ-DIM 'pimple'
daq'iidu'arjg	daq'-ii + d.u'-ar-jg	corpse + D.eat-NZ-DIM 'jerboa' ⁷⁸
saaghadiexarjg	saagha + d.iex-ar-jg	alms + D.ask-NZ-DIM 'beggar'
xiidettarjg	xii + d.iett-ar-jg	water + D.strike:PLC.NZ-DIM 'watering can, sprinkler'
buswiexarjg	bus + wiex-ar-jg	night.ADV + cry-NZ-DIM 'owl sp.'
bwaarazhdu'arjg	bwaar-azh + d.u'-ar-jg	nut-PL + D.eat-NZ-DIM 'squirrel'
pwadzhbu'arjg	pwadzh + b.u'-ar-jg	manure + B.eat-NZ-DIM 'beetle sp.'
chq'eariidu'arjg	chq'ear-ii + d.u'-ar-jg	fish-PL + D.eat-NZ-DIM 'heron, stork'
boalazhbu'arjg	boal-azh + b.u'-ar-jg	cherry-PL + B.eat-NZ-DIM 'waxwing'
shoklieqarjg	shok + lieq-ar-jg	whistle + play:PLC-NZ-DIM 'whistle'
nuxduugharjg	nux + d.uugh-ar-jg	plow + D.place/put-NZ-DIM 'instrument for cleaning plow blade'
tuxloattorjg	tux + loatt-uo-r-jg	salt + stand-CS-NZ-DIM 'salt cellar'
muxbettarjg	mux + b.iett-ar-jg	wind + strike:PLC-NZ-DIM 'blower, air jet'
carjgazhc'anjerjg	carjg-azh + c'an-j.ie-r-jg	tooth-PL + clean-J.VZ-NZ-DIM 'toothbrush'
xienaghwokjettarjg	xien-agh + [zwok + j.ett-ar-jg]	tree-LAT + [beak-J.strike. PLC-NZ-DIM] 'woodpecker'

The same formal structure is exhibited by this semantically non-transparent example:

pwabu'arjg	pwa + b.u'-ar-jg	vengeance(B) + B.eat-NZ-DIM 'riddle'
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In compounds of this type a modifier to the nominal element is outside of the compound:

bwaaixa muxbettarjg		
B.hot	wind(B)+B.strike-NZ-DIM	'hair dryer, hot air blower'

Syntactic and prosodic bracketing:	bwaaixa [[mux + bett]arjg]
Semantic bracketing and gender agreement:	[[bwaaixa mux] bett]arjg
	B.hot wind B.strike-NZ-DIM

8.4.2.8. *Noun or adverb + verb*. In this group of compounds the verb has no overt derivation and appears in either an unsuffixed (=present tense) or present participle form, but

⁷⁸ *Allactaga* or *Dipus* sp., a long-tailed, long-legged desert rodent. They are not in fact carrion eaters.

the whole compound is a noun. The semantics is less clearly that of object or adjunct plus verb, and these compounds are probably best described as exocentric.

c'itox/c'ituoxa	c'i + tuox(-a)	fire + strike(PPL)	'steel' (for striking fire)
hwalxduuca	hwalx + d.uuc-a	ahead + D.plait-PPL	'leash' (for ox)
wultesh	wul + tiesh	herd + trust	'administrator of herding contract'

8.5. Phrasal and dephrasal nouns

8.5.1. *Subcompounds* are lexicalized noun phrases. In all subcompounds, the gender is that of the last word, which is the head noun of the phrase. Examples consisting of adjective or participle plus head noun:

voaqqa sag	'old man'	(V.big person)
joaqqa sag	'old woman'	(J.big woman)
luucha mottig	'shower, shower stall'	(lit. 'bathe.PPL place')
jetaa shura (J)	'yogurt'	(d.at 'curdle' + shura 'milk')
vea di, jea di	'birthday'	(V/J.born + 'day')
aaqa cysjk	'lynx, wildcat'	(aaqa 'wild' + cysjk 'cat')
t'iixiga mottig	'ford'	(lit. 'shallow place')
dira naars	'pickle'	('salty cucumber')

These compounds differ from free phrases in that the modifier is never separated from the head noun, when in free phrases a numeral follows all other modifiers and therefore comes between any adjective or participle and the head noun. There appear to be no other formal differences, syntactic or prosodic, between compounds and free phrases. (S.a. §20.1.)

shi voaqqa sag	
two V.big person	
'two old men'	[compound]
voaqqa shi sag	
V.big two person	
'two big guys'	[non-compound phrase]

Examples consisting of genitive plus head noun include kin terms:

dea daa	'paternal grandfather' (lit. father's father)
neana daa	'maternal grandfather' (lit. mother's father)
dea veshii vow	'paternal male cousin' (lit. father's brother's son)

and various others:

toppara ghealie	'pipe' (ceramic.GEN cigarette)
teipan vosha	'clan brother', 'male clan relative'
hweasha c'aa	'living room; guest room; guesthouse, inn' (guest.GEN house/room)
buogaa pwid	'turtle' (bowl.GEN frog)
c'era mashen	'train' (fire.GEN + vehicle)
xin kertie	'headwaters, source (of river)' (river.GEN + head)
molxaa sha	'sulfur' (gunpowder.GEN ice)
zagala joazuu	'cuneiform' (wedge.GEN script)
mixa hweira	'windmill' (wind.GEN mill)

Examples with modifying noun as first element (the hyphen is orthographic):

naana-p'el'jg (B)	'thumb' (lit. mother-finger)
naana-c'aa (D)	'main room of house' (lit. mother-room)
zha-mott / zhamott (J)	'temporary summer pasture; temporary summer shepherd's hut' (zha 'sheep' + old unsuffixed form of mottig 'place')

8.5.2. *Cocompounds* (the hyphen is orthographic):

daa-naana	'parents' ('father-mother')
jjisha-vosha	'siblings' ('sister-brother')

These cocompound kin terms combine a word of masculine gender with one of feminine gender. The compound itself has D gender:

Sy	daa-naana	dy
1s.GEN	father-mother	D.be.PRS
'I have (living) parents'		

In other cocompounds the gender is that of one or the other coordinate:

txou-k'iilie (J)	'shelter, housing' (roof (B) + floor (J))
cha-jol (D)	mix of hay and straw (hardship winter feed for cattle) (straw (D) + hay (J))

and in some cocompounds the two words have the same gender:

zha-doaxan (D)	'livestock; sheep and cattle' (flock (D) + cattle (D))
doaxan-ruzq'a (D)	'property, wealth' (livestock/wealth (D) + wealth (D))
mottar-xietar (D)	'impression, illusion' (think.VN (D) + seem.VN' (D))

Non-kin cocompounds behave in regard to gender like ordinary coordinate phrases, where gender resolution simply takes the gender of the last coordinate: see §19.1.5.

8.5.3. *Nominalizations using hama 'thing' (J) and sag 'person' (V/J)*. These include the genderless compounds (§7.2) 'male' and 'female' and probably open sets headed by *hama* 'thing; creature' and *sag* 'person':

borsha hama	'male' (of certain animals)
mawa hama	'male' (of animals)
sie hama	'female' (of animals)
qaal hama	'female' (of animals)
sadoalla hama (J)	'insect'; 'living being' (sa 'soul' + D.contain.PPL + 'thing')
gargala sag (V/J)	'relative, kin'
bexkie sag (V/J)	'honored guest'
busalba sag (V/J)	'Muslim'
kerasta sag (V/J)	'Christian'

Cf. the similar unverbated compounds (§8.4.2):

mawasag (V)	'man'
qaalsag (J)	'woman'

8.5.4. *Nominalized compound verbs* are a productive means of forming agent and instrument compound nouns. Those referring to humans are V/J gender; the others are all J. The gender prefix, if any, on the second element is agreement with the first element (e.g., for the first two examples here, *pwieghazh* (J) 'dishes' and *kuorazh* (D) 'windows'). S.a. §8.4.2.7.

pwieghazh jularjg	'dishwasher' (person) (dish.PL + J.wash.PPL.NZ)
kuorazh dularjg	'window washer' (window.PL + D.wash.PPL.NZ)
mozii doaderjg	'fly swatter', lit. 'fly killer' (fly.PL + D.destroy-D.CS*.PPL.NZ)
pwieghazh c'anjerjg	'dishwasher' (machine) (dish.PL + clean-J.VZ.PPL.NZ)
carjgegh wuuttarjg	'toothpick' (tooth.PL.LAT + poke.PLC.PPL.NZ)

Compounds of this type are productive and numerous; most are unverbated (see §8.4.2.7):

bwaarazh+du'arjg	'squirrel' (nut.PL + D.eat.PPL.NZ)
bus+wiewarjg	'owl sp.' (night.ADV + call.PLC.PPL.NZ)
saagha+diexarjg	'beggar' (alms + D.ask.PPL.NZ)

8.6. Prosody of compounds

The prosody of unverbated compounds (see §4.1.2) is usually identical to that of phrases, including phrasal compounds. The first element bears the primary stress. The second element has secondary stress and an unreduced vowel, showing that it is tonic:

qaalsag	[qalsΛg]	(not *[qalsəg])	'woman' (compound)
zwamsag	[z ² amsΛg]	(not *[z ² amsəg])	'young man' (compound)

Compare these suffixed (non-compound) words in which the vowel of the second syllable is reduced, i.e. not tonic:

mersag	[mersəg]	(not a compound)	'plant sp.' (not a compound)
Maalsag	[malsəg]	(not a compound)	(man's name)

Some speakers feel that the stress of *qaalsag*, etc. is less than that on the second element of a phrase. In Ch. 4 this was called *tertiary stress* and transcribed with a breve accent:

<i>Phrasal</i>	vóaqqa sàg	'elder'	Primary + secondary stress
<i>Unverbated</i>	qáalsǎg	'woman'	Primary + tertiary stress
<i>Word</i>	mérsag	'plant sp.'	Primary stress only

More testing is required to know whether tertiary stress is the hallmark of all unverbated compounds, or just some of them, and whether it is truly contrastive or just a variant of secondary stress.

CHAPTER 9

PRONOMINALS AND DEICTICS

Pronominals include personal pronouns and a number of others: demonstratives, indefinites, interrogatives, and others. Personal pronouns are much like nouns in their case inflection and syntactic behavior; the others have nominal (or nominalized) forms, adjective (or attributive) forms, and various adverbial series (manner, location, time, etc.)

9.1. Personal and reflexive pronouns

9.1.1. Personal pronouns. The personal pronouns are shown in Table 9-1. They distinguish singular from plural and (in first person plural) inclusive from exclusive. The third person pronouns are demonstratives (of the neutral series; see §9.2.2) in origin, but functionally indistinguishable from true personal pronouns. Since there is considerable discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation, personal pronouns are given below in both transcription and orthography.

For the first (exclusive) and second persons, the root is CV- in all case forms except VC- in the ergative. Subsequent sound changes have obscured the original clarity of this structural pattern. Some of the vowel alternations in these paradigms go back to Pre-Chechen-Ingush or Pre-Nakh, while consonant alternations are generally unique to Ingush and are commented on below. The actual case suffixes, except for the ergative, are those used for nouns. In the first person singular, ergative *aaz* < *as or *aas, with root-final *-s evidently reanalyzed in Ingush as the ergative case suffix *-z*. (Chechen and Batsbi still have *as*.) The voicing is regular for word-final fricatives in affixes (§3.2.9), and it could have happened either before or after the reanalysis. Similarly in the first person singular reflexive, ergative /eisa/ can occasionally be heard as /eiz/.

The inclusive pronoun *vai* is distinctive. It has nominative-ergative syncretism (i.e. neutral alignment: S=A=O), like the third person reflexive pronouns but unlike any other pronoun or any singular noun in Ingush. Its stem shape is unique among the pronouns. The diphthong /ai/ is infrequent in Ingush (see §2.4.3.2) but definitely phonemic in this pronoun for most speakers. The inclusive pronoun forms this minimal pair with the anterior converb (masculine gender) of 'see':

vaina	вайна	{vai-na}	[v ^w Λjn ^o]	'we/us (incl.)' (dative)
veina	вайна	{v.ei-na}	[vejn ^o]	'having seen (him)' (converb)

The most audible difference is in the allophones of /v/: in 'we' it is the allophone that occurs before back vowels, and in 'seen' the one before front vowels.

Table 9-1. Personal pronouns

	<i>1sg</i>		<i>1pl Exclusive</i>		
Nom.	so	со	txo	тхо	
Gen.	sy	сы	txy	тхы	
Dat.	suona	сона	txuona	тхона	
Erg.	aaz	аз	oaxa	оаха	
All.	suoga	сога	txuoga	тхога	
Abl.	suogara	согара	txuogara	тхогара	
Instr.	suoca(a)	соца	txuoca(a)	тхоца	
Lat.	sogh	сох	txogh	тхох	
Csn.	sol	сол	txol	тхол	
			<i>1pl Inclusive</i>		
			Nom.	vai	вай
			Gen.	vai	вай
			Dat.	vaina	вайна
			Erg.	vai	вай
			All.	vaiga	вайга
			Abl.	vaigara	вайгара
			Instr.	vaica(a)	вайца
			Lat.	vaigh	вайх
			Csn.	vail	вайл
	<i>2sg</i>		<i>2pl</i>		
Nom.	hwo	хьо	sho / shu	шо / шу	
Gen.	hwa	хьа	shyn	шун	
Dat.	hwuona	хьона	shoana	шоана	
Erg.	wa	Ia	oasha	оаша	
All.	hwuoga	хьога	shuoga	шога	
Abl.	hwuogara	хьогара	shuogara	шогара	
Instr.	hwuoca	хьоца	shuoca(a)	шоца	
Lat.	hwogh	хьох	shogh	шох	
Csn.	hwol	хьол	shol	шол	
	<i>3sg</i>		<i>3pl</i>		
Nom.	yz	из	yzh	уж	
Gen.	cyn / cun	цун	caar ⁷⁹	цар	
Dat.	cynna	цунна	caana	царна	
Erg.	cuo	цо	caar	цар	
All.	cynga	цунга	caarga	царга	
Abl.	cyngara	цунгара	caargara	царгара	
Instr.	cynca	цунца	caarca(a)	царца	
Lat.	cogh	цох	caaregh	царех	
Csn.	cul / cyl	цул	caarel	царел	

⁷⁹ Some speakers have the optional pronunciation /caara/ for one or the other of genitive and ergative.

Table 9-2. Reflexive pronouns⁸⁰

	<i>1sg</i>		<i>1pl Exclusive</i>	
Nom.	sie	се	txoazh	тхоаш
Gen.	sei	сай	txei/txoi	тхой
Dat.	seina	сайна	txeina/txoazhta	тхоашта
Erg.	eisa	айса	oaxozh	оаш
All.	seiga	сайга	txeiga/txoazhka	тхойга
Abl.	seigara	сайгара	<i>txeigara/txoazhkara</i>	тхойгара
Instr.	seica, seicaa	сайца	<i>txeica/txoazhca(a)</i>	тхоашца
Lat.	seigh	сайх	<i>txeigh/txoigh</i>	тхойех
Csn.	seil	сайл	txeil/txoil	тхойел
			<i>1pl Inclusive</i>	
		Nom.	vai	воаш
		Gen.	vai	вай
		Dat.	vaina/voazhta	воашта
		Erg.	vai/voazh	воаш
		All.	<i>voazhka</i>	воашка
		Abl.	<i>voazhkara</i>	воашкара
		Instr.	<i>voazhca(a)</i>	воашца
		Lat.	vaigh	войех
		Csn.	vail	войел
	<i>2sg</i>		<i>2pl</i>	
Nom.	hwie	хье	shoazh	шоаш
Gen.	hwaa	хьай	shei/shoi	шой
Dat.	hwaa	хьайна	shoazhta	шоашта
Erg.	waaixa	йайха	shoazh	шоаш
All.	hwaaiga	хьайга	<i>sheiga/shoazhka</i>	шойга
Abl.	hwaaigara	хьайгара	<i>sheigara</i>	шойгара
Instr.	hwaaica(a)	хьайца	sheica(a)	шоашца
Lat.	hwaaigh	хьайх	<i>sheigh/shoigh</i>	шойех
Csn.	hwaa	хьайл	sheil/shoil	шойел
	<i>3sg</i>		<i>3pl</i>	
Nom.	shie	ше	shoazh	шоаш
Gen.	shii	ший	shei/shoi	шой
Dat.	shiina	шийна	shoazhta	шоашта
Erg.	shie	ше	shoazh	шоаш
All.	shiiga	шийга	sheiga	шойга
Abl.	shiigara	шийгара	sheigara	шойгара
Instr.	shiica(a)	шийца	sheica(a)	шойца
Lat.	shiigh	шийх	<i>sheigh/shoigh</i>	шойех
Csn.	shii ⁸¹	шийл	sheil/shoil	шойел

⁸⁰ Forms in Roman type have been elicited or found in texts. Italicized forms and all Cyrillic spellings are from Axrieva et al. 1972:138.

For all personal and reflexive pronouns, the instrumental ending is variously /-ca/ (as in nouns) or /-caa/, with /-caanie/ as a recent spreading innovation. The conditions for the choice are not clear; /-caa/ seems to be preferred by speakers attending to their usage.

The second person singular ergative /wa/ < *ahw [ʔah²] (cf. Chechen /ahw/) by pharyngeal attraction (§3.3.6) and subsequent loss of (depharyngealized) /-h/ (postvocalic /h/ does not occur in Ingush). Additional pressure toward loss of the original *-hw would have been exerted by the fact that, in nominal forms, final or post-stem /-hw/ is a locative suffix. Field recordings occasionally show /wahw/.

The vowel alternation in the third person singular paradigm is the same as that in derived nouns taking the *-chu extension (see §6.1.1, declension 9).

9.1.2. Reflexive pronouns. The reflexive pronouns are shown in Table 9-2. These are widely used for local and long-distance reflexivization and are centrally important to clause combining of all kinds (see Chapters 24-29). Each person-number category of the personal pronouns has its own reflexive pronoun. For the first and second singular and the exclusive, the reflexive pronoun is obviously based on the personal pronoun with stem vowel changes, but this derivation is neither regular nor transparent (and in particular it does not involve affixation, synchronic or reconstructable, or any of the standard ablaut patterns). Third person forms, and the second person plural which is homophonous with the third plural, are based on a root *sh-* which is cognate to reflexive and logophoric pronouns in Daghestanian languages.

Third person and inclusive reflexive pronouns, like the inclusive personal pronoun and unlike any other singular nominal type in Ingush, have nominative-ergative syncretism. Note that the second and third plural reflexive forms are identical.

In several of the paradigms below, some forms are spelled differently by Mal'sagov and by Axrieva et al. 1972, and Mal'sagov's spelling corresponds to what is most often to be heard. Cyrillic spellings given here are from Axrieva et al. 1972, however, as they are the contemporary standard. Note that the single Cyrillic spelling *aũ* stands for the three diphthongs /ei/ (found in the first person singular), /ai/ (in the inclusive), and /aai/ (in the second person singular).

In the plural forms there are some gaps and inconsistencies in the Berkeley Ingush Corpus, and some uncertainties and inconsistencies in elicited forms. Some of the plural reflexives have two or three competing oblique stem forms, one in *-ei-*, one in *-oi-*, and one in *-oazh-*. I have never heard the /oaje/ or /oajje/ vocalism suggested by the Cyrillic spelling *-oaũe-*, but I take the /oi/ pronunciation to be its closest reflection.

⁸¹ Pronounced in isolation, at least for some speakers, *shiil* is identical to *shiila* 'cold' (adjective) with a final schwa and consequently an open syllable and long /ii/. Likewise 2-3pl. reflexive *sheil* often sounds like /sheila/. Elsewhere the comparison case has no final schwa (cf. e.g. *so* '1sg', oblique stem *suo-*: dative *suona*, comparison *sol* (not *suola; the vowel is short, hence in a closed syllable).

9.1.3. *Nominalized possessive pronouns.* The genitive of either plain or reflexive pronoun can take be nominalized to form nouns meaning 'mine', 'yours', etc., lit. 'the one that is mine', 'the ones that are mine', etc., i.e. headless relatives. Nominalized possessive pronouns decline with the semi-periphrastic declension (§11.7.1). Like all adjectives of this type, these are compounds in the nominative: the nominative element (a nominalized participle of 'be') is attached with a word-like boundary, has secondary stress, and has an unreduced vowel. The oblique forms have suffixes which are unstressed and have reduced vowels. The plurals can either have either ordinary plural meaning ('those that are mine', etc.) or associative meanings ('me and my relatives/friends/colleagues/...').

Nom.	sy+d.ar [sý+d.àr]	'mine'	sei+d.ar	'my own' (reflexive)
Gen.	sy-chyn [sýchyn]		sei-chyn	
Dat.	sy-chynna		sei-chynna	
Erg.	sy-chuo		sei-chuo	
All.	sy-chynga		sei-chynga	
Ins.	sy-chynca		sei-chynca	
Lat.	sy-chuogh		sei-chuogh	
Csn.	sy-chyl		sei-chyl	
Nom.	sy+d.arazh	'mine' ('ones that are mine')	sei+d.arazh	
Gen.	sy-chaar		sei-chaar	
All.	sy-chaarga		sei-chaarga	
etc.				

Likewise:

hwa-d.ar	'yours' (2sg)	refl.	hwaai-d.ar
cyn-d.ar	'his', 'hers', 'its'		shii-d.ar
vai-d.ar	'ours' (incl.)		vai-d.ar
txy-d.ar	'ours' (excl.)		txei-d.ar
shyn-d.ar	'yours' (2pl)		shei-d.ar
caar-d.ar	'theirs'		shei-d.ar

- (1) Hwa mashienuo duqa niq' byr, **sychuo** duqagh byr
 2s.GEN car.ERG much road B.do.WP, 1s.GEN-NZ.ERG more B.do.WP
 Your car drove a long way but mine drove farther.

These forms are most often made from possessive adjectives, but in fact any genitive noun can form the same derivation. For more examples see §8.3.10.

- (2) Sy dinuo wazh bi'ar, veshiichuo qo wazh bi'ar
 1s.GEN horse.ERG apple B.eat.WP, brother.GEN-NZ.ERG 3 apple B.eat.WP
 My horse ate an apple, and my brother's ate three apples.

9.2. Demonstratives, interrogatives, and indefinites

The other pronominals fall into 12 deictic series: proximal, distal, neutral ('afore-mentioned'), interrogative, 'the other', 'another', 'one more', indefinite, negative, 'all', 'whatsoever', and unspecified ('whatchamacallit'). Each series has a number of morphological categories: adjectival, nominal, and adverbs of manner, location, time, quantity, kind, and reason. The inventory of forms is shown in Table 9-3 at the end of the chapter.

Undersived demonstrative pronominals usually have suppletive stems. Their declension paradigms use regular nominal endings (except in the genitive plural) but have a distinctive stem extension pattern consisting of *-n-* in the singular (except for the ergative and comparison cases, which have no *-n-*) and *-aar* in the plural. The genitive and ergative plural both have zero endings. In the adjectival demonstratives, oblique forms do not distinguish number; nominatives do in 'that' but not in 'this'.

The presentation here goes from function to form, recording the forms that could be elicited and found in texts for the given meaning or function. Existing descriptions of paradigms are less complete and proceed by identifying each stem, declining it, and assigning it a function or glossing it.

9.2.1. *Proximal demonstrative*: 'this'. The Cyrillic spelling of the dative plural preserves an /t/ that is no longer pronounced.

Demonstrative adjectival (sg=pl):	Nominalized singular:	plural:
Nom. je 'this', 'these'	Nom. jer 'this one'	jerazh 'these'
Obl. uq	Gen. uqan	aqaar
	Dat. uqanna	aqaana ("aqaar-na")
	Erg. uquo	aqaar
	All. uqanga	aqaarga
	Ins. uqanca	aqaarca
	Lat. uqanagh /uqnagh/	aqaaaregh
	Csn. uqal	aqaaarel

Oblique stem used with clitic: uqa- (e.g. uqa=chy 'in it, therein')

Adverbs:	uqaza 'here'	jer muo 'like this, like this one'
	handz 'how'	jerra muo 'just like this'
	jer myssel 'this much'	uq teipaara 'this kind (of)'

Examples showing lack of number distinctions in the adjectival forms:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (3) | je wazh | 'this apple' | je wazhazh | 'these apples' |
| | uq wazhaca | 'with this apple' | uq wazhazhca | 'with these apples' |

9.2.2. *Neutral demonstrative*: 'that, the, the aforementioned'. The Cyrillic spelling of the dative plural preserves an /r/ that is no longer pronounced.

Demonstrative adjectival:	Nominalized singular:	plural:
sg. Nom. yz 'that, the'	Nom. yz	yzh 'they', yzhazh 'these'
Obl. cy ("cu-")	Gen. cyn, cyn	caar
	Dat. cynna	caana ("caarna", царна)
pl. Nom. yzh 'those, the'	Erg. cuo	caar
Obl. cy	All. cynga	caarga
	Ins. cynca	caarca
	Lat. cynagh, cuogh	caaregh
	Csn. cul / cyl	caarel

Oblique stem used with clitic: cy- (e.g. cy=chy 'in it, therein') ("cu-").

Adverbs:	yshta 'thus, like that'	yz muo 'like that'
	ciga 'there'	yzza muo 'just like that'
	cu xaana 'then'	cu teipaara 'that kind'
	yzzal 'so much, that much'	cuduhwa 'therefore, for that reason'
	yz myssel 'that much'	
	yzh myssel 'that many'	

9.2.4. *Distal demonstrative*: 'that (way over there)'.

Demonstrative adjectival:	Nominalized singular:	Plural:
Nom. dwaara	Nom. dwaara+d.ar	dwaara+d.arazh
Obl. dwaaracha	Gen. dwaara-chyn	dwaara-chaar
	Dat. dwaara-choa	dwaara-chaana
	etc. (the paradigm is the same as that in §9.1.3)	

Adverbs:	dwaara 'over there, way over there'
	dwaarie myssel 'that much'
	dwaara+d.ar muo 'just like that one over there'

9.2.5. *Interrogative demonstrative*

Nominal. The forms after the slashes are innovative or colloquial.

Nom.	mala 'who'	fy 'what'
Gen.	hwan	sen
Dat.	hwanna / hwanaa	senna / sienaa
Erg.	hwan / hwanuo	sievuo
All.	hwanga	senga
Ins.	hwanca	senca
Lat.	hwanagh	sienagh
Csn.	hwanal	sienal

Adjective: Nominalized 'which one' Plural and associative

Nom.	malagha 'which, what'	Nom.	malagh+d.ar	malagh+d.arazh
Obl.	malaghacha	Gen.	malagh-chyn	malagh-chaar
		Dat.	malagh-chynna	etc.
		Erg.	malagh-chuo	
		All.	malagh-chynga	
		Ins.	malagh-chynca	
		Lat.	malagh-chogh	
		Csn.	malagh-chul	

Nom.	myshta 'which (of two or set)'	Nom.	myshta+d.ar 'which one (of two/set)'
Obl.		Gen.	myshta-chyn etc.

(The nominalized paradigm for *myshta* is given in Axrieva 1972:147 but could not be elicited.) Cf. also *massalagh* 'which (of a series)', subst. *massalagh+dar* 'which one (of series)', §9.2.6 immediately below.

Adverbs:	myshta 'how'
	mycha, mychahwa 'where'
	maca 'when'
	hana 'why'
	senna 'why, what for'

9.2.6. *Interrogative quantifying.* Here Ingush has separate pronouns for count and mass nouns. Count nouns take *massa* 'how many', which is an interrogative numeral and therefore, like all numerals, requires the singular of the quantified noun: *massa sahwat* 'what time', lit. 'how many hour'.

Adjective:	Nominalized:
Nom. massa 'how many'	massa+d.ar 'how(ever) many; all'
Obl. massa	(no other case forms found)

Like all numerals, *massa* forms an ordinal which is used to ask questions whose answer is an ordinal numeral: *massalagh d.ola* 'which (of series)'. The adjectival form uses semi-periphrastic declension. The nominative has compound stress; the orthography writes the nominalizing element as a separate word (so written in examples below).

Nom. massalagh+d.oa / d.ola	Nom. massalagh+d.ar 'which one (of series)'
Obl. massalaghcha	Gen. massalagh-chyn (etc.)

(4) massalaghcha shara
 what.OBL year.GEN
 'in what year'

(5) Massalagh doa kinashjka dieza hwuona? – Pxielagh dar.
 which D.PPL book D.want.PRS 2s.DAT fifth D.NZ
 Which book do you want? – The fifth one.

(6) Massalagh dar dieza hwuona? – Pxielagh dar.
 which D.NZ D.want.PRS 2s.DAT fifth D.NZ
 Which one do you want? – The fifth one.

It also forms a plex adverb: *massadz* 'how many times'.

Mass nouns use *mel* 'how much', which has no inflection and can be used only with nominatives. It could be elicited only with direct objects and unaccusative subjects, and can either precede the object or precede the verb:

(7) Axcha **mel** dannad hwuona cuo?
 money how much D.give.NW.D 2s.DAT 3s.ERG
 How much money did he give you?

(8) **Mel** xa jeaqqar wa ciga?
 how much time J.take.WP 2s.ERG there
 How much time did you spend there?

(9) Loa **mel** diilxaad?
 snow how much D.precipitate.NW.D
 How much snow has fallen?

- (10) Shoan-Jurt jillaa **mel** **xa** jy xouddii hwuona?
 (town name) J.found.PPL how much time J.be know.FUT.D=Q 2s.DAT
 Do you know how long ago Shoan-Jurt was founded? (Do you know how much time
 it's been [since] Shoan-Jurt was founded?) (0743)

Mel is used in periphrastic expressions for 'all', such as *shie mel d.ar*, etc. (lit. 'however many of itself there were'). In this function it can modify oblique cases and is often used with count nouns. For examples see §9.2.12.

9.2.7. *'The other (of two)'*. The *v-* in this series is not a gender marker; there is no gender agreement.

<i>Adjective:</i>	<i>Nominalized 'the other one'</i>	<i>pl. 'the others'</i>
Nom. vozh	Nom. vozh	vuozhazh
Obl. vuoqa	Gen. vuoqachyn	vuoqaar
	Dat. vuoqanna	vuoqaana ("vuoqaarna")
	Erg. vuoquo	vuoqaar
	All. vuoqaga	vuoqaarga
	Ins. vuoqaca	vuoqaarca
	Lat. vuoqagh	vuoqaaregh
	Csn. vuoqal	vuoqaarel

- (11) Jer dieza hwuona? -- Aa, vozh.
 DEM D.want 2s.DAT No other one
 Do you want this one? -- No, the other one.

Adverbs:	veshta	'the other way'
	yshta-veshta	'this way and that', 'one way or another'
	vozh muo	'like the other one'
	vozzha muo	'just like the other one'
	vuozhazh myssel	'that many', 'as many as the others'
	vuoqa teipaara	'the other kind'

9.2.8. *'Another', 'a different one'*. Nominalizations are formed from both nominative and oblique stems with a slight difference in meaning.

<i>Adjective:</i>	<i>Nominalized 'another one, a different one'</i>
Nom. qieqie	Nom. qieqie+d.ar
Obl. qycha	Gen. qieqie-chyn (etc.)

Nominalized 'yet another', 'still others':

Nom.	qy+d.ar	pl.	qy+d.arazh
Gen.	qy-chyn		qy-chaar
Dat.	qy-chynna		qy-chaana ("qychaarna")
Erg.	qy-chuo		qy-chaar
All.	qy-chynga		qy-chaarga
Ins.	qy-chynca		qy-chaarca
Lat.	qy-chogh		qy-chaaregh
Csn.	qy-chul		qy-chaarel

- (12) Jer aaz diishaad, **qieqiedar** dii hwuoga?
 DEM 1s.ERG D.read.NW.D another-D.NZ D.be=Q 2s.ALL
 I've read this one, do you have another one?

- (13) Jer='a, vozh='a, **qydarazh**='a -- duqa dy yzh.
 DEM =& the other=& other-D.NZ.PL=& many D.be.PRS 3p
 This one, that one, others -- there are lots of them.

Adverbs:	qycha bessa	'otherwise', 'differently' (lit. 'of a different color': <i>bessa</i> 'color:FOC.GEN')
	qychahwa	'elsewhere'
	qycha mettigie	'elsewhere'
	qycha xaana	'another time', 'a different time', 'not now'
	qycha teipaara	'another kind', 'a different kind'

There is no adjectival counterpart to *qy+d.ar* 'yet another'. Instead, an unaccented (probably atonic) particle *qy* occurs phrase-initially or preverbally and can semantically modify almost any part of speech (i.e. it is the seantic equivalent to an adjective or adverb).

- (14) **Qy** hama jaacar.
 more thing J.be.NEG.PST
 That's all there was. There was nothing more.
- (15) **Qy**='a k'eanjkazh hwa='t'y='a beaxkaa nouq'ostal dyr caarna.
 more=& boy.PL DX-at='a B.come.PL.CVant help D.LV.WP 3p.DAT
 Some other boys came up and helped them. (Pears)
- (16) jaalx **qy** viinuu
 six more V.kill.NW.V
 he killed six more (men) (0392B.1)

- (17) **Qy** cy=chy juxa chy-vaxandzar so.
more there=in back in-V.go.NEG.WP 1s

I didn't go back in there again. I didn't ever go back in there again. (0776)

'One more' is *cweaqa cwa* or *qy cweaqa cwa*, where *cweaqa*, like *qy*, is a particle meaning roughly 'one more'; *cwa* is 'one'.

9.2.9. *Indefinite*: 'some, a'; 'someone', 'something'. This set is simply the word 'one' in its regular forms. 'Some, a' is the attributive form; 'someone' is the substantivized form. 'Something' is the phrase 'one thing'.

<i>Adjective:</i>		<i>Nominalized 'someone'</i>		<i>'something'</i>
Nom.	cwa	Nom.	caw (*cwa-', §3.3.6)	cwa hama ⁸²
Obl.	cwan	Gen.	cwannie	cwan haman
		Dat.	cwanniena	cwan hamana
		Erg.	cwannie	cwan hamanuo
		All.	cwanniega	cwan hamaga
		Ins.	cwannieca	cwan hamaca
		Lat.	cwannegh	cwan hamagh
		Csn.	cwannel	cwan hamal

Adverbs: mycha besa 'how', lit. 'of what color'
 cwannahwa 'somewhere' cq'aza, cq'azahw 'sometimes'
 cwan xaana 'once, sometime' cq'a 'once, at some time, at one time'

9.2.10. *Indefinite with negation*: 'none', 'no one', 'nothing'. There are no dedicated negative pronouns in Ingush; an indefinite pronoun in the scope of a negated verb is equivalent to 'no one', 'nothing', etc.

<i>Adjective:</i>		<i>Nominalized 'no one, anyone; nothing, anything'</i>	
Nom.	cwaaqqa	Nom.	sag (lit. 'person') hama (lit. 'thing')

- (18) So=ji, Muusaa=ji maara qy c'agha **sag vaac**.
 1s=& Musa=& only else home.ADV person V.be.NEG
 'There's no one at home besides me and Musa'

⁸² Also /cwa hwama/ with pharyngeal attraction: §3.3.6. The *-n* of oblique *cwan* blocks pharyngeal attraction in the oblique cases.

- (19) Hama daac.
 thing D.be.NEG
 That's nothing. (Also 'You're welcome'.)

Adverbs:	cwaaqqa teipaara	'no way', 'no kind', 'nohow'
	cwannahwa	'nowhere', 'no place'
	c'aqqa	'never'

9.2.11. *Totality of set*: 'all', 'all the', 'the whole'. *d.erriga* 'all, all of the' means approximately 'all of a specific number or closed set' and is used especially with mass nouns and with *nax* 'people'. In the singular it is used almost exclusively with inanimates. The nominalized singular lacks oblique cases; forms of *massanie* (described just below) are used instead (and usually refer to animates, especially humans).

<i>Adjective:</i>	<i>Nominalized 'all of it', 'everyone, everything'</i>	<i>pl. 'all of them'</i>
Nom. d.erriga (= 'a)	Nom. d.erriga 'a	berrigazh
Obl. d.erriga(cha)	Gen.	berrigachaar
	Dat.	berrigachaarna
	Erg.	berrigazh ⁸³ etc.

- (20) Siexan berriga nax bolx bezh bar.
 yesterday B.all people work B.do.CVsim B.PROG
 Yesterday all the people were working.
- (21) Siexan berrigacha naaxa bolx byr.
 yesterday B.all.OBL people.ERG work B.do.WP
 Yesterday all the people worked. Yesterday everybody worked.
- (22) yz derriga q'ameal xaza='a xozazh
 DEM D.all conversation RED=& hear.CVsim
 ... overhearing the whole conversation. (0408)

⁸³ An archaic ergative plural of the nominalized form is preserved in proverbs and fixed expressions:

Berrigachaar saagha dannad
 B.all.PL.ERG offering D.give.NW
 Everyone made offerings to charity.

- (23) t'aaqqa xubbolazh by yz derrigacha q'aman bart
 then be.FUT.B.CVsim B.PROG DEM D.ALL.OBL nation.GEN agreement
 ...then we'll have nationwide agreement ('agreement of the whole people') (0379B.41)
- (24) t'ii mychab derriga cwa miatar maara shiera
 bridge NEG=B D.all one meter only wide
 the bridge wasn't even a whole meter wide (0394A)

The oblique form is standard in writing and careful speech and can be elicited, as in (21), (23), but the oblique ending is usually left off in speech:

- (25) jer derriga dynen=t'y
 DEM D.all earth.GEN=on
 ...on the whole earth

A near-synonym *massie 'a / massa-d.ola* (and sometimes also *d.erriga* in the nominative) means more nearly 'everything, everyone, every, all possible', referring to an open-ended or unbounded quantity. The stem is *massa* 'how many', which is an interrogative numeral: see §9.2.6. It is used often with count nouns. While *d.erriga* is plural (and means 'all', 'all of them', 'everyone'), *massa* is singular because, like all numerals, it requires the singular of the counted noun.⁸⁴ The adjectival paradigm of *massa* is periphrastic. The oblique *massa-d.olcha* is imported from *massa-d.ola / massa-d.oa* 'every last', 'every single' and can still be interpreted (in elicitation) as having that meaning, though it also functions as an oblique counterpart to *d.erriga* that can have human reference.

Adjective:

Nom.	massa-d.ola / massie='a / d.erriga 'all'
Obl.	massa-d.olcha 'every'

Nominalized 'everyone, all'

Nom.	massie='a / d.errigazh
Gen.	massanie (= 'a)
Dat.	massaniena (= 'a)
Erg.	massanie (= 'a)
All.	massaniega (= 'a)
Ins.	massanieca (= 'a)
Lat.	massanegh (= 'a)
Csn.	massanel (= 'a)

⁸⁴ As base for 'all', *massa* has evidently shifted its meaning from ordinary interrogative to correlative interrogative 'however many', 'as many ... as...' to non-correlative 'however many, no matter how many, any number at all'.

(26) Massa-dolcha bierzah hama di'arii?
 all-D.PPL.OBL child.PL thing D.eat.WP=Q
 Have all the children eaten?

(27) Massa-dola ber c'agha dy.
 all-D.PPL child home.ADV D.be.PRS
 Every single child is home.

(28) massa-jolcha jurtuo hwa-bycha
 every-J.OBL town.ERG DX-B.do.CVtemp
 if every town does this (0379B.41)

Adverbs: massanahwa 'everywhere'
 massa xaana 'always', 'all the time'

9.2.12. *Absolute totality*: 'All', 'all kinds', 'every conceivable', 'as many as could be found', etc. is expressed with a periphrastic quantifier:

shie mal d.ola
 3sg:RFL how much be.PPL
 semi-literally 'as much as (there) is', 'all that there is'

/mal/ is a reduced form of *mel* 'how much', with vowel reduction in Wackernagel position (§3.3.10).⁸⁵ (It is spelled "mel" (*mel*) in the orthography. Some older speakers still pronounce [mⁱel]. In examples I transcribe it *mal* or *mel* as the speaker pronounced it.)

Adjective 'every last', 'every single'

Nom. shie mal d.ola / d.oa
 Obl. shie mal d.olcha

Nominalized 'every last one'

Nom. shie mal d.ola / d.oa sag
 Gen.

Absolute 'all' is usually emphatic, and often implies that an unusual event or action has produced an unexpectedly large number or amount. Some examples contrasting absolute totality with totality of a set:

⁸⁵ Though in phrase-second position and phonologically reduced, /mal/ in fact carries primary accent when the verb is a form of 'be', e.g. *shie mál dàr*, and often with other verbs:

Piiva mel malar wa?	-- Derriga='a jixie mál disaad. / mál dísaad.
beer how much drink.WP 2sg.ERG	D.all behind how much D.remain.NW
How much (of the) beer did you drink?	-- All that was left.

- (29) Shiitta sahwat dealcha, **berrigazh** chy-baxar.
 12 hour D.go.CVtemp B.all.PL in-B.go.WP
 At 12:00 everyone went home. (E.g. a party ends at midnight and all the guests go home.)
- (30) Shiitta sahwat dealcha *svet* je='a jeina
 12 hour D.go.CVtemp electricity J.RED=& J.die.CVant
shie mal voa sag chy-vaxar.
 V.ADJ person in-V.go.WP
 At 12:00 the electricity went off and everyone went home. (E.g. in a factory.)
- (31) Hwiexarxuo balxa hwa cy='a voaghazh, **derriga bierazh** chy-daxar.
 teacher work.ADV DX NEG=& V.come.CVsim D.all child.PL in-D.go.WP
 The teacher didn't come to work, and all the children went home.
- (32) **Berrigazh** hwa-gul-balar.
 B.all.PL DX-gather-B.VZ.WP
 Everyone gathered together. The people gathered. Everyone assembled. (E.g. all the residents of the village come to the central square to socialize.)
- (33) **Shie mal voa sag** hwa-gul-valar.
 V.PPL person DX-gather-V.VZ.WP
 Everyone gathered. People came from all over. (E.g. a crowd gathers.)
- Absolute 'all' and set-totality 'all' with a count noun are both morphologically singular and behave like numerals in requiring a singular head noun. However, the following pair shows that *d.errigazh* / *massanie* 'all' (set totality) is semantically plural, while absolute 'all' is singular even semantically.
- (34) Aaz **massaniega='a** keaxatazh jaaz-dyr.
 1s.ERG everyone.ALL letter.PL write-D.VZ.WP
 I wrote letters to everyone. (Everyone gets one letter, but 'letters' is plural.)
- (35) Aaz **shie mal volcha** sagaga keaxat/*keaxatazh jaaz-dyr.
 1s.ERG V.PPL.OBL person.ALL letter/*letter.PL write-D.VZ.WP
 I wrote a letter to everyone. ('Letter' is singular.)⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Nominalized *shie mal d.ar* 'everybody' does not form synthetic oblique cases (as the endings *-chyn*, *-choa*, *-chuo*, etc. would have to attach to *mal*, which cannot take endings). Rather, it has periphrastic forms using the head noun *sag* 'person', as here.

Additional examples of this periphrastic expression for absolute 'all':

- (36) vai Dealagh tiishaa=dy derrigazh='a **ghalghaa mel var**
 1pIN God.LAT trust.NW=D D.all Ingush how many V.be.NZ
 We trust in God, all (of us) Ingush. (0380A.13.36)⁸⁷
- (37) **mel** xanna nax
 how many be.PPL people
 'everyone who was there' (lit. 'however many people who were there') (0542)
- (38) txuona jiq'iera, txy **mel volchaarna jiq'iera**
 1pEX.DAT among 1pEX.GEN how much V.be.PPL.PL.DAT among
 among us, among all of us (0380A.13)
- (39) wa hwa **mel jaaxacha teipaara**
 2s.ERG DX how much say.PPL.OBL type.ABL
 just as you said (0398B.1)
- (40) vei ghalghaai hama q'am **mel dolcha q'amal**
 1pIN.GEN Ingush.GEN thing nation how much D.be. PPL.OBL nation.CSN
 t'ex-xuddy
 beyond-be.FUT.D
 ...the situation of the Ingush will be better than that of any other nation (0207A)

9.2.13. 'Every', 'each'. While *massa-d.ola* 'all' often means 'every' (§9.2.12), the Persian loan *haara* is a dedicated word for 'each'. Its adjectival form does not decline.

Adjective:

Nom. haara
 Obl. haara

Nominalized 'everyone', 'everything'

Nom. haara pl. haaranezh
 Gen. haaranie
 Dat. haaraniena
 Erg. haaranie
 All. haaraniega
 Ins. haaranieca
 Lat. haaranegh
 Csn. haaranel

⁸⁷ This is a normal numeral phrase (see Chapter 10): *mel* behaves as a numeral and requires singular *ghalghaa* 'Ingush' and *var* lit. 'was'. The phrase itself is plural as shown by plural *derrigazh='a* 'all' (which agrees in gender with *vei* 'we').

- (41) di' wurjg doallazh my jii yz=m, **haara istaraa** shi-shiina
 D.four hole D.be located.CVsim EMPH J.PROG=Q 3s=FOC each bull.DAT RED-RFL.DAT
 it (harness for two bulls) has four holes in it, [two] for each bull (0394B.3)
- (42) **Haara sag** ghert shi-shie jistara xala
 every person try RED-RFL aside be.INF
 Everyone tries to keep out of it (0380A.28)

The nominalized paradigm is given in Axrieva et al.1972:142. The adjectival form is common in time expressions:

haara diinahw	'every day'
haara sharaa	'every year'
haara biisana	'every night'

- (43) Haara qo di massadz doal aaz kuorta bul.
 every 3 day how many times D.go.PRS 1s.ERG head B.wash
 I wash my hair every three days ('each three days how many times it passes')

9.2.14. *Open-ended*: 'Any at all', 'whatsoever', 'whichever one'.

<i>Adjective:</i>	<i>Nominalized:</i>	<i>plural:</i>
Nom. mollagh	Nom. mollagh+d.ar	mollagh+d.arazh
Obl. mollaghcha	Gen. mollagh-chyn	mollagh-chaar etc.

- (44) **Mollaghcha** hweaq'al dolcha saguo je kinashjka dwa-qossaddy.
 any.OBL intelligence D.be. PPL.OBL person.ERG DEM book DX-throw.D.FUT
 Any intelligent person would throw this book away ('will throw').
- (45) Hwaaina diezie, **mollagh** kinashjka hwa-ieca.
 2SRFL.DAT D.want.CVirr any book DX-take.IMPV
 Take any book you like.
- (46) **Mollaghchyinga** hwa-xoatta.
 any-NZ.ALL DX-ask.IMPV
 Ask anybody. Just ask anybody at all.

9.2.15. *Unspecified*: 'whatever', 'whoozis', 'whatsis', 'whatchamacallit', 'what's-his-name', 'so-and-so', 'such-and-such'. These pronouns are used where names and identities do not matter or were in the original speech but are omitted in retelling. When there are two unspecified

individuals *hwanexk* can be reduplicated or paired with the nonce word *mynexk*. (Axrieva et al. 1972:144 spell the latter "manexk" (манехк); the word is not in Ozdoev 2003 or Kurkiev 2004.) Instead of a simplex adjective there is phrasal *fynexk dea*, lit. 'having done such-and-such', which can also be nominalized regularly.

<i>Adjective:</i>		<i>Nominalized:</i>		
		<i>'such and such (a person)'</i>		<i>'such and such (a thing)'</i>
Nom.	fynexk dea	Nom.	hwanexk	fynexk
Obl.	fynexk deacha	Gen.	hwanexka	
		Dat.	hwanexkaa	
		or	Nom.	fynexk dear
			Gen.	fynexk deachyn
			Dat.	fynexk deachynna

- (47) Cwa **hwanexk** xannuu vaaxazh-tieq'azh.
 one so-and-so be.NW.V V.live.CVsim-pray.CVsim
 Once upon a time there lived such-and-such a person.
- (48) **hwanexk** volcha hwoalchagh decha chw'oagha saq'iirdar aaz eanna
 someone V.be.PPL.OBL wedding D.do.PPL.OBL very enjoy.WP 1s.ERG SUB
 naaxaga='a aaddolazh
 people.ALL=& say.D.FUT.CVsim
 ... so as to be able to tell people you had a great time at someone's wedding ('where they had a wedding at someone's place') (0379A.19.14)
- (49) epsarazh t'y='a beaxkaa ... **fynexk dea** jish laqa xoi hwuona oalazh
 soldier.PL at=& B.come.PL.CVant song play.INF know=Q 2s.DAT say.CVsim
 Soldiers came up (to a musician) and asked if he could play such-and-such a song
 (saying "can you play such-and-such a song?"). (0542)
- (50) Megaddy heata, aarmie vaxa viezacha sagaa t'iera *nalog*
 OK then army.ADV V.go.INF V.must.PPL.OBL person.DAT on.ABL tax
fynexk dea lugjy oazh heata.
 such-&-such give.FUT.J 2pERG then
 OK then, but you'll pay such-and-such a tax for every man who would otherwise be
 drafted. (0418.36)

- (51) **Fynexk deacha** xaana vaxa vedz sy eanna ealar
 such-&-such.OBL time.DAT V.go.INF V.must.PRS 1s.GEN SUB say.WP
 He said he was supposed to go back at such-and-such a time. (0207A.2)
- (52) Vaxaar='a, vienar='a, **hwanexk='a, mynexk='a**
 V.go.PPL.NZ =& V.come.PPL.NZ =&
 everything under the sun (lit. 'the one who left, the one who came, such-and-such, so-and-so')
- (53) jer jaaz-jear **hwanexk** vy, jer jaaz-jear **mynexk** vy
 DEM write-J.VZ.PPL.NZ V.be.PRS DEM write-J.VZ.PPL.NZ V.be.PRS
 (By paying close attention they could figure out) who wrote what (lit. '(they could say) this was written by so-and-so, that was written by so-and-so') (0379A.19.14)

9.3. Other demonstratives

9.3.1. *Dummy argument.* *hama* 'thing, something' can be used to fill obligatory nominative-case argument slots when the referent is unknown or unspecified, e.g.

- (54) da'a hama
 D.eat.INF thing
 'food', lit. 'something to eat'
- (55) hama tuox
 thing strike
 'hit, strike' (instrument unknown or unspecified)

Note that *hama* in its lexical meaning 'thing, item' is J gender, while as dummy argument it is D gender. Some speakers pharyngealize the /h/ in this pronominal sense: /hwama/.

9.3.2. *Relative time.* Ingush formerly had an elaborate system of deictic day names. Only the words for up to two days from today are still in use, but many people know more of the future series ('tomorrow', etc.).

taxan	today (can refer to either earlier or later today)
qoana	tomorrow
lomma	day after tomorrow, two days from now
c'ulla	third day from now, four days from now

c'umoaka/c'umuoka ⁸⁸	fourth day from now, five days from now
c'ulc'umuoka	fifth day from now, six days from now
selxan ~ siexan	yesterday
saamar diinahw	day before yesterday
selxan saamar diinahw	three days ago
txousara (bus) ⁸⁹	tonight
taxan bus, taxan biisana	id.
siisara (bus)	last night (used up to evening of the next day)
siexan biisana	last night (said after evening of the next day); the night before yesterday

Other adverbials of relative time include:

dwa-daxaacha shāra	dwa-baxaacha betta
DX-D.go.PPL.OBL year.GEN	DX-B.go. PPL.OBL month.GEN
'last year'	'last month'
hwa-t'y-doaghacha shāra	hwa-t'y-boaghacha betta
DX-at-D.come. PPL.OBL year.GEN	DX-at-B.come. PPL.OBL month.GEN
'next year'	'next month'

⁸⁸ All dictionaries have *c'umoaka*; *c'umuoka* is occasionally heard.

⁸⁹ Etymologically, *txous-* < **txa-bus* 'today-night' (cf. Batsbi *txabus*).

Table 9-3. Demonstratives, interrogatives, deictics

	<i>Adjective</i>	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Manner</i>	<i>Place</i>
<i>Proximal</i>	je, uq-	jer		uqaza
<i>Distal</i>	dwaara	dwaara+d.ar		dwa
<i>Afore-mentioned</i>	yz, cu-	yz	yshta	ciga
<i>Interrogative</i>	malagha myshta	mala, hwan- fy, sien-	myshta	mycha / mychahwa
<i>The other</i>	vozh, vuoqaar-	vozh, vuoqachuo	vieshta	---
<i>Another</i>	qieqie, qycha	qieqie+d.ar, qy+d.ar	qycha besa	qychahwa qycha mettigie
<i>One more</i>	qy= ... cweaqa cwa			
<i>Some, a</i>	cwa, cwan cwa hama	caw, cwannie	myccha besa cwan 'together'	cwannahwa
<i>None</i>	cwaaqqa yz-vozh d.aac 'neither	sag 'nobody' one' hama (D) 'nothing'	cwaaqqa teipaara	cwannahwa
<i>All (of set), each</i>	d.erriga, d.errigacha	massa+d.oa / massie='a massanie-		massanahwa
<i>All, every</i>	massa shie mel d.ola	massanie (= 'a), shie mel d.ar		
<i>Every, each</i>	haara	haara+d.ar		
<i>Any at all</i>	mollagha	mollagh+d.ar		
<i>Unspecified ('whosis')</i>	hwanexk d.ea fynexk d.ea			

Table 9-3, cont.

	<i>Time</i>	<i>Quantity, Degree</i>	<i>Kind</i>	<i>Reason</i>
<i>Proximal</i>	handz	jer myssel	jer muo / jerra muo uq teipaara	
<i>Distal</i>		dwaarie myssel	dwaaradar muo	
<i>Afore-mentioned</i>	cu xaana	yzzal yz/yzh myssel yshttal	yz muo yzza muo cu teipaara	cuduhwa
<i>Interrogative</i>	maca	mel 'how much' massa 'how many'	malagha	hana senna
<i>The other</i>		vozh myssel	vozh muo / vozzha muo	
<i>Another</i>	qycha xaana		qycha teipaara	
<i>One more</i>				
<i>Some, a</i>	cwana xaana cq'aza, cq'azahwa			
<i>None</i>	c'aqqa			
<i>All (of set), each</i>	massa xaana			
<i>All, every</i>				
<i>Every, each</i>				
<i>Any at all</i>				
<i>Unspecified</i>				

CHAPTER 10

NUMERALS: MORPHOLOGY

Ingush numerals are more like adjectives than any other part of speech: they modify nouns, make a nominative/oblique case distinction, and have nominalized forms. They also have a number of regular derivatives unlike those of any other part of speech: ordinals, multiples, collectives, and others. Uniquely among Ingush words, numerals form regular derivatives in which consonant-initial suffixes are added to all stems, including consonant-final stems, with no epenthetic vowel and no adjustment of the resulting consonant clusters. Thus at morpheme boundaries otherwise impossible consonant clusters arise.

Forms of numerals in all categories are given in Tables 10-1 and 10-2 at the end of the chapter. Cyrillic spellings are shown in Table 10-3.

10.1. Cardinal numerals

The first two decades are based on 10, the rest on 20. The teens are literally '1 + 10', '2 + 10', etc., except that 19 is based on 20. 16-18 show idiosyncratic stem vowel changes in the teens, and change of final /rh/ to /r/, compared to the unit numerals; otherwise, teens are transparent. The decades are multiples of 20 (40 is 2 x 20, 60 is 3 x 20, etc.), and the odd decades are teens of the even decades (30 is 20 + 10, 34 is 20 + 14, and so on).

The numeral 4 and its derivatives (14, 80), and no others, have gender agreement.

'Thousand' is a loan from Persian, 'million' a loan from Russian. These behave morphosyntactically like nouns in some respects. The other numerals are native (though 'hundred' has no demonstrable Nakh-Daghestanian etymology).

Cardinals have separate attributive (adjectival) and nominalized forms. The attributive nominative is the basic stem, and the numerals 1-5 and 20 have oblique forms created by suffixing /-n/ or by vowel ablaut. The other numerals have a single invariant form that serves as both nominative and oblique. The attributive form modifies the quantified noun, agreeing with it in case and/or gender (if it can take those categories). Though a modifier, the numeral requires the noun to be singular. (For the syntax and agreement of numeral phrases see §19.5.1.) Examples of modifying numerals:

cwa sag
one person

cwan sahwatera
one.OBL hour.DAT
for an hour, in an hour, at one o'clock

qo sag
three person
three people

qea sahwataa
three.OBL hour.DAT
for three hours

vi' sag	ji' jisha	di' sahwat
V.4 person	J.4 sister	D.4 hour
five men	four sisters	four hours

- (1) Shi zhwalii juxa-diera
 2 dog back-D.come.WP
 Two dogs came back.
- (2) Sy shin zhwalez ber qiera-dyr
 1sg.GEN two.OBL dog.ERG child scare-D.CS.WP
 My two dogs scared the child
- (3) Aaz sei shin zhwaliena desh dalar
 1sg.ERG 1sgRFL.GEN two.OBL dog.DAT dog food D.give.WP
 I fed my two dogs

The nominalized forms are used for enumeration, counting in the abstract, and doing arithmetic. (Mathematical operations, as well as telephone numbers, dates, etc., are sometimes said in Russian, the result of arithmetic and mathematics being taught in Russian.) They are also used as collectives, referring to a group as a set and used in apposition to a pronominal clause argument, usually a subject. In all their uses, they function as heads of numeral phrases.

The nominative of the nominalized form differs from the attributive form in 1-3 and 5, in which a glottal stop is suffixed to the basic stem.⁹⁰ (In 1, pharyngeal attraction then occurs.) All other nominalized nominatives are identical to the attributive nominative. The oblique cases are formed with a suffix *-nn-* after root vowels and *-n-* after consonants and after the final schwa of complex forms. The case suffixes are the pronominal series, hence ergative *-nnie / -nie*. The *-nn- / -n-* suffix has no epenthetic vowel, so unusual consonant clusters are created when it is suffixed to numerals ending in a consonant. In '9', the final *-s* of the root seems to be geminated as it would be in word-final position.

- (4) **Shinniena qo'** wa=t'y-tiexacha pxi' xul
 two.NZ.DAT 3.NZ down=on-strike.CV five be:DEL.PRS
 Two plus three equals five. (Lit. 'When (you) add three to two it's five.')

⁹⁰ Some speakers, especially younger speakers, use the nominalized form instead of the nominative attributive of 1-5. This is presumably under the influence of *d.i' '4'*, where the glottal stop is part of the root. All speakers are prone to use the nominalized form before a pause.

- (5) Txo **pxi'** var
 1pEX five.NZ V.be.PST
 There were five of us. ('We were five.') (0395.A)
- (6) Txo **pxi'** luucha daxar
 1pEX 5.NZ bathe.INF D.go.WP
 We five went swimming. The five of us went swimming.
- (7) Oaxa **pxennie** da'a hama kiich-dyr
 1pEX.ERG 5.NZ.ERG D.eat.INF thing cook-D.VZ.WP
 The five of us cooked a meal together.
- (8) Yzh **shi'** sixa lel
 those 2.NZ fast walk
 Those two walk fast. They both walk fast.
- (9) Oaxa **shinnie** cwan sahwataa sixa bolx chaq-beaqqar
 1pEX.ERG 2.NZ.ERG one.OBL hour.DAT fast work finish-B.LV.WP
 The two of us quickly finished the work in an hour. Working as a pair we quickly finished the job in one hour.
- (10) Txuona **pxinniena** bolx balar,
 1pEX.DAT 5.NZ.DAT work B.give.WP
 jixie bysaarazh chy-baxar bolx boacazh
 beside B.leave.PPL.NZ.PL in-B.go.WP work B.be.NEG.CVsim
 They gave work to us five, and the rest went home without work.
- The subject-controlled adverb *cwea*, oblique *cwannie*- 'alone, by oneself' can probably be viewed as a special form of the nominalized cardinal 'one'. It often cooccurs with an emphatic reflexive pronoun.
- (11) Muusaa c'agha **shie cwea** vy
 Musa home 3sRFL alone V.be.PRS
 Musa is home alone
- (12) Muusaa **shie cwea** kinashjka dieshazh vaagha
 Musa 3sgRFL alone book D.read.CV V.sit.PRS
 Musa is sitting by himself reading a book. Musa is off by himself reading a book.

- (13) Muusaa **cwea** wa-xeina vaagha
 Musa alone down-sit.CV V.sit.PRS
 Musa is sitting by himself.
- (14) Aaz eisa **cwannie** derriga kinashjka diishar
 1sg.ERG 1sRFL.ERG one.NZ.ERG D.all book read.WP
 I read the whole book by myself. I was the only one to read the whole book.
- (15) Muusaaz massa xaana **cwannie** bu bolx
 M. always one.NZ.ERG B.do.PRS work
 Musa always works alone.

The nominalized cardinal form is equivalent to an attributive form modifying a semantically empty or light head noun. The full NP can be substituted for the nominalized cardinal for stylistic reasons, as in the following examples, where *pxi sag* 'five people' replaces *pxi'* in order to avoid the sequence ... *pxi' pxi'* ...:

- (16) Txo pxi sag **pxi'** dealcha c'a-vaxar.
 1pEX 5 person 5.NZ D.go.CVtemp home-V.go.WP
 The five of us went home at 5:00. We five went home at 5:00
- (17) ?Txo pxi' **pxi'** dealcha c'a-vaxar.
 1pEX 5.NZ 5.NZ D.go.CVtemp home-V.go.WP
 id.

'One' forms a special nominalized plural with either periphrastic or semi-periphrastic declension, probably best considered an indefinite pronoun: *cwa-barazh* 'some (people)'. For examples see §11.7.3.

10.2. Ordinals

Two words correspond to 'first' in Ingush: *hwalxara* 'earliest, first in time', which is the more commonly used, and the less frequent *cwaalagh* 'first, number-one', the latter a productively formed derivative. All other ordinals are regularly formed by suffixation. (The ordinal suffix is written *-lagha* in dictionaries but *-lagh* by Mal'sagov 1963, and *-lagh* is a common pronunciation.) Since ordinals usually decline periphrastically, it is difficult to argue that they are regular adjectives and should end in *-a* as all regular adjectives do.

Most of the ordinals have no *-a-* between root and the ordinal suffix; that is, they end in *-lagh*, not *-alagh*. This is proven by the fact that *baarhlagh* 'eighth' has a closed (shortened) first syllable. Also, absence of a schwa before *-lagh* is audible in *ezarlagh* 'thousandth'.

Where *-lagh* is suffixed to numerals ending in a consonant, consonant clusters arise that do not ordinarily occur word-internally (except in compounds), as in *jaalxlagh* 'sixth'. The multiple ordinal suffix, however, is *-(a)lagh* with epenthetic vowel as discussed below.

Ordinals inflect periphrastically (for periphrastic inflection of adjectives see §11.6) when used as literal ordinals:

(18) Qoallagh doa zhwalii dwa=chy-daxar
 third D.be.PPL dog DX=in-D.go.WP
 The third dog went in.

(19) * Qoallagh zhwalii dwa=chy-daxar
 third dog DX=in-D.go.WP
 id.

(20) So qoallagh dolcha zhwaliena bwarjga+veira
 1s third D.be.PPL.OBL dog.DAT eye+V.see.WP
 The third dog saw me.

(21) * So qoallaghcha zhwaliena bwarjga+veira
 me third.OBL dog.DAT eye+V.see.WP
 id.

(22) Shollagh dolcha zhwalez ber qieradyr
 second D.be.PPL.OBL dog.ERG child scare-D.CS.WP
 The second dog scared the child.

but they inflect suffixally when used in dates:

(23) Dikaabr betta iislaghcha diinahw vuoda so
 December month.GEN ninth.OBL day.LOC V.go 1s
 I'm leaving on December 9

(24) * iislagh dolcha diinahw
 ninth D.be.PPL.OBL day.LOC

(25) Taxan iislagh di dy
 today ninth day D.be.PRS
 Today is the ninth.

(26) * iislagh dola di / * iislagh doa di (periphrastic inflection)

Shollagh 'second' inflects suffixally when used to mean 'other'. The following text example shows both suffixal inflection in the sense 'other' and periphrastic inflection in the literal sense 'second'.

- (27) Cwan oaghuorahwa modz=ji **shollaghcha** oaghuorahwa deatta=ji
 one.OBL side.LOC honey=& other.OBL side.LOC butter=&
 uxazh='a xannii yz gour, eannad **shollagha volcha** voshaz.
 go:PLC.CV=& be.NW DEM horse said.NW.D second be.PPL.OBL brother.ERG

The horse had honey flowing on one side and butter on the other, said the second brother. (HDJ 18; normative spelling *shollagha* with schwa retained.)

There are two forms for 'second': *shollagh* means 'second in order', 'second in a row or series', etc. (i.e. the counted items are already ordered or lined up); *shoalagh* is simply the second one counted and in no particular spatial relationship to the first or third.

10.3. Multiple

The multiple series creates adverbs meaning 'once', 'twice', 'three times', '20 times', etc. 'Once' is ambiguous in Ingush as in English: it can mean either that the event occurred one time or that it took place at some unspecified time that sets up a narrative time line.

The suffix is /-dz/ preceded by an epenthetic vowel.⁹¹ Though it is a suffix, the /-dz/ seems to undergo word-final gemination (see §3.3.1), so that e.g. *shodz* 'twice' and *godz* 'three times' rhyme exactly with *modz* 'honey' (spelled *моз*).⁹²

The multiple of 1 is suppletive and that of 2 has an irregular stem vowel change. Otherwise, all multiples are transparent. Some examples of multiples and their spellings:

- (28) cq'a 'once' цкъа
 shodz 'twice' шодза (i.e. "shozza")

- (29) Bweadz eannad aaz cynna
 100x say.NW 1sg.ERG 3sg.DAT
 I've told him a hundred times

⁹¹ The orthography spells the suffix “-zza” (-*zza*), but there is no evidence, phonological or morphophonological, of the final schwa, which would ordinarily be vocalized after a geminate. The orthographic spelling therefore seems to be an attempt to capture the affricate quality of the final consonant (as only when geminated can {dz} surface as an affricate: §§3.3.1-2).

⁹² No suffix should undergo final gemination, which occurs when a root-final consonant is also word-final. Perhaps in this form it is focus gemination in origin, though I have no other examples of focus gemination on a final consonant.

- (30) Ittadz itt bwea xul.
 10x 10 100 be:DEL.PRS
 Ten times ten is 100.

10.4. Ordinal multiple

These are forms meaning 'for the/a second time', etc. The ordinal suffix *-(a)lagh*, with epenthetic vowel, is added to the multiple form, whose final */-dz/* undergoes lenition. (The suffix is the same as that used in the plain ordinal series, except for the epenthetic vowel.) The epenthetic vowel opens syllables, as shown by the long first-syllable vowels in *shuozalagh* 'second time', *pxiezalagh* 'fifth time'. 2, 3, and 5 have idiosyncratic long vocalism in this series. Diachronically, these three forms as well as 4 have been derived from the nominalized nominative with its intervocalic glottal stop lenited as is regular, giving regular vowel reflexes in all but 2:

	<i>Pre-Nakh</i>	<i>Lenition</i>	<i>Coalescence</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Actual output</i>
2	*shi'-adz-alagh	shiazalagh	sheezalagh	shiezalagh	shuozalagh
3	*qo'-adz-alagh	qoazalagh	qoozalagh	quozalagh	same as exp.
4	*diC'-adz-alagh	di'azalagh	---	di'azalagh	same as exp.
5	*pxi'-adz-alagh	pxiazalagh	pxeezalagh	pxiezalagh	same as exp.

The consonant that has protected the glottal stop of 4 from lenition is still present in Batsbi. Diphthongization of Proto-Nakh *ee > ie and *oo > uo is regular in Ingush. Some of these sound changes are mentioned in Chapter 3.)

These forms are often also recorded as *shodzlagh*, *qodzlagh*, etc., without epenthetic schwa.

- (31) vei hwajie jiezazh duqqa='a *promyshlenni* *predpriyatezh*
 1pIN.ERG DX-J.do.INF J.should.CVsim many=& industrial undertaking.PL
 jy cq'a dalie, **shuozalagh** dalie
 J.be.PRS once D.be.CVirr second.ORDMULT D.be.CVirr
 je jurt-boaxam bii vei ...
 DEM agriculture B.be=Q 1pIN.GEN (0380A.28)

For one thing we need to develop our industry. For another, there's our agriculture...

- (32) **quozalagh** juxa gon t'yjoaghacha xaana
 3x. ORDMULT again circle.GEN on-J.come.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 When she came around the circle for the third time ...

- (33) t'aaqqa, cq'a hwal=t'y-boagha yz, wagjaciaa wa=chy-tiexie cu
 so once up=on-B.come.PRS 3s spoon.INS DX=in -strike.CVseq DEM.OBL
 bodaa, **shodzlagh** hwa=t'y-boagha yz
 dough.DAT 2x.ORDMULT up=on-B.come.PRS 3s (Koartol)

The dough rises once, you press it down with a spoon, and it rises a second time.

10.5. Distributive

This is a series meaning 'one by one', 'two by two, in pairs', 'three by three, in groups of three', etc. For '1' to '3' the distributive is formed by suffixing a reduplicated and geminated copy of the initial consonant, to which the pronominal oblique endings are attached. From '4' on it is formed by simple doubling of the nominative cardinal (attributive form). Nominalized and attributive forms are identical in the nominative. Nominalized distributives were difficult to elicit and were often replaced by cardinals or attributive distributives. The nominalized form has case inflection but no gender; it is used in apposition to a pronoun or noun with which a verb or other agreeing word agrees.

- (34) Txo derrigazh **cwacca** c'aghara dwa-aara-dealar
 1pEX D.all 1x1 home.ABL DX-out-D.start.WP
 All of us went out of the house one by one.
- (35) Txo **qoqqa** doulazh derrigazh dwa-aara-dealar⁹³
 1pEX 3x3 D.start:PL.CVsim D.all.PL DX-out-D.start.WP
 We all went out three by three. We all went out in groups of three.
 (More lit. 'Starting off by threes we all went out.') (Nominalized attributive coreferential to pronoun but functioning as argument in its own converb clause.)
- (36) Oaxa **qoqqanie** q'east-q'eastaa bezh berriga bolx chaq-beaqqar
 1pEX.ERG 3x3.ERG RED-divide.PPL B.do.CVsim B.all work finish-B.LV.WP
 We split up into groups of three and finished all the work. Splitting into groups of three we finished all the work. ('Doing (it) individually by threes we finished all the work.') (Nominalized distributive in apposition to pronoun.)
- (37) **Qoqqa** sag q'east-q'eastaa dwa='a ettie bolx hwa-bie.
 3x3 person individually DX=& stand.CVseq work DX-B.do.IMPV
 Do the work in groups of three. Split up into groups of three and do the work.
 (Attributive distributive modifying dummy head noun.)

⁹³ Or ... *dwa'aaradeilar* 'DX-out-D.go:PL.WP'.

- (38) Txuona **qoqqa** segaa luzh teip-teipaara bolx balar.
 1p.EX.DAT 3x3 person.DAT give.CVsim various work B.give.WP
 They assigned us work by groups of three. (Lit. 'To us, [Ø giving to threes], Ø gave various (kinds of) work.')
- (39) Oaxa haaranie **qoqqa** kinashjka diishar.
 1p.EX.ERG each.ERG 3x3 book D.read.WP
 We each read three books. We read three books each. (Attributive distributive.)
- (40) Aaz **itt itt** kinashjka q'east-q'eastaa dwa-dahwtar.
 1sg.ERG 10x10 book individually DX-D.send.WP
 I sent books off in packages of ten. (Attributive distributive.)

10.6. Collective

The collective is best described as an adverb used adnominally or in apposition to a noun or pronoun. Only the first few lower numbers have collective forms:

shaqqie	'the two (of them/us/you) together', 'both'
qoqqie	'the three (of them/us/you) together', 'all three'
vi"ie	'the four together', 'all four'
? pxi"ie	'the five together', 'all five'

Those for 'two' and 'three' firmly exist; 'four' is doubtful but easily created morphologically; 'five' is more doubtful, and obviously created by analogy to 'four'.

- (41) **shaqqie** jow studentkazh jy
both daughter student.PL J.be.PRS
 both (of their/our) daughters are students (Ozdoeva & Kurkiev 1980 s.v. *oba*)
- (42) Dwa-loi='a cy loi='a – **shaqqie** **oaghuorahwa**
 DX.give.CVirr=& NEG give.CVirr=& – both side.LOC
 muo hama karagh+doal suona.
 bad thing turn out+D.LV.PRS 1s.DAT
 Whether I hand it over or not, either way ('both ways') I end up being in the wrong. (PL 1:2)

A fuller series of collectives must once have existed, as a collective of 'seven' is attested in the Berkeley Ingush Corpus:

- (43) taxan ciga hwa='t'y='a veanna shii **vorrhie** daa
 today there up=on=& V.go.CVant 3SRFL.GEN 7.COLL ancestor
 hwa-veannacha cy='t'iera
 DX-V.go.PPL.OBL DEM.OBL=on.ABL (0398B.1)

...nowadays (one who) goes up there where his seven ancestors came from ...⁹⁴

10.7. Plex

This is a small series 'single', 'double, twofold', 'triple, threefold', etc. The series goes up to 'quintuple' (Mal'sagov 1963:34), but not all speakers know the forms beyond 'three' and most dictionaries go no farther (Kurkiev 2004 has *d.i'alxa* 'fourfold' but not *pxi'alxa* 'fivefold'). Plex numerals often function as modifiers headed by participles. Many examples are more or less lexicalized phrases.

- (44) sholxa bea txou
 double B.do.PPL roof
 two-layered roof (lit. 'a roof made double')
- (45) sholxa bea kuorazh
 double B.do.PPL window.PL
 double-pane windows
- (46) sholxa bea shod / sholxa shod
 double B.do.PPL knot double knot
 double knot
- (47) qolxa (bea) shod
 triple (B.do.PPL) knot
 triple knot
- (48) sholxa alap
 double letter
 double letter, digraph
- (49) qolxa tei
 triple thread
 three-strand thread/yarn/cord

⁹⁴ Ingush traditionally are expected to know the names of their paternal clan ancestors seven generations back, so 'all seven ancestors' is a natural collective.

Multi-fold and multi-strand things must be described periphrastically:

- (50) *iisalxa tei
 nine-plex thread
- (51) iis goara tei
 nine strand.ADV thread
 nine-strand cord
- (52) iisaca vwaashka dellaa
 nine.INS RECIPR D.insert.PPL
 ninefold, nine-strand

Two further derivatives are formed from plex numerals, neither one particularly common. An abstract noun in *-ie* was elicited only in reference to sporting events:

- cwalxalie 'a single' (one game, one match)
 sholxalie 'a double'
 qolxalie 'a triple'
 di'alxalie 'a quadruple'
 ? pxi'alxalie

- (53) Cuo jeaqaar sholxalie jy, uquo jeaqaar qolxalie jy
 3s.ERG J.take.PPL.NZ double J.be.PRS this.ERG J.take.PPL.NZ triple J.be.PRS
 That guy won a double, this one won a triple. That guy won two (e.g. of the events in
 a pentathlon), this one won three. (The verb is reduced from *kuotaluo joaqq* 'win', lit.
 'take a victory'.)

The instrumental case of this noun is then lexicalized as an adverb meaning 'twice (as much as usual/expected)', etc.:

- cwalxalenca
 sholxalence
 qolxalenca
 ? di'alxalenca
 ??pxi'alxalenca
- (54) Aaz **qolxalenca** peida+byr ciga vaxaragh
 1s.ERG 3x benefit+B.LV.WP here V.go.VN.LAT
 I got three times the expected benefit from this trip. I got a threefold benefit ...

- (55) Aaz **sholxalenca** kuotaluo jeaqqar
 1s.ERG 2x victory J.take.WP
 I won a double victory (e.g. two out of five events in a pentathlon)
- (56) Ghozvuular=m **sholxalenca**=‘a, je hwasht dalie, **qolxalenca**=‘a dar
 joy=FOC 2x.NZ.INS=& or need D.be.CVirr 3x.NZ.INS=& D.be.PST
 laa my mogga ...
 want.INF EMPH can:FOC
 The joy was two or even three times what one could wish ... (DD)

10.8. Fractions

ax 'half' is a non-agreeing attributive which requires a singular head noun. It could only be elicited modifying nominative nouns which had no other modifiers.

ax meaq 'half a loaf of bread'
ax sahwat 'half an hour'

- (57) Muusaaz Waishietaa *ax* wazh balar
 Musa.ERG Aisha.DAT half apple(B) B.give.WP
 Musa gave Aisha half an apple

- (58) Shiiga mel xannacha *axchagh*
 3SRFL.ALL how much be.PPL.OBL money.LAT

Muusaaz *ax* *axcha* bierazhta dwa-dalar.
 Musa.ERG half money(D) child.PL.DAT DX-D.give.WP

Musa gave half of his money to his children' ('Of all his money Musa gave half the money to his children.')

Other fractions are formed as ordinal + *daaq'a* 'part' or nominalized ordinal:

di'lagh daaq'a 'a quarter, a fourth' (lit. 'fourth part')
di'lagh+dar id. (lit 'a fourth')
di'lagh+dola daaq'a id. (lit. 'fourth part', adjective periphrastically inflected)

Note also *bwaarccha* 'the whole, a whole', with the same morphosyntactic behavior as *ax* 'half'. English 'whole' is often expressed by Ingush *d.erriga* 'all; a whole, the whole', a

pronominal adjective which agrees in gender and case. The difference is that *bwaarccha* implies that the entirety is unexpectedly large for the situation:

- (59) Muusaaz bwaarccha meaq di'ar
 Musa.ERG whole bread D.eat.WP
 Musa ate a whole loaf of bread.
- (60) Cwan Muusaaz maara diishandzar derriga kinashjka.
 one.OBL M.ERG except D.read.NEG.WP D.all book
 Only Musa read the whole book. Musa was the only one to read the whole book.
 (For negation with 'only' see §31.5.)

10.9. Quantified locative

This form is based on the stem of the nominalized ordinal. The meaning is '(in/to/at) so many places':

cwannahwa 'somewhere, someplace'
 shinnahwa 'in two places, in both places'

- (61) So Ahwmad volcha vaxaavar, Bashir volcha vaxaavar
 1s Ahmed V.be.PPL.OBL V.go.V.PNW V.be.PPL.OBL V.go.V.PNW
- Shinnahwa vaxaavar hwo?
 two.LOC V.go.V.PNW 2s

I went to Ahmed's place and Bashir's place.

– You went to both places? (You went to two places?)

10.10. Miscellaneous

There are additional forms for 'twin' and 'triplet'. Both sets suffix *-d.ea* 'D.born'. *Sheila-* is a reciprocal element (§29.4).

shollavea / shollajea 'twin'; sheilavea / sheilajea id.
 qollavea / qollajea 'triplet'

10.11. Composition of higher numerals

The internal composition of higher numerals is as follows (see Table 10-1 for the forms). The teens are fused combinations with 10. Decades are formed by multiplication and are base-20. Combinations of decades and digits (or teens) are formed by addition (using enclitic =*j* 'and' for decades above 30; for 20 and 30 it is fused to '20' in an idiosyncratic fashion). Multiples of hundreds, thousands, and millions are also formed by multiplication, and they are joined to any following decades and/or digits by addition (using enclitic =*ji* 'and').⁹⁵

<i>Numeral</i>	<i>Composition</i>	<i>Forms</i>
11	1-10	cwaïtt
12	2-20	shiitt
21	20 1	tq'ea caw (tq'ea < *tq'o= <i>ji</i> ?)
22	20 2	tq'ea shi'
35	20 15	tq'ea pxiitt
47	2x-20=& 7	shouztq'a= <i>ji</i> vorh [shouztq'i:e vorh]
83	4x-20=& 3	dieztq'a= <i>ji</i> qo [dieztq'i:e qo]
200	2 100	shi bwea
247	2 100=& 2 x 20=& 7	shi bwea= <i>ji</i> shouztq'a= <i>ji</i> vorh
3247	3 1000=& (etc.)	qo ezar= <i>ji</i> shi bwea= <i>ji</i> shouztq'a= <i>ji</i> vorh

Suffixal inflection or derivation (of oblique, ordinal, and multiple forms) apply to only the last numeral in the sequence.

- (61) cwa ezar=*ji* iis bwea=*ji* dieztq'a=*ji* tq'iestalagh shu
 one thousand=& nine hundred=& eighty=& nineteenth year
 1999, the year 1999 ('the 1,999th year')

The numeral '4' or its stem, wherever it may appear in the sequence, agrees in gender with the counted noun.

dieztq'a=*ji* qo zhwalii
 D.80 3 dog
 83 dogs

⁹⁵ The sequence {ezzar=*ji*} 'thousand (and...)' tends to be pronounced /ezariiji/ or /ezarieji/, with high pitch on the /ii/, as though *ezar* 'thousand' ended in a schwa (i.e. as though the sequence were *{ezara=*ji*=i}. For schwa plus =*ji* see §3.2.4.

jieztq'a=ji qo kampjuutar

J.80 3 computer

83 computers

di' ezar zhwalii

D.4 1000 dog

4000 dogs

bi' ezar wazh

B.4 1000 apple

4000 apples

di' milli'on zhwalii

D.4 million dog

4,000,000 dogs

vi' milli'on sag

V.4 million person

4,000,000 people

Note that 'thousand' and 'million', though loans – from Persian and Russian respectively – are not nouns and do not have gender; the last four examples show that a token of '4' in the numeral agrees with the counted noun and not with either of these loan numerals. On the other hand at least *ezar* can form a plural and can take a plural noun (see §19.5.1) as nouns do and unlike other numerals.

Table 10-1. Numerals, cardinal and ordinal. Unanalyzable root morphemes are in boldface. "=": same as first column (same as nominative cardinal attributive).

	<i>Cardinal attributive:</i>		<i>Cardinal nominalized:</i>		<i>Ordinal</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Oblique</i>	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Oblique</i>	
1	cwa	cwan	caw; cwea? ⁴	cwannie	cwoalagh; ⁵ hwalxara
2	shi	shin	shi'	shinnie	shoalagh; shollagh
3	qo	qea	qo'	qeannie	qoalagh
4	d.i'	=	d.i'	d.i'nie	d.i'lagh
5	pxi	pxie	pxi'	pxinnie	pxielagh
6	jaalx	=	=	jaalxnie	jaalxlagh
7	vorh	=	=	vorhnie	vorhlagh
8	baarh	=	=	baarhnie	baarhlagh
9	iis	=	=	iisnie [iissnie]	iislagh
10	itt	=	=	ittnie	ittlagh
11	cwaitt ¹	=	=	cwaittnie	cwaittlagh
12	shiitt ¹	=	=	shiittnie	shiitlagh
13	qoitt ¹	=	=	qoittnie	qoittlagh
14	d.iitt ¹	=	=	d.iittnie	d.iittlagh
15	pxiitt ¹	=	=	pxiittnie	pxiittlagh
16	jalxeitt ^{1,2}	=	=	jalxeittnie	jalxeittlagh
17	vuriitt ^{1,2}	=	=	vuriittnie	vuriitlagh
18	bareitt ^{1,2}	=	=	bareittnie	bareittlagh
19	tq'iesta	=	=	tq'iestanie	tq'iestalagh
20	tq'o	tq'ea	tq'o	tq'eannie	tq'oalagh
21	tq'ea cwa	tq'ea cwan	tq'ea caw	tq'ea cwannie	tq'ea cwoalagh
30	tq'ea itt	=	=	tq'ea ittnie	tq'ea ittlagh
31	tq'ea cwaitt	=	=	tq'ea cwaittnie	tq'ea cwaittlagh
40	shouztq'a	=	=	shouztq'anie	shouztq'a'lagh
50	shouztq'a(=j) itt ⁷	=	=	shouztq'ie ittnie	shouztq'ie ittlagh
60	qouztq'a	=	=	qouztq'anie	qouztq'a'lagh
70	qouztq'a(=j) itt	=	=	qouztq'ie ittnie	qouztq'ie ittlagh
80	d.iezq'a	=	=	d.iezq'anie	d.iezq'a'lagh
90	d.iezq'a(=j) itt	=	=	d.ietq'ie ittnie	d.iezq'ie ittlagh
100	bwea	=	=	bweannie	bwealagh, bwoalagh ⁶
200	shi bwea	=	=	shi bweannie	shi bwealagh
1000	ezar	=	=	ezarnie	ezarlagh
10,000	itt ezar ³	=	=	itt ezarnie	itt ezarlagh
1,000,000	milli'on ⁸	=	?	?	?

Notes to Table 10-1:

1 Numerals 11-18 are written with final schwa ("cwaitta", etc.) in orthography, but there seems to be no phonetic or morphological basis for this.

- 2 Note stem vowel changes in 16, 17, 18. Probably pretonic reduction; in these three words the stress is on the second syllable, *-iit* or *-eit* (see §3A.1).
- 3 Also “bweazza bwea”, lit. ‘ten times 100’ (Mal’sagov 1963:33); this could not be elicited.
- 4 For *cwea* ‘alone’ see §7.1.
- 5 “cwoalagha” (with schwa) in Mal’sagov 1963:34. This word occurs several times in the corpus and five times on the Internet (as of October 2010) but is not in recent dictionaries.
- 6 Mal’sagov 1963:34 gives two forms, “bwealagha” and “bwaalagha”; Ozdoeva & Kurkiev 1980 “bwoalagha”; elicited /bwealagh/.
- 7 Phonetically, *shouztq’a=j*, etc. are [shouztq’i:e] or [shouztq’ii], with schwa tensing (§3.2.4). *=j* is the phrase-final form of *=ji* ‘and’.
- 8 Could not be elicited. *Milli’on sag* ‘a million people’ serves as a nominalized form.

Table 10-2. *Other forms of numerals*. Cardinals are repeated for convenience. The Plex series ends after 3 (or, with archaic forms, after 5). Ergative cases of distributives likewise end after 3; those for 4-6 can be formed from the reduplicated nominatives, but they were rejected in elicitation. Nominative distributives can be formed by reduplication only from simple numerals.

	<i>Cardinal</i>	<i>Multiple</i>	<i>Ordinal</i>	<i>Distributive:</i>		<i>Collective</i>	<i>Plex</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>(‘X times’)</i>	<i>multiple</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	<i>Erg.</i>		
1	cwa	cq'a, cq'adz	---	cwacca	cwaccanie	---	cwalxa
2	shi	shodz	shuozalagh	shissha	shisshanie	shisshie	sholxa
3	qo	qodz	quozalagh	qoqqa	qoqqanie	qoqqie	qolxa
4	d.i'	d.i'adz	d.i'azalagh	d.i' d.i'	--- ¹	d.i''ie	d.i'alxa ²
5	pxi	pxidz/pxedz	pxiezalagh	pxi pxi	--- ¹	pxi''ie	pxielxa ²
6	jaalx	jaalxadz	jaalxazalagh	jaalx jaalx	--- ¹		
7	vorh	vorhadz	vorhazalagh	vorh vorh		vorrhie	
8	baarh	baarhadz	baarhazalagh	baarh baarh			
9	iis	iisadz	iisazalagh	iis iis			
10	itt	ittadz	ittazalagh	itt itt			
11	cwaitt	cwaittadz	cwaittazalagh	cwaitt cwaitt			
19	tq'iesta	tq'iestaladz	tq'iestazalagh				
20	tq'o	tq'odz	tq'uozalagh	tq'o tq'o			
30	tq'ea itt	tq'ea ittadz	tq'ea ittazalagh				
40	shouztq'a	shouztq'adz	shouztq'azalagh	shouztq'a shouztq'a			
60	qouztq'a	qouztq'adz	qouztq'azalag	qouztq'a qouztq'a			
80	d.ieztq'a	d.ieztq'adz	dieztq'azalagh	dieztq'a dieztq'a			
100	bwea	bweadz	?	bwea bwea			
1000	ezar	ezardz	?	ezar ezar			

Notes to Table 10-2

1 Forms can be constructed, but it is not clear that they are actually used: *di'-di'(a)nie*, *pxi-pxinnie*, *jaalx-jaalxnie*.

2 Archaic forms (Mal'sagov 1963:34), no longer much used; see text.

Table 10-3. Current Cyrillic spellings for selected numeral forms. Source is Kurkiev 2004 unless otherwise indicated. Underlining marks schwas that are written but not pronounced by my consultants and not morphophonemically required. There is no way to spell /dz/ in the Cyrillic orthography, but since the focus geminate counterpart to /z/ is /ddz/ the spelling "зз" reflects the affrication of /dz/ and apparently the final schwa reflects the fact that it is not actually geminate here.

	<i>Cardinal nominalized</i>	<i>Ordinal</i>	<i>Multiple</i>
1	ца1	хьалхара	цкѡа
2	шиѡ	шоллаг1а	шоззѡ
3	кхоѡ	кхоолаг1а	кхооззѡ
4	диѡ	диѡлаг1а	диаззѡ
5	пхиѡ	пхеллаг1а	пхеззѡ ⁹⁶
6	ялх	ялхлаг1а	ялхаззѡ
7	ворх1	ворх1лаг1а	ворх1аззѡ
8	барх1	барх1лаг1а	барх1аззѡ
9	ийс	ийслаг1а ⁹⁷	ийссазѡ ⁹⁸
10	итт	иттлаг1а	иттазѡ ⁹⁹
11	цхъйтгѡ	цхъйттлаг1а	
12	шийтгѡ	шийттлаг1а	
17	вурийтгѡ	вурийттлаг1а	
18	барайтгѡ	барайттлаг1а	
19	ткъеста		
20	ткъо	ткъоолаг1а	ткъооззѡ
21	ткъаѡ итт	ткъа иттлаг1а, ткъаѡ иттлаг1а	
40	шовзткъа	шовзткъалаг1а	
60	кховзткъа	кховзткъаолаг1а	
80	десткъа	десткъалаг1а	
100	б1аѡ	б1оолаг1а	(б1аѡззѡ) ¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Not in Kurkiev 2004; in several other sources.

⁹⁷ Ozdoev 1980 has *ийсѡлаг1а* and *ийттѡлаг1а* (underlined schwas are not pronounced by my consultants and not morphophonemically required).

⁹⁸ Ozdoev 1980 *ийссазѡ*.

⁹⁹ So spelled, with single "з", unlike the other multiple forms; likewise Ozdoev 1980 s.v. *десятью*.

¹⁰⁰ Not in any dictionary, but elicited. Ozdoev 1980 has *б1оазѡ* s.v. *стопуѡей*.

CHAPTER 11

ADJECTIVES AND PARTICIPLES

11.1. Basic and derived adjectives

Adjectives are a large, open, and productive word class in Ingush. Basic adjectives number several hundred and are probably not now an open class, though they include some loans. New adjectives are formed either suffixally or by compounding or periphrasis. Participles and converbs are easily lexicalized as adjectives. Adjectives can be derived from all other major lexical classes. They can be nominalized, both for syntactic purposes and as a means of word formation, and pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs can be formed from most basic adjectives.

For the most part there is no formal difference between attributive adjectives and manner adverbs:

dika sag
good person
'good person'

dika ealar
well say.WP
'said (it) well'

Similarly, the single verb form *d.änna* has the functions of both past participle (functioning attributively) and anterior converb (adverb-like function). Only in the present-stem verb forms is there a distinction between adjectival and adverbial forms, namely present participle and simultaneous converb:

d.iesha	(read.PPL)	'reading' (participle)
d.ieshazh	(read.CVsim)	'(while) reading' (converb)

and even here the converb is supplanting the participle in attributive function:

kuorta boaca sag
head B.be.NEG.PPL person
'absent-minded person'

kuorta boacazh sag
head B.be.NEG.CVsim person
id.

Adjectives, both basic and derived, occur in all the standard semantic classes of Dixon 2004:3-5, Dixon 1997. Table 11-1 shows the frequencies of the different semantic classes of adjectives in the different derivational types (based on a survey of about one-third of the adjectives in my lexical database). The most frequent types of basic adjectives concern physical properties in the broad sense (including dimension and color); frequent among derived ones are human propensities and corporeal properties.

Table 11-1. Semantic classes of Ingush adjectives. Affixal = suffixally derived and lexicalized inflectional forms. Phrasal = compound or phrasal. Derived = affixal + phrasal. Total = basic + affixal + phrasal. Semantic classes as in Dixon 2004, plus these: Psych (states, etc. with experiencer subject, e.g. 'hungry'; contrast Dixon's Human propensity, e.g. 'kind', 'generous', which are character traits and the like and the subject is not an experiencer); Pronominal (demonstratives, interrogatives, etc.), Other/uncertain. Percents rounded.

<i>Semantic class</i>	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Affixal</i>	<i>Phrasal</i>	<i>Derived</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>%</i>
Dimension	14	1	1	2	16	6%
Age	8	2	0	2	10	4%
Value	14	4	7	11	25	9%
Color	10	5	1	6	16	6%
Physical property	33	13	4	17	50	18%
Human propensity	17	11	22	33	50	18%
Speed	3	1	0	1	4	1%
Difficulty	2	0	0	0	2	1%
Similarity	2	0	2	2	4	1%
Qualification	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Quantification	2	2	2	4	6	2%
Position	3	0	2	2	5	2%
Numeral	1	2	0	2	3	1%
Corporeal property	5	7	8	15	20	7%
Psych	3	2	3	5	8	3%
Pronominal	5	4	1	5	10	4%
Other/uncertain	10	26	8	34	44	16%
TOTAL	132	80	61	141	273	

Attributive adjectives agree in case with the head noun and have a two-case paradigm, distinguishing only nominative vs. oblique cases. About 10% of the basic adjectives agree in gender and two agree in number. Nominalized adjectives head NP's (typically, headless

relatives) and have full case paradigms. Most attributive adjectives take the productive suffixal declension, but certain types cannot take suffixal declension and must decline periphrastically.

This chapter treats the regular and inflectional forms first, then derivation.

11.2. Comparative and superlative

The comparative is formed by adding *-gh* // *-gha* (orthographic *-zla*) to the positive. The superlative is formed by preposing the separate word *eggara* '(the) most' to the comparative.

doaqqa 'big'	laqa 'tall'
doaqqagh 'bigger'	laqagh 'taller'
eggara doaqqagh 'biggest'	eggara laqagh 'tallest'

The comparative ending can also appear on converbs used as adjectives:

tuol-azh-agh (be.victorious-CVsim-CMP) 'better, superior'

In normative grammars the comparative ending is written *-gha*; Mal'sagov 1963 writes *-gh*. In the pronunciation of some speakers this ending is *-gha* with a schwa that opens a preceding syllable; for others no schwa is audible and a previous long vowel is shortened. The two known crucial examples are the comparative of *muo/vuo* 'bad' and the isolated word *dearegh* 'at a discount, at lowered prices' which appears to be a lexicalized comparative of a word meaning 'inexpensive'.

	<i>No schwa</i>	<i>Schwa</i>
muo-gh / vuo-gh	mogh / vogh	vuogha [vuogh ^ə]
dearie-gh / daarie-gh	dearegh / daaregh	deariegha [deariegh ^ə]

Even for speakers with no schwa the final /gh/ of the comparative is often fully voiced rather than half-voiced as would be usual in word-final position. It seems that for some speech varieties (including that of Mal'sagov or the one considered standard in his time) schwa was lost (or the contrast between schwa and no schwa was neutralized) after /gh/ (see §2.5.1). The schwa is retained in what is now normative pronunciation, and in the orthography.

11.3. Gender agreement in adjectives

A few adjectives agree in gender with the noun they modify:

d.oaqqa 'big':	voaqqa sag	'old man'
	joaqqa jiwig	'big girl'
	doaqqa zhwalii	'big dog'
	boaqqa ch'qeara	'big fish'

d.arriga 'all'	d.itq'a 'thin'
d.aq'a 'dry'	d.waiaxa 'hot'
d.eassa 'empty'	d.weaxa 'long'
d.eiga 'light' (weight)	d.erzana 'naked'
d.äza 'heavy'	d.iq'a 'thick' (of liquids)

Agreeing adjectives represent under 10% of the basic adjectives. In addition, some participles of agreeing verbs are more or less lexicalized as adjectives:

d.änna 'dead'	d.yzaa 'full'
d.iexaa 'broken'	d.äxaa 'drunk'

Participles head relative clauses, and even when in reduced relatives they agree in gender not with the head noun (the head of the relative clause) but with the S/O in their own valence. (Of course, it often happens that the head of the relative clause is coreferential to the S/O of the participle's valence.) (For relativization see Chapter 26.) In the following examples the gap representing the relativized noun in the relative clause is indicated by an underscore. An anaphoric or unspecified zero is marked by Ø. (Underscores and zeroes are placed where full words would be in basic word order: see Chapter 30.) In (2), *diesha* agrees not with *mexkarii* but with the implicit object of 'read'; words for 'book', 'newspaper', 'letter', and other readable items are D gender.

- (1) *diesha kinashjka* [Ø _ d.iesha] *kinashjka*
 D.read book (ERG) (= book) D.read.PPL book (D)
 'a book (that is/was) being read'
- (2) *diesha mexkarii* [_ Ø d.iesha] *mexkarii*
 'girls who are reading' (=girls, ERG) (D) D.read.PPL girls

11.4. Number agreement

The adjective *d.oaqqa* 'big' takes suffixal number agreement with the head noun:

voaqqa sag 'old man'	boaqqii nax 'elders'
----------------------	----------------------

and *zwam(iga)* 'small' takes suppletive number agreement with a few words:

	<i>zwamiga</i>	'small, young'	<i>kegii</i> (pl.)
	<i>zwam+sag</i>	'young man'	<i>kegii nax</i> 'young men, young people'
but:	<i>zwamiga ber</i>	'small child'	<i>zwamiga bierazh</i> 'small children'

No other adjectives agree in number.

11.5. Case agreement: Suffixal attributive declension

Attributive adjectives and participles have the following declension:

Nominative	<i>-a</i>	Oblique	<i>-(a)cha</i>
------------	-----------	---------	----------------

The *-a* of the oblique ending is present in the oblique case of underived adjectives but is absent in derived ones:

<i>mela</i>	obl.	<i>melacha</i>	'warm'	
<i>lira</i>		<i>liracha</i>	'fierce'	
but <i>easal(a)</i> ¹⁰¹		<i>easalcha</i>	'meek'	(< noun <i>easal</i> 'meekness')
<i>geanara</i>		<i>geanarcha</i>	'distant'	(< adv. <i>geana</i> 'far away')

Partial case paradigms showing that all oblique cases are syncretized in adjectives:

	'good person'	'cold wind'	'big dog'
Nom	<i>dika sag</i>	<i>shiila mux</i>	<i>doaqqa zhwalii</i>
Dat	<i>dikacha sagaa</i>	<i>shiilacha mixaa</i>	<i>doaqqacha zhwaliena</i>
Erg	<i>dikacha saguo</i>	<i>shiilacha mixuo</i>	<i>doaqqacha zhwalie/zhwalez</i>
All	<i>dikacha sagaga</i>	<i>shiilacha mixaga</i>	<i>doaqqacha zhwaliega</i>

and participles:

¹⁰¹ Spelled *аьсала* in Kurkiev 2004 but *аьсал* in prior dictionaries. There can be no phonetic difference here in current pronunciation: since the *-l-* is suffixal, i.e. not root-final, it is not geminated when word-final (for final gemination see §3.3.1), so it is released, and a released final consonant is the regular pronunciation of a consonant before a reduced schwa.

	'child who is reading'	'book that has been read'
Nom	diesha ber	diishaa kinashjka
Dat	dieshacha bieraa	diishaacha kinashjkaa
Erg	dieshacha bieruo	diishaacha kinashjkuo
All	dieshacha bieraga	diishaacha kinashjkaga

including the participle of 'be' used in the phrasal declension (§11.6 just below).

11.6. Case agreement: Periphrastic attributive declension

The periphrastic declension consists of the adjective in its uninflected (i.e. nominative) form plus the present participle of 'be' (inflected). Periphrastic inflection is used with comparative and superlative adjectives, ordinal numerals, and a few other adjectives that have implicit ordinal and/or superlative semantics. The paradigm is:

Nom.	d.oaqqagh d.ola	'bigger'
Obl.	d.oaqqagh d.olcha	

11.6.1. Comparative and superlative adjectives

doqqagh dola zhwalii
 big.CMP D.be.PPL dog
 '(the/a) bigger dog'

* doaqqagh zhwalii
 big.CMP dog

(3) So doaqqagh dolcha zhwaliena bwarjga+jeira
 me(J) big.CMP D.be.PPL.OBL dog(D).DAT eye+J.see.WP
 'The bigger dog saw me'

(4) So eggara doaqqagh dolcha zhwaliena bwarjga+jeira
 me(J) most D.big.CMP D.be.PPL.OBL dog(D).DAT eye+J.see.WP
 'The biggest dog saw me'

(5) * ... doaqqaghcha zhwaliena ...
 ... D.big.CMP.OBL dog.DAT ...

11.6.2. *Ordinal numerals.* See §10.2 for the inflection and derivation of ordinal numerals. The following text example cited there shows both suffixal inflection in the sense 'other' (the first boldfaced token) and periphrastic inflection in the literal sense 'second' (the second boldfaced token).

- (6) Cwan oaghuorahwa modz=ji **shollaghcha** oaghuorahwa deatta=ji
 one.OBL side.LOC honey=& **other.OBL** side.LOC butter=&
 uxazh='a xannii yz gour, eannad **shollagha volcha** voshaz.
 go:PLC.CV=& be.NW DEM horse said.NW.D second be.PPL.OBL brother.ERG

"The horse had honey flowing on one side and butter on the **other**," said the **second** brother. (HDJ 18)

11.6.3. *Implicit ordinals and superlatives.*

massa-jolcha oaghuorahwara
 all-J.be.PPL.OBL side.ADV.ABL
 'from all sides' (Ozdoeva & Kurkiev 1980 s.v. *konec*)

massajolcha oaghuorahw
 'on all sides'

11.6.4. *Phrasal adjectives.* See §11.9.2 for the formation of phrasal adjectives. Their declension is periphrastic by definition.

Nom hweaq'al dola sag
 Dat hweaq'al dolcha sagaa
 Erg hweaq'al dolcha saguo
 All hweaq'al dolcha sagaga
 'intelligent person' (lit. 'person who has sense'; *hweaq'al* 'sense' is D gender)

11.7. Number and case inflection of nominalized adjectives and participles

11.7.1. *Adjectives.* The nominalized paradigm takes *-d.ar* in the nominative and the *-chu* extension (§6.1.1 (9)) in the oblique cases. The nominative element is the nominalized participial form of *d.y* 'be'. The oblique cases can either be periphrastic, using a suffixed form of the present participle of 'be', **dol-*; or non-periphrastic, using the suffixed extension. The extension can be added to the participial stem *-d.ol-* of 'be', or directly to the adjective root. There seems to be no syntactic or semantic difference between the two paradigms. I call the paradigm with non-periphrastic oblique cases *semi-periphrastic*.

The participial form of 'be' used in the fully periphrastic paradigm and in the nominative of the semi-periphrastic paradigm is tonic and has secondary stress (§4.1). Its vowel is unreduced. The oblique forms in the semi-periphrastic paradigms are suffixed, hence non-tonic, and short vowels in them have schwa vocalism. Examples of periphrastic forms (+ indicates compound-internal word-like boundary): dika+dar [dík^əd̪ar], dika+jar [dík^əj̪ər], dika+dolchyn [dík^ədòlchən]. The full paraphrastic paradigm (declined in J gender) is:

	'(a/the) good one'	'(the) good ones' (Axrieva et al. 1972:105)
N	dika+jar	dika+jarazh
G	dika+jolchyn	dika+jolchaar
D	dika+jolchynna	dika+jolchaarna
E	dika+jolchuo	dika+jolchaar
A	dika+jolchynga	dika+jolchaarga
I	dika+jolchynca	dika+jolchaarca
L	dika+jolchogh	dika+jolchaaregh
C	dika+jolchyl	dika+jolchaarel

Semi-periphrastic paradigms (one in J gender, one in D):

	'(a/the) good one'	'(the) good ones' (Axrieva et al. 1972:105)
N	dika+jar	dika+jarazh
G	dika-chyn	dika-chaar
D	dika-chynna	dika-chaarna
E	dika-chuo	dika-chaar
A	dika-chynga	dika-chaarga
I	dika-chynca	dika-chaarca
L	dika-chogh	dika-chaaregh
C	dika-chyl	dika-chaarel

	'the bigger one'	'the bigger ones'
N	doqqagha+d.ar	doqqagha+darazh
G	doqqagh-chyn	doqqagh-chaar
D	doqqagh-chynna	doqqagh-chaarna
E	doqqagh-chuo	doqqagh-chaar
A	doqqagh-chynga	doqqagh-chaarga
I	doqqagh-chynca	doqqagh-chaarca
L	doqqagh-chogh	doqqagh-chaaregh
C	doqqagh-chyl	doqqagh-chaarel

11.7.2. *Participles*. (S.a. Axrieva et al. 1972:178.) Present ('the one who reads', 'the one which is read'; 'the ones who read', 'the ones that are read'):

N	dieshar	diesharazh
G	diesha-chyn	diesha-chaara
D	diesha-chynna/-choa	diesha-chaarna
E	diesha-chuo	diesha-chaara
A	diesha-chynga	diesha-chaarga
I	diesha-chynca	diesha-chaarca
L	diesha-chogh	diesha-chaaregh
C	diesha-chyl	diesha-chaarel

Past ('the one that has been read', 'the one who has read', etc.):

N	diishaar	diishaarazh
G	diishaa-chyn	diishaa-chaara
D	diishaa-chynna/-choa	diishaa-chaarna
E	diishaa-chuo	diishaa-chaara
A	diishaa-chynga	diishaa-chaarga
I	diishaa-chynca	diishaa-chaarca
L	diishaa-chogh	diishaa-chaaregh
C	diishaa-chyl	diishaa-chaarel

Some verbs also have an adverb form of the nominalized participle. It has no overt nominalizing morphology but has nominalized meaning: '(the place) where...'. It exists in the singular only and is formed chiefly from the verb 'be' and others that can indicate location.

d.olcha 'where ... is'
ullacha 'where ... is lying'

- (7) Muusaa **sho dolcha** hwa=chy-vierii?
Musa 2p D.be.PPL.OBL DX=in -V.come.WP=Q
Did Musa get to your place? ('to where you are')

- (8) Qoana **hwo volcha** qy juxa voaghargvaac yz
tomorrow 2s V.be.PPL.OBL any more again V.come.FUT.V.NEG 3s
He won't come back to your place again tomorrow. (Dumézil 1936)

11.7.3. *Numerals*. The numeral 'one' has a special nominalized form that occurs in both fully periphrastic and semi-periphrastic forms in the plural. It means 'some (e.g. people), one

or another'. The fully periphrastic form uses the stem *d.ar-* throughout (unlike adjectives, which switch to *d.olch-* in the oblique cases).

- (9) **Cwabarazhta** dieza, **cwabarazhta** diezac
 one-B.be.NZ.PL.DAT D.like.PRS one-B.be.NZ.PL.DAT D.like.PRS.NEG
 Some like it, some don't.

The semi-periphrastic paradigm uses the regular endings in the plural:

- (10) **Cwachaarna** dieza, **cwachaarna** diezac
 one.NZ.PL.DAT D.like.PRS one.NZ.PL.DAT D.like.PRS.NEG
 id.

In the singular it has a synthetic paradigm, using the stem morphology that is regular for nominalized ordinal numerals (see §Table 10-1):

- (11) **Cwanniena** dieza, **cwanniena** diezac
 one.NZ.DAT D.like one.NZ.DAT D.like.NEG
 id. (Lit. 'One likes it, another doesn't.')

Other numerals have only the synthetic form:

- (12) Aaz cu **shinniena** txa dahwaddy=q hwuona.
 1s.ERG DEM.OBL two.NZ.DAT wool D.bring-D.FUT=CUM MIR
 I'll bring wool for two of them (rugs). (0231A.3)

11.7.4. Possessive adjectives. Both genitive pronouns and the ablative or adjectival pronominal formed from the allative case (§11.9.1.3 below) can be nominalized and take the semi-periphrastic declension:

hwa+d.ar	hwuogara+d.ar
2s.GEN+D.NZ	2s.ALL.ABL+D.NZ
'yours', 'the one you own'	'yours', 'the one you've got'

11.7.5. Usage. Nominalized adjectives and participles are frequent. They are used in headless relative clauses:

- (13) Handz vai **daaxar** xala zaama jy
 now 1pIN D.live.PPL.NZ hard time J.be.PRS
 We live in hard times. The times we live in are hard. (lit. 'The one we live in is a hard time')

- (14) **Dieshar** malagha ber dy? – **Doqqagh+dar.**
 read.PPL.NZ which child D.be.PRS D.big.CMP +D.NZ
 Which of the children reads? – The older one.

Headless relatives include clefts:

- (15) Muusaaz **jaazdezh dar** fy kinashjka dy?
 Musa.ERG write.CVsim D.PROG.PPL.NZ what book D.be.PRS
 What kind of book is Musa writing? What kind of book is it that Musa is writing?
 (nominalized form of progressive tense)
- (16) **Hwuogara + bar** sy ruuchka by
 2sg.ABL + B.be.PPL.NZ 1sg.GEN pen B.be.PRS
 The pen you've got is mine. You've got my pen. ('The one you've got is my pen.)
- (17) **uqa=chy-ra + dar** myssel
 this=in.ABL + D.be.PPL.NZ how much
 as much as is in here; this much (e.g. as much coffee as I have in my cup)

reduced relatives:

- (18) So **doqqagh-chynna** bwarjga+jeira
 me big.CMP.NZ.DAT eye+J.saw
 The bigger one saw me

and the location phrases described in §11.7.2. Nominalized adjectives and participles are also common in phrases that can be described as headed by a zero empty or dummy noun or non-anaphoric pronominal:

- (19) **Kertiera+dar** vai bolx dika dwa-chaq-baaqqar dy
 main+D.be.PPL.NZ 1pIN.GEN work well DX-finish-B.LV.VN D.be.PRS
 The main thing is that we should finish our work well
- (20) **T'ehwara+var** Muusaa vy
 last+V.be.PPL.NZ V.be.PRS
 The last one is Musa. Musa is last.
- (21) Oaxazh **eannar** oardazh kora-dead
 plow.CVsim say.PPL.NZ thresh.CVsim find-D.LV.NW
 What you say while plowing you find while threshing (proverb)

- (22) Xigh **veddar** hweara k'al iiqqaav
 water.LAT V.run.PPL.NZ mill.GEN under jump.NW.V
 The one who ran away from the river got caught in the mill (proverb; Axrieva et al. 1972:178)

11.8. Indeclinable adjectives and other indeclinable modifiers

The genitive case of nouns is often more or less lexicalized as a modifier. Like all genitives and unlike true adjectives, these do not have an oblique form.

daxcha 'wood'
 daxchan 'wood.GEN '; 'wooden, of wood'

daxchan paandar
 wood.GEN stringed instrument
 'traditional stringed instrument'

daxchan paandarca	*daxchancha paandarca
wood.GEN stringed instrument.INS	wood.GEN.OBL
id. (instrumental case)	

ghalghaai mott
 Ingush.GENpl language
 'the Ingush language'

ghalghaai mettal
 Ingush.GENpl language.ADV
 'in Ingush'

The adjective *ingalsa* (var. *ingal*) 'English' is not formally a genitive plural like most nationality adjectives, but nonetheless it is also invariant:

ingalsa mott
 English language
 'English', 'the English language'

ingalsa mettal
 English language.ADV
 'in English'

A few other adjectives are indeclinable:

xaarc ghulaq	xaarc ghulaqaa	*xaarc(a)cha ghulaqaa
false matter	false matter.DAT	false.OBL matter.DAT
'false matter'		

A few other modifying words, chiefly referring to colors, sexes, and types of animals, do not decline. Some of these are nouns in origin (*qaal*, *naana* 'female', also respectively 'mare', 'mother', both J gender), but others are of unknown origin and have no determinable former part of speech. These are described in §7.2 as possibly genderless nouns, but perhaps they are indeclinable adjectives.

qaal	bordz	qaal	berzuo	*qaalcha	berzuo
female	wolf	female	wolf.ERG	female.OBL	wolf.ERG
				*qaaluo	berzuo
				female.ERG	wolf.ERG
naana	bordz	naana	berzuo	*naanacha	berzuo
female	wolf	female	wolf.ERG	female.OBL	wolf.ERG
				*naanaz	berzuo
				female.ERG	wolf.ERG

The synonym *sie* 'female' (of certain domesticates) does decline: *siecha cysjkuo* 'female cat'. Note also the compounds *siesag* 'wife', *qaalsag* 'woman' in which the first element does not decline: *siesagaa*, *siesaguo*, ...; *qaalsagaa*, *qaalsaguo*. There are two words for 'male', both of which decline: *mawa*, *borsha* (*mawacha berzuo* 'male.ERG wolf.ERG', *borshacha ustaghuo* 'male.OBL sheep.ERG').

11.9. Derivation of adjectives

11.9.1. Affixally derived adjectives

11.9.1.1. *-iga* is a diminutive affix found on some adjectives whose meanings involve small measure. Sometimes the suffixed adjective exists side by side with an unsuffixed form:

zwamiga	small, young	(cf. zwam+sag 'young man' [young+person])
t'iixiga	shallow	
shortiga / shorttiga	slow	(cf. shorta 'slow, quiet')
d.eiga	light (in weight)	(cf. d.ei 'light in weight, inexpensive')

The *-i-* of this suffix is a schwa colored by the following velar, which is palatalized, but for simplicity I write *-iga* rather than *-ajga*.

11.9.1.2. Denominals in *-a*. In origin this seems to be the genitive case ending, but many such adjectives inflect like ordinary adjectives.

easal	'meekness' ¹⁰²	
easala	'meek'	obl. easalcha

The *-a-* does not behave like the ordinary adjective-final schwa, which remains in the oblique form; in these denominal adjectives the schwa drops out in the oblique form:

easala	'meek'	obl. easalcha	
mela	'warm'	obl. melacha	(ordinary adjective)

Such adjectives are not to be confused with the very productive use of the genitive as a modifier. Genitives do not agree in case with their head.

11.9.1.3. Dephrasal adjectives in *-ra*. This ending is added to inflected forms, adverbial forms in *-ie*, a few abstract nouns in *-ie*, adverbs of place and time more generally, and whole phrases. In origin it is probably the ablative suffix.

kertiera	'main, most important'	< kuorta 'head', adv. kertie
jiq'iera	'central, middle'	< juq' 'middle', jiq'ie 'among, amidst'
loxiera	'lowered, low'	< loxa 'low', adv. loxie 'below'
selxanara	'yesterday's'	< selxan 'yesterday'
handzara	'contemporary, modern'	< handz 'now'
geanara	'distant'	< geana 'far away'
jolcha xaanara	'present-tense'	< jola xa, gen. jolcha xaana 'present tense'

hwuogara

2s.ALL.ABL

yours (more often nominalized: hwuogara+bar 'the one you have', §11.7.4, §28.1)

uqa=chyra+dar

this.OBL=in.ABL+D.be.PPL.NZ

what's in here; the one that's in here

klaasiera bolx

class.ADV.ABL work

class work (in-class work in school)

¹⁰² See again the footnote in §11.5 above.

Neasariera universitet
 Nazran.ADV.ABL university
 Nazran University; the University of Nazran¹⁰³

jolcha xaanara *prichasti*
 J.be.PPL.OBL time.GEN.ABL participle
 present participle (e.g. Axrieva et al. 1972:178)

11.9.1.4. Lexicalization of suffixal inflectional form: genitive case (examples in §11.8 above); anterior converb:

laq-d.äna 'high (of water in river)' < laq-lu 'rise (of water)'
 high-D.INCP.CVant 'having risen'

eghaz-d.äxaa 'angry' < eghaz-d.uoda 'get angry'
 angry-D.go.CVant 'having become angry'

d.äna	'dead'	< le / d.ala 'die'
d.yzaa	'full'	< d.uz 'fill; get full'
d.äxaa	'drunk'	< d.ax 'get drunk'
d.iexaa	'broken'	< d.uox 'break' (intrans.)

11.9.2. Phrasal and periphrastic adjectives

11.9.2.1. *Compounds.* The only type of compound adjective consists of noun plus adjective. In most, the first element (the noun) is nominative or a compounding form, usually a body part. These compounds appear to be mostly exocentric.

ka+dei	'dexterous' (<i>ka</i> 'hand' [compounding form] + <i>d.ei</i> 'light')
ka+mearsha	'generous' (<i>ka</i> 'hand' [compounding form] + <i>mearsha</i> 'peaceful')
kuorta+muq'a	'free, independent' (<i>kuorta</i> 'head' + <i>muq'a</i> 'free')
kuorta+bweaxa	'long-haired' (<i>kuorta</i> 'head' + <i>d.weaxa</i> 'long')
kuorta+berzana	'bare-headed' (<i>kuorta</i> 'head' + <i>d.erzana</i> 'naked, bare')
dog+c'äna	'cordial, well-disposed, sincere' (<i>dog</i> 'heart' + <i>c'äna</i> 'clean')

Evidence of exocentricity is the fact that, where the second element is an agreeing root, the agreement is internal and not with the head noun. In (20) the element *-b.weaxa* shows B agreement with the first element *kuorta* (B) 'head' and not J agreement with *sag* 'person' (V/J).

¹⁰³ Fictive name. The main university in Ingushetia is called Ingush State University (Ghalghaai Pacchahwalqen Universitet). It is in Magas.

- (23) Yz kuorta+bweaxa sag jy
 3s long+haired person/J J.be.PRS
 She is a long-haired person.

The exocentric type cannot have been formed from simple univerbation of NP's, as the corresponding NP's would have adjective + noun word order:

dei	kyljg		muq'a	kuorta
D.light	hand		free	head

They could be formed directly from relative clauses as in (24):

- (24) [___ kuorta muq'a bolazh] sag
 (GEN) head free B.be.CVsim person
 person with a free head; person whose head is free

Less commonly, the first element is in an oblique case. Such compounds are endocentric.

unagh+c'äna (*unagh* 'disease.LAT'+ *c'äna* 'clean') 'healthy, disease-free'

11.9.2.2. *Phrasal adjectives, consisting of noun or noun-like word plus participle or converb.* Many of the nouns are used most often in such phrases and are only marginally independent nouns. The most frequently used verb is 'be/have': present participle *d.ola* / simultaneous converb *d.olazh* and negative *d.oaca* / *d.oacazh*. The participle (*d.ola* 'being/having', etc.) is interchangeable with the simultaneous converb (*d.olazh*) in the nominative. The oblique form is that of the participle. In all such examples the form of 'be' agrees with the first element. For the declension of phrasal adjectives see also §11.6.

eattuu bola / boa / bolazh sag
 good.luck B.be.PPL / PPL/ CVsim person
 fortunate person

eattuu	bolcha	saguo		* eattuu	bolazh	saguo
good luck	B.be.PPL.OBL	person.ERG		good luck	B.be.CVsim	person.ERG
id. (ergative)						

Other examples:

jahw jolazh	'dedicated, committed, zealous' (<i>jahw</i> 'zeal')
loadam boacazh	'insignificant, minor' (<i>loadam</i> 'significance')
bexkie doaca	'innocent' (<i>bexkie</i> 'guilt')

hwal dolazh	'wealthy' (<i>hwal</i> 'wealth')
hweaq'al dolazh	'intelligent' (<i>hweaq'al</i> 'sense, intelligence').

Examples of adjectives with other verbs as second element:

bos-bäxaa	'pale, livid'	(<i>bos</i> 'color' + B.go.CVant)
bwarjgazh deina	'blind'	(<i>bwarjgazh</i> 'eyes' D.lost)
chou jea	'wounded'	(<i>chou</i> 'wound' J.make.CVant)

11.10. Deadjectival derivation

11.10.1. *Deadjectival verbs* are formed by suffixing *-lu* (intransitive, usually ingressive or telic) and *-d.u* (transitive) to the adjective stem.¹⁰⁴ The final *-a* of the nominative is usually absent, closing the adjectival stem syllable and shortening the vowel; and in a number of verbs there is ablaut:

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Intransitive verb</u>	<u>Transitive verb</u>
<i>niisa</i> 'straight, right'	<i>niis-lu</i> 'straighten'	<i>niis-d.u</i> 'straighten'
<i>k'eadä</i> 'soft'	<i>k'ead-lu</i> 'weaken, soften'	<i>k'ead-d.u</i> 'weaken, soften'
<i>ghiila</i> 'thin'	<i>ghel-lu</i> 'get thin'	<i>ghel-d.u</i> 'make thin'
<i>kiicha</i> 'ready'	<i>kech-lu</i> 'get ready; be cooked'	<i>kech-d.u</i> 'prepare, cook'
<i>d.waaixa</i> 'hot'	<i>d.woax-lu</i> 'get hot'	<i>d.woax-d.u</i> 'heat up'
<i>t'eadä</i> 'wet'	<i>t'oada-lu</i> 'get wet'	<i>t'oada-d.u</i> 'make wet'

In some the *-a* is retained and there is ablaut. (Such examples must be by analogy to deverbal inceptives and causatives, where ablaut is regular: §§15.3, 21.7.)

<i>d.aq'a</i> 'dry'	<i>d.oq'a-lu</i> 'dry up'	<i>d.oq'a-d.u</i> 'make dry'
<i>xaarc</i> 'wrong, upside down'	<i>xoarca-lu</i> 'overturn'	<i>xoarca-d.u</i> 'overturn' ¹⁰⁵

In some the *-a* is retained and there is no shortening or ablaut:

<i>shiera</i> 'broad, wide'	<i>shiera-lu</i> 'widen'	<i>shiera-d.u</i> 'widen'
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¹⁰⁴ These same suffixes, when suffixed to verbs, form the inceptive and direct causative respectively. See §15.3.

¹⁰⁵ There is also a verb *xoarc* 'collapse', and the verb forms *xoarca-lu*, *xoarca-d.u* can be interpreted as its inceptive/potential ('can collapse, can undermine') and causative ('undermine').

11.10.2. *Deadjectival nouns* are formed by lexicalization of nominalized adjectives and participles. I have good examples only for participles. For more examples of compounds formed in this way see §8.4.2.7.

luttarjg	'tea strainer', 'filter'	lutta 'strain.PPL'
viezarjg	'lover'	d.ieza 'love.PPL'
doqorjg	'leech'	d.aqa 'suck.PPL'
saagha-diexarjg	'beggar'	'alms' + d.iexa 'ask.PPL'

The *o* vocalism of *doqorjg* indicates that the verb is formed not from *d.aqa* 'suck' but from a causative **d.oquo / d.oqa-d.u*, which does not in fact exist because the basic verb is transitive. Though **daqarjg* would be regular and is perfectly interpretable, all speakers and all dictionaries have only *doqorjg*.

Examples are (2)-(7), beginning with the simplest inflected forms, which consist of only a root in an ablaut grade and an ending, and continuing with more complex inflected forms. The ablaut grade of the stem (past, present, infinitive) is shown after the colon (in these examples only and not in the rest of the grammar). Tense auxiliaries (here and throughout the grammar: §13.0.3) are interlinearized with the name of the tense category, while the lexical verb (a converb) is given the lexical gloss.

- (2) mäl-ar
 drink:PST-WP
 'drank' (witnessed past)
- (2) mol-ar
 drink:PRS-IMPF
 'used to drink' (imperfect)
- (3) d.iish-ar
 D-read:PST-WP
 'read' (witnessed past)
- (4) d.iesh-azh vy
 D.read:PRS-CVsim V.PROG.PRS
 'is reading' (generic progressive)
- (5) hwa=chy-veal-ar
 DX=in -V.go:PST-WP
 'came in, came home' (witnessed past)
- (6) hwa-aara='a vean-na
 DX-out=& V.go.PST-CVant
 'having gone out, ...', 'went out and...' (anterior converb with chaining particle)
- (7) qeikazh xan-na xug-vy
 call.CVsim be-CVant INFR:PRS-V
 '(they) must have invited (him)' (inferential perfect tense)

In most respects, Ingush verb morphology conforms to the standard expectations that marking of derivational categories is inside of inflectional categories and more outer elements have scope over more inner ones. Thus the deictic prefix, which is in the first slot, situates the entire predicate, including its local prefix, in space. Derivational suffixes are followed by inflectional endings (tense, aspect, mood: see Chapter 13), and these are followed by pragmatic and evidential clitics and other elements which qualify or comment on the entire

predicate including the inflectional categories. There are departures from this neat picture, however, most of them involving agreement. Gender agreement is marked by mutation of the root-initial consonant (see Chapters 7 and 19),¹⁰⁶ but the future and nonwitnessed tenses also have gender agreement in their endings, and tense auxiliaries (not shown in (1)) may have gender agreement initially and/or in endings. Gender agreement is inflection, but as it has no place in the semantics it cannot be said that the various and often multiple markings of gender are actual exceptions to a generalization based on scope. Plurality (plural number agreement) and pluractionality (multiple action) in verbs (for which see Chapter 14) are expressed root-internally, by changes of the final consonant(s) and/or by suppletion. Tense is expressed by both endings (relatively outer affixes, as is expected) and ablaut of the verb root (the innermost position).

12.2. Regular verb classes¹⁰⁷

Verbs have almost no lexically conditioned differences of inflectional endings, but regular verbs fall into 16 ablaut classes. A representative verb of each class is shown in Table 12-1 and the negative forms in Table 12-2. There are three ablaut grades or stem forms: the infinitive stem (used in infinitive, verbal noun, and negative forms), the present stem (used in present, imperfect, and future tenses and converbs), and the past stem (used in the witnessed past and nonwitnessed tenses, the pluperfect, and anterior converbs).

The last four conjugation classes have only a few members each, but are nonetheless regular.

The verb *d.iez* is a regular verb of Class I except that it has an ending *-a* in the present tense, obligatorily in the senses 'ought to' (valence: Genitive Infinitive) and 'should' (case attraction and Infinitive) and optionally in the sense 'like, love' (Dative Nominative): *d.ieza* vs. *d.edz*. The verb *d.aagh* 'sit, be sitting' is a regular verb of Class III except for having the same ending *-a* in the present tense: *vaagha* 'he is sitting'.

The conjugation classes are not ancient. The ablaut grades are not reconstructible to Pre-Proto-Nakh, but rather arose as umlaut, when the root vowel assimilated in height and/or roundness to the vowel of the ending (which subsequently reduced to schwa).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Below the gender marker is called a prefix, as is usual in Nakh-Daghestanian grammars, but in several respects it behaves more like an initial consonant than an affix.

¹⁰⁷ Based on Appendix 5 of Nichols 2004.

¹⁰⁸ The history, reconstruction, and correspondences were worked out by Desheriev 1963, Imnaishvili 1977, Arsaxanov 1969 and others. Maciev 1965 describes the archaic Cheberloi dialect which has no umlaut. An English summary of some of the sound changes and dialect correspondences is Nichols 2005.

Table 12-1. Selected inflectional forms of regular verbs

Class	Gloss	Present stem	Present tense	Simult. converb	Infinitive	Witnessed past	Anterior converb
I	<i>read</i>	d.iesh	desh	dieshazh	diesha	diishar	diishaa
II	<i>beat</i>	d.iett	dett	dettazh	detta	diittar	diittaa
III	<i>stand</i>	laatt	laatt	laattazh	laatta	leattar	leattaa
IV	<i>strike</i>	tuox	tox	tuoxazh	tuoxa	tiexar	tiexaa
V	<i>place</i>	uott	ott	ottazh	otta	ettar	ettaa
VI	<i>tell</i>	d.uuc	duuc	duucazh	duuca	diicar	diicaa
VII	<i>sow</i>	d.uu	duu	duuzh	die	diira	diina
VIII	<i>say</i>	oal	oal	oalazh	aala	ealar	eanna
IX	<i>drink</i>	mol	mol	molazh	mala	mälar	männa
X	<i>fight</i>	lat	lat	latazh	lata	lätar	lätaa
XI	<i>play</i>	louz	loudz	louzazh	louza	leizar	leizaa
XII	<i>want</i>	lou	lou	louzh	laa	leira	leina
XIII	<i>call</i>	qeik	qeik	qeikazh	qeika	qeikar	qeikaa
XIV	<i>lie</i>	ull	ull	ullazh	alla	illar	illaa
XV	<i>fill</i>	d.uz	dudz	duzazh	dyza dizar	dyzar/ dizaa	dyzaa/ dizaa
XVI	<i>carry</i>	quhw	quhw	quhwazh	qahwa qihwar	qehwar/ qihwaa	qehwaa/ qihwaa
<i>Stem used:</i>			<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Past</i>

Table 12-2. Selected inflectional forms of irregular verbs

Gloss	Present stem	Present tense	Simult. converb	Infinitive	Witnessed past	Anterior converb
<i>be</i>	d.y	d.y	d.olazh	-- ¹⁰⁹	--	--
<i>give</i>	lu	lu	luzh	d.ala	dälar	d.änna
<i>do/make</i>	d.u	d.u	d.ezh	d.ie	d.yr	d.ea
<i>see</i>	gu	gu	guzh	guo	d.eira	d.eina
<i>stay</i>	we	we	wez	wie	wiira	wiina
<i>die</i>	le / lie	le/lie	lez	d.ala	d.älar	d.änna
<i>come</i>	d.oagha	d.oagha	d.oaghazh	d.aa	d.iera	d.iena
<i>go</i>	d.uoda	d.uoda	d.uodazh	d.axa	d.äxar	d.axaa
<i>bring</i>	d.ahw	d.ahw	d.ahwazh	d.aa	d.iera	d.iena
<i>take</i>	hwo	hwo	hwozh	d.ahwa	d.ehwar	d.ehwaa

¹⁰⁹ This is the defective verb 'be'; see Table 12-3.

Table 12-1, cont. Negative forms of regular verbs. Colloquially the negative witnessed past is increasingly being built on the past stem (see §13.11): *diishandzar* 'didn't read', etc.

Class	Gloss	Present stem	Negative forms:			
			Present tense	Imperfect tense	Witnessed past tense	Nonwitnessed tense
I	<i>read</i>	d.iesh	dieshac	dieshacar	dieshandzar	diishaadaac
II	<i>beat</i>	d.iett	diettac	diettacar	diettandzar	diittaadaac
III	<i>stand</i>	laatt	laattac	laattacar	laattandzar	leattaadaac
IV	<i>strike</i>	tuox	tuoxac	tuoxacar	tuoxandzar	tiexaadaac
V	<i>place</i>	uott	ottac	ottacar	ottandzar	ettaadaac
VI	<i>tell</i>	d.uuc	duucac	duucacar	duucandzar	diicaadaac
VII	<i>sow</i>	d.uu	duuc	duucar	dendzar	diinadaac
VIII	<i>say</i>	oal	aalac	aalacar	aalandzar	eannadaac
IX	<i>drink</i>	mol	malac	malacar	malandzar	mannadaac
X	<i>fight</i>	lat	latac	latacar	latandzar	lātaadaac
XI	<i>play</i>	louz	louzac	louzacar	louzandzar	leizaadaac
XII	<i>want</i>	lou	laac	laacar	laandzar	leinadaac
XIII	<i>call</i>	qeik	qeikac	qeikacar	qeikandzar	qeikaadaac
XIV	<i>lie</i>	ull	allac	allacar	allandzar	illaadaac
XV	<i>fill</i>	d.uz	d.yzac	d.yzacar	d.yzandzar	dyzaadaac
XVI	<i>carry</i>	quhw	qahwac	qahwacar	qahwandzar	qehwaadaac
<i>Stem used:</i>			<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Past</i>

Table 12-2, cont. Negative forms of irregular verbs.

Gloss	Present stem	Negative forms:			
		Present tense	Imperfect tense	Witnessed past tense	Nonwitnessed tense
<i>be</i>	d.y	d.aac	d.aacar ¹¹⁰	--	--
<i>give</i>	lu	lyc	lycar	d.alandzar	d.ännad.aac
<i>do/make</i>	d.u	d.yc	d.ycar	d.yndzar	d.ead.aac
<i>see</i>	gu	gyc	gycar	gaandzar/d.oundzar	d.einad.aac
<i>stay</i>	we	wac	wacar	wändzar	wiinad.aac
<i>die</i>	le / lie	lac	lacar	d.alandzar	d.ännad.aac
<i>come</i>	d.oagha	d.aaghac	d.aaghacar	d.aandzar	d.ienad.aac
<i>go</i>	d.uoda	axac	d.uodacar	d.axandzar	d.axaad.aac
<i>bring</i>	d.ahw	d.ahwac	d.ahwacar	d.ahwandzar	d.ienad.aac
<i>take</i>	hwo	hwoc	hwocar	d.ahwandzar	d.ehwaad.aac

¹¹⁰ A plain past tense, placed in the Imperfect column for convenience. See Table 12-3.

12.3. Irregular verbs

There are ten irregular verbs, most of them with suppletive stems in one or the other tense series. They are shown in Table 12-2. Note that several of these verbs have gender agreement only in the past and infinitive stems but not in the present stem.

Most of the irregular verbs have final vowels in the present tense. Seven of them have the shape CV in the present tense, and the final vowel in these forms is ancient. All present-tense final vowels reflect the Proto-Nakh vowels *u (Ingush /u/), *o (Ingush /u/), and *e, which were distinct present tense allomorphs in Proto-Nakh (defining three conjugation classes) until they triggered umlaut in the present stem, merged to schwa, and then (in Ingush) dropped out in all verbs except those with monoconsonantal stems and the four CVC stems *d.ieza* 'should; must', *d.aagha* 'sit' (regular, discussed above) and *d.oagha* 'come', *d.uoda* 'go' (irregular).

Ingush has two verbs 'be', shown in Table 12-3: a stative one which is highly irregular and defective and a regular one which is delimited in aktionsart (see §14.3.6) and can often be glossed 'become'. Forms of the regular verb are used for categories lacking in the irregular one (future, witnessed past, anterior converb and the tense forms built on it, and others). Ingush grammarians generally use the verbal noun *xalar/xuɫap* or infinitive *xala/xuɫa* as citation form for both verbs 'be'.

Table 12-3. *Forms of the two verbs 'be'.* Neutral 'be' is defective and irregular. Delimited 'be' is regular (Class XIV). Blanks = forms that do not exist for that verb. (Gaps in the paradigm for neutral 'be' are compensated for by using the corresponding forms of delimited 'be'.) Stem classification of forms is based on regular verbs, and is problematic for neutral 'be'.

	<i>Neutral Positive</i>	<i>Negative¹¹¹</i>	<i>Delimited Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Present stem:				
Present	d.y	d.aac ¹¹²	xul	xalac
Imperfect			xular	xalacar
Simultaneous converb	d.olazh	d.oacazh ¹¹³	xulazh	cy xulazh
Present participle	d.ola / d.oa	d.oaca ¹¹⁴	xula	cy xula
Indeterminate stem:				
Past ¹¹⁵	d.ar	d.aacar		
Infinitive stem:				
Infinitive			xala	cy xala
Verbal noun	d.ar	cy d.ar	xalar	cy xalar
Past stem:				
Witnessed past			xalar	xalandzar
Anterior converb			xanna	cy xanna
Future series:				
Future			xurg-d.y	xurg-d.aac
Finite conditional			xurg-d.ar	xurg-d.aacar
Perfect series (selection):				
Nonwitnessed			xanna.d	xannad.aac
Past nonwitnessed			xannad.ar	xannad.aacar
Progressive series (selection):				
Generic present progressive			xulazh d.y ¹¹⁶	xulazh d.aac
Generic past progressive			xulazh d.ar	xulazh d.aacar

¹¹¹ Negative forms are displayed beside their positive counterparts for clarity, though all synthetic negative forms are actually formed from the infinitive stem.

¹¹² This verb, uniquely, has a distinct vowel grade in the present negative interrogative: *d.iec=ii?*.

¹¹³ This is the only verb with a synthetic negative form for the simultaneous converb. For all other verbs, including delimited 'be' shown here, this form is analytic.

¹¹⁴ No other verb has a synthetic negative present participle.

¹¹⁵ The plain past tense is unique to neutral 'be'.

¹¹⁶ Meanings for these four forms: 'is coming into existence', 'is not coming into existence', 'was coming into existence', 'was not coming into existence'.

CHAPTER 13

INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES OF THE VERB

13.0. Introduction

Ingush has a large number of tenses and moods which combine with aktionsart and pluractionality categories (Chapter 14) to create a very rich system of tense-aspect-mood distinctions. This chapter describes the forms and meanings of the TAM categories. Appendix 1 includes full inflectional tables for two simplex verbs. Tables 12-1 and 12-2 in Chapter 12 show the main forms for one verb of each conjugation class.

Ingush has tenses that I have labeled *narrative past* and *narrative pluperfect* because they are used primarily in narrative. Speakers also use a narrative present discourse strategy, which involves shifting some tenses to present and some simulfactives to pluractional. Since this is a discourse strategy for the use of tenses rather than a distinct tense or set of tenses, it is described in Chapter 33 on discourse (§33. 4).

Ingush is notably sensitive to evidentiality, and speakers generally comment on the evidentiality rather than on the aspect or tense when asked to explain the meaning of a tense. I have tried to label tenses based on the most salient meanings, so the tense that might have been called aorist is termed *witnessed past* here and what might have been called perfect is termed *nonwitnessed*.

13.0.1. Overview of TAM formation. Recall from Chapter 12 that regular verbs mostly have the root shape CVC and several irregular ones have the shape CV; and that there are three stem forms, marked by different ablaut grades in regular verbs: present, past, and infinitive. To these stems are added various tense/mood endings. (Morphophonemics are explained below with the individual tenses and moods.) The forms with their endings are shown in (1).

(1) Endings, classified by stem type. The productive form is listed first.

Present stem:

Present	-Ø	
	-a	a few CVC verbs
	-V	irregular CV verbs
Imperfect	-(a)r	
	-(a)ra	irregular CV verbs
Future stem	{-(a)(r)g-}	
Simultaneous converb	-(a)zh	
Sequential converb	-ie	
	{-j}	CV verbs

Infinitive stem:

Imperative	-a
Infinitive	-a

Past stem:

Witnessed past	-ar	
	-(a)ra	a few CV verbs
Anterior converb	-aa	
	-Ca	-C = copy of stem-final consonant; for all stems in <i>-n</i> , <i>-d</i> , some in <i>-l</i> and <i>-t</i>
	-na	(and <i>-ln-</i> > <i>-nn-</i> , yielding <i>-nna</i>) for most stems in <i>-l</i> and all in vowel (most of which are irregular)
Sequential converb	-ie	

There are also a good number of tense/aspect/mood auxiliaries, chiefly forms of the verbs 'be', which are postposed to one or another suffixed form (most often a converb). The auxiliaries take the full range of tense forms and may themselves be complex with further auxiliaries. It seems that all possible combinations of base forms, auxiliaries, and tenses of auxiliaries occur, and the meanings of the combinations are partly but not entirely predictable from the sum of the parts. Here I have described only those that occur with sufficient frequency in the Berkeley Ingush Corpus to support descriptions in standard terms.

For practical purposes the tenses can be divided into suffixed ones and those formed with auxiliaries. Some of the tense suffixes have distinctive morphophonemics that point to an origin in clitics, and some are etymologically identical to independent verb forms and must once have been auxiliaries, but they are all suffixes at this point. The auxiliaries are written as separate words in Ingush spelling, and they are separate syntactic words: they can be moved by word-order rules, can stand alone as answers to questions, etc., and some of them can determine the case of the subject, overriding the lexical verb's case assignment.

13.0.2. Idiosyncratic tenses. There are two verbs 'be': neutral *d.y* (an irregular verb) and delimited *xul* (regular). Their forms were shown in Table 12-3. Both verbs function as lexical verbs and also provide TAM auxiliaries. Neutral 'be' has a defective stem paradigm with only a present stem and the forms based on it. It has a plain past tense, which no other verb has; all other verbs have imperfect, witnessed past, and others which neutral 'be' lacks. It also has a synthetic negative simultaneous converb *d.oacazh* and a synthetic negative interrogative *d.iec=ii*. All other verbs have analytic forms here.

13.0.3. Interlinears. Some of the tense and mood forms would require very long interlinears if the interlinears were fully explicit. Compare the two interlinears of the same form (irrealis converb of the negative pluperfect) in (2): the first one completely interlinearizes both the lexical stem *b.eaxaa-* (an anterior converb) and the tense auxiliary *b.iec-* (a form of 'be'); the

13.1. Simple (synthetic) tenses

Simple, or synthetic, tenses consist of the verb stem and the ending. The ending can include a cliticized form of 'be' (as the future and nonwitnessed endings do), but the whole is a single phonological and syntactic word. In contrast, the analytic tenses have an auxiliary which is a separate phonological word and (except for the inferential tenses) a separate syntactic word (it can assign case to the verb's subject, overriding the case lexically governed by the verb but making no changes in argument structure and having no effect on the object case).

13.1.1. Present tense. Form: Present stem plus present ending. For most verbs (and all but two regular verbs), the present tense suffix is zero. Since the root-final consonant is then in word-final position, final gemination occurs (§3.3.1).

Meaning: This is more properly a generic present tense, having much the same force as the English simple present: 'reads', 'calls', etc.

(8) Uquo eannar vwaalla='a **xazac** suona
3s.ERG say.PPL.NZ at all=& hear.NEG 1s.DAT
I just **can't hear** what he says. (0223B.7)

(9) Yz dika **xodz**.
3s good hear.PRS
That **sounds** good.

(10) Yz di **daga+doagh=ii** hwuona?
DEM day remember+D.LV.PRS=Q 2s.DAT
Do you **remember** that day?

(11) Handz jisha='a uqaza Maghalbikie **jaax**
now sister=& here (place).ADV J.live.PRS
(His) sister **lives** here in Malgobek. (0542)

It can be have a repeated or habitual sense:

(12) Dearaq'onna cwaccadoa di suona hwa-daga+diexacha, jelxa=m **jelx** so
INTERJ one.DISTR day 1s.DAT DX-remember+D.LV.CVtemp RED=FOC J.cry 1s
I swear, there are some days that I **cry** when I remember. (0238A.10)

(13) Aaz haara denna pwieghazh **jul**.
1s.ERG every day.DAT dish.PL J.wash
I **wash** the dishes every day.

- (14) Yz sixa **lel**.
3s fast walk.PRS
S/he **walks** fast.
- (15) Wai aara wa-otta-dicha xii **shal-lu**
winter.ADV outside DX-put-D.CS.CVtemp water freeze-VZ.PRS
In winter, water **freezes** if it's left outside.

It can be used for present-tense narration:

- (16) Tuskar **hwal-duz** hwa='a boaxazh
basket up-D.fill.PRS DX=& B.pick:PL.CVsim
He **fills** the basket by picking pears.
- (17) Waqeidie yshta mazharjg towa-bii ... mazharjg **tox** aaz caarna.
DX-reach.CVseq thus snowball press-B.CS.CVseq snowball strike.PRS 1s.ERG 3p.DAT
I reach down and make a snowball and **throw** it at them. (0238A)

It has the meaning of intention or agenda in certain contexts:

- (18) T'aaqqa, Xaza jaaxar my xannavii, Eaga-qaala xannuu yz,
so call.PPL.NZ EMPH be.NW.V=Q (place) be.NW.V 3s
dolccha bessa **dwa-duuc** aaz hwuona.
D.be.PPL.OBL:FOC nature.OBL DX-D.tell.PRS 1s.ERG 2s.DAT
So there was this Xaza, he lived in Eaga-qaala, I'll tell you all about it. (*dolccha bessa* 'in the appropriate way') (0392B.1)
- (19) Chei **mol=ii** wa?
tea drink.PRS=Q 2s.ERG
Will you have some tea? (The speaker is pouring herself some tea and politely offers tea to an office mate.)

For the inherently progressive verbs *d.aagha* 'sit', *laatt* 'stand', *ull* 'lie', *d.oall* 'be contained' the simple present tense has present progressive meaning: 'is sitting', 'is standing', etc. For all other verbs, progressive meaning can only be conveyed by a progressive tense (§13.4 below). For more examples see §14.3.2.

- (20) Malaghcha doqq'aa **vaagha** je sag ch'ieghaazh='a tiexaa?
what.OBL ?.DAT V.sit.PRS DEM person lock.PL=& strike.CVant
Why the hell **is** this man **sitting** locked up? (PL 2.4)

- (21) Naanaz vyndza-vea qendza Gheaza shie uqqaza **vaagha** hwuona
 mother.ERG V.unborn-V.born immature 3SRFL here:FOC V.sit.PRS MIR
 This ungrown pup of a Gheaza **is** in fact **sitting** right here himself. (Dumézil 1936)
- (22) Istuolaa k'al cysjk **ull**.
 table.DAT under cat lie.PRS
 There's a cat (**lying**) under the table.
- (23) Jurta jistie joaqqa sag **ull** cymogazh jolazh
 town.GEN nearby J.old person lie.PRS sick.CVsim J.PROG.CVsim
 In the next town an old woman **is** sick ('**is lying** sick'). (0246B.22)
- (24) Zhwalii bun=chy **wa-dyzhaa** **ull**.
 dog pen=in down-D.lie_down.CVant lie.PRS
 The dog is in the kennel. (The dog **is lying** in the kennel.)¹¹⁷
- 13.1.2. Imperfect.* Present stem plus past ending; high tone (rise-fall) on first syllable: *môlar*, *diêshar*, *voâlar*; CV stems *luora* 'gave', *xoura* 'knew, used to know'.
 Meaning: Depending on the aktionsart of the verb, either habitual ('used to...', etc.; repeated or typical occurrence or propensity) or durative ('was VERB-ing'): *dieshar* 'used to read, would (often) read'; 'was studying'.
- (25) Txy kartagh kart='a joallazh **vaaxar** yz='a
 1pEX.GEN fence.LAT fence=& J.be located V.live.IMPF 3s=&
 He lived next door to us. ('He lived fence to fence with us.') (0409.22)
- (26) zha detta='a dettazh naxcha **joaxar**
 sheep RED=& D.milk.CVsim cheese J.take:PL.IMPF
 They **would** milk the sheep and **make** cheese. (0216B.3)
- (27) ... sellara xoza, sheara ghalghaai mettala **joaxar** cuo yzh
 so beautiful fluent Ingush.GENpl language.ADV J.take:PL.IMPF 3s.ERG 3p
 ... so well and articulately did he **translate** them into Ingush. (0531.08)
- (28) Txy daaz yshta **oalar** yz
 1pEX.GEN father.ERG thus say.IMPF 3s
 Our father **used to talk about** this.

¹¹⁷ Lexicalized nuclear chaining (§24.3): 'having lain down is lying'.

- (29) *latinski* alapazhca **jaaz-duora** vei
 Latin letter.PL.INS write-D.VZ.IMPF 1pIN.ERG
 We **used to write** in Latin letters (0392A.41)
- (30) Mista xudar myshta **duora**?
 sour porridge how D.make.IMPF
 How did they **make** sour porridge? How was sour porridge made? (A traditional
 Ingush food.) (0417.1.04)

13.1.3. *Witnessed past.* Past stem plus past ending; high tone (rise-fall) on the ending: *mälâr, d.iishâr, v.ealâr*. CV verbs and some irregular verbs have the ending *-ra*: *d.iera* 'came', *d.eira* 'saw'.

Meaning: This is an aorist-like past tense indicating that the action occurred once in the past, on a particular occasion. It is a perfective tense: if the verb is telic, the action is usually understood as completed, and in narrative the verbs in this tense are usually sequenced on the timeline. There is salient evidential meaning: the speaker saw (or otherwise witnessed) the event take place.

