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1. Introduction

This paper introduces the auxiliary use of several Standard Avar verbs.

Avar is a Daghestanian (North East Caucasian) language and is mainly spoken in the Republic of Daghestan in the Russian Federation. This republic is located in the North-East Caucasus.

Avar has an absolutive-ergative case marking system.

Some verbs agree with their absolutive arguments in gender and number.

Avar has many labile intransitive and transitive verbs (e.g. AM-ek-ize ‘to break’, AM-uss-ine ‘to return’)¹. Avar uses no affixes or other strategies which derive inchoative intransitive verbs from causative transitive verbs.

2. Resultative aspect

The resultative aspect form of a verb is created by combining the perfective converb form of the main verb and the existential verb AM-uk'-ine "to be".

- (1) Dida ce-w-e exet-un w-uk'-ana Bulač
 I.SLOC in front of.M stand up-PC M-be-PST Bulach.ABS

"Bulach stood in front of me" [GG-G, p 134]

- (2) Dica tamašali ha-b-un b-uk'-ana
 I.ERG suprising.ABS do-NH-PC NH-be-PST

"I was surprised" [SrM2-T, p 9]

In (1) the main verbs is intransitive, while in (2) the main verb is transitive. When the main verb is intransitive, the S argument is marked with the absolutive case². When the main verb is transitive, the A argument tends to appear in the ergative case, as in (2), but it sometimes occurs in the absolutive case.

In addition to resultative aspect, Avar has progressive aspect. The progressive aspect of a verb is expressed by pairing the adjectival participle form of the main verb and the existential verb AM-uk'-ine "to be".

¹ Avar uses the Cyrillic alphabets. In this paper, they are transliterated into Latin characters as: a=a, б=b, в=w, г=g, гь=ğ, гъ=h, гI=ç, д=d, e=e, ж=ž, з=z, и=i, й=j, к=k, къ=q', къ=l', кI=k', л=l, лъ=l, м=m, н=n, о=o, п=p, р=r, с=s, т=t, тI=t', у=u, ф=f, х=x, хъ=q, хь=ç, xI=h, ц=c, цI=c', ч=č, чI=č', ш = š, шц = šš, э=è, ю=ju, я=ja, ъ='. The following abbreviations are used: ABS = absolutive, AM = agreement marker, APRT = adjectival participle, AUX = auxiliary verb, CAUS = causative, COND = conditional, ERG = ergative, EMP = emphatic particle, F = feminine, GEN = genitive, ILAT = inlative, IMP = imperative, INF = infinitive, M = masculine, NEG = negative, NH = non-human, PC = perfective converb, PL = plural, PRS = present, PST = past, REFL = reflexive, SLAT = superlative, SLOC = superlocative.

² This paper uses the terms S, A, O for convenience. The S is the argument of an intransitive verb that occurs in the absolutive case when the head verb is in the simplex form. The A and O are the arguments of a transitive verb that appear in the ergative and absolutive cases when the head verb is in the simplex form.

3. xut'-ize "to remain"

This verb can serve as an auxiliary verb and emphasizes the further continuance of the result of the action expressed by the main verb (Bashirova, 2008: 78).

- (3) he-w exet-un xut'-ana
that-M.ABS stand up-PC stay-PST
"He remained standing" [RG-G, p 274]
- (4) Dun řařaibři ha-b-un xut'-ana
I.ABS surprising.ABS do-NH-PC remain-PST
"I remained surprised" [GG-G, p 132]

In (3) and (4), the main verbs are intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. The A argument always appears in the absolutive case, unlike in resultative constructions noted above.

My text materials include about 500 instances of this auxiliary verb³.

Importantly, this auxiliary verb can be also combined with the main verb in the adjectival participle form and expresses the further continuance of the progress of the action denoted by the main verb.

