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 Kahramanmaras 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 synonymous 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, Martaxoj, Narshoj, Shatoj, Chintoj, Benoj, Chinkhoj, Hwanqmoj, Nizhaloj, Itum-Qalle, Vedenxoj, Noxchimxqaloj, 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.

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’elg/ > [pʰ’elk]  
/t’a:j/ > [tʰ’a:j]  
/k’ezig/ > [kʰ’ezik]  
/ts’a/ > [tsʰ’a]  
/tʃ’a:.ra/ > [tʃʰ’a:.ra]

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 [q’] in IPA.
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 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 [je]
  эца - jec
  ‘to buy’
• о - wo [wo]
  found only in closed syllables or in monosyllables
  тоха - tuoxa [t'ox]
  ‘to hit’ or ‘to strike’
  ло - luо [l'о]
  ‘gives/give’
• оь - woe [o]
  long form of оь - oe, found in open syllables
  чьь - choe [tjо]
  ‘interior’ (cf чоьхь - choehw [tjo'h] ‘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.moxк] (CV syllable)
  ‘homeland’
• ев - eu [ew]
  occurs only in open and closed syllables
  евлэта - eula [ewl] (VC syllable)
  ‘village’
  девзина - deuna [dew.nа] (CV syllable)
  ‘became acquainted’
• ов - ou [ow]
  occurs in open and closed syllables
  говр - gour [gor] (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 -н/-н.

(4) сан - san
    sа - ‘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.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Таблица 2: Onset Phonotactics in Chechen</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C* = 0</td>
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<td>[.urs.]</td>
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<td>.VCC.</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘knife’</td>
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<tr>
<td>[.o.ha.roj.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>.V.CV.CVC.</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘lowlander’</td>
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<tr>
<td>[.i.tum.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>.V.CV.CVC.</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘fortress’</td>
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<th>Таблица 3: Coda Phonotactics in Chechen</th>
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<tr>
<td>C* = 0</td>
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<td>[.әәr.zu]</td>
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<tr>
<td>.VC.CV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘eagle’</td>
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<tr>
<td>[.bʌl.xar.xo:]</td>
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<tr>
<td>.CVC.CVC.CV:</td>
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<td>‘worker’</td>
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<td>[.са.му.q’a.ни.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>.CV.CV.CV.CV</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘interesting’</td>
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</table>

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/, /æ/, /e/, /aʊ/, /o/, /u/, /y/, /iɛ/, /iə/, 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/, /ʊ/
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/е - ie > оь - oe
  эца - ieca [ie]  
  ‘to buy’
  оьцу - oec-u - [əc]  
  ‘buy/buys’
- аь - ae > оь - oe
  хьаба - hwaæzha [hæ3] ‘to see’ or ‘to look’ хьоёбь - hwoezhu [ho3]  
  ‘see/sees’ or ‘look/looks’
- а - a(a) > o - o(o)
  ала - aala [a:l]  
  ‘to say’
  олу - ool-u [o:l]  
  ‘say/says’
- и/ий - i(i) > уь/уьй - у(у)
  дия - dizha [di3]  
  ‘to sleep’
  дььбу - dyzhu [dy3]  
  ‘sleep/sleeps’
2.6.2 Vowel Epenthesis and Deletion

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

(6) къу - q'u
\[/q'u/ > [qΧ'у] 'thief'

(7) к1а - k'a
\[/k'a/ > [k'a] 'wheat'

(8) реза - rieza
\[/риэза/ > '/риэ.зэ/ > [.риэ.] '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: [a:l]
олу oolu - say.pres, IPA: [o:l]
олуш oolush - say.pres.part, IPA: [o:luʃ]

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.лə]
    'was/happened/became'

(11) диъна - di'na [di?.на]
    '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.лə]

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).
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.

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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’.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Class Name</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Example Tokens</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>v.class</td>
<td>v-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.

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.

(15) Со Нохчийчохь вина
    suo noxchii-cho-hw v-i-na
    1SG.ABS.v-class Chechen-aug-ines v-birth-PST.PRF
    ‘I (a male speaker) was born in Chechnya.’

