A Grammar of Chechen

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1 Background Information and Introduction

1.1 Speakers and Official Status

Chechen is one of the co-official languages of the Republic of Chechnya, which is a federal subject of the Russian Federation. According to the most recent census data in 2010 there are approximately 1.4 million speakers of Chechen, making it one of the largest minority languages in the Russian Federation after Ukrainian and Tatar. Speakers of Chechen belong mostly to the Chechen ethnicity and are located primarily in Chechnya. Chechen is also spoken in countries with sizable Chechen minorities, namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Austria, Germany, Jordan, Turkey, Georgia, and urban centers in European Russia (particularly Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Rostov-na-Donu).

1.2 Distribution of Speakers

Chechnya is located on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus Mountains. The Republic of Chechnya is a subnational, semi-autonomous republic of the Russian Federation, and the independence of Chechnya has been at the center of the region's history for much of the 20th and early 21st century. It shares political borders with the Republic of Ingushetia to the east, the Republic of Dagestan to the west, Stavropol Krai to the north, and an international border with the Republic of Georgia to the south.

Outside of their ancestral homeland in the Caucasus, Chechen speakers are found in the Pankisi Gorge of neighboring Georgia and in the provinces of Tusheti and Kakheti. The Kisti and Chechen community in Georgia has grown dramatically in the recent decades due to the influx of refugees after the First and Second Chechen Wars as well as the replacement of the Ossetian community following the Georgian-Ossetian conflict in 2008.

Chechen is spoken in many pockets of Kazakhstan, mostly in the Southern Kazakhstan province, due to the deportation of the Vainakh people (Chechen and Ingush) in 1944 by decree of Joseph Stalin. While many Chechens did return to Chechnya in the 1960s under the Krushchev government, a significant number of Chechens remain in Kazakhstan. The largest Chechen communities are found in Shymkent, Karaghanda, and Almaty, but speakers and Chechens can be found all over the country.

Chechens have lived in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan since the era of the Ottoman Empire in 1850s following the Caucasian Wars from 1817 - 1860. Further communities are found throughout the Republic of Turkey, concentrated in Adana, Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri, and Kahramanmaraş provinces. Continuing this trend, modern communities of Chechen are found in Austria, Germany, and elsewhere in Western Europe due to refugees following the First and Second Chechen wars. Retention of language and language use among Chechens is particularly strong in communities descending from families in the former Soviet Union compared to that of communities in modern day Turkey, Jordan, and Western Europe.

1.3 Linguistic Profile and Genealogical Data

Chechen, *Noxchiin mott*, is a Vainakh language of the Nakh branch of the Northeastern Caucasian/Nakh-Dagestanian language family. Chechen and its closest genealogical sister

language, Ingush, comprise the *Vainakh* languages within the Nakh branch of the family (*vainakh* meaning 'our people' in both Chechen and Ingush). Ingush (*Ghalghaj mott*) shares a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility with Chechen and numerous cultural and linguistic similarities. In addition to Chechen and Ingush, a third Nakh language exists: Bats (alternatively *Batsbi* or *Tsova-Tush*), which is spoken in the Zemno-Alvani province of Georgia and is mutually intelligible with neither Chechen nor Ingush.
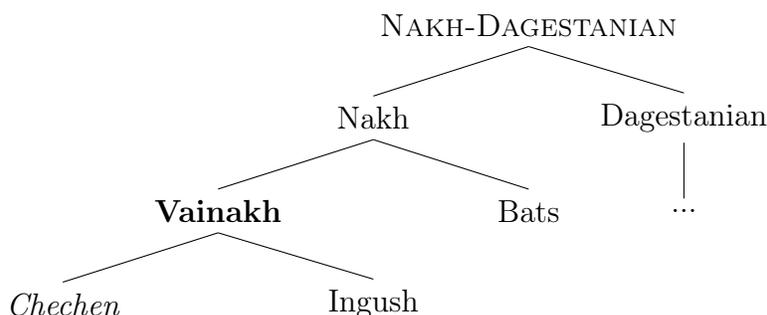
As expected based on the genealogical classifications, Chechen is not mutually intelligible with any of the Dagestanian languages but does share a few common features with other North Caucasian languages: Chechen is an ergative-absolutive language, it displays noun-class agreement using 4 variables, and it has a large phonemic inventory with ejective consonants. Despite these trends, Chechen is a typological anomaly in the Caucasus region in terms of phonetic inventory due to its extremely large vowel inventory when compared to both other Northeast Caucasian languages as well as to the Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages and the Abkhazo-Adyghean (Northwest Caucasian languages).

The history of the Chechen literary language is short, beginning in the 1920's after Chechnya becoming a part of the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic. As the Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Republic, the written Chechen language was first developed using a Latin alphabet in 1922 following the example of Tatar and other minority languages for Muslim ethnicities. In the 1930s, following legislation requiring minority languages to use Cyrillic, written Chechen switched to an adapted Cyrillic orthography. This literary standard is used in education, administration, and publications in Chechen within Chechnya. Despite the amount of time this literary standard as been used, the Chechen alphabet is remarkably poor at conveying the actual sounds of the Chechen language, in particular the vowels. The alphabet fails to capture the multitude of different vowel sounds, does not mark phonemic vowel length, retains the writing of word-final vowels that have most fallen out in the modern language, and, perhaps most significantly, the literary standard does not account for the huge variation in pronunciation across the many dialects of the language.

1.4 Dialects, Teips, and Tukkhums

There is a large number of dialects of Chechen. While most, if not all Chechen speakers are conversant or familiar with the nuance of standardized Chechen, speech communities in the Caucasus as well as in diaspora communities are often defined by very specific dialects to a given speech community. Diversification of Chechen dialects among speakers is driven

by the ancestral cultural unit of the *taipa* (Ch. тайпа), 'clan' or 'tribe'. In pre-modern Chechnya, membership to a *taipa* was synomymous with participation in the political and social hierarchy in the region, as only *teips* could unify with other *taipash* to form *tukkhums* (Ch. тухум). *Tukkhum* were tasked with tackling larger political and social problems, for example stock-piling resources and crops, rallying defenses from invading armies, as well as mounting attacks during wartime. The *teip* system was particularly inclusive for its incorporation of non-Chechen, non-Muslim, and non-Caucasian ethnicities, providing a venue for early and sustained language contact in the Caucasus. In addition to Turkic and Mongolic-speaking ethnicities in the Caucasus (i.e Kalmyks, Balkars, and Azeris), there were also *taipash* for Germans, Jews (*taipa Dzhugoj*, Russians and Ukrainian Cossacks, which would unify into *tukkhums* and participate in wider Chechen political and social life. In addition to ethnic identity, language and dialect remained a strong indicator of *teip* membership. Some influential and major *teips* in Chechnya include: Sharoj, Martanxoj, Narshoj, Shatoj, Chintoj, Benoj, Chinkhoj, Hwanlqmadoj, Nizhaloj, Itum-Qalle, Vedenxoj, Noxchimaxqaloj, and Himoj. The precise number of *teips* and *tukkhum* found in Chechnya and Chechen diaspora communities is difficult to ascertain, however, Makaev 1973 estimates that somewhere to 140-245 distinct clans exist, each with varying degrees of identity and many major clans having their own dialect of Chechen.

Despite the large number of clans and dialectical differences based on regions, most all Chechen dialects fall into either the Lowland *Oehwaroj mott* (lit. 'lowlander's speech') or Highland *Laamaroj mott* (lit. 'mountaineer's speech') groups. Lowland dialects, *Oehwaroj*, or 'Plains Chechen' is spoken in the northern flatlands of the country and the political and cultural capital of Chechnya, Grozny, is located in this dialect region. For this reason, Lowland/Plains/Oehwaroj Chechen dialects constitute the basis for the literary standard, referred to and described in this grammar as Standard Chechen. Major dialects of this group, that are not under the umbrella of Standard Chechen, include: the Nashxoj, Melxin, Terxoj, Vedjenxoj, Argun, Gudermes, and Khasavyurt varieties of Chechen. The Highland dialects of Chechen, referred also to as the *Laamaroj* dialects (derived from the Chechen word 'laam'/лам for 'mountain'), are concentrated in the south of the country in the peaks of the Greater Caucasus Mountains. Standard and Lowland Chechen dialects present a higher concentration of Turkic and Mongolic borrowings that the Highland dialects, most likely due to prolonged interaction with Balkar an Kalmyk tribes in the economic arenas located in the north. Standard Chechen and Lowland dialects, also, for this reason, display a large number of Russian loanwords, with a significant number of schools, universities, and businesses located in the capital conducting day to day activity in the Russian language during the Soviet Union.

Highland dialects are marked by their smaller vowel inventory and lack of these same borrowings. Highland dialect speakers claim that their version of Chechen is more pure, having remained relatively untouched by the Russian and Turkic/Mongolic loan words from the north.

2 Phonology

2.1 Orthographies and Writing System

Chechen is written currently using an adapted form of the Cyrillic alphabet. In addition to Cyrillic, there have also been orthographies for Chechen based on Arabic and Latin.

Below we present the modern Chechen Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin correspondences according to the 1925 version of the Chechen Latin alphabet as well as the most common Latin-based transcription system used for Chechen linguistics developed by Drs. Johanna Nichols and Arbi Vagapov in their seminal Chechen-English dictionary. IPA transcriptions and examples are additionally provided. For those interested in the pre-Soviet Chechen alphabets in Arabic, we have provided this in Appendix 1 of this grammar.

Examples in this grammar will be presented in Chechen Cyrillic, the Nichols-Vagapov Latin, interlinear gloss following the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules, and, finally, an approximate English translation.

2.2 Consonants

Typologically, the Caucasus region is home to some of the largest consonant inventories in the world outside of Sub-Saharan Africa. Chechen, while less expansive than other Dagestanian and Abkhazo-Adyghean languages in terms of consonants, still boasts an impressively large consonant system with at least 40.

Таблица 1: Consonant System of Standard Chechen

| | Noncontinuent Obstruents | | | | Continuants | | Resonants | | | | |
| | | | | | Obstruent | | Nasal | Liquid | | | Glide |
	- voice	+ voice	ejective	geminate	- voice	+ voice		- voice	+ voice		
Labial	p	b	p'	p:	f	v	m				w
Dental	t	d	t'	t:							
Alveolar	t͡s	d͡z	t͡s'	t͡s:	s	z	n	r̥	r		j
Palatal	t͡ʃ	d͡ʒ	t͡ʃ'	t͡ʃ:	ʃ	ʒ					
Velar	k	g	k'	k:	x	ɣ					
Uvular	q		q'(q͡χ')	q:							
Pharyngeal		ʕ / ʔˤ			ħ						
Glottal		ʔ			h						

Chechen consonants have seven places of articulation: labial, alveolar, postalveolar, velar, uvular, epiglottal, and glottal, as well as 6 manners of articulation: nasal, plosive, affricate, fricative, rhotic, and approximate. Only fricatives are found in all places of articulation. Plosives and affricates often appear contrasting in four features of articulation: voiceless, voiced, ejective, and geminate. Only stops and affricates have a phonemic contrast in Chechen, unlike in other Caucasian languages. Similarly, labialization and pharyngealization is not a phonemically contrastive feature in Chechen; rather, it is a secondary point of articulation determined by adjacent vowels (in the case of labialized consonants) or consonants (in the case of pharyngealization).

2.2.1 Aspects of Consonant Realization in Chechen

Stops are not heavily aspirated in Chechen. In the case of word-initial ejective consonants, there is some slight aspiration.

(1) Example of Aspiration for ejective consonants
/p'ɛlg/ > [pʰ'ɛlk]
/t'aj/ > [tʰ'aj]
/k'ɛzig/ > [kˣ'iɛzik]
/ts'a/ > [tsʰ'a]
/t͡ʃ'a:.ra/ > [t͡ʃʰ'a:.rə]

In the case of word-initial and word-final uvular ejectives /q'/, aspiration is quite strong to the point that the segment sounds more like an affricate. For this reason we transcribe these sounds as [qχ] in IPA.

(2) Example of q' realized [qχ']
/q'u/ > [qχ'u]

2.3 Vowels

Chechen is unique in the Caucasus region due to its large vowel inventory. Unlike Georgian (having only 5 vowels), Ubykh (having only 2), or many other languages in the area, Chechen has 26 contrastive vowel sounds. 8 vowel sounds form the core of the system: /i/, /u/, /o/, /e/, /a/, /æ/, /y/, and /ø/. Nichols 1997 (945) claims that that of these 8 vowels, 5 of them are the underlying most-crucial vowels, from which the many different contrastive vowel sounds in the Chechen language developed via an Umlaut-like process (we expand more on this in the section on morphophonemic alternations and historical/dialectical developments). These vowels, designated as 'dialect diphthongs' in Nichols 1997, consist of : /i/, /o/, /a/, /e/, and /u/, resembling the more typical 5-point contrast systems found in other Caucasian languages. Below we have provided the 8 core vowels of Chechen in a vowel space, and marked the seminal 'dialect diphthong' vowels in green the Cyrillic character is provided in parentheses.
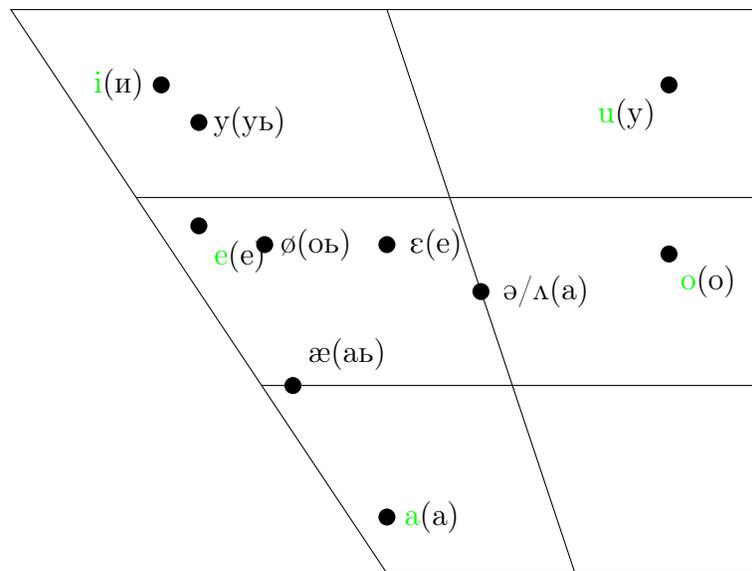
All vowels of Chechen are able to be contrastively lengthened. A common frustration with the learning of the Chechen orthography, for both native and non-native speakers, is the lack of diacritics to indicate long vowels in the standard Cyrillic orthography. Later we provide examples that indicate the phonemic vowel length found in many of the core Chechen vowels.

2.3.1 Diphthongs

Chechen diphthongs are composed of a main vowel with the addition of a secondary palatal [j] or labial [w] segment.

(3) Diphthongs with examples

- ie [iɛ]
  эца - jec
  'to buy'

- о - wo [ʷo]
  found only in closed syllables or in monosyllables
  тоха - tuoxa [tʷox]
  'to hit' or 'to strike'
  ло - luo [lʷo]
  'gives/give'

- оь - woe [ɥø]
  long form of оь - oe, found in open syllables
  чоь - choe [tʃɥø]
  'interior' (cf чоьхь - choehw [tʃøħ] 'within (locative form)' with CVC syllable

- ай - aj [aj]
  occurs in both open and closed syllables
  дайта - dajta [dajt] (CVC syllable)
  'to give (causative)'
  даймохк - dajmoxk [daj.moxk] (CV syllable)
  'homeland'

- ев - eu [ɛw]
  occurs only in open and closed syllables
  евла - eula [ɛwl] (VC syllable)
  'village'
  девзина - deuna [dɛw.nə] (CV syllable)
  'became acquainted'

- ов - ou [ow]
  occurs in open and closed syllables
  говр - gour [gowr] (CVC syllable)
  'horse' or 'steed'
  дов - dou [dow] (CV syllable)
  'quarrel'

2.3.2 Nasalization

Nasal-oral vowels are contrastive in Chechen. In fact, for vowel-final words, the nasalization of a word-final vowel is the marker of the genitive case. Orthographically, this nasalization is represented with the character -n/-н.

(4) сан - san
     sã - 'my'

2.4 Phonotactics and Syllable Structure

The syllabic structure of Chechen allows for maximally CCVC, while CV and CVC syllables are quite common. Consonant clusters are numerous in Chechen in word-internal, as well as

in word-final positions, but consonant clusters as onsets are limited to a select few types. Most commonly sC- is found as a consonant cluster on the onset, t'C- is also regularly observed.

