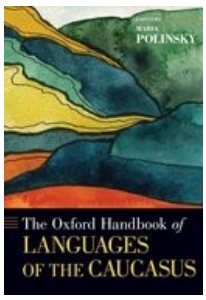

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CHAPTER

8 Chechen and Ingush

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Abstract

This chapter is a grammar sketch of Chechen and Ingush, which form the Vainakh subbranch of the Nakh branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian family. The emphasis is on Chechen, since a reference grammar of Ingush exists. Attention is given to points of typological and theoretical interest. Chechen and Ingush distinguish themselves from the Daghestanian languages by having a much richer set of vowel phonemes, containing short and long diphthongs. Accompanied by extensive examples from existing texts, the chapter offers insight into features such as stress and tone, pharyngealization, verb classes, verb template, meanings of TAM categories, evidentiality, valence changing, the addressee dative construction, word order, clause chaining, clefting and the VIP demonstrative. A number of issues that need further research are outlined in the chapter, such as tone, intonation and schwa-zero alternations. Differences between Chechen and Ingush are identified, especially where they involve the semantics and pragmatics of morphological forms or syntactic constructions.

Keywords: Chechen, Ingush, Nakh languages, Nakh-Daghestanian languages, Caucasus, converb,, evidential

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8.1 The Languages and Their Speakers

CHECHEN and Ingush make up the Veynakh (Vainakh) subbranch of the Nakh branch of Nakh-Dagestanian.[1] There is marginal mutual intelligibility between Chechen and Ingush (and many speakers have at least some passive knowledge of the other language), but not with Batsbi (though even their speakers can get the gist of some phrases). Ingush has no dialectal distinctions; Chechen has seven recognized dialects, all mutually

intelligible (though between some dialect pairs, especially ones involving the archaic southeastern highland Cheberloi dialect, mutual intelligibility may take some exposure). The most salient dialect divisions involve vowel ablaut alternations that accompany inflection and derivation; there are also some grammatical and lexical differences.

8.1.1 Geography and Sociolinguistics

Languages and dialect groups are distributed vertically: Ingush territory runs from the snow line to the plains between the Terek and Assa Rivers, and Chechen east from there to the border with Dagestan, plus two outliers: the Aeqqii dialect of Chechen in lowland Dagestan and the Kisti dialect of Chechen in highland Georgia to the south. For geographic and demographic overviews of Chechen and Ingush, see chapters 1, 2, and 3.

p. 318 There is a standing literary tradition (dating back to the early 19th century) in Chechen, and several periodicals have appeared over time, e.g., the newspaper *Dajmuoxk* 'Fatherland', the children's magazine *Stielawaad* 'Rainbow', the literary journal *Orga* 'Argun', and others. There are television programs in Chechen, and there are numerous Chechen Internet sites, for both social media and news. The situation is similar in Ingushetia. For both languages blogs, chat rooms, social media, and other online resources are widely used, showing the vitality of the languages and, among other things, acting as an informal living laboratory where speakers can try out new vocabulary and experiment with solutions to the orthographic difficulties posed by schwa-zero alternations (section 8.8.5).

The Central Asian and Near Eastern diasporas have generally retained the languages well. The sociolinguistics of recent diasporic populations in Europe has not been studied.

8.1.2 History of Research

The first notes on Chechen come from the 19th century, from researchers such as Güldenstädt, Klaproth, and Schiefner. But it was Peter Uslar (1888) who published the first Chechen grammar. The script he used for Chechen was a combination of Cyrillic and Latin, with a few additional symbols. The early period of the Soviet Union saw an increased interest in minority languages. It was in this period that a Latin alphabet was constructed, and several publications appeared, such as a self-study book by Maciev (1932). This period was rapidly succeeded by a transition to Cyrillic-based alphabets. Jakovlev's (1940) syntax was one of the first academic books to appear in the newly created alphabet for Chechen. Maciev, too, transitioned to Cyrillic and produced the classic Chechen-Russian Dictionary (Maciev, 1961), still widely used. The late 20th century saw a proliferation of research by scholars such as Desheriev (1960, 1963, 1967) and Desherieva (1979, 1988). Notable from this period too are two volumes written in Chechen by Dzhamalkhanov and Machigov for the pedagogical institute(s): the first volume covering the basics up to morphology (1972) and the second covering syntax (1973).

Several authors have added shorter grammatical descriptions in Russian and conducted research on individual phenomena, such as the groundbreaking work on the Chechen verb as a closed system (Beerle, 1988), and other works (see references). Nichols and Vagapov (2004) is the first Chechen-English bilingual dictionary.

Ingush has a similar history. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries there was little dedicated publication on Ingush but larger works on Chechen usually included some discussion of it. The Latin alphabet for Ingush was used very early in the remarkably sophisticated, and still valuable, grammar and dictionary (organized by lexical root and containing the great majority of native verb, noun, and adjective roots) by Z. K. Malsagov (1925, 1926; later transliterated into Cyrillic and republished in 1963 and 1998; see Malsagov, 1998). The earlier Latin versions are still valuable, as they capture phonemic distinctions of vowel length and quality that were merged in the Cyrillic orthography. Mid- to late-20th century ↳ dictionaries include
p. 319 Ozdoev, Maciev, & Dzhalmakhanov (1962; issued in a print run of only 1,000 copies) and Ozdoev (1980; Russian-Ingush only). These contain almost no grammatical information. Nichols and Vagapov (2004) give fuller grammatical information and near-complete coverage of native roots in a bilingual dictionary with English.

For both languages, strong traditions of publishing on topics of synchronic and historical linguistics in the languages themselves and in Russian continue in the 21st century.

8.2. Phonetics and Phonology

8.2.1 Consonant Inventories

The two languages and all dialects have nearly identical consonant inventories with seven places of articulation and four manners only (geminates do not occur in any initial position). Ingush has /f/, which Chechen lacks. In Ingush it is found in native words corresponding to Chechen /v/, e.g., Ing. *ferta*, Ch. *verta* ‘piece of felt, felt coat, felt rug’, as well as in loanwords. In standard Chechen and some dialects, the non-geminate voiceless consonants are aspirated; in Ingush they are not.

Table 8.1 Chechen-Ingush Consonant Inventory (Caucasianist Transcription)

b	d	ʒ	ǯ	g		ʕ	
p	t	c	č	k	q		ʔ
pp	tt				qq		
p’	t’	c’	č’	k’	q’		
	z		ž		ʁ		
f*	s		š		x	ħ	h
m	n						
	l						
	r						
	rh						
v [w~v]		j					

Geminates are written with double letters. *rh* is a voiceless rhotic.

* Only in Ingush.

The only geminates that occur independently in native Nakh-Dagestanian lexical roots are /tt/ and /qq/; /pp/ occurs in a few words of unknown etymology, including some ethnonyms and highland place names. Vowel-initial syllables begin with a glottal stop, even when preceded by a preverb or proclitic. Any
p. 320 consonant can be geminated via ↳ *focus gemination*, which geminates the postvocalic root consonant of a word under certain kinds of emphasis, especially in the scope of negation.

The pharyngeal stop is realized as a pharyngealized glottal stop, and it can be described as either a single phoneme or an automatic glottal stop before the initial vowel of a pharyngealized syllable.

8.2.2 Vowel Inventories

Chechen and Ingush have rather similar vowel inventories, but the distributions and ablaut alternations are less similar (see section 8.2.5; see also Tables 8.2, 8.3, and 8.4). Phonetically, /a/ is [ʌ]. Ingush short vowels are centralized, e.g., /i/ is [ɪ]. Vowels other than /i u e o a/ are usually the result of umlaut but are fully phonemic. The archaic Cheberloi dialect of the far southeastern highlands lacks umlaut and has a much simpler vowel system. The diphthongs /ie, ye, uo/ have developed recently from simple vowels and pattern exactly like simple vowels. Offglides approaching [i] or [u] come from former VC sequences and have somewhat different phonotactics but still constitute syllable nuclei. Sequences of final vowel plus coordinating and interrogative enclitics *-i/-ii* are phonetically identical to the diphthongs.

Table 8.2 Vowel Inventory for Lowland Chechen

		FRONT				BACK			
		-RND		+RND		-RND	+RND		FALLING DIPHTONG
CLOSE	PLAIN	i	ii	ü	ü:		u	uu	ui
	DIPHTHONG	ie [je]	ie	üe [üe]	üe [üö]		uo	uo	ou
MID	PLAIN	e	ee	oe [ö]	oe [ö:]		o	oo	oi
OPEN	PLAIN					a aa			ai

Table 8.3 Vowel Inventory of Cheberloi (A Highland Southeastern Chechen Dialect; Other Highland Southeastern Dialects also have /ou/)

		FRONT				BACK		
		-RND	+RND	-RND		+RND		FALLING DIPHTONG
CLOSE	PLAIN	i	ii			u	uu	ui
	DIPHTHONG		ie				uo	
			ea				oa	
MID	PLAIN	e	ee			o		oi
OPEN	PLAIN			a	aa			ai

Table 8.4 Vowel Inventory of Ingush

		FRONT			BACK				
		-RND		+RND	-RND		+RND		FALLING DIPHTONG
CLOSE	PLAIN	i	ii				u	uu	
	DIPHTHONG	ie					uo		ou
MID	PLAIN	e~a	ea				o	oa	ei (ai)
OPEN	PLAIN				a	aa			aai

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8.2.3 Stress and Tone

Stress is always root-initial. Preverbs (when not detached) appear to have secondary stress, but this has not been studied systematically. In Ingush some of the highest-frequency preverbs are unstressed clitics.

The negative clitic, Ch. *ca*, Ing. *cy*, and the coordinating clitic, *ʔa*, have high tone. These end in schwa, which is generally elided word-finally (as *ʔa* often is and *cy* is in some tenses in Ingush), so their underlying tone docks on the preceding syllable (for Ingush, see Nichols, 2011, pp. 105–110). In Ingush, the nonwitnessed and witnessed past suffixes have high tone; in other tenses the verb has rise-fall tone on the root syllable.

Jakovlev (1940, pp. 15–19) noted that Chechen sentences end in a distinctive low tone. Recent research confirms this observation, as reported by Komen (2013, and ongoing work, with more details about intonational rules and tone-bearing morphemes). See also chapters 16 and 17 for more discussion.

8.2.4 Phonotactics

In all varieties, underlying long vowels are shortened in closed syllables, with some quality changes (e.g., Ch. /ee/ to [æ]). Geminate consonants do not occur word-initially, and ejectives are rare postvocalically. Consonant clusters are few; root-final clusters include /st/, /rC/, /lC/ (C = obstruent, chiefly /t, c, s, š, x/). Root-initial */st/ is the only original cluster, often simplified synchronically to [t] or [s] in most varieties. The clusters /px, tx/ occur only in nouns, where they echo the noun's gender and seem to result from fusion of a gender-marked clitic, e.g., Ing. *pxo* (B) 'bullet', *txyr* (D) 'dew'.[2] Word-final consonants are geminated in Ingush if they are also root-final and belong to an inflecting word class, e.g., nouns: *jett* [jett] 'cow', *bat* [batt] '(animal's) face, muzzle'.

Root-initial vowels are preceded by an epenthetic glottal stop in both languages.

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Pharyngealization can be described either as a phonation property of the syllable (or perhaps root) or as a segment following a syllable-initial consonant. In standard Chechen it is usually audible as epiglottalized aspiration followed by an epiglottalized vowel (with voicing assimilation to the preceding consonant, where voiced pharyngeal aspiration becomes epiglottalized, fricated murmur), and is heard as a segment by most speakers. In Ingush the main effect is epiglottalization of the vowel, with some aspiration of a preceding voiceless consonant. See (1) for examples:

(1)

Chechen	Ingush	
dʃaara	*dʃaara*	distal deictic
pħaagal	*pħagal*	'rabbit'

As these examples show, pharyngealization lengthens /a/ in Chechen. In all varieties pharyngealization has strong allophonic effects on the vowel, including centralization of non-low vowels and further lowering of low vowels (see Nichols, 2011, p. 53, for spectrograms). In all varieties pharyngealization occurs only with initial labial, dental, alveolar, and (rarely) palato-alveolar consonants.

For schwa-zero alternations see section 8.8.

8.2.5 Phonological Processes

The most conspicuous and pervasive phonological process is vowel alternations that identify or help identify inflectional forms. Some of these are inherited from Proto-Nakh-Dagestanian and are phonologically opaque today, but most result from assimilation in height, front/backness, or rounding to a following syllable with subsequent loss of the conditioning environment. The process and outputs are very similar to Germanic umlaut. Synchronically these are morphologically conditioned, but they are sufficiently transparent to a linguist that they can easily be derived from an underlying form that is only mildly abstract. In this abstract representation the underlying forms of roots and conditioning suffixes are virtually identical in the two languages, but the outputs differ somewhat (and Chechen dialects differ among themselves, the far southeastern Cheberloi dialect having undergone almost no umlaut and therefore having modern forms very similar to the underlying forms).

Table 8.5 shows cognate verbs in three varieties. In Chechen, the final short vowels of endings are often reduced to schwa and usually devoiced.