(16) тхан да 1у вара
    txan da 1y wu v-ara
    1PL.EXCL GEN father.v-class.abs.sg shepherd v-COP.PST
‘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) АллахI 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) Alma-Atahь ч1ог1а 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 ‘ью/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class I - Ablaut</th>
<th>Class VI - 'chu' extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лом</td>
<td>нохчи</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lom</td>
<td>noxchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>Chechen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лоьм-ан</td>
<td>нохчи-чу-н</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loem-an</td>
<td>noxchi-chy-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion.AUG-GEN</td>
<td>Chechen-AUG-GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лоьм-ана</td>
<td>нохчи-чун-на</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loem-ana</td>
<td>noxchi-chum-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion.AUG-DAT</td>
<td>Chechen-AUG-DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лоьм-о</td>
<td>нохчи-чо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loeman-uo</td>
<td>noxchi-cho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion.AUG-ERG</td>
<td>Chechen-AUG-ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лоьм-е</td>
<td>нохчи-чун- nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loem-ie</td>
<td>noxchi-chy- nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion.AUG-ALL</td>
<td>Chechen-AUG-ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лоьм-аца</td>
<td>нохчи-чун- нца</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loem-aça</td>
<td>noxchi-chy- nca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion.AUG-INST</td>
<td>Chechen-AUG-ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лоьм-ехь</td>
<td>нохчи-чу-х</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loem-exw</td>
<td>noxchi-chu-x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion.AUG-LOC</td>
<td>Chechen-AUG-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лоьм-ал</td>
<td>нохчи-чу- л</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loem-al</td>
<td>noxchi-chu-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion.AUG-COMP</td>
<td>Chechen-AUG-COMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.2.3 Number

Chechen displays two categories for grammatical number: singular and plural. The plural morphemes include -(a)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 кооpаш
kor koor-ash
window window.AUG-PL
‘window’, ‘windows’

(21) мааха мэхий
maaaha niexij
needle needle.AUG-PL
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) муоз муозий
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
deex-xo deex-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 -г1аp/ -ghar. This morpheme refers to a collective group of people or family. Both a family name or a family member may take this ending

‘needle’, ‘needles’
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.

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

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

Chechen is an ergative-absolutive type system with at least 10 morphologically distinct cases. The precise number of Chechen 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Question Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>{ABS}</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-(a)ш/-/(a)ш, -и/-и, -ий/-ий</td>
<td>мила/mila - ‘who(m)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>{ERG}</td>
<td>-о/-о, -(а)s/-as</td>
<td>-(a)ш-a/-ash-a</td>
<td>хьан/hwan - ‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>{GEN}</td>
<td>-н/-н</td>
<td>-ийн/-ин, -ин/-ин</td>
<td>хьенан/hwienan - ‘whose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datve</td>
<td>{DAT}</td>
<td>-на</td>
<td>(а)шна-на</td>
<td>стена/stenna - ‘to whom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>{ALL}</td>
<td>-е/-ie, -га/-ga</td>
<td>-(a)ш-ка/-/(a)ш-ка</td>
<td>хьанга/hwaenga - ‘to who(’s) home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>{INST}</td>
<td>-ца/-са</td>
<td>-(a)ш-ца/-/(a)ш-са</td>
<td>хьанца/hwanca - ‘with whom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lative</td>
<td>{LAT}</td>
<td>-х/-х</td>
<td>-ях/-iах, -их/-их</td>
<td>хьанах/hwanax - ‘about whom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>{COMP}</td>
<td>-л/-л</td>
<td>-ял/-ial, -ил/-ил</td>
<td>хьанал/hwanal - ‘than who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inessive</td>
<td>{INES}</td>
<td>-ах/-ahw</td>
<td>-(а)ш-ка-хь/-/(a)ш-ка-hw</td>
<td>хьангахъ/ hwangahw- ‘at whom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>{ABL}</td>
<td>-ара/-ara</td>
<td>-(а)ш-ка-ра/-/(a)ш-ка-ра</td>
<td>хьангара/hwangara - ‘from whom’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’).
In the above example, we see the copular verb жу is marked with agreement to ж.class, which is also marked as the noun-class/gender for the noun 'ц1е/с’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 intransitive sentence, the absolutive argument, or ‘subject’/‘agent’ of the sentence, is also the probe for agreement.

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.

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/в-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. 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 -n/-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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3For 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.
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 бьырка яъла
    as Hasan-na burka j-ael-la
    1SG.ERG Hasan.AUG-DAT.SG j-class.ABS.SG j-give.PST
    ‘I gave Hasan a ball.’

(46) нанас шен берана хьехар дина
    nana-s shen ber-ana xjeخار 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 ‘хаъа/xa’a’ (to know), ‘деза/d-ieza’ (to like, to love, to need), ’хазахета/xazaxeta’ (to like), ’хаъа/xaza’ (to hear), and ‘ган/gan’ (to see).

(47) суна ляъмнаш 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 cannot 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) Імран шина баттанана Москох вахара
    Imran shi-na batt-anana 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 циға шина қ’ирана әң ә яхара
    suo ci-ga shi-na k’ira-na bien 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 kixat jaz-d-a-r-nya
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 ресторане съца гlуп 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 -х 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 лъчна/лъспа, which is a formal version of ‘about’.
(56) Му́са Заре́ма ло́й
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 нуска́л вончу лаза́рах кха́элхи́на
Cunan nuskal von-chu lazar-ax kxaelxi-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 ‘кхэма/кхэта’ (‘to touch’/’to understand’) is one such verb.