4. ř'-eze "to stay, to stop"

- (5) dida ce-w-e ř'-ana zalima-w řolořanři
I.SLOC in front of.M stay-PST big-M young man.ABS
"A big young man stayed in front of me" [MP1-S, p 93]

This verb is frequently used with the perfective converb form of a verb (Mallaeva 2007: 334). This complex represents the continuance of the result of the action denoted by the main verb, like the resultative aspect form noted above. It is not clear if this usage should be regarded as an auxiliary one because this verb seems to reserve its original meaning when used with a perfective converb.

- (6) dun k'ododa ce-w-e exet-un ř'-ana
I.ABS grandmother.SLOC in front of.M stand up-PC stay-PST
"I stood in front of the grandmother" [SrM1-N, p 92]
- (7) Musalxan řin t'am-un ř'-ana
Musalxan.ABS ear.ABS place-PC stay-PST
"Musalxan was listening" [SrM2-T, p 017]

The examples (6) and (7) use intransitive and transitive verbs. The A argument always occurs in the absolutive case.

In my text materials, this verb occurs with a perfective converb about 1,700 times. The verbs listed in (8) are examples of the verbs accompanied by this auxiliary verb.

³ My text materials contain 16 books (906,856 words), including the books listed as sources of examples in the end of this paper.

- (8) i. AM-alah-ize "to look" (319 of 4,229)⁴, ii. AM-uc'c'-ine "to become silent" (218 of 313), iii. ʕenekk-ine "to listen" (115 of 616), iv. AM-aq-ine "to stand up" (168 of 3,000-4,000)⁵, v. AM-uc'uḥ-ine "to become silent" (68 of 93), vi. t'ir-ize "to be obstinate, to persist" (38 of 48), vii. exet-ize "to stand up" (36 of 343), viii. AM-eg-ize "to lie down" (35 of 645)

The absolutive NP tends to be a human being. Types of verbs co-occurring with this auxiliary verb are restricted. For example, this auxiliary verb is not coupled with verbs expressing a change of psychological state (e.g. tamašaḥ-ize "to be surprised").

Additionally, the verb č'-eze "to stay, to stop" cannot pair with an adjectival participle, unlike the verb xut'-ize "to remain".

5. luṣ-ize "to finish"

This verb is used either intransitively or transitively and means "to finish". This verb can be paired with the perfective converb form of a verb and means "to finish doing something".

- (9) Saxrat kwana-n luṣ-uḥ-w w-uk'-ana
Saxrat.ABS eat-PC finish-APRT.PRS-M M-be-PST
"Saxrat was finishing eating." [RG-G, p 230]

- (10) Dica xina-b kwen ha-b-un luṣ-ize-ṣan
I.ERG hot-NH food.ABS do-NH-PC finish-INF-till
"Till I finished cooking a hot meal" [RG-G, p 394]

In (9) the main verb is intransitive, while in (10) the main verb is transitive. The S argument occurs in the absolutive case, while the A argument in the ergative case.

When the main verb is transitive, the causative form of this verb is also employed and simply means "to finish doing something" like the non-causative form.

- (11) r-uq-un luṣ-iz-a-r-una nižeca okop-al
PL-dig-PC finish-INF-CAUS-PL-PST we.ERG trench-PL.ABS
"We finished digging trenches" [SrM1-N, p 51]

My text materials have 97 instances of the non-causative version and 33 instances of the causative version of this auxiliary verb.

⁴ In the format (A of B) following each verb, the figure B indicates the frequency of each verb in my text materials, and the figure A indicates the frequency of each verb used with the auxiliary verb discussed. Some verbs are used in multiple senses. Some verbs are used either intransitively or transitively. The figure A, however, indicates the frequency of the use of each verb in all senses and does not distinguish the intransitive and transitive uses.

⁵ It is difficult to determine the accurate figure because some inflectional forms are the same for the verbs AM-aq-ine and AM-aq-ize.

6. AM-aq-ine

This verb is used in multiple senses: (i) "to stand up", (ii) "to start, to leave", (iii) "to become", etc.