- (31) Aaz cyngara kinashjka **icâr**
 1s.ERG 3s.ABL book buy.WP
 I **bought** a book from him.
- (32) Erjgazh **jaazdyr=ii** vei? Boarxa ustagh by eanna.
erjgazh write-D.WP=Q 1pIN.ERG bicolored sheep B.be.PRS SUB
Have we recorded (the word) *erjgazh*? In the sense 'two-colored sheep'. (0395B.1)
- (33) Yshtta **veizar** suona Ibreahwam.
 thus V.know.WP 1p.DAT
 That's how I **got to know** Ibrahim. (0531.08)
- (34) Duqa xa joaccazh televizor=chy jer **veira=q** suona.
 much time J.be.NEG:FOC.CVsim TV=in 3s V.see.WP=CUM 1s.DAT
 I **saw** him on TV not long ago. (0418.20)

In relating reports or stories heard firsthand from the words of an eyewitness, *ealar* (say.WP) '(s/he) said' functions almost as an evidential marker, sometimes occurring in nearly every clause immediately after the finite verb. It means that the speaker heard the narrative directly. The narrative itself is then often in the tense the original witness actually used. In the following the story line is a repeated or habitual event and in the imperfect, but the speech verbs are in the witnessed past because the original witness said it once on some occasion.

- (35) Tq'ea shi' inaral voaghar **ealar**, shie *propusk* jalcha maara,
 20 two.NZ general V.come.IMPF say.WP 3sRFL pass J.give.CVtemp only
 cynna t'y-vaxa jish jolazh vaacar **ealar** yzh.
 3s.DAT at-V.go.INF possibility J.be.CVsim V.PROG:NEG.PST say.WP 3p
 22 generals would come to get the permit without which they couldn't go to see him
 (the czar), he said. (0398B.1)

13.2. Future series

Two tenses are built on the future stem: the future and the conditional. Unlike the other forms that serve as bases for analytic tenses, the future stem has no other functions (it does not serve as a converb, participle, or other nonfinite, and cannot be used alone as a tense form). It is formed by adding the suffix *-(a)rg* to the present stem, and since this suffix is followed by a form of 'be', all of which are consonant-initial, consonant clusters found nowhere else in the language are formed at this morpheme boundary. These undergo unique forms of assimilation, which are described with the tenses just below.

13.2.1. Future. Future stem plus present tense of 'be', =*d.y*. The *-r* of the future stem is not pronounced and the *-g* assimilates to gender initials *b* and *d* and undergoes gemination before the other two:

<i>Underlying</i>	<i>Phonetic</i>	<i>Written here</i>	
dettarg=vy	[dettaggvy]	dettagvy	'will beat'
dettarg=jy	[dettaggjy]	dettagjy	
dettarg=dy	[dettaddy]	dettaddy	
dettarg=by	[dettabby]	dettabby	
xug=vy	[xuggvy]	xugvy	'will be'
xug=jy	[xuggjy]	xugjy	
xug=dy	[xuddy]	xuddy	
xug=by	[xubby]	xubby	

The assimilation is preserved in D gender even if the lexical stem and the enclitic 'be' are separated by an interposed word or clitic (typically negative, interrogative, or emphatic) or because of focused or other special word order. (36)-(37) are a pair showing the ordinary future and an emphatic one with the emphatic clitic *my* interposed. (38)-(39) are a similar pair with negation: (38) shows the usual form of a verb and (39) the form with distant assimilation where instead of the neutral negative *d.aac* 'D.be:NEG' the emphatic negative

mycha lit. 'where' is used and the gender agreement of *d.aac* is cliticized to it. (40-41) and (42-43) are similar.

- (36) ad-dy (older variant: aad-dy; underlying: {aarg-dy})
say.FUT.D
'will say'
- (37) Aaz hwuoga baq'ahw **aad** my=**d** ealar
1s.ERG 2s.ALL truth.ADV say.FUT EMPH=D say.WP
I'll tell you what it really is, he said. (0395A.31)
- (38) duoxa-ded-daac
D.break-D.CS.FUT -D.NEG
'won't break'
- (39) Wa=chy-vealcha laamaz **duoxaded** mycha=**d** uquo.
DX=in-V.go.CVtemp prayer D.break-D.CS.FUT NEG=D 3s
When he comes in he won't interrupt his prayers. (0408)
- (40) gud-daac
see.FUT-D.NEG
'will see'
- (41) bwarjgazhka joq' tiexacha hama **gud** mycha=**d** caarna
eye.PL.ALL ashes strike.CVtemp (any)thing see.FUT NEG=D 3p.DAT
They couldn't see anything when ashes were thrown into their eyes. (0392B.1)
- (42) xud-dii
be.FUT-D=Q
will (it) be?
- (43) Aaz cogh jaazdear wa diishaa='a **xud** my **dii**?
1s.ERG 3s.LAT write.PPL.NZ 2s.ERG D.read.CVant =& be.FUT EMPH D=Q
You've presumably read what I wrote about him? (0542)

Under the same circumstances there is no distant assimilation with B gender:

- (44) Boaqii nax=m **xug** my **bii** yzh (not **xub my bii*)
B.old.PL people=FOC be.FUT EMPH B.=Q 3p
Well, they will be elders someday. (0409.22)

and there is no gemination in V and J gender: [xug my jii], [xug my vii] (not [xug: ...]).

Evidence for the /t/ of the future suffix *-arg* is the fact that in verb forms like /xugvy/ 'will be.V', etc., where the /g/ is preceded by /u/, that /u/ is fairly tense, i.e. it has the quality (though not the length) of /uu/ [u:] and not that of /u/ [ʊ]. The *r seems to have tensed the short /u/ before dropping out (as it generally tenses short /u/, see §3.3.8). The /t/ is still to be heard when the lexical stem is followed by something other than a form of *d.y*, e.g. a form of delimited 'be' *xul*:¹¹⁸

(45) xaarc derg xalcha
false D.do.FUT be.CVtemp
'when (I) will falsify' (PL 2.1)

(46) arg xalcha
say.FUT be.CVtemp
'when (I) will say' (ibid.)

The meaning of the future tense is any kind of future, either generic or specific but not progressive (for the progressive future see §13.4.5 below).

(47) Wa sy axcha qoana hwa-luddii?
2s.ERG 1s.GEN money tomorrow DX-give.FUT.D=Q
Are you **going to give** my money back (to me) tomorrow?

(48) Dwa-xoattaddy=q vei cynga, [ealar] Bunxoz.
DX-ask.FUT.D=CUM 1pIN 3s.ALL [said] Bunxuo.ERG
We'll **ask** him, said Bunxuo. (0418.36)

(49) Qoana suoca vwaashagh-qieta jish xugjii hwa?
tomorrow 1s.INS RECIPR-meet.INF possibility be.FUT.J=Q 2s.GEN
Can we meet tomorrow? Can you meet with me tomorrow? ('Will it be possible for you to meet with me?' 'Will you have the possibility to meet with me?')

(50) Taxan vuuchara wa so k'alxar-vaaqqaragh, aaz shortta
today V.perish.PPL.NZ.ABL 2s.ERG 1s save-V.LV.VN.LAT 1s.ERG plenty
axcha=ji soughatazh=ji luddy hwuona='a, hwa dottaghazhta='a.
money=& gift.PL=& give.FUT.D 2s.DAT=& 2s.GEN friend.PL.DAT=&
Since you saved my life today, I'll **give** you and your friends plenty of money and gifts.
(CDD 33)

¹¹⁸ The *r is present in all forms in Chechen: *xir vu* = Ing. *xugvy* 'will be.V'.

It can also be used for singularization of a general state of affairs:

- (51) Mec-velcha fynnagh **deddy**
 hungry-V.VZ.INCP.CVtemp anything D.do.D.FUT
 You/one/anyone will do anything from hunger. (0776)

13.2.2. *Finite conditional.* Future stem plus past tense of 'be'. Meaning: Used in the main clause of conditional constructions:

- (52) Cy oalazh **ghogvar** so ealar joax, nagahw hwo reaza valie
 NEG say.CVsim go.V.CND 1s say.WP QUOT, if 2s agreed V.be.CVirr
 "I'll go without saying anything, if you don't mind," he said. (0408)
- (53) T'aaqqa, yz mychaa vuoda xouzh xalcha, yz gargacha
 so 3s where V.go.PRS know.CVsim be.CVtemp 3s nearby
 vuodazh xalcha, **hwa-voala-vergvar** oaxa yz.
 V.go.CVsim PROG.CVtemp, DX-V.go-V.CS.CND.V 1p.ERG 3s
 If we knew where he was going or if he lived nearby, we'd **pick him up**. (0415.12)
- (54) ... suona xazaadaacar yz, xazaadalarie, aaz cy kinashjkaa
 1s.DAT hear.D.NEG.PNW 3s hear-D.CVcnd 1s.ERG DEM.OBL book.DAT
 jiq'iera **hwoddar** yz eanna
 inside include.CND.D 3s SUB
 (He said) he hadn't heard that but if he had he would have included it in the book.
 (0246B)

and in self-standing conditionals:

- (55) Vouz=ii **hwozhaddar** vei
 V.recognize=Q look.CND.D 1pIN.ERG
 We'd like to see whether she will recognize him. (0202A.1))
- (56) Jerriga woudalal suoga='a **qoachiitagjaacar** jahw leacaacha naaxa.
 J.all stupidity 1s.ALL=& arrive-CSind-CND.J envy seize.PPL.OBL people.ERG
 Envious people wouldn't let me have all the fool to myself. (PL 1.4.2)
- (57) Bealghan hwa='a beaxkaab, cu mettazhkie sa+lowazh baaghazh
 (place) DX=& B.go:PL.NW.B DEM.OBL place.ADV rest.CVsim B.sit.CVsim
 caarna daga-diexaad caarna uqaza je mettig **wa-jullagjar** vai eanna.
 3p.DAT realize-D.LV.NW.D 3p.DAT here DEM place DX-put.CND.J 1pIN.ERG SUB

They came to Bealghan and while they were resting there it occurred them that they **could build** a town there. (0743)¹¹⁹

13.2.3. *Conditional use of the past inferential.* The auxiliary *xud-d.ar* 'would be' can be used with an anterior converb to form a past conditional. In the Ingush orthography this auxiliary is written as a separate word. This conditional belongs with the perfect series and is described there (§13.3.7), but unlike the rest of that series it can also have a purely conditional, non-inferential use. Examples of its conditional use are:

- (58) Ehw dalaarie, mocagha hwadea **xuddar**
 conscience D.OPT2.CVirr long_ago DX-D.do.CVant INFRpst.D
 If only they had any conscience they would have done it long ago. (PL 1.4)
- (59) Siexan xii wa aara wa-otta-dea-d.alaarie, yz **shal-danna xuddar**
 yesterday water 2s.ERG outside DX-place-CS*.D.OPT2.CVirr 3s freeze-D.VZ INFRpst.D
 If you had put the water out to chill yesterday, it would have frozen.
- (60) Xamcha justar+iiqqaa-viecarie, cicxa **xanna xuddar** cogh
 aside+jump-V.NEG.NW.CVirr splash be.CVant INFRpst 3s.LAT
 If Xamcha hadn't jumped out of the way, he would have been smashed to smithereens.
 (*Serdaluo*, 2/10/05; http://www.ingush.ru/serdalo60_3.asp)

13.3. Perfect (or inferential) series

The tenses in this series all consist of the anterior converb plus a tensed form of 'be' that is partly affix-like and partly clitic-like in its sandhi. It is not a syntactic word, however, in that it does not assign the nominative subject case governed by 'be' to the subject of the verb it is attached to; the verb takes its usual cases. The form of 'be' agrees in gender with the S/O, not with the A.

13.3.1. *Nonwitnessed.* Anterior converb (past stem plus anterior converb ending) plus cliticized form of the present tense of 'be', with special morphophonemics. The final vowel of =*d.y* is not pronounced. (In careful speech and especially in the usage of the oldest generation, it is sometimes pronounced.) The sequence of preceding schwa plus =*iy* yields /ii/; schwa plus =*vy* yields /uu/.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ The second token of *caarna* was identified by a consultant as a performance error or at least a stylistically substandard repeat.

¹²⁰ I write *-aai* {aa=*iy*} but *-aav* {aa=*vy*}, using "v" (not "u") for V gender but "i" for J gender, because a diphthong /aai/ exists in a few words but there is no diphthong **aa*u. See §§2.4.3.3, 2.4.3.6.

There is high tone on the anterior converb ending in the modern pronunciation.

<i>Underlying</i>	<i>Modern</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	
manna=dy	mannâd	mannady /manndy/	'didn't drink', 'hasn't drunk'
xanna=dy	xannâd	xannady /xanndy/	'wasn't', 'hasn't been'
xanna=by	xannâb	xannaby /xannby/	
xanna=jy	xannîi	xannajy /xannji/	
xanna=vy	xannûu	xannavy /xannvy/	
diittaa=dy	diitâad	diittaady	'didn't beat', 'hasn't beaten'
biittaa=by	biitâab	biittaaby	
jiittaa=jy	jiitâai	jiittaajy	
viittaa=vy	viitâav	viittaavy	

The negative is formed in the same way, with the negative of 'be' suffixed. The medial schwa of *mannâdaac*, *xannâdaac*, etc. is elided but there are no special morphophonemics.

mannadaac 'didn't drink'
xannadaac, *xannabaac*, *xannajaac*, *xannavaac* 'wasn't'
diittaadaac, *biittaabaac*, *jiittaajaac*, *viittaavaac* 'didn't beat'

Meaning: Often this tense is a fairly typical north Eurasian evidential present perfect, indicating a past event with present results when the speaker has not witnessed the event. The aspect is perfective: the event has occurred and the result is in force, so the endpoint of telic, punctual, and ingressive aktionsart is realized. This tense can be used in ordinary narrative where the speaker did not see the event but sees (or has seen) the result and infers the event, but it can also be used where the speaker has not seen the result and is not inferring anything. It is the usual tense for narration of legends, myths, folktales, jokes, stories heard from others, and the like, and also the usual tense of proverbs. Thus the basic meaning can be described as a perfective event with a result, where the speaker has not necessarily witnessed the event. To Ingush speakers, the most salient meaning seems to be the fact that the speaker did not witness the event, and this is usually the only property mentioned by language consultants. However, the verb occurs with good frequency in the first person singular, where it naturally indicates events which the speaker has witnessed and/or performed, so the meaning that is salient to speakers is not the only meaning of this form.

An example of narrative in the nonwitnessed tense is this passage set in the middle ages.

- (61) Cigara diecii_hwuona vvaashagh **lataab**.
 there um each other fight.NW.B
 ... qea den, qea busie=ji **lataab** joax.
 three.OBL day.GEN three.OBL night.ADV=& fight.NW.B QUOT

... T'aaqqa, yzh ghaalaxoi duqa bii?, **eannad**.
 then DEM.PL city_people many B.PRS=Q say.NW.D

Yzh handz='a duqa by, **eannad**.
 3p now=& many B.be.PRS say.NW.D

They **fought** there. ... They **fought** for three days and three nights. ... Then he **said**,
 "Are there a lot of those city people?" --" There are still a lot of them," they **said**.
 (0240B)

For other examples see Texts (Chapter 35). Examples of proverbs:

(62) Daaz xoasta-dea di hwalxa **bienabaac**,
 father.ERG praise-D.CS.CVant horse ahead B.come.NW.B.NEG

naanaz xestajea jow shii c'agha **jisaii**.
 mother.ERG praise-J.CS.CVant daughter 3SRFL.GEN house.ADV J.stay.NW.J

A horse whose owner brags about it doesn't win the race; a girl whose mother brags
 about her stays unmarried. ('A horse bragged about by its owner didn't win, a girl
 praised by her mother stayed unmarried')

(63) Oaxazh eannar oardazh **kora+dead**
 plow.CVsim say.PPL.NZ thresh.CVsim find+D.LV.NW

What was said while plowing is ('was, has been') found while threshing. (Proverb)

(64) Shii c'agharā lei voacar
 3SRFL.GEN house.ADV.ABL servant V.be:NEG.PPL.NZ

neaxa-ciga eala='a **xannavaac**.
 people.GEN-chez prince=& be.NW.V.NEG

One who is not a servant in his own house he won't be a prince (i.e. respected guest) in
 others'. (One who doesn't wait on guests won't be waited on as a guest.) (*neaxaciga* 'at
 someone else's place', lit. 'at people's place')

An example in speech, where the sense is resultative:

(65) Cwa mealxara jar hwo, Tawaibat, fy **dead** hwuona? ealar aaz.
 some sad J.be.PST 2s (name) what D.do.NW.D 2s.DAT say.WP 1s.ERG
 "You're so sad today, Tawaibat, what **happened** to you?," I said. (0238A.10)

The nonwitnessed tense can often correspond to an English passive: examples are (62)
 and (63) above and (72) in §20.7.

13.3.2. *Past nonwitnessed or pluperfect.* The form is the same as the nonwitnessed except that the auxiliary is the past tense form of 'be'.

mannadar	'drank, had drunk'
mannadaacar	'didn't drink, hadn't drunk'
xannavar	'was, had been'
xannavaacar	'wasn't, hadn't been'

Meaning: The event occurred in the past and the speaker did not witness it. In narrative where the basic narrative tense is nonwitnessed, the past nonwitnessed has pluperfect force and is not on the time line. Outside of narrative, and especially in elicitation, it is simply a resultative past where the speaker did not witness the event but has seen or at least vouches for the result. This tense does not seem to have true pluperfect sense very often; that is usually done with core chaining.

- (66) Ea:: selxan yshtta my **eannadar**=ii aaz
 oh-oh yesterday thus EMPH say.PNW=Q 1s.ERG
 Oh-oh, yesterday I said such-and-such ... (0408) (Flashback in narrative)
- (67) Mel xa **jeannajar** hwa?
 how much time J.go.PNW.J 2s.GEN
 How old were you (at the time of a childhood event being described)? (0216B.3)
- (68) Azar qaa dieq'azh baagha, jidz con jieq'azh baagha
 azar field D.divide.CVsim B.sit.PRS pasture J.divide.CVsim B.sit.PRS
 oalazh **xazaadar** suona, cuduhwa jaaxar aaz.
 say.CVsim hear.D.PNW 1s.DAT therefore say.IMPF 1s.ERG
 The *azar* divided fields and the *jidz* divided pastures, I've heard. That's why I said that.
 (0415.12) (Speaker explains old words he has heard at some time in the past.)
- (69) Shiina c'aa **deadar** cuo joax *otdel'no*
 3SRFL.DAT room D.make.PNW.D 3s.ERG QUOT (R)separately
 He (had) made himself a separate room. (0202.A.1)
 (Background in narrative; the speaker is telling a real-life story heard from someone else, hence the quotative)

13.3.3. *Narrative past.* Formed like the past nonwitnessed except that instead of the past tense of neutral 'be', the nonwitnessed tense of delimited 'be' is used as auxiliary. Meaning: Prior events off the timeline, in narrative where the basic timeline tense is nonwitnessed.

Also, property concepts usually expressed as a nonwitnessed tense or past participle with stative-resultative sense (like *d.yzaa* 'full', lit. 'filled': §§11.3, 11.9.1.4) will often take this form in a narrative context. In (72) speaker A reports the original narrator's words, using the witnessed past plus a quotative verb form. Speaker B is the recorder, making a polite confirming interpretive statement. He did not hear the story (or witness the events), and he uses a nonwitnessed tense, which has a certain amount of inferential meaning.

(70) ... *vei muo wa-xeishaa daaghazh cuo diicar yz.*
 1pIN like DX-sit:PL.CVant D.sit.CVant 3s.ERG D.tell.WP 3s

Cwa pwa hwearchaa xannab ealar
 some guilt in blood feud enmesh.CVant NARP.B say.WP

He_i told me this when we (excl.) were sitting just like we (incl.) are now. He_i said he_j **had gotten involved** in a vendetta. (0408)

(71) *Shoanie Shoanaxoi shi teipa maara deaxaadaac ...*
 (place).ADV (tribe) two clan only D.live.NW.D.NEG

Shi'azh byssaa xannab.
 two.PL B.remain.CVant NARP.B

There were only two Shoanaxoi clans living in Shoan. ... Only two **were left**.

(72) A: *Biisana, seiriina dwaai-hwaai dolxar txo eanna,*
 night.ADV evening.ADV there-here D.go:PL.IMPF 1pEX SUB

cwannie shollaghvar mychahwa vy cy xouzha ...
 one.NZ.DAT other.V.NZ where.ADV V.be.PRS NEG know.CVsim

B: *Tiesham beina xannab.*
 trust B.disappear.CVant NARP.B

A: At night we went off in different directions so none of us knew where any of the others were, he said. ...

B: They didn't trust each other (I guess) (Lit. 'trust **had been lost**'). (0207A.2)

Clearly inferential is (73), where Genghis Khan's general surveys his slaughtered troops:

(73) *Jerazh qierabanna beidda xannabaac je ghalghaai ...*
 3p fear-B.INCP.CVant B.run:PL.CVant NARP.B.NEG DEM Ingush

tiishaacha_balxaa beaxkaa xannab jerazh uqaza eannad.
 deception.DAT B.go:PL.CVant NARP.B 3p here say.NW.D (0240B)

It evidently wasn't in fear that the Ingush **fled**; they **went away** as a deception, he said.

13.3.4. *Narrative pluperfect.* Pluperfect in a narrative that is in the narrative past tense.

- (74) Cuo so sielie jy eanna xannadar
 3s.ERG 1s Daghestanian J.be.PRS say.CVant NARPP.D
 She **had said** she was Daghestanian. (0204A)

- (75) Vyddzaa q'uonax vy hwo, jaaz='a dea keaxat
 V.real man V.be 2s write=& D.VZ.CVant letter

hwa-denna xannadar cuo ...
 DX-D.give.CVant NARPP.D 3s.ERG

You're a real man (said the officer). He wrote a letter and **gave** it to him ... (0418.36)

13.3.5. *Inferential perfect.* Anterior converb plus the future tense of delimited 'be'. The meaning is that the speaker infers (not from evidence but logically) that the event must have happened. In (78) the interviewer knows that the person in question was shown on television and confirms the speaker's statement. This tense is often used in the consequence clause of a conditional construction. Note that in form it looks like a future perfect ('will have gone', etc.), but it never seems to have such a meaning.

- (76) Wa pi laa=chy wa=chy-jettaa shura cyskuo dwa-manna-xugjy.
 2s.ERG glass=in DX=in-J.pour.PPL milk cat.ERG DX-drink-INFRpf
 The cat **must have drunk** the milk you poured into the glass.

- (77) Dwa-oaghuora voallazhie='a Daala twaisiitaa xugvy yz,
 DX-recline V.be_located.CVirr=& God.ERG sleep-CSind V.INFRpf 3s,
 twaisaav yz
 fall asleep.NW.V 3s

Right while he was lying there he fell asleep -- God **must have made** him **fall asleep**.
 (0408)

- (78) A Duqa xa joaccazh televizor=chy jer veira=q suona.
 much time J.be.NEG:FOC.CVsim TV=in 3s V.see.WP=CUM 1s.DAT

B **Veina xugvy.**
 V.see.CVant be.INFR.V

A I saw him on TV not long ago.

B Right, you **probably did**. (0418.20)

13.3.6. *Past inferential.* The auxiliary is in the finite conditional form. Usually used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional constructions, where it sometimes has no inferential sense (see §13.2.3).

- (79) Xa xannajalarie yz **diishaa** **xuddar** (cuo)
time be-J.OPT.CVcnd 3s D.read.CVant INFR.PST.D (3s.ERG)

If there had been time he would have read it. / might have read it.

- (80) Cyskuo shura **dwa-manna** **xugjar**
cat.ERG milk DX-drink.CVant INFR.PST.J

The cat may already have drunk the milk / might have drunk the milk / would (probably) have drunk the milk.

13.3.7. *Nonwitnessed inferential.* The meaning is much the same as for the inferential perfect, but in a narrative context where the main tense is nonwitnessed. The witnessed vs. nonwitnessed distinction does not hold for inferential forms, since inferred events are not witnessed by definition; rather this form is used in a generally nonwitnessed context. In (82) the speaker describes what her brother has reported about their childhood home (which she has not seen for some time), and the interviewer adds a polite confirmation.

- (81) Cysjkuo shura **dwa-manna** **xannaxugjy**
cat.ERG milk DX-drink.CVant INFR.NW.J

The cat may already have drunk the milk. The cat must have drunk the milk.
(On seeing the empty bowl or the sleeping cat.)

- (82) A: ... cy='t'y geanzh t'y='a jeannii ealar, twoura vei
DEM=on tree.PL on=& J.grow.NW.J say.WP formerly 1pIN

deaxacha xaana sanna daac yz joaxar cuo='a
D.live.PPL.OBL time.DAT like D.be.NEG 3s say.IMPV 3s.ERG=&

- B: Yz **vaxaa** **xannaxugvy**
3s V.go.CVant INFRnw.V

A: ... It's overgrown with trees, it's not like it was when we lived there, he said.

B: He must have gone there. (0409.22) (B infers, from A's description, that the person A heard this from must have seen the place firsthand.)

13.3.8. *Ongoing inference.* The progressive of the future auxiliary combined with the anterior converb (with or without other auxiliaries) produces a set of forms that imply that the speaker is making the inference at the moment of speech. There are few examples in the Berkeley Ingush Corpus but they can be elicited.

- (83) Cyskuo shura **dwa-manna xugjolazh jy**
 cat.ERG milk DX-drink.CVant J.FUT.CVsim J.PROG
 The cat must have drunk the milk.
 (Situation: We left some milk for the cat. We come into the room later and see an empty saucer. The cat is also absent, but we infer that it drank the milk.)
- (84) Cyskuo shura **dwa-manna xanna xugjolazh jy**
 cat.ERG milk DX-drink.CVant be.CVant J.FUT.CVsim J.PROG
 id. (Same situation as (83), but in past tense narrative of some other party, i.e. not witnessed by the speaker.)
- (85) Hwoa **tolxa-bea xubbolazh baac caar cyn**
 brain spoil-B.CS.CVant B.FUT.CVsim B.INFR.NEG 3p.ERG 3s.GEN
 I guess they must not have hurt his brain. (0415.12)

13.3.9. *Inferential future*. Present participle plus the future tense of delimited 'be': *mola xuddy* 'must be going to drink', *diesha xuddy* 'must be going to read'. This tense is a unique combination of these two forms: the present participle figures in no other inferential tense, and no other forms of the auxiliary are possible with it (**dwamola xugjar*, **dwamola xannad*, **mola jy*, **dwamola xannaxugjy*, etc.).

Meaning: The speaker infers that the action is intended or will be performed. A present-tense-like reading is sometimes reported.

- (86) Cuo gazet **diesha xuddy**
 3s.ERG newspaper D.read.PPL INFRfut.D
 He'll probably read the paper. He probably reads/is reading the paper.
- (87) Yz ciga **vuoda xugvy**
 3s there V.go.PPL INFRfut.V
 He'll probably go there. He must be going there / going to go there.
- (88) a. Cysjkuo shura **mola xugjy**
 cat.ERG milk drink.PPL INFRfut.J
 The cat must be going to drink the milk.
- b. Cysjkuo shura **dwa-mola xugjy**
 cat.ERG milk DX-drink.PPL INFRfut.J
 The cat must be going to drink the milk up.
- c. Cysjkuo shura **miela xugjy**
 cat.ERG milk drink:PLC.PPL INFRfut.J
 The cat must be going to drink the milk (repeatedly)

13.4. Progressive series

These tenses consist of the simultaneous converb plus one or another form of 'be' or other auxiliary verb. The auxiliary is not cliticized but is phonologically an independent word. Two morphosyntactic forms of progressives exist: either the subject case is the same as in the simple tenses (e.g. ergative, dative), or it is nominative regardless of the verb's case government. (The difference is of course relevant only for verbs with non-nominative subjects, e.g. transitive verbs.) I will call the two progressive forms *ergative progressive* (where the A is in its normal non-nominative case, e.g. ergative or dative) and *nominative progressive* (where the A is nominative).¹²¹ The choice of both forms is available only with the auxiliary 'be'; the other progressive auxiliaries take only the nominative construction. Since these other auxiliaries are all intransitives, they can be said to assign their regular subject case to the subject of the progressive construction, overriding the lexical verb's usual subject case assignment. A schematic overview of the forms is:

- (89) Cuo xii mol
 3s.ERG water drink.PRS
 He drinks water. (Transitive in simple tense; ergative subject)
- (90) Cuo xii molazh dy
 3s.ERG water drink.CVsim D.PROG.PRS
 He is drinking water. (Ergative progressive with 'be'.)
- (91) Yz xii molazh vy
 3s water drink.CVsim V.PROG.PRS
 He is drinking water (these days). He drinks water (these days).
 (Nominative progressive with 'be'.)⁷⁴
- (92) Yz xii molazh laatt
 3s water drink.CVsim PROG.PRS ('stand')
 He's drinking water (right now; visible or at least known to speaker)
 (Nominative progressive with 'stand'.)

There is a difference of meaning between the nominative and ergative progressives. The ergative progressive is a prototypical progressive, indicating that the action or situation went on more or less continuously or regularly during some time frame; often it frames a punctual or completed action. The nominative progressive implies a longer and less delimited time frame and an intermittent action or a tendency during that time frame; some consultants

¹²¹ The nominative progressive is what is known in the typological literature as a biabsolutive construction (see Forker 2011).

mychaa vug **xouzh** **vaac** d.h.
 where V.lead.PRS know.CVsim V.PROG.NEG

I've been sentenced to 15 years and **am being taken away** (to prison), where to I **don't know**. (0201A)

- (98) Hama bwarjga+guzh mychuu yz
 (any)thing eye+see.CVsim V.PROG:neg=V 3s
 He's blind. (Lit. 'He doesn't/can't see anything') (0542)

- (99) So hamagh hwadzh dika **qietazh** **vy**.
 1s thing.LAT odor well grasp.CVsim V.PROG
 I have a good sense of smell. I can smell things well.

The progressive is possible, and fairly frequent, with modal, stative, and durative verbs (see also (99)):

- (100) Ciga_denc_dwa hwo zwamiga vy, handzchyl t'ehwaa vaaxa
 besides 2s young V.be.PRS now.CSN after V.live.INF
viezazh **vy**, aaz dikka xa='a jeaqqaai.
 V.should.CVsim V.PROG 1s.ERG good:FOC time=& spend.NW.J
 Besides, you're young and should go on living, while I've lived quite a while. (0240A)

- (101) So xietarjgahwa *dvadcat' vtorogo* vea xala **viezazh** **vy**,
 1s probably 1922 V.born be.INF V.must.CVsim V.PROG
 boq'oncahwdar xaac suona.
 true.ADV-D.NZ know.NEG 1s.DAT
 I must have been born about 1922, I don't know exactly (0392B)

- (102) Hwa c'i **jouzazh='a** **by** jerazh, bii?
 2s.GEN name J.know.CVsim =& B.PROG 3p B.PROG=
 So they know your name? (Recorder to speaker, clarifying a point about the narrative.)
 (0395A.31)

With a pluractional verb the meaning is a repeated event or a tendency:

- (103) Yz gour **q'exkazh** **jy**
 DEM horse startle:PLC.CVsim J.PROG
 This horse startles (often). This horse is skittish.

13.4.2. *Ergative present progressive.* Same as the nominative present progressive except that the subject case is whatever the verb (and not the auxiliary 'be') normally requires, and the auxiliary agrees with the S/O. The action is often limited to a time frame or circumstance made clear in the context: (105) describes the viewer's perception of a scene which, though static, obtains only while that film frame is visible, (106) describes a failure to note something on a specific occasion, and (107) describes something seen only at the moment of speech. This tense is not frequent and not always easy to elicit. Consultants sometimes note that the focus is on the (ergative, dative, etc.) subject, and (103) involves clear contrastive focus.

- (104) Aa, **aaz** imaamal **dezh** **jy** je jurta, q'iemata diinahwa
no 1s.ERG imamhood D.do.CVsim PROG DEM town.ADV judgment.GEN day.ADV
suoga xoattaddolazh dy.
1s.ALL ask.D.FUT.CVsim D.PROG

No, I'm the one who is the imam of this town, and I'm the one who will be called to answer for this on judgment day. (0246B.22)

- (105) Cwa xoza aarie, cwa xoza besh='a **vaina** **bwarjga+guzh** ciga=chy **jy**.
one pretty field one pretty garden=& 1pIN.DAT eye+see.CVsim there=in J.PROG
We see a pretty field, a pretty garden there. (Pears)

- (106) Cu qieraa t'ehwazhjka **aqaarna** bwarjga='a **cy** **guzh** baazhazh
DEM.OBL stone.DAT behind 3p.DAT eye=& NEG see.CVsim B.graze.CVsim
beallaa sei
B.PROG.PPL deer

a deer that they didn't see grazing behind the stone (Frog)

- (107) **hwuona** **guzh** **doa** nwoucysjk hwa dieghaa lataddolazh
2s.DAT see.CVsim D.PROG.PPL caterpillar 2s.GEN body.DAT fight.D.FUT.CVsim
doa lazar dy hwuona
D.PROG.PPL disease D.be.PRS MIR

The caterpillar that you see (before you) is a disease that will attack your body.
(0395; interpretation of a dream)

13.4.3. *Nominative past progressive.* Same formation as in 13.4.1 except that the auxiliary is in the past tense. The subject is nominative, regardless of the lexical verb's valence.

Meaning: During a specified time frame in the past the subject performed the action or tended to perform it. Or, when a punctual event happened in the past, the subject was performing the action. This tense is moderately frequent.

- (108) Txy naana maasha **bezh** **jar**
 1pEX.GEN mother homespun B.make.CVsim J.PROG.PST
 Our mother used to make homespun wool. (0216B.3) (=93)
- (109) **Bolx bezh** **var** handz vai vuucazh vola Ozdoi Ibreakham.
 work B.do.CVsim V.PROG.PST now 1pIN.ERG V.talk.CVsim V.PROG.PPL
 Ibrahim Ozdoev, who we were just talking about, was working (there). (0531.08)
- (110) Dwa-vuoda hwo, jaax aaz, vai=m **dwa-dolxazh** my **dii**
 DX-V.go 1s say 1s.ERG 1pIN=FOC DX-D.go:PL.CVsim EMPH D.PROG=Q
 You'll leave (=die), I tell them, and we (=my generation) are already going (dying).
 (0398B.1) (An elder, on how he tries to convince his younger relatives to pass on
 cultural traditions.)
- (111) Handz daga+doagha suona, so zwamiga valie='a,
 now remember+D.LV.PRS 1s.DAT 1s little V.be.CVirr=&
 sherch **lexkazh** **var** so
 bull.PL drive:PL.CVsim V.PROG.PST 1s
 I remember, though I was little I would drive the oxen. (0392B.1)

With modals, statives, etc.:

- (112) Kompot cu xaana ja='a jaacar, yz **xozazh='a**
 compote DEM.OBL time.DAT RED=& J.be: NEG.PST, 3s hear.CVsim =&
jaacar, naaxa jezh jaacar
 J.PROG.NEG.PST people.ERG J.make.CVsim J.PROG.NEG.PST
 They didn't have compote at that time, it **wasn't even heard of**, they didn't make it.
 (0776)
- (113) Je ghaazqii mott dika **xouzh** **var**
 DEM Russian language well know.CVsim V.PROG.PST
 He **knew** Russian well. (0240B)
- (114) Handz xou suona yz mashen joljga, cu xaana
 now know 1s.DAT 3s car J.be.SBJ DEM.OBL time.DAT
 "mashen" aala **xouzh** mycha **var** so
 car say.INF know.CVsim NEG V.PROG.PST 1s
 Now I know it's a car but at that time I didn't know the word for 'car'. (0395A.31)

- (115) Cuo yz shii *balalaaika* bie bellaa, p'el'jg
 3s.ERG DEM 3SRFL.GEN hand.ADV B.insert.CVant finger
 watiexacha ... mycchahw valie, yz voljga xouddolazh,
 DX-strike.CVtemp where:FOC V.be.CVirr 3s V.be.SBJ know.FUT.CVsim
 shii teipaara oaz joaghazh, ___ shii teipaara
 3SRFL.GEN type.ABL voice **J.come.CVsim** (NOM) 3SRFL.GEN type.ABL
zvuchaani jolazh my **bar=ii**.
 sound J.be.CVsim EMPH B.PROG.PST=Q

When he picked up his balalaika and strummed one chord, no matter where he was you could tell it was him because his balalaika had a distinctive sound. (0542)
(barii agrees in gender with the nominative null anaphor of *balalaaika* (B), marked with the underscore; it would be genitive in a non-progressive clause.)

- (116) Txo wa-deannacha staanciera shiitt kilometar dwa-daxa
 1pEX down-D.go.PPL.OBL station.ABL 12 km. DX-D.go.INF
diezazh dar txo.
 D.must.CVsim D.PROG.PST 1pEX

We had to walk another 12 km. from the station where they let us out. (0776)

13.4.4. *Ergative past progressive*. Same formation as in §13.4.3 except that the subject case is that required by the lexical verb and the auxiliary agrees with the S/O. For an example see (94) above in §13.4.

13.4.5. *Future progressives*. There are two ways to form a future progressive, depending on whether it is the auxiliary or the lexical verb that is in the future tense. The first type, where the auxiliary is in the future tense, is more clearly inferential and most likely to be used apodosis in a conditional construction. The second type, where the lexical verb is formally future, is more nearly a true future progressive. Both types are uncommon in texts and I have been unable to get consistent responses on the differences in their meanings.

13.4.5.1. Simultaneous converb plus future tense of delimited 'be'.

Meaning: This tense is ambiguously a future progressive and a future inferential. On the progressive reading, the activity will occupy a time frame in the future. On the inferential reading, it is likely to happen. Since the auxiliary is progressive both nominative and ergative forms of this tense exist, but I could not elicit any difference in meaning.

- (117) Cyskuo shura **molazh xugjy**
 cat.ERG milk drink.CVsim PROG.FUT.J
 (a) The cat may be going to drink the milk. Possibly the cat will drink the milk.

(b) The cat will be drinking the milk (e.g. when I come in).

- (118) Cysjik shura **molazh** **xuddy**
 cat milk drink.CVsim PROG.FUT.D
 (a) id.
 (b) id.

A text example is (119).

- (119) Fy dica **qoachazh** **xuddy** sy yz?
 what D.do.CVtemp be_made_full.CVsim PROG.FUT.D 1s.GEN 3s
 What do I have to do to make it up? ('If I do what it will be made full?') (0743)

13.4.5.2. Future simultaneous converb of the lexical verb plus present tense of the auxiliary. There is no nominative/ergative opposition in this tense since the auxiliary itself is future and the future tense does not make this opposition.

- (120) Cyskuo shura **magjolazh** **jy**
 cat.ERG milk drink-J.FUT.CVsim J.PROG
 The cat will be drinking the milk

13.4.5.3. Counterparts with the auxiliary (or its last part) in the past tense exist for both of the future progressive forms. The difference in meaning between the two forms is small, and both can serve as finite conditionals.

- (121) Cyskuo shura **molazh** **xugjar**
 cat.ERG milk drink.CVsim PROG.J.CND
 The cat would be drinking the milk (if ..)
- (122) Cyskuo shura **magjolazh** **jar** (xannajalarie)
 cat.ERG milk drink-J.FUT.CVsim J.PROG.PST (be.J.OPT.CVirr)
 The cat would drink/would have been drinking the milk (if there had been any)

A text example shows the second type used as apodosis in a counterfactual conditional construction. There is no inferential sense at all.

- (123) Yshtta xannadiecarie vwaalla='a soca-vie cy='a mogazh
 thus be-D.NEG.NW.CVirr at all stop-V.CS.INF NEG=& be_able.CVsim
velxagvolazh **var** so
 V.cry.FUT-V.CVsim V.PROG.PST 1s
 If it had been otherwise I would have cried uncontrollably. (0240A)

13.4.6. *Actual progressive*. Simultaneous converb plus present tense of one of the inherently progressive verbs, most often *laatt*, lit. 'stand'. *Laatt* implies that the speaker knowingly or deliberately performs the action. It is not literal; the subject need not be actually standing (though, when asked, speakers sometimes say that the subject must be standing). *D.aagha* 'sit' implies stubborn and/or continued performance of the activity despite negative indications; when asked, speakers say that the subject must be sitting, but in actual usage it is not clear that this is essential. *Ull* 'lie' is used only when the subject is literally lying down performing the action. *D.oall*, lit. 'be contained', strongly connotes agentivity.

Meaning: A prototypical progressive, where the activity fills a time frame and is in progress at the moment of speech. Typically, the speaker sees the subject performing the action. With ingressive and punctual verbs the meaning can be 'is beginning to...'. Pear story narratives told in the present tense have many tokens of this tense. All of what has been said here applies only to clauses with animate and especially human subjects; with inanimate subjects these verbs do not seem to have progressive force, either as lexical stance verbs or as auxiliaries.

(124) *Kyljgazhca hwa-boaxazh voall yz quorazh*
 hand.PL.INS DX-B.pick: PL.CVsim V.PROG 3s pear.PL
 He is picking the pears with his hands. (Pears)

(125) *Gour kerchazh ull.*
 horse roll.CVsim lie.PRS
 The horse is rolling around on its back.

(126) *Fy dez hwa laatt hwo?*
 what D.do.CVsim PROG.PRS 2s
 What are you doing?

(127) *C'aa xoarczazh laatt*
 house collapse.CVsim PROG.PRS
 The house is collapsing

(128) *So qietazh laatt*
 I understand.CVsim PROG.PRS
 I'm beginning to understand.

(129) *Hwazaljg handz ghottazh laatt*
 bird now fly away.CVsim PROG.PRS
 The bird is flying off. The bird is taking off.

The following minimal pair, with a pluractional verb, makes clear the semantic difference between a plain progressive (125a) and its actual progressive counterpart (b). (b) is

semantically odd because the auxiliary indicates that the action is in progress and we see it, while the stem is pluractional and indicates that the action occurs habitually or often.

- (130) a Ber **wa-liegazh** **dy**
 child down-fall:PLC.CVsim D.PROG
 The child is unsteady on his feet. The child falls often. (Cf. (185) in §13.6.2.)

b ?? Ber **wa-liegazh** **laatt**
 child down-fall: PLC.CVsim PROG

13.4.7. *Past actual progressive.* Same as 13.4.6 except that the auxiliary is in the imperfect tense: *molazh laattar, dieshazh vaaghar.*

Meaning: The activity filled a time frame in the past. Typically, it was in progress at some reference point in the past (e.g. when a punctual event occurred). Pear story narratives phrased in the past use this tense frequently.

- (131) T'aaqqa, yz laqie voallar shii quorazh **hwa-boaxazh** **voallar.**
 then DEM above V.be.PPL.NZ 3SRFL.GEN pear.PL DX-B.pick:PL.CVsim V.PROG.IMPF
 So the guy up above was picking his pears. (Pears)

- (132) T'aaqqa, cu jixie ... **hwa-voaghazh** **laattar** zwamiga sag.
 then there nearby DX-V.come.CVsim PROG.PST young man.
 Then a young man was passing by. (Pears)

- (133) Cwan hamanna **iila+jezh** **laattar** so
 some.OBL thing.DAT think+J.LV.CVsim PROG.PST 1s
 I was just thinking about something. (E.g. in answer to 'Why did you frown just then?')

- (134) Boad **q'oulazh** **laattar**
 darkness cover.CVsim PROG.PST
 It was getting dark out.

- (135) T'aaqqa dynien wilam='a **woma-dezh** **vaaghar** so cu xaanna
 then world.GEN science=& study-D.LV.CVsim V.PROG 1s DEM.OBL time:FOC.DAT
 At that time I was also doing secular studies. (0404)

13.4.8. *Occasional progressive.* Simultaneous converb plus present tense of delimited 'be': *molazh xul, dettazh xul.* Meaning: The activity occurs or is performed from time to time throughout a time frame. This tense is also used for off-timeline verbs in narrative present passages: §33.4.

- (136) So neaq'aa aara-vealcha **lora-luzh** **xul**.
 Is road.DAT out-V.go.CVtemp be_careful-INCP.CVsim PROGocc
 When I start off on a trip I'm always careful.
- (137) T'aaqqa, cogh wa-jaxaa dylla **koacha='a jolazh** **xul**
 then 3s.LAT DX-J.go.PPL broth liquid=& J.be.CVsim PROGocc
 The broth that comes out is liquid. (from a recipe) (0417.1.04)
- (138) Qaalsaguo pwa **liexazh** mycha **xul**.
 woman.ERG feud seek.CVsim NEG PROGocc
 A woman never takes part in a feud. (0816)

This tense can be formed from the actual progressives:

- (139) Muusaa hwa=chy massa voal **bolx bezh** **joallazh** **xul** so
 DX=in every time V.go.PRS work B.LV.CVsim J.PROG.CVsim PROGocc Is
 Whenever Musa gets in I'm already at work. ... I'm already working.

A form with *xulazh xul* has similar or identical semantics, and may or may not be a separate tense:

- (140) wa-xeina **vaaghazh xulazh** **xul**
 down-sit.CVant V.sit.CVsim be.CVsim PROGocc
 (e.g. every time I come in) he's (usually) sitting there. It usually happens that he's sitting there.

13.4.9. *Past occasional imperfect progressive*. Same as §13.4.8 except that the auxiliary is in the imperfect tense: *molazh xular* or (for repeated durative acts) *molazh laattazh xular*.

- (141) T'aaqqa yzh qaachazh='a, cy **qaachazh='a xular** cigacha
 then 3p ripen.CVsim=& NEG ripen.CVsim=& PROG.IMPF there
 Sometimes we got a harvest and sometimes not. ('Sometimes they ripened, sometimes not.' (0409.22)
- (142) Yshitta yz **luusazh laattazh** **xular=q**, daa'imancaa yz luusazh.
 thus 3s stir.CVsim stand.CVsim PROG.IMPF=CUM, always 3s stir.CVsim
 They would stand there stirring it, constantly stirring it. (0418.20) (Preparation of brick tea, a.k.a. Kalmyk tea.)
- (143) *Postojanno* lieqa='a **lieqazh** **vaaghazh xular** joax
 constantly RED=& play:PLC.CVsim V.sit.CVsim PROG.IMPF QUOT
 He would often be sitting there playing it (a guitar). (0202.A.1)

13.4.10. *Narrative past progressive.* Meaning: In a past narrative context, the action occurred more or less continuously throughout some delimited time frame. Most text examples have intransitive verbs, so it is impossible to distinguish nominative from ergative progressives on the subject case alone, but there are some transitive examples like (148) below, a nominative progressive. In these examples, as for the intransitive ones, the meaning is a progressive action or situation set in a past narrative context.

- (144) Revoluci joalacha xaana Varshaavie universitietie
 Revolution J.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT Warsaw.ADV university.ADV

dieshazh xannuu yz
 D.study.CVsim NW.PROG.V 3s

During the Revolution he was a student ('was studying') in Warsaw. (05341)
 (Consultant: 'while the Revoltion was in preparation and ongoing', i.e. onset and subsequent phase.)

- (145) Atbasaarie **baaxazh xannab** yzh cu xaana.
 (place) B.live.CVsim NW.PROG.B 3p DEM.OBL time.DAT
 They were living in Atbasaar at that time. (0202)

- (146) Joaqqa taruo **jolazh=m xannavaacar** yz.
 J.great financial security J.be.CVsim=FOC NW.PROG.NEG.V 3s
 He didn't have much financial security. (0380A.13.16) (Great-grandsons talking about their great-grandfather; not narrative.)

- (147) Neicii shi nouq'ost **xannuu** cy jiq'ie **vaaghazh**
 son-in-law.GEN two friend NW.PROG.V 3s.OBL alongside V.sit.CVsim
 Two friends of a son-in-law were sitting with him (at a party). (0246A.36)

- (148) Teaka-hwaastie **joaqqazh xannab** yzh ...
 (place name) J.take.CVsim NW.PROG.B 3p
 They were beseiging Teaka-hwaastie. (0409.22)

- (149) Jer wat'yvaxacha **twaisaa ullazh xannuu** vozh.
 3s DX-arrive.V.CVtemp fall asleep.CVant lie.CVsim NW.PROG.V the other
 He went over, and the other guy was lying there sleeping. (0408; s.a. §35.3)

13.4.11. *Ergative narrative past progressive.* Same as §13.4.10 except that the subject case is assigned by the lexical verb and the tense auxiliary agrees with the S/O. The meaning is habitual, iterative, or occasional events or activities in the past; unlike the nominative counterpart, in this tense there is no particular time frame other than the fairly distant past,

and no continuous action. Many examples describing traditional practices of pre-modern times use this tense.

(150) Txy mal joa jow caar **dwaquulazh xannii**
 1pEX.GEN how_many J.be.PPL daughter 3p.ERG DX-lead:PL.CVsim PROG.NARP.J
 They took many brides from our clan. (0231A)

(151) Haara c'agha jowuo hama **tiegazh xannii**, haara c'agha
 each house.ADV girl.ERG something sew.CVsim PROG.NARP every house
 dwaaw mawacha naaxa ... doa **bezh xannab**,
 DX male.OBL people.ERG wicker B.make.CVsim PROG.NARP.B
 jiicaa kart **jezh xannii**, k'udalazh **jezh**
 J.plaited fence J.make.CVsim PROG.NARP jug.PL J.make.CVsim
 c'asta pwaarazh **xannab**.
 copper.GEN smith.ERGpl PROG.NARP.B

In every house girls sewed things, in every house young men made wicker and wicker fences; coppersmiths made water jugs. (0206A.3)

(152) Cuduhwa **boxkiitazh xannab** / ghalghaazh shoazh
 therefore B.bury:PL-CSind.CVsim PROG.NARP.B Ingush.PL.ERG 3pRFL
 beinachyl t'ehwagha / maalxara kashamashka
 B.die:PL.PPL.NZ.CSN after sun.ABL tomb.PL.ALL

That's why the Ingush had themselves buried in sun tombs after they died. (MK)

(153) represents this category on the evidence of the agreement of the auxiliary with the O, though it has no overt A:

(153) Hwa='a jii, **dwa-qossazh xannajaac** yz ga,
 DX=& J.make.CVseq DX-throw.CVsim PROG.J.NARP.NEG DEM tree
 massa xaana **liela-jezh xannii** yz.
 how_many time use-J.CS.CVsim PROG.NARP.J 3s

Once they had made the tree they didn't throw it out but used it many times. (0380A)
 (A trimmed tree hung with candy and decorations used in traditional festivals.)

The second clause of (154) is a narrative past progressive of an occasional progressive (§13.4.8):

- (154) Sherazh dwa-uxazh xannad, Achama nuskalaa daga-dar
 year.PL DX-go:PLC.CVsim PROG.NARP.D A.GEN bride.DAT hope-D.LV.NZ

goachazh xulazh xannadaac.
 arrive.CVsim PROGocc.CVsim PROG.NARP.NEG.D

Years passed, but what Acham's wife hoped for didn't come to be. (Nesar)

13.4.12. Inchoative progressive. Simultaneous converb plus witnessed past of the delimited verb 'be': *molazh xalar*. This is not a common form. It means 'started VERB-ing', much as *xalar* by itself usually means 'became, started to be'.

- (155) K'ezig-duqa xa jaalalehw **bolx bezh xalar** Doshlaq'a.
 a little-much time J.go.CVbefore work B.LV.CVsim PROGinchWP
 After awhile Doshlaq'a started working there. (based on 0531.-08)

13.4.13. Inferential progressives. Anterior converb plus narrative past or narrative pluperfect of delimited 'be'. Forms whose meaning has to do with inference of a progressive action can be elicited but are rare in texts, and consultants differ as to their exact meaning. A text example is the last clause of §35.5 (sentence (110)). Elicited forms are:

- (156) molazh xanna xannuu
 drink.CVsim be.CVant PROG.INFR.V
 'it turns out he was (in the process of) drinking (something up)'

- (157) molazh xanna xannavar
 drink.CVsim be.CVant PROG.INFR.V
 'it turns out he had been (in the process of) drinking (something up)'

13.5. Non-indicative moods

13.5.1. Plain imperative. Infinitive stem plus ending *-a*. For all regular verbs the plain imperative is identical to the infinitive (though their negative forms are different: the infinitive takes *cy=* and the imperative *my=*). Meaning: Default imperative form, used whenever there is no specific addressee and when the pragmatics of the mild and future imperatives do not apply: writer's comments to reader; orders and commands; sudden warnings; etc. The addressee is expected to comply (or at least react) immediately.

- (158) Oarc daala!
 alarm D.go.IMPV
 Help! (Cry for help in major emergencies such as fires.)

(159) Sel ch'woagha my aala
 so loud NEG say.IMPV
 'Don't say it so loud.' 'Don't shout at me.'

(160) Dwaaxuo vaala!
 aside V.go.IMPV
 'Get out of the way!' 'Watch out!'

(161) Saabar die.
 wait D.LV.IMPV
 Wait. Hang on a second. Just a minute.

It can also be used in the first person:

(162) Je kaad dwa-mala vai
 this cup DX-drink.IMPV 1pIN.ERG
 'Let's drink this cup', 'Let's drink to...' (part of traditional toast)

13.5.2. *Mild imperative.* Infinitive stem plus ending -âl (with high tone). Meaning: Requests and suggestions.

(163) Niw hwa-jielal.
 door DX-J.open.IMPVmild
 'Would you open the door?' 'Please open the door.'

(164) Hwazhal, ...
 look.IMPVmild
 'look,...' 'y'see,...'¹²²

13.5.3. *Future imperative.* Mild imperative plus singular -ahw, plural -azh (reduced suffixal forms of the second person singular and plural pronouns respectively): -âlahw, -âlahz. High tone remains on the -âl-.

Meaning: Polite requests and suggestions; corresponds to English imperatives with *please*. Usually the addressee's compliance is intended to be in the future, after some other event; then it is close to English *why don't you ...*

(165) Qoana wiiranna kuofii dycha, so hwa-soma+vaaqqalahw
 tomorrow morning.DAT coffee D.make.CVtem, 1s DX-awake+V.LV.IMPVfut
 Tomorrow morning, after you make coffee (please) wake me up.

¹²² Allegro form /hwâl/, with rising pitch (or perhaps high tone on the /l/).

13.5.4. *Hortative*. Mild imperative plus *-aa*: *-alaa*. Meaning: Another mild imperative, often close to a hortative in meaning and not necessarily addressed to a second person.

(166) **Laduughalaa**, votig

listen.IMPVopt uncle.DIM

'Listen, uncle' (PL 1.4)

(167) **Hwazhalaa**, myshta biezamie t'y-ec hwo vuoqa jowuo.

see.IMPVopt how kindly accept.PRS 2s other.OBL daughter.ERG

'Let's see how kindly your other daughter will receive you' (PL 1.4)

(168) "Hwaaina jettie='a, hwaaina deana jaaxie='a,

2SRFL.DAT J.beat.CVconc 2SRFL.DAT father.DAT call.CVconc

cynna t'ehwara my **vaalalaa** ealie" caar *rekomendovat'*

3s.DAT after NEG V.go.IMPVopt SUB.CVirr 3p.ERG recommend

dear dwa-xular=q cu xaana

D.LV.PPL.NZ DX-be:IND.IMPV=CUM DEM.OBL time.DAT

Their (joking) recommendation "Even if she beats you, even if she swears at your father, don't pass her up," would sometimes be realized in those days. (0246A.36)

(169) Woudaluo dannadar jer jaaxazh, vuocha naaxaga **liela-d.eitalaa**

fool.ERG D.give.NZ DEM say.CVsim, bad.OBL people.ALL use-D.CS-CSind.IMPVopt

'Since a fool gave it, **may** bad people **use** it', '**let** bad people use it' (PL 2.4)¹²³

13.5.5. *Optative 1*. Auxiliary *d.alara* (also *d.alar*) suffixed to the present stem. Meaning: 'why don't you...', 'how about if we...', 'would that we/he/you/they ...'.

(170) **Joagha-jalara** hwo.

J.come-J.OPT 2s

'**Why don't you marry** (him/me)?' '(Well then so) **marry** him'

(171) Deallahwii, Cagen, cu hwaai daaz fy dea

INTERJ DEM.OBL 2SRFL.GEN father.ERG what D.do.CVant

xannad **duuca-dalara** wa txuona.

NARP.D D.tell-D.OPT1 2s.ERG 1pEX.DAT

Heavens, Cagen, **why don't you tell** us what your father would have done. (CDD)

¹²³ *liela-d.u* 'use, wear, operate' is a direct causative. The double causative *-d.eit-* here is because the indirect causative is added as a switch-reference device (see §21.7.2.6).

13.5.6. *Optative 2*. Auxiliary *d.alaara* (or *-d.alaara* if this consists of the hortative ending plus *-ra*) suffixed to the present stem.

- (172) *geanarcha neaq'a=t'y wa='a my vienav=ii hwo, oala-dalaara*
 far.OBL road=on DX=& EMPH V.come.NW.V=Q 2s, say-D.OPT2
 wa ealar joax
 2s.ERG say.WP QUOT.PRS
 "You've come a long way, why don't you tell me?", he said. (0408)

- (173) *Hamagh qietazh var jer, hwiexa-dalaara wa eanna*
 thing.LAT understand.CVsim V.PROG 3s teach-D.OPT2 2s.ERG SUB
 '(He said) He would be a good student, why don't you take him on as a student' (0404)

13.5.7. *Past optative 1, 2*. The same auxiliaries *-d.alar / -d.alaara* suffixed to the past stem. Meaning: 'Would that (he/they/we...) had...!', 'I wish (he/they/we/...) had...!', 'if only ...!'

- (174) *Tux xannadalarie, gettara Daala_tuoxar dar yz*
 salt be.D.OPT very (idiom) D.be.PST 3s
 If there had only been salt it would have been fantastic. (0776)

13.5.8. *No future optative*. Though there is a future form of the counterfactual desiderative converb with conditional and optative-like meaning (§13.9.3.3), there is no corresponding finite future optative. Evidently the plain optative or the finite conditional (§13.2.2) has sufficiently future meaning to make a separate future optative unnecessary.

13.5.9. *Optative 3*. Added to the present stem of most verbs and the infinitive stem of delimited 'be' is a sequence *-l=d.y* with distinctive sandhi:

	<i>'be' (delimited)</i>	<i>'make/do'</i>
D gender:	xalda	dolda
J gender:	xaila	joila
B gender:	xalba	bolba
V gender:	xalva	volva

Meaning: 'May it be', etc.; used in the third person. This form is quite common in fixed expressions with a few high-frequency verbs. It is not frequent otherwise but can be formed from any verb.

- (175) *Daala gesht+dolda cynna*
 God.ERG forgive+D.LV.OPT3 3s.DAT
 God forgive him

- (176) *Deala reaza xalda hwuona*
 God pleased be.OPT3.D 2s.DAT
 God bless you.¹²⁴
- (177) *De dika xalda hwa*
 day good be.OPT3.D 2s.GEN
 Good day. Hello.
- (178) *Megead, wa eannacha xalda yz*
 OK, 2s.ERG say.PPLpst.OBL be.OPT3.D 3s
 OK, let's do it as you said. OK, let it be as you suggest.
- (179) *Hwuona barkal xalda wa uq peredaachie daaq'a laacaragh,*
 2s.DAT thanks be.OPT3.D 2s.ERG DEM broadcast.ADV part take.VN.LAT
eattuu baalby shyn balxa='a, vaaxarie='a.
 luck B.go.OPT3.B 2p.GEN work.ADV=& V.life.VN.ADV=&
 Thank you for participating in this broadcast. Good luck to you in your work and life.
 (0380A.28)
- (180) *Cuo dear sogh my qietaldy.*
 3s.ERG D.do.PPL.NZ 1s.LAT NEG reach.OPT3.D
 May I never come into contact with what he's doing. May what he does never reach
 me. (i.e. approximately 'I don't want anything to do with him.')
- (181) *Adamaa t'y my joaghiila yz biisa.*
 human_being.DAT on NEG J.come.OPT3. DEM night
 May no other person ever experience such a night. (0776)

13.6. Evidential categories

In addition to the inferential evidentiality of the nonwitnessed form, there are some dedicated evidentiality-related forms in Ingush. All of these are indicative in meaning. The first two are clearly inflectional categories, very frequent in narrative. The third, also very frequent, is arguably a discourse strategy akin to topic marking. The fourth and fifth are less frequent, but quite possibly emergent or incipient inflectional categories. All are found only on finite verbs (never in chained clauses, but the fifth type is occasionally found in

¹²⁴ *reaza* is an adjective and the verb should agree with the subject, but for some reason in this set expression the verb is in D gender rather than agreeing with *Deala* (V) 'God'.

complement clauses). I am treating all of them as inflectional categories of the verb because all are marked by suffixes, clitics, or auxiliaries immediately following the verb (regardless of their actual scope), because their meanings partly overlap with those of the clearly inflectional inferential tenses, and because of the precedent set by Molochieva 2010 describing evidentials for Chechen. Though the non-evidential TAM categories of Ingush and Chechen generally coincide closely in meaning, the evidential categories seem to differ more, so some of my category labels differ from Molochieva's labels for cognate Chechen forms.

13.6.1. *Quotative or hearsay*: a tense form of *joax* 'say' postposed to the finite verb. The usual tense form is present *joax* 'they say; it's said', but the form can vary depending on that of the finite verb. The meaning is that the speaker has heard this, either from a specific individual or as general hearsay, but does not vouch for it. Many or most, but not necessarily all, finite verbs in a narrative heard from someone else are likely to have *joax* postposed (see §35.3 for an example). Examples from narrative set in the mythic past:

- (182) T'aaqqa, vaampal **veaghaav joax**, tur wa='a ottadea k'al ...
 so then giant V.sit.NW.V QUOT sword DX=& stand-D.CS.CVant under
 A *vaampal* (giant) was sitting there with his sword laid out before him... (0392B.1)

the middle ages:

- (183) Ch'woagha xoza ch'ondarjg **loqazh xannuu joax yz**
 very pretty (instrument) play.CVsim PROG.NARP.V QUOT 3s
 He is said to have played the *ch'ondarjg* (stringed instrument) very well. (0240B)

the possibly real past:

- (184) Yz Hwulii jaaxar ... joaqqa hwu **xannii joax** ciga, erdz='a bolazh
 DEM say.PPL.NZ J.big forest be.NW.J QUOT there reeds=& B.be.CVsim
 The name "Hwulii" ... it's said there used to be a big forest there and a reed bed.
 (0392B.1)

present results of prehistoric events:

- (185) Vei dei **by joax yzh** dwa-bexkaa mel boaxkarazh
 1pIN.GEN father.PL B.be.PRS QUOT 3p DX-B.bury:PL.CVant all B.be located:PL.CVsim
 Those buried in them (kurgans in lowland Ingushetia) are said to be our ancestors.
 (0240B)

A personal story heard from the witness:

- (186) Cwa adam **daacar joax** cu staancie
 one person D.be:NEG.IMPF QUOT DEM.OBL station.ADV
 There wasn't a single person at the station (he said). (0201A.1)

A proverb-like generalization:

- (187) Cysjk iisadz **le joax**
 cat 9 times die.PRS QUOT
 A cat dies nine times.

An example of quotative (on a speech verb) embedded under 'hear' is (188):

- (188) Suona cweaqa teipaara xazaad yz:
 1s.DAT another kind.ABL hear.NW.D 3s
 shei dika-var wa-xoavie ghaand='a daac caar
 3pRFL.GEN good-V.NZ down-sit-V.CS.INF chair=& D.be.PRS.NEG 3p.GEN
 ("tron" oal=q vai), shei vuovar chy-volla
 throne say=CUM 1pIN.ERG 3pRFL.GEN bad-V.NZ in-V.bury.INF
 k'oag='a baac eannad **jaaxazh='a xazaad.**
 pit=& B.be.NEG.PRS say.NW.D QUOT.CVsim=& hear.NW.D

I've heard it differently: He said, "They don't have thrones for the good people or pits for the bad ones." ("They don't have a chair [what we now call "thrones"] to seat the good guy on and they don't have a pit to bury the bad guy in.") (Debate on the wording of Imam Shamil's astrigent comment on the Ingush national character.) (0408)

13.6.2. *Second person mirative*: *hwuona* (2s.DAT) / *hwaai* (2s.RFL.GEN) postposed to the verb (plural *shoana/shei* if there is more than one addressee). Non-reflexive *hwuona/shoana* are used with indicative verbs, reflexive *hwaai/shei* with imperatives. The speaker announces something important that is of interest to the hearer, usually something new or unexpected to the hearer, and known to others besides the speaker (or at least not something the speaker has just now realized). The mirative form is often phonologically reduced ([hɔ], [hun]), while an ordinary dative argument is not.

- (189) Yz sou hwalxa jy **hwuona.**
 3s too early J.be.PRS 2s/MIR
 That's too early! (Speaker knows this better than hearer does. Or e.g. hearer is in a position of authority and has announced an early meeting; speaker argues against the proposed time.)

(190) A begins listing the families from one town, and B (who is from that town) corrects him on one of the last names.

- A Dza'urov, Barziev, Iliev, ...
 B Barziev baac **hwuona**, Borzov by **hwuona.**
 (name) B.be.NEG 2s/MIR (name) B.be.PRS 2s/MIR

- A The Dzaurovs, Barzievs, Ilievs, ...
 B Not Barziev, Borzov.

(191) A young child, just learning to walk, is holding onto something and a visitor calls to him. The child's parent warns that the child really can't walk very well yet.

Wa-liegazh dy **hwuona**.

down-fall:PLC.CVsim D.PROG 2s/MIR

(Be careful,) he's likely to fall. (Be careful,) he still falls down. (Cf. (125) in §13.4.6.)

(192) God reproaches a man for looking for his lost disobedient son:

Wa jaaxar cy dear hwa amarca vaac **hwuona**.

2s.ERG say.PPL.NZ NEG D.do.PPL.NZ 2s.GEN order.INS V.be.NEG 2s/MIR

Hwa vow xannavalarie wa jaaxar deddar cuo.

2s.GEN son be.CVirr 2s.ERG say.PPL.NZ D.do.CND 3s.ERG

One who doesn't obey you isn't part of your responsibility. If he were your son he would do what you say. (0540)

(193) God clarifies to Noah the situation of a woman who has slept through the Flood:

Kiema hwa=t'y-deannadii xaac **hwuona** cynna,

boat DX-arrive.D.NW=Q know.NEG.PRS 2s/MIR 3s.DAT

ford t'y-beannabii='a xaac **hwuona** cynna

sea on-B.go.N=Q=& know.NEG.PRS 2s/MIR 3s.DAT

She doesn't know that the boat has come to rest on land, she doesn't know that the flood happened ('that the sea rose'). (0540)

(194) Hwa-ieca ealar, hwuona='a by **hwuona** cy=chy.

DX-take.IMPV say.WP 2s.DAT=& B.be.PRS 2s/MIR there=in

Take it, he said, there's something for you too in there. (0395A.31)

Note that in (193-194) and (204) below each mirative clause has a dative subject (*cynna*, *hwuona*), which shows that the mirative marker, though dative in form, is not an argument.

The mirative marker is reflexive in imperative and similar clauses when the subject is second person. Genitive *hwaai* (often phonetically reduced) is more common than dative *hwaaina*. Another example is in §35.2 (22). Text examples (many with the mild imperative and genitive *hwaai*) have a hortative flavor and do not announce (or command or request) something new to the hearer so much as recognize or appeal to the hearer's viewpoint.

- (195) Chy='a vaxie je meaq ja'a **hwaaina**, ealar
in=& V.go.CVseq this bread J.eat.IMPV 2SRFL/MIR say.WP
Go home and eat this bread, he said. (Government aide to hungry child.) (0395A.31)
- (196) Laxa **hwaaina**, biezam bolcha laxa eannad.
seek.IMPV 2SRFL/MIR wish B.be.CVtemp seek.IMPV say.NW.D
OK, go ahead and seek it (success in battle), if you want go seek (it). (Medieval king to military officer) (0204A)
- (197) Txynciga vel **hwaai**.
IpEX.gen-chez V.come.IMPVmild 2SRFL/MIR
Why don't you come on over to our place. (E.g. invitation to friend on phone.)
- (198) Suoga juolal **hwaai**.
Is.all J.go.IMPVmild 2SRFL/MIR
Why don't you marry me! (or: Why then let's get married!) (CDD)
- (199) My aalal **hwaai** yshta.
NEG say.IMPVmild 2SRFL/MIR so
Don't say it that way. (0379A.19.14) (Not addressed to a hearer, but exhorting Ingush in general to write their names and patronyms in the traditional order.)

13.6.3. *Inclusive mirative: vaina*. The speaker states an important generalization or point that is known to both speaker and hearer but is not in the hearer's immediate consciousness. (Semantically it is somewhat similar to the common knowledge construction of §33.2.1, but that is not an inflectional category of the verb but a discourse phenomenon.)

- (200) Yz sou hwalxa jy **vaina**.
3s too early J.be.PRS IpIN/MIR
That's too early! That's too early for me! (The hearer has proposed an early morning meeting. S/he might have anticipated this response as both speaker and hearer have an interest in the meeting, and/or they are working together to set it up. Cf. (189).)
- (201) Aara zhei-doaxan lieladoi **vaina**?
outside sheep-cattle keep-D.CS.PRS=Q IpIN/MIR
Well, sometimes livestock are kept outside after all, aren't they? (0409.22)

There are many contexts where either second person or inclusive mirative would be possible. In (191), a kolkhoz chairman has told a new arrival that his greatest need is for a smith, and the new arrival replies. What he says is important and unexpected to the chairman.

Inclusive *vaina* would be more or less possible here, since the new arrival is also a kolkhoz member so they both have an interest; but *hwuona* is better.

(202) So vy **hwuona** *kuznec*, eannadar uquo, voaccazhie='a
1s V.be.PRS 2s/MIR smith say.PNW 3s.ERG V.be.NEG:FOC.CVconc
I'm a smith, he said, though he wasn't. (0240A)

(203) Hwaaina zie dear mala vy xeicha dika
2sRFL.DAT harm D.do.PPL.NZ who V.be.PRS know.CVtemp good
my xietarii **hwuona / vaina**
EMPH seem.IMPF=Q 2s/MIR / 1pIN/MIR

But you still want to know who did you harm. (0240A) (*Hwuona* in the original; *vaina* is equally good here, since this is a generalization about human nature and concerns everyone.)

and are some where only one or the other is possible: e.g. (192)-(193) above, where God speaks to humans, and (193):

(204) Yz tieshal deddy aaz hwuona, *no* dwaaxuo+dar
DEM confirmation D.do.D.FUT 1s.ERG 2s.DAT but further+D.NZ
suona xaac **hwuona / *vaina** eanna.
1s.DAT know.NEG.PRS 2s/MIR / 1pIN/MIR SUB.CVant

I confirm this to you, but I don't know any more. (0240A) (One man gives another news about the latter's son. The inclusive is impossible because the news is new and important only to the hearer and not to both men.)

13.6.4. Cumulative focus: =q. This particle is enclitic and found only on finite verbs. It puts the entire clause or sentence into focus or emphasis in a larger discourse context. Often the preceding sentence or two lead up to the focal one; sometimes the focal one is a key juncture in a narrative or the summary of an argument or other discussion. Sometimes the particle can be glossed "Oh, it's just that...", "What's going on is...", "The point is ...", or " ..., that's what / why ...". Some speakers use it more often than others. There are several examples in §35.3.

This particle is pronounced as a cluster with any consonant that precedes it, without any assimilation, epenthetic schwa, or other adjustment.

The following are two examples where *=q* was said by consultants to be more or less obligatory:

(205) je goura balie='a, je waatta balie='a kuorta chy='a tassie,
or horse.GEN B.be.CVirr=&, or cow.GEN B.be.CVirr=& head in=& toss.CVseq

yz qexka='a bii, cy=chy kabuc chy='a tassie dc.h.,
 3s boil=& B.CS.CVseq there=in cabbage in=& toss.CVseq
privaarka jaaxazh siina xii **xular=q** yz.
 call.CVsim green water be:DEL.IMPF=CUM 3s

They would put the head of a horse or cow in water, boil it, add some cabbage, and it would be this green water called *privarka*. (0240A) (Description of the bad food in a corrupt orphanage.)

- (206) Dehwara 'a, sehwar='a haara vowuo shi-shii dea
 that side.ABL=& this side.ABL=& each son.ERG 3SRFL.DISTR father.GEN
 pwa='a liexazh, uq den=t'y **qeachaad=q** yz.
 vengeance=& seek.CVsim DEM.OBL day=at arrive.NW.D=CUM 3s

From both sides every son avenged his father and it continues to this day. (DD)

Emphatic affirmation and similar responses:

- (207) A: Eggara naaxaa xaluo t'y='a ettaacha xaana ... naaxaa
 SUPERL people.DAT evil on=& stand.PPL.OBL time.DAT people.DAT
 megazh, weadalaa megazh dwa-vaxaa sag vy yz.
 conform.CVsim government.DAT conform.CVsim DX-V.go.cvant person V.be.PRS 3s
 B: Deallahw **vy=q**, deaq'on **vy=q**.
 EMPH V.be.PRS=CUM EMPH B.be.PRS=CUM

A: At the very worst time for the people ... he was useful to both the people and the government.

B: He certainly **was**. (0246B.1)

- (208) (Question: Where were you during those three months in the narrative?)

Dwa-duucaddy=q aaz hwuona.
 DX-D.tell.FUT.D=CUM 1s.ERG 2s.DAT
 I'm coming to that. I'm going to tell you. (0240A)

- (209) A: Kazaxstaan dy yz?
 Kazakhstan D.be.PRS 3s
 B: Deara daac, hwalla **dy=q**.
 EMPH D.be.NEG before D.be.PRS=CUM
 A: Was this in Kazakhstan?
 B: No, of course not, it was before that.

- (210) (The speaker is asked for the name of the ravine behind her childhood house.)

Ealii **oalar=q** oaxa cynagh
 gully say.IMPf=CUM 1pEX.ERG 3s.LAT
 We just called it the gully. (0409.22)

- (211) Cy=chyra zizaazh wa='a deaxaa aaz wa-jerza-jycha,
 DEM=in.ABL flower.PL DX=& D.take:PL.CVant 1s.ERG DX-J.turn-CS.CVtemp

jy=q hwuona, **jy=q** hwuona shi ghealie.
 J.be.PRS=CUM 2s/MIR J.be.PRS=CUM 2s/MIR two cigarette

When I removed the flowers and turned it (vase) over, there they were, there were the two cigarettes. (0395A.31)

- (212) Mollagh "miska Tom" sol duqqa tuolazh **vy=q**,
 which poor Tom 1s.CSN much:FOC superior V.be.PRS=CUM

so, Edgaar, cwaaqqa **vaac=q**.
 1s Edgar nothing V.be.PRS=CUM

Any "poor Tom" at all is much better off than me; I, Edgar, am nothing at all. (PL 2.3)

13.6.5. Introspectives: the postverbal particles -hwogh, -tesh, -tie. All three of these particles are written hyphenated to the verb they follow, but phonologically and syntactically they appear to be no less independent words than *joax* or *hwuona* (§§13.6.1-3 above), which are never written with a hyphen. They are more or less synonymous introspective interrogatives that can be rendered 'I wonder whether' (often with an implication that the speaker hopes the complement is or will be true) and are used almost exclusively in questions (including interrogative complements) and almost never on negative forms.

In main clauses *hwogh* is used most often in questions, where the sense is 'I wonder whether...!', 'I wonder what...!', etc. It looks like a form of the second person singular pronoun, but in natural text examples it seems that the speaker never expects the hearer to have the answer.

- (213) galanjg jaaxar fy mawan dolazh **dy-hwogh**
 call.PPL.NZ what reason D.be.CVsim PROG-INTRSP
 I wonder why it's called "galanjg" (type of cheese). (0216B.3)

- (214) Oal'get'yrá boaghar, Leazhjárá boaghar, Fealxanárá boaghar, Mecxalára
 (place) B.come.IMPf (place) B.come.IMPf (place) B.come.IMPf (place)
 boaghar, Garqará boaghar. Beina xanna xuddy, cigará=m
 B.come.IMPf (place) B.come.IMPf (place) be.CVant INFR.D there.ABL=FOC

boaghar=ii-hwogh.

B.come.IMPf=Q-INTRSP

People came (to the Fealxana mosque) from Oal'get'y, Fealxana, Leazhig, Mecxal, Garq. There must have been one in Beinii, so I guess people didn't come from there. (... so I wonder if people came from there.) (0216B.3)

- (215) Fy dar-**hwogh**, sy dottagh, vai='a cyn oamalazh hwa=t'y-iicacha?
 what D.be.PST-INTRSP 1s.GEN friend 1pIN.ERG=& 3s.GEN habit.PL DX=on-take.

[CVtemp

What **would happen**, my friend, if we too took on his habits? (CDD 32)

- (216) Muhwmad, vai q'aman jiq'ie cwoaghuo joacaljga dii-**hwogh** yz?
 (name) 1pIN.GEN nation.GEN among unity J.be:NEG.SBJ D.be=Q-INTRSP 3s
 Muhmad, I wonder whether (the problem) isn't perhaps connected with the lack of a unified policy among our people? (0380.28) (Interviewer in a radio broadcast.)

Many examples occur in quasi-complement clauses with quotative *eanna* serving as complementizer but no explicit verb of speech:

- (217) Fy **xuddar-hwogh** eanna, yz jow cy zwamgicha sagaca
 what be.D.CND-INTRSP SUB DEM girl DEM.OBL young.OBL man.INS
 bart='a jaxaa
 agree=& J.LV.CVant

Well, what can I do? thought the girl, and agreed with the young man. ('What **would be?**, the girl agreed with the young man.') (0398B.33)

- (218) Caaregh fy **xalar-hwogh** eanna, so dwa-hwazhacha ...
 3p.LAT what be.WP-INTRSP SUB, 1s DX-look.CVtemp
 When I turned around to see **what had happened to them** ... (0238A.10)

- (219) T'aaqqa, eii, **lazar diera-hwogh** uqunna eanna dwa=chy-iiqqar so
 then INTERJ pain D.LV.WP-INTRSP 3s.DAT SUB DX=in -jump.WP 1s
 I thought she had had an attack and came running in. (Then "Oh, could she have had an attack", I ran in.) (0202.A.1)

- (220) Txy neana daaz oalazh xannad, cwa biisa
 1pEX.GEN mother.GEN father.ERG say.CVsim PROG.NARP one night
 yzh ust-daa=ji ust-naanii=ji pwieraza
 DEM.PL father-in-law=& mother-in-law=& dinner.without

bii-hwogh eanna ker=chy cy duzazh wa-vyzhac so eanna.
 B.be=Q-INTRSP SUB inside=in NEG D.fill.CVsim DX-lie down.NEG 1s SUB

My grandfather used to say that he never went to bed without thinking about whether his wife's parents had eaten dinner. ('without having in mind, did my in-laws perhaps go without dinner?') (0206A.3)

And a number of examples occur in explicit complement clauses:

- (221) Jer dalar suona eanna xietazh dolazh doa hama uqun
 3s D.give.WP 1s.DAT SUB seem.CVsim D.be.CVsim D.PROG.PPL thing 3s.GEN
 xulazh, **xurdii-hwogh** eanna iila jie cy jiezazh ...
 be.CVsim be.D.FUT=Q-INTRSP SUB think J.LV.INF NEG J.need.CVsim

'She's always had everything she wanted. She never had to think about whether she'd get what she wanted or not. (when there was something she wanted, she never had to think, "I wonder whether I'll have ...", "I wonder whether it will be ...") (0408)

See also (21) in §8.3.11.

-tesh and *-tie* are less frequent, and sometimes imply more speaker certainty or conviction. They seem to have conjunct/disjunct semantics, indicating introspection in questions but certainty in statements.

- (222) Cy xouchoa=m mottaluddy ... ghaalat **vaagv=ii-tesh** eanna
 NEG know.PPL.NZ.DAT=FOC think.FUT.D mistake V.go.FUT=Q-*tesh* SUB
 One who didn't know ... would think **he was surely going to make** a mistake. (KSh)
- (223) Maluu-**tesh** sy jett bygaar, eanna korzagh-jeannii jiwii naana.
 who=V.be-*tesh* 1s.GEN cow B.drive.PPL.NZ SUB angry-J.LV.NW.J girl.GEN mother.ERG
 Who could it have been that stole my cow?, said the girl's mother, angrily ('the girl's mother got angry, saying...') (JBX)
- (224) Duhwal laattachuo **"Vy-tie,** so vy yz=m."
 in front stand.PPL.NZ.ERG V.be.PRS-*tie* 1s V.be.PRS 3s=FOC
 The person standing before him says, 'Of course it's me (who did you think?)' (DD)
- (225) A story set in St. Petersburg:
 A: Yzh gourazh q'eaxka=a q'eaxkaa, Niila jaaxa xii dii? ...
 DEM horse.PL RED=& startle.CVant Nile say.PPL river D.be=Q
 B: Nivaa dy yz.
 Neva D.be.PRS 3s

A: Haa'a, Nivaa, **tie**.
yes, Neva, *tie*

A: The horses startled and – you know the Nile?

B: The Neva.

A: Oh, right, the Neva. (0207A)

13.7. Nonfinite forms

13.7.1. *Infinitive*. Infinitive stem plus ending *-a*.

Function: Same-subject complementation with various verbs (see Chapter 25), with predicate adjectives in a dative-subject modal construction (see §25.13.1.3), and in reduced purpose clauses (§27.3). Citation form for verbs in some grammars and dictionaries (others use the verbal noun). Acts as S/O to verbs and triggers D gender, but this is probably the default abstract gender and not gender borne by the infinitive, which is not a noun in any morphological or syntactic respect. Syntactically, it must have a zero subject coreferential to the main-clause subject.

(226) Massa sahwat dealcha **chy-jaxa** jieza so?
how many hour D.pass.CVtemp in-J.go.INF J.should 1s
What time am I supposed to get back home? When should I come home?

(227) Kog laza='a bea **liela** magac cynna
leg hurt=& B.CS.CVant walk.INF can.NEG 3s.DAT
He hurt his leg and can't walk.

(228) Doaqqa gata **wouda** xala dy.
D.big towel wring.INF difficult D.be.PRS
A big towel is hard to wring out. It's hard to wring out a big towel.

(229) T'aaqqa dwaara Ousha-neaq'aan juxa t'y-beaxkaab **lata**.
so that.DISTAL (clan) back arrive:PL.NW.B fight.INF
Then the Ousha-neaq'aan came back to fight. (0392B.1)

13.7.2. *Verbal noun*. Infinitive stem plus ending *-(a)r*. This is a noun of D gender and declension 1. Functions: Complementation with various verbs; also, different-subject complementation with some verbs that take infinitives for same-subject complementation. Fact and event nominalization of various kinds. Citation form for verbs in some grammars and dictionaries (others use the infinitive). Any and all of its arguments including the subject can be overt and appear in their normal cases.

- (230) Q'uonaxchoa ehw my dii **velxar**
 man.DAT shame EMPH D.be.PRS-Q V.cry.VN
 For a man it's shameful to cry. (0240)

- (231) Yshtta gouza maleikazh **wiexa-daragh**, caar bartxoattam='a
 so skillful angel.PL deceive-D.LV.VN.LAT 3p.GEN questioning=&
 cy iecazh vissaav joax Cagen.
 NEG take.CVsim V.stay.NW.V QUOT

Because he deceived the angels so craftily, Cagen never did undergo the questioning.
 (CDD 18)

- (232) hana ealcha cynna sanna ghalghai joazuu='a, **dieshar**='a
 because 3s.DAT like Ingush.GEN writing=& D.read.VN =&
 cwanniena='a xaacar txogh
 anyone.DAT=& know.NEG.IMPF 1pEX.LAT

...because none of us knew Ingush writing and **reading** like he did. (0531.08)

13.7.3. *Subjunctive*. Forms: Present, past, or future stem plus ending *-aljga*. These yield present, past, and future subjunctives.

Functions: Complementation with certain verbs, mostly when the main and complement clauses have different subjects (see §25.4). Subjunctives can also have purposive function as in (234) just below where a subjunctive is coordinated with a purpose infinitive. A subjunctive complement can function as S/O to verbs and trigger D gender in its matrix verb, as in (233), (235), 237 below, but this is probably the default abstract gender and not gender borne by the subjunctive itself, which is not otherwise a noun in any morphological or syntactic respect.

13.7.3.1. Present subjunctive.

- (233) Ibrehwamaa hwalxxie xouz h xannad eanna xet suona,
 I.DAT earlier know.CVsim NARP.PROG.D SUB think.PRS 1s.DAT
 vei mott **biezaljga**='a, vei mott **ieshaljga**='a,
 1pIN.GEN language B.need.SBJ=& 1pIN.GEN language need.SBJ=&
 vei mott xalandza baabboacazh **boljga**='a.
 1pIN.GEN language be.NEG.PPL B.go.B.FUT.NEG.CVsim B.PROG.SBJ=&

I believe Ibrehim knew earlier that our language is needed, indispensable, that it has to exist. ('that it isn't going not existing') (0531.08)

- (234) Hwo yz hwallara di koach-bea juxa wa-berza-bea
 2s DEM up_there horse incite-B-CS.CVant back DX-B.turn-B.CS.CVant
 vealcha, suona t'y-tuoxa **voallaljga**, suona ehw die.
 V.INCP.CVtemp 1s.DAT on-strike.INF V.intend.SBJ 1s.DAT shame D.LV.INF
 You got your horse worked up and turned on me **intending** to strike me, in order to
 disgrace me. (0418.36)

13.7.3.2. Past subjunctive.

- (235) Massaniena='a so **c'a+jienaljga** xazaad.
 all.DAT=& 1s home+J.come.SBJ know.NW.D
 Everyone has heard I've come home.
- (236) Suona yz Ahwmadaz learrhaa **dealjga** hwa-xazar.
 1s.DAT 3s A.ERG on purpose D.do.SBJ DX-hear.WP
 I heard that Ahmad had done it on purpose.
- (237) Jer **kot-veannaljga** xeinad uqanna caar hwa-diecha q'amealagh.
 3s win-V.LV.SBJ know.NW.D 3s.DAT 3p.ERG DX-D.bring.CVtemp utterance.LAT
 He understood **that he'd won** from what people said. (0408)

13.7.3.3. Future subjunctive

- (238) Dwa-aalal hwaai cynga, shii doalahw mel
 DX-say.IMPVmild 2s/MIR 3s.DAT 3SRFL.GEN reign.ADV how much
 xannachogh yz maara cynga **qoachagdoacaljga**.
 be.PST.PPL.NZ.LAT DEM only 3s.ALL arrive.FUT.D.NEG.SBJ
 Tell him that that's all that he'll get of his former reign. (PL 1.4)

13.7.4. Present participle. Present stem plus ending *-a*, oblique *-cha*.

Functions: Modifier of nouns; verb of relative clause. Inflectionally the participle is an adjective. It must have a zero argument which is coreferential to the modified noun or antecedent of relativization. For relativization see Chapter 26.

- (239) **ezdii doaca** ghulaq liela-dead cuo
 honor D.be.NEG.PPL matter operate-D.CS.NW.D 3s.ERG
 He's done something dishonorable ('a dishonorable matter'). (0392B.1)

- (240) yz oaxa **vuucacha** xaana
 3s 1pEX.ERG V.talk.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 when we were reminiscing ('talking') about him ... (0542)
- (241) Fy max bolazh by so **t'y-vaagha** di?
 what price B.be.CVsim B.PROG 1s on-V.sit.PPL horse
 What is the horse I'm riding worth? (CDD 30)
- (242) Ingalie **baaxacha** naaxagh doaqqagh dola q'am
 England.ADV B.live.PPL.OBL people.LAT D.big.CSN D.be.PPL nationality
 the majority nationality of England (Ozdoev et al. 1962 s.v. *anglichane*)
- (243) vei Sibregh **dwa-dugacha** xaana
 1pIN Siberia.ADV DX-D.lead.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 when we were deported to Siberia (0409)

The present participle can be nominalized by adding *-r* or *+dar* (with regular periphrastic or semi-periphrastic declension). It is then a headless relative meaning 'the one who', 'the one which', 'the one that', etc. (Contrast the verbal noun, which gives an event or fact nominalization.)

- (244) Acham, cuo **duucachogh** dosh cy xietazh, Neasara
 3s.ERG D.say.PPL.NZ.CSN word NEG think.CVsim N.GEN
 modzh jaaqqa eanna t'y-q'eidaav.
 beard J.take.INF SUB reach.NW.V
 Acham didn't take seriously **what he said** and reached out to pull Neasar's beard.
 (Neasar)
- (245) Yz koa+nawarga **jaaghar** shii siesag jy mottazh ...
 DEM yard+gate.ALL J.sit.PPL.NZ 3SRFL.GEN wife J.be.PRS think.CVsim
 Thinking **the one sitting** at their gate was his own wife, ... (Dymii)

In the comparison case, with or without a comparative adjective, the nominalized participle does not mean 'the one who...', etc. but is an event or fact nominalization.

- (246) uqaza kyljgazh **dulachul** aattagh dy vaina dehwa='a deanna.
 here hand.PL D.wash.PPL.NZ.CSN easy.CMP D.be.PRS 1pIN.DAT across=& D.go.CVant
 It will be easier for us to go over to the other side (of the lake) **than wash our hands**
 here. (0238A.10)

- (247) yz caw **vuuchul** mexkuo qel='a jea
 3s one V.kill.PPL.NZ.CSN country.ERG judgment=& J.do.CVant
 wa-xoa-veav=q yz
 DX-settle-V.CS.NW.V=CUM 3s

Rather **than kill** just him alone, by decision of the national council he was allowed to stay there. (0392B.1)

13.7.5. *Past participle.* Past stem plus ending nominative *-aa/-na*, oblique *-cha*. The form is identical to that of the anterior converb (§13.6.2), but the converb has no oblique case or nominalization, while the participle is inflectionally an adjective. The differences are predictable from syntax, however, and distinguishing two forms is somewhat artificial. I interlinearize the form as a participle (PPL) when it modifies a noun or is nominalized, and otherwise as a converb (CVant).

- (248) Shortta dolazh c'agha **hwal-qina** sag jy jer.
 plenty D.be.CVsim house.ADV up-grow.PPL person J.be.PRS 3S
 She grew up in a house of plenty ('she's a person having grown up...'). (0408)
- (249) chy-kalara **deaqqaa** txa
 in-under.ABL D.take.PPL wool
 wool from the underside (of a sheep) ('wool **taken** from underneath') (0216B.3)
- (250) wa **hwa-tielacha** xigh so vyzac
 2s.ERG DX-give:PLC.PPL.OBL water.LAT 1s V.fill.NEG
 The water you gave me isn't enough to quench my thirst. ('I don't get full on the water you gave me') (V0405.1)
- (251) Aaz bolx **beacha** berriga bettaa dogha delxar
 1s.ERG work B.do.PPL.OBL B.all month.DAT rain D.weep.IMPF
 It rained the whole month that I worked.

The past participle can be nominalized with the same suffixes and functions as the present participle. (Another example is (63) above in §13.3.1.)

- (252) txy neana jisha **jigaar**
 1pEX.GEN mother.GEN sister J.marry.PPL.NZ
 our aunt's husband ('**the one who married** our mother's sister') (0395A.31)
- (253) Fy dyr wa aaz **eannachogh?**
 what D.do.WP 2s.ERG 1s.ERG say.PPL.NZ.LAT
 What did you do about what I said? (Mott)

- (254) T'aaqqa, je jalxeitt shu **deannarazh** duqa bar.
 so DEM 16 year D.pass.PPL.NZ.PL many B.BE.PST
 There were many sixteen-year-olds. (0204A)
- (255) **Meca-vennachuo** qy dy hama daac.
 hungry-V.VZ.PPL.NZ.ERG else D.do.INF(reduced) anything D.be.NEG.PRS
 A hungry person can't do anything else. (0394A)

13.8. Chaining converbs

These converbs are used in nuclear and core chaining (for the syntax of chaining see Chapter 24). The choice of converb depends on the aspect and aktionsart of the converb and on the tense and aspect of the main verb.

13.8.1. Simultaneous converb. Present stem plus ending *-(a)zh*.

Functions: Overlapping, simultaneous, or framing event or activity in a non-main clause of a nuclear or core chaining construction. Combines with a main verb of any tense, aspect, and aktionsart. The clauses share at least one argument.

- (256) T'aaqqa cwan bettaa yshtta **q'esta='a dezh** yzh,
 So one.OBL month.DAT thus separate=& D.CS.CVsim 3p
 zha **detta='a dettazh** naxcha joaxar.
 flock D.RED=& D.milk.CVsim cheese J.take:PL.IMPF

For one month they would **separate** them (the lambs from the sheep), **milk** the sheep, and make cheese. (0216B.3)

- (257) *Postojanno* [...] **lieqa='a lieqazh** **vaaghazh xular** joax.
 constantly RED=& play:PLC.CVsim V.sit.CVsim PROGocc QUOT
 He would always be **sitting** and **playing** it (a guitar). (0202.A.1)

13.8.2. Anterior converb. Past stem plus ending *-aa, -Ca, -na* (for the allomorphy see §3.1.4, §13.0.1). Identical to the nominative of the (non-nominalized) past participle (§13.7.5).

Functions: Non-main clause in a narrative core chaining (sequenced action on the narrative timeline) or in nuclear chaining. The main verb is usually a perfective past (witnessed past, nonwitnessed, past nonwitnessed) but can also be present or progressive. For many more examples see §§24.3-24.4. (258) shows anterior converbs in core chaining.

- (258) yz *baarxata pal'to='a jexkaa*, da'a hama='a **iicaa**,
 DEM velvet.GEN coat=& J.sell.CVant D.eat.INF thing=& buy.CVant

yshta dwa-daxar=q txo
 thus DX-D.go.WP=CUM 1pEX

We **sold** a velvet coat, **bought** food, and went on. (0238A.10)

13.8.3. *Sequential converb.* Past stem plus ending *-ie* for consonant-final verbs, {-j} for vowel-final stems (yielding diphthongs or long vowels, e.g. *ghoi* 'go', *d.ii* 'do/make').

Functions: Sequenced action on narrative timeline, where the main clause verb is in a non-progressive, non-perfective tense (especially imperfect, pluractional presents, delimitative 'be', and present-tense narration in general) or imperative. This is a rough characterization; more work needs to be done on the choice of anterior vs. sequential converbs.

(259) Qoana wiiriena hwaaina kuofii='a **dii** hama da'alahw
 tomorrow morning.DAT 2SRFL.DAT coffee=& D.make.CVseq thing D.eat.IMPVfut
 Tomorrow morning, **make** yourself coffee and have something to eat.

(260) Kiema chexka **ghattie** uragha duoda
 plane quick fly_up.CVseq upwards D.go.PRS
 The plane rises fast

(261) Leatta t'y='a tessaa, dwa dogha delxazh xalcha **hwal=t'y='a**
 earth on=& throw.CVant DX rain D.LV.CVsim PROG.CVtemp up=on=&
vealie nuu hwoqar cu=t'y ...
 V.go.CVseq broom sweep.IMP 3s=on

Earth was sprinkled on top, and when it rained someone would go up and sweep the water off. (0409.22)

(262) Yshitta ustagh caarna **dwa='a belie**, cuo ustagh=m
 thus sheep 3p.DAT DX=& B.give.CVseq 3s.ERG sheep=FOC
 chy-joaxkazh joa yz dog=ii, dixk=ii, yzh hamaazh
 in-J.be contained:PL.CVsim J.be.PPL DEM heart=& liver=& DEM:PL thing
 geanna shiigh c'ii hwa-lataddoacazh, jweaxxa shii bie
 far:FOC 3SRFL.LAT blood DX-adhere.FUT.D.NEG.CVsim J.long:FOC 3SRFL.GEN hand.ADV
 joallacha waasaana **dwa-geana='a jeaxie**, **dwa-gi='a**
 J.be contained.PPL.OBL pole.DAT DX-far=& J.take:PL.CVseq DX-back.ADV=&
tassie, shii zha='a **leaxkie** vuodazh bwarjga+veinu ealie.
 toss.CVseq 3SRFL.GEN sheep=& d rive:PL.CVseq V.go.CVsim eye+V.see.NW.V SUB

They saw how he **gave** them the sheep and **put** the innards -- the heart, liver, etc. -- **far away** from himself on the end of his pole so they wouldn't stain him with blood, **put** the pole over his shoulder, and went off **driving** his sheep. (0207A.3; from §35.4)

For many more examples of these converbs in chaining see Chapter 24.

13.8.4. Chaining converb as complementizer. The usual complementizer for direct speech is a chaining converb of *oal* 'say', and its form varies as any chained converb does: simultaneous vs. anterior depending on the aspect of the converb, sequential depending on the tense of the main verb. Examples with the simultaneous converb:

(263) Azar qaa dieq'azh baagha, jidz con jieq'azh baagha
 field D.divide.CVsim B.sit.PRS hayfield J.divide.CVsim B.sit.PRS

oalazh xazaadar suona
 say.CVsim hear.D.PNW 1s.DAT

What I've heard is that (the boundary marker called) "azar" divided fields and the "jidz" divided pastures. (0415.12) (repeated from (68) in §13.3.2 above)

(264) Hwazhal, handz wa **oalazh** xazaad suona "Sis Solsa", ...
 look.IMPV mild now 2s.ERG say.CVsim hear.NW.D 1s.DAT (name)
 Hang on, I just heard you pronounce it (a mythic name) "Sis Solsa" (0392B)

(265) zhukkarjg jy yz **oalazh** xazaadii hwuona?
 J.be.PRS 3s say.CVsim hear.NW.D=Q 2s.DAT
 Have you heard it called "zhukkarjg"? (0380A.1)

with anterior converb:¹²⁵

(266) ... hweaq'al dolazh sag vy **eanna** vai ealarie
 intelligence D.be.CVsim person V.be.PRS SUB.CVant 1pIN.ERG say.CVirr
 ... if one of us says you're intelligent, ... (0408)

(267) Cynga xeattacha, shie muo qy vaac **eanna** xietazh xannuu=q yz.
 3s.ALL ask.CVtemp 3sRFL like else V.be.NEG SUB.CVant seem.CVsim PROG.NARP
 [=CUM 3s

If you asked him, there was no one else like him. (0408)

¹²⁵ Interlinearized SUB because it has more general subordinating functions. See also §25.3.1.

(268) T'ugii c'avienuu **eanna** xazaad Mochq'iina
 (name) home-V.come.NW.V SUB.CVant hear.NW.D M.DAT
 Mochq'a heard that T'ugii had come home. (0408)

(269) Zou **eanna** xazar
 ring SUB.CVant hear.WP
 A ringing sound was heard.

with sequential converb:

(270) ... hwa-xoattaddy hwuoga, fy dar hwa **calie**.
 DX-ask.FUT.D 2s.ALL what D.be.PST 2s.GEN SUB.CVseq
 they'll ask ... what the matter was. (0408) (extracted from (323) below)

(271) Maarxii betta aaz qoabaddar maarxa **calie** oalar aaz.
 fast.GEN month.GEN 1s.ERG keep.D.CND fast SUB.CVseq say.IMPF 1s.ERG
 I said I'd fast during the fast month. (0216B.3)

(272) Duqacha soughatii daa='a vea Maalsag c'a+veitar
 many.OBL present.GENpl owner=& V.make.CVant home+V.send.WP
calie Mousara duucar yz
 SUB.CVseq M.ERG D.tell.IMPF 3s (0207A)

They made Malsag the owner of many gifts and sent him home, Mousar used to tell it.

In a similar function, converbs of 'say' function as quotatives introducing mentioned words:

(273) Earzii **eanna** c'i tillaa hana_ealcha cigacha earzii daaxandea.
 E. SUB name put.NW.J because there eagle D.live.CVbecause
 It was given the name Earzii because an eagle lives there. (*earzii* 'eagle')

(274) Xorsh **jaaxazh** cwa lazar dar, vuo lazar dar yz ch'woagha ...
 malaria QUOT.CVsim one disease D.be.PST bad disease D.be.PST 3s very
 There was a disease called "malaria", it was a very bad disease... (0776)

For the hearsay evidential function of converbs of 'say' see §13.6.1.

13.9. Subordinating converbs

A very large and probably open set of converbs mark adjunct subordinate clauses: clauses of time, reason, condition, concession, and the like. Most of these can be built on several or many tense/aspect forms.

13.9.1. Time converbs

13.9.1.1. *Temporal converb*. Past stem plus ending *-cha*. This forms a sequenced and generally perfective converb of time (also sometimes interpretable as reason): 'when', 'after'. It has high text frequency, probably the highest of any subordinating converb. Sometimes the adjunct semantics is attenuated and a clause with this converb almost seems to be a different-subject counterpart to core chaining (for the syntax of core chaining see §24.4).

- (275) Aara boad **q'oula-balcha** so qer
 outside darkness cover-B.INCP.CVtemp 1s fear
When it gets dark out, I get scared. (When darkness sets in...)
- (276) **Hwa=t'y-xeicha** ghalghaa, ealar joax uq fusam-daaz:
 DX=on-sit.CVtemp Ingush, say QUOT DEM.OBL host 1s.ERG
When the Ingush man **got on his horse**, the host said: (0408)
- (277) T'aaqqa, shollaghcha den jer **dwa-aara-vealcha** hwaqaa ullazh
 so second.OBL day.GEN 3s DX-out-V.go.CVtemp, mow.CVant lie.CVsim
 xannii con.
 PROG.NARP.J hay
 The next day **he went out** and his hay lay mown down. (0415.12)
- (278) Yz qiera hwa='a beaqqaa yz **wa-k'al-vealcha**,
 DEM stone DX & B.take.CVant 3s DX-down-V.depart.CVtemp
 Ilisxaa-jurtarcha Hwazhiina yz t'y-vuodaljga xour
 (place).ADJ.OBL Hadj.DAT 3s to-V.go.SBJ know.IMPF
Whenever he moved the stone away and **went down**, people knew he was going to see
 Kunta Hadji. (0207A.3)
- (279) Jer **wa=t'y-vaxacha** twaisaa ullazh xannuu voz.
 3s DX=on-V.go.CVtemp sleep.CVant lie.CVsim PROG.NARP.V other
When he went over there, the other guy was lying there asleep (0408)

- (280) K'eankaz=ji zhwalez=ji daggara **laxacha**, pwed kora-jeajaac
 boy.ERG=& dog.ERG =& intensely seek.CVtemp frog find-J.VZ.J.NEG
 The boy and dog looked all over but didn't find the frog.
- (281) Mealxie **veallacha**, sag weardzh-lu
 sunshine.ADV V.be located.CVtemp person dark-VZ.PRS
When/if you're out in the sun you get suntanned.
- (282) Wai aara **wa-otta-dicha**, xii shal-lu
 winter.ADV outside DX-stand-D.CS.CVtemp water freeze-VZ.PRS
 Water freezes **if it's left** outside in winter.
- (283) Shii vorda dwa='a xiicaa, gour walazh='a jea, vaxaa
 3sRFL.GEN cart DX=& hitch.CVant horse tend=& J.LV.CVant V.go.CVant
 c'agha jer **chy-vealcha**, iezacha ghealienii juxkazh
 home 3s in-V.go.CVtemp smoke.PPL.OBL cigarette.GENpl end.PL
 jeinii uqanna c'en jiq'ie jeadazh.
 J.see.NW.J 3s.DAT house in_middle J.lie:PL.CVsim
 When he unhitched the cart, tended to the horse, and went into the house he saw
 cigarette butts lying on the floor. (Dymii)
- (284) Sei koara nuuxazh aaz cy **joaxacha**,
 1sRFL.GEN yard.ABL garbage 1s.ERG NEG J.take:PL.CVtemp
 shei koara jarazh naaxa suoga joaxiitagjaac.
 3pRFL.GEN yard.ABL J.NZ.PPL people.ERG 1s.ALL J.take:PL.CSind.FUT.J.NEG
 If I can't clean the trash from my own yard, others won't come to me to settle their
 disputes. (lit. 'people won't let me clean up what's in their yards') (19th-century notable
 Beisara Mochq'a explains to visitors why he is doing lowly yard work.)
- 13.9.1.2. Simultaneous converb.* In addition to its nuclear and core chaining functions,
 this converb can also be a temporal subordinator. The meaning is 'while', 'during', etc., with
 the converb overlapping or framing the main-clause event.
- (285) Yz **wa=chy-boaxkazh** **voallazh** cwa qor wa-bodzh cyn.
 3s down=in-B.put:PL.CVsim V.PROG.CVsim one pear down-B.fall 3s.GEN
As he is putting the pears in(to the basket) he drops one of them. (Pears)
- (286) T'aaqqa, eggara hwalxa yz **dwa-duolaluzh** borghal wex.
 so the most early 3s DX-D.begin.CVsim rooster crow
 So, just **as it's beginning** a rooster crows. (Pears)

- (287) Yz q'ameal='a dea d.h., yz meaq eata='a eataa,
 DEM conversation=& D.do.CVant y'know DEM bread RED=& slice.CVant
ju'azh txo doaxkazh gholla, gouraa t'y='a vaaghazh
 J.eat.CVsim 1pEX D.PROG:PL.CVsim along horse.DAT on=& V.sit.CVsim
 cwa nemcii zwamsag viera nawarga.
 one German young_man V.come.WP gate.ALL

After this conversation, when we had sliced the bread and **were eating** it, a young German man rode up to the gate. (0395A.31)

13.9.1.3. 'Before' *converbs*. Infinitive stem plus *-(a)lie* or *-(a)lehw*, with *-(a)lie* sometimes close in meaning to 'lest' and *-(a)lehw* sometimes close to 'before (I could) even...'

- (288) Yz kinashjka diishaa **vaalalie** Muusaa tikaa=t'y vaxaa chy-viera.
 DEM book D.read.CVant V.finish.CVbefore store=at V.go.CVant in-V.
 Before he finished the book Musa made a trip to the store. [come.WP]

- (289) Pxiitt shu **daalalie** xiittaa ferta jyr=q aaz
 fifteen year D.pass.CVbefore fasten.PPL felt_rug J.make.WP=CUM 1s.ERG
 'Before I was fifteen I made a felt rug' (0231.A.3)

- (290) Nanna **xaalalie** yz cysjk dwa-aara-eqqa-die.
 mother.DAT know.CVbefore DEM cat DX-out-jump-D.CS.IMPV
 Put the cat out before Mom finds out.

- (291) Vai Sibriegha **wa-daxalie** dar=q yz
 1pIN Siberia DX-D.go.CVbefore D.be.PST=CUM 3s
 It was before the deportation. ('before we went to Siberia')

- (292) Handz daa **t'y-qaachalie** dwaghuo
 now father at-arrive.CVbefore DX-go.IMPV
 Now, leave before Father gets here. (PL 2.1)

- (293) Gurgal **tuoxalehw** vai duqa bolx bie bieza
 bell strike.CVbefore 1pIN much work B.do.INF B.must
 We have to get a lot of work done before the bell rings.

- (294) So gaalii dyzaa **vaalalehw** Muusaa chy-vaxar
 1s sack D.fill.CVant V.finish.CVbefore Musa in-V.go.WP
 Musa got home before I could get the sack filled.

- (295) Aaz **dwoax-dalalehw** chei malar
 1s.ERG D.hot-D.VZ.CVbefore tea drink.WP
 I drank the tea **before it even got hot**.

13.9.1.4. 'Until' converb. Infinitive stem plus *-(a)lca*.¹²⁶ Meaning: 'until', 'while' (the action continues until some goal is reached or some other event occurs).

- (296) Saabardielahw aaz vorda **jottalca**
 wait-D.LV.IMPVfut 1s.ERG cart J.load.CVuntil
 Wait **till I get** the cart **loaded**. (Hwun Sag)

- (297) Gurgal **toxxalca** bolx byr aaz
 bell strike.CVuntil work B.LV.WP 1s.ERG
 I worked until the bell rang.

- (298) Tika pxi' **daallalca** bolx+bezh jy
 store five D.arrive.CVuntil work+B.LV.CVsim J.PROG
 The store is open ('works') until 5:00.¹²⁷

- (299) Dwahwie bieza yz cwa itt minuta, dwa='a kyljga='t'yra
 DX-knead.INF B.should 3s some ten minute, EMPH hand=on.ABL
 bod **wa-baallalca**.
 dough DX-B.go.CVuntil

You knead the dough for about ten minutes, **until** the dough starts to **come off** your hands. (Koartol)

- (300) Yzh nax dwa-baxaa **baallalca**, txy *pojezd* leattar ealar
 DEM.PL people DX-B.go.CVant B.finish.CVuntil 1pEX.GEN train stand.WP SUB
 Our train stood there until all the people were gone, he said. (0201A.1)

Past stem plus -(a)lca: More explicitly 'until, up to'.

- (301) Bierazh pxi' **deallalca** wa-diishaa deadar
 child.PL five D.finish.CVuntil DX-D.lie:PL.CVant D.lie:PL.WP
 The children stayed in bed until 5:00 (**'until 5:00 came'**)

¹²⁶ The same ending appears on adverbs meaning 'until': *sarralca* 'until evening', *taxanalca* 'up to today'.

¹²⁷ In examples like this (which are frequent) the converb is arguably lexicalized as a postposition.

- (302) Mott **beaqalca** q'uulazh jy
 room B.take.CVuntil be_tight.CVsim J.PROG.PRS
 'They (shoes) pinch **until they're broken in**, 'until they stretch to fit'

13.9.1.5. 'Just then', 'just as' converbs. Precise coincidence or immediate sequence of actions.

13.9.1.5.1. Simultaneous converb with focus gemination and suffix *-ie* (often followed by =*'a*): 'as soon as', 'just as'. When =*'a* is added the form is homophonous to the concessive converb (the context and the tense of the main verb usually disambiguate them).

- (303) T'aaqqa cynagh yz **dwa-toxxazhie**=*'a*, **dwa-kiega-jezzhie**=*'a*
 so 3s.LAT 3s DX-strike.CVjust=& DX-stir-J.CS.CVjust=&
 jota-ju cuo yz.
 J.curdle-J.CS.PRS 3s.ERG 3s

As soon as you add it and stir, it (rennet) curdles it (milk). (0216B.3)

- (304) Cyn keaxat wadiishaa **boallazhie**=*'a* dwa-six-balar
 3s.GEN letter DX-D.read.CVant **B.finish.CVjust=&** DX-hurry-B.VZ.WP
As soon as they finished reading the letter they hurried away. (PL 2.4)

- (305) So **wa=chy-qoachazhie**=*'a* mearjk'azha boad=*'a* q'oulabanna cigga ...
 1s DX=in-arrive=& evening.GEN darkness=& cover-B.INCP.CVant there:FOC
Just as I got there it was getting completely dark. (0204A)

13.9.1.5.2. Past stem (often with focus gemination) with ending *-(a)njgie* or *-(a)njgeh*: 'no sooner had... than...', 'the very minute...'. It is preceded by emphatic *my*=, which must be proclitic to the conjugated verbal piece and preceded by one other element. Thus *my*= is interposed between heavy and light verb, main verb and auxiliary, or prefix and verb, and a simple verb reduplicates to provide this initial element.

- (306) Max t'iera **wa my beallanjehw** aaz seinā mashen iecagjy.
 price above.ABL DX EMPH **B.go.CVjust** 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.DAT car buy.J.FUT
As soon as the price goes down I'll buy myself a car.

- (307) ... t'aaqqa sy vow **hwal my xalanjehw** yz xuoshac cy=*t'y*
 so 1s.GEN son up EMPH be.CVjust 3s fit.NEG there=*on*
 ...but when my son grows up there won't be room for him. (0415.12)

- (308) Jow **jiexa my jiixxanjehw**, cy jiixaa jaaghacha
 girl J.RED EMPH J.invite.CVjust, DEM.OBL J.invite.PPL J.sit.PPL.OBL

jowaa itt-pxiitta guonahwara jow ... hwagul='a balie
 girl.GEN ten-fifteen neighboring girl ... DX-gather=& B.VZ.CVseq
 caar wa-xeishie cwan c'agha ...
 3p.ERG DX-sit.PL.CVseq one.OBL house.ADV

As soon as a girl was engaged 10 or 15 of her cousins and neighbors would get together in one house (and start sewing wedding clothing). (0206A.3)

- (309) Laamaz **dea** my **veallanjehw**, towavea
 prayer D.do.CVant EMPH V.finish.CVjust, compress-V.CS.CVant
 marha='a vellaa yz, viilxaav yz
 embrace=& V.LV.CVant 3s V.cry.NW.V 3s

As soon as he finished his prayers, he came in and embraced him tightly and cried. (0408)

- (310) T'ehwa my **qiinggie**='a wiira dika, seira dika jalie
 after EMPH catch_up.CVjust=&, morning good, evening good J.be.CVirr
As soon as you catch up you greet him ("say good morning or good evening respectively") and ... (0415.2)

- (311) Yz vy my **viinjgie**='a yz con dwa cy jelcha
 3s V.RED EMPH V.kill.CVjust=& DEM hay DX NEG J.give.CVtemp
 cuo toam bie tigaadaac.
 3s.ERG peace B.make.INF consent.D.NEG.NW

When he was already killed he (the killed man's relative) refused to make peace unless he got the hayfield. (0415.12))

13.9.2. *Reason converbs.* *-ndea* suffixed to the present or past stem forms a converb meaning 'because'. For more examples see §27.2.1. Present stem forms:

- (312) Sei q'ameala wi hwuona cy **jiezandea** xuuca voal so
 1sRFL.GEN speech.GEN shadow 2s.DAT NEG J.like.CVbecause change.INF V.INGR 1s
 I'm changing the manner of my speech since it displeases you. (PL 2.2)
- (313) Oaxa dezh zulam **doacandea**, oaxa tiishaabolx
 1pEX.ERG D.do.CVsim bad D.be:NEG.CVbecause 1pEX.ERG betrayal
 cy **bendea** ...
 NEG B.do.CVbecause

Because we weren't doing anything bad, because we weren't betraying (anyone)
(0404)

- (314) Wa desh hwaaina **diesha-lundea**
2s.ERG D.study.PRS 2SRFL.DAT D.study-INCP.CVbecause
You learn **when you're able to**. (0404)

- (315) Nu, yz "galanjg" jaaxar, zhy shuregh yz **joaqqandea**
well DEM call.PPL.NZ sheep.GEN milk.LAT 3s J.take.CVbecause
c'i jy=q yz cyn, xietarjgahw
name J.be.PRS=CUM 3s 3s.GEN probably
Well, *galanjg* [a type of cheese] has that name because it's made of sheep's milk, I
guess. (0216B.3)

From the past stem:

- (316) Handz vei ezdel wa **eannandea** jaax aaz
now 1pIN.GEN etiquette 2s.ERG say.CVbecause tell 1s.ERG
I'll tell this story because you brought up the question of Ingush etiquette. (0408)
- (317) T'aaqqa, shiigh yz pwa **hwearchaandea** Noxchazhkahw
so 3SRFL.LAT DEM feud enmesh.CVbecause Chechnya.ADV
dwa-vaxaav=q yz vaaxa
DX-V.go.NW.V=CUM 3s V.live.INF
So because he was involved in that feud he went away to live in Chechnya. (0408)
- (318) Qea+qaalaxara oal cu qeannegh yzh **hwa-beannandea**
three+city.LAT.ABL say DEM.OBL three.NZ.LAT 3p DX-B.go.CVbecause
They (tribe) are called Qea-qaalaxara because they descend from those three.
(0231A.3)

13.9.3. Conditional converbs. Various conditional converbs use the ending *-ie* on one or another stem. All are generically called irrealis converbs here (CVirr), though various kinds of conditional meaning can be ascribed to different forms and they could be individually labeled. Though they are based on various tense/aspect stems and forms, the meanings are not transparent combinations of the tense/aspect form plus conditionality.

13.9.3.1. Simple conditional: Various tense forms plus ending *-ie* or, for tense forms with cliticized forms of 'be', suffixed *-d.alie*. Used for non-counterfactual and not particularly hypothetical conditionals.

- (319) Aaz k'ezig-duqa hama **cy du'ie** vwaasht'ehwa daac.
 1s.ERG a little-much something NEG D.eat.CVirr appropriate D.be:NEG
If I don't eat a bit it won't work out. (0337B.42)
- (320) **Lei='a,** cy lezh **dwa-q'aastie='a,** yshtta ghulaqagh
 die.CVirr=&, NEG die.CVsim DX-separate.CVirr=& thus etiquette.LAT
 cy buoxazh dwa-q'aastar yzh.
 NEG B.break.CVsim DX-separate.IMPF 3p
 If one of them **died** or if they **separated**, they did so without violating etiquette.
 (0231A.3)
- (322) So uqanagh **voalie,** moulat dieshaddy=q aaz
 1s here.LAT V.go.CVirr prayer D.read.FUT.D=CUM 1s.ERG
If I get out of here I'll read a prayer. (0395A.31)
- (323) Qo di=ji qo biisa=ji dealarie, wa **dwa cy oalie,** hwa-xoattaddy
 three day=& three night=& D.go.WP.CVseq 2s.ERG DX NEG say.CVirr DX-ask.FUT.D
 hwuoga, hana vienavar hwo, fy dar hwa ealie.
 2s.ALL why V.come.PNW 2s, what D.be.PST 2s SUB.CVseq
 After three days passed, **if you hadn't told them**, they'd ask why you'd come and what
 the matter was. (0408)

13.9.3.2. *Hypothetical conditional*: Imperfect or witnessed past plus *-ie*. Often used in the negative. The main clause can be in various tenses, usually imperfective, and including the conditional. With the present stem the meaning of the converb is 'if it were', etc.:

- (324) Saga hwoa k'oazhon k'al **boallarie,** shonkazh
 person.GEN brain heel.GEN under B.be_contained.IMPF.CVirr blister.PL
 jaalar qieram barii?
 J.grow.VN fear B.be.PST=Q
 If a man's brains were in his heel, wouldn't he need to be afraid of blisters? ('was there/would there be fear that blisters would form?') (PL 1.4)

With the past stem the meaning is 'if it had been', etc.:

- (325) Cy=chy nax **beaxaa-biecarie** ghaala jeg mycha jar ciga.
 there=in people B.live-B.NEG.PST.CVirr tower J.make.FUT NEG J.PST there
 If people **hadn't lived** there they wouldn't have built a tower. (0415.12)

(326) ...hwo **xanna-viecarie** taxan dwa-boalar=q jerazh beina eanna.
 2s be-V.NEG.PST.CVirr today DX-B.go.IMP=CUM 3p B.die.CVant SUB
If you hadn't been there today they'd have died (said the parents) (0398B.1)

(327) Caar **biitaa-balarie**, shollagh+bar=m buubbar eanna
 3p.ERG B.kill-CSind.CVant-B.CVirr second+B.NZ=FOC B.kill.B.CND SUB
"If they had let me I'd have slaughtered the other (ox) too," (he said). (0408)

The hypothetical conditional is also used to say 'whether X or Y', 'be it X or not', etc.:

(328) dika **xalarie**, vuo **xalarie**, cq'azaa magac shiina my xettar
 good be.CVirr bad be.CVirr sometimes can.NEG 3s.DAT EMPH seem:FOC.VN
 shii vow, jow xuddolazh hwal-qie-die
 3sRFL.GEN son daughter be.FUT.CVsim up-grow-D.CS.INF

Whether good or bad, (a parent) can't always raise their son or daughter ideally. (0531)

(329) dikachyn **darie**, vuochyn **darie** ...
 be.NZ.GEN D.be.PST.CVirr bad.NZ.GEN D.be.PST.CVirr
 whether good or bad; be it good or bad ...

(330) Xaarcagh **dalie='a**, baq'ahw **dalie='a**, aqaaregh axcha dwadannad
 wrong.LAT D.be.CVirr=& truth.ADV D.be.CVirr=& 3p.LAT money DX-D.give NW.D
 Mistakes or not, money has been paid for them (0379B.1)

13.9.3.3. *Counterfactual conditional*: Participle or converb plus suffixed auxiliary *-d.alaarie*. The main verb is in the finite conditional. The construction frequently implies that the speaker wishes the protasis were true or considers it desirable.

(331) Suoga axcha **dalaarie**, so Jivroopie ghogjar.
 1s.ALL money D.be.CVirr 1s Europe.ADV go.J.CND
 If I **had** the money I'd go to Europe. (JN 9-99)

(332) Ehw **dalaarie** mocagha hwa-dea xuddar
 conscience D.be.CVirr long_ago DX-D.do.CVant be.D.CND
 If they **had** any conscience they would have done it long ago. (PL 1.4)

(333) Duhhwala yz xaattar bahwan hwuona ghaabaazh **tiexaadalaarie**,
 rather DEM question because_of 2s.DAT shackles strike-D.CVirr

doaghar dar yz.
appropriate.NZ D.be.PST 3s

If you had been put in the stocks for asking *that* question, it would have been appropriate. (PL 2.4)

- (334) Siexan xii wa aara **wa-otta-deadalaarie**, yz shal-danna xuddar.
yesterday water 2s.ERG out DX-stand-D.CS.CVirr 3s cold-D.VZ INFR.PST
If you had put water out to chill yesterday, it would have frozen.

13.9.4. Concessive converbs.

13.9.4.1. Irrealis converb plus =*'a*: 'though'.

- (335) Shie **mogazh voaccazhie='a**, txuona hwiexazh='a var yz.
3sRFL well.CVsim V.be:NEG.CVconc 1pEX.DAT teach.CVsim=& V.PROG 3s
Though he wasn't well, he nonetheless taught us. (0531.08)

- (336) Doala-deacha nyskalaa viezazh xannavaac voaqqa
D.marry-D.CS*.PPL.OBL bride.DAT V.love.CVsim be.NARP.V.NEG V.old
sag, duqa ruzq'a dolazh yz **valie='a**.
man much wealth D.be.CVsim 3s V.be.CVconc

The woman he had married didn't love the old man, though he was rich. (Neasar)

13.9.4.2. Simultaneous converb with focus gemination and ending *-ehw (= 'a)* or *-ie='a*: 'even though'.

- (337) Shie sel ch'woagha joaqqa *operaci* jea **ullazhehw='a**,
3sRFL so very J.big operation J.do.CVant lie.CVconc
sy vow=m xettar ...
1s.GEN son=FOC ask:PLC.IMPF

Although he had just had a major operation he still asked about my son ...
(lit. 'Though he was lying having had such a major operation...') (0223B.7)

- (338) Aaz shiila **dollazhehw** chei dwa-malar
1s.ERG cold D.be:FOC.CVirr tea DX-drink.WP
I drank the tea though it was cold.

- (339) Naabaragh **voallazhie='a** dy hwuona hweaq'al=m
sleep.LAT V.be_located:FOC.CVirr=& D.be.PRS 2s.DAT sense=FOC
Even in your sleep you still have your brains. (Even **sleeping** ...) (0418.20)

13.10. Extent form

Infinitive stem with focus gemination plus ending *-(a)l*. In origin this suffix is undoubtedly the comparison case suffix, but the infinitive stem it is added to is not a noun form and the syntax is converbial. Meaning: 'as much as ...', 'enough to...'.
 (340) jett **eccal** axcha
 cow buy.CVext money
 'enough money to buy a cow' (Hwuo)

- (341) Kog **wa=t'y-ottal** wa xarsh hwa=chy-deaqqacha guotaa
 foot DX=on-stand.CVext 2s.ERG furrow DX-encroach.CVtemp plowing.ADV
 voallacha xaana, cq'a mangaluo **hwa-laaccal** kes
 V.PROG.PPL.OBL time.DAT once scythe.ERG DX-catch.ext hay_row
 wa hwa-deaqqacha hwo dwa-hwazhacha, hwa=chy-deaqqaa
 2.ERG DX-D.take.CVtemp 2s DX-look.CVtemp DX-encroach.CVant
 xalcha cogh='a joaqqaa *skandaal* juora.
 be.CVtemp 3s.LAT=& J.big uproar J.make.IMPF

If you **so much as put** one foot **on** your neighbor's furrow while plowing, if your scythe **cut so much as one swipe** from his parcel while mowing and anyone saw it, that encroachment caused a great uproar. (0415.12)

- (342) Yshitta shin kyljgaca **hwa-laaccal**='a dolazh ko dy yz.
 so two.OBL hand.INS DX-grab.CVext=& D.be.CVsim handle D.be.PRS 3s
 It's a two-handed handle. ('a handle two hands can hold') (0417)

- (343) vai mexkaa='a **duuccal**, diicaa cy **vaallal**
 IpIN.GEN country.DAT=& D.talk.CVext, D.talk.CVant NEG V.finish.CVext

duqa dika oamalazh joaxkaregh my xannavii ... Ch'uozha Waba
 many good trait.PL J.have:PL.PPL.NZ.LATpl EMPH be.NW.V=Q (name)

Ch'uozha Waba was one of those people who have so many good traits that the whole country continues to talk about him.¹²⁸ ('good **enough to talk about** continuously to the whole country') (0207A.3)

¹²⁸ For *d.iicaa d.oal* 'finish talking', *d.iicaa cy d.oal* 'continue talking', lit. 'not stop talking', see §25.15.2.1.

(344) Gi **jollal**, morh **bizzal** hamilgazh maara hwa cy ieciitazh ...
 back J.stack.CVext, embrace B.fill.CVext thing.DIM.PL except DX NEG take-CSind.CVsim
 Letting them grab up what few things they could carry on their backs or in their hands

(345) Fy dead wa, sy vikal, jerral ehw hwaaina
 what D.do.NW.D 2s.ERG 1s.GEN ambassador, DEM:FOC.CSN shame 2s.RFL.DAT

t'y-otta-deittal?

bring_on-D.CSind.CVext

What did you do, my messenger, to bring on so much disgrace? ('enough to bring on such disgrace') (PL 2.4)

Cf. also the 'until' converb (§13.9.1.4), built on the extent converb but with temporal meaning.

13.11. Reduplication

Reduplication accompanies several inflectional processes. The entire verb stem is reduplicated to host the chaining enclitic =*a*, when there is no other host for it (§§15.5.4.3-4, 24.4) and in emphatic contexts, especially emphatic negation (§§15.5.4.4, 31.4). The emphatic proclitic *my=* in one of the 'just' converbs (§13.9.1.5.2) is positioned in the same way. For the position of the reduplicate see §§15.0, 31.4.

13.12. Negation

Indicative finite verbs are negated suffixally. For simple tenses built on the present stem, the suffix *-(â)c* is added to the infinitive stem, followed by any tense suffix. For tenses built on the past stem, *-(â)ndz-* is added to the infinitive stem, followed by any tense suffix. Colloquially, and among younger speakers, the past stem is used: normative *tuoxandzar* 'didn't strike', colloquial *tiexandzar* (infinitive stem *tuox-*, past *tiex-*); normative *dieshandzar* 'didn't read', colloquial *diishandzar* (infinitive stem *d.iesh-*, past *d.iish-*); normative *aalandzar* 'didn't say', colloquial *ealandzar* (infinitive stem *aal-*, past *eal-*). In analytic tenses only the auxiliary appears in its negative form. Plain 'be' has irregular ablaut in its negative forms, as do most irregular verbs. The negative suffixes have high tone (§4.2), which falls on the preceding vowel stem vowel or epenthetic schwa.

(346) Cynna hama **xazac**.
 3s.DAT (any)thing hear.NEG
 He's hard of hearing. He's deaf. ('He doesn't/can't hear anything')

- (347) Sy vezharazhta **viezac** hwo
 1s.GEN brother.PL.DAT V.like.NEG 2s
 My brothers don't like you ... (Folk song)
- (348) Suona cynagh hama='a my **xaac**
 1s.DAT 3s.LAT anything=& EMPH know.NEG
 I don't know anything about this. (0409.22)
- (349) Hwo **vaac**, yz wa-dieshazh vaaghar so vy, ealar.
 2s V.be.NEG 3s DX-D.read.CVsim V.sit.PPL.NZ 1s V.be.PRS say.WP
 It's me, not you that reads it (=the Koran), he said. (0246B.22)
- (350) t'aaqqa t'ehwagh maarjkaa **xaandzar** suona
 so later only know.NEG.WP 1s.DAT
 ...and only later did I find out. (0409.22)
- (351) Duqa **dieshandzar** caar
 much D.study.NEG.WP 3p.ERG
 They didn't go to school for long. (0409.22)

Suffixal negation of finite indicatives (analytic and synthetic):

- (352) Yz saguo dwa='a **iecad**daac, ieshazh='a daac yz
 3s person.ERG DX=& take-D.FUT.NEG need.CVsim=& D.PROG 3s
 No one **will accept** it. **It's not** needed. (0531.08)
- (353) Aaz cwaqqa kinashjka jaaz-deadaac.
 1s.ERG any book write-D.VZ.NW.D.NEG
 I haven't written any books
- (354) Heata maara suona xazaa='a **vaacar** yz.
 then only 1s.DAT hear.CVant=& V.NW.NEG 3s
 Only then did I find out about him. (0531.08)

For all other verb forms, negation is proclitic. In imperatives, *my=* precedes the conjugated verb form. It is interposed between that and any prefix or heavy element, but does not trigger reduplication in simple verbs (the lack of reduplication distinguishes it from otherwise homophonous emphatic *my=*). For nonfinites and converbs the negation is proclitic *cy=*, positioned the same as *my=* and likewise not requiring reduplication.

Examples showing proclitic negation of imperatives:

- (355) Bexk **my baaqqalahw.**
offense NEG B.take.IMPVfut
Excuse me.
- (356) Sixa **my lexka.**
fast NEG **drive:**PLC.IMPV
Slow down. Don't drive so fast.
- (357) Gharazh **my jie.**
noise.PL NEG J.do.IMPV
Quiet down. Stop talking. (Lit. 'Don't make noise (of voices).') (e.g. schoolteacher to class)
- (358) Mollaz der **my die,** mollaz jaaxar die.
mullah.ERG D.do.PPL.NZ NEG D.do.IMPV mullah.ERG say.PPL.NZ D.do.IMPV
Do as the mullah says, not as he does. (Folk saying)
- (359) Qy hwaagara dosh t'y-tiexie hama **my aalalahw** jowaga
any_more 2s.RFL.ABL word add.CVseq thing NEG say.IMPVfut daughter.ALL
Don't say anything more to my daughter from your own part ... (PL 1.5)

Proclitic negation of converbs:

- (360) Shura **cy xalcha,** dymie deattaal qarza='a qarzie hwoar doxiitar.
milk NEG be.CVtem, fattail.GEN fat.ADV RED=& roast.CVseq flour D.go.CSind.WP
When there was no milk they roasted flour in fattail fat and added it. (0418.20)
- (361) Q'ameal **cy='a dez** dwa-q'oula-vannuu yz.
speech NEG=& D.do.CVsim DX-close-V.INCP.NW.V 3s
He refused to say a word. ('He closed up, not speaking.')
- (362) Hwo sixa **cy xulie** hwal hwalxa so qoachagvy ciga
2s fast NEG be.CVirr up early 1s arrive.FUT.V there
If you don't hurry I'll get there before you. (PL 1.5)
- (363) Aaz duqa xa jeaqqar ghalghaai mott **cy xouzh.**
1s.ERG much time J.spend.WP Ingush.GENpl blanguage NEG know.CVsim
It took me a long time to learn to speak Ingush. ('I spent a lot of time **not knowing** Ingush')

Proclitic negation of infinitive:

(364) Ghalghaai sii **cy doadie** yz sag='a joalajeajar aaz
 Ingush.GENpl honor NEG D.lose-D.CS.INF DEM person=& J.marry-J.PNW 1s.ERG
So as not to cause the Ingush to lose honor I married her. (0418.36)

(365) Yz ehw iicaa Ghalghaai mexka c'a **cy vaxa** ...
 DEM shame take.CVant Ingush.GENpl land.ADV home NEG V.go.INF
 So as **not to go** back home to Ingushetia with this disgrace... (0418.36)

Proclitic negation of participles (including nominalized participles):

(366) Suona duqa xa jy bwarjga **cy gu**
 1s.DAT much time J.be.PRS eye NEG see.PPL
 I haven't seen (them) for a long time. ('It's a lot of time that I don't see them') (0542)

(367) Malagh vy shogh uqaza Dealagh **cy tieshar**='a,
 which one V.be.PRS 2p.LAT here God.LAT NEG believe.PPL.NZ=&
 Dalla ghulaq **cy der**='a?
 God.DAT service NEG D.do.PPL.NZ=&
 Which one of you is it that doesn't believe in God and doesn't serve God? (CDD 25)

Appendix 1 gives all negative forms for the verbs listed there. Tables 12-1 and 12-2 give synthetic negative forms for all conjugation classes and the irregular verbs. Chapter 31 gives more examples of all kinds of negatives.

CHAPTER 14

VERBAL NUMBER, PLURACTIONALITY, AND AKTIONSART

14.1. Singular and plural verbs

A few verbs undergo stem changes in agreement with the number of the S/O. The 23 known pairs are shown in Table 14-1. The main formations are suppletion, ablaut of stem vowel, and change of stem-final *-ll-* to *-xk-*. Only simple stems are given here (some are attested mostly with prefixes). Two plurals correspond to *ull* 'lie': *d.aada* (progressive, most often with animate subject) and *uxk* (stative, often with inanimate subject). The two forms corresponding to *xou* 'sit' are variants; some speakers prefer one, some the other. This singular/plural distinction could be viewed as either a lexical category or a partial derivational category.

The plural agrees with the morphological number of a noun or pronoun and not with the sense of the NP. Thus plural nouns take plural verbs but a numeral phrase takes a singular verb as it has a singular head noun.

- (1) Yz wa-xeira
3s down-sit.WP
'He sat down'

- (2) Yzh wa-xeishar
3p down-sit:PL.WP
'They sat down'

- (3) Yzh pxi sag wa-xeira / *wa-xeishar
DEM.PL five person down-sit.WP down-sit:PSL.WP
Those five people sat down.

- (4) Yzh itt chy-vuoda
DEM.PL ten in-V.go.PRS
The ten of them go in.

- (5) Yzh chy-bolx
3p in-B.go:PL.PRS
They go in.

Table 14-1. Singular and plural verbs. *Noun* = verbal noun; *Converb* = anterior converb.

Singular:		Plural:				
Present	Noun	Converb	Present	Noun	Converb	Gloss
d.oagha	d.aar	d.iena	d.oagha	d.aar	d.eaxkaa	<i>come</i>
d.uoda	d.axar	d.axaa	d.olx	d.axar	d.axaa	<i>go</i>
d.oal	d.aalar	d.eanna	d.oul	d.oular	d.einna	<i>start, go</i>
d.oall	d.aallar	d.eallaa	d.oaxk	d.aaxkar	d.eaxkaa	<i>be contained</i>
loall	laallar	leallaa	loaxk	laaxkar	leaxkaa	<i>drive</i>
d.oaqq	d.aaqqar	d.eaqqaa	d.oax	d.aaxar	d.eaxaa	<i>take</i>
d.od	d.adar	d.ädda	d.oud	d.oudar	d.eidda	<i>run</i>
d.oll	d.ollar	d.ellaa	d.oxk	d.oxkar	d.exkaa	<i>insert</i>
d.ull	d.yllar	d.illaa	d.oxk	d.axkar	d.äxkaa	<i>lay</i>
d.udzh	d.yzhar	d.yzha	d.uush	d.uushar	d.iishaa	<i>lie</i>
hwed	hwiedar	hwiiidaa	hwelx	hwelxar	hwiiilxaa	<i>run out</i>
eqq	eqqar	iiqqaa	hwelx	hwelxar	hwiiilxaa	<i>burst</i>
le	d.alar	d.änna	d.ou	d.our	d.eina	<i>die</i>
oll	ollar	ellaa	oxk	oxkar	exkaa	<i>hang up</i>
ott	ottar	ettaa	outt	outtar	eittaa	<i>stand up</i>
qoll	qollar	qellaa	qoxk	qoxkar	qexkaa	<i>throw, cast</i>
qoss	qossar	qessaa	qous	qousar	qeisaa	<i>cast</i>
toss	tossar	tessaa	tous	tousar	teisaa	<i>throw</i>
tull	tyllar	tillaa	toxk	taxkar	täxkaa	<i>put, lay</i>
ull	allar	illaa	d.aada	d.aadar	d.eadaa	<i>lie</i>
ull	allar	illaa	uxk	axkar	ixkaa	<i>lie</i>
xou	xaar	xeina	xoush	xoushar	xeishaa	<i>sit down</i>
xou	xaar	xeina	xouzsh	xouzhar	xeizhaa	<i>sit down</i>

14.2. Pluractional verbs

Many verbs distinguish simulfactive¹²⁹ (single action) from pluractional (multiple or repeated action), usually by changing the stem vowel of the pluractional to *ie* (*e* in closed syllable) but occasionally by other changes or by suppletion. There are a few unpaired pluractionals, which have no obvious corresponding simulfactive. The known pairs are shown in Table 14-2.

The traditional term for the pluractional is *iterative*.

serd 'curse' has begun to form a simulfactive using a light verb construction: *sardam baaqqar* 'curse (once)'. There are probably more such sets.

¹²⁹ I use this term rather than the more common *semelfactive*, which I believe most often refers to inherent lexical aspect and specifically to the punctual aktionsart category.

Only nine verbs are known to distinguish both plural and pluractional (Table 14-3). Some of these are restricted; for instance, plural *d.oul* exists only in some of the senses of its verb set, chiefly 'start' and 'finish'.

Use of singular and plural forms appears to be quite regular. The pluractional, however, varies in its functions depending on the aktionsart of the verb. (This is what Wood 2007 found for closely related Chechen, in which almost exactly the same sets of verbs have plurals and/or pluractionals. See also Yu 2003.) Bruhn 2007 surveyed all examples in the Berkeley Ingush corpus of punctual *d.uozh* 'fall' and its pluractional *lieg* and found that pluractional *lieg* is used regularly in iterative contexts and also with a plural subject; that is, it is a de facto plural as well as pluractional. (6)-(7) describe single events; (6) has a singular subject and a simulfactive verb, and (7) has a plural subject and a pluractional verb whose sense is not iterative.

(6) Yz wa=chy-boaxkazh voallazh cwa qor **wa-bodzh** cyn.
3s down=in-B.insert:PL.CVsim V.PROG.CVsim one pear down-B.fall 3s.GEN
As he is putting the pears in(to the basket) one pear falls.

(7) Quorazh='a **wa-liigar**.
pear.PL =& down-fall:PLC.WP
And all the pears fell down.

I surveyed all examples of 'run', which makes both simulfactive/pluractional and singular/plural distinctions. The simulfactive is used of single events with singular subject and the plural of single events with a plural subject. The pluractional is used in iterative contexts, but also in durative contexts. Since the simulfactive is ingressive ('run away, run off') it does not easily have a durative sense, and the pluractional is used here instead. When used as a manner verb in nuclear chaining, it can appear in either the pluractional or (in sequence of tenses) the simulfactive.

(8) So haara diinahw pxi kilametr **ud**
1s every day.LOC five km run:PLC
'I run 5 km. every day' (iterative)

(9) Myshta loac aaz yz, **udazh** xalcha?
how catch 1s.ERG 3s run:PLC.CVsim PROG.CVtemp
How can I catch it (a chicken) when it's running? (durative)

(10) Pwid **jedda** jexaai
frog J.run.CVant J.go.NW.J
The frog ran away. (singular, simulfactive; manner)

Table 14-2. *Simulfactive and pluractional verbs*. Conventions as in Table 14-1.

<i>Simulfactive:</i>			<i>Pluractional:</i>			
<i>Present</i>	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Converb</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Converb</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>Morphologically paired verbs</i>						
c'oudz	c'ouzar	c'eizaa	c'uudz	c'uuzar	c'iizaa	<i>yelp</i>
d.oal	d.aalar	d.eanna	d.uul	d.uular	d.iinna	<i>start, go</i>
d.oxk	d.axkar	d.äxkaa	d.exk	d.exkar	d.iixkaa	<i>set down</i>
ghort	ghortar	ghertaa	ghert	ghertar	ghiirtaa	<i>try</i>
ghott	ghattar	ghättaa	ghett	ghettar	ghiittaa	<i>fly away</i>
hwaarch	hwaarchar	hwearchaa	hwerch	hwerchar	hwiirchaa	<i>wrap</i>
hwod	hwadar	hwädaa	hwed	hwiedar	hwiidaa	<i>rush</i>
hwodzh	hwazhar	hwäzhaa	hwedzh	hwiezhar	hwiizhaa	<i>look at/after</i>
hwoq	hwaqar	hwäqaa	hweq	hwieqar	hwiiqaa	<i>wipe</i>
hwoq	hwuoqar	hwieqaa	hwuq	hwuqar	hwiiqaa	<i>show</i>
hwoudz	hwouzar	hweizaa	hwuudz	hwuuzar	hwiizaa	<i>turn around</i>
karch	karchar	kärchaa	kerch	kerchar	kiirchaa	<i>roll</i>
ladogh	laduoghar	ladieghaa	laduugh	laduughar	ladiighaa	<i>listen</i>
lat	latar	lätaa	let	lietar	liitaa	<i>adhere</i>
long	langar	längaa	leng	lengar	liingaa	<i>throw dice</i>
loac	laacar	leacaa	luuc	luucar	liicaa	<i>catch</i>
loarh	laarhar	learhaa	lerh	lerhar	liirhaa	<i>intend, count</i>
lochq'	lachq'ar	lächq'aa	lechq'	lechq'ar	liichq'aa	<i>conceal</i>
lohwad.u	lowhad.ar	lohwad.ea	liehwad.u	liehwad.ar	liehwad.ea	<i>gather</i>
loq	laqar	läqaa	leq	lieqar	liiqaa	<i>play music</i>
lost/last	lastar	lästaa	lest	lestar	liistaa	<i>incline</i>
loudz	louzar	leizaa	luudz	luuzar	liizaa	<i>play</i>
loudzh	louzhar	leizhaa	luudzh	luuzhar	liizhaa	<i>slide</i>
lous	lousar	leisaa	luus	luusar	liisaa	<i>churn</i>
lox	laxar	läxaa	lex	liexar	liixaa	<i>seek</i>
mol	malar	männa	mel	mielar	miinna	<i>drink</i>
oag	aagar	eagaa	eg	iegar	iigaa	<i>rock</i>
ott	ottar	ettaa	uutt	uuttar	iittaa	<i>stand</i>
qast	qastar	qästaa	qest	qestar	qiistaa	<i>rotate</i>
qoxk	qoxkar	qexkaa	qexk	qexkar	qiixkaa	<i>throw, cast</i>
qoss	qossar	qessaa	quus	quusar	qiisaa	<i>cast</i>
q'aag	q'aagar	q'eagaa	q'eg	q'iegar	q'iigaa	<i>shine</i>
q'aast	q'aastar	q'eastaa	q'est	q'estar	q'iistaa	<i>divide</i>
q'ad	q'adar	q'ädaa	q'ed	q'iedar	q'iidaa	<i>stick out</i>
q'odzh	q'azhar	q'äzhaa	q'ezh	q'iezhar	q'iizhaa	<i>smile</i>

q'oul	q'oular	q'eilaa	q'uul	q'uular	q'iilaa	<i>close</i>
q'ouq'	q'ouq'ar	q'eiq'aa	q'uuq'	q'uuq'ar	q'iiq'aa	<i>thunder</i>
q'ous	q'ousar	q'eisaa	q'uus	q'uusar	q'iisaa	<i>argue</i>
soc	sacar	säcaa	sec	siecar	siicaa	<i>stop</i>
sog	sagar	säгаа	seg	siegar	siigaa	<i>catch fire</i>
sott	sattar	sättaa	sett	settar	siittaa	<i>bend</i>
tab	tabar	täbaa	teb	tiebar	tiibaa	<i>sneak up</i>
tars	tarsar	tärsa	ters	tersar	tiirsaa	<i>neigh</i>
taw	tawar	tewaa	tew	tiewar	tiwaa	<i>compressed</i>
toq	taqar	täqaa	teq	tieqar	tiiqaa	<i>crawl</i>
tork/tark	tarkar	tärkaa	terk	terkar	tiirkaa	<i>rock</i>
toss	tassar	tässaa	tuus	tuusar	tiisaa	<i>throw</i>
tott	tattar	tättaa	tett	tettar	tiittaa	<i>push</i>
waax	waaxar	weaxaa	wex	wiexar	wiixaa	<i>cry (animal)</i>
woudzh	wouzhar	weizhaa	wuudzh	wuuzhar	wiizhaa	<i>hurt</i>
xoast	xaastar	xeastaa	xest	xestar	xiistaa	<i>praise</i>
xoatt	xaattar	xeattaa	xett	xettar	xiittaa	<i>ask</i>
xoaxk	xaaxkar	xeaxkaa	xexk	xexkar	xiixkaa	<i>ride</i>
xordzh	xarzhar	xärzhaa	xerdzh	xerzhar	xiirzhaa	<i>choose</i>
xott	xottar	xettaa	xett	xettar	xiittaa	<i>fasten</i>

Suppletive and partly suppletive pairs

d.ahw	d.ahwar	d.iena	quhw	qahwar	qihwaa	<i>carry, bring</i>
d.oatt'	d.aatt'ar	d.eatt'aa	ett'	ett'ar	iitt'aa	<i>tear</i>
d.od	d.adar	d.ädda	ud	adar	idaa / idda	<i>run</i>
d.odzh	d.uozhar	d.iezhaa	leg	liegar	liigaa	<i>fall down</i>
d.uoda	d.axar	d.äxaa	ux	axar	ixaa	<i>go</i>
ec	iecar	iicaa	iid.u	iid.ar	iid.ea	<i>buy</i>
lu	d.alar	d.änna	tel	tielar	tiinna	<i>give</i>
oal	aalar	eanna	d.uuc	d.uucar	d.iicaa	<i>tell</i>
tox	tuoxar	tiexaa	d.ett	d.ettar	d.iittaa	<i>strike</i>
xou	xaar	xeina	xuudzh	xuuzhar	xiizhaa	<i>sit down</i>
"	"	"	xuush	xuushar	xiishaa	<i>sit down</i>

Unpaired pluractionals

lel	lielar	liinna	<i>walk</i>
xuuc	xuucar	xiicaa	<i>change</i>
serd	serdar	siirdaa	<i>curse</i>

Table 14-3. Verbs with both plural and pluractional.

<i>Singular/simulfactive</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Pluractional</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
d.oal	d.oul	d.uul	<i>go (delimited)</i>
d.uoda	d.olx	ux	<i>go, go away</i>
ghott	ghoutt	ghiett	<i>fly away</i>
uot	outt	uutt	<i>stand up</i>
sardam boaqq	sardamazh doax	sierd	<i>curse</i>
tott	toutt	tiett	<i>push</i>
wa-xou	wa-xouzh/wa-xoush	wa-xuuzh/wa-xuush	<i>sit down</i>
d.od	d.oud	ud	<i>run, run away</i>
hwouq	hwouq (?)	hwuuq	<i>show</i>

(11) yzh='a **hwa-beidda** hwa-beaxkar
 3p=& DX-B.run:PL.CVant DX-B.go:PL.WP
 They too came running up. (plural, simulfactive; manner)

(12) **udazh** dwa-t'ehwa='a vaxaa ...
 run:PLC.CVsim DX-after=& V.go.CVant
 (I) took off running after him(singular subject, punctual event; manner)

Thus the verbs 'fall' and 'run' have somewhat different behavior: for 'fall', the pluractional also serves as a plural, while for 'run' it serves as a durative. The delimited verb 'go, start, finish' (§14.3.6) behaves differently with different prefixes. (13) is a text sequence of two successive greetings by a host to guests, with different prefixes on the same verb. In (a) the verb is formally plural and cannot be pluractional; in (b) it is formally pluractional but semantically plural in the text and could be replaced by a formal plural with no change of meaning or acceptability.

(13) a. Maarsha doaghaldy sho, hweashii, **wa-doula** t'iera. / *wa-duula
 (traditional greeting) guest.PL down-D.go:PL.IMPV on-ABL down-D.go:PLC
 Greetings, guests, **get down** (sc. from your horses).

b. Wa-dossa, **chy-duula.** / chy-doula
 down-D.descend.IMPV in-D.go:PLC.IMPV in-D.go:PL.IMPV
 Get down, **come in.** (0223B.7)

14.3. Aktionsart

Ingush verbs fall into one of several lexical aspect, or aktionsart, categories. Much work remains to be done on aktionsart, but for the verbs that have been studied these types are identifiable: state, progressive, ingressive, punctual, and telic.

14.3.1. State. These are unbounded states and activities that hold for an unspecified period of time. Their morphological hallmark is that they do not easily form the witnessed past, but rather shift into the inceptive derivation (§15.3, §21.7.4).

d.iel 'laugh':

(14) Yz vielar.

