1. Introduction

Nakh-Daghestanian (Caucasus, Russia) languages make heavily use of conjunction particles. In this talk, I focus on two languages from different subbranches, Hinuq (particle = n(o)) and Sanzhi Dargi (= ra). The data comes from natural texts collected by myself.

Previous accounts

- Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) analyze Tsez = n as topic marker
- Nichols & Peterson (2010) present a survey of several languages and list ‘emphatic and/or contrastive focus’ as one of the possible functions
- van den Berg (2004) ‘additive focus marker’
- in Russian grammars described as ‘discourse coherence particle’, ‘intensifying particle’, ‘emphatic particle’

2. Functions of conjunction particles in Nakh-Daghestanian

- non-derivational functions:
  1. coordination (phrase level)
  2. clause chaining
  3. additive function ‘also, even’
  4. topic switch/contrastive function
- derivational uses:
  5. concessive converbs
  6. anterior converbs (Hinuq)
  7. indefinite pronouns
  8. collective numerals
and occasionally also
  9. direct cardinal numerals 2-10 (Hinuq, Tsez, Bezhta, Dargi languages)
  10. part of comitative marker (Godoberi, eventually Avar)
11. optative (in Avar imperative + conjunction particle)

Concessive clauses/converbs
- usually formed by adding the conjunction particle to the conditional converb
  (also/even + if = even if, although, though)

Indefinite pronouns
- WH-pronouns + conjunction particles
- positive polarity: universal indefinite pronouns (who + also/even = everybody)
- negative polarity: negative indefinite pronouns (nobody, anybody)

Collective numerals
- cardinal numeral + conjunction particle = both, all three, all four, etc.

3. Grammatical functions
3.1. Coordination
- at the phrase level, e.g. NPs

3.2. Clause chaining
- ‘and/then’ structures consisting of complex clauses with at least one adverbial clause (containing a converb) and one finite clause
- the conjunction particle occurs on an item in the adverbial clause
- the structure is semantically similar to coordination, but syntactically nevertheless subordination
- in Hinuq the chaining function is pretty much lexicalized and fixed (5a)
- in Sanzhi Dargi apparently less frequent (than in Hinuq)

(1) Sanzhi Dargi
  c’il = ra  hel-t:i  bahla.bahlal  raj = ra  d-aχ-ur-re,
  then = and  this-PL  slowly  language = and  NPL-know-PRET-CVB

  bahla.bahlal  islužba = ra  b-iq:-ul ...
  slowly  service = and  N-carry.IPFV-ICVB

  ‘And then slowly I got to know this language, and I did my (military) service.’
4. Functions related to information structure

4.1. Additive function ‘also, even’

- similar to ‘focus sensitive’ additive particles, e.g. English also (cf. König 1990)
- the speaker presupposes an alternative proposition in which the constituent in the scope of the additive particle is replaced by a contextually relevant alternative
- normally added to nominals, adverbials, adjectives, but in Sanzhi also to verbs (3b)
- ‘pure type’ fulfills the “identity requirement” (van Putten 2013)
- the pure type is only occasionally attested in texts (2a, b)

(2) Hinuq [People joked with the two friends.]
   a. maxsara-mo-z hazey = no maxsara-mo-ƛ.’o-łun żawab
      joke-OB-DAT 1pl.ERG = and joke-OBL-SPR-AS answer
      toƛ-o zoq’we-n
      give-ICVB be-UWPST
   ‘And they also answered a joke with a joke.’

   b. Sanzhi Dargi [Was grandfather the oldest son?]
      atːa-jar χula-te = ra b-irχ-i
      father-AS big-ATTR.PL= and HPL-be.IPFV-PST.HAB
   ‘There were also older ones than grandfather.’

- for Hinuq or Sanzhi there does not seem to be an identity requirement (the same for other languages, e.g. Avatime, van Putten 2013)
- it is rather a more general requirement of similarity or compatibility
- the meaning of = n and = ra is broader and less specific than the meaning of ‘also’

(3) Hinuq [the stepmother sends the witch in order to poison the stepdaughter]
   a. hibadu iši = n b-iž.o =ƛ.en eƛ.i-n hayłuz
      this apple(III) III-take-IMP = QUOT say-CVB 3sg.F.DAT
   ‘And take also this apple for her!’
   - there is nothing else that she should take
   - do this (= go there) and do that (= bring her the apple)
b. Sanzhi Dargi [a man and an official discuss a matter]

\[
\text{il q:ulluq:}=\text{ra} \quad \text{arz-aq-an}=\text{da} \\
\text{this matter and solve.IPFS-CAUS-OBLG}=1 \\
\text{‘We will also solve this matter.’} \\
\text{- in the context there is no other matter that was or needs to be solved} \\
\text{- we have always solved problems, we will also solve this one}
\]

-scope: over the word to which it is added, or if this is the head of a phrase, then over the whole phrase