(12) dun t'ade w-aq-ana
I.ABS up stand up-PST
"I stood up" [DG-G, p 422]

(13) he-w q'wat'i-w-e w-aq-ana
that-M.ABS outside.M M-go-PST
"He went out" [RG-G, p 117]

When used as an auxiliary verb, this verb means "to finish doing something". (Saidov, 1967: 62)

(14) Xanzabi kwana-n r-aq-ana
donkey.PL.ABS eat-PC PL-AUX-PST
"Donkeys finished eating" [HH-I, p 221]

(15) He-s keč' aḥ-un b-aq-ine-ḥan
that-M.ERG song.ABS sing-PC NH-AUX-INF-till
"Till he finished singing a song" [GG-G, p 30]

In (14) and (15), the main verbs are intransitive and transitive verbs. The S and A arguments appear in the absolutive and ergative cases, respectively.

When the main verb is transitive, the causative form of this verb is also used and simply means "to finish doing something" like the non-causative form.

(16) Ha-b kwana-n b-aq-in-a-b-ič'o-ni
this-NH.ABS eat-PC NH-AUX-INF-CAUS-NH-NEG.PST-COND
"If [you] do not finish eating this" [ShM1-C, p 143]

My text materials employ the non-causative version of this auxiliary verb 291 times and the causative version four times.

7. t-eze "to leave"

(17) he-ł [...] kağat t-ana stol-alda t'ad
that-F.ERG letter.ABS leave-PST desk-SLOC on
"She left a letter on the desk" [ShM1-C, p 14]

(18) ha-s rosu t-ana
this-M.ERG village.ABS leave-PST
"This man left the village" [RG-G, p 342]

Saidov (1967: 476), Mallaeva (2007: 334), and Magomedova (2010: 131) note that when used as an auxiliary verb, this verb expresses the completeness of the action denoted by the main verb. Judging from the response of my native speaker consultants, it is not always that this auxiliary verb emphasizes the completeness.

(19) Dica he-j j-ičča-n t-ana
 I.ERG that-F.ABS F-release-PC leave-PST
 "I released her" [RG-G, p 51]

(20) ƣaššaƣatun-ida he-w k'oč-on t-ana
 Ashakatun-SLOC that-M.ABS forget-PC leave-PST
 "Ashakatun forgot him" [GG-G, p 56]

My text materials use this verb as an auxiliary verb 1,319 times⁶. For instance, the verbs listed in (21) occur with this auxiliary verb.

(21) i. k'oč-ene "to forget" (464 of 690), ii. rex-ize "to throw" (193 of 1,495), iii. AM-ičča-ze "to release" (127 of 18,000-2,100)⁷, iv. ab-ize "to say" (37 of 12,478), v. t'am-ize "to place" (19 of 1,131), vi. AM-axč-ize "to hide" (18 of 704), vii. c'un-ize "to save, to keep": (11 of 1,103), viii. ƣ-eze "to put" (10 of 2,414)

With this auxiliary verb, the main verbs are transitive or semi-transitive (e.g. k'oč-ene "to forget", which requires a superlocative argument functioning as experiencer and an absolute argument). When the main verb is transitive, the A argument occurs in the ergative case. When the verb k'oč-ene "to forget" serves as the main verb, the experiencer argument appears in the superlocative case.

It is necessary to say that some verbal complexes have different meaning from the main verbs. The verb (ii) rex-ize means "to throw", but the verbal complex rex-un t-eze means "to throw away, to chuck away" rather than "to throw".

Furthermore, the complex of the verb t-eze "to leave" and the perfective converb form of a verb has another usage, expressing the preservation of the result of the action represented by the perfective converb.

(22) mun-go w-aq'-un t-ole-b xalq'
 you-EMP M-be hungry-PC leave-APRT.PRS-NH people.ABS
 "The people leaving you hungry" [GG-G, p 144]

(23) Kidalizeƣan ha-w ƣarabow b-ol'-ara-b žo-gi
 till what time this-M.ABS Arabow.ABS want-APRT.PST-NH thing.ABS-too
 qwa-n t-ole-w?
 write-PC leave-APRT.PRS-M
 "Till what time will [you] leave this man, Arabow, writing whatever he likes?" [RG-G, p 77]

⁶ This figure also includes the frequency of this complex in the second sense mentioned below.