3s V.laugh.IMPF

He was laughing / used to laugh.

(15) Yz viela-valar. / * viilar

3s V.laugh-V.INCP.WP V.cry.WP

He started laughing. He laughed (on one occasion).

qier 'fear, be afraid'

(16) Chaigh qierar so, ciga denc berzagh=m qieracar so.

bear.LAT fear.IMPF 1s additionally wolf.PL.LAT=FOC fear.NEG.IMPF 1s

I was afraid of bears, but not wolves. (0776)

(17) Yz qiera-valar. / *qiirar

3s fear-V.INCP.WP fear.WP

He got scared. He took fright.

Other state verbs include *d.iez* 'like, love' and *d.ieza* 'should, must, need' (these are the same verb root with different valences and a tendency to have a schwa ending in the present tense for 'should', etc. but not for 'like, love').

14.3.2. Progressive. A small handful of verbs are inherent progressives. Progressive verbs do not form morphological progressive tenses (since the simple verb has this meaning). (There is some speaker variation on this point.) The first four also serve as progressive tense auxiliaries (§13.4). Both as progressives and as literal stance verbs the first three have some kind of evidential force, implying that speaker and/or hearer can see the activity or scene.

laatt 'stand; be standing'

d.oall 'be contained, be located'

d.aagha 'sit, be sitting'

d.oagha 'come'

ull 'lie, be lying'

- (18) Muusaa suona uluu laatt
 M. 1s.DAT next to stand
 Musa is standing next to me.

These verbs are most clearly progressive when used with animate subjects; with inanimates they can be states. In (19) *daagh* 'sit' is progressive with its human subject, while *laatt* 'stand' is used to describe writing or spelling (letters and words "stand" in Ingush), and in this sense it is not progressive but describes a general state of affairs.

- (19) Hwal, cul sougħa handz uqaz my **daagh**=ii vai,
 y'see 3s.CSN besides now here EMPH D.sit.PRS =Q 1pIN
 hwal cyn dwaaw yshta **laatt**, "Għalghaaï Respublika Pravitel'stvo" **laatt**,
 up 3s.GEN over_there thus stand Ingush.GEN Republic Government stand
 ciga=chy "Għalghaaichen Respublika" **laatt**.
 here=in Ingushetia.GEN Republic stand
 See, we're **sitting** here (and can see), over there [points to a sign] it **says** 'Ingush
 Republic Government', but here it **says** 'Republic of Ingushetia'. (0379A)

Progressive tenses are formed with a simultaneous converb and a tense auxiliary (§13.4). (20)-(31) have *laatt* 'stand' as progressive auxiliary. With a human subject and a situation where different stances are possible, it may indicate that the subject is actually standing:

- (20) Waishet pwieghazh julazh laatt
 Aisha dish.PL J.wash.CVsim PROG
 Aisha is washing dishes (and is doing it standing up).

With activity verbs the progressive means that the activity is ongoing:

- (21) Muusaa vielazh laatt
 M. V.laugh.CVsim PROG
 Musa is laughing.
- (22) Handz leatta iegazh laatt
 now earth shake.CVsim PROG
 The ground is shaking right now. We're having an earthquake right now.
- (23) Kambaain laatt k'aa oardazh
 combine PROG wheat thresh.CVsim
 A combine is over there threshing wheat. (0238A.10)

- (24) *Cheinik* qexkazh laatt
 teakettle boil.CVsim PROG
 The teakettle's boiling.

With telic and ingressive verbs the progressive tense means that the initiating or culminating event is being reached:

- (25) C'aa xoarczh laatt
 house collapse.CVsim PROG
 The house is collapsing

- (26) Cuo Muusaa voa-vezh laatt
 3s.ERG V.destroy-V.CS.CVsim PROG
 He is corrupting Musa. He is leading Musa into a life of crime.

- (27) Xii dwoax-luzh laatt
 water D.hot-VZ.CVsim PROG
 The water is heating up. The water is getting hot.

- (28) So qietazh laatt
 1s understand.CVsim PROG
 I'm beginning to understand.

- (29) Hwazaljg handz ghottazh laatt
 bird now fly away.CVsim PROG
 The bird is taking off. The bird is flying off. (Refers to taking off and beginning flight.)

With an anterior converb it means that the subject is in the result state named by the converb.

- (30) Tika dwa-q'eilaa laatt
 store DX-close.CVant PROG
 The store is closed.

- (31) Gaalii diixkaa laatt
 sack D.tiel.CVant PROG
 The sack is tied (i.e. tied shut).

Note that 'sit' and 'lie' usually do not occur alone as literal stance verbs; the normal static stance verbs are nuclear chains (§24.3) consisting of ingressive verb plus progressive verb:

- (32) waxeina vaagha
 DX-sit.CVant V.sit.PRS
 'is sitting' (lit. 'having sat (down) [ingressive], is sitting [progressive]')
- (33) wavyzhaa ull
 DX-V.lie.CVant lie.PRS
 'is lying' (lit. 'having lain down, is lying')

14.3.3. *Ingressive.* These verbs are much like achievements, but the essence of their meaning seems to be an event or action initiating a subsequent phase, and the process leading up to it is not part of the verb's meanings. (Classic transitive achievement predicates such as 'reach (the summit)' or 'solve (the problem)' or 'take (the fortress)' are not ingressive in Ingush but simply telic.) Ingressives generally do not form the inceptive derivation (§§15.3, 21.7.4) since their inherent meaning is much the same as the inceptive. The past stem forms (witnessed past, nonwitnessed, anterior converb) mean 'fly off', 'fall asleep', 'find out', etc., i.e. they describe the initiating event; the imperfect generally implies repetition; and for at least some of the verbs the present tense can describe the subsequent state (e.g. 'know').

(wa-)xou	'sit down'	twous	'fall asleep'
(hwal-)uott	'stand up'	k'edzh joaqq	'come to a boil'
(wa-)d.uzh	'lie down'	ghott	'fly off, fly away'
xou	'find out; know' (<i>wissen</i>)		
d.ouz	'recognize; know' (<i>kennen</i>)		

- (34) So jeizar cynna
 1s J.know.WP 3s.DAT
 He recognized me.
- (35) So joudz cynna
 1s J.know.PRS 3s.DAT
 He knows me. He is acquainted with me.

Ingressives are numerous in Ingush, and they are often basic while non-ingressives are derived. The following non-ingressives are derived by chaining with ingressives (as are (32) and (33) above):

- (36) Hwazaljg ghattaa lel
 bird fly.CVant go
 'The bird is flying' (lit. 'the bird is going around having flown off')

- (37) Yz tweisaa ull
 3s sleep.CVant lie.PRS
 He's asleep. ('He's lying having fallen asleep.')

The inceptive derivation (§15.3, §21.7.4) is probably best considered a derived ingressive.

14.3.4. *Punctual*. The action or event has no duration and (unlike inceptives) no subsequent state. The clearest example is *ieqq* 'jump; burst; dash, rush, bolt', a verb describing various sudden, rapid events and motions. *tuox* 'strike, hit' and *wershinjg doaqq* 'sneeze' also appear to be punctual. Examples of *ieqq* attested in texts are either past-stem forms with punctual meaning, present-stem forms with punctual meaning in present-tense narrative, or present-stem forms with repetitive or iterative force. (42) below, with the 'just as' converb, means that the jumping and shooting were simultaneous (and not that the jumping framed the shooting as in 'I shot him as he was sailing through the air' with durative or progressive meaning).

- (38) So dwa-aara-voalazh c'eaxxaa zhwalii **hwa-aara-iiqqar**.
 1s DX-out-V.go.CVsim suddenly dog DX-out-jump.WP
 As I was going out, a dog suddenly **jumped out**.

- (39) cu=chyra ep **hwal-aara='a iiqqaa** k'eankaa merazhagh
 there=in.ABL groundhog up-out=& jump.CVant boy.DAT nose.LAT
 carjg+tiexaa.
 tooth+strike.NW.J
 ... a groundhog **jumped up** out of there and bit the boy on the nose. (Frog)

- (40) T'aaqqa wa=chy-tiexaa *kislorod* **dwa-aara-eqq** cyn
 then down=in-strike.CVant oxygen DX-out-rush 3.GEN
 Then you punch it down and the air ("oxygen") comes out. (Koartol)

- (41) Ersii dosh cy **eqqazh** mott xalac=q vai,
 Russian word NEG jump.CVsim language be.NEG=CUM 1PIN.GEN
 vwaasht'ehw+daalac yz.
 logically+D.go.NEG 3s

(Whenever we speak Ingush at home) it doesn't work out without Russian words jumping in. (0219A.2) (repetition)

- (42) Ha 'eanna saangaragh **t'ex-eqqazhie** aftamaat tiexar aaz ...
 immediately ditch.LAT across-jump.CVjust machine_gun strike.WP 1s.ERG

I shot him **just as he jumped across** the ditch ... (0207A.2) (simultaneous punctual events)

14.3.5. *Telic*. Telic predicates have a phase of activity with a beginning and an end which usually entails completion or a change or movement. Many and probably most transitive verbs are telic. For telic verbs a perfective past tense means that the action was completed or accomplished. The imperfect can easily mean that it continued for some time without being completed, or that it was often or habitually done. The progressive tenses can mean engaging in the activity for awhile without implying completion, and transitive verbs like 'read' can easily be used without an object in the progressive. Note that the first verb illustrated here, *nab+ju* 'sleep', is a telic counterpart to ingressive *twous* 'fall asleep'.

- (43) Zwamiga bieruo duqa **nab+ju**
 little child.ERG much sleep+J.LV.PRS
 A little child sleeps a lot.
- (44) Selxan aaz ch'woagha dika **nab+jyr**.
 yesterday 1s.ERG very well sleep+J.LV.WP
 Yesterday I slept very well.
- (45) **Nab+juora** --- cu dc.h. *obschezhiti* volcha xaana
 sleep+J.LV.IMPF DEM.OBL um dorm V.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 cy=chy juora
 there=in J.LV.MPF
 Where did I sleep? While I lived in the dormitory that's where I slept. (0240)
- (46) Yz gazet **dieshazh vaagha**.
 3s newspaper D.read.CVsim V.sit/PROG.PRS
 He's reading the newspaper.
- (47) Cuo gazet **diishar**.
 3s.ERG newspaper D.read.WP
 He read the newspaper.
- (48) Yz wa-jaaz-dear diesha='a dieshac, ghalghaai mettal
 DEM DX-write-D.PPL.NZ RED=& D.read.NEG Ingush.GEN language.ADV
 wa-jaaz-dear **dieshazh** gettara k'ezig by nax.
 DX-write-D.PPL.NZ D.read.CVsim very few B.be.PRS people

What's written in it isn't read. There are very few people who read what's written in Ingush. (0379A.19.14)

- (49) Yz kinashjka hwanuo **jaaz-dyr?**
 DEM book who.ERG write-D.WP
 Who wrote this book?

- (50) latinskii alapazhca **jaaz-duora** vai, je alapazh daacar
 Latin letter.PL.INS write-D.IMPF 1pIN.ERG DEM letter.PL D.be.NEG.IMPF
 cu xaana.
 DEM.OBL time.DAT

We **wrote** in Latin letters, the (present Cyrillic) alphabet didn't exist then. (0392)

- (52) Shura cy xalcha yz **duora**, shura xalcha shura **jottar**,
 milk NEG be.CVtemp 3s D.do.IMPF milk be.CVtemp milk J.pour.IMPF,
 deatta='a **tuoxar**
 butter=& add.IMPF

They **did** that when there was no milk, but if there was milk they **added** milk and also butter. (0418.20)

14.3.6. *Delimited*. Two high-frequency verbs are rather like ingressives in that their past-stem forms often imply the beginning of the action, and like punctuals in that their present-stem forms often mean iterative or habitual action. I provisionally call them delimited.

d.oal 'start off, go; finish; enter, exit, cross, pass', usually with a goal. This is an all-purpose motion verb that seems to require a path element and usually a goal. As a phase auxiliary used with an anterior converb it means 'finish'; used with an infinitive it means 'begin'; used with present, imperfect, or pluractionals it means 'keep on, continue' -- a disparate-sounding set of meanings which would be consistent with ingressive meaning (§25.15). Its progressive forms are true progressives in meaning. It contrasts with *d.uoda* 'go, go away, depart' (probably telic; paired with *d.oagha* 'come', which, however, is often progressive). In the meaning 'go' it usually takes a local prefix (e.g. *aara-d.oal* 'go out, leave (an indoor place)'). It may be that it would be better analyzed as an ingressive phase auxiliary but a telic motion verb. Though this analysis is still tentative, below I have interlinearized it *INGR* in its phase and other auxiliary functions and usually as *go* in its motion functions.

- (53) Revoluci **joalacha** xaana Varshaavie universitietie dieshazh
 Revolution J.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT Warsaw.ADV university.ADV D.study.CVsim
 xannuu yz
 NARP.PROG.V 3s

During the Revolution he was a student in Warsaw. (05341) (Consultant: 'while the Revolution was in preparation and ongoing', i.e. onset and subsequent phase.)

- (54) Cigachy **joal** leattagh wa=chy='a eaxkaa ... yz kart.
there-in J.go.PRS earth.LAT DX=in=& dig.CVant ... DEM fence
This fence runs by there, dug into the ground ... (0392B.1)

- (55) Yz wor doaqqazh **vealar** so.
DEM trench D.take.CVsim V.INGR.1s
I was involved in digging that trench. (0776)

xul 'be'. The past-stem forms can mean 'become', and the nonwitnessed forms function as tense auxiliaries forming the inferential series (§13.3). The simple present always has habitual or iterative meaning, never durative. Its progressive forms cannot be semantically true progressives, but usually mean repeated or habitual becoming. This verb contrasts with the defective and irregular *d.y* 'be' (§12.3 and Tables 12-2 and 12-3), which is durative in meaning and has no past-stem forms.

- (56) Cwa liitar xigh vorh pirog **xul**.
one liter water.LAT seven pie be:DEL.PRS
From one liter of water you get seven pies.
- (57) Duqagh qexkadicha dikagh **xul**.
more.CMP boil-D.CS.CVtemp good.CMP be:DEL.PRS
If you boil it longer it's better. (...it turns out better.) (0246A.36)
- (58) So wa-t'ehw massadz joal Waishet bolx bezh joallazh **xul**.
Is down-behind whenever J.go Aisha work B.LV.CVsim J.PROG.CVsim PROGocc
Whenever I go by Aisha is working.
- (59) Doaxan laq'ii **xular** cy xaana.
cattle dry.PL be:DEL.IMPF DEM.OBL time.DAT
Cattle didn't give milk at that time (of year). (0776) (Regular annual situation.)
- (60) Yshtta d.h. yz **xalar**.
thus y'know 3s be:DEL.WP
That's how it happened.
- (61) Fy **xannad** hwuona?
what happen.NW.D 2s.DAT
What happened to you?

CHAPTER 15

VERB STRUCTURE AND DERIVATION

15.0. Introduction. Position classes in the verb

The Ingush verbal lexicon is split into two parts. Simple verbs are a closed class. As a class they take all available suffixal derivations. In their derivational behavior they are ergative, with a nominative pivot that can never be replaced by another case. Every valence must contain a nominative. Compound verbs are formed with light verbs. They are an open and productive class. Their derivational behavior is restricted to the possibilities open to the light verb, and most compound verbs are accusative in derivational behavior. The lexically heavy element is often etymologically the nominative O of the light verb, and as soon as it ceases to be an argument the verb has ceased to have a nominative argument. Thus the nominative argument is not obligatory for compound verbs. Agreement in compound verbs is with the nominative argument if there is one (I call this external agreement), or it can be fixed, as happens where the heavy element is historically the nominative argument, so that the verb carries frozen agreement with that element (I call this internal agreement).

There are twelve position slots in the Ingush verb, shown in (1) on the next page. Not all slots can be filled at once: for instance, the chaining particle occurs only with converbs, which lack the tense-mood categories signaled by the auxiliary verb occupying slots 10-12. Several different kinds of elements can occur in slot 2, but only one can occur in any given verb form; their ranking for access to this slot is discussed below. The fillers of slots are variously affixes, words, proclitics, and enclitics. Slots 1-4 are a flat string; 5-12 are a hierarchically organized sequence of main verb (with its affixes) and light verb (with its affixes).

The minimal possible verb word is position 6, the unexpanded root, which occurs in the present tense: *xou* 'know(s)', *joax* 's/he says, they say'. Examples of more complex verb forms are (2)-(3) (numbers in the interlinear are position slots as above):

- (2) hwa-v.iex.a.l.ahw
 1 5 6 9 9 9
 DX -V.ask.IMPV.MILD.FUT
 '(why don't you then) invite', '(please) call'
- (3) wa-k'al-hwiezh.azh v.oall.Ø
 1 2 6 9 10 11 12
 down-under-look:PLC.CVsim V.be.PROG
 'is looking down (e.g. from fifth floor to street)'

(1) Verb position class structure. Bold = the root and its gender initial. Only one filler can occur per slot in the inflected verb form, except for slot 9.

<i>Slot</i>	<i>Filler(s)</i>	<i>Boundary:</i>	<i>Preceding</i>	<i>Following</i>
1	Deictic prefix		word	word?
2	Local prefix		affix/clitic	affix/clitic
2	Lexical prefix		affix	word?
2	Lexically incorporated element		word?	word?
2	Reduplicated root		word	word
2	Heavy (lexical) piece of compound verb		word	word
3	Syntactically inserted element		word	word
3 *	Negative particle		word	clitic
4 *	Chaining particle		clitic	word
5	Gender prefix		word	none **
6	Lexical (main) verb root		affix	affix
7	Gender prefix to light verb or suffix		word	none **
8	Light verb stem		affix	affix
8	Derivational suffix		affix	affix
9	Inflectional suffix(es)		affix	word
10	Gender prefix to TAM auxiliary		varies	none **
11	TAM auxiliary		varies	varies
12	TAM suffix(es) to auxiliary		affix	word

* Positions of these two can be reversed under some circumstances (Peterson 2001).

** The gender prefix (Chapter 7, §19.1) is segmentable as a separate morpheme, but in terms of syllable structure and morpheme canon it behaves as a root-initial consonant.

15.1. Simple verbs

Simple verbs are a closed class numbering about 300 roots comprising all aktionsart and valence types. All are monosyllabic. All are either ancient Nakh-Daghestanian roots or words of unknown origin; none are demonstrably loans.

The plural and pluractional, described in Chapter 14, create or pair up simple verb roots. They could be viewed as either regular lexical categories or partial derivational categories. (The figure of 300 assumes each non-suppletive pair of simulfactive and pluractional, or singular and plural, is one root. Counting them separately there are about 400 roots.)

Simple verbs may be stems for inflection, or they may take valence-related derivational suffixes (§15.3).

15.2. Compound verbs

Compounds are light verb constructions with a variety of different kinds of first elements. All have the prosody of compounds (§4.1.2). The light verb imposes its valence on the compound. The light verbs include several that distinguish plural and/or pluractional, and all compounds formed with them distinguish these categories.

Compound verbs can be classified by the part of speech of their first element and their degree of transparency.

It is not always clear whether compounds should be written as one word or two. I have generally followed dictionaries, though they are not always consistent. When spelled as one word I separate the two parts with a "+".

15.2.1. Nominal first element in nominative case. In phrasal predicates whose first element is a nominal in the nominative case, that first element may or may not trigger agreement.

15.2.1.1. Internal agreement. When the first element occupies the nominative slot in the valence and the verb agrees with it, there is *internal agreement*. Verbs with internal agreement, though lexicalized, are quite transparent and often semantically quite compositional, with the first element usually a recognizable noun in the nominative case. The following are transparent, compositional compounds with the light verb *d.u* 'make, do':

bolx bu	'work'
ber du	'have a baby', 'give birth'
qom+bu	'economize, be thrifty'
q'urjg bu	'swallow'
ehw+du	'disgrace'
daarba du	'treat, cure'
uozabiezam bu	'be partial to, take the side of'
chou ju	'injure, wound'

fully transparent compounds whose first element barely exists as an inflected noun:

nab ju	'sleep'	(<i>nab</i> [J], also adverb <i>naabaragh</i> 'in one's sleep')
taamash ju	'be surprised'	(<i>taamash</i> [J], bound element)

and transparent compounds with other verbs *d.oaqq* 'take', *d.uoda* 'go', *tuox* 'strike':

hwadzh joaqq	'smell, sniff, catch scent'
juq' joaqq	'take a break, make a pause'
bos buoda	'become pale, go white' (lit. 'color goes (away)')
top tuox	'shoot' ('gun strike')
telefon tuox	'call, phone' ('phone strike')

In other respects as well, verbs with internal agreement behave like phrases containing syntactically discrete pieces (Dolbey & Sprouse 1996). They are generally written as two words. In many instances the preverbal element can be modified (e.g. by an adjective or possessive pronoun), can antecede an anaphoric pronoun, can be separated from the verb by a deictic prefix, can be pluralized, and can be replaced by a near-synonym. (Most of the following examples are from Dolbey & Sprouse.) Examples of *ber du* 'give birth':

- (4) qaalsaguo siexan ber dead
 woman.ERG yesterday child D.do.NW.D
 'the woman gave birth to a child yesterday'
- (5) qaalsaguo bierazh dead
 woman.ERG child.PL D.do.NW.D
 'the woman gave birth to children'
- (6) qaalsaguo shi ber dead
 woman.ERG two child D.do.NW.D
 'the woman had two children'
- (7) qaalsaguo vow veav
 woman.ERG son V.do.NW.V
 'the woman gave birth to a son'
- (8) Mariemaz Sibregh vow veav. Handz yz Neasarie vaax.
 M.ERG Siberia.ADV son V.do.NW.V now 3s N.ADV V.live.PRS
 Mariem gave birth to a son in Siberia. Now he lives in Nazran.

For some of these verbs questioning, modification, possession, etc. of the first element are possible but stylistically poor, and clefting is the preferred alternative:

top tuox 'shoot (with gun)'

- (9) cuo seana top tiexar
 3s.ERG deer.DAT gun strike.WP
 He shot a deer
- (10) cuo seana joaqqa top tiexar
 3s.ERG deer.DAT J.big gun strike.WP
 He shot a deer with a big gun
- (11) cuo seana shii top tiexar
 3s.ERG deer.DAT 3SRFL.GEN gun strike.WP
 He shot the deer with his own gun.

- (12) *cuo seana top tiexaar shii top jar*
 3s.ERG deer.DAT gun strike.NZ 3sRFL.GEN gun J.be.PST
 lit. 'what he shot the deer with was his own gun', 'the one he shot the deer with was his own gun'

nab ju 'sleep'

- (13) *cuo nab ju*
 3s.ERG sleep J.do
 's/he is sleeping'
- (14) *? aaz dika nab jyr*
 1s.ERG well sleep J.do.WP
 'I slept well'
- (15) *aaz jea nab dika nab jar*
 1s.ERG J.do.PPL sleep good sleep J.be.PST
 'I slept well', lit. 'the sleep I did was a good sleep'
- (16) *dika nab jar aaz jear*
 good sleep J.be.PST 1s.ERG J.do.PPL.NZ
 id., lit. 'the one I did was a good sleep'

For some such compounds the first element cannot be modified, pluralized, replaced, etc.: *nab ju* 'sleep', *qom-bu* 'economize'. These are dependent nouns, which are found chiefly or only in these phrasal lexemes and sometimes fossilized in other expressions.

15.2.1.2. External agreement. When the first element does not behave like an argument and does not trigger agreement, there is external agreement. With external agreement, a free nominative argument in the clause triggers agreement.

<i>futtar d.u</i>	'make fun of, mock, laugh at'
<i>ch'orma+d.oaqq</i>	'peel'
<i>belgal d.oaqq</i>	'define, characterize, distinguish'
<i>sumut+d.u</i>	'circumcise'
<i>jaaz-d.u</i>	'write'
<i>bwarjga+gu</i>	'see' (lie. 'eye-see') ¹³⁰
<i>chouxa+d.u</i>	'stun, alarm'

Deadjectival verbs (§15.2.4) fall into this category:

¹³⁰ I follow dictionaries and grammars in writing the first element with a final schwa. In my experience the schwa is never pronounced except before the chaining clitic =*'a*, where it could be epenthetic.

earh-lu	'get dull', transitive erh-d.u 'make dull
unzar+d.oal	'get scared, be terrified'
unzar+d.oaqq	'threaten'

Verbs with external agreement generally do not permit modification, etc. of the heavy element, and in general they behave syntactically as single units. (The following examples are from Dolbey & Sprouse 1996.)

(17) aaz *apel'siin* ch'orma+jeaqqar
 1s.ERG orange peel-J.LV.WP
 I peeled an orange (J)

(18) aaz wazh ch'orma+beaqqar
 1s.ERG apple peel-B.LV.WP
 I peeled an apple (B)

(19) *aaz *apel'siin* soma ch'orma+jeaqqar
 1s.ERG orange thick peel-J.LV.WP
 'I took the thick peel off the orange'

(20) *Aaz *apel'siin* ch'orma+jeaqqar. Yz soma jar (/dar/bar).
 1s.ERG orange peel-J.LV.WP 3s thick J.be.PST (D.be.PST /B.be.PST)
 'I peeled an orange. It (peel) was thick.'

The verb *d.oaqq* 'take' appears in its regular suppletive plural form when the external object is plural. The first element of the verb does not inflect for number.

(21) Aaz wazhazh ch'orma+beaxaab.
 1s.ERG apple.PL peel-B.take:PL.NW.B
 I peeled the apples.

15.2.2. *Nominal first element in oblique case or adverb form.* A number of compounds use the adverb or other oblique form as first element. These elements can not trigger gender or number agreement in the light verb. Such constructions are generally quite transparent. An example is *daga+d.oagha* (heart.ADV-D.come) 'remember' (lit. 'come to heart', i.e. 'come to mind'):

(22) Hwuona sy dottagh daga+voaghii?
 2s.DAT 1s.GEN friend remember-V.LV.PRS=Q
 Do you remember my friend?

- (23) Bersnaq'aa Marem daga+joagha
 B.DAT remember-J.LV.PRS
 Bersnaq' remembers Mariam.

Other verbs with *daga-* 'heart, mind' as first element include:

- daga+d.oal 'confer, take counsel' (d.oal 'go')
 daga+d.uox, PLC daga-ux 'remember, recall, come to mind' (d.uox 'break', ux 'go. PLC')
 daga+loac 'memorize, learn by heart' (loac 'catch')
 daga xul 'intend' (xul 'be')
 daga+d.oall 'have in mind, long for, be concerned about' (d.oall 'be contained')

Other examples:

- eaqie d.uoda 'go hunting' (aaqa 'wild animal', d.uoda 'go')
 bieragh xul 'become pregnant' (ber 'child', xul 'be')
 bwara+hwozh 'look (at)' (bwara 'eye' [compounding stem], hwozh 'look')
 boaxamagh d.oal 'lose everything, be ruined' (boaxam 'property, possessions', d.oal 'go')

15.2.3. *Truncated noun as first element.* A few verbs have as first element the bare root of a noun now found only with the diminutive suffixes *-rjg*, *-ljg*:

- bwa+toss 'wink, blink' (bwa-, stem of bwarjg 'eye' B; toss 'throw')
 ka+tuox 'grab (another person aggressively)' (ka-, stem of kyljg 'hand' D)
 ca+tuox 'bite' (of horse only) (ca-, stem of carjg 'tooth' J)
 la+d.uugh 'listen' (la-, stem of larjg 'ear' D; d.uugh 'put.PLC')

These have fixed agreement with the first element:

- (24) Cuo jowaga bwa+tessaab
 3s.ERG girl.ALL wink-LV.NW.B
 'He winked at the girl'

The nonwitnessed tense of the other verbs above is *ka+tiexaad*, *ca+tiexaai*, *la+diighaad*.

15.2.4. *Adjectival first element.* Deadjectival verbs have adjectives or adjective stems as first element. Usually the verbs come in pairs, one intransitive and one transitive. Neither the transitive nor the intransitive is derived from the other; both are derived from the adjective or adjectival stem. The intransitive is inchoative or ingressive, while the adjective is stative or durative. Most frequent are the suffixes intransitive *-lu* / and transitive *-d.u*; less common are *-d.oal* 'go' / *-d.oaqq* 'take'. (These same suffixes when applied to verbs form inceptives

[§§15.3, 21.7.4] and causatives respectively.) *-lu* is homophonous to 'give' and *-d.u* is 'make/do'. I interlinearize these suffixes as VZ (verbalizer).

<i>Intransitive</i>		<i>Transitive</i>	
shäl-lu	'get cold'	shäl-d.u	'make cold, chill'
ghel-lu	'get thin(ner)'	ghel-d.u	'neglect (e.g. livestock)'
earh-lu	'get dull'	earh-d.u	'make dull'
darx-lu	'get enraged'	darx-d.u	'enrage'
d.ei-lu	'get lighter, cheaper'	d.ei-d.u	'lower the price'
d.weax-lu	'get longer'	d.weax-d.u	'lengthen, extend'
d.woax-lu	'get hot'	d.woax-d.u	'heat up'
niis-lu	'become straight, level'	niis-d.u	'straighten out, level off'
q'a-lu	'age, get old'	q'a-d.u	'age, cause to age'
shear-lu	'become smooth, even'	shear-d.u	'make smooth, even'
bwex-lu	'get stained, soiled'	bwex-d.u	'stain, soil, spot'
iircha-d.oal	'lose one's looks'	iircha-d.oaqq	'disfigure, make ugly'
siirda-d.oal	'get light, bright'	siirda-d.oaqq	'shed light, make light'
muq'a-d.oal	'go free, be freed'	muq'a-d.oaqq	'set free'
kur-d.oal	'become arrogant'		
aaqa-d.oal	'run wild, go wild'	aaqa-d.oaqq	'make wild'
ghoz-d.oal	'rejoice'	ghoz-d.oaqq	'make happy'
mearsh-d.oal	'be unharmed'	mearsh-d.oaqq	'keep safe, safeguard'

A few verbs can take either set of suffixes:

kaana-lu	'shed, lose hair, molt'
kaana-d.oal	id.

For verbs in *-lu* / *d.u*, and some in *-d.oal* / *d.oaqq*, the first element differs from the independent adjective in lacking the schwa found on most adjectives, and for many of them it also differs in ablaut grade. Suffixes such as diminutive *-iga* found on a few adjectives are absent in the verbs.

<i>Adjective</i>		<i>Verb (intransitive)</i>
d.weaxa	'long'	d.weax-lu
niisa	'right, straight'	niis-lu
kura	'proud, arrogant'	kur-d.oal
mearsha	'safe, well'	mearsh-d.oal

bwiexa	'dirty, unclean'	bwex-lu
shiila	'cold'	shäl-lu
ghiila	'thin, scrawny'	ghel-lu
d.waaixa	'hot'	d.woax-lu
d.aq'a	'dry, thick'	d.oq'a-lu
ghuoza	'happy, joyful'	ghoz-d.oal
earha/earxa	'dull'	earh-lu
d.eiga	'light (in weight)'	dei-lu
q'eana	'elderly'	q'a-lu
sheara	'level, flat, smooth'	shear-lu

-d.oal / d.oaqq but not *-lu / -d.u* can form verbs from adjectives in privative *-z*:¹³¹

bexkaz-d.oal	'apologize, justify oneself'	(cf. bexkie 'guilty')
eihwaz-d.oal	'become dissolute'	< eihwaza 'dissolute, undisciplined'
besaz-d.oal	'fade, run, lose color'	(cf. bos 'color')

15.2.5. *Lexicalized nuclear chaining* (see §24.3). In the following the first element is an anterior converb of a telic or inchoative verb, and it contributes meanings of manner or position to the whole. The second element is the grammatical main verb that carries the tense-aspect-mood inflection. It is most often a verb of motion or position, and it contributes locative or directional and aspectual meaning.

- (25) wa-xeina d.aagha 'sit' (be in sitting position)
wa-xou (down-sit) 'sit down'
d.aagha 'be sitting, be in sitting position'
- (26) wa-d.yzhaa ull 'lie, be lying down'
wa-d.uzh (down-D.lie) 'lie down, assume lying position'
ull 'be lying, be in lying position'
- (27) tweisaa ull id.; 'be lying down (to sleep), be sleeping'
twous 'fall asleep'
ull 'be lying'
- (28) hwal-'ellaa ull 'hang, be suspended'
hwal-oll 'hang up, suspend'
ull 'be lying'

¹³¹ Kurkiev 2004 and Ozdoev 2003 spell the first two with a final schwa on the first element (*бехказадала, айхъзадала*) and the third without the schwa (*бесаздала*).

- (29) hwoa-d.ea d.axiit 'kick out, get rid of'
hwoa-d.u 'move, set in motion' (causative of hwou 'move')
d.axiit 'have go, make go' (indirect causative of d.uoda 'go')
- (30) d.edda d.uoda 'run away'
d.od 'run, flee'
d.uoda 'go'
- (31) ghättaa d.uoda 'fly away, fly off; depart (of aircraft)'
ghott 'take off, get up into the air'
d.uoda 'go'
- (32) ghättaa d.oagha 'fly (toward speaker), fly in; approach (of aircraft)'
ghott 'take off, get up into the air'
d.oagha 'come'
- (33) ghättaa liel 'fly around, fly in circles, circle (in the air)'
ghott 'take off, get up into the air'
liel 'go (non-directional), walk around'
- (34) lächq'aa liel 'be in hiding'
lochq' 'hide, go into concealment'
liel 'go (non-directional), walk around'
- (35) täbaa d.aagha 'lie in ambush, crouch down ready to spring (e.g. of cat)'
tab 'sneak up, stalk'
d.aagha 'be sitting'
- (36) Cysjk tabaa daagha
cat sneak.CVant D.sit.PRS
'The cat is crouched down ready to spring'
- (37) xil d.axaa lie 'drown'
xil d.axaa (water.ADV D.go.CVant) 'sink into water, submerge'
lie 'die'
- (38) aara-olla-d.änna ull 'lean out, hang out'
aara-oll 'hang out' (trans.), aara-olla-lu 'hang out.INCP'
ull 'be lying'

(39) wa-chy-olla-d.änna ull 'dangle, be suspended, hang (from)'
wa-chy-oll 'hang down'

(40) Gizjg maazagh wa=chy-olla-jänna ull
spider web.LAT DX=in-hang-J.INCP. CVant lie.PRS
The spider hangs down from the web.

15.2.6. *Indeterminate first element.* Some first elements are cranberry morphs. The following compounds use *d.oal* 'go, start, finish', *d.aagha* 'sit', *d.oaqq* 'take', or *d.u* 'make/do' as second elements. Examples marked "(in)" take internal agreement. For these the first element assigns gender and is therefore a noun. When agreement is external, the first element lacks even that indication of its part of speech and lacks any word-class categories.

buu d.oal		'become financially independent, leave parents' home'
cec+d.oal		'be surprised'
ghol+d.oal		'ricochet'
kot+d.oal		'be victorious'
soma+d.oal		'wake up' (transitive soma-d.oaqq)
xeanara+d.oal		'lean back, recline'
tealmii d.aagha		'sit on nest' (d.aagha 'sit')
p'az d.oaqq		'beat up, beat to a pulp'
qa boaqq	(in)	'give news'
gul-d.u		'gather, collect'
halak+d.u		'destroy'
must+d.u		'pluck (hair, feathers)'
shoq' ju	(in)	'go into frenzy'

Turkic, Arabic, and Persian initial elements and borrowed Russian infinitives are, for all practical purposes, cranberry morphs in Ingush.

jaaz-d.u		'write'	(Turkic yaz-)
q'oabal ju	(in)	'approve'	(Arabic)
nigat du	(in)	'vow'	(Arabic via Avar)
saabar du	(in)	'wait, be patient'	(Arabic)
woma-d.u		'learn, study'	(Arabic)
diktovat' du	(in)	'dictate'	(Russian)

15.2.7. *Onomatopoeic words and ideophones.* Ingush has a good many more or less onomatopoeic, or otherwise sound-symbolic, words used as ideophones. These not used independently but occur as heavy piece of a light verb construction with a converb of a verb

of speech such as *oal* 'say', *joax* 'say' and quotative, or *dellaa* (otherwise meaningless light verb used with ideophones). Most can easily be reduplicated for an iterative or pluractional effect.

- (41) **Varq'-varq' eanna** pwidarch jar wiexazh wama=chy
 RED-croak LV.CVant frog.PL J.PROG.PST cry.CVsim pond-in
 Frogs were croaking in the pond.
- (42) Yz dwa-vuodazh xalcha t'exkazh **q'ars-q'ars jaaxazh** yshtta sag
 3s DX-V.go.CVsim be.CVtemp bone.PL RED-click LV.CVsim thus person
 var yz.
 V.be.PST 3s
 When he walked by his bones clicked. (He was a person who, when he walked by, his bones clicked.) (Of a very thin man.) (0415.12)
- (43) **Zou eanna** oarqanjg diezhar
 ring LV.CVant plate D.fall.WP
 The plate fell with a ringing sound.
- (44) Bwienuo **ch'arx-ch'arx eanna** tuopazh hwa=t'y-leacar, tuoxa eanna uqanna.
 army RED-suddenly LV.CVant gun.PL DX=on-seize.WP, shoot SUB 3s.DAT
 The soldiers immediately took up their guns to shoot him. (0418.36)
- (45) Hwa-vaala, **boppaa addy** hwuona
 DX-V.go.IMPV woops LV.D.FUT 2s/MIR
 Come here (or) you'll fall down! (to small child)

Other onomatopoeic words that can be so used (and the verbs they take if other than *eanna*):

zuzz (joax, dellaa) 'buzz'	c'ir 'chirp'
c'aq' (joax, eanna) 'click (once)'	t'ox 'bang'
q'ars 'snap, click'	sharx 'rustle'
gharzh 'crunch'	chq'uu 'whirr'
q'ars-q'ars 'crackle, crunch; click repeatedly'	gouu 'boom' (sound of heavy artillery)
bopp 'thud, clunk' (round object or soft heavy object hits the ground)	

There are also several non-omatopoeic ideophones expressing manner:

ch'arx (eanna) 'promptly, in immediate courteous response'
ha ⁿ (eanna) 'immediately, at once, right away' (with nasalized vowel)
tap (eanna) 'suddenly, instantly' (especially of sudden silence)
parx 'wreck, mess up'

(46) So jist xalcha **tap** **ealie** socar ghar,
 1s start_to_speak LV.CVtemp immediately LV.CVseq stop.IMPf noise

so sacacha wuugha juola-luora
 1s stop.CVtemp howl:PLC.INF J.begin-INCP.IMPf

If I spoke they (wolves) immediately stopped howling, and when I stopped they started howling. (0240A)

15.2.8. *Verbs used as light verbs.* Many, probably most, of the simple verbs in Ingush form at least a few compound verbs. The simple verbs used most frequently in compound and phrasal verbs, and as suffixes in non-deverbal derivations (i.e. not causatives and inceptives), are the following, in decreasing order of frequency (based on my lexical database as of October 2010). Only the simulfactive singular is listed; pluractional and plural verbs are counted as tokens of their simulfactives. (There are also some 60 phrasal verbs whose light verbs are themselves compound or derived.)

d.u	'make'	111	d.y, xul	'be'	2
d.oaqq	'take'	73	d.oagha	'come'	13
d.oal	'go, start'	55	lu	'give'	12
tuox	'strike'	37	toss	'throw, cast'	11
d.uoda	'go'	34	loac	'catch'	10

Plus 10 other verbs with 4-9 occurrences, 40 other verbs with 1-3 occurrences

Note that a compound verb with any light verb, whether common or uncommon, has ordinary compound stress (§4.1.2).

15.2.9. *Typological observations on compounds and phrasal predicates.* An Ingush verbal compound consists of two elements, of which the first -- the heavy element -- contributes most of the lexical meaning and meanings of manner and means, and the second contributes the finite verbal categories (tense, number, aspect), location, lexical deixis, stance or positional classification, and valence. The second element -- the light verb -- belongs to a closed class, in that it is always a simple verb and simple verbs are a closed class. In addition, the set of simple verbs that function with any frequency as light verbs is a small subset of the simple verbs. The heavy elements, in contrast, do not form a closed class. Each first element is lexically specialized, however, and/or has restricted distribution: it occurs with a few auxiliaries or perhaps just one, its word-class properties are restricted, and its lexical semantics can be difficult to factor out from the meaning of the whole compound. The limiting case on restricted first elements is ones like those of *cec+d.oal* 'be surprised', *buu d.oal* 'become financially independent', *p'az d.oaqq* 'beat up, beat to a pulp', *halak du* 'destroy', *must ju* 'pluck', or *tug qoss* 'spit', where the first element is a cranberry morph of no determinable part of speech and with no recoverable lexical meaning other than that of the

verb as a whole. In the specialized nature and lack of word-class properties of the first part and the closed class of elements in the second part, and in the kinds of semantic and grammatical contributions made by the two parts, the two elements match in overall typology the respective pieces of what are variously known as bipartite verbs (or verb stems), discontinuous stems, etc. (for some native American languages see DeLancey 1996, Rhodes 1996:130).

As is discussed in §§21.1, 21.2.8, corresponding to Russian or English ditransitive valence with goal object (G=O), Ingush has mostly ditransitives with theme object (T=O). The more theme-like of the objects (the one that moves) is treated as a direct object and the other (the goal) as an indirect or other oblique object.

- (47) Cuo mashienaa ghadzh tiexar
 3s.ERG car.DAT stick strike.WP
 A G T
 He hit the car with a stick. ('He hit a stick to the car')
- (48) Aaz piinaa basar hweqar
 1s.ERG wall.DAT paint wipe.WP
 A G T
 I painted the walls. I brushed paint on the walls.
- (49) Aaz suupal tux tassar
 1s.ERG soup.ADV salt sprinkle
 A G T
 I put salt in the soup. I seasoned the soup. I salted the soup.
- (50) Cuo zizaazhta xii tiexar
 3s.ERG flowers.DAT water strike.WP
 A G T
 She watered the flowers
- (51) Muusaaz hwuona tilifon tiexar
 Musa.ERG 2s.ALL telephone strike.WP
 A G T
 Musa called you on the phone. Musa telephoned you. Musa called you.

Corresponding to these explicit constructions English has conversion producing denominal verbs such as *paint*, *salt*, *telephone*, *comb*, which are monotransitives taking the goal as direct object. Ingush has no conversion, but compound verbs do some of the same work. The first example above is a completely free combination *ghadzh tuox* 'hit with a stick', but the rest are lexicalized. There is no grammatical or prosodic difference between the lexicalized preverbal

elements and ordinary free direct objects. Some additional phrasal verbs that are syntactically transparent and often correspond to English denominal verbs are:

c'i+tuox	'set afire'
lard tuox	'sole (a shoe)', 'shoe (a horse)'
eashjk tuox	'iron (clothes)'
ch'iega tuox	'lock' (ch'iega 'lock')
kur tuox	'butt' (kur 'horn')
maaxa tuox	'inject, give shot' (maaxa 'needle')
basar tuox	'paint' (especially with spray gun)
basar hwoq	'paint' (with paintbrush)
jexk hwoq	'comb (hair)' (jexk 'comb')
urs hwoq	'cut, slice' (urs 'knife')

The English denominal monotransitive verbs have goal=object (G=O) alignment. In Ingush, in contrast, instead of a denominal verb there is compounding with the theme, and there is no change in the valence, so that the theme retains some direct object properties (word order, triggering agreement) and the goal remains dative or oblique. (Recall that compounds like these are mostly written as two words whenever the first element is recognizable as a word, but there is no prosodic or morphosyntactic difference between those written as two words and those written as one word: §§4.1.2, 4.5.)

15.3. Regular suffixal derivations

All eligible simple verbs undergo the series of regular suffixal derivations, whose syntax and semantics are described in §21.7, that change valence and/or aktionsart: direct causative, indirect causative, double causative (causative of causative), all of which affect argument structure and valence by adding an ergative A; and the inceptive, which does not affect argument structure but does affect valence and (especially) aktionsart. In their application and semantics all of these derivations are as regular and predictable as inflectional categories, but with many verbs they also have unpredictable lexicalized meanings. They are listed as separate verbs in dictionaries. The ingressive phase verb *d.oal* 'begin' (§25.15.1.2) seems to be more or less lexicalized as inceptive with a few verbs, forming a second inceptive or precluding formation of a regular inceptive.

Intransitive simple verbs can undergo all derivations. Two-argument verbs with nominative A can sometimes undergo all of them. Transitives with ergative A and experiential verbs with dative A cannot undergo the direct causative or the double causative (which is formed from the direct causative). Compounds with light verbs are restricted to the valence possibilities available to the light verb (most of which are transitive) and apparently restricted by its aktionsart (most intransitive light verbs are ingressive and this may restrict

formation or use of the inceptive). The derivational possibilities of the various verbs need more study.

As is described in more detail in Chapter 21, the valence of every simple verb must have a nominative argument (if it has any arguments at all; there are a few verbs of weather, etc. that have no arguments). In the various suffixal derivations, that nominative can change from S to O (in causatives), but it is no less obligatory, its case is never changed, and no other nominative is added to the valence. Non-nominative A's can be added and their case can be changed (ergative to allative in the indirect causative, ergative to dative in the inceptive). Thus the entire series of suffixal derivations has a nominative pivot and is basically ergative. This is what Creissels 2010 calls radical P-alignment.

§21.7 illustrates the full array of derivations for verbs of different valences. In the present section more illustration is given for the stative intransitive verb *laz* 'hurt, ache', one of a handful of verbs for which the ingressive phase verb *d.oal* 'begin' is used instead of a regular inceptive. The unsuffixed verb has a single nominative argument:

- (52) Sy kuorta laɟz
 1s.GEN head hurt.PRS
 My head aches

Direct causative 'hurt, make ache' and also 'injure':

- (53) Cuo sy kuorta loza-byr
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN head hurt-B.CS.WP
 He hurt my head (e.g. he hit my head and hurt it). He injured my head. (Nichols 1982)

- (54) Cwa minot jaxaa maarjkea cq'alataa zhwaliezha loza-vuora hwo
 one minute J.go.CVant only for one thing dog.ERGpl hurt-V.CS.IMPF 2s
 For one thing, another minute and the dogs would have hurt you. (0418.36)

- (55) Gouraz mwarjgazh='a tiexaa Muusaa loza-veav
 horse.ERG kick.PL=& strike Musa hurt-V.CS.NW.V
 A horse kicked Musa and injured him

- (56) Kog loza='a bea liela magac cynna
 leg hurt=& B.CS.CVant walk.INF can-NEG 3s.DAT
 He hurt his leg and can't walk. His leg got injured and he can't walk.

Indirect causative 'make hurt', 'let hurt':

- (57) Aaz cyn kuorta laziit
 1s.ERG 3s.GEN head hurt-CSind.PRS

I'm making his head ache (doing something that makes his head ache, e.g. making noise, annoying him, etc.) (Nichols 1982)

- (58) Cuo molxa cy='a luzh sy kuorta laziitar
 3s.ERG medicine NEG=& give.CVsim 1s.GEN head hurt-CSind.WP
 He didn't give me medicine and just let my head ache.
- (59) Sy kuorta laziita, ...
 1s.GEN head hurt-CSind.IMPV
 So let my head ache (I'm going out anyway)

Double causative

- (60) Cuo sy kuorta loza-beit
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN head hurt-B.CS-CSind.PRS
 He makes someone hurt my head. He has my head hurt (by someone else).
 (Nichols 1982)

Inceptive. The regular inceptive is impossible with this verb:

- (61) *Sy kuorta **laza-balar**
 1s.GEN head ache-B.INCP.WP
 (My head started to ache.)

Surrogate inceptive. The ingressive phase verb *d.oal* 'begin' plus infinitive serves as inceptive for this verb. The following examples show that its aktionsart is like that of the regular inceptive, with imperfectives indicating recurrence rather than duration.

- (62) Sy kuorta **laza-bealar**
 1s.GEN head hurt-B.INGR.WP
 I got a headache. My head started to ache.
- (63) Haara diinahw balxa hwa massadz vaa
 every day.ADV work.ADV DX whenever V.come.CV¹³²
 sy kuorta **laza-boal**.
 1s.GEN head hurt-B.INGR.PRS
 Every day as soon as I come to work my head starts to ache.

¹³² Short form of the present tense, unique to this verb, used in subordinate clauses, and probably best analyzed as a converb.

- (64) Dwadaxaacha shara aaz kinashjkaazh massadz desh
 DX-D.go.PPL.OBL year.ADV 1s.ERG book.PL whenever D.read.PRS
 kuorta **laza-boalar** sy
 head hurt-B.INGR.IMPf 1s.GEN

Last year whenever I read I would get a headache.

The surrogate inceptive has a transitive counterpart *laza-d.oaqq* 'cause pain' which is semantically distinct from both direct and indirect causatives.

- (65) Muusaaz sy kuorta laza-beaqqar
 M.ERG 1s.GEN head hurt-B.INGR.CS.WP
 Musa was the reason I got a headache. Musa gave me a headache (e.g. by talking incessantly; not by physical contact).

The transitive counterpart forms an indirect causative:

- (66) Cuo sy kuorta laza-baaqqiitar cynga
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN head hurt-B.INGR.CSind.WP 3s.ALL
 He had him do things to make my head ache.

The surrogate inceptive also forms an indirect causative, which means the same as the plain transitive:

- (67) Muusaaz sy kuorta **laza-baaliitar**
 M.ERG 1s.GEN head hurt-B.INGR.CSind.N.WP (same meaning as (65))

The plain verb can also take the independent phase auxiliary 'begin':

- (68) Baarh sahwat dealcha kuorta **laza buola-balar** sy.
 eight hour D.pass.CVtemp head hurt.INF B.begin-B.INCP.WP 1s.GEN
 At 8:00 my head started aching.
- (69) Tq'o shu deannachyl t'ehwagh kuorta **laza buola-balar** sy.
 20 year D.pass.PPL.NZ.CSN after head hurt.INF B.begin-B.INCP.WP 1s.GEN
 After I turned 20 I started having headaches.

Another verb with similar stative/durative semantics is *hwaarch* 'be tangled; cling together'. It forms a regular inceptive and does not take *-d.oal / -d.oaqq*:

<i>hwaarch</i>	'be tangled, twisted; get tangled, twisted, enmeshed; cling together'
<i>hwoarcha-lu</i>	'get tangled up, wrapped, wound up; be wrappable, wind easily'
<i>hwoarcha-d.u</i>	'wind, wrap; enmesh' (direct causative)
<i>hwoarchiit</i>	'let get tangled, twisted' (indirect causative)
<i>hwoarcha-d.oliit</i>	'let get get wrapped, tangled' (indirect causative of inceptive)
<i>hwoarcha-d.eit</i>	'have (someone) wrap, have (someone) wind' (double causative)

For an example of *hwaarch* (in its pluractional form *hwerch*) see (118) in §29.4.2. This verb mostly occurs as light verb in *pwa hwaarch* 'be cause for blood feud':

- (70) *Fetta xalcha pwa hwaarchazh by?*
on_empty_stomach be:DEL.CVtemp feud LV.CVsim B.PROG
 If (a hired worker or contractor) worked on an empty stomach (wasn't fed by the employer) was ('is') that cause for a blood feud? (0743)

Inceptive *hwoarcha-lu*:

- (71) *Yz t'ei ch'iinagh dika hwoarcha-lu.*
DEM thread bobbin.LAT well wrap-INCP
 This thread winds easily onto the bobbin.

Direct causative *hwoarcha-du*:

- (72) *juq'agh t'exkar hwoarcha-dea ...*
waist.LAT belt wrap-D.CS.CVant
 he tightened his belt around his waist and ... (Jabagi & Dumézil 1935)

15.4. Dephrasal verbs

Several verbs derive from unverbated combinations of 'soul', 'heart', 'mind', or the like plus a verb of perception or attitude. All take a genitive S, which must have originated as the possessor of the heart or mind which was originally the S. Here they are labeled by their form, which at least in the case of the basic word in the derivational set is often strictly etymological; formal inceptives are not necessarily semantic inceptives.

<i>sa+muq'a+d.oal</i>	'relax, have a good time, enjoy oneself' (surrogate inceptive)
<i>soul-free-D.go</i>	
<i>sa+muq'a+d.oaqq</i>	'entertain' (surrogate causative)
<i>soul-free-D.take</i>	
<i>sa+got+lu</i>	'be bored, lonely, homesick' (inceptive)

sa+got+d.oliit	'let/make be lonely, homesick, bored' (indirect causative of inceptive)
sa+got+d.u	'upset, depress' (direct causative)
dog k'ead-lu heart soft-INCP	'faint, feel faint' (inceptive)
dog ei-lu heart light-INCP	'become inspired' (inceptive)
dog ghel-lu heart thin-INCP	'lose consciousness, pass out' (inceptive)

The verbs *sa+got+lu*, etc. derive from the adjective *gotta* 'tight, constricted'. They could just as well be spelled *sagotlu*, etc., as neutralization of the plain/geminate contrast is automatic before another consonant. There is also an adjective *sagota* 'bored, homesick', with an alternate pronunciation *sogata* which has undergone umlaut. Some speakers pronounce the verbs *sagatlu*, *sagatd.u*, with /-gat-/ that may reflect the original vocalism of the adjective (for the same alternation see *d.aq'a* 'dry, thick' : *doq'a-lu* 'get dry; thicken, set up' in §15.2.4). One speaker distinguishes *sagatlu* [sʌgətlu] 'be bored, depressed, homesick' from *sagotlu* [sʌgótlu] 'unbearable, can't stand' (transitive *sagotd.u* 'give no peace').

15.5. Prefixes and other preposed elements

15.5.1. Deictic prefixes. There are three separate deictic subsystems in Ingush grammar: demonstratives, motion verbs, and deictic prefixes. Demonstratives (§9.2) make a three-way distinction of proximal/neutral/distal. Motion verbs make a two-way 'come'/'go' distinction (§34.4) in the verbs 'go/come', 'lead', 'carry/bring/take', and 'send'. The deictic prefixes crosscut these other deictic systems. This section deals only with the prefixes.¹³³

There are four deictic prefixes, with literal and primary meanings as follows:

dwa-	away from speaker
hwa-	toward speaker
hwal-	up
wa-	down

Three of them have cognate and semantically close adverbs:

¹³³ In narrative and other conversation, speakers tend to assign a spatial position to the major narrative participants and track these with deictic forms and gestures.

<i>dwa</i>	'way over there' (far away, visible)
<i>hwalla</i>	'way up there', 'way over there'
<i>wouu, woa</i>	'way over/down/out in...' (remote, not visible) ¹³⁴

The deictic prefixes are a phonologically close-knit set, all pharyngealized. They are tonic but have minimal or no phrasal accent (approximately the same prosody as topical anaphoric personal pronouns usually have). They have ordinary /a/ vocalism and not repressed schwa /y/ vocalism (§2.5.4). Though they are orthographically written as prefixes, their prosody is that of an unaccented separate word not in the IP, and some native speakers feel it would be better to write them as separate words. There are two respects in which they behave phonologically like part of the same word as the rest of the verb. One is that pharyngealization attraction (§3.3.6) applies between *dwa-*, *hwa-*, or *wa-* and the initial glottal stop of a following verb (but not, e.g., the glottal stop of the chaining enclitic =*a*). The other is that, when *dwa-* or *hwa-* is followed by one of the local prefixes (§15.5.2) that is clitic in form, *dwa-* or *hwa-* hosts the clitic but the clitic does not detach from the following root, so the complex of deictic plus clitic is phonologically the first syllable of the word. Thus (acute accent = primary stress, primary phrasal accent; grave accent = secondary stress or secondary accent; space = phonological word boundary).¹³⁵

/véalar/ V.go.WP		ваьлар
/chÿ-vèalar/ in-V.go.WP		чуваьлар
/áara-vèalar/ out-V.go.WP		араваьлар
/dwa 'áara-vèalar/ DX-out-V.go.WP	[dΛ̣ a:r³væ:lər]	длаараваьлар
/dwá=chy-vèalar/ DX=in-V.go.WP	[ḍ ač³væ:lər]	длачуваьлар

¹³⁴ In recordings I have heard *dwa* is pronounced with low pitch and exaggerated length, *hwalla* and *wouu* with high pitch and exaggerated length on the segment written as double. The spelling *wouu* represents what seems to be gemination of the second element of a diphthong, and a type of focus gemination. The same sound sequence is found in *twouura* 'very long ago' (§16.1.3.2).

¹³⁵ The witnessed past tense suffix *-ar* has high tone (§§2.6, 4.2), and its pitch is considerably higher than that of /veal-/, slightly lower than the prefixes *chy-* and about the same as that of *dwá-* and *áara-*.

Prefixal deixis in Ingush is notably frequent in texts and remarkably complex for its structural simplicity. There are two deictic axes, horizontal and vertical, each with a two-way distinction: 'here' vs. 'there' on the horizontal axes and 'up' vs. 'down' on the vertical axis. The horizontal axis tracks the immediate perspective of the speech-act participants. It is most often literally person-based (§15.5.1.1), but can also be displaced to the subject's perspective (15.5.1.2) and can be metaphorical (§15.5.1.3). It also has aspect-based functions of sequencing (§§15.5.1.4, 15.5.1.5). These various functions can intersect in complicated ways (§15.5.1.7). The vertical axis is literally 'up' and 'down', from either the speaker's or the protagonist's perspective (§15.5.1.8), and in addition it serves to classify various conventionalized perspectives (§15.5.1.9): the place of honor is 'up'; the narrative center – the protagonist's or speaker's own home or location – is 'down' and short-distance movement away is 'up'; Ingushetia is 'up', distant lands and distant places to the north 'down'. The latter two perspectives can be at cross purposes and speakers have some choice (just how conflicts are resolved is a matter for future study).

15.5.1.1. Horizontal deixis: true person-based deixis. With verbs of motion and transfer, the choice of *hwa-* vs. *dwa-* is based on the person of the goal of motion, implicit recipient, possessor, or indirect object: *hwa-* for first person, *hwa-* or *dwa-* for second person (*hwa-* with third person subject, or when first and second person are in the same place; *dwa-* with first person subject, or when first and second persons are in different places), and *dwa-* for third. For deictic verbs (*d.oagha* 'come' and *d.uoda* 'go') the deictic perspective of the verb coincides with that of the prefix, with the consequence that in natural spoken text *d.oagha* 'come' occurs with *hwa-* and *d.uoda* 'go' occurs with *dwa-*. The principle is also very clear in non-deictic verbs. For example, *qoach* 'arrive' is not deictic, and deictic prefixes used with it follow true person-based deixis.

(73) Muusaa hwa-qeachar.

Musa DX-arrive.WP

Musa has arrived. Musa is here. (Speaker and hearer are in the same place, and Musa is expected there.)

(74) So hwa-qeachar.

1s DX-arrive.WP

I'm home. I'm back. I'm here.

(Speaker announces his or her arrival to someone who is already there.)

(75) Muusaa hwo jolcha dwa-qeacharii?

Musa 2s J.be.PPL.OBL DX-arrive.WP=Q

Did Musa get there? Did Musa get to your place? (Telephone conversation. Musa has left speaker's place to go to hearer's place.)

- (76) Muusaa hwo jolcha hwa-qeacharii?
 Musa 2s J.be.PPL.OBL DX-arrive=Q?
 Has Musa arrived at your place? (Telephone conversation. Musa has come from somewhere else, not from the speaker's place.)
- (77) Muusaa yz volcha dwa-qeacharii?
 Musa 3s V.be.PPL.OBL DX-arrive.WP=Q
 Did Musa_i get to his_j place?
- (78) Muusaa Suultaan volcha hwa-qeacharii?
 Musa Sultan V.be.PPL.OBL DX-arrive.WP=Q
 Did Musa get to Sultan's place? (Hearer lives at or near Sultan's place.)

(The same verb *qoach* also takes the fixed prefix *dwa-* in metaphorical deixis as described below.) Another non-deictic verb is *dwa-xeit* 'inform, let know' (indirect causative of *xou* 'know, find out'). In the following examples tense and mood are varied to make different subject and object combinations more plausible.

- (79) Aaz cynga yz dwa-xeitar
 1s.ERG 3s.ALL 3s DX-know-CS.WP
 I informed him about it
- (80) Cuo suoga yz hwa-xeitar
 3s.ERG 1s.ALL 3s DX-know-CS.WP
 He informed me of it
- (81) Aaz hwuoga yz dwa-xeitaddy
 1s.ERG 2s.ALL 3s DX-know-CS.FUT
 I'll let you know
- (82) Cuo hwuoga yz hwa-xeitaddy
 3s.ERG 2s.ALL 3s DX-know-CS.FUT
 He'll let you know
- (83) Suoga hwa-xeitalahw yz
 1s.ALL DX-know-CS.IMPV 3s
 Let me know about it.
- (84) Cynga dwa-xeitalahw yz
 3s.ALL DX-know-CS.IMPV 3s
 Let him know about it.

The following examples, all with *dwa-chy-d.ooqq/ hwa-chy-d.ooqq* 'encroach, appropriate' / 'import, bring in', show that the deictic center is the proximate narrator and not the narrative participants or the source of the narrative. In (85), the narrator makes the stylistic choice to use second person *wa* 'you' as an unspecified or generic pronoun; he is talking about land shortage in a distant village, but the second person subject=goal requires *hwa-*. In (86) the narrator is describing the customs of her own ethnic group's distant ancestors, so she shares their perspective and she uses *hwa-*. In (87) the narrator is retelling someone else's story. The example is direct speech, with first person pronoun *txo* 'we.EXCL' and verb *ealar* 'he said', and this example and the whole episode assume the viewpoint of ultimate narrator, who is one of the forty men in the room. Nonetheless, the deictic center is the proximate narrator, who uses *dwa-* to describe more men coming into the room as they were seen by the ultimate narrator.

- (85) Kog wa=t'y-ottal wa xarsh **hwa=chy-deaqqacha**
 foot down=on-stand.CVext 2s.ERG furrow DX=in-D.take.CVtemp
 guotaa voallacha xaana
 plowing V.PROG.OBL time.DAT

If you **encroached** by so much as one footstep on (a neighbor's) furrow while plowing,
 ... (0415.12)

- (86) yz dika[-dar]¹³⁶ arahwara muo-darazh **hwa=chy-deaqqacha,**
 DEM good-D.NZ outside.ABL bad-D.NZ.PL DX=in-D.take.CVtemp
 jer talxa='a talxandea
 3s spoil.RED=& spoil.CVbecause

...because if they **brought in** anything bad from outside the good things would spoil...
 (0206A.3)

- (87) Dwa=chy-bealcha, **dwa=chy-deaxacha** d.h.,
 DX=in-B.go.CVtemp DX=in-D.bring:PL.CVtemp um
 t'aaqqa cwa c'aaljg dar ealar –
 so one room.DIM D.be.PST said
 shouztq'a sag voallar txo cu=chy ealar ...
 40 person V.be contained.IMPF 1pIN DEM=in said

They came in – that is, they were brought in – there were 40 of us in one small room,
 he said. (0201A.3)

¹³⁶ Nominalization supplied on this word; it may have been left out by mistake here or it may have been gapped from the preceding sentence, which has it.

15.5.1.2. *Displaced deixis*. Chiefly with verbs referring to motion, the choice of prefix is based on the direction of motion relative to the subject: *hwa-* if the subject moves something toward himself or herself, *dwa-* if away. *-d.iel* 'open' (door, window) takes *hwa-* when a door or window opens inwards toward the subject, *dwa-* when it opens outwards, *hwal-* 'up' when it opens upwards (e.g. a trap door to a cellar or a double-hung window), *wa-* 'down' when it opens downwards (like some hatch doors to attics or some double-hung windows).

(88) a. Niw **hwa-jielal**.
 door DX-J.open.IMPVmild
 (Would you please) open the door a bit (e.g. to let fresh air in). (Door opens inwards; speaker and addressee are in the room.)

(89) b. Niw **dwa-jielal**.
 door DX-J.open.IMPVmild
 id. (Door opens outwards; speaker and addressee are inside.)

(90) Shie **hwa='a beaqqie**, shie **dwa-otta-buora**
 3sRFL DX=& B.take.CVseq, 3sRFL DX-stand-B.CS.IMPf
 ciga gholla_daa koa juxa wa-voalazh.
 there along yard.ADV back down-V.go.CVsim

He moved it (a large stone at his gate) away (when he left) and put it back as he went by on the way back home into his yard. (Narrator's perspective: the protagonist moves the stone outwards toward the narrator on the way out, then inwards and away from the narrator on the way back in.) (0207A.3)

15.5.1.3. *Metaphorical deixis*. A good number of verbs lexicalize one or the other of the prefixes in a way that can be at least impressionistically related to deixis: *hwa-* is used when the lexical meaning has to do with a return to a normal or desirable situation and *dwa-* for changes away from the normal state of affairs. (The normal state of affairs includes consciousness, access, good health, and the like.) Semantically related pairs can be found, e.g.:

hwa-soma-d.oal	(DX-wake-D.VZ:INCP)	'wake up'
dwa-twous	(DX-fall_asleep)	'fall asleep, go to sleep'

but so far no minimal pairs have been found in which the same stem is lexicalized with both prefixes to form verbs opposing normal to non-normal states of affairs.

The verb *qoach* 'arrive' was illustrated above with true person-based deixis. In a sense having to do with departure from the normal or desirable state of affairs, this verb also takes the fixed prefix *dwa-* to mean 'manage to get someplace, arrive with difficulty, make it

somewhere'. In the following examples, *dwa-* is used for all persons including first person subject returning to his/her own home.

- (91) So Muusaa volcha dwa-qeachar.
 1s Musa V.be.PPL.OBL DX-arrive.WP
 I managed to make it to Musa's place.
- (92) So c'agha dwa=chy-qeachar.
 1s home DX=in-arrive.WP
 I made it home. I managed to get home (e.g. after walking a long distance carrying heavy things).
- (93) So c'agha xala-aatta dwa=chy-qeachar.
 1s home hard-easy ('barely') DX=in-arrive.WP
 I barely made it home.

The following pair shows how *dwa-* can imply an undesirable situation and add negative connotations:

- (94) Hwo Ahwmadaa bwara+hwazharii?
 2s Ahmed.DAT eye+look.WP=Q
 Have you seen Ahmed lately? Have you looked at Ahmed? (The question implies that Ahmed has changed greatly, or more generally that the speaker wonders whether the hearer has noticed Ahmed's appearance.)
- (95) Hwo Ahwmadaa dwa-bwara+hwazharii?
 2s Ahmed.DAT DX-eye+look.WP=Q
 Did you look at (that ugly bastard) Ahmed? (Did you see what an ugly face that Ahmed has?)¹³⁷

In all three of these patterns the deictic slot is lexicalized, though in different ways. In person-based and displaced deixis (§§15.5.1.1, 15.5.1.2) illustrated just above, what is usually lexicalized is not one or the other deictic prefix but the pair of them, with the choice of *hwa-* vs. *dwa-* in a particular example based on true or displaced deixis relative to clause participants. With metaphorical deixis, either *hwa-* or *dwa-* is lexicalized as basic (and there may be further alternation following person-based or displaced deixis).

¹³⁷ One speaker says that (95) does not necessarily have negative connotations but requires some special context, e.g. continuation of a narrative. See §15.5.1.4 just below.

15.5.1.4. *Narrative sequencing.* In elicitation it is often observed that a verb ordinarily lacking a deictic prefix tends to take one in narrative, when the clause is sequenced relative to the preceding and following clauses. In the examples found so far, the choice of *hwa-* vs. *dwa-* follows person-based deixis, but the presence vs. absence of the prefix slot as a whole has the function of narrative sequencing. (The prefixed examples here were not extracted from narrative but were elicited in minimal pairs to the unprefixed ones, and the consultant volunteered that the prefixed ones would normally be sequenced.)

- (96) a. Yz suona bwara+hwazhar.
 3s 1s.DAT eye+look.WP
 He looked at me.
- b. (T'aaqqa) yz suona hwa-bwara+hwazhar / *dwa-bwara+hwazhar.
 then 3s 1s.DAT DX-eye+look.WP
 (Then) he looked at me. (In a sequence of actions)
- (97) a. Ahwmad hwuona bwara+hwazhar.
 Ahmed 2s.DAT eye+see.WP
 Ahmed looked at you.
- b. Ahwmad hwuona dwa-bwara+hwazhar / *hwa-bwara+hwazhar
 Ahmed 2s.DAT DX-eye+see.WP
 (Then) Ahmed looked at you. (In a narrative sequence)

15.5.1.5. *Imperatives.* For reasons that are not clear, imperatives often take deictic prefixes (in true person-based deixis).

Perhaps because deictic prefixes are common on imperatives, when minimal pairs with and without deictic prefixes are elicited out of context the prefixed form is sometimes interpreted as implying a previous imperative:¹³⁸

- (98) a. Aaz komarazh jeaxar
 1s.ERG berry.PL J.take.PL.WP
 'I picked berries' (RLS)
- b. Aaz komarazh hwajeaxar
 1s.ERG berry.PL DX-J.take.PL.WP
 id. (implies someone has asked me to get the berries) (RLS)

¹³⁸ For (98) contrast Chechen, where *jeexira* means 'picked some berries' and *hwajeexira* means 'picked all the berries, harvested the berries'.

The consultant's comment on (98b) (parenthesized) suggests that there is an implicit sequence of request and compliance, so this example may also reflect narrative sequencing.

15.5.1.6. *Lexicalized prefixes.* *Dwa-* is sometimes lexicalized in ways that do not seem connected to its deictic meaning:

dwa-tied 'cut short, shorten by cutting' (cf. tied 'cut, chop, hew')
 dwa-xoada-d.u id., 'shorten by chopping' (cf. xoada-d.u id., 'remove a piece')

The combination *dwa-juxa-*, lit. 'DX-back', is lexicalized in the sense 'back and forth':

dwa-juxa-ux
 DX-back-V.go:PLC.PRS
 'goes back and forth' (and not 'goes back [away]')

The combination *dwa-sa-*, lit. 'there-here' means 'here and there, in different directions' (and not 'back and forth'):

dwa-sa-d.uox
 DX-here-D.break
 'disperse, scatter, go off in different directions'

15.5.1.7. *More complex examples.* The verb stem *lu* 'give' of *hwa-lu* 'give back, return' is not deictic, and the prefix *hwa-* is lexicalized according to metaphorical deixis (cf. *dwa-lu* 'give away'). Within this basic lexicalization, the prefix actually used in utterances alternates between *hwa-* and *dwa-* following person-based deixis. When person-based deixis requires *dwa-*, there is homophony between *hwa-lu* 'return, give back' and *dwa-lu* 'give away', with 'return' apparently being the preferred reading in these cases of ambiguity (at least in elicitation).

(99) Muusaaz sy axcha hwa-dalar
 M.ERG 1s.GEN money DX-D.give.WP
 Musa returned my money

(100) Muusaaz sy axcha dwa-dalar
 M.ERG 1s.GEN money DX-D.give.WP
 Musa gave my money away (to someone else)

(101) Muusaaz hwa axcha hwa-dalar
 M.ERG 2s.GEN money DX-D.give.WP
 Musa returned your money

- (102) Muusaaz hwa axcha dwa-dalar
 M.ERG 1s.GEN money DX-D.give.WP
 Musa gave your money away (to someone else).
- (103) Aaz Muusaai axcha dwa-dalar
 1s.ERG M.GEN money DX-D.give.WP
 I returned Musa's money [most likely interpretation]
 or: I gave Musa's money away [less likely, even dubious]
- (104) Aaz hwa axcha dwa-dalar.
 1s.ERG 2s.GEN money DX-D.give.WP
 I gave your money back. (also 'I gave your money away (to someone else)')
- (105) Wa sy axcha qoana hwa-luddii?
 2s.ERG 1s.GEN money tomorrow DX-give.D.FUT=Q
 Are you going to return my money tomorrow?
- (106) Wa Muusaai axcha dwa-dalarii?
 2s.ERG M.GEN money DX-D.give.WP=Q
 (a) Did you return Musa's money (i.e. to Musa)? [more likely interpretation]
 (b) Did you give Musa's money away? [less likely]
- (107) *Wa Muusaai axcha hwa-dalarii?
 2s.ERG Musa.GEN money DX-D.give.WP=Q
 Did you return Musa's money (to Musa)?
 (Grammatical in the sense 'Did you give me M.'s money?')

When this verb is used with an indirect object (in the dative) no prefix can be elicited:

- (108) Muusaaz suona axcha dalar. / *hwa-dalar / *dwa-dalar
 Musa.ERG 1s.DAT money D.give.WP / DX-give.WP
 Musa gave me money.

dwa-lu 'give away, give to someone else' always has *dwa-* and cannot combine with a first person dative:

- (109) Wa sy axcha qoana dwa-luddii?
 2s.ERG 1s.GEN money tomorrow DX-give.D.FUT=Q
 Are you going to give (him/someone/away) my money tomorrow?

- (110) Muusaaz hwa axcha qoana dwa-luddii?
 Musa.ERG 2s.GEN money tomorrow DX-give.D.FUT=Q
 Is Musa giving your money (to him/to someone/away) tomorrow?
- (111) Aaz Muusaai axcha Suultaanaa dwa-dalar.
 1s.ERG Musa.GEN money Sultan.DAT DX-D.give.WP
 I gave Musa's money to Sultan.
- (112) Cuo suona shii axcha *dwa-dalar / hwa-dalar
 3s.ERG 1s.DAT 3sRFL.GEN money DX-D.give.WP DX-D.give.WP
 He *gave away / gave his own money to me.

The deictic centers of deictic motion verbs such as *d.oagha* 'come' and *d.uoda* 'go' (§34.4) are different from those of the prefixes. In (113) the prefix reflects speaker-centered deixis, as the speaker will go from first person's location to second person's. The verb *voagha* 'V.come' has the addressee as deictic center.

- (113) Handz dwa-voagha
 now DX-V.come.PRS
 'I'll be right over.' 'I'm just about to leave for your place'

Similarly, *deit* 'send' (i.e. have someone bring, send with someone; this verb is not used for sending by mail, wire, etc.) is deictic and belongs to the 'come' set (see §34.4). The choice of *hwa-* vs. *dwa-* follows person-based deixis.

- (114) Muusaaz sy axcha hwa-deitar.
 Musa.ERG 1s.GEN money DX-D.send.WP
 Musa sent (me) my money.
- (115) Aaz qoana hwa axcha hwa-deitaddy.
 1s.ERG tomorrow 2s.GEN money DX-D.send.D.FUT
 I'll send (you) your money tomorrow. (Speaker and hearer are in the same place.)
- (116) Aaz qoana hwa axcha dwa-deitaddy.
 1s.ERG tomorrow 2s.GEN money DX-D.send.D.FUT
 I'll send (you) your money tomorrow. (e.g. on telephone; speaker and hearer are in different places)
- (117) Wa qoana sy axcha hwa-deitaddii?
 2s.ERG tomorrow 1s.GEN money DX-D.send.D.FUT=Q
 Are you going to send (me) my money tomorrow?

There is no corresponding **dwa-deit* 'send (away, to someone else)'; *dohwt* 'send (away)' (< *d.ohwiit* 'D.carry-CSind') is used instead. This verb root has 'go' deixis and cannot take *hwa-* (see §34.4).

- (118) Muusaaz sy axcha dwa-dahwtar
 Musa.ERG 1s.GEN money DX-D.send.WP
 Musa sent my money away (to someone else).

The verb *hwa-d.iel/dwa-d.iel* 'open (door or window)', discussed in (88)-(89) above, has displaced deixis. But the prefix of its half-homophone and near-synonym *hwa-d.iel* 'unlock, unlatch (door, window) for someone, let (someone) in' reflects metaphorical deixis. In this meaning there is no interaction with either of the other two kinds of deixis: regardless of the grammatical person of the subject and the individual for whom the door is opened, and regardless of the direction in which the door opens (relative to subject or beneficiary), only *hwa-* is used. This is because the person who opens the door admits the other into his or her location.

- (119) Niw **hwa-jielal**.
 door DX-J.open.IMPV mild
 (Would you please) open the door.

Possible scenarios for (119) include: I ask you to open the door for me; I ask you to open the door for him; I ask him to open the door for you. The participants can be on the same side of the door, or one inside and the other(s) outside. The door can open inwards or outwards. The prefix is the same in all of these situations. The same is true of (120).

- (120) Handz Mariemaz niw **hwa-jielagjy**.
 now M.ERG door DX-J.open.FUT.J
 Mariem will open the door (for you, for him, etc.) in just a moment.

bwara+hwozh 'look at' (lit. 'eye+look') ordinarily takes no deictic prefix, though one can be used when sequenced in narrative. It is then based on true person deixis.

- (121) Yz suona **bwara+hwazhar**.
 3s 1s.DAT eye+look.WP
 He looked at me.
- (122) T'aaqqa yz suona **hwa-bwara+hwazhar**.
 then 3s 1s.DAT DX-eye+look.WP
 ... (So then) he looked at me. ...

- (123) T'aaqqa yz cynna **dwa-bwara+hwazhar**.
 then 3s 3s.DAT DX-eye+look.WP
 (So then) he looked at him.
- (124) Ahwmad hwuona **bwara+hwazhar**.
 Ahmed 2s.DAT eye+see.WP
 Ahmed looked at you.
- (125) Ahwmad hwuona **dwa-bwara+hwazhar**. / ***hwa-bwara+hwazhar**
 Ahmed 2s.DAT DX-eye+see
 Ahmed looked at you. (in narrative)

15.5.1.8. *Vertical deixis: literal.* The vertical deictic prefixes are *hwal-* 'up' and *wa-* 'down'. Probably the most common function of these prefixes is not strictly deictic, in that the speaker's perspective is not particularly relevant but they simply mean 'up' and 'down'. Examples with motion verbs:

- (126) loamagahw **hwal-voaghazh** sag valie,
 mountain.ADV up-V.come.CVsim person V.PROG.CVirr
 cogh dwa='a qiitii c'a+vuola
 3s.LAT DX=& join.CVseq home+V.go.IMPV
 If anyone (from down there in the foothills) is coming up (here) into the mountains,
 join him and come home. (0240)
- (127) cwana jerazh Buruo='t'y **hwal-bolxacha** xaana
 together 3pl Vladikavkaz=at up-B.go.PL.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 'when they went up to Vladikavkaz (from a lower-lying town) together' (0418.36)
- (128) shodz-qodz jalta **hwal-dahwar** cuo loam
 2x-3x grain up-D.carry 3p.ERG mountain(s).ADV
 Two or three times (a year) he would(go down to the market and) bring grain back up
 (0409.22)
- (129) Handz hwo **hwal-vuodie**='a ...
 now 2s up-V.go.CVirr=&
 If you go up there (to a highland village) now ... (0415.12)
- (130) Heata='a yz wa-vyzhaachyl t'ehwagha baankaa=chy
 but 3s down-V.lie.PPL.NZ.CSN after jar=in

jaagha pwed **hwal-aara='a jeanna** jedda jaxaai
 J.sit.PPL frog up-out=& J.go.CVant J.run.CVant J.go.NW.J

But after he went to bed the frog got up out of the jar and got away. (Frog)

- (131) Quorazh='a **wa-leg** cyn.
 pear.PL=& DX-fall:PL 3s.GEN
 His pears fall down. (Pears)

- (132) Goura='y **wa='a veanna**, ...
 horse.GEN=on DX=& V.go.CVant
 He got off his horse ... (0207A)

- (133) **Wa-vaalal** t'iera
 down-V.go.IMPVmild on=ABL
 Please get down from there.

- (134) Yz dig guddoacazh cyn t'y-gholla **wa-jaxaa**,
 3s axe see-D.FUT.NEG.CVsim 3s.GEN on-along down-J.go.CVant
 qodz juq'agh jiixkaa modzh xannii cyn.
 3x waist.LAT J.tie.PPL beard be.NW.J 3s.GEN

He had a beard that fell down over the axe, obscuring it, and was tied around his waist three times. (Hwun sagii)

- (135) Xii='t'y-gholla sixxa dwaai-hwaai bettazh zhwolam bar
 river=on-along fast:FOC back_and_forth B.beat.CVsim debris B.PROG.PST
wa-bahwazh
 down-B.carry.CVsim

Debris was being carried along (in a mountain river)

With other verbs:

- (136) Cuo kyljg **hwal-hwieqar**
 3s.ERG hand up-point.WP
 He raised his hand.

- (137) Yz qiera **hwal-ei-bie** ghertaav
 3s stone up-lift-B.CS.INF try.NW.V
 He tried to lift the stone.

- (138) Yz shie vaaghachara **hwal-iqqar**
 3s 3SRFL V.sit.PPL.OBL.ABL up-jump.WP
 He jumped up from where he was sitting
- (139) Cawazh **wa-odz**, cawazh **hwal-odz** teazh, uozii?
 one.NZ.PL down-pull.PRS one.NZ.PL up-pull.PRS thread.PL pull.PRS=Q
 They pull some threads down and others up, don't they? (0216B.3) (Description of loom.) (For the nominalization of *cawazh* see §20.4.)
- (140) tur xannad **hwal-ullazh**
 saber be.N.NW D up-lie.CVsim
 There was a saber hanging up (on the wall). (0207A)
- (141) Caarna xou cu=chy **wa-buusha** mottig joacaljga.
 3p.DAT know there=in down-B.lie:PL.INF room J.be:NEG.SBJ
 They know there isn't room for them (guests) to sleep there. (0415.12)
- (142) Aaz chaarx **hwal-jiisar**
 1s.ERG wheel up-J.pump.WP
 I filled the tire. I pumped the tire full of air.
- (143) Muusaaz dwoaghaazh istuola=t'y **wa-daxkar**
 Musa.ERG key.PL table=on down-D.lay:PL.WP
 Musa put the keys on the table.
- (144) Sy xii **wa-maxkar**
 1s.GEN water down-spill.WP
 My water spilled. (My glass tipped over.)
- Other verbs:
- | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| hwal-quu | 'grow up' | (quu 'grow') |
| hwal-ghott | 'get up; take off, fly off' | (ghott id.) |
| hwal-q'ied | 'stick up, stick out' | (q'ied 'stick out, stand out') |
| hwal-d.uz | 'fill up, fill in' | (d.uz 'fill') |
| hwal-quoss | 'throw upwards' | (quoss 'throw') |
| hwal-qoud | 'reach up' | (qoud 'reach') |
| hwal-d.ott | 'erect (building)' | (d.ott 'stack, lay masonry') |
| hwal-hwozh | 'look up' | (hwozh 'look') |
| hwal-sog | 'start up, turn on' | (sog 'light [fire]') |
| wa-xou | 'sit down' | (xou 'sit down' (punctual)) |
| wa-d.uoss | 'get down' | (d.uoss 'descend') |

wa-d.uozh	'fall down'	(d.uozh 'fall')
wa-qiet	'fall down'	(qiet 'fall, strike (ground)')
wa-quoss	'throw away, discard'	(quoss 'throw')
wa-'uotta-d.u	'set down'	(uott 'stand')
wa-d.ull	'set, establish'	(d.ull 'put, lay')

The combinations *hwal=t'y-* (up=on) 'up' and *wa=chy-* (down=in) 'down' are frequently used for the literal senses 'up' and 'down'.

- (145) T'aaqqa, cq'a **hwal=t'y-boagha** yz, wagjaca **wa=chy-tiexii**
 so once up=on-B.come.PRS 3s spoon-INS down=in-strike.CVseq
 cu bodaa, shodzlagha **hwal=t'y-boagha** yz
 DEM.OBL dough.DAT second up=on-B.come.PRS 3s

It rises once, and you press the dough down with a spoon and it rises a second time.

15.5.1.9. *Vertical deixis: conventionalized.* There are three conventionalized deictic perspectives using 'up' and 'down' in Ingush conversation and narrative. The first is deferential: *hwal-* is used, often together with *magha* 'up; farther into the house, farther from the door; in the place of honor', to describe motion or location of guests or elders (who are traditionally given the place of honor).

- (146) Maghahw **hwal-vaxar**

up.LOC up-V.go.WP

He went farther in. He went to the back of the room.

- (147) Maghahw boaqqii nax baaghar,
 up.LOC B.elder.PL people B.sit.IMPF

caarna hwalxazhka **hwal-jigie** cigga xalxa-joaqqar
 3p.DAT before up-J.lead.CVseq there:FOC dance-J.take.IMPF

The elders sat in the place of honor and (the bride) was brought before them to dance.
 (0246A.36)

- (148) Hwo liexazh lielachyl baq'ahw vy,
 2s seek.CVsim go:PLC.PPL.NZ.CSN right.ADV V.be.PRS

hwo oaxa **hwal-vigacha**
 2s 1plex up-V.lead.CVsim

Better if we take you there than if you have to go around looking (for the place).
 (Villagers to a visitor who asks about an address.) (0415.12)

The second is a conventional deictic center where the speaker's or protagonist's own home or location is *wa-* 'down' and short trips from the house or location are *hwal-* 'up'. The 'down' center is generally also the narrative center.

(149) *Buruo=t'yra wa-voaghazh Mochq'ii-Jurta vessaav yz*
Vladikavkaz=at.ABL down-V.come.CVsim (place name) V.drop_in.NW.V 3s
 On the way home from Vladikavkaz he stopped in at Mochq'ii-Jurt. (0408)

(150) *Cu Shuuchiera wa-aara-jeanna so wa-joaghazh ...*
DEM.OBL (place).ABL down-out-J.go.CVant 1s down-J.come.CVsim
 'As I was coming back home from Shuuchie...' (0238A.10) (set in a level place)

(151) *Wa=t'y my qoachii, wa=t'y-qeaccha,*
down=at EMPH arrive=Q down=on-arrive.CVtemp
k'ir-lij, sag sanna suona bwara+hwedzh yzh.
intent-VZ.CVseq person like 1s.DAT eye+look 3p
 They (wolves) come up ('down') to me and study me attentively. (0238A.10)

(152) Hero and villain ride to a confrontation:
Hwalla wa=t'y-joagha, my joaggha joagha yza=ji,
up:FOC down=on-J.come.PRS EMPH J.come:FOC J.come.PRS 3s=&
my joaggha hwal=t'y-juoda jer=ji ...
EMPH J.come:FOC up=on-J.go 3s=&
 (The enemy's horse) came tearing down at full speed, his (the protagonist's) tore up ahead at full speed ...(0418.36)

(153) *Shie hwa='a beaqqie, shie dwa-otta-buora*
3SRFL DX=& B.take.CVseq 3SRFL DX-stand-B.CS.IMPF
ciga gholla_daa koa juxa wa-voalazh.
there along yard.ADV back down-V.go.CVsim
 He moved it (a large stone at his gate) away (when he left) and put it back as he went by on the way back home into his yard. (0207A.3)

In (153), repeated from (90) above, this conventional centered deixis is distinct from the displaced deixis of *hwa='a beaqqie* and *dwa'ottabuora*, where the protagonist moves a stone toward himself and then away from himself, both in the same place (his own yard, the conventional deictic center indicated with *wavoalazh*).

hwal- can be used in this way of motion to or from a distant place out of sight.

- (154) txo Sibregh **hwal-dohwtacha** xaana
 1pEX Siberia.LAT up-D.send-CSind.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 'when we were deported to Siberia'
- (155) "Wa hwa mel jaaxacha teipaara jolazh jy jerazh uqaza"
 2s.ERG how_much ay.PPL.OBL type.ABL J.be.CVsim J.PROG 3p here
 eanna **hwal-deitar** keaxat.
 SUB up-D.send.WP letter (0398B.1)
 "Things here are just as you told us," came the letter (from St. Petersburg to
 Ingushetia).

The third is a larger-scale perspective on which the heartland of Ingushetia is 'up' and distant or foreign lands are 'down'.

- (156) Sibregh **wa-daxaachyl** t'ehwagha
 Siberia.LAT down-D.go.PPL.NZ.CSN after
 After we went to Siberia (0246B.22)
- (157) vai Sibregh **wa='a digaa**
 1pIN Siberia.LAT down=& D.lead.CVant
 we were sent to Siberia ...
- (158) vai **wa-qeachaacha** xaana
 1pIN down-arrive.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 when we got there (far from Ingushetia)... (0238A.10)

(154) above uses *hwal-* in a similar context. The reason for that choice seems to be that (154) begins a narrative which is centered on that distant place, while the events of (156)-(158) are not movements of the entire narrative center.

Finally, *wa-* can be used, much as *hwa-* and *dwa-* can, for reasons that are hard for speakers to articulate, seem to have little to do with meaning, and may have something to do with sequencing. In this function *wa-* appears on various verbs that do not have indirect objects or obvious goals (if they did, they would take *hwa-* or *dwa-*). Many of them are everyday activities that typically involve working with the hands on a surface one looks down on, so the sense 'down' may motivate the choice of prefixes. For all of the following examples, one or more speakers said the prefix could easily be left off and in some cases replaced with *hwa-* or *dwa-*.

- (159) Meaq **wa-tieda**.
 bread down-cut.IMPV
 Cut the bread.

- (160) Keaxat **wa**-jaazdyr aaz.
 letter down-write-D.VZ.WP 1s.ERG
 I wrote the letter.
- (161) Kuotam dika **wa**-jila='a jilaa, **wa**-c'ana='a jea,
 chicken well down-J.RED=& J.wash.CVant down-clean=& J.VZ.CVant
 marca='a marcaa **wa**=chy-jila jieza xyl tux='a tessaa.
 RED=& singe.CVant down=in-J.put.INF J.should water.ADV salt=& throw.CVant
 Wash the chicken well, clean it, singe it, and put it in salted water. (Koartol)

15.5.2. *Local prefixes.* Several different kinds of elements fit into the second position slot. Though morphosyntactically distinct, they appear to be semantically and lexically complementary in that it is difficult to construct examples where more than one of these elements might plausibly occur in the same clause. Where they could be constructed, however, such examples show a clear ranking with incorporable adverbs outranked by other prefixes for access to this slot. (Examples are in §15.5.3 below.)

15.5.2.1. *Clitic local prefix.* *t'y*= 'on, onto' and *chy*= 'in, into' are enclitic to a preceding deictic prefix, otherwise proclitic to the verb.

- (162) hwal=*t'y*-v.ealar [hwalt^ovealər]
 up on V.go.WP
 '(he) climbed up onto'
- (163) *t'y*=d.uux [t'yduux]
 on-D.put.PRS
 'puts on, dresses'

chy= is lexicalized in the sense 'go home (from nearby), go indoors' and contrasts with compounded *c'a*- 'home (from far away, from another town)' (§15.5.2.3):

- (164) Muusaa c'agha dwa=*chy*-vaxar
 Musa home DX=in-Vgo.WP
 Musa went home. Musa went into his house.
- (165) Muusaa c'a-vaxar
 Musa home-V.go.WP
 Musa went home (from another town).

The prefix combinations *wa*=*chy* 'down=in' and *hwal*=*t'y* 'up=on' are lexicalized in the senses 'down' and 'up' (see §13.5.1.8 and (162) just above):

- (166) wa=chy-diezhar
 down=in-D.fall.WP
 'fell down (from one place into or onto another)'

15.5.2.2. *Clitic status uncertain.* The postposition sometimes *k'al* 'under' cliticizes prosodically to a preceding deictic prefix, though when initial it has it has [a] vocalism and not restressed clitic [y] vocalism (unlike =chy and =t'y).

- (167) k'al-vaxar [k'ʌlvʌxəɾ]
 under-V.go.WP
 'succumbed'

wa-k'al- 'down-under' is lexicalized in the sense 'down':

- (168) Wa-k'al-eqqa! [ʕa-k'əl-ʔeqqʰ], [ʕa-k'ʌ-ʔeqqʰ],
 down-under-jump.IMPV
 Get down (from there)! (e.g. to a cat on furniture)

- (169) wa-k'al-hwazhar
 down-under-look.WP
 (s/he) looked down(wards)

15.5.2.3. *Non-clitic local and lexical prefixes.*

ura-	'upright, upwards'	jixie-	'near, close by'
c'a-	'home'	t'ehwa-	'behind'
ka-	'hand; by hand, with the hand'	duhwal-	'toward, against, to meet'
gi-	'on the back'		
chaq-	'across, through; finished, completely'		

- (170) dwa-chaq-vaxar
 DX-through-V.go.WP
 went between ...

c'a- 'home' implies traveling some distance and usually not by foot (in contrast to *chy=*, §15.5.2.1 above):

- (171) Muusaa exkii c'a-voagha.
 Musa summer.ADV home-V.come.PRS
 Musa comes home in the summer.

- (172) Muusaa haara denna c'a-ux
 Musa each day.DAT home-go:PLC.PRS
 Musa comes home every day (from some distance, e.g. another town, probably by vehicle)

15.5.3. *Lexically incorporable elements.* Several adverbs can become prefixes if the local prefix slot is not filled. The first two listed below are frequent and occur with many verbs. The rest are lexicalized with a few verb roots (i.e. occur as first elements of compound verbs with a few light verbs), and more work is required to sort out the distribution of adverbs vis-à-vis deictic prefixes.

aara	'out'	laqie	'above, up'
juxa	'back; again, over, re-'	loxie	'below, down'
uragh(a)	'up, upwards'	aarq'al	'face up'

Of the first two, *aara-* outranks *juxa-* for access to the prefix slot when both are present in the clause.

- (173) juxa dwa-aara-vaxar
 back DX-out-V.go.WP
 (he) went back out
- (174) */? aara dwa-juxa-vaxar
 id. (rejected by some speakers, accepted by some)
- (175) dwa-duhwal-vaxar
 DX-against-V.go.WP
 (he) went out toward, went out to meet ...
- (176) aara duhwal-vaxar
 outside against-V.go.WP
 went out to meet...; went to meet ... outside
- (177) juxa dwa-duhwal-vaxar
 back DX-against-V.go.WP
 went back to meet...
- (178) aara dwa-duhwal-vaxar
 out DX-against-V.go.WP
 he went out to meet...

- (179) ? duhwal dwa-aara-vaxar
 against DX-out-V.go.WP
 id.
- (180) uragh hwal-vaxar
 up up-V.go.WP
 he went up
- (181) hwal-uragh-vaxar
 up-up-V.go.WP
 id.
- (182) hwa-uragh-hwezhacha
 DX-up-look:PLC.CVtemp
 as he looked up...
- (183) cuo burgac hwal-uragh-qessar / uragh hwal-qessar
 3s.ERG ball up-upwards-throw.WP upwards up-throw.WP
 He threw the ball up (into the air). (HRJ)

Of the near-synonyms *uragh(a)* 'up, upwards' and *laqie* 'up, above', both can be incorporated but *uragh* has priority over *laqie*:

- (184) laqie uragh-hwazhie
 up up-look.CVseq
 He looks up (and ...)
- (185) Chq'eara hwal-laqie-boaghar
 fish up-up-B.come.IMPF
 The fish came up to the surface

The antonym *loxie* 'down; below' has no competitor for the prefix slot.

- (186) T'aaqqa, yz laqie geana=t'y voallar shortiga **wa-loxie-vealar** ...
 then DEM above tree=on V.be located.PPL.NZ slowly DX-down-V.go.WP
 Then the man in the tree slowly came down ...
- (187) qoana **wa-loxie-vaxacha**
 tomorrow down-below-V.go.CVtemp
 When I go down (to town) tomorrow ... (DD)

Prefixal elements which are enclitic to a first-position prefix count as occupying the second position and prevent incorporation of anything else:

(188) *juxa hwa=chy-viera*
 back DX=in-V.come.WP
 (he) came back in

(189) **hwa=chy-juxa-viera*

(190) *txy hwaastara uragha hwa=t'y-vaagha viezazh jy*
 1pEX.GEN spring.ABL up DX=on-V.come.INF V.should.CVsim J.be
yz Hwaast-maakie
 DEM (place name)

To get to Hwaast-maaka you have to go up from our spring.

(191) *c'agha hwa=chy-doaghazh*
 home DX=in-D.go.CVsim
 when we come into the house

For the (few) compound verbs that have been tested, incorporation between the parts of the compound is not possible:

(192) *Cuo uragha top tiexar*
 3s.ERG up gun strike.WP
 He shot upwards. He fired into the air.

(193) **Cuo top uragh-tiexar*

When an adverb that can be incorporated takes the dependent postposed particle =*gholla* 'along, alongside', the sequence cannot be incorporated.

(194) *jixie-gholla dwa-vaxar* (**dwa-jixie-gholla-vaxar*)
 near-along DX-V.go.WP
 (he) passed by, went by

(195) *woa loxie-gholla wa-duodazh shiila xii* (**wa-loxie-gholla-duodazh*)
 down there below-along down-D.go.CVsim cold river
 a cold river flowing along below (0776)

(196) is a text example showing two different unincorporated adverbs, the first blocked by =gholla and the second by the already incorporated =t'y.

- (196) chy=gholla dwa-liela jish jolazh,
 in=along DX-walk.INF possibility J.be.CVsim
 laqie hwa=t'y-vaala='a jish joacazh
 up DX=on-V.go.INF=& possibility J.be.NEG.CVsim
 (a place where) you can walk along it but you can't go up (0392)

Some adverbs resist incorporation. *balxa* 'to work, at work' yields no incorporated text examples (and many unincorporated ones), though one speaker accepts it as a prefix.

- (197) balxa dwa-vaxar
 to work DX-V.go.WP
 '(he) went to work'
- (198) *dwa-balxa-vaxar (accepted by one speaker)

15.5.4. Syntactically inserted elements. Three kinds of elements immediately precede the simplex verb: interrogative words, negative clitics, and the clitic chaining particle. All are inserted between the verb root and whatever elements precede it, including prefixes and first elements of compounds. In the orthography all three kinds of elements are written as separate words, so the compound or prefixed verb stem is broken into two pieces and the inserted element written between them as a third word:

- (199) a. aara-vealar written: араваьлар
 out V.go.WP
 (he) went out
- b. Aara **maca** vealar yz? written: ара маца ваьлар
 out when V.go.WP
 When did he go out?
- (200) a. hwear-vealar written: хьаьрваьлар
 crazy-V.VZ.WP
 (he) went crazy
- b. Hwear **my** vuula. written: хьаьр ма вувла
 crazy NEG V.VZ:PLC.IMPV
 Don't go crazy. Stop acting crazy.

- b. Hwo aara **hana** jeannii shiila jollazzehwa='a?
 2s out why J.go.NW.J cold J.be:FOC.CVconc
 Why did you come outside when it's so cold? (0398B.41)
- c. So hwaaina cy vouzar kep **hana** uuttaju wa?
 1s 2sRFL.DAT NEG V. know.VN pretend why LV:PLC -J.CS 2s.ERG
 Why do you pretend not to know me? (PL 2.2)
 (*kep otta-ju* 'pretend', lit. 'make semblance, pose the appearance')

Mel 'how much' is regularly used in this way with 'be' and a few other verbs, in a greatly broadened, probably incipiently grammaticalized function of open-ended or indefinite quantification (§9.2.12). The sense of some such examples can be rendered with English *Whatever*. Especially where incipiently lexicalized, this *mel* undergoes Wackernagel vowel reduction (§3.3.10) and is pronounced [məl], though in other examples it is tonic and is often parsed together with the following word in a two-stress IP.

- (205) Aara mel voa sag hwa-viexalahw [mél vòa]
 outside how much V.be.PPL person DX-V.call.IMPVfut
 Please call in everyone who's in the yard. Call everybody in.
- (206) uq dinie='t'y mel doa q'am
 this world=on how much D.be.PPL people(s)
 the peoples of the world ('whatever peoples are in the world')
- (207) Shiiga mel xannacha axchagh Muusaaz ax axcha
 3sgRFL.ALL how much be.PPL.OBL money.LAT M.ERG half money
 bierazhta dwa-dalar.
 child.PL.DAT DX-D.give.WP
 Musa gave half of his money to his children. (Lit. 'Of whatever money he had,
 Musa gave half the money to his children.')
- (208) suogara dwa mel iiqqaar [dwa-məl-iiqqaar⁹]
 1sg.ABL DX how much bolt.PPL.NZ
 everybody but me (lit. 'whoever tore away from me')

15.5.4.2. *Negative particles*. Negation is suffixed in finite tenses (e.g. *diezac* 'shouldn't, *chy-vaxandzar* 'didn't go in': see §13.12), but with other verb forms it is a proclitic particle. There are two negative proclitics: neutral *cy* and prohibitive *my*. Both have restressed schwa vocalism (§2.5.4). *cy* occurs with nonfinite forms (converbs, infinitives, participles):

- (209) *bwarjga cy guzh*
 eye NEG see.CVsim
 'not seeing', 'without seeing' (*bwarjga+gu* 'see', lit. 'eye+see')
- (210) *Hwo sixa cy xulie, hwol hwalxa so qoachagvy ciga*
 2s fast NEG be.CVirr 2s.CSN early 1s arrive.FUT.V there
 If you don't hurry I'll get there before you. (PL 1.5)
- (211) *Vanagh dalcha='a txo cy dyta gherth sho?*
 EMPH D.die.CVconc=& 1pEX NEG D.leave.INF try 2p
 Well, won't you give us peace ('leave us [alone]') at least when we're dead? (Dymii)
- (212) *Heata cyn c'i wa cy juozha-jezh duqqa='a q'uonaxii*
 so 3s.GEN fame down NEG J.fall-J.CS.CVsim many:FOC=& man.PL
 hwa-beaxkaab
 DX-B.go:PL.NW.B
 And many people have followed his example and maintained his fame ('not letting his fame fall'). (0207A)

and *my* is used with the imperative and optative:

- (213) *Bexk my baaqqalahw.*
 blame NEG B.take.IMPVmild
 Excuse me. I'm sorry. Sorry. (Lit. 'Don't take offense'.)
- (214) *Dom my hwie-bie*
 dust NEG stir-B.CS.IMPV
 Don't raise dust
- (215) *Hwear my v.uula*
 crazy NEG V.VZ:PLC.IMPV
 Don't go crazy. Stop acting crazy.

15.5.4.3. Chaining particle. The clitic chaining particle =*'a* is enclitic to the preceding element (prefix string, reduplicated root, or direct object) and appears in immediate pre-verbal position (Peterson 2001). It is used in core chaining (§24.4). The following examples show the particle inserted immediately before the verb root so that it is enclitic to whatever precedes the verb root. The preverbal parts are as follows:

- for (216) Onomatopoeic part of compound verb: "gh-h-h" oal 'growl'
 Lexical stem of causative verb: louza-b.u (play-B.CS)
 First element of compound verb: bwara+hwiezh 'eye+look'
- for (217) Onomatopoeic part of compound verb "gh-h-h" joax 'growl'
 Lexicalized adverb of location: бага d.iexk 'take in mouth'
 Reduplicated verb root: louz 'play'
- for (218) Direct object: hwalt'am d.uoll 'insert dumpling'

In the third clause of (217) the verb is intransitive, unprefix, unsuffixed, and not compound, so a reduplicated copy of the root is inserted to host the clitic. In (218) the free direct object hosts the clitic, but in the second clause of (217), which has the plural of the same verb and the same adverb *бага* 'in the mouth', the direct object is a topicalized pronoun which is fronted, so the adverb hosts the clitic. (The adverb is written as a separate word, but the combination *бага d.iexk* 'take in the mouth' is lexicalized as a compound and can host the clitic; free adjuncts do not host this clitic.)

- (216) "Gh-h-h" ='a ealie, yz louza='a bii,
 grrr=& & say.CVseq 3s play=& B.CS.CVseq
 vwaashii bwara='a hwiezhie, geana joal suona yzh
 RECIPI eye=& look:PLC.CVseq far J.go.PRS 1s.DAT 3p

They growl, toss it around ('make it play'), keep looking at each other, and go far away from me. (Wolves playing with a snowball.) (0238A.10) (§35.6)

- (217) "Gh-h-h" ='a jaaxie, yz бага='a biixkie,
 grrr =& say.CVseq 3s mouth.AD =& B.insert:PLC.CVseq
 cynca leiza='a leizie, hwalxa-joal yzh.
 3s.INS RED=& play.CVseq ahead-J.go.PRS 3p

They keep growling, picking it up in their mouths, playing with it, and run on ahead of me. (Wolves playing with a snowball.) (0238A.10) (§35.6)

- (218) Бага hwalt'am='a dellaa vaagha.
 mouth.ADV dumpling=& D.insert.CVant V.sit.PRS
 lit. 'He's sitting there with a dumpling in his mouth' (said of someone who doesn't talk at a social gathering).

For this analysis and more examples see Peterson 2001.

15.5.4.4. *Reduplicated root.* When syntactic rules require that the chaining clitic be preposed to a verb and there is no preverbal host for that clitic, the verb root is reduplicated when necessary to provide a host for the chaining clitic (Peterson 2001; see §24.4):

- (219) je kinashjka **diisha='a diishaa**
 this book D.RED=& D.read.CVant
 '(s/he) read this book and ...'

Negation or assertion can also trigger reduplication, either for emphasis or to make clear that the verb itself is the focus of negation. The reduplicate is followed by =*a* or negation.

- (220) Yzh deshaazh vwaalla **da='a daac** ersii tarzham deacha=t'y
 DEM word.PL at all D.RED=& D.be:NEG.PRS Russian translation D.do.PPL=on
 Those words aren't in the Russian translation at all. (0379)

- (221) Suona **vouza='a vouzac** hwo.
 1s.DAT RED=& V.know.NEG 2s
 I don't know you at all. (PL 2.2)

- (222) Cynna niissa **vy mycha var** vai
 2s.DAT equal:FOC RED NEG V.be.PST 1pIN.GEN
 He had absolutely no equal among us.

- (223) **Vala cy lezh** vyssaav yz?
 RED NEG die.CVsim V.remain.NW.V 3s
 He didn't die? (He remained not dying?) (Listener double-checks what narrator said.)

- (224) Speaker A: Vaaidat jar=q
 (name) J.be.PST=CUM
 Why, it was Vaaidat.

Speaker B: Haan, **jy='a jar**
 INTERJ RED=& J.be.PST
 Oh, of course it was.

(Speaker B had momentarily forgotten the person's name.)

- (225) **Duoxa my=duoxa** sho
 RED NEG=D.break.IMPV 2p
 Don't despair.

- (226) Suona vwaalla **xaza** mycha **xazaad** shu *inguushazh*
 1s.DAT at all RED NEG hear.NW.D 2p Ingush.PL
 'I've never even *heard* of you Ingush before' (0231A.3)
- (227) Deallahw my baq' **liinuu**=q yz, **lie**=m
 INTERJ EMPH truth say.NW.V:FOC 3s RED:FOC
 By God, he certainly told the truth. (Agreeing emphatically with someone quoted in the previous utterance.) (0418.20)

15.5.5. *Etymological excursus: Initial alternations reflecting ancient prefixation or bipartite stems.* A number of sets of verbs have different initial consonants (and different vocalism) but appear to be otherwise related. This phenomenon, and most of these same sets, find several parallels in Chechen and/or Batsbi and occasionally in Daghestanian languages (Nichols 1994b:170ff., 2003b). In some of the Nakh sets gender prefixation is one of the different initials:

ull	'lie' (progressive)
d.ull	'put; lay foundation; cover, spread over'
quoll	'throw, cast; create'
tull	'put on, put on top'
uoll	'hang up (sg. obj.)
d.uoll	'insert, put in (sg. obj.)'
d.od	'run' (sg. subj.)
ud	'run' (PLC)
-hwod	'run at full speed, tear (off, away), run headlong'
lu, d.al-	'give' (irregular verb)
tiel	'give' (PLC); 'pay'
d.oatt'	'tear, rip' (intrans.)
iett'	id. (PLC)
d.ax-	'go' (past stem)
ux	'go' (PLC)
d.oast	'untie, unfasten'
q'aast	'part, separate' (intrans.)
d.ahw	'bring, carry' (suppletive root)
hwo, d.ihwar (d.ehwar)	'take (to), carry' (irregular)
quhw	'carry' (PLC) (both 'bring' and 'take to')

Other sets have no gender prefixation:

uott	'stand up, assume standing position'
laatt	'stand' (progressive)
ghott	'fly away, take off, get up (into the air)'
toss	'sprinkle, strew'
quoss	'throw, cast' (< *quoss)
moss	(in <i>mossa-d.u</i> 'splash')
loac	'catch, capture'
iec	'take, buy'

Cf. also the following set with a gender-prefixed verb and an obviously related noun with another initial:

d.ouz	'know' (<i>kennen</i>)
gouza	'skilful, skilled' (adjective)

Note that *t-*, *q-*, and *l-* are relatively common initials among these sets.

In all sets where some but not all members have gender prefixes, the gender-prefixed verb is always simulfactive; in two sets ('lie', etc. and 'separate' above) it is transitive. There are also a few irregular inflectional paradigms in which gender prefixation is present in only part of the paradigm. In all such sets, it is found in the past stem.

<i>Present</i>	<i>Witnessed past</i>	<i>Anterior converb</i>	
hwo	d.ihwar	d.ihwaa	'take (to), carry'
lu	d.älar	d.änna < *d.al-ina	'give'
gu	d.eira < *d.ag-ira	d.eina < *d.ag-ina	'see'
le	d.älar	d.änna < *d.al-ina	'die'

Thus, broadly speaking, in these fairly special cases gender prefixation on verbs is associated with perfective-like and transitive categories.

CHAPTER 16

NON-INFLECTING WORDS

This chapter follows the classification of adverbs, particles, etc. given in Chapter 5. Postpositions are treated in Chapter 17.

16.1. Adverbs

16.1.1. Manner adverbs. There is no difference of word class between adjectives, anterior converbs, and manner adverbs on the whole. Any adjective or anterior converb can be used as a manner adverb, semantics permitting. There are some adverbs that are not attested as noun modifiers.

sixa 'fast, rapid; quickly'

- (1) Aaz sou **sixa** q'ameal duuc
1s.ERG too fast conversation D.tell.PRS
I talk too fast.
- (2) Aaz uqaza jeaqqa jerriga xa **sixa** dwa-jaxar.
1s.ERG here J.spend.PPL J.all time fast DX-J.go.WP
The time I spent here passed quickly.

dika 'good; well'

- (3) **Dika** daga+daaghac hwuona suona yzh
well remember+D.LV.NEG MIR 1s.DAT 3p
I don't remember them well. (0398B.1)
- (4) Yz t'ei ch'iinagh **dika** hwoarcha-lyc
DEM thread bobbin.LAT well wrap-INCP.NEG
This thread doesn't wind onto the bobbin easily.

Various others:

- (5) Loam chyra loa='a dashaa, yshta='a **sixa**='a, **warzha**='a, **shiila**='a
mountain in.ABL snow=& melt.CVant so fast=& black=& cold=&
doaghazh dola Tiirk qy='a birsdanna xa xannii yz
D.come.CVsim D.PROG.PPL Terek also=& fierce-D.VZ.PPL time be.NW.J 3s

It was that fierce time of the year when the snow had melted in the mountains and the Terek was flowing fast, cold, and black. (CDD 31)

(6) **Loaca** xoadaduora.

short sever-D.CS.IMPF

He cut him off with a short answer every time. ('He would answer briefly') (DD)

(7) Cyn jishii vow='a vy, **xoza** qietazh vy

3s.GEN sister.GEN son=& V.be.PRS well understand.CVsim V.PROG

He has this nephew who understands these things **well**. (0542)

(8) **siirda** hwa-hwiezhar

bright DX-look:PLC.PPL.NZ

the one that shines brightly (circumlocution for 'sun') (JBX)

(9) So=m txei c'endaa c'a+viena **ghad-jaxaa**

1s=FOC 1pEX.RFL.GEN husband home+V.come.CVant happy-J.VZ.CVant

xalxa my juulii

dance EMPH J.INGR:PLC=Q

I'm dancing **for joy** that my husband has come home... ('dancing overjoyed') (HSV)

Manner adverbs that are not used as noun modifiers include:

daggara	'sincerely; intensely, hard'
futtareina	'maliciously; deliberately in order to irritate'
darregh	'deliberately and maliciously'
hwaaqqazhta	'openly, freely, informally'
ghaash	'on foot, by foot'
pxoragh	'horizontally; sideways, crosswise'
taqqal	'motionless, still'
xaarcaw	'wrong, incorrectly; wrong side out'
dagahw	'by heart, memorized'
lartt'a	'consistently, thoroughly, properly'
fetta	'on an empty stomach, without breakfast'
fettaza	'after breakfast, on a full stomach'
pwieraza	'without dinner'
jaalanga	'bareback'

A number of anterior converbs have special senses and/or focus gemination when used as manner adverbs:

k'ir-d.anna, k'ir-d.ea	'intently, attentively' (*k'ir-lu 'be alert', *k'ir-d.u 'pay attention')
k'ir-dällie, k'ir-lii	id. (sequential converbs)
xiicca	'unhindered, unhesitatingly, freely; confidently' (<i>xuuc</i> 'exchange')
xeaddaa	'flatly, point-blank, bluntly' (of replies, etc.) (<i>xaad</i> 'break off')
säccaa	'decisively, conclusively' (<i>soc</i> 'stop, halt')
learrhaa	'on purpose, deliberately; carefully' (<i>loarh</i> 'consider; count')
texxaa	'decisively, firmly' (<i>tuox</i> 'strike')

16.1.2. *Case-like adverb forms of nouns.* Many simple nouns have, in addition to the regular and secondary cases, an adverb form found only in the singular. The endings and ablaut grade vary, as do the meanings. The functions are mostly local (place, time, goal). Most of the adverb-forming endings are identical to those of one or another case form, but in any given paradigm the adverb usually differs from the regular cases. Whether a noun forms such an adverb, how it is formed, and what it means are all lexical idiosyncrasies, so these adverbs need to be considered a matter of derivation. There are some recurrent patterns in the examples below: for instance, nouns in *-ie-* tend to take the adverb in *-a*, nouns referring to liquids and granular substances tend to take *-la*, several names of seasons take *-ii*, times of day take *-alca* 'until'. But these are lexical clusters rather than grammatical rules; the existence, formation, and meaning of an adverb is still a lexical matter.

Some of the endings for these adverbs are identical to cases. *-(a)gh(a)*, a least when the final schwa is not pronounced, is homophonous to the lative ending and *-(a)la* to the comparison case ending. *-(a)hwa* is the same as the locative secondary case ending (§18.10).

Table 16-1 (at the end of the chapter) shows the over 120 such adverbs that have been found, sorted by ending. The endings *-a*, *-(a)gha*, *-(a)la*, *-(a)hwa*, and *-(a)lca* are traditionally spelled with a final schwa, and the first three can be heard to have a preceding open syllable, especially on monosyllabic nouns (e.g. *ghuoza* 'for joy' [ghu:oz^ə], *biesha* [bi:eš^ə] 'in the garden', *cheala* [čæ:l^ə] 'in (the/your/my) tea'). But elsewhere I am not at all convinced that these end in schwas (and Mal'sagov generally writes those in *-(a)gha* and *-(a)la* without a final schwa). I do not hear a schwa in the recording of *deattaal* [d^hæt:a:l] 'butter' (0418.20), but it is audible in the same speaker's instrumental case *deattaaca* [d^hæt:a:c^ə] two sentences later. The orthographic schwa could be just the conventional final schwa of adjectives; or it could be that, as seems to be the case for some speakers, schwas are readily lost after /gh/, /l/, and /hw/.

Nouns that use the dative of time as their adverb include *wiirie* 'morning': *wiirena* 'in the morning'; *xa* 'time': *xaana* 'in/at (the) time' (e.g. *cu xaana* 'at that time, then').

Most ethnonyms take an allative plural plus secondary *-ahwa* to make an adverb meaning 'among the ...', 'in...': *chersazhkahw* 'in Circassia, among the Circassians', *gurzhazhkahw* 'in Georgia, among the Georgians'.

There are adverbs like the above ones that are regularly formed but have no source noun, e.g. *kucalaa* 'as decoration, for looks', dative of the abstract noun **kucal* derived from *kuc* (the more common form is *kust*) 'appearance, form; grace, beauty, good looks'.

16.1.3. *Local adverbs and similar clause adverbs.* These adverbs are full lexical words functioning as clause-level adjuncts and arguments (G, oblique T, goals).

16.1.3.1. *Place.* Adverbs of place come primarily from the pronominal (§16.1.4) and nominal (§16.1.2) series. For pronominals see also Chapter 9.

Derivatives of deictic prefixes (see §15.5.1):

dwaa	'over there (distant, visible)'
wouu	'over there (distant, not visible); down there; in the north'
woa	id.
hwalla	'up there, way up there (distant)'

Derivatives of nouns and adjectives that are also common as first elements of compound verbs:

geana	'far away'; also adjective 'distant'
c'agha	'at home'
balxa	'at work'

Relative directions:

eattehw	'on the right, to the right'
eardehw	'on the left, to the left'
uragh	'upwards, upright'
maghahw	'up; toward an older or more respected person'
eghahw	'down; away from an older or more respected person'
hwalxa, hwalxashka	'in front, ahead'
t'ehwashka	'in back, behind'

Other salient locations and directions:

loam	'in the mountains' (= nominative <i>loam</i> 'mountain')
shearacha	'in the plains, in the lowlands' (<i>sheara</i> 'flat, smooth')
mealxie	'sunny side of mountain, south slope' (<i>maalx</i> 'sun')
hwouhwie	'shady side of mountain, north slope'

Compass directions:

q'ylbasiedie	'north; in the north; northwards'
q'ulbehwa, q'ulbehwie	'south; in the south, southwards'
maalxboalehw, maalxboalie	'east' (<i>maalx</i> B 'sun' + <i>d.oal</i> 'go')
maalxbuzehw, maalxbuzie	'west' (<i>maalx</i> B 'sun' + <i>d.uz</i> '(ful)fill')

There is also the more specialized locative noun *ghibuxie* 'the north, the far north'.

16.1.3.2. Time

hwaalxagh	'previously, before'
twoura	'recently, just now'
twouura	'long ago', 'very long ago' (lengthening of first syllable)
mocagh	'long ago'
naggahw	'from time to time, occasionally'
secca	'at first light, at dawn'
taxan	'today'
siisara	'last night' (used in the first half of the next day; later in the day the previous night is called <i>selxan bus</i> 'yesterday night')
txousar	'this evening, tonight'

Time adverbs related to existing nouns use either a special adverbial form or an existing case, either dative or genitive. The following are all point-in-time adverbs ('at night', 'in the morning', 'in the summer', etc.).

di	'day'	diinahw	(adverb)
biisa	'night'	busa	(adverb)
wiirie	'morning'	wura	(adverb)
		wiiren(na)	(genitive or dative case)
seirie	'evening'	seiriina	(dative case)
		sarahw	(adverb)
delq'ie	'midday, noon'	delq'a	(adverb)
		delq'en(na)	(genitive or dative case)
		delq'iina	(variant of dative case)
bweastii	'spring'	bweastii	(adverb identical to nominative)
axka	'summer'	exkii	(adverb)
giira / giirie	'fall'	gurahw	(adverb)
wa	'winter'	wai	(adverb)

(10) Delq'iina hwa-joagha so.
 noon.DAT DX-J.come.PRS 1s
 I'll come at noon. I'm coming at noon.

(11) Haara wiirena aaz xudar kiich-du.
 every morning.DAT 1s.ERG oatmeal prepare-D.PRS
 Every morning I fix oatmeal.

(12) Ciga wurra dwa-daxaa sarahwa c'a+deaxkar txo ...
 there morning:FOC.ADV DX-D.go.CVant evening.ADV home+D.come:PL.WP 1pEX
 We went there in the morning and came back home in the evening. (0774)

Ingush formerly had an extended set of adverbs for relative time in days, of which only the first three in both temporal directions are still in use:

selxan	yesterday	(colloquial form: siexan)
saamardiinahw	day before yesterday	
selxan saamardiinahw	three days ago	
qoana	tomorrow	
lomma	day after tomorrow	
c'ulla	3 days from now	
c'umoaka	4 days from now	
c'ul c'umoaka	5 days from now	(also cul c'umuoka)

There are also two words for relative time in years:

soaxka	last year	(also <i>dwadaxaacha shara</i> lit. 'the past year')
lurchagh / lurchogh	year before last	

16.1.3.3. Reason, cause, condition. Adjuncts of reason, cause, etc. are mostly converb subordinate clauses; see Chapter 27.

16.1.3.4. Frequency, duration, and other temporal properties. The plex numerals *shodz* 'twice', *godz* 'three times', etc. belong here. Others include:

duqqadz	many times
cq'azahw	once
c'eaqa	once more, one more time
daa'im	always, forever
dyllaa(='a)	constantly, all the time
kast-kasta	frequently, often
sher-sherra	annually, every year (also sherra-shera and similar variants)
xiila	very many; often (indefinite large number of individuals and/or events)

16.1.4. *Pronominal adverbs.* The demonstrative, indefinite, and interrogative pronoun series include various adverbs of place, time, manner, and quantity. For the full listing and classification see §9.2.

uqaza	'here'
handz	'how'
yshta	'thus, like that, like this'
ciga	'there'
mycha	'where'
mel	'how much'

massa	'how many'
maca	'when'
senna	'why, what for'
hana	'why, how come'
massanahwa	'everywhere'
qychahwa	'elsewhere'
sehwa	'on this side'

Many of these have derivatives, e.g.:

handdza	'just now, just a moment ago' (focus gemination)
handzchw	'for the moment; right away'
handzalie / handzalehw	'so far, to now'; (with negation) 'still, not yet'
handzalca	'so far, until now'
handzarchoa	'for now; so far'

16.1.5. *Modifiers of adjectives, adverbs, and quantifiers.* Degree words are adverbs that modify adjectives and adverbs, reducing or intensifying the meaning of the adjective:

ch'woagha	'very'
gettara	'very'
belggala	'especially, very'
eggara	'the most' (with comparatives, forms superlatives)
sou	'very; too; so very; even more'; 'so (much/many) that ...'
sel / sella	'so; so much, this much; so many, this many'; 'so much/many that...'
waleamat aallal	'extremely, incredibly' (lit. 'say.CVext "amazing"')

- (13) **Ch'woagha** wearzha xa jar yz, ealar.
 very black time J.be.PST 3s say.WP
 It was a very black (i.e. bad, unhappy, difficult) time, he said. (0201)
- (14) **Ch'woagha** xoza wiirie jar yz, oalar
 very beautiful morning J.be.PST 3s say.IMPF
 It was a very beautiful morning, he used to say. (0201)
- (15) Yz **ch'woagha** saq'erdamie sag vy
 3s very cheerful person V.be.PRS
 He is a very cheerful person. He's a lot of fun.
- (16) Cu Zaalie-duq'a=t'y=m **gettara** duqa xular yz buc
 DEM.OBL (place name)=on=FOC very much be.IMPF DEM herb
 There used to be a great deal of this herb in Zaalie-duq'. (0417.52)

- (17) Yz ghalghaai mott duucazh **gettara** k'ezig by,
DEM Ingush.GENpl language D.speak.CVsim very few B.be
caarna jiq'ie so='a vy
3p.DAT among 1s=& V.be
There are very few people who speak Ingush, and I'm one of them. (0379A.19.14)
- (18) **Belggala** dika sag my xannavii yz.
especially good person EMPH be.NW.V=Q 3s
He was a very good person. He was an especially good person.
- (19) Yz **sou** hwaalxa jy vaina
3s too early J.be.PRS MIR
That's too early.
- (20) **Sou** ch'woagha q'ahwiegar txy daaz
so hard labor:PLC.WP 1PEX.GEN father.ERG
'(I worked very hard and) my father worked even harder'
- (21) **Eggara** voaqqagh Iis.hwaq' var, shallagh Jasaw var ...
the most V.old.CMP (name) V.be.PST second (name) V.be.PST
The eldest was Isaac, the next was Jasaw, ... (0395A)
- (22) Suona **eggara** xozagh xieta bos k'ei-bar by
1s.DAT the most pretty.CMP seem.PPL color white-B.NZ B.be.PRS
My favorite color is white (lit. 'is the white one')
- (23) **Eggara** hwaalxa adam daaxa xeina mottig jy yz
the most early human D.live.INF sit.CVant place J.be.PRS 3s
This is the earliest human settlement.

For *sou* or *sel* in a converb clause of extent see §27.4.

16.2. Particles, conjunctions, etc.

"Particle" is a term of convenience for this set of forms; for their properties see §5.6. Here only the clearly word-like ones are illustrated. Note that, while not inflected themselves in the usual sense, several of them are frozen inflected forms, usually adverbial or oblique case forms of nouns.

16.2.1. *Clitics*. Clitics have a number of more or less grammatical functions in Ingush: coordinating and chaining enclitic conjunctions =*'a*, =*ji*; focus clitics =*m*, =*q*; negative proclitics *cy*=, *my*=; emphatic proclitic *my*=; interrogative =*ii*, =*i* For their properties see §5.6.1 (with references to discussion and examples).

16.2.2. *Phonologically isolating formatives*. These words are phonological words (i.e. non-clitics) but not syntactic words. I mention them here because they do not belong to any of the inflecting parts of speech, though in fact each such formative fits into a larger paradigm that can be considered an inflectional paradigm. Examples are given elsewhere.

16.2.2.1. Evidentials: see §13.6. These include a number of frozen pronominal and verbal forms (miratives *hwuona/shoana*, *hwaai*, *vaina*, introspectives *tesh/tie*, *hwogh*, hearsay and quotative *joax*, *eanna*). They are unaccented and probably on the way to losing tonicity.

16.2.2.2. Deictic prefixes: see §15.5.1. These are tonic words, usually unaccented.

16.2.3. Tonic words

16.2.3.1. Comparison. Two words mean 'like, as': *sanna* and *muo*. (See §23.1 for the syntactic distributions of these two words.)

- (24) **Sy daa muo** so viecie=*'a*, ghulaq die hwozhargvy so.
1s.GEN father like 1s V.be.CVirt=& service D.do.INF try.FUT.V 1s
Though I'm not what my father was, I'll try to serve. (Jabagi & Dumézil 1935)
- (25) **K'ir muo** k'ei baacar, k'ezig muoragh
whitewash like white B.be: NEG.PST a bit dark.CMP
It wasn't white like whitewash, (it was) a bit darker (0392B.1)
- (26) Taxan **muo** daga+doagha suona yzh
today like remember+D.LV.PRS 1s.DAT 3p
I remember them as if it were today (0409)
- (27) Eala paarqazh **sanna** mieqazh dola var yz
hay.GEN armful.PL like mustache D.be.PPL B.be.PST 3s
He had a mustache like two armloads of hay. (Said of someone with a long mustache.)
- (28) vai sanna bolcha naaxaa
1pIN like B.be.PPL.OBL people.DAT
to people like us (CDD 32)
- (29) ghattaa bolxazh **sanna** udazh
fly_away.CVant B.go:PL.CVsim like run.CVsim
'running like (as though) they were flying' (0409)

Of these two, only *muo* can be nominalized. It occurs chiefly following *yzza*, *jerra* 'that', 'this' with focus gemination. See also *morjg* in (24) of Chapter 19.

- (30) **Yzzamorjg** cweaqa='a dy ciga=m
 DEM:FOC-like.NZ another=& D.be.PRS there=FOC
 There's another **one like that** in there. (0392B)
- (31) Juxa *perepisat'* dea cy=t'iera zwamiga+jarazh,
 again rerecord D.LV.PPL DEM=on small J.NZ.PL
 jerra **morjgazh** zwamiga+jarazh jy.
 DEM:FOC like.NZ.PL small J.NZ.PL J.be.PRS
 There are re-recorded small ones (cassettes), small **ones like** these. (0542)

16.2.3.2. Delimiting: 'only', 'exactly' etc.

ghorrtazh	'almost, nearly'	(postposed to the noun it modifies)
gargga	'approximately'	(postposed)
duraz	'exactly'	(preposed)
maara	'only, except'	(postposed; requires negative verb)
duhhwal	'only, besides; precise(ly)'	(preposed)

- (32) Muhwmad, q'ouztq'a shu **gargga** hwiexarxuo volazh
 (name) 60 year nearly teacher V.be.CVsim
 hwa my vienavii hwo.
 DX EMPH V.come.NW.V=Q 2s
 Muhwmad, you've been a teacher nearly sixty years. (0380A.28)
- (33) **duraz** shi gerak
 exactly two (unit of weight)
 Exactly two *gerak*'s
- (34) Hwuona shaalta ieshac, wa=m **duhhwal** q'amealaca='a vuurgvy sag.
 2s.DAT dagger need.NEG 2s.ERG=FOC only speech.INS=& V.kill.FUT person
 You don't need a dagger, *you* can kill a person with words alone. (CDD 24)
- (35) **duhhwal** yz sei hwiexarxuo vy aala sei jish
 only 3s 1sRFL.GEN teacher V.be.PRS say.INF 1sRFL.GEN possibility
 xalaragh doaqqal deddolcha ...
 be.NZ.LAT pride D.do.D.FUT.CVtemp

since I took pride in the **mere** fact that I was able to say he was my teacher...
(*duhhwal* modifies the complex NP headed by *xalaragh*) (0531)

- (36) **Duhhwal** charaahwal daragh k'alxar-buular duqagh+barazh
only hunting D.do.NZ.LAT survive-B.LV:PL.IMP most+B.NZ.PL
mocalla cy bouzh.
hunger.ADV NEG B.die:PL.CVsim

Only by hunting did the majority survive without starving. (DD)

maara/maarkaa 'except' (takes negation)

- (37) Aaz cwa kinashjka maara diishandzar
1s.ERG one book only D.read.NEG.WP
I only read one book.
- (38) Cq'a maara jaxaajaac
once only J.go.J.NEG.NW.J
(I) only went (to school) once.
- (39) k'al-gholla maara bwara+hwazhacar suona
under-along only eye+look.NEG.WP 1s.DAT
She looked at me only askance. (PL)
- (40) Niw niztq'a maara dwa-q'oulac
door with_force only DX-close.NEG
The door closes only if you push it hard. The door closes only by force.

16.2.3.3. Subordinating conjunctions. There are few if any subordinating conjunctions in Ingush; most subordinate clauses are converbial. *Nagahw* (*sanna*) 'if' is a conjunction of sorts which occurs initially in an irrealis or temporal converb clause to mark it as meaning specifically 'if'. S.a. §27.1 for examples of *xaana* 'time.DAT, 'at the ... time' as a temporal subordinator and §25.3 for converbs of 'say' as complementizers in speech clauses.

- (41) T'aaqqa, **nagahw sanna** yz diq'a xulie, k'ezig xii t'y-dott.
then if 3s D.thick be.CVirr a little water on-D.pour.PRS
Then, if it gets thick, add a bit of water. (0417.1.04)
- (42) Cy oalazh ghorghvar so ealar joax, **nagahw** hwo reaza valie.
NEG say.CVsim go.V.CND 1s say.WP QUOT if 2s OK V.be.CVirr
If it's OK with you, I'll go without saying, he said. (0408)

- (43) **Nagahw** hwo reaza viecie, dwa-c'a+joxiita jieza vai yz.
 if 2s OK V.be.NEG.CVirr DX-home+J.go-CSind.INF J.must 1pIN 3s
 If you don't want her here, we'll send her back. (0202A.1)

16.2.3.4. Linking conjunctions. These words are mostly sentence-initial or clause-initial, and they are mostly found in independent clauses and the main clauses of logical sequences of protasis and apodosis, cause and consequence, etc. *Hana ealcha* 'because' (lit. 'if you say "why"') is final in a main clause and the others are usually initial.

hana ealcha	'that's why'; 'because'
t'aaqqa	'so, then' (narrative resumes after interruption or pause)
heata	'then, so'
yshtta	'so, thus'
muxxa 'a	'still, nonetheless'
heata='a	id., 'but'
cuduhwa	'that's why, therefore, hence'

- (44) Justara veaghaav yz **hana ealcha**, ruzq'a dar='a, dional darazh='a,
 aside V.sit.NW.V 3s because wealth D.be.NZ =& courage D.be.NZ.PL=&
 ghulaq dar='a hwalxazhjka my leattaadii.
 business D.be.NZ=& in front EMPH stand.NW.D=Q

He was sitting to the side because the important, powerful, and wealthy were in front. (0380A.13.16)

- (45) Txo massadza='a yz jolcha lestar=q **hana ealcha**
 1pEX often=& 3s J.be.PPL.OBL turn:PLC.IMPf=CUM because
 hwiexam ch'woagha bar cyn ...
 instruction strong B.be.WP 3s.GEN

We constantly went to her house because she taught us a lot ... (0231A.3)

- (46) Earzii eanna c'i tyllaai **hana ealcha** ciga=chy earzii daaxandea.
 (name) SUB name bestow.NW.J why say.CVtemp there=in eagle D.live.CVbcs
 It was named "Earzii" ['eagle'] because an eagle lived there.

- (47) **T'aaqqa**, **yshtta** yz bolcha xaana, **t'aaqqa** ciga dwa-baxaab
 so so 3s B.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT so there DX-B.come.NW.B
 je Ousha-neaq'aan joal hwa-ieca eanna.
 DEM (clan name) tribute DX-take.INF SUB

So then at that time the Ousha-neaq'aan clan came to collect their tribute. (0392B)

- (49) **T'aaqqa**, mychaa qeachaavar so?
 so where arrive.V.PNW 1s
 OK, so where was I (in the story)? (0392B.1)
- (50) **Yshтта** je k'ir sanna k'ei baacar yz, barii?
 so DEM whitewash like white B.be.NEG.IMPF 3s B.be.PST=Q
 So it wasn't as white as whitewash? (0392B.1)
- (51) **T'aaqqa, yshтта** txo q'ameal dez hwozhazh
 so so 1pEX conversation D.do.CVsim look.CVsim
 doaxkacha xaanna, ...
 D.PROG.PL.PPL.OBL time.DAT:FOC
 So while we stood there conversing and looking (merchandise) over,... (0542)
- (52) **Heata='a** yz wa-vyzhaachul t'ehwagha, baankaa=chy jaagha pwed
 but 3s DX-V.lie.PPL.NZ.CSN after jar=in J.sit.PPL frog
 hwal-aara='a jeanna jedda jexaai
 up-out=& J.go.CVant J.run.CVant J.go.NW.J
 But after he went to bed the frog in the jar got out and ran away.

16.2.3.5. Parentheticals. These are various words clarifying the logical and pragmatic status of words and phrases, and they usually have words or phrases in their scope; unlike conjunctions, they do not link clauses. For more on their properties see §5.6.3.

xietarjgahw 'probably, apparently, I guess'
 boq'oncaa 'really, actually'
 gheahhwa 'exactly, precisely, in fact'
 boqq'al 'really, honestly, absolutely; (with imperative) 'for heaven's sake, please'
 deallahw id.
 deara 'of course; sure, certainly' (chiefly in answers to questions)
 deaq'onna, deaq'onnuora, dwaq'onnar (shortened from something like *Deala Q'orwanuora* 'by God's Koran') 'certainly (not)'; chiefly in answers to questions

- (53) Handz volazh='a vy yz **xietarjgahw**.
 now V.be.CVsim=& V.be 3s probably
 I believe he's still living now. He's probably still living. (0408)

- (54) So **xietarjgahwa** *dvadcat' vtorogo* vea xala viezazh vy.
 Is probably 1922 V.born be.INF V.must.CVsim V.be
 I must have been born about 1922. (0392B.1)
- (55) Goneriljaai, **xietarjgahw**.
 Goneril.GEN apparently
 It must be Goneril's. (PL 2.4)
- (56) **Boq'oncaa**, ustaghaa urs cy hweaqacha jish-vosha laarhacar
 actually sheep.DAT knife NEG slice.CVtemp sister-brother consider.NEG.IMP
 In fact the betrothal wasn't official until they slaughtered a sheep [to celebrate]. ('In
 fact [the two families] weren't considered kin until...') (0231A.3)
- (57) Jer lochq'a-deadaac, jer **boq'oncaa** Ucyga Maalsaguo hwuona
 3s steal-D.CS.NW.D.NEG 3s really (name) (name).ERG 2s.DAT
 soughataa danna soughat dy
 gift.DAT D.give.PPL gift D.be.PRS
 You didn't steal it, Ucyga Maalsag really did give it to you as a gift. (0207A)
- (59) **Boqq'al**, sacal.
 please stop.IMPVmild
 Please stop it. For heaven's sake stop it.
- (60) Hwaduucal, **boqq'al**
 DX-D.tell.IMPVmild please
 Tell me, I pray you (PL 2.1)
- (61) **Boqq'al** txo aara-daaxalc – txo vi' dwa-aara-vaaqqalc, d.h. –
 please 1pEX out-D.take:PL.CVext 1pEX V.four DX-out-V.take.CVext,
 dou my dielazh eanna diexar dyr txuoga
 fight NEG D.do.IMPVfut SUB ask D.LV.WP 1pEX.ALL
 Please don't fight with them until they let us out – until they let the four of us out –
 they pleaded with us. (0201A.3)
- (62) T'aaqqa, uquo voxiiit txy dea daa Mochq'a volcha,
 so 3s.ERG V.go.CSind.PRS 1pEX.GEN father.GEN father (name) V.be.PPL.OBL
boqq'al=a yz sag juxa-jaa aala eanna
 please=& DEM person back-J.bring.IMPV say.INF SUB

So he sent my grandfather to Mochq'a to ask that they please return his wife. (0418.36)

- (63) **Deaq'onna** xaac suona=m.
 EMPH know.NEG 1s.DAT=FOC
 No, I sure don't know. I have no idea.
- (64) Hwabzii **deaq'onna** xazaavaac=q
 (name) EMPH hear-V.NW.NEG=CUM
 Hwabzii? No, I've certainly never heard of him. (0231A.3)

16.3. Interjections and utterance introducers

For the defining properties of interjections see §5.7. Some important examples are:

aa	'no' (common)
ha'a	'yes' (less common; the usual response is to repeat the verb of the question)
dikanda	'good, OK'
megead	'OK, all right'
haai?	'what? huh?'
hetoanie	(pause filler)
dii hwuona	y'know, um (pause filler and turn holder; used only by older men)
vollahwii	'by God'
barkal	'thanks, thank you' (more formally <i>Barkal xalda hwuona</i> 'thanks be to you')
nahw, nahwii	'here' (handing something to someone)
jaai	'hey!'
zhi, zhivarii	'hurry up, come on'
vadaadei	'alas' (used only by women)
ipp'aalii/ibbaalii	(startled surprise) (used only by women)
hwii (with nasalized vowel)	(introduces threats and derogatory speech)
cyst/wocyst/ocyst	'scat!' (to cat)

- (65) **Aa**, barkal
 no thanks
 No, thanks.
- (66) Baq'uoncaa jaax wa? -- **Aa**, biegazhtaa eannadar aaz=m yz.
 really say 2s.ERG No joke.PL.DAT say.D.PNW 1s.ERG=FOC 3s
 Seriously? -- No, I was just joking.

- (67) **Megead** heata, hwa wadika_xaila eanna dwa-vaxaav shi dottagh.
 OK then 2s.GEN goodbye say.CVant DX-V.go.NW.V two friend
 "Fine then, goodbye," said the two friends and left. (Dymii)
- (68) **Megead**, wa eannacha xalda yz.
 OK 2s.ERG say.PPL.NZ.OBL be.OPT 3s
 OK, let's do it as you suggested.

16.4. Ideophones

Ingush ideophones include many that are onomatopoeic. Ideophones are heavy pieces of light verb constructions. The most common light verb for ideophones is *oal* 'say'. The heavy piece, like any heavy piece, does not inflect, but the light verb does, usually taking the form of a converb. See §15.2.7 for more examples and §5.8 for more on their properties.

- (69) **Parx** eanna juoxa-jeajar kart
 (wreck) say.CVant J.break-J.CS.PNW.J fence
 They broke down (and removed) the fence.
- (70) **T'op-t'op** eanna dh. nawarazh ch'ougazh dwa='a joxiitazh ...
 slam say.CVant door.PL latch.PL DX=& J.go.CSind.CVsim
 They kicked the door so hard that the latches flew off. (0776)

Table 16-1. Adverb forms of nouns. * = two different forms for this noun.

Ending	Nomina- tive	Oblique stem	Gloss	Adverb	Adverb gloss
-Ø	kou	koun-	yard	koa ¹⁴⁰	in the yard
	biisa	biisan-	night	bus	at night, in the night
-a	leatta	leattaa-	earth	leatta	on the ground
	besh	biesh-	garden	biesha	in the garden
	gour	gour-	horse	goura	on horseback
	fusam	fusam-	household	fusama	indoors
	bagie	bagien-	mouth	baga	in the mouth
	mott	mett-	bed	metta	in bed
	niq'	neaq'-	road	nouq'a	on the road, on the way
	bolx	belx-	work	balxa	at work, (go) to work
	sigalie	sigalien-	sky	sigala	in the sky
	ch'odzh	ch'ozh-	ravine	ch'azha*	in(to) the ravine
	moxk	mexk-	country, land	mexka*	in (...) country
	delq'ie	delq'ien-	noon	delq'iina	at noon
	ghougie	ghougien-	head end	ghouga	at the head of the bed
	wiirie	wiirien-	morning	wura/wurra	in the morning
	kash	kash-	grave	kasha	in the grave
	kuc	kuc-	form, beauty	kuca	for show
	maangal	maangal-	scythe	maangala	(go) to mow hay
	nabaxtie	nabaxtien-	jail, prison	nabaxta	in jail, in prison
	hwiera	hwear-	mill	hweara/hwaara	to/at the mill
	ghoz	ghoz-	joy	ghuoza	in joy, for joy
sehwie		this side	sehwa	on this side	
-ie	kuorta	kert-	head	kertie	at the head/top
	universitet	universitiet-	university	universitietie	on campus
	daaq'a	deaq'-	part, portion	deaq'ie	in part ¹⁴¹
	maalx	mealx-	sun	mealxie	in the sun(shine)
	cho'dzh	ch'ozh-	ravine	ch'ozhie*	in(to) the ravine
	ishkol	ishkuol-	school	ishkuolie	at school
	pwer/pwor	pwier-	dinner	pwierie	at dinner, at the table

¹⁴⁰ Identical to the genitive singular *koa*.¹⁴¹ Usually with modifier: *cu deaq'ie* 'among them, therein, including', *duqaghcha deaq'ie* 'for the most part'.

	jist	jist-	edge	jistie	at the edge
	juhw	juhw-	beginning	juhwie	at the front, on the leading end
	satem	satiem-	silence, calm	satiemie	at rest
	poshta	poshta-	post office	poshtie	at the post office
	iila	illa-	idea, thought	iilanie	in thought
	wi	wanar-	steam	wiinie	in the steam, warmth ¹⁴²
	wel	wiel-	afterworld	wielie	in the afterworld
- (a)gha	c'aa	c'ien-	house	c'agha	at home, to home
	hwu	hwun-	forest	hwunagha	in the forest
	moxk	mexk-	country, land	mexkagh*	away from one's country
	choabol	choabuol-	trot	choabuolagh	at a trot
	jorgha	jorgha-	amble	jorghagh	at an amble
	gha	ghaan-	dream	ghaanagh*	in a dream, in one's sleep
	nidz	niz-	strength	niddzagha/ niztq'a	by force; barely, with difficulty
	hwoashal	hwoashal-	hospitality	hwoashalgha	as a guest, visiting
	bosie	bosien-	slope	bosagh	downhill
-la	xii	xi-	water	xila	in/into the water
	c'i	c'er-	fire	c'erala	in/into the fire
	tux	tux-	salt	tuxala*	in salt
	hwoar	hwoar-	flour	hwoarala	in wheat flour
	zhuur	zhuur-	corn flour	zhuurala	in corn flour
	deatta	deattaa-	fat, oil	deattaal	in oil
	shura	shurii-	milk	shuriila	in milk
	modz	mez-	honey	mezala	in honey
	chorpa	chorpaa-	soup	chorpaala	in the soup
	chei	chea-	tea	cheala	into (one's) tea
	mordz	morz-	whey	morzala	in whey
	shaar	shaar-	butter whey	shaarala	in whey
	chuhwii	chuhwie-	cheese whey	chuhwala	in whey
	t'oa	t'ei-	sour cream; layer	t'oala	in sour cream
	xudar	xudar-	porridge	xudarala	in porridge
	bierha	bierha-	sauce	bierhala	in sauce
	xott	xott-	mud	xottala	in the mud

¹⁴² Typically, the warmth generated by cattle in a barn in winter.

	toppar	toppar-	plaster	topparala	in plaster
	cq'un	cq'un-	filth	cq'unala	in filth
	dogha	dogh-	rain	doghala	in the rain
	ghum	ghomar-	sand	ghumarala	in the sand
	dom	do-	dust	domala	in dust
	k'ur	k'ur-	smoke	k'urala	in smoke
	mux	mix-	wind	mixala	in(to) the wind
	morx	morx-	cloud	morxiila	in(to) the clouds
	loa	lei- / lea-	snow	leila	in the snow
	sha	sha-	ice	shala	in ice
	mott	mett	language	mettala/mettela	in ... language
	erdz	erz-	reed	erzala	in the reeds
	tq'aam	tq'aam-	wing	tq'aamal	on the wing; with outstretched wings
	bordz	berz-	wolf	berzala	(turn) into a wolf
	ghaam	ghaam-	witch	ghaamala	(turn) into a witch
	nax	naax-	people	naaxala	in naaxala d.oal 'become notorious'
- (a)lca	delq'ie	delq'ien-	noon	delq'elca*	until noon
	seiria	seirien-	evening	sarralca*	until evening
- (a)hwa	giira/giirie	giiran-/-ien-	autumn	gurahwa	in autumn
	di	dien-	day	diinahwa ¹⁴³	in the daytime, by day
	guo	guon-	circle	guonahwa	all around
	gha	ghaan-	dream	ghaanahwa*	in a dream, in one's sleep
	zie	zien-	damage, loss	ziehwa	in vain
	seira	seirien-	evening	sarahwa	in the evening
-ra	guo	guon-	knee	guora	on one's knee(s)
	gou	goun-	tine, strand	goara	e.g. <i>qea goara t'wirjg</i> 'three-strand cord'
-i(i)	wa	wan-	winter	wai	in winter
	axka	axkan-	summer	exkii	in summer
	bweastii	bweastien-	spring	bweastii	in spring

¹⁴³ Also with names of days: *orshot diinahwa* 'on Monday', *qearacha diinahwa* 'on Wednesday', etc.

Others:

daa	dea-	father	deagahwa	on one's father's side
naana	nean-	mother	neanagahwa	on one's mother's side
niw	nawar-	door	nawaragahwa	facing the door
vozh	vuoq-	the other	vuoqangahwa	on the other guy's side
kisa	kisa(a)-	pocket	kisaa	in one's pocket
masal	masal-	example	massalaa ¹⁴⁴	for example
fie	fien-	air	fieca ¹⁴⁵	in the air
tux	tux-	salt	tuxta (vaxar) ¹⁴⁶	(go to get) salt

¹⁴⁴ Dative *masalaa* plus focus gemination.

¹⁴⁵ Instrumental *fieca/fienaca*.

¹⁴⁶ Evidently an archaic dative (**tux-na* with regular denasalization after a fricative); the productive dative is *tuxaa*.

CHAPTER 17

POSTPOSITIONS AND PP'S

All adpositions in Ingush are postpositions. Postpositions have argument structure (all have exactly one argument)¹⁴⁷ and valence (they govern the case of that argument). Most postpositions can be used with a nominalized verb as object, thereby heading a subordinate clause. Examples of this are (31) and (50) below.

Most postpositions govern the dative of the object noun. In colloquial usage and in folklore texts, the nominative is commonly used instead of the dative or other case:

kartaa jixie fence.DAT beside 'beside the fence, next to the fence'	colloquial:	kart jixie fence beside
buq'a=t'y back.GEN=on 'on the back' (0415.12)	epic song:	buq'=t'y back=on (GhGh)

17.1. Types of postpositions

Postpositions are grammatical words but not necessarily phonological words; two of them are clitics. In this section postpositions are listed by structural type (cliticized or not, relational nouns vs. deverbal vs. underived, etc.). Also listed are some postposed words which do not govern case and are therefore not strictly postpositions, and some adverbs which are translation equivalents to English prepositions. Some postpositions can also be used as adverbs and some cannot; some can be lexicalized prefixes, or incorporated prefixes, and others cannot (see §15.5.3). Postpositions take various cases, dative being the default case with non-clitic postpositions while the clitic postpositions take the genitive (or oblique stem) of nouns and the dative of pronouns.¹⁴⁸ There is some variability among speakers in the use of genitive vs. dative. Postpositions that are nominal in origin often govern the genitive (§17.1.3). Those that are converbs in origin govern the same case as the verb they are formed from (§17.1.4).