Table 8.5 Selected Inflectional Forms of Verbs (NE Chechen = Standard)*

Language	Infinitive	Present	Witnessed	Perfect		Gloss
PROTO-NAKH	**aal-an*	**aal-o*	**aal-ira*	**aal-ina*		‘say’
NE CHECHEN	*aal-an*	*ool-u*	*eel-ira*	*aella*	**ln>ll*	
SE CHECHEN	*aal-a*	*ool-a*	*eel-ira*	*aalla*		
INGUSH	*aal-a*	*oal*	*eal-ar*	*eanna*	**ln>nn*	
PROTO-NAKH	**d.aaqq-an*	**d.aaqq-o*	**d.aaqq-ira*	**d.aaqq-ina*		‘take’
NE CHECHEN	*d.aaqq-an*	*d.ɔqq-u*	*d.æqq-ira*	*d.æqq-ina*		
SE CHECHEN	*d.aaqqa*	*d.oaqqa*	*d.eqq-ira*	*d.eqq-ina*		
INGUSH	*d.aaqq-a*	*d.oaqqa*	*d.eaqq-ar*	*d.eaqq-aa*	**Vna>aa*	
PROTO-NAKH	**toox-an*	**toox-u*	**toox-ira*	**toox-ina*		‘strike’
NE CHECHEN	*tuox-an*	*tuux-u*	*tüːx-ira*	*tüːx-ina*		
SE CHECHEN	*tuox-a*	*toox-a*	*tuux-ira*	*tuux-ina*		
INGUSH	*tuox-a*	*tox*	*tiex-ar*	*tiex-aa*		
PROTO-NAKH	**mal-an*	**mal-u*	**mal-ira*	**mal-ina*		‘drink’
NE CHECHEN	*mal-an*	*mol-u*	*mel-ira*	*mel-la*		
SE CHECHEN	*mal-a*	*mol-a*	*mel-ira*	*mal-la*		
INGUSH	*mal-a*	*mol*	*mel-ar~mal-ar*	*menna~manna*		

* Here and below, a dot (.) marks the morpheme boundary for the gender-marking initial consonant. The conventional citation form is D gender.

8.3 Lexical Classes

There are three major lexical classes: noun, verb, and adjective/adverb. Nouns, whether basic or derived, have gender (section 8.4.1) and inflect for case and number (sections 8.4.2–8.4.3). A sizable minority of
p. 323 noun roots begin in the same consonant as their gender ↳ marker (e.g., *butt* 'moon', B gender), but this is not regular gender assignment and is certainly not gender agreement (see Nichols, 2011, pp. 147–150, 2007, pp. 1182–1184). Nouns can head NPs without special morphology; used as noun modifiers, they take the genitive case; used as predicate nominals, they require a copula.

Verbs inflect for TAM (finite) or form converbs, participles, and verbal nouns (non-finite). There is no person agreement. Verbs can agree in gender; about 30% of the basic roots have a gender agreement slot, always initial. These include most of the TAM auxiliaries and light verbs, high-frequency items, so the frequency of actual gender agreement in running text is closer to 50%. Derived verbs inherit the gender agreement slot from the base verb if it has a gender slot. Verbs can be clausal predicates without additional morphological marking; to function as attributives, they must take participial morphology.

Adjectives inflect for case, making a nominative/oblique distinction; a minority of them have an initial gender agreement slot. Attributive demonstratives and cardinal numerals make the same case distinction. Adjectives can form comparatives (with a suffix only in Ingush) and superlatives (with a preposed superlative word). Basic adjectives function as attributive modifiers and predicate nominals without
p. 324 modification; they can ↳ also function adverbially, i.e., basic adjectives are also basic adverbs; to function as NP heads they must be nominalized. Derivational morphology generally produces dedicated adjectives or dedicated adverbs.

Pronouns and independent demonstratives are noun-like in their inflection and behavior.

Postpositions take no inflection, with the exception of *laecna* 'concerning' which becomes *laacii* in imperatives. Many of the simple postpositions can function as directional/local prefixes to verbs of motion and some others (derivationally, not inflectionally), and most can also be used as adverbs, with or without the locative or ablative suffixes (*-ħ, -ra*).

8.4 Nominal Morphology

Noun and pronoun morphology is dominated by the covert category of gender and the overt category of case.

8.4.1 Noun Classification

There are four gender markers which define three or four non-human genders (Corbett, 1991, pp. 150–154, 2006, p. 274) and one, two, or three human genders, depending on how they are counted. We label the genders by the form of their morphemes (which have no allomorphy). A gender is defined by the pair of singular and plural markers, shown in Table 8.6. Gender is predictable for words referring to humans and arbitrary for all others.

Table 8.6 Gender Markers for Chechen and Ingush

Gender	Singular	Plural	Notes
1st/2nd person	V/J	D	Pronouns only
Human	V/J	B	V/J for M/F sex
Various	B	B	Minority of B gender
Various	D	D	Minority of D gender
Various	J	J	

The gender marker pairs define three larger animacy-based classes: nominals with human referents, for which gender is predictable based on sex (V-gender for masculine, J for feminine); within human nominals, those with third versus first/second person reference, for which the plural gender markers differ; and non-
p. 325 human nouns, with arbitrary ↳ gender. It could also be said that non-human nouns have lexical gender and human nouns and pronouns do not but take their agreement from the person and sex of the referent.

8.4.2 Nominal Inflection

The two languages have near-identical cases paradigms, and typologically similar inflectional classes of stem changes and extensions, though not all cognate nouns fall in the same paradigms. Case endings are mostly monoexponential and there is a separate plural suffix in most of the plural case forms. (2) shows the template for case paradigms:

> (2)
>
> Root (Extension) (Plural) Case

The nominative singular is zero in all paradigms. The nominative plural has a fusional case-number ending *-ii* used in some paradigms, while most nouns have the plural suffix *-aš/-až* and a zero ending. Table 8.7 shows the endings and Table 8.8 gives examples of nouns with an unchanging stem, stem ablaut, and extensions: meaningless suffixes that create an oblique or plural stem (see also chapter 3, for the more general use of extensions in Nakh-Dagestanian nominal paradigm).

Table 8.7 Case Endings in Chechen and Ingush

	Chechen		Ingush	
Case	**singular**	**plural**	**singular**	**plural**
NOM	*-Ø*	*-aš-Ø, -ii, -i*	*-Ø*	*-až-Ø, -ii, -j*
GEN	*-(a)n*	*-in*	*-a, -n*	*-ii, -i*
DAT	*-na, -n*	*-aš-na*	*-na, -aa*	*-až-ta*
ERG	*-uo, -as*	*-š-a*	*-uo, -z, -aa, -a*	*-aš-a, -až*
INS	*-(a)ca*	*-aš-ca*	*-ca*	*-až-ca*
LOC	*-(a)h̄*	*-aš-ah̄, -aš, kah̄*	—	—
LAT	*-(a)x*	*-iax, -ix*	*-x, -gh*	*-ex, -egh*
ABL	*-gara*	*-aš-kara*	—	—
ALL	*-(a)ga, -ie*	*-aš-ka*	*-ga*	*-až-ka*
COMPR	*-(a)l*	*-ial, -il*	*-l*	*-el*

In Ingush, the locative and ablative are not regular cases. Their formatives *-(a)ħ* and *-(a)ra* can be suffixed to various adverbs and other words. The ablative suffix consists of the allative suffix plus *-ra*. It is productive with pronouns and names but seems not to appear on all nouns. The local/directional locative *-ħ* exhibits similar behavior. Some nouns form an adverb with *-a*; the resultant adverb then takes the locative *-ħ* and ablative *-ra* as well.

p. 326 The allomorph *-ie* of the Chechen allative exists in Ingush as a derivational adverbalizer. The Ch. *-ia-* / Ing. *-e-* element in the lative and comparative plural suffixes is not synchronically identifiable as a plural marker outside these endings.

The following examples show one Chechen noun without ablaut or extensions, one with ablaut and *-n-* extension, and one Ingush noun with ablaut but no extension, and an Ingush example with both ablaut and an extension.

Table 8.8 Example Singular Case Paradigms with and without Ablaut

CASE	Chechen		Ingush	
NOM	*joʕ* 'girl'	*c'aa* 'house'	*niq'* 'road'	*dig* 'axe'
GEN	*joʕas*	*c'iinuo~c'eenuo*	*neaq'uo*	*dogaruo*
DAT	*joʕan*	*c'iinan*	*neaq'a*	*dogara*
ERG	*joʕana*	*c'ianna*	*neaq'aa*	*dogaraa*
INS	*joʕaca*	*c'iinaca*	*neaq'aca*	*dogaraca*
LOC	*joʕagahˉ*	*c'aahˉ*	—	—
LAT	*joʕax*	*c'iinax*	*neaq'agh*	*dogaragh*
ABL	*joʕagara*	*c'iiniera*	—	—
ALL	*joʕaga, joʕie*	*c'iinie*	*neaq'aga*	*dogaraga*
COMPR	*joʕal*	*c'iinal*	*neaq'al*	*dogaral*

Ablaut is partly inherited from ancestral Nakh-Dagestanian and partly the result of umlaut-like assimilation of the root vowel to the next vowel (which was then reduced to /a/). Extensions are also ancient. Both ablaut and extensions are lexically conditioned and largely arbitrary in Chechen and Ingush. Both are mostly limited to simple words. They are occasionally found in loanwords, e.g., Ing. *ghum*, oblique stem *ghamar-* 'sand' from a Turkic language, probably Kumyk.

8.4.3 Inflectional Categories of Nominals

Regular inflectional categories are gender, number, and case.

Gender is lexical or referent-based in nouns, referent-based in pronouns, and a category of agreement in adjectives and verbs. Note that nouns referring to male and female animals, even important domestic animals that are given names, do not have gender assignment that reflects their sex; for several of them, there are distinct lexemes such as Ch. *jiett*, Ing. *jett*(B) 'cow' versus Ch. *stu*, Ing. *ust* (B) 'bull, ox'. [±human] is a covert feature that is revealed in gender assignment (section 8.4.1).

The singular-plural contrast is overtly marked by suffixes on nouns and independent pronouns and by singular versus plural genders. Some adjectives and a few attributive demonstratives agree with their head noun. Verbs agree in gender with a nominative argument, and this also entails number agreement. In addition, a number of simple verbs encode S/O number with stem changes (section 8.6.7).

p. 327 Case is overtly marked by suffixes on nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and participles (section 8.4.2). The case paradigm of nouns and most independent pronouns is ergative; some pronouns have syncretic paradigms. Attributives (adjectives, attributive pronominals, attributive participles) make a one-dimensional nominative/oblique distinction, where the oblique agrees with any non-nominative case.

Person is a lexical feature of pronouns but not an inflectional category. The different plural gender categories of first and second person pronouns versus third person and nouns (section 8.4.4) is probably best considered, typologically, a matter of different plural inflection at the highest levels of the animacy hierarchy (and not as person inflection per se).

8.4.4 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns take the same cases as nouns with much the same endings. Stem alternations are different: pronouns have initial CV metathesis in the ergative case (first and second persons), or nominative/oblique stem suppletion (third person).The inclusive has nominative-ergative-genitive syncretism. We include the third person forms as personal pronouns, though they are demonstratives in origin.

Table 8.9 Personal Pronouns

	FIRST SINGULAR		SECOND SINGULAR		THIRD SINGULAR	
	Ch.	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**
NOM	*so*	*so*	*ħo*	*ħo*	*i/iza*	*yz*
GEN	*san*	*sy*	*ħan*	*ħa*	*cünan*	*cun*
DAT	*suuna*	*suona*	*ħuuna*	*ħuna*	*cunna*	*cynna*
ERG	*as*	*aaz*	*aħ/a*	*ʕa*	*cuo*	*cuo*
ALL	*süega*	*suoga*	*ħüega*	*ħuoga*	*cunga*	*cunga*
ABL	*süegara*	*suogara*	*ħüegara*	*ħuogara*	*güngara*	*cyngara*
INS	*süeca*	*suoca*	*ħueca*	*ħuoca*	*cünca*	*cynca*
LAT	*sox*	*sogh*	*ħox*	*ħogh*	*cunax*	*cynagh*
COMPR	*sol*	*sol*	*ħol*	*ħol*	*cul*	*cul*

	FIRST PLURAL (EXCL)		FIRST PLURAL (INCL)		SECOND PLURAL		THIRD PLURAL	
	Ch.	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**
NOM	*txo*	*txo*	*vai*	*vai*	*šu*	*šu*	*üš*	*yž*
GEN	*txan*	*txy*	*vain*	*vai*	*šun*	*šyn*	*ceeran*	*caar(a)*
DAT	*txuuna*	*txuona*	*vaina*	*vaina*	*šuna*	*šoana*	*caarna*	*caarna*
ERG	*ooxa*	*oaxa*	*vai*	*vai*	*aš*	*oaša*	*caara*	*caar(a)*
ALL	*txüega*	*txuoga*	*vaiga*	*vaiga*	*šüga*	*šuoga*	*caerga*	*caarga*
ABL	*txüegara*	*txuoga*	*vaigara*	*vaigara*	*šügara*	*šuogara*	*caergara*	*caargara*
INS	*txüeca*	*txuoca*	*vaica*	*vaica(a)*	*šüca*	*šuoca(a)*	*caarca*	*caarca*
LAT	*txox*	*txogh*	*vaix*	*vaigh*	*txox*	*txogh*	*caarax*	*caaregh*
COMPR	*txol*	*txol*	*vail*	*vail*	*txol*	*txol*	*caaral*	*caarel*

8.4.5 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

Every personal pronoun paradigm has a reflexive counterpart with largely the same case endings but different stem vowels. Third persons use an entirely different root. Second and third plural are syncretic, and the Ingush endings are partly based on those of nouns. All reflexives exhibit nominative-ergative syncretism. Partial paradigms are given in Table 8.10 (for full sets see Molochieva & Komen, to appear; Nichols, 2011, p. 175).