⁷ It is difficult to give the accurate figure because the verb AM-ičča-ze shares some inflectional forms with the verb AM-ičč-ize.

8. AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go"

The verbs AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go" appear with a variety of intransitive verbs in the perfective converb form: AM-eker-ize "to run", k'anc'-ize "to jump", gir-ize "to role", t'ur-ize "to escape", AM-orx-ize "to rise", AM-ort-ize "to fall", AM-uss-ine "to return", etc. (Bokarev 1949: 137).

In (24) and (25), the verbs AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go" function as auxiliary verbs.

(24) baŋarɫ-un b-ač'-ana Hamzat-il humer
become red-PC NH-come-PST Hamzat-GEN face.ABS
"Hamzat's face became red" [HH-I, p 223]

(25) c'oro-n ana he-sul rak'
become cold-PC go.PST that-M.GEN heart.ABS
"His heart became cold" [ShM1-C, p 49]

Bashirova (2008: 73-74) notes that the auxiliary verb AM-ač'-ine "to come" expresses the suddenness, unexpectedness of an action. Magomedova (2010: 131) states that the auxiliary use of the verb AM-ač'-ine "to come" represents the completeness of an action and that it is not always that this auxiliary verb expresses the suddenness, unexpectedness of an action. The discussion of the meaning of the auxiliary use of the verb ine "to go" is not found in the literature.

Do the auxiliary verbs AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go" really express the completeness of the action denoted by the main verbs? It is important to note that the auxiliary use of the verb AM-ač'-ine "to come" can co-occur with the adverbial element (co) daha-AM "a little".

(26) rak' co daha-b čuč-un b-ač'-ana
heart.ABS a little become calm-PC NH-come-PST
"The heart became a little calm" [RG-G, p 284]

The auxiliary use of the verb ine "to go" can also co-occur with the adverbial element (co) daha-AM "a little".

(27) k'ut'bi-gi daha-l-go qahilɫ-un ana
lip-PL.ABS-too a little-EMP become blue-PC go.PST
"The lips became a little pale" [SIM-L, p 22]

In my text materials, the verb AM-ač'-ine "to come" occurs as an auxiliary verb 483 times, while the verb ine "to go" is used as an auxiliary verb 545 times. The verbs that are only used with AM-ač'-ine "to come" include (28a) and (29a), while the verbs that are only paired with ine "to go" include (28b) and (29b). The verb listed in (28c) and (29c) occur with either AM-ač'-ine "to come" or ine "to go". The verbs in (29) are all derived by adding -l-ize to the stems of adjectives.

- (28) a. i. AM-akk-ize "to appear" (111 of 725), ii. ƒ-eze "to grow" (64 of 1618), iii. AM-iž-ize "to grow" (26 of 613),
iv. bur-ize "to spring, to gush" (9 of 24), v. t'eha-ze "to bloom" (5 of 76)
- b. i. t'erç-ine "to disappear, to get out" (66 of 220), ii. ssw-ine "(fire) to go out" (47 of 232), iii. t'aƒ-ine "to
disappear" (28 of 612), iv. AM-ixx-ize "to be destroyed" (26 of 491), v. AM-uk'k'-ine "to be wrinkled" (19 of
140), vi. AM-i-ine "to melt" (17 of 102), vii. ššušša-ze "to be destroyed" (16 of 95), viii. luƒ-ize "to finish" (15
of 1032), ix. c'oro-ze "to get cold" (9 of 270), x. q'-ine "to run dry" (8 of 147), xi. sas-ine "to get quiet, to
subside" (6 of 54)
- c. i. rah-ize "to open" (20 : 10 of 772)⁸, ii. AM-ek-ize "to break" (2 : 3 of 216), iii. AM-iq-ize "to tear" (2 : 5 of
134), iv. AM-uħ-ize "to burn, to get warm" (2 : 6 of 582), v. t'erx-ine "to become pale" (1 : 5 of 59)
- (29) a. i. baƒarł-ize "to become red" (8 of 91), ii. č'agoł-ize "to become lively" (7 of 38), iii. c'ił-ize "to become new"
(6 of 45), iv. gurginł-ize "to become round" (5 of 11)
- b. i. hit'inł-ize "to become small, young" (6 of 24), ii. AM-at'ał-ize "to separate" (5 of 214)
- c. i. xinł-ize "to become warm, hot" (6 : 2 of 77), ii. qaħł-ize "to become white" (2 : 3 of 78), iii. razıł-ize "to
agree" (2 : 3 of 192), iv. tamaxł-ize "to become soft" (1 : 4 of 28)

