

**Rarum begets rarum:  
A rare clitic and morphosyntactic reduplication in  
Chechen and Ingush**

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## 1 Introduction

[1] Clitics with form *'a* are ubiquitous in Chechen and Ingush.<sup>1</sup>

[2] An important use of them is to mark chained clauses and coordinated verb phrases.

*Maliika* [loomax hwal **'a** jeelara,] [ohwa **'a** joessara].  
Malika mountain.LAT up and J.go.WP down and J.descend.WP  
“Malika climbed up and down the mountain.” CHECHEN

[3] As discussed by Peterson (2001), this clitic appears to be of a rare type—a ditropic clitic (see Cysouw (2005)) of Klavans' (1985) “type 5”.

[4] This clitic participates in another rare type of construction, morphosyntactic reduplication (see Conathan and Good (2001)).

*Maalik* [viela **'a** viilara,] [vialxa **'a** vilxara].  
Malik v.laugh.INF & v.laugh.WP v.cry.INF & v.cry.WP  
“Malik laughed and cried.” CHECHEN

[5] Peterson (2001:149) suggests that *'a* actually triggers reduplication of the verb in order to allow it to have a host within the verb phrase.

[6] Could one rarum be the cause of another?

[7] Outline of presentation

[a] Give background on clitics with form *'a*, with a focus on PREVERBAL *'a*

[b] Give background on verbal copying in Chechen and Ingush

[c] Develop an analysis suggesting the presence of these two rara in the same environment is not coincidental

<sup>1</sup> I would like to acknowledge Johanna Nichols for her help in collecting and analyzing much of the data found in this handout.

## 2 Clitics with form *'a*

### 2.1 Overview

[8] Clitics with form *'a* have a wide range of uses in Chechen and Ingush.

@Cyna<sup>~</sup> chulaacaman maewna hu<sup>~</sup> bu hwuona aelcha, daaxariahw **'a**,  
3S.GEN content meaning what B.be.PRS 2S.DAT say.CVTEMP life.ADV FOC  
*duezaliahw 'a*, *micchanhwaa 'a*, *hu<sup>~</sup> -'a* *lielosh* *shaa* *valahw 'a*,  
family.ADV FOC everywhere FOC what-FOC engaged-in.CVSIM 3S.REFL V.be.CVIRR FOC  
*daggahw* *caw 'a* *dycush*, *bagahw* *qi<sup>~</sup>* *dycush* *volu*  
heart.FOC.LOC one.NZ FOC say.CVSIM mouth.ADV any-more say.CVSIM V.be.PRS.PART  
*stag* *cq'aa 'a* *q'uonax* *xir* *vaac* *booxurg* *du* *iza*.  
person never FOC man be.FUT V.be.NEG.PRS say.NZ D.be.PRS that

“Its meaning is that in life, in your family, everywhere, no matter what you are engaged in, anyone who thinks one thing and says another will never be a real person.” CHECHEN

[9] Roughly speaking, we can classify the uses of *'a* as emphatic, conjunctive, or some combination of the two.

[10] Conjunctive (coordination) (see Jeschull (2004) for discussion of nominal coordination constructions employing *'a* in Chechen)

[a] *Zhejna* *jaaz-da* **'a** *surt* *dilla* **'a** *lia'ara* *zudchunna*.  
book write-D.DO.INF & picture D.paint.INF & want.WP woman.DAT  
“The woman wanted to write a book and paint a picture.” CHECHEN

[b] *Dulx* *zhaaliez 'a* *di'ar*, *tsiskaz 'a* *di'ar*.  
meat dog.ERG & D.eat.WP cat.ERG & D.eat.WP

“Both the dog and the cat ate the meat.” (Peterson 2001:146) INGUSH

[11] Conjunctive (chaining)

*Ahwmad*, *sialxana* *wa* **'a** *wiina*, *dwa-vaghara*.  
Ahmed yesterday stay.INF & stay.CVANT DX-V.go.WP  
“Ahmed stayed yesterday and left.” CHECHEN

[12] Emphatic and conjunctive

*Ahwmad*, *sialxana* **'a** *wiina*, *dwa-vaghara*.  
Ahmed yesterday FOC stay.CVANT DX-V.go.WP  
“Ahmed stayed yesterday (too) and left.” CHECHEN

[13] Enclitic status of 'a

- [a] Impressionistically, it phrases prosodically with the word that precedes it.
- [b] It can be reduced to a glottal stop which is pronounced in the coda of the final syllable of the word it attaches to.
- [c] It is associated with a high pitch and, when reduced to a glottal stop, the high pitch shifts to the end of the element preceding it.