(58) со ахь бохо(у)чох ца кхэта
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/-л to a noun/augment base, and may also have a buffer vowel.

(59) сан машина ѣхан 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 ешара́л диках дац
kiexat jaz-d-a-r kniga j-esha-r dikax d-ac
‘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 шко́ле вое́ду
Aslan shkol-ie v-oed-u
Aslan.ABS.SG school-ALL v-go-PRES

22
‘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) 1умара Исламе кузга обхьадожадайтира
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) 1умаре нохчиин 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 -а- 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 универсистете вольдущ бу
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 дольдущ бу
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 -па/-ра 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.
I bought my own car at the market.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Lative</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>со</td>
<td>сан</td>
<td>супа</td>
<td>ac</td>
<td>сох</td>
<td>сол</td>
<td>сьга</td>
<td>сьгуахь</td>
<td>сьгаца</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>so</td>
<td>san</td>
<td>suna</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>sox</td>
<td>sol</td>
<td>soeg</td>
<td>soegahw</td>
<td>soeca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>хьо</td>
<td>хьан</td>
<td>хьуна</td>
<td>аьь</td>
<td>хьох</td>
<td>хьол</td>
<td>хьоег</td>
<td>хьоегахь</td>
<td>хьоегца</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>хво</td>
<td>hwan</td>
<td>hwun</td>
<td>alw</td>
<td>hwox</td>
<td>hwol</td>
<td>hwoeg</td>
<td>hwoegahw</td>
<td>hwoeca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/it</td>
<td>цз</td>
<td>цзьяан</td>
<td>цзяна</td>
<td>цо</td>
<td>цзах</td>
<td>цул</td>
<td>цьгац</td>
<td>цьгацагь</td>
<td>цьгацца</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz</td>
<td>cunpa</td>
<td>cunna</td>
<td>cun</td>
<td>cunax</td>
<td>cul</td>
<td>cunyg</td>
<td>cunyga</td>
<td>cunyga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (exclusive)</td>
<td>наь</td>
<td>ная</td>
<td>наяна</td>
<td>най</td>
<td>наях</td>
<td>наят</td>
<td>наятая</td>
<td>наятая</td>
<td>наятця</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaj</td>
<td>vajn</td>
<td>vajna</td>
<td>vaj</td>
<td>vajx</td>
<td>vajl</td>
<td>vajg</td>
<td>vajga</td>
<td>vajgahw</td>
<td>vajc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>тхо</td>
<td>txan</td>
<td>txuna</td>
<td>ox</td>
<td>txox</td>
<td>txol</td>
<td>txoег</td>
<td>txoега</td>
<td>txoега</td>
<td>txoегця</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txo</td>
<td>txan</td>
<td>txun</td>
<td>oox</td>
<td>txox</td>
<td>txol</td>
<td>txoег</td>
<td>txoега</td>
<td>txoега</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>шу</td>
<td>шун</td>
<td>шуну</td>
<td>аш</td>
<td>шух</td>
<td>шул</td>
<td>шуга</td>
<td>шугахь</td>
<td>шугця</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shu</td>
<td>shun</td>
<td>shun</td>
<td>ash</td>
<td>shux</td>
<td>shul</td>
<td>shyg</td>
<td>shyga</td>
<td>shyga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>уьш</td>
<td>церан</td>
<td>царна</td>
<td>цар</td>
<td>цара</td>
<td>царл</td>
<td>царга</td>
<td>царгаця</td>
<td>царгацца</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ysh</td>
<td>seejan</td>
<td>saam</td>
<td>saag</td>
<td>sarax</td>
<td>saral</td>
<td>sarag</td>
<td>saragw</td>
<td>saragw</td>
<td>saragcc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 demonstrative 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 - ‘х1ара/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 -у/-u on to the vowel of the verbal root. In general, we see the following pattern with respect to these vowel alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>а - о/а - о</td>
<td>дада/dada</td>
<td>‘to run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>доду/dodu</td>
<td>‘run/runs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>мала/mala</td>
<td>‘to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>молу/molu</td>
<td>‘drink/drinks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>кхарэ/aqarza</td>
<td>‘to fry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>кхорэ/qorzu</td>
<td>‘fry/fries’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>е - оь/ie - oe</td>
<td>зен/zien</td>
<td>‘to examine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>зоь/zoe</td>
<td>‘examine/examine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>лен/lien</td>
<td>‘to talk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>лоь/loe</td>
<td>‘talk/talks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>о - у/о (u)о - u(u)</td>
<td>тоса/tosa</td>
<td>‘to feel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>тусу/tusu</td>
<td>‘feel/feels’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>дохка/duoxka</td>
<td>‘to sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>дуухку/duuxku</td>
<td>‘sell/sells’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>и - уь/i(i) - у(y)</td>
<td>дижа/diizha</td>
<td>‘to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>дуьку/dyyzhu</td>
<td>‘sleep/sleeps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>хила/xila</td>
<td>‘to happen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>хуьлу/xylu</td>
<td>‘happen/happens’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Таблица 8: Simple present vowel alternations
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’