The verbs listed in (28a), (28b), (29a), and (29b) seem to demonstrate that verbs expressing an appearance or a similar action tend to be used with the verb AM-ač'-ine "to come", while verbs expressing a disappearance or a similar action tend to be used with the verb ine "to go".

Both of the verbs AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go" can be also used with transitive verbs in the perfective converb form.

- (30) Muhamad Xadulaew-as he-w w-ač-un w-ač'-ana žindirgo roq'o-w-e
Muhamad Xadulaew-ERG that-M.ABS M-bring-PC M-come-PST REFL.GEN home.M
"Muhamad Xadulaew brought him to his home"[DG-G, p 372]
- (31) Ĥalimow-as Bikov otdelenijalde w-ač-un ana
Ĥalimow-ERG Bikov.ABS section.SLAT M-bring-PC go.PST
"Ĥalimow brought Bikov to the section" [SIM-L, p 129]

Both (30) and (31) use the verb AM-ač'-ine "to bring" in the perfective converb form. It is interesting that in (30) and (31) the agents occur in the ergative case, rather than in the absolutive case, and in (30) the verb AM-ač'-ine "to come" agrees with the O argument.

Moreover, the verbs AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go" can be both used with the causative forms of intransitive verbs, albeit rarely. In my text materials, the verb ine "to go" is used with the causative forms of the intransitive verbs t'-eze "to come off" (4), gi-rize "to role" (2), çur-ize "to fly" (2), AM-ort-ize "to fall" (1), etc. The verb AM-ač'-ine "to come" is used with the causative forms of the intransitive verbs AM-uss-ine "to return" (1), k'anc'-ize "to jump" (1), quršš-ize "to crawl" (1), etc.

Similarly, when the verbs AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go" are used as auxiliary verbs, these verbs can appear with causative verbs in the perfective converb form.

⁸ In the format (A : B of C), the figures A and B represent the frequencies of each verb with AM-ač'-ine "to come" and ine "to go", respectively.

- (32) He-sul rařabaz toxtir t'urk'-iz-a-w-un w-ač'-ana
 that-M.GEN word.PL.ERG doctor.ABS be surprised-INF-CAUS-M-PC M-come-PST
 "His words surprised the doctor" [RG-G, p 203]
- (33) he-b himi, [...], b-ek-b-ek-iz-a-b-un ana untuca
 that-NH smile.ABS NH-break-NH-break-INF-CAUS-NH-PC go.PST pain.ERG
 "The pain broke that smile" [MM-G, p 17]

The example (32) is an example of AM-ač'-ine "to come", and (33) is an example of AM-ač'-ine "to come". My text materials include 7 instances of the auxiliary verb AM-ač'-ine "to come" with the causative main verb and 14 instances of the auxiliary verb ine "to go" with the causative main verb.

9. kk-eze

This verb is used in multiple senses: (i) "to happen", (ii) "to get somewhere ([often] unintentionally or accidentally)" (iii) "to become", etc.

- (34) he-w asirlude kk-ana
 that-M.ABS captivity.SLAT get-PST
 "He was taken prisoner" [SrM2-T, p 72]

Bokarev (1949: 136) notes that this verb acts as an auxiliary verb, but he does not say what this auxiliary verb expresses. This auxiliary verb seems to emphasize the unintentionality, accidentalness, or uncontrollability of the action denoted by the main verb.