Таблица 2: Onset Phonotactics in Chechen

C* = 0	C* = 1	C* = 2
[.urs.]	[.bje.zam.]	[.t'q'ɛ.]
.VCC.	.CVV.CVC.	.CCV.
'knife'	'love'	'twenty'
[.o.ħa.roj.]	[.nox.tʃi.tʃø.]	[.sħa.va:l.]
.V.CV.CVC.	.CVC.CV.CV.	.CCV.CV:C.
'lowlander'	'Chechnya'	'come towards'
[.i.tum.]	[.mot:.]	[.pxiʔ.]
.V.CVC.	CVC:.	.CCVC.
'fortress'	'language'	'person'

Таблица 3: Coda Phonotactics in Chechen

C* = 0	C* = 1	C* = 2
[ær.zu]	[kot͡ʃ]	[.borz.]
.VC.CV.	.CVC.	.CVCC.
'eagle'	'shirt' or 'dress'	'wolf'
[bʌl.xar.xo:]	[.ɣa:l.]	[.moxk.]
.CVC.CVC.CV:.	.CV:C.	.CVCC.
'worker'	'city'	'earth' or 'land'
[.sa.mu.q'a.ni.]	[ʕɛ.ʃar.]	[.bʲie.darʃ.]
.CV.CV.CV.CV.	.CV.CVC.	.CVV.CVCC.
'interesting'	'song' or 'poem'	'joking'

2.4.1   Vowel Realization in Open vs Closed Syllables

Chechen vowels are realized differently depending on the open or closed status of a syllable and the position of a vowel in a given word (namely word-final or elsewhere). Open syllables in Chechen include CV(:) and V type syllables. In this position, the following vowels and diphthongs are realized:

/i/, /ae/, /e/, /ʷo/, /ø/, /u/, /y/, /iɛ/, /ɛw/, and /ow/

Closed syllables in Chechen include the CVC and CVCC types. In these syllables, the following vowels and diphthongs are attested:

/i/, /ɛ/, /o/, /u/, /y/, /ɥø/

2.5 Stress and Prosody

Chechen stress is primarily fixed on the first syllable of a phonological word. Stress in Chechen is also often realized by a raising of the tone on a stressed syllable rather than an increase in the intensity (cf English and Russian stress-timed systems).

2.5.1 Vowel Reduction

Word-final vowels in standard Chechen are completely reduced to the point of deletion. This is true for most all dialects, with the major exceptions being highland dialects, which also show post-tonic vowels surfacing as schwa or schwa-like reduced vowels. The exact nature of vowel reduction is covered later, as there is considerable variation with respect to both dialects as well as word-form.

2.6 Morphophonemic Alternations

2.6.1 Rounding Assimilation

The most common type of morphophonemic alternations in Chechen are found in the verbal system, principally in the derivation of the present tense forms from the infinitives. In general, these alternations can be classified as a type of anticipatory assimilation of the rounded feature of the historical -u vowel, that acts as the marker of the present tense. This coda vowel is not pronounced in speech in the standard dialect, however, it is still preserved in the orthography. The pattern applies to vowel groups regardless of vowel length and vowel stems with rounded vowels show no such alternation.

(5) Present-tense vowel alternations

- э/e - ie > оь - oe
  эца - ieca [iɛc]
  'to buy'
  оьцу - oec-u - [øc]
  'buy/buys'

- аь - ae > оь - oe
  хьаьжа - hwaezha [ħaeʒ] 'to see' or 'to look' хьоьжу - hwoezhu [ħøʒ]
  'see/sees' or 'look/looks'

- a - a(a) > o - o(o)
  ала - aala [aːl]
  'to say'
  олу - ool-u [oːl]
  'say/says'

- и/ий - i(i) > уь/уьй - y(y)
  дижа - dizha [diʒ]
  'to sleep'
  дуьжу - dyzhu [dyʒ]
  'sleep/sleeps'

- y - u > y -u
  дула - dula [dul]
  'to inflate'
  дулу - dulu [dul]
  'inflate/inflates' (identical pronunciations)

2.6.2   Vowel Epenthesis and Deletion

In uninflected forms, Chechen preserves word-final vowels, with the exception of the vowel [ə] (an allophone of post-tonic /a/).

(6)   къу - q'u
      /q'u/ > [qχ'u] 'thief'

(7)   к1а - k'a
      /k'a/ > [k'a] 'wheat'

(8)   реза - rieza
      /riɛza/ > /'riɛ.zə/ > [.riɛz.] 'glory'

The word-final schwas are represented in the orthography with the grapheme 'a', however, they are generally not pronounced. This is seen most commonly with the word-final vowels /a/ and /u/, when the later acts as a marker of the inflected form of the present tense. In this case of these vowels are deleted in word-final position, as they are preserved in other verb forms that are derived from the present tense (i.e present participles and future participles).

(9)   ала aala - to say, IPA: [aːl]
      олу oolu - say.pres, IPA: [oːl]
      олуш oolush - say.pres.part, IPA: [oːluʃ]

An exception to this pattern is the case of word-final -a in the past tenses. These vowels are pronounced as a schwa [ə].

(10) хилла - xilla [xil.lə]
      'was/happened/became'

(11) диъна - di'na [di?.nə]
      'ate/had eaten'

2.6.3   Nasal-Sonorant Gemination

In the past tense formation, /-n/, when next to an /-l/ or /-r/ sound in the root, is replaced with the same sound:

(12) xila - 'to be'
      /xil-na/ > xil-la [xil.lə]

2.6.4   Word-Final Devoicing

Standard Chechen dialects display word-final devoicing for voiced stops, when this voiced stop is a historically voiced stop (i.e there is no deleted [ə] in the inflected forms).

(13) /p'elg/ - [pʰ'ɛlk]
     'finger'

(14) /k'ɛ.zig/ - [kˣ'ɛ.zik]
     'few'

Word-final devoicing and syllable structure is highly irregular due to historical developments re: vowels. These issues are covered in a subsequent section.

3 Morphology

3.1 Overview

Chechen morphology can be categorized as a mostly agglutinative, suffix preferred/left-branching type. Chechen has agreement with 6 noun-classes and 4 variables for agreement, the nominal inflection system is complex, displaying at least 8 unique case forms, however, declensions are regular regardless of noun-class. The verbal system inflects for mood, tense, aspect, evidentiality, and pluriactionality, however there is no direct agreement with person/number (number is relevant when determining the noun class and this is discussed in our section on agreement and noun class). Much like in the case of the phonemic inventory vis-a-vis its size and its display of ejective consonants, Chechen is a typical Caucasian language in its ergative-absolutive morphosyntactic alignment. Unlike other Caucasian languages, however, Chechen is quite uniform with respect to ergativity, displaying only split-ergative behavior in a single tense, the present progressive, which gives rise to the bi-absolutive construction (discussed further afield). In this section we detail the nominal, verbal, and adjectival/modifier morphology of Chechen.

3.2 Nominal Morphology

3.2.1 Gender/Noun-class

All Chechen nouns belong to one of six 'noun-classes', wherein one of four possible phonetic exponents are used when agreement between certain 'classed' predicates is triggered. The status of a predicate (adjective or inflected verb) as 'classed' is lexically determined and hence idiosyncratic. The noun-class system for Chechen may be described as a *crossed system* per Kramer's (to appear) typology of gender/noun-class systems. Below, we provide examples of each noun-class with the copular verb д-у d-u[12].

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[1]Note on transcription conventions: In this grammar we adopt Nichols (1997, 2001) convention for marking classed verbs and their exponents, in which the onset exponent of agreement is off-set with a '-'. In standard Chechen orthography, both Latin and Cyrillic, this convention is not used, and the copular verb forms are *ду/du, ву/vu, бу/bu, ю/ju.*

[2]This is the present tense form of the verb хила/xila when it is acting as a copular verb. There is another conjugation for хила/xila, in which the present tense is хуьлу/xylu, however, in this paradigm the meaning is 'to become' or 'to occur'.

Таблица 4: Noun Classes of Chechen

Class Name	Singular	Plural	Example Tokens	
v.class	v-	d-/b-	к1ант в-у k'ant v-u 'boy'	к1ентий д-у k'entii d-u 'boys'
j.class	j-	d-/b-	йо1 ю (й-у) jow j-u 'girl'	мехкарий б-у mexkarii b-u 'girls'
j.class II	j-	j-	пхьагал ю phwagal j-u 'rabbit'	пхьагалш ю phwagalsh j-u 'rabbits'
d.class	d-	d-	наж ду nazh d-u 'oak'	нежнаш ду niezhnash d-u 'oaks'
b.class	b-	b-	малх бу malx b-u 'sun'	мелхаш melxash b-u 'suns'
b.class II	b-	d-	1аж бу wazh b-u 'apple'	1ежаш д-у wezhash d-u 'apples'

The semantic correlation of biological gender and noun-class/gender does exist to a certain extent in Chechen. Masculine and feminine gender are present in the system, with *v-* being the exponent reserved exclusively for nouns pertaining to animate subjects that are of the biologically masculine gender. All biologically masculine nouns are *v.class*, and all *v.class* nouns are masculine. Biologically feminine, animate nouns belong to *j.class*, however, not all *j-class* nouns are biologically feminine, animate nouns. This is to say that all biologically feminine, animate nouns are *j.class* nouns, but not all *j.class* nouns are biologically feminine, animate nouns.

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(15) Co   Нохчийчохь   вина
      suo   noxchii-cho-hw   v-i-na
      1SG.ABS.*v-class* Chechnya-AUG-INES   *v*-birth-PST.PRF

      'I (a male speaker) was born in Chechnya.'

(16) тхан   да   1у   вара
      txan   da   wu   v-ara
      1PL.EXCL.GEN father.*v-class*.ABS.SG shepherd   *v*-COP.PST

12

'Our father was a shepherd.'

(17) иза   сан   ваша   ву
      iza   san   vasha   v-u
      3SG.ABS 1SG.GEN brother.*v-class*.ABS.SG *v*-COP

'He is my brother.'

(18) АллахӀ воцург   кхин Дела   вац
      Allah   v-oc-ur-g   qin Deela   v-ac
      Allah   *v*-be.NEG-PTCP-SUBST other God.*v-class*.ABS.SG *v*-COP.NEG

'There is no God but Allah. (Islamic declaration of *tahwid*)'

Biologically feminine, animate nouns belong to *j.class*, however, not all *j-class* nouns are biologically feminine, animate nouns. This is to say that all biologically feminine, animate nouns are *j.class* nouns, but not all *j.class* nouns are biologically feminine, animate nouns.

Many nouns that are loan words from Russian words fall into the category of *j-class*. In speech it is common to intermix Russian words, as the vast majority of Chechen speakers are bilingual, to some extend, with Russian.

(19) Алма-Атахь чӀогӀа хаза **автовокзал** ю
      Alma-Atahw chogha xaza **автовокзал** j-u
      In   Almaty very beautiful   bus-station.*j*.ABS.SG

'Almaty has a very beautiful bus-station.'

D.class nouns are the most common noun in the system and are used for the citation form of classed adjectives and classed verbs in Chechen dictionaries. Additionally, *d.class* is the default class for noun-agreement and is the citation form for classed predicates. Additionally, all masdar verb forms are *d.class*.

B.class, *J.classII*, and *B.classII* are idiosyncratic. There exists some lexical pattern for *b.class* stemming from historical Nakh words beginning in a labial sound (i.e '*йо1 ю/ jow j-u*', '*мехкарий бу/mexkarii b-u*'), which will discuss in a further section discussing historical developments in Chechen.

3.2.2   Absolutive and Augment Bases

Chechen is a highly inflected and mostly agglutinative type language with a robust case system in its nominal morphology. Nouns in Chechen often undergo morphophonological alternations and display the addition of additional phonological material when case suffixes are added. Typically, all cases forms use a base form that differs from the absolutive. We refer to this form of the noun as the *augment base* (glossed as AUG). An example of this is shown below:

Таблица 5: My caption

	Class I - Ablaut	Class VI - 'chu' extension
Absolutive	лом lom lion	нохчи noxchi Chechen
Genitive	лоьм-ан loem-an lion.AUG-GEN	нохчи-чу-н noxchi-chy-n Chechen-AUG-GEN
Dative	лоьм-ана loem-ana lion.AUG-DAT	нохчи-ч{ун}-на noxchi-chuun-na Chechen-AUG-DAT
Ergative	лоьм-о loeman-uo lion.AUG-ERG	нохчи-ч-{о} noxchi-ch-uo Chechen-AUG-ERG
Allative	лоьм-е loem-ie lion.AUG-ALL	нохчи-чуь-нга noxchi-chy-nga Chechen-AUG-ALL
Instrumental	лоьм-аца loem-aca lion.AUG-INST	нохчи-чуь-нца noxchi-chy-nca Chechen-AUG-ALL
Locative	лоьм-ехь loem-exw lion.AUG-LOC	нохчи-чу-х noxchi-chu-x Chechen-AUG-LOC
Comparative	лоьм-ал loem-al lion.AUG-COMP	нохчи-чу-л noxchi-chu-l Chechen-AUG-COMP

3.2.3   Number

Chechen displays two categories for grammatical number: **s**ingular and **p**lural. The plural morphemes include -(а)ш/-*(a)sh*, -(и)й/-*(i)j*, as well as cases where the plural form is ideosyncratic/lexically determined. The plural form is attached to the augmented base of the noun:

(20)   кор ко̄раш
       kor koor-ash
       window window.AUG-PL

       'window', 'windows'

(21)   маха   ме̄хий
       maaxa miexij
       needle needle.AUG-PL

'needle', 'needles'

Chechen also displays *pluralia tanta*:

(22) аьшпаш
aeshp-ash
lie.AUG-PL
'lies'

The ending '-ий/-ij' is frequently used for nouns referring to animals, plants, insects, and groups of people or kinship terms:

(23) хьаша   хьеший
hwaasha hwiesh-ij
guest.ABS.SG guest.AUG-ABS.PL
'guest', 'guests'

(24) ч1ара   ч1ерий
chaara cher-ii
fish.ABS.SG fish.AUG-ABS.PL
'(a single) fish', '(many) fish'

(25) моз   мозий
muoz muoz-ii
fly.ABS.SG fly.AUG-ABS.PL
'fly', 'flies' (i.e the insect)

An allomorph of the -ий/-ij ending, -й/-j, is always added to nouns ending in the substantivizing suffixes -ло/-lo, -чо/-cho, and -о/-o. These suffixes are always found on nouns referring to groups of people based on their origin, location, or professions.

(26) ламаро   ламарой
laam-aruo   laam-aro-j
mountain-SUBSTAN-ABS.SG mountain-SUBSTAN.AUG-ABS.PL
'mountainer (i.e from the highlands)' 'mountainers'

(27) дехо   дехой
dee-xo   dee-xo-j
father.AUG-SUBSTAN.ABS.SG father.AUG-SUBSTANT-ABS.PL
'father's relative' 'father's relatives'

(28) белхало   белхалой
belxaluo   belxalo-j
labourer.ABS.SG labourer-ABS.PL
'labourer', 'labourers'

Proper nouns may also be pluralized with the morpheme -г1ар/-*ghar*. This morpheme refers to a collective group of people or family. Both a family name or a family member may take this ending

(29) Сатуев   Сатуевг1ар
      Satujev   Satujevghar-ghar
      Satujev.ABS.SG Satujev-ABS.PL

      Satujevs

(30) гала   галнаш
      gala   gal-na-sh
      noodle.ABS.SG noodle-AUG-ABS.PL

      'noodle', 'noodles'

(31) куьзга   куьзганаш
      kyzga   kyzga-na-sh
      glass.ABS.SG glass-AUG-ABS.PL

      '(a pane of) glass', '(panes of) glass'

In the case of nouns ending in a historical -l or -r (represented in the orthography as a lack of a final, unpronounced -a), addition of the -ash suffix triggers gemination of the final -l or -r sound.

(32) кол   коьллаш
      kol   koel-lash
      bush.ABS.SG   bush.AUG-ABS.PL

      'bush', 'bushes'

(33) тур   тарраш
      tur   tar-rash
      sword.ABS.SG sword.AUG-ABS.PL

      'sword', 'swords'

The -(a)ш/-(a)sh suffix is regularly added to most all nouns ending in -p/-r, to nouns whose augmented bases end in -p/-r, the substantivized adjectives using the -ap/-ar suffix, as well as to gerund verb forms (masdars). In the standard dialect, the vowel on the suffix -a/-a is generally reduced to the point of deletion.