cuo gazet 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’

Malik-as noxchiin mott hwoex-u shkol-e-hw
Malika-ERG Chechen language.b.ABS.CG teach-PRES school-AUG-INES

‘Malika teaches Chechen at school.’

(70) дохка - духку/doxka - duxku ‘sell’

Salman-a bezha-n-ash duxk-u bazar-aehw hora
Salman-ABS.CG cattle.bII-AUG-ABS.PL bII-sell-PRES market-LOC every
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 ‘du/d-u’. The suffix -u/-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.CG milk.ABS.CG 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.CG 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 occurrence. It is formed by alternations of the stem vowel and the addition of the suffix -на/-na.

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

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/ > хььдда/xaedda ‘break, stop’
- дата/data [a-ae] > /daet-na/ > дььтта/daettta ‘to show’
- дожа/dozha [o-oe] > /doezh-na/ > дььжжа/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 (\textit{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 \(-i/-i\) and, like many of the other tenses, this tense is also formed by a series of vowel alternations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>а - е / аа - e</td>
<td>мала / mala мел-и / mel-i</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>а - аь / а - ae</td>
<td>даккха / daqqa даккх-и / daqq-i</td>
<td>‘get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>е - е / ie - ie</td>
<td>деша / diesha деш-и / dieshi</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>е - ий / ie - ii</td>
<td>детта / dietta дийтт-и / diitt-i</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>о - уь / оо - yy</td>
<td>тоха / tuoxa түхх / tyux-i</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>о - оь / o - oe</td>
<td>дотта / dotta дотт-и / dotт-i</td>
<td>‘pour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>и - и / i - i</td>
<td>дига / diga диг-и / dig-i</td>
<td>‘lead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2.2 Remote Past Tense - Witnessed

The remote past tense (\textit{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 \(-ура/ира\). The below two sentences illustrate the semantic difference between the recent and remote past tense witnessed forms.

(74) Заремас суна чай дойти
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 дойдывать
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 (\textit{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Simple Present</th>
<th>Past Imperfective</th>
<th>Lemma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - o</td>
<td>дада/dada</td>
<td>додура/dod-u-ra</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - oe</td>
<td>деша/diesha</td>
<td>дощупра/doesh-u-ra</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o - u</td>
<td>тоса/tosa</td>
<td>тусура/tus-u-ra</td>
<td>‘sense’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - y</td>
<td>дижка/dizha</td>
<td>дъщура/dyzh-u-ra</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u - u</td>
<td>дула/dula</td>
<td>дулура/dul-u-ra</td>
<td>‘inflate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2.4 Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense (\(pst.prf\)) denotes an action that has occurred 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-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Present Perfect</th>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
<th>Lemma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - e</td>
<td>мелла</td>
<td>мел-не+ра</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - ae</td>
<td>даэфкъхина</td>
<td>даэфкъх-не+ра</td>
<td>‘get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iе - iе</td>
<td>дешна</td>
<td>деш-не+ра</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>е - ii</td>
<td>деттина</td>
<td>детти-не+ра</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o - oe</td>
<td>доеттина</td>
<td>доетти-не+ра</td>
<td>‘pour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - i</td>
<td>дигна</td>
<td>диг-не+ра</td>
<td>‘lead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *dapa/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 displays 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 дукуш 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Present Simple</th>
<th>Potential Future</th>
<th>Lemma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - o</td>
<td>dada &gt;dod-u</td>
<td>dodur</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - oe</td>
<td>ieca &gt;oes-u</td>
<td>oecu-r</td>
<td>‘buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o - u</td>
<td>tosa &gt;tus-u</td>
<td>tusu-r</td>
<td>‘feel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - y</td>
<td>dizha &gt;dyzh-u</td>
<td>dyzhur</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *dyj/d-u*. Agreement with *dyj/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 ɗy/d-u, which is the form xu$p/xir, and then another iteration of the copular verb ɗy/d-u.