Table 8.10 Partial Reflexive Paradigm

	FIRST SINGULAR		SECOND SINGULAR		THIRD SINGULAR		SECOND/THIRD SINGULAR	
	Ch.	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**
NOM	*suo*	*sie*	*ħuo*	*ħie*	*šaa*	*šie*	*šaeš*	*šoaž*
GEN	*sai(n)*	*sei*	*ħai(n)*	*ħei*	*šie(n)*	*šie*	*šai(n)*	*šei/šoi*
DAT	*saina*	*seina*	*ħaina*	*ħaaina*	*šiena*	*šiena*	*šaina*	*šoažta*
ERG	*ais*	*eisa*	*aiħ*	*ʕaaixa*	*šaa*	*šie*	*šaeš*	*šoaž*

8.4.6 Demonstrative Pronouns

There are three demonstratives: proximal (‘this’, near speaker/hearer), neutral (‘aforementioned, this, that’), and distal (‘that, that over there’). All have attributive and independent (nominal) forms, which inflect like adjectives and nouns, respectively. The independent form of the neutral demonstrative is also the third person pronoun (see Table 8.9). Only attributives have oblique forms; only independent pronouns have genitive and other specific cases (see Table 8.11).

Table 8.11 Partial Demonstrative Paradigm

	Chechen Proximal			**Ingush Proximal**			
	ATTRIBUTIVE	**INDEPENDENT**		**ATTRIBUTIVE**		**INDEPENDENT**	
		SG	**PL**			**SG**	**PL**
NOM	*hara*	*hara*	*horš*	*je*		*jer*	*jeraž*
OBL	*(ho)qu*			*uq*			
GEN		*(ho)qun*	*hoqar*			*uqan*	*aqaar*
ERG		*(ho)quo*	*(ho)qaara*			*uquo*	*aqaar*
	Chechen Neutral			Ingush Neutral			
	ATTRIBUTIVE	INDEPENDENT		ATTRIBUTIVE		INDEPENDENT	
		SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
NOM	*i*	*i/iza*	*üš*	*yz*	*yž*	*yz*	*yž*
OBL	*cu*			*cy*	*cy*		
GEN		*cun/cünan*	*ceeran*			*cun*	*caarna*
ERG		*cuo*	*caara*			*cuo*	*caar(a)*
	Chechen Distal			Ingush Distal			
	ATTRIBUTIVE	INDEPENDENT		ATTRIBUTIVE		INDEPENDENT	

		SG	PL		SG	PL
NOM	*dʃoora/ dʃaara*	*dʃoora(-nig)/ dʃaara(-nig)*	*dʃooranaš/ dʃaaranaš*	*dʃaara*	*dʃaara+d.ar*	*dʃaaran+d.araž*
OBL	*dʃaara-ču*			*dʃaara-ča*		
GEN		*dʃaara-čun*	*dʃaara-čeran*		*dʃaara-čyn*	*dʃaara-čaara*
ERG		*dʃaara-čuo*	*dʃaara-čaara*		*dʃaara-čuo*	*dʃaara-čaar*

Table 8.12 Interrogative Pronouns*

	'who'		'what'	
	Ch.	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**
NOM	*mila*	*mala*	*hun*	*fy*
GEN	*ħeenan*	*ħan*	*stien*	*sen*
DAT	*ħaanna*	*ħanna/ħanaa*	*stianna*	*senna/sienaa*
ERG	*ħa/ħaa*	*ħan(uo)*	*stie*	*sievuo*

* See Maciev (1961, p. 598) and Nichols (2011, p. 180).

8.4.7 Demonstratives

Chechen and Ingush do not have determiners. Definiteness can be conveyed with the neutral demonstrative and indefiniteness with *ćha* 'one' (obl. *ćhan-*).

p. 328 ↳

p. 329

p. 330 ↳

(3)

Chechen
i *zulam* *cuo* *dina* *xilaran* *šiekuo* *ju.*
DEM crime 3SG.ERG D.do.PRF be.INF.GEN suspicion J.PRS
'There is a suspicion that he committed that crime.' (p86-00012: 7)[3]

3

(4)

Chechen
ćha *huma* *dan* *dieza.*
one thing D.do.INF D.need.PRS
'Something needs to be done.' (based on p34-00002: 14)

The neutral demonstrative *i* 'that' modifying *zulam* 'crime' in (3) indicates to the reader that the crime has been mentioned beforehand. The number *ćha* 'one' in (4) is not to be taken literally but points to an indefinite amount.

8.4.8 Adjectives

Adjectives, like demonstrative pronouns, make only a nominative/oblique case distinction, where the oblique agrees with a head noun in any non-nominative case.

(5)

	Chechen		Ingush	
a.	*d.ouxa*	*xi*	*d.ʃaaixa*	*xii*
	hot	water	hot	water
b.	*d.ouxača*	*xinuo*	*d.ʃaaixa-ča*	*xiv*
	hot.OBL	water.ERG	hot.OBL	water.ERG
	'hot water'		'hot water'	

A minority of the adjectives, like 'hot' (5), agree in gender with the head noun. Comparatives are formed suffixally, and superlatives, analytically, by adding a dedicated superlative to the positive degree (Chechen) or the comparative degree (Ingush). Comparatives and superlatives can be either predicative or attributive in Chechen, but in Ingush they can only be predicative; for an attributive function, they are relativized with the participle of 'be', yielding a periphrastic attributive form.

(6)

Chechen	Ingush	
d.oqqa	*d.oaqqa*	'big'
d.oqqax/d.oqqox	*d.oaqqagh*	'bigger'
uggard.oaqqa	*eggara d.oaqqagh*	'biggest'

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(7)

Chechen			Ingush			
uggar	*xaza*	*joʃ*	*eggara*	*xozagh*	*jola*	*joʃ*
SUPERL	pretty	girl	SUPERL	pretty-COMPR	J.be.PTCP	girl
'the prettiest girl'			'the prettiest girl'			

8.4.9 Numerals

Numerals are attributive in their simplest form. A few of them make a nominative/oblique distinction and those also have separate independent forms. The numbers 1–10 are simplex forms; the teens are composed of unit + 10; the decades are base-20. 'Thousand' is a Persian loan; 'million' and above are Russian loans (see Table 8.13).

Table 8.13 Numerals

	Chechen			Ingush		
	NOM	OBL	INDEPENDENT	NOM	OBL	INDEPENDENT
1	*cẖa*	*cẖan*	*cẖaʔ*	*cẖa*	*cẖan*	*caʕ (< *cẖa-')*
2	*ši*	*šin/šim*	*šiʔ*	*ši*	*šin*	*šiʔ*
3	*qo*	*qaʔan*	*qoʔ*	*qo*	*qea*	*qoʔ*
4	*d.i*	*deʔan*	*d.iʔ*	*d.i*		*d.iʔ*
5	*pxi*	*pxeʔan*	*pxiʔ*	*pxi*	*pxie*	*pxiʔ*
6	*jaalx*			*jaalx*		
7	*vorh*			*vorh*		
8	*baarh*			*baarh*		
9	*iss*			*iis*		
10	*itt*			*itt*		
11	*cẖaitt*			*cẖaitt*		
12	*šiitt*			*šiitt*		
20	*tq'a*	*tq'o*		*tq'o*	*tq'ea*	
21	*tq'ecẖa*			*tq'eacẖa*		
30	*tq'eitt*			*tq'ea itt*		
40	*šouztq'a*			*šouztq'a*		
60	*quuztq'a/ qouztq'a*			*qouztq'a*		
80	*d.eztq'a/d.oeztq'a*			*d.ieztq'a*		
100	*bʕee*			*bʕea*		
200	*ši bʕee*			*ši bʕea*		
1000	*ezar*			*ezar*		

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8.4.10 Postpositions

Dative is the default case assigned by postpositions to their complement. Simple postpositions and other short ones can also function as verb prefixes and adverbs:

(8)

Ingush

a. *ghalghaa-ž-ta* *jiq'ie*
Ingush-PL-DAT among
'among the Ingush'

b. *jiq'ie-d.oal*
between-D.go
'come/go in between; come up (in conversation), come into vogue'

c. *jiq'ie* *ʕa=čy-b.ullaž* *č'ii*
between DEIC=in-B.go.SIM.CVB bobbin
'a bobbin inside (of it)/in between (the parts of a machine)'

In (8c) the prefix sequence means 'down, down in'. It fills the prefix slot, showing that *jiq'ie* here is not a prefix but an adverb.

Derived postpositions include converbs lexicalized as postpositions, often with a more specific sense than the source verb has, e.g., Ch. *d.üezna* (D.connect.ANT.CVB) 'in connection with; about, concerning', Ing. *Leacaa* (catch.ANT.CVB) 'id'.

8.5 Verb Morphology

This section starts out by considering verbal inflection. It extends the realm of verb related phenomena by discussing negation, valence-changing operations, and verb-noun agreement patterns.

8.5.1 Morphological Classifications

Simple verbs are a closed class of about 200 members (300 including plural and pluractional stems, most of which are formed by ablaut, consonant alternation, or suppletion). Compound verbs are light verb constructions, most of which use one of a handful of high-frequency light verbs, e.g., Ch. *tuox-* 'strike', *d.-* 'make/do', *ħaaq-* 'rub, wipe, apply laterally', *d.aaqq-* (pl. *d.aax-*) 'take', *d.ill-* 'put' (pl. *d.axk-*) (Molochieva & Witzlack-Makarevich, 2010). The first element is most often a noun in the nominative case, and the light verb agrees with it in gender; the construction is lexically a verb but syntactically and prosodically indistinguishable from a verb phrase with a nominative object and transitive verb:

p. 333

(9)

Chechen	Ingush	
naab j.-	*nab j.-*	'sleep'

(10)

Ingush

cuo	*nab*	*jyr.*
3SG.ERG	sleep(J)	J.do-PST.WIT

'S/he slept.'

Where the first element is an adjective, the compound is usually written as one word. The verb agrees with an independent clause argument, not with the first element:

(11)

Ingush
aaz *ʃaž* *č'orma+b.eaqqar.*
1SG.ERG apple(B) peeled+B.take-PST.NWIT
'I peeled the apple.'
(NB: *ch'orma* 'skinned, abraded, peeled' is not a fully independent adjective.)

If the first element is a verb, it is in the anterior converb form and the compound is written as two words. The second verb is usually a verb of position or motion. It agrees with the external nominative argument.

(12)

Ingush
a. *ʃa-xeina* *d.aagha*
down-sit.ANT.CVB D.sit
'sit, be sitting'
b. *ħal-'ellaa* *ull*
up-hang.ANT.CVB lie
'hang, be suspended'
c. *vad-da* *v.ax-aa-v*
V.run-ANT.CVB V.go-PRF-V
'ran away' (lit. 'went running')

8.5.2 Verbal Inflection

Table 8.14 shows the full structure of a simple verb. Probably no naturally occurring form contains all possible affixes, but acceptable examples can be constructed.

Table 8.14 Nakh Simple Verb Template

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Deictic Prefix	Local Prefix	Clitic =*ɑ* 'and, even'	Gender Prefix	Root (ablaut grade)	Number (NOM argument) and/or Pluractional (root-internal)	Derivational suffixes: Causative, Inceptive	TAM	Gender (for TAM categories with suffixed gender)	Clitic =*ɑ* 'and, even'; Pragmatic Clitics (e.g., addressee dative, see 8.5.10)

Verbs have four basic stem forms in each language, marked by ablaut. In addition, many verbs have a plural and/or pluractional counterpart, formed usually by vowel ablaut, consonant alternation, or suppletion. Each of these has its own three or four stems, but all of them can be regarded as additional stems of the basic verb, for a total of seven stems (Molochieva, 2010, p. 75; see Table 8.15).

Table 8.15 Four Base Stem Forms in Chechen and Ingush

	‘strike’		‘drink’	
	Ch.	**Ing.**	**Ch.**	**Ing.**
Infinitive	*tuox-*	*tuox-*	*mal-*	*mal-*
Imperfective	*tuox-*	*tuox-*	*mol-*	*mol-*
Perfective	*tüex-*	*tiex-*	*mel-*	*mel-/mal-*
Perfective 2	*tüːx-*			
Pluractional				
Infinitive	*d.iett-*	*d.iett-*	*miil-*	*miel-*
Imperfective	*d.üett-*	*d.iett-*	*muul-*	*miel-*
Perfective	*d.iitt-*	*d.iitt-*	*miil-*	*miil-*

Inflectional suffixes take a particular stem: the simple present and imperfect take the imperfective stem, the
p. 334 witnessed past and non-witnessed tense take the perfective stem, ↳ and the infinitive and masdar (verbal noun) take the infinitive stem. The infinitive stem is usually taken as the underlying form; the others result from umlaut (no longer transparent). The stem from which most of the others can be predicted is the infinitive stem for Chechen and the present stem for Ingush (Handel, 2003). Chechen has a total of 35 ablaut classes and Ingush has 16 (see Molochieva, 2010; Nichols, 2007, 2011, pp. 237–239; Nichols & Vagapov, 2004). Beerle (1988) and Handel (2003) give phonological analyses of the alternations and complete listings of the simple verbs and their ablaut types. For a historical discussion of these alternations, see Imnaishvili (1977). There are also approximately ten irregular verbs, most with suppletive forms in one or another tense paradigm.