(34) патар   патарш
      patar   patar-sh
      leaf.ABS.SG   leaf.AUG-ABS.PL

      'leaf', 'leaves'

In addition to regularly formed plurals, Chechen also has irregular plurals:

(35) йо1   мехкарий
      jow   mexkarij
      girl.ABS.SG   girl.ABS.PL

      'girl', 'girls'

(36) стаг   нах
      stag   nax
      person.ABS.SG person.ABS.PL
      'person', 'people'

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3.2.4   Case

Chechen is an ergative-absolutive type system with at least 10 morphologically distinct cases. The precise number of Chehchen cases differs depending on using a strictly morphological versus semantic criteria for determining the number of cases. Additionally, Chechen is a left-branching type language and has postpositions rather than prepositions. Postpositional adjuncts/modifiers, therefore, appear in the same position, relatively, to a case morpheme, as case is marked via the addition of suffixes to the oblique or augmented base (referred to in our glosses as AUG). Here we detail the typical case morphemes, their formation, and their semantic and syntactic role in a given sentence. The typical case endings in the singular and the plural around illustrated in the following table:

Таблица 6: Generalized Chechen Case Forms

Case	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Question Forms
Absolutive	{ABS}	-Ø	-(а)ш/-(a)sh, -и/i, -ий/ij	мила/mila - 'who(m)' х1ун/hun - 'what'
Ergative	{ERG}	-о/-uo, -(а)с/-as	-(а)ш-а/-ash-a	хьан/hwan - 'who' стен/stien - 'what'
Genitive	{GEN}	-н/-n	-ийн/-iin, -ин/-in	хьенан/hwienan - 'whose' стенан/stienan - 'of what'
Datve	{DAT}	-на	(а)ша-на	хьанна/hwanna - 'to whom' стенна/stienna - 'to what'
Allative	{ALL}	-е/-ie, -га/-ga	-(а)ш-ка/-(a)sh-ka	хьаьнга/hwaenga - 'to who('s ho стенга/stienga - '(up) to what'
Instrumental	{INST}	-ца/-ca	-(а)ш-ца/-(a)sh-ca	хьанца/hwanca - 'with whom' стенца/stienca - 'with what'
Lative	{LAT}	-х/-x	-ях/-iax, -их/-ix	хьанах/hwanax - 'about whom' стенах/stienax - 'from/about wh
Comparative	{COMP}	-l/-л	-ял/-ial, -ил/-il	хьанал/hwanal - 'than who' стенал/stienal - 'than what'
Inessive	{INES}	-ахь/-ahw	-(а)ш-ка-хь/-(a)sh-ka-hw	хьаьнгахь/ hwangahw- 'at whom стенгахь/stiengahw - 'at what'
Ablative	{ABL}	-ара/-ara	-(а)ш-ка-ра/-(a)sh-ka-ra	хьангара/hwangara - 'from whon стенгара/stiengara - 'from what'

3.2.4.1   The Absolutive Case

The absolutive case (ABS) is the citation or uninflected form of the noun. Semantically, it is the form of a noun that denotes either 1) the subject of an intransitive/copular sentence, 2) the object of a transitive verb, 3) a noun being called in the vocative, or 4) the subject and object of a sentence wherein the verb is found in the present progressive tense (the 'biabsolutive construction').

(37) сан   ц1е   Иван   ю
      san   c'e   Ivan   j-u
      1SG.GEN name.*j-class*.ABS.SG Ivan.*v-class*.ABS.SG *j*-COP

      'My name is Ivan'

In the above example, we see the copular verb *j*u is marked with agreement to *j.class*, which is also marked as the noun-class/gender for the noun 'ц1е/c'e'. The absolutive case is used for both arguments of the copular sentences in the form 'X is Y', however, only the noun-class on argument 'X' acts as the probe for agreement on classed predicates. In the case of the subject of an intranstive sentence, the absolutive argument, or 'subject'/'agent' of the sentence, is also the probe for agreement.

(38) со   базара   воьду
      So   bazar-a   v-oedu
      1SG.ABS.*v-class* bazar-ALL *v*-go.PRES

      'I(a man) go to the bazaar (habitually).'

Absolutive arguments always trigger agreement in Chechen sentences. This is true in most all cases, particularly in the case of transitive sentences or sentences where the verb demands a subject appear in a different case. There does exist a construction, however, in which both the subject and the object of a transitive verb appear in the absolutive case. In this case, the predicate verb is in the present progressive tense.

(39) со   бепиг   деш   ву
      so   bepig   d-ie-sh   v-u
      1SG.ABS.*v-class* bread.*d-class*.ABS.SG *d*-do-PROG.PTCP *v*-COP

      'I (a man) am making bread (right now).'

In (39), both the subject/agent and object/theme appear in the absolutive case with a type of split agreement, where the *v-class* features of the subject 'со/so' appears on the copular verb *ву/v-u* and the *d-class* feature of the object '*бепиг/bepig*' appear on the present progressive participial form of the verb '*дан/dan*' ('to do' or 'to make'). We discuss the specifics of this construction, named 'the biabsolutive construction' in the section regarding syntax and constituent order in sentences using participles.

3.2.4.2   The Ergative Case

The Ergative Case (ERG) is mainly used to mark the subject of a transitive verb. It corresponds to the thematic role of AGENT. The ergative case is formed with the suffixes -aca/-asa, -ac/-as, -o/-uo.[3] Of these suffixes, *-o/-uo* is more productive than *-aca/-asa* and *-c/-s*. When *-o/-uo* is added to a noun that ends in a vowel, it generally appears with a buffer consonant *-н-/-n-* in between the final vowel and the case ending. In the case of word-final -a/-a that is generally unpronounced, the case ending *-o/-uo* replaces this vowel in the written language.

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[3]For many highland dialects, it is also possible to have null realization of the ergative. In these dialects, the only indicator of which noun is the subject and which one is the agent is agreement or context.

(40) котамо   х1уъа   до
kuot-am-uo   hu'a   d-o
chicken-AUG-ERG.SG egg.*d-class*.ABS.SG *d*-do.PRES

'A chicken lays an egg.'

The ergative case can not control agreement. In transitive sentences, the noun-class features of the object, rendered in the absolutive case, are found on the inflected verb, provided that the inflected verb belongs to the group of 'classed verbs'.

(41) Ас   бепиг   дина
as   bepig   d-ina
1SG.ERG bread.*d*.class.ABS.SG *d*-do.PST.PERF

'I made bread.'

(42) Ахьмада   машина   эцна
ahwmad-a   mashina   iec-na
Ahwmad-ERG car.ABS.SG buy-PST.PERF

'Ahwmad bought a car.'

In the above examples, we see that (41) displays agreement between the absolutive argument and the predicate *дина/d-ina*. This is due to 2 factors, 1) the noun-class of the absolutive argument (in (41) - the noun *бепиг/bepig*) is *d.class*, and 2) the predicate *дина/d-ina* is the past tense of the 'classed verb' *дан/dan* ('to do' or 'to make'). In the case of sentence (42), the predicate *эцна/iecna* is the past tense form of the verb *эца/ieca*, which is not a 'classed verb' and, therefore, no agreement is shown. Despite the late of overt agreement, (42) shows the object of the transitive verb in the absolutive and the agent/subject of the verb in the ergative.

In addition to the function mentioned above, the ergative case can also express obligation or necessity when used with the classed verb '*деза/dieza*. In this use, it also retains agreement with the noun-class of the absolutive argument.

(43) нанас   бепиг   дан   деза
naan-as   bepig   d-an   d-ieza
mother.AUG-ERG.SG bread.*d-class*.ABS.SG *d*-do.INF *d*-must.PRES

'Mother has to make bread.'

3.2.4.3 The Genitive Case

The Genitive Case links two noun phrases together, with the modifying noun phrase preceding the head noun phrase. It is similar in function to the genitive cases found in Latin, German, Russian, and (particularly in the case of syntax) Turkic languages. The suffixes for the genitive case are:

(44) Ахьмадан   машина   керла ю
Ahwmad-an   mashina   kerla j-u
Ahwmad.AUG-GEN.SG car.*j-class*.ABS.SG new   *j*-COP

'Ahwmad's car is new.'

The genitive case also acts as the case that governs most all post positions.

3.2.4.4   The Dative Case

The Dative Case takes a number of functions in Chechen. Principally, it marks the recipient of an action or indirect object. The dative case is formed with the suffix -*ана/-ana* added to the noun/augment base. The buffer vowel -a- is present when the noun/augment base ends in a consonant.

(45) Ас   Хьасанна   буърка   яьлла
      as   Hasan-na   burka   j-ael-la
      1SG.ERG Hasan.AUG-DAT.SG ball.*j-class*.ABS.SG *j*-give.PST

      'I gave Hasan a ball.'

(46) нанас   шен   берана   хьехар   дина
      nana-s   шен   ber-ana   хьехар   d-i-na
      mother.ERG.SG child.DAT.SG advice.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-do-PST.PERF

      'The mother gave her child an advice.'

Sentences (45) and (46) illustrate the indirect object being marked with the dative case.

Additionally, the dative case is used extensively in Chechen to mark the subject of a number of verbs that describe emotion, though, feeling, or physical sense. We group these verbs under the term '*psych-verbs*'. These verbs include verbs such as '*хаза/xa'a*' (to know), '*деза/d-ieza*' (to like, to love, to need), *'хазахета/xazaxeta*' (to like), '*хаза/xaza*' (to hear), and '*ган/gan*' (to see).

(47) суна   лаьмнаш   хазахета
      suna   laem-na-sh   xazaxet-a
      1SG.DAT mountain.*bII*-AUG-ABS.PL *d*-like.PRES

      'I like mountains.'

(48) Асланна стигал го
      Aslan-na stigal go
      Aslan-DAT sky.ABS.SG see.PRES

      'Aslan sees the sky'

We may summarize this function of the dative case as marking the thematic EXPERIENCER of a given verb. It is important to note that in the case of (47) that the dative subject can not control for agreement. Like in examples for the ergative case, classed predicates adopt the noun class of the absolutive argument of the verb.

The dative case is also used with time expressions to indicate the extent or total frame of time that an action has or will take place.

(49) 1имран   шина   баттана   Москох   вахара
      Imran   shi-na   batt-ana   Mosko-x   v-axa-ra
      Imran.*v*.ABS two-DAT month.AUG-DAT Moscow-LAT *v*-go-RPST

      'Imran went to Moscow for two weeks'

(50) со   цига   шина   к1ирана бен ца яхара
      suo   ci-ga   shi-na   k'ira-na бен ca j-axa-ra
      1SG.ABS.*j* there-ALL two-DAT week-DAT only NEG *j*-go-RPST

'I (a woman) went there for only two weeks.'

Dative is also used to express the reason for certain predicates.

(51) Баркалла кехат   яздарна
      barkalla kiexat   jaz-d-a-r-na
      thank.you letter.*d*.ABS.SG write-*d*-do-MSDR-DAT

      'Thank you for writing the letter'

3.2.4.5   The Instrumental Case

The instrumental case (INST) marks the instrument of a given action and corresponds closely to prepositional phrases in English that use the preposition 'with'. It is used to denote also the means by which a given action takes place. The case is formed by adding -*ца*/-*ca* to the noun/augment base, with a buffer vowel -a- for nouns/augment bases ending in a consonant.

(52) Руслана   бепиг   уърсаца   дохадо
      Ruslan-a   bepig   ursa-ca   d-ox-a-do
      Ruslan.ERG.ABS   bread.*d*.ABS.SG knife-INST.SG   *d*-cut-PRES

      'Ruslan cuts bread with a knife.'

The case is also used to describe accompaniment, again, similar to the use of English 'with'.

(53) Аслан   рестеране   соьца   г1ур   ву
      Aslan   restoran-e   soeca   ghur   v-u
      Aslan.*v*.ABS.SG restaurant-ALL.SG 1SG.INST   go.FUT.PTCP   *v*-COP

      'Aslan will go to the restaurant with me.'

3.2.4.6   The Lative Case

The lative case (LAT) is used to denote the source or origin of actions and other nouns. It is formed by adding the suffix -x to the noun/augment base, and also may take a buffer vowel -a-. Specifically, it can be used to denote the partitive (a function that is handled in many European languages by the genitive).

(54) ас   шурах   къурд   бира
      as   shur-ax   q'urd   b-i-ra
      1SG.ERG milk-LAT.SG   sip.*b*.ABS.SG *b*-do-RPST

      'I took a sip of the milk (lit. I did a sip)'

The lative can also be used to show the source material of another noun.

(55) цо   дечигах   1айг   бира
      cuo   dechig-a-x   waig   b-i-ra
      3SG.ERG wood-LAT.SG   spoon.*b*.ABS.SG *b*-make-RPST

      'He made a spoon out of wood'

The lative case is therefore also used to describe the topic or themes of certain verbs. In this meaning it closely corresponds to the English preposition 'about' (i.e 'talk about', 'write about'). The lative also governs the over postposition *лаьцна*/*laecna*, which is a formal version of 'about'.

(56) Муса   Заремах   лоь
     Musa   Zarema-x   loe
     Musa-ABS.SG Zarema-LAT.SG talk-PRES
     'Musa talks about Zarema'

The lative may also be used in this family of meaning to describe the cause or reason of an event.

(57) Цунан   нускал   вончу   лазарах   кхаьлхина
     Cunan   nuskal   von-chu lazar-ax   kxaelxи-na
     3SG.ERG   bride.ABS.SG   bad-OBL illness-LAT   die-PST.PERF
     'His fiancée died of cancer.'

Finally, the lative case may also arbitrarily mark the arguments of certain verbs. The verb 'кхета/qieta' ('to touch'/'to understand') is one such verb.

(58) со   ахь   боху(н)чох   ца   кхета
     suo   ahw   buoxu-(n)-ch-uox   ca   qieta
     1SG.ABS   2SG.ERG   say-PRS.RCP-OBL-LAT   NEG   understand.PRES
     'I don't understand what you have said.'

3.2.4.7   The Comparative Case

The comparative case (COM) is used exclusively to frame a comparative statement. In the construction 'A is Xer than B', the noun B is marked with the comparative case. The case is formed by adding -л/-l to a noun/augment base, and may also have a buffer vowel.

(59) сан   машина   хьан   машинал   хазах   ю
     san   mashina   hwan   mashina   xaza-x   j-u
     1SG.GEN   car.*j*.ABS.SG 2SG.GEN   car-COM.SG   beautiful-COMP   *j*-COP
     'My car is prettier than your car'

The comparative case may also be used with masdar-form verbs.

(60) кехат   яздар   книга   ешарал   диках дац
     kiexat   jaz-d-a-r   kniga   j-esha-r   dikax d-ac
     letter.*d*.ABS.SG write-*d*-do-MSDR.*d* book.*j*.ABS.SG *j*-read-MSDR.*d* good *d*-COP.NEG
     'Writing a letter is not better than reading a book'

3.2.4.8   The Allative Case

The allative case (ALL) is also referred to as a locative case by some grammarians. It is a case that describes the goal or destination of a given action. It is formed by adding -*га*/-*ga* to a noun/augment base, with the possibility of a buffer vowel. It also has the form -*e/ie*, mainly for Russian loan words, masdar verb forms, and some idiosyncratically determined nouns.

(61) Аслан   школе   воьду
     Aslan   shkol-ie   v-oed-u
     Aslan.*v*.ABS.SG school-ALL *v*-go-PRES

'Aslan goes to(wards) school'

The case is also used two important Chechen moods. In causative constructions, the allative marks the argument that is being made to perform the action. In other words, in the formula for transitive causative verbs, 'X makes Y to Z', X is marked in the ergative, Z in the absolutive, and Y in allative.

(62) Iумара   Исламе   куьзга   оьхьадожадайтира
      Wumar-a   Islam-e   kyzga   oehwa-dozha-dait-ira
      Wumar-ERG.SG Islam-ALL.SG mirror.ABS.SG PVERB-fall-CAUS-RPST
      'Wumar made Islam drop the mirror.'

The allative case also marks the subject of a verb in the potential mood.

(63) Iумаре   нохчийн мотт   бийцало
      Wumar-e   noxchiin muott   b-iica-lo
      Wumar-ALL.SG Chechen language.*b*.ABS.SG *b*-speak-POT.PRES
      'Wumar is able to speak Chechen'

There is significant variation with the allative case and dative case with respect to marking indirect objects.

3.2.4.9 The Inessive Case

The inessive case is a derivative of the allative case and, like the allative case, it also describes a location. Unlike the allative case, the inessive case describes static location. It is formed with the suffix -хь/-hw, which attaches to the noun/augment base, and also may take a buffer -a- when attaching to a form that ends in a consonant. The plural suffix for the inessive case is '-*ash-ka-hw*', wherein the ending attaches to the allative plural ending of '-*ash-ka*'.

(64) со   универистете   воьдуш   ву
      suo   universitet-e   v-oed-u-sh   v-u
      1SG.SG.*v* university-ALL   *v*-go-PRES-PTCP *v*-COP
      'I am going to the university (right now)'

(65) со   университетехь доьшуш   ву
      suo   universitet-ehw d-oesh-u-sh   v-u
      1SG.ABS.*v* university-INES *d*-read-PRES-PTCP *v*-COP
      'I am studying at the university'

3.2.4.10 The Ablative Case

The ablative case (ABL) is used to denote the physical source of an action. The function of the case is to express either the source or direction. The case defines the benchmark of an action in a certain place or time frame. It is formed by adding the suffix -*pa/-ra* to the noun/augment base and may also have a buffer vowel. In pronouns and in the plural, the ablative is layered with the allative case, much like the inessive case.

(66)   ас   сайна   машина   ийцира   базарара
        as   saina   mashina   ijc-ira   baazar-ra
        1SG.ERG 1SG.REFLX.GEN car.ABS.SG take-RPST market.AUG-ABL

'I bought my own car at the market.'

(67)   со   цаьргара   схьавеара
        suo   carga-ra   sxhwa-v-ea-ra
        1SG.ABS.*v* 3SG.ALL-ABL DEC.PREV-*v*-come-RPST

'I came from their's (their place).'

3.2.5   Articles

Chechen does not have overt definite articles like in English, Arabic or German. Indefinite articles may be represented using the numeral tshwa/цхьа

3.2.6   Pronouns

The pronominal system of Chechen expresses person and number with a 1st, 2nd, 3rd person and singular and plural number, typical of other European languages. In addition to these pronouns, Chechen also has a inclusive/exclusive distinction in 1st person plural.