(78) Ac бепиг ыйцур
as bepig oec-ur
1SG.ERG bread.ABS.SG buy-POT.FUT
‘I will (most definitely) buy bread./I really should buy bread.’

(79) Ac бепиг ыйцур ɗу
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) suo бепиг ыйцуш 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 ʄа/ca before a tensed verb, 2) the use of the proclitic ma/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) So школе ца воьду
1SG.ABS.v school-AUG-ALL NEG v-goPRES
‘I don’t go to school.’

(82) Ahwmad-a бежанаш ца духку
Ahwmad-a bezhana-sh ca d-uxk-u
‘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 ɗу/d-u and other verb forms (such as the progressive or compound future tenses) that make use of ɗу/d-u as an auxiliary verb. The negative form of ɗу/d-u is ɗау/d-ac in the present, and ɗаңаŗа/d-acara in the past.
The bread that mother made is tasty.

The bread that mother made is not tasty.

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

I will write him a letter.

I will not write him a letter.

4.2.2 Negative Imperatives

For negative imperatives or prohibition, the proclitic ‘ма/ма’ is used before the verb.

Do not go to school tomorrow.

Don’t rush’ (lit. ‘don’t give fast’)

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.

Don’t rush’ (lit. ‘don’t give fast’)

The proclitic ‘ма/ма’ can intercede between a deictic prefix and the inflected verb root.

(Please) don’t take money from him.

Don’t open the door!’
4.2.3 Double Negation

Like Russian, Chechen requires the negative particles ‘ца/ca’ or ‘ма/ma’ when additional generalized pronouns or adverbs (NPIs) are used:

(91) цха 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 сьога 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
dу
d-u
d-COP
    ‘Someone told me that it is going to snow today.’

(93) цхьаммо а ца аьлира сьога тахана
    chwa-m-uo a sa ael-ira soega taxan
    someone-AUG-ERG.SG NEG say-RPST 1SG.ALL today snow.d.ABS.SG
    ло дог1ур ду
do 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 хинца а саина книжка эца ца эцна
    as hinca a saina knizhka ieca sa 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 sa 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 ‘леla/liela’ (‘behave’/‘wander’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>лелар/ лелараш/</td>
<td>лелараш/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r liela-r-ash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitve</td>
<td>леларан/ леларшан/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-an liela-r-shan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>леларна/ леларашана/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-na liela-r-ash-ana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>леларо/ леларша/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-fu liela-r-sha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>леларча/ леларшча/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-ca liela-r-sh-ca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>леларе/ леларийх/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-ie liela-r-iix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lative</td>
<td>леларах/ леларшка/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-ax liela-r-sh-ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>леларал/ леларийл/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-al liela-r-iil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inessive</td>
<td>леларехь/ леларшкахь/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-ehw liela-r-sh-kahw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>леларера/ леларшкара/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liela-r-era liela-r-sh-kara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

\[(97) \text{Етт оьцун стаг } \text{Jett oec-un stag} \text{cow.j.abs.sg buy-PRES.RCP} \text{‘the man who buys cows’} \]

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.

\[(98) \text{Етт эцна стаг } \text{Jett iec-na stag} \text{cow.j.abs.sg buy-PST.RCP person} \text{‘the man who bought a cow’} \]

In addition to other forms, the copular verb ды/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 ды/d-u.

\[(99) \text{Етт оьцур болун стаг } \text{Jett oec-ur b-olun stag} \text{cow.b.abs.sg buy-fut.ptcp b-cop-PRES.RCP man} \text{‘the man who will buy a/the cow’} \]

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-al, and даккха/d-qq. 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.

\[(100) \text{ Light verbs and lexicalization with r1apa/ghara ‘noise/voice’ } \]
• г1ара Yu
  ghaara j-u
  voice.j.ABS.SG j-COP
  ‘voice/sound’
• г1ара ж
  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’
• г1ардаккха
  ghaara=daqqa
  voice=take.INF

  ‘to make (someone/something) popular’
• г1ардаладала
• г1ардаккхадала
• г1ардаьлла
• г1ардаьлларг

(101) Amerika-hw уггар г1араялла эшархо Лэди Гага
America-INES most voice=j-give-PST.PERF-RCP.PST singer.j.ABS.SG Lady Gaga Yu
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

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

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.

Tell/Speak (in my absence/for me)’

- Absolutive/Categorical Imperative (CAT.IMP) - formed by adding the suffix ‘-иila’ to the simple present alternated base of the verb.

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 ɖuîma/d-iita inflects for tense and noun-class agreement.