(3) Hinuq [the house of the youngest sister turned to ashes (i.e. burned down)]

\[
a. \text{yoƛodemuni } \text{essu-zo}=n \quad \text{beƛe.s} \quad \text{y-iq-no} \quad \text{yoƛu} \\
\text{middle sister-GEN}=\text{and} \quad \text{house.GEN IV-become-UWPST ashes(IV)} \\
\text{‘And also the house of the middle sister turned to ashes.’} \\
\text{- > 1) the same happened to another sister (scope: middle sister)} \\
\text{- > 2) the house of the middle brother burnt down (scope: sister)}
\]

b. Sanzhi Dargi [Grandfather did every work.]

\[
\text{libil-li-j} \quad \text{kumek} \quad \text{b-irq’}=\text{ra} \\
\text{all } <\text{HPL}>-\text{OBL-DAT help} \quad \text{N-do.IPFS-PST.HAB}=\text{and} \\
\text{‘(He) also helped everybody.’}
\]

- another ‘focus sensitive’ use: scalar additive particle, e.g. English even
- presupposes that there are alternatives to the item marked with the particle, and the marked item is the least likely among the set of alternatives
- interacts with polarity, i.e. in a negative clause the marked item is the most likely among the alternatives
- in Sanzhi Dargwa frequently in the combination with hati ‘more’
- in Hinuq not very common (the language has another particle with this meaning)

(4) Hinuq [A boy tries hard to learn the Quran by heart, but he fails.]

\[
\text{hes roži}=n \quad \text{rok’-ƛ’o} \quad \text{r-iči-yo} \quad \text{gom} \\
\text{one word }=\text{and} \quad \text{heart.OBL-SPR V-be-ICVB be.NEG} \\
\text{‘He remembers not even one word.’}
\]
4.2. Topic switch/contrast
- the conjunction particles are used to switch the topic of the narration
- not very frequent in Hinuq and Sanzhi Dargi (Hinuq has other particles more commonly used in this function, but very often a simple topic switch is unmarked)
- despite a topic shift the utterance gets connected to the previous one by means of the particle (X does something. And Y does something. -> the action of X and Y are not disconnected, but relate to each other, e.g. because Y is the reaction to X, or Y is the result of X, etc.)

(5) Hinuq [After that the horse flies away.]
a. uži = n [ywede = n qeši-n] ø-aq'-o iduddo
   boy(i) = and day = and become.bright-CVB 1-come-PRS home
   ‘And the boy, when the day becomes bright, goes home.’

b. Sanzhi Dargi [The fox said to Patimat: Do such and such!]
   “?a³h-le” r-ik’-ul = ca-r Pat’ima = ra razi
   good-ADVZ  F-say.IPVF-ICVB = be-F Patima = and agree

   r-ɪχ-ub = ca-r
   F-be.PFV-PRET = be-F
   ‘And Patima agreed saying “Good.”’

- contrast: extreme case of a topic switch: the topic is not just simply switched (changed) but changed and contrasted
- contrast indicates the presence of alternatives (the present situation/referent is contrasted with an alternative situation/referent that is often already mentioned in the discourse) (Krifka 1999: 113)
- thus, semantically similar to additive particles
- contrast (Repp 2010): at least one identifiable alternative in the context available

(6) Hinuq [The king is calling for all young heroes to come to his palace. Three brothers talk about this.]
a. elu-qo gulu-be = n gom, elu-qo-zo hayi
   1pl.OBL-AT horse-PL = and be.NEG 1pl.OBL-AT-ABL2 such
hunar = no b-iq-me
ability = and iii-happen-NEG
‘We do not have horses, and we do not have such an ability.’
- in contrast to the other men, the heroes

b. Sanzhi Dargi [the speaker talks about people from the neighboring village who have moved to the lowlands]
itti itwaj = ra ?u’rus:e yunab-te = ca-b hana = ra
3pl like.this = and Russian-PL like-ATTR.PL = be-HPL now = and
‘And now also they are like Russians.’
- > they were earlier like Russians (as he described earlier in his narration)
- in contrast to us, we are different from them

5. Summary and cross-linguistic comparison
- not really possible to give a unified account of all different functions (derivational, coordination, chaining, additive focus-sensitive use, topic switch/contrastive use)
- though the different functions seem to have a common core
- conjunction particles are not ‘topic markers’ or ‘focus markers’
- the functional load is nearly identical in Hinuq and Sanzhi, but frequencies differ
  - Hinuq: 50 chaining examples, 17 ‘also/even’ examples from 100 clauses
  - Sanzhi Dargi: 20 chaining examples, 33 ‘also/even’ examples from 100 clauses

- similar particles are attested in a number of other languages of the world, but the exact functional range is variable
  - Amharic -mm (Demeke & Meyer 2008)
  - Central Kurdish -iš (Öpengin 2013)
  - Laz, Kurmanji, Zazaki (Haig 2001)
  - Persian -hæm (Stilo 2004)
  - Sanskrit api, Dravidian *-um (Emeneau 1980, Lehmann 1993) (e.g. Tamil = um, Malayam = um, Kannada u)
  - Goonyiandi = ngaddaya (McGregor 1990: 478-482)
  - Avatime (Kwa) tsye (van Putten 2013)
  - Karbi (Tibeto-Burman) = tā (Konnert 2013)
- the existence of such particles has been claimed to constitute an areal feature for India (Emeneau 1980) and East Anatolia (Haig 2001). In the light of the frequency with which such particles occur, these claims are dubious.

References