Таблица 7: Chechen pronouns declined for case

	Absolutive	Genitive	Dative	Ergative	Lative	Comparative	Allative	Locative	Instrumental
I	со so	сан san	суна suna	ас as	сох sox	сол sol	соьга soeg	соьгахь soegahw	соьца soec
you	хьо hwo	хьан hwan	хьуна hwun	ахь ahw	хьох hwox	хьол hwol	хьоьга hwoeg	хьогахь hwoegahw	хьоьца hwoec
he/she/it	иза iz	цуьнан cyna	цунна cynna	цо co	цунах cunax	цул cul	цуьнга cyng	цуьнгахь cyngahw	цуьнца cync
we (exclusive)	вай vaj	вайн vajn	вайна vajna	вай vaj	вайх vajx	вайл vajl	вайга vajg	вайгахь vajgahw	вайца vajc
we (inclusive)	тхо txo	тхан txan	тхуна txun	ох oox	тхох txox	тхол txol	тхоьга txoeg	тхоьгахь txoegahw	тхоьца txoec
you (pl)	шу shu	шун shun	шуна shun	аш ash	шух shux	шул shul	шуьга shyg	шуьгахь shygahw	шуьца shyc
they	уьш ysh	церан ceeran	царна caarn	цара caar	царах carax	царал caral	цаьрга caerg	цаьргахь caergahw	цаьрца caerc

3.2.7   Demonstrative Pronouns

Chechen demonstrative pronouns have a two way deictic distinction, near the speaker and near the listener. Additionally, demonstrative pronouns may act as either anaphors or as demonstratitve adjectives. Much like in the case of question words and adjective, demonstratives in Chechen have both an absolutive and "oblique"form used for demonstratives modifying nouns in any other case form other than the absolutive. The deictic system of Chechen contrast distal ('that') and proxal ('this').

3.2.7.1 Distal demonstrative pronoun - 'и/i'

3.2.7.2 Proximal demonstrative pronoun - 'x1apa/hara'

4 Verbal Morphology

4.1 Tenses

Chechen has a rich system of tenses, complete with present, past, and future. In addition to tense, the Chechen verb is also sensitive to aspect and evidentiality. Here we detail the core tenses (present, past, and future), the progressive constructions (present progressive,

4.1.1 Present Tenses

4.1.1.1 The Present Indefinite/ Simple Present Tense

The simple present tense is used to describe and action that occurs on a regular basis in the present. Based on the semantics, these actions can also be interpreted to be habitual, repeated, or planned events that occur on a regular basis. Ergo, the simple present tense is also the from that communications imperfective aspect. The present tense is formed in Chechen by means of vowel alternations stemming from the rounding assimilation from the marker -y/-u on to the vowel of the verbal root. In general, we see the following pattern with respect to these vowel alternations

Таблица 8: Simple present vowel alternations

Alternation	Example	Translation
a - o/ a - o	дада/dada	'to run'
	доду/dodu	'run/runs'
	мала/mala	'to drink'
	молу/molu	'drink/drinks'
	кхарза/qarza	'to fry'
	кхорзу/qorzu	'fry/fries'
e - оь / ie - oe	зен/zien	'to examine'
	зоь/zoe	'examine/examine'
	лен/lien	'to talk
	лоь/loe	''talk/talks'
o - у / (u)o - u(u)	тоса/tosa	'to feel'
	тусу/tusu	'feel/feels'
	дохка/duoxka	'to sell'
	духку/duuxku	'sell/sells'
и - уь / i(i) - y(y)	дижа/diizha	'to sleep'
	дуьжу/dyyzhu	'sleep/sleeps'
	хила/xila	'to happen'
	хуьлу/xylu	'happen/happens'

It is one of the most common Chechen verb forms and it is most commonly refer to when speaking about present events. Below we offer further examples:

(68) **деша - доьшу/diesha - doeshu** 'read'

цо	газет	доьшу	массо	дийнахь
cuo	gaziet	d-oesh-u	massuo	dii-na-hw
3SG.ERG	newspaper.*d-class*	*d*-read-PRES	each	day-AUG-LOC

'He reads the newspaper everyday'

(69) **хьеха - хьоьху/hwiexa - hwoexu** 'teach'

Маликас	нохчийн мотт	хьоьху	школехь
Malik-as	noxchiin mott	hwoex-u	shkol-e-hw
Malika-ERG	Chechen language.*b*.ABS.SG	teach-PRES	school-AUG-INES

'Malika teaches Chechen at school.'

(70) **дохка - духку/doxka - duxku** 'sell'

Салмана	бежанаш	духку	базарехь	х1ора
Salman-a	bezha-n-ash	duxk-u	bazar-aehw	hora
Salman-ABS.SG	cattle.*bII*-AUG-ABS.PL	*bII*-sell-PRES	market-LOC	every

к1ирандийнахь
k'irandii-n-ahw
sunday-AUG-LOC

'Salman sells the cattle at the market every Sunday.'

4.1.1.2 Present Progressive Tense

The present progressive tense is formed by using a analytic construction with the present participle and the copular verb '$\partial y/d$-u'. The suffix -*ш*/-*sh* is attached to the simple present form. As mentioned in the section regarding absolutive case, in the present progressive, both object and subject of the predicate verb are found in the absolutive case and the sources of agreement for the auxiliary and participle verbs are divided between subject (auxiliary) and object (participle). The present progressive tense differs from the simple present tense in that it denotes only actions occurring in the present, rather than habitual or continually planned events.

(71)
цициг	шура	молуш	ду
cicig	shura	mol-ush	d-u
cat.*d-class*.ABS.SG	milk.ABS.SG	drink-PRES-PTCP	*d*-COP

'The cat is drinking milk.'

(72)
Салман	бежанаш	духкуш	ву	базарехь
Salman	biezha-n-ash	duxk-u-sh	v-u	bazar-e-hw
Salman.*v*.ABS.SG	cattle.*d*-AUG-ABS.PL	*d*-sell-PRES-PTCP	*v*-COP	bazar-AUG-LOC

'Salman is selling cattle at the bazar'

4.1.1.3 The Present Perfect Tense

This tense is mostly used to refer to actions completed in the past but without giving an idea about the time of its occurance. It is formed by alternations of the stem vowel and the addition of the suffix -на/-na.

Таблица 9: Alternations for Present Perfect

Alternation	Example	Lemma
a - e	мала/mala /mel-na/ мелла/mella	'drink'
a - ae	даккха/daqqa /daeqq-ina/ даьккхина/daeqqina	'recieve'
ie - ie	деша/diesha /diesh-na/ дешна/dieshna	'read'
e - ii	детта/detta /dett-na/ деттина/dett-ina	'hit'
o - oe	дотта/dotta /doett-na/ доьттина/doettina	'pour'
i - i	дига/diga /dig-na/ дигна/digna	'lead'

Stems that already end in a geminate consonant have a buffer vowel -и/-i inserted between the alternated stem and the -на/-na suffix. Stems that end in -л/-l, -т/-t -д/-d -ж/-zh, -х/-x have geminated stems instead of the addition of -на/-na.

(73)   Geminated Stems for Present Perfect

- хада/xada [a-ae] > /xaed-na/ > хаьдда/xaedda 'break, stop'
- дата/data [a-ae] > /daet-na/ > даьтта/daetta 'to show'
- дожа/dozha [o-oe] > /doezh-na/ > доьжжа/doezhzha 'to drop'
- лаха/laxa [a-e] > /lex-na/ > лехха/lexxa 'to find'

4.1.2 Past Tenses

Chechen has 5 past tenses: recent witnessed past, remote witnessed past, the past imperfective, the past perfective, and the past progressive. Here we detail the formation and example sentences of the past tenses, however, past witnessed vs past non-witnessed enters into the domain of mood with evidentiality. The more precise semantic nuances of these forms will be discussed that section, further afield.

4.1.2.1 Recent Past Tense - Witnessed

The recent past tense (PST) is a common Chechen past tense that requires 3 conditions to be used: 1)the action has occurred in the past, 2) the event has continued to the time of speaking, and 3) the speaker has directly witnessed the event. It is formed with the suffix *-u/-i* and, like many of the other tenses, this tense is also formed by a series of vowel alternations:

Таблица 10: Recent Past Tense - Witnessed

Alternation	Examples	Translation
а - е / аа - е	мала / mala мел-и / mel-i	'drink'
а - аь / a - ae	даккха / daqqa даьккх-и / daeqq-i	'get'
е - е / ie - ie	деша / diesha деш-и / dieshi	'read'
е - ий / ie - ii	детта / dietta дийтт-и / diitt-i	'throw'
о - уь / uo - yy	тоха / tuoxa туьхи / tyyx-i	'hit'
о - оь / o - oe	дотта / dotta доьтт-и / doett-i	'pour'
и - и / i - i	дига / diga диг-и / dig-i	'lead'

4.1.2.2 Remote Past Tense - Witnessed

The remote past tense (RPST) - witnessed fulfils all the requirements of the recent present tense witnessed on a semantic level. It is formed by the same alternations described above for the recent present tense witnessed, only this time the suffix added is *-upa/ira*. The below two sentences illustrate the semantic difference between the recent and remote past tense witnessed forms.

(74)   Заремас   суна   чай   доьтти
       Zarema-s   suna   chaj   d-oett-i
       Zarema-ERG.SG 1SG.DAT tea.*d.*-ABS.SG *d*-pour-PST

   'Zarema (just) poured me (some) tea.'

(75)   Заремас   суна   чай   доьттира
       Zarema-s   suna   chaj   d-oett-ira
       Zarema-ERG.SG 1SG.DAT tea.*d.*ABS.SG *d*-pour-RPST

   'Zarema pour me (some) tea (a while ago)'

4.1.2.3 The Past Imperfective Tense

The past imperfective tense (PST.IMPF) is used to describe an event that is in the past, however, it is not clear in this tense if the action has been completed. This tense is formed

by adding the suffix *-pa/-ra* to the simple present tense form. Therefore, we analyze this is another type of compounded tense, wherein the inflection for present tense indicates imperfective aspect, and the -pa/-ra carries past tense meaning.

Таблица 11: Past Imperfective Formation

Alternation	Simple Present	Past Imperfective	Lemma
a - o	дада/dada доду/dod-u	додура/dod-u-ra	'run'
e - oe	деша/diesha доьшу/doesh-u	доьшура/doesh-u-ra	'read'
o - u	тоса/tosa тусу/tus-u	тусура/tus-u-ra	'sense'
i - y	дижа/dizha дуьжу/dyzh-u	дуьжура/dyzh-u-ra	'sleep'
u - u	дула/dula дулу/dulu	дулура/dul-u-ra	'inflate'

4.1.2.4 Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense (PST.PRF) denotes an action that has occured in the past and is completed in the present, and this action was not witnessed by the speaker. It is formed by adding -ra to the present perfect (PRES.PERF) form, in which *-na-* becomes *-ne-*

Таблица 12: Past Perfect Tense Formation

Alternation	Present Perfect	Past Perfect	Lemma
a - e	мелла mella	мел-не+ра mel-ne-ra	'drink'
a - ae	даьккхина daeqqina	даьккх-не+ра daeqq-ne-ra	'get'
ie - ie	дешна dieshna	деш-не+ра diesh-ne-ra	'read'
e - ii	деттина dettina	детти-не+ра detti-ne-ra	'hit'
o - oe	доьттина doettina	доьтти-не+ра doetti-ne-ra	'pour'
i - i	дигна digna	диг-не+ра dig-ne-ra	'lead'

4.1.2.5 Past Progressive Tense

The past progressive tense (PST.PROG) is nearly identical to the present progressive in its formation - the major difference being the tense of the copular verb. The form of the copula

used in the past progressive tense is *∂apa/d-ara*, which is the same as the past tense of the copular verb in copular sentences. The past progressive tense is still a construction with a present participle verb form and also still dsiplays biabsolutive arguments and split agreement.

(76)   цициг   шур   молуш   дара

cicig   shur   mol-u-sh   d-ara

cat.*d*.ABS.SG milk.*d*.ABS.SG drink-PRES-PTCP *d*-COP.PST.IMPF

'The cat was drinking milk.'

(77)   Салман   бежанаш   духкуш   вара

Salman   bezhana-sh   d-ouxk-u-sh   v-ara

Salman.*v*.ABS.SG cattle.*jII*-AUG-ABS.PL *jII*-sell-PRES-PTCP *v*-COP.PST.IMPF

'Salman was selling cattle.'

4.1.3   Future Tenses

Chechen has 3 different future tenses. These tenses describe events that will occur in the future

4.1.3.1   Potential Future

The potential future (POT.FUT) describes a possible future or speculation of events that will come to pass. It denotes an action that is bound to happen, and may have a shade of meaning of making a strong recommendation. It is formed by adding the suffix *-p/-r* to the simple present base.

Таблица 13: Potential Future Formation

Alternation	Present Simple	Potential Future	Lemma
a - o	дада >доду dada >dod-u	додур dodu-r	'run'
e - oe	эца >оьцу ieca >oec-u	оьцур oecu-r	'buy'
o - u	тоса >тусу tosa >tus-u	тусур tusu-r	'feel'
i - y	дижа >дуьжу dizha >dyzh-u	дуьжур dyzhu-r	'sleep'

4.1.3.2   Compound Future

The compound future is the widely used future tense in Chechen. It describes events that will occur in the future and, unlike the potential future, it is used without additional shades of meaning. It is formed by using the potential future form as a participle and the copular verb *∂y/d-u*. Agreement with *∂y/d-u* is taken by the absolutive argument when the sentence is transitive.

4.1.3.3 Future Continuous

Future continuous tense is structurally quite complicated, but transparent. It is derived using the progressive present participle for other progressive tenses, the potential future/future participle form of the verb *∂y/d-u*, which is the form *xup/xir*, and then another iteration of the copular verb *∂y/d-u*.

(78)   As   бепиг   оьцур
       as   bepig   oec-ur
       1SG.ERG bread.ABS.SG buy-POT.FUT

       'I will (most definitely) buy bread./I really should buy bread.'

(79)   As   бепиг   оьцур   ду
       as   bepig   oec-ur   d-u
       1SG.ERG bread.*d*.ABS.SG buy-FUT.PTCP *d*-COP

       'I will buy bread (it's what I'm going to do tomorrow).'

(80)   со   бепиг   оьцуш   хир   ву
       suo   bepig   oec-u-sh   xir   v-u
       1SG.ABS.*v* bread.*d*.ABS.SG buy-PRES-PTCP be.FUT.PTCP *v*-COP

       'I will be buying bread (tomorrow, when you call)'

4.2 Negation

Negation in Chechen is realized in three main ways: 1) The use of the negative particle *ца/ca* before a tensed verb, 2) the use of the proclitic *ма/ma* in negative commands, and 3) in unique negative forms of verbs (witnessed mainly with the copula). We discuss the proclitic *ma* in our section on mood regarding the imperative. In addition to negation with particles, Chechen also may use negative pronouns with varying layers, including double and also triple negation.

4.2.1 Negative particle ца/ca

Ца/Ca (NEG) is placed before the verb that it negates.

(81)   Со   школе   ца   воьду
       So   shkol-e   ca   v-oed-u
       1SG.ABS.*v* school-AUG-ALL NEG *v*-goPRES

       'I don't go to school.'

(82)   Ахьмада   бежанаш   ца   духку
       Ahwmad-a   bezhana-sh   ca   d-uxk-u
       Ahwmad.*v*-ERG.SG cattle.*jII*.AUG-ABS.PL NEG *jII*-sell-PRES

       'Ahwmad does not sell cattle.'

Most all negation of tensed verbs are handled with this pattern in Chechen. The major exception is the copular verb *∂y/d-u* and other verb forms (such as the progressive or compound future tenses) that make use of *∂y/d-u* as an auxiliary verb. The negative form of *∂y/d-u* is *∂aц/d-ac* in the present, and *∂aцapa/d-acara* in the past.

(83) нанас   дина   бепиг   мерза ду
     naana-s   d-i-na   bepig   merza d-u
     mother-ERG.SG *d*-make-PST.RCP bread.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-COP
     'The bread that mother made is tasty.'

(84) нанас   дина   бепиг   мерза дац
     naana-s   d-i-na   bepig   merza d-a-c
     mother-ERG.SG *d*-do-PST.RCP bread.*d*.ABS.SG tasty   *d*-COP-NEG
     'The bread that mother made is not tasty.'

The same distribution of the negative copular forms can also be found in tenses that use
∂y/d-u as an auxiliary verb, i.e the compound future.

(85) ас   цуьнга   кехат   яздийр   ду
     as   cynga   kiexat   jaz-d-iir   d-u
     1SG.ERG 3SG.ALL letter.*d*.ABS.SG write-*d*-do.FUT.PTCP *d*-COP
     'I will write him a letter.'

(86) ас   цуьнга   кехат   яздийр   дац
     as   cunga   kiexat   jaz-d-iir d-a-c
     1SG.ERG 3SG.ALL letter.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-COP-NEG
     'I will not write him a letter.'