¹⁴⁷ *Jiq'ie* 'among, between' can take a coordinated argument.

¹⁴⁸ It seems likely that the instances where postpositions take only the oblique stem, shown in §17.1.1, are surviving archaisms reflecting what was once the general rule for postpositions (s.a. Jakoblev 2001:59-61, who considers this form to be an archaic syncretic oblique case).

17.1.1. *Fully cliticized postpositions*: =*chy* 'in', =*t'y* 'on'. As postpositions these are enclitics which, together with the dative or genitive ending of their object, undergo alternating schwa elision (§3.2.2):

neaq'a=t'y	[neaq'ət' ^ə]	neaq'a=t'y-ra	[neaq' ^ə t'ɦ' ^ə]
road.GEN=on	'to/on the road'	road.GEN=on-ABL	'from the road'

Since the clitic postpositions form a single non-compound word with their object, they are prosodically like case endings (or any other suffix):

neaq'a=t'y	'on the road'	[neaq'ət' ^ə]
neaq'aca	road.INS	[neaq'əc' ^ə]

Both of the clitic postpositions can also be incorporated as local prefixes on the verb; then they have restressed clitic vocalism /y/. Examples are in §17.2.2 below.

The clitic postpositions usually take the genitive singular or oblique stem of the object noun, or the nominative plural.

- (1) **Istuola=t'y** dom ull.
table.GEN=on dust lie.PRS
There's dust on the table. The table is dusty.
- (2) Sy **buq'a=t'y** duq' ull
1s back.GEN=on yoke lie.PRS
I have responsibilities. ('A yoke is on my back.')
- (3) **Qei=t'y** yz deattazh quhwazh var yz.
field.GEN=on 3s oil.PL deliver:PLC.CVsim V.PROG 3s
He used to deliver fuel to the fields. (0395A)
- (4) beaca=t'y
grass.GEN=on
- (5) vaguonazh=t'y
wagon.PL=on
- (6) gourazh=t'y
horse.PL=on

and the bare root or oblique stem of a few nouns:

xi=chy 'in the water' (oblique stem)
 loam=t'y 'on the mountain' (bare root, which also functions as an adverb)
 Buruo=t'y 'in Vladikavkaz' (oblique stem)

- (7) Muusaa xi=t'y aarq'al wa-vyzhaa ull.
 Musa water=on face_up DX-V.lie down.CVant lie
 Musa is floating on his back.

In texts the clitic postpositions occur with the oblique stem of demonstrative pronouns (but never with the homophonous third person pronouns):

cu=t'y	'on there, there, thereon'	uq=t'y	'on here, here, hereon'
cu=chy	'in there, there, therein'	uq=chy	'in here, here herein'

When used with personal pronouns they take the dative, and they are not clitics.

- (8) Suona t'y dy sei bolx hwa-bar
 1s.DAT on D.be.PRS 1sRFL.GEN work DX-B.do.NZ
 Doing my work is up to me. My work is my responsibility.
 [súon³ t'ÿ dý], not *[súonət³]

- (9) Yzh bierazh cynna t'y dy.
 DEM.PL child.PL 3s.DAT on D.be.PRS
 She is responsible for those children. Those children are her responsibility.

For at least some human nouns the same expression takes the dative plural (not the nominative plural as in (5)-(6) above), and again is not a clitic:

- (10) Ghalghaazhta t'y dy ezdii xalar (*ghalghaazh=t'y)
 Ingush.PL.DAT on D.be.PRS courteous be.VN
 The obligation of the Ingush is to be courteous.

Both of these postpositions can have the ablative suffix *-ra* (§18.11) added to them; for more examples see § 17.2.1. Both have related forms that show their original vocalism. =chy is a cliticized version of the root of *chuhwanahw* 'inside of' (§17.1.3) and words such as *chuhwie* 'interior'. =chy has a spelling pronunciation /chu/ which may also be a genuinely archaic pronunciation, but this variant is prosodically cliticized just as /chy/ is. =t'y has an infrequent alternate form *t'ie* (uncliticized) which has a more frequently encountered ablative *t'iera* 'from on top'. The following examples show it as uncliticized postposition (with unreduced vocalism) and as cliticized postposition (with reduced vocalism). Unreduced *t'iera* is more or less lexicalized with *d.oaqq* 'take' (thus *t'iera-d.oaqq* 'take off'), though it cannot

be fully incorporated as a prefix. Reduced =*t'yra* is not lexicalized with this verb and forms the free combination *NP=t'yra d.oaqq* 'take, steal from (the top of)'.
 (11) Chop **dulxaa t'iera** hwa-ieca.
 foam meat.DAT on-ABL DX-take.IMPV
 Take the foam off the top (of boiling kettle with meat in it)

- (12) **Jea=t'yra** kii hwa-jaaqqa.
 kettle.GEN=on.ABL hat DX-J.take.IMPV
 Take the lid off the kettle.

- (13) Nuur **t'iera** hwa-jaaqqa.
 saddle on-ABL DX-J.take.IMPV
 Take the saddle off. (*t'iera* has no object so is not used as a postposition)

- (14) Aaz gouraa **t'iera** nuur hwa-jeaqqar.
 1s.ERG saddle.DAT on-ABL saddle DX-J.take.WP
 I unsaddled the horse. (*t'iera* has a dative object so it is a postposition)

- (15) Aaz **goura=t'yra** nuur hwa-jeaqqar.
 1s.ERG horse.GEN=on-ABL saddle DX-J.take.WP
 I stole the saddle from the horse ('from off the horse'; stole the saddle that was on the horse).

- (16) Aaz **kertaa t'iera** kii jeaqqar.
 1s.ERG head.DAT on-ABL hat J.take.WP
 I took my hat off.

- (17) Aaz **kerta=t'yra** kii jeaqqar
 1s.ERG head.GEN=on-ABL hat J.take.WP
 I snatched (his) hat away.

17.1.2. *Underived (or at least non-transparent) tonic postpositions.* The non-clitic postpositions have the same prosody and sandhi as the second element of a compound, e.g. *Ahmada duhwa* [ʔʌhmʌddùh³]. *k'al* 'under' takes the dative case:

- (18) **Beana k'al** zungatii dy.
 grass.DAT under ant.PL D.be.PRS
 There are ants in the grass. ('under the grass')

den / *denca*; also *den hwa* / *denca-hwa*¹⁴⁹ 'since, ever since'.

- (19) Cu **xaana den** so zhwalegh qer.
 DEM.OBL time.DAT since 1s dog.PL.LAT fear.PRS
 Ever since then I've been afraid of dogs.

lala 'beside, next to' Infrequent. Two of the three examples in the corpus are ambiguous as to whether *lala* is an adverb or has a null pronoun object.

- (20) Sag (Ø?) **lala** voacazh je aara='a my jaaliitacar
 person (3s.DAT?) nearby V.be.CVsim 3s out=& EMPH J.go-CSind.NEG.IMPF
 cwanna mettazhkie='a.
 one:FOC place.ADV=&
 They didn't let her go anywhere unaccompanied (without an escort [with her?]).
 (0231A)

- (21) c'en guonahw vadacha='a, **kazaarmaa lala** gholla vadacha, ...
 house.GEN around V.go.CVtemp=& barracks.DAT beside along V.go.CVtemp
 'when he ran around the house, through the barracks...' (0204A.265)

uluu 'beside, next to'

- (22) Ahwmad **suona uluu** laatt
 Ahmed 1s.DAT next to stand.PRS
 Ahmed is standing next to me.
- (23) **Gourazhta uluu**='a veanna vuodazh my vii jer ...
 horse.PL.DAT nearby=& V.go.CVant V.go.CVsim EMPH V.be.PRS=Q 3s
 He had been riding alongside them ... ('He was going along having come up
alongside of the horses') (0398B.1)

t'ie 'on, onto' is the uncliticized form of =*t'y* (§17.1.1). No longer much used by itself (no examples in the corpus), it is the base for ablative *t'iera* in (11)- (16) above. It is lexicalized in several place names that are locative (§8.3.8): *T'eamasht'ie*, *Oaljgat'ie*, *Engart'ie*, *Cxaralt'ie*, *Geant'ie* (highland towns), *Surxoxat'ie* (lowland town) (the gazetteer of Mal'sagov 1963:142-150 lists several others).

¹⁴⁹ With compound-like prosody: [dɛnc^əhà], not *[dɛncɹh^ə]. The *hwa* must be the same root as the deictic prefix, so the sense of the whole is 'since (then) up to now'. To my knowledge *hwa* does not otherwise function as an adverb but only as a verb prefix.

There are two postpositions ending in *-hw(a)* which looks like the locative postpositional suffix. The root of the first is evidently that of *t'ie* 'on, onto'. The orthography writes the final schwa, but the vowel is short, so if the root is actually {*t'ie*} there is no phonological schwa.

t'ehw(a) 'after, behind' and other local and benefactive uses. This word is classed as an adverb in Kurkiev 2004, but the following examples show that it can also be a postposition, governing the genitive of nouns and the dative of personal pronouns.

- (24) Hwa dea c'i iircha-jaargjy, hwa c'en **t'ehwa**
 2s.GEN father.GEN name ugly-J.VZ.FUT.J 2s.GEN house.GEN after
 berkat='a xurgdaac
 abundance=& be.FUT.D.NEG

Your father's name will be dishonored, there will be no abundance in your house.
 (Dumézil 1936)

- (25) Mexka **t'ehwa** dii_hwuona je hama hwa-die ghertazh
 land.GEN for um DEM thing DX-D.do.INF try.CVsim
 voallazh sag var
 V.PROG.CVsim person V.be.PST

He was a person who made efforts to do this for his country. (0542)

- (26) So chy-iiqqaacha legjolazh jar yz suona **t'ehwa**
 1s in-jump.PPL.OBL die.FUT.J.CVsim J.be.PST 3s 1s.DAT after
 She was eager ('dying') to go anywhere I went ('jumped, rushed').

dehw(a) 'on the other side, across, over (to the far side)'. This word is most often an adverb, but sometimes occurs with the comparison case as a postposition:

- (27) cq'a xil **dehwa** boalacha xaana
 once water.CSN across B.go.PPL.OBL time
 once when (they) were crossing a river ... (0219A.2)

duhwa 'for, on behalf of' may be etymologically an adverbial form of a gender variant of *juhw* 'face' (§7.3.3). It takes the genitive:

- (28) Muusaaz **sy** **duhwa** dyr yz.
 Musa.ERG 1s.GEN for D.do.WP 3s
 Musa did that for me.

- (29) Aaz Ahwmada **duhwa** dyr yz.
 1s.ERG A.GEN for D.do.WP 3s
 I did it for Ahmed.
- (30) hwaai Deala **duhwa**, Peixamara **duhwa**
 2sRFL.GEN God.GEN for Prophet.GEN for
 for God's sake, for the Prophet's sake
- (31) Cq'azaa oaxa oaxozh='a hwa-viexar
 sometimes 1pEX.ERG 1pEX.RFL.ERG=& DX-V.call.IMPF
 yz txoi niis-denna dosh niisa dy-daac xaara **duhwa**.
 DEM 1pEX.DAT find-D.VZ.CVant word right D.is-D.isn't know.VN.GEN for
 Sometimes we would call him ourselves to find out whether some form we'd come
 across was right or not. (0531.08)

and it compounds with the oblique stem of the demonstrative: *cuduhwa* 'therefore', lit. 'for that'. (*Cu-* has archaic original vocalism and not restressed clitic vocalism in this form.)

17.1.3. *Relational nouns*. Etymologically, these are oblique or adverbial forms of nouns, with such endings as the adverbial local/directional *-hw* and adverbial *-ie*. Most take the genitive or dative. Those synchronically easily recognized as nouns are most likely to take the genitive, and such PP's are structurally identical to possessive NP's.

duhwal 'against' is an adverbial form of *duhwa* (see just above). (The *-l* is an old suffix that forms various adverb forms of nouns, e.g. *xil(a)* '(in the) water', as well as the comparison case. See §16.1.2.)

- (32) Ahwmad suona duhwal laatt
 Ahmed 1s.DAT opposite stand.PRS
 Ahmed is standing facing me.
- (33) Caarna duhwal q'ousam loatta-bie bieza massanie='a.
 3p.DAT against dispute stand-B.CS.INF B.should everyone.ERG=&
 Everyone should oppose these things. ('raise a dispute against them') (0380A.28)

mettel/mettal 'instead of' is an adverbial form of *mott* 'place'; it takes the genitive:

- (34) Oaxa kuofie mettel chei malar.
 1p.ERG coffee.GEN instead tea drink.WP
 We drank tea instead of coffee.

jixie 'near' (etymologically, an adverbial form of *jux* 'back, rear', with semantic change)

- (35) **Txuona jixie** vaax yz
 1pEX.DAT near V.live.PRS 3s
 He lives near us.
- (36) cwa **nittazhta jixie** dwa my qaachanjehw
 one nettle.PL.DAT near DX EMPH arrive.CVjust
 as soon as they came up close to some nettles ... (0409)

jiq'ie 'in the middle, among, amidst, between' (adverbial form of *juq'* 'middle, center')

- (37) gaaza ... **nittazhta jiq'ie** jexaai joax
 goat nettle.PL.DAT among J.go.NW.J QUOT
 ... the goat ran over **into the nettles**. (0409)
- (38) deana=ji vowaa=ji jiq'ie
 father.DAT=& son.DAT=& between
 between father and son

jistie 'next to, beside, at the edge of' (an adverbial form of *jist* 'edge')

- (39) **xin jistie** ullacha xenna t'ehwazhka
 water.GEN edge lie.PPL.OBL tree:FOC.DAT behind
 right behind a log lying **at the water's edge** (Frog)
- (40) so **jurta jistie** wat'y='a qeachar
 1s town.ADV edge DX=on=& arrive.WP
 I got to the edge of town

ghonie 'since, ever since'. An opaque word but evidently not a simple root. Most often it is used with a temporal converb, i.e. as a subordinator:

- (41) ciga hwa-viecha **ghonie**
 there DX-V.come.CVtemp since
 ever since he had come there
- (42) shie sa+qietarg xalcha **ghonie** den+hwa yz mott
 3sRFL become_aware.NZ be.CVtemp since since+DX DEM language
 diezazh='a, yz mott loarhazh='a ... sag vy yz
 D.love.CVsim=&, DEM language respect.CVsim=& person V.be.PRS 3s

Ever since he first became conscious he was a person who loved and respected the language. (0531.08)¹⁵⁰

chuhwanahw 'inside (of), internal to' (also an adverb, as in (44))

- (43) **T'exkaa chuhwanahw** t'um joall.
bone.DAT inside marrow J.be contained.PRS
There is marrow inside a bone. Inside of a bone is marrow.

- (44) Mashen **chuhwanahw** jy.
car inside J.be.PRS
The car is inside. (adverb)

t'ehwanahw 'outside (of), external to; on top of'

- (45) **Caarna t'ehwanahw** jolazh shi kaloshka jar
3p.DAT on top J.be.CVsim two boot J.be.PST
On top of them were two boots. (0776)

hwaamar(a) 'for, to' (chiefly in toasting). Opaque, but too long to be underived.

- (46) **Hwa hwaamar** dwamol aaz
2s.GEN for DX-drink 1s
I drink to you. I toast you. (Proposing a toast.)

bahwancie 'because of, due to' takes the nominative (cf. the more common *bahwan dolazh*, also with nominative, below). Derived from *bahwan* 'reason'.

- (47) Easet **shii bierazh bahwancie** zhieral jaaghar
(name) 3SRFL.GEN child.PL because_of widow.ADV J.sit.IMP
Easet did not remarry but stayed single for her children.¹⁵¹

- (48) **Yz bahwancie** caar ealcha sanna xet suona.
3s because_of 3p.ERG say.CVtemp as seem 1s.DAT
I think that's why they said it. I think that's what they meant.

¹⁵⁰ The identical phrase *shie saqietarjg xalcha ghonie* also occurs in the newspaper *Serdaluo* online (www.ingush.ru/serdalo177_2.asp). It describes not the onset of consciousness in infancy but full social self-awareness around age 15 or 16.

¹⁵¹ *zhieral jaagha* 'remain single, not remarry' (of woman after divorce or widowhood). If a woman remarries her children stay with their father's clan; if she stays single they stay with her.

t'ehwagh(a) 'after'. Comparative of *t'ehwa* 'after, behind', and literally means 'later (than)'. It takes the comparison case.

- (49) **cul t'ehwagh**
 DEM.CSN after
 'after that', i.e. 'then, next'

It is often used with nominalized verbs:

- (50) yz **chaq-veannachyl t'ehwagh**
 3s through-V.go.PPL.NZ.CSN after
 after he finished

hwalxa 'ahead, in front, before; ago'

- (51) Cwa butt **hwalxa** vaa='a viena
 one month ago V.RED=& V.come.CVant
 (he) came a month ago and ... (0418.20)

- (52) Duqqa zaamaa **hwalxa** xannad yz.
 much.FOC time.DAT ago be.NW.D 3s
 It happened long ago.

17.1.4. *Deverbal postpositions*. These are lexicalized converbs and govern the same case as the verb does. That they are lexicalized as postpositions and do not function syntactically as converbs is shown by the fact that in contexts requiring the sequential converb (§13.8.3) *leacaa* and *duuzadenna* 'about' usually retain their fixed form as anterior converbs and only infrequently change to sequential converbs.

leacaa 'about, concerning, in connection with'. Anterior converb of 'catch'.

- (53) Heata Cagienaga **cogh leacaa** hama dwa cy oalie='a ...
 though Cagen.ALL 3s.LAT about (any)thing DX NEG say.CVseq
 Though they didn't say anything about it to Cagen ... (CDD 26)
- (54) **Hwaai deagh leacaa** duuca hama daga+doaghii hwuona?
 2SRFL.GEN father.LAT about D.talk.INF (any)thing remember.PRS=Q 2s.DAT
 Do you remember anything you can tell us about your father? (0223B.7)

d.ealcha 'at, in, after' (with times, especially clock times and years). Temporal converb of *d.oal* 'go' (delimited or ingressive), lit 'when ... has come/gone'.

(55) Vorh sahwat **dealcha** tika dwa-q'oul
 seven hour store DX-close
 The store closes at 7:00.

(56) Txo pxi' **dealcha** c'a+daxar
 1pEX five home+D.go.WP
 We went home at 5:00.

(57) Pxi' **dealcha** so muq'a vy
 five 1s free V.be.PRS
 I'm free at 5:00.

qaacchalca 'up to, until, as far as'. 'Until' converb of *qoach* 'arrive'.

(58) **Tq'ea=ji bareittlaghcha shera qaacchalc** latinskii mettal
 20=& 18.ORD.OBL year.GEN until Latin language.ADV
 leattaad vai yz joazuu
 stand.NW.D 1pIN.GEN DEM script
 Our script was in Latin (letters) **until 1938**. (0392A.41)

d.oaca, d.oacazh 'without, lacking'. Participle or simultaneous converb of *d.aac* 'isn't', thus, 'not being'.

(59) txou-k'iilie joacazh
 roof-floor J.be.CVsim
 without shelter, homeless

(60) daa-naana doaca bierazh
 father-mother D.be.PPL child.PL
 orphans ('children without parents')

(61) bexk boacazh
 fault B.be.CVsim
 innocent ('without fault')

dyllacha 'concerning, as concerns; according to, in the view of'. Temporal converb of 'put'.

(62) Hwuoga **dyllacha** yshta dy, suoga dyllacha veshta dy
 2s.ALL this D.be 1s.ALL otherwise D.be.PRS
 In your view it's this way, in my view it's otherwise.

- (63) diezalga **dyllacha** (pause) (diezal dezh my dii yz), myshta
 family.ALL family D.do.CVsim EMPH D.PROG=Q 3s how
 daa xannuu
 father be.NW.V
 concerning his family (and he did have a family) and what kind of father he was ...
 (0531)

d.uuza-d.änna 'in connection with, as a result of' (D.join-D.INCP.CVant 'connected'); takes instrumental (thus, 'connected with'):

- (64) ezdielaca='a, saabarca='a, ezdii waadatazhca='a **duuzadenna** hamaazh
 courtesy.INS=& reserve.INS=& noble custom.PL.INS=& connected thing.PL
 things connected with (traditional Ingush) courtesy, reserve, and customary law (0379)
- (65) Ghalghaai mettaca duqqa='a hamaazh dy duuca jish
 Ingush language.INS many:FOC thing.PL D.be.PRS D.tell.INF possibility
 jolazh bagaghbuucamca **duuzadenna**
 J.be.CVsim folklore.INS connected
 There are many things in the Ingush language that can be told about connected to
 folklore. (2002.1)

17.1.5. *Complex postpositions.* These are phrases in origin, lexicalized as postpositions.

bahwan dolazh 'because of, due to' (cf. the less common *bahwancie*, above), lit. 'having (as) reason, reason being'.

- (66) Yz boaxam **bahwan dolazh** q'uusaluzh by yzh
 DEM property reason D.be.CVsim dispute.CVsim B.be.PRS 3p
 They're disputing about the land. ('They're disputing, land being the reason')
- (67) Muusaaz Ahwmad **bahwan dolazh** dyr yz
 Musa.ERG Ahmed reason D.be.CVsim D.do.WP 3s
 Musa did that for Ahmed.

dwa mel iiqqaar /dwa mal iiqqaar/ 'except, all but'. An idiomatic phrase {DX how_many burst/rush.CV.NZ} meaning literally 'those that rushed/tore off' or 'however many rushed/tore off' ({*ieqq*} 'jump, burst, rush (away), bolt'). In its non-postpositional function this is an incipient lexicalization meaning 'all, absolutely all, everyone'. In its postpositional use it takes the ablative (in origin this ablative was the source point of motion).

- (68) Berrigazh='a aara-beilar, cwanniegara **dwa mel iiqqaar**

B.all.PL =& out-B.go:PL.WP one.NZ.ABL

All but one of them went out. They all left except for one. (7D)

17.1.6. *Postposed particle* to certain postpositions: *gholla* 'along'. This word is not a postposition itself, as it does not govern a case and does not affect the case government of the postposition it is attached to. It is used when motion along some line or trajectory is at issue (see §17.2.1), and more generally as a marker of location. It can be postposed to a postposition, adverb, or converb, but apparently not to bare cases.

- (69) Muusaa jist cy xulazh **jixie gholla** wa-t'ix-vealar.

M. speak NEG LV.CV near along down-pass-V.go.WP

Musa went by without saying a word. ...without saying hello, without speaking.

- (70) Txo **nouq'a gholla** hwa-doaghazh, Muusaa kog='a leizhaa wa-viezhar.

1p road.ADV along DX-come.CVsim Musa leg=& slip.CVant DX-V.fall.WP

As we were walking along, Musa slipped and fell.

- (71) Bwiexal **leatta gholla** teq.

snake earth.ADV along crawl.PRS

The snake crawls along the ground.

- (72) cwa xa jeannacha **gholla**

one time J.pass.CVtemp along

when some time has passed; when it's been awhile

- (73) Cu loamagh **gholla** pxoragh dwa-buodazh niq' by

DEM.OBL mountain.ADV along sideways DX-B.go.CVsim road B.PROG

Across this mountain runs a road ... (0392B.1)

17.1.7. *Postposed words with scope but no valence*. See §23.1 for *muo* and *sanna*, both 'like, as', which have a noun or NP in their scope and follow it, but do not assign case to it.

17.1.8. *Adverbs*. There are other forms which are not postpositions but are often functional or translation equivalents to adpositions in English. These include incorporable local adverbs such as *aara* 'outside, outdoors; out', *ura* 'upright', *uragha* 'upwards, up', and verbal prefixes (see §15.5.3).

- (74) Kiema chaxka ghattie **uragha-juoda**.

plane fast fly_up.CVseq **upwards**-J.go.PRS

The plane rises fast. (Prefix. Note nuclear chaining of *ghattie* and *juoda*.)

- (75) Muusaaz **uragha** top tiexar.
 Musa.ERG up rifle strike.WP
 Musa shot upwards. Musa shot (up) into the air. (Adverb.)

17.2. Morphosyntax of postpositions

17.2.1. *Local functions.* The cliticized postpositions can generally be used in both location and goal functions with no change in their form or case government. They take the additional ablative suffix to mean motion away from or out of.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Origin point</i>
=chy	=chy	=chy-ra
=t'y	=t'y	=t'y-ra
=k'al	=k'al	=k'al-ara

- (76) Cysjk jaashjkaa=chy ull
 cat box.DAT=in lie
 The cat is lying in the box.
- (77) Cysjk jaashjkaa=chy qossa-dalar
 cat box.DAT=in jump-D.INCP.WP
 The cat jumped into the box.
- (78) Cysjk jaashjkaa=chyra aara-iiqqar
 cat box.DAT=in.ABL out-jump.WP
 The cat ran out of the box.

(For examples of location, goal, and origin functions of all local postpositions see Chapter 22.)

The clitic postpositions can also take postposed *-gholla* 'along' (§17.1.6), usually written and pronounced as one word with them.

- (79) loamie=t'y-gholla wa-k'al-vaxar [loámie t'ỳgholl^ə]
 stairs.ADV=on-along down-under-V.go.WP
 (he) went downstairs (HRJ)
- (80) loamie=t'y-gholla hwal-vaxar
 stairs=on-along up-V.go.WP
 (he) went upstairs (HRJ)

Postpositions such as *jixie* 'near', *jiq'ie* 'between, among, amidst', *maghaw* 'upstream, up', *eghaw* 'downstream, down' add *gholla* when motion along, through, or past is involved:

- (81) Muusaa suona jixie-gholla dwa-vaxar
 Musa 1s.DAT near-along DX-V.go.WP
 Musa passed by me. Musa went along by me. (HRJ)
- (82) Cysjk geanzhta jiq'ie-gholla dwa-dadar
 cat tree.PL.DAT among-along DX-D.run.WP
 The cat ran off between the trees. The cat ran off through the trees. (HRJ)
- (83) Cysjk jaashjkaa jiq'ie-gholla chaq-iiqqar
 cat box.DAT in_middle-along through-dash.WP
 The cat ran through the box. (The elicitation picture showed a cardboard box open at both ends.) (HRJ)

17.2.2. *Prefixation and incorporation.* For adverbs that can be incorporated see §15.5.3. This section deals primarily with postpositions that can be incorporated.

17.2.2.1. *Free variation.* Some postpositions, both clitic and non-clitic, can be incorporated as prefixes with little or no difference in meaning. When the postposition migrates to prefixal position, its former object remains in the dative case. A postposition has secondary stress, but when incorporated as a prefix it has primary stress.

k'al 'under':

- (84) Cyskj **istuolaa k'al** iiqqar [IP istuolaa k'al]
 cat table.DAT under run.WP
 The cat ran under the table. (HRJ 131)
- (85) Cyskj istuolaa **k'al-iiqqar** [IP k'al 'iiqqar]
 cat table.DAT under-run.WP
 id. (HRJ)
- (86) Muusaz kinashkja **istuolaa k'al** wa-dillar
 Musa.ERG book table.DAT under DX-D.put.WP
 id. (HRJ)
- (87) Muusaz kinashkja istuolaa **wa-k'al-dillar**
 Musa.ERG book table.DAT DX-under-D.put.WP
 Musa put the book under the table. (HRJ)

dehwa 'behind, across' :

- (88) Doaqqā zhwālii bwarjga+deicha, Muusaa kartaa **dwa-dehwa-iiqqar**.
 D.big dog eye+D.see.CVtemp M fence.DAT DX-over-jump.WP
 When Musa saw a big dog he jumped over the fence.
- (89) Muusaa neaq'aa **dehwa-voalazh** lora-lu.
 Musa road.DAT across-V.go.CVsim be careful-INCP.PRS
 Musa is very cautious when crossing the street.
- (90) Jett bettaa **dwa-dehwa-iiqqar**.
 cow moon.DAT DX-across-jump.WP
 The cow jumped over the moon

More work is needed to determine under what conditions postpositions are incorporated. Examples such as (91)-(92) indicate that nominalization of the verb favors incorporation, since =*t'y* is proclitic to the nominalized participles in (92) but not to the finite verb in (91).

- (91) Suona **t'y** duqa dieqarazh dy
 1s.DAT on many debt.PL D.be.PRS
 I have many debts. I have many obligations. (cf. also (2), (8), (9) in §17.1.1)
- (92) Shiina **t'y=doacar** lielader shiina **t'y=der**
 3sRFL.DAT on-D.be:NEG.PPL.NZ be occupied.NZ 3sRFL.DAT on-D.be.NZ
 lieladie my vaaxalvy
 occupied.INF NEG V.live.OPT.V
 May he who messes with others' business not live to manage his own. (Proverb)

17.2.2.2. *Lexicalized prefixation.* The clitic postpositions =*chy* and =*t'y* also occur as prefixes in lexicalized combinations which do not allow postpositional use. These always seem to have specialized and not entirely compositional meanings, which could not be preserved if the prefix were turned into a postposition.

- (93) xii dott
 water D.stack.PRS
 'draws water (from tap), fills (vessel) with water'
- (94) xii chy-dott
 water in-D.stack.PRS
 'pours water (from vessel), dumps water'

17.2.3. *Postposition-prefix doubling.* =*chy* 'in' and =*t'y* 'onto, at' can occur twice in the same clause as both postposition and prefix. In all such examples where the meaning has been carefully checked, the prefix is lexicalized. This is not true doubling (copying of the postposition to prefixal position) but accidental identity of the (lexicalized) prefix with the postposition that happens to be required by the semantics of the construction. This doubling could not be elicited for any postpositions other than *chy* and *t'y*. Text examples:

- (95) Cy=**chy chy**-dexkar txo.
 there=in in-D.put:PL.WP 1pEX
 That's where they put us up. (0776)
- (96) cy soaluozaa=**t'y** cha **t'y**=*'a* dettaa
 DEM.OBL sledge.DAT=on straw on=& D.load.CVant
 loaded hay on the sledge (0776)

Elicited examples with and without doubling:

- (97) Cuo viedraa=**chy** xii **chy**-dettar
 3s.ERG bucket=in water in-D.pour.WP
 He poured water into the bucket [from some other vessel] (HRJ)
- (98) Cuo viedraa=**chy** xii dettar
 3s.ERG bucket=in water D.pour.WP
 He filled the bucket with water. He drew water (from the tap) into the bucket.
- (99) Cysjk jaashkjaa=**chy chy**-qossa-dalar
 cat box=in in-jump-D.INCP.WP
 The cat jumped into the box. (HRJ)
- (100) Cyskj jaashkjaa=**chy** qossa-dalar
 cat box=in jump-D.INCP.WP
 id. (HRJ)
- (101) Ch'iegaa=**chy** dwoagha dwa=**chy**-dolla.
 lock.DAT=in key DX=in-D.put.IMPV
 Put the key in the lock. Insert the key into the lock.
- (102) Muusaaz tika=**chy** mashen dwa=**chy**-tiexar
 M.ERG store.DAT=in car DX=in -strike.WP
 Musa drove a car into a store. Musa ran into a store with his car.

- (103) Cysjk istuolaa=**t'y** wa=**t'y**-qossa-dalar
 cat table.DAT=on down=on-jump-D.INCP.WP
 The cat jumped (down) onto the table (from someplace above). (HRJ)
- (104) Cysjk istuolaa=**t'y** qossa-dalar
 cat table.DAT=on jump-D.INCP.WP
 The cat jumped onto the table. (HRJ)
- (105) Muusaaz zhwalii mashienaa=**t'y** hwal=**t'y**-deaqqar.
 Musa.DAT dog car.DAT=on up=on-D.take.WP
 Musa put the dog up on the truck. (HRJ)

17.2.4. *Adjectives derived from postpositions.* The adjective-forming suffix *-ra* can be added to postpositions and adverbs (s.a. §18.11). (In origin these forms are ablatives of adverbs.)

- (106) yz **k'alara** leatta
 DEM under-ADJ earth
 the ground underneath, the underneath ground
- (107) **Geanarcha** veshel **jixiera** loalaxuo tol
 far-ADJ.OBL brother.CSN near-ADJ neighbor surpass.PRS
 A nearby neighbor is better than a distant brother. (Proverb)

CHAPTER 18

FUNCTIONS OF CASES AND ADPOSITIONS

The morphology of the regular inflectional cases is described in Chapter 6. This chapter describes the syntactic functions of those cases as well as the basic adverb that is formed from many nouns and the secondary cases (ablative, locative) that are occasionally formed from some nouns and more often from personal pronouns. Arguments are labeled A (subject of transitive), S (subject of intransitive), O (object of monotransitive), G and T (goal-like and theme-like objects of ditransitives) (for these labels see §21.1).

18.1. Nominative

18.1.1. Citation form. Dictionaries and unstudied natural usage cite nominal words in the nominative case. Bare NP's are rarely used alone in natural speech (they are usually accompanied by a verb: see §5.10.9), but in (1) a connoisseur of the language reads aloud an archaic word from his alphabetized list, then defines it. (--- marks pauses.)

- (1) **Hwuka** --- **hwuka jaaxar** --- ustagh by --- muora, yshta bos
hwuka call.PPL.NZ sheep B.be.PRS brown, so color
 boa, muora. Muora bos boa ustagh by hwuka.
 B.be.PPL gray gray color B.be.PPL sheep B.be *hwuka* (0395B)

Hwuka. A "*hwuka*" is a sheep – brown, brown in color. A *hwuka* is a brown sheep.

Jaaxar, the nominalized participle of 'say, call', is literally 'the one called' or 'what's called'. It serves as the equivalent of quotation marks, identifying mentioned words. See §20.9, §26.5. In (2), nominalized verbs in the nominative serve as a natural citation form for verbs.

- (2) "**Hwisap dar**", yz='a warbii dosh my dii,
 analysis D.do.NZ 3s=& Arabic word EMPH D.be=Q
 "**mawan daaqqar**", yz vai dosh dy, diecii?
 meaning D.take.NZ 3s 1pIN.GEN word D.be.PRS D.be.PRS.NEG=Q

Hwisap dar 'analyze', that's an Arabic word, but *mawan daaqqar* 'interpret', that's our own word, isn't it? (0392A.41)

18.1.2. Subject of intransitive verb (S). *Hwuka* in the last clause of (1) is an example. Other examples are (3)-(5).

- (3) **Yz** dwa-vaxar
3s DX-V.go.WP
He left. (0201)
- (4) **Yz** wa-vyzhaav
3s down-V.fall.NW.V
He fell down.
- (5) **So** Kazaxstaanie jeai
1s Kazakhstan.ADV J.be born.NW.J
I was born in Kazakhstan.¹⁵²

18.1.3. *Subject of semitransitive verb (A=S)*

- (7) **Wa** fy du hwozhagvy **so**
2s.ERG what D.do look.FUT.V 1s
I'll watch what you do. (0392B)
- (8) **So** zhwalegh qer
1s dog.LATpl fear
I'm afraid of dogs.

18.1.4. *Direct object of monotransitive verb (O) and ditransitive verb (T)*

- (9) **Cynna so** bwarjga+jeinii
3s.DAT 1s eye+J.see.NW.J
He saw me.
- (10) **Xivuo voda-veav so**
water.ERG V.run-V.CS.NW.V 1s
The current carried me away.
- (11) **Sy daaz cogh so** dwa-tiexar
1s.GEN father.ERG 3s.LAT 1s DX-strike.WP
My father put me in touch with him. ('connected me to him')
- (12) **Aaz Muusaai axcha** Sultaanaa dwa-dalar
1s.ERG M.GEN money S.DAT DX-D.give.WP
I gave Musa's money to Sultan.

¹⁵² Ambitransitive verb *d.u* 'give birth (A, O); be born (S)'.

18.1.5. *Predicate nominal*. *Ustagh* in the last clause of (1) is another example.

- (14) Yz cwa **bordz** jy
 3s one wolf J.be.PRS
 He's a wolf. (Flattering description of young man.)
- (15) Juunaza **k'eanjk** vii hwo?
 Junaz.GEN boy V.be.PRS=Q 2s
 Are you Junaz's son? (0240)

18.2. Genitive

18.2.1. *Adnominal*, both literal possessor and other adnominals.

- (16) Jer **sy** vosh vy
 3s 1s.GEN brother V.be.PRS
 He's my brother.
- (17) **Sy** kuorta laza-bealar
 1s.GEN head hurt.INF-B.INCP.WP
 My head started to ache. I got a headache.
- (18) **meaqa** ch'iegaljg
 bread.GEN piece.DIM
 (small) piece of bread (0223B.7)
- (19) **ghalghai** mott
 Ingush.GENpl language
 the Ingush language
- (20) **desha** mawan
 word.GEN meaning
 the word's meaning
- (21) Txy daaz **qaalsaga** c'i jeaqqaajaac
 1pEX.GEN father.ERG woman.GEN name J.mention.NW.J.NEG
 My father never called women by name (never uttered a woman's name). (0409.22)

18.2.2. *Subject of verbs of possession* (and pseudopossessive verbs: deponent possessive with former nominative as first element of compound verb).

- (22) Sa+duq' sy ciga
 stifle.PRS 1s.GEN there
 I can't breathe there. (It's stifling in there.) ('Stifle' is *sa+d.uq'* soul+D.dry out', and the genitive, here *sy*, is the stranded former possessor of *sa*.)
- (23) Qy hama daacar sy cu=t'y dwa=t'y-tuoxa
 any more anything D.be:NEG.PST 1s.GEN DEM=on DX=on-add.INF
 I don't have anything to add to it. (0542)

More work is required to know whether examples like (24)-(27) involve external possession or simply extraction (§30.5), word order changes separating the possessor and the head noun. Whatever they are, the case is genitive as in regular adnominal possession:

- (24) K'eanjk vyssaav sy
 boy V.remain.NW.V 1s.GEN
 My son has been left behind. My son is lost. (0240A)
- (25) Noaghuo jaaxazh siesag jar cyn
 (name) call.CVsim wife J.be.PST 3s.GEN
 His wife's name was Noaghuo. (He had a wife named Noaghuo.) (0531.08)
- (26) Handz cwa ch'woagha taamashnie gha deinad ealar wa,
 now one very interesting dream D.see.NW.D say.WP 2s.ERG
 myshta dar hwa yz?
 how D.be.PST 2s.GEN 3s
 You said you recently had a very interesting dream – what was it? (0395A)
- (27) Aara-doalazh, hama hwa-ieca, hama k'alxara-jaaqqa='a
 out-D.go.CVsim anything DX-take.INF anything save-J.VZ.INF=&
 eattuu bealarii shun?
 success B.go.WP=Q 2p.GEN
 When we left, did you manage to take anything with you, to save anything? (0776)

18.3. Dative

18.3.1. *Indirect object* (G), especially with verbs of contact and physical transfer and where the sense is at all close to benefactive (as in (31)). (Indirect objects with verbs of communication, etc. are mostly in the allative.) For more examples see §21.2.8.

- (28) Daaz **Muusaina** kinashjka dwa-dalar
 father.ERG M.DAT book DX-D.give.WP
 Father gave the book back to Musa.
- (29) Aaz **cynna** soughat dalar
 1s.ERG 3s.DAT gift D.give.WP
 I gave **him/her** a present.
- (30) Daaz=ji naanaz=ji **suona** axcha quhwiit
 father.ERG=& mother.ERG=& 1s.DAT money send:PLC.PRS
 My parents send **me** money.
- (31) Naaxaga dwa cy hwoqazh **shoazhta** wa-jaazdie
 people.ALL DX NEG show.CVsim 2pRFL.DAT down-write-D.VZ.IMPF
 Even if you don't write it down for others, write it down **for yourselves**. (0380A.13)
- (32) Borghaluo **bieraa** zwok tiexar
 rooster.ERG child.DAT beak strike.WP
 The rooster pecked the **child**.
- (33) Muusaaz loalaxuo qieravie eanna **Ahwmadaa** jiittar
 M.ERG neighbor fear-V.CS.INF SUB A.DAT J.hit.WP
 Musa hit **Ahmed** in order to scare his neighbor.
- (34) Hana tiexar wa **suona**?
 why strike.WP 2s.ERG 1s.DAT
 Why did you shoot at **me**? (0418.36)
- 18.3.2. Oblique object of semitransitive verbs such as hwozh 'look' (A=Nom, O=Dat) and its derivatives, hwoasta-lu (A=Nom, O=Dat) 'beg, wheedle', qiet 'strike, collide', and others.*
- (35) T'aaqqa, **suona** chy=hwazhacar ealar
 so then 1s.DAT search.NEG.WP say.WP
 They didn't search **me** (he said). (0201A)
- (36) Cysjk **Waishietaa** hwoasta-dalar
 cat Aishet.DAT wheedle-D.INCP.WP
 The cat begged **Aisha** for food (rubbed against her legs, etc.).
- (37) Aftamaat qiittii **cynna**
 machine gun hit.NW.J 3s.DAT
 The machine gun hit **him**. He was hit by machine gun fire.

18.3.3. *Subject of psychological verbs* (cognition, perception, modality). For examples of modal verbs see §25.13.

- (38) Qy hama xaac **suona** cogh
 any more anything know:NEG.PRS 1s.DAT 3s.LAT
 That's all I know about him. I don't know anything else about him.
- (39) Voudz **suona**, yz='a voudz
 V.know.PRS 1s.DAT 3s=& V.know.PRS
 I know him, I know him too. (0246B)
- (40) **Suona** hwo bwarjga+gu
 1s.DAT 2s eye+see.PRS
 I (can) see you.
- (41) **Suona**=m qy daga+daaghac yz
 1s.DAT=FOC any more remember.LV.NEG 3s
 I don't remember any more of it. That's all I remember of it. (0409)

18.3.4. *Subject of inceptive verb* (where the subject of the corresponding non-inceptive verb is non-nominative: see §§15.3, 21.3).

- (42) **Suona** je kampjuutar hwal-soga-lyc
 1s.DAT DEM computer up-light-INCP.NEG
 I can't start the computer up.
- (43) **Txuona** lata-luddaac caarca
 1pEX.DAT fight-INCP.FUT.D.NEG 3p.INS
 We can't fight with them. (0201A.3)

18.3.5. *Object of many postpositions*. See Chapter 17.

18.4. Ergative

18.4.1. *Subject of canonical monotransitive or ditransitive* (A=Ergative, O=Nominative; A = Ergative, G=Dative, T=Nominative): see examples in §§18.1.4, 18.3.1 above.

18.4.2. *Subject of pseudotransitive* (deponent monotransitive developed from a former ditransitive, with former nominative T as preverb and allative former G as synchronic O):

- (44) **Waishietaz** neanaga la+duugh.
 Aisha.ERG mother.ALL listen.PRS
 Aisha listens to her mother. Aisha obeys her mother.

La+duugh is 'ear + D.put:PLC'. *La* is the root of the independent noun *larjg* 'ear'. It is the former direct object (and the frozen gender of *d.uugh* was once agreement with 'ear'). *Neanaga*, now the O of 'listen' in (44), is the former indirect object.

18.5. Allative

18.5.1. *Indirect object* (G). Most verbs of communication and transmission take allative indirect objects. (31) above is another example.

- (45) Boqq'ala, dwa-aalal hwaai **cynga** ...
 please DX-say.IMPVmild 2SRFL/MIR 3s.ALL
 Please tell **him** ... (PL 1.4)
- (46) Yz ax *bulka* meaq bie='a jellaa ... hwa='t'y='a viena
 DEM half loaf bread hand.ADV=& J.insert.CVant DX-at=& V.come.CVant
cynga hwa-qouda-jyr.
 3s.ALL DX-reach-J.CS.WP
 He took the half loaf, came up, and handed it **to him**. (0395A.31)
- (47) Aaz **wedalaga** lotq'a-veavar yz
 1s.ERG government.ALL complain-V.CS.PNW 3s
 I filed a complaint against him. I lodged a complaint against him **with the authorities**.
- (48) Studentuo keaxata='t'y dea ghaalatazh aaz **shiiga**
 student.ERG paper=on D.do.PPL mistake.PL 1s.ERG 3SRFL.ALL
 dwa-hwieqacha hwuona ...
 DX-show.CVtemp 2s/MIR
 When I showed **her** mistakes made in a student's paper ... (0379B)
- Hwuoq* 'show' can take either allative (examples just above) or dative (in the sense 'point to'):
- (50) Q'amarsoltaz **Muusaaina** shii mashen dwa-hwieqar
 Q.ERG M.DAT 3SRFL.GEN car DX-show.WP
 Q'amarsolt showed Musa his car.

- (51) (**Osvaldaa** p'eljg t'y-hwoq)
 Oswald.DAT finger at-point.PRS
 (Points to **Oswald**) (PL 2.4, stage instructions)

18.5.2. *Oblique object*, e.g. with *luu* 'speak, scold' (A=Nominative, O=Allative)

- (52) **Hwanga** luu hwo? eannad
 who.ALL speak 2s say.NW.D
 "Who are you talking to?" he said. (0408)

18.5.3. *Causee* (with indirect causative verb), where it corresponds to a non-nominative argument of the base verb.

- (53) Aaz **hwuoga** yz dwa-xeitaddy
 1s.ERG 2s.ALL 3s DX-know-CSind.D.FUT
 I'll let you know. I'll inform you about it.
- (54) ...**suoga** *krishka* hwa='a jelliitaa
 1s.ALL top DX=& J.open.CSind.CVant
 ... he had me open the top (of the piano) ... (0542)
- (55) "Wa-qossa hwaai biera aftamaat" eanna,
 down-throw 2s.RFL.GEN hand.ABL machine gun say.CVant
cynga aftamaat wa='a qossiitaa ...
 3s.ALL machine gun DX=& throw.CSind.CVant
 I said "Drop your gun" and disarmed him ... (0207A.2)

Where the causee corresponds to a nominative S of the non-causative verb it remains nominative (O of the causative verb):

- (56) Aaz **qy-var** voxiiit
 1s.ERG another-V.NZ V.go-CSind
 I'll send someone else. (0408)

18.6. Instrumental

18.6.1. *Instrument, means*

- (57) Muusaaz **guonaca** hwaastam chy-tiexar
 M.ERG hammer.INS nail in-hit.WP
 Musa pounded the nail in with a **hammer**.

- (58) T'aaqqa, **lispiedaca** voaghazh cwa k'eanjk var
 so then bicycle.INS V.come.CVsim one boy V.be.PST
 Then a boy came by on a **bicycle**. (Pears)
- (59) Hweaq'alcha merdza **deshaca** toam beab cuo
 intelligent.OBL sweet word.INS peace B.make.NW.B 3s.INS
 With intelligent, kind **words** he made peace. (Dumézil 1936)

18.6.2. Comitative

- (60) Yz **kegiicha naaxaca** waxeina vaagha
 3s young.OBL people.INS DX-sit.CVant V.sit.PRS
 He's sitting with the **young men**.
- (61) Muusaa cy qea voaqqa **sagaca** vaxar
 DEM.OBL three.OBL V.old person.INS V.go.WP
 Musa left with those three old **men**.

18.6.3. With verbs meaning 'interact with', 'converse with', etc. and a few others.

- (62) **cynca** q'ameal xannadar sy, Ghuraq-Marzii viwii **vowacaa**
 3s.INS conversation be.PNW.D 1s.GEN (name).GEN son.GEN son.INS
 I had a conversation with **him**, with Ghuraq-Marza's **grandson**. (0380A)
- (63) **Cynca** jahw jy sy.
 3s.INS envy J.be.PRS 1s.GEN
 I envy him.
- (64) Diishaa='a vy, **murdazhca** lielazh='a vy
 D.study.PPL=& V.be.PRS, murid.PL.INS associate=& V.be.PRS
 He has an education and belongs to a murid society (0408)
- (65) Hwo seina viezaragh wiinavar so **hwooca**
 2s 1sRFL.DAT V.respect.NZ.LAT stay.V.PNW 1s 2s.INS
 I stayed **with you** out of respect for you. (Nesar)

18.7. Lative

18.7.1. Oblique object

- (66) Sienagh vel hwo?
 what.LAT laugh 2s
 What are you laughing at? (PL 2.2)

- (67) Sho sienagh cec+duul?
2p what.LAT surprise+D.LV:PL.PRS
What are you surprised at?
- (68) Fy oal cynagh?
what say 3s.LAT
What's it called? What's his/her name?
- (69) **Caaregh** fy xalar-hwogh eanna so dwa-hwazhacha, ...
3p.LAT what be.WP=INTRSP SUB 1s DX-look.CVtemp
When I looked back to see what had happened **to them** (0238A.10)

18.7.2. *Second object* (T). *d.uz* 'fill' and a few others take a lative T and a nominative G.

- (70) Aaz k'udal **xigh** jyzar
1s.ERG jug water.LAT J.fill.WP
I filled the jug with water.
- (71) Aaz wajg **dashogh** qealar
1s.ERG spoon gold.LAT plate.WP
I gilded the spoon.

18.7.3. *Source*

- (72) daxchagh dea
wood.LAT D.make.PPL
made of wood
- (73) **Xigh** sha beab
water.LAT ice B.make.NW.B
The water froze. The water turned to ice. ('ice formed from the water')
- (74) Cigga shiina cwa ustagh bie='a biina, **cynagh** megag-joa
there:FOC 3sRFL.DAT one sheep B.RED=& B.kill.CVant 3s.LAT can.FUT -J.be.PPL
mearzhii hwa='a iicaa, Buruo='t'y wa-voala-veav yz.
part.PL DX=& take.CVant Vladikavkaz=on DX-V.go-V.CS.NW.V 3s
He slaughtered a sheep, took the appropriate parts **of it**, and they sent him to Vladikavkaz. (0409.22)
- (75) Hwuona boaghar uq **kuoragh** hwa-lubby hwuona
2s.DAT B.come.PPL.NZ DEM.OBL window.LAT DX-give.B.FUT 2s.DAT
You'll be given what's coming to you **from that window**.

- (76) T'aaqqa, yz handz suona **sienagh** daga+diexar ealcha, ...
 then 3s now 1s.DAT what.LAT remember-D.LV.WP say.CVant
 The reason I just remembered this is ... ('why I just remembered this is...') (0398B)

18.8. Comparison

The comparison case marks the standard of comparison, which is followed by an adjective, adverb, or nominalized participle in the comparative degree.

- (77) **saarmakal** unzaragh
 serpent.CSN terrible.CMP
 more terrible than a serpent (PL 1.4)
- (78) bwixaluo carjg **tuoxaral** duqqa xalagh
 snake.ERG tooth strike.VN.CSN much:FOC difficult.CMP
 much worse than a snake's **bite** (PL 1.4)
- (79) Je mashen vuoqa **mashienal** dearegh jy
 DEM car other car.CSN cheap.CMP J.be
 This car is less expensive than the other car.
- (80) Handz='a deara jaac so ucc'eazhta t'y-vaxaacha **neical** ieshazhagh
 now=& EMPH J.be.NEG 1s in-laws.DAT on-V.go.PPL.OBL son-in-law.CSN needy.CMP
 Even now I'm no worse off than a **son-in-law** who moves in with his in-laws. (Ucc')
- (81) **Saaghiil** dazagh hama daac
 charity.CSN D.heavy.CMP anything D.be:NEG
 Nothing is more important than **charity**.
- (82) T'aaqqa, je Xamax **massanel** kuragh='a, onddagh xannuu
 so then DEM (name) everyone.NZ.CSN proud.CMP=& strong.CMP be.NW.V
 Xamax was the proudest and strongest of all. (0231A)
- (83) ... hwuona **suonachyl** duqqa='a duqagh xazaaxuddy yz
 2s.DAT 1s.DAT.NZ.CSN much:FOC=& more hear-INFR.D 3s
 You must have heard much more about it than I have. (0415)
- (84) cu xaanara dar='a dikagh daga+doagha **handzchyl**
 DEM.OBL time.ABL D.NZ=& good.CMP remember+D.LV.PRS now.NZ.CSN
 Things from then I remember better than **today's**.

- (85) je **t'exkaral** maghie degh
 DEM belt.CSN above body
 the upper body ('the body above the belt') (0408)

A few adjectives or adverbs in the comparative case have become lexicalized as postpositions, and they govern the comparison case: *t'ehwagha* 'later', 'after', *sougha* 'in addition to, besides'. They can have a phrase as object a phrase:

- (86) **keaxatal** sougha dwa='a aala txo sienagh qer
 letter.CSN besides DX=& say.IMPV 1pEX what.LAT fear
 In addition to the **letter**, tell her what we fear. (PL 1.4)

- (87) **handzchyl** t'ehwagha
 now.CSN after
 'afterwards, later'

or a clause:

- (88) **xeinachyl** t'ehwagha
 know.PPL.NZ.CSN after
 after (he) found out (0207A)

- (89) bolx **beachyl** t'ehwagha
 work B.do.PPL.NZ.CSN after
 'after finishing work', 'after taking care of business'

- (90) so voaqq **xannachyl** t'ehwagh
 1s V.big be.PPL.NZ.CSN after
 'after I grew up' (0415)

- (91) butt **beannachyl** t'ehwagh
 month B.go.PPL.NZ.CSN after
 'a month later', 'after a month had passed' (0202)

- (92) Sibreggh **wa-daxaachyl** t'ehwagha
 Siberia.LAT DX-D.go.PPL.NZ.CSN after
 After we went to Siberia ...

- (93) weadala ghulaqie **xalaral** sougha ..
 government.GEN matter.ADV be.NZ.CSN besides
 In addition to being a civil servant, ... (0531)

Applied to a nominalized participle it can form a subordinate clause meaning 'rather than'.

- (94) Duqqa='a ruzq'a **xulachyl**, duqqa='a nax xalba sy
 much:FOC=& wealth be.PPL.NZ.CSN many:FOC=& people be.OPT 1s.GEN
 Better I should have a lot of people behind me than a lot of wealth. ('Rather than much
 wealth, may I have many people.')

It is used for the object of a few verbs with meanings such as 'defeat':

- (95) Sheil duqa-duqagha bolazh **moastaghel** kot='a boalazh ...
 3p.CSN many-many.CSN B.be.CVsim enemy.PL.CSN defeat=& B.LV.CVsim
 Defeating enemies much more numerous than themselves ... (7D)
- (96) Cwa hwazaljg bie geana='y daaghacha shin **hwazaljgal** tol.
 one bird hand.ADV tree.DAT=on D.sit.PPL.OBL two.OBL bird.CSN surpass
 A bird in the hand is worth more than two in the bush. ('One bird in hand beats two
 birds sitting in a tree.')

18.9. Adverb form

As described in §16.1.2, in many noun case paradigms one or another case form has a more or less lexicalized adverbial function, most often location or goal. Most frequently so lexicalized are the genitive (-a), lative (-gh), and comparison (-l(a)) cases.

- (96) **Koa** sag hwa=chy-vealcha, zhwalii wex.
 yard.ADV person DX=in-V.go.CVtemp, dog bark
 When anyone comes into the **yard**, the dog barks.
- (97) Txo Mochq'ii **jurta** deaxaa nax dy
 1pEX M.GEN town.ADV D.live.PPL people D.be.PRS
 We were Mochq'ii-jurt (a town) residents. (0418.36)
- (98) Vai **Sibriegha** wa-daxalie dar=q yz
 1pIN Siberia.ADV DX-D.go.cvbefore D.be.PST=CUM 3s
 It was before we went to **Siberia**. (0409.22)
- (99) cwa k'ira doallazhehw vai **Sibregh** wa='a digaa ...
 one week D.go: FOC.CVbefore 1pIN Siberia.ADV DX=& D.lead.CVant
 Less than a week later we were deported to **Siberia** ...

- (100) Cy neaq'aan yz **Gurzhegh** vaxaav
 DEM.OBL time.GEN 3s Georgia.ADV V.go.NW.V
 This time he went on to **Georgia**.

The adverb in *-l* is used chiefly with nouns denoting liquid and granular substances, and with a few others.

- (101) Zhwalii **xil** daxar
 dog water.ADV D.go.WP
 The dog went underwater. The dog sank **in the water**.

- (102) Hwaqa **xottal** kerchazh ull
 pig mud.ADV roll.CVsim lie
 The pig wallows in the **mud**.

- (103) Ghalghaai **mettal** duucal yz, hwa-aalal
 Ingush.GEN pl language.ADV D.tell.IMPV mild 3s DX-say.IMPV mild
 OK, go ahead and tell it in Ingush. (0380A)

18.10. Locative

A variant adverb form uses the ending *-hw(a)*, often added to the lative, thus *-gahw(a)*:

- (104) **Ghaanahw** luu hwo joax, somagh luu hwo?
 dream.LOC speak 2s say awake.ADV speak 2s
 "Are you talking **in your sleep** or awake?" she said. (0415)
- (105) Suona cwan **diinahw** itt dollar to'
 1s.DAT one.OBL day.LOC ten dollar suffice.PRS
 I can get by on ten dollars a **day**.
- (106) Shiracha **zaamalahw** geana xannad joax yz
 ancient.OBL time.LOC far be.NW.D QUOT 3s
 It is said to have happened long ago ('in an ancient **time**') and far away. (0206A)
- (107) Yz **kuoragahwa** hwa=chy-olla-janna ull
 3s window.ALL.LOC DX=in-hang-J.INCP.CVant lie
 She is leaning in through the **window**.

Adverbs of location in tribal or ethnic territories are formed by adding this locative ending to the lative plural of ethnonyms:

- (108) Ealan jow dwa-luzh **Chersazhkahw** ...
 prince.GEN daughter DX-give.CVsim Circassia.ADV
 The daughter of a prince (was) being married in Circassia. (0408)
- (109) Shii gouraa t'y='a xeina, xexkkaa **Noxhazhkahw**
 3SRFL.GEN horse.DAT on=& sit.CVant ride.CVant Chechnya
 vaxaav joax yz t'aaqqa
 V.go.NW.V QUOT 3s then
 He got on his horse and rode off to Chechnya. (0408)

18.11. Ablative

Another adverb form, the ablative, uses the ending *-ra* added to allative, locative, or other oblique forms.

- (110) Yz **ishkoliera** eqqa-vyr
 3s school.ADV-ABL jump-V.CS.WP
 He was expelled **from school**.
- (111) Muusaai **biera** kinashjkaazh wa-liigar
 M.GEN hand.ADV-ABL book.PL down-fall:PLC.WP
 The books fell **from** Musa's **hands**. Musa dropped the books.
- (112) Duqa xa joaccazh **Ispaniera** viena cwa turist var
 much time J.be:NEG.CVsim Spain.ABL V.come.CVant one tourist V.be.PST
 Not long ago there was a tourist from **Spain** (0206A)
- (113) yzh **Gurzhazhkara** wa-jeannajar
 3p Georgia.ADV-ABL DX-J.go.PNW.J
 They (all those things) came from **Georgia**. (0231A)
- (114) **Diezalcara** q'eastaa var
 family.INS-ABL separate V.be.PST
 I was separated from my family. (0776)

18.12. Adverb in *-ie / -ehw*

- (115) Mycha deaxaad sho **Kazaxstaanie?**
 where D.live.NW.D 2p Kazakhstan.ADV
 Where did you live in **Kazakhstan?** (0238A)
- (116) Dwadaxaacha shara **Neasarie** bolx bezh xalar so
 DX-D.go.PPL.OBL year.GEN Nazran.ADV work B.do.CVsim be.IMP 1s
 Last year I was working in **Nazran**.
- (117) **Ingalie** baaxacha naaxagh doaqqagh dola q'am
 England.ADV B.live.PPL.OBL people.LAT D.large.CMP D.be.PPL nation
 the majority nationality of England (Maciev & Ozdoev 1966 s.v. *anglichane*)
- (118) **Kalifornie** kast-kasta leatta eg.
 California.ADV often earth shake:PLC.PRS
 In California there are often earthquakes.
- (119) Revoluci joalacha xaana **Varshaavie universitietie**
 Revolution J.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT Warsaw.ADV university.ADV
 dieshazh xannuu yz
 D.study.CVsim PROG.NARP.V 3s
 During the Revolution he was a student in Warsaw University ('in **Warsaw** in the **University**') (0531)

18.13 Postpositions

Unlike most European languages (including those with case systems, e.g. Russian), Ingush never seems to use postpositions on objects but only on goals, locations, and adjuncts. For the various postpositions see Chapter 17.

18.14. Frequencies of cases

The frequency rank of cases in the Berkeley Ingush corpus is: Nominative > Genitive > Dative > Ergative > Lative > Allative > Instrumental > Ablative > Comparison. This is a count of the number of different wordforms interlinearized with that case (i.e. the number of different words appearing in that case), not the total number of tokens. Adverb forms taken together rank between dative and ergative, but grouping them together is a morphologically dubious move; the individual adverb forms would each have fairly low frequencies.

CHAPTER 19

AGREEMENT

Agreement in Ingush is a partial category in nearly all of its forms. There are three agreement categories: gender, number, and case. A minority of the verbs, a small minority of the adjectives and pronominals, and one numeral (and its derivatives) agree in gender; the rest do not take gender agreement on the stem (though in verbs some of the tense formatives take gender). A minority of the verbs and two adjectives agree in number. The vast majority of adjectives, and all participles, agree in case, but they neutralize the oblique case distinctions.

19.1. Gender agreement

Gender agreement takes the form of root-initial prefixation of V/J/B/D in all parts of speech. There is no allomorphy and almost no allophony in gender prefixes. (The only allophony is that /v/ is rounded before back vowels and /d/ palatalized before front vowels. These affect all tokens of /v/ and dental stops, not just the gender markers.)

viezhar	jiezhar	biezhar	diezhar	'fell'	(witnessed past)
veaqqar	jeaqqar	beaqqar	deaqqar	'took'	(witnessed past)
vy	jy	by	dy	'is/are/am'	(present)
voaqqa	joaqqa	boaqqa	doaqqa	'big'	
vi'	ji'	bi'	di'	'four'	

See §7.1 for the difference between these four gender prefixes and the actual target gender classes of nouns, which are pairs of singular and plural agreement prefixes.

19.1.1. Noun phrases. Under 10% of the underived adjectives take gender agreement. Agreement is with the head noun:

voaqqa sag	joaqqa sag	boaqqa jett	doaqqa zhwalii	joaqqa mashen
V.big person	J.big person	B.big cow	D.big dog	J.big car
'old man'	'old woman'	'big cow'	'big dog'	'big car'

The pronominal 'all' agrees in gender:

berriga nax	derriga axcha	jerriga jur
B.all people	D.all money	J.all town
'all the people'	'all the money'	'the whole town'

Root pronominals do not agree in gender. 'All' is not a root pronominal; it is formed from the nominalized participle of 'be' with focus gemination, the nominalizing suffix *-ig*, and the adjective-forming suffix *-a* (see §9.2.11).

19.1.2. Clause arguments. The verb agrees with its nominative argument. For the great majority of simplex verbs this is agreement with the S/O and on the ergative pattern. The following examples show an intransitive, its causative, and a transitive.

- (1) jett aara-b.ealar
 cow out-B.go.WP
 'The cow went out'
- (2) zhwalii aara-d.ealar
 dog out-D.go.WP
 'the dog went out'
- (3) sy loalaxuo aara-v.ealar
 1s.GEN neighbor out-V.go.WP
 'my neighbor (masc.) went out'
- (4) sy loalaxuo aara-j.ealar
 1s.GEN neighbor out-J.go.WP
 'my neighbor (fem.) went out'
- (5) aaz jett aara-b.oala-b.yr
 1s.ERG cow out-B.go-B.CS.WP
 'I led the cow out'
- (6) aaz zhwalii aara-d.oala-d.yr
 1s.ERG dog out-D.go-D.CS.WP
 'I led the dog out'
- (7) aaz Marem aara-j.oala-j.yr
 1s.ERG Mariem out-J.go-J.CS.WP
 'I led Mariem out'

(8) aaz Ahwmad aara-v.oala-v.yr
 1s.ERG Ahmed out-V.go-V.CS.WP
 'I led Ahmed out'

(9) aaz dulx du'
 1s.ERG meat D.eat
 'I eat meat'

(10) aaz wazhazh bu'
 1s.ERG apple.PL B.eat
 'I eat apples'

(11) aaz meaq ju'
 1s.ERG bread J.eat
 'I eat bread'

Agreement is with the nominative argument regardless of its role, e.g. the nominative experiencer A of *d.aash* 'like, be impressed' (nominative A, lative O):

(12) **Muusaa** cwan hamagh vaashazh vaac
 Musa any.OBL thing.LAT V.like.CVsim V.NEG
 Musa is not impressed by anything. Musa is stuck up.

(13) cogh **hwo** vaasha='a my megar
 3s.LAT 2s V.like=& EMPH may.IMPf
 You might like him. You'd probably like him. (0408)

(This verb is unusual. There are very few two-arguments verbs with nominative A that have gender agreement.)

19.1.3. *Predicate nominals.* In copular clauses the verb agrees not with the subject but with the predicate noun or adjective. In (14) a female actress plays a male role.

(14) Uq spektaklehw Marem **Muusaa** vy
 this.OBL performance (F name) (M name) V.be.PRS
 'In this play Mariem (F) plays Musa (M).'

(15) cyn oarcxuo – cyn **taram** dy so
 3s.GEN helper(V/J) 3s.GEN stand-in(D) D.be 1s
 I am his assistant and representative. (PL 2.2)¹⁵³

¹⁵³ The verb agrees with the second word in this coordinate or appositive noun phrase; see §19.1.5.

However, if the subject is first or second person plural the verb agrees with it (see §7.1).

19.1.4. Postpositions and relational nouns. No simple postpositions take gender prefixes. A few derived postpositions are verbal in origin and agree with the object (which is historically the nominative argument of the verb):

d.ealcha 'after, at (time)', lit. 'having gone, having passed'
d.oacazh 'without; apart from, instead of', lit. 'lacking, not being'

(16) baarh sahwat dealcha
eight hour D.go.CVtemp
'at 8:00'

(17) bahwan doacazh
reason D.lacking
'without any reason'

(181) shiica vwaalla gerdz='a doacazh volcha
3SRFL.INS at all weapon=& without V.be.CVtemp
'when he was without any weapon', 'when he had no gun with him' (CDD 33)

(19) elgac doacazh fy aala vennavar so?
shrine apart_from what say.INF V.begin.PNW.V 1s
What was I about to mention besides shrines? (0743)

Two relational nouns occur in more than one gender form. Their origin is unclear, but synchronically they represent overt inherent gender (§7.3), not agreement gender. The roots are **d.uhw*:

juhw 'top, (mountain) peak'; also 'face'
buhw 'tip, pointed end'
duhwa 'facing, against' (postposition, etymologically probably an adverb)

and **d.uq*' (this word is Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian in the sense 'yoke'):

buq' 'back; ridge, mountain range'
juq' 'waist; middle, center; interval'
duq' 'yoke; ridge, range of hills'

19.1.5. Gender resolution. When nouns of different genders are coordinated and a verb must agree with them, it agrees with the last of the conjuncts.

- (20) Suona je ghar=ji tata=ji k'orda-dead
 1s.DAT this noise=& bang=& fed up-D.VZ.NW.D
 I'm sick of all this shouting and banging. (*ghar* J 'commotion', *tata* D 'loud sound')
- (21) Handz=m meaqa ch'iegaljg=ji deattaa bwaljg=ji wa-otta-dycha
 now=FOC bread.GEN piece=& butter.GEN lump=& DX-stand-D.CS.CVtemp
 doalazh my dii handz=m.
 D.start.CVtemp EMPH D.be=Q now=FOC
 Nowadays it's come to the point that they just set out a piece of bread and a lump of
 butter. (0223) (*ch'iegaljg* J 'small piece', *bwaljg* D 'shard, chunk')

When singular human nouns of different genders are coordinated, D gender appears in gender resolution. Examples include lexicalized kin term co-compounds (§8.5.2):

daa-naana 'parents' (D)
 jisha-vosha 'siblings' (D)

free coordination and appositions:

- (22) Sy daa=ji naanii=ji dy
 1s.GEN father=& mother=& D.be
 I have (living) parents. I have a father and mother. Or: It's my father and my mother.
- (23) Neica='a, jisha='a xannad ciga.
 son-in-law=& sister=& be.NW.D there
 (His) brother-in-law and sister were there. (0202A)

non-syntactic antecedents; in (24), D gender in line (c) refers to the V individual mentioned in (a) and the J speaker of (b).

- (24) a Je hanexk vy=q.
 3s so-and-so V.be=CUM
- b Deara yzza morjg kara cy voaghazh liinii so,
 sure 3sw:FOC like.NZ find NEG V.LV.CVsim walk:PLC.NW.J 1s
 joaghagjy so, ealar jowuo.
 J.come.FUT.J 1s say.WP girl.ERG
- c Zhi, dwa-xalxa-daaqqa.
 OK DX-dance-D.CS.IMPV

(Dialog in joking courtship, traditional at dances, where the dance master in charge pairs up couples for dancing and pretends to set up marriages.)

It's so-and-so. (The master names the young man he has in mind.)

He's just what I've been waiting for ('I've been going around trying to find one just like him'), sure I'll marry him, says the girl.

(Master to musicians) OK, let's have them (=the couple) dance. (0231A.3)

and nominalized numerals referring to humans. (The plural B gender cannot be used since numerals require singular nouns: see §19.5.1)

(25) a Yzh itt chy-vuoda

3p 10 in-V.go

All ten of them (boys or men) are going home.

b Yzh itt chy-juoda

3p 10 in-J.go

All ten of them (women or girls) are going home.

c Yzh itt chy-duoda / *chy-bolx

3p 10 in-D.go in-B.go:PL

All ten of them (mixed group) are going home.

B gender is impossible in (c), though it is the normal third person plural gender and is used where there is no numeral as in (26); and similarly for the plural verb:

(26) Yzh chy-bolx

3p in-B. go:PL

They are going home.

Where there are exactly two coordinated S/O arguments and they are exhaustively listed, there is singular agreement just as though there were an explicit numeral:

(27) Muusaa=ji Ahwmad=ji niis-valar.

Musa=& Ahmad=& encounter-V.VZ.WP

Musa and Ahwmad ran into each other.

Exhaustive enumeration of any larger set is treated as an ordinary plural:

(28) Muusaa=ji Ahwmad=ji Wiisaa=ji niis-balar.

Musa=& Ahmed=& Issa=& encounter-B.VZ.WP

Musa, Ahmed, and Issa ran into each other.

as is an ordinary plural noun with two exhaustively listed possessors:

- (29) Muusaai=ji Ahwmada=ji istii niis-balar
 M.GEN=& A.GEN=& wife.PL encounter-B.VZ.WP
 Musa and Ahmed's wives ran into each other.

19.1.6. *Gender neutralization.* When an arbitrary or unspecified human individual is at issue, an agreeing word takes V gender. In (30) and (31), the addressee is female and the speaker is generalizing about the addressee's situation.

- (30) Deallahw naana, q'a='a **valcha**, **voaqqa**=a xalcha,
 INTERJ mother old=& V.VZ.CVtemp V.big=& be.CVtemp
 vow='a cy xalcha, jow='a cy xalcha ...
 son=& NEG be.CVtemp daughter=& NEG be.CVtemp

Heavens, Mother (polite address to any older woman), when you're old, when you don't have children at home, ... or 'When one is old...' (0223)

- (31) Ai ciga **vaxa**=m xala daac hwuona.
 INTERJ there V.go.INF=FOC difficult D.be:NEG MIR
 Oh, it's not hard to get there.

In (32) a female speaker explains that she has forgotten a word.

- (32) pxoragh+dar – fy oal cogh? (Interviewer: Wea dy.)
 crosswise+D.be.NZ what say 3s.LAT weft D.be
 Wea dy, wea, **vic** my loi.
 weft D.be weft V.forget EMPH VZ=Q

... and the crosswise ones (weft threads) are called -- what are they called?
 (Interviewer: *wea* 'weft') -- *Wea, wea*, one forgets. (0216)

The nouns *vaaxar* 'life' and *valar* 'death' are more or less lexicalized with V gender.

- (33) Handz vai **vaaxar** xala dy.
 now 1p.GEN V.life difficult D.be
 Our life is hard right now.

- (34) vaaxar - valar
 V.life V.death
 life and death

This is not overt inherent gender (see §7.3), as both of these nouns belong to D gender as shown by the D agreement in (33).

19.1.7. *Non-syntactic antecedents of gender agreement.* Some tokens of gender have no identifiable antecedent. Weather predications are impersonal and use J gender (s.a. §21.2.1):

- (35) Taxan shiila jy
today cold J.be.PRS
'It's cold today'
- (36) Gurahw aara ghora-ju.
autumn.ADV outside freeze-J.VZ.PRS
'In fall it freezes outside'
- (37) Handzalca shiila leattaai
now.until cold stand.NW.J
'It's been cold until now.'

Speech verbs take D gender by default when a direct speech complement is the S/O:

- (38) "Molla, hwaagara sy axcha hwa-daal"," **eannad**
Mulla 2SRFL.ALL.ABL 1s.GEN money DX-D.give say.NW.D
q'iecha saguo.
poor.OBL person.ERG
"Mulla, give me my money that you've got," **said** the poor man. (CDD)

Counting in the abstract uses J gender for the agreeing numerals ('four' and its derivatives): *Caw, shi', qo', ji', pxi'* ... 'One, two, three, four (J), five ...'.

Agreement is triggered semantically by the gender of the referent even if the relevant noun or pronoun is not in a syntactic position of antecedence. In counting money one says *Caw, shi', qo', di', pxi'* ... 'One, two, three, four (D), five... ' because the word for 'money' and the terms for the various bills and coins are all D gender.

In (39) the consultant is reviewing his list of archaic words with the interviewing ethnographer. The plant names *hwotq'azh* and *meztq'aazh* are pluralia tantum with no knowable singular gender (plural D, which could go with either singular B or D). *buc* 'herb' (J) in A's first sentence, is a possible antecedent for B's sentence, but B uses B gender, which is the gender of *ch'im*, which is in the genitive plural in his clause but loosely semantically controls the agreement. A repeats this and then continues using J gender, semantically controlled by *buc* 'plant' (though now in the plural and therefore not controlled by it syntactically) with the next plant name.

- (39) (A) T'aaqqa ... *hwotq'azh* ... yz laqqa buc jy, sag
 so (plant name)(D) 3s tall:FOC herb J.be.PRS person
 myssel laqagh='a, loxagh='a, ju'a='a ju'azh
 as.much tall.CMP=& low.CMP=& RED=& J.eat.CVsim
- (B) Ch'imii teipa by yz, bii?
 (plant sp.).GENpl type.GEN B.be.PRS 3s B.be.PRS=Q
- (A) Ch'imii teipa baac yz, meztq'aazh jaaxazh
 (plant sp.).GENpl type.GEN B.be.NEG 3s, (plant sp.)(D) call.CVsim
 cweaqazh jy.
 other.PL J.be.PRS (0395B)
- (A) So, *hwotq'azh* -- that's a tall plant, about the height of a person, edible.
 (B) Is it a kind of *ch'im* [tall large-leaved edible plant]?
 (A) No, it's not a *ch'im*. There are others [that it is related to] called *meztq'aazh*.

19.1.8. *Gender agreement attraction.* The two verbs *meg* 'may, can, possible' and *d.ieza* 'should, must' agree in gender with the subject of their infinitive clause (§21.6.2).

19.2. Person agreement

Ingush almost entirely lacks a category of person. First and second person pronouns have D gender in the plural, while third person pronouns referring to humans have B gender (§7.1). The verb *joax* 'say' distinguishes person in the present tense, agreeing with the A. It is the only verb in the language with A agreement and the only verb with person agreement.

aaz	jaax	wa	jaax	cuo	joax
1s.ERG	say	2s.ERG	say	3s.ERG	say
I	say	you	say	s/he	says

19.3. Number agreement

Only two adjectives, 'large' and 'small', take number agreement (§11.4): sg. *d.oaqqa*, pl. *d.oaqqii* 'large'; and sg. *zwamiga*, pl. *kegii* 'small'.

19 verbs distinguish a plural, chiefly by consonant or vowel ablaut (see §14.1). The number agreement is always with the nominative S/O, an ergative pattern. (There are no verbs with nominative A among those 19.)

These are the only two instances of dedicated number agreement in Ingush. Since agreement gender markers are different in singular vs. plural for human nouns and most nouns of B gender (whose plural is D), gender agreement also reflects number.

Number agreement in all instances is a singular/plural opposition, except that the use of singular gender agreement with two exhaustively listed coordinates (§19.1.5) is virtually a covert dual. Similar is the tendency to use an overt numeral 'two' whenever a semantically non-singular noun or pronoun actually refers to two individuals (§19.5.1). Both phenomena indicate that the reference of a plural noun or pronoun is ordinarily taken to be three or more.

19.4. Case agreement

Adjectives, participles, some demonstratives, and lower numerals distinguish nominative vs. oblique case forms. They agree in case with the head noun of the noun phrase, and the oblique form agrees with any non-nominative case (i.e. it neutralizes all oblique cases).

dika sag good person a good person	dikacha saguo good.OBL person.ERG	dikacha sagaa good.OBL person.DAT	etc.
doaqqa zhwalii D.bigdog a big dog	doaqqacha zhwalie D.big.OBL dog.ERG	doaqqacha zhwaliena D.big.OBL dog.DAT	
diishaa sag D.read.PPL person an educated person (lit. 'a person who has read/studied')	diishaacha saguo D.read.PPL.OBL person.ERG	diishaacha sagaa D.read.PPL.OBL person.DAT	
dwa-daxaa shu DX-D.go.PPL year last year ('the past year')	dwa-daxaacha shara DX-D.go.PPL.OBL year.GEN		
derriga q'am D.all nation the whole nation	derrigacha q'aman D.all.OBL nation.GEN nationwide, of the whole nation		
shi sag two person two people	shin saguo two.OBL person.ERG	shin sagaa two.OBL person.DAT	

19.5. Discrepant agreement

There are several syntactic contexts where gender agreement and case agreement are with different words, or where different words in the same phrase agree with different controllers.

19.5.1. Numeral phrases. The numeral determines the number of the head noun (all numerals require the singular of the noun), but it and any adjective or participle modifiers agree with the head noun in gender. If the numeral phrase is the nominative argument of a verb, the verb agrees in gender and number with the head noun. Any demonstrative modifier of the numeral phrase is plural (with numerals greater than one). (For the morphology of numerals see §10.1. For numeral phrase structure see §20.2.)

(40) yz k'ead-vanna cwa sag c'a-vaxar
 DEM tired-V.VZ.CVant one person(V) home-V.go.WP
 That one tired guy went home.

(41) yzh k'ead-vanna vi' sag c'a-vaxar
 DEM.PL tired-V.VZ.CVant V.four person(V) home-V.go.WP
 Those four tired guys went home.

(42) cu k'ead-vannacha cwan saguo ealar
 DEM.OBL tired-V.PPL.OBL one.OBL person.ERG say.WP
 That one tired guy said...

(43) cu k'ead-vannacha vi' saguo ealar
 DEM.OBL tired-V.PPL.OBL V.four.OBL person.ERG say.WP
 Those four tired guys said...

A numeral 'four' anywhere in the numeral string agrees in gender, but only the last word of the numeral string agrees in case:

(44) yzh vi' ezar sag c'a+vaxar
 DEM.PL V.four 1000 person home+V.go.WP
 Those 4000 men went home.

(45) uq vi' ezar=ji qo bwea=ji pxin sagaa
 DEM.OBL V.four 1000=& three 100=& five.OBL person.DAT
 to these 4305 men

The singular head noun is imposed syntactically, not semantically. In (46) the plural noun is semantically counted by the appositional nominalized *caw-shi* 'one or two', but these numerals are not in the NP headed by *gudarazh*.

- (46) Handz suona daga+doaghacha xaana='a ciga gudarazh
 now 1s.DAT remember+D.LV.PPL.OBL time.DAT=& there stump.PL
 jaagha **caw-shi'**
 J.sit.PRS one.NZ-two.NZ

As I recall there are a couple of stumps there. ('there are stumps there, one or two')
 (0392)

The numeral *ezar* '1000' can form a plural, either with the regular noun plural suffix or by reduplication, and in these forms it takes a plural head noun, uniquely of all the numerals.

- (47) ezarazh sherazh hwaalxa
 1000.PL year.PL previously
 thousands of years ago (Legenda)

- (48) Handzara ezar-ezar sherazh hwaalxara hwal-jaa ghaalaazh **my jii**
 now.ABL 1000-1000 year.PL ago up-J.do.PPL tower.PL EMPH J.be.PRS=Q
 After all the towers were made thousands of years ago.

In connection with numeral phrases it can also be noted that Ingush rarely uses the bare plural to refer to two items, but rather uses explicit 'two'. This is true even for nouns referring to natural pairs, when there could hardly be indeterminacy about the number:

- (49) ... **shi kyljg** choal='a tiexaa, ... dwa-oaghuora veannuu=q yz
 two hand cross=& LV.CVant DX-recline V. LV.NW.V=CUM 3s
 He crossed his hands behind his head and leaned back ('his two hands') (0408)

- (50) yz laqie **shi kog** hwa='t'y='a beaqqaa vaaghazh var
 3s above two leg DX=on=& B.take.CVant V.sit.CVsim V.be.PST
 He was sitting with his legs crossed ('his two legs')

- (51) Muusaa=ji Suultaan=ji **sholavea shi vosh** vy
 Musa=& Sultan=& twin two brother V.be.PRS
 Musa and Sultan are twins (lit. 'are two twin brothers')

- (52) Jitq'a **shi ikkaljg** juuxar suona t'y.
 J.thin two boot.DIM J.wear.IMPF 1s.DAT on
 I was wearing very light boots ('two very light boots'). (0776)

The same is true of personal pronouns: *vai* 'we (inclusive)', *yzh* 'they', etc. are normally taken to be plural in reference, and *vai shi* 'we two', *yzh shi* 'those two, the two of them', etc. are used when they are dual in reference.

19.5.2. Relative clauses. In relative clauses, the participle agrees in case with the head noun but in gender with the nominative argument in the relative clause. The following examples contrast nominative to oblique cases of head nouns. Gender of nominative arguments is shown in parentheses in the interlinear line.

axcha	deitaa	sag	axcha	deitaaacha	saguo
money(D)	D.send.PPL	person(V/J)	money	D.send.PPL.OBL	person.ERG
the person who sent money					
wazhazh	bi'aa	jiwig	wazhazh	bi'aacha	jiwiguo
apple.PL(B)	B.eat.PPL	girl (J)	apple.PL	B.eat.PPL.OBL	girl.ERG
a girl who ate apples					

Only when the nominative argument is also the relativized noun does the participle have the same gender as the antecedent:

jiwiguo	bi'aa	wazhazh	jiwiguo	bi'aacha	wazhegh
girl.ERG	B.eat.PPL	apple.PL(B)	girl.ERG	B.eat.PPL.OBL	apple.LATpl
apples eaten by the girl					
aaz	diishaa	kinashjka	aaz	diishaacha	kinashjkagh
1s.ERG	D.read.PPL	book(D)	1s.ERG	D.read.PPL.OBL	book.LAT
the book I read					

19.5.3. Verb and auxiliary. Tense/mood auxiliaries and phase verbs are syntactic verbs that assign case to the subject. Most are intransitive and assign nominative case. The auxiliary then agrees in gender with that nominative, while the infinitive or converb complement verb agrees in gender with whichever argument is nominative in its own valence. See also the discussion of nominative vs. ergative progressives in §13.4.

- (53) Cuo kinashjka desh
 3s.ERG book (D) D.read.PRS
 He reads a book.
- (54) Yz kinashjka dieshazh voall
 3s(V) book(D) D.read.CVsim V.PROG
 He's (in the process of) reading a book.

CHAPTER 20

PHRASES: NP'S AND PP'S

Throughout this grammar I use "NP" loosely, to refer to traditional noun phrases, though number agreement of demonstratives in numeral phrases (§20.2) shows that the demonstrative is a sister of the rest of the NP.

Non-simple NP's are quite frequent in Ingush speech and writing. Recall (§8.4-5) that there are few canonical compounds in Ingush, but many lexicalized phrases that do the work done by compounds in other languages. Many of these are NP's, in particular complex NP's.

20.1. NP structure

The ordering of elements in the fullest possible NP is shown below. Examples with every slot filled can be constructed (see §30.1) but are artificial. This is grammatically basic order, from which some departures are possible for topicalization, focus, extraction, etc. (see Chapter 30). Genitive 1 = literal possessor or other adnominal genitive; genitive 2 = a genitive plural with unspecified possessor and more or less lexicalized as a modifier (e.g. *wazhii ga* [apple.GENpl tree] 'apple tree').

Demon-	Delimiter	Relative	Genitive1	Degree	Adjective	Genitive2	Numeral	Head
strative		clause		word				noun

(1) yz boaqqa wazh
 DEM B.big apple
 this big apple

(2) jer sy doaqqa c'aa
 DEM 1s.GEN D.big house
 this big house of mine

(3) doaqqa qo zhwalii
 D.big three dog
 three big dogs

- (4) uq boaqqacha qea wazhagh
 this.OBL B.big.OBL three.OBL apple.LAT
 (for/about) these three big apples
- (5) je derriga itt kinashjka
 DEM D.all ten book
 all these ten books, all ten of these books
- (6) yzh varriga pxi sag
 DEM.pl V.all five person
 all five of them, all five people
- (7) yz suona dika vouza loalaxuo
 DEM 1s.DAT well V.know.PPL neighbor
 this neighbor, whom I know well
- (8) aaz diishaa kinashjka
 1s.ERG D.read.PPL book
 (the/a) book I read
- (9) yz wazhii ga
 DEM apple.GENpl tree
 this apple tree
- (10) wazhii qo ga
 apple.GENpl three tree
 three apple trees
- (11) vai eggara hwaalxara ghalghaai grammaatika
 1pIN.GEN very first Ingush.GENpl grammar
gen. 1 degree adjective gen. 2 head noun
 our first Ingush grammar (0531.08)
- (12) Hwaalxa cwan zaamagh **gouza q'oal-dezh** **qo** **dottagh** xannuu
 formerly one.OBL time.LAT skillful theft-D.do.CVsim three friend be.NW.V
 Once upon a time there were **three friends who were accomplished thieves**. (Dymii)

The lexicalized phrase *voaqqa sag* 'old man, elder, senior' / *joaqqa sag* 'old woman' behaves as a unit, with a numeral preceding the entire phrase ((13)); compare the homophonous free phrase *voaqqa sag* 'big person, important person' in (14):

(13) qo voaqqa sag
 three V.big person
 three elders, three old men

(14) voaqqa qo sag
 V.big three person
 three big men

Kin terms such as *dea vosha* 'uncle', lit. 'father's brother', behave the same:

(15) **vi' dea veshii=ji,** dea=ji, dea dea=ji
 V.four father.GEN brother.GEN=& father.GEN=& father.GEN father.GEN=&
 my **four uncles'** (houses) and those of my father and grandfather (0204A)

(16) sy dea **vi'** vosha
 1s.GEN father.GEN V.four brother
 my father's four brothers

Kin terms and 'old man/woman' are the only lexicalized phrases I have found that behave this way. Lexicalized adjective + noun *aaqa cysjk* 'wildcat' and more or less lexicalized genitive + noun *wazhii ga* 'apple tree' (apple.GENpl tree) and *ghulaq dezv vola sag* 'attendant' (lit. 'person attending to business, person doing service') have the modifier followed by the numeral:

(17) aaqa **qo** cysjk
 wild three cat
 three wildcats

(18) wazhii **shi** ga
 apple.GENpl two tree
 two apple trees

(19) Ghulaq dezv vola **cwa** sag dwa-vuoda
 matter D.do.CVsim V.be.PPL **one** person DX-V.go.PRS
 Exit an Attendant. (PL, passim) (stage direction)

In Ingush the genitive plural is used for a non-specific possessor in lexicalized and fixed phrases such as *wazhii ga* 'apple tree' in (18) above, *bierii koch* (child.GENpl garment) 'baby garment', etc. This fact together with the nominative/oblique distinction made in determiners make it possible to make either the head noun or the possessor independently definite in Ingush in all contexts except where the head noun is in an oblique case:

- (20) cy biera koch
 DEM.OBL child.GEN shirt
 this child's shirt (the/a shirt of this child)
- (21) yz biera koch
 DEM child.GEN shirt
 this child's shirt; the shirt of the/a child
- (22) cy biera kuochagh
 DEM.OBL child.GEN shirt.LAT
 (about) (this/a) shirt of (this/a) child
 (both 'child' and 'shirt' are specific; ambiguous as to which is definite)
- (23) yz bierii koch
 DEM child.GENpl shirt
 this baby garment
- (24) cy bierii koch
 DEM.OBL child.GENpl shirt
 these children's shirt (the shirt belonging to these children)
- (25) cy bierii kuochagh
 DEM.OBL child.GENpl shirt.LAT
 (about) these children's shirt; (about) this baby garment
 (ambiguous as to which is definite; ambiguous as to whether 'child' is specific)

20.2. Agreement

The head noun is singular with any numeral.

- (26) cwa sag
 one person
- (27) pxi sag
 five person
 five people
- (28) bareitt sag
 18 person
 eighteen people

- (29) shi bwea sag
two hundred person
two hundred people

The noun *nax* 'people' declines like a singular but is formally plural and therefore cannot appear with numerals.

- (30) Yzh nax mycha baxar?
DEM.pl people where B.go.WP
Where did those people go?

- (31) *qo nax
three people

- (32) *pxi nax
five people

- (33) *bareitt nax
18 people

The verb agrees in gender and number with the quantified noun, whose number is necessarily singular because of the numeral. In (34) the head noun is in V gender (masculine singular), singular because of the numeral; the verb and numeral agree with this gender; but the demonstrative is plural, agreeing in sense with the NP and not in form with the head noun. The verb agrees with the head noun, not with the whole NP.

- (34) Yzh qo voaqa sag mycha **vaxar**?
DEM.PL three V.big person where V.go.WP
Where did those three elders go?

- (35) Yzh nax mycha **baxar**?
those people where B.go.WP
Where did those people go?

- (36) yzh qo vosha
DEM.PL three brother
those three brothers (0231A.3)

For verbs with separate plural forms (§14.1), the singular is used when the subject is singular because of a numeral:

- (37) Yzh bierazh mycha dolx? / *duoda
 those child.PL where D.go:PL.PRS / *D.go:SG.PRS
 Where are those children going?
- (38) Yzh qo ber mycha duoda? / *dolx
 those three child where D.go:SG.PRS / *D.go:PL.PRS
 Where are those three children going?
- (39) Yz sag mycha vuoda?
 that person where V.go:SG.PRS
 Where is that guy going?
- (40) Yzh qo' mycha duoda? / *dolx
 those 3.NZ where D.go:SG.PRS / D.go:PL.PRS
 Where are those three going?

Attributive adjectives agree with the head noun:

- (41) boaqqa qo wazh
 B.big three apple(B)
 three big apples
- (42) uq boaqqacha qea wazhagh
 DEM.OBL B.big.OBL three.OBL apple(B).LAT
 (about) these three big apples

as do participles in relative clauses (see §20.1 above). Only two adjectives distinguish number: *d.oaqqa* / pl. *d.oaqqii* 'big' and (suppletive) *zwamiga* / pl. *kegii* 'young' (of people) (see §§11.4, 19.3), and they must be singular with a numeral:

- (43) doaqqa di' zhwalii
 D.big D.4 dog
 four big dogs
- (44) *doaqqii di' zhwalii
 D.big.PL
- (45) yzh doaqqa di' zhwalii
 DEM.pl D.big D.4 dog
 those four big dogs

- (46) * yzh doaqqii di' zhwalii
DEM.pl D.big.PL

Even with a marked singular adjective a determiner or delimiter is still plural, agreeing in sense with the entire NP, as in (45).

When the head noun is a nominalized numeral, verb agreement is still singular though there is no singular noun in the phrase. In gender resolution (§19.1.5) a verb can agree in gender with a first or second person pronoun, but this is not number agreement; contrast gender resolution in (49) with unacceptable number agreement in (51). (51) uses B gender (human plural) and (52) also uses a plural verb, and both are incorrect.

- (47) txo itt chy-vuoda
2plEX ten in-V.go.PRS
We ten are going home. (all are male including the speaker)

- (48) txo itt chy-juoda
2plEX ten in-J.go.PRS
We ten are going home. (all are female including the speaker)

- (49) txo itt chy-duoda
2plEX ten in-D.go.PRS
We ten are going home. (mixed group; gender resolution)

- (50) yzh itt chy-vuoda / chy-juoda / chy-duoda
3p ten in-V.go.PRS / J.go.PRS / D.go.PRS
The ten of them (M / F / mixed) are going home.

- (51) * yzh itt chy-buoda
2plEX ten in-B.go.PRS
(the ten of them are going home)

- (52) * yzh itt chy-bolx
2plEX ten in-B.go.PL.PRS
(the ten of them are going home)

The following text example uses V gender in the first clause, which contains *shi'* 'the two (of them)', but (plural) B gender in the second, which does not.

- (53) Hwazhii-C'a+ **vaxaa** xannuu shi' cwana,
Mecca V.go.CVant NARP.V two.NZ together

cwana Hwazhii-C'a **baxaa**
 together Mecca B.go.CVant

They went on the pilgrimage together.' (Lit. 'The two of them went to Mecca together, they went to Mecca together') (0380A.18.36, 0:18.32)¹⁵⁴

A numeral in any function other than head noun or quantifier of head noun has no effect on agreement. In (54) the collective *ittie*='a 'all ten, in a group of ten' is an adjunct or an apposition to the subject, and the verb is plural and takes B (human plural) agreement.

- (54) yzh ittie='a chy-bolx
 3pl ten.COLL in-B.go:PL.PRS
 They all went in (all ten of them).

20.3. Prosody

A two-word NP forms a prosodic IP and has the same prosody as a compound (§4.1.2): the first word has primary stress and the second has secondary stress. In an NP consisting of an adjective or genitive noun plus a head noun, the adjective or genitive has the primary stress (and high accent) and the noun has secondary stress (and low accent).

- (55) wázhii gà
 apple.GENpl tree
 apple tree

- (56) dóaqqá zhwàlii
 D.big dog
 big dog

Determiners, delimiters, and possessive pronouns are unaccented and not in the IP.

- (57) sy wázhii gà
 1s.GEN apple.GENpl tree
 my apple tree

A sequence of numeral and quantified noun has primary stress on the numeral.

¹⁵⁴ Mecca is *Hwazhii-C'aa*, lit. 'home of pilgrims'. Here the second element of the compound, in citation form *c'aa* 'house, home', becomes prosodically and phonologically a prefix to the following verb and takes the regular form /c'a/ of the prefix 'home': *hwazhii c'á+vàxaa*.

An adjective preceding a numeral can have the same prosody as a numeral word without =*ji*, or it can have primary stress, and the numeral with its primary stress undergoes declination (' marks declination):

- (64) sy jóaqa ' [IP qó màshen]
 1s.GEN J.big three car
 my three big cars

20.4. Appositive NP's

20.4.1. *Simple appositive phrases* have two nominal or nominalized words. The order is pronominal plus numeral or other quantifier:

- (65) txo [pxi sag]
 1pEX [five person]
 we five people

- (66) txo pxi'
 1pEX five.NZ
 we five, the five of us

- (67) yzh derriga
 3p D.all
 all of them (i.e. objects of D gender, e.g. books, birds)

20.4.2. *Noun plus numeral or other quantifier.* These constructions can be considered reduced nominalized clauses. The noun is plural, showing that the numeral is not a syntactic modifier of the same kind as in ordinary numeral phrases. In (68) the appositive numeral *caw-shi'* is detached from the quantified noun *gudarazh* by the verb-second order of *jaagha* (§30.2.3). In (69) the quantifier 'half' is detached so it can bear emphasis or focus (§§28.8, 30.1.4), and the now syntactically unquantified noun *nax* 'people' is plural and triggers number agreement in the quantifier and the verb. A similar example is (139) in Chapter 15.

- (68) Handz suona daga+doaghacha xaana='a ciga
 now 1s.DAT remember-D.LV.PPL.OBL time.DAT=& there
 gudarazh jaagha **caw-shi'**
 stump.PL J.sit.PRS one.NZ -two.NZ

And as I recall there were one or two stumps there ('there are stumps standing ["sitting"] there, one or two of them') (0392B)

(69) Cuo [sy nax **niissa** **aaxazh**] lelxabyr ...
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN people equal:FOC half.PL jump:PL-B.CS.WP
 She drove away half of my men ('exactly halves, fully halves') (PL 2.4-2)

(70) [**Cytoam** **hwaaibar**] bicbie hwazha vieza ...
 [bad_situation 2s.RFL-B.be.NZ] B.forget.INF try.INF V.should.PRS
 You should try to forget your own bad situation. (PL 2.1)

20.4.3. Non-reflexive plus reflexive:

(71) **Aaz eisa** cwannie derriga kinashjka diishar
 1s.ERG 1sRFL.ERG one.NZ.ERG D.all book D.read.WP
 I read the whole book by myself

(72) **Hwaaaina** my goi **hwuona** bihwaaljga
 2SRFL.DAT EMPH see.PRS=Q 2s.DAT B.dare.SBJ
 You see for yourself that they dared to. (PL 2.4)

(73) **Cuo shie** hwoaxa-vycar.
 3s.ERG 3sRFL.ERG mention-V.CS*.NEG.IMPF
 He himself (a teacher) didn't mention him (a proscribed historical figure). (0531.08)

20.4.4. *Complex NP's in apposition.* In (74) the clauses headed by *kep* 'form, appearance' and *caw* 'one, something' are in apposition.

(74) Q'ieluo t'y-jaaxachaaregh eggara iesalagh jola **kep**
 poverty on-J.live.PPL.NZ.LAT most base.CMP J.be.PPL form
 ottajergjy aaz learnhaa,
 put on.-J.FUT 1s.ERG deliberately
 sag eaqanna tarvezh jolchaaregh **caw**.
 person beast.DAT resemble-V.VZ.CVsim J.be.PPL.NZ.LAT one.NZ
 I'll deliberately take on the basest appearance of those who live in poverty, that of
 those who make people resemble beasts. (PL 2.3)

20.5. NP's formed by nominalization

Nominalized clauses are common in Ingush, used in complementation of various types and in clefting (see Chapters 25 and 28). In structure they are headless relatives with a nominalized participial, all of whose overt arguments receive their normal case marking. In

cleft constructions the nominalized clause is always nominative and figures as subject to a nominal predicate, often an interrogative word (*fy* 'what', *mala* 'who'). Word order in the nominalized clause is verb-final. In the following examples, the nominalized clause is bracketed. (For more examples see §28.7.)

- (75) [Handz vai daaxar] xala zaama jy.
 [now 1pIN D.live.PPL.NZ] hard time J.be.PRS
 We live in hard times. (It's a hard time, the one we live in.)
- (76) Fyd [yz eghaz vygaar]?
 what=D 3s angry V.lead.PPL.NZ
 What is he angry at? What made him so angry? (PL 1.4)
- (77) [Je kinashjka jaaz-dear] maluu?
 DEM book write-D.PPL.NZ who=V
 Who wrote this book?

20.6. Complex NP's

Complex NP's in Ingush are relative clauses, described in Chapter 26.

20.7. Coordination of phrases

Noun phrases and modifier phrases are coordinated by adding the clitic =*ji* or ='a to each conjunct. For many examples see §24.1. (See §3.2.4-5 for the phonetics and phonology of these clitics.) (78) is an example from expository prose that uses both of these clitics in the same sentence.

- (78) **Цердешаши, таьрахьдешаши** доаладаьд гIалгIай **метталла а** нохчий **метталла а** цхьоален таьрахьа **цIерен дIерен** дожарий **формаашкен**, хIаьта дукхален таьрахьа цIера дожара **формен**.

C'er+dshaazh=ji, tearahw+dshaazh=ji doala-dead
 name+word.PL=& number+word.PL=& D.go-D.CS.NW.D ('cite')

ghalghaai **mettal='a,** noxchii **mettal='a** cwoalen
 Ingush language.ADV=& Chechen language.ADV=& singularity.GEN

tearahwa **c'era=ji diera=ji** duozharii **formaazhka=ji,**
 number.GEN name.GEN=& D.do.PPL.NZ=& case.GENpl form.PL.ALL=&

heata duqalen tearahwa c'era duozhara **forma=ji**
 then multiplicity.GEN number.GEN name.GEN case.GEN form=&

Nouns and numerals are cited in Ingush and Chechen in the nominative and ergative singular forms, then in the nominative plural form. (Ozdoev et al. 1961:10)

The NP's so coordinated can be long and/or complex. (80) illustrates coordination of complex NP's. Each coordinate is bracketed.

- (79) [Yz inaral volcha mettie dwa=chy-veanna karidor=chy
 DEM general V.be.PPL.OBL place.ADV DX=in-V.go.PPL hall=in
 Ilisxaa-jurtara var=**ji**], [cyn kabinetiera yz volchara
 (place name) V.NZ=& 3s.GEN office.ABL 3s V.be.PPL.NZ.ABL
 hwa-aara-veanna Beisara Mochq'a=**ji**], vwaashii duhwal niis-valar.
 DX-out-V.go.PPL (name)=& each other against come_across-V.LV.WP
 Kunta Hadji ('the one from Ilisxan-jurt'), who had gone into the hall of the
 administrative offices, and Beisara Mochq'a, who had come out of his office, ran into
 each other. (0418.36)¹⁵⁵

20.8. Coordination within phrases

Coordination of non-heads within a noun phrase is possible in Ingush, but not particularly common.

- (80) bweaxa bitq'iga qiera
 B.long B.thin stone
 'a long, thin stone'
- (81) bweaxa='a, bitq'iga='a qiera
 B.long=& B.thin=& stone
 'a long and thin stone'

In (82)-(83), what are coordinated possessors in the English translations are converb phrases in Ingush, turning the whole into a complex NP.

- (82) Bweaxa='a bolazh, bitq'iga='a bolazh qiera bar yz.
 B.long=& B.be.CVsim B.thin=& B.be.CVsim stone B.be.PST 3s
 It was a large, thin stone.

¹⁵⁵ The phonetics of the coordinates in this example is discussed in §3.2.5.

- (83) je goura balie='a, je waatta balie='a kuorta chy='a tassie ...
 or horse.GEN B.be.CVirr=&, or cow.GEN B.be.CVirr=& head in=& toss.CVseq
 They would put the head of a horse or cow into water ... ('they would toss in the head,
 be it of a horse or be it of a cow') (0240)

Coordinate objects of postpositions are also not particularly common, except for *jiq'ie* 'among, between':

- (84) k'eadacha woudalaa=ji k'omacha woudalaa=ji jiq'ie fy juq' joal?
 soft.OBL fool.DAT=& bitter.OBL fool.DAT=& between what difference J.go.PRS
 What's the difference between a mild fool and a bitter fool? (PL 2.4)

20.9. Quotative NP

A mentioned word can be followed by a verb of speech in converb or participle form, functioning much like quotation marks. In (85)-(87) these are interlinearized as 'say', though they are forms of the same words as the quotative and subordinator forms also found in these examples.

- (85) Cynagh **Cysjk eanna** c'i tyllaai joax, iisadza urs wettacha
 3s.LAT Cat say.CVant name put.NW.J QUOT 9 times knife stab.CVtemp
 cy denna cysjk dy jer eanna, xazaad suona.
 NEG D.die. cat D.be.PRS 3s SUB hear.NW.D 1s.DAT

They named him "Cat" because he was stabbed nine times and didn't die, I've heard.
 (...because if he was stabbed nine times and didn't die he's a cat, ... because he's (like)
 a cat that didn't die after being stabbed nine times) (0409.22)

- (86) **Jalta aardar jaaxa** mawan doagha cy jiq'ie, doaghii?
 grain thresh.NZ say.PPL meaning D.pertain DEM.OBL inside D.pertain=Q
 That corresponds to the meaning 'thresh grain', doesn't it? (0395B.1)

The phrase consisting of mentioned word and converb can be nominalized by nominalizing the speech verb. (For more examples see §§26.5, 18.1.1.)

- (87) Yz **galanjg jaaxar** fy mawan dy-hwogh?
 DEM (type of cheese) say.NZ what reason D.be.PRS-INTRSP
 I wonder why it's called "galanjg". (0216B.3)

CHAPTER 21

VALENCE, ARGUMENT STRUCTURE, AND ALIGNMENT

Essential concepts used here are as follows. *Arguments* are nominals required (or syntactically governed) by verbs, and *argument structure* is the set of arguments governed by a verb. Arguments are conventionally identified by abbreviations A, S, O etc. (§21.1). *Valence* is the set of morphological codings (in Ingush, cases or postpositions) assigned to the arguments by the verb: for example, the valence of *ieç* 'buy' is ergative A and nominative O. *Alignment* is the classification of valence patterns based on which arguments of larger argument frames have the same morphological treatment as which arguments of smaller argument frames.¹⁵⁶

Ingush has a split lexicon in which simplex and compound verbs follow different morphological and syntactic principles and have different default alignments. Recall (§5.1) that simplex verbs are either underived roots or else affixally derived (causatives, inceptives, etc. of underived verbs), while compound verbs are unverbated or phrasal compounds with light verbs. With simplex verbs, the default morphosyntax is ergative in alignment, there is an obligatory nominative in every valence, and while some of the suffixal derivations change oblique cases (e.g. the ergative A of an unsuffixed verb becomes the allative causee of an indirect causative) no derivation changes or removes the nominative, which is pivotal to the entire morphosyntax. Simplex verbs as a group undergo all possible suffixations (though not every verb takes every suffix). Those that can take the direct causative make a clear semantic and formal contrast between that direct causative and an indirect causative. Intransitives are derivationally basic and can be input to all suffixal derivations.¹⁵⁷

Compound verbs are different and more restricted, and have many accusative patterns in their morphosyntax. Not every valence has a nominative, and individually and collectively compound verbs are more restricted in the suffixal derivations they can undergo. The direct causative requires intransitive input, and most of the light verbs are transitive, so the compounds they build cannot form causatives (important though causatives are in word formation). Despite all these restrictions, compound verbs are an open and productive set while simplex verbs are a closed set.

¹⁵⁶ Classically, alignment has to do with whether S is coded the same as A (accusative alignment) or O (ergative alignment). The term *alignment* in this sense was introduced by Plank 1979. But the morphological coding of the two objects of ditransitives (Dryer 1986) is also a matter of alignment, as discussed below: Dryer's *direct/indirect* alignment is T=O and his *primary/secondary* alignment is G=O. (For the abbreviations see §21.1.) In treating this as a matter of alignment I follow Bickel & Nichols 2008.

¹⁵⁷ Or at least underived intransitives can. More work is needed on the morphosyntax of inceptives and deadjectival intransitives, both of which include some derived intransitives.

Ditransitives have direct/indirect alignment, i.e. the theme or patient object is formally identical to the direct object of monotransitives. Not only ditransitives like 'give' and 'say', but also verbs of contact like 'strike', 'insert', 'cover', and many others exhibit a valence type in which the semantic goal is an indirect object and the semantic theme is direct object (T=O):

- (1) Aaz piенаа ghadzh tiexar
 1s.ERG wall.DAT stick strike.WP
 'I hit the wall with a stick', lit. 'I hit a stick to the wall' (wall = goal, stick = theme)

Very few verbs treat the semantic goal as direct object, and only one verb shows a locative alternation¹⁵⁸ ('load sand on the truck' ~ 'load the truck with sand': (40)-(41) below).

There are almost no relation-changing syntactic processes in Ingush. Various auxiliary verbs, including light verbs and the progressive tense auxiliaries, assign case to their subject, and there are lexical derivations such as the causatives and the inceptive that systematically derive transitives and dative-subject verbs (respectively) from verbs with other valences. There are also verbs with ambitransitive valence, chiefly (Ergative) Nominative and (Dative) Nominative. These are all lexical patterns and derivations that do some of the work done by relation-changing processes in other languages, and some of them respond to the syntactic context in ways that might qualify them as inflectional or syntactic, but Ingush has no passive, antipassive, dative shift, etc. No derivation changes the case of a nominative S/O, which is the pivot in all word families. This is what Creissels 2010 calls radical P-alignment.

21.1. Arguments and their coding

Arguments (subjects and objects) in Ingush are shown in Table 21-1. The labels are based on the scheme of Dixon 1979 as extended to ditransitive clauses and experiencer subjects in Bickel & Nichols 2008, and with the important distinction of normal from oblique coding of arguments, discussed just below.

Each argument type has its NORMAL, or default, case coding, and most also have an OBLIQUE or non-default coding governed by some verbs.¹⁵⁹ For instance, normal coding for a monotransitive verb is Ergative Nominative, i.e. ergative A or subject and nominative O or object (e.g. *iec* 'buy, get', *loarh* 'count, consider'). Oblique coding treats the A the same as a normal G (in the dative case) or a normal possessor (genitive) or a normal S (nominative case), depending on the verb (e.g. *xoz* 'hear': dative A, nominative O; *qier* 'fear': nominative A, lative O). Normal coding for objects of monotransitives is nominative; this coding is used

¹⁵⁸ For this term and analyses of the phenomenon see Levin 1993:49-55.

¹⁵⁹ Oblique coding of arguments is not the same as *oblique* as a cover term for non-nominative cases in morphology. Morphologically oblique cases such as ergative and dative can code syntactically normal arguments (ergative A, dative G).

with (normal) ergative and (oblique) dative and genitive A's, but the (oblique) objects of (oblique) nominative A's are usually in the lative case.

Table 21-1. Argument types

S	Sole argument
A	Most agent-like argument of transitive
O	Most patient-like or theme-like argument of monotransitive
T	The more patient-like or theme-like object of a ditransitive; that argument which is moved with regard to G (mnemonically, Theme)
G	The more goal-like object of a ditransitive; that argument to or from which T is moved (mnemonically, Goal or Ground)
#S, #A, #O, etc.:	notation for oblique coding of arguments

Generalized argument types:

Subject	S, A, #S, #A
Object	O, T, G, #O (and #T, #G if they exist in Ingush)

These are cases that are governed by the verbs. In addition, verbs of motion and location have object-like second arguments, goals and locations, which are subcategorized for by verbs but whose coding is not governed by verbs. Rather, their coding is based on the spatial or abstract relation borne by the argument. These are described in §21.2.9.

Indirect objects (G) and object-like goals also trigger variable deictic prefixes (§15.5.1).

The case coding of the various arguments is shown in Table 21-2.

Table 21-2. Coding of arguments. The letter to the right of the equals sign stands for only the normal (default) coding of that argument. Thus, S=O means 'S coded the same as the normal O'. *: No other argument has the same normal coding.

<i>Role</i>	<i>Normal alignment</i>	<i>Normal coding</i>	<i>Oblique alignment</i>	<i>Oblique coding</i>	<i>Other coding</i>
S	S=O	Nominative	S=G	Dative	
A	*	Ergative	A=G	Dative	
			A=adnom.	Genitive	
			A=S	Nominative	
O	O=S	Nominative	O=G	Dative; Lative	
T	T=O	Nominative			
G	*	Dative		Lative	Deictic prefix

The deictic prefixes are part of the argument coding in that the choice of *hwa*-'here' /*dwa*-'there' depends on the person of the indirect object or goal (§§15.5.1.1, 15.5.1.7) but no other argument.

Goals of motion verbs and the like -- elements that are subcategorized for by the verb but whose form (case, postposition, etc.) is not assigned by the verb -- are contrasted with indirect objects below and covered in Chapter 22.

Table 21-3 shows the main valence patterns and the terms used here. I define *transitive* on valence and not argument structure: a transitive verb has a direct object (i.e. a nominative object). Most transitive verbs have ergative subjects, but verbs with dative and genitive subjects also fall under this definition (and have ergative alignment just as verbs with ergative subjects do).

Table 21-3. Major valence patterns

Intransitive	S only
Transitive	A and O; O is a direct object (nominative) Canonical transitive: ergative A. Dative transitive: dative A. Genitive transitive: genitive A.
Semitransitive	A and O# (oblique object)
Ditransitive	A G T
Ambitransitive	(A) O/S Verbs like English <i>break</i> , a single lexeme that is either transitive or intransitive

21.2. Valence patterns of unsuffixed simple verbs

The basic valence patterns found among simple verbs in Ingush are shown in the following subsections, ordered from fewest to most arguments. Each valence pattern is labeled as in Table 21-3, and the argument structure and case valence are given. Verbs are cited in abstract stem form (with hyphen if this is different from a phonemic transcription of the present tense). Numbers give the number of radical verbs with that valence. If no number is given, all known verbs of that valence type have been listed. (For suffixed and compound verbs see §§21.3-21.4.)

21.2.1. No arguments, no roles, no cases: jiej- 'clear up' (of weather). Predicates of weather, ambient temperature, etc. have this valence. They take default J gender (see §19.1.7). There is only one such simple verb: *jiej-*, in origin a specialized usage of otherwise transitive *diej-* 'compensate, avenge, clear up'.

- (2) Aarahw jiiqaai
 outdoors J.clear up.NW.J
 'It cleared up', 'The weather got clear', 'The skies cleared'

Adjectives and suffixed verbs can also be used with this valence:

- (3) Aarahw shiila jy
 outdoors cold J.be.PRS
 'It's cold out'
- (4) Hwaalxa jy
 early J.be.PRS
 It's (still too) early.
- (5) Gurahw aara ghora-ju.
 autumn.ADV outside freeze-J.VZ.PRS
 In fall it freezes outside.

21.2.2. *Intransitive* (about 80 verbs). Argument: S. Case: nominative.

d.ielx-	'cry, weep'	loq'	'go dry, dry up'
d.oag	'burn', 'be aflame'	ieqq-	'burst, explode'
d.oatt'	'rip, tear; get torn'	d.uox-	'break'
d.arst	'gain weight, get fat'	qiest-	'rotate, revolve'
d.ash	'melt'	twous	'fall asleep'
wuuzh	'smart, sting, hurt'	c'ouz	'shriek, screech, yelp'

- (6) So jiilxar
 1s J.cry.WP
 S
 I cried.

- (7) Xii laq'ar
 river dry.WP
 S
 The river went dry.

21.2.3. *Semitransitive*. Arguments: A=S O#. Cases: nominative + various oblique cases.

21.2.3.1. *Nominative + lative*.

qier-	'fear, be afraid of'	tiesh-	'believe in'
d.aash	'be impressed'	ghiirt-	'make effort, strain'

waatq'	'irritate, get on nerves'	kad	'complain'
qiet-	'understand; run into'	latq'	'complain' (Lat~Dat)
hwog	'yearn, crave'	iesh-	'lose, lack'

- (8) So zhwalegh qer
 1s dog.LAT fear.PRS
 A O#
 I'm afraid of the dog
- (9) So Muusaaina latq'ar
 1s Musa.DAT complain.WP
 A O#
 I complained about Musa
- (10) So Muusaaigh latq'ar
 1s Musa.LAT complain.WP
 A O#
 id.

'Complain' can also take an indirect object:

- (11) Yz sogh sy deaga latq'ar
 3s 1s.LAT 1s.GEN father.ALL complain.WP
 A T=O# G
 He complained to my father about me.

21.2.3.2. *Nominative + allative.*

luu	'speak (critically), scold'	hwozh	'look after, take care of'
tou	'be appropriate, suit'		

- (12) Cy dwaarachynga luura so eanna, p'eljg t'y-hwieqaab
 DEM.OBL there.PPL.NZ.ALL speak.IMP 1s say.CVant finger at-point.NW.B
 I was talking about that guy over there, he said, pointing at him. (0408)

21.2.3.3. *Nominative + comparison.* tuol- 'surpass'

- (13) Cwa hwazaljg bie tol geana=t'y daaghacha shin hwazaljgal.
 one bird hand.ADV surpass.PRS tree=on D.sit.PPL.OBL two.OBL bird.CSN
 A O
 One bird in the hand beats two sitting in a tree.

21.2.4. *Canonical monotransitives* (over 70). Arguments: A O. Cases: ergative+nominative.

mol	'drink'	lox	'search, find'
oard	'grind'	more	'singe'
oax	'plow'	d.ahw	'bring, carry'
d.u'	'eat'	iec-	'take, buy'
d.iell-	'open'	quoss	'cast, throw'
d.iesh-	'read', 'study'	q'oul	'close, cover, conceal'
d.iex-	'call, invite'	d.ul	'wash'
loac	'capture'	lou	'tolerate, put up with'
loq	'play instrument, sing'		

- (14) Aaz xii malar
1s.ERG water drink.WP
A O
I drank water
- (15) Cuo paandar loq
3s.ERG instrument play.PRS
A O
S/he plays the accordion.
- (16) Peat'mataz mashen iicar
Fatima.ERG car buy.WP
A O
'Fatima bought a car'
- (17) Niw dwa-q'oula.
door DX-close.IMPV
O
Close the door.

21.2.5. *Dative monotransitives*. Arguments: A O. Cases: dative + nominative. This valence pattern is found with all of the high-frequency verbs of cognition and perception. Some of these also take complement clauses (see Chapter 25). In their word order, control properties, etc. these dative A's seem entirely subject-like in Ingush.

d.iez-	'like, love'	xiet-	'seem, appear'
iesh	'lack'	d.ouz	'know, recognize'
gu	'see'	xou	'know, realize'
lou	'wish, want'	xoz	'hear', 'sound'
mott	'think, seem'	gou	'not have time'

- (18) Q'onjgazh Kazaxstaan by mott suona
 son.PL Kazakhstan B.be think 1s.DAT
 I think (his) sons are in Kazakhstan. (*suona* = A; the O is the complement clause.)
- (19) Qy+dola hama dy mott suona
 other+D.be.PPL thing D.be think 1s.DAT
 I think it was something else. (*suona* = A; the O is the complement clause.)
- (20) Gheighanie chy-voaghazh q'ie sag bwarjga+veinuu zhieruochoa.
 sad in-V.come.CVsim poor man eye+V.see.NW.V widow.DAT
 O A
 The widow saw the poor man sadly going home. (HSX)
- (21) Yshitta veizar suona Ibreakwam
 thus V.know.WP 1s.DAT Ibrahim
 A O
 That's how I got to know Ibrahim. (0531)
- (22) Vai mettigazh, loamara hamaazh xaac hwuona caarna.
 1pIN.GEN place.PL mountain.ADJ thing.PL know.NEG MIR 3p.DAT
 O O A
 They don't know our places or mountain lore. (0392B.1)

21.2.6. *Genitive monotransitives*. Arguments: A O. Cases: genitive + nominative. There are two such verbs: *d.y* 'have' (lit. 'be') and *d.ou* 'lose' (lit. 'disappear, get lost').

- (23) Sy axcha daac
 1s.GEN money D.be:NEG.PRS
 A O
 I don't have money.
- (24) Sy kast-kasta axcha dou
 1s.GEN often money D.get lost.PRS
 A O
 I often lose money.

21.2.7. *Ambitransitive*. Arguments: (A) O/S, i.e. one argument (S) or two (A O). Cases: (ergative) nominative.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ With nearly any transitive verb the A can be non-overt if anaphoric or unspecified. For ambitransitives the one-argument valence completely lacks an A (rather than having a non-overt one) and

d.u	'be born; give birth'	hwouz	'get wound up, turn, twist, be curly;
d.uu	'be killed, die; kill'		spin (wool)'
hwiesh	'be oppressed; oppress'	d.uq'	'get plugged, blocked; plug, clog, block'

(25) Hwo mychahw veav?

2s where V.be born.NW.V

S

Where were you born?

(26) Qaalsaguo vow veav

woman.ERG son V.give birth.NW.V

A O

A woman gave birth to a son.

(27) Muusaa viira

Musa V.be killed.WP

S? O?

Musa got killed. (*Musa* = O if there is a null A, otherwise S.)

(28) Ahwmadaz Muusaa viira

Ahmed.ERG Musa V.kill.WP

A O

Ahmed killed Musa.

21.2.8. *Ditransitive*. Arguments: A G T. Cases: ergative + dative/allative/lative + nominative. Such verbs have T=O alignment, and they comprise nearly all ditransitives.

21.2.8.1. *Dative G*.

tuox-	'hit, strike'	d.iett-	'beat', 'hit.PLC'
lu	'give'	tiel-	'give.PLC'
hwoq	'rub, wipe, spread'	t'y-d.uux	'put (clothing) on'

(29) Muusaaz zhwaliena ghadzh tiexar

Musa.ERG dog.DAT stick strike.WP

A G O

Musa hit the dog with a stick.

is lexicalized. Haspelmath 1991, 1993:289-293 shows a clear distinction between ambitransitives and plain transitives in Lezgi; Creissels finds no firm distinction in Akhvakh. Ingush is like Akhvakh: I know of no syntactic test to distinguish absent from unspecified A. See (27).

- (30) Muusaaina zhwalez cerjg tiexar
 M.DAT dog.ERG tooth strike.WP
 G A O
 Musa was bitten by a dog. A dog bit Musa.

21.2.8.2. *Allative G.*

oal	'say'	d.uuc	'tell, talk about'
qoud	'reach for, pass'	hwuoq-	'show'

- (31) naaxaga dwa cy hwuoqazh shoazhta wa-jaazdie
 (other) people.ALL DX NEG show.CVsim 3pRFL.DAT DX-write.IMPV
 If you don't show it to others at least write it down for yourselves. (0380A)

21.2.8.3. *Lative G.*

- (32) Ximikaz benziinagh xii tiexaad
 chemist.ERG gas.LAT water strike.WP
 A G O
 The chemist diluted the gasoline with water ('added water to the gasoline').

- (33) Muusaaz niwaragh ch'iega bellar
 M.ERG door.LAT lock B.insert.WP
 A G O
 Musa locked the door.

21.2.8.4. *Other G.* Instead of the usual case an adverb is sometimes used. Dative *c'ienaa* or lative *c'ienagh* would also be acceptable in place of the adverb *c'agha* in (34).

- (34) yz k'ei toppar c'agha dwatuoxar
 DEM white clay house.ADV DX-strike.IMPV
 They would whitewash the house with white clay. (0392B)

21.2.8.5. *G=O.* There are three ditransitives with G=O alignment. These have a nominative G and a lative T. One of them, *d.uz* 'fill', is ambitransitive:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (35) K'udal xigh jyzar | (36) Aaz k'udal xigh jyzar. |
| jug water.LAT J.fill.WP | 1s.ERG jug water.LAT J.fill.WP |
| G T | A G T |
| The jug filled with water. | I filled the jug with water. |

Qoal 'cover, plate, gild' can be elicited with the lative case on the G, but in texts the instrumental, a non-argument case, is used more often, suggesting that this verb is not ditransitive but monotransitive.

- (37) Aaz wagj dashogh qealar
 1s.ERG spoon gold.LAT cover
 A G T

I gilded the spoon. I covered the spoon in gold.

- (38) dotuoca qealaa shaalta
 silver.INS plate.CVant dagger
 adjunct O
 a silver-plated dagger (CDD 24)

- (39) Dashuoca qealaa datogh t'exkarazh dezh xannad
 gold.INS gild.CVant silver.LAT belt.PL D.make.CVsim PROG.NARP.D
 adjunct modifier O

They would make gilded silver belts. ('gold-plated belts of silver') (0206)

The third is the only Ingush verb with T=O ~ G=O alternation, *d.uott* 'stack (vertically), lay masonry, pour, load'.¹⁶¹

- (40) Aaz ghomaragh mashen jettar
 1s.ERG sand.LAT vehicle J.load.WP
 A T G

I loaded the truck with sand.

- (41) Aaz ghum jettar mashiena=t'y
 1s.ERG sand J.load.WP vehicle.GEN=on
 A T G

I loaded sand on the truck.

21.2.8.6. *Semantics*. Ditransitive verbs of contact with T=O alignment classify the T for some aspect of its motion or position. The classified T is the nominative argument. Here are semantically more precise glosses for some of the ditransitives:

¹⁶¹ The verb is an ancient bipartite (§15.5.5) and cognate to *uott* 'stand'. The senses 'stack vertically' and 'pour (liquid)' are associated with the same root because liquids and granular materials 'stand' in Ingush.

tuox	'strike with missile or end of long object; throw or shoot projectile at; stab, hit' (T moves outwards in linear fashion)
hwoq	'strike with lateral or horizontal movement; slash, swipe, slice' (T moves laterally and defines a plane)
hwoax	'daub, smear, plaster' (T is applied in thick layer)
toss	'throw, toss, sprinkle' (T shows minimal resistance to gravity)
quoss	'throw, hurl, expel, eject' (T moves upwards or ballistically against gravity)
quoll	'cast, throw over' (T comes to cover G)
tyll	'put on top, put up, put onto' (T is set on top of G)
d.uux	'dress, put garment on, clothe' (T encloses G)
d.uott	'stack or pile up vertically'; 'pour' (T accumulates vertically; see note 163)

Several of these fit into larger ancient bipartite stem sets with the same spatial orientation or trajectory and different argument structures (see §15.5.5):

laatt	'stand, be standing' (progressive) (S)
uott	'stand, stand up' (inchoative) (S)
ghott	'fly off, fly up, take off' (S)
d.uott	'stack' (A O; A G T)
tos/toss	'throw, toss' (A G T)
quoss	'hurl' (A G T)
sous	'rise in container' (of dough, mash) (S)
d.uoss	'descend' (S)

The spatial classificatory meaning is sometimes salient to speakers (this is especially clear for *hwoq*, *d.uott*; *tyll* 'put up on top' vs. *d.ull* 'put down, lay down') and sometimes requires interpretation or (as in the ancient Nakh-Daghestanian bipartite stem sets) reconstruction. Spatial classification does not apply as well to either the nominative or the T in the verbs with the minority G=O alignment. For *d.uz* 'fill', the essential semantic point is the state of the filled G rather than its orientation, and there is no classification of the filling substance as to position, motion, etc. For *qoal* 'plate, gild', if this gloss is accurate and the available examples typical, it seems that the lative-marked T (the silver, gold, etc.) has a characteristic spatial distribution (it covers the surface of the nominative G), i.e. classification applies to the non-nominative argument. The same is true of the G=O alignment of *d.uott* 'stack': the T has a salient vertical orientation whatever its case. A plausible historical account of the cross-linguistically unusual consistency of T=O alignment of Ingush contact verbs is some kind of spatial classification of the nominative argument, and the principle still appears to provide a valid generalization over the Ingush contact ditransitives.

21.3. Additional valence patterns of suffixed verbs

Suffixed verbs have most of these same patterns, and two others: ambitransitive with dative A and deponent with causative morphology. (47)-(49) show suffixed verbs with the common default valence patterns.

Intransitive:

- (47) Aaz kercha-dicha gaalii **hwa-doasta-dalar**
 1s.ERG turn-D.CS.CVtemp sack DX-D.untie-D.INCP.WP
 When I turned it over the sack came untied. (inceptive)

Semitransitive:

- (48) Yz sogh **qiera-valar**
 3s 1s.LAT fear-V.INCP.WP
 He became afraid of me. (inceptive)

Transitive:

- (49) Aaz yz **qiera-vyr**
 1s.ERG 3s fear-V.CS.WP
 I scared him (causative)

21.3.1. *Ambitransitive with dative A.* When the inceptive is formed from a direct causative, the valence appears to be ambitransitive, with labile dative A. If there is an A in the argument structure it is dative; the O is nominative. If there is no overt A it is difficult to decide whether the nominative is S or O (as with ergative ambitransitives: §21.2.7). In the inceptive of a suffixed causative, the causative suffix is absent but its semantic contribution is present. Parenthesized (CS) in these interlinears indicates the non-overt causative.

±A=G; O=S (Dat) Nom *qiera-lu* 'scare (easily), get scared'

- (50) Suona yz qiera-lu
 1s.DAT 3s fear-(CS-)INCP
 A O
 I can scare him

- (51) Yz aatta qiera-lu
 3s easily fear-(CS-)INCP
 O
 He scares easily. It's easy to scare him.

Contrast the homophonous inceptive derived from the unsuffixed *qier* 'be afraid, fear', which has no A in the argument structure and no agent in the semantics:

(52) Yz qiera-valar

3s fear-V.INCP.WP

S

He got scared. He took fright.

(53) Zhwalii suona bwara massadz hwodzh, qiera-lu so

dog 1s.DAT eye how.many.times look fear-INCP 1s

S

Whenever the dog looks at me I get scared.

21.3.2. *Deponent suffixed verbs.* Verbs suffixed with *-d.u*, which forms direct causatives and factitives (s.a. §21.7.1), include a number with no A. These are deponent (in the sense of Baerman 2006) in that they have a mismatch between their morphology (transitive) and their syntax, which has no A but only an S corresponding to what would be O if there were an A present. The deponence is then an ergative pattern, with S=O. The two verbs 'freeze' below can be understood as lexicalized agentless transitives, but (55) shows that the S of 'cough' can easily be understood as an agent.

O=S	<i>ghor d.u</i>	'freeze solid'
	<i>d.ohwa-d.u</i>	'freeze, be killed by frost'
	<i>qeika-d.u</i>	'cough'
O=S, Infinitive	<i>qoad.u</i>	'manage, find time'

(54) Yz qeika-vyr

3s cough-V.CS.WP

He coughed.

(55) Massadz qeika-jie jieza sy?

how.many.times cough-J.CS.INF J.should 1s.GEN

How many times should I cough? (e.g. actress to director)

(56) So qoa-vyc

1s manage-V.VZ.PRS.NEG

I never find time. I don't manage (to do it).

Compound verbs can also have this kind of deponence. The light verb *d.uuc* of *dosh duuc* 'go on trial' in (64) below, when used independently, means 'tell, talk about, narrate' and takes an ergative A which is not in the valence of the light verb construction.

The following verbs are ambitransitive, i.e. optionally deponent:

±A, O=S	<i>ghuora-d.u</i>	'freeze (trans.); chill, get chilled'
	<i>d.osha-d.u</i>	'wet, soak; get wet, get soaked'
	<i>moassa-d.u</i>	'spill, spill out'

- (57) Dogha diilxacha, Muusaa vosha-veav
rain D.weep.CVtemp Musa V.wet-V.CS.NW.V
When it rained, Musa got soaked. (Rain 'cries, weeps' in Ingush.)

- (58) Doghuo vosha-veav so
rain.ERG V.wet-V.CS.NW.V 1s
The rain soaked me. I got soaked by the rain. I got caught in the rain.

Ergative S (S=A); deponent causative with no O.¹⁶² Gender prefixation is fixed frozen D.

A *wetta-d.u* 'vomit, throw up'

- (59) Bieruo wetta-dyr
child.ERG vomit-D.CS.WP
The baby threw up.

21.4. Valence patterns of compound verbs

Compound and phrasal verbs display some additional valence patterns, chiefly due to the fact that the first element of the compound is often a frozen former argument of the light verb, usually S or O. Such elements will be called *internal arguments*, and if an internal argument takes an S or O role it triggers *internal agreement* (§15.2.1.1) in the verb, where the verb takes a fixed, frozen prefix that once was agreement with the gender of what is now the first element of the compound verb but was formerly an independent noun.¹⁶³ The external valence – that is, the syntactic valence pattern governed by the verb – lacks that argument slot.

Internal S/O arguments create valence patterns which lack nominative arguments. This is a source of S=A alignment and various other, less common types.

¹⁶² I assume the root is cognate to *wuott-* 'poke, jab'. If not the verb may be compound rather than suffixed simplex.

¹⁶³ *k'edzh* of (60) is not a noun in Ingush, and the frozen internal gender of this verb is the only evidence we have of its former gender and part of speech. *nab* in (61) has some noun functions and has J gender. *sha* in (62) is a fully functioning noun meaning 'ice' and has B gender.

Intransitive S=A

- (60) Xiv k'edzh+jeaqgai
 water.ERG boil+ J.LV.NW.J
 The water's boiled. (*k'edzh+joaqg* 'come to a boil', lit. 'take a boil')
- (61) Aaz nab+jyr
 1s.ERG sleep+J.LV.WP
 I took a nap. I slept. (*nab ju* 'sleep', lit. 'do sleep')

Oblique S#. Despite the transitive light verb, no A can be added.

- (62) Shuregh sha+byr
 milk.LAT freeze-B.LV.WP
 The milk froze. (*sha+bu*, lit. ice+B.make: 'from milk made ice')
- (63) *Aaz shuregh sha+byr
 1s.ERG milk.LAT freeze-B.LV.WP
 (I froze the milk)

Oblique arguments in the genitive are fairly common with compound verbs. In the following verbs the first element of the compound is etymologically a noun, and historically the genitive argument was its possessor.

O# *dosh duuc* 'be on trial (for non-capital crime)'
 dou duuc 'be on trial (for capital crime)'

- (64) Taxan cyn dosh duuc
 today 3s.GEN word D.tell.PRS
 He goes on trial today. (more lit. 'Today his case ('word') is told.')

(A) O# *sagat-lu* 'be worried, upset, homesick'

- (65) Sy sagat-lu
 1s.GEN upset-VZ.PRS
 I'm worried. (*sa-gat* < *sa gott 'soul/mind tight')
- (66) Xaannahw chy cy voaghazh sy sagat-du cuo
 on time in NEG V.come.CVsim 1s upset-D.VZ 3s.ERG
 I worry because he isn't home on time. ('He worries me not coming home on time.')

Transitives with dative A and no ergative:

A# O	<i>k'orda-d.u</i>	'be bored with, be tired of'
	<i>kora-d.u</i>	'find, obtain, come across'
	<i>niis-lu</i>	'happen to find, come across'

- (67) Muusaaina shie liixaa axcha kora-dyr
 M.DAT 3SRFL.ERG seek.PPL money find-D.LV.WP
 Musa found the money he had been looking for.

21.5. Alignment

For the most part Ingush is morphologically ergative. Noun and pronoun inflection are ergative except that the first person plural inclusive pronouns (plain and reflexive) and third person singular reflexive pronoun are neutral (S=A=O, no nominative/ergative distinction). Adjective inflection is ergative in the sense that it distinguishes nominative (S=O) from oblique, which includes ergative. Verb agreement is morphologically ergative, triggered only by nominative S or O. There is no morphologically accusative inflection in the language.

Valence patterns of simple verbs are mostly though not exclusively ergative. The basic intransitive (S), transitive (A, O), and ditransitive (A, T=O, G) patterns are ergative. The verbs with dative experiencer subjects are mostly two-argument verbs, so they too are ergative in that dative, like ergative, is an oblique case distinct from the S and O case. Unlike true transitives, these verbs have a subject coded the same as an indirect object. Bringing objects into the valence patterns yields the types shown in Table 21-4.

For compound and phrasal verbs the picture is less neat. Many of them have as their first element an etymological noun that functioned as O in the free syntactic phrase that was the ancestor of the lexicalized verb:

- (61') aaz nab jyr
 1s.ERG sleep(J) J.do .WP
 'I sleep'

Synchronically these are one-argument verbs with S=A. They are numerous and productive enough that Ingush could be called a split-intransitive or stative-active language overall, and certainly the compound part of its verbal language has split subject marking.

Agreement attraction, discussed in §21.6.2 below, is ergative in alignment, like all agreement. Case attraction (§21.6.1) is accusative: the subject of the main verb takes the case of a lower subject (S=A). The main suffixal verbal derivations, causatives and inceptive (§21.7), are ergative in that they have a nominative pivot (the inceptive is (A=G) S=O; causatives are A S=O). Control of reflexivization (Chapter 29) is accusative, except that in contexts of obviation the controller is sometimes O (O=T=G) (see §29.3.1). Control of

infinitives is same-subject and accusative (S=A). Argument sharing in nuclear chaining (§24.3) is ergative at least in conservative usage. Argument sharing in core chaining (§24.4) is accusative, and the form of the converb in such constructions is ergative with a nominative/oblique distinction like that of adjectives. Actual frequencies of core chaining constructions in natural text, however, have an ergative and strongly case-limited bias, with nominative (S=O) the most frequent controller and target and also less restricted in that S can control nearly any case and role while A mostly controls A. Thus there is a good deal of syntactic ergativity in Ingush.

Table 21-4. Ingush valence patterns. For the abbreviations see Table 21-2. An asterisk marks the accusative pattern.

A S=O=T G	intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive
A=G S=O=T	dative experiencer subjects of verbs with objects (e.g. <i>xou</i> 'know' Dative Nominative)
A S=G O=T	dative-experiencer one-argument verbs (e.g. <i>shiila jy</i> 'it's cold' Dative)
A=S=T O G *	nominative-subject two-argument verbs (semitransitive) (e.g. <i>qier</i> 'fear': Nominative Dative)
A S=T O=G	ergative subject, verb with (former) internal object, dative or allative object (=former indirect object) (e.g. <i>ch'orma-d.oaqq</i> 'peel' (§15.2.1.2), <i>top tuox</i> 'shoot')
A=adnom S=O=T G	genitive subject e.g. <i>d.y</i> 'be'='have' Genitive Nominative

The prominence given to the indirect object or goal by the deictic prefixes (§15.5.1) does not fit neatly into standard alignment categories.

21.6. Attraction

Attraction is used here of three processes in which a morphological property of an infinitive clause extends upward into the clause of the verb governing the infinitive.¹⁶⁴ Case

¹⁶⁴ This term is an extension of the traditional term *case attraction*, which chiefly refers to case agreement between relative pronoun and antecedent in Greek (e.g. Smyth 1956:567-570). What I call attraction in Ingush never involves relative clauses, but it has in common with the classical phenomenon the fact that it involves copying of inflectional morphemes outside of the usual rules of agreement and is limited to a two-clause hierarchical domain (in Ingush, a matrix clause and its complement). A superficially similar morphological phenomenon in Daghestanian languages is syntactically different and requires a different term; see below in the text and footnotes.

attraction spreads the case of the subject (S/A) of the infinitive to the subject of the infinitive-taking verb; agreement attraction spreads the gender of the S/O of the infinitive to the infinitive-taking verb; and transitivity attraction causes the infinitive-taking verb to take on causative or inceptive morphology to echo the transitivity or intransitivity of the infinitive. All three types are limited to particular verbs.

21.6.1. *Case attraction.* The verbs *d.ieza* 'should' and *meg* 'may, maybe, is possible' take the same subject case as is required by the embedded verb. (Contrast the cognate verbs which take specific subject cases: *d.ieza* 'must, need to' with genitive subject and *mog* 'can, is able' with dative subject.) These same verbs also attract the gender of the S/O of the lower verb.

(68) My darra zhop dala diezargdy **caar**
 EMPH D.be.VN:FOC answer D.give.INF D.should.FUT 3p.ERG
 They'll have to answer properly for this. (PL 2.4 64) (*d.ala* 'give', transitive)

(69) Sei iila - nigat xuuca jieza **aaz**
 1sRFL.GEN thought intention change J.should.PRS 1s.ERG
 I must change my character. (PL I.5. 28) (*xuuca* 'change', transitive)

(70) **Aaz** yz televiizar ieca megagjy
 1s.ERG DEM TV set (J) buy.INF may.FUT.J
 It may be that I'll buy this TV. (*ieca* 'buy', transitive)

(71) **Ber** sogh qieradala meg
 child 1s.LAT fear-D.INCP.INF may
 Maybe the child will be scared of me. (*qiera-lu* 'get scared', semi-transitive)

(72)-(73) are an elicited minimal pair for *d.ieza* 'should' and 'must':

Case attraction ('should'):

(72) Massa cho baaqqa bieza **aaz?**
 how many hair B.take.INF B.should 1s.ERG
 How many hairs should I cut? How many hairs do I need to cut (in order to do such and such)?¹⁶⁵

No case attraction ('must'):

(73) Massa cho baaqqa bieza **sy?**
 how many hair B.take.INF B.should 1s.GEN
 How many hairs must I cut? How many hairs are supposed to be cut?

¹⁶⁵ (72)-(73) are elicited variants based a sentence found in a folklore text (see §25.13.1.2).

Not all speakers are able to distinguish or comment on these meaning differences. A Google search for "*dieza a3*" (*dieza aaz*, with ergative) and "*dieza ca*" (*dieza sy*, with genitive) and analogous constructions with other pronouns showed that they have similar frequencies, with ergative slightly predominating.

(74)-(75) are an elicited minimal pair for 'can, may'.¹⁶⁶ Case attraction:¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ The forms *meg* and *mog* differ in ablaut, i.e. in conjugation class. There is no other pair of Ingush verbs that differs in only this way, so it is not a straightforward matter to say whether these are inflectional variants of the same verb or different verbs. I assume their different valence patterns suffice to make them different verbs. Kibrik 1981:36 (2003:624-625) shows that the Tsez verb with meanings similar to *meg* takes either case attraction or case assignment. (The Ingush and Tsez verbs are not cognate.)

¹⁶⁷ Other languages of the north Caucasus have a similar opposition of case attraction and case assignment with modals and the like, and the literature (Forker 2010, Matasović 2009, Kibrik 1981:36 [2003:624-625], Polinsky & Potsdam 2002, Haspelmath 1996:178-9, Harris 1995; Harris & Campbell 1995:187-9 for progressive tenses) shows that (in languages where enough testing has been done, chiefly Daghestanian languages) there is a syntactic difference between the two constructions: the one with case attraction is monoclausal, so that a single surface predicate assigns the case, while that with non-attraction is a biclausal construction with the finite auxiliary assigning case to its subject and the subject of the infinitive non-overt because coreferential. Word order and scope of modifiers establish the difference. In Ingush the situation is different. The infinitive and modal verb (*dieza, meg*) are prosodically unified to form a single IP. Arguments or other clause members generally cannot intervene between the infinitive and the modal. Negation, adverbs, etc. can be understood to have scope over one or the other verb or over both, but this cannot be overtly marked by changing the position of the adverb or negation (and in particular not by putting it between the two verbs). Word order of arguments is more or less templatic (subject precedes object, direct object precedes verb, interrogative word immediately precedes verb) and does not serve to preserve constituency relations between verbs and arguments. All of this is equally true regardless of the case of the subject. The examples below illustrate these various points. (iii) and (v) (marked with minus signs) are stylistically less good but fully grammatical.

- (i) Aaz/sy yz ieca jieza
 I.ERG/GEN 3s buy.INF J.should
 I should buy it (e.g. a car).
- (ii) Ieca jieza aaz/sy yz
- (iii) -Ieca jieza yz aaz/sy.
- (iv) Nab senna jie jieza aaz/sy?
 sleep why J.LV.INF J.have to 1s.ERG/GEN
 Why do I have to take a nap?
- (v) -Nab jie senna jieza aaz/sy?
- (vi) Yz kinashjka shodz diesha diezar aaz/sy.
 DEM book twice D.read.INF D.should.IMPF 1s.ERG/GEN
 I had to read the book twice.
 Reading (a): Yesterday's homework assignment was to read it twice.
 Reading (b): Two times in my life it has been required reading.

- (74) Muusaa chy-vaa **meg**
 Musa in-V.come.INF be able:PLC.PRS
 Maybe Musa will come home. It could be that Musa will come home.

No case attraction:

- (75) Muusaaina chy-vaa **mog**
 Musa.DAT in-V.go.IN can.PRS
 Musa can come home. Musa is able to come home.

21.6.2. *Gender agreement attraction.* In agreement attraction, the gender of the infinitive's S/O also appears on the main verb. There are two differences between case attraction and agreement attraction. First, case attraction is accusative in alignment while agreement attraction is ergative. The following examples use *meg* 'may', which takes both agreement and case attraction, to show the differences. (Conditional and future forms are used because the endings of these have gender agreement.) The parenthesized comments indicate which element of the infinitive clause is attracted to the main clause. In (76)-(77) the gender agreement and case attraction are triggered by the same word, but in (78) they are different: *megagbii* agrees (agreement attraction) with the object *ruuchka* 'pen' while the subject *aaz* 'I' takes case attraction.

- (76) yshtta ... hwa-joala-jie megagjar **yz**
 thus DX-J.bring-J.CS.INF may.CND.J 3s (J)
 It would be possible to bring her back that way (in a carriage).
 (Case attraction: nominative O; agreement attraction: nominative O)¹⁶⁸
- (77) Hwa-vaa megagvii **so?**
 DX-V.come.INF may.FUT.V 1s (V)
 May I come?
 (Case attraction: nominative S; agreement attraction: nominative S)

(vii) * ... diesha shodz diezar ... (and similar variants with other words between the verbs)

These things mean that a syntactic difference of monoclausal vs. biclausal cannot account for case attraction vs. case assignment by the auxiliary verb in Ingush. Rather, it may be a pure difference as to which clause assigns the case to the shared subject, i.e. a pure difference in what Matasović 2009 calls head-first vs. dependent-first syntax. On the other hand, in favor of a syntactic difference, in (72)-(75) above the semantics of the modals with case attraction seems to have to do with contingencies applying to whole situations while that with case assignment has to do with modality applying to an individual; in this semantic respect the subject assigned a case by the modal verb behaves more like an independent member of the modal clause, consistent with a two-clause structure.

¹⁶⁸ The last word *yz* is object of the infinitive *hwajoyalajie*, moved to sentence-final position by extraction (§30.5).

- (78) Hwa ruuchka hwa-ieca megag**bi** a**az**?
 2s.GEN pen(B) DX-take.INF may.FUT.B 1s.ERG
 May I take (borrow, use) your pen?
 (Case attraction: ergative A; agreement attraction: nominative O)

Second, agreement attraction applies more broadly than case attraction. See (72)-(73) above, in which both have agreement attraction but only (72) has case attraction.

A complex example is (79), in which the object of *dwavala* 'give' is shared both with its purpose infinitive *womavie* 'teach' (normal same-clause agreement) and the modal *vieza* (agreement attraction). This is an elaboration of the syntactic structure found in (80), a standard construction. It usually has a null unspecified A but can perfectly well have an overt ergative A, parenthesized in (80).

- (79) Zungataga woma-vie dwa-vala vieza hwo
 ant.ALL teach-V.CS.INF DX-give.INF V.should 2s
 You should be sent to study with an ant. (PL 2.4.47)
 (Subsequent context: It will teach you there's no earning salary in winter.)

- (80) Ahwmadaga dwa-vala vieza (vai) yz
 A.ALL DX-V.give.INF V.should 1pIN.ERG 3s
 He should be sent to Ahmed (for instruction). (Ahmed is the name of a master teacher.) We should send him ...

The verbs found with agreement attraction all take infinitive complementation. The only verbs found so far are *meg*, *d.ieza*, and the phase verbs discussed just below in §21.6.3 and in §25.15. (Suffixed auxiliaries such as causative *-du* agree with the S/O of the verb stem's valence, but this is clause union and not attraction.) More examples of case and agreement attraction are in §25.8. A few examples of verbs taking other forms of complementation that do not have agreement attraction are these with subjunctives and verbal nouns:

- (81) Massaniena='a yz dika sag voljga xeinad / *xeinuu
 all.DAT 3s(V) good person V.be.SBJ know.WP.D / *V
 Everyone knew he was a good person.
- (82) Massaniena='a so c'a-jienaljga xazaad / *xazaai
 all.DAT 1s(J) home-J.come.SBJpst hear.NW.D / *J
 Everyone heard I'd come home.
- (83) Waishietaa xeinad / *xeinuu, t'ehwa-vysaar maluu
 A.DAT know.WP.D / *V behind-V.stay.PPL.NZ who=V
 Aisha knew who was late.