- (35) dun řiř-un kk-ana
 I.ABS fall asleep-PC AUX-PST
 "I fell asleep" [GG-G, p 69]

My text materials employ this verb as an auxiliary verb 242 times. The verbs listed in (36) are examples of verbs used with this auxiliary verb.

- (36) i. řiř-ize "to fall asleep, to sleep" (60 of 330), ii. req'-eze "to fit" (44 of 884), iii. xis-ize "to change" (28 of 519), iv. q'os-ine "to lose one's way" (19 of 165), v. kwat'-ize "to be late" (14 of 458), vi. řapull-ize "to doze off, to feel asleep" (12 of 30), vii. ruhunř-ize "to become accustomed" (7 of 187)

10. ľuh-ine

This verb is used in several senses: (i) "to happen, to appear", (ii) "to get somewhere ([often] get inside or outside)", (iii) "to become", etc.

(37) xera-w azbar-aŋu-w-e ɫuh-ana
 old-M-ABS yard-ILAT.M go-PST
 "The old man went to the yard" [RG-G, p 391]

The examples (38), (39), (40), and (41) exemplify the auxiliary use of this verb.

(38) w-ixxa-xoč-un ɫuh-ana ʒoloqanči
 M-be confused-PC AUX-PST young man.ABS
 "Young man was confused" [MP2-K, p 201]

(39) He-w raħat x-un ɫuh-ana
 that-M.ABS rest.ABS die-PC AUX-PST
 "His rest broke" [ShM1-C, p 48]

(40) ʃamir ungo-ungoɫun ccin b-aq-un ɫuh-ana
 Amir.ABS really anger.ABS NH-appear-PC AUX-PST
 "Amir really got angry" [SIM-L, p 190]

(41) he-w č'-eze bak' t'aŋ-un ɫuh-ana
 that-M.ABS stay-INF place.ABS disappear-PC AUX-PST
 "He lost a place to stay" [GG-G, p 42]

This auxiliary verb does not seem to change the meaning of the main verb. The syntax of this auxiliary verb is interesting. In (38), (39), and (40), the main verbs and the auxiliary verbs have different absolutive NPs. My text materials include 178 instances of the auxiliary use of this verb. Many instances have two absolutive NPs. Moreover, the absolutive NP of the auxiliary verb tends to be a human being, regardless of whether the main and auxiliary verbs share an absolutive NP or have different absolutive NPs.

Verbs used with this auxiliary verb include the verbs listed in (42).

(42) i. xw-eze "to die" (29 of 2,161), ii. xis-ize "to change" (18 of 519), iii. AM-ixxa-xoč-ize "to be confused" (7 of 60),
 iv. kara AM-ixx-ize "to be stunned" (6 of 21) , v. baŋa-bakarɫ-ize "to become red" (5 of 22), vi. taŋ-ine "to
 disappear" (5 of 619), vii. razi-rakiɫ-ize "to be happy" (4 of 8) , viii. reɫ-ize "to become similar to" (4 of 458), ix.
 ccidax-ine "to become angry" (4 of 125)

With the verb (i) xw-eze "to die", 25 of the 29 instances have raħat "rest" as the absolutive NP. In 13 of the 18 examples of the verb (ii) xis-ize "to change", hal "condition" serves as the absolutive NP. Furthermore, all five instances of the verb (vi) taŋ-ine "to disappear" are used in constructions resembling (41).

It is necessary to add that the resultative complex and the complex of the verb xut'-ize "to remain" and the perfective converb form of a verb also permit double absolutive constructions.

11. rex-ize"to throw"

This verb can be used as an auxiliary verb with a transitive verb in the perfective converb form (Hook, 2013: 1). This auxiliary verb seems to emphasize the completeness of the action represented by the main verb.

- (43) dica he-l č'wa-n rex-ana
 I.ERG that-PL.ABS kill-PC throw-PST
 "I killed them" [SrM2-T, p 101]

In my text materials, this verb appears as an auxiliary verb 126 times. The verbs listed in (44) are examples of verbs combined with this auxiliary verb.