4.2.2   Negative Imperatives

For negative imperatives or prohibition, the proclitic '*ма/ma*' is used before the verb.

(87) ма г1о   школе   кхана
     ma ghuo   shkole   qana
     NEG go.IMP school-ALL tomorrow
     'Do not go to school tomorrow.'

The polite negative form is built by adding the suffix -ахь(a)/ahw(a). This form is a grammaticalization
of the 2nd person singular in the ergative case.

(88) сих ма лолахь
     six ma luo-lahw
     fast NEG give-POL.IMP
     'Don't rush' (lit. 'don't give fast')

The proclitic '*ма/ma*' can intercede between a deictic prefix and the inflected verb root.

(89) схьа-ма-эцалахь   цуьнгара ахча
     shwa-ma-iec-al-ahw   cynga   axcha
     DEC.PREV-NEG-take-IMP-POL.IMP 3SG.ALL money.*j*.ABS.SG
     '(Please) don't take money from him.'

(90) схьа-ма-йелла   неъ
     shwa-ma-j-el-la   nie'
     DEC.PREV-NEG-*j*-give-PST.PRF door.*j*.ABS.SG
     'Don't open the door!'

4.2.3 Double Negation

Like Russian, Chechen requires the negative particles '*ца/са*' or '*ма/ма*' when additional generalized pronouns or adverbs (NPIs) are used:

(91) цхьа   а   стаг   вацара   клубехь
     chwa'a stag   v-a-ca-ra   klub-ehw
     someone man.*v*.ABS.SG *v*-COP-NEG-PST club-INES.SG

'No one (not a single person) was at the club'

This reading of the negative pronoun is dependent entirely on the presence of double negation. Compare:

(92) цхьаммо   аьлира   соьга   тахана ло   дог1ур
     chwa-m-uo   ael-ira   soega   taxan lo   d-o-ghur
     someone-AUG-ERG.SG say-RPST 1SG.ALL today snow.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-fall-FUT.PTCP

     ду
     d-u
     d-COP

'Someone told me that it is going to snow today.'

(93) цхьаммо   а   ца   аьлира   соьга тахана
     chwa-m-uo   a   ca   ael-ira   soega taxan
     someone-AUG-ERG.SG NEG say-RPST 1SG.ALL today snow.*d*.ABS.SG

     ло   дог1ур ду
     lo   d-o-ghur d-u
     d-fall-FUT.PTCP *d*-COP

'Someone told me that it is going to snow today.'

4.2.4 Reduplication

Negated predicates in Chechen can also appear in a reduplicated form. Negated predicates that use republication are more emphatic than negated predicates that simply use *ca* or *ma*.

(94) ас   х1инца а   сайна книжка   эца   ца эцна
     as   hinca a   saina knizhka   ieca   ca iec-na
     1SG.ERG always 1SG.DAT.RFLX EMPH book.ABS.SG buy.INF NEG buy-PST.PRF

'I still haven't (even) bought a book for myself.'

(95) Гумсет яха   ца яхара   цига
     Gumset j-axa ca j-axa-ra ciga
     Gumset.*j* *j*-go.INF COP *j*-go-RPST

'Gumset didn't go there (at all!)'

In the reduplication pattern, the lexical verb appears in the infinitive before the negative particle. The tensed form of the same verb appears after the negative particle.

4.3 Participles and Masdars

Two Chechen verb forms, the Masdar and participles that correspond to English gerunds and that form relative clauses. Masdars are verbs that act as nouns and, as such, may act as the arguments of other verbs. Particples are used to modify noun phrases with additional clauses, hence, they are referred to here are 'relative clausal participles' as these types of participles are different from other verb forms designated as participles in other tenses (i.e the present participle used in the present progressive, or the future participle used in the compound future tense).

4.3.1 Masdar

Masdar (MSDR), or verbal denominal, is formed by adding the suffix *-(a)p/-(a)r* to the infinitive. Masdar as a verbal denominal declines in cases and can have arguments.

(96) цунна ядар деза
cunna jiadar dieza
3SG.DAT run-MSDR.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-like.PRES

'S/he likes running.'

Masdars decline for case and number identically. Also, all masdars are of noun-class type *d-class*.

Таблица 14: Declension of Masdar form of the verb 'лела/liela' ('behave'/'wander')

Case	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	лелар/ liela-r	ле126лараш/ liela-r-ash
Genitve	леларан/ liela-r-an	леларшан/ liela-r-shan
Dative	леларна/ liela-r-na	леларашана/ liela-r-ash-ana
Ergative	леларо/ liela-r-uo	леларша/ liela-r-sha
Instrumental	леларца/ liela-r-ca	леларшца/ liela-r-sh-ca
Allative	леларе/ liela-r-ie	леларийх/ liela-r-iix
Lative	леларах/ liela-r-ax	леларшка/ liela-r-sh-ka
Comparative	леларал/ liela-r-al	леларийл/ liela-r-iil
Inessive	леларехь/ liela-r-ehw	леларшкахь/ liela-r-sh-kahw
Ablative	леларера/ liela-r-era	леларшкара/ liela-r-sh-kara

4.3.2 Relative clausal participles

Clausal participles (RCP) are verb forms that are used to modify a noun, a noun phrase, or other verbs in similar ways to relative pronouns trigger a relative clause in other European languages (cf. Russian который, French que/qui, German der/die/das, etc.). It plays a role similar to an adjective. There are three types of relative clausal participles in Chechen: present (RCP.PRES), past (RCP.PST), and future. The present tense participle is formed by using *-ун/-un* and it is added to the simple present tense alternated base.

(97) Етт   оьцун   стаг
     Jett   oec-un   stag
     cow.*j*.ABS.SG buy-PRES.RCP
     'the man who buys cows'

The past tense participle is formed by using the suffix *-на*. This form is identical to the perfect past tense, however, we gloss it here as 'RCP.PST' for clarity.

(98) Етт   эцна   стаг
     Jett   iec-na   stag
     cow.*j*.ABS.SG buy-PST.RCP person
     'the man who bought a cow'

In addition to other forms, the copular verb *ду/d-u* has the participial forms of '*долун/d-olun*' (present) and '*дина/d-ina*'. The future participle is therefore formed with this form of the auxiliary verb *ду/d-u*.

(99) Етт оьцур болун стаг
     Jett oec-ur b-olun stag
     cow.*b*.ABS.SG buy-*fut.ptcp* *b*-COP-PRES.RCP man

     'the man who will buy a/the cow'

4.4 Light Verbs and Auxiliary Verbs

A number of Chechen predicates can be characterized as 'light verb constructions' or 'complex predicates' due to surface similarities with other light verb constructions in languages such as Persian, Turkish, or Japanese. In Chechen, light verb constructions are used to 1) turn an adjective into a verb, 2) in noun-verb combinations to express a certain predicate, 3) express the causative, 4) express the potential mood.

4.5 General schema

The most common Chechen light verbs are: дан/d-an, дала/d-ala, and даккха/d-aqqa. The use of light verbs with nouns, adjectives, or even other verbs may coin a new transitive or intransitive predicate, convey mood, or render new nouns from participial verbs via substantivization.

(100)   Light verbs and lexicalization with г1апа/ghara 'noise/voice'

- г1ара ю
  ghaara j-u
  voice.*j*.ABS.SG *j*-COP

  'voice/sound'

- г1ара ян
  ghaara j-an
  voice.*j*.ABS.SG *j*-do.INF

  'to make noise'

- г1арадала
  ghaar=dala
  noise=give.INF

  'to become popular, to become well known'

- г1арадаккха
  ghaara=daqqa
  voice=take.INF

  'to make (someone/something) popular'

- г1арадаладала

- г1арадаккхадала

- г1ардаьлла

- г1ардаьлларг

(101) Америкахь уггара г1араялла эшархо Лэди Гага
      Amerika-hw uggar ghaara=j-al-la esharxo Ledi Gaga
      America-INES most voice=*j*-give-PST.PERF-RCP.PST singer.*j*.ABS.SG Lady Gaga
      ю
      j-u
      j-COP

'The most popular singer in America is Lady Gaga.' (lit. 'the singer who has *received the most voice* in America is Lady Gaga')

4.5.1 Adjective + дан/dan

Classed adjectives may be made into transitive predicates with 'дан/dan':

(102) хи довха ду
      xi dowxa d-u
      water.ABS.SG hot COP

'The water is hot.'

(103) нанас хи довхдина
      naan-as xi dowxd-i-na
      mother.AUG-ERG water hot

'Mother heated (up) the water.'

4.5.2 Даккха to take

даккха is used with many objects to convey new predicates. It is highly productive

(104)   predicates made from даккха + noun

- ахча даккха = to make money
- дечиг даккха = to chop wood
- де даккха = to spend a day
- зезаг даккха = to pick a flower
- серладаккха = to brighten, to make clear

4.5.3 Noun + Verb

цигаьрка оза = to smoke

4.5.4 Loan word + Verb

An extremely productive path for neologism in Chechen. отпуск эца - to take a vacation
яздан - to write (of Oghuz Turkic origin 'jaz' = 'to write'
саламдала - to greet (Arabic 'salaam' = greeting)

4.6 Mood

Chechen has several moods in addition to tenses. These include the imperative mood, the causative mood, and evidentiality, which is already detailed in the verbal system.

4.6.1 Imperative

Chechen has 5 types of imperatives, each ranging with different degrees of politeness and intent. These forms include: the simple imperative, the interrogative imperative, the immediate imperative, the tasked-imperative, and the absolute imperative (categorical).

- Simple Imperative (IMP)- formed with slight nasalization added to the final vowel on the infinitive

  (105)   дийца(н)
          diica-(n)
          say.INF-IMP
          'speak' or 'tell'

- Polite Imperative (POL.IMP) - formed by adding the suffix '-(a)хьа/-(a)hwa'(for 2nd person singular) or '-(a)ша/-(a)sha'(for 2nd person plural) to the simple imperative.

  (106)   дийца(н)хьа
          diica-(n)-hwa
          speak-IMP-POL.IMP
          'Please, (you) speak' or 'Please, (you) tell'

(107) дийций(н)ша
       diic-ii(n)-sha
       speak-IMP-POL.IMP
       'Please, (you all) speak' or 'Please, (you all) tell'

- Immediate Imperative (IMD.IMP) - formed by adding the suffix '-л/-l' to the infinitive. This form is used to emphasize immediate action requested on the part of the speaker.

(108) дийцал
       diica-l
       speak.INF-IMD.IMP
       'Speak, (now!)'

- Tasked-Imperative (TSK.IMP)- formed by adding the polite imperative suffix to the immediate imperative base. It is used to do something during your absence.

(109) дийцалахь
       diica-lahw
       speak-TSK.IMP

       'Tell/Speak (in my absence/for me)'
(110) дийцалаш

- Absolutive/Categorical Imperative (CAT.IMP) - formed by adding the suffix '-уйла/-iila' to the simple present alternated base of the verb.

(111) дуьцийла
       dyc-iila
       speak.PRES-CAT.IMP
       'One must speak!'

4.6.2   Causative

The causative form (CAUS) in Chechen increases the valency of a transitive verb by one, with the new extra argument in the allative case. The causative in Chechen is formed by adding the verb дийта/d-iita to the verb, directly. In causative constructions, the lexical verb is left in the infinitive and the auxiliary/light verb *дуйма/d-iita* inflects for tense and noun-class agreement.

(112) жижиг даттийта цуьнга
       zhizhig datt-iita   cynga
       meat   grill-CAUS 3SG.ALL
       'Make him grill the meat'

Scholars tend to interpret the suffix '*уйm/iit*' as being a phonetic infusion of the verb '*дuma (ŭuma/вuma)/ dita (jita/vita)*' meaning 'to leave' or 'to abandon'. In Highland/*Laamaroj*

dialects, *дийта/d-iita* has the form *дайта/d-aita* and behaves exactly the same, syntactically. Lexically, however, it may be related to the verb '*дан/d-an*' which also is able to transitivize adjectivable predicates in both dialects.

(113) нанас   кехат   оьхьадийшийтира   соьга
      naana-s   kiexat   oehwa-diish-iit-ira   soega
      mother.AUG.ERG.SG letter.*d*.ABS.SG DEC.PREV-read.INF-CAUS-RPST 1SG.ALL
      'Mother made me read the letter.'

4.7   Evidentiality

Evidentiality in Chechen is expressed by using the witnessed and unwitnessed past tense forms.

- **T**he recent witnessed past tense - (PST) this tense is formed by adding the suffix '*-u/-i*' and alternating the vowel of the verb stem to express an even that just recently occured an was witnessed by the speaker.

  (114) Ахьмада   стоьл кечди
        Ahwamd-a   stol   kiech-d-i
        Ahwmad-ERG.SG table   read-*d*-do.PST

        'Ahmad set the table (I saw him do it)'

  The time frame of the witnessed event can be specified further into the past with the remote witnessed past (RPST), using the suffix '*-pa/-ra*'

  (115) Ахьмада   стоьл кечдира
        Ahwmad-a   stoel   kiech-d-i-ra
        Ahwmad-ERG.SG table   read-*d*-do-RPST

        'Ahwmad set the table (a while a go, I saw him do it)'

- **T**he unwitnessed past tense - (PST.PRF) is used to express and event which the speaker was not present to witness. This form clearly provides a sense that the speaker did not witness the event. The unwitnesed past tense is formed by using a combination of the past perfect tense an the auxiliary verb '*хила/xila*' ('to happen'/'to occur').

  (116) Ахьмада   стоьл кечдина   хилла
        Ahwmad-a   stoel   kiech-d-i-na   xil-la
        Ahwmad-ERG.SG table   ready-*d*-do-PST.PRF happen-PST.PRF

        'Ahwmad set the table (allegedly, I didn't see it)'

This form may be used when the outcome of a given action is witnessed by the speaker, but the physical action was not (i.e the speaker sees a set table and heard that it was Ahwmad to set it, but the speaker did not see Ahwmad himself set the table).

- **T**he unwitnessed remote tense - (UNW.REM) this form is used when referring to an event that has occurred a very long time ago. Furthermore, the speaker has not witnessed the event. It is formed by using, again, the past perfective form of the verb, plus the auxiliary verb '*хила/xila*' in the perfective:

(117) Ахьмада   стоьл кечдина   хиллера
       Ahwmad-a   stoel kiech-d-i-na   xil-lera
       Ahwmad-ERG.SG table ready-*d*-do-PST.PRF happen-PERF

       'Ahwmad set the table (a long time ago).'

This form is found often in narrative texts and in storytelling.

- **T**he unwitnessed past progressive - this form refers to events that occurred simultaneously and were not witnessed by the speaker.

(118) Ахьмад   стоьл   кечдеш   хиллера
       Ahwmad   stoel   kiech-d-ies   xil-lera
       Ahwmad.*v*.ABS.SG table.*d*.ABS.SG ready-*d*-do-PRES.PTCP happen-PERF

       'Ahwmad was setting the table (but I didn't see)'

(119) Малика   ц1а   йог1учу   хенахь
       Malika   c'a   j-oghu-chu   hwien-ahw
       Malika.*j*.ABS.SG home.ADVB *j*-go.PRES.RCP-OBL-GEN time.AUG-INES

       Ахьмад   стоьл   кечдеш   хиллера
       Ahwmad   stoel   kiech-d-iesh   xil-lera
       Ahwmad.*v*.ABS.SG table.*d*.ABS.SG read-*d*-do-PRES.PTCP happen-PERF

       'When Malika came home, Ahwmad was setting the table (Malika told me he was setting the table, but I did not witness that he was setting the table'

5 Adjective Morphology

5.1 Qualitative Adjectives

Adjectives in Chechen can being be qualitative (standard), relative, or possesive. Adjectives have a distinct morphological structure. Standard (normal) adjectives, end in a short nasalized vowel. The nasal vowel can be heard, but it is not recorded orthographically.

(120) Adjectives with short nasal vowel

- дика(н)/dika(n) 'good'
- хаза(н)/xaza(n) 'beautiful'

The major exception to this rule is adjectives that end in a long nasalized vowel in the stem.

(121) Adjectives with long nasal vowel

- вон/vuon 'bad'

- ц1иэн/c'iien 'red'
- вайн/vain 'our (exclusive)'

Adjectives generally appear before the head noun that they modify.

(122)
- дика к1ант/dika k'ant 'good boy'
- хаза коч/xaza koch 'beautiful dress'
- ц1иэн машина/ts'iien mashina 'red car'

5.2   Possessive adjectives

Possessive adjectives have the same morphological form as nouns in the genitive case

5.3   Class adjectives

There is only a limited number of classed adjectives in Chechen. They agree in noun-class to the head noun they modify.

