Grammatical agreement of adverbials
in North-East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages.

Category: oral

G[rammatical]A[greement] of adverbials with core arguments of the clause is one of the distinctive traits of the N[akh]-D[aghestanian] (North-Eastern) branch of Caucasian. While not unique to ND, adverbial GA is comparatively rare cross-linguistically; besides sporadic attestations in diverse linguistic phyla, it exhibits conspicuous areal-genetic clustering, being relatively widespread in Australian Aboriginal languages (as part of 'case stacking'), the Panoan branch of Amerindian, Modern Indo-Aryan, and Classical IE.

Over and above being interesting in itself, adverbial GA raises several issues of wider theoretical significance, concerning (i) the general theory and typology of GA (by proving problematic for most, if not all, current GA theories, esp. semantic ones), and, (ii) the linguistic scenarios and grammaticalization channels giving rise to the phenomenon.

After a brief cross-linguistic survey of adverbial GA and its properties, the present paper concentrates on gender-number (N[oun]C[lass]) GA of adverbials in Nakh-Daghestanian, which is particularly pertinent in that it exhibits the greatest – synchronic and, correspondingly, diachronic – diversity of adverbial GA subtypes, not only encompassing most of what is to be found elsewhere, in structural-functional terms, but featuring some cross-linguistically unique adverbial GA phenomena.

I.e., alongside the adjectival-predicative morphological kind of adverbial GA, one finds agreeing morphological ADVs, agreeing Ps, agreeing N case forms, of diverse (N-al, V-al, …?) origin; cf. e.g. (GA controllers italicized, pertinent targets underlined):

Gojne ma-m-mı jawash=ba qa=b=ı Gajsın-i ıIsa-j-s-qa.
then *that*.1-A-PL silent=ADV.<u>HPL</u> HPL=come.PF 1.sleep.PF-AOBL Isa-OBL-CONT-LAT
'Then *they* <u>silently</u> approached sleeping Isa.'   (Tsakhur; KIBRIK & AL. 1999, 101)

ReL La=<u>r</u> dede=<u>r</u>=e '*ičal*(-gi) r=ošun r=o'a.
she.ERG here=<u>IV</u> father=<u>IV</u>=DAT *apples*(IV).ABS(-PTC) IV=buy IV=AUX
'She was buying *apples* <u>for father</u> <u>here</u>.'   (Avar, Antsukh dialect; KIBRIK 1985, 318)

Haӏzhi ushkul-li-sa=<u>w</u> kejc:-ul-li u:di
Hazhi school-OBL-ANTESS[<u>M</u>] (M)stand-CONV (M)be-PAST
'*Hazhi* was standing <u>in front of</u> the school.'   (Dargwa; SUMBATOVA 203, 30)

While there already exist excellent linguistically informed descriptions of a number of individual ND languages, including their adverbial GA details, the present paper attempts a survey of the phenomenon in the whole ND branch, summarizing the results of the author's longer-term efforts of comprehensively documenting and analyzing adverbial GA in that grouping, by cataloguing its instances and extent in the individual languages, by examining, *inter alia*, grammatical functions and participant roles of GA targets and controllers, syntactic categories and lexical subclasses of targets, semantic liability to GA, functions of adverbial GA, and the interrelations of those properties, and by correlating the phenomena with the over-all grammatical architecture of the resp. languages.

Finally, the paper touches upon the implications of adverbial GA for the general theory and typology of GA, and briefly addresses the issue of plausible/probable diachronic scenarios giving rise to the various subtypes of agreeing adverbials.