[14] The circumstances under which 'a can appear after a verb are quite limited. The cases I am aware of are (i) after an infinitive and (ii) after the irrealis converb in a concessive construction.

2.2 Preverbal 'a

[15] The most important use of 'a here is PREVERBAL 'a . This use is associated with verb phrase coordination and clause chaining (see Good (2003)).

[16] Verb phrase coordination examples

- [a] *Maliika [loomax hwal 'a jeelara,]VP [ohwa 'a joessira]VP.*  
Malika mountain.LAT up & J.go.WP down & J.descend.WP  
“Malika climbed up and down the mountain.” CHECHEN
- [b] *Maalik [viela 'a viilara,]VP [vialxa 'a vilxara]VP.*  
Malik V.laugh.INF & V.laugh.WP V.cry.INF & V.cry.WP  
“Malik laughed and cried.” CHECHEN
- [c] *[Hwal 'a jeelira] [ohwa 'a joessira] Maliika loomax.*  
DX & J.go.WP down & J.descend.WP Malika mountain.LAT  
“Malika climbed up and down the mountain.” CHECHEN

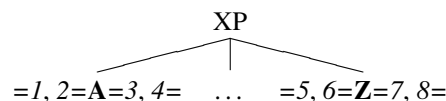
[17] Clause chaining examples

- [a] *Maliika, [tykana 'a jaghna,] [zheina 'a iacna,] c'a je'ara.*  
Malika store.DAT & J.go.CVANT book & buy.CVANT home J.come.WP  
“Malika went to the store, bought a book, and came back home.” CHECHEN
- [b] *@Jaghana, cuo, [cwa hwoqa 'a be'ana,] [doogha 'a duoxiina,]*  
J.go.CVANT 3S.ERG one stick & B.come.CVANT lock & D.break.CS.CVANT  
*[chu 'a jaghana,] ju'urg swa-iicara.*  
in & J.go.CVANT food DX-take.WP  
“(Having Gone) she took the stake and broke the lock and went and took the food.” CHECHEN

[18] The position of preverbal 'a in different verb phrase types

- [a] SIMPLEX INTRANSITIVE  
*Ahwmad, wa 'a wiina, dwa-vaghara.*  
Ahmed stay.INF & stay.CVANT DX-V.go.WP  
“Ahmed stayed (for a while) and left.” CHECHEN
- [b] DEICTIC ELEMENT-VERB  
*Maliikas Ahwmadna zheina dwa 'a della, dwa-jaghara.*  
Malika.ERG Ahmed.DAT book DX & D.give.WP DX-J.go.WP  
“Malika gave the book back to Ahmed and left.” CHECHEN
- [c] PREVERB-VERB  
*Ahwmada, kiexat jaaz 'a dina, zheina dueshu.*  
Ahmed.ERG letter write & D.do.CVANT book D.read.PRS  
“Ahmed, having written a letter, reads a book.” CHECHEN
- [d] OBJECT-VERB  
*Ahwmad, zhwala 'a iacna, vilxira.*  
Ahmed dog & buy.CVANT V.cry.WP  
“Ahmed bought a dog and cried.” CHECHEN

[19] Klavans's (1985) clitic types—'a would seem to be best classified as type 5



[20] Schematic Chechen and Ingush verb phrase structure

CHECHEN AND INGUSH VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE			
CORE VERB PHRASE			
Adjuncts	Objects/Goals	'a	Inflected Verb
	Deictic Proclitics		
	Preverbs		
	Copy Infinitives		

[21] Additional requirement of 'a: It must be preceded by an element in the core verb phrase.