(123)   **List of class adjectives**
деза/d-eza 'heavy'
довха/d-ouxa 'hot'
деха/d-iexa 'long'
дуькъа/d-yq'a 'thick'
дораха/d-oraxa 'cheap'
дерстана/d-erstana 'fat'
дуьткъа/d-ytq'a 'thin'
доца/d-oca 'short'
дайн/d-ain 'light'
дуьзна/d-yzna 'full'
даьржана/d-aerzhana 'spread'
доккха/d-oqqa 'large/big/old'

5.4   Degrees of Comparison

There are two ways of forming comparative forms in Chechen: (1) standard adjectives do not change their morphological structure; (2) adding suffixes -(a)x/(a)x or -xo/-xuo. The comparative is formed using the suffix -(a)x, with -a- acting as a buffer vowel to adjectives ending in a consonant. In addition to the comparative and superlative, Chechen has an additional layer of comparative, named here 'the extended comparative' (EXTCOMP), which corresponds to the construction of 'much more X' in English. The superlative degree of comparison is formed by using 'уггар/uggar' ('the most'), 'къаьсттана/q'aesttana' ('especially'), 'т1ех/t'ex' ('more'), or 'дукха/duqa' ('more').

Таблица 15: Chechen comparative, extended comparative, and superlative

Standard Adjective	Comparative	Extended Comparative	Superlative
хаза/xaza	хаза-х/xaza-x	хаза-хо/xaza-xuo	уггар хаза/uggar xaza
'beautiful'	'more beautiful'	'much more beautiful'	'the most beautiful'
дика/dika	дика-х/dika-x	дика-хо/dika-xuo	уггар дика/uggar dika
'good'	'better'	'much better'	'the best'
жима/zhima	жима-х/zhima-x	жима-хо/zhima-xuo	уггар жима/uggar zhim
'small'	'smaller'	'much smaller'	'the smallest'
даьрстан/daestan	даьрстан-ах/daestan-ax	даьрстан-ахо/daestan-axuo	уггар даьрстан/uggar d
'fat'	'fatter'	'much fatter'	'the fattest'

5.5 Substantivized Adjectives

Chechen permits the use of substantivized adjectives. According to Zokayev's 1960 classification, the declension of both qualitative and relative substantivized adjectives are divided into two groups: independent and dependent. Indepedent substantivized adjectives decline in the same way and behave indentical to nouns. They are able to take all case endings and they are formed by adding the suffix -ниг/-nig to an adjective in the absolutive. For all other case forms, the augment base of this substantivized adjective is -чу/-chu. Some cases trigger vowel alternations.

(124)   Declention of Independent Substantivized Adjective 'к1айн/k'ain'('white')

Case	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	к1ай-ниг k'ai-nig	к1ай-ниг-аш k'ai-nig-ash
Genitive	к1ай-чу-н k'ai-chu-n	к1ай-черан k'ai-charan
Dative	к1ай-чун-на k'ai-chun-na	к1ай-чар-на k'ai-char-na
Ergative	к1ай-ч-о k'ai-ch-uo	к1ай-чар-а k'ai-char-a
Instrumental	к1ай-чуьн-ца k'ai-chyn-ca	к1ай-чаьр-ца k'ai-chaer-ca
Lative	к1ай-чу-х k'ai-chu-x	к1ай-чар-ах k'ai-char-ax
Inessive	к1ай-чуьн-га-хь k'ai-chyn-ga-hw	к1ай-чаьрга-хь k'ai-chaerga-hw
Ablative	к1ай-чуьн-га-ра k'ai-cyn-ga-ra	к1ай-чаьрга-ра
Allative	к1ай-чуьн-га k'ai-chyn-ga	к1ай-чаьр-га
Comparative	к1ай-чу-л k'ai-chu-l	к1ай-чар-ал

The dependent declension of adjectives refers to adjectives that are modifying some other head noun. In this declension type, adjectives take a *-чу/-chu* suffix when modifying nouns that are in the *oblique cases*. The *oblique cases* are all cases other than the aboslutive. For examples in this grammar, we gloss this suffix as 'OBL'.

(125)　Sample declension with к1айн котам/k'ain kotam 'white chicken'

Таблица 16: Dependent adjective declension

Case	Singular	Plural
Abosolutive	к1айн котам k'ain kotam	к1айн котамаш k'ain kuotam-ash
Genitive	к1айчу котаман k'ai-chu kuotam-an	к1айчу котамий k'ai-chu kuotam-ii
Dative	к1айчу котамна k'ai-chu kuotam-na	к1айчу котамашна k'ai-chu kuotam-ash-na
Ergative	к1айчу котамо k'ai-chu kuotam-uo	к1айчу котамаша k'ai-chu kuotam-ash-a
Instrumental	к1айчу котамаца k'ai-chu kuotam-aca	к1айчу котамашца k'ai-chu kuotam-ash-ca
Lative	к1айчу котамах k'ai-chu kuotam-ax	к1айчу котамийх k'ai-chu kuotam-iix
Locative	к1айчу котамехь k'ai-chu kuotam-e-hw	к1айчу котамаьшкаьхь k'ai-chu kuotam-aesh-kae-hw
Allative	к1айчу котаме k'ai-chu kuotam-e	к1айчу котамашка k'ai-chu kuotam-ash-ka
Ablative	к1айчу котамаьра k'ai-chu kuotam-ae-ra	к1айчу котамашгара k'ai-chu kuotam-ash-ga-ra
Comparative	к1айчу котамал k'ai-chu kuotam-al	к1айчу котамашал k'ai-chu kuotam-ash-al

6 Syntax

6.1 Introduction

Chechen syntax can be characterized as left-branching with SOV style word order. Chechen word order is relatively free and allows pragmatically driven scrambling, where contrastive elements come after the tensed verb. Yes/no questions in Chechen are posed with a question particle, and wh-questions may remain either in-situ or front a sentence, due to focus scrambling. Coordination shows an interesting interaction with state of transitivity and case-marking for the first clause in a coordinated sentence. Modifiers, relative clauses, subordinate clauses, and quantification all precede the heads that are modified by these structures. In addition, the limitations on the Chechen position of objects suggests that a verb and its object, in particular absolute arguements, are tightly bound and can not be scrambled away from one other by wh-extraction or sentence fronting. Finally, we briefly discuss the focus position in Chechen and the semantic effects of adposing an argument after the tensed verb.

6.2 Word Order

Unmarked Chechen sentences have subject-object-verb (SOV) type word order, with arguments preceding tensed verbs.

(126) 1умара   кехат   яздо
       Wumar-a   kiexat   jaz=d-o
       Wumar.ERG   letter.*d*.ABS.SG   write=*d*-do.PRES

       'Wumar writes a letter.'

In ditransitive sentences, indirect objects most often precede direct objects.

(127) 1умара   шен   доттаг1чуьнга   кехат   яздина
       Wumar-a   shie-n   dottagh-chun-ga   kiexat   jaz=d-i-na
       Wumar.ERG   3SG.REFL.GEN   friend-AUG-ALL   letter.*d*.ABS.SG write=*d*-do-PST.PRF

       'Wumar wrote a letter to his friend.'

Prepositional phrases also precede the object they modify in unmarked sentences.

(128) 1умара   шен   доттаг1чуьнга   хенан   х1оттамах   лаьцна
       Wumar-a   shien   dottagha-chu-nga   [[hwien-an   hottam-ax   laecna]$_{PP}$
       Wumar-ERG   3SG.REFL.GEN   friend-AUG-ALL   air.AUG-GEN   state-LAT.SG   about

       кехат   яздина
       kiexat]$_{NP}$ jaz=d-i-na
       letter.*d*.ABS.SG write=*d*-do-PST.PRF

       'Wumar wrote his friend a letter about the weather (lit. 'weather' = 'the state of the air')'

Chechen maximally permits verbs with three verbal arguments when the tensed verb is found in the causative mood.

(129) нанас   1умаре   д1аялийтира   шен
       nana-s   Wumar-e   dwa-j-al-iit-ira   shien
       mother-ERG.SG Wumar-AUG-ALL   DEIC.PVERB-*j*-give-CAUS-RPST 3SG.GEN.REFLX

       доттаг1ачух   лаьцна   кинижка   Зейнаъана
       dottagha-chu-x   laecna   kinizhka   Zejna-'ana
       friend-AUG-LAT   about   book.*j*-ABS.SG   Zejna-DAT

       'Mother made Wumar give Zejna the book about his friend.'

Minimally, Chechen allows for subjectless constructions, with therefore one verbal argument.

(130) арахь   шелъелла
       ara-hw   shel=j-el-la
       outside-INESS   cold=*j*-give-

       'It became cold outside.'

6.3 Coordination

Coordination in Chechen is achieved with the coordinating conjunctions '*a/a*' ('and')

6.3.1 Nominal Coordination

Nouns can be coordinated with a clitic '*a/a*'. The coordination particle is placed immediately after elements in a list of coordinated nouns.

(131) Самантас   стоьл а,   гlант а,   неlарш   а
      Samanta-s   stol a,   ghant a,   newar-sh   a
      Samantha-ERG.SG table COORD, chair COORD, door.AUG-ABS.PL COORD
      цlанйина
      c'anii-na
      clean-PST.PRF
      'Samantha cleaned the table, and the chair, and the doors.'

Both nouns and infinitives in certain contexts can be coordinated with 'a/a'.

(132) Рамзан   деша   а,   балха   а,   базара   а,
      Ramzan   diesha   a   balx-a   a   bazar-a   a
      Ramzan.*v*.ABS.SG study.INF COORD, work.AUG-ALL COORD, market-ALL COORD
      вахара   тахана
      v-ax-ara   taxana
      *v*go-RPST today
      'Ramzan managed to study (to go to school), (go) to work, and (go) to the market today.'

6.3.2 Sentential Coordination

Sentences can also be coordinated with '*a/a*' when they share the same subject. The clitic '*a/a*' only comes before the main verb of the sentence.

(133) воккха стаг   худар   а   диъна
      v-oqqa stag   xudar   a   d-i'-na
      v-old man.*v*.ABS.SG porridge.*d*.ABS.SG COOR *d*-eat-PST.PRF
      дlавижира
      dwa-v-izh-i
      DEIC.PREV-*v*-sleep-PST
      'The old man ate porridge and went to sleep.'

For adjectives that are coordinated, the clitic appears after each of the adjectives.

(134) иза   хаза   а   хьекхалехь а   ву
      iza   xaza   a   hwaeqal-hw a   v-u
      3SG.ABS beautiful COOR smart   COOR *v*-COP
      'He is handsome and smart.'

In coordinated sentences, the subject of the sentence is found in the case that corresponds to the transitivity of the second clause. This is to say that if the coordinated sentence has a transitive clause as the second clause of the coordinate, then the subject is found in the ergative case. If the second clause of the coordination is intransitive, then it is in the absolutive case.

(135) воккхачу стага дуга а эцна, худар дира

(136) воккхачу стага ц1а а вахана, худар дира

(137) *воккха стаг ц1а а вахана худар дира

(138) воккха стаг худар а диъна, ц1а вахара

(139) *воккхачу стага худар а диъна ц1а вахара

This type of case control for coordinated sentences does not extend to coordinated sentences where one clause is intransitive and the other is dative.

(140) воккхачу стагана цхьа тата хезна

(141) воккха стаг чехка араваьлира

(142) воккха стаг цхьа тата а хезна, чехка араваьлира

(143) !воккхачу стагана цхьа тата а хезна чехка араваьлира

(144) !воккхачу стагана чехка араваьлира цхьа тата а хезна

(145) воккха стаг чехка араваьлира цхьа тата а хезна

6.3.3   Contrastive Coordination

Sentences and adjectives and nouns can be contranstively coordinated with *ама/ата* 'but'

(146) Дог1ано   урамаш   хих   дуьзийнера, амма ас-сайн   кога
      dogh-an-uo   uram-ash   xi-x   d-yziin-iera, amma as-sain kog-a
      rain-AUG-ERG street-ABS.PL water-LAT *d*-fill-RPST, but   1SG.ERG boot-ABS.PL
      ши ийтиг   юьхира
      shi ijtig   j-yxi-ra
      on *j*-put-RPST
      'Rain filled the streets with water, but I wore boots.'

6.3.3.1   Contrastive Relative Clauses ('However...')

Contranstive relative clauses, similar in meaning to clauses headed by English 'however' or 'although' are also achieved using the 'a/a' coordination clitic. In these sentences, it occurs after a verb in the unreal conditional mood.

(147) Дег1ана   уггар жимаха   валехь   а,   хьакъалаца массарел
      Degha-n-a   uggar zhima-xa   v-el-iehw   a,   hwaeq'alaca massar-el
      body-GEN.SG most small-COMP *v*-COP.COND COOR, mind-INST   all-COMP
      тоьлла   вара   Султан.
      toella   v-ara   Sultan
      win-PST.PERF *v*-COP.PST
      'Although he was the smallest, Sultan was the smartest of everyone'

6.4 Types of Argument Structure/ Case Valency

Case valency patterns in Chechen include the causative, which allows the increasing of verbal arguments by one. Chechen does not have a cannonical applicative form and, instead, tends towards the use of light verbs with bound objects (i.e OBJECT + '*дан/d-an(do)*' = verbalized OBJECT

6.4.1 Dat-Abs (Dative-Absolutive)

Dative-Absolutive verbs cluster around verbs that denote actions that are psychological, mental, or sensory in nature.

(148) Тхан   дена   мохь   тоьхна   саскал ч1ог1а йеза
      txan   die-na   mohw   toex-na   saskal ch'ogha jeza
      1PL.EXCL.GEN father.AUG-DAT   lard.ABS.SG hit-PST.RCP saskal very   like.PRES
      'Our father likes saskal (cornbread) with lard.'

Common dat-abs verbs include:

- хазахета/xazaxieta - 'to like (lit. 'to seem beautiful')'

- догадоха/dogadoxa - 'to fall in love with, to crave'

- лаа/la'a - 'to wish', 'would like'

- хеза/xieza - 'to hear'

- ган/gan - 'to see'

- н1аб кхета/nwab qieta - 'to fall asleep'

- деза/d-ieza - 'to love, to adore'

Many verbs in Chechen can be classified as 'labile verbs', which take on different meanings when there are different case configurations. The verb 'деза/d-ieza' is one such verb:

(149) суна   бепиг   дар   дукха деза
      suna   bepig   d-ar   duqa d-ieza
      1SG.DAT bread.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-do.MSDR much *d*-love.PRES
      'I really like to make bread.'

(150) ас   бепиг   дан   деза
      as   bepig   d-an   d-ieza
      1SG.ERG bread.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-do.INF *d*-need.PRES
      'I need to make bread'

In both cases, the verb 'деза/d-ieza' is the predicate verb in the present tense. In addition to alternation with case configurations, several unaccusative verbs alternative between ergative-absolutive and absolutive argument structure with the addition of the light verb 'дан/d-an' in the variant where the verb is transitive:

(151) Стака охьадуьжира
Staka ohwa-d-yzh-ira
glass.*d*.ABS.SG PVERB-*d*-fall-RPST
'The glass fell'

(152) Ас стака охьадожийна
As staka ohwa-d-oozh-iina
1SG.ERG glass.*d*.ABS.SG PVERB-*d*-fall.INF=*d*do-PST.PERF
'I dropped the glass.'

In such examples, both the infinitive and the light verb agree with the absolutive argument in noun class.

(153) 1аж охьабуьжира
wazh ohwa-b-yzh-ira
apple.*b*.ABS.SG PVERB-*b*-fall-RPST
'The apple fell'

(154) ас 1аж охьабожабина
as wazh ohwa-b-oozha=b-i-na
1SG.ERG apple.*b*.ABS.SG PVERB*b*-fall=*b*-do-PST.PERF
'I dropped the apple.'

6.5 Agreement

As previously mentioned in our section on nominal morphology, Chechen has 6 noun-classes that manifest in one of four phonemic exponents: *v-class*, *j-class*, *j-classII*, *d-class*, *b-class* and *b-classII*. The above categories are named '*j-classII*' and *b-classII* because they display the exponents for *j-class* or *b-class* in the singular, but in the plural, *j-classII* takes the exponet *b* and *b-classII* takes the exponent *d-class*.

Agreement in Chechen occurs in 2 places: classed-adjectives and classed-verbs. To recap: classed-adjectives and classed-verbs are a subset of adjectives and verbs that display agreement. This is to say that agreement can be observed with these specific verbs and adjectives, however, not all verbs and adjectives display agreement. In the majority of cases, Agreement obeys a simple rule: **classed-verbs, as predicates, agree in noun class with the absolutive argument of a sentence.**

(155) Аслан школе воьду
Aslan shkol-e v-oed-u
Aslan.*v-class*.ABS school-ALL.SG *v*-go-PRES
'Aslan goes to school'
Where 'Aslan' is the subject of the intransitive verb 'go'. Ergo 'Aslan' remains in the absolutive case and controls agreement on 'go', which is manifested by the 'в-/v-' prefix in the verb for 'go'.

Syntactically, we consider this a typical example of Agreement, as neutral word-order in Chechen shows the control for agreement to the left of the classed-predicate, on which agreement exponents are found. Modifiers within the same noun-phrase also display agreement with the head of that phrase. This is seen primarily with classed-adjectives:

(156)
воккхачу	стага	худар	доу
[[voqqa-chu]$_{AP}$ stag-a]$_{DP}$		[[xudar]$_{DP}$	d-ou]$_{VP}$
old-OBL	man.v-ERG.SG	porridge.d.ABS.SG	d-eat-PRES

'The old man eats porridge. '

Above we see in (156) that the classed-adjective '*доккха/d-oqqa*' ('old'/'elderly') agrees in noun-class with the subject '*стаг/stag*' ('person') which bears *v-class* since it refers to a biologically male person. The tensed verb '*дoy/d-ou* ', the present tense form of the classed-verb 'даа/d-aa' ('to eat') bears *d-class* agreement with the absolutive argument '*худар/xudar*' ('porridge').

