

Factors determining position of the agreement marker in verbs

Agreement in verbs: three types

		PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE		FINALIS		IMPERATIVE	
		IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG
PREF	‘milk’	acu	b -acu	a<r>ca-r	b -a<r>ca-r	aca-s	b -aca-s	aca	b -aca
INFIX	‘drop’	caχu	caχu	ca<r>χα-r	caχα-r	caχα-s	caχα-s	caχα	caχα
MIXED	‘go through’	aktu	aktu	a<r>kɫar	b -a<r>kɫar	akɫa-s	akɫa-s	akɫa	b -akɫa

Phonological factors determining position of the agreement marker

Consonant-initial non-monosyllabic verbs with stress on the first syllable stress: infixes

	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE	
	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG
must	k ^w aršar	k ^w ašar	k ^w ašu	k ^w ašu
throw	carχar	caχar	caχu	caχu
search	χ: ^w ark'ar	χ: ^w ak'ar	χ: ^w a:k'u	χ: ^w ak'u

Phonological factors determining position of the agreement marker

Consonant-initial monosyllabic verbs: prefixes

	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE	
	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG
divide	q ^ʕ ar	ba q ^ʕ ar	q ^ʕ o	bo q ^ʕ o
melt	c'ar	ba c:'ar	c'o	bo c:'o
carry	χ ^ʕ ar	ba χ ^ʕ ar	χ ^ʕ o	bo χ ^ʕ o

Phonological factors determining position of the agreement marker

Vowel-initial verbs: (1) prefixes

	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE	
	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG
see	ak:ur	b ak:ur	ak:u	b ak:u
soften	arq ^ʕ ur	b arq ^ʕ ur	a:q ^ʕ u	b a:q ^ʕ u
leave	ark:ir	b ark:ir	akdi	b akdi

Phonological factors determining position of the agreement marker

Vowel-initial verbs: (2) mixed

	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE	
	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG
get through	arkɫar	b arkɫar	akɫu	a b kɫu
break	arq ^ɤ ar	b arq ^ɤ ar	aq ^ɤ u	a b q ^ɤ u
hide	arč'ur	b arč'ur	ač'u	a b č'u

Paradigm regularities

	PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE	
	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG
'die out' (of flame)	aχ ^ɪ u	aχ ^ɪ u	arχ ^ɪ ur	b -arχ ^ɪ ur
'wake up'	ekɫu	ekɫu	erkɫur	b -erkɫur

↓

FINALIS	
IV.SG	III.SG
aχ ^ɪ a-s	aχ ^ɪ a-s
ekɫa-s	ekɫa-s

↓

IMPERATIVE	
IV.SG	III.SG
aχ ^ɪ a	b -aχ ^ɪ a
ekɫur	b -erkɫa

There are three exceptions to this rule: three verbs of this type have the infinitives with prefixal gender marking, but these infinitives are irregular

Examine perfective verbs (result for the whole paradigm hence morphological)

consonant-initial				vowel-initial		
b-initial	other consonant					
	monosyllabic	non-monosyllabic				
non-inflecting		second syllable stress	first syllable stress	[r+C(C)] (13) high vowel (3)	other (lexical)	
		prefixes		infixes	prefixes	mixed
7 exceptions (A)	21	27	19 exceptions (B)	16	19	41

(A)

‘fulfill’: bát:érš:ar, bát:bérš:ar, bát:és:u, bát:ébš:u

‘begin’: bíjerł:ar, bíjberł:ar, bíjeł:u, bíjebł:u

(B)

‘frown’ kł'ókł'ur, bokł'ókł'ur, kł'ókł'u, bokł'ókł'u

‘get lost’ q'ʰék'erk'ir, beq:'ʰé-bek'erk'ir, q'ʰák'a, baq:'ʰá-bak'á

Stative verbs:

- in general can be distinguished from dynamic verbs by semantics, but not always, compare
kt'an 'love', stative vs *arhas* 'think' dynamic
- are distinguished from dynamic verbs by **morphological** behaviour: stative verbs have only one stem (the imperfective)
- never take infixes, even when they have the right stem shape, eg *ac:'ar* 'be full'
- typically do not take prefixes either, even when they have the right stem shape



Different behaviour

	consonant-initial				vowel-initial		
	b-initial	other consonant					
		monosyllabic	non-monosyllabic				
	non-inflecting		second syllable stress	first syllable stress	[r+C(C)]	other (lexical)	
prefixes		infixes	prefixes	mixed			
expected	14	44	71	39	1	22	
actual	14	1	0	0 exception: (A)	0	7	0

(A) ‘be better’ : χ^wáli, daχáli, baχáli, χáli