8.5.3 Synthetic TAM Forms

The witnessed past and perfect create an evidentiality contrast: the witnessed past is used when the speaker has seen or otherwise perceived the event, and the perfect when the speaker has not seen the event but
p. 335 infers it from a result (it has a strong ↳ resultative sense). There are also some analytic evidential tenses using an evidential tense form of the auxiliary (see Molochieva, 2010). Table 8.16 lists all analytic tenses, including those that also serve as evidentials.

Table 8.16 Synthetic Tenses (D = citation form for gender)

Form	Chechen	Ingush
Perfective stem		
Witnessed past	*-ar*	*-ar* (with high tone)
Recent witnessed past	*-i*	(*-ii*; marginal)
Perfect	*-(a/i)na*	*-na*=D/*-aa*=D (< **-ana*=D)
Remote past	*-niera*	*-niera*
Imperfective Stem		
Present	*-u/-a*	*-a*
	-ra	*-ar*
	-r	—

8.5.4 Non-Finite Forms

The participles are adjectives and make a nominative/oblique case distinction when used as attributives. Both Chechen and Ingush have separate forms for attributive and predicative participles.[4] See Table 8.17 for the attributive forms. The infinitive is a verb complement; participles are used in relativization and as attributives; the anterior and simultaneous converbs are used in chaining (and the simultaneous converb also in adverbial subordination 'while'); the masdar is used in verb complement clauses and nominalization; and the subjunctive is used in verb complement clauses. There are about two dozen other converbs used in subordination, e.g., the temporal converb in *-ča* (both languages) 'when', *-alc* 'until', and others (see Good, 2003a, 2003b; Molochieva & Komen, to appear; Nichols, 2011, pp. 297–308).

(13)

a.	Infinitive	Infinitive stem with Ch. *-an*, Ing. *–a*
b.	Past participle	Homophonous with the perfect in Chechen; *-na/-aa* in Ingush (perfect tense without gender suffix)
c.	Anterior converb	Homophonous with the past participle
d.	Simultaneous converb	Imperfective stem plus Ch. *-uš/-aš*, Ing. *-až*
e.	Verbal Noun (masdar)	Infinitive stem with-*ar* (derives D gender noun)
f.	Subjunctive	Any stem with *-aljg(a)* in Ingush

Table 8.17 Attributive Participle Forms Used in Relative Clauses

VERB	TENSE	FINITE FORM	PARTICIPLE FORM		FREE RELATIVE	
			NOM	OBL	NOM	ERG
COP	PRES, AFF	*du*	*dolu*	*dolču*	*derg*	*dolču̯o*
	PRES, NEG	*daac*	*doocu*	*doocuču*	*doocurg*	*doocuču̯o*
	PAST	*dara*	—	—	—	—
AUX	PRES	*xülu*	*xülu*	*xüluču*	*xülurg*	*xülu̯čuo*
	PAST	*xilla*	*xilla*	*xillaču*	*xillarg*	*xillaču̯o*
‘read’	PRES	*jüešu*	*jüešu*	*jüešuču*	*jüešurg*	*jüešu̯čuo*
	PAST	*jiešna*	*jiešna*	*jiešnaču*	*jiešnarg*	*jiešnaču̯o*
‘want’	PRES	*laeʔa*	*luʔu*	*luʔuču*	*luʔurg*	*luʔu̯čuo*
	PAST	*liʔna*	*liʔna*	*liʔnaču*	*liʔnarg*	*liʔnaču̯o*

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8.5.5 Non-Indicative Forms

The simple imperative is homophonous with the infinitive, and is used for suggestions, requests, commands, and so on. There are also two mild, or polite, imperatives: *-al* and *-alaħ* (or, analyzed differently, *-l* and *-laħ* added to the plain imperative); the second, at least for Ingush, is described by speakers as a future imperative, but it is also polite.

(14)

biexk	*ma=b.illa-laħ.*	(Chechen)
bexk	*my=b.aaqqa-laħ.*	(Ingush)
offense	NEG=B.put/take-IMP	
'Excuse me.'		

The polite imperatives carry high tone which is realized on the vowel before the *-l* (see also section 8.2.3).

The finite conditional (used in the apopdosis of a conditional construction) is a synthetic form composed of the future stem plus the past tense of 'be'. The apodosis uses a conditional converb.

8.5.6 Periphrastic (Analytic) TAM Forms

Periphrastic tenses are numerous. They are composed of simultaneous or anterior converb plus an auxiliary, a finite form of one of the two verbs 'be' (or, for Ingush, the verb 'stand', which is used when the speaker sees or saw the event). The converb marks aspect, and the auxiliary marks tense. The auxiliary also determines the valency of the clause: since the auxiliaries are intransitive, the subject (regardless of
p. 337 valency) is nominative, as ↳ is the object. This is the *biabsolutive* ("binominative") construction. It is optional for some progressives, which allow the subject case to be assigned by either the auxiliary (biabsolutive) or the converb. Hence there are three possibilities for progressives of transitive verbs:

(15)

Ingush Non-Progressive

cuo	*xii*	*mol.*
3SG.ERG	water	drink.PRS
'He drinks water.'		

(16)

Ingush Progressive

cuo	*xii*	*mo-laž*	*dy.*
3SG.ERG	water	drink-SIM.CVB	D.is
'He is drinking water.'			

(17)

Ingush Biabsolutive Progressive

yz	*xii*	*mol-až*	*vy.*
3SG.NOM	water	drink-SIM.CVB	V.is

'He's drinking water (these days),' or 'He's a water-drinker, teetotaler.'

(18)

Ingush Visible Progressive

yz	*xii*	*mol-až*	*laatt.*
3SG.NOM	water	drink-SIM.CVB	stand

'He's drinking water.' (right now; visible or at least known to speaker)

Chechen also has these progressive forms, though with some semantic differences. The non-progressive is used to indicate events in the present. The progressive meaning, in Chechen, is expressed by biabsolutive constructions.

(19)

Chechen Non-Progressive

cuo	*xi*	*molu.*
3SG.ERG	water	drink.PRS

'He drinks water.'

In Chechen the non-biabsolutive progressive is used for ongoing actions where the object argument is under focus:

(20)

Chechen Progressive

cuo	*xi*	*molu-š*	*du.*
3SG.ERG	water	drink-SIM.CVB	D.is

'He is drinking water,' or 'The water is being drunk by him.'

The biabsolutive construction is a true progressive as in Ingush:

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(21)

Chechen Biabsolutive

iza	*xi*	*molu-š*	*vu.*
3SG.NOM	water	drink-SIM.CVB	V.is

'He's drinking water (now).'

The verb 'stand' is used only when the subject is visible to the speaker, and not for progressive situations in general.

(22)

Chechen Visible Progressive

iza	*xi*	*molu-š*	*laetta.*
3SG.NOM	water	drink-SIM.CVB	D.stand

'He's drinking water.' (right now; visible or at least known to speaker)

The 'be' verbs used include the basic copula (which distinguishes only present vs. past tense and is durative with no contrasts for aspect or evidentiality) and the habitual/iterative 'be'verb *xil-/xül-* (which is non-durative). The combination of their different aktionsarten and the converbal aspects yields many tense-aspect forms (see Molochieva, 2010; Molochieva & Komen, to appear):

(23)

Chechen

ža	*d.aaž-o-š*	*v.ara*	*iza.*
sheep	D.graze-CAUS-SIM.CVB	V.was	3SG.NOM

'He was herding/guarding the sheep.' (basic copula)

(24)

Chechen Past Progressive Habitual

ža	*d.aaž-o-š*	*xil-ura*	*iza.*
sheep	D.graze-CAUS-SIM.CVB	be-IPFV	3SG.NOM

'He used to herd/guard the sheep'. (habitual/iterative copula)

(25)

Chechen Non-Progressive Future

ža	*d.aaž-o-r*	*du*	*cuo.*
sheep	D.graze-CAUS-FUT	D.is	3SG.ERG

'He will guard the sheep.' (basic copula)

(26)

Chechen Progressive Future

ža	*d.aaž-o-š*	*xira*	*vu*	*iza.*
sheep	D.graze-CAUS-SIM.CVB	be.FUT	V.is	3SG.NOM

'He will be guarding the sheep.'

The non-witnessed forms are periphrastic. Such forms consist of a converb and auxiliary *xilla* 'be.PERF'. The lexical verb is a simultaneous or anterior converb depending on the aspectual properties of the event.

(27)

Chechen Unwitnessed Past with Simultaneous Converb

ža	*d.aaž-o-š*	*xilla*	*iza.*
sheep	D.graze-CAUS-SIM.CVB	be.PRF	3SG.NOM

'He was herding/guarding the sheep (I did not see it).'

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(28)

Chechen Unwitnessed Past with Anterior Converb

ža	*d.aaž-i-na*	*xilla*	*cuo*
sheep	D.graze-CAUS-ANT.CVB	be.PRF	3SG.ERG

'He herded/guarded the sheep (I did not see it).'

The auxiliaries can also form converbs, so periphrastic tenses in converbal form can be used as complex stems with a further auxiliary, and so on. In elicitation, at least, this can be continued indefinitely, giving the impression that the tense-aspect system is highly productive and open. In any case it is very large; 49 different tense-aspect forms are in regular and frequent use. For a full list with examples and analyses of meanings, see Molochieva (2010).

8.5.7 Negation

Chechen uses a proclitic *ca=* for negation of all synthetic indicative forms. Ingush uses a suffix *-c* (present) and *-ndz-* plus tense suffix (past) for finite forms. In both languages, the copula has a separate negative form with the suffix and ablaut.

(29)

Chechen	Ingush	
ca=oolu	*oala-c*	'doesn't say'
ca=eelir	*eal-andz-ar*	'didn't say'
d.aac	*d.aac*	'isn't'

(30)

Chechen

ocu	*beerana*	*šiega*	*jühanca*	*školieh*
DEM.OBL	child.DAT	3SG.REFL.ALL	beginning	school.LOC

hun jü:cu	*a*	*ca-xaeʔa.*
what J.tell	CONJ	NEG-know.PRS

'At first that kid doesn't even know what he is taught at school.' (p86-00009: 17)

(31)

Chechen

naana	*c'aah*	*jaac.*
mother	home-ADV	J.be-NEG

'Mother isn't home.'

(32)

Chechen
vaj *ʃilman-an* *konferenc-ieh* *doklaad-aš* *jie-š* *daac.*
1PL.INCL science-GEN conference-LOC report-PL J.do-PTCP.PRS D.NEG
'We are not delivering reports at a scientific conference.' (p34-00002: 16)

Non-finites take the proclitic in both languages, e.g., converbs:

(33)

huma='a	*ca=ooluš*	*huma='a*	*ca=aella*	(Chechen)
hama='a	*cy=oalaž*	*hama='a*	*cy=eanna*	(Ingush)
thing=and	NEG=say.CVB	thing=and	NEG=say.CVB	
'not saying a thing'		'having said nothing'		

p. 340 The exception is the negative participle, formed from the perfective stem. The Chechen negative participle has the meaning 'not yet' and is used with an auxiliary 'be':

(34)

Chechen
iza *baazara* *j.axa-za* *j.ara.*
3SG bazaar-ADV J.go-PTCP.NEG J.was
'She hadn't gone to the market yet,' or 'She didn't go to the market yet.'

The Ingush analog is mostly lexicalized as adjectives, e.g., *d.iishandza* 'uneducated', *d.ittandza* 'unwashed, dirty (laundry)', *d.oa-d.andza* 'intact' (lit. 'not destroyed'), *qendza* 'immature, not grown up'.

Imperatives and desideratives are negated with Ch. *ma=*, Ing. *my=*, as in *ma=aala, my=aala* 'Don't say'.

(35)

Chechen
šaa *ʃüllučüra* *t'ulg* *a* *ma-ħabie!*
3SG.REFL lie.PRS.ABL stone and NEG-move.B.IMP
'Don't even move a stone from where it lies!' (p86-00033: 29)

(36)

Chechen
daaxarieh *irs* *aettuo* *a,* *c'ient'ieh*
life.LOC happiness luck and house.LOC
iiman-bierkat *a* *ma-iešadojla.*
faith-abundance and NEG-lack.D.DESID
'May you not lack happiness and luck in your life and faith and abundance at your home!' (p86-00094: 11)

The negative morpheme has high tone, which is audible on the proclitic and spreads left one syllable from the suffix. Negation is symmetrical in terms of Miestamo (2005): apart from the negation of the verb there is no structural difference between positive and negative sentences. For the syntax of negation, see section 8.6.10.

8.5.8 Valence-Changing Operations

There are several transitivizing derivations, one that derives ambitransitives and a construction that allows the transitive subject, A, to be freely deleted. These last two are the closest Chechen and Ingush come to detransitivization; neither can properly be called a passive.

The direct causative applies only to intransitive verbs and two-argument verbs with nominative A, plus 'eat' and 'drink'. It derives a transitive verb where the change of state or position or location comes about as a result of direct, often physical, action by the added A. The intransitive subject (S) becomes the transitive
p. 341 object (O), semantically a ↳ patient (P), with no case change as both the input and output are nominative. The suffix is transparently derived from *d.*-'make/do'.[5]

The indirect causative applies to any verb, deriving a transitive verb whose A allows the event to occur or makes it occur but without necessarily direct physical action. The input S becomes an O, still nominative, but (at least for human nouns) with some semantic agency or responsibility for the action; it is often not semantically a patient. The input A becomes an allative causee. The suffix is derived from *d.it*- 'leave', without the gender prefix.