21.6.3. *Transitivity attraction.* The phase auxiliaries 'start' and 'finish' can agree in transitivity with their complement verbs. A transitive complement can take either transitive or intransitive 'start' or 'finish', while an intransitive complement can take only intransitive 'start' or 'finish'. Transitive auxiliaries are said to sound better with transitive complements, and this combination is what occurs in carefully written prose, but in elicitation the intransitive auxiliary is common with verbs of any valence. In this section (and nowhere else), verb suffixes are interlinearized INTRANS and TRANS (instead of INCP and CS, or LV, or VZ, their usual interlinears).

d.uola-lu (intrans.) / *d.uola-d.u* (trans.) 'start' (+ infinitive). Transitive + transitive:

- (84) **Laqa juola-jyr.**
 play.INF J.start-J.TRANS.WP
 (She) started playing (it). (Anaphoric zero subject and object; verb agrees in gender with object with *jish* 'song'.) (7D)

Transitive + intransitive:

- (85) Pxi' dealcha txo chei **mala duola-lu.**
 five D.finish.CVtemp 1pEX tea drink.INF D.start-INTRANS
 We usually start drinking tea at 5:00.
- (86) Muusaa qoana jaalx sahwat dealcha **jaaz-die vuola-lurgvy.**
 M. tomorrow six hour D.go.CVtemp write-D.INF V.start-INTRANS.FUT.V
 Tomorrow Musa will start writing at 6:00.
- (87) Kinashkja **diesha vuola-valcha,** kuorta laza boal sy.
 book D.read.INF V.begin-V.INTRANS.CVtemp head hurt.INF begin 1s.GEN
 Whenever I start reading a book I get a headache.
- (88) So shiina jeizaachul t'ehwagha q'ameal **duuca**
 1s 3SRFL.DAT J.know.PPL.NZ.CSN after conversation D.tell.INF
vuola-valar yz.
 V.begin-V.INTRANS.WP 3s
 After he recognized me he started talking.

Intransitive + intransitive:

- (89) Chaarx c'eaxxaa **qesta juola-jalar.**
 wheel suddenly turn.INF J.start-J.INTRANS.WP
 The wheel suddenly started turning.

Intransitive + transitive:

- (90) Hwaaira **qesta** **juola-jyr**
 mill turn.INF J.start-J.INTRANS.WP
 The mill started turning.¹⁶⁹

jistie-d.oal (intrans.) / *jistie-d.oaqq* (trans.) 'finish' (+ anterior converb)

- (91) Shi shu dealcha so **diishaa** **jistie-joal**.
 two year D.go.CVtemp 1s D.sudy.CVant finish-J.INTRANS.PRS
 In two years I'll finish school. In two years I finish my studies.

- (92) Muusaaz siexan kinashkja **diishaa** **jistie-deaqqar**
 Musa.ERG yesterday book D.read.CVant finish-D.TRANS.PRS
 Yesterday Musa finished reading the book

chaq-d.oal / *chaq-d.oaqq* 'finish' (+ anterior converb)

- (93) Muusaaz kinashjka **diishaa** **chaq-deaqqar**.
 Musa.ERG book D.read.CV finish-D.TRANS.WP
 Musa finished reading the book.

d.oal lit. 'start; go (ingressive)' (intrans.) / *d.oaqq* 'take' (trans.) 'finish' (+ anterior converb).
 Transitive 'start' in (94) was said to sound better than intransitive 'start' of (93).

- (94) Muusaa cwan bettaa kinashkja **jaazdea** **vealar**
 M. one.OBL month.DAT book write-D.CVant V.start:INTRANS.WP
 Musa wrote a book in one month.

- (95) Muusaaz cwan bettaa kinashkja **jaazdea** **deaqqar**
 M.ERG one.OBL month.DAT book write-D.CVant V.finish:TRANS.WP
 id.

Transitive verbs meaning 'finish' or containing *d.oaqq* 'finish' as derivational auxiliary themselves take the intransitive 'start' or 'finish', probably to avoid repetition of *d.oaqq*. However, paraphrases avoiding the transitivity disagreement (96, 97) are generally preferred.

¹⁶⁹ The speaker who provided this example said that implies that someone took actions that allowed the mill to start; (89) with intransitive auxiliary *juolajalar* the sentence means 'The mill started running' without any implication of human action. (90) is not to be confused with '(unspecified or anaphoric agent) started turning the mill', as that would require the causative infinitive *qestajie* (turn-J.CS.INF).

- (96) (?)Muusaa cwan sahwtāa bolx **jistie-beaqqaa vealar.**
 M. one.OBL hour.DAT work end-B.TRANS.CVant V.finish:INTRANS.WP
 Musa finished the work in one hour. (transitive verb *jistie-d.oaqq* 'finish')
- (97) Muusaa cwan sahwtāa bolx **jistie-beaqqar.**
 M. one.OBL hour.DAT work end-B.TRANS.WP
 Musa finished the work in an hour.
- (98) Muusaa **dwa-ettie** cwan sahwtāa **bolx bea voal.**
 M. DX-stand_up.CVseq one.OBL hour.DAT work B.do.CVant V.finish:INTRANS.PRS
 Musa up and finishes the work in one hour.

21.7. Valence changing

A set of suffixal derivations, shown in Table 21-5, affects valence and aspect. The suffixal element is a fused verb in origin, more or less transparently related to an independent verb, and imposes its valence on the lexical main verb. The various causatives are chiefly argument-adding operations, though they also affect aspect (in that causatives, like transitives in general, are mostly telic no matter what the aspect of the input verb). The inceptive (called 'potential' in most previous literature) is primarily an aspectual derivation, though it also changes valence, changing the case of any non-nominative A or S to dative. Especially with an overt A it can mean 'can do X' or 'lends itself to...', but I believe these are more likely to be consequences of an aspectual derivation than vice versa. It is ambitransitive, found frequently with only a nominative argument and no dative A.

In their effects on subject case and in the fact that their formatives are verbal in origin, these regular derivations at first glance resemble the analytic tenses. There are systematic differences between tense inflection and regular verbal derivation, however. Tenses produce different wordforms but derivations produce different words. The progressive analytic tenses can optionally change case (alternating between nominative and ergative progressives: see §13.4) but not valence, while the derivations change valence. The causatives most clearly change valence, adding an ergative A. The markers of regular derivations are suffixed to the verb stem with an epenthetic vowel, while the inflectional auxiliaries are postposed to an inflected form (converb or infinitive) of the verb.

Eligibility for the regular derivations is based on valence and aspect: a regular derivation generally does not apply to a verb that already has the properties it would add. The direct and double causatives, which are lexical transitivization processes, almost never apply to verbs that are transitive to start with. The inceptive, which adds ingressive aspect, does not apply to lexically ingressive verbs.

Table 21-5. Regular verbal derivations. Labile = the A argument (ergative or dative subject) is optional. Transitive = monotransitive, ditransitive, or oblique transitive. * = Exceptionally, transitives 'eat' and 'drink' take the causative; see §2.1.7.1.4.

Derivation	Suffix	Input valence	Output valence	A case change	Added
Direct causative	- <i>d.u</i> 'make'	No transitives *	Transitive	Erg => Dat *	Erg
Indirect causative	-(<i>i</i>) <i>t</i> 'leave'	(any)	Transitive	Erg => All	Erg
Double causative	- <i>d.eit</i> 'make+leave'	No transitives	Transitive	Erg => Dat	Erg+All
Inceptive	- <i>lu</i> 'give'	No ingressives	Dative (ambitrans.)	Erg => Dat/All	---

The examples in this section show each derivation with as many input valence patterns as the derivation allows. Many of the examples are taken from Nichols 1982 (with corrected transcription). The five basic input valence patterns are illustrated with the verbs shown in (98)-(108).

Intransitive

(99) Sy kuorta ladz
1s.GEN head hurt.PRS
'My head aches'

(100) Sixa talx yz
fast spoil.PRS 3s
'It spoils fast'

Semitransitive: Nominative A + oblique O

(101) Yz suona bwara+hwedzh
3s 1s.DAT eye+look:PLC.PRS
'S/he looks at me'

(102) So cynagh qer
1s 3s.LAT fear.PRS
'I'm afraid of him/her'

Dative A + nominative O

- (103) Suona yz duqa vedz
 1s.DAT 3s much V.like.PRS
 I like him. I love him.

Oblique transitive: Ergative A + oblique O

- (104) Cuo suoga la+dieghar
 3s.ERG 1s.ALL ear+listen.WP
 He listened to me

Monotransitive: Ergative A + nominative O.

- (105) Aaz yz kinashjka diishar
 1s.ERG DEM book D.read.WP
 I read the book

- (106) Cuo meaq ju'
 3s.ERG bread J.eat
 S/he eats bread

Ditransitive: Ergative A, dative G, nominative O

- (107) Aaz cynna axcha dalar
 1s.ERG 3s.DAT money D.give.WP
 I gave him/her money

- (108) Aaz kartaa ghadzh tox
 1s.ERG fence.DAT stick strike.PRS
 I hit the fence with a stick

- (109) Naanaz bieraa koch t'y-juux
 mother.ERG child.DAT shirt on-J.dress.PRS
 Mother dresses child in shirt. Mother puts shirt on child.

21.7.1. *Direct causative.* The direct causative is formed by suffixing a form of *-d.u* 'do, make' to the present stem with an epenthetic schwa. This auxiliary then inflects normally, including for gender (so the verb form then appears to have infixal gender agreement, as well as initial agreement if the input verb takes it). The input stem inflects only for gender and pluractionality. With two exceptions (the verbs 'eat' and 'drink'), only verbs with nominative subjects can take the direct causative. The direct causative is a basic transitivizer, adding an A who causes a state change in the O, usually by direct physical action.

Verbs of the conjugation of *lat* 'adhere; fight', *laz* 'ache', etc., with /a/ in the present and infinitive stem, change their root vocalism to /o/ in the direct causative (behaving like verbs such as *mol* 'drink'). (These are respectively conjugation classes X and IX of Table 12-1.)

Intransitive input

- (110) Cuo sy kuorta **loza-bu**
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN head hurt-B.CS.PRS
 He's hurting my head (physically, e.g. by hitting it). He injures my head.

Semitransitive input

- (111) Aaz yz **qiera-vu**
 1s.ERG 3s fear-V.CS.PRS
 I scare him
- (112) Cuo sy loalaxuo **qiera-vyr** sogh
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN neighbor fear-V.CS.WP 1s.LAT
 He made my neighbor get scared of me. He provoked fear of me in my neighbor.
- (113) Hwoa **tolxa-bea** xubbolazh baac caar cyn ...
 brain spoil-B.CS.CVant be-B.FUT.CVsim PROG.NEG 3p.ERG 3s.GEN
 They must not have damaged his brain ... (surgeon's assistants operating
 unsupervised) (0415.12)

Monotransitive input. The verbs 'eat' and 'drink' are the only transitive ones found to take the direct causative. The causee is dative.

- (114) Naanaz meaq **ju'a-ju** bieraa
 mother.ERG bread J.eat-J.CS child.DAT
 Mother feeds bread to child.
- (115) Aaz q'araq'='a **mola-dii** hwakim voxa-vu
 1s.ERG vodka & drink-D.CS.CVseq boss V.get_drunk-V.CS.PRS
 I get the boss drunk on vodka.
- (116) Aaz hwakimaa q'aaraq' **mola-du**
 1s.ERG boss.DAT vodka drink-D.CS.PRS
 id.

Occasional apparent causatives of transitive verbs are found, but they seem to actually be derived from inceptives (see §21.7.4.4 below).

Direct causatives are mostly accomplishments or otherwise telic, and do not preserve the aktionsart of the input verb. The direct causative of an inherently progressive verb is not progressive in the present tense, so *laatt* 'stand, be standing' (progressive) gives causatives like these, where the meaning is habitual or generic present but not progressive:

(117) Aaz sei mashen aara **loatta-du**
 1s.ERG 1sRFL.GEN car outside stand-D.CS.PRS
 I keep my car on the street. I park my car on the street.

(118) haara saguo cy zulamazhca lira q'ousam **loatta-boi**
 every person.ERG DEM crime.PL.INS fierce opposition stand-B.CS.CVirr
 if every person puts up fierce opposition to these crimes (0380A.28)

21.7.2. *Indirect causative.* The indirect causative is formed by suffixing *-iit/-it* to the present or infinitive stem. (The *-it* allomorph follows a vowel.) The verb stem undergoes present-stem ablaut but not past-stem ablaut:

	<i>d.oaqq</i> 'take'	<i>d.oal</i> 'go(ingr.)'	<i>xul</i> 'be'
Present	d.oaqqiit	d.oaliit	xuliit
Infinitive	d.aaqqiita	d.aaliita	xaliita
Nonwitnessed	d.aaqqiitaad	d.aaliitaad	xaliitar

The /ii/ of the suffix can be dropped in many of the inflectional forms, leaving a consonant cluster. This is done regularly in the causatives of the common verbs *hwo* (inf. *d.ahwa*) 'carry, take away' and *duoda* (inf. *d.axa*) 'go', and is possible for all verbs. It seems not to occur in the infinitive. When overt, the *-iit* syllable tends to be stressed (§4.1.1).

	'send away'	'send, have go'
Present	d.ohwt / d.ohwiit	d.oxt / d.oxiit
Infinitive	d.ahwiita	d.axiita
Witnessed past	d.ahwtar / d.ahwiitar	d.axtar / d.axiitar
Anterior converb	d.ahwtaa / d.ahwiitaa	d.axtaa / d.axiitaa

The indirect causative can be formed from verbs of all valence types. The meaning is 'let...', 'have...'. An ergative input A becomes an allative causee; no other cases change.

Intransitive input

(119) Sy kuorta laziita, ...
 1s.GEN head ache-CS.IMPV
 So let my head ache (I'm going out anyway).

- (119) Aaz cyn kuorta laziit
 1s.ERG 3s.GEN head ache-CSind.PRS
 I'm giving him a headache (by doing something to make his head ache, e.g. making noise, annoying him, etc.)

Semitransitive input

- (120) Aaz yz qieriit
 1s.ERG 3s fear-CSind.PRS
 I give him cause to be afraid, I make him afraid.

Dative A input

- (121) ... ghalghaai mott woma-baraa,
 ... Ingush.GENpl language study-B.CS.VN.DAT
 vei naaxaa **bieziitaraa**
 1pIN.GEN people.DAT B.love.CSind.VN.DAT
 vei taxanarcha diinahwa duqqa ghulaqazh='a du
 1pIN.ERG today.ADJ.OBL day.ADV many:FOC matter.PL=& D.do.PRS
 ...and we do a lot now so that people will study Ingush and our people will love it.
 (0531.08)

Oblique transitive input

- (122) Bierazhka **la+duughiita** dieza
 child.PL.ALL ear+listen-CSind.INF D.should
 You have to get the children to listen. Children have to be made to obey. (0816)

Monotransitive input

- (123) Cuo cynga nidzagha kinashjka **dieshiit**
 3s.ERG 3s.ALL force book D.read-CSind
 He forces her to read the book. ('has her read by force')

Ditransitive input

- (124) Aaz hama **tuoxiit** cynga?
 1s.ERG something strike-CSind 3s.ALL
 Shall I have him hit (him/it)? Shall I tell him to hit (him/it)?

- (125) Vanna sag vy **aaliita** wa-vyzhaav jer
 V.dead person V.be.PRS say-CSind.INF down-V.lie.NW.V jer
 cy maalkaracha kasha
 DEM.OBL sun.ADJ.OBL tomb.ADV ¹⁷⁰

He lay down in the tomb so they would think (lit. 'say') he was dead. (Dymii)

- (126) Yz txoazhka cy aaliita, txoi daa volazh joa
 3s 1pEX.ALL NEG say-CSind.INF 1pEX:RFL owner V.be.CVsim J.be.PPL
 meazhie joaqqiitargjolazh txo='a dar.
 body part J.take-CSind.FUT.CVsim 1pEX=& D.be.PST

Rather than have him say that to us we were ready to part with one of our own limbs.
 (0404)

Note that the indirect causative of progressive verbs is not progressive. *laatt* 'stand, be standing' is progressive in the simple present tense but its indirect causative is not:

- (127) T'aaqqa, **loatt-iit** yz ...
 so stand-CSind 3s
 So then (you/they) let it stand and ... (from a recipe) (0246A.36)

Especially in infinitive clauses, the indirect causative is often not a literal causative but a switch reference indicator of sorts (s.a. (169) in §13.5.4)).

- (128) Qy c'aaqqa='a kerda cy **daaliita**, shoazhta mogar dielazh.
 more never=& new NEG D.go-CSind.INF 2p.RFL.DAT be able.PPL.NZ D.do.IMPVfut
 Do everything possible so this will never happen again. (7D)

- (129) Cynna sie bwarjga+**goita** biezam bar sy.
 3s.DAT 1s.RFL eye+see-CSind.INF want B.be.PST 1s.GEN
 I'd like him to see me.

21.7.3. *Double causative.* Any verb suffixed with *-du* – direct causative, denominal or deadjectival verb, light verb construction – can add the indirect causative suffix. The meaning is indirect causation of the causativized verb.

Intransitive input

¹⁷⁰ *Maalkara kash* (sun-ADJ tomb), lit. 'sun tomb', the traditional pre-Islam above-ground stone tomb in highland Ingushetia.

- (130) Cuo sy kuorta **loza-beit**
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN head hurt-B.CS.CSind
 He makes/has (someone) hurt my head. He has (someone) give me a headache.

Semitransitive input (nominative A)

- (131) Aaz caarga **qiera-veitar** yz
 1s.ERG 3p.ALL fear-V.CS.CSind.WP 3s
 I had them scare him.

Monotransitive input. The immediate causee is in the allative case, and the subject of the ultimate input verb is in the dative (as it is in the direct causative):

- (132) Daaz vowaga shii doattaghchoa q'araq' **mola-deit**
 father.ERG son.ALL 3SRFL.GEN friend.DAT vodka drink-D.CS.CSind
 'The father has his son serve his (=father's) friend drinks' ('has his son have his friend drink')

- (133) Taxanara vaaxaruo 'a, taxan naaxaa jiq'ie
 today.ADJ V.life.ERG=& today people.DAT among
 lielachuo='a **metta+otta-deitac**
 behave.PPL.NZ.ERG=& place+stand-D.CS.CSind.NEG
 Today's life and circumstances make it impossible to revive (it) ('don't let [one] revive [it]'). (0379A.19.14)

Input verb is a transitive in -d.u but not a direct causative.

- (134) Cuo yz kinashjka jaaz-deit
 3s.ERG this book write-D.VZ.CSind.PRS
 He lets this book be written. He has the book written. (*jaaz-d.u* 'write')

21.7.4. *Inceptive.* The inceptive is formed by suffixing *lu*, inf. *d.ala* (homophonous to 'give') to the present stem with an epenthetic schwa. An ergative input subject becomes dative. The output valence is always labile, with the dative A optional (even if the input transitive is not ambitransitive, i.e. the input ergative A is not optional). The inceptive has punctual or ingressive aktionsart and, in the present and imperfect tenses, usually implies not duration but a propensity or a habitual or recurring event or action. When the dative agent is present the meaning is almost always propensity, and such examples can be translated with 'can' and are virtually synonymous to constructions with *mog* 'can'. With verbs of state like *qier-* 'fear' in (136-8) and *d.iez-* 'like' in (139-40) the aktionsart effect is very clear, and the perfective past

tenses of the inceptive provide punctual or inchoative counterparts to the unsuffixed verb (which generally cannot form the perfective past tenses) (s.a. §14.3.1).

Intransitive input

- (135) Sixa talxa-lu yz
 fast spoil-INCP 3s
 It spoils easily. It tends to spoil fast

(For the verb *laz* 'hurt, ache', which does not take the regular inceptive but forms a surrogate one with *-d.oal* 'go', see §15.3.)

Semitransitive input

- (136) Yz sixa qiera-lu
 3s fast fear-INCP.PRS
 He scares easily

- (137) Yz qiera-valar
 3s fear-V INCP.WP
 He got scared. He took fright.

- (138) Suona bwara+hwazha-valar yz
 1s.ALL eye+look-V. INCP.WP 3s
 (There was something in the way, but) he was able to look at me. He managed to look at me.

Dative A input

- (139) Yz massaniena vieza-lu
 3s all.DAT V.like-INCP.PRS
 Everyone likes him right off. He's likable.

- (140) Suona vieza-valar yz
 1s.DAT V.like-V INCP.WP 3s
 I fell in love with him.

Oblique transitive input

- (141) Cynna suoga la+duogha-dalar
 3s.DAT 1s.ALL ear+D.listen-D.INCP.WP
 He managed to listen to me. He managed to hear me out.

Monotransitive input

- (142) Suona yz kinashjka dika diesha-lu
 1s.DAT DEM book well D.read-INCP
 I can read this book well. This book is easy for me to read.
- (143) Yz kinashjka dika diesha-lu
 DEM book well D.read-INCP
 This book reads well/easily.
- (144) Yz urs dika tuoxa-lu niwaragh
 DEM knife well strike-INCP door.LAT
 This knife throws at/sticks in the door well.
- (145) Suoga yz tuoxa-lu
 1s.ALL 3s strike-INCP
 I can fire it (stab with it, strike with it, etc.).

A direct causative can be formed from the inceptive, in which case the inceptive suffix is dropped and only the direct causative suffix is present. Whether the causative is formed directly from the verb root or from its inceptive can be determined only from the meaning (and of course on consideration of whether the verb root can take a direct causative in the first place). For example, *d.oast* has a range of meanings: 'untie, undo, unfasten' inn (146) and the figurative senses of (147)-(148):

- (146) Cuo gaalii hwa-deastar
 3s.ERG sack DX-D.untie.WP
 He untied the sack
- (147) Cuo mott beastar
 3s.ERG tongue B.undo.WP
 She (new bride) began speaking with her in-laws (after observing the traditional silence in their presence for some time)
- (148) maarxa baastar
 fast B.undo.VN
 eating after sundown on a fast day; end of fast at sundown

Inceptive *d.oasta-lu* means 'come untied, come undone' and, with dative, 'come untied/undone for/on (dative)', '(dative) can untie/undo'. (149a) is the inceptive; (149b) has a non-inceptive with the auxiliary verb 'can', and the meaning is the same.

(149) a. Cynna cwaaqqa teipaara shod **hwa-boasta-balandzar**
 3s.DAT any way.ABL knot DX-B.untie-B.INCP.NEG.WP
 He couldn't get the knot untied at all.

b. Cynna cwaaqqa teipaara shod **hwa-baasta** magandzar
 3s.DAT any way.ABL knot DX-B.untie.INF can.NEG.WP
 id.

(150) Caarna t'y=juuxazh meachezh jiexaa-jalie, ...,
 3p.DAT on=J.wear.CVsim shoe.PL J.break.NW-J.CVirr

eira **doasta-danna=dalie**, eira hwa=t'y-tiegar
 sole D.come undone-D.INCP=D.CVirr sole DX=on-sew.IMPF

If the shoes they were wearing were torn or the sole **was coming off**, they would sew it back on. (0415.12)

The only instance of direct causative *d.oasta-d.u* in the corpus is (151), in which the root is transitive *d.oast* 'untie, unfasten'. *V.oasta-v.u* means 'make able to relax/loosen' and nothing like 'cause to untie', so it is derived from the inceptive *d.oasta-lu* 'come untied, come undone'.

(151) Cyn bwara+hwazhar dar chuhwara-voaxazh,
 3s.GEN eye+look.NZ D.be.PST inside-V.take:PL.CVsim

wa voasta-vu
 2s.ERG V.undo-V.CS.PRS

Her glance drives me mad ('was turning me inside out'), you comfort me. (PL 2.4-2)

A less clear case is *uoz-* 'pull (out, apart, taut), stretch; lift' with several other senses such as 'weigh' and 'smoke (tobacco)':

(152) Cawazh **wa-odz**, cawazh **hwal-odz** teazh
 one.PL down-pull one.pl up-pull thread.PL
 They pull some of those [warp] threads up and some down (0216B.3)

(153) T'aaqqa cy=t'y doaqqa wyrjg 'a deaqqie,
 so DEM=on D.big hole=& D.take.CVseq

gourazh **dwa-iezacha** kaglug='a joacazh
 horse.L DX-pull.CVtemp break.FUT=& J.NEG.CVsim

They make a big hole in it so when the horses pull it it won't break (0417)

- (154) Hwaai nax hwaaina biezie,
 2SRFL.GEN people 2SRFL.DAT B.love.CVirr
 hwaai bagie hwaaiiga **uozagjy** wa.
 2SRFL.GEN mouth 2SRFL.ALL pull-J.FUT 2s.ERG
 If you love your family you'll keep your mouth shut. (0207A.2)
- (155) la **hwa=t'y='a iezaa**, ...
 horseshoe DX=on=& pull.CVant
 They lifted up the horseshoe and ... (0415.12)
- (156) Mashen hwa='a jettaa, ieza= 'a **iezaa** wa-jeassa-jeai
 vehicle DX=& J.load.CVant weigh=& weigh.CVant DX-J.empty-J.CS.NW.J
 They loaded the truck, weighed, it, and unloaded it.
- (157) Beisoltaz qy shie ghealie **uuzagjaac** eanna
 B.ERG any more 3SRFL cigarette smoke:PLC.FUT.J.NEG SUB
 dosh dalar
 word D.give.WP
 Beisolta promised not to smoke any more.
- The inceptive means 'stretch, be stretchy', i.e. 'be pullable', as well as 'can smoke':
- (158) Uuzorjg¹⁷¹ **uoza-lu**
 rubber pull- INCP.PRS
 Elastic stretches. A rubber band stretches.
- (159) Cynna ghealie **uoza-lu**
 3s.DAT cigarette smoke-INCP.PRS
 He manages to smoke. He's able to smoke.

while the causative means 'pull (in some direction), make move by pulling':

- (160) istol hwaai gahw **dwa-uoza-die**
 table 2SRFL.LOC DX-pull-D.CS.IMPV
 Pull the table toward you.

¹⁷¹ The word for 'rubber band, elastic' is a nominalized participle of an archaic direct causative form of the pluractional *uuz* of this same verb 'pull, stretch': archaic infinitive *uuz-uo*, modern *uuz-a-d.ie*.

- (161) uquo d.h. **hwa='a uoza-jea** yzh shi gour
 3s.ERG um DX=& pull-J.CS.CVant DEM.PL two horse
 he reined in the two horses (0398B)

The causative corresponds to only the more or less literal senses of the underived verb, as does the inceptive, though the two are lexicalized in somewhat different senses.

Similarly, the inceptive can be formed either from the base verb or from its direct causative, in which case there is no overt causative marking; only the meaning and context make this clear. Hence (136) above means either 'He's prone to get scared' or 'One can scare him easily'. More generally, any verb suffixed in *-d.u* will drop the *-d.u* in the inceptive: *jaaz-d.u* 'writes', *jaaz-lu* 'is writable, can write' (**jaaz-die-lu*).

- (162) Joazanxuochnyna shii kinashjka aatta **jaaz-dalar** / ***jaaz-die-dalar**
 writer.DAT 3SRFL.GEN book easily write-D.VZ.WP write-D.CS.VZ.WP
 The author wrote his own book easily. To the author, his own book was easy to write.

Inherently ingressive verbs cannot take the inceptive. In (163), 'get fat' can take 'begin' in (a) but not the inceptive in (b).

- (163) a Shouztq'a shu dealcha Muusaa **varsta** **vuola-valar**
 40 year D.go.CVtemp V.get fat.INF V.begin-V.WP
 b **Shouztq'a shu dealcha Muusaa **varsta-valar***
get fat-V.INCP.WP

After he turned 40 Musa began gaining weight.

21.8. Notable non-valence-changing processes

Apart from the allative or dative on causees that are ergative with the input verb (§21.7.1-3 above) and the dative replacing an input ergative in the inceptive (§21.7.4 just above), Ingush has no valence-changing processes. It has no passive. Ambitransitive verbs (§§21.2.7 and 21.3.1-2 above) give a valence choice comparable to active vs. passive in other languages.

There is no antipassive and almost no object removal even in verbs such as 'eat', 'cook', 'sew', 'read', which cross-linguistically are often used without objects as activity verbs. Ingush uses a dummy object: often *hama* 'something', e.g. *d.u* 'eat' (erg. A, nom. O) : *hama d.u* lit. 'eat something' (erg. A, dummy O *hama* 'thing, something') = 'eat, be eating, dine'. Common in proverbs and the like is *syskal ju* 'eat cornbread' (the traditional staple food). *d.iesh* 'read' is lexicalized without an object in the sense 'study, be a student', but this is not antipassive-like as it still takes an ergative subject as in (164-165).

- (164) T'aaqqa, ciga diishaad aaz.
 then there D.study.NW.D 1s.ERG
 I studied there (and finished). (0394A)
- (165) Duqa **dieshandzar** caar='a, [one word unintelligible] Sibregh dwa-digar
 much D.study.NEG.WP 3p.ERG=& Siberia DX-D.take away.WP
 They didn't go to school for long either, [because then] we were deported. (0409.22)

Another example is (144) in Chapter 13.

Nor are there other object-removing processes. Reflexives and reciprocals are separate pronouns which occupy a valence place and do not detransitivize verbs or otherwise reduce valence (see §29.3-4). There are almost no alternations involving objects, such as applicatives, locative alternations, dative shift, etc.; see §21.2.8.5 for the few verbs that have any variation in their object coding.

Some auxiliary verbs change the case of a subject: *d.ieza* 'should' and similar modals impose a subject case or take case attraction; the intransitive phase verb *d.uola-lu* 'begin' imposes nominative case on the subject and the transitive *d.uola-du* imposes ergative case on the A (see §21.6.3 above); the actual progressive auxiliaries are in origin intransitive verbs and impose nominative on the A (while the generic progressive auxiliary 'be' allows either nominative or ergative A) (see §13.4):

- (166) **Aaz** gazet desh
 1s.ERG newspaper D.read.PRS
 I read the newspaper. (generic present tense with ergative A)
- (167) **So** gazet dieshazh jy
 1s newspaper D.read J.PROG
 I'm reading a newspaper (these days); I'm a newspaper reader. (progressive with nominative A)
- (168) **Aaz** gazet dieshazh dy
 1s.ERG newspaper D.read D.PROG
 I'm reading a newspaper (right now). (progressive with ergative A)
- (169) **Yz** gazet dieshazh laatt
 3s newspaper read.CVsim PROG
 He's reading the newspaper (right now and visible). (progressive with nominative A)

These various case options have no impact on the word order, control properties, etc. of the A but affect the aspectual semantics (see §13.4).

Thus the main valence-changing process of Ingush is causativization. There is very little valence changing of any other type, and in particular no valence decreasing other than ambitransitivity. On the other hand, the option of using a transitive verb without an overt A is very commonly used, and though the A usually seems to be unspecified rather than truly absent this construction does much of the work done by detransitivization in other languages. (170)-(172) lack overt or identifiable agents and function much like their English passive translations.

(170) Loam=chy hwa_mal_joa ghaalaazh cwan shera **jeajaac**
 mountain.ADV=in all.J tower.PL one.OBL year.GEN J.build.NW.J.NEG
 All the towers in these mountains weren't built in one year. (0204A)

(171) Yzh zhop cy luzh c'a+baxiitacha bus
 3p answer NEG give.CVsim home+B.go.CSind.PPL.OBL night.ADV
 jiwii neana jett **bigaab** **chyra-beaqqaa**
 girl.GEN mother.GEN cow B.lead away.NW.B in.ABL-B.take.CVant

The same night that she sent them home without an answer, the girl's mother's cow **was stolen** ('got the cow out [of the fenced yard] and led it away') (JBX)

(172) So taxan **t'oada-jeai**
 Is today get wet-J.CS.NW.J
 I got wet today. I got caught in the rain today.

(173) Je dosh niisa **jaaz-deadaac**
 this word right write-D.VZ-D.NEG
 This word isn't written right. This word is spelled wrong.

Other examples of this sort above include (27), (127), (156), and many others in ethnographic reports, recipes, etc.

CHAPTER 22

NON-ARGUMENTS

Covered in this chapter are true adjuncts (in traditional terms, circumstantials) and non-arguments which may be subcategorized for by the verb. Since there is no formal difference between the two, I have not tried to sort them out here.

The forms used on adjuncts include bare cases, postpositions, adverbs, deictic and local prefixes, and converbial subordinate clauses. There are no obvious generalizations to be made about which forms have which adjunct functions.

22.1. Spatial relations

Spatial relations such as 'in', 'out from behind', etc. are shown by postpositions and/or local prefixes to verbs and/or adverbs. The local phrases themselves generally do not formally distinguish between location (e.g. 'in', 'on') and goal ('into', 'onto'). Origin ('out of', 'off of') is usually marked by adding the ablative ending *-ra* to the basic postposition. Sometimes the postposition or adverb moves into the local prefix slot on the verb, leaving its object behind as a dative second object (see §17.2.2-3).

The distinction of *up* vs. *down* is an important part of the deictic system of Ingush, and speakers monitor the relative elevation (literal or conventionalized: see §15.5.1.8-9) of speech act participants or persons in narrative and frequently mark it explicitly.

All in all, the treatment of spatial relations is more a lexical than a grammatical matter in Ingush.

22.1.1. 'in'. Location ((1)), goal ((2)), origin ((3)-(4)):¹⁷²

- (1) Cysjk **jaashjkaa=chy** ull.

cat box.DAT=in lie.PRS

The cat is **in the box**. The cat is lying in the box.

- (2) Cysjk istuolaa=t'yra **jaashjkaa=chy** qossa-dalar.

cat table=on.ABL box.DAT=in jump-D.INCP.WP

The cat jumped from ('from on') the table **into the box**.

¹⁷² Here and below, most of the short sentences illustrating spatial relations were elicited and analyzed by Heather Rose Jones in 1995-96. Those featuring cats are responses to a series of drawings she produced for the project. Some of the examples figure in Jones 2003.

- (3) Cysjk **jaashjkaa=chyra** aara-iiqqar.
 cat box.DAT=in.ABL out-jump.WP
 The cat ran ('jumped, dashed') out of the box.
- (4) Aaz zhwalii **k'oaga=chyra** hwal-deaqqar / hwal-aara-deaqqar
 1s.ERG dog hole.GEN=in.ABL up-D.take.WP / up-out-D.take.WP
 I lifted/pulled/got the dog up **out of the hole**.

22.1.2. 'on (top surface)'. Location (5), goal (6)-(7), origin (8):

- (5) **Istuolaa=t'y** kinashjkaazh ull
 table.DAT=on book.PL lie.PRS
On the table are books. (Books are lying on the table.)
- (6) Cysjk **istuolaa=t'y** qossa-dalar.
 cat table.DAT=on jump-D.INCP.WP
 The cat jumped **onto the table**.
- (7) Aaz zhwalii **mashiena=t'y** hwal=t'y-deaqqar
 1s.ERG dog car=on up=on-D.take.WP
 I lifted/hailed/got the dog up onto the car.

- (8) Cysjk **istuola=t'yra** (jaashjkaa=chy) qossa-dalar.
 cat table-on.ABL (box.DAT=in) jump-D.INCP.WP
 The cat jumped **off the table** (into the box).

22.1.3. 'under'. Location (9), goal (10), origin (11):

- (9) **Istuolaa k'al** cysjk ull.
 table.DAT under cat lie.PRS
 Under the table is a cat. There's a cat under the table. (Under the table lies a cat.)
- (10) Cysjk **istuolaa k'al** iiqqar.
 cat table.DAT under jump.WP
 The cat ran ('jumped, dashed') under the table.
- (11) Cysjk **istuolaa k'alara** dedar.
 cat table.DAT under.ABL D.run.WP
 The cat ran out from under the table.

22.1.4. 'above, over'. *laqie* 'up, above' is more often an adverb than a postposition.
 Location (12)-(14), goal (15), origin (16):

- (12) loxie leattaagh cy='a joaqqazh **laqie** qaachazh joagha
 underneath earth.LAT NEG=& J.take.CVsim above ripen.CVsim J.come.PPL
 koartuolazh jienii, c'ie koartuolazh jienii
 potato PL J.bring.NW.J red potato PL J.bring NW.J
 They've brought red potatoes that aren't harvested from the ground but ripen **above**
 (the ground). (0206A; on the first tomatoes grown in Ingushetia)
- (13) Hwal-olla-vellar yz hwanzza **shiina laqie** niis-jannacha
 up-hang-V.insert 3s now:FOC 3sRFL.LAT above turn_up-J.VZ.PPL.OBL
 cwan eashkagh
 one.OBL iron (piece).LAT
 He hung onto an iron shaft that had just come **above him**. (7D; man riding under train
 car)
- (14) T'aaqqa, yz **laqie** geana='y voallar shortiga wa-loxie-vealar
 then DEM above tree=on V.be located.PPL.NZ slow down-below-V.go.WP
 Then the guy who was up above in the tree slowly came down ... (Pears)
- (15) **laqie** hwa='y-vaala='a jish joacazh
 up DX=on-V.go.INF=& possibility J.be.NEG.CVsim
 (a place where) you can't go up (extract from (41) below)
- (16) **laqiera** wa='a boaxazh
 above.ABL DX=& B.pick:PL.CVsim
 picking them (pears) from above (Pears)

22.1.5. '*near, beside*'. Location (17)-(19), goal (20), origin (21):

- (17) **Istuolaa jixie** cysjk ull.
 table.DAT near cat lie.PRS
Next to the table lies a cat.
- (18) **Txuona jixie** vaax yz
 1pEX.DAT near V.live.PRS 3s
 He lives near us.
- (19) ustaghaljg ba='a bei **meanjgie jixie** wa-buuzhar ealar.
 sheep.DIM RED=& B.bring.CVseq bed.ADV near down-B.lie say.WP
 They would bring the little sheep back in and he would lie down next to the cot. (0542)

- (20) cwa **nittazhta jixie** dwa my qaachanjgeh
 one nettle.PL.DAT near DX EMPH arrive.CVjust
 as soon as they came up close to some nettles ... (0409)
- (21) Cuduhwa yz **shiina jixiera** dwa-voaliitazh xannavaac pacchahwuo.
 Therefore 3s 3SRFL.DAT near.ABL DX-V.go.CSind.CVsim NARP.NEG.V king.ERG
 Therefore the king kept him close to himself (didn't let him go away **from close to himself**) (Daxkil'gov 2000:322)

22.1.6. 'in front'.

- (22) Cysjk **geanaa hwalazhjka** ull.
 cat tree.DAT in front lie
 The cat is lying in front of the tree. (Elicitation picture: cat between tree and viewer)
- (23) Muusaa **suona duhwal** laatt
 Musa 1s.DAT in front stand
 Musa stands before me
- (24) ... **cynna duhwal** juola-jennii joaqqa, birsa cha
 3s.DAT in front J.begin-J.INCP NW.J J.big fierce bear
 ... he encountered a big, fierce bear ('in front of him there moved up a big fierce bear') (CDD)
- (25) **cynna duhwal** joaghazh jola jiwig
 3s.DAT in front J.come.CVsim J.PROG.PPL girl
 a girl who was coming toward him on a bicycle (Pears)

22.1.7. 'behind, following after'. There are two semantically similar postpositions: *t'ehwa* 'after' (non-deictic) and *dehwa* 'behind, on the other side' (deictic). The latter seems especially prone to be incorporated into verbs.

- (26) ... **q'uzhta t'ehwa** vaxaav Shaxseit.
 thief.PL.DAT after V.go NW.V (name)
 ... Shaxseit set out after the thieves. (Dymii)
- (27) jer dwa mel ux **cynna t'ehwa** dwa-ixaav yz
 3s DX how_much go:PLC 3s.DAT after DX-go:PLC NW.V 3s
 He had followed him the whole way. (0408)

- (28) Cysjk **geanaa dehwarzjka** ull.
 cat tree.DAT behind lie
 The cat is behind the tree. (on the far side of the tree relative to the speaker)
- (29) Doaqqa zhwalii bwarjga+deicha Muusaa **kartaa dwa-dehwa-iiqqar**.
 D.big dog eye+D.see.CVtemp fence.DAT DX-across-jump.WP
 When Musa saw a big dog he jumped over the fence.

22.1.8 'among, amidst, in the middle of, between'. Location (30), goal (31)-(32), origin (32)-(33):

- (30) ghalghaazhta **jiq'ie** vaaxazh my vii hwo
 Ingush.PL.DAT among V.live.CVsim EMPH V.be=Q 2s
 You live among the Ingush, after all. (0398)
- (31) **Nittazhta jiq'ie** sacaad joax yz aaga='a.
 nettle.PL.DAT among stop NW.D QUOT DEM cradle=&
 The cradle came to rest in the middle of a nettle patch. (0409)
- (32) ... gaaza jedda='a jedda, **zhiacara** dwa='a q'eastaa
 goat RED=& J.run.CVant sheep.INS.ABL DX=& separate.CVant

nittazhta jiq'ie jexaai joax
 nettle.PL.DAT among J.go NW.J QUOT
 ... the goat ran away, left the sheep ('separated from with the sheep'), and went over
into the nettles. (0409)
- (33) Caarna chy-laattazh duqa jiesarazh xannab, teip-teipaaracha
 3p.DAT serve.CVsim many captive.PL be NW.B various.OBL

q'amazhta jiq'iera uda-bezh hwa-qiilaa
 nation.PL.DAT among.ABL run-B.CS.CVsim DX-lead:PLC.CVant
 Many slaves served them, who they had captured **from** various **peoples**. ('led away
 from among various peoples') (Neasar)

22.1.9. 'along, through', etc. The adverb *gholla* 'along, through' can be added to several postpositions (§17.1.6). These combinations are usually spelled as two words (occasionally as one) and can be parsed prosodically as an IP (see §4.1.2).

- (34) Ahwmad **suona jixie gholla** wa-t'ehwa-vealar
 Ahmed 1s.DAT near along DX-past-V.go.WP
 Ahmed went **past me**.

- (35) Muusaa **suona jixie gholla** dwa-vuoda
 Musa 1s.DAT near along DX-V.go.PRS
 Musa goes **by me**. (Elicitation picture: swimmer passes by in front of boat.)
- (36) Cysjk jaashjkaa **dehwa-qossa-dalar**
 cat box.DAT to.far.side-jump-D.INCP.WP
 The cat jumped **over** the box (jumped from viewer's side to far side)
- (37) Cysjk **jaashjkaa jiq'ie gholla** chaq-iiqqar
 cat box.DAT amidst along through-rush.WP
 The cat ran through the box. (Elicitation picture: cat runs through cardboard carton open at both ends.)
- (38) Cysjk **geanazhta jiq'ie gholla** dwa-dedar
 cat tree.PL.DAT between along DX-D.run.WP
 The cat ran between the trees.
- (39) **jiq'ie gholla** chaq-doaxar
 among along through-D.take.PL.PPL.NZ
 weft thread ('the one that is passed through crosswise')

22.1.10. *Other deictic adverbs.* The temporal converb *hwazhacha* 'if/when (you/he/we/...) look(s)' with deictic prefix can be used as adverb: *hwal-hwazhacha* (up-look.CVtemp) 'up above', *wa-hwazhacha* 'down below', *dwa-hwazhacha* 'off to the side'.

- (40) k'oag bar yz, **wa-hwazhacha** leatta=ji **hwal-hwazhacha** sigalie=ji
 pit B.be.PST DEM down-look.CVtemp ground=& up-look.CVtemp sky=&
 maara bwarjga cy guzh
 only eye NEG see.CVsim

The pit was (so deep that) all you could see (from in it) was the sky above and the ground below. (0776)

22.1.11. A complex example illustrating various spatial relations is (41):

- (41) *Sam* oal cogh.
sam say 3s.LAT
 It's called *sam* ('wide ledge')
- Loamagh yshtta wa-duodazh *polosa* dy yz,
 mountain.LAT so down-D.go.CVsim strip D.be.PRS 3s
 It's a strip going along on a mountain

uqazahwa hwo hwa=t'y-vealcha,
 here.LOC 2s DX=on-V.go.CVtemp¹⁷³
 when you get up here

chy-gholla dwa-liela jish jolazh,
 across (in-along) DX-walk.INF possibility J.be.CVsim
 that you can walk along

laqie hwa=t'y-vaala='a jish joacazh, loam bolazh,
 up DX=on-V.go.INF=& possibility J.be.NEG.CVsim mountain B.be.CVsim
 (a place where) you can't go up, there's a mountain

k'al wa=chy-voalie='a wa=chy-qietagvolazh,
 under down=in-V.go.CVseq=& down=in-land.FUT.V.CVsim
 (where) if you go down you can fall

jiq'ie gholla dwa-buodazh.
 amidst along DX-B.go.CVsim
 running along through

It's called *sam*. It's a strip running along a mountainside that you can walk along, where it's too steep to go either up or down. It runs along the middle of a cliff face. (0392B; description of a type of level ledge used as a path.)

22.2. Temporal relations

Temporal relations are most often expressed by dependent clauses in Ingush; see §27.1. Non-clausal temporal phrases are usually headed by an adverb or a noun in the dative case. Dedicated time adverbs are given in §16.1.3.2.

22.2.1. *xaana* 'at ... time'. This word, the dative case of *xa* 'time', heads temporal clauses of all kinds (§27.1) as well as phrases. These include *cu xaana* 'at that time, then':

(42) Ghaazqii mott xaacar **cu xaana**
 Russian language know.NEG.IMPF DEM.OBL time.DAT
 I didn't know Russian at that time. (0776)

(43) Juunaz mychahw var **cu xaana** wezh?
 J. where V.PROG.PST DEM.OBL time.DAT stay.CVsim
 Where was Juunaz living at that time? (0240A)

¹⁷³ This speaker often pronounces /hwa/ for /hwal/ before a consonant. Here and three lines below *hwa=t'y-d.oal* 'arrive here, get here' probably represents *hwal=t'y-d.oal* 'come/go up, arrive up'.

massa xaana 'always, all the time':

- (44) So **massa xaana** c'agha jus
 1s all time.DAT home.ADV J.stay.PRS
 I always stay home.

cwan xaana 'one time, once':

- (45) T'aaqqa, **cwan xaana** txy-ciga txy naana c'agha joacazh
 then one.OBL time.DAT 1pEX-chez 1pEX.GEN mother at home J.be.NEG.CVsim
 Tamaara xannii hwa-jiixaa
 T. NARP.J DX-J.invite.CVant
 One time Tamara was invited to our place when our mother was away (0224)

22.2.2. *denc* 'since'. The postposed adverb *denc* by itself or followed by *hwa* means 'ever since reference event; from reference event continuing to now'; *denc* plus *dwa* means 'thenceforth, henceforth' (from reference time into its future).

- (46) Cu xaana **denc hwa** maza bu joax naaxaa
 DEM.OBL time.DAT since DX louse B.LV.PRS QUOT people.DAT
 Ever since then people have had lice. (0540)
- (47) Taxan **denc dwa** baala dwa-baabby shoana ealar
 today since DX problem DX-B.go.FUT 2p.DAT say.WP
 From now on you won't have any problems, they said. (0240A)

22.2.3. *cul t'ehwagh* 'then, after that'. *Cul* is the comparative case of the demonstrative pronoun and *t'ehwagh* 'after, later' is the comparative degree of the adverb/postposition *t'ehw(a)* 'after, behind'. *T'ehwagh(a)* also heads temporal clauses (§27.1).

- (48) Cul t'ehwagha vai c'a+deaxkar.
 DEM.CSN after 1pIN home+D.come:PL.WP
 After that we came home. (0816)
- (49) Cul t'ehwagh cwa qor wa-biezhar cyn
 DEM.CSN after one pear down-B.fall.WP 3s.GEN
 Then he dropped one pear. (Pears)
- (50) T'aaqqa, cul t'ehwagh, *pochti* liiter xii dwa=chy-tiexar aaz.
 then DEM.CSN after almost liter water DX=in-strike.WP 1s.ERG
 And then I drank nearly a liter of water. (0216B.3)

22.2.4. *Dative case.* The dative of an interval noun can be used in various temporal senses, including duration of the interval:

(51) Aaz siexan **diitt sahwataa** bolx+byr
 1s.ERG yesterday 14 hour.DAT work+B.do.WP
 I worked for 14 hours yesterday.

(52) Cuo **cwan bettaa** bolx+byr.
 3s.ERG one.OBL month.DAT work+B.do.WP
 He worked for a month.

(53) **Cwan sahwataa** leatta iigar
 one.OBL hour.DAT ground shake.WP
 The ground shook for an hour.

(54) **Cwan minuotaa** saabar+die.
 one.OBL minute.DAT wait+D.LV.IMPV
 Wait a minute.

duration of an intended interval:

(55) Muusaa **cwan sahwataa** aara-vealar.
 M. one.OBL hour.DAT out-V.go.WP
 Musa went out for an hour.

frequency per interval:

(56) Aaz **k'iraa** shodz modzh joash
 1s.ERG week.DAT twice beard J.shave.PRS
 I shave twice a week.

Adverbs of time location, and the genitive case of a few nouns such as *shu* 'year', indicate a point in time as in (57) or repeated points in the time duration as in (58).

(57) Cwa ezar=ji iis bwea=ji diez tq'a **iislaghacha shara** uqaza moxk oaga-balar.
 one 1000=& 9 100=& D.80 ninth.OBL year.GEN here earth shake-B.INCP.
 In 1989 there was an earthquake here. [WP

- (58) Dwa-daxaacha shara haara diinahw **wiiranna**¹⁷⁴ baarh sahwat
 DX-D.go.PPL.OBL year.GEN each day.ADV morning.DAT eight hour
 dealcha sy bolx dwa-buolaluora
 D.go.CVtemp 1s.GEN work DX-B.begin.IMPf
 Last year my job started at 8:00 every day.

For these and other adverbs see §16.1.3.2. Clock times are generally clauses: see §27.1.

22.3. Other adjuncts

22.3.1. *Benefactive*. Postpositions *duhwa* 'for, on behalf of, for the sake of' and the less common *hwaamara* 'for'.

- (59) Muusaaz **sy** **duhwa** dyr yz
 Musa.ERG 1s.GEN for D.do.WP 3s
 Musa did that for me/on my behalf.
- (60) Cytoam hwaaiabar bic-bie hwazha vieza **txychyn** **duhwa**
 bad situation 2s.GEN-B.NZ B.forget-B.VZ.INF try.INF V.should 1pEX.GEN.NZ for
 You need to try to forget your bad situation for ours ('for the sake of ours') (PL 2.1)
- (61) **Hwa** **hwaamara** dwa-mol aaz
 2s.GEN for DX-drink.PRS 1s.ERG
 I drink to you.

22.3.2. *Instrument*. The instrumental case is used broadly for instruments and means of all kinds, including vehicles.

- (62) **ursacaa** tieda='a tiedazh
 knife.INS RED=& slice.CVsim
 slicing (tomatoes) with a knife
- (63) Cuo earda **kylgaca** jaaz-du
 3s.ERG left hand.INS write-D.VZ.PRS
 He writes with his left hand.

¹⁷⁴ Normative *wiirena*. Phonetically often (as in this sentence) *wiiran*, indistinguishable from the genitive.

(64) Hwa-veita shie shii **vordaaca**
 DX-V.come-CSind.IMPV 3SRFL 3SRFL.GEN cart.INS
 Have him come himself in his own cart. (0418.36)

(65) K'eanjk **lispietacaa** xexkazh voall
 boy bicycle.INS ride:PLC.CVsim V.PROG
 The boy is riding a bicycle.

(66) latinskii **alapazhca** jaaz-duora vai
 Latin letter.PL.INS write-D.VZ.IMPV 1pIN.ERG
 We wrote in Latin letters (0392A.41)

22.3.3. *Accompaniment, comitative.* Instrumental case.

(67) **cynca** q'ameal xannadar sy
 3s.INS conversation be NW.D 1s.GEN
 I had a conversation with him

(68) taxan **shuca** vaaghagvaacar so
 today 2p.INS V.sit.CND.V.NEG 1s
 I wouldn't be sitting here with you today (0207A)

(69) Aarahwaracha **moastaghazhca**= 'a, shei **mexkxozhca**= 'a
 external.OBL enemy.PL.INS=& 3pRFL.GEN countryman.PL.INS=&
 duqa t'emazh lieladead oarstxozh
 many war.PL wage-D.CS.NW.D (tribe name).ERG

The Oarstxoi waged war **with foreign enemies and their own countrymen.** (Boragh)

The simultaneous converb of 'be' can also be used to mean 'with' or (in the negative form) 'without':

(70) **so joacazh** ghogvaac hwo
 1s J.be.CVsim go.FUT.V.NEG 2s
 You won't go **without me**

22.3.4. *Manner, property, quality.* Instrumental case or NP *d.olazh / doacazh* 'having / not having'.

(71) **Boq'uoncaa** jaax wa? -- Aa, biegazhtaa eannadar aaz=m yz.
 truth.INS say.PRS 2s.ERG No joke.PL.DAT say.PNW 1s.ERG=FOC 3s
 Seriously? -- No, I was joking.

- (72) "... " eannad caar **c'imxarcha oazaca**
 (quote) say.NW.D 3p.ERG stern.OBL voice.INS
 "...," they said **in a stern voice**. (CDD)
- (73) **malaghcha juhwarzha** naaxaa jiq'ie lielargbar hwo='a, so='a?
 what.OBL face.PL.INS people.DAT among walk.CND.B 2s=& 1s=&
 What would people think of us? ('What faces would you and I go around among
 people with?') (DD)
- (74) Aaz **nidzaca** vuo hama deitaadaac shuga
 1s.ERG force.INS bad thing D.do-CSind NW.D.NEG 2p.ALL
 I didn't make you do anything bad by force. I didn't force you to do anything bad.
http://www.ingush.ru/serdalo244_3.asp
- (75) Sontal joacacha **kuralcaa** hwa-juolalu gon jiq'ie Mealxa-Aaza
 pride J.be.NEG.PPL.OBL pride.INS DX-J.start.PRS circle.GEN amidst (name)
 With an unconceited pride Mealxa-Aaza moves out into the middle of the circle. (KSh)
- (76) Goi hwuona, mel dika, vwaalla **gheigha, baala boacazh**
 see=Q 2s.DAT how much well at_all sorrow grief B.be.NEG.CVsim
vaax vai hwearaxuo.
 V.live.PRS 1pIN.GEN miller
 Look how well our miller lives, with no problems or grief at all. (CDD 32)
- (77) Zwammiga **q'ie='a dolazh** daaxazh maar-siesag xannad joaxar.
 a bit:FOC poor=& D.be.CVsim D.live.CVsim husband-wife be.NW.D QUOT.IMPF
 Once there was a fairly poor couple. ('a couple who lived being rather poor') (0377B)

Adjectives functioning as manner adverbs:

- (78) Cynna **dika** ghalghaai mott xou
 3s.DAT well Ingush.PL.GEN language know.PRS
 S/he knows Ingush well.
- (79) Mashen **sixa** juoda
 car **fast** J.go.PRS
 The car is going fast

CHAPTER 23

COMPARISON

The six sections in this chapter are grouped together on semantic grounds, though they are syntactically disparate. Comparison with 'like', 'as' (§23.1) is a controlled construction where comparison is drawn between two elements (usually clause arguments) that have the same syntactic function in the two compared clauses. Comparison with 'more than' and 'less than' (§23.2) is also a controlled construction, but within a simple clause, and usually with an explicit standard of comparison in a dedicated case. Comparison with 'too', etc. (§23.3), 'very' (§23.4), or 'somewhat' (§23.5) generally involves modification of one word, as does metaphorical comparison (§23.6).

23.1. 'like', 'as'

There are two partly synonymous words for 'like', 'as'. Both are postposed to the word they qualify, but are not postpositions because they do not assign cases (§16.2.3.1). They have overlapping but not identical syntactic contexts. In Ingush there is no exact morphosyntactic equivalent to English *as tall as*, *as good as*, etc.: Ingush simply uses 'tall like', 'good like'.

23.1.1. *sanna*. This word has focus gemination, so that its final schwa is vocalized at least in careful pronunciation. The meaning is straightforward and literal comparison. *Sanna* can occur on both noun phrases and (chained) clauses, but is not common in phrases headed by adjectives. Etymologically, it is probably an adverbial form of the interrogative pronoun *fj*, obl. *sien-* 'what'.

23.1.1.1. On an NP clause member. In natural text *sanna* has been found on predicate nominals:

- (1) **Ber sanna** lel yz.
child like behave 3s
He behaves **like a child**.

- (2) **Sim sanna** q'ahwa jar yz.
bile like bitter J.be.PST 3s
It was as bitter as bile.

- (3) **hwun wazh=ji biesha wazh=ji sanna** tara jalie='a shaqqa ...
 forest.GEN apple=& garden.GEN apple=& like similar J.be.CVconc both
 Though they are as **similar as a wild apple and a garden apple** ... (PL 1.5)

subjects, both intransitive (S):

- (4) Fy dezH laatt hwo **munda sanna** hwal-ettaa?
 what D.do.CVsim PROG 2s scarecrow like up-stand.CVant
 What are you doing standing there like a scarecrow? (I.e. why don't you get over here
 and help?)512
- (5) deara, chaamaa=m mista xugby hwuona yzh shaqqa, **shi hwun wazh sanna**.
 EMPH taste.DAT=FOC sour be.B.FUT MIR 3p both two forest.GEN apple like
 why, in taste they are both as sour as two wild apples. (PL 1.5)
- (6) Sy di **Ucyga Maalsaga+bar sanna** hwouzazh by=q.
 1s.GEN horse U.GEN M.GEN=B.NZ like prance.CVsim B.PROG=CUM
 My horse prances like Ucyga Maalsag's. (0246B.1)

and transitive or semitransitive (A):

- (7) Cuo **daaz sanna** chouxa='a duora txo ...
 3s.ERG father.ERG like scold=& D.LV.IMPF 1pEX
 He would scold us like a father ... (0531.08)
- (8) Wat'yqaccha, k'irlii=ji, **sag sanna** suona bwara+hwedzh yzh.
 DX=on-arrive.CVtemp attentive=& person like 1s.DAT eye+look.PRS 3p
 They (wolves) come up and study me attentively ('like a human'). (0238A)
- (9) Handz **hwuona sanna** yz daga+doaghazh k'eziga by vai
 now 2s.DAT like 3s remember+D.LV.CVsim few B.be.PRS 1pIN.GEN
 boaqii istii.
 B.old.PL woman.PL
 There aren't many of our elders who remember like you do. (0246A.36)

and objects (O and T):

- (10) **Q'aadzh sanna** hama du caar cogh, doi?
 feathergrass like thing D.do.PRS 3p.ERG 3s.LAT D.do=Q
 They make something like feathergrass from it, right? (Mouse making a soft lining for
 a nest.) (0395B.1)

- (11) Eala **paarqazh sanna** mieqazh dola var yz.
 hay.GEN armful like mustache.PL D.be.PPL V.be.PST 3s
 He had a mustache like two armfuls of hay.
- (12) Dynien doaqqal justa jish jy uq vai
 world.GEN size J.measure.INF possibility J.be.PRS DEM.OBL 1pIN
 daaxacha maalxa dynienca
 D.live PPL.OBL sun.GEN world.INS

taatama **gi buraljg sanna** boaram ottabea.
 vetch.GEN seed grain like quantity establish-B.CS.CVant

In comparison to the whole universe, our planet is like a vetch seed (in size). ('The size of the world can be measured ... by comparing a vetch seed')

- (13) Hwa menna ordanjg boaqqaghchaarna='a t'ychuux,
 2s.GEN drunk retinue.DIM B.elder.NZ.PL.DAT=& at-shout.PRS
 shei **wuzhta sanna**
 3pRFL.GEN servant.PL.DAT like

Your drunken rabble shout at their elders as though at their servants. (PL 1.4)

They are also common on adjuncts:

- (14) twoura vai deaxaacha **xaana sanna** daac yz, joaxar cuo='a
 formerly 1pIN D.live PPL.OBL time.DAT like D.be.NEG 3s say.IMP 3s.ERG=&
 It's not like it was when we lived there, he said. (0409.22)

and possessors:

- (15) mawacha **neaxa sanna** ghar jolazh jar yz
 male.OBL people.GEN like noise of voice J.be.CVsim J.PROG.PST 3s
 It had a sound like men's voices. (0816)

23.1.1.2. On an NP which modifies an adjective or participle:

- (16) Oarcaa **yz sanna bola** duqqa hwun nax hwa-gul-bannab.
 alarm.DAT 3s like B.be.PPL many.FOC forest.GEN people DX-gather-B.VZ.NW
 In response to the alarm, many forest people **like him** gathered around. (HS)
- (17) **vai sanna bolcha** naaxaa
 1pIN like B.be.PPL.OBL people.DAT
 to people like us (CDD 32)

23.1.3. On a converb clause:

- (18) ghattaa **bolxazh** **sanna** udazh
 fly_away.CVant B.go:PL.CVsim like run.CVsim
 'running like (as though) they were flying' (0409)
- (19) Vic-valtaav, vwaalla **voacazh** **sanna**
 V.forget-V.CSind.NW.V at all V.be:NEG.CVsim like
 They let him be forgotten **as though he had never been** at all. (0542)
- (20) Topparagh veav Aadam / qaabaljg **jezh** **sanna** /
 clay.LAT V.make.NW.V Adam pot.DIM J.make.CVsim like
 tuopoljg **jezh** **sanna** / kirpishjk **jezh** **sanna**
 toy gun J.make.CVsim like brick J.make.CVsim like
 Adam was made of clay / like a pot ('as though making a pot') / like a toy gun / like a brick (MK)

23.1.1.4. *Sanna* is also a complementizer with certain verbs (see §25.3.2). The complement clause is converbial.

- (21) Suona gha deira sie Los Angelesie **volazh** **sanna**.
 1s.DAT dream D.see.WP 1s.RFL L. A. –ADV V.be.CVsim like
 I dreamed I was in Los Angeles.
- (22) Suona cq'azahw yz hweaq'al dolazh **volazh** **sanna** mott.
 1s.DAT sometimes 3s intelligence D.be.CVsim V.be.CVsim like seem
 Sometimes he seems smart to me.

23.1.2. *muo*. This word is used where the similarity is qualitative or a matter of degree. It is frequently used in adjective phrases and is rarely used on chained clauses.

23.1.2.1 *muo* on an NP clause member. Predicate nominal:

- (23) Yzh **cwa bertii muo** by
 3p one wolf.PL like B.be.PRS
 Those guys are **like wolves**. (For *cwa* see §23.6.)

Clause arguments. S (24-25), O (26):

- (24) Fy dezh laatt hwo **bezhan muo** dwa-ettaa?
 what D.do.CVsim PROG 2s cow like DX-stand_up.CVant
 What are you doing standing there like an idiot? (lit. '**like a cow**')

- (25) Hwaagh-buc jy – yz dwa **cwa mushkaart muo** dwa='a uxazh.
 (plant name) J.be.PRS – 3s DX one vine like DX=& go:PLC.CVsim
Hwaagh-buc is a vinelike plant. ('growing **like a vine.**') (0395B.1)
- (26) Uq dinie='t'y so mel vaaxacha xaana, **jer muo** hama
 DEM.OBL world=on 1s how much V.live.PPL.OBL time.DAT this like thing
 suona deinadaac.
 1s.dat D.see.D.NW.NEG
 I've never seen anything **like this** in my life. (As long as I've lived on this earth I haven't seen anything like this.)

Adjunct:

- (27) **Taxan muo** daga+doagha suona yzh
 today like remember+D.LV.PRS 1s.DAT 3p
 I remember them **as if it were today** (0409)
- (28) **handz muo** wai
 now like winter.ADV
 (it was) in winter, **like now**

23.1.2.2. On an NP that modifies an adjective (the most common use of *muo*):

- (29) **T'exk muo ch'woagha**='a volazh, **bordz muo meira**='a volazh
 bone like hard=& V.be.CVsim wolf like brave=& V.be.CVsim
Hard as a bone, brave as a wolf. (Traditional saying.)
- (30) Muusaa **boambii muo k'eda** vy.
 Musa cotton like soft V.be.PRS
 Musa is out of shape. Musa is a couch potato. (Lit. Musa is as **soft as cotton.**)
- (31) Muusaa **t'arsh muo t'eda** shi kog bolazh chy-viera.
 Musa mudhole like wet two foot B.be.CVsim in-V.come.WP
 Musa came in with his feet sopping wet (**'wet as a mudhole'**).

23.1.2.3. *muo* in an NP which semantically qualifies the adjectival element of a deadjectival verb.

- (32) Yz **loa muo k'ei**-valar.
 3s snow like white-V.VZ.WP
 He turned as white as snow.

23.1.2.4. *muo* used as complementizer, with a converb.

- (33) *suona seinā dikagh xouzh muo xet*
 1s.DAT 1sRFL.DAT good.CMP know.CVsim like seem
 I think I know it better. (It seems to me like I know it better.)

23.2. 'more than', 'less than'

23.2.1. *Overt standard of comparison.* When there is an overt standard of comparison, it is in the comparison case and the compared property is an adjective in the comparative degree. In the most common kind of example, the compared item is subject, the standard of comparison is in the comparison case, and the compared degree or quantity is a predicate adjective in the comparative degree.

- (34) *Xii benziinal dazagh dy*
 water gasoline.CSN D.heavy.CMP D.be.PRS
 Water is heavier than gasoline.
- (35) *Sultaan sol voaqqagh vy xietarjgahw*
 S. 1s.CSN V.old.CMP V.be.PRS apparently
 Sultan must be older than me (0408)
- (36) *cul voaqqagh ghalghaazhta jiq'ie sag*
 3s.CSN V.old.CMP Ingush.PL.DAT among person
 an Ingush older than him ('a person older than him among the Ingush') (0201A)
- (37) ... *txychul dikagha neic my vaac*
 1pEX.GEN.NZ.CSN good.CMP son-in-law EMPH V.be.NEG
 there's no better son-in-law than ours (CDD 2)

23.2.2. *No explicit standard of comparison,* though one is implicit in these examples.

- (38) *Cy shinnegh dikagh malagha xodz?*
 dem.OBL two.NZ.LAT good.CMP which sound.PRS
 Which of these two sounds better?
- (39) *Hwo diezalie joaqqagh+jar jy?*
 2s family.ADV J.old.CMP+J.nz J.be.PRS
 Are you the oldest in the family?

23.2.3. *Postposition with standard of comparison.* The postposition *t'ex* 'above, beyond' can take the comparison case:

- (40) **Naaxal t'ex** xyla fyd cynna karagh+deannar?
 people.CSN beyond be.INF what=D.be.PRS 3s.DAT manage+D.LV.PPL.NZ
 What makes him better than **others**? ('What has he managed to do so as to be ahead of people?') (CDD 2)

Note also the very frequent phrase *cul t'ehwagha* (3s.CSN late.CMP) 'after that; later; then, next' (lit. 'later than that'), where *t'ehwagha* is lexicalized as a postposition. It is also frequent with nominalized past participles, with which it forms a subordinate clause of time:

- (41) cwa-shi k'ira **deannachyl** t'ehwagha
 one-two week D.pass.PPL.NZ.CSN later
 a week or two later ('after one or two weeks had passed')
- (42) shei mexka yzh **wa-xeishaachyl** t'ehwagha
 3pRFL.GEN land.ADV 3p DX-sit:PL.PPL.NZ.CSN later
 after they've settled in their own land (0207A.3)

23.3. 'too...', 'not ... enough', '... enough'

23.3.1. *'too'*. *sou* 'too; so, very' modifies an adjective or adverb.

- (43) Aaz **sou** sixa q'ameal duuc.
 1s.ERG too fast conversation D.talk.PRS
 I talk too fast.
- (44) Yz **sou** hwalxa jy vaina.
 3s too early J.be.PRS MIR
 That's too early.
- (45) Muusaaz ghadzh jettazh **sou** ch'woagha uda-bea jett biira.
 M.ERG stick J.hit.CVsim too hard run-B.CS.CVant cow B.kill.WP
 Musa ran the cow to death by driving it too hard with a stick.
- (46) **Sou** duqa bolx bea halak xannuu Muusaa.
 too much work B.do.CVant destroy LV.NW.V Musa
 Musa is exhausted from working too much.

- (47) Xudar **sou** daq'a dy.
 oatmeal too D.thick D.be.PRS
 The oatmeal is too thick.

In meaning *sou* can often be closer to 'very', 'exceedingly':

- (48) Ciga dencaa dwa-ghoddoacazh – aastagh+dar=ji, **sou ghiila**+dar=ji –
 moreover DX-go.D.FUT.NEG.CVsim lame +D.NZ=& very thin+D.NZ=&
 yzh dyssar
 3p D.remain.WP
 And the ones that couldn't walk – the lame and very thin ones – remained. (0204A)

23.3.2. *Extent*: 'so (much so) ... that...': For more examples see §27.4.

- (49) Sou ghad+vaxaa, shie malaghacha dynie=t'y vy xeinadaac
 so glad+V.LV.CVant 3sRFL what.OBL world=on V.be.PRS know.D.NW.NEG
 mollaana
 mulla.DAT
 The mullah was so happy that he didn't know whether he was in this world or the next.
 (HwSV)

23.3.3. *'enough' and 'not enough'*. These notions are usually rendered with predicates meaning 'suffice', 'lack', and the like: *to'* and *qoacham by* 'suffice, be enough', *iesh* 'be lacking'.

- (50) Dulx **qoacham bolazh** dy.
 meat suffice B.LV.CVsim D.PROG
 There's plenty of meat. We have enough meat (for some event, for guests, etc.).
- (51) Suona cwan diinahw itt dollar **to'**.
 1s.DAT one.OBL day.ADV ten dollar suffice
 Ten dollars a day is enough for me. I can get by on ten dollars a day.
- (52) Suona mashen ieca axcha **iishar**
 1s.DAT car buy.INF money lack.WP
 I didn't have enough money to buy a car.

To'al 'enough' is a noun (lit. 'sufficiency, sufficient quantity'; J gender) derived from the verb *to'* 'suffice':

- (53) **To'al** wa=chy-jila.
 enough down=in-J.put.IMPV
 Put enough in. Put plenty in. (e.g. sugar in tea or coffee)

23.4. 'very'

The most frequent word for 'very' is *ch'woagha*, lit. 'firm(ly), hard'. It can modify virtually any adjective (including adjectives used as adverbs, phrasal adjectives, and adverbs used as adjectives), deadjectival verb, or other verb implying a gradable situation or quality.

- (54) Urs **ch'woagha** dwaaxa dy.
 knife very D.hot D.be.PRS
 The knife is very hot.
- (55) Muusaa **ch'woagha** zoq bolazh sag vy.
 M. very joke B.be.CVsim person V.be.PRS
 Musa is a very funny person (i.e. says and does humorous things, is a joker)
- (56) Muusaa **ch'woagha** tisha-vannuu.
 M. very aged-V.VZ.NW.V
 Musa has aged a great deal.
- (57) Dwa-daxaacha shara suona **ch'woagha** axcha ieshar
 past.OBL year.GEN 1s.DAT very money lack.IMPF
 Last year I was short on money (for something).
- (58) Muusaaz **ch'woagha** q'a+hweg.
 Musa.ERG very labor.PRS
 Musa works hard (and/or a lot).
- (59) Cq'azahw sa+gat-lu sy **ch'woagha**.
 sometimes bored-VZ.PRS 1s.GEN very
 Sometimes I get terribly bored.
- (60) Txo ch'woagha shu='a dea t'y=iicar.
 1p very hospitality=& D.do.CVant receive.WP
 We were received with great hospitality. (They) extended great hospitality to us.

Other words of similar meaning include *sou* 'too, excessively; exceedingly' (above), *gettara* 'very', *waleamatie* 'extremely, greatly' (chiefly for positive evaluation), *t'ex* 'very, extremely, excessively'.

- (61) **Gettara** dika dy
 very good D.be.PRS
 That's wonderful. That's great.
- (62) **waleamatie** sixa
 greatly fast
 right now, this very minute, immediately

Some equivalents to 'very' are lexically specialized, occurring with one or few adjectives:

baashxa dika 'very good, excellent'
 t'arsh muo t'eadaa 'sopping wet' ('wet as a mudhole', =(31) above)

23.5. 'not very', 'slightly', 'somewhat'

23.5.1. *k'ezig-duqa* 'somewhat, a bit' (lit. 'a little-a lot') precedes the word it qualifies.

- (63) **k'ezig-duqa** tuuladanna dy yzh hamaazh
 somewhat confused-D D.be.PRS DEM.PL thing.PL
 these things are a bit confused (0246B.1)
- (64) sheila duucaazh beaghaab, uqanna **k'ezig-duqa** axcha hama
 RECIPR D.talk.CVsim B.sit.NW.B 3s.DAT somewhat money something
 cy jalcha dwa-ghoddaac vai jaaxazh.
 NEG J.give.CVtemp DX-go-D.FUT.NEG 1pIN QUOT
 They sat conversing with each other and said, "We won't leave until we give him some money." ('a bit of money, some amount of money') (0223B.7)
- (65) Aaz **k'ezig-duqa** hama cy du'ie vwaasht'ehwa daac eanna.
 1s.ERG a bit thing NEG D.eat.CVirr normal D.be:NEG.PRS SUB
 If I don't eat a little something it won't work out right. (0377B.42)
- (66) Handz-a ... cyn oamal **k'ezig-duqa** hwa my jouziitarii.
 now ... 3s.GEN character somewhat DX EMPH J.know-CSind.WP=Q
 You've given us some knowledge of his character. (You've acquainted us a bit with his character.) (0531.08)

23.5.2. *cwa* 'one, some' has various attenuative and approximative senses. It is often used with other qualifiers such as *sanna* 'like', *muo* 'like', and approximative numerals.

- (67) **cwa ittegh gha** xy=chy cy berdagh chy-jaxa jissaacha
 some ten.APPR pace river=in DEM.OBL bank.LAT in-J.go.INF J.stay.PPL.OBL
 xaana sacaai=q yz *tachaanka*.
 time.DAT stop.NW.J=CUM DEM carriage
 The carriage went into the river and came to a stop in the water some ten paces from
 the riverbank. (0207)
- (68) **cwa** d.h. *peredaacha* d.h. jie jiezar cogh
 some um broadcast um J.make.INF J.should.PST 3s.LAT
 Some sort of broadcast should be made about him.
- (69) yz dwaa uqaza Nasrudin jaaxazh **cwa** lor varii vai ...
 DEM DX here N. call.CVsim some doctor V.be.PST=Q 1pIN.GEN
 Nasrudin was some kind of doctor ... (The man named Nasrudin was some kind of
 doctor, isn't he?) (0418.36)
- (70) *Eamaza* **cwa** vwaasht'ehw voacazh, ehw cy xietazh, hama
eamaza some organized V.be:NEG.CVsim shame NEG feel anything
 hwa='a cy dez **cwa** *lodyr'* muo hama jy=q yz
 DX=& NEG D.do.CVsim some loafer like thing J.be.PRS=CUM 3s
Eamaza means sort of a disorganized, inconsiderate, lazy person, sort of like [Russian]
lodyr'. (0395B)
- (71) **cwa** wearzh-jalcha sanna jar aarie
 some dark-J.VZ.CVtemp like J.be.PST outside
 It started to get somehow dark ... (0238A; a storm in midday)
- (72) Hweana shura **cwa** k'ezig wazhagha besa lestazh my xulii
 whole milk some a bit yellow color.GEN mix.CVsim EMPH be:DEL=Q
 Whole milk is sort of yellowish in color, isn't it? (0392B.1)

23.6. Figurative and metaphorical comparison

In statements like 'that guy is a (regular/real) wolf' (a compliment in Ingush, where 'wolf' implies bravery and courage), the non-literal predicate nominal is usually preceded by *cwa* 'one':

- (73) Yz **cwa bordz** jy
 3s one wolf J.be.PRS
 He's a (regular) wolf.
- (74) Cychy **cwa ghum sanna** oarch jy=q yz
 there-in one sand like slate J.be.PRS=CUM 3s
 There is *oarch* (crumbly black slate) there sort of like sand ... (0216B)
- (75) T'ehw xoza **cwa ka='a** xul, bearddzhie *shaleapa* muo.
 after pretty some head_of_grain=& be:DEL.PRS B.extend:FOC.CVirr hat like
 At the top it has a pretty sort of flowering head extending out like a hat. (0395B)

CHAPTER 24

COORDINATION AND CHAINING

Ingush uses coordination for phrases (chiefly NP's and PP's), but in combining clauses it makes relatively little use of coordination and much use of chaining, in which the clauses share part or all of their argument structure and various inflectional categories, and only the last verb of the chain is finite.¹⁷⁵

24.1. Phrase coordination

24.1.1. =j(i) 'and'. This conjunction normally coordinates exactly two elements, words or (less often) phrases. Usually it is used for exhaustive listings. It is an enclitic which assigns high tone to the preceding syllable. It causes schwa tensing (§3.2.4): a preceding schwa is vocalized and raised, and the sequence {-a=j} is pronounced /iiji/ or /ieji/. The final vowel of the conjunction is usually vocalized when preceded by a long vowel or diphthong, and regularly vocalized when preceded by a consonant. (The final vowel is undoubtedly a schwa, as the regular alternation of vocalized and unvocalized forms follows the behavior of schwas. I write it as "i", however, consistent with its sole pronunciation and phonemic interpretation.) If that consonant is eligible for word-final gemination, the gemination remains before the conjunction (thereby demonstrating that the conjunction is an enclitic and not a suffix).

chq'eara 'fish'	chq'eara=jɨ	[chq'eariiji] ~ [chq'earieji]
loa 'snow'	loa=jɨ	[loaji]
zhwalii 'dog'	zhwalii=jɨ	[zhwaliiiji]
gour 'horse'	gour=jɨ	[gourji]
hwazaljg 'bird'	hwazaljg=jɨ	[hwaziljg:ji]
daaz 'father.ERG'	daaz=jɨ	[daazji]

Another phonotactic option is to add only the unvocalized variant =j and add an epenthetic schwa before it to any word ending in a consonant:

¹⁷⁵ I use *chaining* to refer to types of what Foley & Van Valin 1984:238ff., Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:448ff. term *cosubordination*, specifically to the syntactic side of what Crowley 2002 calls core serialization and nuclear serialization. Ingush chaining is a very close syntactic counterpart to Crowley's constructions, but the term *serialization* is usually reserved for constructions with little or no overt marking of the chaining relationship, while morphologically complex Ingush marks chaining overtly with converbs and particles (as well as word order and intonation).

gour	{gour=ji}	gour-a=j	/gourii/
hwazaljg	{hwazaljg=ji}	hwazaljg-a=j	/hwaziljgii/

A long vowel does not raise or otherwise change before =ji: see *daa=ji* 'father=&' and *woudalaa=ji* 'fool.DAT=&' in examples below.

In longer lists and for emphasis, a vocalized =ji with schwa tensing is added to all the coordinates or to all but the last one. (In natural texts the longest such list I have found has three coordinates, and only the first two have the full =ji.) The resultant sequence is /-îji/ or /-êji/, with high tone on the /ii/. The last conjunct often has only =j, ending in /ii/. See §4.3 for more on the prosody of coordination.

- (1) cyn xannad Feara+hwazalggîji, Myx+sedq'îji, lehwii.
 3s.GEN be.NW.D fortune+bird=& wind+star=& serpent=&
 He had with him (name of mythic bird), (name of mythic being), and Serpent. (8901)
 {hwazaljg=ji sedq'a=ji lehwa=j} (=49) in §4.3
- (2) Siexan sy daa=ji voshii=ji eaqie baxar
 yesterday 1s.GEN father=& brother=& hunting B.go.WP
 Yesterday my father and brother went hunting {daa=ji vosha=ji}
- (3) Maar-naanii=ji, nussii=ji¹⁷⁶ cwan badagh jeai
 mother-in-law=& daughter-in-law=& one.OBL dough.LAT J.make.NW.J (Proverb)
 Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are made of the same dough. {naana=ji, nus=ji}
- (4) Cwa dii=ji biisii=ji tq'ea di' sahwat dy.
 one day=& night=& 20 D.4 hour D.be.PRS
 One day and night is 24 hours. {di=ji biisa=ji}
- (5) Daaz=ji naanaz=ji suona cq'azahw axcha deit.
 father.ERG=& mother.ERG=& 1s.DAT sometimes money D.send
 My parents sometimes send me money. {daaz=ji naanaz=ji}

=ji also coordinates oblique cases and adverbs.

- (6) eghii=ji maghii=ji shi bordz joallar
 below=& above=& two wolf J.be_located.IMPF
 There were two wolves, one on either side (0207A) {egha=ji magha=ji}

¹⁷⁶ This word has word-final gemination before the epenthetic schwa accompanying the enclitic conjunction. This means that cliticization and its morphophonemics do not change the word-final status of the coordinated noun.

- (7) Hwuona xoi, zagaljg, **k'eadacha woudalaa=ji k'omacha woudalaa=ji**
 2s.DAT know=Q wedge.DIM mild.OBL fool.DAT=& bitter.OBL fool.DAT=&
 jiq'ie fy juq' joall?
 between what interval J.be_located.PRS

Do you know, you little wedge, what the difference is between a mild fool and a bitter fool? (PL 1.4)

The same allophony occurs in complex numerals where a decade or higher numeral is formally coordinated with a lower one:

shouztq'ii itt {shouztq'a=j itt}
 or shouztq'ie itt {shouztq'a=ji itt } '50' ('40=& 10')

More examples are in §20.7-8.

24.1.2. ='a 'and'. This clitic coordinates simple NP's when the coordinates do not form a group, or when they are an incomplete, distributive, or exemplifying listing. It is used for emphatic coordination ('both ... and...'). It also coordinates adjectives, complex phrases, and clauses. It can join more than two coordinates. (18) has three tokens of this conjunction.

- (8) sei qaa='a, con='a dolla hama byta='a bytaa¹⁷⁷
 1sRFL.GEN field=& hayfield=& D.be:FOC.PPL thing B.RED=& B.leave.CVant
 I left my field and hayfield and all and ... (0392)
- (9) Duwazh='a saaghazh='a dead.
 prayer=& charity=& D.do.NW.D
 The prayers and charity offerings have been done. (DD)
- (10) Ha'a, louzar='a, bieqazh='a myshta xular joax hwaalxagh?
 yes dance=& game.PL=& how be.IMPF QUOT formerly
 Yes, what kinds of dances and games were there formerly? (0223B)
- (11) Borsha='a, sie='a bie='a¹⁷⁸ baac, yz ustagh by yz, bii?
 male=& female=& difference=& B.be.NEG 3s sheep B.be 3s B.be=Q
 It doesn't matter whether it's male or female, it's a sheep either way, isn't it? (0395B)

¹⁷⁷ The third token of ='a in (8) is not a coordinating particle but the homophonous chaining particle described in §24.4 below.

¹⁷⁸ This word is not coordinated with the other two but has emphatic ='a.

- (12) Hwulxoi='a, Chulxoi='a, massa boa nax, T'umxoi='a, shie_mal_barazh
 (tribe)=& (tribe)=& all B.be.PPL people, (tribe)=& all_B.PPL.NZ.PL
 cu nouq'a wa-uxazh niq' bu.
 DEM.OBL road.ADV down-go.CVsim road B.LV.PRS
 The Hwulxoi, Chulxoi, everybody, the T'umxoi, they all use that road when they go to
 the lowlands. (0392B)
- (13) Bweaxa='a bitq'iga='a qiera bar yz
 B.long=& B.thin=& stone B.be.PST 3s
 It was a long, flat stone.
- (14) Bweaxa='a bolazh, bitq'iga='a bolazh qiera bar yz.
 long=& B.be.CVsim B.thin=& B.be.CVsim stone B.be.PST 3s
 It was a long, flat stone.
- (15) Shi='a, qy duqagh='a louza jish jy=q
 two=& moreover more=& play.INF possibility J.be.PRS=CUM
 Two or more can play. (0392B)
- (16) Eattuu baalby shyn balxa='a, vaaxarie='a.
 success B.go.OPT 2p.GEN work.ADV=& V.life.ADV=&
 Good luck to all of you in work and life. (0380A)
- (17) So=m xala='a aatta='a dehwa-veannavar
 1s=FOC hard=& easy=& across-V.go.PNW
 It was variously hard and easy for me to get across. (Loamaruo)
- (18) So haara diinahw bolx+bie='a, salawa='a, da'a_hama kech-die='a qoa-ju.
 1s every day.ADV work+B.do.INF=&, rest.INF=&, food prepare-D.INF=& manage
 I manage to work, rest, and cook every day.
- (19) T'aaqqa, aaz myshta desh='a, sy qietar myshta dy='a
 so 1s.ERG how study.PRS=&, 1s.GEN understanding how D.be.PRS=&
 Sulumbikaa xou
 S.DAT know.PRS
 Well, Sulambek knows how I study and how much I understand. (0404)
- (20) Vollie, vai nouq'ost Shaxseit myshta vaax='a, cyn nuskal
 come on 1pIN:RFL.GEN friend (name) how V.live.PRS=& 3s.GEN wife

myshta dy='a hwazha ghuo vai eanna.
 how D.be.PRS=& look.INF go.IMPV 1pIN SUB

Let's go see how our friend Shaxseit is living, and what kind of a wife he has, (they said). (Dymii)

In addition to functioning as a coordinating conjunction, ='a can have the meaning 'also, too', 'even' and occurs in this emphatic or focal sense as a singleton.

- (21) Shok jettazh sagata uugar xiira **dar**='a.
 whistle J.LLV.CVsim mournful howl.IMPV alien sleet=&
 And an alien sleet hissed and howled mournfully. (Even the sleet that howled and hissed mournfully was alien.) (DD)

- (22) shii familii='a jolazh *otdel'ni* sag vy **yz**='a
 3sRFL.GEN last.name=& J.be.CVsim separate person V.be.PRS 3s=&
 He too was a separate individual with his own family name. (0392)

'a can also coordinate verb phrases and nonfinite clauses. (In (23) future *xubbolazh* 'which will be, which is going to be' has inferential meaning.)

- (23) ... shi mietar **shira**='a xubbolazh, pxi-jaalx mietar **laqa**='a
 two meter wide=& be.FUT-B.CVsim five-six meter tall=&
 xubbolazh bwoagha by
 be.FUT-B.CVsim stela B.be.PRS

...it's a stela that must be about two meters wide and five or six meters high. (0392)

24.1.3. ='a vs. =ji. The following minimal pairs from Jakovlev 200:252 illustrate the difference between the two conjunctions. =ji implies exhaustive listing and represents word or phrase coordination; ='a implies open listing and probably represents VP or clause coordination with conjunction reduction.

- (24) Ahwmad='a, Mahwmada='a jaaz-dead keaxat
 A.ERG=& M.ERG=& write-D.VZ.NW.D letter
 Ahmed and Mohamed each wrote a letter.

- (25) Ahwmada=ji Mahwmada=ji jaaz-dead keaxat
 A.ERG=& M.ERG=& write-D.VZ.NW.D letter
 Ahmed and Mohamed wrote the/a letter (together).

- (26) Oaxa gatagh='a, kisegh='a, dearegh='a ju axkan koch
 1pEX.ERG linen.LAT=& muslin.LAT=& silk.LAT=& J.make.PRS summer.GEN dress
 We make summer dresses from linen, muslin, silk, etc.
- (27) Oaxa gatagh=ji, kisegh=ji, dearegh=ji ju axkan koch
 1pEX.ERG linen.LAT=& muslin.LAT=& silk.LAT=& J.make.PRS summer.GEN dress
 We make summer dresses from linen, muslin, and silk (only).

24.1.4. *je 'or'*. This is a non-clitic unaccented preposed particle. It precedes all coordinates or all but the first. It infrequently coordinates phrases; corresponding to coordination of phrases in English, Ingush usually repeats the verb.

- (28) Yz kor myshta della-lu, je hwa-della-lu je dwa-dellal-u?
 DEM window how D.open-INCP, or DX-D.open-INCP or DX-D.open-INCP
 How does this window open, in or out?
- (29) Uquo dyr yz, je vuoqachuo dyr yz?
 this.ERG D.do.WP 3s or other.ERG D.do.WP 3s
 Did this one do it, or the other one?
- (30) Dikagh malagha xodz, hwalxara-dar xodz je t'ehwara-dar xodz?
 good.CMP which sound.PRS first-D.NZ sound or later-D.NZ sound
 Which sounds better, the first or the second?
- (31) Deallahw, k'eanjk, hwo ealan vow vaac, je hwo eala='a vaac
 by God boy 2s prince.GEN son V.be.PRS.NEG or 2s prince=& V.be.NEG
 Heavens, son, you're not a prince's son and not a prince. (0408)

'Neither ... nor ...' uses both ='a and *je*.

- (32) Yz='a daac je voz='a daac.
 DEM=& D.be.NEG or other=& D.be.NEG
 Neither one. ('It's neither that one nor the other.')
- (33) Con='a jaac, je leatta aaxa mottig='a jaac, jii?
 hayfield=& J.be.NEG or land plow.INF place=& J.be.NEG J.be.PRS=Q
 There's no hay and no arable land, right? (0415)

24.1.5. *Asyndetic coordination* is not common. An example with coordinated modifiers of a noun is:

- (34) bweaxa bitq'iga qiera
 B.long B.thin stone
 a long thin stone

More commonly, conjunctions can be used inside of NP's: see (13) above.

24.2. Clause coordination

24.2.1. *Asyndetic coordination.* Two finite clauses can be juxtaposed with some prosodic unification but no overt conjunction. This is most common when they have different subjects.

- (35) Vaaxar hwalxa dy, dwa-daxaar t'ehwa dy.
 V.live.VN ahead D.be.PRS DX-D.pass.PPL.NZ behind D.be.PRS
 Life is ahead (of me), the past is behind.

- (36) Oarsnaq' shii keaxatazh dwa-dahwa hwa-vienavar,
 3SRFL.GEN paper.PL DX-D.take.INF DX-V.come.PNW
 aaz yzh bexk_my_baaqqalahw doa-dead eanna ealar.
 1s.ERG them excuse me D.lose-D.CS*.NW.D SUB say.WP

Oarsnaq' came to get his papers, and I said I was sorry but I'd lost them (or: I said I was sorry but they'd been lost).¹⁷⁹

24.2.2. *Coordinating word in main clause.* The linking conjunctions (§16.2.3.4) *t'aaqqa* 'then, and so', *cuduhwa* 'therefore, that's why', and others function as main-clause conjunctions. The construction is traditionally considered a type of coordination since both clauses are finite, but semantically the main clause is an apodosis, consequence, or the like and the other clause is one of reason, condition, etc., thus semantically like subordination.

- (37) So jeizar cynna, t'aaqqa q'ameal duuca vuola-valar yz.
 1s J.know.WP 3s.DAT so conversation D.tell.INF V.begin-V.INCP.WP 3s
 He recognized me and started talking.

- (38) Aaz cuduhwa maara qy hamanna eannadaacar yz.
 1s.ERG therefore except other thing/reason.DAT say-D.PNW.NEG 3s
 That's the only reason I said it. All I meant was ...

¹⁷⁹ *Aaz* can be interpreted as the subject of either *doadead* 'lost' or *ealar* 'said', and if it is subject of 'said' then 'lost' can be interpreted as having either 'I' or an unspecified person as subject.

- (39) Wa diesha cy dieshie, institutiera eqqa-vergvy hwo.
 2s.ERG D.RED NEG D.study.CVirr institute.ADV.ABL expel-V.CS.FUT 2s

Aaz **cuduhwa** dwajaax hwuoga diesha.
 1s.ERG therefore DX-say.PRS 2s.ALL study.IMPV

If you don't study you'll be expelled from the institute. That's why I'm telling you to study.

hana ealcha 'because, therefore' is formally a converb clause 'if you ask why', 'if it's asked why': *hana* 'why', *ealcha* say.CVtemp. Prosodically it belongs with the semantic apodosis clause, and there is the option of detaching *hana* 'why' from the converb and placing it in preverbal position in the apodosis clause as in (42) and (44).

- (40) Suona prafiesara bolx lugbaac **hana ealcha**, aaz
 1s.DAT professor.GEN work give-B.FUT.NEG because 1s.ERG
 cwaaqqa kinashjka jaaz-deadaac / jaaz-dea doacandea
 any book write-D.VZ.D.NW.NEG / write-D.VZ D.NW.NEG.CVbecause

I won't get a professorship because I haven't written any books.

- (41) C'agha shiila jy **hana ealcha**, uq shara pishkj
 house.ADV cold J.be.PRS because this.OBL year.GEN furnace
 toajea joacandea
 repair-J.CS J.NW.NEG.CVbecause

It's cold in the house because we didn't repair the furnace this year.¹⁸⁰

- (42) Learrhaa aaz yz **hana** jaax **ealcha**, cy desha=t'y
 deliberately 1s.ERG 3s why say say.CV DEM.OBL word.GEN=on
 cuo terkuo t'y='a jaxtaa, cynagh ealar suoga ...
 3s.ERG attention on=& J.send.CVant 3s.LAT say.WP 1s.ALL

The reason I deliberately bring this up is that he called my attention to that word and said to me about it ...

- (43) Earzii eanna c'i tyllai **hana ealcha**, cigacha earzii daaxandea.
 (name) SUB name bestow.NW because there eagle D.live.CVbecause
 It's called "Earzii" because an eagle lives there.

¹⁸⁰ The finite non-negative form of the verb would be *toajeai* (repair-J.CS.NW.J), with cliticized tense auxiliary =*fy* (§13.3.1) reduced to [-j]. Here *joacandea* is the negative anterior converb of that tense auxiliary. With an auxiliary this long the verb is usually written as two words: *toajea joacandea* (and not *toajeajoacandea*).

- (44) Earzii **hana** eannad c'i **ealcha**, cy jurta earzii daaxandea.
 (name) why say.NW.D name say.CVtemp DEM.OBL town.ADV eagle D.live.CVbcs
 It was called "Earzii" because an eagle (*earzii*) lives in that town.

In (44) *hana* precedes the phrasal verb {c'i oal} [name say] 'name, call, give a name', whose order is inverted by verb-second order. Interrogative *hana* must immediately precede the converb piece (see §30.3.2-3).

24.2.3. *Coordinating word in both clauses.* As noted in §24.1.4 above, *je* 'or' occurs in both clauses in a *je ... je ...* 'either ... or' construction.

24.3. Nuclear chaining

Nuclear chaining¹⁸¹ is the closest kind of link between verbs. Ingush nuclear chains all involve two verbs which are covalent, i.e. they share one or more arguments, as well as sharing tense, mood, and aspect. With the examples below are shown the syntactic role(s) of the shared arguments, in square brackets (shown in the order the clauses occur in). (Constraints on the syntactic roles and cases of shared arguments are described in §29.1.3.) A number of nuclear chains are more or less lexicalized, so that nuclear chaining is a productive form of compounding.

In the most frequent kind of nuclear chaining, a perfective converb describes a result state or ingressive state that is semantically conflated with the finite verb, which need not be perfective and often is not. Since the converb has no tense or aspect separate from that of the main verb, rules of sequence of tense determine its form. When the finite verb is indicative and not generic in time reference, the converb (the first verb) is in the anterior converb form. (Here and below, bracketed abbreviations to the right show which argument is shared in the two clauses.)

- (45) hwal-ellaa ull [O S]
 up-hung.CVant lie
 is hanging (lit. 'lies hung')
- (46) wa-xeina vaagha [S S]
 down-sit.CVant V.sit
 is sitting ('having sat down sits')

¹⁸¹ For nuclear vs. core see Foley & Van Valin 1984:Chapter 6, Crowley 2002. In the multivariate terms of Bickel 2010, Ingush nuclear chaining would be conjunct for all scope operators (even aspect).

One of the most common functions of nuclear cosubordination in texts is to combine manner and motion into a single complex motion predicate with a goal. No simple verb of Ingush has both manner and motion meanings, and manner-of-motion verbs generally cannot be combined with a goal phrase. Examples of chained motion verb constructions above are (48), (51), and others; additional examples are:

- (61) **Shii** **gouraa** **t'y='a xeina,**
 3s.RFL.GEN horse.DAT on =& sit.CVant
xexkkaa **Noxchazhkahw** **vaxaav** **joax** **yz** **t'aaqqa**
 ride:FOC.CVant Chechnya.LOC V.go.NW.V QUOT 3s then
 He got on his horse and rode off to Chechnya. (lit. 'went riding') [S S]
- (62) **Megaddy eanna,** **vedda** **hwa-vaxaacha** **vuoquo**
 OK say.CVant V.run.CVant DX-V.go.CVant.OBL other.ERG
 "OK," said the other guy and ran up there and... ('running going up') [S S]
- (63) **Viena** **t'y=qeachaav** **cwa ...** **ch'woagha sag**
 V.come.CVant on-arrive.NW.V one strong person
 Up came a very strong man ('coming arrived') (V0405) [S S]
- (64) ... **towwa-bea** **cy** **wurjgagh** **kuorta** **chy-bellaab**
 press:FOC.B.CS.CVant DEM.OBL hole.LAT head in-B.insert.NW.B
 He thrust his head into the hole. ('pushing inserted') (V0405) [A+O A+O]

A special type of nuclear chaining uses paired coordinate converbs. The examples I have found all involve simultaneous converbs and describe durative or iterative actions going on together. The first three examples here are lexicalized, and the others are potentially lexicalized. These are normally written with a hyphen.

lielazh-hwuuzazh 'walking-turning around'; i.e. 'going around arranging things'
 lielazh-qestazh 'going-turning'; i.e. 'things happened, some time passed'
 vuzhazh-ghottazh 'lying down and getting up'
 joaghazh-juodazh 'coming and going'
 du'azh-molazh 'eating and drinking'
 d.aaxazh-tieq'azh 'living and praying' in a formula for opening folk stories:

- (65) **Baaxazh-tieq'azh** **joaqqa sag=ji** **voaqqa sag=ji** **xannab**
 B.live.CVsim-pray.CVsim J.old person=& V.old person=& be.NW.B
 Once upon a time there lived an old man and an old woman ... (0398.B41)

24.4. Core chaining

In core chaining, the verbs share only one argument or sometimes two, but not the entire valence; they share tense and mood but not aspect.¹⁸⁶ The anterior, simultaneous, and irrealis converb all figure in core chaining, the anterior converb being by far the most frequent in narrative. Core chaining constructions generally have the chaining particle =*a* enclitic to the word preceding the converb (see Peterson 2001 and Conathan & Good 2000 for this particle). That host word may be the verbal prefix, the first element of a compound verb, the direct object, or (if there is no other host for the clitic particle) a reduplicated copy of the verb stem. In (66), *Muusaa* is the shared argument, understood as subject of both verbs. Its nominative case is assigned by the intransitive main verb *aaravealar* 'went out'. The transitive converb *danna* 'gave; having given' has no overt subject (if it did, it would assign the ergative case to it). As is more or less obligatory, the finite verb in the last clause is initial in its clause (which amounts to verb-second order, where the chained converb clause constitutes the first constituent) (see §30.2.3). Thus the two chained verbs are adjacent.

- (66) Peat'mataa axcha=*a* danna, aara-vealar Muusaa
 P.-DAT money=& D.give.CVant out-V.go.WP M.
 Musa gave Peat'mat money and went out.

In (66), the chaining particle follows the direct object 'money'. In (67), in the first verb it follows the deictic prefix, and the second verb, which has no prefix and no object in its clause, is reduplicated so the copy of its stem can host the clitic. (For this analysis see Peterson 2001.)

- (67) Mashen hwa=*a* jettaa, ieza=*a* iezaa wa-jeassa-jeai.
 vehicle DX=& J.load.CVant RED=& weigh.CVant DX-J.empty-J.CS.NW.J
 They loaded the truck, weighed it, and unloaded it.

24.4.1. Argument sharing in core chaining. The shared argument generally takes its case marking from the main clause. That its non-overt token is not an ordinary anaphoric zero is shown most clearly by the fact that it cannot be replaced by a reflexive pronoun if it is coreferential to the subject of a higher clause, while non-shared zero arguments coreferential to the main-clause subject can easily be replaced by reflexive pronouns. Nor can it be replaced by an overt non-coreferential nominal. Compare the following examples of chaining constructions with and without argument sharing. (Here and below, the underscore marks the

¹⁸⁶ In the multivariate terms of Bickel 2010, Ingush core chaining is conjunct for tense but extensible for other scope categories, unconstrained for aspect, and harmonic for the marking of aspect. It is very similar to most types of what Crowley 2002 calls core serialization in Oceanic languages.

place that the shared argument holds in the non-main clause, and the case that it would have if overt is shown in brackets in the interlinear. Ø indicates an argument present in the clause but zero in form due to anaphora, conjunction reduction, or the like.) (68)-(70) involve argument sharing, while (71)-(73) have non-sharing. The (shared) subject of the chained clause in (68)-(70) cannot be reflexivized or made non-coreferential to the main-clause subject, while the non-shared subject of (71)-(73) can be either reflexivized or replaced by an overt non-coreferential subject.

- (68) ___ Peat'mataa axcha='a danna, aara-vealar Muusaa
 [ERG] P.-DAT money=& D.give.CVant out-V.go.WP M.
 Musa gave Peat'mat money and went out.
- (69) * Shie Peat'mataa axcha='a danna, aara-vealar Muusaa
 3SRFL.ERG P.-DAT money=& D.give.CVant out-V.go.WP M.
 Musa gave Peat'mat money and went out.
- (70) * Ahwmadaz Peat'mataa axcha='a danna, aara-vealar Muusaa
 A.ERG P.-DAT money=& D.give.CVant out-V.go.WP M.
 Ahmed gave Peat'mat money and Musa went out.

Near-minimal pairs to core chaining are illustrated by temporal subordination. Both core chaining and temporal subordination involve converbs, but they are grammatically different. The following examples of temporal subordination use the temporal converb ('when, after'). They do not have sharing, and the non-overt token in the converb clause can be overt (in which case it must be reflexivized):

- (71) Ø Peat'mataa axcha dalcha, Muusaa aara-vealar
 [ERG] P.-DAT money D.give.CVtemp M. out-V.go.WP
 When he had given Peat'mat money, Musa went out.
- (72) Shie Peat'mataa axcha dalcha, Muusaa aara-vealar
 3SRFL.ERG P.-DAT money D.give.CVtemp M. out-V.go.WP
 When he had given Peat'mat money, Musa went out.

Temporal subordination does not require any coreference between arguments:

- (73) Ahwmadaz Peat'mataa axcha dalcha, Muusaa aara-vealar
 A.ERG P.-DAT money D.give.CVtemp M. out-V.go.WP
 When Ahmed had given Peat'mat money, Musa went out.

In conservative usage the shared argument in core chaining is usually in the nominative case. In most such examples the main-clause token is S (as in the examples above), but

occasionally it is an O (as in (74) below). When the main-clause token is in the ergative or another oblique case, the chained verb is in the oblique participial form and the particle =*'a* is optional and usually absent (for more examples see §29.1.4).

24.4.2. *Mood sharing in core chaining.* (74) illustrates sharing of mood categories in a sequence of core chain. Clauses *a-g* are a series of core chained verbs, using the anterior converb (or the simultaneous converb in *b*), and the last verb in the chain is a counterfactual conditional (italicized, clause *g*). All of the anterior converbs have the semantic force of counterfactual conditional, but this is overt only in clause *g* (italicized). In addition, two arguments are shared by the converb clauses: *Mahwmada* (overt in clause *f*) and *so* 'I' (the narrator), overt in clause *h*.

- (74) a. Shoi-ciga ___ ___ **wa=chy='a vigaa,**
 3pRFL-chez [M.ERG] [1sg] DX=in=& V.lead.CVant
- b. dizzaacha k'iragh ∅ du'azh-molazh d.h.
 D.a_whole week.LAT [1sg/1pl.ERG] eating-drinking
- c. ___ ___ **hwal-kuogametta='a otta-vea,**
 [M.ERG] [1sg] up-foot_place=& stand-V.CS.CVant
- d. ___ neaq'aa suona **axcha='a danna,**
 [M.ERG] road:ADV.DAT 1s.DAT money=& D.give.CVant
- e. ___ **da'a-mala='a danna** d.h.
 [1sg.DAT] eat-drink.INF=& give.CVant
- f. *Mahwmada* cigachyra ___ **aara='a veaqqaa**
 M.ERG from there [1sg] out=& V.take.CVant
- g. ___ ___ hwaveitaa *viecarie*
 [M.ERG] [1sg] DX-V.send V.PNW.NEG.CVirr
- h. taxan shuca **vaaghargvaacar so,**
 today 2pl.INS V.sit.CND.NEG 1sg
- i. oalar cu noxchuochoo.
 say.IMPF that.OBL Chechen.ERG

If Mahwmad hadn't

- a. taken me in,
- b. eating and drinking for a whole week [i.e. fed me for a whole week]
- c. put me back on my feet
- d. given me money for the road
- e. and food

- f. rescued me from there
 g. and *sent me back* [NB: a-f are in scope of g's negation and counterfactuality]
 h. I wouldn't be here with you today,
 i. said the Chechen man. (0207A.2)

(75) is a similar example with a simultaneous converb: the counterfactual conditional force of *dalaarie* applies to the *bolazh* clause.

- (75) Dosh dar hwuona yzh liela-jiechyn max laqagha='a **bolazh**,
 word D.be.PST MIR 3p wear-J.CS.PPL.NZ.GEN price high.CMP=& B.be.CVsim
 yz ghulaq juxmacchahwa **dalaarie**.
 DEM matter backwards D.be.CVirr

It would be a good deal ('a word') if things were the other way around and the value of their wearer were higher (than that of the clothes). (CDD 30)

24.4.3. *Word order in core chaining.* Word order in ordinary main clauses is verb-second with a certain amount of freedom to move things into initial or final position for focus (see §§30.2.2, 30.4). Main clauses in core chaining constructions are verb-initial with great consistency. This can be seen as verb-second order where the entire chain of converb clauses (or perhaps just the preceding one) is counted as first position.

- (76) * __ Peat'mataa axcha='a danna, Muusaa aara-vealar
 [ERG] P.-DAT money=& D.give.CVant, M. out-V.go.WP M
 Musa gave Peat'mat money and went out.

In contrast, (71) above, a subordinating (and not chaining) construction using a temporal converb, does have subject-verb order (as is usual though not obligatory).

24.4.4. *Narrative chaining.* All the above examples of core chaining illustrate narrative chaining: a sequence of actions takes the form of a series of core converbs, followed by a main verb (which in spontaneous narrative is very often a verb of motion or location). Rather often that main verb is intransitive. Its subject, if agentive, can control a mix of nominative and ergative shared coreferents:

- (77) Qaalneaxa barcq'az t'y='a diixaa, cu koa yz_i vie
 woman.GEN clothes on=& D.put on.CVant DEM.OBL yard.ADV 3s V.kill.INF
voaghazh xannuu yz_i cuo viinachyn vosha
 V.come.CVsim PROG.NARP.V DEM 3s.ERG V.kill.PPL.NZ.GEN brother

The brother_i of the man he_j had killed had dressed in women's clothing and was coming to the yard to kill him_j.

However, in texts from older speakers, it is not uncommon to find syntactic ergativity, with the shared argument variously S and O. An example is (74) above, where *so* 'I' is S of the main clause but shared as O in the chained clauses. Another is (78), where 'beads' is S of the main clause and shared variously as O (of 'give') or S (of 'come down [as inheritance] to') in the converb clauses:

- (78) Ilisxaa-jurtarcha Hwazhaz T'ugiena __='a¹⁸⁷ **danna,**
 (place name).ADJ.OBL Hadji T.DAT =& D.give.CVant
- ... T'ugiegara Iishwaq'aga¹⁸⁸ __='a **qeachaa,**
 T.ABL I.ALL =& arrive.CVant
- cy Iishwaq'agara Faadiega __='a **qeachaa,**
 DEM.OBL I.ABL F.ALL =& arrive.CVant
- Faadez handz-a, shie mogazh joacazh k'aljisaachyl
 F.ERG now-PAUSE 3SRFL well J.be:NEG.CVsim succumb.CSN
- t'ehwagh, cy Muusaai veshii vowaa **dwa = 'a danna,**
 after DEM.OBL M.GEN son.GEN son.DAT DX=& D.give.CVant
- cyn vowaga **dy** yzh sulhwaazh
 3s.GEN son.ALL D.be.PRS DEM:PL bead.PL

Kunta Hadji gave them to T'ugi, from T'ugi they came down to Isaac, from Isaac to Faadii, and when her health failed she gave them to Musa's nephew and now his son has the beads. [O S S O S]

In a narrative chain, the form of the converb follows sequence of tense rules. With a punctual or telic finite verb the converb is in the anterior form as in most of the above examples. With an imperative it is in the sequential form:

- (79) Ghuo vallie eannad, **hwal='a ghoi,**
 go.IMPV V.go.IMPV say.NW.D up=& go.CVseq
- je taxanara di mearsha daa suona
 this today.ADJ.OBL day free D.give.IMPV 1s.DAT

¹⁸⁷ ='a cliticizes to *T'ugiena*: /t'ugienâ¹⁸⁷/.

¹⁸⁸ This borrowed name has a consonant sequence not found in native Ingush words and not unambiguously transcribable in the system used here. It is pronounced [iis.hwaq'], where the period separates the two consonants. That is, "shw" here spells /s/ plus /hw/, not /sh/ plus /w/.

aala joax eannad, aala eannad,
say.IMPV QUOT say.NW say.IMPV say.NW.D

aaz joax ealie **aala** cynga eanna.
1s.ERG say.1-2s SUB.CVseq say.IMPV 3s.ALL SUB

Go on, **go up** there and **tell** him I said to leave me alone today. [S A]

When the clauses are simultaneous or there is overlap, the converb is simultaneous:

(80) ... **dwalel=q** vei, terkam **t'y='a cy boxtazh** cy ghulaqaa.
DX-go=CUM 1pIN, attention at=& NEG B.go.CSind.CVsim DEM.OBL matter.DAT
We go by and pay no attention to it. (0380A.28) [S A]

(81) yshtta **bolx='a bezh** jeaxaai txy naana
so work=& B.do.CVsim J.live.NW.J 1pEX.GEN mother
That's how our mother lived and worked. (0202.A.1) [A S]

(82) k'ead-k'ead-jennar **dwa='a joalazh,** k'ead-jelandza
RED-tired-J.VZ.NZ DX=& J.go.CVsim tired-J.VZ.NEG.PPL
jer **hwa=t'y='a joaghazh,** yz luusazh laattar
3s DX=on=& J.come.CVsim 3s stir.CVsim stand.IMPV

One woman would get tired and quit and another one would come and stand there stirring it. (0418.20) [S S S]

(83) Yz sag joala-jeachoa **dwa=t'y='a vuodazh,**
3s person J.marry-J.CS.PPL.NZ.DAT DX=on=& V.go.CVsim
louca='a beaqqie justara voalazh xannuu massavarg='a.
congratulate=& B.LV.CVseq aside V.go.CVsim PROG.NARP.V all=&

Everyone **would come up** to the groom and congratulate him and go back. (CDD 9)

(84) Sheil duqa-duqagha bolcha mostaghel **kot='a boalazh,**
3pRFL.CSN RED-much.CMP B.be.PPL.OBL enemy.CSN defeat=& B.LV.CVsim
cweaqa='a *gorod* muq'a+jeaqqar sovietski bwuxozh
one_more=& city free+J.LV.WP Soviet troops.ERGpl

Defeating enemies much more numerous than themselves, the Soviet troops freed yet another city. (7D) [A-nom A]

CHAPTER 25

COMPLEMENTATION

Most forms of the verb and most types of non-main clauses figure in complementation: finite verb forms, direct speech and semi-direct speech, subjunctive, verbal noun, infinitive, participles, converbs; tensed clauses with and without conjunctions, clefting, nominalization, chaining. Depending on the verb and the form of complementation, coreferents to the subject may undergo argument sharing, controlled deletion, long-distance reflexivization, or free anaphoric zero. A number of verbs take different forms of complement for same-subject and different-subject complements. The following subsections list the formal types, followed by a semantically arranged survey of complement-taking verbs and their required types of complementation (§§25.13-15). Extraction of arguments to sentence-peripheral positions affects complement clauses of various types and is covered at the end (§25.16).

25.1. Asyndetic finite verb

A few verbs of speech and one verb of cognition take this kind of complement. The complement clause often has a different subject from the main clause, or (less often) a reflexivized same subject. Examples with indicative verbs in the complement clause:

- (1) Aaz yz dika sag vy ealar.
1s.ERG 3s good person V.be.PRS say.WP
I said he was a good person. (Nichols 1994a)
- (2) Cuo shie **egha-veav** joax
3s.ERG 3SRFL crazy-V.VZ.NW.V say.PRS
He_i says he_i is crazy. (1981:33.1)
- (3) Hwo gurzhii vy mott cynna.
2s Georgian V.be.PRS seem 3s.DAT
You look Georgian to him. He thinks you are Georgian. (Nichols 1994a)
- (4) Jy mott suona.
J.be.PRS seem 1s.DAT
Seems like it. Looks like it. I think so. (Lit. 'I think [(it) is]'.)

- (5) Muusaaз suoga xoam+byr shie kastta **c'a-voagha**.
 M.ERG 1s.ALL communicate+B.LV.WP 3SRFL soon home-V.come
 Musa let me know he would get home soon.

Regularly with *mott* 'think' and occasionally with other verbs, the subject of the complement clause follows the main verb. (8) below, where the dative *mexkaxozhta* 'countrymen' is governed by *dwaxodz* 'listen', shows that the lower subject retains the case assigned in its own clause (i.e. this is not raising). This is extraction; see §25.16 below and §30.5.

- (6) Muusaa fy dezH vy? Cwa kinashjka jaazdezH voall **mott**
 M. what D.do.CVsim V.PROG some book write.CVsim V.PROG think.PRS
suona yz.
 1s.DAT 3s

What's Musa doing these days? I think he's writing some kind of book.

- (7) Shie kerda jaazjea beitzh jiesha voall **mott suona jer**.
 3SRFL new J.write.J.PPL poem.PL J.read.INF V.PROG think 1.DAT 3s
 I think he's ready to read some of his new poems. (KSh)

- (8) Muhwмаd, handz vai duucazh doa q'ameal dwaxodz **mott suona**
 M. now 1pIN D.talk.CVsim D.be.PPL conversation DX-hear think 1s.DAT
vai mexkaxozhta
 1pIN.GEN countryman.PL.DAT

Muhwмаd, I think our countrymen are listening to this broadcast. (0380A.28)

Examples with imperative verbs in the complement clause (either the plain or the mild imperative can be used):

- (9) Waishietaz Muusaaiga pwieghazh **jyla** ealar.
 A.ERG M.ALL dish.PL J.wash.IMPV say.WP
 Aisha told Musa to wash the dishes.. ('Aisha said to Musa, "Wash the dishes."')

That the form used here is the imperative and not the infinitive (which is homophonous with the simple imperative in most paradigms) is shown by the fact that it can be replaced with the mild imperative (which is unambiguously imperative and different from the simple imperative) as in (10). In (11) the irregular verb 'go', which has distinct imperative and infinitive forms, also shows that the form is the imperative:

- (10) Waishietaz Muusaaiga pwieghazh **jylal** ealar.
 A.ERG M.ALL dish.PL J.wash.IMPV mild say.WP
 Aisha asked Musa to please wash the dishes.
- (11) Waishietaz Muusaaiga **chy-vuola** ealar.
 A.ERG M.ALL in-V.go.IMPV say.WP
 A. told M. to come home.

25.2. Interrogative finite clause

Several verbs of speech and cognition can take a finite complement with an interrogative word (which is positioned before the verb root and follows any prefixes as is usual for interrogative words: §§30.3.1, 30.3.3):

- (12) Waishietaa xou, t'ehwa **mala** vyaav
 A.DAT know behind **who** V.stay.NW.V
 Aisha knows who was late.
- (13) Waishietaa xou, Muusaa t'ehwa **hana** vyaav.
 A.DAT know M. behind **why** V.stay.NW.V
 Aisha knows why Musa was late.
- (14) Muusaaaz xeattar suoga **fy mawan** dolazh dy yz kinashjka
 M.ERG ask.NW 1s.ALL what meaning D.be.CVsim D.be.PRS that book
 Musa asked me what the book was about.

Complements that are implicit polar questions in most western European languages are explicit polar questions in Ingush, with a finite verb in the interrogative form (clitic *-ii* / *-j*; see §30.3.2):

- (15) Waishietaa shii bierazh kino **daxaadii** xaacar.
 A.DAT 3SRFL.GEN child.PL movie D.go.NW.D=Q know.IMPV.NEG
 Aisha didn't know whether her children went to the movies.
- (16) Shoana **xazadii** xaac suona
 2p.DAT hear.NW.D=Q know.NEG.PRS 1s.DAT
 I don't know if you've heard this. (0408)
- (17) Ahwmad jish loqazh **laattii** hwazhal.
 A. song sing.CVsim stand=Q look.IMPV mild
 Go look whether Ahmed is singing.

25.3. Finite verb with complementizer

There are no dedicated complementizers in Ingush, but there are two marginal ones: one converb and one comparative conjunction that are specialized at least with some verbs in complementizer-like functions.

25.3.1. *Converb: eanna*. The anterior converb *eanna* 'having said' functions as a clause-final complementizer used with verbs of speech and perception.¹⁸⁹

- (18) Gazieta=t'y jaazdeadar taxan dogha delxaddy **eanna**.
 newspaper=on write.D.PNW today rain D.cry.FUT.D SUB
 In the paper it said ('was written') that it will rain today.
- (19) Muusaaz Waishietaga keaxat jaazdyr, shie yz jolcha voaghagvy **eanna**
 M.ERG A.ALL letter write.D.WP 3SRFL 3s J.be.PPL.OBL V.COME.FUT.V SUB
 Musa wrote Aisha that he would come to her place.
- (20) Waishet latq'ar, Muusaaz ghar ju **eanna**.
 A. complain.WP M.ERG noise J.make.PRS SUB
 Aishet complained that Musa was making noise.
- (21) Cuo benziin xii dy **eanna** qeika-dyr.
 3s.ERG gasoline water D.be.PRS SUB call-D.CS.WP
 He claimed [the] gasoline was water.
- (22) cyn mawan xuuca-luddy **eanna** xietazh dalie='a
 3s.GEN meaning change-INCP.FUT.D SUB seem.CVsim D.PROG.CVirr=&
 'if (he) thought that its meaning might change' (0379A.19.14)

The tense of the main verb can influence the factivity of the complement clause. (23) has a witnessed past main verb and is factive; (24) has a past nonwitnessed main verb and is not.

- (23) Suona Muusaa wa-viezhaav **eanna** xazar.
 1s.DAT M. down-V.fall.NW.V SUB hear.WP
 I heard that Musa fell down. I heard that Musa had fallen down (and he had).
- (24) Suona Muusaa c'a+vienuu **eanna** xazaadar
 1s.DAT Musa home+V.come.NW.V SUB hear.PNW
 I heard Musa had come back (but he hadn't).

¹⁸⁹ Interlinearized SUB because it has more general subordinating functions. See also §13.8.4.

The same subordinator can also mark purpose clauses. In the following the verb form is the infinitive (regularly used in purpose clauses: see §27.3) and not the imperative, as a first person imperative carries optative meaning rather than the purposive sense of these examples. Nonetheless, the *hwa-* deictic prefix in (25) is from the perspective of the clause subject *Ousha-neaq'aan* and not that of the immediate context (which depicts an event from the standpoint of those who were to pay the tribute) or the narrator; and the oath and *uqaza* 'here' in (26) are from the perspective of the old woman. That is, the infinitive clauses retain the shifters of the original speech event.

- (25) T'aaqqa ciga dwa-baxaab je Ousha-neaq'aan joal **hwa-ieca eanna**
 then there DX-B.go.NW.B DEM (clan name) tribute DX-take.INF SUB
 Then the Ousha-neaq'aan came there to collect their tribute. (0392B.1)
- (26) Deala juq'aat'as uqaza fyd **hwazha eanna** jaghaai joaqqa sag
 (oath) here what=D.be look.INF SUB J.go.NW.J J.old woman
 The old woman went out to find out what in the world this was. (0409.22)
- (27) Bwienuo ch'arx-ch'arx eanna tuopazh hwa='t'y-leacar, **tuoxa eanna** uqanna.
 army RED-suddenly LV.CVant gun.PL DX=on-seize.WP shoot.IMPV SUB 3s.DAT
 The soldiers immediately took up their guns to shoot him. (0418.36; also in §13.2.7)
- (28) cigachy shollagh dolcha deaq'a='t'y jisttie, yz Sawad
 there second D.be.PPL.OBL part.GEN=on edge:FOC.ADV DEM S.
 vie='a vuuzh shii dea **pwa liexa eanna**
 V.RED=& V.kill.CVsim 3SRFL.GEN father.GEN vengeance seek.INF SUB
 Hasaan dwa-vuodacha xaana
 Hasan DX-V.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 ... at the end of the second part, as Hasan is setting off **to avenge** his father by killing
 Sawad ... (0379)

Evidence that *eanna* in this function is not to be taken literally as a verb of speech is (29) where the subject is wolves:

- (29) yzh k'iilenna uqaza shoazhta dulx **daaqqa eanna** my jeaxkaajii yzh
 3p ambush.ADV here 3pRFL.DAT meat D.take.INF SUB EMPH J.come:PL.NW.J=Q 3p
 They (wolves) had been lying in wait **to get** some meat for themselves ... (0240)

Eanna can also be used with finite verb forms. With a past tense verb the meaning can be closer to reason; with a future or subjunctive, it is closer to purpose.

- (30) Cynca xannacha cyn vowa juq'agh hwa 'a jeastaa, doshuo
 3s.INS be.PPL.OBL 3s.GEN son.ERG waist.LAT DX=& J.untie.CVant gold
 deaqqaa dotuo shaaltii=ji t'exkarii=ji bustamazh=ji wajexkar joaxar.
 D.LV.PPL silver dagger=& belt=& bullet sleeve.PL=& DX-J.put.PL.WP QUOT
 (Interlocutor) Gushjk veav **eanna**
 (name) V.be born.NW.V SUB

His son who was with him took off his gilded silver dagger and belt and bullet sleeves and gave them to him. (Interlocutor:) In honor of Gushjk's birth. (0207A.2)

- (31) cigga hwa=t'y-vealcha cwanniena bwarjga+gugvy=q so **eanna**,
 there:FOC DX=on-V.go.CVtemp someone.DAT eye+see.FUT.V=CUM 1s SUB
 so ciga hwal=t'y-vealar yzh zha='a iicaa.
 1s there up=on-V.go.WP DEM.PL sheep=& take.CVant

I went up there with the sheep, figuring someone would see me up there. (... so someone would see me up there) (0240)

- (32) Dig dika qietaldy **eanna**, ira='a dead, daguo toa='a jeai.
 axe well hit.OPT3 SUB sharp=& D.VZ.NW.D handle repair=& J.CS.NW.J
So the axe would strike true he sharpened it and fixed the handle.

When the main verb is iterative or generic in sense, the complementizer can take the sequential converb forms *oalie*, *ealie* following the sequence-of-tense rule (§24.4.4):

- (33) cigacha tapcha hwa='a jeaqqie cuo oal=q, "sy daaz
 there gun DX=& J.take.SEQ 3s.ERG say=CUM 1s.GEN father.ERG
 jost ju'azh, wa dynie du'azh xuddaac" **ealie**.
 dust J.eat.CVsim 2s.ERG world D.eat.CVsim be.D.FUT.NEG SUB.CVseq

... he gets his gun and says, "It's not going to be that my father eats dust and you enjoy life ('eat the world')." (0379)

25.3.2. *Conjunction: sanna, muo.* The comparative conjunctions *sanna* and *muo* 'like, as' function as complementizer with a few verbs: *gha gu* 'dream', *mott* 'think' (which alternatively takes an asyndetic finite clause (§25.1), and at least sometimes *xiet* 'think, seem'. With this form of complementation the verbs tend to have counterfactual semantics.

- (34) Suona gha deira sie Los Angelesie volazh sanna.
 1s.DAT dream D.see.WP 1sRFL L.A.ADV V.be.CVsim like
 I dreamed I was in Los Angeles.

- (35) Suona cq'azahw eisa jaaxar cuo xaarcawh
1s.DAT sometimes 1sRFL.ERG say.PPL.NZ 3s.ERG wrongly

qieta-dezh **sanna** mott.
understand-D.CS*.CVsim like think

I think he sometimes misunderstands what I say.

- (36) Vuoqaarna mettaad uquo qieta cy dezh **sanna**
other.PL.DAT think.NW.D 3s.ERG understand NEG D.CS.CVsim like

The others thought he hadn't understood ('it hadn't been gotten across to him'). (0408)

Note the D gender on *mettaad*; this is default agreement, or more precisely non-agreement; agreement attraction (§21.6.2) is impossible with this verb.

- (37) Suona *chestno_govorja* ghalghaai mott xalacha hwala=t'y laattazh muo xet
1s.DAT frankly Ingush language bad.OBL status=on stand.CVsim like seem
To tell the truth, I think the Ingush language is in a bad situation. (0379)

25.4. Subjunctive

Complements of verbs meaning 'know', 'believe', 'hope', etc. are in the subjunctive. (Some can also take finite clauses with interrogative words: see §25.2 above.) The subjunctive is most often used with a different subject from the main clause (about 80% of the examples in the Berkeley Ingush Corpus), but is entirely natural with a coreferential subject (most often this is reflexivized, otherwise null as in (42) below).

- (38) Waishietaa shii bierazh kino **daxaaljga** xaacar.
A.DAT 3sRFL.GEN child.PL movie D.go.SBJpast know.IMPF
Aisha didn't know that her children had gone to the movies.

- (39) Waishietaa xou, suoga xa **joacaljga**.
A.DAT know.PRS 1s.ALL time J.be.NEG.SBJ
Aisha understands that I have no time.

- (40) Suona yz dika sag **voljga** xou.
1s.DAT 3s good person V.be.SBJ know.PRS
I know he is a good person.

- (41) So Mahwmad **voljga**=a, yz **doljga**=a my xoi hwuona, xoi?
1s M. V.be.SBJ=& 3s D.be.SBJ=& EMPH know=Q 2s.DAT know=Q
You know I'm Mahwmad and this is how it is, right? (0207A.2)

- (42) **Dolxaljga** xoura txuona, txo *kulaakazh* bar
 D.go:PL.SBJ know.IMPf 1pEX.DAT, 1pEX kulak.PL B.be.PST
 We knew we were going, we were kulaks. (0238A.10)
- (43) ... shie yzh **loarhaljga**=¹a, caar sii **deljga**=¹a xeitazh caarga
 3SRFL 3p respect.SBJ=& 3p.GEN honor D.do.SBJ=& know-CSind.CVsim 3p.ALL
 lotq'am beab cuo.
 questioning B.do.NW.B 3s.ERG
 He asked them questions to let them know he respected them and honored them.
 (0408.15)
- (44) Myshta dwa-xeitaddar wa hwie baq' **luuljga** ?
 how DX-know-CSind.D.CND 2s.ERG 2SRFL.ERG truth say.SBJ
 How will you prove you are telling the truth? (PL 2.1)
- (45) Suona Muusa **c'a-vienaljga** xazar.
 1s.DAT Musa home-V.come.SBJ hear.WP
 I heard Musa had come back.
- (46) So tesh vai qy=¹a **bwarjga+guddoljga**.
 1s believe 1pIN more=& eye+see.SBJfut
 I hope we'll see each other again.
- (47) So tesh sie Muusaaina **jiezaljga**.
 1s believe 1SRFL M.DAT J.love.SBJ
 I'm sure Musa loves me.
- (48) Sie cynna **bwarjga+guljga** loura suona.
 1SRFL 3s.DAT eye+see.SBJ want.IMPf 1s.DAT
 I'd like him to see me.
- (49) ("..."), jeaxaad [shiina yzh hwalt'amazh k'ezziga joaqqagha
 say.NW.D 3SRFL.DAT DEM.PL dumpling.PL little:FOC J.big.CMP
 xalar **louljga**] belgal-die biezam bolcha Cagiena.
 be.VN wish.SBJ emphasize-D.LV.INF wish B.be.PPL.OBL C.ERG
 ("...") said Cagen, who wanted to emphasize that **he wished** the dumplings were a bit
 bigger. (CDD 20) (relative clause bracketed)

The subjunctive is also used with 'be' in the sense 'be the case that' (e.g. 'it's that', 'it's the case that'):

- (50) Sie bolxluo **voljga xuddy** yz, so caarna reaza vaac.
 1sRFL.GEN worker V.be.SBJ be.FUT 3s 1s 3p.DAT pleased V.be.NEG
 Maybe because I'm a worker myself I'm not pleased with them. (0415.12)
- (51) Vuo jy **oalaljga=m vwaalla='a daac** hwuona.
 bad J.be.PRS say.SBJ=FOC at all=& D.be.NEG 2s.DAT
 You have no reason at all to say she's bad. (CDD 23)
- (52) Cu c'agha **wabuushaljga mycha=d** duqqacha naaxaa loam
 DEM.OBL house.ADV DX-B.lie:PL.SBJ NEG=D much:FOC people.DAT mountain.ADV
 cu xaana
 DEM.OBL time.DAT
 In those days, in the mountains there wasn't room for many people to **sleep** in one house. ('it wasn't the case for a lot of people to **lie down**...') (0415.12)

and occasionally as a free nominalization as in this metalinguistic passage:

- (53) Haa, *eaqa jaaxaljga* -- *eaqa* dii, "eaquo doadead zha" oalii,
 yes, *wild* say.SBJ wild D.be=Q, wild.ERG D.kill:PL-D.CS*.NW sheep say.CVirr
 yz **aalaljga** dy yz, eaqa bodzh jy.
 3s say.SBJ D.be.PRS 3s, wild goat J.be.PRS
 Right, "eaqa" -- *eaqa* in 'wild animal killed sheep' refers to a wild beast. That's the same word in "eaqa bodzh" 'wild goat'. ('the (word) pronounced *eaqa*', 'the word *eaqa*'; 'the (word) meaning the same thing', 'the word referring to that') (0396B)

25.5. Verbal noun

The verbal noun (often called *masdar* in Caucasianist grammar) is a regular inflectional form of the verb, morphologically a noun but syntactically much like a verb in that all arguments including the subject appear in their regular cases. The verbal noun itself declines normally and takes the case required by the main verb. The verbal noun is mostly used where main clause and complement clause have different subjects. The following examples have a variety of valence types in the nominalized clause. The verbs in (56)-(59) all take the lative case in their objects (G in (58), O in the others), and the verbal nouns are in the lative.

- (54) Suona lou, wa nouq'ostal **dar**
 1s.DAT want 2s.ERG help D.do.VN
 I want you to help. I'd like you to help.
- (55) Kertiera-dar vai bolx dika **dwa-chaq-baaqqar** dy.
 main-D.NZ we work well DX-finish-B.LV.VN D.be.PRS
 The main thing is that we should finish our work.
- (56) Muusaa cec+vealar taxan dogha **delxaragh**.
 Musa surprised+V.LV.WP today rain D.LV.VN.LAT
 Musa was surprised that it rained today.
- (57) Waishet cec+jealar Muusaaz baq' **aalaragh**.
 A. surprise+J LV.WP M.ERG truth say.VN.LAT
 Aisha was surprised that Musa told the truth.
- (58) Barkal xalda hwuona wa suona gho **daragh**
 thanks be.OPT3 2s.DAT 2s.ERG 1s.DAT help D.LV.VN.LAT
 Thank you for helping me. Thanks for your help.
- (59) **Valaragh** qer so.
 die.VN.LAT fear 1s
 I'm afraid of dying. I'm afraid to die. (Also 'I'm afraid of death.')

Though verbal nouns generally decline like nouns, in the following examples they are not in the lative case normally governed by *qier* 'be afraid, fear'. The meaning in such examples is future.¹⁹⁰ Nominalized complements of 'fear' can have either same or different subject.

- (60) So Muusaina vai bwarjga+**dour** qer.
 1s M.DAT 1pIN eye+D.see.VN fear
 I'm afraid Musa will see us.

¹⁹⁰ The verbal noun is, incidentally, morphologically distinct from the future participle that can be reconstructed as the stem for the future tense: cf., for 'see', future participle (with nominalizer -g) **gur-g* > *gug-* in *gugjy*, *gugvy* 'will see' beside verbal noun *d.our* in (60)-(61); for the verbalizing suffix (VZ) of 'gain weight' in (62)-(63), future participle *lur-g* beside verbal noun *d.alar*. (For the morphophonemics of the future stem see §13.2.1.) The future participle is formed from the present stem and the infinitive from the infinitive stem. Only in regular verbs where the present and past stems have the same vowel is the verbal noun homophonous to the future participle: e.g. *waaxar* 'bark.VN' (fut. *waaxag=jy*, etc.), *laattar* 'stand.VN' (fut. *laattag=jy*, etc.).

- (61) So sie Muusaina bwarjga+**jour** qer
 1s RFL M.DAT eye+J.see.VN fear
 I'm afraid Musa will see me.
- (62) Barkal, jiezac. So **toa-valar** qer.
 thanks J.want.NEG 1s gain weight-V.VZ.VN fear
 No, thanks. I'm afraid I'll gain weight. (I'm afraid of gaining weight.)
- (63) So sie **toa-valar** qer.
 1s 2SRFL gain weight-V.VZ.VN fear
 I'm afraid I'll gain weight. (Not a response e.g. to an offer of dessert, but information volunteered about oneself.)
- (64) Muusaa zhwalii **waaxar** qer.
 Musa dog bark.VN fear
 Musa is afraid the dog will bark.

25.6. Clefting

For the morphosyntax of clefting see §28.7. The verb of the subordinate clause is a nominalized participle and its subject is in the nominative with *d,y* 'be.PRS'. I have examples only with interrogative pronouns as subject.

- (65) Waishietaa xou, **t'ehwa-vysaar** maluu
 Aisha.DAT know late-V.LV.PST.PPL.NZ who=V.be.PRS
 'Aisha knows who was late'
- (66) Suona xou, kuofie **mannar** maluu.
 1s.DAT know coffee drink.PST.PPL.NZ who=V.be.PRS
 I know who drank (the) coffee. I know who it was that drank the coffee.
- (67) Suona xou, kuofie **mielar** maluu.
 1s.DAT know coffee drinkPLC.PPL.NZ who=V.be.PRS
 I know who drinks coffee.

Contrast (68) with finite verb and interrogative word. The difference between (68) and (66) is that (66) presupposes that we want to know the person's identity, while (68) does not.

- (68) Suona xou, kuofie hwanuo malar.
 1s.DAT know coffee who.ERG drink.WP
 I know who drank (the) coffee.

25.7. Infinitive

The infinitive is used in same-subject complements only. There is argument sharing, and the shared argument has its case assigned by the main verb. Verbs that are used with infinitives take only same-subject complements. They are mostly modal and phase verbs and others of similar semantics. There are no constraints on the case of the subjects and the transitivity and valence of the two verbs; any type of subject is eligible for sharing.

- (69) Txyn-ciga **dwa-vuola** mogii hwuona?
 1pEX-chez DX-V.come.INF can=Q 2s.DAT
 Could you come over here? Can you come over? Can you come to our place?
- (70) Ciga **dwa-vaxa** magacii hwuona?
 there DX-V.go.INF can.NEG=Q 2s.DAT
 (What's the matter,) couldn't you go over there?
- (71) Cysjk shie kuoragh wa=chy-diezhaacha denc, qy kuoraa
 cat 3SRFL window.LAT DX=in -D.fall.PPL.OBL since any more window.DAT
dwa=t'y-daxa dahwac.
 DX=on-D.go.INF D.dare.NEG
 Ever since the cat fell out of the window it's been afraid to go up to the window.
- (72) Muusaa qiera **hwal-eibie** gherh.
 M. stone up-lift-B.CS.INF intend.PRS
 Musa intends to lift the stone. Must wants to lift the stone.
- (73) So haara diinahw bolx **bie='a,** **salawa='a,** da'a_hama **kechdie='a** qoa-ju.
 Is every day work B.do.INF=& rest.INF=& food prepare.INF=& manage
 I manage to work, rest, and cook every day.
- (74) Chaarx c'eaxxaa **qesta** juola-jalar.
 wheel suddenly turn:PLC.INF J.begin-J.INCP.WP
 The wheel suddenly started turning.
- (75) Tikaazhka joxkazh jolcha hamegh max **wa-baaqqa** bieza.
 store.PL.ALL J.sell.CV J.PROG.PPL.OBL thing.LATpl price DX-B.take.INF B.must.PRS
 We should lower the prices of merchandise. Prices should be lowered.

(76)-(77) show that the verb *xou* in its sense 'know how' takes a same-subject complement with an infinitive, while in the sense 'know that' it cannot take an infinitive.

- (76) Waishietaa **t'ehwa-jysa** xou.
 Aisha.DAT late-J.stay.INF know
 Aisha is good at being late. Aisha is an expert at being late.
- (77) *Waishietaa Muusaa **t'ehwa-vysa** xou.
 Aisha.DAT Musa late-V.stay.INF know
 (Aisha knows that Musa is late)

25.8. Case attraction

Two verbs that take infinitives do not assign case to the shared argument, but rather the case is that governed by the infinitive. This is case attraction (see §21.6.1). The verbs that take case attraction also take agreement attraction (*ibid.*), agreeing in gender with the S/O of the infinitive. The difference between case assignment and case attraction is exploited by some modal predicates. While *mog* 'can, is able' (illustrated just above) assigns the dative case to its subject, *meg* 'may, it's possible' takes case attraction, appearing with a nominative shared argument if the infinitive is intransitive:

- (78) **Waishet** t'ehwa-jysa meg.
 Aisha late-J.stay.INF may
 It may be that A. will be late.
- (79) **So** duqa gaa meg taxan
 1s much be_late.INF may today
 I may be very late today.
- (80) qel xulie hwa karagh yz vuozha='a meg
 fate be.CVirr 2.GEN hand.LAT 3s V.fall.INF=& may
 and if fate permits he may die by your hand (DD)

and an ergative argument if the infinitive is transitive:

- (81) **Aaz** yz mashen ieca megagjy
 1s.ERG this car buy.INF may.FUT.J
 Maybe I'll be able to buy that car. It may be that I'll buy that car.
- (82) Hwa ruuchka hwa-ieca megagbii **aaz?**
 2s.GEN pen DX-take.INF may.FUT.B=Q 1s.ERG
 May I take your pen? Could I borrow your pen?

The other such pair of modal verbs is *d.ieza* 'must, ought to, is supposed to' (with genitive case assignment) and 'should, needs to' (with case attraction). For examples see §21.6.1; for the syntax of case attraction, see footnotes there.

With only two verbs known to take both patterns it is difficult to generalize about the semantic difference, but it appears that the constructions with case attraction have to do with contingencies applying to whole situations while those with case assignment have to do with obligation, ability, appropriateness, etc. applying to an individual. S.a. footnotes to §21.6.

25.9. Converbs

The anterior and simultaneous converbs can be used as complements of verbs of cognition and perception, with either same or different subject and either overt or non-overt subject.¹⁹¹ Examples with different subject, necessarily overt:

- (83) Muusaa cec+vealar **so** taxan t'ehwa cy **jisaa**.
 M. surprise+V.LV.WP 1s today late not J.stay.CVant
 Musa is surprised that I wasn't late.
- (84) Waishet cec+jealar, **Muusaa** shii xaannahw **hwa-viena**.
 Aisha surprise+J.LV.WP M. 3s.RFL.GEN time.ADV DX-V.come.CVant
 Aishet was surprised that/when Musa arrived on time.
- (85) Waishietaa xala xiitar **Muusaa t'ehwa-vysaa**.
 Aisha.DAT bad seem:LV.WP M. behind-V.stay.CVant
 Aishet was hurt that Musa was late.
- (86) Suona cq'azahw hweaq'al **dolazh** xet yz.
 1s.DAT sometimes intelligence D.be.CVsim seem 3s
 Sometimes he seems smart to me.
- (87) Waishet Muusaigara **keaxat diena** ghad jaxaa jaagha.
 A. M.ABL lette D.come.PPL glad J.LV.CVant J.sit.PRS
 Aisha is glad that a letter came from Musa.

¹⁹¹ Historically these converbs were once finite verbs. In Chechen, where the perfect tense and anterior converb are the same form, e.g. *vaxna* (V.go.PERFECT) 'has gone' and (V.go.CVant) 'having gone' (Molochieva 2010), these examples would have ordinary finite past tense subordinate clauses. In Ingush, cliticization of the gender suffix to the perfect has made the nonwitnessed tense (*vaxaa-v*) different from the converb (*vaxaa*), turning examples like these into a distinct kind of complementation.

Same subject, overt (reflexivized):

- (88) So cec+jealar **sie** taxan t'ehwa **jisaa**.
 1s surprised+J.LV.WP 1s.RFL today late J.stay.CVant
 I'm surprised I was late today.
- (89) Waishietaa xala xiitar **shie** Muusaaiga yz **eanna**
 A.DAT bad seem:LV.WP 3s:RFL M.ALL 3s say.CVant
 Aisha regretted/was upset that she said that to Musa.
- (90) Waishietaa xoza xet **shie** taxan xaannahw balxa **hwa-jiena**
 A.DAT nice seem:LV.PRS 3sRFL today on time work.ADV DX-J.come.CVant
 Aisha is pleased/glad that she got to work on time today. (Implies she is usually late.)
- (91) Suona xoza xet taxan **sie** uq c'agha **volazh**.
 1s.DAT glad LV.PRS today 1s.RFL this.OBL house.ADV V.be.CVsim
 I'm glad I'm here today. I'm glad I'm in this house today.

Same subject, non-overt. The null subject is anaphoric and often topical. (91) differs from (89) above in implying that the speaker and listener have been talking about this already and know what was said and who said it.

- (91) Waishietaa xala xiitar Muusaiga yz **eanna**.
 A.DAT bad seem.WP M.ALL 3s say.CVant
 Aisha regretted/was upset that she said that to Musa.
- (92) Suona xoza xiitar yz **bwarjga+veina**.
 1s.DAT nice seem.WP 3s eye+V.see.CVant
 I was pleased to see him.
- (93) Shi shu dealcha so **diishaa** jistie+joal.
 2 year D.go.CVtemp 1s D.study.CVant J.finish+J.LV.PRS
 In two years I'll finish school. In two years I finish my studies.
- (94) Muusaa mashen **iicaa** dexkie+veannuu.
 M. car buy.CVant regret+V.LV.NW
 Musa regrets that he bought the car.

25.10. Complementation with speech verbs

Ingush uses direct and semi-direct speech complements. Direct speech consists of a matrix speech clause with a verb such as 'say' and a complement reported clause with a finite verb and optionally a complementizer (*eanna* in (96)).

- (95) T'aaqqa, "So c'a vaallalca yz hwa my dellalahw,"
 so 1s home V.arrive.C'until 3s DX NEG D.open.IMPVfut
 eannad cuo cy siesagaga.
 say.NW.D 3s.ERG DEM.OBL wife.ALL

So he said to his wife, "Don't open it until I get back." (8901)

- (96) Ha_eanna saangaragh t'ex-eqqazhie aftamaat tiexar aaz **eanna**
 INTERJ ditch.LAT past-jump.CVjust machine gun strike.WP 1s.ERG SUB
ealar, dwa-wunkar- vaxar **eanna ealar**
 say.WP, DX-upside.down-V.go.WP SUB say.WP

"I shot just as he was jumping across the ditch and he fell down headfirst," he said.
 (0207A.2)

Deictic categories, such as the first person pronoun and mild future imperative in (95), are the same as they were in the original speech event. For a longer example see (74) in Chapter 24.

In semi-direct speech there is a speech clause with a third person subject and a reported clause where shifters are the same as in the original speech except that a subject pronoun coreferential to the speaker is third person reflexive (called *logophoric* here and interlinearized LOG in this section). Other deictic categories are unshifted.

- (97) Aaddaac **shie**, ealar joax
 say-D.FUT.NEG LOG say.WP QUOT
 I won't tell you, he said. (0408)

- (98) Aaddaac aaz
 say-D.FUT.NEG 1s.ERG
 I won't say. (Original speech event for (97).)

- (99) Oushaz joax eannad, je leatta hwo t'y-vaaghar **shii** dy
 O.ERG say.PRS say.NW.D DEM land 2s on-V.sit.PPL.NZ LOG.GEN D.be.PRS
 Ousha_i told him_j the land he_j had settled on was his_i. (0392B.1)

- (100) Eggara hwaalxa uq Ghalghaai mexka pomidor hwa=chy-jienar
 SUPERL early DEM.OBL Ingush land.ADV tomato DX=in-J.bring.PPL.NZ
shii daa vy oalar.
 LOG.GEN father V.be.PRS say.IMPF

He used to say that **his** father was the first person to bring tomatoes to Ingushetia.
 (0206A.3)

The deictic prefix *hwa-* in (101) reflects the first person indirect object of the original speech event (for deictic prefixes see §15.5.1).

- (101) Cyn *zadaani* jar eanna ealar **shiina** **hwa-jennar**
 3s.GEN task J.be.PST SUB say.WP LOG.DAT DX-J.give.PPL.NZ
 He_i said he_j was the one who had given him_i this assignment. (He_i said it was his_j assignment that had been given to him_i.) (0207A.2#59)

The imperative verb of (102) is an unshifted first person form of one of the few verbs that indicate person (of its indirect object): *d.aa* 'give me/us', *lie* 'give (him/her/them)'.

- (102) Cuo ch'woagha diexar deadar suoga,
 3s.ERG very request D.make.WP 1s.ALL
shiina axcha **daa** eanna
 LOG.DAT money give:1-2.IMPV SUB

He implored me to lend him money.

The matrix speech clause is not always present. (103) represents the protagonist's thoughts or words without a speech verb and can be considered indirect free style in Ingush.

- (103) Ezdii doaca ghulaqazh dead waleamatie,
 honor D.be.NEG.PPL matter.PL D.do.NW.D extremely
shie fusama daa xalcha, **shie** hwa-veaqqaar xalcha.
 LOG household.GEN master be.CVtemp LOG DX-V.take.PPL.NZ be.CVtemp

Those were very dishonorable things he did, when I'm the head of the household and I'm the one who rescued him and raised him. (0392B.1)

Unlike regular third-person reflexives, the logophoric pronoun cannot control further third-person reflexives. Any pronouns coreferential to it in its own clause or a lower one are first person (reflexive or not following the regular rules for long-distance reflexivization: §29.3.2). In (104) logophoric *shiina* is coreferential to first person *sei* in the first clause.

- (104) T'aaqqa, **sei** miskacha fusama jiga='a jigaa uqun iraz
 so, 1s.RFL.GEN poor.OBL household.ADV RED=& J.lead.CVant 3s.GEN happiness
 doa-die laac **shiina**, ealar joax Ucyga Maalsaguo.
 D.destroy-D.CS.INF want.NEG.PRS LOG.DAT s ay.WP QUOT (name) (name).ERG
 I don't want to destroy her happiness by bringing her (in marriage) into **my** poor house,
 said Ucyga Maalsag. (0408)

In (105), logophoric *shie* is coreferential to non-reflexive first person *sy* in a coordinated clause.

- (105) caar c'agha yshta hwazhaav=q jer, hwazhacha, haa
 3p.GEN house.ADV so look-V.NW=CUM 3s, look.CVtemp oh_yeah
 handz **shie** ghogvy, hwa-uoza **sy** gour eanna.
 now LOG go.V.FUT DX-pull 1s.GEN horse SUB

He looked around their house and said, "OK, **I'm** going now, bring **my** horse." (0408)

(106) has direct speech with unchanged first person indirect object *suona*, embedded in a semi-direct speech clause with a logophoric subject (LOG). The coordinated first-person clause (*vuoda so* 'I'm going') is not in the semi-direct speech clause but is direct speech in a larger third-person narrative.

- (106) Deallahwii, siesagagh qierazh volcha uqanagh **suona** fy
 INTERJ wife.LAT fear.CVsim V.PROG.PPL.OBL 3s.LAT 1s.DAT what
 dottagh xugvy eanna, daga+diexar **shiina**, cunduhwa vuoda so eanna.
 friend be.V.FUT SUB, recall+D.LV.WP LOG.DAT, therefore V.go.PRS 1s SUB
 "What kind of friend can he be for me when he's afraid of his wife?" I thought, so I'm
 going. ('What kind of friend can there be to me from him, who is afraid of his wife, I
 recalled ...') (0408)

Thus logophoric pronouns are third person in form but first person in grammatical behavior.

As a result, there is usually just one logophoric pronoun per speech sentence. Most often that is the subject in its own clause (ergative, nominative, or dative depending on the verb), but it can also be an object as in (102) or possessor as in (99). Multiple logophoric pronouns are possible only in coordinated clauses; an example is (22) in §35.2.