[22] The prosody of a “typical” core verb phrase

- [a] *Malika* [dwá-jèdira].  
Malika DX-J.run.WP  
“Malika ran away.” CHECHEN
- [b] *Ahwmad* [óeghaz-vàghara].  
Ahmed anger-V.go.WP  
“Ahmed got angry.” CHECHEN

[23] The prosody of a verb phrase containing preverbal 'a

- [a] *Maliika loomax* [hwǎl 'a jèelara] [óhwǎ 'a jèessara].  
Malika mountain.LAT up & J.go.WP down & J.descend.WP  
“Malika climbed up and down the mountain.” CHECHEN
- [b] *Maliikina Ahwmad* [gǎ 'a gira] *Mariam* [xázǎ 'a xèzara].  
Malika.DAT Ahmed see.INF & see.WP Mary hear.INF & hear.WP  
“Malika saw Ahmed and heard Mary.” CHECHEN

### 3 Copy infinitive

#### 3.1 Basics

[24] Emphatic uses of copy infinitive

- [a] *Aala ma aala*.  
say.INF & NEG say.IMP  
“Don’t even tell!” CHECHEN
- [b] *Maliikina Ahwmad ga 'a gira Mariam xaza 'a xezara*.  
Malika.DAT Ahmed see.INF & see.WP Mary hear.INF & hear.WP  
“Malika saw Ahmed and heard Mary.” CHECHEN

[25] Obligatory uses of the copy infinitive

- [a] *Maalik viela 'a viilara, vialxa 'a vilxara*.  
Malik V.laugh.INF & V.laugh.WP V.cry.INF & V.cry.WP  
“Malik laughed and cried.” CHECHEN
- [b] *Kiexat, daat'a 'a daett'a, telxara*.  
paper tear.INF & tear.CVANT spoil.WP  
“The paper ripped and was spoiled.” CHECHEN

[26] Form of the copy infinitive for some irregular verbs in Chechen

INFINITIVE	PRESENT	COPY VERB	GLOSS
<i>dala</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>dala</i> or <i>la</i>	‘go’
<i>da~</i>	<i>dahwa</i>	<i>da~</i> or <i>dahwa</i>	‘bring’
<i>dagha</i>	<i>duedu</i>	<i>dagha</i> or <i>duoda</i>	‘go’
<i>daa~</i>	<i>dooghu</i>	<i>daa~</i>	‘come’

[27] Ingush does not show the above pattern, but there are some irregular verbs. The verb *gaa* ‘delay.INF’, for example, has a copy infinitive with form *ga*. The verbs *gu* ‘see’ and *lie* ‘die’ are also in this irregular class.

#### 3.2 Some possible syntactic analyses

[28] Some kind of topicalization?

[29] Comparable data from Yiddish (Davis and Prince 1986:90)

- [a] *redn red ikh mame-loshin*  
speak.INF speak.PRS.1s I mama-language  
“As for speaking, I speak Yiddish.”
- [b] *veysn(/\*visn) veyst er gornit*  
know.INF? know.PRS.3s he nothing  
“As for knowing, he knows nothing.”

[30] Multiple consultants consistently report no special “emphasis” in constructions where the copy infinitive is obligatory.

[31] Also, unlike prototypical topicalization, a peripheral clause position is not involved.

[32] Some kind of predicate cleft?

[33] Data from Edo (Stewart 2001:87)

- [a] *Òzó kpòlò*.  
Ozo be.big  
“Ozo is big.”
- [b] *Ùkpólómwèn òré Òzó kpòlò*.  
NZ.be-big.NZ FOC Ozo be.big  
“Ozo is big.”

[34] As before, there is no special pragmatic force associated with the copy infinitive, making such an analysis un insightful.

[35] Also, there is no evidence that the copy-infinitive construction is biclausal.

[36] **Some kind of cognate object?**

[37] Data from Edo (Stewart 2001:93)

*Òzó khián (òkhián).*  
Ozo walk PFX.walk  
“Ozo walked.”

[38] The copy infinitive (i) morphologically resembles a verb, (ii) is not marked for case, (iii) does not trigger verb agreement.

[39] In addition, there are productive nominalization processes in Chechen not used in this construction (see Good (2003) for examples).