The double causative causativizes a direct causative.

The inceptive/potential adds the stem of 'give' to produce a verb with either bounded aktionsart (this effect is clearest where the input verb is stative or durative while the output is punctual, ingressive, or iterative) or a meaning 'can…' Sometimes both meanings are possible, and sometimes one or the other is strongly preferred or uniquely possible; the contexts determining which meaning applies have not been worked out yet. Here we shorten the term to *inceptive* (INC). The derivation applies to verbs of any valency. It adds no arguments but changes the case of an input ergative A to dative. If the input verb is transitive, the output is ambitransitive, i.e., the A is optional.

In the pattern Creissels (2014) calls "radical P alignment", the A of a transitive can be omitted entirely.

In all of these valence changes, the nominative argument of the input remains nominative. An input ergative A (causee output in causatives) changes its case. Table 8.18 is adapted from Nichols (2011, p. 485).

Table 8.18 Valence-Changing Verb Derivations

DERIVATION	SUFFIX	INPUT	OUTPUT	CASE CHANGE OF A	ADDED A
Direct Causative	*-d.u* 'make'	Non-transitive (NOM)	Transitive (ERG NOM)	ERG > DAT	erg
Indirect Causative	*-(i)t* 'leave'	Any	Ditransitive (ERG NOM ALL)	ERG > ALL	ERG
Double Causative	*-d.eit* 'make'+'leave'	Non-transitive	Ditransitive (ERG DAT ALL NOM)	ERG > DAT	ERG + ALL
Inceptive	*-lu* 'give'	Any non-ingressive	Ambitransitive ((DAT) NOM)	ERG > DAT/ALL	—

For Ingush examples grouped by input valence, see Nichols (2011, pp. 485–493). In (37) to (42) we see Chechen examples with 'drink':

(37)

Chechen Transitive Input

beeraš	*šura*	*molu.*
child-ERG	milk	drink

'The child drinks milk.'

(38)

Chechen Indirect Causative

aħ	*beer-ana*	*šura*	*mala-j.o.*
2SG.ERG	child-DAT	milk	drink-J.CAUS

'You have/make the child drink milk,' or 'You give the child milk to drink.'

(39)

Chechen Indirect Causative

aħ	*beer-aga*	*šura*	*mal-ü:t-u.*
1SG.ERG	child-ALL	milk	drink-INDIR.CAUS-PRS

'You let the child drink milk.'

(40)

Chechen Double Causative

naana-s	*beer-ana*	*ħöga*	*šura*	*mala-j.a-it-u.*
mother-ERG	child-DAT	2SG.ALL	milk	drink-J.CAUS-CAUS-PRS

'The mother lets you let/make/have the child drink milk.'

(41)

Chechen

šura	*mala-lo.*
milk	drink-INC

'The milk is drinkable.'

(42)

Chechen

beer-aga	*šura*	*mala-lo.*
child-ALL	milk	drink-INC

'The child can drink milk.'

There are three possible interpretations of a clause with a transitive verb, an O, and no overt A. The absence of A could be interpreted as null anaphora, an unspecified null pronoun, or true absence of an agent. This set of interpretations, especially the latter, constitutes radical P alignment. Consider (43):

(43)

Chechen

(Ø)	*šura*	*melira.*
	milk	drink-PST.WIT
i.	'He/she/we/you/they drank the milk.'	
ii.	'(Someone) drank the milk.'	
iii.	'The milk was/got drunk.'	

There is no applicative (and, in fact, no process of any kind that changes the argument role of objects), no passive, and no antipassive.

p. 343

8.5.9 Agreement

Verbs agree in gender with the nominative argument of the clause. Gender markers differ between singular and plural for many nouns, so gender agreement also encodes number agreement. Gender marking is root-initial. About 30% of the verb roots have a gender agreement slot; the rest do not. There is no evident basis, semantic or otherwise, for which verbs do or do not have gender. For agreeing verbs, all forms (finite and non-finite) have gender agreement. Some tense forms, and some tense auxiliaries, distinguish gender (without exception, so verbs that lack initial gender agreement nonetheless have it on the relevant tense forms). Some verbs have additional number agreement with the S/O, marked by ablaut, consonant alternation, and/or suppletion, e.g., Ing. sg. *d.oll-*, pl. *d.oxk-* 'insert', sg. *qoss-*, pl. *qous-* 'cast', sg. *ull-*, pl. *d.aad-* 'lie'; Ch. sg. *d.aaqq-*, pl. *d.ax-* 'take', sg. *d.ad-*, pl. *d.oud-* 'run', sg. *d.ill-*, pl. *d.axk-* 'put down', sg. *dіž-*, pl. *d.iіš-* 'lie down'. These are a minority of verbs (Nichols, 2011, p. 314, lists 23 such pairs for Ingush, and Maciev, 1961, pp. 601–602, lists 13 for Chechen).

A smaller minority of adjectives (under 10%) agree in gender/number with the head noun (again with no evident semantic basis). Unlike verb agreement, which is only with nominatives, adjective agreement applies to all cases. Participles of gender-agreeing verbs also agree.

One adjective has a separate plural form, i.e., Ing. *v.oaqqa sag* 'old man, big man', *b.oaqqii nax* 'elders' with plural *-ii*. One has a suppletive plural, i.e., sg. *zʕamiga* 'young', pl. *kegii*, but *zʕamiga* in its broader and more basic sense 'small' is not suppletive.

8.5.10 The Addressee Dative Construction

An additional evidential-like category is the addressee dative construction, where a dative personal pronoun is cliticized immediately after the finite verb form. The meaning relates to information structure, resembling miratives, or ethical datives of other languages. A dative second person pronoun indicates that the statement is important to the hearer, possibly unexpected, and the background information is known to the hearer and speaker. It may be a warning or an announcement:

(44)

Chechen

muusaa,	*laetta*	*ma*	*ħieža —*	*bʃaaguor*
Musa	ground.ADV	NEG	look:ITER.IMP	dizziness
booghur	*bu=ħuuna!*			
B.come-FUT	B.is=2SG.DAT			

'Musa, don't keep looking at the ground—you'll get dizzy!'

(45)

Ingush

ʃa-lieg-až	*dy=ħuona!*
down-fall:ITER-SIM.CVB	D.PROG= 2SG.DAT

'(Be careful), he still falls down a lot.' (Parent warning someone that a child still can't walk very well.)

p. 344 It may also be a statement of an authority figure, in this example God to the father of a disobedient son:

(46)

Ingush

ʃa	*jaaxar*	*cy=dear*	*ħa*	*amarca*	*vaac=ħuona.*
2SG.ERG	say-PTCP.NMLZ	NEG=D.do.NMLZ	2SG.GEN	order-INS	be.NEG=2SG.DAT

'One who doesn't obey you isn't your responsibility.' (0540)

Ingush also uses the inclusive in this construction, to state something important that is known to both speaker and hearer but not in the hearer's immediate consciousness.

(47)

Ingush

aara	*žei-doaxa*	*liela-do=i=vaina?*
outside	sheep-cattle	keep-DIR.CAUS=Q=1PL.INCL

'Well, sometimes livestock are kept outside after all, aren't they?' (0409.22)

Either of these can co-occur with a governed dative, showing that it is not an argument. In addition, the clitic can be phonologically reduced, unlike an argument pronoun.

(48)

Ingush

ħa-ieca	*ealar,*	*ħuona=ʿa*	*by=ħuona*	*cy=čy*
DX-take	say.PST.WIT	2SG.DAT=and	B.is=2SG.DAT	DEM=in

'Take it, he said, there's something for you too in there.' (0395A.31)

For more on these constructions, see Molochieva (2010); Molochieva and Nichols (to appear); Nichols (2011, pp. 280–283).

8.6 Simple Clauses

8.6.1 Structure of Noun Phrases

Noun phrase word order is relatively strict. Relative clauses can be extraposed and possessors can be extracted for prosodic reasons and topicalization (in (49) and (50) the underscore marks the extraction site, brackets mark the NP, and the extracted possessor is indexed):

(49)

Chechen
[$_{NP}$ *bulan-aš* *d-ieb-iita-r* *a,* *ʕaalašja-r* *a* —$_k$ *dieqar*]
aurochs-PL D-multiply-CAUS-NMLZ and protect-NMLZ and duty
d-u [*masseer-an* *a*]$_k$
D-PRS all-GEN and
'It is everyone's duty to protect the aurochs and let them multiply.' (p86-00032: 22)

p. 345

(50)

Ingush
[$_{NP}$ —$_k$ *kuogal'gaž*] *mel* *zʃamiga* *by*
feet how.much small B.be.PRES
xoi *ħuona* *cyn*$_k$*?*
know.Q 2SG.DAT 3SG.GEN
'You know how tiny his feet are?' (Adult to child, about a baby.) (0746)

8.6.2 Predicate Structure

Verbs of all kinds can form predicates; other lexical classes can be predicates only with a copula or other verb.

(51)

Ingush Predicate noun
yz *dika* *sag* *jy.*
3SG good person J.be.PRS
'She's a good person.'

(52)

Ingush Predicate adjective
yz *dika* *dy.*
3SG good D.be.PRS
'That's good.' or 'It's good.'

(53)

Ingush Locative Predicate

yz	*aarah*	*vy*
3SG	outside	V.be.PRS

'He's outside.'

8.6.3 Finiteness

All and, with very few exceptions, only main clauses are finite. Since there is no person agreement, person cannot be used as a criterion for finiteness. The only category unique to finites and categorically absent from non-finites is tense. Some non-finites have relative converbal tense (e.g., anterior or simultaneous to an adjacent clause or main clause), but these are not deictic like finite tenses.

Some non-finites clearly belong to non-verb lexical classes: the masdar is morphologically a noun, hosting
p. 346 gender (D) and nominal cases; participles are morphologically ↳ adjectives, with the bipartite nominative/oblique distinction of adjectives and, when used attributively, case agreement with the head noun. Converbs have no distinguishing features of any part of speech; they are sometimes regarded as verbal adverbs, but adverbs as a class do not have any morphological identifiers.

8.6.4 Major Valence Classes

There are two major valence classes: intransitives (one argument, nominative S) and transitive (two or more arguments; nominative O, ergative A). Transitive subclasses include monotransitives (ergative A, nominative O), ditransitives (ergative A, dative or allative goal, nominative theme), and polytransitives (indirect causatives of ditransitives: ergative A, dative higher causee, allative causee, see section 8.5.8). All light verbs have one of these patterns (mostly transitive). Nearly all ditransitives encode the theme as a direct object (nominative case, agreement) and the goal in an oblique case.

8.6.5 Minor Valence Classes

A handful of high-frequency verbs of cognition and perception have a dative experiencer and a nominative stimulus. Another subset of these verbs have a nominative experiencer and a lative (or occasionally other) stimulus (see section 8.6.9).

(54)

Chechen 'know' (DAT NOM)

Muusa-na	*duqqa*	*tü:ra-naš*	*xaeʔa*
Musa-DAT	many	fairytale-PL	know.PRS

'Muusa knows many stories.'

(55)

Chechen 'fear' (NOM LAT)

so	*cu*	*žʕalax*	*čʼoogha*	*qoeru.*
1SG.NOM	DEM	dog	very	fear.PRS

'I fear this dog.'

8.6.6 Word Order and Information Structure

Clauses, like phrases, are head-final by default. All non-finite clauses are verb-final. Main clauses are often verb-final, especially episode-initial ones, but the verb may also come before the subject. For Chechen this is described as marked verb-subject order, favored by certain structural and pragmatic factors (Komen, 2013; Molochieva & Komen, to appear). For Ingush it is described as verb-second order, frequent and probably unmarked in main clauses other than narrative openers (Nichols, 2011, pp. 673–677). In this order, a finite TAM auxiliary or light verb is in second position and the non-finite lexical verb is clause-final.

p. 347

(56)

Ingush

muusaa	*vy*	*ħuona*	*telefon*	*jettaž.*
Musa	V.be.PRS	2SG.DAT	phone	J.strike:ITER.SIM.CVB

'It's Musa on the phone for you' or 'Musa is calling you.'

A verb prefix or the first element of a compound is clause-final while the finite component is in second position:

(57)

Ingush (cf. *hwa-d.oagha* 'come').

paччaħ	*v.oagha*	*uquzaħ*	*ħa.*
king	V.come	here	DEIC

'The king is coming.' (PL 1.1)

(58)

Ingush (NB: *bwarjga* 'eye' + *gu/d.ei-* 'see' means 'see')

myčaa	*j.ei-n-ii*	*ħuona*	*c'ie*	*mettig*	*bʃarjga?*
where	J.see-PST.NWIT-J.Q	2SG.DAT	red	place	eye

'Have you ever seen an all-red place?' (0240a)

A main clause is verb-initial if it immediately follows a chained clause, but not if it immediately follows a subordinate clause. In (59) and (60) the converb clauses are bracketed; note the position of *aara-vealar* in each:

(59)

Ingush Core-Chained Clause

[*so*	*bʃarjga='a*	*jeina*]	*aara-vealar*	*Muusaa.*
1SG	eye=and	J.see.CVB	out-V.go.PST.WIT	Musa

'Musa saw me and left.'

(60)

Ingush Time Subordinate Clause

[*so*	*bʃargja-jeiča*],	*Muusaa*	*aara-vealar.*
1SG	eye-J.see.CVB	Musa	out-V.go.PST.WIT

'When he saw me, Musa left.'