Make him grill the meat’

Scholars tend to interpret the suffix ‘wît/iit’ as being a phonetic infusion of the verb ‘duma (wuma/вума)/ dita (jita/vita)’ meaning ‘to leave’ or ‘to abandon’. In Highland/Laamaroj
dialects, ṭu̯u̯ma/d-iitä has the form ṭu̯u̯ma/d-aitä and behaves exactly the same, syntactically. Lexically, however, it may be related to the verb ‘ḍan/d-an’ which also is able to transitivize adjectivable predicates in both dialects.

(113) нанас кехат обьхадийшитира соь га
naana-s kixat oehwa-diiish-ir-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.

- The 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 occurred an was witnessed by the speaker.

(114) Ахьмада стол кечди
Ahwmad-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 стол кечдира
Ahwmad-a stol 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)’

- The 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 стол кечдина хила
Ahwmad-a stol 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).
• The 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 ‘xuwa/xila’ in the perfective:

(117) Ахьмада стоьл кечдина хиллера
Ahwmad-a stoel kiech-d-i-na xil-lera
‘Ahwmad set the table (a long time ago).’

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

• The 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 was setting the table (but I didn’t see)’

(119) Малика ц’а йог1учу хенахь
Malika c’a j-oghuh-chu hwien-ahw
‘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 possessive. 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’
Adjectives generally appear before the head noun that they modify.

(122)
- дика к’ант/dika k’ant ‘good boy’
- хаза коч/xaza koch ‘beautiful dress’
- ц’иен 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-esa ‘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’
- дузъна/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 -(а)x/(а)x or -хо/-xo. The comparative is formed using the suffix -(а)x, with -а- 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 ‘үгар/uggar’ (‘the most’), ‘к’аесттана/q’aesttana’ (‘especially’), ‘м1ex/t’ex’ (‘more’), or ‘дукха/duqa’ (‘more’).
### Таблица 15: Chechen comparative, extended comparative, and superlative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Adjective</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Extended Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>хаза/xaza</td>
<td>хаза-х/xaza-x</td>
<td>хаза-хо/xaza-хuo</td>
<td>уттар хаза/uggar xaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
<td>‘more beautiful’</td>
<td>‘much more beautiful’</td>
<td>‘the most beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>дика/dika</td>
<td>дика-х/dika-x</td>
<td>дика-хо/dika-хuo</td>
<td>уттар дика/uggar dika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>‘better’</td>
<td>‘much better’</td>
<td>‘the best’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>жима/zhima</td>
<td>жима-х/zhima-x</td>
<td>жима-хо/zhima-хuo</td>
<td>уттар жима/uggar zhima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>‘smaller’</td>
<td>‘much smaller’</td>
<td>‘the smallest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>даърстан/daestan</td>
<td>даърстан-ах/daestan-ax</td>
<td>даърстан-ахо/daestan-ахuo</td>
<td>уттар даърстан/uggar da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>‘fatter’</td>
<td>‘much fatter’</td>
<td>‘the fattest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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. Independent substantivized adjectives decline in the same way and behave identical 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 ‘қ1айн/k’ain’(‘white’)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ктай-ниг</td>
<td>ктай-ниг-аш</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ктай-чу-н</td>
<td>ктай-чаран</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ктай-чун-на</td>
<td>ктай-чар-на</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>ктай-чо</td>
<td>ктай-чар-а</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>ктай-чун-ца</td>
<td>ктай-чар-ца</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lative</td>
<td>ктай-чун-на</td>
<td>ктай-чар-на</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inessive</td>
<td>ктай-чун-на-хь</td>
<td>ктай-чаргага-хь</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ктай-чун-л</td>
<td>ктай-чар-ал</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

(125) Sample declension with ктайн котам/k‘ain kotam ‘white chicken’
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 absolutive arguments, 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 яздo
Wumar-a kixat 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 доттаг1чүнга кехат яздина
Wumar-a shie-n dottagh-chun-ga kixat 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 доттаг1чүнга хенан х1оттамах лаьцна
Wumar-a shien dottagh-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
kixat|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
доттаг1чүх лаьцна кинизхка Зейнаъана
dottagh-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 шельелла
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 ‘а/а’. The coordination particle is placed immediately after elements in a list of coordinated nouns.

(131) Самантас столь а, гхант а, нэварш а
    Samanta-s stol a, ghant a, newar-sh a
    Самантa-ERG.SG table COORD, chair COORD, door.AUG-ABS.PL COORD
    ч'анйина
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 ‘а/а’.

(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
    vgo-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 ‘а/а’ when they share the same subject. The clitic ‘а/а’ only comes before the main verb of the sentence.

(133) воккха стаг худар а дигъа
    v-oqqa stag xudar a d-i'-na
    v-old man.v.ABS.SG porridge.d.ABS.SG COOR d-eat-PST.PRF
    дэвдижира
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 хьекхалехъ 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.
This type of case control for coordinated sentences does not extend to coordinated sentences where one clause is intransitive and the other is dative.