- (44) i. č'wa-ze "to kill" (43 of 2,107), ii. q'ot'-ize "to cut" (23 of 1,061), iii. AM-aq-ize "to take off, to remove" (12 of 1,800-2,800), iv. t'-eze "to take off, to remove" (8 of 615), v. AM-iq-ize "to tear" (5 of 132)

12. AM-aze

This verb is used in many senses: (i) "to sow, to sprinkle, to pour something solid (e.g. grain, sand)", (ii) "to hang", (iii) "to build", (iv) "to hit" (e.g. zar b-a-ze "to strike one's fist" somewhere), (v) "to spend (time)", etc.

This verb can serve as an auxiliary verb with a transitive verb in the perfective converb form (Hook, 2013: 2). This auxiliary verb seems to emphasize the repetition of the action denoted by the main verb.

- (45) Gulla-ca co laħzat-alda t'ut'-un r-a-na
 Gulla-ERG one moment-SLOC tear-PC PL-AUX-PST
 q'eda č'wa-ra-l kaġt-al
 wall.SLOC put up-APRT.PST-PL paper-PL.ABS
 "Gulla tore the papers put up on the wall in a moment" [ShM1-C, p 32]

My text materials have 65 examples of the auxiliary use of this verb. Verbs used with this auxiliary verb include the verbs listed in (46).

- (46) i. t'ut'u-ze "to tear many times" (16 of 35), ii. ġur-ize "to crush, to destroy" (8 of 160), iii. AM-iq-AM-iq-ize "to tear many times" (9 of 23), iv. su-su-ze "to cut many times" (4 of 7), v. AM-iqirq-ize "to tear many times" (3 of 7), vi. q'ot'-q'ot'-ize "to cut many times" (3 of 14), vii. ġur-ġur-ize "to crush, to destroy many times" (3 of 8), viii. qweq-ize "to cut" (3 of 13), ix. qur-ize "to pound" (2 of 33)

The verbs in (46) include verbs with the repeated stems. Such verbs mean "to do something many times".

13. AM-iç-ize "to see"

This verb takes a superlocative argument fulfilling the role of experiencer and an absolutive argument.

This verb can function as an auxiliary verb with an intransitive or transitive verb in the perfective converb form, and it means "to try to do something".

- (47) urġ-un w-iç-e
 think-PC M-see-IMP
 "Try to think" [ShM2-Q, p 91]

The S argument appears in the absolutive case. The A argument is marked by the ergative case.

My text materials include 52 instances of the auxiliary use of this verb. 51 of the 52 instances occur in the imperative form. An exceptional case has the auxiliary verb in the future tense form.

For example, the verbs listed in (48) co-occur with this auxiliary verb.

- (48) i. urğ-ize "to think" (16 of 676), ii. AM-alah-ize "to look" (10 of 4,229), iii. pikru ha-b-ize "to think" (5 of 284), iv. ab-ize "to say" (4 of 12,478), v. hisab ha-b-ize "to take account of" (3 of 139)

Sources of examples

[DG-G] Daganow, Ğ., 1997. Ğadamal — dir c'wabi. Makhachkala.

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[MP2-K] Murtazaliewa, P., 1995. Kulakasul jas. Dagestanskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, Makhachkala.

[MM-G] Muhamadow, M., 1991. Goro-c'er balelde cebe. Dagestanskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, Makhachkala.

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[ShM1-C] Šamxalow, M., 1982. C'udul was. Daguchipediz, Makhachkala.

[ShM2-Q] Šamxalow, M., 2002. Q'isabi wa xarbal. Makhachkala.

[SIM-L] Sulimanow, M., 1958. Łabgo q'isa. Dagestanskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, Makhachkala.

[SrM1-N] Surxaew, M., 1990. Nux bit'agi. Daguchipedgiz, Makhachkala.

[SrM2-T] Surxaew, M., 1994. Tusnaqazda GULAGalda. Jupiter, Makhachkala.

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