In core chaining, the prefix generally remains on the verb. (For more examples and discussion, see Molochieva & Komen, to appear; Nichols, 2011, pp. 678–683).

A striking difference between Chechen and Ingush is the frequency of subjects occurring after the finite verb. Counts by Komen and Bugenhagen (2017) indicate that two-thirds of Ingush subjects occur after the finite verb, while only one-third of Chechen subjects occur after the finite verb. So while postverbal subjects appear to be the norm in Ingush, they are rare in Chechen. Especially rare are postverbal *pronominal* subjects: only one-third of the postverbal subjects are pronouns, and only possible where a participant has been established in the preceding discourse (for more, see Komen & Bugenhagen, 2017).

8.6.7 The Syntax of Agreement

Gender and number agreement are almost entirely phrase- or clause-internal (section 8.5.9). Two verbs, *meg* 'may, can, possible' and *d.ieza* 'should, must', agree in gender with the subject of their infinitive clause (see also section 8.8.6).

(61)

Ingush

ħa=joala-jie	*meg-agjar*	*yz*
DEIC=J.go-J.CAUS.INF	may-J.COND	3SG

'…it would be possible to bring her back…'

Impersonal predicates referring to temperature, weather, and so on, agree in the J gender:

(62)

Ingush

taxan	*šiila*	*jy.*
today	cold	J.be.PRS

'It's cold today.'

The abstract nouns *vaaxar* 'life', *valar* 'death' have fixed initial *v-* which does not agree with any clause member. The nouns themselves belong to D gender, like all masdars.

(63)

Ingush

handz	*vai*	*vaaxar*	*xala*	*dy.*
now	1PL.INCL.GEN	life	difficult	D.be.PRS

'Our life is hard these days.' or 'Life is hard these days.'

In an NP containing a numeral, the head noun is always singular. A demonstrative modifying the NP is plural for numerals over one, but the verb agrees in gender/number with the head noun:

(64)

Ingush

yž	*qo*	*voaqqa*	*sag*	*myča*	*vaxar?*
DEM.PL	3	v.big	person	where	v.go

'Where did those three old men go?'

In copular clauses the verb agrees not with the subject but with the predicate noun or adjective. In (65) a female actor plays a male role:

(65)

Ingush

uq	*spektakle-ħ*	*Marem*	*Muusaa*	*vy.*
DEM.OBL	performance-ADV	Mariam	Musa	v.be.PRS

'In this play Mariam (F) plays Musa (M).'

p. 349 When a verb needs to agree with coordinated nouns of different genders, the rules vary between the languages. In Ingush, the verb agrees with the last conjunct:

(66)

Ingush

suona	*je*	*ghar=ji*	*tata=ji*	*k'orda-dea=d.*
1SG.DAT	DEM	noise(J)=and	bang(D)=and	fed.up-D.VBLZ.NWIT=D

'I'm sick of all this shouting and banging.'

Agreement is with the last conjunct regardless of whether the verb follows or precedes the coordinate phrase, i.e., proximity to the verb is not a factor in agreement. In standard Chechen, the verb takes D agreement regardless of the genders of the coordinates. Highland Chechen, at least the upper Itum-Kale dialect investigated here, is like Ingush.

8.6.8 Local Anaphora

Within clauses, a coreferent to the subject or (for possessor reflexivization) object is reflexive, preserving the person of the coreferent (see Nichols, 2001, 2011, pp. 640–644). Only animates can control reflexivization.

(67)

Subject-Controlled Possessor Reflexivization in Ingush

bieraž$_k$	*šei*$_k$	*žʃalegh*	*qer.*
child-PL	3PL.REFL.GEN	dog-LAT	fear

'The children are afraid of their own dog.'

(68)

Object-Controlled Possessor Reflexivization in Ingush

šei$_k$	*žʕalez*	*bieraž*$_k$	*qiera-dyr.*
3PL.REFL.GEN	dog-ERG	child-PL	fear-D.CAUS.PST.WIT

'Their own dog scared the children.'

Any other participant can be coreferred to using the neutral demonstrative (examples throughout) or, under various pragmatic and discourse conditions, the proximal demonstrative (section 8.8.3). Alternatively, anaphoric pronouns may be null, as the stylistic preference is to minimize overt tokens, using null coreferents after the first overt one (Nichols, 2011, pp. 638–640; for more on null pronouns, see Nichols, 2018). Overt tokens are entirely grammatical and not emphatic or focused (i.e., these are not pro-drop languages), but they are not particularly frequent.

8.6.9 Grammatical Relations

There are almost no valence-changing processes other than the causative derivations (see section 8.5.8).
p. 350 This means that mapping argument structure to valence is very ↳ straightforward. For every argument role, there is a default valence mapping and usually a non-default one displayed by a handful of verbs.

Table 8.19 Mapping Argument Structure to Valence

Argument	Default	Non-default
A	Ergative	Dative (verbs of perception, cognition, etc.)
		Nominative ('fear' and a few others)
S	Nominative	
O	Nominative	Lative ('fear', above)
T	Nominative	
G	Dative	Allative

Ditransitives have mostly primary/secondary object alignment, with T encoded as O and G encoded differently. Both languages have very consistent ergative case and agreement morphology, but the syntax is generally accusative (S/A controller) or nominative-controlled.

In phrase syntax, the default (and near-exclusive) treatment of possessors is genitive case; the default case for objects of pospositions is dative, but postpositions derived from verbs govern the same case as the verb.

Section 8.6.5 illustrates non-default patterns; examples of default valence are found throughout this chapter. Nichols (2011, pp. 462 ff.) attempts to list verbs with non-default valence for Ingush completely.

8.6.10 Negation

For the morphology of negation, see section 8.5.7. The negative marker is always hosted by the verb, regardless of which clausal constituents are in its scope. There is no double or multiple negation and no dedicated negative words other than Ch. *cq'aa='a, cq'aana cq'a='a*, Ing. *c'aqqa='a, cq'ea-cq'a* 'never, not once'. Negated indefinites (including nouns *stag/sag* 'person; someone' and *huma/hama* '[some]thing') often undergo focus gemination and/or host the coordinating clitic *='a* but otherwise do not change their form. An indefinite, if present, is the preferred focus of negation.

(69)

a. Chechen
suuna *ċha* *sag* *ca=gi-ra.*
1SG.DAT one person NEG=see-PST.WIT
'I didn't see anyone.'

b. Ingush
suona *sag* *bʃarjga+vein-dz-ar.*
1SG.DAT person eye+V.see-NEG-PST.WIT
'I didn't see anyone.'

p. 351

(70)

a. Chechen
ċha='a *huma='a* *dala* *ca=dieza.*
one=and thing=and D.give-INF NEG=D.should
'free, no-cost' (lit. 'not needing payment')

b. Ingush
ċhaaqqa *hama='a* *dala* *cy=diezaž.*
any thing=and D.give-INF NEG=D.should.SIM.CVB
'free, no-cost' (lit. 'not needing payment')

In what Foley and Van Valin (1984) term "nuclear chaining," the sequence of converb and main verb, which is often lexicalized as a unit, is negated as a whole with negation internal to the main clause.

(71)

Ingush
vad-da *vax-andz-ar.*
V.run-ANT.CVB V.go-NEG-PST.WIT
'He didn't run away.' (not 'went away without running' or 'ran but didn't go away')

In other non-finite constructions negation is marked on the clause in its scope; scope is restricted to that clause.

(72)

Ingush
kog *loza='a* *bea,* *dʃa-liela-lužˇ* *vaac* *yz.*
leg hurt=and B.CAUS.ANT.CVB DEIC-walk-INC.SIM.CVB V.PROG.NEG 3SG
'He hurt his leg and can't walk.' (1309)

(73)

Ingush

ghaalii	*kuorta*	*ħa=cy='a*	*boaqqaž*	*yz*	*cigara*
tower.GEN	head	DEIC=NEG=and	B.take.SIM.CVB	3SG	there.ABL

vaxaav.
V.go.PST.nWIT.V
'He left without putting up the 'tower head' (i.e., capstone of a tower's roof).' (0743)

(74)

Chechen

so	*baq'derg*	*dʃa-ca-aelča*	*ʃaluš*	*vaac.*
1SG	truth	away-NEG-say.WHEN	rest.POT.PTCP.PRS	V.NEG

'I can't but say the truth.' (lit. 'I can't rest without completely telling the truth.')
(p34-00002: 116)

(75)

Chechen

Muusa	*c'a-ca=v.eʔa-ča*	*jilxi-ra*	*Zaaraa.*
Musa	home-NEG=V.come-TEMP.CVB	J.cry-PST.WIT	Zara

'Zara cried when Musa did not come home.'

p. 352

8.7. Complex Sentences

This section highlights a number of phenomena that involve multiple clauses.

8.7.1 Coordinating and Subordinating Constructions

Phrasal coordination places the clitic *=ii/=i/=ji* or *='a* after each conjunct. *=ii*, and so on are dedicated phrasal coordinators, used probably as default coordinators and regularly when the coordinates are a natural or complete set or act as a unit. Conditions for use *of-'a* have not been investigated closely, but they include emphatic coordination (e.g., 'both...and').

(76)

Ingush[6]

a.	*aħmada='a,*	*Maħmada='a*	*jaaz-dea=d*	*keaxat.*
	Ahmed=and	Mohammed=and	write-D.PST.nWIT=D	letter

'Ahmed and Mohammed each wrote a letter.'

b.	*aħmada=ji,*	*Maħmada=ji*	*jaaz-dea=d*	*keaxat.*
	Ahmed=and	Mohamed=and	write-D.PST.nWIT=D	letter

'Ahmed and Mohammed wrote the/a letter (together).'

6

8.7.2 Clause Chaining

Sequences of converb clauses are informally referred to as "clause chaining," but for Chechen and Ingush there is an important difference between true chaining, involving the chaining of converbs, and other chains, which constitute adverbial subordination. In (77) we can see the grammatical diagnostics of true clause chains.

(77)

Diagnostics for True Clause Chains in Chechen and Ingush

a. Chaining converb appears as predicate;
b. Coordinating enclitic *='a* encliticized to content before the verb;
   If there is no object to host the clitic, it can attach to a prefix; if there is no prefix, a reduplication of the verb root hosts the clitic.
c. Verb-initial word order in the main clause;
d. Chaining converbs make an anterior/simultaneous distinction but no deictic tense distinctions.
e. Chained and main clauses share an argument, which is overt in one of the clauses (usually the main clause) but cannot be overt in the other—unlike typical argument coreference, which can have an overt coreferent (e.g., noun, anaphoric pronoun, reflexive pronoun) in each clause.

p. 353 Semantically, chained clauses are very similar to coordinated clauses, and since in Chechen and Ingush there is almost no clause coordination akin to that of European languages (with finite verbs and conjunctions), chaining can be regarded as the morphosyntactic encoding of semantic coordination.

In (78), a converbal clause with a clitic attached to a prefix is followed by a converbal clause with reduplicated verb root hosting the clitic.

(78)

Ingush

mašen	*ħa='a*	*jett-aa,*	*ieza='a*	*iez-aa*
vehicle	DEIC=and	J.load-ANT.CVB	red=and	weigh-ANT.CVB

ʃa=jeassa-jeai.
DEIC=J.empty-J.CAUS.PST.NWIT
'They loaded the truck, weighed it, and unloaded it.'

The next examples contrast a chaining construction (79) with adverbial subordinate converb clauses, which have verb-final order in the main clause, no *='a*, possible overt realization of the coreferential argument as a long-distance reflexive, and possible non-coreference between the two clauses. (Bold represents the shared argument in its converb-clause instantiation; Ø represents anaphoric zero).

(79)

Ingush

a. ***peat'mat-aa*** *axča='a* *danna,* *aara-veal-ar* *Muusaa.*
Peat'mat-DAT money=and D.give.ANT.CVB out-V.go-PST.WIT Musa
'Musa gave Peat'mat money and went out.'

b. $Ø_k$ *peat'mat-aa* *axča* *dalča,* $Muusaa_k$ *aara-veal-ar.*
Peat'mat-DAT money D.give.TEMP.CVB Musa out-V.go-PST.WIT
'When $Musa_k$ had given Peat'mat the money, he_k went out.'

c. $šie_k$ *Peat'mat-aa* *axča* *dalča,* $Muusaa_k$
3SG.REFL Peat'mat-DAT money D.give.TEMP.CVB Musa
aara-veal-ar.
out-V.go-PST.WIT
'When he_k had given Peat'mat the money, $Musa_k$ went out.'

d. *ahmad-az* *Peat'ma-taa* *axča* *dalča,* *Muusaa*
Ahmed-ERG Peat'mat-DAT money D.give-TEMP.CVB Musa
aara-veal-ar.
out-V.go-PST.WIT
'When Ahmed gave Peat'mat money, Musa went out.'

In modern usage, clause chaining is often used with an accusative pattern and an S/A pivot. However, O pivots are also possible, and more common among older speakers (for more information, see Conathan and Good, 2000; Good, 2003a, 2003b; Nichols, 2011, ch. 24; Peterson, 2001).

p. 354

8.7.3 Relative Clauses

Chechen and Ingush use a gap strategy of relativization, where a participle heads the prenominal relative clause. In analytic tenses and light verb constructions, only the auxiliary takes participle form (see Table 8.17 for attributive participle forms).