Speakers can choose freely between direct and semi-direct speech and alternate between them. (107)-(108) are adjacent sentences from the same text; (107) is semi-direct and its paraphrase (108) is direct.

(107) Cuo **shiigh** c'i tyllaai oalar cogh
 3sg.ERG LOG.LAT name put.NW.J say.IMP 3s.LAT
 He (Alaudin) used to say about him (Ali-Hadji) that he (Ali-Hadji) had named him (Alaudin).

(108) "**Sogh** c'i tyllaar yz Weala-Hwadzh var," oalar cuo
 1s.LAT name put.PPL.NZ DEM Ali-Hadji V.be.PST say.IMP 3s.ERG
 He used to say that it was Ali-Hadji that had given him his name.

Only when the matrix speech clause is third person ('He said...') does logophoricity occur. If it is first or second person, the pronoun categories are unchanged, and the only way to distinguish direct from semi-direct speech is that semi-direct speech can have long-distance reflexivization. Reflexive *sie* in (109) was not in the original speech event (110).

(109) Aaz massaniga='a **sie** Amierikie jeai **eanna** oal
 1s.ERG all.ALL=& 1s:RFL America.ADV J.be_born.NW.J SUB say
 seiga xeattacha.
 1s:RFL.ALL ask.CVtemp
 I tell everyone I was born in America if they ask

(110) So Amierikie jeai.
 1s America.ADV J.be_born.NW.J
 I was born in America.

The optional complementizer used with both direct and semi-direct speech is a converb of *oal* 'say', discussed in §25.3.1. In spoken narratives where the speaker did not witness the events but has heard them from an eyewitness, nearly every clause contains *ealar* '(he) said' or *oalar* '(he) used to say'. These are parentheticals but are probably on the way to grammaticalization as hearsay evidentials. (111) has *oalar* inserted parenthetically after the first NP of the clause (while complementizers and evidential markers are postverbal), but no other overt evidence of complementation other than the logophoric reflexive pronoun.¹⁹²

(111) **Shii** dea daaz, oalar, **shiiga** cy Wabegh
 3SRFL.GEN father.GEN father.ERG say.IMP LOG.ALL DEM.OBL (name).LAT
 oalazh dar.
 tell.CVsim D.PROG.PST

His grandfather (he said) had told **him** about Aba. (0207A.3)

¹⁹² Reflexive *shii* in the first clause is object-controlled reflexivization (controlled by *shiiga* in the higher clause) and not logophoric.

Another example with *ealar* after each main clause is (96) above.

25.11. De facto complementation

There are various standard expressions that may not technically be complementation (since they are whole sentence constructions rather than forms lexically required by verbs), but which function more or less as complementation.

25.11.1. Conditional converb

- (112) Taamash jy qoana dogha **delxie**
 surprise J.be.PRS tomorrow rain D.fall.CVirr
 I doubt it will rain tomorrow. (Lit. 'It's surprising if it rains tomorrow')

- (113) Waishet eghaz+ghorgjy Muusaa **t'ehwa-vusie**
 Aisha anger+go.FUT.J Musa late-V.stay.CVirr
 Aishet will be offended if Musa is late.

25.11.2. Temporal converb

- (114) Suona dika xiitar, Muusaa kuofie **malacha**.
 Is.DAT good seem.WP M.ERG coffee drink.CVtemp
 I was glad that ('when') Musa drank coffee.

- (115) Waishietaa xala xiitar Muusaa **t'ehwa-vysacha**¹⁹³
 Aisha bad seem.WP Musa late-V.stay.CVtemp
 Aisha was offended that ('when') Musa was late.

25.11.3. Postpositional noun

- (116) Waishietaa xala+xiitaadar Muusaa **t'ehwa-vysaacha xaana**
 Aisha bad+seem.WP Musa late-V.stay.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 Aisha was offended that ('when') Musa was late.

¹⁹³ The consultant who provided (115) and (116) felt strongly that the temporal converb was better with the witnessed past tense in (115) but the postpositional noun was better with the pluperfect in (116). Tense sequencing with the pluperfect has been too little studied to make it clear whether this is a matter of grammatical tense sequencing or an individual stylistic preference.

25.11.4. *Noun with relative clause.* Instead of a complement clause ('confessed that he had written the letter'), (117) has an NP object with a relative ('confessed to the letter he had written').

- (117) Muusaaz shie jaaz-deacha keaxataa darii+dyr
 M.ERG 3s:RFL.ERG write-D.VZ.PPL.OBL letter.DAT confess+D.LV.WP
 Musa confessed to writing the letter (lit. 'confessed to the letter he had written')

25.12. Depictives in complements

Depictive predicate nominals, typically converbs, are used in complements of some verbs of perception. (For depictives see §27.5.)

- (118) Muusaa **qeika-vezh** xazar suona.
 M. cough-V.CS.CVsim hear.WP 1s.DAT
 I heard Musa cough.
- (119) Kinashjka deirii hwuona uqaza **ullazh?**
 book D.see.WP=Q 2s.DAT here lie.CVsim
 Did you see a book lying here?

25.13. Survey of complement-taking verbs:

Modals, modality, and related notions

In this section, verbs of modal and similar senses are grouped for convenience into broad semantic types. The complementation type is shown formulaically, and the matrix verb and its complement verb are boldface in the examples.

25.13.1. *Obligation, necessity, advisability: 'should', 'ought to', 'must', etc.*

25.13.1.1. *d.ieza* 'should, ought to, must, have to'; general obligation which happens to affect an individual. Genitive + infinitive, with agreement attraction.

- (120) Handz fy **die** **dieza** sy?
 now what D.do.INF D.must.PRS 1s.GEN
 Now what do I do? Now what should I do?

- (121) Pxi *gektaar* maqa **baaqqa** **biezar** txy
 five hectare harrow B.take.INF B.must.IMPF 1pEX.GEN
 We had to harrow five hectares (a work assignment). (0238A.10)
- (122) ...je **dwa-vaxiita** **vieza** yz, je ... ciga dwa='a vaxaa
 or DX-V.go-CSind.INF V.must 3s or there DX=& V.go.CVant
wa-vaaqqa **vieza** txy
 DX-V.take.INF V.must 1pEX.GEN

(Once we've picked up a pedestrian on our way home) we have to either get him a ride (to where he's going) or go there and drop him off. (0415.12; on traditional Ingush etiquette)

25.13.1.2. *d.ieza* 'must, have to, should' (specific obligation on an individual): Case attraction + agreement attraction; that is, *d.ieza* has no impact on the clause syntax, which is determined by the heavy verb. (123) has an intransitive infinitive and nominative subject:

- (123) Uqaza "dwa-otta" eannar **dwa-otta** **vieza**.
 here DX-stand.IMPV say.PPL.NZ DX-stand.INF V.must
 At this point the one who's out¹⁹⁴ has to go stand (with his eyes shut).

Examples with transitive infinitives and ergative subjects:

- (124) Ai **hwa-aala** **dieza** wa.
 INTERJ DX-say.INF D.have to 2s.ERG
 No, you have to tell me. (0231A.3)
- (125) doaqqa urs ira='a dii, cyn mozhagh qo cho
 D.big knife sharp=& D.VZ.CVseq 3s.GEN beard.LAT three hair
baaqqa **bieza** wa
 B.take.INF B.should 2s.ERG
 (to get your husband to behave) you have to sharpen a big knife and cut out three of his beard hairs. (Mott) (cf. discussion in §21.6.1)
- (126) wa lielader q'amaa zie dolazh doa
 2s.ERG do-D.CS*.PPL.NZ people.DAT harm D.be.CVsim D.be.PPL

¹⁹⁴ More lit. 'the one who is told "you're out"', very lit. 'the one (they) say "go stand" (to)'. The child picked out by a counting rhyme is "it" in a game of hide and seek.

hama='a dy, yz hama **dwa-daaqqa** dieza wa
 thing=& D.be.PRS this thing DX-D.take.INF D.should 2s.ERG

What you're doing is harmful to people, stop doing it. (0380A.28)

- (127) Sy daa, aaz jaaxachynga **la+duugha dieza** wa.
 1s.GEN father 1s.ERG say.PPL.NZ.ALL listen.INF D.should 2s.ERG
 My father, listen to me. (...listen to what I say) (PL I.4)

Examples of *d.ieza* with no overt subject, where it cannot be determined which of the two complementation patterns (genitive subject or case attraction) is used:

- (128) syskal **ja'a** my **jiezii**, **qaaba** my **biezii**
 cornbread J.eat.INF EMPH J.have to=Q feed EMPH B.have to=Q
 'We have to eat, I have to feed them' (0202A.1)

- (129) so voaghagvy hwuoca ... **vala** **viezie='a** voaghagvy so
 1s V.come.FUT.V 2s.INS ... V.die.INF V.have to.CVirr=& V.come.FUT.V 1s
 I'm coming with you – even if (it means) I have to die I'm coming. (0202.A.1)

- (130) Kilametar xashamazh dar, caw *do obieda*=ji, caw *posle obieda*=ji
 kilometer row.PL D.be.PST one before lunch=& one after lunch=&

daaqqa **diezazh**
 D.take.INF D.must.CVsim

The rows were a kilometer long, and we had to hoe one before lunch and one after lunch. (Description of a work quota.) (0238A.10)

- (131) Taaqqa, "Je neic **xalxa-vaaqqa** **vieza**" ealar,
 so this son-in-law dance-V.VZ.INF V.must say.NW

"argha hwa-qeachar uqunga."
 turn DX-arrive.NW 3s.ALL

So they said, "The son-in-law has to dance, it's his turn." (lit. 'The son-in-law has to be made to dance', 'We have to get the son-in-law to dance'.) (0246A.36)

- (132) Kyljg bwiexa+dar **vie** **vieza**
 hand dirty+D.NZ V.kill.INF V.must

The guilty party ('the one with a [blood-]stained hand') is to be killed.

The difference between *d.ieza* 'should' (with genitive) and *d.ieza* 'must' (with case attraction) is clear in some minimal pairs but in others there seems to be no distinction:

(133) a **vala**=m massanie='a **vieza**
 V.die.INF=FOC everyone.GEN V.must
 Everyone has to die

b **vala**=m massa+var **vieza**
 V.die.INF=FOC every+V.NZ V.must
 id. (case attraction: nominative *massavar*)

25.13.1.3. *d.oagha* 'is appropriate' (lit. 'comes'), usually in the negative. Dative subject + infinitive complement.

(134) Duqa bolx **bie** **daaghac** veina
 much work B.do.INF D.appropriate.NEG 1pIN.DAT
 We shouldn't work too much. It's not appropriate for us to work a lot.

(135) Veshta, taxanara muo dolcha dezacha diinahwa
 anyway today.ADJ like D.be.PPL.OBL D.solemn.PPL.OBL day.ADV
 shiekuona xaattarazh **die** **daaghac**.
 suspicious question.PL D.LV.INF D.appropriate.NEG

In any case, on a solemn holiday like this it isn't appropriate to ask suspicious questions. (DD) (No overt dative.)

25.13.1.4. *dieqariila d.y* 'is obligated to, is supposed to'. Nominative + infinitive.

(136) Yz **dieqariila** vy yz **die**
 he supposed to V.be DEM D.do.INF
 He is supposed to do this.

(137) Yz **dieqariila** var yz **die**
 he supposed to V.be.PST DEM D.do.INF
 He was supposed to do this (but didn't).

(138) Hetoa baaxazh bolazh boa nax **dieqariila** by ...
 so B.live.CVsim B.be.CVsim B.be.PPL people supposed B.be.PRS
 yzh **wa-towa-bie**
 3p DX-punish-B.CS*.INF

Citizens are obligated to ... (if they witness crimes) have them (criminals) punished.
 (0380A.28) (*wa-towa-d.u* 'punish, repress', causative of *taw* 'be compressed, low')

25.13.1.5. *dieqariila d.u* 'obligate'. Ergative + nominative + infinitive.

- (139) Shii c'eruo='a **dieqariila** my **voi** sag,
 3s:RFL.GEN name.ERG=& obligated EMPH V.do=Q person
 duqaghcha deaq'ie, lert'a **xala**.
 much.CMP.OBL part.ADV appropriate be.INF

In most cases a person is obliged by his own name to be proper. (KSh)

25.13.1.6. *NEG CVtemp d.aal-ac* 'have to', lit. 'don't go not ...'

- (140) So kast-kasta Jivroopie **cy jiecha jaalac**
 1s often Europe.ADV NEG J.come.CVtemp J.go.NEG
 I have to come to Europe frequently.

- (141) **Cy viecha vaargvii** hwo Institutie? -- Vaagvaac.
 NEG V.come.CVtemp V.go.FUT.V=Q 2s Institute.ADV V.go.FUT.NEG
 But don't you have to come to the Institute? -- Yes, I do.

25.13.1.6. *hwaaq' d.y* 'should, is supposed to'. Genitive subject and infinitive complement. *hwaaq'* is listed as a noun (D gender) in dictionaries, but does not seem to occur except in this construction.

- (142) Yz **die hwaaq' daacar** sy.
 3s D.do.INF should D.NEG.IMPF 1s.GEN
 I shouldn't have done that.

25.13.2. 'want', 'wish', 'would like', 'intend', 'be willing', etc.

25.13.2.1. *biezam by* 'would like to': Genitive + infinitive (same subject):

- (143) Baq'onca sie maluu **xaa biezam by** sy
 really 1s.RFL who=V.be know.INF like B.be.PRS 1s.GEN
 I would like to know who I really am. [PL I.4]

- (144) Hwo **xala=m biezam baac** hwuona sy, votig, heata='a.
 2s be.INF=FOC like B.NEG MIR 1s.GEN uncle still
 Nonetheless I wouldn't want to be you, uncle. [PL I.4]

- (145) Yz **bwarjga+guo biezam bar** sy
 3s eye+see.INF like B.be.PST 1s.GEN
 I would like to see him/her.

Genitive + infinitive of indirect causative (different subject):

- (146) Cynna sie **bwarjga+goita** **biezam bar** sy
 3s.DAT 1s.RFL eye+see-CSind.INF like B.be.PST 1s.GEN
 I'd like him/her to see me.

25.13.2.2. *lou* 'want': Dative subject and infinitive complement (same subject):

- (147) Handz suona **xaa** **lou** ... Beisara Mochq'agh hama
 now 1s.DAT know.INF want (name) (name).LAT anything
 xazaadii hwuona?
 hear.D.NW=Q 2s.DAT

Now I'd like to know ... have you heard of Beisara Mochq'a? [0415.12]

Genitive and verbal noun (different subject):

- (148) je k'eanjk diesha biezam bolazh vy,
 this boy study.INF want B.be.CV V.be.PRS
 sy='a uquo **dieshar** **loura**
 1s.GEN=& 3s.ERG study.VN want.IMPF

This boy wants to study and I want him to study. (Father of student to teacher.) (0404)

25.13.2.3. *dog doagha* 'want to, would like to' (often negative: 'don't feel like'); lit. '(one's) heart comes'. Genitive subject, infinitive complement (same subject).

- (149) Sy **dog daaghac** hwuoca **qiesta**
 1s.GEN heart D.come.NEG 2s.INS turn.INF
 I don't want to have anything to do with you. (PL 2.2)

- (150) Muusaai bolx **bie** **dog daaghac**
 M.GEN work B.do.INF heart D.come.NEG
 Musa doesn't want to work. Musa doesn't feel like working.

- (151) wiiranna **vaxa** **dog daagहार** ciga
 morning.ADV V.go.INF heart D.go.NEG.IMPF there
 In the morning no one wanted to go there (because it was chilly). (0216B.3)

25.13.2.4. *xoza xet* 'be glad, pleased': Dative subject and converb clause.

(152) Suona **xoza xet** taxan sie uq c'agha **volazh**
 1s.DAT glad LV.PRS today 1s.RFL this.OBL house.ADV V.be.CVsim
 I'm glad I'm here. lit. 'I'm glad I'm in this house today' (polite thanks to host)

(153) Suona **xoza xet** taxan sie uqaza **niis-vanna**
 1s.DAT glad LV.PRS today 1s.RFL here occur-V.VZ.CVant
 I'm glad to be here. lit. 'I'm glad I happened to be here today'

same verb, 'enjoy': Dative subject and infinitive:

(154) Deana kinashjkaazh **jaaz-die** **xoza xet**
 father.DAT book.PL write-D.VZ.INF glad LV.PRS
 Dad likes to write books. Dad enjoys writing books.

25.13.2.5. *dika xet* 'glad' (lit. 'consider good, seems good'): For same subject, dative subject and chaining converb clause.

(155) Suona ch'woagha **dika xet** hwo **bwarjga+veina**
 1s.DAT very glad LV.PRS 2s eye+V.see.CVant
 I'm glad to see you. (Ozdoeva & Kurkiev 1980 s.v. *rad*)

Different subject: subordinating converb.

(156) Aaz hana jaax ealcha ... **dika xieta** yz **gul-dicha**
 1s.ERG why say say.CVtemp glad LV.IMP 3s collect-D.VZ.CVtemp
 I mean, I'd like it if such things were collected. (0246B.22)

25.13.2.6. *dog+doax* 'hope' (lit. 'take heart'): Ergative subject, infinitive complement (same subject).

(157) Muusaaz yz **bwarjga+guo dog+doax**
 M.ERG 3s eye+see.INF hope
 Musa hopes to see him.

Ergative subject, verbal noun complement (different subject):

(158) Acham **valar dog+doaxazh** xannad cuo
 (name) V.die.VN hope.CVsim be.NW.D 3s.ERG
 She hoped that Acham would die. (Nesar)

Ergative subject, subjunctive complement (different subject):

- (159) Muusaaz shiina duqagha aalapii **lurjga dog+doax**
 M.ERG 3sRFL.DAT more salary give.SBJfut hope.PRS
 'Musa hopes he'll get a raise', 'Musa hopes they'll give him a raise'

Ergative subject plus 'think/seem' and its complement; in this example, both *mottazh* 'thinking' and the past tense imply thwarted hopes.

- (160) Muusaaz shiina duqagha aalapii **luddy mottazh dog+deaxaadar**
 M.ERG 3sRFL.DAT more salary give.D.FUT think.CVsim hope-D.LV.PNW
 Musa had hoped to get a raise. Musa hoped he would get a raise (but he didn't).

25.13.2.7. *daga+d.uox* 'feel like, get the urge (to)': Dative subject, infinitive complement with coreferential subject.

- (161) vuodar **hwadie=m daga+duoxarg** my **dii** sagaa
 evil-D.NZ DX-D.do.INF=FOC feel like.FUT EMPH D.=Q someone.DAT
 He wants to do harm to someone. (0408)

25.13.2.8. *loarh* 'intend': Ergative subject, infinitive complement.

- (162) cuo **die learhaar**
 3s.ERG D.do.INF intend.PPL.NZ
 what he intended (0408)

- (163) Pacchahw vy Kornu'olaca **q'ameal die lierhazh**
 king V.PROG C.INS converse D.LV.INF intend:PLC.CVsim
 The King seeks to speak to Cornwall (PL 2.4)

- (164) yz='a iicaa **c'a-vaxa** Mochq'a-Jurtara sag **learhaa xannavaac**
 3s=& take.CVant home-V.go.INF (place).ABL person intend.CVant NARP.V.NEG
 No one in Mochq'a-Jurt was prepared to accompany him back home. (0408)

25.13.2.9. *daga d.y* 'intend, have in mind': Nominative subject, infinitive complement.

- (165) Selxan sarahw qeachaavar yz shii deimexka,
 yesterday evening.ADV arrive.V.PNW 3s 3s:RFL.GEN native land.ADV
 shi-qo di **daaqqa daga+volazh**
 two-three day D.spend.INF intend+V.LV.CVsim

Yesterday evening he had arrived in his native land, intending to spend two or three days there. [DD]

25.13.2.10. *tug* 'agree, consent', usually negative *tygac* 'refuse'. Ergative subject, infinitive complement.

- (166) Muusaaz **bolx bie tygac**
 M.ERG work B.LV.INF consent.NEG
 Musa refuses to work.

- (167) Aaz **jaxa tygandzar**
 1s.ERG J.go.INF consent.NEG.WP
 I refused to go. (0418.20)

- (168) C'aqqa='a vaicara **dwa-qaasta mycha tug uq q'ieluo=m**
 never=& 1p.INS.ABL DX-separate.INF NEG consent DEM.OBL poverty=FOC
 This poverty never consents to part with us. (CDD 32)

25.13.2.11. *dog ott* 'feel like, want to; get the urge': Genitive subject + infinitive.

- (169) Cyn **cq'azahw wazh ba'a dog ott.**
 3s.GEN sometimes apple B.eat.INF feel_like LV.PRS
 Every now and then she feels like eating an apple.

25.13.3. 'try'

25.13.3.1. *ghert* 'try (hard), strive': Nominative + infinitive.

- (170) ... jelsmal **daxa=m ghert vai derrigazh='a ...**
 heaven D.go.INF=FOC try 1pIN D.all
 ... we all try to get to heaven ... (0408)

- (171) Haara sag **ghert shi-shie jistara+xala ...**
 every person try.PRS RED-3SRFL aside+LV.INF
 Everyone tries to keep out of it. (0380A.28)

- (172) So **myshta aala ghert xoi hwuona?**
 1s how say.INF try know=Q 2s.DAT
 Do you know what I'm trying to say? (0379A.19)

25.13.3.2. *hwozh* 'try, have a try' (lit. 'look'): Nominative subject + infinitive.

- (173) So **hwozhag=m vy hwa ga+daaqqa**
 1s try.FUT=FOC V.be.PRS 2s.GEN side+D.take.INF
 I'll try to take your side. (PL 2.2)

- (174) Sy daa muo so viecie='a, **ghulaq+die** **hwozhagvy** so
 1s.GEN father like 1 s V.be.NEG.CVconc service+D.do.INF try.FUT.V 1s
 Though I'm not what my father was, I'll try to serve (you). (Dumézil 1936)

25.13.4. *Ability, possibility, permission, etc.*

25.13.4.1. *mog* 'can, be able': Dative + infinitive.

- (175) Suona lispet **xaaxka mog**
 1s.DAT bicycle ride.INF can.PRS
 I can ride a bicycle.

- (176) Muusaaina **bolx+bie** **mog**
 M.DAT work B.LV.INF can
 Musa is able to work.

- (177) Kog laza ='a bea **liela** **magac** cynna
 leg hurt =& B.CS.CVant walk.INF can.NEG 3s.DAT
 He hurt his leg and can't walk.

- (178) Ai, hwuona **magacii** **jeda?**
 INTERJ 2s.DAT can.NEG=Q J.run.INF
 What, can't you run?

25.13.4.2. *meg* 'may, permissible, OK': Case and agreement attraction, infinitive.

- (179) Tilifon **tuoxa megagjii?** -- Megagjy. / Megagjaac.
 phone (J) strike.INF can.FUT.J=Q can.FUT.J can.FUT.J.NEG
 May I use the phone? -- Yes. / No. (J gender agrees with 'telephone'.)

- (180) Hwa ruuchka **hwa-ieca megagbii** aaz?
 2a.GEN pen (B) DX-take.INF can.FUT.B=Q 1s.ERG
 May I borrow your pen? (B gender agrees with 'pen'.)

In addition to these verbs, some inflectional forms of the verb have a modal meaning similar to possibility or ability. The inceptive form of the verb can often have potential meaning (see §21.7.4):

- (181) ... gourazh dwa='a mycha **jaxa-lu** ...
 horse.PL DX=& NEG J.go-INCP
 ... the horses can't go on ... [0231A.3]

The hortative and optative forms (§§13.5.4-13.5.7) have the meanings 'why don't you...', 'would that...', etc.

25.13.5. *Possibility, probability, likelihood, inference*

25.13.5.1. *meg* 'it's possible; can, may': Case and agreement attraction + infinitive. (See §§21.6.1-2 for the alignment: case attraction is S=A, agreement attraction S=O.)

(183) **xala meg**

be.INF can

'maybe', 'it's possible, it may be, it could be'

(184) **xala megar**

be.INF can.IMPF

'could have been'; 'it might have been; maybe it could have been'

(185) Muusaa **chy=vaa meg**

Musa in=V.come.INF may

Musa may come home. It may be that Musa will come home.

(186) So duqa **gaa meg taxan**

1s much be late.INF may today

I may be very late today. It's possible I'll be very late today.

(187) Hwa-qeachacha, yshtta mettig jea, **"Vaaxa megagvii"** eanna.

DX-arrive.CVtemp so place J.take.CVant V.live.INF can.FUT.V=Q SUB

When he arrived there, [he said], "Now here is a place where I could live." (0398B.1)

(188) qel xulie hwa karagh yz **vuozha='a meg**

fate be.CVirr 2s.GEN hand.LAT 3s V.fall.INF=& can

and if that's his fate it may be that he'll die by your hand. (DD)

25.13.5.3. *qoa-du* 'manage, have time' (often negative): Nominative and infinitive .

(189) So haara diinahw **bolx bie='a, salawa='a, da'a_hama kech-die='a qoa-ju**

1s every day.ADV work B.LV.INF=&, rest.INF=&, food fix-D.VZ.INF=& manage

I manage to work, rest, and cook every day.

(190) Kyljgazh mychaa **dyla qoa-duora**

hand.PL NEG D.wash.INF manage-D.VZ.IMPF

We didn't even manage to wash our hands.

25.13.6. *Object-controlled modals.* The case of the object controller in the following formulas is in bold.

25.13.6.1. *diexar du* (request + make) 'ask'. Ergative subject, **allative** indirect object; semidirect speech.

(191) Aaz **diexar deadarii** hwuoga suona axcha my **daa** jaaxazh
 1s.ERG ask D.LV.WP=Q 2s.ALL 1s.DAT money NEG give.IMPV say.CVsim
 But (don't you remember) I asked you not to give me money? Didn't I ask you ...

(192) Cuo ch'woagha **diexar deadar** suoga, shiina axcha **daa** eanna
 3s.ERG very ask D.LV.PNW 1s.ALL 3s:RFL.DAT money D.give.IMPV SUB
 He begged me to give him money.

25.13.6.2. *amar lu, amar tuox* (both archaic; command + give, command + strike) 'order, command'. Ergative + **dative** + infinitive or Ergative + **dative** + semidirect speech.

(193) Cuo **amar tuoxaddy** moastagha **hwa-laaca**
 3s.ERG order strike.D.FUT enemy DX-catch.INF
 He will order that the enemy be caught ... (PL 2.1)

(194) Xou, **jist** my **xala** jaaxazh **amar tel** hwa batuo
 know.PRS speak NEG LV.IMPV QUOT order give:PLC.PRS 2s.GEN mouth.ERG
 I know, your face tells me not to say anything... (PL 1.4)

25.13.6.3. *puram lu* 'permit, give permission'. Ergative + **Dative** + Infinitive.

(195) Twamaadaz **jist xala puram dalar** suona
 tamada.ERG speak LV.INF permission D.give.WP 1s.DAT
 The tamada¹⁹⁵ gave me permission to speak.

25.13.6.4. *Indirect causative.* As a semantic equivalent to object-controlled modals, the indirect causative (§§15.3, 21.7.2) can almost always be used with a sense of 'have, let, allow': *salowiit* 'let rest, give a breather' (cf. *salow* 'rest, take a break'), *twousiit* 'put to sleep, let fall asleep' (cf. *twous* 'fall asleep').

¹⁹⁵The individual in charge of conversation, speeches, toasts, etc. at a table in a social gathering.

25.14. Non-modal complement-taking verbs

25.14.1. Cognition, perception, etc.

25.14.1.1. *xou* 'know'. Subject is dative. Same subject, meaning 'know how to': infinitive complement (196). Different subject, meaning 'know that': finite clause with interrogative word (197, 198).

(196) Cyn mawan **daaqqa xouzh vaac** hwuona so
 3s.GEN meaning D.take.INF know.CVsim V.PROG.NEG MIR 1s
 I can't figure out what it means. ('I don't know how to extract the meaning from it.')

(197) Daala_hwaqellaa yz **maluu xouzh daac** txo joax
 (interjection) 3s who=V.be.PRS know.CVsim D.PROG.NEG 1pEX say.PRS
 He said they didn't know on earth who he was. (Present tense narration.) (0207A.2)

(198) Aara-doallar **fy=d xouzh daac** txuona
 out-D.be located.PPL.NZ what=D.be.PRS know.CVsim D.PROG.NEG 1pEX.DAT
 We don't know what's going on out there. (Present tense narrative.) (0201A.1)

25.14.1.2. *xiet* 'think, believe': Subject is dative. With NP object it means 'seem like, sound like, look like', etc. and also 'prefer, like better', etc.

(199) Biisolta, hwo vii yz? Hwa **ghar xet** suona.
 B. 2s V.be.PRS=Q 3s 2s.GEN voice seem 1s.DAT
 B., is that you? It sounds like your voice. (0201A.1)

(200) yz duqa **xa xet** suona
 3s much time seem.PRS 1s.DAT
 It seemed like a long time to me. (Present tense narration.) (0238A.10)

(201) Derrigacha louzaregh malagha louzar **xet** hwuona **dikagha?** – xeattaad Cagienaga.
 D.all.OBL party.LATpl which party seem 2s.DAT good.CMP ask.NW.D C.ALL
 "What's your favorite kind of party?", someone asked Cagen. (CDD 28)

(202) Vaina k'ezzig **taamashiina=m xet** yz taxan ...
 1p.DAT a bit strange=FOC seem.PRS 3s today
 It seems a bit strange to us nowadays ... (0219A.2)

(203) **Woudal xet** ch'woagha
 stupid seem.PRS very
 It seems very dumb (0417)

- (204) *no* shucaanie Tafsier **dwa-duola-dicha** baq'ahw **xet** suona
 but 2p.INS DX-D.begin-D.CS.CVtemp better seem.PRS 1s.DAT
 uq k'eanjkuo, ealar
 DEM.OBL boy.ERG say

but I'd rather have this boy start the Tafsir with you, he said (0404)

With a finite clause and complementizer it means 'think, be of the opinion that..., suppose'.

- (205) Yz myshta belgal **dead** **eanna xet** hwuona, Xavaazh?
 3s how determination D.do.NW.D SUB seem.PRS 2s.DAT
 How do you think that was determined, Xavaazh? (0379A.19.14)

- (206) Muhwmad, handz hwuona xietachogh fy die **dieza** **eanna xet**
 now 2s.DAT opinion.LAT what D.do.INF D.should SUB think
 hwuona, vaina jiq'ie yzh zulamazh dwa-daaddolazh?
 2s.DAT 1pIN.DAT among DEM.PL crime.PL DX-D.go.D.FUT.CVsim
 Muhwmad, in your opinion what should we do to get rid of these crimes? (0380A.28)

- (207) t'aaqqa Xalq'a Gulamuo='a vai Pacchahwalqienuo='a fy **du**
 so People.GEN Assembly.ERG=& 1pIN.GEN government.ERG=& what do.PRS
eanna xet hwuona cy metta joaquo jaraa?
 SUB seem.PRS 2s.DAT DEM.OBL language.GEN concern J.do.VN.DAT
 So, what concern in your opinion are our Parliament and Government showing for the language? (0379A.19.14)

- (208) ... yz='a niisa **daac** **eanna xet** suona.
 3s=& correct D.be.PRS.NEG SUB seem.PRS 1s.DAT
 I don't think that's correct either. (0206A.3)

- (209) ... *no* **vwaasht'ehw+daaddaac** **eanna xet** hwuona suona
 but proper+D.LV.D.FUT.NEG SUB seem MIR 1s.DAT
 but I don't think much will come of that (I don't think it will fix things). (0379B.1)

With simultaneous converb plus *sanna* or *muo* 'like' the meaning is closer to 'seem, have the impression':

- (210) Caarna ghulaq dez sie yshtta **laattazh** **sanna xet** suona.
 3p.DAT service D.do.CVsim 1s.RFL thus stand.CVsim like seem 1s.DAT
 I stand there as if attending them. (0395A.31) (Dream narrative.)

- (211) Taxan vai yz c'agha='a koa='a yz k'eziga **buucazh sanna**
 today 1pIN DEM house.ADV=& yard.ADV=& 3s a little B.speak.CVsim like
xet suona.
 seem 1s.DAT

These days it seems to me that we don't speak it (Ingush) much in this house and yard.
 (0219A.2)

- (212) suona seinā dikagh **xouzh muo xet**, Muuseina shiina dikagh
 1s.DAT 1s.RFL.DAT better know.CVsim like seem M.DAT 3s:RFL.DAT better
xouzh muo xet.
 know.CVsim like seem

I think I know it [Ingush grammar] well, Musa thinks he knows it well. (0379B.1)

25.14.1.3. *mott* 'think, believe; seem, imagine' (non-factive). Dative subject. When the complement is an asyndetic finite verb it means 'think, believe'. In this complementation pattern, the normal word order is for the subject of the complement clause to be extracted and follow the main verb (see §25.1). This is not raising, as the complement subject has the case assigned in the complement clause (see examples in §25.1 and §30.5.).

- (213) Cwa kinashjka **jaazdezh voall mott** suona yz.
 some book write.CVsim V.PROG think 1s.DAT 3s
 I think he's writing some kind of book.

- (214) Voaqqa **xannuu mott** suona k'eanjk.
 V.big be.NW.V think 1s.DAT boy
 I think the child was fairly big. (0224A)

- (215) Xietajgahw k'ezig-duqa hama **guzh=m xannuu mott** suona yz.
 probably somewhat thing see.CVsim=FOC PROG.NARP.V think 1s.DAT 3s
 I think he probably could see a bit. (0542)

- (216) Shie kerda jaazjea beitažh **jiesha voall mott** suona jer.
 3s:RFL new write.J.PPL poem.PL J.read.INF V.PROG think 1s.DAT 3s
 I think he's ready to read some of his new poems. (KSh)

When the complement is simultaneous converb plus *sanna* 'like' the meaning is closer to 'seem, imagine'. See examples in §25.3.2.

25.14.1.4. *tiesh* 'believe, trust, hope': Nominative + finite clause (± complementizer *ealcha*).

(217) So **tesh** vai qy='a **bwarjga+guddoljga**.

1s hope 1pIN more=& eye+see.SBJfut

I hope we'll see each other again.

25.14.1.6. *woma-lu* 'learn, get accustomed': Nominative subject, infinitive complement.

Subject-controlled complements:

(218) Muusaa **bolx** **bie** **woma-valar**

M. work B.LV.INF learn-V.INCP.WP

Musa learned how to work. Musa got accustomed to working.

(219) Yz **nek+die** **woma-vannuu**

3s swim+D.LV.INF learn-V.INCP.NW.V

He learned how to swim.

(220) Yz shaaxmategh **louza** **woma-vannuu**

3s chess.LATpl play.INF learn-V.INCP.NW.V

He learned how to play chess.

(221) Oapazh **buuca** **woma-lugvar** so.

lie.PL B.tell.INF learn-INCP.CND.V 1s

I would (like to) learn to lie. (PL 1.4.2)

Object-controlled complements:

25.14.1.7. *tiesha-d.u* 'convince, persuade': Ergative + **Nominative** + finite verb + complementizer *eanna*. (The verb is the causative of *tiesh* 'believe'.)

(222) Muusaaz yz kinashjka dika **dy** **eanna** Waishet **tiesha-jyr**

M.ERG DEM book good D.be.PRS SUB convince-J.CS.WP

Musa convinced Aisha that the book was good.

25.14.1.8. *woma-d.u* 'teach': Ergative subject; infinitive complement

(223) Mexkaa **doal** **die='a** cuo **woma-vu**, naaxaa ghulaq

country.DAT manage D.LV.IN =& 3s.ERG teach-V.CS.PRS people.DAT service

die='a cuo **woma-vu**

D.do.INF=& 3s.ERG teach-V.CS.PRS

It teaches you how to be a leader of the country, how to do good for people (0380A.28)

- (224) qy='a duqqa hamaazh **hwa-die woma-du=q** cuo
 other=& many:FOC thing.PL DX-D.do.INF teach-V.CS.PRS=CUM 3s.ERG
 and it teaches you how to do many other things (0380A.28)

25.14.2. *Attitude, reaction.*

25.14.2.1. *cec+d.oal* 'be surprised (that)': Nominative subject. The complement is a verbal noun in the lative case or a converb clause (both with different subject): examples in §25.5 and §25.9 above.

25.14.2.2. *ghad+d.uoda* 'be glad (that)': Nominative subject, converb clause (see (87) in §25.9).

25.14.2.3. *d.uhw* 'dare': Nominative subject, infinitive (same subject): see (71) in §25.7.

25.14.2.4. *loarha-d.u* 'get up the nerve (to)' Nominative + infinitive (same subject).

- (225) Duhhwal **dwa-xaatta loarha-vycar**
 directly DX-ask.INF dare-V.CS*.NEG.IMPF
 He couldn't get up the courage to ask directly. (DD)

- (226) Yzh **loarha-bergbaacar**, mogargdaacar ...
 3p dare-B.CS*.FUT.B.NEG.IMPF can.CND.D.NEG
 They wouldn't dare, they couldn't ... (PL 2.4) (anaphoric or gapped null complement)

- (227) Ch'woagha **dwa-aala loarha-byc**
 aloud DX-say.INF dare-B.CS*.NEG
 They don't have the nerve to say it out loud. (PL 2.1)

25.14.2.5. *dexkie+d.oal* 'regret, be sorry'. Nominative subject, converb clause complement (same or different subject). Example (94) in §25.9; also:

- (228) Ch'woagha handz sie yshttaa **jissaa dexkie+jeanna jy** so
 very now 1s.RFL thus J.stay.CVant regret+J.LV.CVant J.NW 1s
 I now regret very much that I stayed. (0240A)

Another possible complement is a verbal noun in the lative case:

- (229) Shie yz **aalaragh dexkie+voalazh** ehw xiitar vowaa
 3s:RFL 3s say.VN.LAT regret+V.LV.CVsim shame LV.WP son.DAT
 The son regretted that he had said it and was ashamed. (DD)

- (230) Shie cy **eannachogh dexkie+veannavaac**
 3s:RFL NEG say.PPL.NZ.LAT regret+V.LV.NW.V.NEG
 What you don't say you don't regret. ('What one didn't say one didn't regret.') (Folk saying.) (0816)

25.15. Phase verbs: 'start', 'finish', etc.

The ingressive auxiliary *d.oal* 'start, depart, go' is used as a phase auxiliary meaning either 'start', 'finish', or 'continue' depending on the converb it takes. Since this verb is ingressive it can refer to either the onset of action or motion ('start', 'depart, set off for a goal') or the subsequent phase ('continue', 'go'), and in a perfective context can refer to completion of the entire sequence of onset and phase ('finish', 'pass, be over'). It is difficult to say what the basic, literal meaning of this verb is; dictionaries and native speakers tend to gloss underived *d.oal* as 'finish' (Ozdoev et al. 1962, Kurkiev 2004), but it takes local and deictic prefixes, behaving derivationally as a motion verb.

25.15.1. *'begin, start'*. There are several ways of expressing beginning in Ingush.

25.15.1.1. *d.uola-lu* lit. 'start off, set off' takes an infinitive of any valence, either agentive or not. Its subject (coreferential to the null subject of the infinitive) is nominative. In perfective tenses it often means not just 'began' but 'began (and still continues)'.

- (231) Muusaa c'eaxxaa **viela vuola-valar**
 suddenly V.laugh.INF V.begin-V.INCP.WP
 Musa suddenly started laughing. Musa suddenly burst out laughing.
 (*d.iel* 'laugh': S=NOM)
- (232) doaqqa zhwalii shiina t'y=qossa-dannacha xaana denc,
 big dog 3sRFL.DAT attack-D.INCP.CVtemp time.DAT since
 Muusaa zhwalegh **qiera vuola-valar**
 dog.LATpl fear.INF V.begin-V.INCP.WP
 Ever since a big dog attacked him, Musa has been afraid of dogs. ('Musa began to fear dogs') (does not necessarily imply that he still fears them, but he did for some time)
 (*qier* 'fear': A=NOM, O=LAT)
- (233) Tq'o shu deannachyl t'ehwagh kuorta **laza buola-balar** sy.
 20 year D.pass.PPL.NZ.CSN after head hurt.INF B.begin-B.WP 1s.GEN
 After I turned 20 I started having headaches. (*laz* 'hurt': S=NOM)

- (234) q'ameal **duuca** **vuola-valar** yz
 conversation D.tell.INF V.begin-V.INCP.WP 3s
 He began to talk. (*d.uuc* 'tell': A.ERG O=NOM)

The corresponding transitive *duola-du* is more common when the infinitive clause is transitive (see §21.6.3).

25.15.1.2. Ingressive auxiliary *d.oal* 'go' with infinitive. The subject begins to do something and continues for some time, usually indefinitely. More precisely, the propensity to do it continues indefinitely. There seem to be no constraints on valence or agency of the infinitive. The subject of *d.oal* (coreferential to the null subject of the infinitive) is nominative.

- (235) Muusaa c'eaxxaa **viela** **vealar**
 suddenly V.laugh.INF V.INGR.WP
 Musa suddenly started laughing (and continued to laugh from time to time).
 (Russ. *nachal posmeivat'sja*)

- (236) Muusaa zhwalegh **qiera** **vealar**
 dog.LATpl fear.INF V.INGR.WP
 Musa began to be afraid of dogs. (implies that he is still afraid of them)

- (237) Yz gazet **diesha** **vealar**
 3s newspaper D.read.INF V.INGR.WP
 He began reading newspapers. He learned to read the paper. He became a newspaper reader.

- (238) Handz so **qieta-die** **veannuu,** yz mott mel
 now 1s understand-D.CS.INF V.INGR.NW.V DEM language how much
 cwoalxanie by
 complex B.be.PRS
 Now I understand how complicated this language is. (Now I've begun to understand...)

This construction forms a surrogate or innovative inceptive for some verbs: §§15.3, 21.7.4.

25.15.1.3. The inceptive derivation adds temporal boundedness to a verb's meaning and forms inceptives of verbs with non-agent subjects (but potentials or verbs of propensity with agent subjects) (see §§15.3, 21.7.4). In perfective tenses the inceptives can be simply punctual in force, or they can imply that a state or action begins (but usually not that it continues for long; one of the above auxiliaries is used for that sense).

(239) Muusaa c'eaxxaa **viela-valar**
 M. suddenly V.laugh-V.INCP.WP
 Musa suddenly laughed. Musa suddenly burst out laughing.

(240) Muusaa **qiera-valar**
 M. fear-V.INCP.WP
 Musa got scared. Musa took fright.

(241) Muusaaina gazet **diesha-dalar**
 M.DAT newspaper D.read-D.INCP.WP
 Musa could/was inclined to read the paper.

Punctual verbs cannot take the inceptive derivation, but can take auxiliaries meaning 'begin':

(242) a. shouztq' shu dealcha Muusaa **varsta vuola-valar**
 40 year D.pass.CVtemp M. V.gain_weight.INF V.begin-V.INCP.WP
 b. * shouztq' shu dealcha Muusaa **varsta-valar**
 40 year D.pass.CVtemp M. V.gain weight-V.INCP.WP

After he turned 40 Musa began gaining weight.

25.15.2. 'finish'

25.15.2.1. The same ingressive auxiliary *d.oal* plus anterior converb can be used with verbs of any valence to mean 'finish'.

(243) yz bolx **bea vealar**
 3s work B.do.CVant V.INGR.WP
 He finished the work. He finished working.

(244) yz kinashjka yz **diishaa vealar**
 DEM book 3s D.read.CVant V.INGR.WP
 He finished the book. He finished reading the book.

(245) yz cwan bettaa kinashjka **jaaz-dea vealar**
 3s one.OBL month.DAT book write-D.VZ.CVant V.INGR.WP
 He finished writing a book in one month. He wrote a book in one month.

The corresponding transitive *d.oaqq* 'take' is used chiefly with transitive verbs (see §21.6.3).

- (246) *cuo cwan bettaa kinashjka jaazdea deaqqar*
 3s one.OBL month.DAT book write-D.CVant D.INGR:TRANS.WP
 He finished writing a book in one month. He wrote a book in one month.

25.15.2.2. The non-auxiliary verbs *jistie-d.oal* (S) and *jistie-d.oaqq, chaq-d.oaqq* (A, O):

- (247) *Muusaaz dwa'ettie cwan sahwataa bolx jistie-boaqq*
 M.ERG "up and" one.OBL hour.DAT work finish-B.LV.PRS
 Musa up and finishes the work in one hour.¹⁹⁶

All of these verbs can themselves be used with the auxiliaries meaning 'finish':

- (248) *Muusaa cwan sahwataa bolx jistie-beaqqaa vealar*
 M. one.OBL hour.DAT work end-B.LV.CVant V.INGR.WP
 Musa finished the work in one hour.
- (249) *Muusaa dwa'ettaa cwan sahwataa bolx chaq-beaqqaa vealar*
 M "up and" one.OBL hour.DAT work finish-B.LV.CVant B.INGR.WP
 Musa up and finished the work in one hour.

25.15.3. 'stop, quit'.

25.15.3.1. Intransitive *soc* 'stop, halt' with negated simultaneous converb.

- (250) *ber cy delxazh sacar*
 child NEG D.cry.CVsim stop.WP
 The baby stopped crying.

25.15.3.2. Transitive *soca-d.u* 'stop' plus nominalized or subjunctive clause.

- (251) *Bieruo delxar soca-dyr*
 child.ERG D.cry.VN stop-D.CS.WP
 The baby stopped crying.
- (252) *Kinashjka dieshar soca-dandzar cuo*
 book D.read.VN stop-D.CS.NEG.WP 3s.ERG
 He didn't stop reading.

¹⁹⁶ Sequential converb *dwa'ettie* and anterior converb *dwa'ettaa* of {*dwa-uott-*} (DX-stand) mean roughly 'up and' and are so glossed in several examples here.

- (253) So chy-veanna valie='a, kinashjka **dieshar soca-die**
 1s in-V.go.CVant V.CVirr=& book D.read.VN stop-D.CS.INF

learrhaa vaacar yz
 intend V.be.NEG 3s

I came in but he still kept on reading.

- (254) ... kinashjka **dieshaljga soca-die** learrhaa vaacar yz
 book D.read.SBJ stop-D.CS.INF intend V.be.NEG 3s
 id.

25.15.3.3. *d.ut* 'leave' and simultaneous converb; *d.ut* agrees with the object of the converbial clause, and possibly that object is raised into the *d.ut* clause.

- (255) cuo kinashjka **dieshazh dytar**
 3s.ERG book D.read.CVsim D.leave.WP
 He stopped reading.

- (256) ghealie **jytar** cuo **cy uozazh**
 cigarette J.leave.WP 3s.ERG NEG smoke.CVsim
 He quit smoking.

25.15.3.4. *d.ut* 'leave' plus nominalized clause.

- (257) Ciga **dieshar**='a **dytar** aaz, sei hama='a dytar aaz.
 there study.VN=& D.leave.WP 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.GEN thing=& D.leave.WP 1s.ERG
 There I quit school and everything I was involved with. (0776)

- (258) Axchagh **louzar dyta**.
 money.LAT play.VN D.leave.IMPV
 Leave off playing with money. (PL 1.4.2)

All such examples appear to involve lexicalized deverbal nouns and not syntactic nominalization. The nominalized word *sa+q'erdam* 'fun, mirth, enjoyment' in (259) is clearly lexicalized given that it has a plural.

- (259) Sa+q'erdamazh dyta.
 have_fun+LV.NZ.PL D.leave.IMPV
 Leave off partying. (PL 1.4.2)

and examples like (260) show that the verb takes a simple NP object:

- (260) Dytal yz
 stop.IMPVmild 3s
 Stop it. Cut it out.

25.15.4. 'continue, keep on'. There is no phase auxiliary with this meaning, but various equivalents can be used.

25.15.4.1. 'stop' with negation: see (252)-(254) above.

- (261) Yz vuuca yz txuona vuola-valcha, cq'azaa bwaarccha
 3s V.talk.INF 3s 1p.DAT V.begin-V.INCP.CVtemp sometimes whole
 urok dwa-juodar txy yz viicaa cy voalazh.
 lesson DX-J.go.IMPf 1pEX.GEN 3s V.talk.CVant NEG V.INGR.CVsimsim

Sometimes he would spend a whole lesson talking about him. ('Sometimes when he_i started talking about him_i, a whole lesson of ours would go by without him_i, finishing.')
 (0531.08)

25.15.4.2. Verb suffixed with *-(ii)s-* 'stay'.

- (262) k'eadavannacha jer allsaav {all-iis-aav}
 tired-V.VZ.CVtemp 3s lie-STAY.NW.V
 He was tired and overslept. (lit. 'stayed lying') (0408)

25.15.4.3. Progressive or imperfect tense can mean 'keep on':

- (263) so dwa=chy-vealcha='a, xiiccaa dwaaxuo **dieshazh var** yz
 1s DX=in -V.go.CVconc=&, unhesitatingly further D.read.CVsimsim V.PROG.PST 3s
 When I came in he just kept right on reading.

- (264) Diezal doaqqaxalar, daa-naana shoazh deaxaacha c'agha **daaxar**
 family D.big become.WP father-mother 3p:RFL D.live.PPL.OBL house.ADV D.live.IMPf
 The children grew up but the parents continued living in the same house.

25.15.4.4. *d.aagha* 'continue, keep on', lit. 'sit', with nominative subject and converb clause:

- (265) t'aaqqa, sei jy **mottazh** my **veaghaavii** so
 so 1s.RFL.GEN J.be.PRS think.CVsimsim EMPH V.sit.NW.V=Q 1s
 So I continued to think it was mine. (0415.12)

25.15.4.5. The same ingressive auxiliary *d.oal* that can mean both 'begin' (with infinitive, §25.15.1.2) and 'finish' (with anterior converb, §25.15.2) also sometimes means 'continue, keep on' (with simultaneous converb and/or with pluractional verb).

(266) (For this example in full see §35.5 (91).)

Yzh borzloi aarahwara cu kartagh cerjgazh vvaashka+jettazh,
 DEM wolf.PL outside DEM.OBL fence.LAT tooth.PL RECIPR J.strike:PLC.CVsim
 quusa-luzh chura bughaazhie=ji dc.h. dewaa sherchie=ji
 jump:PLC-INCP.CVsim inside bull.PL=& D.castrate.PPL ox.PL=&
 juxa dc.h. hwa-lietazh, sa xalarga **doalar** yzh
 back DX-fight:PLC.CVsim light become.VN.ALL D.continue.IMPF 3p

Outside the fence the wolves were snapping their teeth; inside the bulls and oxen were lunging and pawing the ground in response; this **went on** all night until dawn. (They **went on** until dawn, the wolves snapping their teeth and the bulls lunging...) (0240)

(267) Cigara_juxa di'laghcha diinahw, deaq'onna yshtta **liinna**
 Then D.fourth.OBL day.ADV INTERJ so walk:PLC.CVant
vaag my vaac so, ...
 V.INGR.FUT EMPH V.NEG 1s

Then on the fourth day (I realized) I couldn't **go on** like this ... (0240) (§35.5, (105))

25.16. Extraction

Extraction of arguments from complement clauses is common for purposes of topicalization and focus, and for apparent prosodic reasons. (269) shows the underlying structure of (268), where the extracted subject is preposed.

(268) ... **shi sag='a** txuona xaac mycha vaxaav eanna
 two person=& 1p.EX.DAT know.NEG where V.go.NW.V SUB
 dwa-vannavaac.
 DX-V.give.NW.V.NEG

(The Hwulxoi had also lost some men in a siege, so) they said they didn't know where the two bodies (of their enemies) were and didn't return them. (0392B.1)

(269) [txuona xaac [**shi sag** mycha vaxaav] eanna dwa-vannavaac
 we don't know two person where went having said didn't give back

More frequently, extracted arguments are postposed. Examples include these (with interrogative words in the complement clauses, which are bracketed; underscores show the position the extracted word would have in basic word order:

(270) [fy oalar] daga+daaghac suona **cogh** ...
 what say.IMPF remember+D.LV.NEG 1s.DAT 3s.LAT
 There was another one (I forget **what** it was called) ... (0392B)

(271) [Txo senna deaxkaad] xoi hwuona **shyn-ciga**?
 1pEX why D.come:PL.NW know=Q 2s.DAT 2p.GEN-chez
 Do you know why we've come to visit you? (PL 2.1)

and these repeated from above:

(272) wiiranna vaxa dog +daaghacar **ciga**
 morning.ADV V.go.INF heart+D.go.NEG.WP there
 in the morning no one wanted to go there (because it was chilly) (0216B.3)

(273) vuodar hwadie=m daga+duoxarg my dii **sagaa**
 evil-D.NZ DX-D.do.INF=FOC feel like+D.LV.FUT EMPH D=Q someone.DAT
 He wants to do harm to someone. (0408)

(274) *no* shucaanie Tafsier dwa-duola-dicha baq'ahw xet suona
 but 2p.INS DX-D.begin-D.CS.CVtemp better seem.PRS 1s.DAT
uq k'eanjkuo, ealar
 DEM.OBL boy.ERG say.WP

but I'd rather have this boy start the Tafsir with you, he said (0404)

See also the regular postposed extraction of the complement subject with *mott* 'think': §25.1 and §25.14.1.3 above. Extracted arguments are most often sentence-final: see §30.5.

Alternatively, examples of postposed extraction (as in (270)-(274) above and flf25.1, 25.14.1.3, 30.5) could be analyzed as placing the main-clause verb (and its experiencer subject) immediately after the subordinate-cause verb: (270) *oalar dagadaaghac*, (271) *deaxkaad xoi*, (274) *dwaduoladicha baq'ahw xet*, etc. This would amount to a kind of clause union and would position the main-clause verb (all of which have to do with opinion, attitude, etc.) in the same way as the semantically similar evidentials (§13.6). I use the extraction analysis to group these examples with those like (268).

CHAPTER 26

RELATIVE CLAUSES

Ingush uses relativization by deletion. A number of different nonfinite verb forms can be used in the relative clause: participle, infinitive, converb, nominalized participle. All known semantic types of relative clause seem to occur in Ingush.

In this chapter, marks the place of the null relative noun, and its interlinear shows the case it would have if overt.

26.1. Semantic types of relatives

Semantically, Ingush relatives can be restrictive, non-restrictive, or extent. Most examples in texts are restrictive. There is no formal difference, structural or prosodic, between any of these, e.g. restrictive and non-restrictive relatives:

(1) [suoca vaaxa] sy daa
1s.INS NOM V.live.PPL 1s.GEN father
my father, who lives with me (non-restrictive)

(2) [suoca vaaxa] sag
1s.INS NOM V.live.PPL person
the person who lives with me (restrictive)

Examples of restrictive relatives:

(3) [Muusaaz suoga hwadanna] axcha
M.ERG 1s.ALL DX-D.give.PPL money
the money Musa loaned me

(4) [Bolx bezh jola] xa baarh sahwat jy
work B.do.CVsim J.PROG time eight hour J.be.PRS
A workday is eight hours. ('the time when [people] work')

(5) [Wa piela=chy wa=chy-jettaa] shura ciskuo dwa-manna-xugjy
2s.ERG glass.GEN=in NOM DX=IN-J.-pour.PPL milk cat.ERG DX-drink-INFR.J
The cat must have drunk the milk you poured in the glass.

- (6) [Daaz ___ xoasta-d.ea] di hwalxa bienabaac,
owner.ERG NOM praise-D. CS*.PPL horse ahead B.come-NW.B.NEG
[naanaz ___ xesta-jea] jow shii c'agha jisaai
mother.ERG NOM praise:PLC-J.CS*.PPL daughter 3SRFL.GEN house.ADV J.stay.NW.J

A horse praised by its owner doesn't win the race, a daughter constantly praised by her mother stays unmarried. (Proverb)

Non-restrictive:

- (7) Wanagh my qiera, [wa ___ t'ehwa doaghacha] giirienagh qiera.
winter.LAT NEG fear.IMPV winter DAT after D.come.PPL.OBL autumn.LAT fear.IMPV
Don't fear winter, fear autumn, which winter follows ('comes after'). (Proverb)

- (8) [___ [dymii ___ bie='a boallazh] vuodacha] Shahwraana
NOM fattail GEN hand.ADV=& B.be located.CVsim V.go.PPL.OBL (name).ERG
eannad Shamraanaga, ...
say.NW.D (name).ALL

Shahwraan, who was walking in front carrying the fattail in his hand, said to Shamraan... (Dymii)

Another example is (30) in Ch. 25, repeated here in part:

- (9) [___ cynca xannacha] cyn vowa ...
NOM 3s.INS be.PPL.OBL 3s.GEN son.ERG
his son, who was with him, ...

Note also (10), in which the periphrastic declension of the comparative adjective 'older, eldest' (§§11.2, 11.6) is identical in form to a relative clause with a participle of the verb 'be':

- (10) [Voaqqagh volcha] Shaxseita eannad shii shin dottaghchynga:
V.old.CMP V.be.PPL.OBL (name).ERG say.NW.D 3s:RFL.GEN two.OBL friend.ALL
Shaxseit, who was the eldest, said to his two companions: (Dymii)

Core chaining with an ergative controller uses an oblique converb and no chaining particle =*a* (§24.4), and is formally indistinguishable from non-restrictive relativization:

- (11) T'aaqqa, ["Maluu hwo, fyd hwa" eanna ___ dwa-diicacha]
so who=be.V 2s what=be.D 2s.GEN SUB ERG DX-say.PPL.OBL
Mahwmadaa cyn dei bouzazh xannad.
M.DAT 3s.GEN father.PL B.know.CVsim PROG.NARP.D

Mahwmad asked what the matter was and found out who his (another man's) family was. or: Mahwmad, who asked what the matter was, found out ... (0207A.2)

Extent relatives:

- (12) [Cuo cwan sahwtaa ___ di'aa] dulx aaz shin sahtwaa
 3s.ERG one.OBL hour.DAT NOM D.eat.PPL meat 1s.ERG two.OBL hour.DAT
 maara da'ac
 only D.eat.NEG.PRS

It takes me two hours to eat the (amount of) meat he ate in one hour. ('The meat he ate in one hour I can only eat in two hours.')

- (13) [Cuo cwan sahwtaa ___ diesha] kinashjkaazh aaz shin
 3s.ERG one.OBL hour.DAT NOM D.read.PPL book.PL 1s.ERG two.OBL
 sahtwaa maara dieshac
 hour.DAT only D.read.NEG.PRS

It takes me two hours to read the (number of) books he read in an hour.
 or: It takes me two hours to read the (same) books he read in an hour.

(13) is ambiguously either an extent relative ('the number of books he read') or a restricted relative ('the (same) books he read').

26.2. Headed relatives

The relative clause is preposed to its antecedent (the head), its verb is a participle, and there is no overt token of the relative noun in the relative clause. The participle agrees in case with the antecedent, which is in the main clause and has its normal case and word order there. There are almost no restrictions on relativization. Any case and nearly any syntactic role can be relativized on, as long as the antecedent is identifiable. Only some alienable possessors and some pure circumstantials – i.e. adjuncts whose inclusion is entirely up to the speaker and not at all predictable from the clause structure or choice of verb – are generally not relativizable. The following examples are cited in approximately decreasing order of cross-linguistic accessibility of syntactic role, and include a range of the different cases or postpositional forms that can fill that role.¹⁹⁷ As in other examples, ___ marks the relative gap and Ø is an anaphoric or unspecified pronoun (not a relative gap).

¹⁹⁷ Some of the examples here are from Nichols 1994:13ff., and several of those have been phonologically or morphologically corrected here.

Relativized subjects. A:

- (14) [__ je hama dea] sag
 ERG this thing D.do.PPL person
 the person who did this [ergative A]
- (15) [__ massanegh qiera] sag
 NOM all LAT fear.PPL person
 (the/a) person who is afraid of everyone [nominative A]
- (16) [__ axcha dola] sag
 GEN money D.be.PPL person
 a person with money, a person who has money [genitive A]
- (17) [__ axcha dolazh vola] sag
 NOM money D.be.CVsim V.PROG.PPL person
 a person who (generally) has money [nominative A in generic progressive tense]
- (18) [__ so jieza] sag
 DAT 1s J.like.PPL person
 the person who likes me [dative A]

S:

- (19) [__ seana=chy leattaa] sag
 NOM corner=in stand.PPL person
 the person who stood in the corner
- (20) [__ [Ø kinashjka iecazh dyssaa] axcha
 NOM ERG book buy.CVsim D.remain.PPL money
 change from buying a book (lit. 'money left over (from) buying a book')

Relativized objects:

- (21) [Ø __ viina] sag
 ERG NOM V.kill.PPL person
 a person who has been killed, the person (they) killed [nominative O]
- (22) [aaz __ jaazdea] kinashjka
 1s.ERG NOM write-D.PPL book
 the book I wrote

- (23) [suona ___ vieza] sag
 1s.DAT NOM V.like.PPL person
 the/a person I like
- (24) [barrigazh ___ qierazh vola] sag
 all.NOM LAT fear.CVsim V.PROG.PPL person
 a person everyone is afraid of (oblique object: lative with 'fear')
- (25) [sy ___ doa] axcha
 1s.GEN NOM D.be.PPL money
 they money I have, the money I own, the money that is mine
- (26) [suoga ___ doa] axcha
 1s.ALL NOM D.be.PPL money
 the money I have (with me, on me)

Subcategorized oblique (LOC in interlinears) indicates an expression of location, variously a PP or adverb:

- (27) [so ___ jaaxa] c'aa
 1s LOC J.live.PPL house
 the house I live in
- (28) [hwo ___ vea] shu
 2s LOC V.born.PPL year
 the year you were born

Instrument:

- (29) [aaz ___ keaxat jaazdea] q'oalam
 1s.ERG INS letter write-D.PPL pen
 the pen I wrote the letter with

Object of postposition (also (7) above):

- (30) [so ___ jixie leattaa] c'aa
 1s DAT beside stand.PPL house
 the building I stood next to

Possessor. Relativization on the possessor of a kin term or body part is sometimes, though not always, accepted. No other possessors can be relativized. This distinction is the only candidate for anything like an alienable/inalienable possession opposition in Ingush.¹⁹⁸

(31) [___ voshaz suona axcha deitaa] sag
 GEN brother.ERG 1s.DAT money D.give.PPL person
 the person whose brother gave me money

(32) [zhwalez ___ kyljgaa carjg tiexaa] sag
 dog.ERG GEN hand.DAT tooth bite.PPL person
 the person whose hand the dog bit

Other possessors:

(33) * [suoga ___ gour jola] sag
 1s.ALL GEN horse J.be.PPL person
 the person whose horse I've got

(34) * [Ø suona ___ axcha deitaa] sag
 UNSP.ERG 1s.DAT GEN money D.send.PPL person
 the/a person whose money they sent me, the/a person whose money I was sent¹⁹⁹

Adjuncts of place are acceptable where the situation is pragmatically usual or expected:

(35) * [aaz ___ kinashjkaazh diesha] paark
 1s.ERG LOC book.PL D.read.PPL park
 the park I read books in

(36) [sho ___ uqaza deaxkaar] malagha *pojezd* jar?
 2p LOC here D.come:PL.PPL.NZ what train J.be.PST
 What train did you come on?

¹⁹⁸ Though examples like (31)-(32) are not always accepted, there are unproblematic and well-known compounds which, if they have been derived from syntactic phrases (as is of course not guaranteed for compounds), must come from possessive relatives with body part nouns: *ka+mearsha* 'generous' (lit. 'hand+free'), *kuorta+muq'a* 'independent' (lit. 'head+free'), *dog+c'ena* 'cordial' (lit. 'heart+clean'), *kuorta+bweaxa* 'long-haired' (lit. 'head+long'). A possessive like [_{GEN} *kuorta muq'a bola*] *sag* 'person whose head is free' is a possible source, but a simple noun phrase could not possibly have the word order Noun Adjective (**kuorta muq'a* for 'free head').

¹⁹⁹ The homophonous construction with relativized ergative subject is fully acceptable:

[___ suona axcha deitaa] sag
 ERG 1s.DAT money D.send.PPL person
 the/a person who sent me money

Standard of comparison:

- (37) * [Waishet ___ laqagh jola] k'eanjk
 Aisha CSN tall.CMP J.be.PPL boy
 'the/a boy Aisha is taller than'

The relativized noun in the thoroughly unacceptable (37) would seem to be quite recoverable, so the ungrammaticality must not be due simply to non-recoverability (as could be the case for examples like (33)-(34).)

Relativization on the nominal component of a phrasal verb, i.e. internal to the phrasal verb, is common, e.g. (38) with *xoam bu* 'communicate', lit. 'make/do a communication':

- (38) jowuo bea xoam
 girl.ERG B.LV.PPL communicate
 (the/a) girl's communication, what (the/a) girl communicated (JBX)

26.3. Simultaneous converb in relativization

Though the simultaneous converb is traditionally described as a dedicated converb, in fact it is often used to head relative clauses, chiefly when the force is progressive.

- (39) Cweaqa='a dy [aaz ___ die **diezazh**] ghulaq –
 one more=& D.be.PRS 1s.ERG NOM D.do.INF D.must.CVsim matter
 [dional=ji meakaral=ji ieshazh] hama jy yz
 courage=& cunning=& need.CVsim thing J.be.PRS 3s

There is one more thing I must do, something requiring courage and cunning. (PL 2.1)

- (40) [hwalxagha sag ___ cy **vaaxazh**] [shin q'amaa ___ jiq'ie ilaa] leatta
 formerly anyone LOC NEG V.live.CVsim two.OBL nation.DAT NOM between lie.PPL land
 neutral land ('previously uninhabited land between two nations', 'land that neither
 nation has a prior claim to')

- (41) Ciga [[dwa-juuzh] koartol='a **jolazh**] mettig jar oaxa liela-jezh
 there DX-J.sow.CVsim potato=& J.be.CVsim place J.be.PST 1pEX.ERG keep- J.CS*.
 [CVsim
 We maintained a place there where we planted potatoes ('a place where there were
 potatoes that we would plant') (0216B.3)

(40) has two relatives on the same head: converb *vaaxazh* and participle *ilaa*. The relative noun is a place adjunct in the first and subject in the second. The converb clause describes

not a permanent state but a changeable situation: the land was uninhabited at some point, but could have been inhabited before that and could be again. With the participial clause the state is permanent: the land is located ('lies') between two national territories.

26.4. Infinitival relatives

Headed relatives can also have infinitives (43-44); these are a kind of purpose clause (§27.3.1.2). Compare the participial relative in (45).

(43) Aaz cynna [___ ___ **diesha**] kinashjka iicar
 1s.ERG 3s.DAT ERG NOM D.read.INF book bought
 I bought him a book to read

(44) [___ ___ **mala**] xii
 ERG NOM drink.INF water
 water to drink

(45) [___ ___ **mola**] xii
 ERG NOM drink.PPL water
 drinking water, water that is drunk, water that people drink

26.5. Headless relatives

In headless relatives the participle is nominalized (see §11.7), and the sense is 'that which ...', 'the one who ...', etc. Arguments of the participle are in the cases governed by the participle. Nominalized participles differ from verbal nouns in making tense distinctions, in forming their oblique cases with the stem extender *-chuo-*, and in their semantics (nominalized participles mean 'the one who...!', etc., while verbal nouns mean 'the fact that...'). Only nominalized participles form headless relatives; verbal nouns are used exclusively for complementation. (Headless relatives are also used in clefting; see §§28.5, 28.7.)

(46) Waishietaa daga+daaghac [Muusaaz eannar]
 Aisha.DAT remember+D LV.NEG Musa.ERG say.PPL.NZ
 Aisha doesn't remember what Musa said.

(47) Waishiet cec+jealar [Muusaaz eannachogh]
 A. surprise+LV.WP M.ERG say.PPL.NZ.LAT
 Aishet was surprised at what Musa said.

- (48) T'aaqqa yz qiitar [aaz duucachogh]
 then 3s understand.WP 1s.ERG D.tell.PPL.NZ.LAT
 Then he (suddenly) understood what I was saying.
- (49) Muusaaz [shiina dear] juxa-diiqaad
 Musa.ERG 3s:RFL.DAT D.do.PPL.NZ back-D.avenge.NW.D
 Musa avenged what had been done to him.
- (50) [Hwuogara bar] sy ruuchka by.
 2s.ABL B.be.PPL.NZ 1s.GEN pen B.be.PRS
 The pen you've got is mine.
- (51) [Handz vai daaxar] xala zaama jy
 now 1pIN D.live.PPL.NZ hard time J.be.PRS
 We live in hard times. The times we live in are hard.
- (52) [Oaxazh eannar] oardazh kora+dead
 plow.CVsim say.PPL.NZ thresh.CVsim find+D.VZ.NW
 'What was said while plowing is found while threshing' (Proverb)
- (53) Ucyga Maalsag [shii xaannara bolchaazhca] wa-xeinuu
 (name) 3s:RFL.GEN time:FOC.ABL B.be.PPL.PL.NZ.INS DX-sit.NW.V
 Ucyga Maalsag sat with people of his own age. ('with those of his very age') (0408)

The adverb form of the nominalized participle is used to make headless relatives meaning 'the place where'. (These may be gapless noun-modifying clauses: §26.7.)

- (54) Zhwalii **shie ullachara** dwa-juxa hweira
 dog 3s:RFL lie.PPL.NZ.ABL DX-back move around.WP
 The dog moved around where it was lying (e.g. moved from side to side).
- (55) Vaa hwanexk, sixxa hwa-vel **so volccha,**
 hey someone fast:FOC DX-V.come.IMPV 1s V.be.PPL.NZ.OBL:FOC
 qeikaav caw.
 call.NW.V one.NZ
 Hey, so-and-so, come over here (lit. 'come right where I am'), called one man.
 (Mal'sagov ed. 1967:41)
- (56) Buc hwa='t'y=jaalac **yzh jaaghaacha**
 grass DX=on=J.grow.PRS.NEG 3p J.sit.PPL.NZ.OBL
 Grass didn't grown where they (stumps) were. (lit. 'where they were sitting') (0392B.1)

Headless relatives are common in clefting (§28.7). A headless relative of one of the verbs 'call, say' is a common way of making metalinguistic reference to a word or utterance (see §20.9).

- (57) Uqaza ["dwa-otta" **eannar**] dwa-otta vieza.
 here DX-stand.IMPV say.PPL.NZ DX-stand.INF V.must
 The one who is out has to stop playing. ('The one they say "go stand" to/about has to go stand.') (Rules of a children's game. (0417.52)
- (58) Fy jaaxaljga dola hwogh [yz Hwulii **jaaxar**] ?
 what say.SBJ D.be.PPL INTRSP DEM (place name) say.NZ
 What does "Hwulii" mean? (What does this [word] "Hwulii" mean?) (0392B)
- (59) Malagh by yz gerd **jaaxar**?
 what kind B.be.PRS DEM say.NZ
 What's a "gerd"? (What kind (of unit of weight) is this "gerd"?) (0216B.3)

26.6. Relativization two clauses down

Though examples of this type have not been found in natural text, it is possible to elicit examples of relativization into a clause embedded in another clause.

- (60) [[sie __ massadz hwodzh] so jelxa] kino goitazh dy
 1s:RFL ALL whenever look.PRS 1s J.cry.PPL movie show.CVsim D.PROG
 A movie is showing that I cry whenever I see.
- (61) [[aaz __ __ danna] soughat diexaar]
 1s.ERG DAT NOM D.give.PPL gift D.break.PPL.NZ
 The person who the present that I gave (to) broke

26.7. Noun-modifying clauses without gap

Noun-modifying clause constructions resemble relative constructions but have no gap in the modifying clause, i.e. no relativized or shared coreferent to the head noun. (For the analysis of noun-modifying constructions, and the term, see Matsumoto 1997.) Participial noun-modifying clauses can be used with a few nouns, e.g. *tata* 'sound, noise', *bahwan* 'reason', *mottig* 'situation' (lit. 'place', but used as a more or less empty noun). (64) has a nominalized participle because the head noun has been fronted as focus.

- (62) Falxana hwa-xozar=q [yz wa-duodazh dola] **tata**
 (place).ADV DX-hear.IMPf=CUM 3s down-D.go.CVsim D.PROG.PPL] sound
 In Falxan you could hear the sound of it (=a river) flowing. (0409)
- (63) [Kinashjka wa-duozhazh (deanna)] **tata** xazar suona
 book down-D.fall.CVsim (D.INGR) sound hear.WP 1s.DAT
 I heard the sound of a book falling down.
- (64) **Bahwan** malagh dy [sho **latar**] ?
 reason what kind D.be 2p fight.PPL.NZ
 Why are you fighting? What's the reason for your fighting? (PL 2.2)
- (65) Kokkarxuo Kokkarxuochuo jigaa **mottig** jaac hwuona, jaax aaz
 (clan name) (clan name.ERG) J.lead.PPL situation J.be.NEG MIR say 1s.ERG
 I tell you, there's never been a case of a Kokkarxuo marrying another Kokkarxuo.
- (66) Gucha+jeannii aaz hwo lechq'a-vu **mottig**=a.
 visibl+-J.LV.NW.J 1s.ERG 2s hide-V.CS.PPL situation=&
 It's becoming known that I'm hiding you ('the situation of my hiding you'). (PL 2.1)

However, most nouns, including ones of the same semantic types as 'sound', 'situation', etc. cannot take such clauses. (67)-(71) give attempted examples and their structurally different acceptable alternatives.

- (67) *meaq jotta hwadzh
 bread J.bake.PPL smell
 the smell of bread baking
- (68) meaq jottacha hwadzh
 bread J.bake.PPL.NZ.OBL smell
 the smell of bread baking (lit. 'the smell where (they) bake bread')
- (69) jottacha meaq hwadzh
 J.bake.PPL.OBL bread.GEN smell
 the smell of baking bread
- (70) *[Cagiena wazhazh lochq'a-bea] duucar
 Cagen.ERG apple.PL steal-B.CS*.PPL story
 the story (of how) Cagen stole apples

- (71) Cagiena wazhazh lochq'a-baragh duucar
 Cagen.ERG apple.PL steal-B.CS*.NZ.LAT story
 the story about Cagen's theft of apples

An occasional gapless noun-modifying clause can also be elicited in other contexts where the head noun does not semantically imply the clause:

- (72) [sag cy varsta] karfentazh
 anyone NEG V.get fat.PPL candy.PL
 candy no one gains weight from eating; candy you don't get fat from²⁰⁰
- (73) [sag varstandza] da'a_hama
 anyone V.get fat.NEG.PPL food
 non-fattening food

and a few are found in texts:

- (74) Wiirena Kunduxov handz uqun ust-naanii –
 morning.DAT (last name) now this.GEN mother-in-law
- [jiixaa_jaaghazh] my viinavii jer – yz hwal-ghattacha ...
 J. engaged.CVsim EMPH V.kill.NW.V=Q 3s 3s up-stand.CVtemp
- One morning his mother-in-law Kunduxova – he was already engaged when he was killed, wasn't he? – when **she** got up ... (0207A)

The parenthetical aside explains why the narrator has referred to the hero's intended future mother-in-law as his mother-in-law. *jixaa jaaghazh* 'engaged' is in J gender and can only refer to and agree with the engaged woman. (It is a nuclear chain: J.invite.CVant J.sit.CVsim 'sits invited'.) The semantic structure is then:

He was killed [someone was already engaged (i.e. to him)]

Ingush *jixaa jaaghazh*, unlike English *engaged*, does not have an object, so it is difficult to say that there is a gap in the modifying clause of the Ingush original.

- (75) Jerazh chy-beaghaa xazjajevaazh Buruo=t'yra hirii bar
 3p in-B.live.PPL landlord.PL Vladikavkaz=at.ABL Ossetian.PL B.be.PST
 The landlords where they lived were Ossetians from Vladikavkaz. (0223B.7)

²⁰⁰ There is a near-synonymous construction with a relativized subject and a causative verb: [*sag cy varstiita*] *karfentazh* (GAP anyone NEG V.gain_weight-CSind.PPL candy) 'candy that doesn't make you gain weight'.

The headless relative formed by the adverb form of the participle in §26.5 is also a sort of noun-modifying clause:

- (76) Hwa-vel [so jolcha]
 DX-V.come.IMPVmild 1s J.be.PPL.OBL
 Come (over here) where I am.

Atypically, there is no overt nominalization on the participle; perhaps the construction is derived from an abbreviation of one like (77):

- (77) [so __ jolcha] mettigie
 1s LOC J.be.PPL.OBL place.ADV
 in/at/to the place where I am

A nominalized noun-modifying clause can be formed using the verbal noun in the genitive as any attributive noun would be. These are common with nouns such as *ghulaq* 'matter', *mottig* 'situation' (lit. 'place') or the like, making metalinguistic reference to a word or utterance.

- (78) sag **jiexara** **ghulaq** myshta laattar?
 person J.invite.VN.GEN matter how stand.IMPF
 How were marriages arranged? How was engagement handled? ('How did the fact/matter of inviting a person [bride]' stand?') (0231A)
- (79) Diezalaajiq'iera qietam **balara** **ghulaq** myshta loattaduora?
 family.DAT within understanding B.give.VN.GEN matter how stand-D.CS.IMPF
 How was child-rearing done? ('How was transmission of understanding [to children] done in the family?') (0231A)

CHAPTER 27

ADJUNCT SUBORDINATION

Adjunct subordinate clauses include clauses of time, reason, condition, purpose, etc. In Ingush these mostly use converbs. There are a good many such converbs, most of them specialized for a meaning such as time sequence, exact time coincidence, reason, condition, etc. None of these converbs take argument sharing; all of them may have, but do not require, an argument coreferential to one in the matrix clause. An argument coreferential to a main-clause subject may be either reflexivized or null (which is probably more common).

For the most part this chapter covers true subordinate clauses, but the section on purpose clauses includes both subordinate and chained purpose clauses. There is a section on depictive and resultative constructions, not all of which are adjuncts.

27.1. Subordinate clauses of time

Time subordination uses the basic temporal converb in *-cha*, the simultaneous converb, and various other converbs with specific temporal meanings. The temporal converb is formed from the perfective stem and marks a sequenced temporal clause ('after', 'when'). It can be used with a main clause verb of any tense.

- (1) Max t'iera **wa-bealcha** aaz seinā mashen iecagjy.
 price down down-B.go.CVtemp 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.DAT car buy-J.FUT
 When prices go down I'll buy a car.
- (2) T'om **hweicha** yz shii boaxamagh vealar
 war move.CVtemp 3s 3s:RFL.GEN property.LAT V.go.WP
 When the war broke out he lost everything he had.²⁰¹
- (3) Jer **wa=t'y-vaxacha** twaisaa ullazh xannuu vozh
 3s DX=on-V.go.CVtemp sleep.CVant lie.CVsim PROG.NARP.V other
 When he got there, the other guy was lying asleep. (0408)
- (4) T'eamash=t'y **hwal=t'y-veannacha** eatta oaghuorahw k'ala joall ...
 (place)=on up=at-arrive.CVtemp right side.ADV below J.be located.PRS ...
 As you go up to T'eamash't'y, down below on the right is ... (0392B.1)

²⁰¹ Idiom *shii boaxamagh d.oal* 'lose everything, be financially ruined', lit. 'go out of one's wealth'.

- (5) T'aaqqa **hwal-hwiezhacha** suona bouza='a bouzazh txy
 then up-look:PLC.CVtemp 1s.DAT RED=& B.know.CVsim 1pEX.GEN
 jurtara nax boaxkar.
 town.ABL people B.come:PL.IMPF

When I looked up (I saw) familiar people from our town coming. (0776)

When the main verb is durative or iterative the temporal converb can mean 'whenever':

- (6) Yz qiera hwa='a beaqqaa yz **wa-k'al-vealcha**,
 DEM stone DX=& B.take.CVant 3s DX-under-V.go.CVtemp
 Ilisxaa-jurtarcha Hwazhiina yz t'y=vuodaljga xoura.
 (place name).ADJ.OBL Hadji.DAT 3s on=V.go.SBJ know.IMPF

Whenever he moved the stone away and **went down** (to the plains), people knew he was going to visit Kunta Hadji.

- (7) caw **k'ead-jelcha** shallagh jer dwa=t'y='a juodazh
 one tired-J.VZ.CVtemp second 3s DX=on=& J.go.CVsim
 ... and when one woman **got tired** another would replace her and ... (0418.20)

- (8) Hamalg bahwan qiestachyn / axcha maara daac,
 thing.DIM for revolve.PPL.NZ.GEN money only D.have.PRS.NEG
 baala biena **k'al-vysacha** / tieshamie yz vaac
 trouble B.come.CVant under-succumb.CVtemp / reliable 3s V.be.PRS.NEG

One who serves for gain has only money; **when you're in trouble** he's not reliable. (PL 2.2)

The simultaneous converb is formed from the imperfective stem and usually marks a clause that is simultaneous or partly overlapping with the main clause. (It is also used in some purpose clauses: see §27.3 below.)

- (9) shallagh nomer **aara-joaqqazh**, so sie balxa my ettarii
 second issue out-J.take.CVsim 1s 1sRFL hire.ADV EMPH LV.WP=Q
 when the second issue was coming out I was already working there myself (0531)
- (10) Sultaan=ji Muusaa=ji waxeizhaa **baaghazh**, Peat'amat hwa=chy-jealar
 S.=& M.=& DX-sit:PL.CVant B.sit.CVsim DX=in-J.go.WP
 While Sultan and Musa were sitting there Fatima came in.

- (11) T'aaqqa vei hama du'azh wa-xeishaa **daaghazh**
 then 1pIN thing D.eat.CVsim down-sit.CVant D.sit.CVsim
 yz hwa siesag hwuona t'y=chuuxar
 DEM 2s.GEN wife 2s.DAT at=shout.WP
 Well, while we were sitting eating your wife harped at you
- (12) Buucazh **dwadolxazh** cq'a Shekspiir hwoa-vyr cuo
 B.talk.CVsim DX-D.go:PL.CVsim once Shakespeare mention-V.CS*.WP 3s.ERG
 Once **while we were walking along** talking he mentioned Shakespeare. (0531)
- (13) T'aaqqa eggara hwaalxa yz **dwa-duolaluzh** borghal wex
 so then the most early 3s DX-D.begin.CVsim rooster crow.PRS
 So, at the very beginning a rooster crows.
- (14) Uqanga jaax aaz jizhaa **ullazh**
 3s.ALL say.PRS 1s.ERG J.lie down.CVant lie.CVsim
 I said to her while she was in lying down ... (0415)

The same configuration of event framed by an activity or situation can be rendered with a perfective converb and a main verb in a progressive tense:

- (15) Siexan Muusaa hwa=chy-veannacha xaana kinashkja dieshazh
 yesterday M. DX=in-V.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT book D.read.CVsim
 laattar so.
 PROG.IMPF 1s
 Yesterday when Musa came home I was reading.

Other temporal converbs are specialized to indicate more precise temporal relations. (For the known converbs and their abbreviations see Appendix 5.) 'Just as', 'as soon as':

- (16) **Max t'iera wa my beallangehw** aaz seinā mashen iecagjy.
 price down down EMPH B.go:FOC.CVjust 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.DAT car buy-J.FUT
 As soon as prices go down I'll buy a car.
- (17) **Jow jiexa my jiixanjehw**, cy jiixaa jaaghacha jowaa
 girl J.ask.RED EMPH J.ask.CVjust DEM J.ask.PPL J.sit.PPL.OBL girl.DAT
 itt-pxiitta guonahwara jow ... hwagul='a balie ...
 10-15 nearby girl DX-gather=& B.LV.CVseq

As soon as a girl was engaged, she and 10 or 15 of her relatives and friends ... would get together ... (0206A.3)

- (18) *eisa* **hwa-eccazhie** *t'y-xiicar* *aaz* *aaftamaat*
 1s.RFL.ERG DX-take:FOC.CVjust on-shoot 1s.ERG machine gun
 I picked up my automatic rifle and immediately shot. ('as soon as I picked up my rifle I shot') (0207A.2) (Note reflexive *eisa* coreferential to main-clause *aaz*.)

- (19) *Cul* *t'ehwagh* *yzh* *vaganetkaazh* **wa-t'ex** **my** **jeallangie='a,**
 3s.CSN after DEM wagon.PL DX-past EMPH J.go.CVjust

wa *mettagh* *iiqqaai* *so.*
 DX place.LAT jump.NW.J 1s

Then **as soon as** the train cars **passed** I hurried on. (0238A)

'until':

- (20) *Saabar-dielahw* *so* *juxa* **aara-vaallalca**
 wait-D.LV.IMPVfut 1s back out-V.go.CVuntil
 Wait **until I come back out.**
- (21) *Ciga* *juxa* *ust='a* *bii,* *yz* **verddzalca** *yz* *ust* *bu'abbez*
 there back bull=& B.kill.CVseq 3s V.turn.CVuntil DEM bull B.eat.CVfut

Bunxoz *ullaveav* *yz* *Melxii*
 (name).ERG lie-V.CS.NW.V DEM (ethnonym) (0415.12)

Bunxuo slaughtered a bull, put the Melxii man to bed, and fed him **until he got well.**

The basic temporal converb with negation can also have the meaning 'until':

- (22) *Boq'oncaa,* *ustaghaa* *urs* **cy** **hweaqacha** *jish-vosha*
 in fact sheep.DAT knife NEG slice.CVtemp brother-sister²⁰²

laarhacar *twoourarcha* *xaana.*
 consider.NEG.IMPV former.OBL time.DAT

 In the old days the betrothal wasn't official until they slaughtered a sheep. (0231A.3)
- (23) *K'odzh* **wa=t'y** **cy** **tillacha** *vir* *douzaddaacar* *hwuona*
 pack saddle down=on NEG put on.CVtemp donkey D.know.D.CND.NEG MIR
 You don't know a donkey **until you've put** a pack saddle on it. (I.e. you have to saddle it to find out what weight it can carry.) (0418)

²⁰² I.e. in-laws. This describes a betrothal feast, which makes the two families in-laws.

'before':

- (24) Mashen **hwa-jaalalehw** so kiicha xugvy
 car DX-J.go.CVbefore 1s ready be.FUT.V
 I'll be ready before the car gets here.
- (25) Gurgal **tuoxalehw** vai duqa bolx bie bieza
 bell strike.CVbefore 1pIN.ERG much work B.do.INF B.must
 We have to get a lot of work done before the bell rings.
- (26) So gaalii dyzaa **vaalalehw** Muusaa chy-vaxar
 1s sack D.fill.CVant V.finish.CVbefore M. in-V.go.WP
 Musa got home before I got the sack filled.
- (27) T'ehwa txou **tyllalehw** vai Sibregh dwa-daxar
 in addition roof put on.CVbefore 1pIN Siberia.ADV DX-D.go.WP
 Before he could put the roof on we went to Siberia. (0409.22)

Also frequently used for temporal subordination is a relational noun phrase headed by *xaana* 'time.DAT' modified by a participle. The tense, aspect, and aktionsart of the verb convey the differences in the temporal semantics. The *xaana* clause can indicate a moment or point in time:

- (28) Siexan Ahwmad hwa=chy-veannacha **xaana** bolx bezh joallar so
 yesterday A. DX= n-V.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT work B.do.CVsim J.PROG.IMPF 1s
 Yesterday when Ahmed got home I was working.
- (29) Sibregh doxiitacha **xaana**
 Siberia.ADV D.go-CSind.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 when we were taken to Siberia
- (30) c'a-vienacha **xaana**
 home-V.come.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 after (he/you/I) got back home

regular or repeated points in time:

- (31) Aaz balxa uxacha **xaana** niw massa xaana dwa-q'uul.
 1s.ERG work.ADV go.PLC.PPL.OBL time.DAT door all time.DAT DX-close:PLC.PRS
 When I go to work I always lock the door.

- (32) Kor biisanna hwa-diillaa dolcha **xaana** zungatii chy-ux.
 window night.ADV DX-D.open.CVant D.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT mosquito.PL in-go:PLC
 At night when the window is open mosquitoes come in.

duration:

- (33) jieqan jolcha **xaana**
 good_weather J.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 in good weather, when the weather is good
- (34) zwamiga volcha xaana
 young B.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 when (he/I) was young
- (35) jer muo hama suona deinadaac uq dinie=t'y so mel
 this like anything 1s.DAT D.see.NW.D.NEG this.OBL world=on 1s how_much
 vaaxacha **xaana**.
 V.live.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 I've never seen anything like this in my life ('as long as I've lived on earth').
- (36) Qiirahwa yz vaaxacha **xaana**
 (place) 3s V.live.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 When he lived in Qiirahwie ... (0392B.1)

or non-occurrence:

- (37) Cuo c'aqq'a jolcha **xaana** yzh qossacar
 3s.ERG never J.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT 3p throw.NEG.IMPF
 He never threw them out. (0219A)

When *xaana* is followed by the postposed adverb *denc* 'since' (or variants *dencahw*, *denc hwa*, *dencaa*) the meaning is 'since, ever since' (state or activity continuing from the past to the time of speech):

- (38) Suona yz ber dolcha **xaana denc** voudz
 1s.DAT 3s child D.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT since V.know.PRS
 I've known him since I was a child.
- (39) Zhwalii shiina t'y-qossa-dannacha **xaana denc** Muusaa
 dog 3s:RFL.DAT attack-D.INCP.PPL.OBL time.DAT since Musa

zhwalegh qiera vuola-valar.
 dog.LATpl fear.INF V.begin-V.INCP.WP

Ever since a dog attacked him Musa has been afraid of dogs.

denc plus *dwa* means 'henceforth, from now on; thenceforth, from then on' (state or activity continuing from the time of speech to some later time) (§22.2.2). *xaana* with or without *denc*, etc. also often heads time phrases (§22.2.1).

The meaning 'after' is expressed by a nominalized participial clause in the comparison case plus *t'ehwagh(a)* 'after' (etymologically a comparative adjective 'later'). Depending on the aspect and aktionsart of the verb the reference can be to a single event:

- (40) Sy nennaana so veachyl **t'ehwagha** jennii
 1s.GEN grandmother 1s V.be born.PPL.CSN after J.die.NW.J
 My grandmother died after I was born. (0776)
- (41) Aara-veanchul **t'ehwagha** suoga cynagh hama aala vahwacar yz
 out-V.go.PPL.CSN after 1s.ALL 3s.LAT anything say.INF V.dare.NEG.IMPF 3s
 After he got out he was afraid to talk to me about it. (0219)
- (42) so voaqqa xannachyl **t'ehwagha** hwa-duucar
 1s V.big be.PPL.CSN after DX-D.tell.IMPF
 After I got older he told me about it. (0415)
- (43) Vai c'a+deaxkaachyl **t'ehwagha** maara veinavaac suona yz bwarjga.
 1pIN home+D.go:PL.PPL.CSN after only V.see.NW.V.NEG 1s.DAT 3s eye
 I only saw him in person after we came back. (0531.08)

or multiple or regular events:

- (44) Dogha diilxachul **t'ehwagha** duqa buc joal.
 rain D.weep.PPL.CSN after much grass J.go.PRS
 After it rains a lot of grass grows. (Rain 'weeps' in Ingush.)

Clock times in Ingush are participial clauses with *...dealcha* 'after ... (has/had) passed':

- (45) So selxan sahwat **dealcha** c'agha viera.
 1s yesterday hour D.go.PPL.OBL home.ADV V.come.WP
 Yesterday I came home at 1:00.
- (46) qo sahwat biisana **dealcha**
 three hour night.ADV D.pass.CVtemp
 at 3:00 a.m.

- (52) Caar **ghad+baxaa** mahwarch dett
 3p rejoice+B.LV.CVant shout D.LV:PLC.PRS
 They shout for joy. (lit. They shout [because of] having become happy.) (=49 above)

27.2.2. *Condition.* Hypothetical conditionals use the irrealis converb in the condition clause and the future tense or the imperative (or, less often, the present) in the main clause.

- (53) Wa diesha cy **dieshie**, institutiera eqqa-vegvy hwo.
 2s.ERG RED NEG D.study.CVirr institute.ABL expel-V.CS*.FUT.V 2s
 If you don't study you'll be expelled from the institute.
- (54) Qy c'eaqadz hwo xaarcaw **lielie**,
 any more once more 2s wrongly behave.CVirr
 aaz hwaaina fy du hwozhargvy hwo.
 1s.ERG 2s.DAT what D.do look.FUT.V 2s
 If you misbehave once more, you'll see what I'll do to you.
- (55) Hwaaina **diezie**, mollağa kinashjka hwa-ieca.
 2s.RFL.DAT D.like.CVirr any book DX-take.IMPV
 Help yourself to a book. Take any book you like. (If you like, take any book.)
- (56) Hwaai kertaa doala-die, hwie q'uonax **valie**.
 2s.RFL.GEN head.DAT D.go-D.CS.IMPV 2s.RFL man V.be.CVirr
 Control your head if you're a man. (folk saying)
- (57) So **voaghie** shuca, sag vaxiita viezac shoana eannad
 1s V.go.CVirr 2p.INS anyone V.send.INF V.need.PRS.NEG 2p.DAT say.NW.D
 If I go with you, you don't need to send anyone, he said. (0223B.7)

The combination of temporal converb plus generic present or other tense understood as generic or iterative can often have conditional meaning:

- (58) Q'oalam **sotta-bycha** keg-lu.
 pencil bend-B.CS.CVtemp break-VZ.PRS
 If you bend a pencil it breaks. A pencil breaks when bent.
- (59) Wai aara **wa-otta-dicha**, xii shal-lu.
 winter.ADV out DX-stand.D.CS.CVtemp water freeze-VZ.PRS
 In winter, water freezes if it's left outside (if [you] leave it outside).

- (60) Sei koara nuuxazh aaz **cy joaxacha**, shei
 1s.RFL.GEN yard.ABL trash.PL 1s.ERG NEG J.take:PL.CVtemp 3p:RFL.GEN
 koara jarazh naaxa suoga joaxiitargjaac.
 yard.ABL J.NZ.PL people.ERG 1s.ALL J.take:PL.CSind.FUT.J.NEG

If I can't clean the trash from my own yard, people won't come to me to settle their disputes (lit. 'people won't let me clean theirs from their yard') (19th-century notable Beisara Mochq'a explains to visitors why he is doing lowly yard work.)

- (61) Yz bezhan cuo **dwa cy qoacha-dicha**, cy diinahw
 DEM cow 3s.ERG DX NEG finish-D.CS.CVtemp DEM.OBL day.ADV
 bea bolx bouzh xannab cyn
 B.do.PPL work B.lose.CVsim PROG.NARP.B 3s.GEN

If he didn't eat the (whole) cow the whole day's work went unpaid. (Legendary medieval tower builder and big eater T'umghoi Gii.) (0231A.3)

Counterfactual conditionals use the combination of irrealis converb in the condition clause and conditional or inferential in the main clause.

- (62) Suoga axcha **dalaarie**, so Jivroopie **ghogjar**.
 1s.ALL money D.be.CVirr 1s Europe.ADV go.CND.J
 If I had the money I'd go to Europe.
- (63) Siexan xii wa aara **wa-otta-deadalaarie**, yz **shal-dannaxuddar**.
 yesterday water 2s.ERG outside DX-stand.CS.CVirr 3s freeze-D-VZ.INFRpst
 If you had put the water out to chill yesterday, it would have frozen.
- (64) Siexan xii wa aara **wa-otta-deadiecaarie**, yz **shal-dannaxuddaacar**.
 yesterday water 2s.ERG outside DX-stand.CS.NEG.CVirr 3s freeze-D-VZ.NEG.INFRpst
 If you hadn't put the water out to chill yesterday, it wouldn't have frozen.
- (65) Dika q'uonax **xugvaacar**, neaxa ghulaq die dional **xannadicarie**
 good man be-V.CND person.GEN service D.LV.INF courage be.NW.NEG.CVirr
 He wouldn't have been (well known as) a good person if he hadn't had the courage to help others. (0223B.7)

The verb 'be' can also use the past rather than the conditional in the main clause:

- (66) Chy-vienacha hweashaa siskal loi, cogh axcha
 in-V.come.PPL.OBL guest.DAT corn bread give.CVirr 3s.LAT money

iidoi=m so Ugaz **vaacar** shoana
 take:PLC.CVirr=FOC 1s (name) V.be.NEG.PST MIR

If I took money for feeding a guest, I wouldn't be Ugaz. (0223B.7)

There is also a conditional subordinating conjunction, used with the irrealis converb: *nagahw (sanna)* 'if' (§16.2.3.3).

(67) T'aaqqa, **nagahw** t'ormig cynga balie, t'ormig='a hwa-ec wa ...
 then if suitcase 3s.ALL B.be.CVirr suitcase=& DX-take 2s.ERG
 If he has a suitcase with him you take it too. (0415.12)

(68) Aaz jaazdeachyl t'ehwa, **nagahw sanna** yz bwea cuo cynna vutii ...
 1s.ERG write.PPL.CSN after if DEM 100 3s.ERG 3s.DAT V.leave.CVirr
 After what I've written, if she leaves those hundred (knights) to him... (PL 1.4)

27.2.3. *Concession.* Concessive clauses use either the irrealis converb plus ='a or a concessive converb formed on the simultaneous converb with focus gemination.

(69) Aara dogha **delxie='a**, so heata='a ghogvy.
 out rain LV.CVirr=& 1s still go.FUT.V
 Though it's raining, I'm still going. It's raining, but I'm going anyway.

(70) Aaz daggara shiiga **dwa-jaaxxazhehw**, Muusaaz la+dieghandzar.
 1s.ERG sincerely 3s:RFL.ALL DX-say:FOC.CVconc M.ERG ear+listen.NEG.WP
 Though I implored, Musa didn't heed.

(71) Aaz shiila **dollazhehw** chei dwa-malar.
 1s.ERG cold D.be:FOC.CVconc tea DX.drink.WP
 I drank the tea though it was cold.

The basic temporal converb can also have concessive meaning:

(72) K'eanjkaz=ji zhwalez=ji daggara **laxacha**, pwid kora+jeajaac
 boy.ERG=& dog.ERG=& intensely seek.CVtemp frog find+J.LV.J.NEG.NW
 Though the boy and dog looked hard for it, they didn't find the frog.

27.3. Purpose

There are two kinds of purpose clauses in Ingush. Covalent purpose clauses are similar to English infinitive purpose clauses like *she went to find out*, *I bought beer to drink*, where one or even two arguments are shared. Adjunct purpose clauses have no argument sharing, have explicit purpose or avoidance meaning and adjunct function, and are in several respects analogous to English *he spoke up so that people would notice him* or *he stayed home so no one would see him / lest anyone see him*. Purpose clauses of all kinds are easily able to follow their main verbs, and in many text examples they do.

27.3.1. *Covalent purpose clauses.* Covalent purpose clauses have one or two shared arguments and use the infinitive in the purpose clause. There are two types. In one type there is one shared argument and the infinitive is dependent on the main verb, as in English *I went home to sleep*. In the other type there are two shared arguments and the purpose clause is adnominal, as in English *we've got lemonade to drink* or *they gave us lemonade to drink*.

27.3.1.1. *Singly covalent purpose clauses.* Singly covalent purpose clauses are constructions like English *I went home [to sleep]*, *They sent me home [to rest]*, in which one main-clause argument is shared with the purpose-clause subject. In Ingush, the verb of the purpose clause is an infinitive, sometimes accompanied by the quotative/ complementizer *eanna* 'having said' (chiefly when infinitive and main verb are not adjacent; see (84), (86), (88) below). The shared argument is subject (S or A) in the purpose clause and subject or direct object (S, A, O) in the main clause. Text examples mostly have verbs of motion as their main verbs, but others can be elicited.

[S] S:

(73) T'aaqqa dwaara Ousha-neaq'aan juxa t'ybeaxkaab **lata**
 so there (clan name) back at-B.come:PL.NW.B fight.INF
 Then the Ousha-neaq'aan clan returned to fight. (0392B)

(74) Ahwmad **salawa** c'a-vaxaav
 A. rest.INF home-V.go.NW.V
 Ahmed went home to rest

(75) Yz ishkuolie **diesha** vaxaav / vaxaav **diesha**
 3s school.ADV D.study.INF V.go.NW.V V.go.NW.V D.study.INF
 He started school. (lit. He went to school to study.)

When the main clause verb is non-agentive the purpose sense is attenuated:

(76) Q'a-vannuu so **woma-vala**=²⁰³'a
 old-V.VZ.NW.V 1s learn-V.INCP.INF=&
 I'm too old to learn.²⁰³ (PL 2.2)

(77) duqa my dii cogh **duuca**, duqa
 much EMPH D.be.PRS=Q 3s.LAT D.tell.INF much
 There's a lot to say about him, a lot. (0542)

[S] A:

(78) K'eanjka sixagh **diegha-vaa** dulx du'
 boy.ERG faster grow-V.LV.INF meat D.eat.PRS
 The boy eats meat so as to grow faster

(79) Cuo **sa+law**a cheatar iicar
 3s.ERG rest+LV.INF tent buy.WP
 He bought a tent to rest (i.e. for vacations, for outings).

[S] O:

(80) Hwixarxuochuo Ahwmad **sa+law**a c'a-vaxiitar
 teacher.ERG A. rest+LV.INF home-V.go.CS.WP
 The teacher sent Ahmed home to rest.

(81) Doaxan exkii loamazhka **daazha** dwa-loaxk
 cattle summer.ADV mountain.PL.ALL D.graze.INF DX-drive:PL.PRS
 In summer they drive the cattle into the mountains to graze.

[A] O:

(82) exkii doaxan loam+**ba'a** dug
 summer.ADV cattle mountain+B.eat.INF D.lead.PRS
 In summer they lead the cattle to graze on mountain grass (lit. 'to eat mountain')

[A] S:

(83) Yz **nab jie** wa-vyzhaav
 3s sleep J.do.INF down-V.lie.NW.V
 He lay down to sleep

(84) T'aaqqa ciga dwa-baxaab je Ousha-neaq'aan joal **hwa-ieca eanna**
 so there DX-B.go.NW.B DEM (clan name) tribute DX-take.INF SUB
 So the Ousha-neaq'aan clan went there to collect their tribute. (0392B)

²⁰³ One consultant suggests *q'avannuu so hama womadie* 'I'm too old to learn/study anything' as an improvement; it has an agentive verb (and takes an ergative subject, not overt in this example).

- (85) T'aaqqa ciga je Ousha-neaq'aan joal **hwa-ieca** dwa-baxaab
 so there DEM (clan) tribute DX-take.INF DX-B.go.NW.B
 id. (cf. (84): subordinator *eanna* not needed here because infinitive and main verb are adjacent)
- (86) ghulaq **die** **eanna** d.h. dwa-ettaav so
 service D.do.INF SUB DX-stand.NW.V 1s
 I (went and) stood (there) ready to attend them. (0395A)
- (87) Naana(z)²⁰⁴ bieraa hama **hwuoqa** hwa=chy-jiera
 mother(.ERG) child.DAT something feed.INF DX=in-J.come.WP
 The mother came home to feed the child

[A] A:

- (88) Muusaaz loalaxuo **qiera-vie** **eanna** Ahwmadaa jiittar
 M.ERG neighbor fear-V.CS.INF SUB A.DAT J.hit.WP
 Musa hit Ahmed in order to scare (his) neighbor
- (89) Ghalghaai sii cy **doa-die** yz sag='a
 Ingush.GENpl honor NEG D.destroy-D.CS*.INF DEM person=&
 joala-jeajar aaz
 J.marry-J.CS*.PNW.J 1s.ERG
 I married her so as not to ruin the honor of the Ingush. (0418)
- (90) Cuo *fota'apparaat* iicaai surtazh **daaxa**
 3s.ERG camera buy.NW.J picture.PL D.take:PL.INF
 He bought a camera to take pictures.

[A] O:

- (91) Muusaaz shii naana myshta jaax **hwazha** veitaav so
 M.ERG 3s:RFL.GEN mother how J.live.PRS look.INF V.send.NW 1s
 Musa send me to see how his mother was doing (lit. 'how his mother lives')
- (92) So **bolx** **bie** otta-jyr
 1s work B.do.INF hire-B.CS*.WP
 'I was hired', 'they hired me', or 'they assigned me to do work'

²⁰⁴ Some speakers prefer the ergative, some the nominative. If ergative, the subject has its case assigned by the nearer verb, that of the purpose clause. If the subject is closer to the main verb it must be nominative: *Bieraa hama hwuoqa hwachyjiera naana*.

(93) So cuo shii bierazhta **hwiexa** viixaav
 1s 3s.ERG 3SRFL.GEN child.PL.DAT teach.INF V.invite.NW.V
 He hired (lit. 'called, invited') me to teach his children

(94) Yz **jiexa** baxiitab nax
 3s J.invite.INF B.go.CS.NW.B people
 They sent people to ask her (to marry their brother) (JBX)

27.3.1.2. *Doubly covalent purpose clauses.* These are constructions like English *I don't have any clothes [to wear], I've got too much work [to do]*, in which there are two shared arguments, one the subject in both clauses and the other the object in both clauses. In the following examples underscores indicate the shared arguments in the purpose clause, where they are not overt.

(95) Aaz cynna [_ _ **diesha**] kinashjka iicar
 1s.ERG 3s.DAT ERG NOM D.read.INF book bought
 I bought him a book to read

(96) Muusaaina [cwan diinahw _ _ **bie**] bolx kora+beab.
 M.DAT one.OBL day.ADV ERG NOM B.do.INF work(B) find+B.LV.NW.B
 Musa found work for one day (temporary work lasting one day).

Examples showing attempts at a purpose-clause object shared with a main-clause subject:

[O] S:

(97) * Ber delxar naanaz **hwal-eidie**
 child D.cry.WP mother.ERG up-lift-D.INF
 The child cried so his mother would pick him up

(98) * Ber naanaz **hwal-eidie** delxar
 id. (different word order)

[G] S:

(99) * Ber delxar (naanaz) hama **hwuoqa** / **ju'a-jie**
 child D.cry.WP (mother.ERG) something feed.INF J.eat-J.CS.INF
 The child cried to be fed. (With *naanaz*: The child cried for his mother to feed him.)

[O] A:

(100) * Cuo igzaamen (shie) bolx bie **ottavie** dwa-jalar
 3s.ERG exam 3s:RFL work do.INF hire.INF DX-J.give.WP
 He took an exam in order to be hired / in order for (them) to hire him

[A] G

- (101) /voak sag, voak sag, ca cheanig baa suona **ba'a**/
 Voaqqa sag, voaqqa sag, cwa chq'earaljg baa suona **ba'a**
 V.old man V.old man one fish.DIM B.give.IMPV 1s.DAT B.eat.INF
 Old man, old man, give me a little fish to eat. (Children's story; the first line shows the pronunciation of a child at 3;05)

- (102) Sherch doaxkazh vordaazha k'aa quhwar
 ox.PL D.be contained:PL.CVsim cart.PL.ERG wheat deliver.IMPV
 bweastan jihwie **dwa-die**
 spring.GEN beginning.ADV DX-D.sow.INF
 Ox carts delivered wheat (to our kolkhoz) in early spring to sow. (0395A)

[A, G] Possessor, S

In (103) the G of the purpose clause (*Q'or'wagh*) is overt, perhaps because *Koran* is non-referential in *swear on the Koran* but referential in the other clause (see also §29.2).

- (103) Cu xaana qy Q'or'wagh **duu ba'a** Q'or'waazh mycha xannad.
 DEM.OBL time.DAT any_more Koran.LAT oath B.LV.INF Koran.PL NEG be.NW.D
 'In those days there weren't Korans yet to swear on' (lit. 'there weren't Korans to swear on the Koran with') (0392B) (of the time before the Ingush became Muslims)²⁰⁵

A covalent purpose clause can easily refer to a separate event from the main clause. The following examples have *qoana* 'tomorrow' in the purpose clause and a past-tense verb in the main clause.

- (104) Cuo qoana **hwiezha** tiliviizar iicar
 3s.ERG tomorrow watch:PLC.INF TV buy.WP
 He bought a TV to watch tomorrow
- (105) Cuo tiliviizar jexkar qoana mashen **ieca**
 3s.ERG TV sell.WP tomorrow car buy.INF
 He sold his TV so as to buy a car tomorrow
- (106) Aaz qoana **toa-jeita** tiliviizar dwa-jalar
 1s.ERG tomorrow fix-J.CS*.INF TV DX-J.give.WP
 I took the TV back for repair tomorrow (i.e. took it back and tomorrow the repairs will be made) (lit. 'gave back')

²⁰⁵ *duu ba'a* lit. 'eat an oath', the standard expression for 'take an oath'.

27.3.2. *Adjunct purpose clauses.* Adjunct purpose clauses have no sharing, though one or more of their arguments may be coreferential to main-clause ones. They form a separate prosodic unit from the main clause. They use the simultaneous converb, most often in the future tense. A coreferential subject is either null or reflexivized in the purpose clause.

- (107) t'ehw txou tylla learhaa var yz, t'ehwa doaq'ar
above roof put_on.INF intend.CVant V.be.PST 3s above fodder

wa-otta-deddolazh

DX-pour-D.CS.D.FUT.CVsim

He planned to put a roof on it to keep livestock fodder up there. (0409)

[The subject of the purpose clause is either coreferential or generic.]

- (108) Diqq'a doaqqa oarquo=chy hwa='a dexkazh
thick:FOC D.big plate=in DX=& D.insert:PLC.CVsim
thick enough **to put** on a plate (Make the dough thick enough that it can be put on a plate.) (0417)

- (109) yz shie bwarjga+gugvoacazh lachq'aa veallaav
3s 3sRFL eye see.FUT.V.CVsim hide.CVant V.be_located.NW.V
'he hid so no one would see him' (0380A)

- (110) Sy k'ead-danna bwargjazh, dwa-duusha
1s.GEN tired eye.PL DX-close.IMPV

ehw+dea mottigazh gurgjoacazh shoazhta.
shame+D.LV.CVant place.PL see.FUT.J.NEG.CVsim 2p.RFL.DAT

My tired eyes, close so as not to see this disgraceful place. (Lit. 'close so you won't see these disgraceful places') (PL 2.2 #153)

Examples with non-coreferential subjects:

- (111) Aaz Muusaaina kinashjka iicaad, cuo yz sei bierazhta
1s.ERG M.DAT book buy.NW.D 3s.ERG 3s 1s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT

dieshargdolazh

D.read.FUT.CVsim

I bought Musa a book to read to my children. (Lit. I bought Musa a book for him (Musa) to read it to my children)

(112) A: Televidenie='a, radio='a dwa=chy - hwa=chy-jela jiezar yzh.
TV=& radio=& DX=in DX=in-J.give.INF J.should.IMPF 3p

B: Jela='a jiezar, cogh leacaa q'ameal='a **duucazh**,
J.give.INF=& J.should.PST 3s.LAT about conversation=& D.tell.CVsim
cogh, muzykagh la='a **duughazh** ...
3s.LAT music.LAT listen=& D.LV.CVsim

A: They should be distributed to radio and TV stations.

B: Yes, they should, and discuss him and play ('listen to') his music. (0542)

(113) Yshitta ustagh caarna dwa'a belie cuo ustagh=m
so sheep 3p.DAT DX=& B.give.CVseq 3s.ERG sheep=FOC
chy-joaxkazh joa yz dog=ji dixk=ji, yzh hamaazh
in-J.contain:PL.CVsim J.be.PPL DEM heart=& liver=& DEM.PL thing.PL
geanna shiigh **c'ii hwa-lataddoacazh**
far:FOC 3s:RFL.LAT blood DX-adhere.FUT.D.NEG.CVsim

jeaxxa shii bie joallacha waasaana
J.long:FOC 3s:RFL.GEN hand.ADV J.contain.PPL.OBL pole.DAT

dwa-geana='a jeaxie, dwa-gi='a tassie
DX-far=& J.take:PL.seq DX-back=& throw.CVseq

shii zha='a leaxkie vuodazh bwarjga+veinuu ealie
3sR:RFL.GEN sheep=& drive.CVseq V.go.CVsim eye+V.see.NW.V say.CVseq

They saw how he gave them the sheep and put the innards – the heart, liver, etc. – far away from himself on the end of his long pole **so the blood wouldn't stain him**, put the pole over his shoulder, and went off driving his sheep. (0207A.3#92)

In (114)-(115) the purpose clause subject is coreferential to a main clause object; the purpose-clause coreferent is null, as it usually is.

(114) cu k'alxarcha Hwulxoi istazh t'ormie chy='a jexkazh
DEM.OBL already.there.OBL²⁰⁶ (ethnonym) women:PL bag in=& J.put:PL.CVsim
joq' cu bwarjgazhka jettazh hwa-beaxkaarazhta,
ash DEM.OBL eye.PL.ALL J.strike.CVsim newcomer.PL.ALL

²⁰⁶ *K'al(x)ard.ar* is 'one who is already there, earlier arrival, prior inhabitant', (underneath-D.NZ), and *t'yd.ienar*, pl. *t'ybeaxkaar* (at-D.come.PPL.NZ) is 'newcomer, visitor'.

t'om cy bu-luzh, caarca lota cy luzh,
 war NEG B.do-INCP.CVsim 3p.INS fight NEG INCP.CVsim
 hama bwarjga cy guzh
 (any)thing eye NEG see.CVsim

The Hwulxoi women brought bags of ashes and threw ashes into the enemies' eyes **so they couldn't fight** because they couldn't see. (0392B)

- (115) Suona daga='a daaghacar yz yshtta dwa-duuca hwuona **xouddolazh**
 1s.DAT remember=& D.LV.NEG.IMPF 3s thus DX-D.tell.INF 2s.DAT know.D.FUT.CVsim
 I don't remember it well enough to describe it to you ('to tell you **so you'd know** it)
 (0415) (ambiguous as to whether *hwuona* is in the infinitive or purpose clause)

Adjunct purpose clauses can also use a finite verb plus complementizer *eanna* 'say.CVant': for examples see §25.3.1.

27.4. Extent constructions

For two-clause constructions of the type 'so (much/many/(adjective)) that ...' Ingush uses *sou* 'so, very'²⁰⁷ or *sel(la)* id. and a converb in the extent clause. The main clause often *yshtta* 'thus'.

- (116) T'aaqqa, aaz ... **sou** ch'woagha ehw xietazh,
 so 1s.ERG so very ashamed LV.CVsim
 cy=t'y soma-vealar so, hwa-iecandzar aaz yzh.
 DEM=on wake-V.VZ.WP 1s DX-take.NEG.WP 1s.ERG 3p

So I ... I was so ashamed that I woke up and didn't take them. (0395A: a smoker dreams of cigarettes)

- (117) cyn zwamagh joa jisha ... **sou** xoza jolazh
 3s.GEN young.CMP J.be.PPL sister ... so beautiful J.be.CVsim
 yshtta c'i tillaa, mawa+sagii c'i tillaa ...
 thus name put.CVant male person.GEN name put.CVant ...

His younger sister, who was so beautiful that they gave her a man's name, ... (0202.A.1)

²⁰⁷ Phonetically almost identical and isofunctional to English *so*, by sheer accident.

- (118) Yz qaacha **sou** chaam bolazh='a, cul sough shie
 DEM food so taste B.be.CVsim=& DEM.CSN in_addition 3s:RFL
 dikka meca='a xalaragh, shissha zwamiga hwalt'am
 good:FOC hungry=& be.VN.LAT 2x2 small dumpling
 cwan hwa-iecazh bierhal='a wottazh
 together DX-take.CVsim sauce.ADV=& dip.CVsim
 dwa-qoallazh xannii Cagiena
 DX-snack.CVsim PROG.NARP.J (name).ERG

The food was so good and he was so hungry that Cagen was picking up dumplings two at a time, dipping them in the sauce, and eating them.

- (119) Jixxiera, **sel** dwaaxacha diinahw geanarcha nouq'aa vaalaragh
 finally so D.hot.OBL day.ADV far.OBL road.ADV V.go.VN.LAT
sou k'ead='a vanna, shii vir daazha dwa='a xiicaa
 so tired=& V.VZ.CVant 3s:RFL.GEN donkey D.graze.INF DX=& untie.CVant
 ... k'ezziga salawa learhaa wa-vizhaav yz
 a.bit rest.INF intend.CVant down-V.lie.NW.V 3s

Finally he got so tired after the long journey on such a hot day that he unharnessed his donkey to let it graze and ... lay down to rest. (CDD 17)

27.5. Depictives and resultatives

Depictives mostly use simultaneous or other imperfective converbs. They are not formally distinct from adjunct subordinate clauses of condition, concession, time, etc.

- (120) **Meca jolazh** bolx dikagh bu aaz
 hungry J.be.CVsim work better B.do.PRS 1s.ERG
 I work best **hungry**.
- (121) Muusaa **qeika-vezh** xazar suona
 Musa cough-V.CS*.CVsim hear.WP 1s.DAT
 I heard Musa cough(ing).
- (122) Tur **hwal-ullazh** bwarjga+deicha
 sword up-hang.CVsim eye+D.see.CVtemp
 When he saw the sword hanging there ... (0207)

- (123) Aaz **shiila dollazhehw** chei dwa-malar
 1s.ERG cold D.be:FOC.CVconc tea DX-drink.WP
 I drank the tea (even though it was) cold. (= 71 above)
- (124) **K'ead-jenna jalie 'a,** derriga 'a dea jeannajar yz
 tired-J.VZ.CVant J.be.CVirr=& D.all=& D.do J.finish-J.PNW 3s
 Though **tired**, she got everything done.

Negative participles can also be used as depictives:

- (125) **Qeikandza** baxaa pwu **dottandza** bienab
 invite.PPL.NEG B.go.PPL dog D.pour.PPL.NEG B.come.NW.B
 An uninvited guest gets no hospitality. (Proverb.) (lit. A dog who went [somewhere] uninvited came back without [any dog food: *desh* D 'gruel for dogs'] having been poured.)

(126) has a manner clause similar to a depictive:

- (126) ghaalmaqa chei yshtta luusazh laattar,
 Kalmyk.GEN tea thus ladle.CVsim stand.IMPF
 caw k'ead-jelcha shallagh+jar **dwa=t'y='a juodazh**
 one tired-J.VZ.CVtemp second+J.NZ DX=on=& J.go.CVsim
 They would stand stirring the Kalmyk tea,²⁰⁸ one woman **replacing** another when she got tired. (0418.20)

Resultatives use converbs, pronominal adjectives, or adverbs. They are at best minimally distinct from adjunct phrases and clauses. Elicited examples often contain focus gemination or a focus particle. In (127) the focus gemination and prosody are crucial to interpreting 'clean' as a resultative; otherwise it is understood as an attributive adjective as in (128).

- (127) **C'enna** ii dylar aaz
 clean.FOC floor D.wash.WP 1s.ERG
 I washed the floor clean (Prosody: C'enna [íi dylar] aaz)
- (128) C'ena ii dylar aaz
 clean floor D.wash.WP 1s.ERG
 I washed the clean floor. (Prosody: [Céna ii] dylar aaz)

²⁰⁸ Brick tea. It was boiled and stirred for about an hour, then milk was added.

(129) Yz **turpal='a volazh** c'a+viirzar
 3s hero=& V.be.CVsim home+V.return.WP
 He returned a hero.

(130) Yz **prezidental xarzhaav**
 3s president.ADV choose.NW.V
 He was elected president.

(131) has a converb clause which has some similarity to a depictive or resultative

(131) Vaalinkaa chy-boalla shi kog maara cy **butazh**
 felt boot.GEN in-B.inserted.PPL two foot only NEG B.leave.CVsim
 ji'aajar yz *uchitel'nica*.
 J.eat.PNW DEM teacher

(The wolves) ate that teacher up completely except for her two feet which were in her boots. ('ate ... leaving only...') (0238A.10)

CHAPTER 28

NOMINALIZATION AND CLEFTING

Ingush makes extensive use of nominalizing morphology to create nominal paradigms corresponding to modifying parts of speech (adjectives, numerals, participles). Nominalization is favored or required in a number of syntactic contexts and also plays a prominent role in word formation.

28.1. Nominalized possessors

A headless possessor ('mine', 'ours', 'Ahmed's', etc.) is nominalized; for the form of nominalization and several examples see §§8.3.10, 9.1.3. In (1) *txy+jarazh* 'ours' is focus and is syntactically separated from the noun *conazh* 'hayfields', which does not head an NP in which 'ours' is modifier. *Hwulxoi+jarazh* 'the Hwulxoi ones' is in apposition to *txy+jarazh* 'ours'.

- (1) **txy+jarazh** eggara dikagh+jarazh²⁰⁹ jy loam conazh,
 1pEX.GEN -J.NZ.PL the most good.CMP+J.PL J.be.PRS mountain.ADV hayfield.PL

Hwulxoi+jarazh.

(ethnonym).GEN+J.NZ.PL

Ours, the Hwulxoi ones, were the best hayfields in the mountains. (0392B)

(2), from the traditional store of Ingush jokes, shows two instances of possessor nominalization triggered by word order rules. It is a dialog between Tamerlane, on his campaign through the north Caucasus steppe, and Cagen, the Ingush equivalent of Mullah Nasreddin. In the first line, *xala* 'difficult' bears emphatic focus and is therefore fronted and immediately preverbal; what is fronted is not just the adjective but also its head noun, as unheaded adjectives are disfavored; the verb immediately follows (§§30.2.2-3); and the stranded possessor must be nominalized. In the second line, the possessor has contrastive focus ('our language isn't hard; maybe some others are') and is immediately followed by the verb; 'difficult language' is old information; so 'our' is alone and must be nominalized.

²⁰⁹ This word is not a nominalization, despite its similar morphology; it is the periphrastic declension of the comparative adjective, which does not decline by itself and must take the periphrastic endings in order to function attributively.

(2) (Tamerlane) My xala mott by yz **shyn+bar!**
 EMPH difficult language B.be.PRS DEM 2p.GEN-B.NZ

(Cagen) **Txy+bar=m** baac xala mott,
 1pEX.GEN-B.NZ=FOC B.be.NEG.PRS difficult language
 txy=m zwamiga bierazha='a buuc yz
 1pEX.GEN=FOC little child.PL.ERG=& B.speak.PRS 3s

(T) What a hard language yours is!

(C) Our language isn't hard, even our little children speak it.

Note that it is only postposed attributive modifiers that are nominalized. Modifying words in apposition are not nominalized (see §28.9).

28.2. Nominalized adjectives and similar modifiers

Most text examples of nominalized modifiers are possessors and demonstratives, but ordinary lexical adjectives can also be nominalized.

(3) (a) Kasetazh jii yzh?
 cassette.PL J.be.PRS 3p

(b) **Caw+jarazh joaqqa+jarazh** jy.
 one-J.NZ.PL J.big-J.NZ.PL J.be.PRS

(a) **Joaqqa+jar='a** dwa-loqagjy.
 J.big-J.NZ=& DX-play.FUT.J

(a) Are they cassettes?

(b) Some of them are the big ones [=reel-to-reel tapes].

(a) We can play a big one too. (0542)

(4) **baq'ahw+dar xaarcawchogh** q'oastuo
 true-D.NZ false.ADV.NZ.LAT distinguish.INF
 distinguish the true from the false, distinguish truth from falsehood (Dumézil 1936)

(5) Txy daaz biesha **laqa+jarazh** juura
 1pEX.GEN father.ERG garden.ADV tall-J.NZ.PL J.sow.IMPF
 Our father grew the tall kind ('tall ones') in the garden. (0409)

28.3. Nominalized numerals

The numerals 1-3 and 5 have nominalized forms with a suffixed glottal stop (§10.1), used whenever the numeral is used without a head noun. The following example, from an ethnographer's elicitation about traditional games, shows the use of attributive and nominalized numerals.

(6) (Ethnographer) T'aaqqa, ghadzh jy yz caarca, jii?
so stick J.be.PRS 3s 3p.INS J.be.PRS=Q

(Interviewee) Ghadzh jy, **shi'** jy.
stick J.be.PRS 2.NZ J.be.PRS

(Ethnographer, taking notes)
Shi ghadzh jy ...
2 stick J.be.PRS

So, is there a stick that goes with them [game pieces]?

Yes, there are **two**.

Two sticks ...

(7) Handz suona daga+doaghacha xaana='a ciga gudarazh jaagha **caw-shi'**
now 1s.DAT remember-LV.PPL.OBL time.DAT=& there stump.PL J.sit.PRS one.NZ-two.NZ
As I recall there were stumps there, **one or two of them**.

In (7), as shown by the plural ending on *gudarazh* 'stumps' and the nominalized forms of the numerals, 'two or three' does not modify 'stumps' syntactically but forms a separate NP.

28.4. Nominalized adverbs and adverbials

Adverbs and adverbial phrases are not nominalized directly. The frequently used adverbial participle *d.olcha* 'where (someone/something) is', in (8), has no overt nominalizing morphology but has the meaning of a nominalized participle in adverb form and is syntactically a headless relative. The word *dwaara-d.ar* 'that one over there', shown in the allative case in (9), is derived from the adjective *dwaara* 'that one (over there)' with regular nominalizing morphology, and that adjective is derived from the adverb *dwa* 'over there'.

(8) Hwa-vel so **jolcha**.
DX-V.come.IMPV mild 1s J.be.PPL.OBL
Come over here. Come here where I am. (Come to where I am.)

- (9) Cy **dwaarachynga** luura so eanna, p'eljg t'y=hwieqaab
 DEM.OBL there.NZ.ALL talk.IMPF 1s say.CVant finger at-point.NW.B
 I'm talking about that guy over there, he said, pointing at him. (0408)

28.5. Headless relatives

Headless relatives are formed with nominalized participles (see §26.5). The examples of clefting in §28.7 below are also headless relatives.

- (10) Aaz seinä bwarjga+**deinar** aaddy hwuoga,
 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.DAT eye+D.see.NZ say.FUT.D 2s.ALL
 bwea shu deannacha xaana cuo **dear**.
 100 year D.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT 3s.ERG D.do.NZ

I'll tell you about **what I saw** myself, **what he did** when he was 100 years old. (0246)

28.6. Complementation

Nominalization using the verbal noun is a moderately common way of forming fact and event nominalizations for subject and object complements in expository discourse.

In the first line of (11) only the tense auxiliary has been nominalized, so the nominalization has past tense force. (If not nominalized this clause would have the verb form *liela-d.ead* 'use-D.CS*.NW.D'.) The entire nominalized clause is an example of nominative initial extraposition (§33.3.2) and some resumptions.

- (11) T'aaqqa, Tieshalaz cynca ghulaq lieladea **xalar**,
 so (name).ERG 3s.INS matter use-D.CS*.CVant be.VN
 cuo hwa-goitazh dy=q hwuona
 3s.ERG DX-see-CSind.CVsim D.PROG=FOC MIR
 caar oamal myshta xannii='a,
 3p.GEN nature how be.NW.J=&
 caar kerttiera loarhazh + dar fy xannad ='a,²¹⁰ caarna
 3p.GEN main consider.CVsim +D.PROG.NZ what be.NW.D=& 3p.DAT
 fy diezazh xannad='a, goitazh dy yz.
 what D.want.CVsim PROG:NARP.D=&, see-CSind.CVsim D.PROG 3s

²¹⁰ This line also contains a headless relative ('what they considered most important!').

The fact that Tieshal interacted with him shows what the personalities and concerns and priorities of the two of them were. ('The fact that Tieshal interacted with him, now that shows what ...') (0380)

28.7. Clefting

Clefting uses a headless relative clause formed with a nominalized participle functioning as argument or adjunct nominalization ('the one who ...', 'the one that...'). Clefting is often used in questions, where the focus of interrogation is on the interrogative word and the rest of the clause (the predicate and its other arguments) is nominalized. It is especially frequent when the interrogative word would be in an oblique case if clefting were not used. In texts it occurs almost always where the questioned word would be ergative, and also frequently where it would be nominative (subject or object). There are almost no text examples of (what would be) oblique cases, adverbials, etc., questioned, but they could easily be elicited. In (12)-(16) the interrogative word would be nominative if not clefted (i.e. if subject of *loqar*, *qeachaar*, and *wajiezhaar*, object of *lielader*):

- (12) *Kto tut igraet?* Maluu yz **loqar?** eanna
 (Russ.) who=V 3s play.PPL.NZ say.CVant
 Who's that playing? he said. (0542)
- (13) Hwa-hwazhaa cuo ealar, fii hwuona **qeachaar** eanna
 DX-look.CVant 3s.ERG say.WP what=J.be.PRS 2s.DAT get.PPL.NZ SUB
 He looked at me and said, "What did you get?" (drawing lots) (0395A)
- (14) **Wa-jiezhaar** fii?
 down-J.fall.PPL.NZ what=J.be.PRS
 What fell?
- (15) **Wa-viezhaar** maluu?
 down-V.fall.PPL.NZ who=V.be.PRS
 Who fell?
- (16) jer qitacha ghone, eisa **liela-der** fyd
 3s strike.CVtemp ever since 1s.RFL.ERG do-D.CS*.NZ what=D.be.PRS
 xaac suona
 know.NEG 1s.DAT
 Ever since I caught it (the flu) I don't know what I'm doing. ('I don't know what what I'm doing is.') (0246)

In (17)-(19) it would be ergative:

- (17) Je kinashjka **jaaz-dear** maluu?
 this book write-D.VZ.PPL.NZ who=V
 Who wrote this book? (1343)

- (18) A: Kastjuum **t'y-juuxazh** **xannar** Muusaa varii?
 suit on-J.put.CVsim PROG.PPL.NZ M. V.be.WP=Q

B: Aa, vaacar. Vozh var.
 No V.be.NEG.PST other V.be.PST

A: Was Musa **the one** in the suit? B: No, the other guy was.

- (19) **Eannar** maluu xaac, xoi?
 say.PPL.NZ who=V know.NEG know.PRS=Q
 Is it known who said that? ('Is it known or not who said that?') (0743)

- (20) Sy wuna ghaabaazh **tiexaar** maluu?
 1s.GEN servant.DAT shackle.PL strike.PPL.NZ who=V
 Who put my man in the stocks? ('Who's **the one who put** shackles on my servant?')
 (PL 2.4)

- (21) Fyd yz eghaz **vygaar**?
 what=D 3s angry V.LV.PPL.NZ
 What is he so angry at? What made him so angry? (PL 1.4)

- (22) Hwuoga **la+duughaddar** maluu?
 2s.ALL listen-D.LV.FUT.NZ who=V
 Who would listen to you? (PL 2.1)

Lative (the case of the causal argument of *lat* 'fight').

- (23) Bahwan malagha dy sho **latar**?
 reason what kind D.be 2p fight.PPL.NZ
 Why are you fighting? What's the reason for your fighting? (PL 2.2)

Genitive (possessor):

- (24) Hwalxa c'erazh jeaxaarazh ...
 earlier name.PL J.take:PL.NZ.PL
 The first-mentioned ones ... The former ...

Instrumental (instrument):

- (25) Wa yz keaxat **jaaz-dear** fy q'oalam bar?
 2s.ERG DEM letter write-D.NZ what pen B.be.PST
 What pen was it you wrote the letter with?

- (26) Sho uqaz **deaxkaar** fy *pojezd* jar?
 2p here D.come:PL.PPL.NZ what train J.be.PST
 What train was it that you arrived on?

Clefting is also used in yes/no questions:

- (27) Hwoanal jy cynca **joallar**?
 grease J.be.PRS 3s.INS J.be contained.NZ
 Is there grease in it? (0392A)
- (28) Hwaai top jar wa chana **tiexaar**?
 1s.RFL.GEN gun J.be.PST 2s.ERG bear.DAT strike.NZ
 Was it your own gun you shot the bear with?

Clefting is also frequent in non-questions, where it is triggered by focus. The focused word usually moves to the end of the clause and rest of the clause (the verb and the other arguments) is nominalized. Less often, the focus moves to the beginning. As with questions, in most text examples the focal word would be nominative or ergative if there were no nominalization, but the full range of other cases and functions can be elicited. In (29)-(32) the focused word would be nominative (subject of *d.oal* 'go', *d.aagha* 'sit', and *d.y* 'be', object of *dwadox(ii)t* 'send flying, make go').

- (29) Hwo vaac, yz wa-dieshazh **vaaghar** so vy ealar
 2s V.be.NEG 3s DX-D.read.CVsim V.sit.PPL.NZ 1s V.be say.WP
 It's me, not you, that reads it (the Koran) here (i.e. leads prayer). (0246B.22)
- (30) yz ghaala jezh **veallaar** gurzhe xannuu hwuona
 DEM tower J.make.CVsim V.PROG.PPL.NZ Georgian be.NW.V MIR
 The contractor who had been building the tower was Georgian. (0743)
- (31) Doaqii hamaazh dy cigachy jaax aaz txy loam darazh
 D.big.PL thing.PL D.be.PRS here say 1s.ERG 1pEX.GEN mountain.ADV
 [D.be.PPL.NZ.PL
 The things **that are here** in our mountains are important, I say. (0398B)

- (32) ghadzh wa='a jieghie, cu='y jerra muo yz wa='y='a jillie,
stick DX=& J.put.CVseqq DEM.OB=on this:FOC like 3s DX=on=& J.put.CVseq
ghadzh tiexie **dwa-doxtar** teljg dy
stick strike.CVseqq DX-D.go-CSind.NZ (game piece) D.be.PRS

They place the stick vertically, and the *teljg* is the piece they place horizontally on top and knock off with a stick. ('... and, putting it on top like this and striking it with a stick, **the thing they send flying** is the *teljg*') (0392B; description of traditional children's game)

Ergative (subject of *c'i tull* 'give a name'):

- (33) Sogh c'i **tyllaar** yz Weala-Hwadzh var
1s.LAT name put D.be.PPL.NZ DEM (name) V.be.PST
Ali-Hadj gave me my name. (0201)

Dative (second object):

- (34) Aaz top **tiexaar** jer cha jy
1s.ERG gun strike.NZ DEM bear J.be.PRS
It's this bear I shot (at). (The one I shot is this bear.)
- (35) Aaz karfentazh **jennarazh** yzh bierazh dy.
1s.ERG candy.PL J.give.NZ.PL DEM.PL child.PL D.be.PRS
These are the children I gave candy to. (The ones I gave candy to are these children.)

Adverb or postpositional (the location where the nominalized verb takes place):

- (36) Handz vai **daaxar** dika xa jy
now 1pIN D.live D.be.PPL.NZ good time J.be.PRS
The times we live in are good. ('**The one we live in** is a good time')

In the following example clefting is triggered by focus and probably also by the length of the focused phrase:

- (37) Aaz yz hwa-biillacha, suona cu jiq'ie **deinar** dar
1s.ERG 3s DX-B.open.CVtemp 1s.DAT DEM.OBL inside D.see.NZ D.be.PST
ghealen chillii=ji jiq'ie ura-daaghazh xulii veina,
cigarette.GEN ash=& among up-D.sit.CVsim be=Q 1pin.DAT
yzh dwa petarazh='a joaxkazh nwoucysjkazh,
DEM DX fuzz=& J.be contained:PL.CVsim caterpillar.PL

yzh nwoucysjk=ji dar hwuuzh.
DEM caterpillar=& D.be.PST move.CVsim

When I opened it, **what I saw** inside of it was cigarette ashes and – you know those fuzzy caterpillars? – a caterpillar was moving around in there. (0395)

Clefting is also used in complementation; an example repeated from §25.6 is:

- (38) Suona xou, kuofie **mannar** maluu.
1s.DAT know coffee drink.PST.PPL.NZ who=V.be.PRS
I know who drank (the) coffee. I know who it was that drank the coffee.

28.8. Nominalization within NP's

Nominalization also occurs when a modifier of a head noun is in focus and the head noun is not. The focused word is moved out of the NP and follows it, nominalized.

- (39) Boaxam=m **shii+bar** hwa-bu xug my bii cuo
property=FOC 3s.RFL.GEN-B.NZ DX-B.make.PRS be.FUT EMPH B.=Q 3s.ERG
He must have made his own material possessions ... (0392B.1)

- (40) Cytoam **hwaai+bar** bic-bie hwazha vieza
misfortune 2s.RFL.GEN-B.NZ B.forget-B.VZ.INF try.INF V.need.PRS
txychyn duhwa ...
1pEX.GEN.NZ before

You need to try to forget your own misfortune out of concern for ours. (PL 2.1)

- (41) Da'ar **k'oma+dar** di'ar aaz
food hot-D.NZ D.eat.WP 1s.ERG
I ate hot (spicy) food.

Analogous examples with nominalized numerals are (7) above, (1) in §8.3.8, and (42):

- (42) cwa-shi ghamghaa='a jaaghar txy koa,
one-two apricot=& J.sit.IMPF 1pEX.GEN yard.ADV
wazhagha hwach='a baaghar **shi'** ...
yellow plum=& B.sit.IMPF two.NZ

One or two apricots grew in our yard and yellow plums, two of them... (0409.22)

28.9. No nominalization in appositions

Appositive words or phrases, whether within NP's or within clauses, are not nominalized, though like the nominalizations in §28.8 they involve postposed modifiers.

- (43) Hwo **hwalxara** ec aaz hwa.
 2s first take.PRS 1s.ERG DX
 I take you first. (PL 2.1)
- (44) Cuo sy nax **niissa aaxazh** lelxa-byr ...
 3s.ERG 1s.GEN people exactly half.PL drive_off-B.CS*.WP
 She drove off half my men ... (PL 2.4)
- (45) *srazu pervyj* kou caar dar, sy **neana dea**
 right away first yard 3p.GEN D.be.PST 1s.GEN mother.GEN father.GEN
 The very first yard you came to was theirs, my grandfather's. (0223B.7)
- (46) Zwamaghchynga, k'ezig busalba dieshar diishaa='a vy **jaaxazh**
 young.CMP.NZ.ALL a bit Muslim education D.educated=& V.be.PRS say.CVsim
 The youngest one. The one who they say has some religious education. (0408)

Nouns can of course also be in apposition:

- (47) Hwa deagh vysaa dea **dottagh chersii eala** ...
 2s.GEN father.LAT V.leave.PPL father.GEN friend Kabardian prince
 Your father's friend inherited from your father, the Kabardian prince ... (Dumézil 1936)

28.10. Nominalization with relatively empty head nouns

Verbs can also be nominalized by use of a noun such as 'situation', 'place', 'fact'. The verb is variously an infinitive, a participle, or a converb. A clause of this type is a fact or event nominalization.

mottig, *mettig* and derivatives 'place', 'situation'

- (48) jiexaa **mottig**
 J.break.PPL situation
 a desperate situation

- (49) Masal hwa-doala-die **mettig** jaac, suona xazaad yz
 example DX-D.cite-D.CS*.INF occasion J.be.NEG, 1s.DAT hear.NW.D 3s
 I can't think of an example, but I've heard that. (0415)
- (50) Kokkarxuo Kokkarxuochuo jigaa **mottig** jaac hwuona
 (clan name) (clan name).ERG J.lead.PPL occasion J.be.NEG MIR
 There's never been a case of a Kokkarxuo marrying a Kokkarxuo. (0398B)
- (51) heata cynagh boq'oncahw zoaxalol xulazh **mottig** niis-luorii?
 but 3s.LAT really courtship be:DEL.CVsim situation occur-VZ.IMPV=Q
 But it sometimes turned into real courtship, didn't it? (0246A)

hama 'thing':

- (52) Ehw doa **hama** Ghalghaai Mexka hwa=t'y cy daa,
 disgrace D.be.PPL thing Ingushetia DX=on NEG D.bring.INF
 cu diinahwa ciga vala voal yz.
 DEM.OBL day.ADV there V.die.INF V.start.PRS 3s
 So as not to bring disgrace to Ingushetia he is ready to die there. (0418)

28.11. Nominalized greetings, curses, etc.

Various formulaic clauses can be nominalized to create a noun describing the person or thing to which one might address the original formula. In the examples below the *a* examples are the nominalized formula and the *b* ones are the full version. (53)-(54) have nominalized participles; (55) shows that when the crucial part of the curse is a noun, no further overt nominalization is required.

- (53) a Fii jer, jer **daa my hwaqarjg**, elgac doacazh
 what=J.be 3s DEM (formula).NZ shrine D.be.NEG.CVsim
 fy aala vennavar so?
 what say.INF V.intend-V.PNW 1s
 What is it, that damn thing -- what was I going to mention besides shrines? (0743)
- b Daa my hwaqa!
 father NEG slaughter.IMPV
 lit. 'Don't slaughter (his/my/...) father! Expression of combined regret and irritation, somewhat like 'Damn!')

(54) a Ai, sogh "woudal" jaax wa, **duqa vaaxarjg?**
 hey 1s.LAT fool say 2s.ERG (formula).NZ
 Hey, are you calling me "fool", kid? (PL 1.4.2)

b Duqa vaaxal=vy
 much V.live.OPT=V
 lit. 'live long'; polite equivalent of 'thank you', especially to someone younger

(55) a Hwii, **vosshiina vir**
 (threatening interjection) brother.FOC.DAT donkey
 All right, you bastard ...

b Hwa voshiina vir xalda
 2s.GEN brother.DAT donkey be.OPT.D
 You bastard. (Lit. 'May your brother have a donkey')

Note that the curse in (55) is not called a donkey; rather, his brother is insulted by comparing him to someone who owns a donkey (rather than a riding horse). This is also true of the nominalized (54).

Not only curses but ordinary indicative clauses and modifiers can be nominalized for a similar effect:

(56) a **sii doacar**
 honor D.be.NEG.NZ
 dishonorable person, worthless person, villain

b sii doacazh sag
 honor D.be.NEG.CVsim person
 dishonorable person ('person not having honor, person without honor')

CHAPTER 29

COREFERENCE: ANAPHORA, REFLEXIVIZATION, OBVIATION, SYNTACTIC ALIGNMENT

There is no single syntactic alignment for Ingush coreference phenomena. Infinitives have S/A control with no case restrictions, but (at least in the most conservative kind of speech) nuclear and (with less consistency) core chaining both have a nominative (thus, S/O) pivot. That is, infinitives have accusative syntax and chaining has ergative syntax. Coordination and relativization have no case restrictions and almost no syntactic restrictions. Reflexivization is controlled by S/A/O without case constraints (i.e. control is syntactically neutral and limited to core arguments). Reciprocals, coreferential deletion, and anaphoric pronominalization have few constraints on syntax or case (they are syntactically neutral without limitation to arguments). There is almost no animacy-based or prominence-based hierarchy or other ranking for control in Ingush, unless the puzzling behavior of second person in reflexivization (§29.3.2.8) turns out to reflect some kind of ranking.

These are all constructions in which coreference or sharing is required. There seem to be no constructions, verbs, complement types, etc. in Ingush where non-coreference is required. (The subjunctive comes closest, with different subjects outnumbering same subjects four to one in texts and fieldnotes: see §25.4.)

29.1. Argument sharing

In covalent or sharing constructions (defined in §24.3), only one token of the shared argument appears in the sentence, and usually it takes its case from the main clause and is located in the main clause or at the sentence periphery. No overt copy in the other clause is grammatical, be it a pronoun, reflexive, repeat of the noun, or whatever.

29.1.1. Infinitive. Infinitive clauses always share the subject with the main clause (see §25.7). There are no case or agency constraints on the infinitive subject. The infinitive-taking verbs generally dictate the case, agency, etc. of their subjects: for instance, 'try' takes a nominative subject and usually more or less requires that it be agentive, but this is a matter of plausibility and not a strict grammatical requirement as shown by (3), where the infinitive *xaa* 'know, find out' is not agentive. 'begin' imposes no expectations of agency at all.

- (1) jelsmal **daxa**=m **ghert** vai derrigazh='a
paradise D.go.INF=FOC try 1pIN D.all &
We all try to get to heaven ... (0408) (*d.uoda*, inf. *d.axa* 'go', S=NOM Goal)
- (2) Vanagh dalcha='a txo cy **dyta** **ghert** sho?
INTERROG D.die.CVtemp=& 1pEX NEG D.leave.INF try 2p
Well, can't you try to give us peace at least when we're dead? (Dymii)
(*d.ut* 'leave': A=ERG O=NOM)
- (3) Aara-doallar fyd **xaa** **ghert** txo
outside-D.occur.PPL.NZ what=D.be.PRS know.INF try 1pIN
We try to find out what's going on outside. (0201A.1, combined version of two repeats)
(*xou* 'know, find out': A=DAT O=NOM)

For the range of cases and valences with phase verbs see §25.15.

29.1.2. *Other nonfinite complements.* The verbal noun and the subjunctive are non-covalent and do not require coreference, i.e. both take either same or different subjects. If the subject or any other argument is coreferential to the main-clause subject it is likely to be reflexivized. For examples see §§25.4-5.

29.1.3. *Nuclear chaining.* A representative sample of examples of nuclear chaining is given in §24.3. These are covalent constructions, sharing core arguments. The most frequent type of chaining joins two intransitive clauses so that an S is shared:

- (4) pwid **jedda** **jexaai**
frog J.run.CVant J.go.NW.J
The frog ran away (Frog) [S S]
- (5) **viena** **t'y=qeachaav** cwa ... ch'woagha sag
V.come.CVant at=arrive.NW.V one ... strong person
Up came a very strong man. (V0405.1) [S S]

Less common are joining of two transitive clauses:

- (6) **ax** **jeaxie** **wated** aqaar c'icara jaza gargaluonazh
half J.take:PL.CVseq DX-cut 3p.ERG blood.INS.ABL solemn kinship.PL
They cut in half the solemn bonds of kinship (PL 2.2) [A+O A+O]
- (7) kertie='t'y **dillaa** **dwa-hwu**
head.ADV=on D.put on.CVant DX-carry away
'carry on one's head', lit. 'having put on (one's) head, carry away' [A+O A+O]

and joining of one transitive and one intransitive clause:

- (8) mush **hwal-ellaa** **ull**
 rope up-hang.CVant lie.PRS
 The rope is hanging. The rope is draped. The rope dangles. [O S]

In (8) 'rope' is O of the transitive verb 'hang up' and S of 'lie'. The transitive verb has a zero unspecified A. This configuration – transitive verb first, unspecified A – seems to be the most common for nuclear chaining of clauses of unlike valence. There are no clear examples in my corpus of nuclear chaining with intransitive verb followed by transitive.

There are no clear examples in natural speech or good prose of sharing of oblique arguments or of valence types other than basic intransitive and monotransitive. In most of the natural text examples the shared nominative argument (whether S or O) is topical or otherwise important. Thus nuclear chaining can be described as available to only the most basic valence patterns and strictly sensitive to case with a nominative pivot.

29.1.4. *Core chaining.* Core chaining has more latitude than nuclear chaining as to valence and form of shared arguments; see the examples in §24.4. Only one argument must be shared; occasionally two are, but not the entire valence. The argument is subject in both clauses, but the subject cases governed in the two clauses can differ. Older speakers sometimes produce sentences with S and O sharing. In (9) (repeated from (78) in §24.4.4), the shared argument is the beads overt as S in the last clause. In the other clauses it is (in order) O, S, S, and O. The symbol __ marks the place that the shared argument holds in the non-main clause, and the case that it would have if overt is shown there in the interlinear.

- (9) Iisxaa-jurtarcha Hwazhaz T'ugiena __ ='a **danna**,
 (place name).ADJ.OBL Hadji.ERG T.DAT NOM & D.give.CVant
 ... T'ugiegara Iishwaq'aga²¹¹ __ ='a **qeachaa**,
 T.ABL I.ALL NOM & arrive.CVant
 cy Iishwaq'agara Faadiega __ ='a **qeachaa**,
 DEM.OBL I.ABL F.ALL NOM & arrive.CVant
 Faadez handz=a, shie mogazh joacazh k'aljisaachyl t'ehwagha,
 F.ERG now 3s:RFL well J.be:NEG.CVsim succumb.CSN after
 cy Muusaai veshii vowaa __ **dwa='a danna**,
 DEM.OBL M.GEN brother.GEN son.DAT NOM DX=& D.give.CVant
 cyn vowaga **dy** yzh sulhwaazh
 3s.GEN son.ALL D.be.PRS DEM:PL bead.PL

²¹¹ For the pronunciation of this name see the footnote in §24.4.4.