6.3.3 Contrastive Coordination

Sentences and adjectives and nouns can be contrastively coordinated with ама/ama ‘but’

‘Rain filled the streets with water, but I wore boots.’

6.3.3.1 Contrastive Relative Clauses (‘However...’)

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

‘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 canonical applicative form and, instead, tends towards the use of light verbs with bound objects (i.e. \(\text{OBJECT} + \text{d-an/d-an(do)}\) = verbalized \(\text{OBJECT}\)).

6.4.1 Dat-Abs (Dative-Absolutive)

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

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

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:

\(\text{(149) суна бепиг дар дукха деза}
\text{sunu bepig d-ar duqa d-ieza}
\text{1SG.DAT bread.d.ABS.SG d-do.MsDR much d-love.PRES}
\text{I really like to make bread.}
\)

\(\text{(150) ас бепиг дан деза}
\text{as bepig d-an d-ieza}
\text{1SG.ERG bread.d.ABS.SG d-do.INF d-need.PRES}
\text{I need to make bread.’}
\)

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 охьадъыжира
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=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 охьабуъжира
wazh ohwa-b-yzh-ira
apple. b.ABS.SG PVERB-b-fall-RPST
‘The apple fell’

(154) ac 1аж охьабожабина
as wazh ohwa-b-oozha=b-i-na
1SG.ERG apple. b.ABS.SG PVERBb-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 exponent 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 шкодел 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 ‘v-/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:
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 ‘дой/d-ou’, the present tense form of the classed-verb ‘даа/d-aa’ ('to eat') bears d-class agreement with the absoulutive 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 progressive 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 ц'ено 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).'
'Ali is (in the process of) building a house.' ('emphasis is on the object.')

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

'Ali is building a house (baseline).'

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

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

Accounts for this limitation are multiple in theoretical syntax. Several theories about similar constructions in other Dagestanian languages and Basque exist, however, Chechen differs from these accounts in a number of structural properties, namely the lack of postpositions 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, participal 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) цъиён книжка
    tsien knizhka
    red book.j.ABS.SG
    the red book

(168) хъайъкалехь долу бераиш
    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) хáра цъиён книжка
    hara c’ien knizhka
    this red book..ABS.SG
    ‘that red book’

(170) и цъиён книжка
    i c’ien knizhka
    that red book.j.ABS.SG
    ‘that red book’

(171) хáра хъекъалехь долу бераиш
    hara hwieq’al-ehw d-olu bier-ash
    this mind-INESS d-COP.RCP.PRES child.d-ABS.PL
    ‘these smart children’

(172) и хъекъалехь долу бераиш
    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, ‘цхъа/chwa’, this is placed before the entire noun phrase.

(173) цхъа цъиён книжка
    chwa c’ien knizhka
    one red book.j.ABS.SG
‘1 red book’

(174) кхо ц’иэн книжка
qо 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 ‘дуб/д-к’ also shows agreement in noun-class with the head of the noun phrase.

(175) хьекъалехь долу дигъ 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 добышуш волучу к’антан ц’е
shkol-ehw d-oesh-ush v-olu-chu k’ant-an c’е
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.

4This is the etymological meaning of Vainakh in the ‘Nakh-Dagestanian’ language family).
Reflexive pronouns are also used to bind pronouns to their antecedents across clausal domains:

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

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

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<tr>
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<th>Dat</th>
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Reflexive pronouns are also used to bind pronouns to their antecedents across clausal domains:
‘He said that you will help him.’ (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:

‘He said that you will help him.’ (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 къахийгина
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 хъалкхиъна волутxan 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 лоjurt jic ca luo
village.ABS.SG

‘Our father remembers the village he grew up.’

Existential sentences are expressed with the copula verb ‘ду/д-u’.

(186) кху чохь кхо к’ант 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/хilla’ (‘to exist/to occur’):

(187) кху чохь кхо к’ант 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).’
‘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.

‘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)a/-na, or -р/-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 ‘-ехь/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.