(80)

Chechen

[*beerana* *xuʔuču*] *mattaħ* *qʼamiel* *dan* *dieza.*
child.DAT know.PTCP.OBL language.LOC speech D.do.INF D.need.PRS
'One needs to speak the language understood by a child.' (p34-00002: 45)

(81)

Chechen

[*vaešna* *guš* *bolu*] *nieqʼ* *biicar*
1PL.INCL.REFL.DAT see.PRS.SIM.CVB B.PTCP.PRS way B.talk.INF.NMLZ
du [*vaj* *dan*] *diezarg.*
D.PRS 1PL.INCL D.do.INF D.need.PTCP.NMLZ
'What we need to do is talk about the path we see.' (p34-00002: 48)

Nominalized relative clauses, as in (81) *vaj dan diezarg* 'what we need to do' are equivalent to free relatives. These clauses differ from what has been shown so far in two ways: (i) they do not have a head noun; (ii) they have a nominalization suffix (or a case suffix) on the verb, *-rg* in this example.

Agreement between relative clauses and their head nouns is complex. There is gender agreement within the relative clause and case agreement outside the relative clause, between the participle and the head noun. The copular attributive participle *bolu* in (81) agrees in gender with the gap in the relative clause where *nieqʼ* 'way' would have been, while it agrees in case (nominative) with *nieqʼ* 'way' in the main clause.

Another agreement example is (82), where the relative clause agrees internally in noun class with the implied pronominal subject *üš* 'they', while it agrees externally in case: the main verb *dieza* 'should' takes a dative-case subject.

(82)

Chechen
iza xaʔa dieza [ʃiedallieħ žüepallieħ] bolčaarna a.
3SG know.INF D.need.PRS power.LOC answerable.LOC B.REL.PL.DAT EMPH
'Those in the responsible positions in the government should know it.' (p34-00002: 593)

Since Chechen and Ingush are head-final languages, the default order is for the relative clause to precede the nominal head it modifies. Extraposition is possible as well. Extraposed relative clauses are clause-final, as described in more detail by Komen (2014).

There is one difference between restrictive and appositive extraposed relative clauses, and this subtle
p. 355 difference is related to information structure. NPs in all positions in the ↳ sentence can have an appositive extraposed relative clause. But only NPs that occur in the default focus position can have a *restrictive* extraposed relative clause.[7] While the reason for this link between relative clauses and information structure is not completely clear, see Komen (2014) for one possible account.

There are two relative clause variations to discuss. The first is the *it*- cleft, a biclausal construction where one of the clauses is a relative clause (see section 8.8.1).

The second is a logical extension of the free relative, whose English correlate, an adverbial locative phrase, would be quite different syntactically, e.g., 'where I live' or 'where they go'. Chechen and Ingush, due to rich locative case systems, do not use adverbial phrases with a head like *where*, but they use "free locatives", that is, free relative clauses that are headed by a locative nominal suffix rather than a full NP.

(83)

Chechen
taxanleeraču diinaħ, masalaa, so veexačuoħ,
today.OBL day.LOC example 1SG v.live.PRS.REL.LOC
šu dolčuoħ a xir du iza ištta, noxčiin muott
2PL D.REL.LOC CONJ be.FUT D.PRS 3S thus Chechen.PL.GEN language
ħüexuš a baac-qa.
teach.SIM.CVB CONJ B.NEG-PRT
'As of today, for example, at the place I live, or at your places, the Chechen language is not taught.' (p34-00002: 68)

The example in (83) contains two free locatives: *so veexačuoħ* 'where I live' and *šu dolčuoħ* 'where you are (=at your place)'. Comparable to the English adverbial locative phrases, the head noun is not overtly mentioned, but assumed to be something generic like 'place', e.g., 'the place [where] I live'.

(84)

Chechen
amma, exxar a šaa aara-vaelča, šien saalaz
but finally and 3SG.REFL out-V.go.WHEN 3SG.REFL.GEN sledge
a taqajoj, beeraš dolču dʃahodura iza.
and mount.J.PRS.CONJ child.PL D.REL.ALL away.run.IPFV 3SG
'But when he did come outside in the end, he would mount the sledge and run to the other children.')

Example (84) contains the free locative *beeraš dolču* 'to [the place where] the other children [were]'. The form *dolču* might look like an attributive participle form of the copula, as listed in Table 8.17, but it is not. It is the shortened form of the allative (the full form would have been *dolčünga*).

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8.7.4 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are mostly non-finite. The few finite complements are asyndetic clauses with verbs of speech and cognition:

(85)

Ingush

ħo	*guržii*	*vy*	*mott*	*cynna.*
2SG	Georgian	V.be.PRS	seem	3SG.DAT

'He thinks you're Georgian.' or 'You look Georgian to him.'

(86)

Ingush

aaz	*yz*	*dika*	*sag*	*vy*	*ealar.*
1SG.ERG	3SG	good	person	V.be.PRS	say.PST.WIT

'I said he was a good person.'

This includes finite complements with interrogatives:

(87)

Ingush

suona	*xou,*	*t'eħa*	*mala*	*vys-aa-v.*
1SG.DAT	know	behind	who	V.stay-PST.nWIT-V

'I know who was late.'

And also complements with finite interrogatives:

(88)

Ingush

šoana	*xaz-aa-d-ii*	*xaac*	*suona.*
2PL.DAT	hear-PST.nWIT-D-Q	know-NEG	1SG.DAT

'I don't know if/whether you've heard this.' (0408)

(89)

Chechen

cigaħ	*xaza*	*duj*	*xaeʔara*	*kʼantana.*
there.LOC	beautiful	D.PRS.Q	know.PFV	boy.DAT

'The boy knew it was beautiful there.'

Direct speech is a literal quote of the original speech, optionally using a converb of 'say' as a complementizer to speech verbs. The TAM converbal complementizer depends in part on that of the main verb: the anterior converb with perfective matrix verbs, simultaneous converb with progressive and durative matrix verbs, and Ch. *-ii*, Ing. *-ie* for iterative, generic, or imperative matrix verbs.

(90)

Chechen

"daada!	*va*	*daada!"–*	*booxuš,*	*maeħarii*	*a*	*ħüequš,*
father	VOC	father	say.PTCP.PRS	shout.PL	CONJ	strike.PTCP.PRS
čulilxina		*beeraš.*				
in.jump.PFV		child.PL				

'The children jumped in, shouting and crying: "Daddy! O daddy!"' (p86-00152: 2)

p. 357 Matrix clauses often follow reported speech clauses, and the matrix clause is usually verb-initial. Semi-direct speech is much like direct speech except that a subject pronoun coreferential to the speaker is third person reflexive (logophoric).

(91)

Ingush[8]

ad-daa-c	*šie,*	*eal-ar*	*joax.*
say-D.FUT-NEG	LOG	say-PST.WIT	QUOT

'I won't tell you, he said.' or 'He said he wouldn't tell him.' (0408)

8

All other deictics remain as in the speech under report. In (92), the imperative *d.aa* 'give (me)' is one of very few verbs that index person (of the indirect object), and it retains its first person form even though the logophoric pronoun is third person:

(92)

Ingush

cuo	*čʕoagha*	*diexar*	*dead-ar*	*suo-ga,*	*šii-na*	*axča*
3SG.ERG	very	request	D.make-PST.WIT	1SG-ALL	LOG-DAT	money
daa	*ean-na.*					
give.1SG	say-ANT.CVB					

'He begged me to lend him money.'

Unlike regular third person reflexives, logophoric ones do not control reflexivization of further coreferents in subordinate or chained clauses; but first and second person subjects control (non-logophoric) long-distance reflexivization (see Nichols, 2011, pp. 558–559).

Verbs meaning 'know', 'believe', and so on, take the subjunctive in Ingush and the cognate desiderative in Chechen (this is more common with these verbs than indicative finite complementation):

(93)

Chechen
rašidana *xaeʔara,* *naana* *šaa* *kiečam* *muuxa*
Rashid.DAT know.PST.WIT mother 3SG.RFL preparation how
bina *ħožur* *jujla.*
B.do.PERF watch.FUT J.PRS.SBD
'Rashid knew that (his) mother would watch how he had prepared.'

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(94)

Ingush
ʃaišiet-aa *xou,* *suo-ga* *xa* *joaca-ljga.*
Aisha-DAT know 1SG-ALL time J.be:NEG-SBJV
'Aisha knows I have no time.'

(95)

Ingush[9]
dolxaljga *xoura* *txuona,* *txo* *kulaakaž* *bar.*
D.go.SBJV know.IPFV 1PL.EXCL.DAT 1PL.EXCL kulak.PL B.be.PST
'We knew we were going, we were kulaks.' (0238A.10)

9

The verbal noun, or *masdar*, is used with a number of verbs. It heads a nominalized clause whose arguments cases all appear in their regular cases. The masdar itself is in the case governed by the main verb or the construction.

(96)

Ingush (NB: 'surprised' takes a lative object)
muusaa *cec+vealar* *taxan* *dogha* *delxaragh.*
Musa surprise+V.LV.PST.WIT today rain D.precipitate.MSD.LAT
'Musa was surprised that it rained today.'

(97)

Ingush
barkal *xalda* *ħuona* *ʃa* *suona* *gho-daragh.*
thanks be.OPT 2SG.DAT 2SG.ERG 1SG.DAT help-MSD.LAT
'Thanks for helping me.'

(98)

Chechen
šajxi, *qeču* *mattaħ* *jaazjar* *qeču* *mattaħ*
Shajxi other.OBL language.LOC write.NMLZ other.OBL language.LOC
ojla *jarca* *düezna* *duj-tie?*
thought J.do.NMLZ.INS connected D.PRS.Q-TAG
'Shajxi, writing in another language is connected with thinking in another language, isn't it?' (p34-00002: 242)

(99)

Chechen
cundeela *laaramza* *daac* *bilggal* *šu* *qajqar.*
therefore accidental D.NEG exactly 2PL call.INF.NMLZ
'Therefore it is not accidental that it was namely you who have been invited.' (p34-00002:7)

Infinitives are used much as in European languages, but only in same-subject complements; there is nothing like raising in Chechen or Ingush. Infinitives are required by modals and phasal verbs.

p. 359

(100)

Ingush
ciga *dʃa-vaxa* *magac=ii* *ħuona?*
there DEIC-V.go.INF can.NEG=Q 2SG.DAT
'Couldn't you go over there?'

(101)

Ingush
čaarx *c'eaxxaa* *qesta* *juola-jalar*
wheel suddenly turn-INF J.begin-J.INC-PST.WIT
'The wheel suddenly started turning.'

With two of these verbs, there is what Nichols (2011, pp. 478–480, 553–554) calls case attraction: the case of the main-clause subject is determined by the transitivity of the infinitive.

(102)

Ingush[10]
muusaa *čy-v.aa* *meg.*
Musa in-V.go.INF be.able.PRS
'Maybe Musa will come home.' or 'It may be that Musa will come home.'

10

(103)

Ingush[11]
aaz *yz* *televiizar* *ieca* *meg.*
1SG.ERG DEM TV buy-INF be.able.PRS
'Maybe I'll buy this TV.'

11

In Ingush, unlike Dagestanian languages with similar case alternations, there is no evidence (in prosody, word order, scope of negation, etc.) that constructions with case attraction are monoclausal, other than case attraction itself (Nichols, 2011, pp. 479–480).

8.7.5 Adverbial Subordination

For the most part, adverbial subordinate clauses use converbs, of which there are about two dozen with meanings such as ‘while’, ‘when, after’, ‘before’, ‘although’, and others. Table 8.20 lists some of the main ones for Chechen; a full list for Ingush is in Nichols (2011, pp. 297–308, 794).

Table 8.20 Selection of Subordinating Converb Suffixes in Chechen

-ča	temporal ‘when’ (perfective)
-lie	‘before’
-alc	‘until’with focus gemination (section 8.2.1)
-(n)ie	‘as soon as’
-aẖ̄	irrealis, potential
-ššieẖ̄	‘even though,’ ‘starting from’
-čox	manner
-čuol/-čul	comparative
-al	extent
-čieẖ̄	locative

Some examples of temporal clauses:

(104)

Ingush
max t’iera ʕa my beallangeẖ aaz seina mašen iecagjy.
price down DEIC EMPH B.go.CVB 1SG.ERG 1SG.REFL.DAT car buy.FUT.J
‘As soon as prices go down I’ll buy a car.’

p. 360

(105)

Chechen
k’orda-dall-alc louzu-š, lü:ču-š a ʕii-na
bore-D.LV-UNTIL.CVB play-SIM.CVB bathe-SIM.CVB and rest-ANT.CVB
staancie juxa-daexk-ira txo.
station-ALL back-D.come-PST.WIT 1PL
‘We played until we got bored, bathed, and then returned to the station.’

Causal clauses take a causal converb and may additionally have a conjunction ‘because’ in the main clause:

(106)

Ingush
aaz derriga ursaž jaašjkaa=čy čhan
1SG.ERG D.all knife.PL drawer=in together
ʕa=čy-dexkan-dea, ursaž sixa earh-lu.
DEIC=in-D.put:PL-CAUSAL.CVB knife.PL fast dull-VBLZ.PRS
‘Because I put all the knives together in the drawer they get dull fast.’

(107)

Ingush (NB: 'because' is literally 'if/when [you] ask why')
c'agha *šiila* *jy* *hana_ealča,* *uq* *šera* *pišjk*
house.ADV cold J.is because DEM year. ADV furnace
toa-j.ea-joacan-dea.
repair-J.CAUS-NEG-CAUSAL.CVB
'It's cold in the house because we didn't repair the furnace this year.'