Kunta Hadji gave them to T'ugi, from T'ugi they came down to Isaac, from Isaac to Faadii, and when her health failed she gave them to Musa's nephew and now his son has the beads. (0408)

In conservative speech, only nominatives can represent the shared argument in the main clause. Where the main-clause subject is ergative, an oblique participle (with or without chaining =*'a*) is used instead:

- (10) ... yz pacchahwa jow **hwa='a iicaacha**, cuo leatta wa-jeaqqaa
 DEM king.GEN daughter DX=& take.PPL.OBL 3s.ERG ground.ADV DX-J.take.NW.J
 ... he **grabbed** the czar's daughter and put her on the ground (0207A)

Dative subjects taking core chained converbs can sometimes be elicited as in (11), but careful speakers find them inelegant and they are not common in natural texts. The oblique participle can be used as in (12):

- (11) **Chy='a vaxaa**, cynna bwarjga+jeinii so.
 in=& V.go.CVant 3s.DAT eye+J.see.NW.J 1s
 He **came in** and saw me.
- (12) **Chy='a vaxaacha**, cynna bwarjga+jeinii so.
 in=& V.go.PPL.OBL 3s.DAT eye+J.see.NW.J 1s
 He **came in** and saw me.

Thus it seems that in more conservative speech core chaining tends to favor a nominative, S/O pivot, while a different construction – an oblique participial one usually without the chaining particle – is used for a non-nominative subject. Overall, however, and in younger speech, there is simply a subject pivot and no clear case restriction.

29.1.5. Relativization. Accessibility to relativization is described in §26.2. There are almost no constraints on the syntactic roles or cases of antecedent and relativized noun: anything except some possessors, some adjuncts, and all standards of comparison can be relativized on.

29.2. Coreferential deletion

In various kinds of clause combining non-shared and non-controlled nominals can be coreferential, and these sequences normally undergo anaphoric reduction, either deletion or (where the grammar permits it) reflexivization. Most often the first token is overt and the second null, regardless of which token is in the main clause. Replacement of the null form by

an overt one (pronoun, repeat of the noun, or reflexive) is not ungrammatical (provided the rules of control are not violated), but it is stylistically awkward except in a few contexts where null anaphora is not possible. Reflexivization is grammatically constrained: controllers must be subjects or, with restrictions, objects, and they must generally be animate.

Null coreferential non-shared actants in subordinate clauses are illustrated in (13), where the subject (dative) of the main clause is coreferential to the subject (ergative) of the complement clause, and the ergative token is either reflexivized or null. If null it is anaporic, not shared. (The consultant who provided the example said that the null form implies that the hearer knows what was said and who said it.)

- (13) Waishietaa xalaxiitar shie / Ø Muusaaiga yz eanna
 Aishet.DAT regret.WP 3s:RFL.ERG ERG Musa.ALL 3s say.CVant
 Aishet regretted that she said that to Musa.

In (14), the object of an adjunct subordinate clause is coreferential to a main-clause S. (15)-(16) show that an anaphoric pronoun is less good: possible but inelegant if subordinate-clause *q'oalam* 'pencil' controls main-clause *yz* as in (15), and much less good or ungrammatical (consultants vary) if *q'oalam* is in the main clause and *yz* in the subordinate clause as in (16). (A reflexive pronoun is not an option here because *q'oalam* is inanimate.) Though the nominative case of *q'oalam* makes it impossible to tell whether it is object of 'bend' or subject of 'break' in (14), (15)-(16) support the bracketing of (14).

- (14) a [[Ø **q'oalam** sotta-bycha] Ø keg-lu]
 ERG pencil_i bend-B.CS.CVtemp NOM_i break-VZ.PRS
 A O S
 If you bend a pencil it breaks

- b [**Q'oalam** [Ø Ø sotta-bycha] keg-lu]
 pencil_i ERG NOM_i bend-B.CS.CVtemp break-VZ.PRS

- (15) ? [[Ø **q'oalam** sotta-bycha] yz keg-lu]
 ERG pencil_i bend-B.CS.CVtemp 3s_i break-VZ.PRS

- (16) ??/* [**Q'oalam** [Ø yz sotta-bycha] keg-lu]
 pencil_i ERG 3s_i bend-B.CS.CVtemp break-VZ.PRS

The controller in these sequences is usually not only the first overt token of the coreferents but also the first word in the sentence, and therefore typically topicalized. When the first token is not the first word, null treatment is much less common. When the noun is inanimate and reflexivization is not an option, the noun is simply repeated:

- (17) Aaz derriga **ursazh** jaashjkaa=chy cwan wa=chy-dexkandea,
 1s.ERG D.all knife.PL drawer=in together DX=in-put:PLC.CVbecause
ursazh sixa earh-lu.
 knife.PL fast dull-VZ.PRS

Because I keep all the knives together in a drawer, they lose their edge quickly.

- (18) Cu xaana qy **Q'or'wagh** duu ba'a **Q'or'waazh**
 DEM.OBL time.DAT any_more Koran.LAT oath B.LV.INF Koran.PL
 mycha xannad
 NEG be.NW.D

They didn't have Korans to swear on in those days. (0392B.1)

An additional factor in (18) is that the first token *Q'or'wagh* 'Koran.LAT' is a non-referential noun in a fixed phrase ('swear on the Koran') and perhaps incapable of controlling anaphora.

29.3. Reflexivization

This section (and especially §29.3.2) is based on Nichols 2001, updating and expanding the examples and adding information about object-controlled reflexivization.

Ingush has full case paradigms for a full set of person-number reflexive pronouns. The first and second person reflexive pronouns differ from their non-reflexive counterparts chiefly in vocalism, while the third person reflexives have an entirely different root (singular and plural sharing the same root but having different vocalism). See §9.1 for the paradigms.

There are two kinds of reflexivization targets, with somewhat different patterns of reflexivization: clause members (arguments or non-arguments heading NP's) and possessors (modifiers in NP's). Controllers of reflexivization are subjects (S or A, with no restrictions on case) or objects (chiefly first objects). They are almost never inanimate.

29.3.1. Within-clause reflexivization. Any subject (A or S; nominative, ergative, dative, or genitive) reflexivizes a non-subject clause member or possessor. In the examples below, reflexive and controller are in boldface. First person examples:

- (19) Max t'iera wa my beallanjgeh, **aaz seina** mashen iecagjy
 price down DX EMPH B.go.CVjust 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.DAT car buy.FUT.J
 As soon as prices go down I'll buy myself a car.

- (20) T'aaqqa yzh shi barcq'a **seina** dy **sy** maarjkaa, ...
 so DEM.PL two garment 1s.RFL.DAT D.be.PRS 1s.GEN besides
 Besides, I get to keep the two garments ('I have the two garments for myself')
 (0418.36)
 (sy is the subject of *dy*, the verb 'be/'have'; *seina* 'to/for myself' is the benefactive.)
- (21) **So seigh** qer
 1s 1s.RFL.LAT fear
 I'm afraid of myself
- (22) **Suona sie** kizjgaa=chy bwarjga+jeira
 1s.DAT 1s.RFL mirror.GEN=in eye+J.see.WP
 I saw myself in the mirror.
- (23) **Aaz sei** bierazhta soughat iicaad
 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT gift buy.NW.D
 I bought **my** children a present
- (24) ... pxidz loam=t'y veannuu **so sei** teipanga ...
 5x mountain=on V.go.NW.V 1s 1s.RFL.GEN clan.ALL
 I've gone up into the mountains to my clan (i.e. clan homeland) five times. (0398B.1)
- (25) **Sei** jiwii c'i cy xouz hwiizaav=q **so** hwogga
 1s.RFL.GEN daughter.GEN name NEG know.CVsim confuse.NW.V=CUM 1s recently
 Not long ago I got confused and forgot my daughter's name. (0415.12)
 (Dative subject of *xouz* 'knowing', shared with *hwiizaav* 'got confused'.)
- (26) shollaghcha diinahw wiiranna vaaghazh vy ealar **sei** istuola=t'y
 second.OBL day.ADV morning.DAT V.sit.CVsim V.PROG say.WP 1s.RFL.GEN desk=at
 The next morning, as he said, I was sitting at **my** desk ... (0398B.1)
 (Non-overt S of 'sit', anaphoric in context.)

Third person:

- (27) **Muusaaz** learrhaa **shie** xooda-veav.
 M.ERG on_purpose 3s.RFL cut-V.CS.NW.V
 Musa cut himself on purpose.
- (28) **Muusaaz shiina** mashen iicar
 M.ERG 3s.RFL.DAT car buy.WP
 Musa bought a car ('bought himself a car')

- (29) Muusaaz **shiigh** axcha hwoarcha-dead
 M.ERG 3s:RFL.LAT money wrap-D.CS.NW.D
 Musa got into debt. Musa got **himself** into debt.
- (30) **Zhwalez shii** daa xoadav-veav
 dog.ERG 3s:RFL.GEN master bite-V.CS*.NW.V
 The dog bit its master.
- (31) **Cuo shii** bierazhta soughat iicaad
 3s.ERG 3s:RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT gift buy.NW.D
 She bought her children a present
- (32) **Shei** zhwalegh **bierazh** qer
 3p:RFL.GEN dog.LAT child.PL fear
 The children are afraid of their dog.

Objects regularly reflexivize the coreferential possessor of a subject. (33)-(34) show that object control is not sensitive to word order. (Poss=O means possessor coreferential to O.)

- (33) **Shei** zhwalez **bierazh** qiera-dyr
 3p:RFL.GEN dog.ERG children fear-D.CS.WP
 Poss=O A O
 Their own dog scared the children.
- (34) **Bierazh shei** zhwalez qiera-dyr
 children 3p:RFL.GEN dog.ERG fear-D.CS.WP
 O Poss=O A
 id.

Non-reflexive pronouns in such examples are not acceptable in the third person:²¹²

- (35) * **Caar_i** zhwalez **bierazh_i** qiera-dyr
 3p.GEN dog.ERG child.PL fear-D.CS.WP
 Their dog frightened the children.
- (36) * **Bierii_i** zhwalez **yzh_i** qiera-dyr
 child.GENpl dog.ERG 3p fear-D.CS.WP
 The children's dog scared them (=the children).

²¹² (35)-(36) are acceptable where the boldface noun and pronoun are not coreferential.

though they are acceptable and frequent in the first and second persons:

- (37) **Sy** **zhwalez so** qiera-jyr
 1s.GEN dog.ERG 1s fear-J.CS.WP
 My dog scared me.

Object control is possible only for possessor reflexivization and not argument reflexivization:

- (38) **Zhwalez shiina** cerjg+tiexar
 dog.ERG 3s:RFL.DAT tooth+strike.WP
 A O
 The dog bit itself.
- (39) ***Shie** **zhwaliena** cerjg+tiexar
 3s:RFL.ERG dog.DAT tooth+strike.WP
 A O
 (The dog bit itself)

- (40) ***Bierii** **zhwalez shoazh** qiera-dyr
 child.GENpl dog.ERG 3p:RFL fear-D.CS.WP
 A O
 (The children's dog frightened them.)

(For (40) compare (34) above.

Reflexives can also be controlled by oblique objects, including dative objects of compound verbs as in (41) and (44).

- (41) **Shei** **zhwalii bierazhta** bwara+hwazhar
 3p:RFL.GEN dog child.PL.DAT eye+look.WP
 Poss=O A O
 Their own dog looked at the children. (Not accepted by all speakers.)

- (42) **Shei** **zhwaliena bierazh** bwarjga+deira
 3p:RFL.GEN dog.DAT child.PL eye+D.see.WP
 Poss=O A O
 Their own dog saw the children

- (43) **Shei** **zhwalii bieregh** qer
 3p:RFL.GEN dog child.PL.LAT fear
 Poss=O A O
 Their own dog is afraid of the children.

- (44) **Deana shii** zhwalie cerjg+tiexaai
 master.DAT 3SRFL.GEN dog.ERG tooth+strike.NW.J
 G Poss = G A T
 The master's dog bit him. His own dog bit (its) master.

Several folk sayings and standard expressions exhibit object-controlled possessor reflexivization, and it appears in edited published prose, showing that it is fully grammatical and usual:

- (45) **Yz shii** daaz vigaav
 3s 3SRFL.GEN father.ERG V.lead.NW.V
 O Poss =O A
 He got into trouble. (Lit. 'His father took him away')
 (Absolutive P reflexivizes possessor of A)

- (46) **Cynagh shii** nenneana c'i+tillaai
 3s.LAT 3SRFL.GEN grandmother.GEN name+put.NW.J
 G Poss=G Poss T
 She was named after her maternal grandmother. (They) named her... (lit. '(They) gave her her.RFL grandmother's name')

- (47) **Aaz hwaai** ghaanda=t'y wa-xoavergvy **hwo**
 1s.ERG 2s.RFL.GEN chair=on down-sit-V.CS.FUT.V 2s
 I'll put you in your proper place. I'll give you what you deserve. (lit. 'I'll seat you on your own chair'.) (e.g. supervisor threatening lazy worker)

- (48) **Sogh sei** nenneana c'i+tillaai
 1s.LAT 1s.RFL.GEN grandmother.GEN name+put.NW.J
 I was named after my maternal grandmother.

- (49) Juxa='a dwa-loac **jer** daga+uxacha **shii** iilaazh
 again=& DX-catch.PRS 3s mind+LV:PLC.PPL.OBL 3SRFL.GEN thought.ERGpl
 Again he gets caught up in his thoughts which keep coming to mind. ('His own thoughts which keep coming to mind catch him again') (DD)

- (50) **Shii** dea dottaghchuo Shaapshaarq'az='a dou duora **cynna** kast-kasta
 3SRFL.GEN father.GEN friend.ERG (name).ERG=& argue D.LV.IMPF 3s.DAT often
 Even **his** father's friend Shaapshaarq' often remonstrated **him**. (DD)

The above examples include ones with objects in various cases ((45), (46)), indirect object controller ((48)), an object reflexivizing the possessor of another object (46)-(48)), and in all

three persons. The syntactic configuration of an object possessing a subject is cross-linguistically problematic for tracking coreference, and triggers obviation in the languages that have it (Aissen 1997), but the extension to second and third persons and the example where an object possesses another object ((47), (48)) show that Ingush object-controlled reflexivization is not identical to obviation. See §29.6 for more on obviation.

29.3.2. *Long-distance reflexivization.* Ingush makes systematic and frequent use of long-distance reflexivization. The subject of any clause ordinarily reflexivizes any coreferents in any lower subordinate clauses (adjunct or complement). There are some constraints having to do with person, animacy, and interference from other potential controllers, but apart from these constraints long-distance reflexivization is completely regular. There is never reflexivization into a higher clause. The shared argument of a relative or chained clause or an infinitive complement cannot be reflexivized precisely because it is shared, so that there is no separate lower token. (Any non-shared argument in the chained or complement clause that is coreferential to the main-clause subject can be reflexivized, and normally is.)

29.3.2.1. *Adjunct clauses.* Examples of long-distance reflexivization into adjunct subordinate clauses are in (51)-(55). Null realization is generally an option, especially for subjects ((52), (53)). Time and sequence clauses with subject reflexivizing subject (or null anaphora as in (52)):

(51) **Shie** deana axcha dalcha, **Muusaa** balxa vaxar.
 3SRFL father.DAT money D.give.CVtemp Musa work.ADV V.go.WP
 When he_i had given his father money, Musa_i went to work.

(52) Ø deana axcha dalcha, **Muusaa** balxa vaxar.
 father.DAT money D.give.CVtemp Musa work.ADV V.go.WP
 id.

Main-clause subject reflexivizing lower nonsubject:

(53) Aaz **shiiga** telefon tiexacha, **Muusaa** chy-vaxar
 1s.ERG 3s.ALL telephone LV.CVtemp Musa in-V.go.WP
 When I phoned him, Musa went home.

(54) Suona **shie** bwarjga+veicha, hwa-aara-vealar **yz**
 1s.DAT 3SRFL eye+V.see.CVtemp DX-out-V.go.WP 3s
 When I saw him, he came out. ('When I saw himself,...')

- (55) So **shiina** bwara+hwazhacha, dwa-aara-vealar **Muusaa**
 1s 3SRFL.DAT eye+look.CVtemp DX-out-V.go.WP Musa
 When I looked at him_i, Musa_i left. ('When I looked at himself,...')

Reflexivization into purpose clause:

- (56) **Aaz** Wdrahwmaanaa kinashjka iicaad, Ø yz **sei** bierazhta
 1s.ERG Adrahman.DAT book buy.NW.D ERG 3s 1s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT
 dieshad-dolazh
 D.read-D.FUT.CVsim
 I bought Adrahman a book so he would read it to my children. ...a book to read to my children.

29.3.2.2. *Complement clauses.* Subject reflexivizes subject:

- (57) Xaac **suona sie** mychaai
 know.NEG.PRS 1s.DAT 1s.RFL where=J.be.PRS
 I don't know where I am. (0398B.33) (finite complement)
- (58) **Suona** xou, **eisa** shiekar iicaaljga
 1s.DAT know, 1s.RFL.ERG sugar buy.PST.SBJ
 I know I bought sugar.

Subject reflexivizes nonsubject:

- (59) So **hwaail** laqagh vy my jaaxa
 1s 2s.RFL.CSN tall.CMP V.be.PRS NEG say.IMPV
 Don't say that I'm taller **than you** (finite complement)
- (60) Bersnaq'aa diezac, Oarcnaq'uo **shiina** lerjgaxie hama tuoxar
 B.DAT D.want.NEG O.ERG 3SRFL.DAT ear.ADV thing hit.NZ
Bersnaq' doesn't like Oarcnaq' to hit **him** in the ear.²¹³ (nominalization)
- (61) **Cynna** dieza aaz **shii** nanna nouq'ostal dar
 3s.DAT D.want 1s.ERG 3SRFL.GEN mother.DAT help D.LV.NZ
He wants me to help **his** mother. (nominalization)

²¹³ This example can also mean 'Bersnaq' doesn't like Oarcnaq' to hit himself in the ear', with local reflexivization, but this sense is pragmatically less likely.

- (62) **Suona** dieza cuo **sei** nanna nouq'ostal dar
 1s.DAT D.want 3s.ERG 1s.RFL.GEN mother.DAT help D.LV.NZ
 I want him to help my mother. (nominalization)
- (63) **Suona** dika xet, Ø **sei** nanna nouq'ostal dycha
 1s.DAT good seem.PRS, (ERG) 1s.RFL.GEN mother.DAT help D.LV.CVtemp
 I like it when people help **my** mother (converb complement)

29.3.2.3. *Chaining*. The shared argument in chaining cannot be reflexivized because there is no separate token of it in the converb clause. (64), with chaining and hence no possibility of reflexivization, is a near-minimal pair with (51)-(52) above, which are similar in meaning but permit reflexivization because they are subordination and not chaining.

- (64) ___ / ***Shie** veshiina axcha='a danna, dwa-aara-vealar Muusaa
 (ERG) / 3SRFL.ERG brother.DAT money=& D.give.CVant DX-out-V.go.WP Musa
 Musa gave his brother the money and left.

If other coreferential arguments in the converb clause are reflexivized, this is local reflexivization controlled by the shared argument:

- (65) ___ **shii** veshiina axcha 'a danna, dwa-aara-vealar Muusaa
 (ERG) 3SRFL.GEN brother.DAT money=& D.give.CVant DX-out-V.go.WP Musa
 Musa gave **his** brother the money and left.

Object-controlled reflexivization into a chained clause is attested in the following example:

- (66) Kuotamazh yshtta q'easttaa **shoazhta** guonahwa kart='a jea
 chicken.PL so separately 3pRFL.DAT around fence=& J.make.CVant
 dwa=chy-joxkacar, joxkarii?
 DX=in-J.insert:PL.NEG.WP J.insert:PL.WP=Q

Didn't he fence the chickens off (in a separate cage) (out of the garden)? ('Didn't he build a fence around **themselves** and keep the chickens separately?') (0409.22)

2.9.3.2.4. *Relativization*. Similarly, in relativization, the shared argument cannot be reflexivized but other arguments in the relative clause can. (Since relativization can affect nearly any clause member, the relative clause subject can easily be non-coreferential to the antecedent, so here the reflexivization can be non-local.) (67)-(69) show participial relatives and (70) a nominalized relative.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Jakovlev 2001:325 has some examples like (68), with reflexivization, but I have not been able to elicit them and have no comparable text examples.

- (67) **Cuo** hwa-hwieqar txuoga [**shie** ___ jaazdea] kinashjka
 3s.ERG DX-show.WP 1pEX.ALL [3SRFL.ERG (NOM) write-D.PPL] book
 He showed us the book he had written.
- (68) [___ / ***shie** kinashjka jaazdea] **sag** vy yz
 [(ERG) 3SRFL.ERG book write-D.PPL] person V.be.PRS 3s
 He/s the/a person who's written a book.
 (Acceptable with emphatic reflexivization, in the meaning 'a person who's written a book by himself'.)
- (69) [___ **shiigh** hwearchaa] dieqar dwa-dannad
 (NOM) 3SRFL.LAT enmesh.PPL debt DX-D.give.NW.D
 (**He**) paid off **his** debts ('paid off the debt that enmeshed himself')
- (70) **Shoazhka** eannar dead **caar**
 3pRFL.ALL say.PPL.NZ D.do.NW.D 3p.ERG
 They did as they were told. (**They** did what was told **themselves**.)

29.3.2.5. *Controlled from non-main clause.* The following show a non-main-clause subject reflexivizing into a lower clause. All have a complement clause whose subject reflexivizes into an adjunct subordinate. (71) and (73) contain two reflexive chains, one (underlined) controlled from the main clause and the one at issue here (bold) controlled from the complement clause.

- (71) Cynna xou, [[**shie** c'a-qeachacha] **cuo** shiiga tilifon tuoxag-joljga
 3s.DAT know.PRS 3SRFL home-arrive.CVtemp 3s.ERG 3SRFL.ALL telephone LV.FUT-
 He knows **she**'ll call him when **she** gets home.²¹⁵ [J.SBJ
- (72) Suona loura [**wa** cynga [**hwaai** nanna nouq'ostal die] aalar
 1s.DAT want.IMPV 2s.ERG 3s.ALL 2s.RFL.GEN mother.DAT help D.LV.INF say.NZ
 I'd like you to tell him to help your mother.
- (73) Daga-doagh=ii hwuona, [**aaz** hwaai
 remember-D.LV=Q 2s.DAT 1s.ERG 2s.RFL.ALL
 [___ **sei** nanna nouq'ostal die] eanna ?
 (2s.ERG) 1s.RFL.GEN mother.DAT help D.LV.IMPV say.CVant
 Do you remember that I asked you to help my mother?

²¹⁵ Another possible interpretation is 'He knows she'll call herself...!', with local reflexivization of *shiiga*, but this situation is odd.

29.3.2.6. *No upwards reflexivization.* The foregoing examples show that a subject can reflexivize any coreferential term in a lower clause, except its shared argument. (74) shows that reflexivization cannot be upwards, from a lower clause to a higher one.

- (74) * **Bersnaq'uo** Oarcnaq'aa axcha dalcha, **shie** hwa-aara-vealar
 B.ERG O.DAT money D.give.CVtemp 3s.RFL DX-out-V.go.WP
 (When Bersnaq'i gave Oarcnaq' money, he_i left.)

An exception to this is nominalized clauses in clefting. In (75), the subject of the nominalized clause reflexivizes a possessor in the main clause.

- (75) **Muusaaz** chana tiexaar **shii** top jar=ii?
 Musa.ERG bear.DAT strike.PPL.NZ 3SRFL.GEN gun J.be.PST=Q
 Was it **his own** gun that **Musa** shot the bear with?

29.3.2.7. *Intervening non-coreferential subject.* Since the reflexive pronouns distinguish person and number just as regular pronouns do, tracking coreference in a reflexivization chain is largely unaffected by the factors that disrupt it in most languages with long-distance reflexivization. A non-coreferential subject can intervene, as *suona* 'I' does in (76):

- (76) **Cynna** xou, [[Ø **shie** bwarjga+veina] suona xoza+xietaljga]
 3s.DAT know (1s.DAT) 3SRFL eye+V.see.CVant 1s.DAT glad+LV.SBJ
 He knows I'm glad I saw him.

29.3.2.8. *One reflexive per clause.* A single sentence can contain more than one reflexivization chain: see (71) and (73) above. However, no one clause can contain tokens of more than one reflexivization chain:

- (77) Suona xou, [**shiina** so / ***sie** bwarjga+veicha] Muusaaina xoza+xietaljga
 1s.DAT know 3SRFL.DAT 1s / 1s.RFL eye+V.see.CVtemp M.DAT glad+LV.SBJ
 I know Musa is glad he saw me.

- (78) Muusaaina xou, [Ø / ***seina** **shie** bwarjga+veicha] suona xoza+xietaljga
 M.DAT know (1s.DAT) 1s.RFL.DAT 3SRFL eye+V.see.CVtemp 1s.DAT glad+LV.SBJ
 Musa knows I'm glad I saw him

In the following examples, *Musa* triggers V gender and *Mariem* triggers J gender, so the agreement on 'see' makes the reference unambiguous, but the double reflexivization nonetheless makes them ungrammatical:

(79) * **Muusaaina** xou, **shiina** shie bwarjga+jeicha Mariemaa xoza-xietaljga.
 M.DAT know 3SRFL.DAT 3SRFL eye+J.see.CVtemp M.DAT glad+LV.SBJ
 Musa knows Mariem is glad he saw her.

(80) * **Muusaaina** xou, shiina **shie** bwarjga+veicha Mariemaa xoza+xietaljga
 M.DAT know 3SRFL.DAT 3SRFL eye+V.see.CVtemp M.DAT glad+LV.SBJ
 Musa knows Mariem is glad she saw him.

29.3.2.9. *Second person.* Apart from all other considerations, coreference between second persons in two clauses where there are two different coreference chains renders reflexivization between those clauses ungrammatical. This is true regardless of the person of the non-second-person referent and regardless of which of them is reflexivized. Nichols 2001 breaks the available examples down into control situations and says that there is a person-based control hierarchy, $2 > 1 > 3$, such that in situations where control is generally weakened (dative indirect object controllers, purpose clauses) second person seizes control and overrides all else. In fact it is not clear whether the interference is due to second person overriding all else or second person being weaker than all else; more work is needed. Relevant examples are the following adjunct purpose clauses. In all of them the first party buys the second party a book which the second party will read to the first party's children.

(81) Muusaaz suona kinashjka iicar, **aaz yz shii** bierazhta dieshaddolazh
 M.ERG 1s.DAT book buy.WP 1s.ERG 3s 3SRFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read-D.FUT.
 Musa bought me a book for me to read to his children. [CVsim

(82) * Muusaaz hwuona kinashjka iicar, **wa yz shii** bierazhta dieshaddolazh
 M.ERG 2s.DAT book buy.WP 2s.ERG 3s 3SRFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read-D.FUT.
 Musa bought you a book to read to his children [CVsim

(83) ?* Aaz hwuona kinashjka iicaad, **wa yz sei** bierazhta diesaddolazh
 1s.ERG 2s.DAT book buy.NW.D 2s.ERG 3s 1s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read-D.FUT.
 [CVsim
 I bought you a book to read to my children, ... so you could read it to my children.

(84) * Wa suona kinashjka iicaad, **aaz yz hwaai** bierazhta dieshaddolazh
 2s.ERG 1s.DAT book buy.NW.D 1s.ERG 3s 2s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read-D.FUT.
 You bought me a book to read to your children. [CVsim

(85) Aaz Muusaaina kinashjka iicaad, **cuo yz sei** bierazhta dieshaddolazh
 1s.ERG M.DAT book buy.NW.D 3s.ERG 3s 1s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read-D.FUT.
 I bought Musa a book to read to my children [CVsim

- (86) * Wa Muusaaina kinashjka iicaad, **cuo yz hwaai** bierazhta dieshaddolazh
 2s.ERG M.DAT book buy.NW.D 3s.ERG 3s 2s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read- D.FUT.
 You bought Musa a book to read to your children [CVsim

A more involved example:

- (87) Myshta dwa-xeitaddar wa hwie baq+luulgja,
 how DX-know.CSind.D.CND 2s.ERG 2s. FL truth-say.SBJ
 wa mel eannar aaz xaarc derg xalcha,
 2s.ERG how_much say.VN 1s.ERG false D.do.PPL.FUT be.CV
 sy joazuo **wa** toa-dead aaz arg xalcha?
 1s.GEN handwriting 2s.ERG forge-D.CS*.NW.D 1s.ERG say.FUT be.CVtemp

How will you prove that you are telling the truth, when I will deny whatever you say,
 when I will say **you** have forged **my** handwriting? (PL 2.1))

Reflexivization is unacceptable in (88) because of the intervening second person subject:

- (88) ... ***sei** joazuo **wa** toa-dead aaz arg xalcha?
 1s.GEN handwriting 2s.ERG forge-D.CS*.NW.D 1s.ERG say.FUT be.CVtemp
 ... when I will say **you** have forged **my** handwriting

but becomes perfectly acceptable if the intervening subject is changed to third person:

- (89) ... **sei** joazuo **cuo** toa-dead aaz arg xalcha?
 1s.GEN handwriting 3s.ERG forge-D.CS*.NW.D 1s.ERG say.FUT be.CVtemp
 ... when I will say **he** has forged **my** handwriting

Plural pronouns behave like the corresponding singulars. First person inclusive behaves like second person, blocking reflexivization:

- (90) * Muusaaz vaina kinashjka iicaad=ii, vai yz **shii** bierazhta dieshad-dolazh?
 M.ERG 1pIN.DAT book buy.NW.D=Q 1pIN.ERG 3s 3sRFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read-
 Did Musa buy us a book to read to his children? [D.FUT.CVsim
 (91) * Vai Muusaaina kinashjka iicaad=ii, cuo yz **vai** bierazhta dieshad-dolazh?
 1pIN.ERG M.DAT book buy.NW.D=Q, 3p.ERG 3s 1pIN.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT D.read-
 Did we buy Musa a book to read to our children? [D.FUT.CVsim

29.3.2.10. *Inanimates*. Inanimates generally cannot control reflexivization (though they can control ordinary pronominal anaphora). (93), with animate controller, is grammatical while the otherwise parallel (92) and (94) are ungrammatical.

- (92) **Hwazhjk'azh** dika diegha-joagha, **Ø** / ***shiina** dika xii tiexacha
 corn well grow-J.LV.PRS (DAT) / *3SRFL.DAT well water strike.CVtemp
 Corn grows well if it is well watered. ('if (you/they) water it well')
- (93) **Ber** yshtta sixa diegha-doaghaddaacar, **shiina** dika hama cy ju'a-juorie
 child so fast grow-D.LV-D.NEG.CND 3SRFL.DAT well thing NEG eat-J.CS.CVirr
 The child wouldn't grow this fast if it weren't fed well.
- (94) **Bod** dika sous, **Ø** / ***shie** dika hwiicha
 dough well rise, 3SRFL well knead.CVtemp
 Dough rises well if you knead it well.

29.3.2.11. *Conditions weakening reflexivization*. There are two conditions that appear to weaken reflexivization in general. First, while third person reflexivization is always obligatory where its grammatical conditions are met, first and second person permit non-reflexive pronouns:

- (95) Aaz **shii** veshiina jiittacha, hwa-aara-vealar **yz**
 1s.ERG 3SRFL.GEN brother.DAT J.hit.CVtemp DX-out-V.go.WP 3s
 When I hit his brother, he came out.
- (96) Cuo **sei / sy** veshiina jiittacha, dwa-aara-vealar **so**
 3s.ERG 1s.RFL.GEN / 1s.GEN brother.DAT J.hit.CVtemp DX-out-V.go.WP 1s
 When he hit my brother, I went out

Second, reflexivization is most likely to be optional in future and purposive contexts:

- (97) **Aaz** dwa-qieta-vyr yz, **seina / suona** hama tuoxag-joacazh
 1s.ERG DX-understand-V.CS.WP 3s, 1s.RFL.DAT / 1s.DAT thing hit-J.FUT.NEG.CVsim
 I convinced him not to hit me.

29.3.3. *Logophoric reflexivization*. Logophoric reflexivization, used in semi-direct speech, is described in §25.10. An argument coreferential to the reported speaker is reflexivized, even when a better controller intervenes (in the form of the subject of the main clause of the reported speech); it is third person in form but – at least where the reported speaker is overt – first person in meaning, and any anaphors it controls are first person.

29.4. Reciprocals

Ingush uses two reciprocal words, both uninflected for case. *vwaashii* is evidently a frozen nominative plural of a pronominal stem *vwaash-* (found in other frozen case forms as a preverb: see §29.4.4 below). *vaila/txeila/sheila* is the adverbial form of the plural reflexive pronoun; it agrees in person with its antecedent but does not vary for case.²¹⁶ Kurkiev 2004 classifies *vwaashii* as an adverb and glosses *sheila* as Russ. *mezhdú* 'between' (surely a typographical error) without giving it a part of speech.²¹⁷ The two forms are interchangeable and can be used in any reciprocal context, regardless of the valence of the verb or the syntax, case, animacy, or agentivity of the subject. Neither word seems to be controlled in any grammatical sense. *vwaashii* seems not to fill an argument role but to simply be an additional word in the clause. *vaila/txeila/sheila* (etc.) behaves as though it filled an argument role (object or other nonsubject), but if so it is the only uninflected argument form in Ingush; alternatively, it is a non-argument word which replaces an overt object. Neither reciprocal is ever accompanied by any morphological form of detransitivization on the verb or by a change of subject case from ergative to nominative. Neither has any impact on verbal agreement or pluractionality. Both are interlinearized noncommittally here as REC(iprocal).

(98)-(99) are a minimal pair illustrating some of the differences between reflexives and reciprocals. Both have the verb *tar-lu* 'get along' (nominative A, instrumental O). In (98) the reflexive is long-distance, controlled by the main-clause subject. Its case is that required by *tar-lu*. In (99) *sheila* behaves syntactically as though it were an object, but does not take the verb's object case (it has no case at all). It is controlled by *yzh* 'they' in its own clause. Reciprocals are never long-distance in Ingush.

(98) **Shiica** tarluzh baac yzh, eannad cuo.
 3SRFL.INS get along.CVsim B.PROG.NEG 3p say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 He_i said they didn't get along with him_i.

(99) **Sheila** tarluzh baac yzh, eannad cuo.
 REC get along.CVsim B.PROG.NEG 3p say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 He said they don't get along (with each other).

29.4.1. *Examples of vwaashii* (reciprocal word in bold; valence given after translation; ## = this role occupied by heavy piece of light verb construction; the role that *vwaashii* occupies or quasi-occupies is underlined in formulas). Ditransitive verbs:

²¹⁶ Recall from §16.1.2 that the adverbial form in *-la* is homophonous with the comparison case (ending *-l*) but I write the two differently for consistency of the adverbial form with other adverbs. In none of the reciprocal examples does the adverb *sheila* have any possible functional resemblance to the comparison case, which marks only the standard of comparison ('than...') and normally cooccurs with the comparative form of an adjective.

²¹⁷ What must have been intended was Russian *mezhdú soboj* 'among themselves'.

- (100) Caar **vwaashii** soughatazh dannad
 3p.ERG REC gift.PL D.give.NW.D
 They gave **each other** gifts. (*lu*, inf. *d.ala* 'give': A:erg G:dat O:nom)
- (101) ... dwaai-hwaai cy='a tettazh, **vwaashii** eghazluonazh='a cy jezh, ...
 back_and_forth NEG=& push:PLC.CVsim REC anger.PL=& NEG J.do.CVsim
 (if people weren't) blaming each other, provoking each other' (0379B.41)
 (*eghazluo ju* 'provoke, make angry' A:ERG G:DAT? O##)
- (102) "Uqazara ghogvolcha udazh sa+daalda," eannad,
 here.ABL go.FUT.V.PPL.NZ.OBL run.CVsim soul+leave.OPT3 say.NW.D
 dou dead caar **vwaashii**.
 fight D.do.NW.D 3p.ERG REC
 "May whoever flees die in the attempt," they said, and they fought. (0207A)
 (*dou du* 'do battle, fight': A=ERG, O:DAT O##)

Monotransitive verbs:

- (103) ... yzh shi' **vwaashii** duogha-die dieza eannad.
 3p two.NZ REC D.put-D.CS.INF D.should say.NW.D²¹⁸
 (people said) that their fate should be joined (they should be set together) (0398B.33)
 (*d.uoghad.ie* 'put, place': A=ERG O=Causee: NOM)
- (104) Yshtta cwa xa-zaama jeaqqaai caar **vwaashii** qieta cy dez h ...
 so one time-time J.take.NW.J 3p.ERG REC understand NEG D.CS.CVsim
 So for some time they didn't understand each other ('Some time passed with them not
 understanding each other', 'They spent some time not understanding each other') (ibid.)
 (*qieta-d.u* 'understand': A:ERG O: NOM) (0398B.33)

Oblique-O semitransitive verbs:

- (105) Txo **vwaashii** reaza='a dy, uq Neasarie bart='a by.
 1pEX REC agreed=& D.be.PRS DEM.OBL Nazran.ADV agreement=& B.be.PRS
 We're both OK with each other, there's accord in Nazran.
 (*reaza d.y* 'be pleased, be OK with': A: NOM, O: DAT)
- (106) "Gh-h-h"='a ealie, yz louza='a bii, **vwaashii** bwara='a hwiezhie,
 "gr-r-r"=& say.CVseq 3s play=& B.CS.CVseq REC eye=& look:PLC.CVseq

²¹⁸ In both of these examples the verbs agree in D gender because of gender resolution: the two individuals are a young man and a girl. See §19.1.5.

geana joal suona yzh.
far J.go.PRS 1s.DAT 3p

Growling, playing with it, looking at each other, they go far away from me.
(0238A.10) (*bwara-hwozh* 'look at': A: NOM, O:DAT)

Oblique-A transitive verbs:

- (107) **vwaashii** nax bouzar, biezar
REC people B.know.VN B.love.VN
mutual acquaintance and respect (0398B.1)
(*d.ouz* 'know, *kennen*', *d.ieza* 'love': both A:DAT, O: NOM)
- (108) Vaina **vwaashii** mychad xouddolazh cwa belgaluo xalcha baq'ahwa jar
1pIN.DAT REC where=D.be know.D.FUT.CVsim one sign be.CVtemp right J.be.PST
Better if we have a sign to know each other by. (Sii)
(*xou* 'know, wissen': A DAT:, O: NOM)
- (109) Iisxaa-jurtara-var=ji, ... Beisara Mochq'a=ji **vwaashii** duhwal niis-valar.
(place).ABL-v.NZ=& (name) (name)=& REC against encounter-V.VZ.WP
Kunta Hadji and Beisara Mochq'a ran into **each other** (happened to meet). (0418.36)
(*niis-lu* 'come across; occur, turn up': A: DAT, O: NOM)²¹⁹

Intransitive verbs:

- (110) Gargalcha naaxa iila='a jea, massaniena='a gucha-jennacha
related.OBL people.ERG think=& J.LV.CVant all.DAT=& appear-J.LV.PPL.OBL
mottigazhka **vwaashii** duhwal xubbolazh dwa-bexkaab yzh.
place.PL.ALL REC opposite be.B.FUT.CVsim DX-B.put:PL.NW.B 3p
Their relatives thought it over and put them facing **each other** in places where
everyone could see them. (Boragh)
(DAT +*duhwal xul* 'be opposite, be facing': S: NOM)

29.4.2. Examples of reciprocal sheila. Ditransitive verbs:

- (111) Caar **sheila** soughatazh dannad
3p.ERG REC gift.PL D.give.NW.D
They gave each other gifts. (*lu*, inf. *d.ala* 'give': A:ERG G:DAT O: NOM)

²¹⁹ For the V gender agreement in *niisvalar* see §19.1.5. B agreement (since the referent is plural) is acceptable but not preferred.

- (112) ... jer laamazaa aara-vealcha, **sheila** duucazh beaghaab, ...
 3s prayer.DAT out-V.go.CVtemp REC D.talk.CVsim B.sit.NW.B
 'when he went out to get ready for prayer, they sat talking with each other
 (0223B.7) (*d.uuc* A:ERG (G.ALL /G?:INS) O: NOM)

Monotransitive verbs:

- (113) **Sheila** iegha-beab.
 REC argue-B.CS.NW.B
 Someone started a quarrel between them. They were set to quarreling. (*iegha-d.u*
 'make quarrel, cause an argument': A:ERG O: NOM)

- (114) Caar haara diinahw **sheila** q'uus
 3p.ERG each day.ADV REC argue
 They argue every day. (*q'uus* 'argue (over)': A:ERG (O: NOM) ?:INS)

Oblique-O semitransitive verbs:

- (115) ...t'aaqqa **sheila** b wara+hwazhaab joax ...,
 so REC eye+look.NW.B QUOT
 They (a group of guests) looked at each other ... (0223B.7) (*bwara-hwozh* 'look at':
 A: NOM O: DAT)

- (116) ... **sheila** jahw jar caar, shie-shie dikagh xala ghertazh
 REC contend J.LV.PST 3p.GEN 3SRFL-3SRFL better be.INF try.CVsim
 they (the three prettiest girls in the village) competed, each trying to be the best
 (0415.12) (*jahy jy* contend: A:GEN O:INS)

- (117) Cq'azahw Muusaa=ji Waaishaa=ji **sheila** tou.
 sometimes M=& Aisha=& REC make_peace.PRS
 Sometimes Musa and Aisha make up (they fight constantly but sometimes make
 peace). (*tou* 'make peace': Nom=& Nom=& sheila)

- (118) Imam Shamil comments on the Ingush national character:

Yzh k'ezig bolcha xaana eannad joax,
 3p few B.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT say.N.NW. D QUOT
 ustagh=ji waxarjg=ji muo **sheila** hwerch yzh eanna.
 sheep=& lamb=& like REC cling 3p SUB
 Yzh duqa bolcha xaana,
 3p many B.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT

bordz, ustagh muo maara **sheila** tarluzh='a baac yzh eanna
 wolf sheep like only REC get_along=& B.PROG.NEG.PRS 3p SUB

(He said,) "When there are a few of them, they stick together like a ewe and a lamb.
 When there are a lot of them they are as incompatible as a wolf and a sheep." (0408)
 (*tar-lu* 'get along, be compatible, fit, suit': A: NOM O:INS)

Intransitive or oblique-O semitransitive:

- (119) ... **sheila** malazh by cy xouzh nax by
 REC who.PL B.be.PRS NEG know.CVsim people B.be.PRS
 ...there are people who don't know that they're related ('people who don't know who
 they are to each other') (0398B.1) (*d.y* 'be (kin)': S: NOM G?:DAT)

29.4.3. *sheila* and *vwaashii* together. The two reciprocals sometimes cooccur:

- (120) Maar=ji siesag=ji xannad **vwaashii sheila** ch'woagha duqa diezazh.
 husband=& wife=& PROG.NARP.D REC REC very much D.love.CVsim
 Once upon a time there were a husband and wife who loved each other very much.
 (Mott) (d.ieza 'love' A:DAT O: NOM)

- (121) Muusaa=ji, Suultaan=ji **vwaashii sheila** bouzazh by.
 M.=& S.=& REC REC B.know.CVsim B.PROG
 Musa and Sultan know each other.
 (*d.ouz* 'know, kennen': A:DAT, O: NOM, in nominative progressive tense)

29.4.4. *Reciprocal verbs*. Certain compound verbs have preverbs that must be in origin case forms of reciprocal *vwaash-* (*-agh* lative, *-ka* allative).

Intransitive verbs:

- vwaashagh*-uu 'mingle, blend, be mixed together' (*uu* 'get mixed')
vwaashagh-lat 'fight, fight with each other'; 'adhere, stick together' (*laat* 'fight; adhere')
vwaashka-qiet 'collide, run into each other' (*qiet* 'encounter')
vwaashagh-qiet 'unite, join; mate, breed (of animals)' (*qiet* 'encounter')
vwaashka-d.uoda 'get crushed, get flattened; flatten out' (*d.uoda* 'go')
vwaashaq-q'aast 'separate, part, go separate ways' (*q'aast* 'part')

Transitive:

- vwaashka*-tott 'push together, shove together; blame each other, accuse each other' (*tott* 'push')
vwaashka-d.ull 'put together, compose' (*d.ull* 'lay, put')

vwaashagh-d.uoll 'put together, assemble, reassemble, construct' (*d.uoll* 'insert')
 vwaashagh-tuox 'bring together, join together, unite' (*tuox* 'strike, hit')

It is likely that in some of the examples of *sheila* cited above the reciprocal is at least incipiently becoming the first element of a light verb construction: *sheila tar-lu* 'be compatible', *sheila tou* 'make up, make peace', *sheila jahw jy* 'contend'.

29.4.5. *Possible oblique control?* I have found are two natural text passages in which it appears that a subject is reciprocal and it is controlled by a nonsubject: (122) if taken to mean 'each other were joined to those two' and (123) if taken as 'each other communicated to people':

(122) T'aaqqa, qel-ruzq'a=ji cu shinnie **vwaashii** duogha-denna²²⁰ xannad
 so fate-fate=& DEM.OBL two.NZ.OBL REC D.put-D.INCP.CVant NARP.D
 So those two were joined by fate ... (0398B.33)

(123) Naaxaa **sheila** q'eilagh xabar deadar
 people.DAT REC in_secret communication D.make.D.PNW
 People communicated (this) to each other in secret. (0240)

For (122) a reliable consultant feels something has been left out of the first clause, and for (123) a reliable consultant said the case and control are not quite correct, but the unacceptability seems to be much milder than the egregious ungrammaticality of *each other were joined to them* or *each other communicated to people* in English. Therefore oblique control of reciprocals may be marginally possible in Ingush.

29.5. Ordinary anaphoric pronominalization

Where there is coreference between non-shared arguments and reflexivization does not apply, ordinary nonreflexive pronouns can be used. There are three respects in which Ingush pronominalization differs from that of English and other European languages. First, though the usual third person pronoun is the mid-distance deictic *yz* 'this/that/the aforementioned', proximal *jer* 'this' can also be used, and this enables Ingush to track two third persons in a discourse. Sometimes the opposition is *yz* to *jer*, and sometimes it is *jer* 'this' vs. *vozh* 'the other'. The person whose viewpoint the speaker and hearer (or writer and reader) take is *jer*.

In (124) (from a myth), the hero is behind a wall defending his life and tower with a bow and arrow; his bowstring breaks; his wife, captured by his enemy but within earshot, calls out

²²⁰ This form should really be *dieghaa* (D.put.CVant). Inceptive *d.uogha-denna* can only mean 'was able to put (together)'. The D gender is because of gender resolution (§19.1.5).

a coded message to look for more bowstrings in his pocket. The hero is *jer* in (124)c, and his wife is *cuo* in (b).

- (124) a. T'aaqqa, siesaguo eannad, "Hwaai chuoqie kisaa boalla
so wife.ERG say.NW.D 2.SRFL.GEN jacket.GEN pocket.GEN B.be located.PPL
qo' cu-mazharjg ba"alca vala my ticalaa" eanna.
three dumpling B.eat:FOC.CVuntil V.die.INF NEG consent.IMPV SUB
- b. T'aaqqa **cuo** wa=chy-jexkaa zwanarazh my joaxk=ii cu=chy.
so 3s down=in-J.insert:PL bowstring.PL EMPH J.be located:PL=Q there=in
- c. T'aaqqa, **jer** hwazhacha qo' zwi joallazh xannii
so 3s look.CVtemp three bowstring J.be located.CVsim PROG.NARP.J
teipa-teipaarcha wadarchazhta.
various.OBL bow.PL.DAT

His wife said, "Don't die until you've eaten the three dumplings in the pocket of your jacket."

Bowstrings that **she** had put there were in there.

When **he** looked, there were three bowstrings for different sizes of bows. (0392B)

The status of viewpoint center is usually short-term and independent of such things as empathy, central character in a text, etc. (125) is from a narrative about the historical figure Ucyga Maalsag, who is referred to with *yz* most of the time but *jer* (oblique *uq-*) when, as in this example, he and another person are both pronominalized in the same sentence.²²¹

- (125) Wiireenna Kunduxov handz **uqun** ust-naanii –
morning.DAT (last name) now this.GEN mother-in-law
jiixaa_jaaghazh my viinavii **jer** – **yz** hwal-ghattacha ...
engaged EMPH V.kill-V.NW=Q this 3s up-stand.CVtemp

In the morning **his** mother-in-law Kunduxova – he was already engaged when he was killed, wasn't **he?** – when **she** got up ... (0207A)

(*Yz* duplicates *ust-naanii* because the continuity is broken by the parenthetical aside explaining why the narrator has referred to the hero's intended future mother-in-law as his mother-in-law.)

²²¹ Not long after this example, the story follows the mother-in-law as she goes to the guesthouse to see her guests, and in this passage we share her viewpoint and she is pronominalized with *jer* while Ucyga Maalsag, when she looks at him, becomes *yz*.

- (126) **Jer** wa=t'y-vaxacha, twaisaa ullazh xannuu **vozh**.
 this DX=on-V.go.CVtemp fall asleep.CVant lie.CVsim PROG.NARP.V other
 He went over, and the other guy was lying there sleeping. (0408)

In (126), *jer* is the enemy and *vozh* the protagonist, but earlier in the text the protagonist is *yz* and the enemy *vozh*. (126) and (127) come from the same text (given in full in §35.3), which shows several shifts between *yz* and *vozh* for these two characters and sometimes uses forms of *yz* (oblique *cy-*) for both of them:

- (127) Hwal-hwozhazzhehw veizaav=q **cynna yz**.
 up-look.CVimmed V.know.NW.V=CUM 3s.DAT 3s
 The minute he looked up **he** (hero) recognized **him** (enemy). (0408)

Second, as discussed in §29.3.1 and §29.6 below, in contexts of obviation pronominal coreference is impossible, e.g. possessor of subject anteceding object:

- (128) * Muusaai_i siesaguo **yz**_i liexar
 Musa.GEN wife.ERG 3s seek.IMPF
 Musa's_i wife was looking for him_i

Third, an object cannot antecede another object in the same clause:

- (129) Aaz Muusaaiga yz viicar.
 1s.ERG Musa.ALL 3s V.talk_about.WP
 I told Musa_i about him_j, *_i

There seems to be no simple paraphrase or alternative strategy that will make object coreference possible. Reflexivization controlled by the indirect object is impossible:

- (130) * Aaz Muusaaiga shie viicar
 1s.ERG Musa.ALL 3SRFL V.tell.WP
 I told Musa about himself

and repeating the noun, while possible in some contexts in Ingush (see §29.6), is impossible here:

- (131) * Aaz Muusaaiga Muusaa viicar.
 1s.ERG Musa.ALL Musa V.tell.WP
 I told Musa_i about Musa_i.²²²

²²² Possible, though unusual and humorous, in the meaning 'I told Musa_i about Musa_i'.

An object can perfectly well antecede an argument in a lower clause, as in the following with relative clauses:

- (132) Siirda hwiezhacha maalxuo kamearsha jieq'ar shii **zwanarazh**
 light look:PLC.PPL.OBL sun.ERG generous J.share.WP 3s:RFL.GEN ray.PL
 [___ **caaregh** hwiigaacha] leattana.
 (NOM) 3p.LAT thirst: PLC.PPL.OBL earth.DAT

The brightly shining sun generously shared **its rays** with the earth that had thirsted **for them**. (7D) *hwieg* 'thirst for' A:NOM O:LAT

- (133) Aaz **Muusaaina** [**cuo** ___ diixaa] kinashjka dwa-dalar.
 1s.ERG Musa.DAT 3s.ERG (NOM) D.ask.PPL book DX-D.give.WP
 I gave Musa_i the book he_{i,j} had asked for.

- (134) Aaz **Muusaaina** [Ø ___ diixaa] kinashjka dwa-dalar
 1s.ERG Musa.DAT (ERG) (NOM) D.ask.PPL book DX-D.give.WP
 id.

(133) is grammatically correct, but stylistically poor or stilted; a null expression of one of the two coreferents is preferred, as in (134). In (133), the coreferential reading of 'Musa' and 'he' is preferred; the other requires context and emphatic intonation on *cuo*.

The closest Ingush seems to come to objects anteceding object pronouns is in reciprocal constructions (§29.4), but the reciprocal element is a single caseless word that cannot be said to hold any particular argument role.

29.6. Obviation

Obviation is the obligatory ranking of third person nominals (nouns, pronouns) based on discourse function, syntactic relations, and semantic properties such as animacy. One nominal in a clause is *proximate* (as are all its coreferents); the others (and their coreferents) are *obviative*. Proximate outranks obviative for access to syntactic roles and processes. Languages differ in whether and how they require that obviation ranking be aligned with syntactic relations and animacy ranking. (This analysis of obviation, and the examples and criteria below, are all due to Aissen 1997.)

Since both possessors and subjects are proximate by definition, in languages with obviation the following two kinds of configurations are problematic or impossible because they make two different referents compete for proximate status. (In these schematic English examples the asterisk means not that the English sentence is ungrammatical but that its equivalent in a language with obviation would be ungrammatical.)

(a) possessor of subject is coreferential to object (bad because possessor is proximate, therefore subject is obviative and object proximate, therefore obviation and grammatical relations are misaligned): **Musa_i's wife is looking for him_i*; **Musa_i's friends scared him_i*. The same configuration is acceptable where the coreferential nominals are not third person: *your wife is looking for you*, etc.

(b) main-clause subject (proximate) is coreferential to subordinate-clause object (which is then outranked by an obviative subject in the subordinate clause): **Mariam_i asked when Musa had seen her_i*.

When animacy is aligned with obviation, animates are proximate and inanimates obviative. In such languages a third configuration is problematic or ungrammatical:

(c) inanimate subject and animate object of transitive verb, e.g. **the snow covered the sheep*.

Obviation has so far been attested only in head-marking languages (Aissen 1997:743), where strictly grammatical constraints such as obviation are functionally valuable because they can narrow down the assignment of reference and syntactic relations to formally unmarked nominals. Something much like obviation is also evident in Ingush, a strongly dependent-marking language, where it shows up as otherwise inexplicable gaps in formal antecedence, i.e. in contexts like (a) above. Here are Ingush examples for contexts (a), (b), and (c).

(a) *Third person possessors of subjects cannot formally antecede objects*. Asterisked examples here are ungrammatical where possessor and third person pronoun are coreferential (but may be grammatical if they are non-coreferential).

- (135) * **Muusaai_i** nouq'ostazh **yz_i** qiera-vyr
 Musa.GEN friends.ERG 3s V.fear-V.CS.WP
 Musa's friends scared him (=Musa).
- (136) * **Muusaai_i** siesag jy **yz_i** liexazh
 Musa.GEN wife J.PROG 3s seek.CVsim
 Musa's wife is looking for him (=Musa).
- (137) * **Bierii_i** zhwalii **caarna_i** bwara+hwazhar
 children.GEN dog them.DAT eye+look.WP
 The children's dog looked at them (= the children).
- (138) * **Muusaai_i** loalaxuochynna **yz_i** baazar=t'y bwarjga+veira
 Musa.GEN neighbor.DAT him bazaar=at eye+V.see.WP
 Musa's neighbor saw him at the bazaar.
- (139) * **Muusaai_i** hwiexarxuochuo **cynga_i** la+dogh
 Musa.GEN teacher.ERG him.ALL ear+listen.PRS
 Musa's teacher listens to him

- (140) * **Bierii**_i zhwalie **yzh**_i qiera-dyr
 child.PL.GEN dog.ERG 3p fear-D.CS.WP
 The children's dog scared them.

The same ungrammaticality holds for possessors of subjects controlling possessors of objects:

- (141) * **Muusaai**_i nouq'ostazh **cyn**_i loalaxuo voxa-vyr.
 Musa.GEN friend.PL.ERG 3s.GEN neighbor V.get drunk-V.CS.WP
 Musa's friends got his neighbor drunk.

- (142) * **Muusaai**_i siesag jy **cyn**_i mashen liexazh
 Musa.GEN wife J.PROG 3s.GEN car seek.CVsim
 Musa's wife is looking for his car.

For first and second persons non-reflexive antecedence is possible in the same contexts:

- (143) **Hwa** siesag jy **hwo** liexazh.
 2s.GEN wife J.PROG 2s seek.CVsim
 Your wife is looking for you.

- (144) **Suoga sy** hwiexarxuochuo la+dogh.
 1s.ALL 1s.GEN teacher.ERG ear+listen
 My teacher listens to me.

- (145) **Sy** zhwalie **so** qiera-jyr
 1s.GEN dog.ERG 1s fear-J.CS.WP
 My dog scared me.

- (146) **Hwa** siesag jy **hwa** mashen liexazh.
 2s.GEN wife J.PROG 2s.GEN car seek.CVsim
 Your wife is looking for your car.

What is ungrammatical in (135)-(139) above is formal antecedence of an object or possessor pronoun by a possessor. If the subject is a noun that is usually possessed, it is possible to leave out the overt possessor entirely and let it be understood:

- (147) **Muusa** nouq'ostazh qiera-vyr.
 Musa friends.ERG fear-V.CS.WP
 Musa's friends scared him. (Lit. 'The friends scared Musa.')

- (148) Muusaa siesaguo lex.
 Musa wife.ERG seek
 Musa's wife is looking for him. (Lit. 'The wife is looking for Musa'.)

Another possibility is reflexivization of the possessor and use of a full noun as object. Recall from §29.3.1 above that one of the few contexts where objects control reflexivization is precisely the one at issue here, where an O reflexivizes the possessor of an A.²²³

- (149) **Shii**_i zhwalez **deana**_i cerjgazh tiexar
 3SRFL.GEN dog.ERG master.DAT tooth.PL strike.WP
 The dog bit its master. (Lit. 'His own dog bit (the) master')
- (150) **Shii**_i zhwalez **cynna**_i cerjgazh tiexar
 3SRFL.GEN dog.ERG 3s.DAT tooth.PL strike.WP
 His (own) dog scared him.
- (151) **Shii**_i zhwalez **daa**_i qiera-vyr
 3SRFL.GEN dog.ERG master fear-V.CS.WP
 The dog frightened its master. (Lit. 'His own dog frightened (the) master')

Object-controlled reflexivization is also possible in the first and second persons, where obviation problems do not arise. As is generally true of the first and second persons, nonreflexives are also possible as in (153).

- (152) Sei zhwalie so qiera-jyr
 1s.RFL.GEN dog.ERG 1s fear-J.CS.WP
 My dog scared me.
- (153) Sy zhwalie so qiera-jyr
 1s.GEN dog.ERG 1s fear-J.CS.WP
 My dog scared me.
- (154) Hwaai zhwalie hwuona cerjgazh tiexar
 2s.RFL.GEN dog.ERG 2s.DAT tooth.PL strike.WP
 Your dog bit you.

²²³ Reflexivization in both directions simultaneously is not possible because Ingush does not allow two reflexivization targets in one clause (§29.3.2.8):

*Shii_i zhwalez_j shii_j daa_i qiera-vyr
 3SRFL.GEN dog.ERG 3SRFL.GEN master fear-V.CS.WP
 (His own dog scared its own master.)

(For more examples of object-controlled reflexivization see §29.3.1.)

As a third alternative, names and certain other nominals (e.g. kin terms) can simply be repeated where coreference cannot otherwise be indicated:

(155) *Muusaai zhwalii Muusaaigh dadar.*
 Musa.GEN dog Musa.LAT D.run.WP
 Musa's dog ran away from him. (Lit. 'Musa's dog ran away from Musa'.)

(156) *Muusaai kinashkja Muusaaiga dexkar*
 M.GEN book M.ALL D.sell.WP
 They sold Musa his own book.

Finally, syntactic configurations like those above can simply be avoided when problematic coreference between third persons arises. In the following examples, coreference is unproblematic for first or second person, but for the third person pronoun a name (159) or a semantically close paraphrase (160) is used instead.

(157) *Sy mashen suona jixie laatt.*
 1s.GEN car 1s.DAT beside stand
 My car is next to me. (Lit. 'My car is standing next to me'.)

(158) *Hwa mashen hwuona jixie laatt.*
 2s.GEN car 2s.DAT beside stand
 Your car is next to you.

(159) *Shii_i mashen Muusaaina_i jixie laatt.*
 3sRFL.GEN car M.DAT beside stand
 His_i car is next to Musa.

(160) *Muusa_i shii_i mashienaca laatt.*
 Musa 3s:RFL.GEN car.INS stand
 Musa_i is standing with his_i car. (Another equivalent to 'Musa's car is next to him'.)

Thus, in Ingush, there is a purely grammatical block to third person non-reflexive possessors anteceding objects, a block which does not apply in the first and second persons, but that block is not often in evidence as ordinary object-controlled reflexivization applies in such cases.

(b) *Subject antecedes subordinate-clause object.* This context is non-problematic for Ingush, in which long-distance reflexivization marks the antecedence without implying anything about the lower object's prominence vis-à-vis its own subject:

(161) Wajshietaa_i daga+daaghac **shie_i** Mariemaa bwarjga maca jeinii.
 Aisha.DAT remember+D.LV.NEG 3s:RFL Mariem.DAT eye when J.see.NW.J
 Aisha doesn't remember when Mariem saw her (lit. 'herself') (=Aisha).

(162) Wajshietaz_i Muusaaina **shie_i** maca bwarjga+jeinii eanna xeattar suoga.
 Aisha.ERG Musa.DAT 3s:RFL when eye+J.see.NW.J SUB ask.WP 1s.ALL
 Aisha asked me when Musa had seen her (Aisha). ('when Musa had seen herself')

(c) Inanimate subject. Clauses with an inanimate subject acting on an inanimate object are fairly frequent in Ingush and occur in stylistically good prose as in (163).

(163) Siirda hwiezhacha **maalxuo** kamearsha jieq'ar shii zwanarazh
 light look:PLC.PPL.OBL sun.ERG generous J.share.WP 3sRFL.GEN ray.PL
 caaregh hwiigaacha leattana.
 3p.LAT thirst:PLC.PPL.OBL earth.DAT

The brightly shining sun generously shared its rays with the earth that had thirsted for them. (ibid.) (7D; repeated from (132) above in §29.5)

(164) doghuo yz kash duoxa-deddoacazh
 rain.ERG DEM tomb D.break-D.CS.FUT.NEG.CVSIM
 so the rain wouldn't destroy the tomb (0204A)

(165) Leivuo leatta q'eila-deaqqar
 snow.ERG ground cover-D.LV.WP
 The snow covered the ground.

(166) jixiedyssaar **mixuo** dwa-hwuora
 remainder wind.ERG DX-carry_away.IMP
 the wind carried the rest of it away (0776)

(167) **xiv** c'enjea jillaa ghum
 water.ERG clean-J.VZ.PPL J.lie.PPL sand
 sand that has been cleaned by the water (0204A)

(168) "... " oalazh xannad cu **qieruo** juxa hwa
 say.CVsim PROG.NARP DEM.OBL stone.ERG back DX
 "...," the stone would reply (0204A)

Such examples show that there is no constraint on inanimate ergatives or inanimate subjects per se in Ingush.

Inanimate ergatives can also occur with animate objects, both third and non-third person. There are occasional text examples (169) and they can easily be elicited.

(169) Cwan diinahwa ... Xutie-Neaq'aan siesag **xiv** jehwar, **Warmxiv**.
 one.OBL day.ADV (clan name) woman water.ERG J.carry_away.WP (name).ERG
 One day ... the river, the Armxii, carried away a woman from the Xutie-Neaq'aan clan.
 (0409.22)

(170) **Leivuo** doaxan q'eila-deaqqar.
 snow.ERG cattle cover-D.VZ.WP
 The snow covered the cows.

(171) **Mixuo** so ghuora-veav
 wind.ERG 1s chill-V.VZ.NW.V
 The wind chilled me to the bone

(172) So **doghuo** t'ooda-jeai
 1s rain.ERG wet-J.VZ.NW.J
 The rain got me wet. I got caught in the rain.

(173) Uq dwaaxacha **axkanuo** hama hwa my deitaadaac.
 DEM.OBL hot.OBL summer.ERG thing DX EMPH D.do-CSind.NW.NEG
 The summer was so hot we didn't get anything done.
 (Lit. The hot summer didn't let (us) do anything.)

Ergative-S compound verbs and light verb constructions easily take inanimate ergative subjects:

(174) **Xiv** k'edzh+jeaqqai
 water.ERG boil+J.take.NW.J
 The water came to a boil (lit. 'took a boil')

(175) **Tikuo** pxi' daalalca bolx+bu
 store.ERG five D.go.CVuntil work+B.do.PRS
 The store is open until 5:00. ('The store works until 5:00')

(176) Dynie siirda **maalxuo** doax, sag siirda **xaaruo** voax
 world light sun.ERG D.LV:PL.PRS person light know.VN.ERG V.LV:PL.PRS
 The world is illuminated by the sun, a person by knowledge. (Proverb)

To summarize, Ingush object-controlled possessor reflexivization seems designed precisely to overcome problems of coreference in contexts of obviation. These problems are the more striking as ordinary Ingush pronominalization otherwise applies easily from left to right without much concern for syntactic prominence (§29.2.1). If object control involved only direct objects, i.e. only the nominative case, it would be easy to see object-controlled reflexivization as part of the nominative pivot of Ingush nuclear chaining (§24.3) and verbal word formation and valence derivation (§§15.3, 21.7). But in fact Ingush reflexive control appears to be constrained syntactically with no reference to morphology: possessor reflexivization is controlled by S/A/O and argument and adjunct reflexivization by S/A.

29.7. Null pronominals

Ingush is not a pro-drop language. It can be seen in the texts in Chapter 35 that most clauses have all arguments overt. However, null anaphora is systematically used in contexts where the clause-to-clause connection is close and recoverability of reference guaranteed by both syntax and sense. One such context is question-and-answer sequences and similar short-response dialog, where pronouns referring to the speakers are usually omitted, as in (5)-(8) in §35.3 where the verbs *eannad* 'said' have no overt subjects. These are finite verbs; null anaphora is very common with subordinating converbs (§13.9, Chapter 27, §29.2 above).

In Ingush many sentences lack an overt S or (as seems to be much more frequent) A and the subject is generic or unspecified. Often these are comparable to French *on*, German *man*, or Russian subjectless verbs with third person plural morphology, meaning an unspecified or generic human agent, e.g. (21) in Chapter 11 (where there is no overt A with *koradead* 'found') or (85) in Chapter 20 (where *c'i tillaai* 'named (him)' has no overt A). The German and French pronouns and the Russian agreement identify a human referent, but the Ingush has no overt marking (the ergative A is simply lacking and this of course has no effect on the agreement or case assignment in the clause) and does not necessarily imply human agency as in (177), where something happened or was done to the second person but it is unknown whether it was done by humans:

- (177) Fy dead hwuona?
 what D.do.NW.D 2s.DAT
 What happened to you?

For such examples it is difficult or impossible to know whether there is a null unspecified or generic A or there is no A at all and the verb is ambitransitive. (See §21.2.7 and the footnote there.) More research is needed on the question: if A's are freely omissible and most putative transitive verbs are actually ambitransitive, then this is another profoundly ergative trait in the lexicon and syntax of Ingush.

CHAPTER 30

WORD ORDER

Ingush is a consistently head-final language except for predominantly verb-second order in main clauses. Verb-second order is much like that of Germanic languages in that the finite verb is clause-second but its preverb, including prefixes, is clause-final. Nearly all phrases and non-main clauses are head-final. In addition to verb-second order in main clauses there are other, often pragmatically determined but always grammatically defined, word orders that place elements in clause-initial or clause-final position or postpose modifiers of nouns. These departures respond to such factors as chaining, interrogative words, topicalization, and focus. Impressionistically, Ingush word-order changes are similar to those of Russian in some of their pragmatic effects and in their frequency and variety, but they are unlike those of Russian in the extent to which word order possibilities are defined by syntactic boundaries.

30.1. Phrases

30.1.1. Noun phrase. The full ordering of elements for an NP is (repeated from §20.1):

Demon-	Delimiter	Relative	Genitive1	Degree	Adjective	Genitive2	Numeral	Head
strative		clause		word				noun

The full sequence is not attested in natural prose but can be elicited:

- (1) yzh jerrigazh uqaza daagha sy ch'woagha xoza wazhii qo ga
 DEM.PL D.all.PL here D.sit.PPL 1s.GEN very pretty apple.GENpl three tree
dem. delimiter [relative] poss. degree adj. gen. 2 num. head
 all three of these pretty apple trees of mine that are planted here (lit. 'these all here sitting my very pretty apple three tree')

as can parts of it:

- (2) Muusaai joaqqa qo mashen
 Musa.GEN J.big three car
 Musa's three big cars

For more elicited examples see §20.1. The following are natural text examples showing parts of the full sequence:

- (3) *yz hwaai dymii*
 DEM 2s.RFL.GEN fattail
 your fattail, that fattail of yours (Dymii)
- (4) *yz cuo viinachyn vosh*
 DEM 3s.ERG V.kill.PPL.NZ.GEN brother
 the brother of the man he had killed ('that by-him killed-one's brother') (0408)²²⁴
- (5) *je suoca xanna sy nouq'ost, caarca hwa-viena_xanna noxchuo*
 DEM 1s.INS be.PPL 1s.GEN companion 3p.INS DX-V.come.NW.PPL Chechen
 my companion, the Chechen who had come with them (0207A.2)

Adverbs and lexicalized oblique-case nouns that serve semantically as qualifying modifiers seem to be positioned the same as adjectives:

- (6) *yz bettala biisa*
 DEM moon.ADV night
 'that moonlit night'

Genitive in the formula above includes possessors as in all the above examples, and other adnominal genitives:

- (7) *duqqacha meaxa hamaazh*
 much:FOC.OBL price.GEN thing.PL J
 very costly things (0743)

In phrases with comparatives, the standard of comparison precedes the comparative adjective and any modifiers of it. In (9) the comparative adjective (boldface) is a past participle preceded by a modifying adverb and its modifying degree word.

- (8) *sol duqqa voaqqagh*
 1s.CSN much:FOC V.old.CMP
 much older than me (Ozdoeva & Kurkiev 1980 s.v. *namnogo*)

²²⁴ Note that in (3) the demonstrative *yz* unambiguously modifies 'brother', since it is nominative; if it modified the participle, which is genitive, it would be in the oblique case. Another example is *yz derringacha q'aman bart* (DEM D.all.OBL nation.GEN agreement) 'agreement of the whole people' (0379B.41; (23) in Ch. 9).

- (9) sol duqqa='a geana **beannagh**='a bar
 Is.CSN much:FOC=& far B.go.PPL.CMP=& B.be.PST
 There were also some (students) well ahead of me (in their studies) ('who had gone much farther than me') (0404)

A lexicalized adjective + noun or genitive + noun compound is generally not broken up by a numeral, which precedes the whole compound:

- (10) yzh **qo voaqqa sag**
 DEM.PL three V.big person (voaqqa sag 'elder, old man')
 those two old men

- (11) Muusaa cy **qea voaqqa sagaca** vaxar
 Musa DEM.OBL three.OBL V.old person.INS V.go.WP
 Musa left with those three old men.

(Cf. *voaqqa qo sag* 'three big guys', *cy voaqqacha qea sagaca* 'with those three big guys': see §20.1.)

- (12) **vi' dea veshii**=ji, dea=ji, dea dea=ji
 V.four father.GEN brother.GENpl=& father.GEN=& father.GEN father.GEN=&
 'of (my) four uncles, my father, and my grandfather' (0204A)

A degree word immediately precedes the adjective it modifies:

- (13) gettara xoza bolx
 very good work
- (14) ch'woagha saq'erdamie sag
 very cheerful person
- (15) duqqa='a joaqqa mettig
 fairly J.big place

The determiner *cwa* 'some, a, sort of a' is homophonous with and cognate to the numeral 'one', but occupies the position of a determiner. (16) shows *cwa* as a determiner, and (17) as a numeral.

- (16) cwa tenna sag
 a fat person
 a fat guy

- (17) tenna cwa sag
fat one person
one fat person

Quantifying words such as *duqa* 'many, much, a lot' are not numerals and are not positioned as numerals are. (Nor do they require a singular head noun as numerals do: §19.5.1.) They are positioned as adjectives and they precede any other adjectives:

- (18) duqqa taamashiina hamaazh
many:FOC interesting thing.PL (0418.36)
- (19) duqqa dika axcha
much:FOC good money
a good deal of money, a lot of money (0408)

Apart from quantifying words, multiple adjectives are rare. For coordinated modifiers see §24.1.

In appositive phrases with a pronoun, the pronoun precedes the other word (which is nominalized if not a noun). The most common phrase of this type has a numeral or quantifier in apposition to a pronoun. See §§20.2, 20.4 for more examples.

- (20) yzh derriga
3p D.all
all of them

30.1.2. Relativization. In the complex NP consisting of a head noun and a relative clause, the relative clause precedes the head noun. For examples see (4), (5) above and Chapter 26. Note that comparative adjectives and postpositional phrases cannot directly modify nouns but can only figure in relative clauses with 'be' as participle:

- (21) [sol laqagh vola] shi sag
1s.CSN tall.CMP V.be.PPL two person
two men taller than me

30.1.3. Postpositional phrases. All Ingush adpositions are postpositions. For more examples see Chapter 17.

- (22) Buruo=t'y
Vladikavkaz=on
in Vladikavkaz

(23) caarna jiq'ie
3p.DAT among
among them

(24) cul t'ehwagh
3s.CSN later
after that

30.1.4. *Focus in phrases.* As described in §28.8, a focused modifier is nominalized and follows the head noun. An adjective postposed to its head noun is detached and must be nominalized (§20.4).

(25) Cytoam **hwaai+bar** bic-bie hwazha vieza
misfortune 2s.RFL.GEN-B.NZ B.forget-B.CS.INF try.INF V.need.PRS
txychyn duhwa ...
1pEX.GEN.NZ before

You need to try to forget your *own* misfortune out of concern for ours. (PL 2.1)

(26) Da'ar k'oma+dar di'ar aaz
food spicy+D.NZ D.eat.WP 1sERG
I ate spicy food.

30.2. Clauses

Ingush uses verb-final order in non-main and some main clauses, and verb-second order in most main clauses. In compound verbs, analytic tense forms, and constructions with modals and the like, it is the light or auxiliary verb that is final in verb-final order or clause-second in verb-second order.

30.2.1. *Verb-final order.* Verb-final order, usually AOV and SV, can be found in pragmatically neutral main clauses including elicited simple sentences with no context:

(27) Suona ghalghaai mott dika **xaac**
1s.DAT Ingush language well know.NEG
I don't know Ingush very well.

(28) Muusaaz gazet **dieshazh dy**
Musa.ERG newspaper D.read.CVsim D.PROG
Musa is reading the paper.

(29) Aaz sei bierazhta axcha **dalar**
 1s.ERG 1s.RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT money D.give.WP
 I gave my children money.

(30) Muusaaz suona telefon **tiexar**
 Musa.ERG 1s.DAT telephone strike.WP
 Musa telephoned me

In texts verb-final order can be found in episode-initial clauses where the entire situation is new. In (30) the narrator begins a new story after a digression.

(31) T'aaqqa, yz **Sisjka Solsa t'aaqqa cigara hwa-vienuu**, Qiirahwa hwa-vienuu.
 then DEM (name) then there DX-V.come.NW.V (place) DX-V.come.NW.V
 So Siska Solsa came from there to Qierahwie. (0392B.1)

and all-new spoken clauses where the hearer is not prepared for any of the clause elements:

(32) T'aaqqa, siesagaga eannad Sisjka Solsa, "**Hwo suoga juola-jalar**" eanna.
 then woman.ALL say.NW.D (name) 2s 1s.ALL J.marry-J.INCP.WP SUB
 So Siska Solsa said to the female (giant), "Let's get married." (lit. "Why don't you marry me.") (0392B.1)

(33) ... cy oalie, **aaz qy-var voxit**.
 NEG say.CVirr 1s.ERG other-V.NZ V.go-CSind.PRS
 'If you won't tell (him), I'm sending someone else.' (0408)

Verb-final order is found without exception in non-main clauses of all kinds. (34) has several different converb clauses, all verb-final.

(34) Shii vorda **dwa='a xiicaa**, [core chained]
 3SRFL.GEN cart DX=& unfasten.CVant
 gour **walazh='a jea**, [core chained]
 horse tend=& J.LV.CVant
vaxaa c'agha jer **chy-vealcha** [nuclear chained + time subordinate]
 V.go.CVant home.ADV 3s in-V.go.CVtemp
 iezaacha ghealienii juxkazh jeinii uqanna [main]
 smoke.PPL.OBL cigarette.GENpl butt.PL J.see.NW.J 3s.DAT

- (40) [Tikaazhka joxkazh jolcha hamegh max **wa-baaqqa**] bieza.
 store.PL.ALL J.sell.CV J.PROG.PPL.OBL thing.PL.LAT price DX-B.take.INF B.should
 We should lower the prices of merchandise. Prices should be lowered.

Nuclear chained clauses generally have few overt arguments as nearly everything is shared with the main clause, but the few examples with overt elements are all verb-final:

- (41) [c'i **tessaa**] jexaai
 name throw.CVant J.go.NW.J
 She got divorced and went home.
- (42) [jixxie suona **viena**] hwa=t'y-ettacha
 nearby:FOC 1s.DAT V.come.CVant DX-at-stand.CVtemp
 when he came right up close to me 'having come up stood right near me' (0207A.3)
- (43) [Cicxazh dii, **ax jeaxie**] wated aqaar
 smithereen.PL D.do.CVseq half J.take:PL.CVseq DX-cut 3p.ERG
 c'iicara jaza gargaluonazh
 blood.INS.ABL J.solemn kinship.PL
 They shatter and cut in half the solemn bonds of kinship. ('Shattering, halving they cut...') (PL 2.2)

Core chained clauses are illustrated in (34) above (and numerous examples in Chapters 24 and 35). The following are text examples of core chaining:

- (44) Yz ust='a biina ...
 DEM bull=& B.kill.CVant
 He slaughtered that bull ... (0408)
- (45) **zha detta='a dettazh** naxcha joaxar
 sheep D.RED=& D.milk.CVsim cheese J.take:PL.IMPF
 They would milk the sheep and make cheese. (0216B.3)

Adjunct subordinate clauses with converbs:

- (46) Saabardielahw **so juxa aara-vaallac**
 wait-D.LV.IMPVfut 1s back out-V.go.CVuntil
 Wait **until I come back out.**

- (47) **Wa puram luorie** ghorng my var shaa eanna
 2s.ERG permission give.IMPF.CVirr go.FUT EMPH V.CND 3sRFL²²⁵ say.CVant
 If it's all right with you ('if you'll permit') I'll go ('I'd go'), he said. (0408)

30.2.2. *Ordering of arguments and adjuncts.* The grammatically most basic order of arguments is SV, AOV, AGTV (where G = the more goal-like argument and T = the more theme-like argument of ditransitives: see §21.1). First elements of compound verbs and heavy pieces of light verb constructions occupy the O or T slot. Examples showing this basic order are (27)-(33) above and many others. This order is not rigid, and the arguments can have different orders relative to each other and (in main clauses) to the verb.

For non-arguments the preferred order is basically consistent with what is described for adverbs by Cinque 1999 and Frey 2003. The order is not rigid, and it is not affected by whether the non-argument is a single word, a phrase, or a converb clause. The major types tend to occur in the following order, from clause-initial to immediate preverbal:

Sentence adjuncts, e.g. evaluative ('fortunately'), attitudinal ('admittedly'), modal ('probably', 'perhaps'), are most often clause- or sentence-initial: (48), also (83)-(85) below.

- (48) ... ghaalaazh jezh=m xannaljga suona xou, **cwabaq'dy** caar
 tower.PL J.make.CVsim=FOC PROG.NARP.SBJ 1s.DAT know admittedly 3p.ERG
 yzh mallaghcha bessa hwajeai ... xaac suona
 3p what .OBL way.ADV DX-J.make.NW.J know.NEG 1s.DAT

I know they made towers, but I don't know how they made them. (0743)

Event-related adjuncts (time, place, reason, words like 'typically', 'often', 'always', etc. usually precede all arguments: e.g. (34) above (time adjunct clause) and examples in §§13.9.2 and 22.2. In (49) a time adverb precedes another circumstantial, followed by a degree adverb.

- (49) **handza=m ghaghaazhkahw c'andanna** dic my dannadii yz
 now=FOC Ingush.PL.LOC completely forget EMPH D.LV.NW.D=Q 3s
 By now it's been completely forgotten among the Ingush. (0206A.3)

Degree adverbs: 'completely,' 'partly', etc. follow sentence and event adjuncts and precede all objects. Often they follow the subject. *C'andanna* in (49) is an example; also:

- (50) Wan zaamagh **duqaghcha deaq'ie** c'aghara balxazh dezh xannad
 winter.GEN time.LAT most.OBL part.ADV house.ADJ work.PL D.do.CVsim NARP.D

²²⁵ Chechen form. The Ingush word is *shie*. This episode is set in a Chechen town, and perhaps that has influenced the narrator's word choice.

qaalnaaxa: ...
women.ERG

In winter women were mostly occupied with household tasks.
(inglingvo.ru/2010/04/21/g1alg1aj-kalendarax-laca.html, accessed Sept. 6, 2010)

Quasi-arguments (subcategorized goals and locations: §22.1) are positioned much like objects, preceding the verb and following the subject, e.g. (31).

Manner adverbs immediately precede the verb, following all arguments but preceding any prefixes and proclitics, e.g. *dika* in (27).

There are certain grammatical factors that change this ordering:

Topicalization. Topics are usually clause-initial, e.g. (79)-(82) below and §33.3.2. Possibly a special case of topicalization is examples that appear to be quantifier float, with the quantifier in preverbal position and the topic clause-final.

(51) *cy=t'y wa=t'y-byllacha jerriga wa=chy-jexar joaxar legchaanka.*
DEM=on DX=on-B.put.CVtemp J.all DX=in -J.go.WP QUOT.IMPf cart
when they put it on there the whole cart rode low (under the weight) (0394A)

(52) *derriga cynca dy handz ghulaq*
D.all 3s.INS D.be.PRS now matter
now it's entirely up to him ('with him') (0816)

Focus. A focused word or phrase follows a topic but precedes the rest of the clause (§30.4, also (79)-(82) below).

Extraction. One or another word, especially a possessor or an argument, is likely to be sentence-final, perhaps for prosodic reasons: §30.5.

A few morphemes that figure in the literature on adverbs and adjuncts have idiosyncratic ordering in Ingush because they are clitics or preverbs. *qy* '(any) more' is a clitic, usually clause-initial but occasionally initial in a smaller domain (see §5.6.1). Negation is a suffix on finite verb forms and proclitic *cy=* on nonfinite forms; prohibition is a proclitic *my=*. 'Again' is an incorporable adverb and therefore often found as a preverb (§15.5.3).

30.2.3. *Verb-second order.* For main clauses, other than episode-initial and other all-new ones, verb-second order is most common. The verb, or the finite part of a compound verb or analytic tense form (i.e. the light verb or the auxiliary), follows the first word or phrase in the clause.

(53) Xii *mol=ii wa?*
water drink=Q 2s.ERG
Would you like a drink of water?

- (54) Ghalghaai mott dika **xaac** cynna.
 Ingush language well know.NEG 3s.DAT
 She doesn't know Ingush very well.
- (55) Muusaa vy hwuona telefon **jettazh**
 Musa V.PROG 2s.DAT telephone strike.CVsim
 Musa's calling you. It's Musa on the phone for you.
- (56) Cuo **diicar** suona jerazh
 3s.ERG D.tell.WP 1s.DAT 3p
 She told them [=stories] to me. (7D)
- (57) Baarh shu ax shu deanna k'eanjk **var** so cu xaana
 eight year half year D.pass.PPL boy V.be.PST 1s DEM.OBL time.DAT
 I was eight and a half then. I was an eight-and-a-half-year-old boy at the time. (0240)
- (58) So vy hwuona *kuznec*, eannadar uquo, voaccazhie='a
 1s V.be.PRS 2s MIR smith say.PNW 3s.ERG V.be:NEG:FOC.CVconc
 I'm a smith, he said, though he wasn't one. (0240A)
- (59) Cwa mealxara **jar** hwo, Tawaibat, fy **dead** hwuona? ealar aaz.
 some sad J.be.PST 2s (name) what D.do.NW.D 2s.DAT say.WP 1s.ERG
 "You're so sad today, Tawaibat, what happened to you?" I said. (0238A.10)

(60) is an important example from a metalinguistic passage in which an entire clause is mentioned rather than used. Though this context should be as pragmatically neutral as the verb-final examples (31)-(33), in fact the clause is verb-second, suggesting that verb-second order does not require any particular pragmatics.

- (60) Haa, *eaqa* jaaxaljga -- *eaqa* dii, "*eaquo doadead zha*" oalii,
 yes, *wild* say.SBJ -- *wild* D.be=Q, wild.ERG D.kill-D.LV.NW sheep say.CVirr
 yz aalaljga dy yz, *eaqa* bodzh jy.
 3s say.SBJ D.be.PRS 3s, wild goat J.be.PRS

Right, "*eaqa*" -- *eaqa* in the sentence "wild animal killed sheep" refers to a wild beast. That's the same word in *eaqa bodzh* 'wild goat'. (0396B)

As in Germanic languages, in verb-second clauses preverbal elements usually remain in clause-final position. These include the lexical verb when the tense-bearing auxiliary is in second position (61) (also (45) in §22.2.1); prefixes (62); the first element of a compound verb (63); and the first verb (i.e. the converb) in nuclear chaining (64).

- (61) Muusaa **vy** hwuona telefon **jettazh**.
 Musa V.PROG 2s.DAT telephone strike:PLC.CV
 It's Musa. It's Musa on the phone for you. (After answering the phone.) (=55)
- (62) Pacchahw **voagha** uqazahw **hwa**.
 king V.come.PRS here DX
 The king is coming! Here comes the king. (PL 1.1)
 Verb: *hwa-d.oagha*
 (Focus is on *king*; no one was expecting him to come.)
- (63) Fy duuc wa, mychaa **jeinii** hwuona c'ie mettig **bwarjga?**
 what D.say 2s.ERG where J.see.NW.J 2s.DAT red place eye (0240A)
 What do you think, have you ever seen an all-red place? (*bwarjga+gu eye+see 'see'*)²²⁶
- (64) Yzh kegiicha naaxaca my=**baagh**=ii **waxeishaa?**
 DEM.PL young:PL.OBL people.INS EMPH=B.sit=Q DX-sit down.CVant
 You mean they were sitting with the young men? (0246A.36)
 (*waxeishaa d.aagha* lit. 'having sat, is sitting')

The element in first position can be a single focal word as in (62)-(63) above and (65):

- (65) Cuduhw **voll** yz
 therefore V.bury.PRS 3s

 vennachyl t'ehwagha
 V.die.PPL.NZ.CSN after

 leattagh **dwa**
 earth.LAT DX

 This is why, when a man dies, he is buried in the ground. (That's why (they) bury him / after (he) dies / in the earth.) (MK)
 Verb: *dwad.oll* 'bury'

a single topical word:

- (66) Wa-qeidie yshitta mazharjg towa-bii ... mazharjg **tox** aaz caarna.
 DX-reach.CVseq thus snowball press-B.CS.CVseq snowball strike 1SERG 3p.DAT
 I reach down and make a snowball and **throw** it at them. (0238A)

²²⁶ Another example with this word order and this same compound is (43) in §27.1.

an NP, as in (57), (64), and (67-68):

- (67) Cy Ilezaa **xou** cogh duqa hama
 DEM.OBL Ilez.DAT know 3s.LAT much thing
 Ilez knows a lot about him. (0380A.13.36)

- (68) T'aaqqa, Xaza jaaxar my= **xannavii**, Eaga-qaala **xannuu** yz,
 so (name) call.PPL.NZ EMPH be.NW.V=Q (place) be.NW.V 3s
 dolccha bessa **dwa-duuc** aaz hwuona.
 D.be.PPL.OBL:FOC way.OBL DX-D.tell.PRS 1s.ERG 2s.DAT
 So there was this person named Xaza, he lived in Eaga-qaala, I'll tell you all about it.
 (*dolccha bessa* 'in the appropriate way') (0392B.1)

or a clause. A core chained clause (or, more precisely, the last in a series of core chained clauses) acts as the first element for a following main clause. This means that the main clause following a core chained clause is verb-initial.

- (69) So bwarjga='a jeina **aara-vealar** Muusaa
 1s eye+ & J.see.CV out-V.go.WP Musa
 Musa saw me and left. [core chained]
- (70) * So bwarjga='a jeina Muusaa aara-vealar
 1s eye & J.see.CV Musa out-V.go.WP
 Musa saw me and left.
- (71) Muusaa ishkuolie vuodazh **veira** suona / * suona veira
 Musa school.ADV V.go.CV V.see.WP 1s.DAT 1s.DAT V.see.WP
 I saw Musa going to school [depictive]
- (72) Muusaa ishkuolie vuodazh **veira** Waishietaa / * Waishietaa veira
 Musa school.ADV V.go.CV V.see.WP Aisha.DAT
 Aisha saw Musa going to school

For numerous examples see §24.4 and Chapter 35. Subordinate clauses, however, do not function as first elements, and a following main clause is usually not verb-initial (though in elicitation examples like (74), with verb-initial main clause, are accepted).

- (73) So bwargja+jeicha, Muusaa **aara-vealar**
 1s eye J.see.CV Musa out-V.go.WP
 When he saw me Musa left. [time subordinate]

- (74) So bwargja+jeicha, **aara-vealar** Muusaa
 1s eye J.see.CV out-V.go.WP Musa
 When he saw me Musa left.

A temporal subordinate with close modal connection to the main clause does impose verb-second order, however. In (75), *maara* 'only' requires verb-second order. (Note that two prefixes are clause-final in this example.)

- (75) Jer juxa vaaxa xeicha **maara** mycha **beaxkaab** jer
 3s back V.live.INF settle.CVtemp only NEG B.come:PL.NW.B DEM
 vezharii **hwa=t'y**.
 brother.PL DX=on

Only when he had come back and settled down did his brothers move in to join him.
 (0392B.1) Verb: *hwa-t'y-d.oagha* (pl. *hwa-t'y-d.oaxk*)

Complement clauses often require or at least favor verb-second order in the main clause:

- (76) [fy oalar] **daga+daaghac** suona cogh ...
 what say.IMPf remember-D.LV.NEG 1s.DAT 3s.LAT
 There was another one (I forget **what** it was called) ... (0392B)

- (77) [Txo senna deaxkaad] **xoi** hwuona shyn-ciga?
 1pEX why D.come:PL.NW know=Q 2s.DAT 2p.GEN-chez
 Do you know why we've come to visit you? (PL 2.1)

- (78) [Jer kampjuutar hwal myshta sog] **xoi** hwuona?
 this computer up how turn_on know.PRS=Q 2s.DAT
 Do you know how to turn this computer on?

In Ingush both a topic and a focus (in that order) can precede the verb:

- (79) Dwa=chy-bealcha, t'aaqqa cu=chy sean=chy gholla loamii
 DX=in -B.go.CVtemp then DEM=in corner=in along ladder
 (topic) (focus)
 my **laattii** hwal.
 EMPH stand.PRS=Q up

They went in, and in the corner stood a ladder.

- (80) Jurta jistie joaqqa sag **ull** cymogazh jolazh
 town.GEN nearby J.old person lie.PRS sick.CVsim J.PROG.CVsim
 (*topic*) (*focus*)
 In the next town an old woman is sick ('is lying sick'). (0246B.22)
- (81) Mista xudar myshta **duora?**
 sour porridge how D.make.IMPF
 (*topic*) (*focus*)
 How did they make sour porridge? How was sour porridge made? (A traditional
 Ingush food.) (0417.1.04)
- (82) Vai mettal yz xalcha, vai senna **dahw** warbiidara **jiq'ie?**
 our language.ADV 3s be.CVtemp 1pIN.ERG why D.take Arabic.D.NZ.GEN among
 If we have it in our language, why do we borrow it from Arabic? (0392A.41)
 (*jiq'ie-d.ahw* [among-bring] 'insert, include, bring in')

Interrogative words, as in several examples here, seem to be especially strong triggers of verb-second order.

Parentheticals, introductory words, interjections, and the like do not count as first position. In (83)-(85) parentheticals are followed by focal words which count as first.

- (83) **Xietargahw**, jousarazh **jy** yz k'al-gholla hwoa-vear ...
 seem.VN.ADV hooligan.PL J.be.PRS 3s alongside move/cause-V.CS.PPL.NZ
 Apparently, it's the hooligans who have put him up to it ... (PL2.1)
- (84) **T'aaqqa, dii_hwuona**, cweaqa qaalsag **jaqqaai** cu=t'iera **wa**.
 then one more woman J.take.NW.J there=on.ABL DX
 And then he grabbed the other woman off of there. (A hero saves the second of two
 princesses whose carriage has careened into a river.) (0207A)
- (85) **Goi hwuona**, mel dika, vwaalla gheigha, baala boacazh
 see=Q 2s.DAT how much well at_all sorrow grief B.be.NEG.CVsim
vaax vai hwearaxuo.
 V.live.PRS 1pIN.GEN miller
 Look how well our miller lives, with no problems or grief at all. ('See, how well, how
 not having any sorrow or grief at all lives our miller') (CDD 32)

30.3. Questions

30.3.1. *Content (Wh) questions.* The question word or phrase is usually in immediate preverbal position and usually follows a direct object or preverb.

- (86) Aara **maca** vealar yz?
 out when V.go.WP 3s
 When did he go out?
- (87) Gourazh **mycha** uutta-ju uqaza?
 horse.PL where stand:PLC-J.CS.PRS here
Where can we put our horses? (lit. Where do (you/they) put horses here?) (PL 2.1)
- (88) **Maluu** so heata, hwuoga dillacha?
 who=V.be.PRS 1s then 2s.ALL D.put.CVtemp
 So **who** do you think I am? ('Who am I then in your opinion?') (PL 2.2)

A prefix or preverb can also remain with the verb, at least in elicitation (no text examples found):

- (89) **Maca** aara-vealar yz?
 when out-V.go.WP 3s
 When did he go out?

or the prefix can be clause-final:

- (90) **Maca** vealar yz aara?
 when V.go.WP 3s out
 When did he go out?

A verb derivational suffix, however, is not detached from the preverbal material when used with a question word, as with the inceptive in (91):

- (91) **Senna** tossa-vannuu hwo suoca?
 why pick_fight-V.INCP.NW.V 2s 1s.INS
 Why are you picking a fight with me? (PL 2.2)
 (idiom: *tossa-lu* [jump-INCP] 'start a fight; get stuck')
- (92) *Tossa **senna** vannuu hwo suoca?
 pick_fight why V.INCP.NW.V 2s 1s.INS
 Why are you picking a fight with me?

Other orders are impossible, e.g. for (86):

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| * Maca vealar aara yz? | * Aara maca yz vealar? |
| * Yz maca aaravealar? | * Aara yz maca vealar? |
| * Maca yz aaravealar? | * Yz aara maca vealar? |

Interrogative modifiers of nouns ('which', 'what kind', etc.) are phrase-initial and clause-initial ((93)-(94)) or clefted and preceded by a topic ((95)-(96)).

- (93) **Massa** je jeza mashen joxk wa bettaa?
 how many DEM J.expensive car J.sell.PRS 2s.ERG month.DAT
 How many of these expensive cars do you sell per month?
- (94) **Malagha** bierii louzarazh dar shyn?
 which child.GENpl game D.be.PST 2p.GEN
 which children's games (i.e. 'which games for children, which childhood games') were there (in your childhood)?
- (95) Wa chana tiexaar **hwanii** top jar?
 2s.ERG bear.DAT strike.PPL.NZ who.GEN gun J.be.PRS
 Whose gun did you shoot the bear with?
- (96) "Sos" jaaxa dosh **fy** dosh dy?
 say.PPL word what word D.be.PRS
 What does "sos" mean? ('What word is the word "sos"?)

30.3.2. *Polar (yes/no) questions.* The word, phrase, or clause that is in the scope of interrogation is initial, and the verb follows it.

- (97) Hwo senna deaxkaad **xoi** hwuona shyn-ciga?
 2s why D.go:PL.NW know=Q 2s.DAT 2p.GEN-chez
 Do you know why we've come to visit you? (PL 2.1)
- (98) Uqazara **vii** hwo?
 here.ABL V.be.PRS=Q 2s
 Are you from here? (PL 2.2)
- (99) Jer kampuutar hwal myshta sog **xoi** hwuona?
 this computer up how turn_on know.PRS=Q 2s.DAT
 Do you know how to turn this computer on?

30.3.3. *Embedded content questions.* The interrogative word is in preverbal position in the verbal complex. Any pronouns are likely to be postverbal. Examples include (97) and (99) just above and these:

(100) Yz **aara** maca vealar xaac suona.
 he out when V.go.WP know:NEG.PRS 1s.DAT
 I don't know when he left.

(101) Suona xou, yz aara **maca** veannuu
 1s.DAT know 3s out when V.go.NW
 I know when he went out.

30.4. Focus in clauses

The focal word or phrase is fronted and often clause-initial. The verb (unless that is focal) immediately follows the focal word or phrase. Terms for focus types here follow Lambrecht 1994.

30.4.1. *Focus on verb.* A strong rebuttal usually involves focus on a negated verb. The first example below is a variant of the joke line discussed in §28.1.

(102) (Tamerlane) My xala mott by yz shyn+bar!
 EMPH difficult language B.be.PRS DEM 2p.GEN+B.NZ
 (Cagen) Ai, **baac** txy+bar=m xala mott
 INTERJ B.be.NEG 1pEX.GEN+B.NZ=FOC difficult language
 (T) What a hard language yours is!
 (C) No, ours isn't a hard language!

(103) **Vaac** so hwa dottagh.
 V.be:PRS.NEG 1s 2s.GEN friend
 I'm not your friend. I'm no friend of yours. (PL 2.2)

30.4.2. *Argument focus.* Most often the focal nominal or NP is clause-initial and the verb (or the finite auxiliary of a verb in a compound tense) follows immediately after it. The postverbal elements then follow in their usual order (subject, indirect object, direct object), followed by the nonfinite part of a compound tense. The appearance of the verb in the position after this nominal is unlike any other word-order process in Ingush in that it is just the conjugated verb form – the finite auxiliary of a verb in a compound tense, or the shorn stem of a prefixed verb – that is moved; the rest (the prefixes, the nonfinite part of an analytic

tense form) remains at the end of the sentence. Enclitics that can attach only to the verb, however, stay with the conjugated form. A parenthetical word is discounted in figuring second position.

In the following examples the second-position finite verb form is boldface. (104)-(105) have a simple verb following a one-word focal NP. Another example is (55 = 61) above. Content questions (§30.3.1 above) are also examples of argument focus.

(104) Cuo **diicar** suona jerazh.
 3s.ERG D.tell.WP 1s.DAT these
She told them [=stories] to me (focus on *she*) (7D) (=56) above)

(105) Suona **diicar** cuo yzh.
 1s.DAT D.tell.WP 3s.ERG 3p
 She told them to *me*. It was me she told.

30.4.3. *Sentence focus.* The word order is the same as for argument focus.

(106) Turbaazh **loq** aarahw.
 trumpet.PL play outside
 Tucket within. (Lit. 'Trumpets play offstage'.) (PL 2.1) (stage direction)

(107) Keaxat **dar** yz joagha jaaxazh.
 letter D.be.PST 3s J.come.PRS say.CVsim
 Her letter said she was coming. (PL 2.4-2)

(108) cweaqa cwa (fy oalar **daga+daaghac** suona cogh) ...
 another one what call.IMPF remember+D.LV.NEG 1s.DAT 3s.LAT
 O V A G
 There was another one (I forget what it was called) ... (0392B)

30.4.4. *More on focus and word order.* The focal NP can have a proclitic:

(109) My=xaarcuo **jar=q** aaz cynga jiicaar ...
 EMPH=injustice J.be.PST=CUM 1s.ERG 3s.ALL J.say.PPL.NZ
 How unjust what I said to her was (PL 1.4.2)

and can be considerably expanded:

(110) [Qy yz maara hama] **xaacar** cynna
 else this except thing know:NEG.IMP 3s.DAT
 He knew nothing but this. This is all he knew.

- (111) [Sy eala='a kyl'galxuo='a vola ezdii graaf] vy taxan vaiciga
 1s.GEN prince=& patron=& V.be.PPL noble duke V.PROG.PRS today 1pIN-chez
 voaghazh.
 V.come.CV

My prince and patron the noble duke is coming to visit us tonight (PL 2.1)
 (lit. 'The noble duke, who is my prince and patron, ...')

A parenthetical word does not count in determining second position: see *xietargahw* in (83) above.

Only the finite verb is in second position; the nonfinite part of a compound verb or analytic tense form remains in clause-final position. Examples are (61)-(65) and (111) above.

Obligatorily verbal clitics remain on a second-position finite verb: (109) above. A deictic prefix is usually detached and in clause-final position: (62) above, (84) above (the verb there is *wa-d.oaqq* 'grab off, take down off'), (65) above, and (112-113):

- (112) teip-teipaara my **dett=ii** vai kuogazh **wa**
 various EMPH D.strike:PLC=Q 1pIN.ERG foot.PL down
 Everyone's footsteps are different. (0542)
 (Sentence focus. Context: The speaker was amazed when a blind man recognized him. The blind man says he knows people by their steps. This sentence elaborates on that statement.)

- (113) Hwo hwalxar **ec** aaz **hwa**.
 2s before.NZ take 1s.ERG DX
 I take you first. (PL 2.1)
 (Verb: *hwa'ec* 'take'. Argument focus on *hwalxar* 'first', replicating the focus of Pasternak's translation.)

The converb of a nuclear chain is similarly detached and final.

- (114) Yzh kegiicha naaxaca my **baagh=ii waxeishaa?**
 3p young:PL.OBL people.INS EMPH B.sit=Q DX-sit down.CVant
 (You mean) they were sitting with the young men? (0246A.36)
 (Argument focus. The speaker knows the individuals were sitting and asks who they were sitting with.) (*waxeishaa baagha* 'are sitting', cf. (46) in Chapter 24)

Only in the second-position focal construction is the finite verb detached from its prefixes and nonfinite parts. The following examples contrast second-position verb after argument focus (115) with sentence focus (117)-(118), which puts nonfocal arguments after the verb.

- (115) Muusaa **voall** suona cwacca hamaazh duucazh.
 Musa V.PROG.PRS 1s.DAT various thing.PL D.say.CV
 Musa is telling me various things.
- (116) * Muusaa **duucazh voall** suona cwacca hamaazh
- (117) Muusaa cwacca hamaazh **duucazh voall** suona.
 Musa various thing.PL D.say.CV V.PROG.PRS 1s.DAT
 Musa is telling me various things
- (118) Muusaa cwacca hwamaazh **duucazh vaagha** so volcha.
 Musa various thing.PL D.say.CV V.sit.PRS 1s V.be.PPL.OBL
 Musa is sitting at my place saying various things
- (119) * Muusaa cwacca hwamaazh **vaagha** so volcha duucazh.

30.4.5. *More complex examples.* The following example combines a content question with interrogative phrase ('how come, what for') and focus *dou* 'feud', in stylistically intricate published prose. The focus is split between the interrogative phrase and *dou* 'feud'. The interrogative phrase is clause-initial rather than in second position because the subject (which would ordinarily take first position) is in focus together with the verb and cannot be separated from it. The verb form is analytic, with its finite portion *dy* following the focused word *dou*.

- (120) Daadii, senna t'ygholla dwa-duola-danna dou **dy**
 dad what.DAT because of DX-D.begin.INC.CV feud D.be.PRS
 yz vai teipaaazhta jiq'iera + dar?
 DEM 1pin.GEN clan.PL.DAT among.ABL+D.be.PPL.NZ

Dad, why did the feud arise between our clans? (How come we have this *feud* that's arisen between our clans?) (DD)

As a consequence, the modifiers to *dou*, 'this' and the relative clause 'which is between our clans', are nominalized (otherwise they would be stranded from the head).

In more quotidian prose, if there were a single focus on *dou* the sentence might take this form, with *dou* and all of its modifiers in preverbal focus position:

- (121) yz vai teipaaazhta jiq'iera dou senna t'ygholla dwaduoladannad
 this feud between our clans what for arose

and if the interrogative phrase were initial it might take this form:

- (122) senna t'ygholla dwaduoladannad yz vai teipaaazhta jiq'iera dou
 what for arose this feud between our clans

30.4.4. *Pure contrastive focus.* Pure contrastive focus is on a non-fronted immediately preverbal element. Such contrastive focus is one of the readings of a sentence in basic AOV order. The following are elicited minimal pairs to examples above. The focus is in boldface.

- (123) Pacchahw **uqazahw** hwa-voagha
 king here DX.V.come.PRS
 The king is coming *here* (he was expected to go somewhere else) (cf. (62) above)

- (124) Cuo suona **yzh** diicar.
 3s.ERG 1s.DAT 3p D.tell.WP
 (a) She told *these* (and not those) to me.
 (b) Pragmatically neutral; every word equally new, no focus (cf. (56=104) above)

Much the same effect occurs when one of the objects is postposed:

- (125) Cuo **yzh** diicar suona.
 3s.ERG 3p D.tell.WP 1s.DAT
 (a) She told *these* to me.
 (b) Pragmatically neutral.

All words other than those moved to focal position follow their normal order.

- (126) * Suona **yzh** diicar cuo
 * Suona **yzh** cuo diicar
 * Cuo **yzh** suona diicar

There is, however, more freedom to reorder postverbal nominals. The first of these is more natural, but the second is also acceptable and there is little or no difference in meaning:

- (127) **Yzh** diicar cuo suona.
These are what she told me.

- (128) **Yzh** diicar suona cuo.

30.5. Extraction

For reasons that may have to do with prosody or evidentiality (see §25.16), it often happens that an argument or goal of a non-main clause appears not in that clause but at the end of the main clause. It bears the case assigned in the non-main clause. Examples of extracted objects are these from Chapter 25. (The non-main clause is bracketed, the extracted element is in bold, and its place in the non-main clause is marked by an underscore):

(129) [vuodar ___ hwadie=m] daga+duoxarg my dii **sagaa**
 evil-D.NZ DX-D.do.INF=FOC feel like.FUT EMPH D.=Q someone.DAT
 He wants to do harm to **someone**. (0408)

(130) wiiranna [___ vaxa] dog+daaghacar **ciga**
 morning.ADV V.go.I.NF heart+D.LV.NEG.WP there
 in the morning no one wanted to go **there** (because it was chilly) (0216B.3)

Extracted subject:

(131) [___ Fy daarbazh dez h xannad] xoi hwuona **cuo?**
 what treatment.PL D.do.CVsim PROG.NARP.D know=Q 2s.DAT 3s.ERG
 Do you know what kinds of healing **he** did? (0415.12)

(132) [___ Fy oalar] xaandzar suona **cuo** ...
 what say.IMPF know.NEG.WP 1s.DAT 3s.ERG
 I didn't know what **he** said. (0395A.31)

Extracted possessor:

(133) [___ Kuogalgazh mel zwamiga by] xoi hwuona **cyn?**
 foot.DIM.PL how_much small B.be.PRS know=Q 2s.DAT 3s.GEN
 You know how tiny **his** feet are? (Adult to child, explaining why an infant can't walk.)
 (0746)

Other examples are (35) and (85) in Chapter 13.

When *mott* 'think, believe' takes an asyndetic finite complement, the subject of the complement clause is regularly at the end of the main clause.

(135) Muhwmad, handz [___ vai duucazh doa q'ameal dwa-xodz]
 M. now 1pIN D.talk.CVsim D.be.PPL conversation DX-hear
 mott suona **vai mexkaxozhta**
 think 1s.DAT 1pIN.GEN countryman.PL.DAT
 Muhwmad, I think **our countrymen** are listening to this broadcast. (0380A.28)

- (134) [__ Shie kerda jaazjea beitzazh jiesha voall] mott suona **jer**.
 3SRFL.ERG new J.write.J.PPL poem.PL J.read.INF V.PROG think 1s.DAT 3s
 I think **he's** ready to read some of his new poems. (KSh)

For more examples see §§25.1 and 25.16, and (37) above in this chapter.

30.6. Existential, locative, and possessive sentences

In existential, locative, or possessive clauses the domain, location, or possessor patterns in word order like the A of a two-argument clause, and the possessed noun or the one whose existence is asserted patterns like the O. The basic or neutral order is A patterner + O patterner + V:

- (136) Istuola=t'y kinashjka ull.
 table.GEN=on book lie.PRS
 There's a book (lying) on the table. On the table lies a book. (Book = O patterner.)
- (137) **Suoga axcha dalaarie** so Jivroopie ghogjar.
 1s.ALL money D.be.CVirr 1s Europe.ADV go.J.FUT
 If I had money I'd go to Europe. (I = A patterner, money = O patterner.)

The A patterner can be postposed in order to focus on the O patterner as in (138) or to avoid having it greatly separated from the verb by a heavy NP as in (139):

- (138) uq loamazh=t'y jiq'ie **keanjik vysaav** **sy**
 DEM.OBL mountain.PL=on among boy V.remain.NW.V 1s.GEN
 I've got a *son* (who was) left behind in the mountains. My *son* was left behind in the mountains. (0240) (I = A patterner)

- (139) yz hwa-baaqqal **axcha dy** **suoga**
 3s DX-B.take.CVext money D.be.PRS 1s.ALL
 I've got enough money to get it done (roast a sheep using the money as fuel) (0418.36)

or for presentational force, introducing a new participant into the discourse:

- (140) C'uoliena jixxie ullazh jy **Neakastie**,
 (place).DAT nearby lie.CVsim J.PROG (place)
 Neakasta vaaxazh var Diebarii Dzhambot jaaxazh **sag**
 (place).ADV V.live.CVsim V.prog (name) (name) call.CVsim person
 Near C'uolii (previously mentioned place) lies **Neak'astie** (new setting), and in Neakastie there lived a **man** named D. Dzh. (new protagonist). (0240)

CHAPTER 31

NEGATION

Negation is formally marked only on the verb in Ingush, regardless of its semantic scope. (There is one exception to this statement: the negative participial forms discussed at the end of §31.1.) The word in the scope of negation can sometimes be identified by particles and prosody, but often there is no formal marking of scope.

31.1. Simple negation

The negative morpheme is either a suffix or a proclitic particle depending on the verb's inflectional form: suffix for tense forms, proclitic *cy* for converbs and nonfinites, proclitic *my* for imperatives. (For the negative suffixal forms see §13.12.) There is also the stylistic option of emphatic negation, marked with a non-clitic word: see §31.6.) In (1)-(2) the negative morpheme is hyphenated off for visibility, though the exact morpheme boundary is not always discrete.

- (1) Xaa-**c** suona=m.
know-NEG 1s.DAT=FOC
I don't know.
- (2) qy suona vaala=m vaala-**ndz**-ar sag
any more 1s.DAT V.RED=FOC V.go-NEG-WP anyone
No one else got in front of me (in line). (0409.22)
- (3) Nuu **cy** hwaqacha ladar chy-doalar
broom NEG sweep.CVtemp leak in-D.go.IMPF
If you didn't sweep it water would leak in. (0409.22)
- (4) Veina magha sag **my** vaaliitalaa
1pIN.DAT ahead anyone NEG V.go-CSind.IMPVmild
Don't let anyone in ahead of us. (0409.22)

Though negation is formally marked only on verbs, any clause member or modifier can be in the scope of negation, and except for indefinite pronouns (covered below in §31.2) there is no formal difference between a (semantically) negated and non-negated element. In the following examples the word in the scope of negation is in boldface. Examples where the verb is in the scope of negation:

- (5) Muusaai bolx bie **dog daaghac**.
M.GEN work B.do.INF like D.LV.NEG
Musa doesn't **like** working. Musa doesn't like to work. (143)
- (6) **Goa my=jie** so.
delay NEG=J.CS.IMPV 1s
Don't **make me late**. Don't **delay** me. (1650)
- (7) Jer diina volcha xaana qy **qeikagvaac** hwuoga
3s alive V.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT any more call.V.FUT.NEG 2s.ALL
He'll never summon you again in his life. (0418.36)

Arguments and adjuncts:

- (8) Dika jow **jurtara** aara-jaaliitac oalazh my dii vai.
good girl town.ABL out-J.go-CSind.NEG say.CVsim EMPH D.PROG=Q 1pIN
They say a good girl isn't married ('sent, let go') outside of the village. (0231A.3)
- (9) **Churegh=m** jyc yz hwuona, *no* cwa hama jy
intestine.LATpl=FOC J.make.NEG 3s MIR but one thing J.be.PRS
cu churazhcaanie, shoashjk jaaxazh.
DEM.OBL intestine.PL.INS rennet call.CVsim
They don't make it [rennet] from the intestines, but there's something together with the intestines that's called "rennet". (0216B.3)
- (10) **Ghalghaai weadalagh** aalandzar cuo yz.
Ingush language.LAT say.NEG.IMPV 3s.ERG 3s
He didn't say it in Ingush. (0395A.31)
- (11) **Sixa my=lexka**.
fast NEG=drive:PLC.IMPV
Don't drive **(so) fast**.
- (12) Yz **xaanahw** balxa hwa-vaaghac.
3s time.ADV work.ADV DX-V.come.NEG.PRS
He doesn't come to work **on time**.

With some auxiliaries an infinitive is formally negated when it is in the scope of negation; otherwise the auxiliary is negated (see (5) above).

- (13) Ber sogh cy **qiera** meg.
child 1 s.LAT NEG fear.INF may
Maybe the child isn't afraid of me. It could be that the child isn't afraid of me.

- (14) Vanagh dalcha='a txo cy **dyta** gherh sho?
 EMPH D.die.CVtemp=& 1pEX NEG D.leave.INF try 2p
 Well, can you give us no peace even when we're dead? (Dymii)

A negative past participle, though not a freely formed inflectional form, is lexicalized as an adjective in a few instances. These seem to be the only exception to the statement that negation is formally marked only on verbs.

- (15) **Dittandza** barcq'azh daada sy.
 D.wash.PPL.NEG clothes.PL D.lie:PL.PRS 1s.GEN
 I have unwashed laundry lying around.
- (16) jizharii='a bolazh mearie **baxandza**
 sister.PL=& B.be.CVsim married B.go.PPL.NEG
 ... and I had unmarried sisters (0398B.1)
- (17) Daala sy xa **qaachandza** so jitar xuddar=q yz
 God.ERG 1s.GEN time arrive.PPL.NEG 1s J.leave.WP INFR.D.CND=CUM 3s
 It must have been that God left me [alive] because my time hadn't come. (0238A)
- (18) **bawandza** boa ka by
 B.castrate.PPL.NEG B.be.PPL ram B.be.PRS
 'uncastrated ram' (gloss) (0395B.1)
- (19) **Qeikandza** baxaa pwu **dottandza** bienab
 invite. PPL.NEG B.go.PPL dog D.pour. PPL.NEG B.come.NW.B
 An uninvited guest gets no hospitality. (Proverb.) (lit. 'A dog who went [somewhere] uninvited came back **unpoured**', i.e. without any dog food having been poured out for it; D gender in agreement with implicit *desh* 'gruel for dogs, dog food'.)

Other examples: *d.iishandza* 'uneducated, unlettered' (lit. 'not having studied'), *d.oad.andza* (D.disappear-D.CS.NEG) 'intact', lit. 'undestroyed', *geina-gaandza* (be_late.PPL-be_late.PPL.NEG) 'sooner or later', lit. 'delayed-undelayed'.

31.2. Indefinites in the scope of negation

There is no double or multiple negation in Ingush, with the possible exception of the two specialized adverbs *c'aqqa='a* 'never; (not) ... ever' and *cq'ea-cq'a* 'not once'. In origin these are indefinites specialized for use in negative contexts; they contain no formal marking of negation. Apart from these, ordinary indefinites ('someone', 'something', etc.) are used with a negative verb, often taking focus gemination or the clitic ='a but otherwise bearing no formal

indication that they are in the scope of negation. The ordinary indefinites *sag* 'someone' (lit. 'person') and *hama* 'something' (lit. 'thing'), when in the scope of negation, have phrasal accent if they are in the nominative case, and they can be preceded by indefinite *cwa* 'one' or an emphatic indefinite (with focus gemination and optional focus particle) *cwaaqqa* or *cwaaqqa='a* 'any'. Another form in the oblique cases is *cwannie='a* 'someone' (nominalized form of 'one' plus particle). The distinctive forms are found only in the nominative; in oblique cases, ordinary indefinite forms are used (sometimes with the focus particle).

Partial case paradigms of the most common indefinite forms:

	<i>'someone;</i> <i>no one'</i>	<i>'no one'</i>	<i>'something;</i> <i>nothing'</i>	<i>'nothing'</i>
NOM	sag	cwaaqqa(='a) sag	hama	cwaaqqa hama
DAT	cwan sagaa	cwanniena='a	hamanna	cwaqqa hamanna
ERG	cwan saguo	cwannie='a	(not attested)	

In the following examples each of the successive primary phrasal accents is lower in pitch than the preceding due to normal declination. After a high-accent nominative indefinite, an element that would ordinarily bear high accent (such as *bwarjga* in (20), where it is the first element of a compound) has low accent. The high tone associated with the negative suffix on the verb sounds like primary stress with high accent and may well be so parsed. Its pitch is lower than that of *ság* due to declination.

- (20) Suona **ság** bwarjga+veindzar
 1s.DAT person eye +V.see.NEG.NW
 I didn't see **anybody**.
- (21) Taxan balxa **ság** hwa-vëndzar
 today work.ADV person DX-V.come.NEG.WP
Nobody came to work today.
- (22) Suona aara **cwaaqqa='a ság** bwarjga+veindzar
 1s.DAT outside one.FOC=& person eye+V.see.NEG.WP
 I didn't see **anyone** outside.
- (23) **Cwaaqqa ság** hwa-vëndzar
 nobody DX-V.come.NEG.WP
Nobody came.
- (24) Suona **cwannie='a** áxcha dalândzar
 1s-DAT anyone money D.give.NEG.WP
No one gave me money.

- (25) Aaz diixacha suona **cwán sàguo** áxcha dalândzar
 1s.ERG ask.CVtemp 1s.DAT anybody-ERG money give-NEG.WP
 When I asked [for it] no one gave me money'
- (26) So **cwannienâ='a** bwàrjga+veîndzar
 1s.NOM anybody-DAT eye+see- NEG.WP
No one saw me.
- (27) So **cwán sagaa** bwàrjga+veîndzar
 1s.NOM any.OBL person.DAT eye+V.see- NEG.WP
No one saw me.
- (28) Aaz **cwannienâ='a** tîlifton tiexândzar
 1s.ERG anyone-dat telephone strike-NEG.WP
 I didn't phone **anyone**.
- (29) Seigara diixacha aaz **cwán sàgaa** áxcha dalândzar
 1s.RFL.ABL ask.CVtemp 1s.ERG anybody-DAT money give- NEG.WP
 When [they] asked me [for it] I didn't give anybody money. (When asked I didn't give anyone money.)
- (30) Aaz **cwán sàgaa** háma tiexândzar
 1s.ERG any person-DAT thing strike-NEG.WP
 I didn't hit **anyone**.
- (31) Cwanniê='a **cwán sàgaga** tîlifton tiexândzar
 Anyone-ERG any person.ALL telephone strike-NEG.WP
 Nobody phoned anyone', 'Nobody called anyone on the phone.'
- (32) So **cwannieca** ghorng vaac.
 I anyone.INS go.FUT V.be.NEG
 I'm not going with anyone.

Examples with 'anything':

- (33) **cwaaqqa hama='a** dala cy diezazh
 any thing=& D.give.INF NEG D.should.CVsim
 free (lit. 'not needing payment')
- (34) Aaz **cwan hamaca** jaaz-dyc.
 1s.ERG any.OBL thing.INS write-D.NEG
 I don't write with anything.

Dummy objects, though indefinite in form, do not take *cwaaqqa* or the focal particle when negated. *Hama* is a dummy object in (35).

- (35) Cwan saguo cwanniena **hama** tiexandzar.
 Anyone.ERG anyone.DAT thing struck.NEG.PST
 Nobody hit anybody.

If *cwaaqqa* is added, the indefinite can still be interpreted as a dummy object, or as a literal indefinite:

- (36) Aaz cynna cwaaqqa hama tiexandzar
 1s.ERG 3s.DAT any thing strike.NEG.WP
 I didn't hit him. I didn't hit him at all / with anything.

The common idiomatic expression 'you're welcome', 'that's nothing' also does not take *cwaaqqa*:

- (37) Barkal. – Hama daac.
 Thanks. anything D.be.PRS.NEG
 Thanks. – You're welcome.

Examples with indefinite attributive 'any':

- (38) Yz vvaalla='a cwaaqqa chaam boacazh chq'eara bar.
 3s at all=& any taste B.be:NEG.CV fish B.be.WP
 The fish was no good. (Lit. 'the fish had no taste at all')
- (39) Cynna cwaaqqa teipaara shod hwa-boasta-balandzar.
 3s.DAT any kind.ABL knot DX-B.untie-B.POT.WP.NEG
 He couldn't get the knot untied at all.
- (40) hwalxagha cwaaqqa q'am cy daaxazh deassa illaa leatta
 formerly any people NEG D.live.CV D.empty lie.CV land
 previously uninhabited land

'Never' in Ingush is the specialized indefinite *c'aqqa*(='a):

- (41) Muusaaz suoga c'aqqa='a la+duoghac
 M.ERG 1s.ALL never=& listen+D.LV.NEG
 Musa never listens to me.

- (42) Suona daaz c'aqqa='a axcha dannadaac
me-DAT father-ERG never=& money D.give.NW.NEG
My father never gave me money.

Two indefinites can be in the scope of the same negation:

- (43) **Cwanniena='a sag** bwarjga+veindzar
nobody-DAT=& anybody eye+V.see.NEG.PST
Nobody saw anybody.
- (44) Seigara diixacha aaz cwanniena='a cwaqqa hama dalandzar
1s.RFL.ABL ask.CVtemp 1s.ERG anyone.DAT=& any thing D.give.NEG.WP
When (they) asked me I didn't give anybody anything.
- (45) Cwan saguo cwanniena hama tiexandzar.
Anyone.ERG anyone.DAT thing strike.NEG.WP
Nobody hit anybody.
- (46) Cwannie='a cwan sagaga tilifon tiexandzar
Anyone-ERG any person-ALL telephone strike.NEG.WP
Nobody phoned anyone. Nobody called anyone on the phone.
- (47) Suona cwannie='a c'aqqa hama dannadaac
me.DAT anyone.ERG=& never thing D.give.NW.NEG
Nobody has ever given me anything.

but more than two are unattested in texts and rejected by speakers:

- (48) *Cwannie='a cwanniena cwaqqa hama dalandzar
no_one.ERG anyone.DAT any thing D.give.NEG.WP
(No one gave anybody anything.)
- (49) *? Oaxa diixacha cwan saguo cwanniena='a cwa hama dalandzar
1pEX.ERG D.ask.CVtemp anyone.ERG anyone.DAT=& one thing D.give.NEG.WP
When we asked, no one gave anyone anything.

'nowhere':

- (50) Selxan so cwannahwa vaxandzar
yesterday I anyplace went.NEG.WP
Yesterday I didn't go anywhere.

(51) So cwannahwa(='a) ghorg vaac
 I anyplace go.FUT be.NEG
 I'm not going anywhere. (I'm not going to go anywhere')

(52) Cwannahwa sag ghorg vaac.
 anyplace anyone go.FUT V.NEG
 Nobody will go anywhere.

'any more' is *qy* 'more, another':

(53) So ciga qy c'aqqa='a ghorg vaac
 I there anymore never=& go.FUT V.NEG
 I won't go there again. I won't go there any more.

(54) Uq dinie=chy eisa joaqqacha xaana
 this-OBL world=in 1s.RFL.ERG spend.PPL.OBL time.DAT
 so qy ciga c'aqqa='a ghorg vaac.
 I anymore there never go.FUT V.NEG
 Nevermore as long as I live on this earth will I go there.

(55) Cwannahw='a c'aqqa='a (qy) sag ghorg vaac
 anywhere ever=& anymore anyone go.FUT V.NEG
 Nobody's ever going to go anywhere anymore.

The schematic diagram of intonation in (56) shows that an indefinite modifier and the indefinite word it modifies each have phrasal accent. The high pitch on the syllable before =*'a*, the high pitch on the word in the scope of negation (here, *sag*), and the high pitch on the syllable before the negative *-ndz-* are all high, but declination lowers each successive one.

(56)

--

 ----- ---- ---- ----

Suona aara **cwaqqâ='a sâg** bwârjga véindzar
 1s.DAT outside any=& person eye+V.see.NEG.WP
 I didn't see anybody outside.

31.3. Negation in chaining

In nuclear chaining negation is usually marked only on the main verb. Either the main verb or the converb can be in the scope of negation, depending on the context:

- (57) A: Shiina tiexaa valarii yz?
 3SRFL.DAT strike.CVant V.die.WP=Q 3s
 Did he commit suicide?

B: Aa, handz yz diina vy.
 no now 3s alive V.be.PRS
 No, he's still alive. (Appropriate answer if main verb was in scope of negation.)

B': Aa, yz viira qycha saguo
 no 3s V.kill.WP other.OBL person.ERG
 No, someone else killed him. (Appropriate if converb was in scope of negation.)

In core chaining, negation is marked in the clause in its scope, and a converb bears formal negation if it bears semantic negation. In (58) only the main clause is negated; in (59) and other examples in §31.4 only the converb clause is.

- (58) Kog loza='a bea, dwa-liela-luzh **vaac** yz.
 leg hurt=& B.CS.CVant DX-walk-INCP.CVsim V.PROG.NEG 3s
 He hurt his leg and can't walk. (1309)

- (59) Ghaalii kuorta hwa **cy='a** boaqqazh yz cigara vaxaav
 tower.GEN head DX NEG=& B.take.CVsim 3s there.ABL V.go.NW.V
 He left without putting up the 'tower head' (final stone on the peak of a tower roof).
 (0743)

Where the entire converb + main verb sequence is negated there is only one negative morpheme, in the main clause:

- (60) Kuotamazh yshtta q'easttaa shoazhta guonahwa kart='a jea
 chicken.PL so separately 3pRFL.DAT around fence=& J.make.CVant
 dwa-chy-joxk-**ac**-ar, joxkarii?
 DX=in-J.insert:PL-NEG-WP J.insert:PL.WP=Q

Didn't he fence the chickens out (of the garden)? Didn't he fence the chickens off (in a separate cage)? (Lit. 'Didn't he build a fence around themselves and keep the chickens separately?') (0409.22)

- (67) loxie leattaagh **cy='a** joaqqazh laqie qaachazh joagha
 below ground.LAT NEG='a J.take.CVsim above ripen.CVsim J.come.PPL
 koartuolazh jienii
 potato.PL J.come.NW.J

Potatoes have ripened above the ground instead of being harvested from down under the ground. (0206A.3)

31.5. Obligatory negation with 'only'

Two words meaning 'except, besides; only', *maara* and *maarjkaa*, require negation of the verb of their clause. These words are postposed particles which follow the word or phrase in their scope. The examples here are organized by the syntactic role in the scope of 'only'.

A:

- (68) Cwan **Muusaaz maara** diishandzar derriga kinashjka.
 one.OBL Musa.ERG except D.read.NEG.WP D.all book
 Only Musa read the whole book. Musa was the only one to read the whole book.

S:

- (69) Cyn **qo som maara** max **baac**
 3s.GEN three ruble only price B.be:PRS.NEG
 It only costs three rubles. (Ozdoeva & Kurkiev 1980 s.v. *tol'ko*)
- (70) Learhaar qoachazh du **cwa xa maara jaacar**
 reckon.PPL.NZ finish.CV D.make.PPL one time only J.PROG.NEG.IMPF
 cwan barta=t'y jea jiezazh.
 one.OBL agreement.GEN=on J.do.CVant J.must.CVsim (7D)
 It took only a moment to reach a unanimous decision to enact what had been decided.
- (71) Doacachogh **doacar maara** xug my **daac**.
 D.be:NEG.PPL.NZ.LAT D.be: NEG.PPL.NZ only be:FUT EMPH D.be.NEG.PRS
 Nothing will come of nothing. (From nothing there will be only be nothing.) (PL 1.4.2)

O:

- (72) Aaz **cwa kinashjka maara** diishandzar
 1s.ERG one book only D.read.WP.NEG
 I read only one book.

- (73) Gi jollal, morh bizzal **hamalgazh maara**
 on_back J.put:FOC.ADV armful B.fill: FOC.ADV thing:DIM.PL only
 hwa **cy** ieciitazh ...
 DX NEG take.CS.CV

letting people grab up only what few things they could carry on their back or in their arms .. (7D)

Nominative object of a verb with dative or genitive subject:

- (74) Uqaza **bolx bar maarjkea** qy suona hama **xaac**
 here work B.do.NZ only else 1s.DAT anything know.NEG
 I don't know, I just work here.
- (75) Hamalgj bahwan qiestachyn / **Axcha maara daac**
 thing.DIM because_of turn:PLC.PPL.NZ.GEN money only D.be/have.NEG
 One who serves for gain has only money. (PL 2.4#55)

Oblique object:

- (76) So **dzhwalegh maara** qierac
 1s dog.PL.LAT only fear.NEG
 I'm only afraid of dogs. The only thing I'm afraid of is dogs.

Indirect object (G):

- (77) Cuo shii **bierazhta maara** soughatazh tielac.
 3s.ERG 3s:RFL.GEN child.PL.DAT only gift.PL give:PLC.NEG
 She only gives presents to her own children.

Adverb, adjunct:

- (78) Niw **niztq'a maara** dwa-q'oulac.
 door force.ADV only DX-close.NEG
 The door doesn't close easily. The door doesn't quite shut. ('The door doesn't close except by force')
- (79) Aaz **cuduhwa maara** qy hamanna eannadaacar yz.
 1s.ERG therefore only else (any)thing.DAT say.PNW.NEG 3s
 That's the only reason I said it. That's all I meant. ('I didn't say it for anything except that')

Converb clause:

- (80) Shi bwarjg vwaashka=m bullag**baac**, milord,
two eye together=FOC B.put.B.FUT.NEG my lord

hwa keaxat **dwa-qaachiitaa maara**.
2s.GEN letter DX-arrive-CS.CV only

I won't close my eyes, my lord, until I've delivered your letter. (PL 1.5)

Note also these more or less lexicalized phrases:

- (81) **caw maara voaca** vow
one.NZ only V.be.NEG.PPLprs son
only son; son who is an only child

- (82) **caw maara joaca** jow
one.NZ only J.be. NEG.PPLprs daughter
only daughter; daughter who is an only child

When the verb is negated independently and the clause also contains *maara*, there is no double negation. In (83) and (84) the verb is negated because of the semantics ('don't know his clan', 'not long afterwards') and also because of *maara* 'only'. There is only one negative morpheme, on the verb.

- (83) Yz **hwanagh vy xaac** suona, famili yshta joljga **maarjkaa**.
3s who.LAT V.be.PRS know.NEG 1s.DAT last name thus J.be.SBJ only
I don't know his clan, only his last name. (0392B.1)

- (84) c'a-viena **duqq='a xa jaalcha maara**
home-V.come.CVant much:FOC=& time J.pass.CVtemp only

txy daa vala='a **valandzar**
1pEX.GEN father V.RED=& V.die.NEG.WP

Not long after we got back home my father died. (0231A.3)

31.6. Emphatic negation

The adverb *mycha* (lit. 'where') is used for emphatic negation: 'not at all', 'never', 'not a single one', etc., sometimes 'no longer, no more', and sometimes colloquially just for a general emphatic effect. Forms of 'be' cliticize to it.

- (85) Axcha **mycha**=d suoga
 money where=D.be.PRS 1s.ALL
 (But) I don't have the money (for it) any more.
- (86) Fynnagh dalie='a, laamaz dynza **mycha** voal shie!
 whatever D.be.CVirr=& prayer D.do.PPL.NEG NEG V.go 3SRFL²²⁷
 eanna meazhdiga=chy chy-veanna laamaz dead cuo.
 say.CVant mosque=in in-V.go.CVant prayer D.do.NW.D 3s.ERG
 No matter what, I'm not going to go without praying first, he said, and went to the mosque and prayed. (Dumézil 1936)
- (87) Wa cyn diezal boa-bycha='a, cyn diezal
 2s.ERG 3s.GEN family B.kill:PL-B.CS*.CVtemp=& 3s.GEN family
 qo'-pxi' maara xanna xug **mychuu** ...
 three.NZ -five only be.INFR NEG=V (=xanna xugvaac)
 Even if you kill his family, that would only be some three to five people ... (0392B.1))

In (88) from a myth text the emphatic negative stresses the fact that the destruction is total.

- (88) Aa-a-a, je jurt aqaar my wa-sshaara my jeajii,
 Oh, that town 3p.ERG EMPH DX-flatten EMPH J.VZ.J.NW=Q
 cwa ghaala **mycha** jitaai, qiera='t'y qer **mycha** bitaab.
 one tower where J.leave.NW stone=on stone where B.leave.NW
 Oh -- they must have completely destroyed that town – they didn't leave one single tower standing, they didn't leave one single stone on top of another. (0001)

(89) (from the same text) seems to be purely emphatic. Here the narrator is talking about the present time.

- (89) Biezam baac yzh ghaalaazh toa-jie,
 wish B.be.NEG DEM.PL tower.PL repair-J.CS*.INF
 yzh=m hwal-jie='a nidz **mycha**=b
 them-FOC up-J.do.INF=& strength where=B.be.PRS
 No one wants to repair the towers, no one has the means to erect them. (0001)

²²⁷ Logophoric reflexive.

Another kind of emphatic negation uses reduplication of the verb (§15.5.4.4) for a sense close to 'not even...':

- (90) cu sharazhka Zjazikov Idriis hwoaxa-vezh vaacar,
 DEM.OBL year.PL.ALL (name) mention-V.CS*.CVsim V.PROG.NEG

je txuona xa='a xaacar yz xannavii
 or 1pEX.DAT RED=& know.NEG.IMPF 3s be.NW.V=Q

Those years Idris Zjazikov wasn't mentioned and we **didn't even know** he had existed.
 (0531.08)

- (91) alapazh da='a doacazh ...
 letter.PL D.RED=& D.be:NEG.CVsim
 since there wasn't any writing system (0392A.41)

- (92) Kazaxstaan maara caar yz duucazh suona xaza='a xazandzar ilieca
 Kazakhstan only 3-.ERG 3s D.tell.CVsim 1s.DAT RED=& hear.NEG.WP song.INS
 I've only heard the song version in Kazakhstan. I've never heard it sung except in
 Kazakhstan. (0207A)

- (93) cynna niissa vy mycha var vai
 3s.DAT equal:FOC V.RED NEG V.be.PST 1pIN.GEN
 He had no equal. We had no equal to him. (0542)

CHAPTER 32

QUESTIONS, ANSWERS, REBUTTALS

32.1. Polar (yes-no) questions

In polar questions the verb is followed by the interrogative clitic =*ii*. Word order in these questions is generally verb-second. The interrogative clitic opens the preceding syllable and undoes present-tense vowel shortening in verbs such as {tuox} 'strike' and {d.iesh} 'read'.

Present	tox	desh	vedz
Interrogative	tuox=ii?	diesh=ii?	viez=ii?
	'strike'	'read'	'know'

After a vowel or diphthong the clitic is reduced to {j}, turning the vowel into a diphthong. The present-tense *-u* of the monosyllables *du* 'make', *lu* 'give', and *gu* 'see' is *o* before the clitic.²²⁸

Present	du	lu	gu	xou
Interrogative	doi?	loi?	goi?	xoi?
	'make'	'give'	'see'	'know'

A verb form ending in schwa plus the interrogative clitic ends in /ii/, and it is difficult to say whether the *-ii* has replaced the schwa or has been reduced to {j} after the schwa (so that the sequence of schwa plus *-j* produces /ii/ by schwa tensing: see §3.2.4).

Present	dieza	voagha	juoda	vaagha	dy
Interrogative	diezii?	voaghii?	juodii?	vaaghii?	dii?
	'like'	'come'	'go'	'sit'	'is'

The clitic has prominent high pitch (so prominent that perhaps it might be analyzed as having secondary stress) except that in tenses with high tone on the ending (witnessed past and nonwitnessed) the ending keeps its high tone (which is not as high as the usual high pitch of the interrogative clitic) and the interrogative clitic is lower in pitch than the ending, but higher than a postverbal pronoun would be. The prosody is shown schematically in (1), where the horizontal lines indicate the pitch height. As these examples show, a postverbal subject has the same low pitch after the interrogative clitic as it has after any verb form.

²²⁸ The original quality of the vowel was *o, preserved in Batsbi and most Chechen dialects.

---	--	--
(1) -----	----- ---	cf. -----
--	--	--
diesh=ii wa?	diishâr=ii wa?	diishâr wa
read.PRS=Q 2s.ERG	read.WP=Q 2s.ERG	read.WP 2s.ERG
'do you read?'	'did you read?' ²²⁹	'you read'

In tense forms not carrying a high-tone ending, I have recorded the high tone of the interrogative clitic variously on the clitic and on the preceding syllable: {tuox=ii} 'strike?' *tuôx=ii ~ tuox=îi*. On monosyllables the sole syllable includes the clitic and has high tone: *d=îi* 'is?', *d=ôi* 'does it make? do they make?', etc.

The answer to a yes-no question is generally just the finite verb form, optionally with any additional words needed for expansion on the answer. The subject can be included (postverbally, and often with slight a pause before it). Less often, the entire clause can be repeated. The particle *aa* 'no' can preface one of the more elaborated replies. (*Ha'a* 'yes' is not used often in answers, though it is sometimes used in affirmations (§32.6).) Emphatic *deara* can be clause-initial or follow the verb. Here and below, A and B lines are the different speakers in a dialog. (2B) shows a number of possible answers.

(2) A: Ingal mott xoi hwuona?		
English language know=Q 2s.DAT		
Do you know English?		
B: Xaac.	know.PRS.NEG	No (lit. (I) don't know (it)).
Xaac suona.	know.PRS.NEG 1s.DAT	id.
Aa, yz xaac suona.	no 3s know.PRS.NEG 1s.DAT	No, I don't know it.
Vwaalla='a xaac.	at_all know.PRS.NEG	I don't know it at all.
Xou.	know.PRS	Yes (lit. '(I) know (it)).
Deara xou.	EMPH know.PRS	I sure do.
(3) A: T'umghoi by yzh, bii?		B: By deara.
(clan) B.be.PRS 3p B.be.PRS=Q		B.be.PRS EMPH
A: Are they T'umghoi (clan name)?	B: Yes, they certainly are. (0392B.1)	

²²⁹ Note that the witnessed past tense in questions presupposed that the hearer witnessed the event (while in non-questions it presupposes that the speaker witnessed the event).

- (4) A: Sam by jaax wa, jaaxii? B: Jaax.
sam B.be.PRS say.PRS 2s.ERG say.PRS=Q say.PRS
 It's called *sam*, you said, right? Yes. (0392B.1)

The first element of a compound verb, nuclear chaining construction, etc. can be left out in the answer, leaving only the light verb or finite verb form:

- (5) A: Daga+joaghii hwuona? B: Deara joagha.
 remember+J.LV.PRS=Q 2s.DAT EMPH J.LV.PRS
 Do you remember them? Of course. (0743)

32.2. Content (Wh) questions

Content questions use interrogative pronouns (§9.2.5-6). The interrogative word is immediately preverbal and often clause-initial. (See §30.3.1.)

- (6) Mala tieshagvy hwogh?
 who believe.FUT.V 2s.LAT
 Who will believe you? (PL 2.1)
- (7) Fy=jy yz? (/fii yz/ or /fiiy yz/)
 what J.be.PRS DEM
 What is this?
- (8) Fy ealar wa?
 what say.WP 2s.ERG
 What did you say?
- (9) Hwan turbaazh jy yzh?
 who.GEN trumpet.PL J.be.PRS those
 Whose trumpets are those? (PL 2.4)
- (10) Hwan teipagh loarhazh dy sho?
 who.GEN clan.LAT reckon.CVsim D.PROG.PRS 2p
 What clan do you belong to? ('Whose clan are you reckoned in?')

If the verb is 'be' and the interrogative word is a predicate nominal, it can be initial or can remain in situ.

- (11) Ea', malii yz?
 oh who=J.be.PRS 3s
 Oh, who is that? (PL 2.4)

- (12) Sho malazh dy?
 2pl who.PL D.be.PRS
 Who are you guys?

The interrogative word can follow a topicalized NP:

- (13) Je urs hwan dy?
 this knife who.GEN D.be.PRS
 Whose knife is this?

Content questions often involve clefting (§28.7). Clefting is common when the interrogative word is a case-inflected word (notably, *mala* 'who') and is near-obligatory when the case would be ergative. In clefting, the interrogative word is a predicate nominal with 'be', hence in the nominative case. The interrogative word (with cliticized 'be') is usually either final or initial. Initial position generally suggests focus or emphasis on the interrogative word; final position topicalizes the initial constituent.²³⁰

- (14) Wa-viezhaar maluu? {mala=vy}
 DX-V.fall.PPL.NZ who=V.be.PRS
 Who fell? (Lit. 'Who is it that fell?' 'Who is the one who fell?')

- (15) Maluu vear?
 who=V.be.PRS V.give_birth.PPL.NZ
 Is it a boy or a girl? (Lit. 'Who did (she) give birth to?' or 'Who was born?')

- (16) Kinashjka jaaz-dezh jar malii? {mala=jy}
 book write-D.VZ.CVsim J.be.PPL.NZ who=J.be.PRS
 Who was writing the book? Who is the one who was writing a book?

- (17) Maluu-tesh sy jett bygaar.
 Who=V.be.PRS-INTRSP 1s.GEN cow B.drive.PPL.NZ
 I wonder who drove off my cow. (Who is it, I wonder, that drove off my cow?) (JBX)

²³⁰ *Mala* 'who' generally takes V gender (masculine), though it can and does take J gender if the referent is known to be female (as in (11) and (16)).

- (18) Fy dead hwuona? Maluu hwuona dig tiexaar?
 what D.do.NW.D 2s.DAT who=V.be.PRS 2s.DAT axe strike.PPL.NZ
 What happened to you? Who struck you with an axe? (Hwun sag)

- (19) Yz mycha=d hwo qellaar, hamaazh tiegachuo
 3s NEG=D.be 2s create.PPL.NZ thing.PL sew.PPL.NZ.ERG
 vwaashagh my vellaavii hwo.
 together EMPH V.create.NW=Q 2s

It's not her (Nature) that created you, a tailor put you together. (PL 2.2)

In (19) *mycha*, lit. 'where', is used as emphatic negation (§31.6). The second clause is a rhetorical yes-no question (§32.4.2).

Ergative interrogative pronouns can be elicited but are rare in natural occurrence. One of the few idiomatic expressions with an unclefted ergative interrogative pronoun is:

- (20) Hwanuo dwa-leacar hwo?
 who.ERG DX-catch.WP 2s
 Where were you? Where have you been? What kept you so long? (to someone who left for a moment but was gone for awhile) (lit. 'Who captured you?')

The following, from a carefully written literary text, has an unclefted ergative probably because it already contains a nominalization (*sy+bar* 'mine'), and two nominalizations in one clause would be hard to interpret.

- (21) "Wa=m hwaai dea pwa my liixaabar=ii,
 2s.ERG=FOC 2SRFL.GEN father.GEN vengeance EMPH LV.PNW.B=Q

sy+bar hwan liexar-hwogh,
 1s.GEN+B.NZ who.ERG seek.IMPf-INTRSP

mealxara dy cyn ler.
 sad D.be.PRS 3s.GEN speech

"You've avenged your father, but who will (lit. 'would') avenge mine?" he/she says mournfully. (DD)

Content questions may use one or another introspective particle (§13.6.5). Particles include *tesh* 'I wonder' (emphatic), *hwogh* (introspective); see (17), (21) above.

32.3. Alternative questions

Questions of the type "Is it A or B?" generally use two full clauses, one or both preceded by *je* 'or':

- (22) Qaa dieq'azh jaagha yz, je con jieq'azh jaagha yz jidz?
field D.divide.CVsim J.sit.PRS 3s or hayfield J.divide.CVsim J.sit DEM *jidz*
Does a *jidz* (boundary marker stone) demarcate plowed fields or hayfields? (0415.12)
- (23) Tealjg dy yz, je teljg dy yz?
tealjg D.be.PRS 3s or *teljg* D.be.PRS 3s
Is it *tealjg* or *teljg*? (Ethnographer asks about pronunciation of a word.) (0392B.1)
- (24) Yz kor myshta della-lu, je hwa-della-lu je dwa-della-lu?
DEM window how D.open-INCP or DX-D.open-INCP or DX-D.open-INCP
How does this window open, in or out?

32.4. Non-literal questions

32.4.1. *Complementation.* Interrogative pronouns are a complementation device in complements meaning 'know whether', 'know when', etc. The interrogative pronoun is usually in preverbal position (see also §30.3.3).

- (25) Yz bygaar **maluu** diicaad jowuo.
it B.drive.PPL.NZ who=V.be.PRS D.say.NW.D girl.ERG
The girl said who it was that stole it (=the cow). (JBX)
- (26) Jer kampjuutar hwal **myshta** sog xoi hwuona?
DEM computer up how turn_on know=Q 2s.DAT
Do you know how to turn this computer on?

32.4.2. *Rhetorical questions.* Rhetorical yes-no questions with emphatic *my* are extremely common in Ingush discourse; see §33.2.1 for their functions and several examples. Very often *my VERB=ii* functions almost as a definiteness marker or reminder of common knowledge that explains or justifies what the speaker says.

- (27) Je Oushii **my xannad=ii** jer leatta.
DEM O.GEN EMPH be.NW.D=Q DEM land
Now, the land was Ousha's. (Well-known clan ancestor. Also, the ownership of the land in question is clear from the previous context in this myth.) (0392B.1)

- (28) Xoi hwuona? Ghalghaazhta jiq'ie vaaxazh **my vii** hwo.
 know 2s.DAT Ingush.PL.DAT among V.live.CVsim EMPH V.PROG=Q 2s
 Do you know any (people of a certain clan)? You live among the Ingush, after all.
 (0398B.1)

A rhetorical yes-no question without *my* indicates that the hearer probably knows the identity of the referent, and sometimes elicits a nod or affirmation from the listener. Often such a phrase is followed by a repeat of its subject without the interrogative verb:

- (29) Qouztq'a=ji qo' bearii xannuu cyn, goura bearii.
 60 + 3 rider be.NW.V 3s.GEN horseGEN rider
 He had 63 men, horsemen.

K'ei gourazh j=ii, k'ei gourazh.
 white horse.PL J.be.PRS=Q white horse
 White horses, you know? (8901)

The following example is the beginning of a new episode, and *bodzh* 'goat' is introduced as an episode topic.

- (30) T'aaqqa, **bodzh j=ii,** jizhaa ullazh jola bodzh
 so goat **J.be.PRS=Q** J.lie.CVant lie.CVsim J.PROG.PPL goat
 dwaaw Gurdzhegh vaaxazh volcha uq Mwoughachoa
 there Georgia.LAT V.live.CVsim V.PROG.PPL.OBL DEM.OBL M.DAT
 bedzha modzh, d.h., mixaca iegajezh bwarjga+jeinii cynna.
 goat.GEN beard wind.INS shake-J.CS.CVsim eye+J.see.NW 3s.DAT
 So, this goat was lying there, and Mwough, who was living there in Georgia, saw the
 goat's beard moving in the wind. (8901)

The ubiquitous discourse interjection *dii hwuona* (§33.2.2) is a rhetorical yes-no question in form:

d=ii hwuona?
 D.be.PRS=Q MIR

Rhetorical content questions are generally emphatic. Most common is *mycha*, lit. 'where', often with enclitic 'be', used for emphatic negation. Example (19) above illustrates this; other examples are in §31.6.