6.5.1 Masdar and Subjectless Agreement

In expressions where the argument is a Masdar verb, agreement is found with the implied absolutive argument.

(157)
цунна	вадар	деза
cunna	v-ad-ar	d-ieza
3SG.DAT	v-run-MSDR.d	d-like.PRES

'He likes running.'

(158)
цунна	ядар	деза
cunna	j-ad-ar	d-ieza
3SG.DAT	j-run-MSDR.d	d-like.PRES

'She likes running.'

Despite the canonical rule of agreement only occurring with the absolutive argument as the host for the noun-class variable, (157) and (158) show agreement for noun class with no such absolutive argument. In fact, the only absolutive argument in the sentence is the masdar itself, which acts as the probe for *d*-class on the verb 'деза/d-ieza'.

6.6 Position of Objects in the Biabsolutive

Fronting and other types of A'-movement is permissible in Chechen on the condition that the theme argument and lexical verb be moved together. In the case of the biabsolutive construction, particularly, an extracted argument and the lexical verb marked for the progresive aspect and the internal argument must be moved *together*. No additional material may intervene between these two constituents.

6.6.1 Theme scrambling in Chechen

(159)
Али	ц1ено	деш	ву
Ali	c'eno	d-esh	v-u
Ali.v.ABS.SG	house.d.ABS.SG	d-do-PROG	v-COP

'Ali is building a house (neutral word order).'

(160) Ц1ено   деш   Али t_i ву
      C'eno   d-e-sh]$_i$ Ali t_i v-u
      house.D.ABS D-do-PROG Ali.*v*.ABS.SG t_i *v*-COP

      'Ali is (in the process of) **building a house**.' ('emphasis is on the object.')

(161) Али   ву ц1ено   деш
      Ali   v-u c'eno   d-e-sh
      Ali.*v*.ABS.SG *v*-COP house.*d*.ABS.SG D-do-PROG

      '**Ali** is (in the process of) building a house.' ('emphasis is on Ali.')

(162) *Али   деш   ву ц1ено
      *Ali   d-esh   v-u c'eno
      Ali.*v*.ABS.SG *d*-do-PROG *v*-COP house.*d*.ABS.SG

6.6.2   Wh-Fronting of the theme in Chechen

(163) Али ц1ено   деш   ву
      Ali c'eno   d-e-sh   v-u
      Ali house.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-do-PROG *v*-COP

      'Ali is building a house (baseline).'

(164) Али   х1ун   деш   ву?
      Ali   [x1un   d-e-sh]$_i$ v-u?
      what.*d*.ABS *d*-do-PROG Ali.*v*.ABS.SG t_i

      'What is Ali (in the process of) building.'

(165) Х1ун   деш   ву Али?
      x1un   d-e-sh   v-u Ali?
      what.*d*.ABS *d*-do-PROG *v*-COP Ali.V.ABS

      'What is Ali (in the process of) building.'

(166) * х1ун Али деш ву
      * x1un Ali desh vu
      * what.*d*.ABS.SG Ali *d*-do-PROG *v*-COP

Accounts for this limitation are multiple in theoretical syntax. Several theories about similar constructions in other Dagestanian langauges and Basque exist, however, Chechen differs from these accounts in a number of structural properties, namely the lack of post-positions in progressive constructions as well as successive agreement values in other compound forms that take typical ergative-absolutive valency (i.e complex future tense and other light-verb constructions). The role of noun-incorporation and the effect that this would have on the valuation of agreement as either a typical mechanism for agreement (as we have seen in other ergative-absolutive sentences) versus feature-concord remains an open question in Caucasian and Nakh linguistics.

6.7 Order of Modifiers

The general rule for modifiers is to place any given modifier before the head that they modify. This is true for adjectives, genitive constructions, demonstratives, and numbers, relative clauses, participial phrases. In the case of some modifiers, mainly adjectives, the order may be different due to pragmatic-driven word order/focus scrambling.

6.7.1 Adjectives

Adjectives generally precede the nouns that they modify.

(167) ц1иэн книжка
      tsien   kinizhka
      red   book.*j*.ABS.SG
      the red book

(168) хьаькъалехь долу   бераш
      hwaeq'al-ehw d-olu   bier-ash
      mind.INESS   *d*-COP.RCP.PRES child.*d*-ABS.SG
      'the smart children'

In the case of nouns that are qualified with a demonstrative adjective, non-determiner adjectives precede the whole noun phrase (i.e come before non-demonstrative adjectives).

(169) x1ара ц1иэн книжка
      hara   c'ien   knizhka
      this   red   book..ABS.SG
      'this red book'

(170) и   ц1иэн книжка
      i   c'ien knizhka
      that red   book.*j*.ABS.SG
      'that red book'

(171) x1ара хьекъалехь долу   бераш
      hara   hwieq'al-ehw d-olu   bier-ash
      this   mind-INESS *d*-COP.RCP.PRES child.*d*-ABS.PL
      'these smart children'

(172) и   хьекъалехь долу   бераш
      i   hwieq'al-iehw d-olu   bier-ash
      that mind-INESS   *d*-COP.RCP.PRES child.*d*-ABS.PL
      'those smart children'

For noun phrases that are headed by a count noun that is quantified with a number, there are two possible sites. For the number one, 'цхьа/chwa', this is placed before the entire noun phrase.

(173) цхьа ц1иэн книжка
      chwa c'ien   knizhka
      one   red   book.*j*.ABS.SG

'1 red book'

(174) кхо ц1иэн книжка
     qo c'ien knizhka
     3   red   book.*j*.ABS.SG

'Three red books'

However, relative clause are placed before the number phrase. Note below that the number '∂*uъ/d-i*" also shows agreement in noun-class with the head of the noun phrase.

(175) хьекъалехь долу   диъ бер
     hwieq'aliehw d-olu   d-i' bier-ash
     mind-INESS *d*-COP.RCP.PRES *d*-4 child.*d*-ABS.SG

'Four children smart children / Four children, who are smart.'

6.7.2 Genitive modifiers

Genitive modifiers (the nouns that are possessors) are often placed before the possessed noun.

(176) Зураан   болх
     Zura-n   bolx
     Zura-GEN work.ABS.SG

'Zura's work/job'

(177) вайн   нах
     vain   nax
     1PL.GEN person.ABS.PL

'Our people [4]

(178) школехь   доьшуш   волучу   к1антан   ц1е
     shkol-ehw   d-oesh-ush   v-olu-chu   k'ant-an   c'e
     school-INESS study-PRES.PTCP *v*-COP.PRES.RCP-OBL boy-GEN.SG name.*j*.ABS.SG
     Шамил ю
     Shamil j-u
     Shamil *j*-COP

'The boy who studies at school's name is Shamil.'

6.8 Reflexive Constructions

Chechen has both indicative and reflexive pronouns. Reflexive pronouns are not generalized like in other European languages (i.e German *sich*, Russian '*себя*', French '*se*'), rather, each pronoun has its own reflexive counterpart. The use of a reflexive pronoun in the genitive binds the referent to the antecedent, whereas the indicative pronoun refers to an entity outside of the anaphora domain.

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[4]This is the etymological meaning of *Vainakh* in the '*Nakh-Dagestanian*' language family).'

(179) цунна   шен   йиша   йеза
       cunna   shien   jiisha   j-ieza
       3SG.DAT 3SG.GEN.REFLX sister.*j*.ABS.SG *j*-love.PRES

       'He loves his (own) sister.'

(180) цунна   цуьнан   йиша   йеза
       cunna   cynan   jiisha   j-ieza
       3SG.DAT 3SG.GEN sister.*j*.ABS.SG *j*-love.PRES

       'He loves his (i.e someone else's) sister'

Reflexive pronouns are also used with indicative pronouns to draw emphasis. It is often found with the complex future tense.

(181) ас-айса   язйир   ю   х1ара книжка
       as-ajsa   yaz=j-ii-r   j-u hur   knizhka
       1SG.ERG=1SG.ERG.REFLX write=*j*-do-FUT.PTCP COP this book.*i*.ABS.SG

       'I wrote this book all by myself.'

Below we provide a reference to both indicative and reflexive pronouns in Chechen:

Таблица 17: Chechen pronouns and their reflexive counterparts

	Case	Abs	Erg	Gen	Dat	All	Iness	Abl	Inst	Comp	Lat
						Singular					
1	*Indicative*	со co	ас ac	сан san	суна suuna	соьга soega	соьгахь soegahw	соьгара soegara	соьца soeca	сол sol	сох sox
	Reflexive	со suoo	айса ajsa	сайн saj-n	сайна sajna	сайга sajga	сайгахь sajgahw	сайгара sajgara	сайца sajca	сайл sajl	сайх sajx
2	*Indicative*	хьо hwo	ахь ahw	хьан hwan	хьуна hwuna	хьоьга hwoega	хьоьгахь hwoegahw	хьоьгара hwoegara	хьоьца hwoeca	хьол hwol	хьох hwox
	Reflexive	хьо hwuo	айхьа ajhwa	хьайн hwajn	хьайна hwajna	хьайга hwajga	хьайгахь hwajgahw	хьайгара hwajgara	хьайца hwajca	хьайл hwajl	хьайх hwajx
3	*Indicative*	иза iza	цо cuo	цуьнан cynan	цунна cunna	цуьнга synga	цуьнгахь cyngahw	цуьнгара cyngara	цуьнца cynca	цул cul	цуннах cynnax
	Reflexive	ша sha	ша sha	шен shien	шена shiena	шега shiega	шегахь shiegahw	шегара shiegara	шеца shieca	шел shiel	шех shiex
						Plural					
1.incl	*Indicative*	вай vaj	вай vaj	вайн vajn	вайна vajna	вайга vajga	вайгахь vajgahw	вайгара vajgara	вайца vajca	вайл vajl	вайх vajx
	Reflexive	ваьш vaj	ваьш vaj	вешан veshan	ваьшна vaeshna	ваьшка vaeshka	ваьшкахь vaeshkahw	ваьшкара vaeshkara	ваьшца vaeshca	вайл vaeshla	ваьшха vaeshxa
1.excl	*Indicative*	тхо txo	оха ooxa	тхан txan	тхуна txuna	тхоьга txoega	тхоьгахь txoegahw	тхоьгара txoegara	тхоьца txoeca	тхол txol	тхох txox
	Reflexive	тхаьш txaesh	тхай txaj	тхайн txajn	тхаьшна txaeshna	тхайга txajga	тхайгахь txajgahw	тхайгара txajgara	тхайца txajca	тхайл txajl	тхайх txajx
2	*Indicative*	шу shu	аша asha	шун shun	шуна shuna	шуьга shyga	шуьгахь shygahw	шуьгара shygara	шуьца shyca	шул shul	шух shux
	Reflexive	шаьш shaesh	шай shaj	шайн shajn	шайна shajna	шайга shajga	шайгахь shajgahw	шайгара shajgara	шайца shajca	шайл shajl	шайх shajx
3	*Indicative*	уьш ysh	цара cara	церан cieran	царна carna	цаьрга caerga	цаьргахь caergahw	цаьргара caergara	цаьрца caerca	царал caral	царах carax
	Reflexive	шаьш shaesh	шаьш shaesh	шайн shajn	шайна shajna	шайга shajga	шайгахь shajgahw	шайгара shajgara	шайца shajca	шайл shajl	шайх shajx

Reflexive pronouns are also used to bind pronouns to their antecedents across clausal domains:

(182)

цо	аьлира	ахь	шена	г1о	дийр	ду
cuo	aelira	ahw	shiena	ghuo	diir	du
3SG.ERG	say-RPST	2SG.ERG	3SG.GEN.REFLX	help	*d*-do-FUT.PTCP	*d*-COP

'He$_i$ said that you will help him$_i$.' (The person who said this and the person who will be helped are the same person)

Compare to the below sentence using no reflexive pronoun:

(183)

цо	аьлира	ахь	цунна	г1о	дийр	ду
cuo	aelira	ahw	cunna	ghuo	diir	du
3SG.ERG	say-RPST	2SG.ERG	3SG.GEN	help	*d*-do-FUT.PTCP	*d*-COP

'He$_i$ said that you will help him$_j$' (The person who said this and the person who will be helped are different people)

6.9   Relative, Subordinate, and Matrix Clauses

6.9.1   Matrix Clauses - Affirmative and Existential Sentences

Affirmative sentences in matrix clauses consist of a subject and a predicate:

(184)

тхан	дас	дукха	къахьийгина
txan	da-s	duqa	q'ahwiigi-na
1PL.EXCL.GEN	father-ERG.SG	much	endure-PST.PERF

'Our father had many hardships.'

(185)

тхан	дена	ша	хьалкхиьна	волу
txan	de-na	shien	hwalqi'na	volu
1PL.EXCL.GEN	father-DAT.SG	3SG.REFLX.GEN	grow-up-PST.PRF	COP.PRES.RCP

юрт	йиц ца ло
jurt	jic ca luo
village.ABS.SG	

'Our father remembers the village he grew up.'

Existential sentences are expressed with the copula verb '∂y/d-u'.

(186)

кху	чохь	кхо	к1ант	ву
qu	cho-hw	qo	k'ant	v-u
this.OBL	room-INESS.SG	three	boy.ABS.SG.*v*	*v*-COP

'There are 3 boys in this room.'

Existential sentences in the past and future use the perfective and compound future form of the verb 'хилла/xilla' ('to exist/to occur'):

(187)

кху	чохь	кхо	к1ант	хилла
qu	cho-hw	qo	k'ant	xil-la
this.OBL	room-INESS	3	boy.*v*.ABS.SG	exist-PST.PERF

'There were 3 boys in this room (and they're not there now).'

(188)

кху	чохь	кхо	к1ант	хир	ву
qu	cho-hw	qo	k'ant	xir	v-u
this.OBL	room-INESS	3	boy.*v*.ABS.SG	exist.*fut.ptcp*	*v*-COP

'There will be 3 boys in this room.'

6.9.2   Subordinate Clauses

Chechen subordinate clauses are usually connected by juxtaposition. For example, in quotative predicates or reported actions, the main clause and subordinate clause are juxtaposed. There is not a subordinating conjunction like 'that' in English.

(189)

Суна	моьтту	Зейна	синкъераме	йог1ур	ю
Suna	moett-u	Zejna	sinq'ieram-e	j-oghur	j-u
1SG.DAT	think-PRES	Zejna.*j*	party-ALL	*j*-come.FUT.PTCP	*j*-COP

'I think (that) Zejna will come to the party.'

6.9.3   Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are placed before the noun phrase that they modify, like other modifiers. Relative clauses are formed with the suffixes -у(н)/-u(n), -(н)а/-na, or -p/-r, which we have included under the term 'relative clausal participles' (RCP) in the section on morphology.

6.9.4   Additional Clauses

In addition to the canonical cases of relative clauses acting as a modifying unit to a noun phrase, we describe here instances where relative clauses may modify a sentence by providing additional information about the purpose, time, reason, type of action, or contrastiveness of an action.

6.9.4.1   Real Conditionals

Real conditionals are formed by adding the suffix -hw to the infinitive form of the verb. Real conditional sentences describe situations in which certain events may have come to pass, will come to pass, or do come to pass under specific circumstances. Past tense real conditions are rendered with the suffix '-exь/iehw' added to the past-perfect base of the verb, and future real conditional is rendered with the complex future participle and the real conditional form of the copula *ду/d-u, делахь/d-ielahw*.

(190)

х1ара	буьрка	хьуна	хазахетахь,		ас	иза
hara	byrka	hwuna	xaza=xiet-ahw,		as	iza
this	ball.*j*.ABS.SG	2SG.DAT	beautiful=appear-REAL.COND,		1SG.ERG	3SG.ABS

хьуна	д1алур	ю
hwuna	dwa-luur	ju
2SG.DAT	DEIC.PREV-give.FUT.PTCP	*j*-COP

'If you like this ball, I will give it to you.' (Event that will happen: 'I will give this ball', Conditional required: 'You like this ball.'

Syntactically, the conditional clauses may precede or follow the clause that describes the event that will happen.

(191) ас   х1ара буьрка   хьуна   д1алур   ю,
       as   hara byrka   hwuna   dwa-luur   ju,
       1SG.ERG this ball.*j*.ABS.SG 2SG.DAT DEIC.PVERB-give.FUT.PTCP *j*-COP,

       иза   хьуна   хазахетахь
       iza   hwuna   xaza=xieta-hw
       3SG.ABS 2SG.DAT beautiful-appear-REAL.COND

       'I will give you this ball, if you like it.'

The conditional form is always used on the auxiliary verb for complex verbal forms (compound future, potential voice, causative, etc.)