[40] **Something to do with unaccusativity/unergativity?**

[41] Some Chechen data

[a] *Maalik viela 'a viilara, vialxa 'a vilxara.*  
Malik V.laugh.INF & V.laugh.WP V.cry.INF & V.cry.WP  
“Malik laughed and cried.” CHECHEN

[b] *Kiexat, daat'a 'a daett'a, telxara.*  
paper tear.INF & tear.CVANT spoil.WP  
“The paper ripped and was spoiled.” CHECHEN

[42] Some Ingush data

[a] *Xygh dyza 'a dyzaa, piila wa-'ottadyr.*  
water.LOC fill.INF & fill.CVANT glass DX-put.CS.WP  
“(Someone) filled the glass and put it down.” INGUSH

[b] *Xygh dyza 'a dyzaa, piila t'ix-daxar.*  
water.LOC fill.INF & fill.CVANT glass BESIDE-D.go.WP  
“The glass filled with water and fell over.” INGUSH

[43] At present, there is no indication the unaccusative/unergative distinction plays an important role in this construction (or in Chechen and Ingush grammar generally).

[44] ... others?

### 3.3 Features of a non “syntactic” analysis

[45] A first approximation of an analysis—a template for preverbal 'a

[ (... ) [ ... = 'a ]<sub>Word</sub> [ ]<sub>V</sub> ]<sub>Core VP</sub>

[46] While such a template can account for the facts, it raises an important question: Why such a template here?

## 4 Deconstructing the template

### 4.1 Characterizing the template prosodically

[47] Serbo-Croatian topicalization template (Zec and Inkelas 1990:373–4)

[a] [[*Taj*]<sub>ω</sub> [*čovek*]<sub>ω</sub>]<sub>φ</sub> *voleo-je Mariju.*  
that man.NOM loved-AUX Mary.ACC  
“That man loved Mary.”

[b]\* [[*Petar*]<sub>ω</sub>]<sub>φ</sub> *voleo-je Mariju.*  
Peter.NOM loved-AUX Mary.ACC  
“Peter loved Mary.”

[c] [[*Petar*]<sub>ω</sub> [*Petrović*]<sub>ω</sub>]<sub>φ</sub> *voleo-je Mariju.*  
Peter.NOM Petrovic.NOM loved-AUX Mary.ACC  
“Peter Petrovic loved Mary.”

[48] Revision of Chechen template

[ [ ... = 'a ]<sub>ω</sub> [ ]<sub>ω</sub> ]<sub>Core VP φ</sub>

[49] Most verb phrases will fulfill the template “naturally”

[a] SIMPLEX INTRANSITIVE  
*So voelu.*  
1s V.laugh.PRS  
“I am laughing.” CHECHEN

[b] DEICTIC ELEMENT-VERB  
*Malika dwa-jedira.*  
Malika DX-J.run.WP  
“Malika ran away.” CHECHEN

[c] PREVERB-VERB

*Ahwmad oeghaz-vaghara.*

Ahmed anger-V.go.WP

“Ahmed got angry.” CHECHEN

[d] OBJECT-VERB

*Ahwmadna Maliika gira.*

Ahmed.DAT Malika see.WP

“Ahmed saw Malika.” CHECHEN

[50] Phonological minimality restrictions at the word level (Hyman et al. To appear)

IMPERATIVE	GLOSS	TRANSLATION
<i>lima</i>	‘cultivate’	“cultivate!”
<i>bamb-a</i>	‘catch-FV’	“catch!”
<i>thum-a</i> (H)	‘send-FV’	“send!”
<i>nambith-a</i> (H)	‘taste-FV’	“taste!”
<i>yi-dla</i> (*dl-a)	‘YI-eat-FV’	“eat!”
<i>yi-lw-a</i> (H/L) (*lw-a)	‘YI-fight-FV’	“fight!”
<i>yi-m-a</i> (H) (*m-a)	‘YI-stand-FV’	“stand!”
<i>yi-z-a</i> (H/L) (*z-a)	‘YI-come-FV’	“come!”

[51] Comparing the Chechen template to other cases

[a] A two phonological word restrictions like Serbo-Croatian

[b] An inserted dummy element like Ndebele

[52] The prosodic characterization of the template treats preverbal *'a* as a second-position clitic in its prosodic phrase.

#### 4.2 The development of preverbal *'a*

[53] From here on out, a good degree of speculation...

[54] We saw before that preverbal *'a* was one kind of rarum.

[55] Obligatory morphosyntactic copying also seems to be a rarum (though how rare it is isn't as clear)

[56] Can we connect these two rara?

