

INSUBORDINATION IN THE TSEZIC LANGUAGES
(Abstract)

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The Tsezic languages, spoken in the west of the Republic of Daghestan within the Russian Federation, constitute a well-defined genealogical sub-unit of the Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian, Northeast Caucasian) language family. To our knowledge, insubordination has not previously been studied as a specific phenomenon in any Tsezic language.

In general, the Tsezic languages use distinct sets of verb forms, finite in main clauses and non-finite in dependent clauses. Non-finite forms include the infinitive, the masdar (or verbal noun), and various participles and converbs. In addition, some dependent clauses are finite, e.g. the irrealis conditional protasis marked by the particle *q'ede* in Hinuq.

Although our impression is that insubordination as a synchronic phenomenon occurs relatively rarely in Tsezic languages, there are nonetheless clear examples. Thus, (1) from Bezhta uses the infinitive as the predicate of a main clause, indicating a sense of wondering on the part of the speaker.

- (1) ... zoy-al-di holo č'ago ...
find-INF-Q she alive
'will I find her alive?'

In (2), from Hinuq, a finite irrealis conditional protasis is used in isolation to indicate a wish.

- (2) ... xem-za-qo Ø-ece-n q'ede ...
stone-PL-AT I-tie-UWPST IRR
'if only they had tied me to stones.' (ibid.)

In addition, the Tsezic languages show diachronic instances of insubordination through the loss (in some instances optional) of the copula verb, used initially as an auxiliary with a non-finite form of the lexical verb. Thus (3), from Hinuq, can have the masdar as predicate of the main clause, with the meaning 'not yet'.

- (3) xan žied Ø-aq'-anu (goł).
khan yet I-come-MSD be
'the khan has not yet arrived, is still to arrive.'

An interesting question is to what extent the verb form in examples like (3) is felt to be the same verb form as is used in dependent clauses.