Conditional converbs have a dedicated ending *-ie*. Finite conditionals use a past ending on a future stem.

p. 361

(108)

Ingush
ħaai *kert-aa* *doala-die,* *ħie* *q'uonax* *valie.*
2SG.REFL.GEN head-DAT D.go-D.CAUS.IMP 2SG.REFL man V.be.COND.CVB
'Control your head if you're a man.'

(109)

Ingush
suoga *axča* *dalaarie,* *so* *Jivroopie* *ghog-jar.*
1SG.ALL money D.be.IRR.CVB 1SG Europe.ADV go:FUT-J.COND
'If I had money I'd go to Europe.'

There is also a subordinating conjunction *nagaħ* 'if' or *nagaħ sanna* 'if like/as', used together with a conditional converb:

(110)

Chechen
nagaħ *sanna* *vajn* *ʃiedal* *a* *delaħ,* *respublika*
if if 1PL.INCL.GEN power and D.SBJV.COND republic
a *jelaħ,* *ištta* *programma* *čeqjaaqqa* *jiezaš*
and J.SBJV.COND such program through.J.bring.INF J.need.SIM.CVB
ju-q *vaj.*
J.PRS-PTCL 1PL.INCL
'If the power is in our hands, and if we are a Republic, we have to complete such a program.' (p34-00002: 208)

(111)

Ingush
t'aaqqa, *nagaħ* *t'ormig* *cynca* *balie,* *t'ormig='a* *ħa-ec*
so if suitcase 3SG-INS B.be.IRR.CVB suitcase=and DEIC-take
ʃa.
2SG.ERG
'If he has a suitcase with him, you take it too.' (0415.12)

8.7.6 Long-Distance Anaphora

Both languages make systematic and frequent use of long-distance reflexivization. The subject of any clause can bind any coreferent in any lower subordinate clause; a reflexive cannot be bound by a lower antecedent. There are some constraints related to person, animacy, and interference from other potential controllers, but apart from these constraints, long-distance reflexivization is completely regular. For details and many examples, see Nichols (2011, pp. 645–658). Lower clauses are bracketed, an underscore marks a relativization gap, and Ø is an optional null third person anaphoric pronoun, (112)–(115).

(112)

Ingush (Adverbial Converbal Subordinate)

[aaz	*šiiga*$_i$	*telefon*	*tiexa-ča,]*	*muusaa*$_i$	*čy-vaxar.*
1SG.ERG	3SG.REFL.ALL	phone	strike-TEMP.CVB	Musa	in-V.went

'When I phoned him$_i$ Musa$_i$ went home.'

p. 362

(113)

Ingush (Finite Complement)

xaac	*suona*$_i$	*[sie*$_i$	*myčaa=i]*
know.NEG	1SG.DAT	1SG.REFL	where=J.be

'I don't know where I am.' (0398B.33)

(114)

Ingush (Chained Clause)

kuotamaž$_i$	*yštta*	*[qʾeasttaa*	*šoažta*$_i$	*guonaha*	*kart=ʾa*	*jea]*
chicken-PL	thus	separately	3PL.REFL.DAT	around	fence=and	J.make.CVB

dʃa=čy-joxkacar,	*joxkarii?*
DEIC=in-J.insert:PL.NEG.PST.WIT	J.insert:PL.PST.WIT.Q

'Didn't he fence the chickens off (in a separate cage) (out of the garden)?' (lit. 'Didn't he [build a fence around themselves and] keep the chickens separately?') (0409.22)

(115)

Ingush (Relative)

[___$_i$	*šiigh*$_i$	*hearčaa]*	*dieqar*	*dʃa=dannad*	*Ø*$_i$
	3SG.REFL.LAT	enmesh.REL	debt	DEIC=D.give.PST.nWIT.D	3SG.ERG

'He paid off his debts.' (lit. 'He paid off the debts that enmeshed himself.')

Reflexives from different clauses can intervene with each other, but there can never be more than one long-distance reflexive in a clause. In (116), 'he' in the main clause and 'I' in the lower clause both control their respective reflexives. The middle clause cannot have a first person reflexive, since it has another reflexive (a non-reflexive first person pronoun would be possible, but then the first person in the matrix clause would be zero, to avoid multiple tokens of coreferential anaphoric pronouns; see section 8.6.8).

(116)

Ingush

cynna	*xou,*	*[[Ø*	*šie*	*bʃarjga+vei-na]*	*suona*	*xoza+xieta-ljga.]*
3SG.DAT	know	1SG	3SG.REFL	eye+V.see-ANT.CVB	1SG.DAT	glad+LV-SBJV

'He knows I'm glad I saw him.'

8.8 Open Questions

8.8.1 The *it*-Cleft

The example in (117) shows a construction that looks suspiciously like a relative clause, but it is not; it is a temporal *it*-cleft.

(117)

Chechen
[*vaj* *i* *dü:cuš* *dolu*] *duqa* *xaan* *ju.*
1PL.INCL DEM speak.PRS.SIM.CVB D.REL much time J.PRS
'We have been talking for a long time about it.' (lit. 'It has been a long time that we have been saying this.') (p34-00002: 31)

p. 363 The construction is biclausal. The main clause is *duqa xaan ju* '[it] is a long time', where English needs to supply a pronominal subject. Chechen and Ingush do not require an expletive. If a subject were present, it would be a generic time denotation such as *xaan* 'time': *xaan duqa [xaan] ju* 'the time is long'.[12]

The subjectless main clause links with the relative clause *vaj i dü:cuš dolu* 'that we have been saying this' in two ways: (i) the gap in the relative clause *duqa xeenaħ* 'for a long time' matches the NP complement of the main clause *duqa xaan* 'a long time'; (ii) the head of the relative clause is the not overtly specified generic time denotation *xaan* 'time' that is the implied subject of the main clause.

There are a number of variations in which Chechen *it*-clefts can occur, as explained in Komen (2015).The function of Chechen *it*-clefts appears to be exclusively for text structuring. A temporal *it*-cleft in Chechen either sets out a story or provides a clear transition to a new paragraph. This same function also appears to be present in *it*-clefts found in Norwegian and Swedish, but those languages can also have *it*-clefts as a focusing strategy, which has not been reported for Chechen (so far).

8.8.2 Other Clefting

A common way to question an interrogative pronoun is with clefting. This is near-obligatory when the pronoun would otherwise be in an oblique case. The pronoun, regardless of the syntactic role and case it would otherwise have, is the nominative subject of 'be', and the clause is clefted with a nominalized (headless) relative.

(118)

Ingush
ʃ*a-j.iežaar* *fy=j?*
down-J.fall.PTCP.NMLZ what=J.be
'What fell?' (lit. 'What is it that fell?' or 'What is the one that fell?')

(119)

Ingush
ʃ*a-v.iežaar* *mala=v?*
down-V.fall.PTCP.NMLZ who=V.be?
'Who fell?' (lit. 'Who is it that fell?'or 'Who is the one that fell?')

(120)

Ingush

je	*kinašjka*	*jaaz-d.ear*	*mala=v?*
DEM	book	write-D.PTCP.NMLZ	who=V.be

'Who wrote the book?'

p. 364

8.8.3 The Proximal Demonstrative Referring to the VIP

The independent proximal demonstrative *hara* 'this' (and its case inflections, see section 8.4.6) is prototypically used deictically to someone standing nearby, as in (121), which is taken from the Chechen narrative, *Beshtuo* (Baduev, 1991).

(121)

Chechen

txovsa	*hara*	*dʃajiga*	*üš*	*ʜhabaaghaʜ,*		
tonight	DEM	away.J.lead.inf	3PL	here.B.come.COND		
quo	*cʜa*	*jühwʃaeržuo*	*jarna*		*qieram*	*bu.*
DEM.ERG	one	shameful.thing	J.do.INF.NMLZ.DAT		danger	B.PRS

'When they come to lead her away tonight, there is danger she will do something shameful.' (Baduev, 1991, p. 268)

The context includes Vahid speaking about his sister Busana, who is standing nearby. This sentence introduces his reasoning on what they should do to her to make sure she marries someone (apparently against her will). The proximal demonstratives *hara* 'this one' and *quo*, an ergative form of *hara*, are used deictically. (122) exemplifies a non-deictic use of the proximal demonstrative pronoun.

(122)

Chechen

busana$_i$	*beštuoga*	*ʜaežira.*	*qunna*$_i$	*šiena*	*bolu*
Busana	Beshtuo.ALL	look.PFV	DEM.ERG	3SG.REFL.DAT	B.REL
cataam	*cʼeʜʜana*	*bicbelira.*			
sadness	suddenly	B.forget.PFV			

'Busana looked at Beshtuo. Suddenly she forgot her distress.' (Baduev, 1991, p. 257)

The author could have used a personal pronoun *cunna* 'she' to refer back to the subject of the preceding clause, *Busana*, but chose to use the proximal demonstrative instead. Baduev only starts using proximal demonstratives to refer to people after they have been introduced and have become main players in the narrative. Such participants can be termed the 'VIP'. The proximal demonstrative, in its VIP usage, does not need its antecedent to be in a particular syntactic position while referring to it (see Baduev, 1991, p. 261).

In a probably related function, Ingush discourse often assigns the proximal deictic to one participant and the neutral deictic or non-deictic *vož* 'the other' to another, without reference to spatial proximity, but based on viewpoint or topicality (Nichols, 2011, p. 658–660).

8.8.4 Radical P Alignment

Is the nominative of (43) an O (in an A-less clause) or an S (in an intransitive clause)? If the latter, there has been conversion or zero derivation of an intransitive from a transitive. If the former, the construction is
p. 365 similar to the impersonal passives of, for example, ↳ Finnish or some Tungusic languages, where the O retains its accusative case, the A is absent, verb morphology marks the derivation, and the verb does not agree with the O. Differences are that in Chechen and Ingush, no verb morphology marks the derivation, gender agreement is not lost, and the ergative case alignment makes it impossible to say on morphological grounds whether the input O is an output O or S.

8.8.5 Schwa-Zero Alternations

In sequences of two syllables from both languages and all dialects, one schwa is generally reduced to a brief whisper or aspiration of the preceding consonant, or elided entirely, while the other is fully vocalized with its normal pronunciation. Details differ (among varieties, among speakers, and even among utterances of the same speaker), but the general principle seems to be that a schwa is reduced in a syllable before a full vowel and remains a full vowel before a reduced schwa:

(123)

Ingush

a. *ħa=čy-v.eanna=v* {…čə…} [ħačᵊvænnu:]
DEIC=in-V.go.PST.nWIT=V
'has come in'

b. *ħa=čy='a* *v.eanna* {…čə='ə…} [ħačy?vænnᵊ]
DEIC=in=and V.go.ANT.CVB
'having come in'

This is similar to the schwa-zero alternations of French, Tundra Nenets, or medieval Slavic. In the orthographies and in the transcriptions used here, all schwas are written (as "a") regardless of their pronunciation.This is the uncontested choice of linguists, lexicographers, and practical grammarians, but it makes the spelling system difficult to learn and difficult for native speakers to master unless they have extensive exposure in school—as French speakers, of course, do, but many, perhaps most, native speakers of Chechen and Ingush today do not. The cross-linguistic variation is phonologically interesting and understudied, and a challenge of theoretical and applied interest is how to devise a spelling system for these alternations.

8.8.6 Second Person in Long-Distance Reflexivization

In Ingush, coreference between second person pronouns in different clause chains makes long-distance reflexivization ungrammatical when it would be grammatical with other persons (Nichols, 2011, pp. 650–651). The effect seems to be consistent across speakers. It is triggered not by second person forms but by second person reference, as it applies also to the first person inclusive. The reasons are unknown.

Notes

1 The authors' names appear in alphabetical order. Each author contributed analysis and data from their language of

expertise (Chechen: Komen and Molochieva; highland Itum-Kale dialect: Molochieva; Ingush: Nichols). The examples in this chapter are from our field notes or personal observation, unless they have an explicit reference to the source. Most of the Chechen example source references are to the Nijmegen Parsed Corpus of Modern Chechen (see http://erwinkomen.ruhosting.nl/che/crp and https://cesar.science.ru.nl).

2 B and D refer to noun classes. See section 8.4.1.

3 Example references starting with "p86" and "p34" refer to texts taken from the Nijmegen Parsed Corpus of Modern Chechen (NPCMC; see http://erwinkomen.ruhosting.nl/che/crp). They can be consulted online (https://cesar.science.ru.nl).

4 We gloss attributive participles as REL.

5 This verb is one of two that consist of a gender initial (here in citation form *d-*), a tense suffix, and a conjugation class (determining the ablaut class and/or present tense ending) but no root.

6 Minimal pair from Jakovlev (2001, p. 252).

7 The default focus position is the syntactic position that immediately precedes the finite verb, as shown in Komen (2007b).

8 *joax* is a hearsay evidential on the main verb 'say', because the speaker is telling about an event he heard about from someone else.

9 In predicate nominal constructions the copula agrees in gender/number with the predicate noun, not the subject. In the second clause here *kulaakazh* is a human plural noun, therefore B gender; *txo* 'we' is first person, so D gender.

10 Nominative subject of *meg* with intransitive 'go'.

11 Ergative subject of *meg* with transitive 'buy'.

12 The *xaan* that is part of the complement can then be left out, which is normal for ellipsis. Other main clauses for *it*-clefts like this may have time specifications like *sho* 'year', e.g., *hinca qo sho du* '[it] is now three years'. Rephrasing these in Chechen with an overt subject does not result in ellipsis, e.g., *xaan hinca qo sho du* 'the time is now three years'.