- (31) Taruo jolchuo maara die jish **mychii** yz
 financial_security J.be.PPL.NZ.ERG only D.do.INF possibility(J) NEG=J 3s
 Only a well-off person could do that. ('**No way** could anyone but a well-off person do that')
- (32) Cu xaana axchaazh handz muo xanna mychad
 DEM.OBL time.DAT money.PL(D) now like be.CVant NEG=D ²³¹
 In those days **there wasn't** near as much money as there is now
- (33) T'aaqqa, qy hwa=t'y-daaqqa leatta **mychad** ciga cwanniega='a ...
 so any_more DX=on-D.take.INF land NEG=**D** there anyone.ALL=&
 No one had any land to rent there. ('**There was no** land to rent at all to anyone')(0415)
- (34) Qy c'a-vaxa **mycha** viezagvy sy!
 any_more home-V.go.INF NEG V.should.FUT.V 1s.GEN
 How can I ever go back home again? (No way should I ever go back home again)
 (Dumézil 1936)
- (35) Suona **mycha** xoura cigara hama
 1s.DAT NEG know.IMPf there.ABL (any)thing
 I didn't know the situation there at all.

Xoi hwuona/shoana 'do you know?' is often used non-literally much as in English.

- (36) Aaz jaaxar xoi hwuona?
 1s.ERG say.PPL.NZ know=Q 2s.DAT
 You know what I mean?
- (37) A: Oarsh my oalii cynagh ...
 slate EMPH call=Q 3s.LAT
- B: Oarsh fii xoi shoana, yz, oal cynagh "*slanec, chernyj slanec*"
 oarsh what=J know=Q 2p.DAT 3s say 3s.LAT
- A: It's called *oarsh*.
 B: You know what *oarsh* is? It's called *slate, black slate* (in Russian).²³² (0409.22)

²³¹ The tense form is a variant of nonwitnessed *mycha xannad* (neg be.NW.D) '(there) wasn't'.

²³² Or: "It's called *slate*." "You know what slate is? *Slanec, chernyj slanec*." As an indication of how endangered Ingush is, in this conversation between fluent speakers explaining and defining is done by citing a Russian word, as though they assume that the terminological and conceptual apparatus of knowledge is associated only with Russian.

- (38) Kuogalgazh mel zwamiga by xoi hwuona cyn?
 foot.DIM.PL how_much small B.be.PRS know=Q 2s.DAT 3s.GEN
 You know how tiny his feet are? (Adult to child, explaining why an infant can't walk.)
 (0746)

32.5. Rebuttals

A rebuttal is like an answer to a question in that it minimally repeats the conjugated part of the verb. It also reverses the polarity and often adds *deara* 'of course, certainly'. A rebuttal to a rebuttal often adds *ai*.

- (39) T'aaqqa, so uozazh vaac, ealar aaz. – Vy deara ealar.
 then 1s smoke.CVsim V.PROG.NEG say.WP 1s.ERG V.PROG EMPH say.WP
 So I said, "I don't smoke." "Yes you do," he said. (0395A)

- (40) Hama jaacar yz=m, ealar aaz.
 (any)thing J.be.NEG.IMPF 3s=FOC say.WP 1s.ERG

Jy deara ciga=m hama, ealar.
 J.be.PRS EMPH there=FOC (some)thing say.WP

Ai hama jaacar, jaax aaz.
 INTERJ (any)thing J.be.NEG.IMPF say.PRS 1s.ERG

Deara dy=q. Aaz hwuoga baq'ahw aad my=d ealar, ...
 EMPH D.be.PRS=CUM 1s.ERG 2s.ALL really say.D.FUT EMPH=D say.WP

There's nothing there, I said.

There is too, he said.

No, there isn't, I tell you.

Yes there is. I'll tell you what it really is. (0395A.31)

- (41) A: Muusaa uozazh vy.
 M. smoke.CVsim V.PROG

B: Vaac (deara) (yz=m uozazh).
 V.PROG.NEG (EMPH) (3s=FOC smoke.CVsim)

A: Ai vy yz uozazh.
 INTERJ V.PROG 3s smoke.CVsim

A: Musa is a smoker. (Musa smokes.)

B: No he isn't.

A: He is too.

More emphatic rebuttals can add expletives, oaths, etc.:

- (42) Shie wa=chy-voaghazh eannad cuo (k'ala je nax bolazh)
 3SRFL down-V.come.CVsim say.NW.D 3s.ERG (under DEM people B.be.CVsim)
 "Fetta vy so, fetta vy so" eanna.
 on_empty_stomach V.be.PRS 1s SUB
Fetta vy, hwa voshiina vir xalda eannad
 on_empty_stomach V.be.PRS 2s.GEN brother.DAT donkey be.OPT.D say.NW.D
 uq k'alarcha fusamdaaz ...
 DEM.OBL below.NZ.OBL owner.ERG

(A contractor falls from a tower roof.) On the way down he called (in the presence of the people below), "I'm working on an empty stomach." "**The hell you are,**" said the owner from below... (0743)²³³

32.6. Affirmations

An affirmation indicating agreement with what the speaker has said repeats either the entire clause or just its verb, sometimes varying the tense. Affirmations seem to be easily triggered by rhetorical questions.

- (43) A: Cyn oaz, dii hwuona, c'ena jar, shii teipaara
 3s.GEN voice y'know clean J.be.PST 3SRFL.GEN type.ABL

B: Jar.
 J.be.PST

A: ...c'ena oaz jar cyn
 clear voice J.be.PST 3s.GEN

A: He had a good voice, very distinctive. B: Right. A: He had a clear voice.

- (44) A: Xetta fertazh my jeajii vaina,
 join.PPL felt.PL EMPH J.make.NW.J=Q MIR

B: Jeai deara
 J.make.NW.J EMPH

²³³ See (55) in §28.11 for this curse. The medieval lord who hired a contractor to build a tower was required to feed the workers. This contractor falls from the roof and attempts to make the owner liable for his injuries; the owner disputes this.

A: istanjgazh my deadii vaina,
felt rug.PL EMPH D.make.NW.D=Q MIR

B: Dead.
D.make.NW.D

A: caarna basarazh dealjga xou suona.
3p.DAT dye.PL D.do.SBJ know 1s.DAT

They made pieced rugs (Right), felt rugs (Right), and I know they dyed them. (0216B.3)

(45) A: Xannadaac, veshta duu tielazh=m xannab hwuona
be-D.NEG.INFR rather oath give:PLC.CVsim=FOC PROG.NW.B MIR

cu xaana='a Elgacagh='a ...
DEM.OBL time.DAT=& (name).LAT=&

B: -- xanna xubby --
PROG.INFR.B

A: Jerdagh='a
(name).LAT=&

A: They didn't (have Korans to swear oaths on), but in those days they took oaths on
Elgac ...

B: Yes, they must have.

A: ... or Jerd. (0392B.1)

CHAPTER 33

PRAGMATIC AND DISCOURSE PHENOMENA

Much work remains to be done on pragmatic phenomena and discourse structure in Ingush. This chapter is not a full treatment and probably not even a very comprehensive overview, but mentions some conspicuous and regular phenomena.

33.1. The main pragmatic markers

33.1.1. Contrastive focus =m. This is an emphatic, usually contrastive, particle. When its meaning is fully contrastive it attaches to the word in its scope (which is often clause-initial).

- (1) Suona=**m** xoza di xet, hwuona myshta dy xaac (suona).
 1s.DAT=FOC nice day think, 2s.DAT how D.be.PRS know.PRS (1s.DAT)
 I don't know what you think, but *I* think it's a nice day.
- (2) Eh, deara aaz=**m** handz maara xeattaadaac hwuoga.
 Eh? EMPH 1s.ERG=FOC now only ask.NW=D.NEG 2s.ALL
 Eh? Well, *I've* only asked you just now. (Dymii) (Context: someone else must have said it before, but this is the first time I've said it.)
- (3) Ciga baaxarazh=**m** dika hama deara xalar
 there B.live.PPL.NZ=FOC good thing EMPH be.WP
 The people who lived *there* had a good situation. (0238A.10) (Context: in contrast to those in the speaker's own town, which was impoverished.)

The sense is less clearly contrastive when it attaches to the last word in the sentence. If anything there seems to be some kind of focus (not necessarily contrastive) on the verb or the whole clause.

- (4) Valaraga hwazhacha, dosh daacar yz=**m**.
 death.ALL look.CVtemp word D.be.NEG.IMPF 3s=FOC
 That's no big deal. That's no problem. That's nothing. (Lit. Compared to dying, that's nothing.) (*dosh* 'word' = 'big deal', 'important matter')

- (5) Peashjk bettar cuo=**m**.

blather B.LV:PLC.IMPV 3s.ERG=FOC

Ah, he was just blathering. Oh, that's just talk. (Russ. *Da boltaet on mnogo.*)

33.1.2. *Focus gemination.* The conditions for use of focus gemination are not entirely clear, but its form is: The first postvocalic consonant in the word is geminated, and that word carries logical or emphatic focus. (For the phonetics of focus gemination see §3.3.2.) In a number of words focus gemination is a fixed lexical property imposed by word formation.

[derig^{jə}] {d.arragja} 'all'; if this were {d.arajg} it would be [derg^j]

[k'ezig^{jə}] {k'ezzajga} 'a little, a few'; cf. /k'ezjga/ {k'ezajga}

sanna 'like, just like'

The concessive converb meaning 'even', 'even when', 'despite' has grammatically fixed inherent focus gemination:

mollazhie='a / molasshie='a 'even though (he) drinks'

vollazhie='a / volasshie='a 'despite being ...', 'even though he is ...'

In many contexts, however, focus gemination is freely chosen and semantic. The sense is sometimes 'exactly ...', 'right ...', sometimes simply emphasis. (6)a-b are a minimal pair, without and with gemination.

- (6) a Muusaaz **dwaixa** chei mol.

M. ERG D.hot tea drink.PRS

Musa drinks hot tea. 1489

b **Dwaixxa** chei dwa-mala, vwoaxa-lugvy hwo.

D.hot:FOC tea DX-drink.IMPV V.warm-VZ.FUT.V 2s

Drink your tea nice and hot and you'll get warmed up. Drink your tea real hot ...

- (7) Yz **sixxa** shii hamaazh hwagul='a jea vaxar.

3s fast:FOC 3SRFL.GEN thing.PL DX-gather=& J.CS.CVant V.go.WP

He quickly gathered up his things and left (for good).

- (8) So **bwaarccha** bettaa sa+lowazh xalar.

1s whole:FOC month.DAT rest+LV.CVsim PROG.WP

I was on vacation for a whole month. I took a whole month off.

- (9) Hwa-ieca **duqqa!**

DX-take.IMPV much:FOC

Take a lot! Take plenty! (e.g. hostess encouraging guest to large helping)

- (10) Burgac **laqqa** hwal-qossa.
 ball high:FOC up-throw.IMPV
 Throw the ball way high up.

- (11) **Handdza** dwa-aara-vealar.
 now:FOC DX-out-V.go.WP
 He just left. You just missed him. (Reply to caller or visitor who has asked for someone who is not there.)

33.1.3. *Evidentials*. See §13.6 for miratives, quotatives, and cumulative focus =*q*; these are inflectional categories of the verb and discussed together with the rest of the inflection, but semantically they are pragmatic categories.

33.2. Some frequent discourse markers

33.2.1. *Common knowledge: my Verb=ii*. This construction has the form of a question, but is not literally a question. It is used to indicate that something is common knowledge and often to gain the hearer's agreement that it is common knowledge. The effect is sometimes close to English definiteness.

- (12) ...yz vai ghalghaai mott hwiexazh='a, ghalghaai grammaatika
 3s 1pIN.GEN Ingush language teach.CVsim=& Ingush grammar
 hwiexazh='a **my varii** heata xannacha Instituutie='a
 teach.CVsim=& EMPH V.be.PST=Q then be.PPL.OBL Institute.ADV=&
 ... (as you know) he was teaching Ingush language and Ingush grammar in what was
 then the Institute (0531.08)

- (13) T'aaqqa, hana lu aaz hwuona yz joal? eannad.
 so, why give 1s.ERG 2s.DAT DEM tribute say.NW.D
 Hwo muo Oaguo **my vii** so, eannad.
 2s like (clan) EMPH V.be=Q 1s say.NW.D
 "Why should I pay you tribute?" he said, "I'm an Oaguo like you, after all. " (0392B)
 (Speaker and hearer both know they belong to the same macroclan.)

- (14) Txy teipa ... Iilii jaaxazh **my vii** so,
 1pEX.GEN clan (clan) say.CVsim EMPH V.be=Q 1s
 Iilii neaq'aan my vii so.
 (clan name) clan.GEN EMPH V.be=Q 1s

Our clan -- I'm an "Ilii", I'm from the Ilii clan. (0392B) (Consultant to ethnographer who knows consultant's clan.)

- (15) T'aaqqa keaxat diera. Caarna **my xazaadii** uq shei
 then letter D.come.WP 3p.DAT EMPH hear.NW.D=Q 3s.OBL 3pRFL.GEN
 dea-daaz duucazh Peterburg='a shie *sluzhit'* dar='a ...
 grandfather.ERG D.talk.CVsim (place)=& 3sRFL service D.LV.NZ=&

Then a letter came (from the speaker's sons). Of course they had heard their grandfather talk about St. Petersburg and his military service there ... (0398B)

- (16) Wiirena Kunduxov handz uqun ust-naanii – jiixaa jaaghazh
 morning.ADV (last name) now 3s.GEN mother-in-law J.invite.PPL J.sit.CVsim
my viinavii jer – yz hwal-ghattacha ...
 EMPH V.kill.NW.V=Q 3s 3s up-stand.CVtemp

The next morning in the house of the Kunduxovs, when his mother-in-law got up -- he was engaged when he was killed, after all -- ... (0207A)

(Speaker explains why he has called the hostess the hero's mother-in-law: the hero is already engaged to her daughter. The engagement is a well-known fact about this historically important individual.)

- (17) Aa-a-a, je jur̄t aqaar my **wasshaara my jeajii**,
 Oh, DEM town 3p.ERG EMPH DX-flatten²³⁴ EMPH J.VZ.NW=Q
 cwa ghaala mycha jitaai, qiera='t'y qer mycha bitaab.
 one tower not:EMPH J.leave.NW stone=on stone not:EMPH B.leave.NW
 Cigga jixie wa-diezhaa ber xanna xuddy=q jer
 there:FOC nearby down-B.fall.CVant child be.CVant INFR.D=CUM 3s

Oh, but that town has been completely destroyed -- not one tower is left, not one stone has been left on another. A baby must have fallen down here. (A woman finds a baby and, based on obvious facts, figures out what must have happened.) (0101)

²³⁴ {wa-shaara-}. I do not understand why the root-initial /sh/ is geminated, but it is clearly audible in the recording and two different speakers agree that it is there and is correct. The Chechen cognate to Ingush *wa-* 'down' is *ohwa* (Ingush has pharyngeal attraction to the initial glottal stop, and loss of the **hw*), and perhaps the root-initial gemination is a reflex of the now-lost final consonant of the prefix. Alternatively, perhaps this is focus gemination on a root-initial but word-medial consonant.

- (18) loamara aara-dealchahwie cy Buruo=t'y **my deaxaadii** ...
 mountain.ABL out-D.go.CVtemp DEM.OBL Vladikavkaz=on EMPH D.live.NW.D=Q
 When we (i.e. speaker's ancestors) came down from the mountains we lived in
 Vladikavkaz. (0246B) (Interviewer knows this is interviewee's subclan territory.)
- (19) Boaqqā max bolazh deza hama **my xannadii** cu xaana gerdz.
 B.big price B.be.CVsim expensive thing EMPH be.NW.D=Q DEM.OBL time.DAT gun
 A gun was a very expensive thing at that time. (0246B)
- (20) Fy dead hwuona? Bos baxaa **my jii** hwo.
 what D.happen.NW 2s.DAT color B.go.PPL EMPH J.be=Q 2s
 What's happened to you? You're so pale.

In narrative, the common knowledge construction rather often elicits affirmation, or some low-key response confirming attention, from the hearer. In (21), B's response is either a supportive chiming-in or an actual answer.

- (21) (Speaker A has just related how a blind man recognized people by their footsteps)
- A Cyn tata ... teip-teipaara **my dettii** vei kuogazh **wa**.
 3s.GEN sound varied EMPH D.strike.PRS=Q 1pIN.ERG foot.PL DX
- B Dett, dett, dett.
 D.strike.PRS
- C Ch'woagha='a, shorta='a, k'eadā='a.
 hard=& slow=& soft=&
- A His footfalls. (After all) everyone's footsteps are different.
 B Right. (or: Yes, they are.)
 A Strong, slow, soft.

Sometimes the construction can almost have exclamatory force. In the following segment the speaker first uses questions for more or less exclamatory force, then addresses a literal question to the listener.

- (22) Handzara ezar-ezar sherazh hwaalxar hwal-jea ghaalaazh **my jii**.
 now.ABL 1000-1000 year.PL ago up-J.do.PPL tower.PL EMPH J.be.PRS=Q
- Ch'woagha taamashiina laattazh hamaazh **my jii** yzh.
 very surprising stand.CVsim thing.PL EMPH J.be.PRS=Q they
- Hwuona bwarjga+ **my jeinii** yzh?
 2s.DAT eye EMPH J.see.NW=Q them

jiqq'ie so wa='a xoa-vea, ...
 in_middle:FOC 1s DX=& sit-V.CS.CVant

They put me in that truck surrounded by 15 soldiers and seated me on a low seat right in the middle... (0240)

33.2.2.2. *hetoanie*, less often *hetoa*. Mostly at sentence initial boundaries and utterance-initially. Used by older speakers, both men and women. Not particularly frequent.

(28) Taruo=m xannii txy, zha='a doaxan='a xannad.
 financial_security=FOC be.NW.J 1pEX.GEN sheep=& cattle=& be.NW.D

Hetoanie ... aarahw wa-vaai, zha dwa-dexka='a dexkie, ...
 uh out.ADV DX-V.go.CVseq sheep DX-RED=& D.sell.CVseq

We were well off. We had sheep and cattle. Um ... (my father) would go down to the plains and sell sheep ... (0409)

33.2.3. *Narrative sequencing*. The linking conjunctions (§16.2.3.4) *t'aaqqa* 'then, and then, and so' and *yshtta* 'so, and so' often also serve to highlight a clause resuming the narrative sequence after an interruption. *T'aaqqa* also often marks the beginning of a narrative. In (29) the consultant (A) mentions the name of a mythic hero, then he and the field worker (B) spend some time discussing how this hero's name is pronounced, after which the consultant begins the narrative with *T'aaqqa*... He comments about the story and asks the field worker to be sure the recorder is on, then resumes with *T'aaqqa*...

(29) A: Sisjka Solsa jaaxazh xannavii cwa sag?
 (name) call.CVsim be.NW.V=Q one person
 There was a man named Sisjka Solsa, right?

B: Xannuu.
 be.NW.V
 Yes.

A: Yz Sisjka Solsa='a Erastxuo vy.
 DEM (name) & (macroclan name) V.be
 He was an Erastxuo too.

(Several sentences with A and B debating the correct pronunciation of the hero's name.)

B: Wa Sisa Solsa ealar, aalandzarii?
 2s.ERG (name) say.WP say.NEG.WP=Q
 You said "Sisa Solsa", didn't you?

A: Sisjka eannad aaz ... ha'a, Sisjka Solsa.
 (name) say.NW.D 1s.ERG yes (name)
 I said "Sisjka" -- yes, "Sisjka Solsa".

B: **T'aaqqa**, yz Sisjka Solsa -- ah -- shiica nouq'ostii='a bolazh
 so DEM (name) 3SRFL.INS friend.PL=& B.be.CVsim
 lielazh my xannavii.
 go.CVsim EMPH be.NW.V=Q

So, Sisjka Solsa was out traveling around with his friends.

A: Cynagh xanna kinashjkaazh daga+doagha suona.
 3s.LAT be.PPL book.PL remember-D.LV.PRS 1s.DAT
 I remember books about him.

Hwuona cu='t'y dwa='t'y-jaaz-die.
 2s.DAT DEM.OBL=on DX=on-write-D.VZ.IMPV
 Be sure you record this. ('Record it on there.')

B: Dika dy hwuona, dika dy hwuona. Duuca megaddy hwuona.
 good D.be MIR good D.be MIR D.tell.INF can.FUT.D MIR
 Good. OK, go ahead.

A: **T'aaqqa**, yz Sisjka Solsa shiica nouq'ostii='a bolazh
 so DEM (name) 3SRFL.INS friend.L=& B.be.CVsim
 Bwaragh vaxaa xannuu.
 (place name) V.go.CVant NARP.V

OK, so Sisjka Solsa went to Bwaragh with his companions. (0392)

33.3. Aspects of discourse structure

33.3.1. *Nominalization.* Free nominalizations, not required by complementation, postposing of modifiers, etc. are fairly common. (30)-(34) show nominalizations headed by the generic nouns *mottig* 'place, situation', *sag* 'person', *hama* 'thing' (s.a. §28.10).

(30) Jerriga sheara aarie d.h. adam vwaashagh-qiitta **mottig** xannii
 J.all wide plain people together-meet.PPL place be.NW.J
 'The whole plain was full of people', lit. 'It was a situation of the whole plain being full of people' (0408.14)

- (31) Ch'woagha xoza xalxa-voalazh **sag** xannuu joax yz
 very beautiful.ADV dance-V.LV.CVsim person be.NW.V QUOT 3s
 'He was a very good dancer' (lit. 'a very beautifully dancing person') (0408.19)
- (32) Txy dea jishaz hwa-diicaa **hama** dy=q yz.
 1pEX.GEN father.GEN sister.ERG DX-D.tell.PPL thing D.be.PRS=CUM 3s
 My aunt told me about that. ('It's something my aunt told me about.') (0418.20)
- (33) Basar dez **hama** jarii?
 dye D.do.CVsim thing J.be.PST=Q
 Did people make dyes? Was dyeing done? (0216B.3)
- (34) Handz aaz hwocha neaq'aa so ghulaq xanna juxa voaghii,
 now 1s.ERG take away.PPL.OBL road.DAT 1s matter be.CVant back V.come=Q
 vai ghalghaai **hama** d.h. q'am mel dolcha q'amal
 1pIN.GEN Ingush thing nation how_many D.be.PPL.OBL nation.CSN
 t'ex xuddy.
 past be.D.FUT
 If I succeed in what I'm undertaking, the situation of the Ingush will be better than that
 of any other nation. (More lit. 'If I come back by the same road with business done...')
 (0207)

33.3.2. *Nominative extraposition.* A topic, or topic-like stage-setting phrase, is often announced in the nominative case at the beginning of the sentence and then sometimes doubled with a resumptive pronoun. Examples are (18) in §8.3.11) and these:

- (35) Tieshalaz cynca ghulaq lieladea **xalar**, **cuo** hwagoitazh
 (name).ERG 3s.INS matter LV-D.CVant be.NZ 3s.ERG DX-see-CSind.CVsim
 dy=q hwuona caar oamal myshta xannii='a,
 D.PROG=FOC MIR 3p.GEN nature how be.NW.J =&
 caar kerttiera loarhazh + dar fy xannad='a,²³⁵
 3p.GEN main consider.CVsim+D.NZ what be.NW.D=&
 caarna fy diezazh xannad='a, goitazh dy yz.
 3p.DAT what D.want.CVsim PROG.NARP see-CSind.CVsim D.PROG 3s

²³⁵ This line also contains a headless relative ('what they considered most important!').

Now **the fact** that Tieshal interacted with him, **that** shows what the personalities and concerns and priorities of the two of them were. (0380) (=11) in §28.6)

- (36) **cona max**, txy+jarazh eggara dikagh+jarazh
 hayfield.GEN price, 1pEX.GEN-J.NZ.PL the most good.CMP+J.NZ.PL
 jy loam conazh, Hwulxoi+jarazh.
 J.be.PRS mountain.ADV hayfield.PL (ethnonym).GEN+J.NZ.PL

As to the price of a hayfield, ours, the Hwulxoi ones, were the best hayfields in the mountains. (0392B)

- (37) **Yzh ghalghaai urokazh='a**, alapazh da='a doacazh, latinskii
 DEM.PL Ingush lesson.PL=& letter.PL D.RED=& D.be.CVsim Latin
 alapazhca jaazduora vai, je alapazh daacar cu xaana.
 letter.PL.INS write.IMPf 1pIN.ERG DEM letter.PL D.be.IMPf DEM.OBL time.DAT

Now our Ingush lessons – the (present Cyrillic) alphabet didn't exist at that time, and we wrote in Latin letters.²³⁶ (0392)

33.3.3. *Enumeration*. There are two main ways of numbering points in oral exposition. Usually the first point is numbered at or near its end and the second (and any later ones) at their beginning. One such device is *cq'a lataa ... shozlagh/shollagh lataa* 'for one thing ... for another...' (lit. 'once attack.CVant ... second time attack.CVant...).

- (38) Txei bierii hweaq'al dy=q txy yz **cq'a lataa**,
 1pEX:RFL.GEN child.GENpl sense D.be=CUM 1pEX.GEN 3x
shozlagh lataa loa cy luzh
 endure NEG INCP.CVsim

Well, for one thing we had children's brains, and for another because he (the loser in a game) couldn't stand it. (0404)

- (39) Cwa minot jaxaa maarjkea **cq'a lataa** zhwaliesha loza-vuora hwo,
 one minute J.go.CVant only dog.ERGpl hurt-V.CV.IMPf 2s
shozlagha lataa so chuhwara kuochacaa hwaaina bwarjga='a veitar wa.
 1s inner shirt.INS 2sRFL.DAT eye=& V.see.CSind.WP 2sERG

For one thing the dogs nearly hurt you, and for another you saw me in my undershirt. (To a guest who has not knocked and who stands in a formal relationship to the host and should not see the host in his undershirt.) (0418)

²³⁶ *Urokazh* 'lessons' is J gender so it is not the object of *jaazduora*.

...caw; shollagh (lätaa)...

- (40) Cickiev Idriis, d.h., vai boaqqagh bolcha naaxagh sag var,
(name) 1pIN.GEN B.old.CMP B.be.PPL.OBL people.LAT person V.be.PST
caw; sholagh letaa xalq'an jiq'ie avtoritet jolazh sag var.
one people.GEN among authority J.be.CVsim person V.be.PST

For one thing Idris Cickiev was a person of the oldest generation, and also he had great authority among the people. (0542)

- (41) Hwaai nax hwaaina biezie, hwaai bagie hwaai uozagjy
2sRFL.GEN people 2sRFL.DAT B.love.CVirt 2sRFL.GEN mouth 2sRFL.ALL pull.FUT.J
wa. **Caw. Shollagh,** hwal-vaxaa juxa-voaghargvy hwo
2s.ERG one second up-V.go.CVant back-V.come.FUT.V 2s

If you love your family, you'll keep your mouth shut. That's point one. Two, go up there and come back and (0207A)

33.3.4. *Self-correction.* To correct a word or phrase and replace it with another speakers use *dy yz* (lit. 'that is, it is') or *ealcha='a* (lit. 'if/when [one? I?] said'):

- (42) Shie vanna dwa-vaallalc kei=ji bodzh=ji muq'agh, **jy yz**
3sRFL V.die.CVant DX-V.go.CVuntil ram=& male goat=& barley.LAT I mean
meaqa *mirjka,* yz *mirjkii=ji* jegjolazh haara sher-shera ...
barley.GEN measure DEM measure=& J.make-FUT.J.CVsim every RED-year

(The intermediaries decided that) every year until his death he had to pay one ram, one goat, and a measure of barley... (0392B.1) (Correction of case.)

- (43) c'ounazh wa='a daxkaa, cu t'y-gholla gourazh='a xexkazh,
sheaf.PL DX=& D.lay:PL.CVant DEM on-along horse.PL=& drive (fast):PL.CVsim
xexkazh **ealcha='a** lexxkazh
drive (fast).CVsim I mean drive (slow):PL.CVsim

'They lay sheaves of grain down, run horses over them – I mean, have the horses walk slowly ...' (0395B.1)

- (44) Vaiga **ealcha='a,** suona qieta jieza tuoxar=m
1pIN.ALL I mean 1s.DAT strike J.should shot=FOC
Not us but rather I am to be shot. (DD)

33.4. Narrative present

Ingush speakers often shift narrative into the present, both in ordinary narrative present passages and in play-by-play or event-by-event narration. The following extended example is a Pear Story narrative in which after seeing the film twice the speaker recounts the plot as though narrating an ongoing film. The first several clauses are background description, and they are in the present progressive. Then, beginning with *vuoda* in line (h) there follow plot clauses on the time line. These are in the occasional progressive (with delimited *xul* as auxiliary: §13.4.8) or simple present, and a verb having a pluractional counterpart appears in the pluractional (*sieca*=*'a sec* 'stops' in line (k)). (These finite plot verbs are boldface in (45).) Perfective converbs are in the sequential rather than anterior form because the finite verbs are generic present or pluractional (§13.8.3).

- (45)a. Loama=t'yra ettaa cwa sag vy,
ladder=on.ABL stand.CVant one man V.be.PRS
- b. k'ei t'oljg hwalxazhka='a ullazh,
white apron in front=& lie.CVsim
- c. t'oljga=chy hwalxazhkaa ulla quorazh shiina wa=chy='a bekhazh.
apron=in in front lie.PPL pear.PL 3 SRFL.DAT DX=in=& B.insert.CVsim

There's a man standing on a ladder wearing a white apron, putting pears into the front of his apron.

- d. *Nuu*, tuskar=chy geana jolandea hwal-gul='a bezh,
well basket=in far J.be.CVbecause up-collect=& B.CS.CVsim
- e. juxa wa-k'al='a voalazh,
back down-down=& V.go.CVsim
- f. tuskar=chy yzhazh quorazh wa=chy-bekhazh voall,
basket=in those pears down=in-B.insert:PL.CVsim V.PROG
- g. hwa-gul-bezh.
DX-collect-B.VZ.CVsim

The baskets are a ways away, so he is picking them, going back down, putting the pears in a basket, and picking more.

- h. T'aaqqa juxa hwal=t'y-veannacha gholla dwa-t'ehwa='a veanna yz **vuoda**.
then back up=on-V.go.PPL.CVsim along DX-after=& V.go.CVant 3s V.go
They he goes away [=out of sight] back up (the ladder).

i. T'aaqqa dwa-hwezhacha cweaqa cwa k'eank voaghazh **xul**,
 then DX-look.CVtemp another one boy V.come.CVsim PROGocc

j. velosipieda t'y='a voaghazh.
 (R) bicycle on=& V.come.CVsim

Then we see another person, a boy coming on a bicycle. (Or: Then a boy comes along on a bicycle.)

k. Cuo cynna jixie sieca='a **sec**.
 3s.ERG 3s.DAT beside RED=& stop:PLC

He stops next to him/it (the man, the tree, the ladder, the basket).

...

l. Dika my dii suona eanna
 good EMPH D.be.PRS=Q 1s.DAT SUB

m. dizaa tuskar, quoregh hwal-dizaa tuskar, velosipieda=t'y ettie
 D.full basket pear.LATpl up-D.fill.PPL basket bicycle=on put.CVseq

n. bwarjga+ cy guzh
 eye NEG see.CVsim

o. tuskar iicie **vuoda** k'eank.
 basket take.CVseq V.go.PRS boy

He sees the opportunity and puts a whole basketful of pears on his basket and goes off without being seen (without the man seeing him).

CHAPTER 34

LEXICON

This chapter gives a 100-word list, some other word lists used in typology (with commentary), and discussion of some typologically interesting parts of the lexicon.

34.1. Swadesh 100-word list

Note: Do not reproduce this list without also including Tables 2-1 and 2-2 (from Chapter 2), as the spelling used here requires commentary. * at the right marks words whose initial consonants have little or no value in phonologically based wordlist comparisons (because they are gender agreement markers or overt inherent gender markers, or because they are prefixes or in first elements of compounds). D, J, V, B = gender markers or gender classes (agreement gender is cited in the default D gender). For gender see Chapter 7.

1	I	so (nominative case)	
1a	me	aaz (ergative case)	
2	you	hwo (nominative case)	
2a		wa (ergative case)	
3	we	txo (exclusive)	
3a		vai (inclusive)	
4	this	jer	
4a		uq (oblique case)	
5	that	yz	
5a		cy / cu (oblique case)	
6	who	mala	
6a		hwan- (oblique stem)	
7	what	fy	
7a		sie(n)- (oblique stem)	
8	not	-(a)c (suffix, in most indicative categories)	
8a		cy (proclitic, in nonfinites)	
8b		my (proclitic, in imperative)	
9	all	D.erriga (nominalized participle of 'be')	*
10	many	duqa	
11	one	ca-w, obl. cwa-	
12	two	shi-'	
13	big	D.oaqa	*

14	long	D.weaxa	*
15	small	zwam-iga 'little'	
15a		loaca 'short'	
16	woman	qaal+sag (J) (qaal 'female')	
17	man	mawa+sag (V) (mawa 'male')	
18	person	sag (V/J)	
18a		nax (plural) (B)	
19	fish	chq'eara (B)	
20	bird	hwaz-aljg (D)	
21	dog	zhwalii (D)	
22	louse	mez (B)	*
23	tree	ga (J)	
24	seed	gi (D)	
25	leaf	gha (D)	
26	root	oula (B)	
27	bark	ch'wor, chq'or (D)	
28	skin	c'uoka (D) (human skin)	
28a		nihw (D)	
29	flesh	dulx (D) ('meat')	*
30	blood	c'ii (D)	
31	bone	t'exk (J)	
32	grease	muhw (J)	
	oil, etc.	deatta (D)	*
33	egg	fu' (D)	
34	horn	muwa (J)	
35	tail	c'og (D)	
36	feather	bedar-jg (J)	
37	hair	mos (J) 'a hair'; mosazh (pl.) 'hair'	
38	head	kuorta (B)	
39	ear	ler-jg (D)	
40	eye	bwa-rjg (B)	*
41	nose	merazh (J)	
42	mouth	bag-ie (J)	
43	tooth	cer-jg (J)	
44	tongue	mott (B)	*
45	claw	mwaar (J)	
46	foot	kog, obl. kuog- (B) 'foot = leg'	
47	knee	guo (B)	
48	hand	kyl-jg (D) 'arm = hand'	
49	belly	kit (J)	
50	neck	foart (J)	

51	breast(s)	t'aar (B)	
52	heart	dog (D)	*
53	liver	diixk (D)	*
54	drink	mol	
55	eat	D.u'	*
56	bite	carjg tuox 'tooth strike' (ergative agent, dative goal)	*
57	see	(bwarjga+) gu (bwarjg 'eye', gu 'see')	
58	hear	xoz	
59	know	xou 'wissen'	
59a		D.oudz 'kennen'	*
60	sleep	nab (nominal root; with light verb: nab J.u 'does sleep')	
61	die	lie (sg.) (past stem D.al-)	*
61a		D.ou (pl.)	*
62	kill	D.uu	*
63	swim	nek (nominal root; with light verb: nek D.u 'does swimming')	*
64	fly (verb)	ghatt (punctual: 'get up, fly away')	
65	walk	liel	
65a		D.uod 'go'	*
66	come	(hwa +) D.oagha (hwa = preverb 'here, toward speaker')	*
67	lie	ull 'be lying, be prone'	
67a		uxk (plural, animate)	
67b		D.aada (plural, inanimate)	*
67c		D.uzh 'lie down'	*
68	sit	D.aagha 'be sitting'	*
68a		xou 'sit down'	
69	stand	laatt 'be standing'	
69a		ott 'stand up'	
70	give	lu (present),	
70a		D.al- (past stem)	*
71	say	oal	
72	sun	maalx (B)	*
73	moon	butt (B)	*
74	star	sedq'a (B)	
75	water	xii (D)	
76	rain	dogha (D)	*
77	stone	qer, obl. qier- (D)	
78	sand	ghum (J)	
79	earth	leatta (D)	
80	cloud	morx (J)	
81	smoke	k'ur (B)	
82	fire	c'i, obl. c'er- (J)	

83	ash	joq', obl. wouq'ar- (J)	*
84	burn	D.oag (intrans., e.g. Maalx boag 'the sun shines')	*
85	path	niq' (Bd)	
86	mountain	loam (Bd)	
87	red	c'ie (< c'i 'fire')	
88	green	beaccara (< buc 'grass')	
89	yellow	wazhagha	
90	white	k'ei	
91	black	wearzha	
92	night	biisa (J)	
93	hot	D.waaixa	*
93a	warm	mela	
94	cold	shiila	
95	full	D.izaa 'filled'	*
96	new	kerda	
97	good	dika	
98	round	gerga	
99	dry	D.aq'a (adjective)	*
99a		loq' (verb 'dry up, go dry')	
100	name	c'i, obl. c'ar- (J)	

34.2. Verbs 'be'

There are three verbs 'be', which differ primarily in aktionsart and to a lesser extent in valence (more accurately, in the frequencies with which they have copular and locative functions).

34.2.1. d.y 'be' (stative). This verb is irregular and also aspectually defective, having only a present stem and having only the present and past tenses and some nonfinite forms (see §12.3). For the inflectional forms see Table 12-3. The corresponding forms of the delimited *xul* 'be, become' (§14.3.6) fill in for the missing forms of the stative verb. Stative *d.y* is the most frequent of the verbs 'be'. With genitive subject it is the basic verb for 'have'.

For examples of *d.y* in copular function see §18.1.5 and (44)-(47) in §35.6. Examples with locative and existential function are (105) in §35.5, (20) in §35.6. An example in the meaning 'have' is (1):

- (1) Duqa axcha daac sy.
 much money D.be.NEG 1s.GEN
 I don't have much money.

As an inflectional auxiliary, *d.y* forms the generic progressive tenses. As a fused clitic it forms the perfect series and the future. See sections of Chapter 13 for examples.

34.2.2. *xul* 'be; become' (delimited). This is a regular verb with all inflectional forms. It has a distinctive aktionsart type, similar to ingressive but not identical, and is classified as delimited in §14.3.6. In the present and imperfect tenses its meaning is ingressive (so it can often be rendered with 'become' or 'turn into') and usually individuated, iterative, or frequentative. In the past it is perfective and means 'was (on one occasion), became, turned into'. As a tense auxiliary it forms the occasional progressive series and the inferential series.

For examples of *xul* with copular function see (2) in §35.3 and (20) in §35.6. For examples of *xul* as tense auxiliary see §§13.3, 13.4. For inflectional forms see Table 12-3.

34.2.3. *d.oall* 'be (located), be (contained)'. This is a regular verb with all inflectional forms intact. Its aktionsart is progressive. It is most often used in existential or locative function, and also functions as a tense auxiliary, forming present tenses. For examples see (34) in §35.6 and (91) in §35.4. In several respects this verb behaves like a posture verb (see just below).

34.3. Posture verbs

The three basic stances ('sit', 'stand', 'lie') have root verbs that distinguish state from inchoative. (I use the terms *static* and *inchoative* so as to avoid any confusion with the state and ingressive aktionsart types: §14.3) or the inceptive derivation (§§15.3, 21.7.4). The static verb roots are inherently progressive, and all three of them also function as witnessed progressive auxiliaries (see §§13.1.1, 13.4, 14.3.2). The inchoative roots are punctual. The causatives are formed from the inchoatives. Table 34.3-1 shows the verb roots and stems for the three basic stances; Table 34.3-2 shows some additional stance-like verbs and gives more information.

When posture verbs are used in their literal senses, with animate S/O, the most basic form in the paradigm is the inchoative, from which the static and the causative are derived. In these examples (and only in this section), INCHO = inchoative and STAT = static.

- (2) Sy voshā **wa-xeina** **vaagha** ciga
 1s.GEN brother down-sit:INCHO.CVant V.sit:STAT.PRS there
 My brother is sitting there. (state: *wa-xeina d.aagha*)
- (3) Yz ghaanda=t'y **wa-xeira**
 3s chair=on down-sit:INCHO.WP
 He sat (down) on the chair. (inchoative *wa-xou*)

(4) Aaz yz **wa-xoa-vyr.**

1s.ERG 3s down-sit:INCHO-V.CS.WP

I sat him down. (E.g. adult sits child in chair.) (causative *wa-xoa-d.u*)

Table 34.3-1. The three basic stances: Root verbs. Causative is a semantic label; the last two entries in this column are not morphological causatives.

Stance		Static	Inchoative	Causative
<i>sit</i>	<i>sg.</i>	d.aagha	xou	xoa-d.u
	<i>pl.</i>		xouzha	xouzha-d.u
<i>stand</i>		laatt	uott	uotta-d.u
<i>lie</i>	<i>sg.</i>	ull	d.uzh	d.ull 'lay, put'
	<i>pl.</i>	d.aad / uxk	d.uush	d.oxk 'lay, put'

Only *laatt* 'stand' can be used by itself as a static verb. The static verbs cannot form causatives in literal senses. Non-literal causatives can be formed: *loatta-d.u* (causative of 'stand') means 'keep, maintain; keep (car) parked; set forth, present' and *ulla-d.u* (causative of 'lie') means 'let lie' or 'keep' (e.g. 'keep money in the bank').

Usage with inanimates is different. Inanimates can rarely be used with inchoative verbs. The static verbs are not progressive with inanimates. Posture verbs are normally used in locative statements with inanimate S (so Ingush probably belongs to the small-set languages in the typology of Ameka & Levinson 2007). The choice of stance verb can sometimes be fairly literal, but there are conventional combinations that are not literal: liquids 'stand' (perhaps because in containers they form vertical columns); buildings, including towers, 'sit' though they are vertical; trees 'sit' though they are vertical; and the term for 'four-footed animal, quadruped; livestock' is literally 'sitting on four feet':

(5) bi' kog baaghazh ... mel_doa hama

B.four foot B.sit.CVsim all thing

'every four-legged animal', 'all the livestock' (extract from (105) in §35.5)

Additional examples showing the behavior of the stance verbs with inanimates:

(6) Istuola=t'y tanik daagha / *wa-xeina daagha

table=on doll D.sit

There's a doll on the table. On the table is a doll.

(7) C'aa earda oaghuorahw daagha

house left side.ADV D.sit.PRS

The house is on the left. The house is to the left.

Table 34.3-2. *Posture and similar verbs*. Prefixes: *wa-* 'down', *chy-* 'in', *hwal-* 'up', *wa=chy-* 'down'. Note that 'hang' is not a basic verb but derived from 'lie' by nuclear chaining.

<i>Stance</i>			<i>Static</i>	<i>Inchoative</i>
<i>sit</i>	anim.	sg.	wa-xeina d.aagha	(wa-) xou
		pl.	wa-xeizhaa d.aagha	(wa-) xouzh
	inan.		d.aagha	---
<i>stand</i>	anim.		laatt	(ura-) uott
	inan.		laatt	
<i>lie</i>	anim.	sg.	tweisaa ull ^a	(wa-) d.uzh ^e
			wa-d.yzhaa ull	
		pl.	tweisaa d.aad ^a	(wa-) d.uush ^e
	wa-d.iishaa d.aad			
inan.	sg.	(wa-d.yllaa) ull ^b	(t'y-) d.uzh 'form layer'	
	pl.	(wa-d.äxkaa) d.aad ^c (wa-d.äxkaa) uxk	(t'y-) d.uush	
<i>hang</i>	inan.		hwal-ellaa ull ^d wa=chy-ella ull	hwal-olla-lu wa=chy-olla-lu ^f
<i>be contained</i>		sg.	d.oall	d.uoll 'insert'
		pl.	d.oaxk	d.uoxk 'put, insert'

a *tweisaa* < *twous* 'fall asleep' (inchoative). *tweisaa ull* 'is asleep, lies sleeping'; *wa-vyzhaa ull* 'is in bed, is lying in bed'. *-vyzhaa ull* 'is lying (down), is in lying position'.

b *d.yllaa* < *d.ull* 'put (down), place, lay (down)' (sg. obj.)

c *d.äxkaa* < *d.oxk* 'put (down), place, lay (down)' (pl. obj.)

d *ellaa* < *uoll* 'hang (something up)' (transitive)

e For animates, the inchoative verbs 'lie' when unprefixes simply mean 'lie down', and when prefixed with *wa-* 'down' generally mean 'go to bed, lie down to sleep'.

f There is also *wa=chy-olla-janna ull* 'dangles from, hangs down from', with the converb of inceptive *olla-lu*.

- (8) Istuola=t'y kinashjka ull
 table=on book lie.PRS
 There is a book (lying) on the table. On the table is a book.
- (9) Istuola=t'y piela laatt
 table=on glass stand.PRS
 There is a glass on the table. On the table is a glass.
- (10) Istuola=t'y xii laatt
 table=on water stand.PRS
 There is water on the table (in an open container).
- (11) Istuola=t'y xii dy
 table=on water D.be.PRS
 There is water on the table (spilled, or in a closed container).
- (12) Istuola=t'y hwoara laatt
 table=on flour stand
 There's flour (in a sack or container) on the table.
- (13) Istuola=t'y hwoara ull
 table=on flour lie
 'There's flour spilled on the table'
- (14) Aara jwouxal laatt
 outside heat stand
 'It's hot outside.'
- (15) Kuoraa kyzjgaa bwarjgazh laatt=ii?
 window.DAT pane.GEN eye.PL stand=Q
 Are there panes in the window?
- (16) Kuoraa kyzjgaa bwarjgazh dwa-otta-dead=ii?
 window.DAT pane.GEN eye.PL DX -stand-D.CS.NW.D=Q
 Have the panes been put in the window?
- (17) Istuola=t'y kyzjgaa bwarjg ull
 table=on pane.GEN eye lie
 There's a windowpane (lying) on the table.

- (18) Istuola=t'y kyzjgaa bwarjg laatt
 table=on pane.GEN eye stand
 There's a windowpane standing on the table (i.e. on edge, leaning against the wall).
- (19) k'iig daaghazh ghoz
 gem D.sit.CVsim ring
 ring with stone, ring with (inset) gem
- (20) Ghalghaichie doaqqa loamazh daagha.
 Ingushetia D.big mountain.PL D.sit
 In Ingushetia there are high mountain.
- (21) Ikkazh kuugazh=t'y niztq'a maara hwa=t'y-jaaghac.
 boot.PL foot.PL=on force.ADV only DX=on-J.sit.NEG
 The boots are hard to put on. You can hardly get the boots on.
- (22) kertagh baanka='a jaaghazh daagha zhwalii
 head.LAT jar =& J.sit.CVsim D.sit.PPL dog
 a dog sitting with a jar stuck on its head (Frog)

In (22) *jaaghazh* describes a jar that is stuck on a dog's muzzle, while *daagha* describes the dog that is literally sitting.

34.4. Motion verbs

In addition to having deictic prefixes (§15.5.1), Ingush makes a 'come'/'go' and 'bring'/'take' distinction in verb stems, one which pervades more of the Ingush lexicon than its analog does in English. Basic 'come' and 'go' are true motion verbs and often cooccur with goals. 'Come' is usually, and 'go' at least frequently, progressive in the present and imperfect tenses, but both are telic in the perfective forms (witnessed past, anterior converb), 'come' meaning 'arrive' in the past but 'go' meaning 'depart, go away'. The 'come'/'go' distinction is neutralized in pluractionals. There is a non-deictic motion verb meaning approximately 'complete a journey; set off (for goal)' as well as 'start', 'finish' (as a phase auxiliary: §25.15.1.2); its aktionsart is ingressive (especially clearly so for its phase functions).

All verbs of the 'come' type can take either *hwa-* 'here' or *dwa-* 'there' deictic prefixes; verbs of the 'go' type can take only *dwa-*.

Table 34.4-1 gives the motion verbs in their three stem forms (present, infinitive, past) with brief glosses. The first three sets are basic motion verbs; the rest are transitive motion verbs meaning 'bring', 'take', 'lead', etc.

Instead of a bare motion verb, Ingush speakers usually use nuclear chaining to combine manner and motion in a single more or less lexicalized unit. See §24.3; a few examples repeated from there and elsewhere are:

- (23) **Viena** **t'y=qeachaav** cwa ... ch'woagha sag
 V.come.CVant at=arrive.NW.V one strong person
 Up came a very strong man ('coming arrived') (V0405)
- (24) **vedda** **hwa-vaxaacha** vuoquo
 V.run.CVant DX-V.go.CVant.OBL other.ERG
 'the other guy ran up (and said)...'
- (25) pwid **jedda** **jexaai**
 frog J.run.CVant J.go.NW.J
 'the frog ran away' (Frog)
- (26) hwazaljg **ghattaa** **lel**
 bird fly. CVant go around.PRS
 the bird is flying ('having flown off, is going around')

Table 34.4.-1 Motion verbs in the present, infinitive, and witnessed past. sg. = singular, pl. = plural, PLC = pluractional. If a plural or pluractional is not given, the singular is used.

		<i>'come'</i>	<i>'go'</i>	<i>neutral</i>
PRS	sg.	d.oagha 'come'	d.uoda 'go'	d.oal 'go/come:DEL'
INF		d.aagha	d.axa	d.aala
WP		d.iera	d.axar	d.ealar
PRS	pl.	d.oagha 'come:PL'	d.olx 'go:PL'	d.oul 'go:INGR:PL'
INF		d.aagha	d.axa	d.oula
WP		d.eaxkar	d.axar	d.eilar
PRS	PLC	ux 'go:PLC'	ux	d.uul
INF		axa	axa	d.uula
WP		ixar	ixar	d.iilar
PRS	sg=pl.	d.oala-d.u 'lead (here)'	d.ug 'lead (there)'	--
INF		d.oala-d.ie	d.yga	
WP		d.oala-d.yr	d.ygar	
PRS	PLC	--	quul 'lead (there)'	--
INF			quula	
WP			qiilar	
PRS	sg.	d.ahw 'bring, carry'	hwo 'take, carry'	d.oaqq 'take'
INF		d.aa	d.ahwa	d.aaqqa
WP		d.iera	d.ehwar	d.eaqqar
PRS	pl.	(same as sg.)	(same as sg.)	d.oax
INF				d.aaxa 'take, carry'
WP				d.eaxar
PRS	PLC	quhw 'bring:PLC'	quhw 'take:PLC'	doaqq/d.aax
INF		qahwa	qahwa	d.aaqqa/d.aaxa
WP		qihwar	qihwar	d/eaqqar/d.eaxar
PRS	sg.	d.eit 'send (here)'	d.ohwiit 'send (there)'	--
INF		d.eita	d.ahw(ii)ta	
WP		d.eitar	dahw(ii)tar	

34.5. Ditransitive verbs of contact

Ditransitive contact verbs such as 'hit (T against G, G with T)', 'cover (G with T)', etc. and other ditransitives have almost exclusively T=O alignment ('hit the stick to the wall') in Ingush. Also, most of these verbs classify the T (and never the G) as to shape, etc. There is virtually no locative alternation. For details and examples see §21.2.8-9. This means that Ingush is a strongly direct /indirect object language and not a primary/secondary object language (in the terms of Dryer 1986).

34.6. 'Break' and similar notions

Ingush consistently distinguishes 'break in two, break into smaller pieces' from 'break, ruin (in general)', and distinguishes 'break off (e.g. thread, string)' from 'tear (paper, fabric)'. Verbs for 'break' are:

<i>Intransitive</i>	<i>Transitive</i>	
kag-lu	kag-d.u	fragment, break into pieces; break in two, snap
d.uox	d.uoxa-d.u	shatter, break glass; beak down, collapse; be ruined, fall apart, be destroyed
xaad	xoada-d.u	break off, tear off, sever
d.oatt'	d.oatt'a-d.u	tear, rip
ieqq, pl. lielx	ieqqiit, pl. lielxa-d.u	explode, burst, shatter
	tied	chop, cut, saw, hew, pare
	ax d.oaqq	divide in two, halve ('half take')
	cast	mince, chop, cut up
	oat	mince, dice, fragment, divide finely

34.7. Color terms

Basic color terms (all are adjectives, and all are underived):

wearzha	black
k'ei	white
c'ie	red
moazha	orange

wazhagha	yellow
siina	blue; green; unripe (of fruit)
muora	brown

Morphologically non-basic but essential color terms:

beaccara	green (derived from <i>buc</i> , <i>beac</i> - 'grass')
dashuo	golden
datuo	silver

Specialized terms:

sira	gray, white (of human or horse hair)
buora	chestnut (hair)
teisha	brown (fur or hair of animal)
moaqa	tan, light brown (especially of animals), gray
raasxa	bay (horse color)
choala	roan (horse color)
kiera	reddish, rust-colored (including red hair)
hwatara	dark-skinned, swarthy
hwuka	brown (sheep) (possibly a breed and not a color)
epa	uncertain horse color (light tan?)

Morphologically derived specialized terms:

siirda	light; bright, clear
beadie	dark; obscure
bos+baxaa	pale, livid, white ('color gone')
besaza	colorless, faded
wouq'ara besa	ash-colored

'Multicolored', etc.:

q'oarza	multicolored, variegated (typically, several bright colors)
boarxa	spotted, brindle, speckled (of animals, e.g. fawn, Dalmatian dog)
ergazh	spotted (sheep, horse) (genderless noun?)
urinjga	striped (livestock) (genderless noun?)
shuunazh uxazh	striped (relative clause: 'with stripes going')

34.8. Kin terms

Most kin terms are transparently compositional, built up from the basic terms for nuclear kin. Interesting exceptions are a few unanalyzable terms for maternal cousins and in-laws. Traditional Ingush rarely call their spouse or in-laws by name in public and rarely refer to a

spouse as 'husband' or 'wife' or to children as such, using circumlocutions such as *c'endaa* 'head of household' (for 'husband'), *diezakxuo* 'family member' (for 'child, son, daughter'). *Vosha* 'brother' and *jisha* 'sister' can be used to refer to fellow clan members generally, so the more explicit forms given below can refer unambiguously to siblings.

The two-word terms are often written with a hyphen in Ingush. The compounds written with "+" below are written as single words.

Children:

vow	son
jow	daughter

Siblings:

vosha	brother; more explicitly:	naanaz vea vosha (mother.ERG V.born brother)
jisha	sister; more explicitly:	naanaz jea jisha (mother.ERG J.born sister)

Parents:

daa	father; ancestor, male clan relative in older generation
naana	mother

Grandparents:

dea daa	paternal grandfather	(father.GEN father)
daa naana	paternal grandmother	(father.GEN mother)
neana daa	maternal grandfather	(mother.GEN father)
nen+naana	maternal grandmother	(mother.GEN+mother, with special phonology in the first element)

Grandchildren:

viwii vow	grandson (son.GEN son)
viwii jow	granddaughter (son.GEN daughter)
jiwii vow	grandson (daughter.GEN son)
jiwii jow	granddaughter (daughter.GEN daughter)

Great grandparents:

dea dea daa (etc.)	paternal great-grandfather (father.GEN father.GEN father)
-----------------------	---

Aunts, uncles:

dea vosha	father's brother
dea jisha	father's sister
neana vosha	mother's brother
neana jisha	mother's sister
dea+cii	paternal aunt or second cousin (father's sister, father's cousin, etc.) (also used by children to address any woman whose name the child does not know)

nea+cii	maternal aunt or second cousin (mother's sister, mother's cousin, etc.)
Nieces, nephews:	
veshii vow	brother's son
jishii jow (etc.)	sister's daughter
Cousins:	
dea veshii vow	father's brother's son (father.GEN brother.GEN son)
neana jishii jow (etc.)	mother's sister's daughter (mother.GEN sister.GEN daughter)
shucha	mother's sister's child
moxcha	second cousin (maternal grandmother's sister's child)
Stepchildren:	
mearvow	husband's son
mearjow	husband's daughter
Stepparents:	
dea siesag	father's wife
More general terms:	
teipan vosha	any male clan relative (clan.GEN brother)
teipan jisha	any female clan relative (clan.GEN sister)
noanaxuo	maternal relative
gargala sag	relative (very general term)
jisha-vosha	sibling(s)
daa-naana	parents
Relatives by marriage:	
maar	husband
siesag	wife
ust+naana	wife's mother
ust+daa	wife's father
ust+c'ei	wife's parents, wife's relatives, wife's clan members
mear+naana	husband's mother
mear+daa	husband's father
zaaxal	(reciprocal term for relationship of wife's to husband's relatives)
nus	daughter-in-law (son's wife)
neic	son-in-law (daughter's husband)
baazha	brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband)
mearjisha	husband's sister
mearvosha	husband's brother
qy	husband's brother's wife

engar co-wife (relationship of the wives of a man with more than one wife)

34.9. Day names

Names of days of the week are adjectives, used together with *di* 'day', e.g. *jiera di* 'Thursday', *p'earaska diinahw* 'on Friday' (Friday day.LOC). Alternatively, some of them can be treated as nouns and put in the genitive before 'day': *p'earaskaa diinahw* 'on Friday' (Friday.GEN day.LOC). Note that 'Thursday', which is derived from 'four', does not agree in gender with the word 'day', which is D gender; it has OIG (§7.3) in J gender.

Monday	orshot	< Georgian
Tuesday	shinara	from <i>shi</i> 'two'
Wednesday	qeara	from <i>qo</i> 'three'
Thursday	jiera	from <i>d.i'</i> 'four'
Friday	p'earaska	< Georgian
Saturday	shoatt(a)	< Georgian
Sunday	k'iran+di	<i>k'ira</i> 'week' < Georgian

Relative day names (see §16.1.3.2); all are adverbs:

selxan	yesterday	(colloquial form: siexan)
saamardiinahw	day before yesterday	
selxan saamardiinahw	three days ago	

qoana	tomorrow
lomma	day after tomorrow
c'ulla	3 days from now
c'umoaka	4 days from now
c'ulc'umoaka	5 days from now (also cul c'umoaka)

34.10. Transitivity/detransitivity verb list

This is the list of verbs used to determine valence derivation type by Nichols, Peterson, and Barnes 2004. Here the verbs are also sorted by stem type. In the totals below, augment = overtly marked increase of valence, reduce = overtly marked decrease of valence, neutral = both members marked or neither marked. In its simplex verbs Ingush is transitivity, i.e.

augmentation is the plurality derivation and its frequency in Ingush is above the world average; in its compound and denominal verbs Ingush is neutral. This is another respect in which the Ingush verbal lexicon is split (see Chapter 15).

Derivation types for pairs of plain and semantically causative verbs in Ingush. Total frequencies are on the next page.

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Plain</i>	<i>Semantic causative</i>	<i>Derivation</i>
<i>Simple verbs</i>			
<i>Animate</i>			
laugh	d.iel	d.iela-d.u	Augment
die	le, d.al-	d.uu	Suppletion
sit	wa-xou	wa-xoa-d.u	Augment
eat	d.u'	d.u'a-d.u	Augment
learn*	woma-d.u	woma-d.u	Ambitransitive
understand*	qiet	qieta-d.u	Augment
see	(bwarjga+)gu (##)	hwuoq	Suppletion
fear	qier	qiera-d.u	Augment
hide	(dwa-)lachq'	(dwa-)lochq'a-d.u	Augment
<i>Inanimate</i>			
boil	qexk	qexka-d.u	Augment
burn	d.aag	d.oaga-d.u	Augment
open	d.iella-lu	d.iell	Reduce
hang	hwal'ella ull##	hwal'oll	Reduce
fall	wa-d.uozhar	wa-d.uozha-d.ar	Augment
<i>Compounds (with light verb), Denominal verbs</i>			
<i>Animate</i>			
angry	eghaz+d.uoda ##	eghaz+d.ug ##	Auxiliary
<i>Inanimate</i>			
break	keg-lu #	keg-d.u #	Double**
dry	d.oq'a-lu #	d.oq'a-d.u #	Double
straighten	niisa-lu#	niisa-d.u #	Double**
turn	k'al-t'y-d.oal	k'al-t'y-d.oaqq	Auxiliary

* Two verbs that both fit this semantic gloss; each counted as half.

** Reclassified since Nichols, Peterson, & Barnes 2004

Light verb construction.

Denominal or deadjectival verb.

Totals:	<i>Augment</i>	<i>Reduce</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Simple verb stems:			
Animate	5.5/8 (69%)		2.5/8 (3%)
Inanimate	3/5 (60%)	2/5 (40%)	
Derived stems (compound, denominal, etc.):			
Animate			1/1 (100%)
Inanimate			4/4 (100%)
Total, simple + derived:			
Animate	5.5/9 (61%)		3.5/9 (39%)
Inanimate	3/9 (33%)	2/9 (22%)	4/9 (44%)

CHAPTER 35

TEXTS

35.0. Contents of this chapter

The texts and text sections included here are taken from a variety of times and styles.

- 35.1. The oldest recorded Ingush
- 35.2. Heroic saga: Oaldama Gheaza (Dumézil 1936)
- 35.3. Spoken Ingush: Feud and reconciliation (0408)
- 35.4. Spoken Ingush: Ch'uožha Waba and his wolves (0207A.3)
- 35.5. Spoken Ingush: Wolves and livestock (0240)
- 35.6. Spoken Ingush: Wolves and snowball (0238A.10)
- 35.7. Published folklore: Ucc'eazhta t'yvaxaa neic

A ~~strikeout~~ indicates words abandoned by the speaker in an apparent correction or fresh start. --- indicates a brief pause with declination reset.

35.1. The oldest recorded Ingush

In 1910 or 1911 Gramophone commissioned recordings of Ingush and other Caucasian music in Vladikavkaz. The original is in the Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj arxiv fonodokumentov, Moscow. A wax cylinder recording was transferred to copper disk and from there to reel-to-reel tape and from there to cassette tape and digitized and transcribed in the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig. (Time marks below refer to the master digital copy archived in the Institute.) Bersnako Gazikov of the Ingush Archive Service obtained the recording, researched the background, and assisted in the transcription. There are two Ingush hymns performed by a chorus led by Bilaan-Molla Ozdoev; he and another man with good voices were invited to Vladikavkaz to make the recording. The first hymn has two verses, one in Arabic and one in Ingush, and the two-verse sequence is repeated several times. The Ingush words are:

Jaa	Allahw,	jaa	Allahw	/	Hei	vezan	Deala
INTERJ	Allah	INTERJ	Allah		INTERJ	V.holy	God

Jaa Allahw, jaa Allahw / Gesht+del hwaai txuona
 INTERJ Allah INTERJ Allah forgive+D.LVIMPV mild 2SRFL/MIR 1pEX.DAT

O Allah, holy God, forgive us. (Times: 03:47-03:58, 04:13-04:23, 04:38-04:48, 05:00-05:09, 05:20-05:47 (Ingush repeated 3x), 05:59-06:19 (2x).)

The second chorus is entirely in Arabic. (The music and performance of both hymns are Ingush, even where the words are Arabic.)

After the two hymns a male voice (perhaps Ozdoev) says:

09:25 Waaleihwii salaatu vy salaamu (Ingush-adapted Arabic)

Deala elcha xesta-vezh nazam jy yz.
 God.GEN prophet praise-V.CS.CVsim hymn J.be.PRS 3s

Deala reaza xalvy shoana.
 God pleased be.OPT.V 2p.DAT

That's a hymn praising God's Prophet. God bless all of you.

and another voice adds:

09:29.3 Deala reaza xalvy.
 God pleased be.OPT.V
 God bless (all of you).

Note the reflexive mirative in the song words (reflexive because the verb is imperative.) At 09:25 and 09:29 the verb-second word order, a simultaneous converb functioning as a participle (*xestavezh* modifies *nazam*), the affix-final voicing in that converb, the pronunciation of /y/, and the elided final schwas are as in today's language.

35.2. Heroic saga: *Oaldama Gheaza*

Sagas, usually dealing with the chivalry and heroic feats of semilegendary heroes, were traditionally sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. This text is a corrected transcription, interlinear, and English translation of the beginning of the text in Dumézil 1936. Jabagi & Dumézil 1935 and Dumézil 1936 give transcriptions, translations, and commentary for several traditional Ingush oral texts originally transcribed by Mahwmad Dzhabagi (a.k.a. Magomed Dzhabagiev, Magamet Jabagi, Djabaguieff) from an Ingush singer in the late 19th century. Dzhabagi devised his own Latin orthography, and apparently he and Dumézil worked together to produce the transcription, translation, and grammatical commentary. The spelling does not distinguish vowel length and not always quality. (For example, the words

doattagh, *hwo*, *volcha*, *hwoashalgha*, *voaghazh*, *hwooga*, and *cuo* in (8)-(9) below are all written with the same tonic vowel by Dumézil, presumably following Dzhabagi; however, the hero's patronym *Oaldama* in (1) and *koa=t'y* in (11) are correctly spelled with "oa". Some vowels are distinguished well, including the [ɨ] quality of /y/ from various sources (spelled etymologically "i" and "u" in today's orthography) including restressed schwa. Consonants are near-flawlessly transcribed, including the palatalization²³⁷ in *vysaa/visaa/visea* {vys^ɨaa}, the affix-final voicing in *deagh* and *voaghazh* (these in (3) below). /dz/ and /dzh/ are consistently distinguished from /z/ and /zh/. Schwas are often, but far from always, written where they are morphophonemically present (as this is a song text they would presumably have been sung as vowels).

The same song is published in Matiev 2002:7-17, who (apparently unaware of the earlier Dumézil publication) describes it as previously unpublished and as discovered, transcribed into modern Ingush orthography, and first published in the newspaper *Serdalo* by Ingush folklorist Ibrahim Daxkil'gov (Matiev does not give a date and I have not found the relevant issue but I believe this was in the 1990's). That text is very close to Dumézil's, except that it curiously omits nearly every token of the chaining clitic =*'a* in core chaining (the token in the first line is one of very few present). (The other sagas I have worked on in Matiev 2002 also lack the chaining clitic.) The clitic is clearly and rather consistently written in Dumézil's version which I assume follows Dzhabagi.

- (1) C'esta ghumagh bie='a jellaa,
copper.GEN water pitcher hand.ADV=& J.be located.CVant

koa=t'y laattazh xannuu yz Oaldama Gheaza
yard.ADV=on stand.CVsim be.NW.V DEM (name).GEN (name)

Oaldama Gheaza stood in his yard holding a copper water pitcher in his hand. (The hero is known by his name (Gheaza) and patronym (his father's name was Oaldam). This is a traditional respectful form of name reserved for respected adult and especially senior men. It looks formally like a Russian name and patronym, but is not used in direct address in the same way.)

- (2) Ruzban-meazhdigie laamaz die diezazh xannuu yz
central_mosque.ADV prayer D.do.INF D.should.CV be.NW.V 3s
It was time for him to go to Friday prayers in the central mosque.

- (3) Xexkaa vienuu cwalxa cwa bearii
ride.CV V.come.NW.V alone one horseman
Up rode a lone horseman.

²³⁷ For palatalization see §2.7.2. Only for velars is palatalization clear in the contemporary language, but this text shows it in other contexts as well.

- (4) Assalaam_waleikum, Oaldama Gheaza! eannad cuo
 hello say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 Hello, Oaldama Gheaza, he said.
- (5) Va waleikum salaam, cwalxa cwa bearii
 (response to greeting) lone one horseman
 Greetings, lone rider! [said Oaldama Gheaza]
- (6) Fy xabar dienad wa suona, cwalxa cwa bearii?
 what news D.bring.NW.D 2s.ERG 1s.DAT lone one horseman
 What news have you brought me, lone horseman?
- (7) Hwa deagh vysaa dea dottagh chersii eala
 2s.GEN father.LAT V.leave.PPL father.GEN friend Kabardian prince
 hwo volcha hwoashalgha voaghazh laatt
 2s V.be.PPL.OBL guest.ADV V.come.CVsim PROG.PRS
 Your father's friend inherited from your father, the Circassian prince, is coming to visit you.
- (8) Hwuoga yzh xeita vienuu sie, eannad cuo
 2s.ALL 3p inform.INF V.come.NW 1s:RFL say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 I've come to inform you about this (lit. 'them'; mistake?).
 (1sg. reflexive *sie* seems to be in error; non-reflexive *so* or logophoric 3sg *shie* would be expected.)
- (9) Cyl='a chechkagh viana qeachaav shallagh bearii
 3s.CSN=& fast.CMP V.come.CVant arrive-NW.V second horseman
 Even faster, up came a second rider.
 (Note attributive *shallagh*; periphrastic or semi-periphrastic required in modern Ingush.)
- (10) Salaam='a danna eannad cuo
 greeting=& D.give.CVant say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 He greeted him and said:
- (11) Hwa daa viina wearzha moastagh taxan tirkii
 2s.GEN father V.kill.CV black enemy today Turk.GENpl
 mexka vuodazh vy, Istmal vuodazh vy
 land.ADV V.go.CVsim V.PROG Istanbul V.go.CVsim V.PROG.PRS
 The black enemy who killed your father is going to Turkey today, to Istanbul.

- (12) Qoalagh='a qeachaav cwaxa cwa bearii
 third=& arrive-NW.V alone one horseman
 A third lone rider arrived.
- (13) Salaam='a danna, eannad cuo
 greeting=& D.give.CVant say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 He greeted him and said:
- (14) wa hwaaina learhaa Xaana T'utii txousar
 2s.ERG 2s:RFL.DAT intend.CVant Khan.GEN (name) this evening
 mearie joxiitazh jy, jelxazh jy
 in marriage J.send.CVsim J.PROG.PRS J.weep.CVsim J.PROG.PRS
 Your intended Princess T'utii is being married off tonight and is crying.
- (15) "Hwaaina so jiedzie, sixa qaacha" joax, eannad cuo
 2s:RFL.DAT 1s J.love.CVirr fast arrive.IMPV say.PRS say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 'She says, "If you love me, come quickly!";' he said.
 (Note /jiedzie/, modern /jiezje/.)
- (16) My eardagh bolx by hwo, eannad cuo
 EMPH burdensome matter B.be.PRS 2s say.NW.D 3s.ERG
 What a difficult dilemma this is ('you are'), he (Gheaza) says.
- (17) Fynnagh dalie='a, laamaz dynza mycha voal shie!
 whatever D.be.CVirr=& prayer D.do.NEG.PPL NEG V.go 3sRFL
 eanna meazhdiga=chy chy-veanna laamaz dead cuo
 say.CVant mosque.GEN=in in-V.go.CVant prayer D.do.NW.D 3s.ERG
 No matter what, I have to go pray, he said, and went to the mosque and prayed.
- (18) Laamaz dea vealcha chy=vaxaav yz
 prayer D.LV.CVant V.finish.CVtemp in=V.go.NW.V 3s
 He finished his prayers and went home.
- (19) Qo kog bolazh ghaand k'al='a ottadea,
 three leg B.be.CVsim stool under=& stand-D.CS.CVant
 go pxa bola paandar bie='a bellaa,
 three string B.be.PPL mus. instrument hand.ADV=& B.insert.CVant

txoughagh kuorta='a ghortabea, ghiilla paandar
 chimney.LAT head=& lean-B.CS.CVant sad:FOC mus. instrument
 lieqazh vaaghazh xannuu yz naana-c'agha
 play:PLC.CVsim V.sit.CVsim NARP.V 3s mother-room.ADV

He pulled up a three-legged stool under himself, took his three-stringed instrument, leaned his head against the chimney, and sat sadly playing the pandar in his front room.

- (20) Ghiila jish jy wa lieqar,
 sad song J.be.PRS 2s.ERG play.PPL.NZ
 cwa baala by hwa ker=chy, xeita shiiga,
 some grief B.be.PRS 2s.GEN inside=in know.CSind.IMPV 3s:RFL.ALL
 eannad cu q'eanacha Gichaz
 say.NW.D DEM.OBL old.OBL (name).ERG

That's a sad song you're singing, you have some sorrow in your heart – tell me (what it is), said old Gichi (his mother).

(Note logophoric *shiiga*.)

- (21) Daga+vaala q'eana daa vaac shiiⁿ,
 confer.V.LV.INF old father V.be:NEG.PRS 3SRFL.GEN
 baq'ahw+dar xaarcawchogh q'oastuo q'eana
 right.ADV+D.NZ false.ADV.NZ.LAT separate-CS.INF old
 dea-vosha vaac shiiⁿ,
 uncle V.be:NEG.PRS 3s:RFL.GEN
 nouq'ost xyla naanaz vea vosha
 companion be.INF mother.ERG V.give birth.PPL brother
 vaac shiiⁿ,
 V.be.NEG.PRS 3s:RFL.GEN
 cwaxa vy shie Ghalghaashta jiq'ie,
 alone V.be.PRS 3s:RFL Ingush.PL.DAT among
 xala dy shiina, eannad cuo
 difficult D.be.PRS 3SRFL.DAT say.NW.D 3s.ERG

I don't have an old father to give me advice, I don't have an older uncle to help me tell right from wrong, I don't have a brother to help me, I'm alone in Ingushetia, it's hard for me, he said.

(Dumézil transcribes genitive *shii* with nasalization, an archaism to my knowledge not attested in 20th-century Ingush.)

(Note the logophoric reflexives coreferential to *cuo* in the last clause.)

- (22) Xaatta hwei q'eanacha Gichiiga,
 ask.IMPV 2SMIR old.OBL (name).ABL
 baq'ahwdar aarddy q'eanacha Gichez
 truth say.D.FUT old.OBL (name).ERG

Ask old Gichi, old Gichi will tell you the truth.
 (His mother speaks of herself in the third person.)

- (23) Fyⁿ xaatta q'eanacha Gichiiga?
 what ask.INF old.OBL (name).ALL
 What do you (want to/have to) ask old Gichi?
 (Archaic nasalization in *fy* 'what'.)

35.3. Spoken Ingush: Feud and reconciliation

A traditional didactic story, probably set sometime between 1500 and 1900, that uses an exemplary set of actions to teach traditional standards of courtesy and gallantry. The guilty party in a feud is pursued by a man seeking vengeance. The avenger goes so far as to dress as a woman in order to have a chance to kill the guilty party. The guilty man keeps his word to the avenger, who then has the opportunity to kill the guilty man while he is asleep. He does not do so, and the guilty man reproaches him for not killing him now when it would have been easy. This demonstrates the guilty man's courage and honor, and the avenger forgives him because of this noble act. (0408, 43:50-46.25.)

- (1) pwa boallazh voa sag vii,
 feud B.LV.CVsim V.be.PPL person V.be=Q
~~euo-~~ sag joaghazh xa xannii joax cyn --
 3s.ERG person J.come.CVsim time be.NW.J QUOT 3s.GEN
 pwa boallashehw=¹a sag joala-jezh xannuu-q yz
 feud B.LV.CVconc person J.go-J.CS.CVsim be.NW.V=CUM 3s

There was a man who had committed murder and was under a vendetta, and he was getting married. Despite the vendetta he wanted to get married. (43:50)

- (2) T'aaqqa yzza muo sag meakara xala my= viezii, fiila
 so 3s.FOC like person clever be.INF EMPH V.need.PRS=Q alert
 A person in that situation needs to be quick-witted and alert.

- (3) Juxa yshтта wiiranna guu=t'yra wachu=boaghazh
 back so morning.ADV hill=on.ABL down=B.come.CVsim
 xannab joax qaalnax
 PROG.NW.B QUOT woman.PL

In the morning the women all came down (to the wedding). (44:03)
 (*Juxa* 'back' = 'now back to the story line'.)

- (4) Wa=chy-boaghazh, hwal-hwazhaav yz, caarna jiq'ie cwacca
 down=in-B.come.CV up-look.NW.V 3s 3p.DAT among one.DISTR
 hama belgal+deannad cynna
 thing catch one's eye.D.NW.D 3s.DAT

As they were coming he (the bridegroom) looked up and noticed something.

- (5) T'aaqqa, ealar joax cuo koa lielacha zwamsagaga,
 so say.WP QUOT 3s.ERG yard.ADV go:PLC.PPL.OBL young man.ALL
 hwavel hwanexk eanna, hwa='a viixaa
 DX-V.come.IMPV so-and-so SUB DX=& V.call.CV
 yz wouu wa=chy-boagha qaalnax goi hwuona?
 DEM over there down=in-B.come.PPL woman.PL see.PRS=Q 2s.DAT

He called a young man over who was in the yard and said, Hey, so-and-so, do you see those women coming way over there? (44:12)

(*Hwanexk* 'so-and-so' is the narrator's word; the original speech would have used the name. See §9.2.15.)

- (6) Gu eannad
 see.PRS say.NW.D
 Yes, he said.

- (7) Gu suona eannad.
 see.PRS 1s.DAT say.NW.D
 Yes.

- (8) Ghuo, vallie eannad, hwal='a ghoi,
 go.IMPV V. go.IMPV.CVseq say.NW.D up=& go.CVseq
 je taxanara di mearsha daa suona aala joax eannad,
 this today.ABL day peaceful D.give.IMPV 1s.DAT say.IMPV QUOT say.NW.D

aala eannad, aaz joax ealie aala cynga eanna
 say.IMPV say.NW.D 1s.ERG say.PRS say.CVseq say.IMPV 3s.ALL SUB

Go up there and tell him I said to ask him to leave me alone today. Tell him I said to say this. (44:21)

(The tall woman is a man – the avenger -- who is coming to kill him.)

di mearsha daa suona 'give me this day free', 'leave this day free/safe for me'

- (9) Qoana, cwa belgal-jeaqqa dwaa mettig xulii,
 tomorrow one distinguish-D.LV.PPL over there place be.:DEL.PRS=Q
- cwa belgal-jeanna fynexk deacha geanaa k'al
 one particular-J.LV.PPL such-and-such D.do.PPL.OBL tree.DAT under
- so ciga hwiezhagvy aaddy wa cynga eanna
 1s there look:PLC.FUT.V say.FUT.D 2s.ERG 3s.ALL SUB

Tell him that tomorrow I'll wait for him under such-and-such a tree at such-and-such an appointed place, and he should come there. (44:28)

(*Fynexk dea* 'such and such a...' narrator's wording, not the original speech.; §9.2.15.)

- (10) Ai qaalsag my jii!
 INTERJ woman EMPH J.be.PRS=Q
 But that's a woman! (said the other man).

- (11) Waaixa oalie "oal" aala eannad,
 2sRFL.ERG say.CVirr say.PRS say.IMPV say.NW.D
- cy oalie aaz qy+var voxiiit
 NEG say.CVirr 1s.ERG another+V.NZ V.go.CSind.PRS

If you'll tell him that say so, otherwise I'll send someone else (said the groom).

- (12) Megaddy eanna, vedda hwa-vaxaacha vuoquo,
 OK say.CVant V.run.CV DX-V.go.PPL.OBL other one.ERG
- vaa hwanexk eanna
 INTERJ so-and-so SUB

dwaqeikaav qaalsaga hamaazh t'juuxar vii
 DX-call.NW.V woman.GEN thing.PL on-J.dress.PPL.NZ V.be=Q

OK, he said. He ran off and called to the man in women's clothing, "Hey, so-and-so".

(*hwanexk* 'so and so': §9.2.15. The last clause is lit. 'the man dressed in women's clothing, you know?', a common-knowledge rhetorical question (§§33.2.1, 32.4.2).)

- (13) Hwanga luu hwo? eannad.
 who.ALL speak.PRS 2s say.NW.D
 Who are you talking to? they said to him.
- (14) Cu dwaarachynga luura so eanna, p'el'jg t'y=hwieqaab
 DEM.OBL there-NZ.ALL speak.IMPV 1s SUB finger at-point.NW.B
 That guy over there, he said, pointing at him.
- (15) Fy jaax wa eannad
 what say.PRS.1-2pers 2s.ERG say.NW.D
 What are you saying? said the man in women's clothing. (44:50)
- (16) Yshitta sag joaghachyn c'i='a jeaqqa,
 so person J.come.PPL.NZ.GEN name=& J.LV.CVant
 eannad, yshitta cuo veitaavar so eannad,
 say.NW.D so 3s.ERG V.send.PNW.V 1s say.NW.D
 taxanara di mearsha daa joax cuo, qoana
 today.ABL day peaceful D.give.IMPV say.PRS 3s.ERG tomorrow
 fynexk deacha mettigie hwuoga
 such-and-such D.do.PPL.OBL place.ADV 2s.ALL
 hwiezhagvy joax shie eanna
 look:PLC.FUT.V say.PRS 3s:RFL SUB
 He named the man who was getting married and said, He sent me to ask you to leave
 him alone today and tomorrow he'll wait for you in such-and-such a place.
 (Note logophoric reflexivization in the last clause.)
- (17) Ostoghfirulaa, ealar joax vuoquo
 INTERJ say.WP QUOT other one.ERG
 The other man said, [exclamation in Arabic]
- (18) Qaalneaxa barcq'azh t'y='a diixaa cu koa yz
 woman.GEN clothes.PL on=& D.put on.CVant DEM.OBL yard.ADV 3s
 vie voaghazh xannuu yz cuo viinachyn vosha
 V.kill.INF V.come.CVsim PROG.NW.V DEM 3s.ERG V.kill.PPL.NZ.GEN brother
 The brother of the man he had killed had put on women's clothing and was coming to
 his yard to kill him. (45:10)
 (Narrator's explanation.)

- (19) Hwal-hwozhazzehw veizaav=q cynna yz
 up-look:CVimmed V.recognize.NW.V=CUM 3s.DAT 3s
 The minute he (=killer) looked up he recognized him (=avenger).
- (20) T'aaqqa sag joaghacha mettie='a, yshta-voshta='a,
 so person J.come.PPL.OBL situation=& one_way_or_another
 k'eadvenna='a jer allsaav.
 tired-V.LV.PPL=& 3s lie-stay.NW.V
 So, since it was his wedding day, for one reason or another he was tired and overslept.
- (21) Daala vozh='a vic-valiitaa xugvy=q
 God.ERG the other=& V.forget-V.LV-V.CSind.PPL INFR=CUM
 The other one also forgot, probably by God's intent.
- (21) Juxa shie hwa-soma-iiqqacha, ea::, selxan yshtta my
 so 3s:RFL DX-wake up-CVtemp INTERJ yesterday thus EMPH
 eannadarii aaz, sy dosh dosh daac=q nagahw_sanna
 say.PNW=Q 1s.ERG 1s.GEN word word D.be:NEG.PRS=CUM if
 eanna shie my vuodda xeaxkaa hwal-vaxaacha,
 SUB 3s RFL EMPH V.go:FOC.PRS ride.CVant up-V.go. CVant.OBL
 cuo cu geanaa k'ala yz gour dwa='a xiicaa
 3s.ERG DEM.OBL tree.DAT under DEM horse DX=& untie.CVant
 shi kyljg choal='a tiexaa, dwa-aarq'al=a yshtta dwa-oaghuora
 two hand cross=& LV.CVant DX-face up=PAUSE thus DX-lean_back
 veannuu=q yz
 V.LV.NW=CUM 3s
 He awoke with a start and said, 'Oh-oh, yesterday I said thus, my word isn't a word if [I don't keep it]. He rode off fast, [got off and] untied his horse under a tree, and lay back with his hands under his head. (45:21)
- (22) Dwa-oaghuora voallazhie='a Daala twaisiitaa xugvy yz,
 DX-lean back PROG.CVsim=& God.ERG fall asleep-CSind.CVant INFR.V 3s
 twaisaav yz joax=q, yz twaisaav d.h.
 fall asleep.NW.V 3s QUOT=CUM 3s fall_asleep.NW.V um
 While he was lying there God must have made him fall asleep; anyway, he fell asleep.
 (45:35)

- (23) ~~Je~~ uqun douxuo vii, cynna='a dwa-a
 DEM DEM.GEN enemy V.be=Q 3s.DAT=& over there
- cwa xa jealcha maara daga+diexaadaac:
 some time J.pass.CVtemp only remember+D.LV.NW.D.NEG
- Deaq'onna selxan yshta my eannadar cuo –
 INTERJ yesterday so EMPH say.PNW 3s.ERG
- dosh my daacar yz,
 word EMPH D.be:NEG.IMP 3s
- baq' xug my daacar yz xala=m,
 truth be.FUT EMPH D.be:NEG.IMP 3s be.INF=FOC
- sag yshta aatta voaghagvaac
 person thus easily V.come.V.FUT.NEG

Now his enemy, he also remembered only later [and said], oh, yesterday he said thus and so, but that wasn't a serious promise – it can't be the truth – he won't just come here that easily [i.e. to turn himself in to certain death]. (45:44)

- (24) Ciga_den_hwaa yz fy q'uonax vy='a hwozhagvy so,
 Nonetheless 3s what man V.be.PRS=& look.FUT.V 1s
- cyn+dar fy dosh dy hwozhagvy so,
 3s.GEN+D.NZ what word D.be.PRS look.FUT.V 1s
- sagatal=a hwal-aara-vaagvy=q so eanna, jer hwal-aara-vealcha,
 boredom=PAUSE up-out-V.go.FUT.V=CUM 1s SUB 3s up-out-V.go.CVTEMP
- geanaa k'al jaazhazh joallazh gour jeinii cynna
 tree.DAT under J.graze.CVsim J.PROG.CVsim horse J.see.NW.J 3s.DAT

I'll just go over there for lack of anything better to do. I'll see what kind of man he is, I'll find out whether his word is a promise (said the enemy). I'll go there for lack of anything better to do. He (the enemy) went over there and there under the tree he saw his (the groom's) horse grazing. (45:54)

- (25) Jer wa='t'y-vaxacha twaisaa ullazh xannuu vozh
 3s DX=on-V.go.CVtemp fall asleep.CVant lie.CVsim PROG.NARP.V the other
 He went over, and the other guy was lying there sleeping.
- (26) T'aaqqa, twaisaa ullacha sagaa yz—sag
 then fall asleep.CVant lie.PPL.OBL person.DAT DEM person

wa-bwara+hwiezhazh xalcha soma-voal joax yz sag
 DX-eye+look:PLC.CVsim PROG.CVtemp wake up-V.LV.PRS QUOT DEM person
 They say when you look at a sleeping person they wake up. (46:06)

- (27) Hwo bwara+hwiizharii hwa-soma-voal joax yz
 2s look:PLC+LV.WP=Q DX-wake up-V.LV.PRS QUOT 3s
 When you look at him he wakes up. (46:09)

(Shorter and more grammatical equivalent of preceding sentence. *Bwarahwiizharii* is pluractional, but since the tense is perfective the meaning is 'look for awhile' – durative (though the time span is short), not iterative.)

- (28) Juxa hwa-soma-vealcha ealar joax vuoquo,
 back DX-wake up-V.LV.CVtemp say.WP QUOT the_other.ERG
 daa_my_hwaqa_cyn_dealaw²³⁸ ealar joax, bwarjgazhta hwa-bwarjga+guzh
 (curse) say.WP QUOT eye.PL.DAT DX-eye+see.CVsim
 wa=t'y cy tiexacha dog+wabacii hwa
 DX=on NEG strike.PPL.OBL heart+satisfy-NEG=Q 2s.GEN

The other one woke up and said, Damn it, wasn't it good enough for you to just shoot me point blank (i.e. in my sleep)? (46:12)
 (*Juxa* = 'now back to the story line', after an aside.)

- (29) Cigga bytar joax pwa,
 there:FOC B.leave.WP QUOT vengeance
 wa=chy-voala-vyr joax cuo yz shiicaa.
 DX=in-V.go-V.CS.WP QUOT 3s.ERG 3s 3s:RFL.INS

He forgave him and took him back home. (I.e. they went back home together.) (46:19-25)

Note on 3545-35-6: Three wolf stories. Wolves are important in Vainakh oral tradition. They figure as a symbol of Ingush national and cultural identity, and *yz cwa bordz jy* 'he's (like) a wolf' is a compliment to a young man's bravery and gallantry to this day (§23.6). The following three text fragments from the Berkeley Ingush Corpus show how this view has survived and changed in modern times. §35.4 describes a real 18th-century historical figure in an obviously mythologized event depicting wolves as potentially dangerous to livestock but

²³⁸ For the first part of this curse see §28.11. The suffix *-(a)w* on *Deala* 'God' is unique and its function is unknown.

allies to humans, at least humans with special connections. §§35.5, 35.6 are modern autobiographical texts by living speakers describing narratively embellished but real events that occurred in February and March 1944. They depict wolves as potentially dangerous animals that interact intelligently with humans. §35.6 continues with a second-hand story (not included here) embellished in the direction of Soviet or Russian urban folklore, depicting wolves as terrifying evil animals who attack and devour humans wantonly.

35.4. Spoken Ingush: Ch'uoza Waba and his wolves

This passage is about Dzaur neaq'aan (Salgaxoi) Ch'uoza Waba (claimed 1724-1864), a religious philosopher instrumental in bringing Islam to the Ingush. Two wolves guard his flock when he is absent, and on his return he rewards them with a sheep. (0207A.3 43:34ff.)

(84) and (89) are missing in numbering only.

- (79) T'aaqqa, shii dea daa ghaalii=chy vaaghar ciga,
so 3sRFL.GEN father.GEN father tower=in V.sit.IMPF there
- ghaalii=chy vaaghar, dea dea daa,
tower=in V.sit.IMPF father.GEN father.GEN father
- dea dea daa vy yz.
father.GEN father.GEN father V.be.PRS 3s

His grandfather lived there in a tower, I mean his great-grandfather. (43:34)

(*Vaaghar* 'sat' = 'lived', as here.)

- (80) T'aaqqa, ghaalii=chy yz vaaghazh,
so tower=in 3s V.sit.CVsim
- magha laqie loam=t'yra Waba wa-aara-voalacha xaana --
higher above mountain=on.ABL Aba down-out-V.go.PPL.OBL time.DAT
- qaanniena vi'niena maarjkaa cu xaana
three.NZ.DAT V.four.NZ.DAT only DEM.OBL time.DAT
- varataa nawarazh jaacar, je hama jaacar
gates door.PL J. be:NEG.PST or anything J.be:NEG.PST

He lived in a tower and when Waba would come down from the mountains – at that time only three or four people had gates or doors or anything. (43:42)

- (81) cu duhwal zwil otta+buora, bweaxa='a bolazh qiera,
DEM.OBL against stone plate stand-B.CS.IMPF B.long=& B.be.CVsim stone

[qiera boaqqa bar] boaqqa qiera hwal-otta-buora,
 stone B.big B.be.PST B.big stone up-stand-B.CS.IMPF
 bitq'iga bweaxa qiera
 B.thin.DIM B.long stone

Against it (=his gate) he would put up a large stone plate, a big stone, a long, very thin stone. (43:54) (The bracketed clause is spoken by the recording ethnographer.)

- (82) Yz qiera hwa-iicacha yz Waba voljga xoura
 DEM stone DX-take.CVtemp DEM V.be.SBJ know.IMPF
 When the stone was lifted they knew Waba was there. (44.01)

- (83) T'aaqqa yz Waba voljga shiina xeicha --- ah ---
 so 3s V.be.SBJ 3s:RFL.DAT know.CVtemp um
 Waba vy yz=m juxa dwa-otta-buora:
 (name) V.be.PRS 3s=FOC back DX-stand-B.CS.IMPF
 shie hwa='a beaqqie shie dwa-otta-buora
 3:RFL DX=& B.LV.CVirr 3s:RFL DX-stand-B.CS.IMPF
 ciga gholla_daa koa juxa wa-voalazh
 there along yard.ADV back DX-V.go.CVsim

So when he found out it was Waba ... it was Waba who put it up: he took it down and when he came back he put it back up as he went by on the way home.
 (First token of *dwa'ottabuora* should be a nominalized participle.)

- (85) T'aaqqa (Daala q'ailie c'an-joila cyn) cogh xoura
 well, God.ERG secret vindicate-J.LV.OPT 3s.GEN 3s.LAT find out.IMPF
 txuona yz Ilisxaa-jurtarcha Hwazhiina yz t'y=vuodaljga
 1pex.DAT 3s (place name).ADJ.OBL Hadj.DAT 3s on=V.go.SBJ

From that (i.e. the stone) we knew that he was going to see Kunta Hadji (may God rest his soul).

- (86) Yz qiera hwa='a beaqqaa yz wa-k'al-vealcha,
 DEM.NOM stone DX=& B.take.CVant 3s DX-under-V.go.CVtemp
 Ilisxaa-jurtarcha Hwazhiina yz t'y-vuodaljga xoura
 (place name).ADJ.OBL Hadj.DAT 3s to-V.go.SBJ know.IMPF

When he moved the stone away on his way, then people knew he was going to see Kunta Hadji.

- (87) T'aaqqa, cwan diinahwa, Deala qoraat'az, Daala muq'alahw,
 so one.OBL day.LOC (oath) (oath)
- yzh zhy cwea ditaa my vuodii hwo?
 DEM sheep alone D.leave.CVant EMPH V.go.PRS=Q 2s
- t'aaqqa yzh zhy cwea ditaa my vuodii hwo?
 so DEM sheep alone D.leave.CVant EMPH V.go.PRS=Q 2s
- wa lielader fyd=m hwazha eanna
 2s do.NZ what=D=FOC look.INF SUB
- yz dwa-vaxaa juxa voaghacha xaanna cynna t'ehhwa
 3s DX-V.go.CVant back V.come.PPL.OBL time.FOC.DAT 3s.DAT after
- loam=t'y hwal-t'y-vaala vuola-valar so
 mountain.ADV=on up-on-V.go.INF V.begin-V.INCP.WP 1s

So one day, I swear, (I noticed the stone moved away and thought), Are you going away leaving the sheep alone? (I'm going to go) see what you're up to. When he [Aba] had left and was coming back I set off up the mountain after him. (44:28) ('I' here is not the narrator but the narrator's great-grandfather who was Aba's contemporary; 'you' is Aba, who the great-grandfather does not actually address but speaks as though he were addressing him.)

- (88) Yshitta dwa='a uxazh, yshitta hwa='a uxazh,
 thus.FOC DX=& go.CVsim thus DX=& go.CVsim
- yshitta dwa='a uxazh, yshitta hwa='a uxazh,
 thus DX=& go.CVsim thus DX=& go.CVsim
- jixxiera suona jiena hwa=t'y-ettacha jixxie sy juhw
 at last 1s.DAT J.come.PPL DX=on-stand.CVtemp next to.FOC 1s.GEN face
- bwarjg+gugjolazh bolx xular hwuona
 eye+see.FUT.J.CVsim matter be.IMP 2s.DAT / MIR

Waba went this way and that and sometimes came so close he might have recognized me. (*jiena* in the third line should be *viena*, agreeing in V gender with Waba.)

- (90) Dwa qieriina dwa-t'ehwazhjka='a vealie dwa-lachq'a='a lachq'azh
 DX- stone.DAT DX-behind=& V.go.CVseq DX-RED=& hide.CVsim
- xouzh-m xuddar cynna aaz lielader fyd
 know.CVsim=FOC INFR.CND 3s.DAT 1s.ERG do.PPL.NZ what= D.be.PRS

I hid behind a stone so he wouldn't know what I was doing (i.e. following him). (since he might have known what I was doing'). (44:55)

- (91) Cul t'ehwagh t'aaqqa shearracha mettazhkie dwa=t'y-vealcha,
 3s.CSN after so then level:FOC.OBL place.ADV DX=on-V.go.CVtemp
 eghii=ji maghii=ji shi bordz joallar,
 below=& above=& two wolf J.be located.IMPF
shahaadat shahaadat doala-duora
 (oath) (oath) D.cite-D.CS*.IMPF
ashhwaduu (aaz tieshal du) billaahwii dealaca
 (Ar.) I believe 1s.ERG faith D.LV.PRS Allah.INS God.INS
 shie, shie cynna²³⁹ bwarjga+veina dolazh doa hama
 3s:RFL 3s:RFL.ERG 3s.DAT eye+V.see.CVant D.be.CVsim D.be.PPL thing
 my-d jer eanna yshttal ch'oagha
 EMPH=D.be.PRS 3s SUB so very

Then he came out into an open place and there were two wolves, one on each side. He testified with an oath that he had seen that with his own eyes. (45:01)
 (The wolves were guarding Waba's sheep. The first narrator is now in the third person.)

- (92) Zhiena ~~jiq'iera~~ dwa-jiq'ie vealie, cu jiq'ie
 flock.DAT among.from DX-among V.go.CVseq DEM.OBL among
 tuolazhagh bolazh boa ustagh hwa='a leacie,
 best B.be.CVsim B.be.PPL sheep DX=& catch.CVseq
 q'ulbehwie oaghuorahw juh w jolazh wa='a billie,
 south side.LOC face J.be.CVsim DX=& B.put.CVirr
 urs='a hwaqie, niisa jiqq'ie-gholla yz ustagh wa-biiq'a='a
 knife=& cut.CVseq exactly in the middle DEM sheep DX-RED=&
 biiq'ie, "Ba'a hweanal by shoana" cuo cy
 B.divide.CVseq B.eat.INF permitted B.be.PRS 2p.DAT 3s.ERG NEG
 ealcha shahwaadat='a doaghazh duu bu'ar caar
 say.CVtemp (oath)=& D.come.CVsim oath B.swear.IMPF 3p.ERG

He went into the flock, caught the best sheep, slaughtered it, faced the south, divided it exactly in half [sc. for the two wolves] [who didn't start eating] until he told them it was OK. They (the elders who have told me this) swore it on oath.

²³⁹ I do not understand why non-reflexive *cynna* is used in the last clause; I would expect *suona* 1s.DAT if *shie* is logophoric, otherwise reflexive *shiina* 3sRFL. DAT.

- (93) Yshтта shii daaz bu'ar yz yshтта eanna
 thus.FOC 3s:RFL.GEN father.ERG B.swear.IMPF 3s thus SUB
 yshтта bu'ar eanna, deara daaz bu'ar eanna
 thus B.swear.IMPF SUB EMPH father.ERG B.swear.IMPF SUB
 shiina, shie zwamig volcha xaana
 3sRFL.DAT 3s:RFL small V.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT

His father had sworn this to him when he was young.

- (94) T'aaqqa yz cuo allalca yz caaregh cwa bordz
 then 3s 3s.ERG say.CVuntil 3s 3pl.LAT one wolf
 jaxa='a jaxaa cuo --- cuo --- ustagh
 RED=& J.go.CVant 3s.ERG 3s.ERG sheep
 cuo wa-dillaacha dulxanna wa=t'y my qoudacar
 3s.ERG DX-D.put.PPL.OBL meat.DAT DX=on EMPH reach for.NEG.IMPF

Neither wolf touched the meat placed before him until Waba said the word.

- (95) Yshтта ustagh caarna dwa='a belie
 so sheep 3p.DAT DX=& B.give.CVseq
 cuo ustagh=m chy-joaxkazh joa
 3s.ERG sheep-FOC in-be located:PL.CVsim J.be.PPL
 yz --- dog=ji diixk=ji, yzh hamaazh
 DEM heart=& liver=& those thing.PL
 geanna shiigh c'ii hwa-lataddoacazh jweaxxa
 far.FOC blood blood DX-adhere.FUT.D.NEG.CV J.long:FOC
 shii bie joallacha waasaana
 3:RFL.GEN hand.ADV J.be located.PPL.OBL pole.DAT
 dwa-geana='a jeaxie, dwa-gi='a tassie
 DX-far=& J.take:PL.CVseq DX-back.ADV=& throw.CVseq
 shii zha='a leaxkie vuodazh bwarjga+veinuu ealie
 3:RFL.GEN flock=& drive:PL.CVseq V.go.CVsim eye+V.see.NW.V SUB.CVseq

They saw how he gave them the sheep and put the innards – the heart, liver, etc. – far away from himself on the end of his pole so the blood wouldn't stain him, put the pole over his shoulder, and went off driving his sheep.

(The deictic prefix of *hwalataddoacazh* 'so it wouldn't stain' is from the perspective of that clause's subject, not the person who saw this and not the narrator.)

35.5. Spoken Ingush: Wolves and livestock

An eight-year-old boy, alone in a village, protects its livestock from wolves. They are frightening but can be held at bay by a boy, and at the end the narrator gives the wolves' view and a listener expresses empathy for them. This speaker regularly uses negative *diecii hwuona* (D.be:NEG=Q 2s.DAT) instead of the more usual *dii hwuona* as pause filler (§33.2.2.1); abbreviated here *dc.h.* (0240 12:30-17:29)

- (89) Shie_mal_dolazh doa zhei=ji geazarie=ji cwannahw
 all D.be.PPL sheep=& goat.PL=& in one place
 joaqqa *koshaar* jer cu=chy dc.h. dwa=chy-dexkaadar aaz
 J.big sheep pen DEM in there DX=in -D.put:PL.PNW.D 1s.ERG

I drove all the sheep and goats into a large corral.

- (90) Doaxan shei weasaljgazh='a t'ehwa
 cattle 3p:RFL.GEN calf.DIM.PL=& together with
 shie_mal_dar cy jurta mal xannar,
 all.NZ DEM.OBL town.ADV how many be:PPL.NZ
 bweannel cwa bwea ax bwea bezhan yshitta xuddar ciga,
 100.NZ.CSN one hundred half hundred cow thus be.D.CND there
 yzh aaz karta=chy dwa-dexkaadar bezha+karta
 3p 1s.ERG fence.GEN=in DX-D.put:PL.PNW.D cattle+pen

All the cattle and their calves I put into a corral. There were around 150 of them.

- (91) Yzh borzloi aarahwara cu kartagh ~~dwaehy~~
 DEM.PL wolf.PL outside.ABL DEM.OBL fence.LAT
 cerjgazh vwaashka jettazh, ~~dwaehy~~ dwa='y-jett,
 teeth RECIP J.strike:PLC.CVsim DX=on-J.strike:PLC
 quusa-luzh chura bughaazh=ji dc.h dewaa sherch=ji
 lunge:PLC-INCP.CVsim inside bull.PL=& D.castrate.PPL bull.PL=&
 juxa dc.h hwa-lietazh sa+xalarga doalar yzh
 back DX-fight:PLC.CVsim dawn.ALL D.INGR.IMPF 3p

All the wolves were gnashing their teeth. Inside, the bulls and oxen threatened to charge and defended them, and this went on all night.

(*Quusaluzh* lit. 'jumping' (PLC) describes pawing the ground, lunging, and threatening to charge as bulls and oxen do. The deictic prefix on *hwalietazh* indicates that the speaker is probably facing the cattle and has his back to the wolves.)

- (92) ~~Suona~~ dc.h so jist+xalcha tap+ealie
 1s.DAT 1s start to speak+LV.CVtemp immediately+LV.CVseq
 socar ghar, so dii sacacha wuugha juola-luora,
 stop.IMPf noise of voice 1s um stop.CVtemp howl:PLC.INF J.begin-VZ.IMPf
 yzh borzloi yshtta jaaghazh yz biisa='a jeaqqar
 DEM.PL wolf.PL so J.sit.CVsim DEM night=& J.spend.WP

As soon as I said anything the sound (of the wolves howling) immediately stopped. When I stopped they started howling. The wolves spent the whole night that way.

- (93) Myshta-myshta eggara hwaalxara biisa jii,
 how-how SUPERL first night J.be.PRS=Q

shaaltacaa yz hwa-duucal,
 knife.INS 3s DX-D.tell.IMPVmild

nawaraa myshta leattaav hwo, bordz uda='a udazh
 gate.DAT how stand.NW.D 2s wolf RED=& run:PLC.CVsim

(Tell how) the first night you stood at the gate with a knife and a wolf ran back and forth in front of you. (Request from a listener across the room.)

- (94) Shollaghcha biisanna fy derd-hwogh aaz jaaxazh,
 second.OBL night.DAT what D.do.D.FUT-INTRSP 1s.ERG QUOT.CVsim

kiichuo, ch'woaghalie massanahw dwa='a hwa='a
 preparation stronghold everywhere DX=& DX=&

ch'woagh-jeai aaz,
 reinforce-J.CS*.NW.J 1s.ERG

seina dwaa kora-jea shaaltinjg muo hama jy=q
 1s:RFL.DAT DX find-J.CVant dagger.DIM like thing J.be.PRS=CUM

urs dy=q, yz bie='a dellaa
 knife D.be.PRS=CUM 3s hand.ADV=& D.insert.CVant

cu nawaraa buq='a tiexaa dc.h. laattazh so vy.
 DEM.OBL gate.DAT back=& strike.CVant stand.CVsim 1s V.PROG.PRS

I reinforced things here and there and the second night, not knowing what to do, stood there with a knife resembling a dagger that I'd found. (13.25)

- (95) Yz bordz, cy borzlozhta jiq'iera bordz jy yz,
 DEM wolf DEM.OBL wolf.PL.DAT among.ABL wolf J.be:PRS 3s
 tenna bordz jy yz waleamat_aallal,
 robust wolf J.be.PRS 3s extremely
 wa='a jedie, hwal='a jedie suona hwalxazhka gholla,
 DX=& J.run.CVseq DX-& J.run.CVseq 1s.DAT before along
 wa='a, hwa='a jedie t'aaqqa cul t'ehwagh
 DX=& DX=& J.run.CVseq then 3s.CSN after
 juxa secie cerjgazh vvaashka tox cuo,
 again stop:PST.CVseq teeth RECIP strike.PRS 3s.ERG
 suona=t'y qossa-jela biezam bolazh
 1s.DAT=at jump-J.INCP.INF desire B.be.CVsim

There was this one very big wolf that ran back and forth in front of me and then stopped and gnashed his teeth, wanting to attack me.

- (96) T'aaqqa aaz cynna shaalta yz-a duhwal,
 then 1s.ERG 3s.DAT dagger 3s-PAUSE opposite
 shiina²⁴⁰ duhwal hwieqacha dc.h hwa=t'y-qossalyc,
 3sRFL.DAT opposite show.CVtemp DX-attack-INCP.NEG.PRS
 hwa=t'y-qossalyc yz, laatt yz,
 DX-attack-INCP.NEG.PRS 3s stand.PRS 3s
 yshtta sa+xalanga²⁴¹ dealar txo cu shollaghcha busa
 thus dawn.ALL D.pass.WP 1pEX DEM.OBL second.OBL night.ADV

When I showed him the knife he didn't jump at me but stood there. We spent the whole second night like that.

- (97) Qollaghcha busa dc.h yzh wuughazh yshtta juxa *opjat'*
 third.OBL night.ADV 3p howl.CVsim thus again again
 hwa='a jeaxkaa ciga dc.h yz baala liela-byr
 DX=& J.come:PL.CVant there DEM trouble operate.WP

The third night they came howling again and brought the same problem.

²⁴⁰ Reflexive (refers to the wolf), controlled by the indirect object *cynna* of the same clause and/or by the subject of *dwat'yqossalac* 'didn't attack'.

²⁴¹ Expected: *sa+xalarga*. The internal structure of this compound is 'light+be.VN.'

- (98) T'aaqqa, shollagh busa, qollagh busa biisa mychaa
 second night.ADV third night.ADV night where.LOC
 jeaqqaai wa, chyhwanahw jeaqqaai wa?
 J.spend.NW.J 2s.ERG inside J.spend.NW.J 2sg.ERG
 Where did you spend the second and third nights? Indoors? [Listener's voice.]

- (99) Qollaghcha busa yz zha chy-doaxkazh
 third.OBL night.ADV DEM sheep.PL in-D.be contained:PL.CVsim
 jolazh joa qii niw hwa='a jiillaa --
 J.be.CVsim J.be.PPL stable door DX=& J.open.CVant
 yzh diina='a dolazh dii, seinna t'ehwazhjkahw
 3p alive=& D.be.CVsim D.be.PRS=Q 1s:RFL.DAT behind
 yzh xalcha k'ezig sa+paarghatagh jolazh --
 3p be.CVtemp a bit soul+at ease.CMP J.be.CVsim
 ha'a, cy nawara jiq'ie chu,
 yes DEM.OBL door.GEN between in
 cwa kog dwa=chy-beaqqa='a bolazh,
 one foot DX=in -B.take.CVant=& B.be.CVsim
 cwa kog aarahwa='a bolazh,
 one foot outdoors=& B.be.CVsim
 yz shaaltaljg bie='a joallazh,
 DEM dagger.DIM hand.ADV=& J.be located.CVsim
 sa+xallalc dc.h yzh cigga hwa-wuugha='a wuughazh borzloi ...
 dawn+be.CVuntil 3p there:FOC DX-RED=& howl.CVsim wolf.PL

The third night I opened the door of the barn where the sheep were -- they were something living and I felt comforted by having them behind me. I stood at the door, one foot indoors and one out, held the knife, and heard wolves howling until morning.

- (100) C'agha dwa=chy-voxa-lyc hwo, vuodac hwo?
 home DX=in-V.go-INCP.NEG 2s V.go.PRS.NEG 2s
 You can't go home? You don't go indoors? (14.45) [Listener.]
- (101) C'agha vahwac so dwa=chy-vaxa,
 home V.dare.NEG.PRS 1s DX=in -V.go.INF

shie_mal_joa nawarazh jiillaa laatt c'enoï,
 all J.PPL door.PL J.open.CVant stand.PRS house.PL.GEN

dwa=chy-vaxa vahwac so,
 DX=in-V.go.INF V.dare.NEG.PRS 1S

cwa sheit'an balxagh muo qer so,
 one devil.GEN work.LAT like fear.PRS 1s

beadie jy Daala hwaqellaa hama daac,
 dark J.be.PRS God.ERG create.CVant anything D.be:NEG.PRS

dwa=chy-vaxa vahwac c'agha,
 DX=in-V.go.INF V.dare.NEG.PRS house.ADV

serdaluo xalcha=m cwa hama deddar aaz.
 light be.CVtemp=FOC some thing D.do.CND 1s.ERG

I was afraid to go in. All the doors were open and I was scared as the devil. It was dark as hell, I was afraid to go in. It there had been some light I would have done something.

(102-104 skipped: more description of the emptied village.)

(105) Cigara juxa di'laghcha diinahw,
 there.ABL again D.fourth.OBL day.ADV

deaq'onna yshtta liinna vaag my vaac so,
 EMPH like this go around.CVant V.INGR.FUT EMPH V.PROG.NEG 1s

je baala kaachbiera suona jer eanna,
 DEM tragedy be problem 1s.DAT 3s SUB

yzh shie_mal_dolazh_doa bi' kog baaghazh
 DEM.PL all B.four foot B.sit.CVsim

cy koa mel_doa_hama -- gaaza jar='a,
 DEM.OBL yard.ADV everything goat J.be.PST=&

txy txoi jar ji' bwea=ji
 1pEX.GEN 1pEX:RFL.GEN J.be.PST J.four hundred=&

jieztq'a=ji vorh gaaza jer txy txoi,
 J.80=& seven goat J.be.PST 1pEX.GEN 1pEX:RFL.GEN

chetyresta devjanosto sem' gaaza jar yzh,
 497 goat J.be.PST 3p

vuoqa dea vezharii zhi='a geazarii='a doacazh,
 besides father.GEN brother.PL.GEN sheep=& goat.PL=& D.besides

 duqa dar yzh waleamata_aallal
 many D.be.PST 3p INTERJ

On the fourth day I figured I couldn't stay on in this condition with this tragedy on my shoulders. Every four-legged animal in our household, our 487 goats, even if you don't count my uncles' sheep and goats there were a huge number of them.
 (Speaker says 487 in Ingush but 497 in Russian.)

- (106) Yzh shie mal jola hama hwalxa='a jeaqqa,
 3p all thing ahead=& J.take.CVant

 hwalla eggira laqagh joa mettig jy Gheappii ...
 up:FOC SUPERL high.CM J.be.PPL place J.be:PRS

 cigga hwa-t'y-vealcha cwanniena bwarjga+gugvy=q so eanna,
 there:FOC DX-arrive.CV company one.DAT eye+see.FUT.V=CUM 1s SUB

 so ciga hwal=t'y-vealar yzh zha='a iicaa
 1s there up=on-V.go.WP DEM.PL sheep.PL=& take.CVant

I drove all those animals ahead of me. Gheappii is the highest place upthere and I figured someone would see me up there, so I went up with the sheep. (16.24)
 (Note purpose clause using *eanna*, lit. 'having said'.)

- (107) So hwa-t'y-veanna ... ch'woagha d.h daazha dwa-ettaa,
 1s DX=on-V.go.CVant very D.graze.INF "get down to".CVant

 ch'woagha ja'a hama jy ciga,
 very J.eat.INF thing J.be.PRS there

 mec-danna='a yshtta dolazh doa je zha='a,
 hungry-D.LV.CVant =& so D.be.CVsim D.be.PPL DEM sheep=&

 doaxan='a ch'woagha xoza daazha dwa='a ettaa,
 cattle & very well D.graze.INF DX=& "get down to". CVant

 k'ezzig sa='a chy='a diena²⁴²
 a bit soul=& in=& D.come.CVant

 handz cu borzloigh hwa-k'alxar+veanna
 now DEM.OBL wolf.PL.LAT DX-escape-V.LV.CVant

²⁴² *sa chy-d.oagha* 'feel better, improve, get well'.

sie ghad='a vaxaa so volcha xaanna,
 1sRFL rejoice=& V.LV.CVant 1s V.be.PPL.OBL time.DAT.FOC
 shi bordz jy=q maghahwara dc.h zhiena=ji doaxan=ji
 two wolf J.PROG=CUM above.ABL sheep.DAT=& cattle=&
 jiqqie-gholla jedda wa-t'y='a joaghazh duhhwal suona
 among:FOC-through J.run.CVant DX=on=& J.come.CVsim opposite 1s.DAT

I went up there. There was good grazing there and the animals were hungry and got right down to grazing well. I felt better and was happy to get away from the danger of the wolves. And suddenly two wolves came running right down through the sheep and cattle toward me.

- (108) Eii, deara jou shyn dea c'i hwal,
 INTERJ EMPH J.disappear.IMPV 2pGEN father.GEN fire up
 jer fyd eanna handz yshtta shi kyljg
 3s what=D.be.PRS SUB now so two hand
 dwa='a daxaacha laattazh so='a vy.
 DX=& D.go.PPL.OBL stand.CVsim 1s V.be.PRS
Okazyvaetsja suona=ji doaxana=ji guo+bea
 it turns out 1s.DAT=& cattle=& surround+B.LV.CVant
 xannab saltazh.
 PROG.NARP.B soldier.ERG.PL

Dammit, what is this? I was in despair ("spread my hands"). It turned out that the cattle and I had been surrounded by soldiers.

(The first clause is a standard curse: 'May your ancestors' fire go out (*hwal* 'up' here has the sense of 'right away, immediately').)

- (110) T'aaqqa yzh k'iilenna uqaza shoazhta dulx daaqqa eanna
 so 3p ambush.DAT here 3p:RFL.DAT meat D.get.INF SUB
 my jeaxkaajii yzh, t'aaqqa uqaza guo+bealjga
 EMPH J.come:PL.NW.J=Q 3p so here surround+B.LV.SBJ
 xa='a xeina shoazhta k'iilie+jeai mottazh
 RED=& realize.CVant 3p:RFL.DAT ambush+J.LV.NW.J think.CVsim
 udazh xanna xannii yzh='a
 run:PLC.CVsim be.CVant PROG.INCHO.NW.J 3p=&

They had been lying in wait, then when they realized they were surrounded they figured the ambush was for them, so (it turns out) they were running away. ('They

were running away, since when they realized they were surrounded they thought the ambush was for them.')

(The wolves are fleeing the armed men and run right through the herd and flock.)

(111) Miskaazh.

poor thing.PL

The poor things. (Said by interviewer.)

(112) T'aaqqa suogara baala caarga='a qeachaa xannab, ha'a
so 1s.ABL problem 3pALL=& get.CVant NARP.B yes
Yes, they had the same grief I did.

35.6. Spoken Ingush: Wolves and snowball

A young Ingush woman comes home at night on an unfamiliar road. (0238A)

(16) Yz oarquu t'eank'al='a dellaa
DEM plate under one's arm=& D.put.CVant
wa mettahw iiqqaai=q so
down place.LOC rush-NW.J=CUM 1s

I just put the bowl under my arm and took off (for home) as fast as I could.

(19) Cigara so wa-aara-iiqqacha, eattiehwa
there-ABL 1s down-out-rush.CVtemp right.LOC
cwa kamennyj karjer jaaxazh jy cwa mettig,
one stone quarry say.CVsim J.be.PRS one place
jerrig jolkaazh='a jaaghazh.
J.all spruce.PL=& J.sit.CVsim

When I got out, on the right there was a quarry with spruce trees all around it.

(20) Ciga baxaarazh=m dika hama deara xalar,
there B.go.PPL.NZ.PL=FOC good thing EMPH be.WP
hwa-die shortta balxazh dar, shortta aalapezh dar.
DX-D.do.INF much:FOC work.PL D.be.PST much salary.PL D.be.PST

The people who lived there had a good situation. There were plenty of jobs and there were salaries.

- (21) T'aaqqa jiena so mashenneaq'a=t'y wa-qeachacha ...
 so J.come.CVant 1s railroad=on DX-arrive.CVtemp
 So I got to the railroad ...

(22-24) (Other voices, extraneous topic)

- (25) Cy Shuuchiera wa-aara-jeanna so wa-joaghazh,
 DEM.OBL (place name).ABL DX-out-J.go.CVant 1s DX-J.come.CVsim
poezda niq' by=q, ciga so niq'a, niq'a=t'y so wa=t'y-qeaccha,
 train.GEN road B.be.PRS=CUM there 1s road.ADV=on 1s DX=on-reach. CVtemp
 t'ox ehwaa, t'o bahwazh joaghazh *vaganetkaazh* jy.
 stone.LAT grind.CVant stone B.bring.CVsim J.come.CVsim train cars J.be.PRS
 As I was coming back from Shuchinsk, along the railroad came train cars filled with
 gravel.
 (*ehwaa* is a mistake for *jettaa* 'loaded'.)
 (*Vaganetkaazh* (Russ.): small cars on narrow gauge railroad.)

- (26) Yzh t'ex-jeallalca leatta='a leattaa,
 3p past-J.go:FOC.CVuntil RED=& stand.CVant
 yzh t'ex-joala juq' duqa xet suona,
 3p past-J.go:PPL interval much seem 1s.DAT
 maalx wa=chy-b.uzazh laatt loamagh.
 sun down=in-B.set.CVsim stand.PRS slope.LAT

I stood there until they passed. It seemed like a long time to me, and during this time
 the sun went down over the hills.

- (26a) Yz duqa xa xet suona.
 3s much time seem.PRS 1s.DAT
 It seemed like a long time to me.

- (27) Cul t'ehwagh yzh *vaganetkaazh* wa-t'ex my jeallangie='a,
 DEM.CSN after DEM.PL cars DX-past EMPH J.go:FOC.CVjust.as =&
 wa mettagh iiqqaai so.
 DX place.LOC rush.NW.J 1s

As soon as the train cars passed I hurried on.

- (28) Wa mettagh iiqqa daggara so joaghazh,
 DX place.ADV rush.CVant intensely 1s J.come.CVsim
 eattiewa jar yz cu kamennyj karjeriera
 right.LOC J.be.PST 3s DEM.OBL stone quarry.ABL
 qo ... qo ... qo zhwalii aara-'iiqqar, afchaarkaazh.
 three dog out-jump.WP German shepherd.PL
 From the gravel pit on the right three dogs tore out, German shepherds.
- (29) Wa-qeidie yshtta mazharjg towabii,
 down-reach.CVseq thus snowball compress-B.CS.CVseq
 mazharjg towabii, mazharjg tox aaz caarna.
 snowball compress-B.CS.CVseq snowball strike 1s.ERG 3p.DAT
 I make a snowball and throw it at them.
- (30) "Gh-h-h"='a jaaxie yz бага='a biixkie,
 gr-r-r =& say.CVseq 3s mouth.ADV=& B.put:PLC.CVseq
 cynca leiz='a leizie hwal='t'y-joal yzh.
 3s.INS RED=& play.CVseq up=on-J.go.PRS 3p
 They growled, grabbed it in their mouths, and ran on ahead playing with it.
- (31) Muq'agh borzloi xannajar.
 actually wolf.PL be.PNW.J
 It turned out they were really wolves.
- (32) (Another voice, in Russian) *Da ty chto?*
 You must be kidding.
- (33) Ai-je je Allahw Deala, yz oarquu dy yz
 INTERJ DEM God God DEM plate D.be.PRS 3s
 aaz cigara iicaar.
 1s.ERG there.ABL buy.PPL.NZ
 Omigod, that's the very bowl I bought there. (Someone has just brought the bowl out.)
- (34) Yz t'eank'al doall suona. (laughs)
 3s under one's arm D.be located.PRS 1s.DAT

Tux=ji, burch=ji, xuoxazh chy-boaxkazh, suodii=ji
 salt=& pepper=& onion.PL in-B.be located:PL.CVsim soda=&
 chy-d.oallazh b.oa t'ormii uq bie boall sy,
 in-D.be:located.CVsim B.be.PPL sack this.OBL hand.ADV B.be:located 1s.GEN
 yz t'eank'al doallazh.
 3s under one's arm D.be located.CVsim

I'm carrying it under my arm ... salt, pepper, onions, a sack with soda in it in this hand, the bowl under my arm.

- (35) T'aaqqa wa-qeidie mazharjg towa-bu aaz,
 so then DX-reach.CVseq snowball compress-B.CS.PRS 1s.ERG
 yz mazharjg dwa-tox aaz caarna.
 DEM snowball DX-strike 1s.ERG 3p.DAT

So I reach down (and scoop up snow), make a snowball, and throw it at them.

- (36) Gh-h-h='a ealie, yz louza='a bii,
 gr-r-r=& say.CVseq 3s play=& B.CS.CVseq
 vwaashii bwara='a hwiezhie, geana joal suona yzh.
 each other eye=& look:PLC.CVseq far J.go.PRS 1s.DAT 3p

Growling, playing with it, looking at each other, they go away from me.

- (37) Deara, vei Peixmaruora baq' my=d shoana yz,
 EMPH 1pin.GEN Prophet.ERG.ABL truth EMPH-D.be.PRS 2p.DAT/MIR 3s
 uq baga=chy maarxuora,
 this.OBL mouth.ADV=in fast.ERG.ABL
 cy bareitta kilametar yshtta jigar so caar.
 DEM.OBL eighteen kilometer thus J.lead.WP 1s 3p.ERG

I swear by the Prophet and the fast, they accompanied ('led') me the whole 18 kilometers.

- (38) Juxa so jurta jistie wa-t'y='a ettar,
 back 1s town.GEN at edge DX=on=& stand.WP
 yshtta dwa='a jeanna maalxbuzehw dwa-jaxar yzh.
 thus DX=& J.go.CV west.LOC DX-J.go.WP 3p

Only as I got the edge of the town did they run away to the west.

- (39) T'aaqqa, so wa=chy-qeaccha, kak raz yz siesag jaaghar
 so then 1s DX=in-arrive.CVtemp (EMPH) DEM woman J.sit.IMPF
 txy c'agha, Makarovna ealar aaz, dika sag='a jer, ...
 1pEX.GEN house.ADV (Russ. name) say.WP 1s.ERG good person=& J.be.PST
 When I got home, this woman Makarovna was sitting in our house. She was a good person.
- (40) *"Vsju dorogu mne ovcharki paravozhal"*
 (Russ.) Some German shepherd dogs accompanied me the whole way home.
 (The speaker addresses her Russian neighbor in Russian. She pronounces the last word with a strong Ingush accent and incorrect morphology as she probably spoke at the time, though by now she actually speaks Russian well.)
- (41) *"Kakoj tam ovcharki, èto volki" eanna.*
 (Russ.) What do you mean dogs, they were wolves, she said.
 (Non-agreement, as though the Russian woman also spoke imperfect Russian. In fact the speaker is pronouncing all Russian as she spoke it at that time, regardless of whose words she repeats.)
- (42) *Net, ealar, ovcharki eanna.*
 no say.WP (Russ) say.CVant
 No, I said, they were dogs.
- (43) *Da zdes' netu ovcharki,*
 But there aren't any German shepherds here. (in Russian)
 daac uq metta afchaarkaazh, ealar, daac.
 D.be.NEG this.OBL place.ADV German shepherd.PL say.WP D.be.NEG.PRS
 "But there aren't any German shepherds around here," she said. "None."
- (44) *Bwarjgazh c'ie darii?, ealar*
 eye.PL red D.be.PST=Q say.WP
 Were their eyes red? she asked.
 (Some wolves have somewhat orangish eyes.)
- (45) *Dar, ealar aaz.*
 D.be.PST say.WP 1s.ERG
 Yes, I said.

- (46) *Guby sinie?*
Were their lips bluish?
(Wolves have grayish lips.)
- (47) Dar.
D.be.PST
Yes.
- (48) *Oi, èto volki eanna ealar.*
SUB say.WP
Oh, they were wolves, she said in Russian.
- (49) Qiera my jennajii so yshtta
fear EMPH J.INCP.J.NW=Q 1s such
And then I really got scared.
- (53) Lila muo siina dy caar *guubezh.*
bluing like blue D.be.PRS 3p.GEN lip.PL
Their lips are bright blue.
(Figure of speech; of course they aren't bright blue.)
- (54) Wa=t'y my qoachii, wa-t'y-qeaccha,
DX=on EMPH arrive.CVseq DX=on-arrive.CVant
k'irlii=ji sag sanna suona bwara+hwedzh yzh.
attentive.CVseq=& person like 1s.DAT eye+look:PLC 3p
When they come up they study me attentively.
(*qeaccha* < {qeacha-cha})
- (55) Daala sy xa qaachandza so jitar xuddar=q yz.
God.ERG 1s.GEN time arrive.PPL.NEG 1s J.leave.WP be-D.CND=CUM 3s
It must have been that God left me [alive] because my time hadn't come.
- (56) Mazharjg, lei mazharjg towa='a bii dwa-tox aaz.
snowball snow.GEN snowball compress=& B.CS.CVseq DX-strike 1s.ERG
I make a snowball and throw it at them.
- (57) Yz baga='a b.iixkie, yz hwieqa='a b.ii
3s mouth.ADV=& B.insert:PLC.CVseq 3s knead/push=& B.CS.CVseq

jeidie wa-hwalxa-j.oal suona yzh.
 J.go:PL.CVseq DX-ahead-J.go.PRS 1s.DAT 3p

Playing with the snowball, rolling it around on the ground, they run ahead of me.
 (One of the wolves picks up the snowball and puts it down, another wolf [or the same one] picks it up, and so forth – the verbs are pluractional and singular.)

- (59) T'aaqqa woou wa-t'y-qaacha my jiizii sy.
 so then far away DX=on-arrive.INF EMPH J.need=Q 1s.GEN
 I had to get clear back to the village.

- (60) so jurta jistie wa-t'y='a qechar, yzh dwa='a jeanna dwa-jaxar.
 1s town.ADV edge.ADV DX=on=& arrive.WP 3p DX=& J.go.CVant DX-J.go.WP
 I got to the edge of the village and they went away.
 (The first clause is a different-subject clause with most of the formal properties of core chaining, except that the verb is finite rather than a converb. There are so few examples of this that it is hard to know whether it is the regular treatment of different-subject chained clauses or a mistake.)

35.7. Published folklore: Ucc'eazhta t'yvaxaa neic

A married man is expected to set up his own household or live in his father's house or compound, not live with his wife's family. This joke pokes fun at a son-in-law living with his in-laws. (Mal'sagov 1967:38-39)

- (1) Ucc'eazh-ta t'y-v.axaa neic
 in-law.PL-DAT at-V.go.CVant son-in-law
 The son-in-law who lived with his in-laws (lit. 'who went to his inlaws').
 (Compound *ust+c'ei* 'ust- 'wife' [combining form]; *c'ei* < *c'aa* 'household'. Assimilation: *st-c' > cc'*.)

- (2) Cwa q'aaiga hwa='a leacaa,
 one crow(J) DX=& catch.CVant
 cwa bedarjg cy juttazh must='a jea, dwa-xiicaai
 one feather NEG J.leave:FOC.CVsim (pluck) bald=& J.VZ.CVant DX-let go.NW.J
 ucc'eazh-ta t'y-v.axaa v.aaxazh xannacha cwan neicuo.
 in-law.PL-DAT on-V.go.CVant V.live.CVsim PROG.PPL.OBL one.OBL son-in-law

A son-in-law who had moved in with his wife's parents caught a crow, plucked it bald, and let it go.

- (3) Dwa-xiicaacha q'aaiguo jaxaa
 DX-let go.PPL.OBL crow.ERG J.go.CVant
- cy neica c'en jixie baaghacha xiena=t'y
 DEM.OBL son-in-law.GEN house.GEN beside B.sit.PPL.OBL tree.DAT=on
- wa='a xeinaa eannad joax
 down=& sit.CVant say.NW.D QUOT
- "Handz='a deara jaac so ucc'eazh-ta t'y-vaxaacha
 now=& EMPH J.be:NEG 1s in-laws.PL.DAT on-V.go.PPL.OBL
- neical ieshazhagh" eanna.
 son-in-law.CSN need.CVsim-CM SUB

The raven went and perched on a tree next to the son-in-law's house and said, "Even now I'm no worse off than a son-in-law who lives with his in-laws."

APPENDIX 1: INFLECTION OF NOUNS

COMMON NOUNS. Case and number paradigms for the two most common declensions and one short stem with ablaut.

	<i>Ending</i>	<i>'town'</i>	<i>'earth'</i>	<i>'father'</i>
<i>Singular:</i>				
Nominative	Ø	jurt	leatta	daa
Genitive	-a, -n	jurta	leattan / leattaa	dea
Dative	-na, -aa	jurtaa	leattaa / leattanna	deana
Ergative	-z, -uo,	jurtuo	leattuo	daaz
Allative	-ga	jurtaga	leattaaga	deaga
Instrumental	-ca	jurtaca	leattaaca	deaca
Lative	-gh	jurtagh	leattaagh	deagh
Comparison	-l	jurit	leattaa	deal
Adverb	(various)	jurta	leatta	(none)
<i>Plural:</i>				
Nominative	-j, -ii, -Ø	jurtazh	leattaazh	dei (даъй)
Genitive	-j, -ii	juritii	leattaa	dei (даъй)
Dative	-ta	jurtazhta	leattaazhta	deazhta
Ergative	-a/-Ø	jurtazh/-azha	leattaazh	deazh
Allative	-ka	jurtazhka	leattaazhka	deazhka
Instrumental	-ca	jurtazhca	leattaazhca	deazhca
Lative	-gh	jurtegh	leattaajegh	deajegh
Comparison	-l	juritel	leattaajel	deajel

PROPER NOUNS, ETHNONYMS, etc.:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Ending</i>	<i>Musa (name)</i>	<i>Ingush</i>
Nominative	Ø	Muusaa	ghalghaa
Genitive	-n, *-j	Muusaa <i>i</i>	ghalghaa <i>chyn</i>
Dative	-na	Muusaa <i>ina</i>	ghalghaa- <i>chynna</i> /-choa
Ergative	-z, -uo	Muusaa <i>z</i>	ghalghaa <i>chuo</i>
Allative	-ga	Muusaa <i>iga</i>	ghalghaa <i>chynga</i>
Instrumental	-ca	Muusaa <i>ica</i>	ghalghaa <i>chynca</i>
Lative	-gh	Muusaa <i>igh</i>	ghalghaa <i>chogh</i>
Comparison	-l	Muusaa <i>il</i>	ghalghaa <i>chul</i>

Plural

Nominative	ghalghaa <i>i</i>
Genitive	ghalghaa <i>i</i>
Dative	ghalghaa <i>azhta</i>
Ergative	ghalghaa <i>azh</i>
Allative	ghalghaa <i>azhka</i>
Instrumental	ghalghaa <i>azhca</i>
Lative	ghalghaa <i>ajegh</i>
Comparison	ghalghaa <i>ajel</i>

ASSOCIATIVES:

	<i>Easet (name)</i>	<i>(explicit plural)²⁴³</i>	<i>'who' (plural)</i>	<i>3sg 's/he, it'</i>
Nominative	Easietaar	Easietaar+barazh	malagh+barazh	yz varazh ²⁴⁴
Genitive	Easietaara	Easietaar <i>chaara</i>	malagh <i>chaara</i>	yz vol <i>chaara</i>
Dative	Easietaarna	Easietaar <i>chaarna</i>	malagh <i>chaarna</i>	yz vol <i>chaarna</i>
Ergative	Easietaara	Easietaar <i>chaara</i>	malagh <i>chaara</i>	yz vol <i>chaara</i>
Allative	Easietaarga	Easietaar <i>charga</i>	malagh <i>charga</i>	yz vol <i>charga</i>
Instrumental	Easietaarca	Easietaar <i>charca</i>	malagh <i>charca</i>	yz vol <i>charca</i>
Lative	Easietaaragh	Easietaar <i>charagh</i>	malagh <i>charagh</i>	yz vol <i>charagh</i>
Comparison	Easietaaral	Easietaar <i>charal</i>	malagh <i>charal</i>	yz vol <i>charal</i>

²⁴³ Both associate forms are plural in meaning: 'Easet and her family/colleagues/friends'. The longer form adds explicit plural semi-periphrastic endings to those of the shorter form, although the latter's extension *-aar-* is unambiguously plural.

²⁴⁴ Also *yz barazh*. Also *jerazh*, the plural of *jer* 'this one'.

APPENDIX 2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	<i>1sg</i>		<i>1pl Exclusive</i>	
Nom.	so	со	txo	тхо
Gen.	sy	сы	txy	тхы
Dat.	suona	сона	txuona	тхона
Erg.	aaz	аз	oaxa	оаха
All.	suoga	сога	txuoga	тхога
Abl.	suogara	согара	txuogara	тхогара
Instr.	suoca(a)	соца	txuoca(a)	тхоца
Lat.	sogh	сох	txogh	тхох
Csn.	sol	сол	txol	тхол

	<i>1pl Inclusive</i>	
Nom.	vai	вай
Gen.	vai	вай
Dat.	vaina	вайна
Erg.	vai	вай
All.	vaiga	вайга
Abl.	vaigara	вайгара
Instr.	vaica(a)	вайца
Lat.	vaigh	вайх
Csn.	vail	вайл

	<i>2sg</i>		<i>2pl</i>	
Nom.	hwo	хьо	sho / shu	шо / шу
Gen.	hwa	хья	shyn	шун
Dat.	hwuona	хьона	shoana	шоана
Erg.	wa	Ia	oasha	оаша
All.	hwuoga	хьога	shuoga	шога
Abl.	hwuogara	хьогара	shuogara	шогара
Instr.	hwuoca	хьоца	shuoca(a)	шоца
Lat.	hwogh	хьох	shogh	шох
Csn.	hwol	хьол	shol	шол

	<i>3sg</i>		<i>3pl</i>	
Nom.	yz	из	yzh	уж
Gen.	cyn / cun	цун	caar ²⁴⁵	цар
Dat.	cynna	цунна	caana	царна
Erg.	cuo	цо	caar	цар
All.	cynga	цунга	caarga	царга
Abl.	cyngara	цунгара	caargara	царгара
Instr.	cynca	цунца	caarca(a)	царца
Lat.	cogh	цох	caaregh	царех
Csn.	cul / cyl	цул	caarel	царел

²⁴⁵ Some speakers have the optional pronunciation /caara/ for one or the other of genitive and ergative.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS²⁴⁶

	<i>1sg</i>		<i>1pl Exclusive</i>	
Nom.	sie	се	txoazh	тхоаш
Gen.	sei	сай	txei/txoi	тхой
Dat.	seina	сайна	txeina/txoazhta	тхоашта
Erg.	eisa	айса	oaxozh	оаш
All.	seiga	сайга	txeiga/txoazhka	тхойга
Abl.	seigara	сайгара	<i>txeigara/txoazhkara</i>	тхойгара
Instr.	seica, seicaa	сайца	<i>txeica/txoazhca(a)</i>	тхоашца
Lat.	seigh	сайх	<i>txeigh/txoigh</i>	тхойех
Csn.	seil	сайл	txeil/txoil	тхойел
			<i>1pl Inclusive</i>	
		Nom.	vai	воаш
		Gen.	vai	вай
		Dat.	vaina/voazhta	воашта
		Erg.	vai/voazh	воаш
		All.	<i>voazhka</i>	воашка
		Abl.	<i>voazhkara</i>	воашкара
		Instr.	<i>voazhca(a)</i>	воашца
		Lat.	vaigh	воайех
		Csn.	vail	воайел
	<i>2sg</i>		<i>2pl</i>	
Nom.	hwie	хье	shoazh	шоаш
Gen.	hwaai	хьай	shei/shoi	шой
Dat.	hwaaina	хьайна	shoazhta	шоашта
Erg.	waaxa	Гайха	shoazh	шоаш
All.	hwaaigna	хьайга	<i>sheiga/shoazhka</i>	шойга
Abl.	hwaaignara	хьайгара	<i>sheigara</i>	шойгара
Instr.	hwaaigna(a)	хьайца	sheica(a)	шоашца
Lat.	hwaaignh	хьайх	<i>sheigh/shoigh</i>	шойех
Csn.	hwaaignil	хьайл	sheil/shoil	шойел
	<i>3sg</i>		<i>3pl</i>	
Nom.	shie	ше	shoazh	шоаш
Gen.	shii	ший	shei/shoi	шой
Dat.	shiina	шийна	shoazhta	шоашта
Erg.	shie	ше	shoazh	шоаш
All.	shiiga	шийга	sheiga	шойга
Abl.	shiigara	шийгара	sheigara	шойгара
Instr.	shiica(a)	шийца	sheica(a)	шойца
Lat.	shiigh	шийх	<i>sheigh/shoigh</i>	шойех
Csn.	shiil	шийл	sheil/shoil	шойел

²⁴⁶ Forms in Roman type have been elicited or found in texts. Italicized forms and all Cyrillic spellings are from Axrieva et al. 1972:138.

APPENDIX 3. ADJECTIVES

	<i>Ending</i>	<i>'good'</i> <i>(simplex)</i>	<i>'full'</i> <i>(participle)</i>	<i>'smart'</i> <i>(phrasal)</i>
<i>Attributive:</i>				
Nominative	-Ø	dika	d.yzaa	hweaq'al dola
Oblique	-cha	dikacha	d.yzaacha	hweaq'al dolcha

		<i>'good'</i> (semi- <i>periphrastic)</i>	<i>'good'</i> (periphrastic)
<i>Nominalized singular:</i>			
Nominative	-d.ar	dika+jar	dika+jar
Genitive	-chyn	dikachyn	dika+jolchyn
Dative	-chynna	dikachynna	dika+jolchynna
Ergative	-chuo	dikachuo	dika+jolchuo
Allative	-chynga	dikachynga	dika+jolchynga
Instrumental	-chynca	dikachynca	dika+jolchynca
Lative	-chogh	dikachogh	dika+jolchogh
Comparison	-chyl	dikachyl	dika+jolchyl

<i>Nominalized plural:</i>			
Nominative	-d.arazh	dika+jarazh	dika+jarazh
Genitive	-chaar	dikachaar	dika+jolchaar
Dative	-chaarna	dikachaarn	dika+jolchaarn
Ergative	-chaar	dikachaar	dika+jolchaar
Allative	-chaarga	dikachaarga	dika+jolchaarga
Instrumental	-chaarca	dikachaarca	dika+jolchaarca
Lative	-chaaregh	dikachaaregh	dika+jolchaaregh
Comparison	-chaarel	dikachaarel	dika+jolchaarel

APPENDIX 4. NUMERALS

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Cardinal attributive:</i>				
Nominative	cwa	shi	qo	tq'o
Oblique	cwan	shin	qea	tq'ea
<i>Cardinal nominalized:</i>				
Nominative	caw	shi'	qo'	tq'o
Genitive	cweannen	shinnie	qeannie	<i>tq'eannie</i>
Dative	cweanniена	shinniена	qeanniена	tq'eanniена
Ergative	cweannie	shinnie	qeannie	tq'eannie
Allative	cweanniega	shinniega	qeanniega	tq'eanniega
Instrumental	cweannieca	shinnieca	qeannieca	tq'eannieca
Lative	cweannegh	shinnegh	qeannegh	tq'eannegh
Comparison	cweannel	shinnel	qeannel	tq'eannel
Adverb		shinnahw	qeannahw	
Plural	cawazh	shi'azh	qo'azh	--

For more forms see Tables 10-1 and 10-2.

APPENDIX 5. INFLECTION OF VERBS

Illustrated with 'drink', a verb with three ablaut grades and an {ä} vowel.

<i>Tenses</i>	<i>Interlinear</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Present	PRS	mol	malac
Imperfect	IMP	molar	malâcar
Witnessed past	WP	mälâr	malândzar/mälândzar ²⁴⁷
Future	FUT	maddy	maddaac
Finite conditional	CND	maddar	maddaacar
Nonwitnessed	NW	männad	männadaac
Past nonwitnessed	PNW	männadar	männadaacar
Narrative past	NARP	männa xannad	männa xannadaac
Narrative pluperfect	NARPP	männa xannadar	männa xannadaacar
Inferential perfect	INFR	männa xuddy	männa xuddaac
Past inferential	INFRpst	männa xuddar	männa xuddaacar
Nonwitnessed infer.	INFRnw	männa xanna xuddy	männa xanna xuddaac
" " past	INFRpnw	männa xanna xuddar	männa xanna xuddaacar
Ongoing inference		männa xuddolazh dy	männa xuddolazh daac
Inferential/conditional	INFRfut	molaxuddy	molaxuddaac
Present progressive	PROG ²⁴⁸	molazh vy	molazh vaac
" " , ergative	PROG	molazh dy	molazh daac
Past progressive	PROG	molazh var	molazh vaacar
" " , ergative	PROG	molazh dar	molazh daacar
Future progressive	PROG	molazh xugvy	molazh xugvaac
" " , ergative	PROG	molazh xuddy	molazh xuddaac
Actual progressive	PROG	molazh laatt	molazh laattac
Past actual progr.	PROG	molazh laattar	molazh laattacar
Occasional progressive	PROGocc	molazh xul	molazh xalac
Past occasional progr. (no term) ²⁴⁹	PROGocc	molazh xular	molazh xalacar
Narrative past progr.	PROG.NARP	molazh xannuu	molazh xannavaac
Erg. narr. past progr. (no term)	PROG.NARP	molazh xannad	molazh xannadaac
(no term)		molazh xannavar	molazh xannavaacar
(no term)		molazh xannadar	molazh xannadaacar
Inchoative progressive	PROGinch	molazh xalar	molazh xalandzar
Inferential progressive	PROGinfr	molazh xanna xannuu	molazh xanna xannavaac
Past inferential progr.	PROGinfrpst	molazh xanna xannavar	molazh xanna xannavaacar

²⁴⁷ *malandzar*, *dieshandzar*, etc., based on the infinitive stem, are normative. The form with past stem *mäländzar*, *diëshändzar* is colloquial and increasingly common among younger speakers.

²⁴⁸ Progressives are interlinearized under the auxiliary. When tense is not at issue, the interlinear is only PROG (i.e. just which progressive tense the form represents is not shown but can be determined from this appendix).

²⁴⁹ Forms lacking terms could be elicited but have not been found in texts, and their exact meanings are uncertain.

<i>Non-indicative moods</i>	<i>Interlinear</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i> ²⁵⁰
Plain imperative	IMPV	mala	my mala
Mild imperative	IMPVmild	malâl	my malâl
Future imperative	IMPVfut	malâlahw	my malâlahw
"", plural	IMPVfut.PL	malâlazh	my malâlazh
Hortative	HORT	malalaa	
Optative 1 ²⁵¹	OPT1	moladalar	my moladalar
Optative 2	OPT2	moladalaara	my moladalaara
Past optative 1	OPTpst1	mannadalar	my mannadalar
Past optative 2	OPTpst2	männadalaara	my männadalaara
Optative 3	OPT3	xalvy/xaila/xaldy/xalby	my xalvy, my xaldy, etc.
<i>Evidentials:</i>			
Quotative	QUOT	mol joax, molar joaxar, etc.	
Mirative (2 nd person)	MIR	mâlar (etc.) hwuona/shoana	
Mirative (1 st person)	MIR	mâlar (etc.) veina	
Cumulative focus	CUM	mol=q, mâlar=q, etc.	
Common knowledge	EMPH ... =Q	my mol=ii, my mannadii,...	
<i>Nonfinite forms:</i>			
Infinitive	INF	mala	cy mala
Verbal noun	VN	malar	
Subjunctive: Present	SBJ	molaljga	cy molaljga
Past	SBJpst	männaljga	
Future	SBJfut	maddoljga	
<i>Participles:</i>			
Present	PPLprs	mola	
"", nominalized	PPL.NZ	molar	
"", nominalized	PPL.NZ	mola+d.ar	
Past	PPLpst	männa	malandza
"", nominalized	PPL.NZ	männar	
"", nominalized	PPL.NZ	männa+d.ar	
<i>Chaining converbs</i>			
Simultaneous	CVsim	molazh	cy molazh
Anterior	CVant	männa	cy männa
Sequential	CVseq	mälie	

²⁵⁰ A blank in this column means that no negative form exists for that category.

²⁵¹ The imperative of the two basic motion verbs seems to be close in function to an optative: *d.êl* '(why don't you) come' and *ghuo* 'go on, (why don't you) go'.

<i>Subordinating converbs</i>	<i>Interlinear</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i> ²⁵²
<i>Time:</i>			
Temporal ('when, after')	CVtemp	mälacha	cy mälacha
Simultaneous ('while')	CVsim	molazh	cy molazh
'before', 'lest'	CVbefore	malalie	---
'before ... even'	CVbefore	malalehw	---
'until'	CVuntil	mallalca	
'until...had'	CVuntil	männalca	
'while, during'	CVwhile	molazhehw	
'as soon as', 'just as'	CVjust	mollazhie/molasshie/mollazhehw	
id.	CVjust	mallanjga='a	
'the very minute'	CVjust	mala my mälanjgehw ²⁵³	---
<i>Reason:</i>			
Cause (present)	CVbcs	molandea	cy molandea
Cause (past)	CVbcs	männandea	cy mannandea
<i>Condition:</i>			
Irrealis (conditional)			
Plain ('if')	CVirr	molie	
Imperfect	CVirr	molarie	
Future	CVirr	maddalie	
Nonwitnessed	CVirr	männadalie	
Past nonwitnessed	CVirr	männadalarie	
Progressive	CVirr	molazhdalie	
Hypothetical	CVirr	mälalie	
Counterfactual desiderative			
Progressive	CVirr	moladala(a)rie	
Future	CVirr	molazh dala(a)rie	
	CVirr	maddala(a)rie ²⁵⁴	
Past	CVirr	männadala(a)rie	
<i>Concessive:</i>			
'even if'	CVconc	molie 'a	
'even though'	CVconc	mollazhehw 'a	
'even though'	CVconc	molasshehw 'a	
'even though'	CVconc	mollazhie 'a	
<i>Extent:</i>			
'as much as'	CVext	dwamallal	

²⁵² A blank in this column means a negative form has not been found for that category. --- means that a negative form is known not to exist for that category.

²⁵³ Compound verbs have interposed *my* and no reduplication: bwarjg my veinjgehw 'the minute (I/you/he/she...) saw'.

²⁵⁴ Note that there is a future optative converb but no (finite) future optative indicative.

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SOURCES

7D	Vaxa Xamxoev, Vorh duucar. <i>Serdaluo</i> , February 24, 1996, p. 3.
Borgh	Borgha jaaxa zwamiga sag=ji, Suu jaaxa jow=ji. Mal'sagov ed. 1967:53-4
CDD	various selections from Mal'sagov ed. 2002
DD	Vaxa Xamxoev, Daza di. <i>Literaturni Ghalghaaichie 1997:2.8-14</i>
Dymii	Mal'sagov ed. 1967:258-260
Frog	Recorded narratives of the Frog Story (Mayer 1969)
GhGh	Gheala Gheitaq. Matiev 2002:7-17.
HS	Hwun sag=ji, loamaruo=ji. Mal'sagov ed. 1967:110-111
HSJ	Hwo senduhwa juul? Mal'sagov ed. 1967:30
KSh	Vaxa Xamxoev, Kerda shu
Koartol	Unnumbered recipe texts transcribed by Ronald L. Sprouse
Loamaruo	Mal'sagov ed. 1967:178
MK	Maalxara kasha. Hwoashalneaq'aan 1998.96-97.
MNNP	Daxkil'gov 2000
Mott	Mal'sagov ed. 1967:224
Neasar	Mal'sagov ed. 1967:120-122
Pears	Recorded narratives of the Pear Story film (Chafe 1975)
PL	Kodzoev c. 1990
Sii	Mal'sagov ed. 1967:18-19
0415, etc.	(four-digit numeral, sometimes with decimals) Transcribed texts in the Berkeley Ingush Corpus

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HRJ	Heather Rose Jones
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INDEX

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