[57] Some assumptions

[a] Preverbal *'a* developed from conjunctive emphatic *'a*

[b] The obligatory copy infinitive developed from the non-obligatory contrastive copy infinitive construction

[58] Schematized chaining construction in information structure terms

[ [ TOPIC ]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [ FOCUS ]<sub>CVB</sub> [ FOCUS ]<sub>CVB</sub> [ FOCUS ]<sub>FVB</sub> ]

[ [ *Maliika* ]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [ *tykana 'a jaghna* ]<sub>CVB</sub> [ *zhejna 'a iecna* ]<sub>CVB</sub> [ *c'a je'ara* ]<sub>FVB</sub> ]

Malika store.DAT & J.go.CVANT book & buy.CVANT home J.come.WP

“Malika went to the store, bought a book, and came back home.” CHECHEN

[59] The semantics and pragmatics of the chaining construction would be amenable to the use of conjunctive emphatic *'a* in chained clauses—this also holds true for verb phrase coordination.

[60] INFINITIVE *'a* VERB would also be reasonably used in chaining and verb phrase coordination constructions, for similar reasons.

[61] Further assumption: A structure like X *'a* VERB may have been ambiguous between an argument-emphasis reading and a predicate-emphasis reading.

[62] Possible scenario: When conjunctive emphatic *'a* was used to mark the preverbal element in chained and coordinated verb phrases, its contribution to the semantics of the sentence was redundant, allowing it to be reanalyzed as a marker of those constructions.

[63] Possible pivots for the reanalysis

[a] Clauses containing the emphatic copy infinitive followed by preverbal *'a*. A reading with focus on the infinitive would be hard to distinguish from a reading with focus on the predicate.

[b] Complex verbs where the preverb makes the primary semantic contribution to the complex form. (Harris (2002:203) makes a comparable point for Udi.)

[64] Example of copy infinitive in chained clause

*Muusaa, viila 'a viilaa, vakhar.*

Musa v.laugh.INF & v.laugh.CVANT v.go.WP

“Musa laughed and left.” (Conathan and Good 2001:54) INGUSH

[65] Schematic overview of reanalysis in chaining constructions

[ [ SUBJ ] [ ... = 'a<sub>EMPH</sub> VERB ]<sub>CVB</sub> [ ... FINITE VERB ] ]  
 [ [ SUBJ ] [ ... [ ... ] = 'a<sub>PVBL</sub> VERB ]<sub>CVB</sub> [ ... FINITE VERB ] ]

### 4.3 The rise of the template

[66] Under this analysis 'a's templatic restrictions can be viewed as a holdover from its use as a conjunctive emphatic marker.

[67] We can further speculate that the special prosodic characteristics of verb phrases containing 'a also played an important role in the reanalysis.

[68] The preverbal 'a construction would, thus, have had definable formal and functional characteristics:

- [a] Formal characteristics: Two phonological words, special pitch pattern
- [b] Functional characteristics: Marker of clause chaining and verb phrase coordination—unifiable under the notion of cosubordination (see Good (2003))

## 5 Conclusion

[69] Consistent with Peterson's (2001) suggestion, we can posit a link between the wrong-leaning preverbal 'a and the presence of the copy infinitive.

[70] The template seen here would seem to instantiate a rarum but looks less rare if we assume the division between morphology and syntax is more clinal than absolute.

[71] Some rara may be rare because they require the right combination of circumstances, not because of anything "intrinsic" to them.

[72] Circumstances needed for the Chechen and Ingush case on this analysis:

- [a] A conjunctive emphatic clitic with special prosody
- [b] A contrastive construction involving a copy verb and that clitic
- [c] Frequent OV word order with a well-defined prosodic pattern
- [d] Clause chaining (helpful)
- [e] Preponderance of complex verbs (helpful)

### Glossing abbreviations

DX	Deictic proclitic	ABS	Absolutive
IMP	Imperative	ERG	Ergative
PRS	Present	DAT	Dative
INF	Infinitive	ALL	Allative
WP	Witnessed Past	LAT	Lative
CS	Causative	LOC	Locative
CVANT	Anterior converb	1,2,3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
CVSIM	Simultaneous converb	s,p	singular, plural
CVTEMP	Temporal converb	&	Preverbal 'a
CVIRR	Irrealis converb	&NEG	Negative imperative proclitic
B,D,J,V	Gender prefixes	FOC	Focus marker
NZ	Nominalizer	NEG	Negation
FV	Final vowel (for Bantu)	PEX	Noun prefix (for Edo)

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