(192) шай   тхо   долучу   дог1ур   делахь,
       shai   txuo   doluchu   doghur   dielahw,
       2PL.ABS 1PL.EXCL.ABS COP.RCP.OBL.ALL come.FUT.PTCP COP.REAL.COND,

       тхоьга   схьахаийта
       twoega   shwa-xa-ijt-a
       2PL.EXCL.ALL DEIC.PVERB-know-CAUS-IMP

       'If you are coming to our place, let us know!' (lit. 'If you are coming to the place that we are at, make it known to us')

6.9.4.2   Unreal Conditionals

Unreal conditionals are formed with the suffix '-ехь/-iehw' attached to the perfective aspect stem. They proceed the clause that is modified and differ from real conditionals in that they describe situations that may possibly have happened should a certain set of event had come to past, but, alas, did not.

(193) Джон   хеннахь ц1авеанехь,   оха   дикка
       Dhzon   xiennahw c'a=v-ean-iehw,   ooxa   dikka
       John.ABS.SG earlier   home=*v*-come-PST.REAL.COND, 1PL.EXCL.ERG better

       болх бина   хир   бара
       bolx b-i-na   xir   b-ara
       work *b*-do-PST.PRF be.FUT.PTCP *b*-COP.PST

       'If John had come home earlier, we would have worked more.'

Unreal conditionals occur commonly in the future tense to describe an outcome that will come to pass, should possible or necessary conditions apply.

(194) ахь   мер   делахь,   ас   чай
       ahw   mer   delahw',   as   chaj
       2SG.ERG drink.FUT.PTCP *d*-COP.COND, 1SG.ERG tea.*d*.ABS.SG

       кечдийр   дара
       kech=diir   d-ara
       ready=*d*-do-FUT.PTCP *d*-COP.PST

       'If you were to drink, I would make tea.'

6.9.4.3 Relative Clauses of Time

subordinate clauses relating to time are chained together using a strategy of present participles and relative clauses modifying a form of the noun *'хан/xan'* (time). For subordinate clauses describing simultaneous actions, the present participle alone is used before the modified action:

(195) ac   балха   сай   д1авоьдуш,
        as   balx-a   sai   dwa-v-oed-ush,
        1SG.ERG work.AUG-ALL 1SG.ERG.REFLEX DEIC-PVERB-*v*-go-PRES.PTCP,

        сайн   цициг   чохь   дитира,   х1унда-аьлча
        sain   cicig   choe-x   d-iit-ira,   hunda-aelcha
        1SG.GEN.REFLEX cat.*d*.ABS.SG inside.AUG-INESS *d*-keep-RPST, because

        соьга   иза   ара   ца   даккхаделира.
        soega   iza   ara   ca   daqqa=d-el-ira
        1SG.ALL 3SG.ABS.*d* DEIC.PVERB NEG put.out=*d*-POT-RPST

        'While I was leaving to work, I kept my cat inside, because I wasn't able to put her out (lit. unable to put her outside the house)'

The Chechen equivalent of 'before' is the suffix -ле/-lie

(196) хьехархочо   урок чекхялале,   заданийш
        hwiexarxo-ch-uo   urok cheq=j-ala-lie,   zadan-iish
        teacher-AUG-ERG.SG lesson finish=*j*-give-PST.PERF-before, assignment-ABS.PL

        д1аязяйтира   тхоьга
        dwa-yaz=jiit-ira   txoega
        DEIC.PVERB-write=do.CAUS-RPST 1PL.EXCL.ALL

        'The teacher made us write down an assignment before class ended.'

(197) Ц1енан   да   ц1авале,   кертара   болх
        c'iena-n   da   c'a=v-a-lie,   kertar-a   bolx
        house-GEN.SG father.*v*.ABS.SG home=*v*-come-before, yard-ALL.SG work.*b*.ABS.SG

        чекх а   беккхина,   мерза даа   х1ума   а   дина,
        cheq a   b-eqqi-na,   merza da'a   huma   a   d-i-na,
        finish COOR *b*-set-PST.PERF, tasty eat.INF thing.*d*.ABS.SG COOR *d*-do-PST.PERF,

        1еш   хилла   х1усаман нана.
        wiesh   xil-la   husam-an nana
        wait.PROG.PTCP exist-PERF.PST domestic mother.*j*ABS.SG

        'Before her husband got home, the wife finished the yard work, cooked tasty and was waiting.'

For intransitive sentences:

(198) малх д1абуьзале,   бежнаш   ц1а   дахкадан   виц ма лолахь
        malx dwa-b-yza-lie, bezh-na-sh c'a   daxka=dan v-ic   ma lola-hw
        sun   godown-beore, cattle   home take=out   forget neg give

        'Before the sun sets, please don't forget to bring in the cattle.'

For relative clauses of time that subordinate an event that occurred after the main clause, the structure '-чул т1ахъ/-chul t'aehw' is used. The verbal suffix '-чул/-chul' is added to the past perfect form of the verb.

(199) урокаш   чекхялчул   т1аьхьа, тхо   ц1а
       urok-ash   cheq=j-a-l-chul   t'aehw, txuo   c'a
       lesson-ABS.PL.*jII* finish=*jII*-give-PST.PERF-SUFFIX after,   2PL.EXCL home
       дахара
       d-ax-ara
       d-go-RPST
       'After lessons were over, we went home.'

6.9.4.4   Relative Clauses of Purpose

Relative clauses of purpose are rendered using the coordinating conjunction '*x1унда-аьлча/hwunda-aelcha*' or '*б1ахьана-долуш/bwahwana dolush*' (because, having this reason/for this reason)
.

(200) Иза   шен   церг   лазаялла
       iza   shien   cerg   laza=j-al-la
       3SG.ABS.*v* 3SG.GEN.REFLEX tooth.*j*.ABS.SG pain=*j*-come-PST.PERF
       бахьана-долуш   лорана   т1е вахара.
       bwahwana-dolush lor-a-na   t'e v-ax-ara
       because   doctor-AUG-GEN.SG on   *v*-go-RPST
       'It being the case that/Because that his tooth was hurting, he went to the doctor's
       (lit. he went onto the doctor)'

Sentences with hunda-aelcha or delie can occur to either the right or left of the matrix sentences. It is also possible to juxtapose two concepts and connect them as purpose sentences across the sentence boundary. Juxtaposed sentences of purpose are chained with the word 'цуьндела/cundela' meaning 'because of this'. This is identical in meaning to English 'therefore' or Russian 'поэтому'.

(201) Революци   хилале   хьалха   Нохчийн махкехь
       Revoljuci   xilalie   hwalxa   noxchin maxkewh-a
       Revolution.*j*.ABS.SG be-PST.PERF-before time-ALL Chechen country-INESS
       дуккха   ца хилла   оьрсийн къам.   Цуьндела
       duqqa   ca xi-lla   oerciin q'am.   Cundela
       very=many   NEG exist.PST.PERF Russian tribe.*d*.ABS.SG. Therefore
       нохчошна   оьрсийн мотт   бийца   хууш
       noxchoshna   oerchiin mott   b-iica   xu-ush
       Chechen=person-DAT.PL   Russian tongue.*b*.ABS.SG *b*-speak.INF know-PRES.PROG
       ца   хилла.
       ca   xi-lla.
       NEG EXIST.COP-PST
       'Before the revolution there were not many Russians who lived in Chechnya. Therefore
       Chechens did not know how to speak Russian.'

6.10 Raising and Control Sentences

6.10.1 Expletive/Raising Sentences

Chechen does not have an overt expletive pronoun like English 'it' in expressions like 'it is likely', 'it seems', or 'it is possible'. Often, this these constructions show a subjectless construction in the first clause and a fully-realized sentence in the lower clause.

(202)   Зейна   синкъераме   йог1ур   ю
       Zejna   sinq'ieram-ie   j-ogh-ur   j-u
       Zejna.*j*.ABS.SG party-ALL.SG *j*-come-*fut.ptcp* *j*-COP

       'Zejna will come to the party.'

(203)   Суна   хетарехь   Зейна   синкъераме   йог1ур   ю
       Suna   xietariehw   Zejna   sinq'ieram-ie   j-ogh-ur   d-u
       1SG.DAT seem.PRES Zejna.*j*.ABS.SG party-ALL.SG *j*-come-*fut.ptcp* *j*-COP

       'It seems (to me) that Zejna will come to the party.'

(204)   Зейна   синкъераме   йог1ур   йолучух   тара
       Zejna   sinq'ieram-ie   j-ogh-ur   j-olu-chu-x   tara
       Zejna.*j*.ABS.SG party-ALL.SG *j*-come-*fut.ptcp* *j*-COP.RCP.PRES-OBL-LAT appearance
       ду
       j-u
       j-COP

       'It looks like Zejna will come to the party.'

6.10.2 Control Predicate

Control sentences are rendered in Chechen with contained subordinated clauses. The higher clause with the control predicate precedes the lower clause, which assigns case in the same clausal domain.

(205)   Жовхьара   и   проект   чекхяьккхина
       Zhowhwar-a   i   projekt   cheq=j-aeq-qina
       John-ERG.SG that project.*j*.ABS.SG finish=*j*-set-PST.PERF

       'John finished that project.'

(206)   Зураъана лаьа   Жовхьара   и   проект   чекхяькккха
       Zura-'ana la'a   Zhowhwar-a   i   projekt   cheq=j-aeq-a
       Zura-ERG wish.PRES Dzhoxar-ERG that project.*j*.ABS.SG finish=*j*-set.PST.PERF

       'Zura wants John to finish that project.'

Unlike in English, (206) shows the lower clause with a tensed verb for the past perfective. When the higher clause and embedded clause share the same subject, the lower clause subject is elided and the lexical verb is found in the infinitive.

(207)   Жовхьарана лаьа   и   проект   чекхяккха
       Zhowhwar-ana laea   i   projekt   cheq=j-aqqa
       John-DAT.SG   wish.PRES that project.*j*.ABS.SG finish=*j*-set.INF

       'John wants to finish that project.'

6.11 Yes/No Questions

Chechen Yes/No questions are formed by adding the question particle '-*ŭ*/-*i*' to the tensed verb. In speech it is also companied by a rise in tone.

(208)   Хьо   балха   автобусаца   воьдий?
         hwo   balx-a   avtobus-a-ca   v-oed-ii
         2SG.ABS work.AUG-ALL bus-AUG-INST *v*-go.PRES-Q

         'Do you go to work by bus?'

         - Х1а-хаъ, со   балха   машенаца   воьду.
         - ha-ha',   suo   balx-a   mashien-a-ca v-oedu
         - no,   1SG.ABS.*v* work.AUG-ALL car-AUG-INST *v*-go.PRES

         'No. I go by car.'

(209)   Мурад   школехь   доьшуш вуй?
         Murad   shkol-e-hw   doeshu-sh v-u-j
         Murad.*v*.ABS.SG study-PRES.PTCP *v*-COP-Q

         'Does Murad go to (study) school?'

         - Х1аъ, иза   школехь   доьшуш ву.
         - ha',   iza   shkol-ie-hw   doeshu-sh v-u
         - yes,   3SG.ABS.*v* study-PRES.PTCP *v*-COP

         'Yes, he studies at school.'

(210)   Ахь   олий   цуьнга дика деша?
         ahw   olii   cynga   dika diesha
         2SG.ERG say-PRES-Q 3SG.ALL good study.INF

         'Did you tell him to study well?'

         - Х1а-х1аъ, ас   ца   олу.
         - ha-ha',   as   ca   ol-u
         - no,   1SG.ERG NEG say-PRES

         'No, I don't. (Exclamation)'

6.12 Wh-Questions

Wh-Question words license a question in Chechen. When using a wh-question word, you can not have the question particle -ii appear on the tensed verb

(211)   г1уллакхаш   муха ду   **хьан**   ?
         ghullaq-ash   muxa du   **x'an**
         affair.*d*-ABS.PL how   d-cop 2SG.GEN.REFLX

         'How are you?'

(212)   * г1уллакхаш хьан   муха дуи?
        * ghullaq-ash   hwan   muxa d-u-i
        * affair-ABS.PL 2SG.GEN.REFLX how   *d*-COP-Q

        *UNGRAMMATICAL due to Q-word 'муха/muxa' and Q-particle '*uй/ii*' in same sentence

A list of questions words and example sentences are provided below:

6.12.1   Question words and pronouns

Таблица 18: Wh-/Question Words

Question Word	Translation
х1ун/hun	what? (absolute)
х1унда/hunda	why? for what reason?
мила/mila	who? (absolute)
мича/micha	to where?
мичахь/michahw	where? at what location?
мичахьара/michahwara	(from) where?
мичахьараг1ула/michahwaraghula	(via/through) where/what location?
муха/muxa	how?
муьлха/mylxa	which?
маца/maca	when?
мел/miel	how much?
маса/masa	how many?
масазза/masazza	how many times?

(213)   хьехархочо   хьоьху   дешархошна
        hwiexarxo-ch-uo   hwoex-u   diesharxo-sh-na
        teacher-AUG-ERG.SG teach-PRES student.AUG-PL-DAT

        'The teacher teaches the students.'

(214)   **хьа**   хьоьху   дешархошна?
        hwa   hwoex-u   diesharxo-sh-na
        who.ERG teach-PRES student.AUG-PL-DAT

        'Who teaches students?'

(215)   хьанна   хьоьху **хьехархочо**?
        hwanna   hwoex-u **hwiexarxocho**
        who-DAT. teach   **teacher**AUG-ERG.SG

        'Who(m) does the teacher teach?'

As seen in (214) and (215), interrogative pronouns appear in the same position as the words that they replace in sentences with unmarked word-order. Wh-words are not obligatorily moved to the front of the sentences as in English, however, due to the focus of the sentence, they often are found in this position.

The pronouns 'x1ун/hun' and 'мила/mila' decline for case using supletive augmented forms. For 'x1ун/hun' this is 'стен-/sten-' and for мила/mila it is 'хъан-/hwan-'.

(216) • атто   1алашдо   эса
       atto   walash=d-o   iesa
       cow.ERG.SG care=*d*-do.PRES calf.*d*.ABS.SG

       'The cow cares for the calf.'

     • **стен**   эса   1алашдо?
       stien   iesa   walash=d-o
       what.ERG.SG calf.*d*.ABS.SG care=*d*-do.PRES

       'What takes care of the calf?'

     • **x1ун**   1алашдо   атто?
       hun   walash=d-o   atto
       what.ABS.SG care=*d*-do.PRES cow.ERG.SG

       'What does the cow take care of?'

(217) • дешархочо   **муха** яздо?
       diesharxo-ch-uo   **muxa** yaz=d-o
       student-AUG-ERG.SG **how** write=*d*do.PRES

       'How does the student write?'

     • дешархочо   дика яздо
       diesharxo-ch-uo   dika yaz=d-o
       student-AUG-ERG.SG good write=*d*-do.PRES

       'The student writes well.'

(218) • 1имранна   хаа   дика яздан
       Wimran-na   xa'a   dika yaz=d-an
       Wimran-DAT know.PRES good yaz=*d*-do.INF

       'Wimran knows how to write well/Wimran can write well.'

     • **муьлхачу** дешархочунна   хаа   дика   яздан?
       mylxa-chu diesharxo-chu-na   xaa   dika   yaz=d-an
       which-OBL student-AUG-DAT.SG good write=*d*-do.INF know.PRES

       'Which student knows how to write well?/Which student can write well?'

(219) • **маса**   дешархо   ву   кху   чохь?
       masa   diesharxo   v-u   qu   choe-hw
       how.many student.ABS.SG *v*-COP this.OBL room.INESS.SG

       'How many students are in this room?'

     • кху   чоьхь   итт   дешархо ву
       qu   choe-hw   itt   diesharxo v-u
       this.OBL room-INESS.SG student.ABS.SG.*v* *v*-COP

       'In this room there are 10 students.'

(220) • **мел** ахча ду дешархочуьнгахь?
mel axcha d-u diesharxo-cyn-gahw?
how.much money.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-COP student-AUG-INESS.SG

'How much money does the student have (on him).'

• цуьнгахь дукха ахча ду
cyngahw duqa axcha d-u
3SG.INESS much money.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-COP

'He has a lot of money (on him).'

(221) • **х1унда** деза дешархошна дукха ахча?
hunda d-ieza diesharxo-sh-na duqa axcha
why *d*-need.PRES student-PL.AUG-DAT much money.*d*.ABS.SG

'Why do students need a lot of money?'

• дешархошна дукха ахча деза книгаш
diesharxo-sh-na duqa axcha d-ieza kniga-sh
student-PL.AUG-DAT much money.*d*.ABS.SG *d*-need.PRES book-ABS.PL
эца
ieca
take.INF

'Students need a lot of money to buy books.'

(222) • **мича** воьду дешархо х1ора дийнахь?
micha v-oedu diesharxo hora diinahw
where.to *v*-go.PRES student.*v*.ABS.SG every day

'Where does the student do every day?'

• иза университете воьду
iza universitet-e v-oedu
3SG.ABS.*v* university-ALL.SG *v*-go.PRES

'He is goes to the University.'

(223) • **мичахьара** ву и дешархо?
michahwara v-u i diesharxo
where.from *v*-COP that student.*v*.ABS.SG

'Where is that student from?'

• иза Казахстанера ву
iza Kazaxstan-iera v-u
3SG.ABS.*v* Kazakstan-ABL *v*-COP

'He is from Kazakhstan.'