‘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) as hara byrka hwuna dwa-luur ju,
1SG.ERG this ball.2SG.DAT DEIC.PVERB-give.FUT.PTCP j-COP,
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) shai txuo doluchu doghur dielahw,
2PL.ABS 1PL.EXCL.ABS COP.RCP.OBL.ALL come.FUT.PTCP COP.REAL_COND,
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) Dhzon xiennahw c’a=v=ean-iehw,
John.ABS.SG earlier home=v-come-PST.REAL_COND, 1PL.EXCL.ERG better
boliha bina xir bara
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) ahw mer delahw’, as chaj
2SG.ERG drink.FUT.PTCP d-COP.COND, 1SG.ERG tea.1SG.ABS
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 ‘xan/xan’ (time). For subordinate clauses describing simultaneous actions, the present participle alone is used before the modified action:

(195) ac балха сайдявоьдуш,
as balx-a sai dwa-v-oed-ush,
1SG.ERG work.AUG-ALL 1SG.ERG.REFLEX DEIC-PVERB-v-go-PRES.PTCP,
sай цициг чохь дитьра, 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 изаара 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) хьехархоcho урок чеккхялае, 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
д1аязятириа тхьоьга
dwa-yaz=jiit-ira txoeqa
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
чекк 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 хильла х1усяман нана.
wiesh xil-la husam-an nana
wait.PROG.PTCP exist-PERF.PST domestic mother.jABS.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 m1ахь/-chul t’aehw’ is used. The verbal suffix ‘-чул/-chul’ is added to the past perfect form of the verb.

(199) урокаш чеккхччул т1ахьа, тхо ц1а
urok-ash cheq=j-a=l-chul t’aehw, txio c’a
lesson-ABS.PL.2ill finish=give-PST.PERF-SUFFIX after, 2PL.EXCL home
dахара
da-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 ‘х1унда-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.3SG.SG pain=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 ‘цундела/cundela’ meaning ‘because of this’. This is identical in meaning to English ‘therefore’ or Russian ‘поэтому’.

(201) Революция хиалале хъалха Нохчийн махкехь
Revoljuci xilalie hwalxa noxchin maxkewh-a
Revolution.3SG.SG be-PST.PERF-before time-ALL Chechen country-INESS
dуккха ца хиалла оьрсийн къам. Цуьндела
duqqa ca xi-lla oerciin q’am. Cundela
very=many NEG exist.PST.PERF Russian tribe.3SG.SG. Therefore
нохчшушна оьрсийн мотт бийца хууш
noxchoshna oerciin mott b-iica xu-ush
Chechen=person-DAT.PL Russian tongue.3SG.SG b-speak.INF know-PRES.PROG
ца хиала.
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, these constructions show a subjectless construction in the first clause and a fully-realized sentence in the lower clause.

(202) Зейна синкъераме йор1ур 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 йор1ур 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 йор1ур йолучук 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 чекхяккхина
Zhowhwar-a i projekt cheq= j-aqe-qina
John-ERG.SG that project.j.ABS.SG finish= j-set-PST.PERF
‘John finished that project.’

(206) Зураъана лаа Жовхьара и проект чекхяккх
Zura-’ana la’a Zhowhwar-a i projekt cheq=j-aqe-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) Жовхьараана лаа и проект чекхяккх
Zhowhwar-ana laeа 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 ‘-ji/-i’ to the tensed verb. In speech it is also accompanied by a rise in tone.

(208) ḥwo  balaха  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?’

    - ḥ1a-xaъ,  со  балха  машинца  воьду.
    - ha-ha’,  suо  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  дойшеүш  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?’

    - ḥ1aъ,  иза  школехь  дойшеүш  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) ахъ  олий  цуъга  дика  деша?
    ahw  olii  cynga  dika  diesha
    2SG.ERG  say-PRES-Q  3SG.ALL  good  study.INF
‘Did you tell him to study well?’

    - ḥ1a-x1aъ,  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) ггъуллакхаш  муха  ду  хъан  ḥ?
    ghullaq-ash  muxa  du  xaъn
    affair.d-ABS.PL  how  d-cop  2SG.GEN.REFLX
‘How are you?’
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 ‘хун/hun’ and ‘мила/mila’ decline for case using suppletive augmented forms. For ‘*хун/hun*’ this is ‘стен/-sten-’ and for мила/mila it is ‘хьан-/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?’

• хун 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) •  ويمранна хаa 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.’

• мъулхачу дешархочуна хаa дика яздан?
   mylxaxa-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 чохь 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 дешархо-цингахь?
*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).’

(221) • 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).’

• хundlesа 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 книгааш
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
*w* *where.to* v-go.pres *student.* *v.abs.sg* *every* *day*

‘Where does the student do every day?’

• иза университетете воьду
iza universitet-e v-oedu
*3sg.abs v* university-*all.sg* v-go.pres

‘He is goes to the University.’

(223) • мичахьара во и дешархо?
michahwara v-u i diesharxo
*w* *where.from* v-cop *that student.* *v.abs.sg*

‘Where is that student from?’

• иза Казахстанера во
iza Kazakhstan-iera v-u
*3sg.abs v* Kazakhstan-*abl* v-cop

‘He is from Kazakhstan.’